Reading the manuscript page:
The use of supra-textual devices
in the Middle English
Trotula-manuscripts

Juulia Kirsikka Ahvensalmi

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of PhD

English Language
School of Critical Studies
College of Arts
University of Glasgow

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Abstract

This thesis examines the use of supra-textual devices in the *Trotula,* a set of Middle English gynecological and obstetrical medical treatises. Through close examination of the thirteen manuscript versions dating between the early or mid-fifteenth century and the late sixteenth century, this thesis studies the way in which punctuation, layout, colour, marginalia and other visual devices are used to structure and present the texts. Combining quantitative and qualitative methods, this thesis examines the ways in which supra-textual devices are used to organise the texts into units of various type and length (major and minor sections, paragraphs, recipes, sense-units, sentences, clauses, phrases), and how the presentation of these units contributes to the reading of the text, showing that, despite the lack of standardised punctuation practices, each manuscript text uses a consistent system of supra-textual devices. Their use is not haphazard, as has previously been asserted; supra-textual devices are used purposefully to structure the texts and to communicate with the reader. The definitions of 'sentence' and 'sense-unit' in the Middle English context are also discussed, as well as the terminology used to describe medieval punctuation practices. In particular, the often-made binary division between 'grammatical' and 'rhetorical' punctuation is examined, showing that this division is neither very informative nor useful in practice for describing the systems of supra-textual devices present in medieval English writing. While the majority of the units can be described in terms of 'sense-units', the development towards the modern 'sentence' can be evinced in the data. This thesis also examines the role that scribes played in adapting and modifying the textual presentation in their exemplars, arguing that scribes played a key role in modifying the appearance of the manuscript texts to suit the needs of their audiences. Emphasising the importance of contextualisation, the final chapter focuses on the pragmatics of supra-textual devices, and how they can contribute to our understanding of the ways in which these texts were read and used by private individuals, professional medical practitioners or textual communities. This thesis argues that the *Trotula* had a number of different audiences, with varied literacy skills, and the supra-textual devices in the manuscripts suggest a range of reading practices, from private to communal, silent to oral, intensive to extensive. This thesis demonstrates that a close examination of supra-textual devices can bring new insights into Middle English grammar as well as scribal and reading practices.

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FLY-SPECK, n. The prototype of punctuation. It is observed by Garvinus that the systems of punctuation in use by the various literary nations depended originally upon the social habits and general diet of the flies infesting the several countries. These creatures, which have always been distinguished for a neighborly and companionable familiarity with authors, liberally or niggardly embellish the manuscripts in process of growth under the pen, according to their bodily habit, bringing out the sense of the work by a species of interpretation superior to, and independent of, the writer's powers. The "old masters" of literature -- that is to say, the early writers whose work is so esteemed by later scribes and critics in the same language -- never punctuated at all, but worked right along free-handed, without that abruption of the thought which comes from the use of points […] In the work of these primitive scribes all the punctuation is found, by the modern investigator with his optical instruments and chemical tests, to have been inserted by the writers' ingenious and serviceable collaborator, the common house-fly – *Musca maledicta*. In transcribing these ancient MSS, for the purpose of either making the work their own or preserving what they naturally regard as divine revelations, later writers reverently and accurately copy whatever marks they find upon the papyrus or parchment, to the unspeakable enhancement of the lucidity of the thought and value of the work.
(Ambrose Bierce. 1911. *The Devil's Dictionary*)

Those, that desire to see more of this Subject [...] may be further satisfied by the Author, upon any Thursday at three of the Clock in the Afternoon, at the Tun and Bolt in Fleet-street. Who undertakes to perfect any Person, that will attend him there, in a few daies, in the plain part of Grammar; and in a few hours, in the exact skill of Pointing.
(Mark Lewis. 1675. *Plain, and short rules for pointing periods, and reading sentences grammatically, with the great use of them*)

Abbreviations

BL	British Library, London
Bodl.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
CUL	Cambridge University Library
EEBO	*Early English Books Online*
EmodE	Early Modern English
eVK	*Scientific and Medical Writings in Old English and Middle English: An Electronic Reference* (compiled by Voigts and Kurtz)
expl.	*explicit*
GUL	Glasgow University Library
inc.	*incipit*
LALME	*Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*
ME	Middle English
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*
MS(S)	manuscript(s)
n=	number
n.	noun
OE	Old English
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
PDE	Present Day English

Manuscript sigla

A12195	British Library, MS Additional 12195, ff.157r–184r
A34111	British Library, MS Additional 34111, ff.197r–217v
B483	Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Bodley 483, ff.82r–103v
D37	Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Douce 37, ff.1r–37v
CUL33 (I)	Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.VI.33 (Part I), ff.1r–32v
CUL33 (II)	Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.VI.33 (Part II), ff.1r–36r
H403	Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 403, pp.347–363
JC43	Jesus College, Cambridge, MS 43, ff.70r–75v
L333	Longleat House, Warminster, Wiltshire, MS 333, ff.33r–43v
LM66	Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Lat. Misc.c.66, ff.83r–86v
S121 (I)	British Library, MS Sloane 121, ff.100r–105r
S121 (II)	British Library, MS Sloane 121, ff.106r–107v
S421A	British Library, MS Sloane 421A, ff.2r–25v

1. Introduction

> Also þ*er* been medicynes the whiche I dare not wryte
> leste some cursed calett wolde it vse
> (Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 483, ff.88r-v)

This thesis will examine the page design and punctuation practices of the *Trotula,* a set of Middle English gynecological and obstetrical treatises, arguing that the presentation of a text forms a vital part of its meaning, affecting the interpretation and use of the text. Through close examination of the manuscripts, extant in thirteen manuscript versions dating from between the early or mid-fifteenth century and the late sixteenth century, this thesis will study the way in which punctuation, layout, colour and other visual devices are used to structure and present the text, how these features are transmitted along with the text, and to what extent there are any diachronic changes, and how the scribes modify and adapt the text found in their exemplars. The thesis also explores the significance of these visual devices from a pragmatic perspective, studying the way in which the scribes understood and expressed textual and syntactic structures, and how their use of punctuation and other devices affects the way in which the texts could have been read and used.

The *Trotula* originated in twelfth-century Salerno, and circulated widely in medieval Europe. It was translated into a number of vernaculars, including several translations into Middle English; these translations derive partly from different sources (Latin and French), and adapt and modify the material in the *Trotula* in different ways. Some of the manuscripts of the *Trotula* include a preface detailing the reasons for rendering the text into English: "because whomen of our*e* tong*ue* cvnne bettyr*e* rede & vndyrstande þys langage þan eny oþ*er* & eu*er*y whoman lettyrde rede hit to oþ*er* vnlettyrd & help hem & conceyle hem in her*e* maledyes wᵗ owtyn schevyng her*e* dysese to man I have þys dravyn & wryttyn in englysch" (Bodleian Library, MS Douce 37, f.1v). This text, therefore, claims to have been written in the vernacular to enable women to read it to themselves and to each other, "wᵗ owtyn schevyng her*e* dysese to man". This claim is problematic for many reasons, and this thesis will examine these reasons through the lens of the physical manuscript page: though focusing on textual minutiae, these details are seen as pathways to larger concerns to do with scribal copying and conditions of vernacular literacy. While the text, then, is allegedly aimed at a female audience, and largely involved with concerns specific to women, much of the direct evidence in the manuscripts, such as ownership inscriptions,

indicate a largely male audience. Through a close examination of the manuscripts themselves, however, it will be argued that the *Trotula*, rather than being a single, unified text aimed at a single audience, is more diverse. The contexts in which the Middle English *Trotula* was produced, copied and read were varied; each manuscript offers a different reading of the text, adapted for different reading practices. Supra-textual devices in these manuscripts suggest that some of the manuscripts were designed for lay audiences, with limited literacy, while some required more extensive literacy skills and a more sophisticated reader. The texts could be read in different ways: studied intensively, consulted selectively in order to locate specific information, memorised, read out loud or silently, privately or in a group, perhaps in the context of a textual or discourse community.

The primary argument in this thesis is that punctuation and other visual devices are fundamental for the understanding of texts and the ways in which they were (intended to be) read. Despite a wealth of text-books telling us how to correctly punctuate, the use of punctuation is still subject to personal style and debate. Lynne Truss' best-selling book *Eats Shoots and Leaves: The Zero Tolerance Approach to Punctuation* begins with an example of a "satanic sprinkling of redundant apostrophes", advising the reader that if the sight of a sign such as "Come inside […] for CD's, VIDEO's, DVD's, and BOOK's […] causes no little gasp of horror or quickening of the pulse, you should probably put down this book at once. By all means congratulate yourself that you are not a pedant or even a stickler; that you are happily equipped to live in a world of plummeting punctuation standards" (Truss 2003:1). If the situation in the twenty-first century can be characterised by "plummeting punctuation standards", the sixteenth century appears to fare no better. Plomer cites a sixteenth-century printer Robert Copland's complaints about "Englyshe, so yll spelled, so yll poynted, and so pevyshe, that scantly one can rede lynes two":

> But yet of one thyng, hertely I you praye.
> Amende the englysh somwhat, if ye can,
> and spel it true, for I shall tel the man,
> by my soule ye prynters make such englyshe,
> so yll spelled, so yll poynted, and so peuyshe,
> that scantly one can rede lynes two
> (cited in Plomer 1896:219)

The Middle Ages seems not to have been the golden age for standardised punctuation, either: various earlier studies of medieval punctuation have stressed its arbitrariness and lack of specialisation. Jenkinson, for instance, notes that the punctuation in medieval texts

was "at best casual, knowing no rule and treating all symbols as practically interchangeable; not infrequently so slight as to be negligible; and, at worst, plentiful but purely decorative" (Jenkinson 1926:154). Heyworth states that "in the Middle Ages a vernacular manuscript in which any attempt has been made to introduce systematic punctuation is rare, and only occasionally is the punctuation of the medieval scribe at all helpful in elucidating the text" (Heyworth 1981:139–140). There are also later studies referring to the unreliability of medieval punctuation: Bergs, for instance, remarks that "modern principles of punctuation (which are already unreliable in themselves) [...] had not yet been established in ME, so that the presence or absence of commas does not help in interpreting a given sentence" (Bergs 2005:138).

This thesis, like Truss' book, will argue that punctuation is important; it does so, however, for different reasons, and from a different perspective. Although medieval manuscripts might present a bewildering array of punctuation practices, they need not be dismissed as haphazard, but may be considered as valid and logical if seen in their own terms (Zeeman 1956:11, Parkes 1978, 1991, 1992, 1994, 1997; Arakelian 1975; Lucas 1971, 1997). Malcolm Parkes' ground-breaking work on medieval punctuation has gone a long way to shed light on these practices, and a number of other studies have examined medieval punctuation practices as well as other visual features on the page; there is, however, still much work to be done on this field.

Traditionally, medieval punctuation has been seen to reflect oral traditions, marking pauses for breathing, rather than syntactic structures. This aspect is, of course, far from obsolete in current usage; children are still taught to pause at punctuation marks, and for instance the definition in *Wikipedia* includes rhetorical considerations: punctuation marks are "symbols that indicate the structure and organization of written language, as well as intonation and pauses to be observed when reading aloud"[1]. It has, however, been argued that during the Middle Ages, punctuation gradually developed a syntactic dimension, whereby there were two overlapping, distinct systems of punctuation available, rhetorical and grammatical (Arakelian 1975:615, 623–624). Many studies of medieval punctuation have focused on distinguishing these two dimensions; this thesis will argue that such a binary division is not sufficient in describing and analysing the various functions punctuation has.

The rhetorical and grammatical dimensions, however, are not the only aspects of
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[1] Available online: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Punctuation. Last accessed 22/11/2011.

punctuation worth considering. At the beginning of this Introduction, it was argued that punctuation is fundamental for our understanding of texts. Although long regarded as 'accidentals', rather than 'substantive', or 'significant' parts of a text (Greg 1966:376, see also Lennard 1995:84–86), punctuation and the visual presentation of a text forms an integral part of its meaning; as Parkes and Saenger have argued, changes in punctuation and layout of the text may have far-reaching implications and signal changes in the mind-sets of the people who wrote and read these texts (Parkes 1992, Saenger 1997, see also Mostert 1999:36).

Furthermore, other visual features, while not usually strictly defined as punctuation (such as page layout, underlining and use of colours), perform comparable functions together with or instead of punctuation symbols proper; these features "are neither usually regarded nor widely understood as being punctuation at all" (Lennard 2000:1). The text is laid out on the page in a certain way: it can be presented as continuous or divided into paragraphs and sections. Use of colour is another prominent feature in medieval manuscripts: rubrication was frequently used to highlight and emphasise for instance initials (and sometimes punctuation symbols), but could also be used instead of them to mark headings or emphasise important sections. The surrounding margins around the text also contribute to the textual presentation, and are, furthermore, often filled with notes and signs pointing to the text. These additions are often – although not always – added by subsequent readers, who might also for instance underline certain sections of a text, therefore contributing to the structural organisation. Punctuation and these other features and devices will in this thesis be collectively referred to as *supra-textual devices* (the term is adapted from Kostelnick 1990, 1996, Kostelnick and Hassett 2003; the issues of terminology will be further discussed in Chapter 2).

The presentation of a manuscript can tell us not only about linguistic change and variation, but also about sociohistorical circumstances and variables such as levels of literacy, the intended purpose, audience and status of a given text, as well as giving information about contexts of production and reception, and about geographical origins and scribal techniques (Caie 2008:11; see also Kubouchi 1998:74, 174; Nix 1994:1) as well as patterns of transmission (Nix 1994:1, Peikola 2008:28). Saenger ties the book's format and the size of the codex to reading habits (Saenger 1989:142); in this thesis, it is argued that also supra-textual devices can offer information about the ways in which the manuscripts were

(intended to be) read and used; would they have been read out loud or silently, studied privately and memorised, or consulted selectively when need arose? What can the manuscript page tell us about levels of literacy and the kind of reading practices the presentation of a manuscript would have enabled or disabled? How did the scribes adapt and modify the text to suit different audiences?

As Caie reminds us, "everything that physically surrounds a text in its manuscript is potentially significant. The medieval reader of a manuscript approached a text with a certain mind-set and expectations which are different from those of the reader of a printed text" (Caie 2008:10). Manuscripts are more flexible and adaptable than printed books; a scribe could copy from the exemplar *verbatim*, or modify and adapt the material found in the exemplar or exemplars. These modifications could be textual, and, just as importantly, presentational. The manuscript in itself is important as an object of study; each manuscript presents a unique approach to a text (Wallis 1995:104). A 'text', then, in the medieval context, is not an abstract entity. The printing press went a long way to standardising texts, and making the same text available to a wider audience than had been possible in the manuscript culture. The form and presentation of the book, however, still carry meaning: "(t)he early modern book conveyed meaning even before its pages were opened. The size and format at once determined and responded to audience and traced the hierarchies of class and authority" (Sharpe and Zwicker 2003:5); this, of course, still applies; a cheap detective novel and a scientific book are laid out and presented differently, whereas e-book readers offer another, more flexible medium, allowing the reader greater flexibility over the appearance of the text on the screen (by for instance allowing the reader to change the font) – and less transparency on the appearance of the actual book from the outside.

Mak, in her book *Page Matters*, argues that the page – printed or hand-written – is fundamental to the understanding of a text, and in transmitting and communicating ideas to different audiences (Mak 2011:4–10). Mak's investigation focuses on various aspects of the physical page, although punctuation is only mentioned in passing. That punctuation, however, also matters, becomes obvious when a number of versions of the same text are placed side by side. Where one utilises blank space to divide the text into paragraphs, another one employs more visually striking methods in placing decorated initials to signal section breaks, or by rubricating headings, while yet another one does not employ methods other than a simple punctus (.). Consideration of these aspects can offer insights into the

motivations of the scribes, as well as the users of the manuscripts. As Nichols and Wenzel sum up in their description of 'materialist philology':

> Such features as the ink and script of a given text; the quality and size of the material on which it is written; the layout in which it presents itself to the eye; the make-up of each individual volume, with its gatherings, colophons, subscriptions, and binding; further, the company of other works in which a given text was first gathered and has been preserved; and finally, its particular textual variants, especially those that resulted from factors other than scribal misreading or carelessness – all these features yield information, over and above that implied in the texts themselves, about the text's audience, its purpose, and even the intention an individual scribe may have had in producing this particular copy (Nichols and Wenzel 1996:1)

Donoghue notes that "(t)he scholarly consensus concerning the placement of the capitals and punctuation has been that it is not quite systematic and not quite random. The scribes' practice is regular enough to tantalize, in other words, but sporadic enough to frustrate anyone looking for a consistent pattern" (Donoghue 2006:40). Although this thesis will argue that, when each manuscript is scrutinised on its own terms, there are patterns to be found, the variation in itself can also tell us more about the period and bring us closer to the manuscripts. While *similarities* in the construction of manuscripts can be enlightening and tell us about shared production practices (Voigts 1990), literacy practices and usages (Jones 2000:275, 336), or standardisation, the *differences* between them can be equally enlightening. Thus the Middle English *Trotula*, extant in altogether thirteen manuscript versions, offers an ideal opportunity to study both the differences and the similarities within a defined set of related manuscripts.

The focus in this thesis is on the communicative and pragmatic functions of the manuscripts (see e.g. Jucker 1995:9, Caie and Renevey 2008, Pahta and Jucker 2011:5), and on scribal, rather than authorial punctuation. By treating each individual manuscript version as a valuable witness in its own right, we can gain insights into the use of the manuscripts and texts, as well as to the scribes' understanding and interpretation of the text and textual structures. The thesis will, therefore, draw on various theoretical perspectives: historical pragmatics, paleography, historical linguistics, studies on literacy, medical and social history, combining qualitative and quantitative approaches.

1.1 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 will provide contextualisation by discussing the history of punctuation in medieval England and introduce the repertoire of supra-textual devices the scribes had at their disposal. This chapter will also contain an overview of previous studies of medieval punctuation practices. Situating the thesis within the framework of historical pragmatics, this chapter examines the constraints and methodological problems involved in analysing supra-textual devices, as well as discussing and defining key terminology used in this study.

The focus in Chapter 3 will be on the primary material for this thesis, introducing the background to the Middle English *Trotula* and providing an overview of the textual history of *Trotula.* This chapter will describe the differences between the five different Middle English translations, and provide descriptions of each of the thirteen manuscript versions in which the Middle English *Trotula*-texts appear, including information about the provenance of the manuscripts, where available. This contextualisation functions as a backdrop to the analysis in the following chapters, illustrating the differences between the manuscripts in which the *Trotula* appears.

Chapter 4 will analyse the use of supra-textual devices in each of the manuscript versions, providing a detailed description of the presentation in each. The focus will be on providing a classification of the use of supra-textual devices primarily from a grammatical and structural perspective, studying the ways in which supra-textual devices are used to signal textual and syntactical structures on different levels. The texts are analysed on different levels, focusing on the overall structure, and the division of the text into major and minor sections, paragraphs, sense-units, sentences, clauses and phrases, as well as the structuring and presentation of recipes, which form an integral part of all the texts. The length of punctuated units is also assessed in order to examine the syntactical make-up of the units. This chapter is primarily quantitative and descriptive, focusing on the individual manuscripts; the second part of the chapter will draw together the findings.

Chapter 5 will chart the overall functions of each device across the corpus, tracing changes in the form and function of the supra-textual devices used in the manuscripts. It will examine the transmission of supra-textual devices across and within versions, focusing on

the ways in which scribes copied the presentational features alongside the text from their exemplar, and on the ways in which they adapted and modified the presentation. In addition, the data will be examined from a diachronic perspective, charting developments and possible changes in the use of supra-textual devices from the early fifteenth century until late sixteenth century. Providing comparisons of the use of individual supra-textual devices across the data, this chapter argues that scribes had a key role in modifying the presentational aspects of manuscript texts.

Chapter 6 will explicate the relations between supra-textual devices and pragmatics, examining how the methods developed in the field of pragmatics, and in particular historical pragmatics, can be applied to the study of manuscript punctuation. The focus of the chapter will be on the wide range of communicative functions of these visual devices, discussing the audiences and the readership of the *Trotula,* the types of supra-textual devices employed in the manuscripts and the contexts in which the manuscripts were or could have been read: in domestic contexts, in childbirth, by textual communities, professional medical practitioners or lay readers, for instance. Literacy in the medieval period is an often-discussed subject: this chapter will provide an overview of the definitions and levels of literacy in medieval England, focusing in particular on female literacy, and suggest ways in which literacy and reading practices can be approached through examining the presentation of manuscripts, suggesting that the presentation of the manuscripts allowed for a range of reading practices and audiences. These themes will be explored through examining the use of supra-textual devices, the structuring of the texts and the recipes within the texts, as well as the length of punctuated units, discussed in Chapter 4, from the perspective of reading practices. This chapter also situates the *Trotula* within the wider historical and social context, discussing the role of written texts in medieval medical practice.

The final chapter will offer a summary and conclusions on the material as well as suggestions for further studies.

1.1.1 Notes on terminological conventions

Trotula, the name by which the texts used as the primary material in this thesis are known, is also the name of the (alleged) author. When referring to the historical 'Trotula', or

'Trota', the name will not be italicised; it will be italicised when referring to the *text(s)* known as *Trotula*. 'Manuscript' here refers to the actual physical manuscript, which may contain a number of different texts (two of the manuscripts used in this study contain two different versions of the Middle English *Trotula*, in addition to other texts); 'version' or 'translation' refers to the different translations of the Middle English *Trotula* (versions A–E); 'manuscript version' refers to the individual instances of text within a manuscript; 'text' may refer to the abstract text ("the *Trotula*-text") or the individual texts in the manuscript versions.

2. Development of supra-textual devices

This chapter will focus on examining the development of graphological systems employed in representing written language in medieval England. By examining the wider developments and applications of presentational devices used in medieval manuscripts, it will contextualise the data. The first section will contain a brief overview of the scholarly literature related to medieval punctuation practices and page design. The following sections will chart the historical developments of punctuation marks and other visual devices, offering an overview of the symbols and devices utilised in the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts. The final section will examine the methodological and theoretical frameworks, discussing the definitions and terminology used in defining concepts such as '(grammatical / rhetorical) punctuation' or 'sentence' in the medieval context, and outlining the methods used in this thesis.

2.1 Previous studies

There has recently been a growing interest in medieval punctuation. In 1992, Parkes published his influential study, *Pause and Effect*, on the history of punctuation; based on his earlier article (1978) and supplemented by various other studies on medieval punctuation practices (e.g. 1976, 1991, 1994, 1997, 1999), it remains the only truly comprehensive account of Western medieval punctuation practices. There are, however, a number of studies examining various perspectives on medieval punctuation practices. The following section is not intended to be a comprehensive account of studies on historical punctuation; rather, it is intended to provide an overview of the relevant literature for the Middle English period, particularly outside of literary studies, as many studies of punctuation focus on literary texts.

In Middle English, there are numerous studies of punctuation in different text types or individual texts, such as sermons (Gradon 1983), literary texts (Burrow 1988, Arn 1994), a saint's life (Pahta 1997), legal texts (Rodríguez-Alvarez 1998a, 1999; Calle-Martín and Miranda-García 2007) and Early Modern church meetings (Kytö 1997). In some studies the focus has been on specific authors, such as Nicholas Love (Zeeman 1956, Parkes 1997), John Capgrave (Lucas 1971, 1997) or John Trevisa (Cawley 1937); there are also various studies of punctuation practices in Chaucer (e.g. Killough 1982, Chickering 1990,

Solopova 2001). Many studies of Old and Middle English punctuation have examined religious (especially liturgical) materials or literary texts, in particular poetry (such as Emerson 1926, Clemoes 1980 and 1994, Harlow 1959, McGovern 1983, Killough 1987, Iglesias Rábade 1992, Calle-Martín and Miranda-García 2005a, Esteban Segura 2005, Donoghue 2006); fewer have focused on scientific texts, although there are some notable exceptions.

Punctuation in scientific texts has been the subject of the following studies, focusing on a medical manuscript (Aguado 2009), an arithmetical treatise by Calle-Martín (2004) and Calle-Martín and Miranda-García (2005b), and an astronomical and philosophical treatise by Obegi-Gallardo (2006). Carroll (2003, 2006, 2010) has studied the presentation and structuring of non-medical recipe texts and Givens (2006) has examined the presentation and reading practices in different versions of a medieval herbal. Punctuation in medical texts has been studied by Alonso-Almeida, focusing on medical manuscripts (1999, 2002). Of most relevance to the present study, Alonso-Almeida (2003, 2006) deals specifically with punctuation in the *Sekenesse of Wymmen*, another Middle English gynecological text.

Other studies have focused on specific aspects of the presentation of manuscript texts, such as coloured initials (Dahood 1988) or layout (Tschann 1986, Hughes 1993, Evans 1995, Dutton 2003, Peikola 2008). The design of the page and its implications for readership has been the focus of several studies, such as Mak (2011) and Partridge (2011)[2]; Keiser (1995) discusses textual divisions and readership; Echard's (1999) focus is on the design of the page and its implications for the readership of Gower's *Confessio Amantis*, and Hardman (2010) examines the layout of medieval 'household books' as evidence for reading practices.

More general studies include late medieval and early modern punctuation and punctuation theories (Ong 1944; Salmon 1962, 1988; Rodríguez-Alvarez 1998b, 2010), dangers and implications of modernising punctuation (Mitchell 1980, Smith and Kay 2011), medieval punctuation as evidence for linguistic change (Kubouchi 1998) and pragmatic aspects of punctuation (Lennard 1995, 2000, Smith and Kay 2011). Some valuable contributions to the study of medieval punctuation form part of larger studies, such as Lucas' studies of John Capgrave (Lucas 1971, 1997, 1998). Dobson (1972) discusses the punctuation in his

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[2] Wakelin in the same volume discusses scribes' textual alterations as well as scripts and spelling, but notes that "(t)his chapter has no room for a discussion of punctuation and lineation, but they are vital elements of writing" (Wakelin 2011:49).

edition of the *Ancrene Riwle* and Petti (1977) includes a chapter on punctuation in his study on palaeography. General introductions include Clemens and Graham 2007.

2.2 Editing punctuation

The practice of modernising punctuation in the modern editions can be potentially misleading. As Burrow states:

> In recent years several scholars have expressed concern about the way editors punctuate Old and Middle English texts. One may be tempted to dismiss such considerations as characteristic of a period in scholarship when most of the texts worth editing (in verse at least) have already appeared in print, some of them many times, and there accordingly remains little for editors to do except fuss about commas and the like. But anyone with experience of editing will know better. Decisions about punctuation determine, continuously and often fundamentally, the ways in which a text will be understood by its readers. In this matter of punctuation, indeed, editors wield a power which is all the greater for being commonly unrecognized - like that of prime ministers' husbands or presidents' wives; for most readers regard punctuation as part of the text itself and so not open to doubt and disagreement like editorial notes and glosses. Even readers who are capable of recognizing that the words of a text may have been selected by the editor tend to forget that the same is true of its full stops and commas, since it is not customary to include such things in a critical apparatus
> (Burrow 1988:75)

Modernising medieval punctuation is, however, still an accepted practice among editors. In Barratt's edition of *Knowing of Woman's Kind and Childyng*, one of the Middle English versions of the *Trotula*, punctuation, paragraphing and capitalisation have all been modernised. Grymonprez, who has edited a herbal in Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 483 (which also contains a version of the *Trotula*) notes that in this text "(i)nterpunction is almost absent, and capitalisation is very inconsistent" (Grymonprez 1981:16), and "(p)unctuation in the text is insufficient and at the same time irregular. On account of these irregularities I have thought it advisable to supply modern punctuation so as to facilitate one's understanding of the text" (Grymonprez 1981:25).

Diplomatic editions provide another approach. Sheldon, who has edited a text ("þe vertues of þe egle") in British Library, MS Additional 34111, states that "I have presented the treatise as nearly as possible as it appears in the MS […] punctuation has been added in

square brackets as needed for clarity. To facilitate comparison of the Middle English with the Latin, I have set off clauses and sentences typographically; however, Middle English MS lines are indicated by virgules: all virgules are mine except the two in line 33 of the treatise, which are in the manuscript" (Sheldon 1977:20). The appearance of the text on the edited page thus bears little resemblance to the manuscript page, despite the effort to present the text "as nearly as possible as it appears in the MS". In an otherwise comprehensive description of British Library, MS Additional 12195, Thomson merely notes regarding punctuation that "(p)unctuation is by point alone in all hands. There is some rubrication, and several crude pen drawings have been scribbled in later" (Thomson 1979:194); the real picture of the punctuation practices in that manuscript, as will be shown later, is much more complex than that.

Whereas there are advantages to modernising the punctuation in an edition – and therefore making it more familiar and more accessible to the modern reader – it might also change or distort the sense or the way the scribe or the author meant the text to be read. By changing the punctuation and layout the editors are imposing their own reading of the text and ignoring the context in which the text is set (Kubouchi 1998:176); it can also affect the interpretation of linguistic aspects of the text (Smith 2012:62). Although many scholars have expressed concern about such the editorial practices (e.g. Mitchell 1980, Pearsall 1994:122–123, Arn 1994, Kubouchi 1998), it is still commonplace to ignore the punctuation in a manuscript.

2.3 Medieval punctuation practices: historical developments

Punctuation can have a variety of functions as well as forms. This section will discuss the historical development of manuscript page-design, charting the development of punctuation symbols and their various functions as well as other features of layout.

Punctuation practices in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England derived from various earlier systems, most notably classical, Irish and French. These different systems existed side by side and contributed to the general repertoire of punctuation available for scribes in this period (Parkes 1992:41). In antiquity, the primary function of punctuation was rhetorical: texts were intended to be read aloud. The written word was understood to represent the spoken word, whereby the response would be aural rather than visual; the

reader would hear (rather than see) the words on the page. The *scriptio continua*, or continuous text, did not contain punctuation; rather, readers supplied their own punctuation. Rather than by punctuation symbols, textual divisions were indicated by features of layout, by dividing the text into chapters and paragraphs and indicated by *litteræ notabiliores* (lit. 'more notable letters', or enlarged initials in the fashion of modern capitals) (Parkes 1992:10, 43–44, 111).

In the early Middle Ages, Irish monks, copying Latin manuscripts devised new graphic conventions. Because they encountered Latin primarily via the written medium, it was regarded as a visual language, as opposed to spoken; thus, seen, rather than heard. The information transmitted via the written page, therefore, had to be represented visually to facilitate the process of understanding the meaning it conveyed, both in grammatical terms and to ensure orthodox interpretation of the texts (Parkes 1991:2–3, 2012 [1994]:265; Lennard 1995:66). They abandoned *scriptio continua* in their exemplars, inserted punctuation and developed graphic conventions, such as the use of *litteræ notabiliores*, to signal textual divisions (Parkes 1991:xvii. Parkes 1992:11, 23). The development of these new graphic conventions was regarded as essential in order to facilitate the process of reading and understanding the information on the manuscript page; they were also linked with decoration, providing visual emphasis to the text and its parts, in addition to clarifying the meaning (Parkes 1991:3, 9; 1992:25, 34).

The development of these new conventions in punctuation were related and adapted to the development in scripts. Although the punctuation symbols used by the Irish monks were largely derived from their ancient exemplars, the new conventions were better suited to the new scripts, allowing the reader to identify the syntactical boundaries and other grammatical relations within texts (Parkes 1991:6–7, 1992:24); the new, more compressed scripts contained decreased space between individual letters and lead to the establishment of *punctus* (.) as the primary punctuation symbol. By twelfth century conventions such as word separation had been established (Parkes 1992:41–42). These graphic conventions, which were largely based on Latin grammars and glossaries by Donatus, Priscian and Isidore, were intended to facilitate the reading and understanding of the text, and have been called the 'grammar of legibility' (Parkes 1991:2, 1992:23).

The primary systems of punctuation in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts derived largely from the

Irish as well as adapted from the Roman Christian traditions. They refined and developed conventions borrowed from their sources. Their regard for the ecclesiastical authorities led them to distinguish works and quotations copied from the Church Fathers and other authoritative sources by employing a hierarchy of scripts, using Uncial and Rustic Capitals for these texts and Insular Minuscule for commentaries. The punctuation adopted from the Irish system, according to which the number of marks indicated the length and importance of a pause, was mixed with punctuation found in their Italian exemplars, and Parkes suggests that the Anglo-Saxon scribes and readers held punctuation in particular regard (Parkes 1991:14–15, 17). This system of punctuation, known as the *distinctiones*, was based on a three-fold division of *sententiæ*, whereby punctus placed at different height indicated pauses of different length. Thus,

> a low point (. the *subdistinctio*) was used to indicate a minor medial pause after a *comma*, that is, where the sense (*sensus*) is incomplete; a medial point (· the *media distinctio*) indicated a major medial pause after a *colon*, that is, where the sense is complete but the meaning (*sententia*) is not; and a high point (· the *distinctio*) indicated a final pause after a *periodus*, that is, where the *sententia* is completed
> (Parkes 1992:13)

This division is based on Isidore's arrangement of the system which, in turn, is based on the system of *distinctiones* in Donatus. The division derives from classical rhetoric; these parts of *sententiæ* are also known by the terms *coma*, *cola* and *periodus*, which originally referred to the parts of speech and the length of pauses. It was not until the sixteenth century that the terms came to designate the punctuation symbols marking them: comma, colon and period (Denholm-Young 1954:77). *Sententiæ* should, however, not be equated with *sentences* in the modern, grammatical sense (see further discussion in section 2.6.2.2 below). According to this, the punctuation symbols identified the boundaries of *sententiæ* as well as the embedded constituents (Parkes 1992:22, 33). Ælfric, who wrote the earliest vernacular grammar of Latin in the late tenth century, describes the repertoire and functions of the symbols similarly:

> *Positvræ*, þa sind on odre wison gehatene *distinctiones*, þæt sind todal, hu man todæld þa fers on rædinge. se forma priea on þam ferse is gehaten *media distinctio*, þæt is middan todal. se oder hatte *svbdistinctio*, þæt is undertodal. se þridda hatte *distinctio* odde *periodus*. se belyed þæt fers. *distinctio* is todal, and *periodus* is clysing odder geendung þæs ferses
> (Ælfric, ed. Zupitza 1880:291)

A more elaborate set of symbols, the so-called *posituræ*, was introduced in the eighth

century. This system was essentially a part of monastic culture, adopted by the new orders emerging in the twelfth-century monastic reforms, and remaining in use until the fourteenth century. The function of the new punctuation symbols in the new orders (such as Cistercians or Carthusians) aimed at uniformity: these new graphical conventions ensured that texts were always read the same way (Parkes 1992:38). The *posituræ* consisted of *punctus versus*, *punctus interrogativus, punctus elevatus* and, later, *punctus flexus* (Parkes 1992:36–40). This system formed the basis on which the vernacular medieval punctuation was based. This system was originally used primarily in liturgical manuscripts, where the primary role of punctuation was to assist in the correct understanding and the subsequent oral delivery of the text; from the seventh century onwards, liturgical texts contained denser punctuation than other kinds of texts (Parkes 1992:35).

These different punctuation systems varied geographically and even from scriptorium to scriptorium. By the fourteenth century, a European-wide general repertoire had been established, consisting of word division, paragraphs as units of punctuation, paragraph marks, the punctus, punctus elevatus, *punctus interrogativus* and the virgule. The Italian humanists added the *punctus admirativus*, or exclamation mark, round brackets (or lunulæ) and the semi-colon to the repertoire (Lennard 1995:66–67). None of these, however, appear in the description of the repertoire of punctuation by John Palsgrave, writing in the first half of the sixteenth century: "suche as the Latins call *punctum planum* thus made . where the nexte worde com*m*only begynneth with a great letter / or with suche as the Latins call *comma* thus made : or *virgula* thus made /" (Palsgrave 1530: f.15v).

These changes are tied to demands set by Christianity: the importance of correct interpretation of the Bible and the correct reading of liturgical texts. Ker notes that "(t)he importance attached to punctuation is evident from the manuscripts in which alterations and additions to punctuation are often conspicuous" (Ker 1960:46). Later, changes in monastic culture as well as academic culture and the growth of literacy imposed new demands on books; new kinds of works and new kinds of readers required different techniques reflected in the production and presentation of books (Parkes 1978, 1991:35–36, 1992:2, 44, 2012 [1994]:265; Lennard 1995:66). Symbols and features of layout were combined, modified and added to the general repertoire of punctuation to make them more distinct and to remove ambiguity (Parkes 2012 [1994]:265). The decline in the role of monastic scriptoria and the increase in the number and diversity of works to be copied

meant that, without the monastic control, the scribes had more freedom in choosing which particular system and repertoire to adhere to (Parkes 1992:41).

All of these developments were aimed at making the text more accessible to particular audiences or to suit changing circumstances. The layout and apparatus of the text were developed from the twelfth century onwards to respond to demands of changes in scholastic methods of study, affecting the physical appearance of books. Setting the text, commentary and sources on the page as separate entities required intricate designs, involving separate columns, rubrication and marginalia as well as punctuation and running titles to indicate the hierarchies and relationships between the different parts of the text (Parkes 1991:36–37, 52–53). Saenger argues that, rather than purely rhetorical, punctuation was "calculated to guide the eye rather than to regulate the voice of a professional reader" (Saenger 1982:409).

Sometimes manuscripts from the later medieval period would contain several layers of punctuation. Scribes often encountered unfamiliar punctuation in their exemplars, which they would then either choose to keep or change according to their own preferences. Similarly, the punctuation in the original text was often altered later; readers frequently supplemented the textual apparatus, inserting punctuation, rubrication, marginal references and other devices in their copies (Parkes 1992:5, 42, 67; 2012 [1999]:346–347).

2.4 Definitions

The above overview began as a discussion of medieval punctuation practices. As noted in the Introduction, it is clear, however, that *punctuation* is closely intertwined with various other aspects of page design: introduction of new scripts affects the practices of punctuation, and the developing conventions in liturgical or scholarly apparatus involves aspects of page layout as well as hierarchies of script and new conventions of punctuation. It is therefore necessary to define what is meant by the term 'punctuation' and how it relates to the other presentational aspects in medieval manuscript production.

2.4.1 Punctuation

Punctuation, earlier known as 'pointing', can and has been defined and categorised in

various ways. The *OED* defines punctuation as "(t)he practice, action, or system of inserting points or other small marks into texts, in order to aid interpretation; division of text into sentences, clauses, etc., by means of such marks; (occas.) an instance of this. Also: these marks collectively" ('punctuation', *n*., sense 2a, *OED*). 'Pointing' in the *OED* is defined as "(t)he insertion of points or stops in text; punctuation; a particular method of doing this; the marks of punctuation made in a given text. In early use also: †the proper observation of such marks in reading out a text (*obs.*) ('pointing', *n*.1, sense 4a, *OED*)". The earliest quotation for 'pointing' in both the *OED* and the *Middle English Dictionary* (*MED*) is from the *Promptorium parvulorum*, a Latin–English wordlist dating from the fifteenth century, where "poyntyng" is defined as "pawsy*n* i*n* redyng*e*" (Mayhew 1908:358)[3]. Punctuation can, however, also encompass other visual devices, which, while not strictly definable as punctuation (such as page layout, underlining and use of colours), can perform comparable functions together with or instead of punctuation symbols proper.

Wider definitions take into account the variety of functions, as well as forms punctuation may take. Thus, according to Lucas' definition, "punctuation indicates the relationship between sense-units [...] [and] punctuation-markers may also be used for other purposes, e.g., to indicate a writer's attitude to the subject-matter, or to mark an abbreviation" (Lucas 1971:2), and Wright defines punctuation as follows:

> the insertion of conventional written signs to indicate the termination of a sentence or to make intelligible its structure or the mutual relation of its parts for the sake of clarity to promote ease of reading and comprehension. Signs may also be inserted, once more for purposes of clarity, to indicate temporary cessations of speech even when considerations of syntax would require no such signs. In a wider sense, a system of punctuation comprises the organization of the written material into paragraphs by the use of signs in order to set off units of subject matter
> (Wright 1966:1)

The following sections will focus on a more detailed discussion of features of layout and other visual devices which may perform similar or comparable functions alongside with or instead of conventionally defined punctuation marks.

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[3] See also Way 1843:407. The text (*Promptorius puerorum*, or "Storehouse [of words] for Children", more commonly known as *Promptorium parvulorum sive clericorum*, or "Storehouse for children or clerics") is attributed to Galfridus Grammaticus or Anglicus, a Dominican friar, writing c.1440 in Norfolk. It was first printed in 1499 by Pynson (*Encyclopædia Britannica Online*). The text has been edited in 1865 by Albert Way and in 1908 by A.L. Mayhew.

2.4.2 Layout

Layout, or *mise-en-page*, became more important as the practices and conventions (for instance changes in the script) developed and the attitudes towards study from written sources changed. The structure of the text was analysed in greater detail, which led to pragmatic developments and the need for more visual cues on the page (Parkes 1991:xviii). Layout can be said to consist of (at least) two elements; the setting of the text by the scribe on the page, and later additions and annotations, which supplement the text, provide interpretations or structure the text on the page, guiding the readers through underlinings, marginal notations or paragraph marks inserted in the margins.

Punctuation is closely tied together with the layout of the text on the page; the use of blank space, for instance, may function as a sufficient indicator of a textual break whereby no additional punctuation symbols are needed. Textual divisions may be indicated by leaving a blank line between sections, or by indenting or offsetting a heading or the first line of a new section. The paragraph has been the basic unit of punctuation since the second century BC (Parkes 1992:65, Lennard 1995:65; see also Longacre 1979); layout itself can, therefore, function as punctuation and signal textual divisions in the absence of punctuation marks. Similarly, punctuation might not feature for instance at the end of lines where a symbol might otherwise be expected to appear. Layout in verse texts, for instance, could be indicated by setting the text *per cola et commata*. Jerome's *Vulgate* was similarly laid out: rather than metrical units, these divisions represented sense-units (Saenger 1982:374).

The layout may also be reflected in the number of columns employed for each page, and manuscript texts were frequently laid out in two or more columns. Marginalia became so important that it was often incorporated in the page design, forming intricate and complicated systems of layout. Page design is also conditioned by the physical dimensions of the page and influenced by various extra-textual factors: writing on vellum, for instance, was costly, whereby all available space on the page was utilised.

The term *ordinatio* has sometimes been used instead of 'layout' or *mise-en-page* (e.g. Tschann 1986). The terms were introduced to medieval studies by Parkes (1976). The definition of the term (or terms; *ordinatio* and *compilatio* are often spoken of together),

however, is not well defined. Rouse and Rouse survey the usage of these terms in contemporary scholarship as well as in the Middle Ages and note that the terms "often [...] serve as pompous but fairly harmless substitutes for more precise English words" (Rouse and Rouse 1992:123). While Parkes himself does not define the term explicitly, it appears to refer to the textual structuring and organisation on the page; thus, related to, but not synonymous with 'layout'.

2.4.3 Other visual devices

A variety of terms have been used to encompass the wide variety of visual devices and to describe the textual apparatus in written documents. The application of terms such as "overt sequence signals" of "closure" (Longacre 1979:117, Brinton 1990:38), "discourse structure signalling devices" (Polanyi and Scha 1983:263, according to Brinton 1990:38), "episode boundary markers" (Brinton 1996) and "segmentation markers" (Bestgen 1998:754) have been used in discourse studies to describe markers signalling the beginning and/or end of discourse units. These units can in general terms be said to correspond to 'paragraphs' (Brinton 1990:38), a unit which has "thematic unity" (Longacre 1979:120), or medieval *sententiæ* or sense-units (see further discussion in section 2.6.2.2). These breaks in the discourse structure may consist of a variety of devices, such as paragraph indentations, sentential adverbs or conjunctions, anaphoric references and markers of aspect, tense and mood (Brinton 1990:38).

Some of these terms have been employed in medieval studies; Alonso-Almeida uses the term *structure-signalling devices*' to describe the apparatus in medieval medical manuscripts. These devices consists of non-linguistic items (such as decorated or coloured initials, drawings, underlining) and linguistic items (such as certain lexical items, punctuation, titles and marginalia) (Alonso-Almeida 2006:327–8, 337), and, in essence, encompass what Parkes has called the 'grammar of legibility' (Parkes 1991:2, 1992:23). Givens employs the term (borrowed from graphic design) *way-finding devices* to describe "a range of visual and verbal devices that enlarge and reshape the text" (Givens 2006:144). Rodriguez-Alvarez uses the term *mechanisms of segmentation* for those characteristic linguistic devices which, rather than punctuation, "have the function of separating sentences" in fifteenth-century legal texts, such as linking adverbs and conjunctions and formulaic phrases or expressions (Rodriguez-Alvarez 1999:7–10). In addition, visual aids

such as marginal numbers and rubrication can function to indicate textual connections and create cohesion (Boffey 2008:90).

These terms encompass a variety of visual and linguistic features and lend different emphases on the functions of these features, while describing essentially the same phenomenon. While the presentation of the text is often thought of as accidental to the text, these devices – punctuation, features of layout, use of colour, marginal notes, linguistic devices – contribute to the structuring, appearance and, through that, the meaning and understanding of a text. Rather than accidentals to the text, punctuation symbols as well as other visual devices can therefore be seen to form an integral part of the text and to contribute to the interpretation and understanding of the text, setting the text in its physical context.

As Nunberg (1990) argues, punctuation (or "the system of text-categories that punctuation, along with other graphical devices, is used to indicate") is a linguistic subsystem and an essential part of written language (Nunberg 1990:6). By describing this textual apparatus as "visual language" or "visual communication" the emphasis is on the visual (rather than for instance linguistic) aspects and devices. These terms have also been utilised in describing the apparatus of medieval manuscripts. Carroll talks about the *visual language of manuscripts*, describing the appearance of recipe texts as "a form of non-verbal communication" (Carroll 2010:62).

The different terms, therefore, emphasise different aspects of textual presentation. In order to encompass all these aspects, the term *supra-textual* is proposed to refer to punctuation symbols, layout of the page, use of colour and the marginal apparatus as well as linguistic devices.

The term supra-textual has previously been used by Kostelnick (1990, 1996, Kostelnick and Hassett 2003) to refer to the "visual rhetoric" of documents; it "encompasses the global visual language of a document and operates in three modes: textual, spatial, and graphic" (Kostelnick 1996). According to this definition, it includes structural as well as stylistic elements, "providing a top-down, global perspective of the document". On a "textual" level these include features such as document titles and section headings, pagination and indicators of textual boundaries such as initials letters; on "spatial" level

they encompass the material, size and shape of the document and binding, and, finally, on "graphic" level they include visual boundary or division markers, page borders, headers and footers, use of colour and other graphic elements (Kostelnick 1996:9–10, 12).

This thesis proposes to extend the use of the term to medieval studies and to use it to signify the abovementioned visual as well as linguistic features which function in structuring a text, marking boundaries, providing cohesion as well as functioning on an interpersonal level to communicate with the reader. These features encompass the design of the page and the setting of the text on the page: layout of the text, use of space (between sections of the text as well as marginal space around the text), punctuation symbols, initials, headings, use of colour, linguistic boundary markers and features such as underlining and marginal symbols and notes. Similarly, other physical features of the codices such as the size and material will be referred to; the discussion will, however, focus on the above-mentioned features of page design.

The following section will present the repertoire of punctuation symbols used in late medieval England and thereafter discuss other aspects of page presentation. The discussion will focus on those symbols and features identified in the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts; it is not, therefore, intended as a comprehensive account of medieval practices in general.

2.5 Supra-textual devices in the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts

The repertoire in the Middle English texts consists of punctus, virgule, double virgule as well as punctus combined with a single or double virgule. Other symbols appearing in the manuscripts include paragraph marks, single and double hyphen and tilde, punctus elevatus, colon and comma. In addition, there are *litteræ notabiliores* or (enlarged, rubricated and/or decorated) initials and rubrication (of words, phrases or sentences). Paragraph breaks may be indicated by blank space or by line-fillers at the end of lines.

While some manuscripts use a large repertoire of symbols and other devices, other manuscripts rely on a smaller repertoire. While the punctus and the virgule are used in almost all of the manuscripts, other symbols appear only in one or two manuscripts. Moreover, the same symbol may have different functions across different manuscripts, or

even within a single manuscript or text. These functions will be detailed in Chapters 4 and 5; the following sections will introduce the different symbols and devices, providing a brief historical overview for each.

2.5.1 Punctus

The symbol (.) will be referred to as punctus in this study in order to distinguish it from the modern 'full stop', 'point', or 'period'. Its functions were more varied than those of its modern counterpart. As discussed above, punctus has a long history. It formed the system of *distinctiones* as well as providing the basis for the *positurœ*, functioning as a part of various other symbols. It is also commonly used in conjunction with other symbols, such as the virgule.

During the later medieval period, the role of the height of punctus (placed in low, medium or high position; . or · or ˙) in the earlier system of *distinctiones* was forgotten, and the height at which the punctus was placed ceased to be important.

2.5.2 Virgule, comma and double virgule

The symbol here referred to as *virgule*, consisting of a single stroke similar to modern slash (/), is also known as *virgula suspensiva*. It appears in all but one of the manuscripts in the corpus. The word derives from the Latin *virgula*, via French *virgule*. The symbol is found in English manuscripts at least from the eleventh century onwards, and its form was also subject to regional variation (Parkes 1992:43). It is defined in the *OED* as a "thin sloping or upright line (/ , |) occurring in mediæval MSS. as a mark for the cæsura or as a punctuation-mark (frequently with the same value as the modern comma)" ('virgule', *n.*, sense 1, *OED*).

In later texts, it can be difficult to make a distinction between the forms of the virgule and the emerging comma (,). Its connection with the development of more cursive scripts can also be seen, and often there is confusion in the forms, as sometimes the symbol in these sixteenth century texts is placed low on the line of writing (similarly to modern comma), while it sometimes resembles the virgule, occupying full line.

Although *comma* as a rhetorical term derives from antiquity, the symbol in its modern form did not appear until much later. It was used in printed typefaces employed by Italian humanists from the late fifteenth century, although it did not gain general acceptance until the early sixteenth century in England (Parkes 1992:51, Tannenbaum 1930:140). It was, however, used earlier in for instance Italian texts, and Grindley notes its appearance in a late-fourteenth century English manuscript[4] (Grindley 1996:122). Richard Mulcaster in 1582 defines 'comma' as "a small crooked point, which in writing followeth som small branch of the sentence, & in reading warneth vs to rest there, and to help our breth a little, as *Who so shall spare the rod, shall spill the childe*" (Mulcaster 1582:148).

Virgule was frequently doubled (//) and it could also be used in conjunction with the punctus (./ or /. or ./. or .// or //. or .//.). For the purposes of this study, the uses of single virgule, double virgule and double virgule combined with punctus have been treated separately, allowing distinctions to be made in the usage of these symbols.

2.5.3 Punctus elevatus

The punctus elevatus (⸵) (sometimes called the "inverted semicolon") is the only symbol from the system of *posituræ* (see section 2.3) used in the corpus. The symbol had an especially significant role in liturgical punctuation, and was used in vernacular manuscripts from the end of the tenth century onwards (Clemoes 1994:363) until the mid-fifteenth century (Petti 1977:26). The form of the mark varied, and in the late fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, there were two main variant forms in England. In some cursive hands, the 'tick' resembled an *s*-shaped stroke, whereas in more formal hands, the mark bore more resemblance to the modern colon (Parkes 1992:43, 199).

2.5.4 Colon

Colon also originated as a rhetorical term: Latin *colon* (from Greek *κῶλον*) refers to "member or clause of sentence, portion of strophe" ('colon', *n.*2, sense 1, *OED*). The symbol itself in its modern form is formed by placing two points on top of one another (:); it can also be referred to as *double punctus* (e.g. Parkes 1992). As a rhetorical term, it indicates "a member or section of a sentence or rhythmical period". As a paleographical

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[4] He comments that the scribe "seems to have been somewhat uncomfortable with the form of the marks and his *commata* are clumsy and inconsistently formed" (Grindley 1996:122).

term, it indicates "a clause or group of clauses written as a line, or taken as a standard of measure in ancient MSS. or texts" ('colon', *n.*2, sense 1, *OED*); the plural of the rhetorical term is *cola*, whereas the plural of the punctuation symbol is *colons*. According to Richard Mulcaster, "*Colon* is noted by two round points one aboue another, which in writing followeth som full branch, or half the sentence, as *Tho the daie be long: yet at the last commeth euensong*" (Mulcaster 1582:148). Puttenham says that, according to "the auncient reformers of language", the colon was used to indicate a medial pause, occupying "twise as much time as the comma" (Puttenham 1589:61).

2.5.5 Tilde, hyphen, dash and double hyphen

Symbols which may resemble a modern tilde (~), or hyphen (-), or dash (−) also appear in the corpus. These symbols will be discussed together, as a distinction can be difficult to make. The symbol may also be doubled (=), thus often (especially when used in line-final position) resembling a double virgule (see section 2.5.2 above).

2.5.6 Paragraph mark

The paragraph marks are divided into the *paragraphus* (§) or *paraph* (¶) and the *capitulum*, although the distinction between these marks was not always clear; there were also other forms (Parkes 1992:43). The form of the paragraph mark varied, resembling a long doubled *s*, *sigma*, or a large capital *gamma* (Γ); the *capitulum* was represented by a (capital) *C* (Petti 1977:27). The paraph form was developed from the ancient system of shorthand *notæ* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Parkes 1992:43).

The paragraph mark appears in a number of different forms in the corpus. It may be used within the text or placed in the margins.

2.5.7 Other symbols

There are also occasional other symbols in the manuscript, such as the caret (^) to mark insertions. These will be described within the individual manuscript descriptions. Line-fillers are used to fill the end of a line instead of using blank space. They may appear in different forms, for instance [x x x], [x . x . x .], or [~ ~ ~].

2.5.8 *Litteræ notabiliores* / initials

While capital letters appeared as an element of punctuation already in antiquity, from the twelfth century onwards, the *litteræ notabiliores*, or (enlarged) initials, acquired more importance (Parkes 1992:34, 43). As the role of the punctus in marking pauses of different length increased, *litteræ notabiliores* were used with increasing frequency to indicate the beginnings of *sententiæ*. The forms became more conspicuous; from the twelfth century, coloured initials were used, and in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, different scripts as well as colour were used to set out the *litteræ notabiliores* in the text (Parkes 1992:43). By varying the size, placement and the decorative features of the initials, scribes could indicate textual divisions and degrees of hierarchy within them (Dahood 1988:81).

Litteræ notabiliores or initials in this thesis have been defined as encompassing decorated, rubricated and/or enlarged initials. In the present corpus, these may vary from rubricated 1-line initials to decorated initials occupying up to four lines of the writing space.

2.5.9 Rubrication

"Rubrication" here refers to rubrication of words, phrases, or clauses; rubricated initials are discussed above (section 2.5.8). According to Parkes, colour is used to indicate structural divisions and the boundaries of *sententiæ* (Parkes 1992:43).

2.5.10 Marginalia and later additions

Marginalia could be added by the scribe of the main text as well as by later readers and often comprised an integral part of manuscripts. The marginal apparatus could consist of headings and references to the text as well as more comprehensive commentary, ownership inscriptions and decoration and rubrication of the text. Grindley has categorised medieval marginalia in a scheme which includes "narrative reading aids", "paraphrased marginal rubrics", "condensed overviews", "textual extrapolations", "literary responses" and "graphical responses", which include the addition of initials, illumination and punctuation; there are also other types of marginalia, such as "ownership marks", "doodles", "pen trials" and "tables of content" (Grindley 1996:53–61). Not all of these categories are relevant in the context of medical texts, or in the context of the present material. Since the primary

focus of this thesis lies in the organisational principles of these texts on one hand, and on the ways in which the texts were (intended to be) read on the other hand, the marginal notes functioning as reading aids are of particular relevance in this context.

While the initial structuring of a text was the scribes' responsibility, later readers often added punctuation, but also other devices which could function as reading-aids or finding-aids: underlining of important passages, marginal references to the text (often, in medical context, consisting of repeating key words from a passage: title of a recipe, key ingredient or the body part under discussion, for instance) as well as other graphical responses to the text, such as manicules (and occasionally other parts of the body) pointing at noteworthy sections or, for instance, *Rx* marking a recipe. Sometimes there is also more extensive commentary on the text, and some later additions consist of explicit finding-devices in the form of numbering the stages of argument or referring to earlier passages.

The marginalia in the present study has been divided into the following categories:

> I) Marginalia by the scribe
> > a) headings
> > b) notes, commentary and references to the text
> > c) punctuation (paragraph marks)
> II) Marginalia and other additions by later readers
> > a) headings
> > b) notes, commentary and references to the text
> > c) punctuation (paragraph marks)
> > d) other non-linguistic marks: *Rx*, manicules
> > e) underlining

2.6 Methodology

This section will examine the theoretical bases of studying medieval supra-textual devices, and establish the basis for an analysis of these features, beginning with a brief introduction to historical pragmatics, which forms the theoretical background to the analysis. This introduction will be followed by a more detailed overview to the ways in which punctuation and the use of supra-textual devices can be analysed, aiming to provide a framework for the analysis in the following chapters, and outlining the methods used in this analysis.

2.6.1 Historical pragmatics

Historical pragmatics has varied definitions and encompasses a wide variety of approaches. They are all, however, connected by a focus on the communicative functions of language. This thesis proposes to extend the pragmatic approach to page design and presentation.

Historical pragmatics, which, broadly defined, studies communication and meaning in historical contexts, can broadly be divided into two main categories. These are termed by Jacobs and Jucker (1995) as *pragmaphilology* and *diachronic pragmatics*. Pragmaphilology focuses on the pragmatics of texts in their sociocultural context, studying the communicative aspects of historical texts. Diachronic pragmatics studies the causes of language change from a pragmatic perspective, or for instance the development of discourse markers or speech acts; the focus, therefore, is on *internal* language change, unlike pragmaphilology, in which the focus is on *external* language change (Jacobs and Jucker 1995:5, Traugott 2004:539, Jucker 2006:330). The distinction between these two approaches is not, however, always clear, and within these broad approaches, further distinctions can be made.

"Form-to-function mapping" is concerned with the ways in which the meaning changes, while the form remains constant, while in "function-to-form mapping" the focus is on a certain pragmatic functions and its realisations over time (Traugott 2004:538, Taavitsainen and Fitzmaurice 2007:13–15, Jucker and Taavitsainen 2010:13–14). Both of these approaches can be applied to supra-textual devices: the interest, in the first case, is in the ways in which the functions of individual symbols have changed over time, while the second approach can be used to explore the ways in which different forms express or realise the same pragmatic function. The significance of punctuation marks and other devices is not merely dependent on their form: the meaning can vary across time, across texts and even within a single text or manuscript, whereby the position of individual symbols must be considered as well as the form they take; punctuation thus becomes part of the pragmatics of the text (Parkes 1992:2, 1997:47, 2012 [1994]:265).

Further distinctions include distinguishing between "text-based historical pragmatics and historical discourse analysis; whether there is any significant difference between the two is debatable" (Traugott 2004:539). Brinton distinguishes between *historical discourse*

analysis proper, diachronically oriented discourse analysis and *discourse-oriented historical linguistics* (Brinton 2001; see also for further distinctions and references). While the first of these is essentially synchronic, studying a particular feature at a particular point in time, diachronically oriented discourse analysis focuses on the evolution of particular features or systems. In discourse-oriented historical linguistics, the focus is on discovering the motivations and origins of those changes (Brinton 2001:139–140, Traugott 2004:539).

Here, again, a mixture of approaches can be taken with regard to study of supra-textual devices. By examining a number of individual manuscripts, it is possible to focus on a certain point in history and examine the variation in the usage of supra-textual devices within a certain set of texts or text-type. By choosing a set of manuscripts spanning over a period of time (in this case, from early- or mid-fifteenth century until the late sixteenth century), it is also possible to examine possible diachronic variation within this data set, as well as the underlying reasons and motivations for those changes; these will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

Historical pragmatics can thus be seen to inform and underlie the main arguments in this thesis. Rather than simply determining whether the punctuation in these manuscripts is primarily grammatical or rhetorical, punctuation and other visual (as well as linguistic) devices on the page can be seen to perform a communicative function. They form, therefore, part of the discourse. Discussion of these supra-textual features cannot, of course, be separated from the text itself. The textual context as well as the larger manuscript context will, therefore, inform the analysis, although the focus is not on the text *per se*. The text, however, can be transmitted and exhibited in various ways, and it cannot be fully separated from the physical context. Texts do not appear in a vacuum; the context – both physical, manuscript context as well as textual context and historical context surrounding the production and dissemination of the texts and manuscripts – affects the way the manuscript was perceived and read. The emphasis will, therefore, be on the material and the various circumstances surrounding the text(s): the manuscript as a physical artefact, related to the reception and reading of the texts.

2.6.2 Analysing the use of supra-textual devices

The following section will mainly refer to "punctuation", as this is what the majority of the

works cited refer to, although the focus on this thesis is not only on punctuation, but also on the use of other supra-textual devices, as defined in this chapter. The following discussion of the level of analysis will encompass the full repertoire of supra-textual devices, as defined above (section 2.4.3).

2.6.2.1 Grammatical and rhetorical punctuation

Grammatical or syntactical punctuation is based on identifying the syntactical boundaries; sentences and units of sense or other grammatical constituents within them. Rhetorical or elocutionary punctuation, on the other hand, is based on the periodic structure of discourse, indicating pauses for breath and aiding in oral delivery. Thus, grammatical punctuation is based on the written language, whereas rhetorical punctuation reflects the oral nature of the texts. These two functions of punctuation are not, however, mutually exclusive, and punctuation in many texts tends to have both rhetorical and syntactic functions (Lennard 1995:68–69, 2000:1).

An earlier definition defines 'pointing' as "the action of marking the text of a psalm, etc., to indicate how it should be chanted"; this sense is now obsolete . A similar usage can be seen with the additional, now obsolete, sense given for 'pointing' as "the proper observation of such marks in reading out a text" ('pointing', *n*.1, sense 4a, *OED*). As seen above (section 2.3), the origins of medieval punctuation lie in the rhetorical traditions deriving from the classical period and many of the early definitions of punctuation are based on rhetorical considerations; punctuation indicates appropriate breathing pauses and intonations for reading aloud.

Medieval and Early Modern writers continue basing their definitions on rhetorical considerations: Richard Mulcaster (1582), for instance, writes that a period "in reading warneth vs to rest there and to help our breth at full" (Mulcaster 1582:148), while George Puttenham (1589) notes that it is

> requisit that leasure be taken in pronuntiation, such as may make our wordes plaine & most audible and agreable to the eare: also the breath asketh to be now and then releeued with some pause or stay more or less: besides that the very nature of speach (because it goeth by clauses of seuerall construction & sence) requireth some space betwixt the with intermissio*n* of sound, to th'end they may not huddle vpon one another so

rudly & so fast that th'eare may not perceiue their difference
(Puttenham 1589:61)

Much of the discussion on medieval punctuation has focused on distinguishing between grammatical and rhetorical punctuation, and determining the prevalent mode. Ong, for instance, considers medieval punctuation to be "a device serving primarily the exigencies of breathing in discourse, considered basically as oral, with due respect only secondarily for the demands of sense" (Ong 1944:354–355), whereby "punctuation indicates neither the syntax nor the niceties of delivery" (ibid.). As, however, was seen earlier, Parkes considers the early medieval developments in punctuation to be based on grammatical, rather than rhetorical, considerations (see section 2.3), although he argues that grammatical considerations came second to considerations of meaning. Thus, if the primary purpose of punctuation is to elucidate meaning, (grammatical) punctuation is relevant only so far as it functions to clarify the meaning in the text or to remove ambiguities (Parkes 2012 [1994]:265).

The influence of liturgical traditions and the emphasis on oral delivery in a society where only a fraction of the population was literate is considerable. However, although medieval reading is often characterised as primarily oral in nature, Saenger has argued that development of punctuation practices such as paragraph marks and capitalisation set grounds to silent reading practices, whereby punctuation did not signal rhetorical, but intellectual units (Saenger 1982:409–410; see also Saenger 1997). Similarly, Grotans states that, in a schoolbook from medieval St. Gall "punctuation can be both syntactical and elocutionary. On the one hand, pointing paves the reader's way through grammatical structures by separating longer thought units into phrases, clauses and sentences. On the other hand, graphic markers and related verbal cues are used to direct the lector in oral performance" (Grotans 2006:223–224). Punctuation can, therefore, be characterised in a number of ways, and Parkes has argued that reading a text aloud requires prior (silent) study of the text, whereby silent reading practices must have developed early on and played a role even in antiquity (Parkes 2012 [1997]:9).

The punctuation practices in medieval England varied, although there is some evidence of local customary practices (Rodríguez-Alvarez 1998a:29). There was no standardised system, and there was extensive variation both locally, between individual writers, between different text-types and also within text-types, and even within texts themselves; there was,

therefore, room for the scribes to adapt and modify earlier (classical or Irish) models. Rodriguez-Alvarez and Calle-Martín and Miranda-García argue that by the Elizabethan period, there was a process of standardisation in the punctuation system, and that fifteenth and sixteenth-century legal documents reflect an awareness of syntactical organisation in which grammatical punctuation is preferred to rhetorical (Rodríguez-Alvarez 1998a:43, Calle-Martín and Miranda-García 2007:375–6). This, they argue, would be a result of grammatical texts instructing the writers in syntactic punctuation, the practice of which would then have been transferred to all kinds of texts, regardless of the possible illocutionary or rhetorical nature of the texts (Calle-Martín and Miranda-García 2007:375–6). Rodriguez-Alvarez argues that the Renaissance schoolmasters writing about punctuation put emphasis varyingly on syntax and on rhetorical considerations (Rodríguez-Alvarez 2010). There was, however, no unified system of education; grammar was taught in a variety of ways, and the surviving grammatical treatises exhibit a wide variety of approaches (Thomson 1979:21, 24).

Moreover, the discussions on punctuation of the medieval grammarians and rhetoricians should be employed with caution; the theories do not necessarily have any one-to-one correspondence with the actual practices (Parkes 1992:4, Lennard 1995:68). Rather than describing the actual practices, they prescribe rules, which are not always followed even in their own usage. Thus, Lennard notes that "Ben Jonson's *English Grammar* of 1640, for example, which has quite a lot to say about punctuating, neither reflects nor adequately describes the practice of Jonson's own first folio of 1616" (Lennard 1995:68). The simple binary division between rhetorical and grammatical modes is, therefore, not sufficient for describing the various functions punctuation may perform. The following section will explore this division further.

2.6.2.2 Defining grammatical and rhetorical punctuation

While rhetorical and grammatical punctuation are often-discussed subjects, disambiguating between the two can be problematic, as indicated earlier. Parkes states that "(g)rammatical analysis has been concerned with the application of punctuation to identify the boundaries of *sententiæ* (later, 'sentences') and the units of *sensus* or grammatical constituents within them" (Parkes 1992:4). The confusion in the terminology, however, contributes to the confusion in analysing these constituents. The traditional definitions of 'sentence' refer, in

essence, to a *sense-unit*: a sentence is "an utterance or complete rhetorical structure which expresses a single idea or *sententia*" (Parkes 1992:306) or "(a) series of words in connected speech or writing, forming the grammatically complete expression of a single thought; in popular use often [...] such a portion of a composition or utterance as extends from one full stop to another" ('sentence', *n*.1, sense 6a, *OED*). In the Middle Ages, 'sentence' or *sententia* was a rhetorical concept, which came to be explicitly connected with grammar only later[5] (Michael 1970:38).

The medieval *sententia*, therefore, corresponds to a *sense-unit* or a *discourse unit*, rather than *sentence* in modern terms; a logical, rather than a grammatical, category (see Michael 1970:479). This is a crucial distinction; whereas sentence may be defined on grammatical or orthographic terms, a *sententia* had wider application. As Arakelian remarks, "the [medieval] writer had a drastically different concept of sentence to the one we have nowadays, which is of a more far-reaching nature". The medieval units correspond to *sententiæ*, rather than modern grammatical sentences: "he does not end each subject-predicate group neatly, but rather links it to a following series of sentences which amplify or expand the description" (Arakelian 1975:617). Michael points out that many of the modern (as well as medieval) definitions of sentence "fail because they are misconceived: they do not separate rhetorical criteria (e.g. the intentions of the speaker) from logical (e.g. predication) and grammatical criteria (e.g. the presence of a finite verb)" (Michael 1970:38).

The *OED* definition of 'sentence' combines grammatical and semantic levels; in addition, 'sentence' is defined on orthographic terms, based on punctuation: "A series of words in connected speech or writing, forming the grammatically complete expression of a single thought; in popular use often (= PERIOD), such a portion of a composition or utterance as extends from one full stop to another" ('sentence', *n*.1, sense 6a, *OED*)[6]. While the modern definitions of 'sentence' are often based on punctuation, such a definition is more

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[5] Plato does not make a distinction between sentence and *statement* (λόγος); nor was it necessarily distinguished from phrase. According to Plato, a statement, or sentence, was composed of nouns and verbs. Aristotle distinguishes a sentence from a statement (proposition), "which is alone capable of truth or flasehood, but not from the word or phrase" (Michael 1970:38–39). Dionysius Thrax defines λόγος as "a combination of words, in prose [or metre] expressing a complete thought"; Michael remarks that this seems to correspond to 'small unit of discourse', rather than 'sentence' as we understand it now (Michael 1970: 39). Dionysius, similarly to the Stoics, makes a distinction between "words as minimum units of discourse and words combined as discourse [...] Priscian clearly uses three categories: (i) discourse (*oratio*); (ii) complete discourse (*oratio perfecta* or *oratio plena*); (iii) expression of opinion, statement (*sententia*). What is not clear is how far any of these is equivalent to our own (still indeterminate) concept of the sentence" (Michael 1970:40). *Oratio* covers in the medieval period both 'sentence' and 'unit of discourse' (Michael 1970:41).

problematic with historical data. Defining rhetorical punctuation is similarly a fuzzy area. Harlow offers the following guidelines for determining whether punctuation is rhetorical or grammatical: a) the length of the utterance; b) type of connective used (linguistic); c) "the relative importance of a group of clauses — this is primarily a matter of grammatical structure, but is also influenced by rhetorical considerations" (Harlow 1959:7). He also remarks that "the overall rhythm of the sentence" should be taken into account when determining whether punctuation in a given text is primarily grammatical or rhetorical, and suggests that "one way of testing this is to consider what was the normal length of a unit of delivery" (Harlow 1959:7, 16–17). It is, however, not clear how the "normal length" of such units should be determined. The length of punctuated units will be returned to in Chapters 4 and 6.

While many of the studies of punctuation discuss grammatical punctuation and the various syntactical functions of punctuation, it is rarely explicitly defined how a 'sentence' or a 'clause' should be defined in Middle English. Syntactical boundaries in Modern English can be separated by punctuation markers with (more or less) clearly defined functions: a full stop finishes a sentence, while a semi-colon indicates an unfinished but semantically connected sense-unit. Since the functions of punctuation symbols are not as clearly defined in Middle English (a punctus, for instance, could be used similarly to modern full stop, but it also had a range of other functions), and some texts contain little or no punctuation (instead indicating structural organisation by other means such as the layout of the page), no definite rules about sentential boundaries can be based on punctuation alone.

2.6.3 Distinguishing further modes of punctuation

Many studies of punctuation, however, are content to make the binary distinction between *rhetorical* and *grammatical*, but not explore it further. Thus, for instance, Esteban-Segura in her study of the punctuation system of MS Hunter 509 (a Middle English adaptation of Gilbertus Anglicus' *Compendium medicinæ*) remarks "(a) very general distinction has to be made between grammatical and rhetorical punctuation […] It is common that both types of

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[6] The earliest extant Middle English definition of 'sentence' can be found in the grammatical text in Lincoln College MS Lat. 130, edited by Bland (1991). It does not refer to either punctuation symbols or discourse units, but defines sentence, or 'reason' on grammatical grounds, based on parts of speech. : "wat ys <a> resun? A gaduryyng to gedur of wourdus, of þo wyche sum be now*nus* & sum be pronownus & sum be verbis & sum be adverbis & sum be partysepul & sum be coniunccion & (sum) be preposiscion & sum be interrieccion". R*eson* is a translation from the Latin *oratio*, which could refer to, according to our modern understanding, either to a 'sentence' or a 'unit of discourse' (Michael 1970:41). The translation is based on Isidore's false etymology "Oratio quasi oris ratio" (*Etymologiarum* I:v.3) (Bland 1991:137).

punctuation coincide, since the pauses made when speaking normally take place at the end of a syntactic unit. *The fact that the manuscript under study was a reference work for medical practice indicates grammatical function of punctuation*" (Esteban-Segura 2009:95-96) (italics mine). Rather than taking it for granted that certain text-types will contain certain type of punctuation, these assumptions should be examined, taking into account paleographical and codicological evidence.

Rather than a binary division, therefore, the grammatical and rhetorical modes of punctuation can be seen as a continuum: these two modes function together and represent different perceptions of the text, rather than two opposing modes. Moreover, punctuation may be observed to have much wider and more varied functions, which are not adequately described by labelling certain practices either 'grammatical' or 'rhetorical'. Lennard states that

> I would take it as a basic and necessary assumption for the pragmatic investigation of punctuation that the mutually exclusive opposition of the elocutionary and syntactical functions of punctuation is misguided, and that most if not all punctuation can and does normally function in either mode, or in both: one principal determinant being whether the reader is reading silently or aloud. With this approach it is also clear that the search for grammatical or other rules of punctuation is also misguided, and has more to do with ideological and social linguistic prescription than any linguistic 'laws'
> (Lennard 1995:68)

The quest for more fine-grained distinctions is not a new one, and a number of divisions have been proposed by scholars. Salmon argues that "its possible function is much more complex than a simple contrast between marking pause for 'rhetorical' reasons or structure for 'grammatical' reasons", and proposes a three-fold distinction between *grammatical*, *emotional* ("marking a speaker's attitude to a statement") and *logical* ("indicated by punctuation in its 'linking' function, by which is shown the degree of closeness in the semantic relationship between structurally independent grammatical units") (Salmon 1962:347–348). Salmon's three-fold distinction takes into account pragmatic functions of punctuation, but does not offer a sufficiently detailed basis for analysis. Whitehall proposes four categories of punctuation: *linking, separating, enclosing* and *omission* punctuation (Whitehall 1956:119). These four categories, however, are all largely grammatical in nature and reveal little of the pragmatic nature of punctuation.

The system posited by Lucas (1971) for analysing medieval punctuation is the most comprehensive, taking into account the various functions punctuation marks may have in a given text; in addition, these functions need not be mutually exclusive (see also Parkes 2012 [1999]:339). The system does not, however, offer a clear way to distinguish these different usages. It is, therefore, largely the responsibility of the researcher to analyse the various functions. Lucas describes the system in the following way:

> (s)tructural punctuation is that which delineates the structure of the text, and it may function at two levels: at the grammatical level when it separates sense-units from each other, either within the sentence, or one sentence from another; at the notional level when it links or associates structurally independent sense-units or groups of such sense-units — these levels are not mutually exclusive. Interpretative punctuation is that which reveals something of the author's attitude to what he has written: this attitude may be one of intent to clarify the sense of the text (expository punctuation), or it may be one of intent to indicate how the passage was to be read aloud (elocutionary punctuation) — these two intentions are not mutually exclusive [...] Structural and expository punctuation complement each other, since both contribute to the meaning of the text. Indeed, some degree of overlap between structural and elocutionary punctuation is to be expected
> (Lucas 1971:3–4)

"Elocutionary", or rhetorical, punctuation is intended to signal how a text or a passage should be read out loud, whereas "expository", or deictic, punctuation clarifies the sense. Punctuation can be used to, for instance, signal possibly unfamiliar terminology or to separate items in a list. It can also be used to draw attention to a certain item or passage and highlight words or sections. Similarly, "structural" punctuation indicates the structure of a text. In this function, it operates macro-structurally, signalling major textual divisions. Furthermore, punctuation may function micro-structurally, that is, "grammatically" or "notionally"; thus, signalling 'sentences' or 'sense-units', or *sententiæ*. These are concepts which, as has been seen earlier (see section 2.6.2.2) are often confused; "grammatical" punctuation does not necessarily indicate syntactical breaks, but the term can be employed for describing "sense-units" (e.g. Rodríguez-Alvarez 1999:7). This system, therefore, takes into account the various levels on which punctuation may function. It also accounts for the fact that these functions are inter-related and frequently overlapping; any single instance may be interpreted to have different levels of meaning and significance.

2.6.3.1 Levels of analysis

For the present study, Lucas' model has been utilised in principle, with some modifications, as detailed here. From a *structural* perspective these devices function principally on two levels: macro-textual (division of the text into sections) and micro-textual (subdivision of these sections into subsections or paragraphs) to organise and structure the text and to clarify structural ambiguities. In addition, in a medical text another micro-structural level is essential in the analysis: the division of the text into recipes as well as the internal structure of the recipe text. The *grammatical* level functions below the structural level. These two levels are necessarily intertwined, as structural divisions occur at grammatical junctions. Grammatical, or syntactical, punctuation can further be divided into different levels.

A related, but not identical, method divides the text, not into grammatical sentences (as defined in PDE), but into *sententiæ* or sense-units. These units may consist of one or more sentences and clauses (in modern terms) and often corresponds with the modern notion of paragraph. Punctuation can also be used to signal evaluation and to highlight important information, and to clarify the flow of the text by emphasising items which could cause potential confusion (such as roman numerals) (clarification) or by drawing attention to them (deictic). Punctuation at the end of lines is also intended to disambiguate the reading.

Chapter 4 will analyse the manuscripts in these terms, using the following categories to examine the functions of supra-textual devices:

> I) Grammatical:
>> a) Structural, sentential and clausal, further subdivided into
>>> i) section break or heading,
>>> ii) coordination or subordination,
>>> iii) relative or adverbial constructions,
>>> iv) other grammatical breaks in the text; and
>> b) Phrasal, further subdivided into
>>> i) enumeration,
>>> ii) coordination,
>>> iii) clarification, and
>>> iv) other functions on the phrasal level
> II) Other:
>> a) Numerals and abbreviations
>> b) Line-final word-division
>> c) Other (non-grammatical functions)

Supra-textual devices do, however, also function on other levels. These functions are frequently overlapping with those mentioned above, and will be focused on in Chapter 6. *Rhetorical* punctuation divides the text into units of speech, which may correspond to grammatical divisions or divisions into sense-units; the emphasis is on the oral delivery of the text and on signalling pauses for breathing by dividing the text into units of delivery of appropriate length. Supra-textual devices may also have a *clarifying* or *deictic* or *emphatic* function, and they can be used to create cohesion as well as to mark boundaries.

These definitions and distinctions are frequently problematic, and the boundaries between them fuzzy. By providing a close analysis of the systems used in each individual manuscript, the various ways in which punctuation symbols alongside other visual and linguistic features function in structuring the texts and in communicating with the readers will be examined in the following chapters. These functions will also be examined from the perspective of diachronic and synchronic variation exhibited by the data. However, manuscript punctuation and layout is not only interesting from the point of view of historical development of punctuation, but also for the evidence it can offer about the uses of the manuscript; the physical manuscript page can offer us information about the readers, about the scribe and about how the text was perceived and read. Although here the functions of the symbols are analysed primarily based on what follows, it should be recognised that punctuation may have initiating as well as concluding functions, i.e. it may occur at the initial as well as final position. In some manuscripts this distinction is blurred, whereas in others it is more clearly perceivable; those instances will be noted in Chapter 4 where a symbol can be seen to function in one or the other position.

The use of supra-textual devices can also be likened to the use of *discourse markers* or *pragmatic markers*, which are in this context understood and defined as linguistic items which may function as boundary markers, signalling the beginning or end of discourse units within the text. These markers may have textual as well as interactive and "text deictic" functions (Brinton 1996:6, 9, 13, 2006:310; Bestgen 1998:754). Discourse markers are, according to Brinton (2006), a) marginal with regard to word class, syntactic structure and semantic content, e.g. interjections; b) phonetically often reduced; c) optional in discourse; d) high frequency; e) characteristic of oral medium; and f) stylistically stigmatised (Brinton 2006:309–310).

Not all of these criteria need apply, and more relevant in this historical context is their definition by the functional, rather than formal, features. They can be defined according to their structural roles as "sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk" (Schiffrin 1987:31). Their pragmatic relevance lies in their textual and interpersonal functions: they initiate discourse, draw the attention of the hearer (or reader), signal topic shifts and express attitudes. They also function interactively, expressing, for instance, shared knowledge and cooperation (Brinton 2006:310). They can, therefore, be seen to share many of the functions of supra-textual devices, as defined above (see section 2.4.3). Alonso-Almeida divides structure-signalling devices into *non-linguistic* (decorated or coloured initials, drawings, underlining) and *linguistic* (such as certain lexical items, punctuation, titles and marginalia) (Alonso-Almeida 2006:327–328, 337).

These lexical items are often genre-specific and linguistic features can also be used to identify, for instance, recipes within the text. Recipes are conventionally headed by words such as "take" or "another (for the same)". Other discourse markers identified in medieval medical texts include "now" to signal topic change[7] (Taavitsainen and Hiltunen 2012); these formulaic expressions structure the text and identify textual boundaries, as well as creating textual cohesion. While the focus in this study will not be on these markers, they form part of the linguistic make-up of the texts and the context in which supra-textual devices are analysed in.

2.6.3.2 Analysis

While examination of the original manuscripts is essential for the arguments of the thesis, the quantitative analysis is conducted based on electronic transcriptions of the manuscripts, which are organised within a searchable database. The transcribed texts are also saved in plain text format, encoded in Unicode (UTF-8) and the resulting files are analysed using the lexical analysis software programme *AntConc[8]*, a freeware program developed by

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[7] The various functions performed by *now* have been previously studied in a variety of contexts, from synchronic perspective (e.g. Schiffrin 1987). As a discourse marker (rather than a temporal marker) *now*, set in utterance-initial position, functions as a structuring markers and signals the beginning of a new topic or new piece of information; it emphasises subsections and highlights stages in a narrative, functioning as a topic changer (Schiffrin 1987:230, 238, Defour 2008:20–21). It also has interpersonal functions (Schiffrin 1987, Brinton 1996), and deictically it can function anaphorically as well as cataphorically (Taavitsainen and Hiltunen 2012:179). *Now* as a discourse marker is more frequent in formal text categories in the Middle Ages, such as surgical texts, and although it is also found in remedybooks and health guides, its functions are somewhat different (e.g. "Now it is to know", and *now* with conditional clauses "Now if that it be that it cometh" as well as direct address to the reader ("Now you may understand") is only found in remedybooks (Taavitsainen and Hiltunen 2012:190); in the present data, it can be found in all of these functions.

[8] Available online: http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/software.html, last accessed 19/02/2013.

Laurence Anthony. As it is essential for the purposes of this thesis to be able to retrieve not only lexical items, but also punctuation marks themselves, *AntConc* was chosen from various alternatives (such as *WordSmith*) because it enables easy retrieval of punctuation marks.

The program enables the retrieval and classification of punctuation symbols or linguistic items with their immediate (preceding and ensuing) contexts; it can also be used to analyse collocations, clusters and word frequencies and to generate KWIC (Key Word in Context) concordance lines and distribution plots. The results were then classified according to the textual contexts using Excel spread sheets, and the data are also analysed manually for those instances which cannot be retrieved automatically. For the purpose of comparison between different texts, the texts have been segmented and aligned in order to examine the textual structure; the outline of this has been presented in the Appendix. This is especially useful in comparing manuscript versions which are closely related textually, and enables close comparison between the grammatical and structural organisation of the texts. In order to examine other features of layout, diplomatic transcriptions of each text are examined. The original manuscripts were studied in order to gain access to details of presentation and appearance not necessarily available or obvious from digital or microfilm images, such as the use of colour, different inks and other codicological details.

In order to establish a basis for comparison between the manuscript texts, the texts are analysed quantitatively, providing absolute and proportional figures for comparing the features and devices in each of the manuscript versions, and to enable comparison between works of different length. As table 2.1 illustrates, the length of the texts varies from 788 (S121[II]) words to 13247 (D37) words; the table is organised according to the length of the texts. Altogether the word count is 101657 words[9].

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[9] Note possible discrepancies in the word count due to different conventions of word division; the full word count is intended as a guidance to illustrate the differences in the lengths of the texts.

MS	Word count
Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Douce 37 (SC 21611)	13247
Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Bodley 483 (SC 2062)	12638
Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.VI.33 (Part II)	11633
British Library, London , MS Sloane 421A	11157
British Library, London, MS Additional 12195	10876
Longleat House, Warminster,Wiltshire, MS 333	9353
British Library, London, MS Additional 34111	8003
Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.VI.33 (Part I)	7009
Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 403 (V.3.1)	5361
Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Lat.Misc.c.66	4518
Jesus College, Cambridge, MS 43	4265
British Library, London, MS Sloane 121 [I]	2809
British Library, London, MS Sloane 121 [II]	788
Total	**101657**

Table 2.1. Word count in the Middle English Trotula-*texts.*

2.6.3.3 Transcription policy

The manuscript texts were transcribed diplomatically, retaining the original page layout, use of colour, spelling and punctuation[10]. The thesis incorporates passages from these transcriptions, which retain the original layout and line breaks, including (where relevant) marginal notes and other additions such as underlining. The use of blank space and indentations, for instance, are reproduced where possible. In these excerpts, abbreviations have been expanded and marked with italics (e.g. "woma*n*", "ypoc*ras*"); superscripts have been preserved (e.g. "w^t" for 'with' or "þ^e" for 'the'). Letter forms such as thorn [þ] and

[10] In transcribing the manuscript texts, the following sources were used: Adriano Cappelli's *The Elements of Abbreviation in Medieval Latin Paleography* (available online in different versions: http://kuscholarworks.ku.edu/dspace/bitstream/1808/1821/3/47cappelli.pdf, last accessed 22/01/2013; http://www.hist.msu.ru/Departments/Medieval/Cappelli/, last accessed 22/01/2013), The *Middle English Dictionary Online*, *The Oxford English Dictionary Online*, Monica Green's edition and translation of the Latin *Trotula* (2001, 2002) for identifying the specialised terminology used in the texts, as well as her extensive work on the *Trotula* and on women's medicine in the Middle Ages, and Tony Hunt's *Plant Names of Medieval England* (1989) for identifying herbs and plants referred to in the texts.

yogh [ʒ] have been preserved, as well as the distinction between [u] and [v], and [i] and [j]. The transcriptions will not, however, differentiate between long [ſ] and short [s]. Use of capital letters has been preserved. Deletions in the texts have also been preserved and marked with ~~strikethrough~~. Colour is represented by **boldface**; rubricated initials are also signalled by boldface; if the initials span more than a single line of the text they are represented by drop caps. Where a reading is unclear or illegible, editorial reconstructions have been provided in [square brackets]. Square brackets have also been used to indicate a missing letter, for instance a space for an initial left unfilled; these instances are also noted separately. Illegible words have been indicated by [?]; unsure readings are marked with (?). Insertions above the line are indicated by the use of single quotes [`] and [´]. Marginal additions (by the scribe or in other hands) have also been transcribed and noted separately in the footnotes.

2.7 Summary

This chapter has examined the scholarly literature on punctuation and other supra-textual devices, and offered a brief historical overview on the development of punctuation and other devices. The problems in defining some of the key terms and concepts in this thesis were discussed: seemingly straightforward terms such as 'punctuation', 'sentence', 'grammatical' and 'rhetorical' were found to often be problematic in the medieval context. This chapter has proposed adopting the term 'supra-textual devices' from Kostelnick (1990, 1996, Kostelnick and Hassett 2003) to refer to punctuation and other visual devices on the page. These devices may perform a variety of functions; in order to analyse these functions and their significance, Lucas' (1971) model was adapted as a descriptive framework. Historical pragmatics can be seen to underlie and inform the arguments in this thesis.

3. The *Trotula*

This chapter will focus on the primary material for this thesis, the Middle English *Trotula*. The first section will provide an overview of the origins of the *Trotula* and of its reception in medieval as well as modern Europe[11]. The second section will focus on the Middle English *Trotula*, outlining the contents of the texts as well as providing descriptions of each of the thirteen extant manuscripts.

3.1 The origins of the *Trotula*

There were various primarily gynecological texts and other medical texts containing gynecological material circulating in medieval Europe. The gynecological traditions of the Western Middle Ages were largely based on Greek, Arabic and Latin medicine, and one of the most influential texts circulating in the Middle Ages was Muscio's *Gynaecia*, a Latin adaptation of the writings of Soranus of Ephesus, a second-century Greek physician. In addition, many more general medical texts, such as those by Ibn al-Jazzār, Avicenna, Petrus Hispanus and Bernard of Gordon included chapters on childbirth and women's diseases; Gilbertus Anglicus' *Sickness of Women* also circulated widely in medieval England (M. Green 2000 [1992]:55). Hildegard of Bingen's medical writings also circulated widely (M.Green 2000 [1989]:72-73). M. Green (2000a) lists approximately 175 different gynecological texts circulating in medieval Europe. Treatments and medicines in the *Trotula* as well as in other medical texts are frequently attributed also to Hippocrates[12] and Galen as well as various other Greek, Arabic and Latin physicians.

Medical texts circulating in England were mostly mediated through Latin, and vernacular texts were largely translations and adaptations from the Latin versions; this is also the case with the Middle English texts. There are at least thirty extant manuscripts containing eleven different obstetrical and gynecological texts or recipe collections in Middle English. The Middle English texts also contain contemporary additions, demonstrating the vitality of medical practice and theory in medieval England (M. Green 2000 [1992]:54–55).

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[11] For a more comprehensive account of the *Trotula*, see M. Green (especially 1999, 2000 [1996], 2001, 2002, 2007).

[12] King suggests that the publication of the entire Hippocratic corpus in Latin in 1525 by Calvi "made it possible to think of Hippocrates as a gynaecologist" (King 1998:29). Several of the Middle English *Trotula*-texts, most of which predate this publication attribute the text as well as individual recipes to Hippocrates.

The texts attributed to Trota, or Trotula, of Salerno were amongst the most widespread of gynecological texts in medieval Europe. The text now referred to as *Trotula* (alternately understood as the title of the work or the name of the author) was probably composed in the late twelfth century in Salerno. The text was later adapted in various ways, and attracted material from various sources, forming a patchwork whereby we cannot talk about a single text or a single author (M. Green 2002:xii–xiii). It was not until 1985 that Benton argued that the *Trotula*, rather than being the unified whole in which the text had been circulating in medieval and Early Modern Europe, was, in fact, three distinct texts (Benton 1985:33–34). These three texts bear little resemblance to one another in terms of style and content, and were not brought together until the thirteenth century, having circulated independently before that. The texts are known as *Liber de sinthomatibus mulierum* ("Book on the conditions of women", also known as the *Trotula major*, and sometimes also referred to by its *incipit*, *Cum auctor*); *Ut de curis mulierum* ("On treatments for women", also known as the *Trotula minor*); and the *De ornatu mulierum*.

The first text is on gynecology and obstetrics, the second one more generally on women's diseases as well as cosmetics, while the third is concerned solely with cosmetics (Benton 1985:32–34, M. Green 2000 [1992]:64, 2000 [1996]:119). Thus, rather than being the one uniform text by a single, female, author as it is usually represented, the *Trotula* comprised three distinct texts, and later versions adapted and conflated the material from these works in various ways.

3.1.1 Circulation and transmission

Not all the specific historical circumstances concerning the various redactions of the texts are still known. No twelfth-century manuscripts exist, nor can any manuscripts "but with a few exceptions" be attributed to southern Italy (M. Green 2000 [1996]:124). In the earliest manuscripts (from the thirteenth century) the three texts appear separately and are not attributed to Trota, or Trotula, although by mid-thirteenth century the works start appearing together in the manuscripts (Benton 1985:33). There are a number of prose and verse versions of the Latin text, and the vernacular translations derive from the various Latin texts. 122 Latin manuscripts survive (with a total of 142 copies of the texts), as well as re-workings of the text in prose and in verse. Different vernacular translations are extant in 58

copies in 22 different vernacular versions (M. Green 1997:80–81, 2005:3)[13].

The various layers of editorial interventions during the centuries the text circulated in Europe have contributed to considerable confusion as to the origins and the textual history of *Trotula*; not all the material derived from the same source, but there were various later additions and interpolations (M. Green 2002:xiii) Nearly a third of the extant Latin texts were copied in England, and Green suggests that some of the versions may have originated in England (M. Green 2000 [1996]:136–137, 2007:209–210). The text was also translated into Anglo-Norman and Middle English. Other vernacular versions include French, Dutch, German, Italian, Hebrew and Irish[14] (M. Green 1997:81).

The text remained widely read in Europe until the Early Modern period. The Latin *Trotula* was edited in 1544 by Georg Kraut with the title *Trotulae curandarum aegritudinum muliebrum, ante, in & post partum liber unicus, nusquam antea editus* ('The Unique Book of Trotula on the Treatment of the Diseases of Women Before, During, and After Birth'). He rearranged the text and introduced new material found in the *Trotula* manuscripts. Most later editions are based on Kraut's arrangement of the texts into a single unified work and contributed to much of the subsequent confusion about the origins and the textual history of the *Trotula* (M. Green 2000 [1996]:157, 2002:xi–xii).

In the same year, 1544, Johannes Schottus published an edition with the works attributed to Trotula (based on Kraut's edition), bringing them together with texts by Hildegard of Bingen (M. Green 1999:33–34). The text was subsequently edited a number of times in the course of the sixteenth century, but all the subsequent editions merely reprint Kraut's edition (Benton 1985:34–35, M. Green 2002:xi–xii). Despite the proliferation of other printed gynecological treatises in the Early Modern England, the English *Trotula*, however, was never printed, although the manuscript versions continued to circulate until at least the late sixteenth century: the latest of the Middle English manuscripts dates from the late sixteenth century.

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[13] MS Longleat 333 is not included in M. Green (2000 [1992]). The figures here are from M. Green 1997, the descriptions of which supersede earlier ones.
[14] In addition, M. Green (2000 [1996]:127, 178) mentions a Catalan translation; however, this she determines later to be of "completely independent origin" (M. Green 1997:81, 103)

3.1.2 Authorship and reputation

Trota, or Trotula, as well as the texts attributed to her have attracted considerable controversy among contemporaries as well as later scholars. Women healers and midwives occupied a rather ambivalent position in medieval society. Midwives' knowledge of "women's secrets" and their association with herbal remedies and charms were sometimes seen as suspicious, although licensed midwives were (despite the accusations in *Malleus maleficarum*, 1496) hardly ever accused of witchcraft (Harley 1990, M. Green 2006:562). The reputation of Trotula was also affected by this ambivalence. The origins of the text have been repeatedly debated; Trotula's existence as well as her authorship continued to be challenged frequently over the centuries, and the sexual nature of the texts has caused discomfort to scholars since the sixteenth century.

The early versions of *Trotula* emphasised the (alleged) female authorship of the text and the authority such authorship gave to a work on women's problems, areas of medicine in which male physicians could not necessarily claim expertise. Female authorship was thus seen not only as possible, but also desirable (Benton 1985:50–51). The sixteenth-century editors of the text, however, raised doubts about the alleged female authorship (see Hurd-Mead 1930:349–367) and claimed that the name was a misreading for the male name 'Eros'. The attribution to 'Trottus' derives from Charles Singer, who thought that, because of the explicit sexual content of the texts, "they were naturally mothered on a woman" and the author was a male physician called Trottus"[15] (Singer and Singer 1924:129). Other scholars have disputed her authorship by redefining her as a midwife; while two early female historians, Hurd-Mead (1930) and Mason-Hohl (1940), elevated Trotula as an early feminist (see Stuard 1975, Baird-Lange 1984, M. Green 2000 [1996] for a more detailed overview of scholarly attitudes).

While the texts attributed to Trotula continued circulating in Europe and, through them, she

[15] A reviewer of Pierre Ruelle's edition of the French *Trotula*, notes that the editor of "(t)his slight but amusing little text […] appears to believe that this mythical person really existed, whereas it has long been recognized that the collections known as *Trotula* were based on the works of a male doctor called Trottus" (Legge 1970:277). She further notes that "(t)his is a good example of the pseudo-scientific treatises which abound in Anglo-Norman, but are of slight literary interest. The doctor, the chemist and the botanist can derive some entertainment from it on a wet evening" (Legge 1970:278). Benton (1985) cites the so-called Wrocław codex, which uses an abbreviated form of the name ("Trot"). Hiersemann (1921) interpreted this as signifying a male form of the name. Benton, however, argues that the scribe's abbreviation does not necessarily indicate a masculine -*us* ending; the scribe uses a mark which resembles ("sometimes a comma, sometimes a flourish, sometimes a line" (Hiersemann 1921, according to Benton 1985:42; see also M. Green 2007:184-185); Benton suggests the mark or symbol is "a simple mark of suspension, a common scribal practice to indicate that a familiar name had not been completed" (Benton 1985:42).

was attributed with power and prestige, she also acquired a more dubious reputation as a procuress (Rawcliffe 1995:176). Rutebeuf, a thirteenth-century French satirist, portrayed her in the following manner:

> Good people, I'm not one of these impoverished preachers or poor traders in simples, who pitch up in front of churches with their tattered old cloaks, carrying boxes and bags, and who spread out a carpet: why, they have more bags than dealers in pepper and cumin! Oh no, I'm not one of *that* crowd, but I'm in the service of a lady who is called **Madam Trotula of Salerno**: she wears a kerchief round her head and brows, hung about with gold chains down to her shoulders. You may be sure she's the wisest woman in the four corners of the earth. My mistress sends us all over the place to different countries [...] to kill wild animals, to extract unguents, to give remedies to those whose bodies have fallen prey to diseases. My mistress has given me clear orders to deliver, wherever I go, a few words of advice to those folk who gather around me [...] so off with you goods, lend an ear, and just look at these herbs, which my mistress has sent along!
> (Rutebeuf, *Oeuvres Complétes.* Cited in Rawcliffe 1995:176)

Another thirteenth-century French source, a translation and commentary on Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*, cites Trotula as an authority on women (although using the masculine form of the name, "Troculeus"), but asserts that, while the *Trotula*-text itself talks about the modesty and shame of women before men's eyes, women in fact desire to be seen by men:

> According to **Troculeus**, who taught about the nature of women, although women pretend to be unpretentious and bashful, they actually want men to court them and to look at them [...] Women go to the games because they want to see men as much as men want to see them. This is quite obvious, the ugly go there as willingly as the beautiful.
> (Transl. Blonquist (1987). Cited in M. Green (2000 [1998]:160))

Christine de Pizan, while not mentioning Trotula by name, speaks derisively of texts circulating by the name of *The Secrets of Women*, a title under which various gynecological texts were known from the thirteenth century onwards, including some versions of the *Trotula*[16]. Christine refers to a treatise, which "discusses the constitution of [women's]

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[16] E.g. thirteenth-century Latin and French verse renditions, bore this title (M. Green 2000c:16). One of the Middle English versions of *Trotula* is also known as *Secreta Mulierum*. It is possible that here the reference is to Albertus Magnus' *De Secretis Mulierum*, which survives in 83 manuscripts and over fifty fifteenth-century and over seventy sixteenth-century printed editions (see Riddle 1997:24). Although only one of the Middle English versions is known by this name, the term was more common in the continent. The term does, however, appear also in the other Middle English manuscripts; "a good mydwyfe shuld eu*er* haue thys oyle w*t* her when she goth to thys secret occupacion" [CUL33[I], f.21r] and other texts use the word to refer to 'vagina': "Also it is good to dypp wol in the Ius of rew & the same to convey into hir secret" [L333, f.41v], "hir*e* Secrete p*ar*tes" [LM66, f.83r].

natural bodies and especially their great defects"; it is "composed of lies":

> "I have seen another small book in Latin, my lady, called *The Secrets of Women,* which discusses the constitution of their natural bodies and especially their great defects". [Lady Reason] replied, "You can see for yourself without further proof, this book was written carelessly and coloured by hypocrisy, for if you have looked at it, you know that it is obviously a treatise composed of lies".
> (Christine de Pizan, *Book of the City of Ladies* (1405). Cited in M. Green (2008:204))

Trotula is also mentioned in *The Wife of Bath's Prologue*, in the list of Jankyn's "wikked wyues". As these quotations show, the reputation of Trotula was widespread, and the authority granted to her not always seen as positive.

> he hadde a book / þ^t gladly nyght and day
> ffor his desport / he wolde rede alway
> he cleped it / Valerie / and Theofraste
> At which book / he lough alwey ful faste
> And eek / þer was som tyme / a clerk at Rome
> A Cardinal / þat highte Seint Jerome
> That made a book / agayn Jouinian
> In which book / eek / ther was Tertulan
> Crisippus / **Trotula** / and helowys
> That was abbesse / nat fer fro Parys
> And eek / the Parables of Salomon
> Ouides art / and bokes many on
> And alle thise / were bounden / in o volume
> And euery nyght and day / was his custume
> Whan he hadde leyser and vacacio*u*n
> ffrom oother worldly occupacio*u*n
> To reden on þis book of wikked wyues
> (Chaucer, Huntington Library, MS EL 26 C9, f.70r)

Although there is no substantial historical evidence for the existence of Trota, it is possible that a female physician by that name did exist in early medieval Salerno, Italy. Green argues that only one of the three texts attributed to her was, in fact, authored by the historical Trota, who may also have written at least one other medical text (Benton 1985:41, 45, M. Green 2002:xii; see M. Green 2007 for a detailed analysis of the possibility of the existence of the historical Trota). Salerno, moreover, was a famed medical centre and various sources refer to the medical knowledge of the "Salernitan women". Attribution of the text to a female physician granted the text authority that a male author could not achieve (Benton 1985:48–49), although this, however, was not the view

shared by all contemporary sources, as seen above.

Most of the Middle English versions seem largely to have forgotten, or choose to ignore the alleged female origins of the work, whereas other treatises are sometimes attributed to Trotula[17]. Only three of the Middle English manuscript versions mention the name; "Liber Trotuli"[18] (British Library, MS Additional 34111), "Boke mad [by] a woman named Rota" (Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.VI.33) and "Trotela" (Longleat House (Warminster, Wiltshire), MS Longleat 333). In the other texts, the text is attributed to various (largely male) physicians, most frequently Galen and Hippocrates; a frequent practice in medieval medical texts (Wallis 1995:108).

3.1.3 Editions and previous studies

Monica Green has conducted extensive studies of the textual history of the Latin and the vernacular versions, and edited and translated the Latin text based on several of the earliest surviving manuscripts. Green's edition and translation of the Latin text is based on the earliest complete version of what she calls the "standardized ensemble"; the edition collates nine thirteenth- and fourteenth-century manuscripts, using Basel, Öffentliche Universitätsbibliothek, MS D.II.9 [ff.29ra–34va] as the base text (M. Green 2002:xiv). Her edition of the Latin text was originally published in 2001, and subsequently as a paperback version containing only the English translation in 2002.

Prior to Green's translation of the *Trotula*, only one English post-medieval translation existed, that of Elizabeth Mason-Hohl's *The Diseases of Women by Trotula of Salerno: A Translation of "Passionibus mulierum curandorum"* (1940). Subsequently, only one version of the Middle English *Trotula* has been fully edited. Alexandra Barratt (2001) has edited version A, known also as *The Knowing of Woman's Kind in Childyng*. The edition is based primarily on Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Douce 37 (SC 21611), which is identified as the "best text" (Barratt 2001:24) and on Cambridge, University Library MS Ii.VI.33. In the edition, punctuation, paragraphing and capitalisation have all been modernised and

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[17] For instance, Royal College of Surgeons, MS 129 a.i.5, a translation from Gilbertus Anglicus' *Compendium medicine* (although including also material derived from the *Trotula*), is titled "liber Trotularis": *inc.* "Hic incipit liber Trotularis. [F]or as muche as ther ben many women that habyn many dyuerse", *expl.* "Shal concuyve. WYTNYS TROTULA" (M. Green 1997:102–103); another manuscript of the same text in British Library, MS Sloane 249 also attributes the text to Trotula.

[18] Green notes that the Latin masculine/neuter genitive form (*Trotuli* instead of the feminine *Trotulae*) can also be seen as indicative of the forgotten female authorship (M. Green 2000 [1992]:68).

abbreviations have been silently expanded.

Barratt has also edited excerpts from Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 37 (Version A, ff.1r–2r; 8r–9v; 24v–27r); London, British Library, MS Additional 34111 (Version B, ff.211r–212v); and Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.VI.33 (Version C, ff.3r–5r; 11v–13r) (2010 [1992]). In addition, Ivalla Ortega Barrera has edited the text of Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 403, with an introduction and description of the manuscript in Spanish[19].

A number of other vernacular translations have been edited and included in studies (for details see M. Green 1997, 2010). In addition, the editions by Rowland (1981)[20] and Hallaert (1982) of *The Sekenesse of Wymmen* (British Library, MS Sloane 2463 and Yale Medical Library, MS 47) were both incorrectly identified as translations of the Latin *Trotula*[21].

3.2 The Middle English *Trotula*

The Middle English *Trotula* survives in five different translations, as presented in table [3.1] below. The division into different versions as well as the dating is based on M. Green (2000 [1992]), who identifies the translations by assignations *translation/version A–E*; in Green (1997) they are changed to *Eng1–5* to reflect the date of the composition. Here, the earlier division is retained for the sake of clarity; the descriptions will refer to both designations for purposes of cross-reference.

There are five extant manuscript versions of Translation A. Translation B survives only in a single manuscript, while Translations C and E are extant in two manuscript versions, and Translation C in three manuscript versions. There are thus thirteen manuscript versions, in altogether eleven manuscripts: two of the manuscripts (Cambridge University Library, MS CUL Ii.VI.33 and British Library, MS Sloane 121) both include two different versions of the *Trotula*.

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[19] The edition is available online:
 http://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/fichero_articulo?codigo=2863467&orden=0. Last accessed 31/01/2013/.
[20] See review by Voigts and Stannard for a number of reservations and corrections regarding the edition (Voigts and Stannard 1982:422–426).
[21] They are, in fact, translations of chapters on gynecology of Gilbertus Anglicus' *Compendium medicinae* (M. Green 2000 [1992]:54). The chapters in this work on gynecology and obstetrics were, in turn, derived partly from *Trotula*, but primarily from that of Roger of Parma (Aveling 1874:73, M. Green 2000 [1992]:73).

Table 3.1 presents the manuscripts, which will comprise the corpus for this thesis; each of them will be described in more detail below. The table is divided into five sections according to the different translations or versions. Each translation also includes a title by which that particular version is known. The table includes the manuscript call numbers, folio numbers on which the *Trotula* appears, and an (approximate) date.

Version A (Eng1), *The Knowyng of Womans Kind and Chyldyng*
British Library, MS Additional 12195 [ff.157r–184r], s.15ex.
Bodleian Library, MS Douce 37 (SC 21611) [ff.1r–37v], s.15in.
Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 483 (SC 2062) [ff.82r–103v], s.15med.
Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.VI.33, Part II [ff.1r–36r], s.15in.
British Library, MS Sloane 421A [ff.2r–25v], s.16in.
===
Version B (Eng2), *Liber Trotuli*
British Library, MS Additional 34111 [ff. 197r–217v], s.15in.
===
Version C (Eng5), *Boke mad (by) a woman named Rota*
Cambridge University Library, MS CUL Ii.VI.33, Part I [ff.1r–32v], s.16
Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 403 (V.3.1) [pp.347–363], an.1544
===
Version D (Eng3), *Secreta mulierum*
British Library, MS Sloane 121 [ff.100r–105r], s.15
Bodleian Library, MS Lat. Misc.c.66 [ff.83r–86v], s.15ex.
Cambridge, Jesus College, MS 43 (Q.D.I) [ff.70r–75v], s.15
===
Version E (Eng4), *Trotela*
British Library, MS Sloane 121 [ff.106r–107v], s.15
Longleat House, MS Longleat 333 [ff.33r–43v], s.16ex.
===

Table 3.1. The Middle English Trotula-manuscripts and translations.

These independent translations adapt and conflate the material found in their source texts. Some are more faithful translations from the Latin text(s), in some cases via French, while some merely incorporate sections of *Trotula* in an otherwise novel composition (M. Green 2000 [1992]:55–56, 64). The translations derive from various sources, the detailed examination of which falls outside the scope of this thesis, but would provide fruitful ground for future research.

The following sections will introduce the different versions and manuscripts, first describing the connections between the manuscripts of each translation and briefly describing the contents and sources of that particular translation. Subsequently, each of the manuscripts will be described individually. The manuscript descriptions will encompass a

codicological description as well as a list of the contents of each manuscript.

Where the *Trotula*-text appears in a separate quire (as in MS Additional 12195 and MS Lat.Misc.c.66), only the contents of that quire are listed; the remaining content is referred to in the description. Otherwise the listing of contents will encompass the whole manuscript. The index of contents will indicate by an asterisk (*) which texts are by the same scribe as the *Trotula* in the manuscript.

Extensive codicological descriptions have not been included due to constraints of length. Any specifics in the descriptions refer to the folios containing the Middle English *Trotula* in particular and do not necessarily apply to the manuscript as a whole. In the lists of contents, unless mentioned otherwise, the texts are in English.

Previous descriptions and references to the manuscripts and in particular to the folios containing the *Trotula*-texts have been summarised at the beginning of each description. These previous descriptions, especially those in catalogues, are frequently brief and sometimes consist of not more than a reference to the manuscript. Reference is also made to the number or numbers (as it refers to the *Trotula*; sometimes the preface to the text is indexed separately) in the Voigts-Kurtz *Scientific and Medical Writings in Old English and Middle English: An Electronic Reference* (eVK).

3.2.1 *Knowyng of Womans Kynde and Chyldyng* (Version A)

Translation A (*Eng1*), or *The Knowyng of Womans Kynde and Chyldyng* (title in London, British Library, MS Additional 12195) survives in five manuscript versions: London, British Library, MS Additional 12195 [A12195]; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 483 (SC 2062) [B483]; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 37 (SC 21611) [D37]; Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.VI.33 [CUL33[II]]; and London, British Library, MS Sloane 421A [S421A]. The date of the translation is unknown, but it is thought to date from the thirteenth or fourteenth century (M. Green 2000 [1992]:66), although none of the extant manuscript versions are earlier than fifteenth century.

3.2.1.1 Translation and sources

The text is likely to have been translated from French, rather than Latin. The textually closest surviving witnesses in French are found in MSS British Library, Sloane 3525 [ff.246v–253r]; Wellcome Institute for the History of Medicine, MS 546, Miscellanea Medica XX [ff.46vb–49vb]; Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, MS nouv. acq.l at.693 [ff.181v–183r]; and Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MS L.IV.25[22] [ff.56r–65r] (M. Green 1997:90).

The text itself claims to be translated from Greek, Latin and French sources: B483, D37 and S421A only mention Latin in the first instance ("I thynke to doo myne ententys besynes for to drawe oute of latyn into englyshe diuerse causes of her maladyes" [B483, f.82r]), while A12195 and CUL33[II] also mention French ("I thynke to do myn ententis besynesse to drawe owte of ffrensh and Latyn in to Inglysh . the diuers causes of here maledies" [CUL33[II], ff.1r–v]). A few lines further down, the origins are explicated: "ffor this is the tretyse of diuerse maisters þᵗ hauen translated hem oute of greke into latyn" [B483, f.82r]. Again, CUL33[II] adds French into the combination ("the tretys of diuers maistris that hau translatid owte of Greek in to latyn . and frensh" [CUL33[II], f.1v]), while A12195 and S421A omit this section altogether. Some of the vocabulary also derives from French[23].

Knowyng of Womans Kind in Chyldyng incorporates various texts and traditions in addition to the *Trotula major* and the *Trotula minor*. Some of the material derives from Muscio and Soranus as well as from Cleopatra's *Gynaecia* and other sources (Barratt 1998:306–307, 2010:26; M. Green 1997:85). The text itself is not attributed to Trotula, but to "dyu*er*s masters" [S421A, f.2r], and the only reference to Trotula is a medicine for provoking menstruation "þat a lady of Salerne vsyde" [D37, f.24v][24]. In addition, other recipes are attributed to Galen, Hippocrates as well as to female authorities such as Dame Cleopatra[25]

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[22] The manuscript was destroyed by fire in 1904 (M. Green 1997:91).

[23] Both D37 and A12195, for instance, use the French term "bele chose" for vagina; this, however, is not a term that appears in the extant French manuscripts (Barratt 1998:308): "wyche us calde in frenche a bele chose or ellys a wykket of þe wombe" [D37, f.2v]; A12195 simply states "weche is calld a bel chos" [A12195, f.158r] (B483 reads "an openyng which is called ye knowe the name or ellys her wombe" [f.82v]; CUL33[II] "an openynge callid a cunte or priuyte" [f.2v]; and S421A simply "preue members" [f.2v]). All of the MSS also include a note that an inflammation caused by excess of humour blood is called "flegmon in frensshe" [B483, f.102v]. There is further variation in the terminology between the witnesses; see Barratt (1998) for further discussion on the variation in the translations.

[24] MS Sloane 421A omits this reference although the recipe is included in the text.

and Dame Fabiane prycylle or porcille[26]. The texts also include a medicine "that A Iewe taught the quene of fraunce"[27] [S421A, f.18r].

3.2.1.2 The text

The main concerns of the text are divided in the preface into three broad categories: childbirth, uterine suffocation and prolapse, and menstrual disorders (see the Appendix for an outline of the structure). The preface explains that ".iij. syknesses pryncypally dishese women be here matrice . The firste is trauelyng of child . the secunde is prefocacion precapitacion or prefocacion of þe matrice . The thirde is retencion . Defaute of superfluite of flouris" [CUL33[II], ff.3v–4r]. Other topics include various uterine disorders, and the text also includes a section on the proper age for sexual relations ("euery mayd shold kepe her selff fro that deed till her fflours be ffall and that is commenly at xv yers of age and ther after" [S421A, f.7r]).

The text is especially concerned with obstetrics, and the processes of childbirth are given a more detailed treatment than in the other Middle English translations. Similarly, a section on choosing a wet nurse is included[28], which is omitted in the other translations (as well as, for the most part, in A12195). This illustrates the principal concerns of this translation, which appears to be addressed to female readers, rather than to doctors or midwives caring for them[29]. The preface also includes a list of five major differences between men and women[30], and emphasises women's welfare: "And be caus many women pereschen for

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[25] With the exception of B483, which attributes the same medicine to a "dame Thopaz"; all of the versions, however, specify that the medicine was "taught […] to hir dowghter" [B483, f.96v]. Cleopatra is "considered to be the author of the gynaecological treatise *Gynaecia Cleopatrae*" (Barratt 2010 [1992]:33); Flemming, however, argues that such names and attributions may often be used for rhetorical effect (Flemming 2007:269–270, 274–276).

[26] Fabina Prytyll "a corruption of 'Fabiana Priscilla', the name of an otherwise unknown ancient doctor or midwife" (Barratt 2010 [1992]:32). The scribe of S421A seems obviously unfamiliar with the name and writes "prynces" instead; compare references to the queen of France.

[27] Green notes "(r)ather than a woman in the area we now call France, this may have referred to one of the few Norman women who joined their male compatriots in southern Italy, where *Normanni* were not always differentiated from the *Franci* who also emigrated there" (M. Green 2002:192, note 13).

[28] "Tak a norse for hym to kepe þe Chylde þat be yong & in good stat þat hath twyes trauelyd of chyld þat be of good Color & hath large brestys & not to schort pappys & þat þe openyng of them be not to wyde & wele a vysyd & not wrathfoll & þat sche lovyth þe Chylde wᵗ all her hert ne þat sche be not dronklew of ouer moche drynk" [D37, f.17v).

[29] Although Demaitre, in a study of the Middle Dutch versions of the *Trotula* remarks that "Some appeared to draw women into the readership by addressing them directly, not only in the formulation of recipes but also in therapeutic or dietary instructions. The use of the second person in prescriptions, including 'you will take *(ghi suit nernert)'* or 'you should give *(du sout gheuen)',* may be a merely automatic reproduction of the Latin commands, *'recipe'* or *'da',* aimed at the practitioner in general" (Demaitre 2001:11).

defawte of conyng & good helpe I xall Tell yow how ye xall helpe theme wysly at Ned"
[A12195, f.166v].

Abstinence is the only suggested contraceptive: "she that woll haue no travell in childyng
let hir kepe hir fro the Receiuyng of the seed of man and on my perell she shall never drede
the trauelyng of chylde" [B483, f.84r], and the texts contain moral judgements on the use
of contraceptives and abortives: "And some women vse a thynge for they sholde not
conceyue and that maketh abortyfe & to slee hem selfe . Also þer been medicynes the
whiche I dare not wryte leste some cursed calett wolde it vse"[31] [B483, ff.88r-v]. Although
the text is substantially the same in all five extant manuscripts, there are also some minor
differences between them (see the Appendix for an overview of the sections included in
each manuscript).

The text frequently addresses the reader in second person ("þt schall ȝe hele as ȝe do þᵉ
swellyng of þᵉ marris" [A12195, f.181r]); the woman or patient is usually referred to in
third person ("how **ye** sholde helpe **a woman** þᵗ trauelyth of chylde" [B483, f.88v], "Than
let **the mydwyf** cache the Secundyne on what part she may and drawe it foorth . And if so
be that it be go to the botom of the matrice . than let **the woman** that is deluiered enforce
hire self in all that she may to put it foorth" [CUL33[II], f.15r]). The text, then, appears to
be addressed to the doctor, who in turn should advise the midwife in her duties. It also
includes charms against a difficult childbirth[32].

3.2.1.3 London, British Library, MS Additional 12195

The manuscript contains version A of *Trotula* [ff.157r–185r], dating from the fifteenth
century. It contains a number of of medical, astrological and scientific texts, recipes and
charms, as well as religious, legal and grammatical material.

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[30] "ye shall vnderstand fyve diuersites betwene man & woman The first diversite is aboue her fronte for ther
are sum men baled and so are no women The second dyuersite is on ther berd for ther are men thike heryd &
women smothe the thurd dyuersite is one ther brests for there haue women longe pappes & hangynge & men
haue werts The fourthe is of ther preue membres The fyfth diuersite wᵗin the womans bodye betwene her
navle & her previte for ther she hathe a vessell that noe man hathe the wᶜ is called the matryx" [S421A, f.2v].
[31] This remark is not included in CUL33[II] and S421A.
[32] "Or tak a lytyll scrowe & wryt þys wᵗ in + In nomine patris & filij & spiritus sancti Amen . + santa maria .
+ santa margareta . + ogor + Sugor + nogo . + & kyt þat scrov in to small pecys & giffe here to drynk . Or
wrytt in A long straw all þe psalme of magnificat anima mea & gyrde hᵗ A boute here Bᵗ wethyth well þat þis
ne nonne oþer kepyth no woman at commenabyll tyme of delyuerance & þer for let þe mydwyffe helpe"
(D37, ff.13v–14r). Only D37 and B483 include the first part of the instructions ("wryt þys wᵗ in + In nomine
patris", etc.); A12195, CUL33[II] and S421A only include the psalm of magnificat. S421A also abbreviates
the warning simply into "but yet þᵉ medwiff mvst doe her busines" (f.9v). See also A12195 (section
3.2.1.3.3), B483 (section 3.2.1.5.4), A34111 (section 3.2.2.3.4), LM66 (section 3.2.4.4.4) and L333 (section
3.2.5.2).

3.2.1.3.1 The manuscript

The manuscript has been previously described in the *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the years 1841–1845* (1850:50–51); Singer (1928, III:1030); Thomson (1979:193–211); LALME (1986, 1:100); Brown and Higgs (1988:45 51); *British Library Archives and Manuscripts Catalogue*[33]; Braswell-Means (1993:9); Griffin 2006:124–131, *forthcoming*:xvii; M. Green (1997:85, 2000 [1992]:66–67); Barratt (2001:16–18); and C. Jones (2000:105–112). Mentioned by Robbins (1970:406, note 35[34]), Hargreaves (1976:258); eVK 3972.00 / 1272D.

The binding is nineteenth century, British Library. The manuscript is written on paper (with one parchment leaf inserted) and contains v+190+iii leaves. Foliation is written in pencil in the upper right-hand corner of each recto; section D also contains another foliation in the lower margin on the recto sides. There is no ruling and no catchwords. The dimensions are 150x105mm, with writing space of 131x97mm. The text is laid out in single columns, the lines per page varying between 20–24.

While ff.157r–184r do not contain any illustrations or drawings, other parts of the manuscript have various illustrations and annotations.

There are various different hands in the manuscript; the *Trotula*-text is written in mixed anglicana and secretary script, in black ink with red rubrication. There are some marginal additions.

3.2.1.3.2 Provenance

In the sixteenth century the manuscript was owned by Thomas Frost. In addition, the manuscript contains other names: Perry [f.4r], William Herbert 1770 [f.2r], who possibly collated the different sections together[35], and Joseph Lilly (13 Nov. 1841), who donated the manuscript to the British Museum on that date (Thomson 1984:211)[36].

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[33] Available online: http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/dlDisplay.do?docId=IAMS032-002041909&vid=IAMS_VU2&indx=1&dym=false&dscnt=1&onCampus=false&group=ALL&institution=BL&ct=search&vl(freeText0)=032-002041909&vid=IAMS_VU2. Last accessed 31/01/2013.

[34] The reference states the treatise begins on f.1r (*sic*).

[35] William Herbert appears to have had an interest in gynecological treatises, and owned also a printed copy of the Byrth of Mankynde (GUL Sp. Coll. Ferguson Ah-c.17).

The language of section D is in East Anglian English and displays characteristic forms of Norfolk (LALME 1986, 1:100; C. Jones 2000:110), with forms such as *xal(l)* 'shall' (also *s(c)hall*), and *qweder* or *queder* 'whether', *quyte* 'white' (although most *wh*-forms use *wh*-, rather than *qw*- or *qu*-, e.g. *what, where*) in the *Trotula*-text.

3.2.1.3.3 Contents

There are four distinct sections in the manuscript; the *Trotula* appears in Section D, the contents of which will be detailed below. The contents of the other sections are briefly summarised below.

Section A [ff.3r–15v], or booklet 1 is in Latin and includes legal material such as a treatise on wills, inventories of goods as well as other legal documents. This section was probably written c.1477–1478 in Oxford, possibly by a pupil of William Kyngesmill and bound together with the other sections after the sixteenth century (Thomson 1979:210, C. Jones 2000a:111, Barratt 2001:17).

Section B [ff.16–58v], or booklets 2–4 (C. Jones 2000:107–108) is a collection of liturgical texts in Latin. It includes prayers and notes as well as services in commemoration of the Virgin Mary and St Thomas of Canterbury, benedictions, services for feasts (including one for St Elizabeth and St Albert the Carmelite). It dates from c. 1483–1487, and probably belonged to the Augustinian, or Austin, priory of Burnham Norton near North Creake in Norfolk; Thomson suggests it was compiled by a Brother George Burn(ham). There is also a reference to Dunton, near North Creake and Burnham (Thomson 1979:210).

Section C [ff.59–121v], or booklets 5–8 (C. Jones 2000:108–109) is largely in Latin, but contains some English. Most of it was written by a John Leake or Leke of North Creake[37]. It dates to the late fifteenth century. It contains wordlists and grammatical tracts in Latin and in English (e.g. f.66r contains John Leyland's *Accidence* and ff.67r–71r contain a treatise on Latin syntax; ff.78r–79r contain a Latin treatise on the figures of speech; ff.91r–

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[36] The manuscript also contains lists of payment receipts for requiem masses [ff.17v, 22r] include some names: "Iohannis Cowper et Margarete" and "Iohannis de [?] Iohnna (?) et Margarete Codling", "Iohannis boleyn", "Roberti Cowper et Katerine". F24v also contains the names "Magister Varid[?] i", "Ricardus Rowsse servant" and "fratro Georgeo Burn[ham]". F.82v includes notes, for instance "M and S madyn mekel mon Qwan X on C heng alon / Viij is my lemman it ax [?] before / Qwhere viij gyrt aboue iij were good þerfore". F.90r mentions "magistro Falcon incom Norff et Suff" (C. Jones 2000:111–112).

[37] References ff.90r ("Iste liber pertinet domino John Leke"), 96v.

96v contain a Latin treatise on orthography and practice letters of the alphabet), an erotic song and verses in Latin (in praise for St Catherine, St Edmund and St Nicholas) and translations[38]. There is also a treatise on the sacraments and theological treatises, comments and other miscellaneous sentences, including liturgical notes. It also includes two English charms for identifying a thief [ff.82v, 98v] (Thomson 1979:210, C. Jones 2000:108–109, Braswell-Means 1992:396) and a stanza from Lydgate's Ram's Horn [f.121v][39]. The manuscript was later in the fifteenth century owned by Edmund Herbard, the vicar of Toftrees in a nearby parish (Thomson 1979:210).

Section D, including the *Trotula*-text, is written in various hands in English and contains various alchemical, magical and scientific treatises. The following list of contents relates to this section. The manuscript contains no table or index of contents.

Contents (Section D):

1. Ff.122r–124r, "Experimenta de serpente" (English translation of Johannes Paulinus).
   Inc. "I Iohn Paulen whan I was In the sete of Alisawndyr I lokyd þer on a serteyn book",
   expl. "þe leper xal not in cresyn but a bydyn euere in on a stat Explicit Experimentum deserpente".
2. Ff.124r–127r, further experiments, charms and recipes (English and Latin).
   Inc. "Also ho so wele taken the powdyr of a grene eddere and make a candele",
   expl. "and the colore of þe xal a bydyn on þe lettres".
3. Ff.127v–135r, "The Wyse Book of Phylosophie and Astronomye" (treatise on natural science and astronomy).
   Inc. "Here begynys The wyse book of phylosophie and astromye",
   expl. "And that syht xal be more peyne on to hem þan all þe peyns of helle".
4. Ff.135v–136r*, recipes.
   Inc. "for hem þt mow nowt holdin mete ne drynke for castynge take myllefoyle",
   expl. "if it go downe to þe botum he schal dye & if it hove abovyn he shal lyve wt owte fayle ꞏ //"
   (Another hand adds note in the lower margin "See this also in fol. 21.").
5. F.136v, charms and recipes (mostly English).
   Inc. "Parte sunt facta fili",
   expl. "as hot as he may suffyr it and it schal a whyle".
6. Ff.137r–139r, "The Book of the Destinary" (astrological treatise on characteristics of people born under different zodiac signs)[40].
   Inc. "Now it is for to declare and determyn of the xij signes",
   expl. "Many thyngs he schal do" (imperfect ending).

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[38] See *The Digital Index of Middle English Verse*, nos 1832–1 and 2743–1. Available online: http://www.cddc.vt.edu/host/imev/. Last accessed 27/01/2013.
[39] Mentioned in Hargreaves (1976:258).
[40] Mentioned by Braswell-Means (1992:369, note 7; 390, note 71); Griffin 2006, *forthcoming*.

7. Ff.139v–145v*, recipes, experiments and charms (including gynecological recipes)[41] [partly by the *Trotula*-scribe].
   Inc. "For to make braket take v galenys ale",
   expl. "alle þis shalbe sufficyam for ʒour comyndite .//"".

8. Ff.146r–156v*, charm to St William and recipes.
   Inc. "This is the charme of seynte Wylleʒam þᵗ seynt gabryel browte owt of p*ar*adyse fro ou*re* lord Ih*es*u c*ris*te to charme c*ris*ten men & wome*n* of all evlys ",
   expl. "anoynt þin me*m*brys þ*er* wᵗ & þu shalt neu*er* hau lykyng þ*er* to".

9. Ff.157r–185r*, "Trotula".
   Inc. "Her folowyth þᵉ knowyng of womans kynde & chyldyng // Ower lord god when he had storyd þᵉ warld of all Creatores he made man & woma*n* Ressonabel creature",
   expl. "dawndelyon pympurnell and mak worts þ*er* of // and vs it daylye Tyle þat sche be hall".

10. Ff.185r–190v*, "The Book of Hypocras"[42] (a medical treatise).
    Inc. "Thys bok of Ypocras tech for to knowe Be þe planets of seknes both of lyf & deyth" (preceded by a small image illustrating qualities of Aries),
    expl. "for all manere of postemus owt warde Explicit".

3.2.1.4 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 37 (SC 21611)

The manuscript contains Version A of *Trotula* [ff.1r–37v]. It is the only text in the codex, followed without a break by seven gynecological recipes in the same hand. The manuscript dates from the early fifteenth century.

3.2.1.4.1 Previous descriptions

The manuscript has been previously described by Coxe (1840:4); Madan (1897, vol. 4:500); Braswell-Means (1987:12–13)[43]; M. Green (1997:86, 2000 [1992]:67–68); and Barratt (2001:11–12). The text has been edited by Barratt (2001). It has also been mentioned and quoted by Singer (1916:36–37), by Post (1971:86, note 19, 20; 87, note 25) and by Eccles (1977:378, 379); eVK number 3972.00 / 1272D.

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[41] Including medical recipes, recipes for drinks, prognostic charms, recipes for "p*er*petuall lyʒt in a hows" as well as the *Maria peperit Christum* charm [f.142v] (not in the hand of the *Trotula*-scribe). This charm is for difficult childbirth, *inc.* "ffor a wom*man* þᵗ traualyth writh þese words & bynd hym a bowte hyr nakyd body vndyr hyr cloþis maria pep*er*it *christum* anna maria . Elizabeth rohem cessilia regu*m*". It appears also in other Middle English Trotula-manuscripts, although L333 is the only one to include it within the *Trotula*-text; see also B483 (section 3.2.1.5.4), A34111 (section 3.2.2.3.4), LM66 (section 3.2.4.4.4), L333 (section 3.2.5.2). For more information, see Elsakkers (2001) and L'Estrange (2005).
[42] Mentioned by Braswell-Means (1992:382, note 47; 383, note 49; 1993:48).
[43] The description contains several errors in the transcriptions of the *incipit* and *explicit*.

3.2.1.4.2 The manuscript

The leaves are slightly discoloured in places; otherwise the manuscript is very well preserved. The binding is modern, and bears the arms of Francis Douce on the inner cover. The manuscript is written on parchment (with ff.i–iii on paper), with iv+42 leaves. Foliation is modern, in pencil in the upper-right hand corner of rectos. The pages are varyingly ruled. There are occasional catchwords on the versos. The manuscript is pocket-sized: the dimensions are 129x86mm, and the written space measures 104x72mm. The text is laid out in single columns, with 24 lines per page.

There are no decorations, illustrations or colours, apart from marginal notes and underlining added in a purple ink. The manuscript is written throughout by a single scribe in a secretary bookhand. Marginal notes in another hand are only partly visible as the pages were cut at a later stage.

3.2.1.4.3 Provenance

There are no indications of ownership and no medieval personal signatures. The flyleaf iv^r contains the title *A Treatise of Womens Distempers* in a later, possibly seventeenth-century, hand. An eighteenth century note on flyleaf iv^v by "E.W." suggests that the manuscript was composed in the late fourteenth century: "The Polychronicon, wch was written ^{in} K. Edward þ^e III^{de} time, being mentioned in this Treatise, proves it, `does´ not exceed that age, but all other circumstances make it probable that it was written either in the latter end of that reign or in Richard þ^e Ii^{de}. EW".

While the linguistic forms are largely not dialectally distinctive, there is considerable variation in the spelling system (such as the use of a number of different forms for *give*, e.g. 'gyf', 'ȝif', 'yeue', 'gyve').

3.2.1.4.4 Contents

Contents:
1. Ff.1r–37v*, *Trotula.*
   Inc. "[O]ur*e* lorde god when he had storid þe worlde of all creaturs he made manne & woman & resonabull creatu*re*s & badde hem wexe & multiply",

expl. "and than a mann schall do curys to hem by no cuttyng ne by no fyer".

2. Ff.37v–39r*, recipes (see also B483, section 3.2.1.5.4, item 9).
   Inc. "Tak schepys dong & poudyr of Comyn",
   expl. "Thys is to putte out þe secunde or after byrth".

3.2.1.5 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 483 (SC 2062)

The manuscript contains version A of the *Trotula* [ff.82r–103v]. The manuscript dates from mid-fifteenth century and contains a variety of other medical and gynecological texts in English.

3.2.1.5.1 Previous descriptions

The manuscript has been previously described by Madan and Caster 1922, 2/1:190–191); Brodin (1950:95–96); Grymonprez (1981:15–16); M. Green (1997:85–86, 2000 [1992]:67); and Barratt (2001:12–14). The manuscript and the *Trotula*-text are mentioned by Robbins (1970:406, note 35); it is also mentioned and quoted by Post (1971:86); eVK 3971.00 / 1272D, 8242.00.

3.2.1.5.2 The manuscript

The manuscript is bound in beige parchment, discoloured in places and bound with string. It is written on paper, and contains 117 folios with no flyleaves. Foliation is modern, in pencil in the upper right-hand rectos. There is no visible ruling. There are catchwords on each verso. The size of the pages (in section two) is 220x150mm, with writing space of 170x111mm. The text is set in single columns, and there are 28–31 lines per page. There are no colours or illustrations.

The manuscript is divided into two sections, and the texts are mainly written in two hands. The sections are titled, in a third hand, "Liber Primus" and "Liber Secundus". The section including the *Trotula* also contains different, earlier foliation, starting with number 1, until the end of the manuscript. The hand of the *Trotula*-text is in Anglicana, in brown ink, and appears in both sections. The manuscript contains marginal notes and underlinings in several hands.

3.2.1.5.3 Provenance

On the last leaf [f.117v] the name "jhon barcke" is inscribed, as well as the following note in a sixteenth-century hand: "anotte of an acte made the therd yere of the rayne of Keyng henry the viij for the establyng of physions and surgantts another maed in the xl yere of henry viij the physions shall parche the pattycares shoppes and thatt the phisicyons of london shall ad mitt (?) armi philcon"[44]. F.18v notes "probatum est Od petrus Raynoll". The manuscript was owned by John Twynne[45] (d. 1581), and given to the Bodleian Library by his son Thomas Twynne in 1612. The linguistic forms are not dialectally distinctive.

3.2.1.5.4 Contents

Contents:

1. Ff.1r–13v*, recipes and charms (English and Latin)[46].
   Inc. "[Incipit liber primus] aliam tria grana mirre ante accessum febris" (heading in another hand),
   expl. "ffirst take as many house snayles as ye may gete &" (acephalous, lacks first leaf + leaf or leaves after f.8v; ends abruptly).
2. Ff.14r–17v*, "Agnus Castus", alphabetical herbal.
   Inc. "Agnus castus is an herbe that men clepyth Toutsayn or parke leves",
   expl. "then he shall frete awey ded flesshe þᵉ herbe groweth muche in wodys .".
3. F.18r, change of hand and of ink (from brown to black); recipes in this hand.
   Inc. "Batayne is hote & drye yn .iij. degres & so seyth galyan",
   expl. "probatum est Od petrus Raynoll".
4. F.19r herbal continues in the latter hand.
   Inc. "[A]grymonia ys an herbe that Men clepyth Egyrmyne or gosse clyte",
   expl. "also for þᵉ feuer tercyan drynke þᵉ ȝoyse off thys herbe . and he ys hote & drye".
5. Ff.51r–54r, poem on the virtues of rosemary.
   Inc. "hic dicuntre diuerse vertutes de Rosa marina As yn boke wrytyn y fynde . off doctors yn dyuerse londe as eche man tellyth yn hys degre",
   expl. "Bynde hᵗ ouer thy navyl all a bowȝt And hᵗ shall staunche soune with owȝt dowȝt".
6. Ff.54r–56v, continuation of "Agnus Castus" (Items 2 and 4) without break[47].
   Inc. "[S]aturyoun ys yekus or candelleke . hys levys beth somedell spotty",
   expl. "The vertu off thys herbe ys gode to make a man slepe well".

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[44] Referring to the Medical Act of 1511 or 1512, which established licensing of medical practitioners, whereby those wishing to practice medicine within seven miles of the City had to be examined by the Bishop of London (Warren 2000, Furdell 2001:23), later extended to cover other parts of England. In 1543, an act was passed to protect medical practitioners other than physicians and surgeons, i.e. those licensed. The latter reference is probably to license given in 1540 to physicians to inspect apothecaries' shops (Warren 2000).

[45] Watson says that "(o)n fol. 15 is a hand which may be John Twyne's" (Watson 1986:151); it is, however, unlikely to be his hand. There is marginalia in the same hand throughout the manuscript; the marginal notes referring to the *Trotula*-text will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

[46] Mentioned by Robbins (1970:403, note 28).

7. Ff.57r–80r, another herbal[48] (mostly in English, some Latin).
   Inc. "[H]ere men may se the *ver*tues off herbes wyche ben hote & colde and for how many thynggs they ben gode Aft*er* plato galyen & Ipocras",
   expl. "& anoynte þe yen that beth dym*me* & h^t shall clere them", followed by "Finis Primi Libri" (in another hand). Ff.80v–81v blank.

8. Ff.82r–103v*, *Trotula*.
   Inc. "[Liber secundus] Our lord god when he had stored the worlde of all creatours he made man & woman a resonable creature" (heading in another hand),
   expl. "And then a man shall doo cure hem by no cuttyng ne by no fyer".

9. Ff.103v–104v*, recipes without a break (see also D37, section 3.2.1.4.4, item 2).
   Inc. "take shepys dung and powder of comyne",
   expl. "This is to putoute the secundyne or aftyrbyrthe".

10. Ff.104v–105r*, treatise on swollen testicles.
    Inc. "Now here begynneth of the swellyng of ballokis the whiche other whyle swellyn because of humo*ur*s",
    expl. "put it vpon the grevaunce / Now shall I telle you of þe passiones of a mannys yerde".

11. Ff.105r–106r*, treatise on ailments of the penis.
    Inc. "// Now here begynneth of the grevaunce of mannys yerd whiche o*þer*while is growen w^tin of kynde humo*ur*",
    expl. "after þe tente is drawen out of hyt hit is a token of helyng".

12. Ff.106r–107r*, treatise on involuntary ejaculation.
    Inc. "De pollucione . Now here begynneth of nyght pollucion þat is to sey that a man other whyle yeveth hys kynde in hys slepe in þe nyght w^toute woman",
    expl. "whiche curys been tolde in þe fyrst Chapitre".

13. Ff.107r–109r*, treatise on menstruation.
    Inc. "De Morbis mulie*rum* . Now here begynneth þe^e siknesse that comyth to a woman oftest and moste kyndely longeth to hem",
    expl. "for yong lyngs sholde blede in the first quarter of þe^e mone myddyll age men in þe^e ij^de quarter / olde men in þe^e iij^de or in þe last quarter of the mone .".

14. Ff.109r–110r*, another treatise on menstruation.
    Inc. "De Fluxu menstruo*rum* . Now here begynneth of over muche sheddyng of womannys flowrys",
    expl. "and this shall lett that þe flowrys shall not come downe .".

15. Ff.110r–112v*, treatise on the symptoms of pregnancy.
    Inc. "Of generall tokyns of concepcion oon is this if she be conceived when she was last servyd",
    expl. "and lighthede of hote blode than in þe lyfte halfe .".

16. Ff.112v–114v*, treatise on difficulties in childbirth[49].
    Inc. "Sequitur de difficultate partus mulierum ~ Now here begynneth of þe^e trauelyng that women hauen in chylde beryng",
    expl. "and anoon she shall be deliuered if it be hir tyme".

17. Ff.114v–116r*, treatise on the deliverance of the afterbirth.
    Inc. "Sequitur de secundina Now here begyn*n*eth of þe^e childs hame whiche is clepyd secundina . Constantyne seith that secundina is a litell skynne",

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[47] Grymonprez states that "ff.1r–56v contain the Agnus Castus, which was edited by Gösta Brodin in 1950. Ff.57r–80r contain a herbal […] here men may see" (Grymonprez 1981:15–16); Keiser mentions the poem on virtues of rosemary ff.75–76; Brodin includes this in the text of *Agnus Castus* (Brodin 1950:95–96); Brodin's edition uses B483 for variant readings.

[48] Edited by Grymonprez (1981) [ff.57r–67v]. Mentioned by Robbins (1970:402, note 24).

[49] Includes a number of charms for childbirth, also *peperit*-charm, f.114r. See also A12195 (section 3.2.1.3.3), A34111 (section 3.2.2.3.4), LM66 (section 3.2.4.4.4), L333 (section 3.2.5.2).

expl. "and these medicines been sufficient to help eny woman by the grace of god Explicit istud Regimen . Deo gracias ."

18. Ff.116v–117r, two gynecological recipes (in two further hands).
Inc. "for þᵉ mothyr þᵗ ys lowsyd & fall Rx Iuse off plantayne yolke off a nege", *expl.* "thys vsse tyll þᵘ be wele for thys ys well p*r*ovyd".
F.117v (in another hand) "Finis libri huius". The top of f.117r also has "Ryȝhte honorable Mast*er*" (in another hand).

3.2.1.6 Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.VI.33

The codex contains two versions of Middle English *Trotula* bound together; these are the only texts in the manuscript. Part II [ff.1r–36v] dates from the fifteenth century, while Part I [ff.1r–36r] dates from the sixteenth century. The two texts were probably bound together by the scribe of Part I or around that time; the last two leaves of the manuscript contain some recipes partly in the same hand as part I as well as in another hand. This description will focus on Part II of the manuscript, which contains a version A of the *Trotula*; see section 3.2.3.1 for Part I, which contains a version C of the text. The text in Part II is followed without a break by an additional gynecological recipe in the same hand.

3.2.1.6.1 Previous descriptions

The manuscript has previously been described by Hardwick and Luard (1858, vol. III:532); Singer (1919:card 201); M. Green (1997:85, 2000 [1992]:66); Barratt (2001:14–15) and Connolly (2009:iii, 229–231). The text has been edited by Barratt (2001). The manuscript is mentioned and quoted in Robbins (1970:406); eVK 3972.00 / 1272D, 8238.00.

3.2.1.6.2 The manuscript

The manuscript contains i+71+iii paper folios. The binding is modern.

Foliation is marked later in pencil in the upper right corner of rectos; the two parts of the manuscript contain separate sets of foliation, starting with number 1. The corners are slightly torn in this part, and have been repaired later. There are no catchwords. The pages are ruled at the margins. The manuscript is small, measuring 155x105mm. The size of the written space is 102x69mm (see dimensions of Part I in section 3.2.1.4). The text is laid out in single columns, containing 21–22 lines per page.

Part II is written in neat, small Anglicana hand (with occasional words and titles written in display script). There are no illustrations, but there are rubricated and occasionally decorated initials.

3.2.1.6.3 Provenance

F.37r contains a reference to "A dame thomkyn" not in the hand of either of the main scribes of the manuscript; there are also some recipes in the same hand. The same hand has added occasional marginal notes in Part II. There are no other indications of possible ownership. The linguistic forms are not dialectally distinctive.

3.2.1.6.4 Contents

The asterisk (*) in the following refers to the scribe of Part II; the double asterisk (**) refers to the scribe of Part I.

Contents:

1. Ff.1r–36r**, *Trotula* (Part I, Version C).
   Inc. "This boke mad a woma*n* named Rota / of þ^e p*ri*ue sicknesses þ^t lo*n*g to a woman , w^t medicynes to helpe the*m* in ther neade",
   expl. "than take a clene basou*n* w^t hote water and therin holde thi handes a whyle and thow shalt sey^e wormes crepe out .".
2. Ff.1r–36v*, *Trotula* (Part II, Version A).
   Inc. "Owre lord god . whan he had storid the word of all creatures . he made man and woman resonabill creatures and bad hem waxe and multiplie",
   expl. "and than a man shal do cure hem be no cuttyng nor be no fire .".
3. F.36v*, followed by a recipe (see also S421A, section 3.2.1.7.4, item 2).
   Inc. "A Medycine prouyd . for the white floures . of wyf of maydyn",
   expl. "a litill on hir navill and wel on hir body a litill a boue hire shar*e* . EXPLICIT".
4. Ff.37r–39v**, recipes (one in Latin).
   Inc. "I*te*m to stope a woman",
   expl. "& vse thys v or syx days and you shall be hole".

3.2.1.7 London, British Library, MS Sloane 421A

The manuscript contains version A of *Trotula* [ff.2r–25v]. The manuscript dates from the early sixteenth century, before 1530 (M. Green 1997:85, 2008:185). The manuscript includes only a brief "Regiment of Health" in addition to the *Trotula*-text.

3.2.1.7.1 Previous descriptions

The manuscript has previously been described in the *British Library Archives and Manuscripts Catalogue*[50]; M. Green (1997:85, 2000 [1992]:67); and Barratt (2001). Mentioned by Singer (1916:36), Eccles (1977:378, 379) Philips (2003:25); eVK 3973.00 / 1272D.

3.2.1.7.2 The manuscript

The material is paper, with i+30+i leaves (earlier foliation had 34 leaves, but four have been lost). The binding is modern. The paper is discoloured, with writing from the other side of the sheet showing through. There is no ruling and no catchwords. The original foliation on the upper right-hand corners of rectos has been crossed over and another set added in the upper margins of rectos. The manuscript measures 207x151mm, with writing space of 164x120–125mm. The text is laid out in single columns with 25–26 lines per page.

There is no decoration or colours. The manuscript has been written throughout by a single scribe in a sixteenth-century cursive secretary hand and contains no additional marginalia.

3.2.1.7.3 Provenance

F.1 contains some notes, apparently related to landholdings. There are no indications of ownership or provenance. The linguistic forms are not dialectally distinctive.

3.2.1.7.4 Contents

Contents:

1. Ff.2r–25v, *Trotula*.
   Inc."Our Lord God when he had stored the world of all creatures he made man and woman",
   expl. "and then a man shall doe no cure by cuttynge nor by no fire".
2. F.25v, a recipe (see also CUL33[II], section 3.2.1.6.4, item 3).

[50] Available online:
http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/search.do?dscnt=0&frbg=&scp.scps=scope%3A %28BL %29&tab=local&dstmp=1359621164787&srt=rank&ct=search&mode=Basic&dum=true&indx=1&vl(fre eText0)=sloane+421+a&fn=search&vid=IAMS_VU2. Last accessed 31/01/2013.

Inc. "a medycyne preved for whit flours of wyff or of mayd",
expl. "and well one her body a lytell above her share".
3. Ff.26r–29v, "Regiment of Health".
Inc. "The regiment of helthe Nevertheles that the most hie ineffable and most glorius leche",
expl. "your bloud is not dygested nor ye have not naturall rest enoughe".
4. F.30r, two recipes.
Inc. "To delyuer a woman of ded child",
expl. "stampe them & drynke them w^t honye & wat*er*".

3.2.1.8 Overview of Version A

Of the five extant manuscripts of *Knowyng of a womans kynd in childyng*, D37 and B483 are textually very closely related; CUL33[II] and S421A likewise. A12195 is textually closer to D37 and B483, although it contains some readings present in CUL33[II]. D37 and B483 share a number of additional recipes; CUL33[II] and S421A are both also followed by a shared recipe not included in any of the other manuscripts. A12195 omits some material present in the other manuscripts, and also includes some additions.

A12195 contains the widest variety of other texts, some of which were bound together with the quire containing the *Trotula* at a later stage. B483 also contains a number of other, largely medical, texts, while D37 appears in the codex on its own and CUL33[II] is only accompanied by another version of the *Trotula* and S421A by a brief *Regiment of health*. None of the other texts are shared between any two manuscripts.

D37 and CUL33[II] date from the early fifteenth century, B483 and A12195 from mid-or late fifteenth century, while S421A is the latest, dating from the early sixteenth century. The manuscripts are all relatively small in size, D37, CUL33[II] and A12195 being pocket-sized.

3.2.2 *Liber Trotuli* (Version B)

Translation B (*Eng2*), the *Liber Trotuli*, survives in only one manuscript, London, British Library, MS Additional 34111 [ff.197r–217v] [A34111], which dates from the early fifteenth century.

3.2.2.1 Translation and sources

Some of the lexis suggests a French, rather than Latin, exemplar (e.g."vpon þe satterday do wassh þe visage" [f.208v], "a ʒong damoysel" [f.216r]). The text is an abbreviated and rearranged version of selections from the *Trotula* (M. Green [1992]:68). The text is attributed to Galen and Hippocrates ("Galyen and ypocras þorow þe might of þe holygost hau shewed alle þe sekenes þat ben fallen to hem" [f.197r]), and individual recipes are attributed to Galen, Hippocrates, Instyne and Oribasius as well as an unnamed "leche" who cured "þe quene of **F**raunce". The manuscript also contains other material derived from the *Trotula* on ff.72v–73r (see section 3.2.2.1 below).

3.2.2.2 The text

The text contains less theoretical discussion than the other Middle English versions, and consists largely of recipes, which relate to menstruation, menstrual disorders, various uterine disorders, conception and pregnancy, problems during and after childbirth. There is nothing, however, about the processes involved in childbirth, unlike the previous translation (see the Appendix for an outline of the structure of the text).

The text includes several of the cosmetic remedies included in the *Trotula minor*, unique in the ME translations. These include recipes for clearing and softening skin (e.g. "ffor to breng rednes and gode colour in woman þat is pale of hew" [f.212v], "A nobil oynement þat is clepid color compositus is made in þis maner ¶ Tak an erbe þat is ycelpid herba marina of þe whiche þe saraʒines do dyen þair felles in þe colour of violet […] þis oyne ment makeþ faire þe faces of wyman" [f.214v–215r]), and strenghtening hairgrowth. There are recipes also for whitening teeth, freshening breath ("Do tak a lytel of þe leues of þe lorer and a litel of musco and holde vnder þe tong and noman shalle fele no euille breþe where for wymen shulde bere þis boþe day and nyght vnder þair tong whan þay shulde lige be man" [f.214v]) and sunburn.

In addition, the text includes non-gynecological recipes (also derived from *Trotula*) such as curing children's cough as well as recipes intended for men ("ffor ballokes þat bien yswolle" [f.206r]). Other recipes are not gender-specific ("whan **þe man or þe woman** goþe to baþe do tak one or two of þe eyren" [f.210r]). The text also includes recipes for

restoring virginity; unlike in some other Middle English translations, there seems to be no moral judgement involved ("þis pouder is gode for woman þat haþe hau part of man and wolde be holde for a mayden" [f.212v], "And whan þat she wille go slepe wiþ any man do hir take þes poudres ymade of dry roses of clowes and of notemugges" [f.212r]). The perspective is often male-oriented, however: "Now it is to touche of some wyman // þat hau þair priue membre so large and so euille smellyng where þo þow þeir hosebondes forsaken he*m* be cause of largenes and be þe wykked smel ne hau no wille to come nere hem" [f.211r]. There are also instructions for preserving medicines ("þis oyneme*n*t wel be keppyd þorow oute þe ȝere" [f.204r]).

The patient is referred to in third person throughout the text ("Now it is to know whan **a woman** is yswolle wheþer **she** is in þe dropesye or wiþ childe" [f.210v], "make **hem** whan þat **þei** goþe to bed wiþ man do hem wassh **þair** instrument wiþ þis same water wiþ **þaire** fynggers" [f.211v]). The preface states that the text is written because women are "more febil þan man be way of kynd and haue grete greuaunce be fele tymes in beryng of children ¶ **a**nd haþe mo diuers sekenes þan þe man [...] and wil noght telle to þe leche for shame þe sekenes þat be falleþ" [f.197r].

3.2.2.3 London, British Library, MS Additional 34111

The manuscript contains a version B of *Trotula* [ff.197r–217v]. The manuscript dates from the early fifteenth century; Sheldon estimates the date, based on paleographical evidence, as between 1420 and 1450 (Sheldon 1977:20). The manuscript was composed as a whole, and contains a number of medical and magical treatises.

3.2.2.3.1 Previous descriptions

Described in *The Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1888–1893* (1894:198–200); Singer (1919:card 204); Sheldon (1977:20); M. Green (1997:86, 2000 [1992]:68); *British Library Archives and Manuscripts Catalogue*[51]. Excerpts have been edited by Barratt (2010). Mentioned by Singer (1916:36) and Eccles (1977:380); eVK 3758.00.

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[51] Available online: http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/dlDisplay.do?docId=IAMS032-002025081&vid=IAMS_VU2&indx=1&dym=false&dscnt=1&onCampus=false&group=ALL&institution=BL&ct=search&vl(freeText0)=032-002025081&vid=IAMS_VU2. Last accessed 31/01/2013.

3.2.2.3.2 The manuscript

The manuscript is a large octavo in vellum (iii+238+iii leaves). The binding is modern. The pages are ruled. There are usually no catchwords. There are two sets of foliation upper right-hand corner of rectos; the original foliation does not take into account the table of contents, and has been crossed over and replaced by another foliation in pencil. The page dimensions are 271x170mm, with writing space of 203x139mm. The text is laid out in single columns, with 25 lines per page. The manuscript is written throughout in one hand, in large Anglicana formata and contains very few contractions or abbreviations. The text contains rubricated initials and paragraph marks as well as underlining in red; the manuscript is rubricated throughout.

While ff.197r–217v contain no illustrations, there is a figure of a man illustrating zodiacal influences on different body parts [f.36v] and an amulet [f.238v]. There are occasional marginal notes in another hand.

3.2.2.3.3 Provenance

The *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1888–1893* suggests that the manuscript was compiled for or by Master William or Williain Somers, based on references to him in the manuscript[52] (1894:198–200, Fordyn 1983:9). Green, however, concludes that the references might be to "the experimenta of a 13th(?)-century physician, William de Sumere" (M. Green 1997:86). On f.1r is the name "Th. Mid", which, the Catalogue suggests, might refer to Thomas Jones, Bishop of Meath, 1584–1605 (Cat. 1894:198–200). In addition, at the end of the manuscript, in a sixteenth-century hand, is the name "R. Smith".

The text contains numerous references to authorities as well as to geographical locations and other names: "þis medicine made hole Frere Johan de Alba Landa of cardiacke"[53] [f.39v], "þis medicine is proued be a nobil man sire Thomas Veȝiaunt" [f.190r], "yproued be Maistere Benet þat was a man of Englond" [f.234r].

[52] "Here bygynneþ þe Experimentes of a Wyseman þat was yclepid Rusticus þe whiche experimentes Mayster Gylliam Somers proved be fele tymes", f.174r; Master William or Gyllyam also mentioned on ff.114r and 169r.

[53] Alba Landa, or Whitland, a Cistercian abbey in South-West Wales, founded in 1140 (Cowley 1977:46, see also *Monastic Wales Online*, available online: http://monasticwales.org/site/36. Last accessed 30/01/2013).

The language shows a mixture of East Midland and Kentish dialect forms, and the manuscript "was probably written in the South of England, perhaps close to London, or in Surrey" (Sheldon 1977:20). Some characteristic features include the use of the prefix *y-*or *i-* for past participle (e.g. *ysent, iclepid*), *eyren* 'eggs' (*a(n)ney(e)* 'an egg').

3.2.2.3.4 Contents

Ff 1r–30v include a table of contents (see below Item 1). The following list of contents will use the designations in that table of contents, which frequently, although not always, uses both Latin and English titles for the texts. These are the titles used to refer to the texts where they appear; not all the texts in the manuscript are listed.

Contents:

1. Ff.1r–30v*, table of contents (the titles of the texts, in Latin and English, are first enumerated, with marginal listing from A to S, followed by a list of *incipits* for individual entries. These are accompanied by folio numbers, added in a later hand).
    Inc. "Now it is to know þe names of þe bokes þat bien ywryte and contyend in þis volume þe whyche bokes Galyen & ypocras hau ymade and oþer maysters also And ate þe first it is to be gynne and to spek of þe chapitres þat bien in euery boke þat stondeþ be ordre",
    expl. "Now assaye þat whan man be ywounded ffor þe same".
2. Ff.31r–35r*, "Liber de diuersis medicinis et electuarijs" (recipes, charms and explanations of medical properties of medicines).
    Inc. "Liber de medi cinis & electuarijs ffor sonnyng of eren ¶ Tak rubarbe",
    expl. "and ȝif a man wille go moche do þis herbe in his sho and he shal noȝt werye".
3. Ff.36v–37r*, treatise on zodiacal signs.
    Inc. "¶ Aries haþe of mannesbody heued and visage",
    expl. "whan þat þe mone is ony of þo signes vnneþe shalle he euer be hole". F.36v contains an image of a male figure, with a description of zodiacal connections to different body parts.
4. F.37v*, recipes.
    Inc. "Tak of clowes sal gemine ceruce",
    expl. "and do þe seek drenk euery day at eue and at morne þe iuse of fumete" (instead of a catchword the bottom right-hand side of the page contains the words "loke þe toþer syde", indicating a possible missing leaf or a reference to the previous folio).
5. F.38r*, twenty-one hexameter lines (Latin).
    Inc. "Here bigynnen *ver*ses of man from þe cop of þe heued doune to þe sole of þe fote",
    expl. "grex fortis pasci*tur* eruo".
6. Ff.38v–39v*, recipes.
    Inc. "Take aumbre orientale an vnce",
    expl. "& þan shalle he be hole".

7. Ff.40r–69v*, "Speculum medicor*um*"[54].
   Inc. "Her begynneth a boke þat is clepid þe spectacle of medicines þe wyche wysemen ad seen for helþ of mannes body // and þis boke was made and icompild of diuers auctours"[55],
   expl. "& þis drenk is gode for alle euels þat bien in mannesbody and yprouede" (imperfect at the end).
   Preceded by eleven introductory elegiac lines (in Latin, with translation following).
   Inc. "Ne tibi displiceat" / "mis like it noght to þe þo i be of litel bodi",
   expl. "Sheweþ wonders in herbes þo it be noȝt so toþe"[56].

8. Ff.70r–71v*, "De caminib*us* et alijs exp*er*imentis" / "Of charmes and oþer exp*er*iment*es*"[57] (imperfect at the beginning and end).
   Inc. "mario (*sic*) trewliche broght furþe crist ¶ So trewliche þow veyne wiþholde þi blode In the name of þe fader and þe sonne and þe holygost and write þe names in p*ar*chemyn",
   expl. "Tak a coluer hede and a frogesheued and mak pouder".

9. Ff.72r–76v*, recipes (including some derived from the *Trotula* for conception and contraception[58]) (imperfect at the beginning).
   Inc. "alle hole and gandersdong and mak poudre and lege vpon þe dede flessh",
   expl. "and bynd it to þe flank in þe baþe be iij dayes and kepe þe in rest & þow shalt be hole".

10. Ff.77r–89v*, "Exp*er*imenta Alexandri" / "Alexandr*es* exp*er*iments".
    Inc. "Here bygynneþ þe exp*er*imentes of Alisaundre",
    expl. "seþe þes in water and mak an emplastre & lege vpon þe bocche Explicit".

11. Ff.90r–114r*, "Pomum ambre".
    Inc. "Here bygyneþ a boke þat is iclepid Pomum ambre þat spekeþ of oy*nt*mentes diu*er*ses balles syropes and emplastres",
    expl. "and do to þe poudre of þe seede of stasifag*r*e and eysil and lege vpon þe scalle Inspice sc*ri*pta lege q*uo*d Pomu*m* t*er*minat Ambre".

12. F.114r*, recipes.
    Inc. "Maister William made þis syrop to hem þ*t* hau greuaunce of þe splene",
    expl. "and do vpon þe heued and in nose þrilles and it shalle restore þe mynd".

13. Ff.114v–169v*, "Exp*er*imenta dinamidior*um* libri Galiem" / "Galien exp*er*imentes"[59] (includes some gynecological material and contraceptives, ff.128v and 145v).
    Inc. "Here bigynneþ þe Exp*er*imentes of Galiene & ate þe heued he wille begynne",
    expl. "and þis is a gode medicine".

14. Ff.170r–173v*, "Exp*er*imenta gen*er*alia" / "Gen*er*al exp*er*imentes" (imperfect at the beginning).

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[54] Mentioned in Hunt, who includes items 7–15 in the "Speculum medicorum" [ff.40r–190r) (1997:10–11).

[55] F.51v contains the following note in the main hand: "I be lyght in þe begynnyng of þis litel boke for to a gone doune to þe sole of þe fote frome þe coppe of þe heued ȝif þat it hadde lykyd vn to me ¶ Bote for I am broght in sekenesse and may noȝt geder alle þinges". This, however, rather than an addition by the compiler, is likely to have been transmitted along the "Speculum medicorum" (Hunt 1997:10–11).

[56] Mentioned in *The Digital Index of Middle English Verse,* erroneously on f.31r; no 3527–1 (available online: http://www.cddc.vt.edu/host/imev/. Last accessed 27/01/2013).

[57] Mentioned in Robbins (1970:405, note 34) and Sheldon 1978,. Charms on ff.70v, 71r and 75r mentioned by Mitchell (2011:75, note 191).

[58] Also *peperit*-charm, ff.73r and 74r. Mentioned by Mitchell (2011:67, note 155). See also A12195 (section 3.2.1.3.3), B483 (section 3.2.1.5.4), LM66 (section 3.2.4.4.4), L333 (section 3.2.5.2).

[59] Mentioned in Norri (2004:103).

Inc. "in wyne to þe halfendele and þan do streyne þis licour" (the table of contents [f.19r] gives the *incipit* as "Here bygynneþ a wrytte for þe festre in þe bygynnyng of a boke of þe gen*er*al Exp*er*imentes and þe chapytres þat longgen þer to"),
expl. "and a lege apon þe sore wiþ a feþer twys vpon þe day".

15. Ff.174r–190r*, "Exp*er*imenta Rustici" / "Rusti [*sic*] exp*er*imentes"[60].
Inc. "Here bygynneþ þe Experimentes of a wyseman þat was yclepid Rusticus þe whiche exp*er*imentes Mayster Gylliam Somers proved be fele tymes and haþe bygonne ate heued þ whiche ys most worþi of alle mannesbody",
expl. "a drope of þe iuse of þe smal lytel nettle in þe eyen and þis medicine is p*ro*ued be a nobil man sire Thomas Veȝiaunt".

16. Ff.190v–195r*, "Exp*er*imenta parisij abbats sa*ncti* marcij" / "þe exp*er*imentes of þe abbote of seint mark".
Inc. "Here bygynneþ þe Exp*er*imentes of p*ar*ise þe abbote þat was sometyme of seynt marc",
expl. "wiþ a penne do in þe festre a gode porcion til þat it beo alle hole".

17. Ff.195r–196v*, "Virtutes aquile" / "þe vertues of þe egle"[61].
Inc. "Here bygynneþ þe vertues of þe Egle þat is kyng of all fowles and is of grete boþe be day and be night and is helpyng of many man and woman",
expl. "ȝif an woman haue a feþer of þe weng vnder þe fete and she `be´ wiþ child sone shal she be deliu*er*ed Explicit".

18. Ff.197r–217v*, *Trotula* ("Liber Trotuli").
Inc. "Liber trotuli Her bygynneþ a boke þat is clepid Liber Trotuli Siþen þat god of his grete grace and souereyn leche ouer*e* alle oþer*e*",
expl. "and do enoynt þe face Explicit liber trotuli".

19. Ff.218r–230v*, "Experimenta cophonis" / "þe experimentes of cophone"[62].
Inc. "Here bygynnen þe Exp*er*imentes of Cophon þe leche of Salerne",
expl. "& ley þe lefe vpon þe wounde".

20. Ff.231r–233v*, "Secreta Ypoc*ra*tis" / "þe pryuetes of ypocras".
Inc. "Here bygynneþ þe priuetes of þe gode man & a wyse þat was yclepid ypocras þe whiche man whan he drew to deþe yclosed were þes priuetes in a case of euore",
expl. "and in þe bygynnyng of his sekenes he hadde grete talent of wete licoure".

21. Ff.233v–235v*, "Exp*er*imenta Rustici" (cf. Item 15).
Inc. "Now here bigynneþ þe Exp*er*imentes of Rustici ffor to knowe wheþer a wound be curable or vncurable",
expl. "and meng wiþ þe iuse of cameleo".

22. Ff.235v–238v*, "Secreta Ypocratis" (cf. Item 20).
Inc. "Now here bigynneþ ypocras his priuetes in anoþer maner þe whiche priuetes were ydo in a case of euore and leyde vnder his heued in his toumbe",
expl. "Now here is made an ende of þe priuites of ypocras".
F.238, followed by an image inscribed with the word "Sparagi" with notes on the virtues of herbs.
Inc. "Erbyne[63] is my name And who so bereþ me aboute þe nek he shal noght drede no maner goute",
expl. "and drenk þis erbe and it deliuereþ venym".

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[60] A charm mentioned by Mitchell (2011:69, note 168).
[61] Edited by Sheldon (1977).
[62] Edited by Fordyn (1983). Mentioned in Robbins (1970:409).
[63] In eVK the incipit is transcribed as"vervain" (see also *National Library of Medicine*, available online: http://indexcat.nlm.nih.gov/logicrouter/servlet/LogicRouter?
PAGE=object&OUTPUTXSL=object_enc36ui.xslt&pm_RC=REPOEVK&pm_GT=Y&pm_IAC=Y&pm_OI
=5105&api_1=GET_OBJECT_XML&num_relate=5105. Last accessed 31/01/2013).

3.2.3 *Boke Mad [by] a Woman Named Rota* (Version C)

Translation C (*Eng5*), or the *Boke Mad [by] a Woman Named Rota*, survives in two manuscripts: Cambridge University Library Ii.VI.33 [Part I, ff.1r–32v] [CUL33[I]] and Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 403 (V.3.1) [pp.347–363] [H403]. Both extant versions date from the sixteenth century, and the translation is likely to be of a similar date (M. Green 1997:88).

3.2.3.1 Translation and sources

Barratt suggests that Version C (MS CUL33) could have been translated from French on linguistic grounds. CUL33[I] includes instructions for taking a "lytyll erthen pott newe". On this basis, "the position of 'newe' after the noun suggests that the translator's original might be French" (Barratt 2010 [1992]:38)[64]. There is, however, little direct evidence to suggest the exemplars.

The text is a free translation of a few chapters of the *Trotula major* and *minor* (M. Green 1997:88, 2000 [1992]:69). CUL33[I] is alone among the Middle English *Trotula*-texts in attributing the text to "a woman named Rota". Whereas CUL33[I] refers to female authority, unnamed physicians as well as empirical evidence (e.g. "as physicke seyes and so it hath byn proved in diu*er*s wemen" [f.16v], "as wemen seye" [f.19r], "the fisisiones" [f.3r]), H403 does not include these references to female authority, attributing medicines to "Greett docturs of physyke" [p.360] or "the phylosophers and physycyons" [p.352]. Unlike in the other translations, however, these are not named. The local and possibly contemporary references in CUL33[I] also include attributing a recipe for conception to "Hychecocke" [f.28v] and explaining that a recipe for constipation is "wel proued by a lady of yorke", who was tended by a "doctur of fisike" who "com … to yorke" [f.24v].

3.2.3.2 The text

The preface enumerates six main categories of women's illnesses and the order in which they are treated in the text: "¶ The first is þ^e slyppyng out of the matrice . ¶ The second is þ^e

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[64] The other surviving version of this translation, H403, reads "alyttylle newe erthyne poott". CUL33 also reads a few lines further down "an nother newe erthen Pott". Since this is the only example of its kind, the positioning of the adjective could simply be the result of scribal copying. Moskowich-Spiegel (2009) cites various examples of postponed adjectives in Middle English medical texts.

rysing of þᵉ matrice . ¶ The thyrd ys þᵉ wythstandyng of the flowris . ¶ The fourthe ys the flyx of þᵉ floures . The fyfthe is þᵉ letyng of concevynge . ¶ The syxth is an hardenes of deliu*er*yng in tyme of trauell" [CUL33[I], ff.1r–v]. Both of the extant versions agree on the contents according to the preface, discussing uterine disorders, menstrual disorders, conception and childbirth (see the Appendix for an outline of the structure of the texts).

CUL33[I] also includes material not derived from the *Trotula* relating to general healthcare (such as insomnia, toothache, cleaning wounds and treating a sore throat) as well as cosmetic aids for women and men (e.g. "To kepe a mannes here fro*m* fallyng" [f.30r]) and general household recipes[65]. Its additions include parenthetical remarks such as when instructed to heat an oil until it is lukewarm, "þᵗ is as mylke is whe*n* it co*m*meth fro*m* the cowe" [f.14v]. The text also contains directions for obtaining ingredients from apothecaries, and for preparing and preserving medicines ("This medycyne must be made in somer sone af*ter* midsomer" [f.27r], "put it in a box and kepe it" [f.23r]) as well as the price of ingredients ("thou maist do wynter and somer wᵗ out ony gret cost" [f.21v]).

H403 also includes material omitted from CUL33[I], including contraceptives ("Moor*e* ou*er*e they*r*e arr*e* certyne thyngs and Medysyns Thatt yf awomane vsse to Beyr*e* theme aboutte hyr*e* alle thatt tyme that sche hasse theme aboutte hyr*e* sche maye nott conseve" (pp. 356–357). These include carrying the head of a female weasel, the testicles of a male weasel, or a turquoise against bare skin, using a seed of barley or spurge (euphorbia) as a pessary or drinking the juice of savin with water. The text continues with a warning that "Theys medycyns are ordynydin physyke for*e* theme þᵗ ar*e* in p*er*ylle of deythe in the tyme of the delyu*er*ans in travyllynge and nott for*e* noo vnthe*r*ysts and fowllyche wher*e*e foor*e* sychethyngs / schowlde notte be knowne wythe ʒongge foowls / Butt for*e* to saffe good and saagge womene from p*er*ylle" (p. 357). These contraceptives derive from the *Trotula* and are not included in any other Middle English translations, apart from LM66 (see section 3.2.4.2); British Library, MS Additiona1 34111 also includes some of these in the manuscript (although not in the *Trotula*-text itself; see section 3.2.2.1).

CUL33[I] tends to emphasise moral considerations ("And yf she be maryde / and may in any maner of mey`n´es company wt her husbande" [f.5r]), where H403 omits the references to marriage ("and yf thatt sche maye be onye mens geett to hyre Mans

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[65] "To make p*er*ssly to grow ynan houre space" [f.29r], "To make vinegre shortly" [f.29v], "yf yow will haue many roses in a garden" [f.30r].

companye" [p.349]), although CUL33[I] also includes a recipe for to "make a woman thath hath borne a cheld when she was syngull to seme a mayde" [f.18r]. Both include a recipe for "a woman be ouer large beneth to make it narower … and for to make her seme a mayde"; CUL33[I] adds "vse this medicyne for she is abhominable to her husbande" [f.18r], an addition not present in H403, which explains that the medicine is intended for those who have borne children, "howbeytt thatt sche had hade .ij. or .iij. Chyldryne" [p.361].

H403 consistently refers to the patient in third person, apart from the very last line in which the address form changes into second person ("wasche **hyre** leggs welle beneythe the kneyes Butte noo hyer*e* / and soo warme goo **thow** to **thye** Beede and take **thy** reste", H403, p.363). There is even more fluctuation in CUL33[I], and sometimes it is unclear who is to perform the treatments ("put in **yo**ʳ fyngers in to **hir** p*ri*vete and a noynt it well w**ᵗ**in as far as **you** kan Reche and let for not shame to saue **your selfe** for **your** p*ri*vete must be anoynted w**ᵗ**in and not w**ᵗ**out" [CUL33[I], f.25r]). Sometimes the text, addressing the reader in second person, instructs the patient to perform some treatments herself ("And lett **a woman***e* anoynt **her** handes w**ᵗ** an oyle that is called oleu*e* mustelimu*m* [...] and put **her** fyngers into **her** p*ri*vete and stere abowte faste to ma þ**ᵉ** mater to dyspley & cu*m* downe faste" [CUL33[I], f.4v]), while at other times the patient is addressed directly: "and w**ᵗ**in aoure and a halfe **you** shall fele **youre** flowrs begynne to breke & cu*m* / and as sone as **yow** perceue þ**ᵗ** / take it out & leye it besyde **you** tyll a nother tyme and wype it w**ᵗ** a clothe" [CUL33[I], ff.20r–v].

3.2.3.3 Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.VI.33

Part I of CUL33 [ff.1r–32v] contains *A Boke mad by a woman named Rota*, or version C of *Trotula*, dating from the sixteenth century. There is a lacuna in the text after f.18v. Besides this text, the manuscript also contains version A of the *Trotula* in a different hand, followed by miscellaneous recipes and notes mainly in the hand of Part I, but also in a third hand. These notes date from the sixteenth century.

3.2.3.3.1 Previous descriptions

For previous descriptions and a description of the manuscript, see section 3.2.1.4 above. Also described in M. Green (1997:88, 2000 [1992]:70), Singer (1919:card 201); evK 7358.00, 4565.00 / 284J, and 4898.00.

3.2.3.3.2 The manuscript

Foliation is later, on the upper right-hand corners of rectos. The pages are not ruled. There are catchwords. This part of the manuscript measures 158mm x 105mm; the written space is 149mm x 93mm, although the space is irregular. Each page, set in single columns, contains 19–22 lines.

Part I is written in "large, bad hand" (CUL catalogue); the writing is careless, in faded black ink. There are numerous abbreviations and contractions as well as corrections by the scribe. This part contains no illustrations or colours. There are no annotations or marginalia by later users.

3.2.3.3.3 Provenance

The linguistic forms are not dialectally distinctive.

3.2.3.4 Glasgow, Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 403 (V.3.1)

This manuscript contains Version C of *Trotula* (pp. 347–363; pages 354–355 missing because of a mistake in pagination). It bears the dates 1544 and 1534.

3.2.3.4.1 Previous descriptions

The manuscript has been previously described by Young and Aitken (1908:321–322[66]), M. Green (1997:88–89, 2000 [1992]:70–71) and Cross (2004:30). The text has been edited by Ortega Barrera (2008); eVK 7021.00 / 284J, 7366.00.

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[66] Available online: http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/manuscripts/search/detail_c.cfm?ID=35316. Last accessed 30/01/2013.

3.2.3.4.2 The manuscript

The manuscript is bound, written on paper and contains i+370 pages. Binding is eighteenth-century millboards with gilt-tooled edges, bearing William Hunter's crest. There are catchwords on each verso. Pagination is on rectos only (pp.1–363). The dimensions are 270x187mm, with writing space of 216x140mm. The text is set in single columns, with 34 lines per page.

The manuscript is written throughout in one hand, a "bold round hand with numerous contractions" (Young and Aitken 1908). There are some underlinings in two later hands, some in red. There is marginalia in several hands, in English and in Latin. The *Trotula*-text does not contain any illustrations, but there are two coloured drawings elsewhere in the manuscript (pp.28 and 29).

3.2.3.4.3 Provenance

The manuscript was owned by Robert Green of Welby (of Lincolnshire or possibly Leicestershire). The manuscript is dated October 9th 1544; there is a note in William Hunter's hand on f.1r: "Practica Magistri Jo. Arderne de Newark Syrurgica ; usquead pag. 179 , quo loco est Inscriptio hoc . Deo gratias 1544, 9[no] Octobris per me Robertum Green de Welbe Incipit Compilatio Emplasteorum & Unguentorum diversorum Doctorum excellentissimorum"; p.179 has, in Robert Green's hand (the main hand of the MS) "et sic finis deo gracias .1544. 9[de] octobris curre*n*te per me Robertu*m* green ∴ de Welbe ∴", and p.280 "finis hui*us* / 1534 /". P.183 "Edward Secker" (seventeenth-century hand). The manuscript was bequeathed to Glasgow University by William Hunter in 1783, but remained in London for the use of Dr Matthew Baillie until 1807 (Young and Aitken 1908). The linguistic forms are not dialectally distinctive.

3.2.3.4.4 Contents

There is a table of contents on ff.1r–2v in a later hand (neither Hunter nor Green).
Contents:
1. Flyleaf i–ii, pp.1–2, table of contents.

2. Pp.3–179*, "Magistri Johannis Arderne, Practica Chirvrgiae"[67] (Latin).
   Inc. "PRACTICA . MAGISTRI . IOH*ANN*IS arderne de Newarke syrurgic",
   expl. "Et sic ffinis deo gracias /.1544./ 9*de* octobris Curre*n*te per me Robert*um* green ∴ de Welbe ∴.".

3. Pp.179–264*, "Compilatio Emplastrorvm et Vngventorvm", recipes (Latin and English).
   Inc. "Incipit Compilacio Emplastor*um* et vngue*n*tor*um* Diu*er*sor*um* doctor*um* excellentissinor*um*",
   expl. "arapam cu*m* scipitibus & pone in"[68].

4. Pp.265–280*, medical treatise (Latin).
   Inc. "Hec su*n*t verba que retuli*n*t quedar*um* fenex et verba inuenta fueru*n*t in libris",
   expl. "colica*m* curat passi^oe*rum* finis hui*us* / 1534 /".

5. Pp.281–286*, recipes.
   Inc. "ano þer for gowtt Rx v or vj grett onyons",
   expl. "þ^en ley ytt appone þe soor / e*tc* ./".

6. Pp.286–344*, treatises and recipes on aqua vite (Latin and English).
   Inc. "prologus in tractatu*m* aque vite",
   expl. "þe wyche þ^t fowndyde of bloode accordyne to the Capituls be for rehersyde".

7. Pp.345–346*, recipes.
   Inc. "for ache of wonds Rx Beets / salge / & þe dropps ´of nettyls´",
   expl. "þ^en strene ytt & keppe ytt Boxys to thyne vsse /".

8. Pp.347–363*, *Trotula*.
   Inc. "Thys booke was drawne owtte of dyu*er*se boks of medycyns concernynge the dessessus of women bye one exp*er*te in the anothamye and specyall co*n*sernynge the p*ar*ts of awomane",
   expl. "and soo warme goo thow to thye Beede and take thy reste finis hui*us*".
   The remaining pages are blank.

3.2.3.5 Overview of Version C

Both of the manuscripts of the *Boke Mad [by] a Woman Named Rota* date from the sixteenth century. Both include material not present in the other manuscript; in H403, advice on contraceptives is derived from the *Trotula*, while CUL33[I] includes a number of other additions and recipes. Textually, CUL33[I] is considerably simplified in comparison with H403, and while the structure of the text is similar in both, the two manuscripts also differ in the address forms, H403 (for the most part) referring to the patient in the third person, while in CUL33[I] the address forms fluctuate between second and third persons.

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[67] Including mostly medical (including gynecological) and some general recipes (e.g. "To make a candle that can not be blown out", "To make a perpetual Luminary").
[68] The Catalogue lists the "Compilatio Emplastrorvm et Vngventorvm" from p. 179 to p. 363, and the *explicit* as "wasche hyre leggs welle beneythe the kneyes Butte noo hyer*e* / and soo warme goo thow to thye Beede and take thy reste", the *explicit* of the *Trotula* (item 7).

While H403 includes a number of other medical texts in the manuscript, both in English and in Latin, CUL33[I] is accompanied only by another version of the *Trotula*. CUL33[I] is very small in size (158x105mm), while H403 is one of the largest Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts, measuring 270x187mm.

3.2.4 *Secreta Mulierum* (Version D)

Translation D (*Eng3*), or *Secreta Mulierum*, survives in three manuscript versions: London, British Library, MS Sloane 121 [ff.100r–105r] [S121[I]; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat.Misc.c.66 [ff.83r–86v] [LM66]; and Cambridge, Jesus College, MS 43 (Q.D.I) [ff.70r–75v] [JC43]. All three extant manuscripts date from the fifteenth century. S121[I] includes a partial version only.

3.2.4.1 Translation and sources

The text is a literal translation of sections from the *Trotula major* and *minor* (M. Green 2000 [1992]:71, 1997:86). The Latin text could have originated in England or in Flanders; referring to gynecological treatises as *Secreta Mulierum*, or "Women's secrets" was more common in the continent (M. Green 1997:86).

The text is attributed to Hippocrates and Galen ("epocras & Galyene þe fylosofers and ffaderys of fysek", J43), in addition to which individual recipes are attributed to Rufus as well as an unnamed "leche" and "midwives"; there is no indication of the alleged female origins of the work.

3.2.4.2 The text

The subject-matters include menstrual disorders, incontinence, conception (including a section "If þe defawte of coᵣcepcouᵣ be in þe man" [JC43, f.74v]), pregnancy and childbirth, determining the sex of a child, unability to have sexual relations and various uterine disorders (see the Appendix for an outline of the structure of the texts).

The translation seems to have been made for the doctor or physician, not directed to either the patient or the midwife. The patient is consistently referred to in third person: "mak a

fumigacion to þᵉ **woman** & þᵗ helpit **her**e meche" [S121[I], f.107r], "whan*ne* **sche** is so wel purgid lete **hir**e husbonde ofte tyme swyue **hir**e þat **sche** may conseyve" [LM66, f.86r]. The preface (omitted or lost in S121[I] but present in LM66 and JC43) states that the text is written "for þe loue of women" [JC43, ff.70r, 70v], explaining that women are often too ashamed ("þoruȝ schame & reednesse of face" [LM66, f.83r]) to present themselves or to discuss their diseases with (male) physicians, "were for wrechydnesse & dissehese co*m*pellyth my wylle to besynes […] þat y myth drawe owt þe cures wyth travayl for þe loue of women þorowth þe fadyrly help of epocras & Galyene þe fylosofers and ffaderys of fysek haue in here bokes opynly declared" [JC43, f.70r–v]. The text presents a juxtaposition between "us" and "them" in reference to midwives, noting that "þer bene physycall remedies þat ben hydde from **vs** þe qwyche bene don be medwyves" [JC43, f.74r].

LM66 also includes contraceptives (see also sections 3.2.2.1 [A34111] and 3.2.3.2 [H403]); these are omitted from the two other texts. While all of the texts include recipes for "constrictoryes to make a wom*m*ans p*ri*uyte streyte as a mayde" [S121, f.104v], the readers are warned against these ("þ*er* be som*e* wo*m*men vn clene and corrupt / weche desyren for to be foun den*e* aft*er* as maydenys and þey maken hem selff stryctoryes but þey don vnwysly"). The pespective, however, is male, rather than female; such methods should not be used "ffor þey make hem selff full of blood and deseseth sore mannes membr*e* þat deleþ wᵗ hem" [S121, f.105r].

3.2.4.3 London, British Library, MS Sloane 121

Ff.100r–105r contains Version D of *Trotula*, dating from the fifteenth century. The text is a partial version, lacking the prologue as well as beginning of the text; there is also a lacuna between ff.100 and 101. The same manuscript also contains another Middle English *Trotula* (version E, ff.106r–107v; see section 3.2.5.3 for description of this text) as well as various other medical, alchemical and astrological texts in English and in Latin; there are various different hands.

2.4.3.1 Previous descriptions

The manuscript has previously been described by Ayscough (1782); *British Library Archives and Manuscripts Catalogue*; British Library *Online Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts*[69]; and M. Green (1997:87, 2000 [1992]:71–72); eVK 4364.00.

3.2.4.3.2 The manuscript

The codex as it is now bound contains iii+128+iii paper and parchment leaves; it also includes some printed material. Binding is modern (BL, rebound 1970). There are various layers of foliation in the manuscript.

This description focuses on ff.100–105. There is foliation in red ink on the upper right-hand corner of rectos (the manuscript as a whole contains also other layers of foliation)[70]. Pages are ruled on all sides. There are no catchwords, but the last word on the page is sometimes placed at the right-hand bottom of the page, below the last full line. The dimensions of the page are 205x140mm, with written space of 155x98mm. The text is set in a single column, with 30 lines per page.

Ff.100–105 contain a single rubricated initial and scribal marginal notes, paragraph marks and manicules. The manuscript contains some illustrations, but there are none within the *Trotula*-texts. The hand is a mixed anglicana.

3.2.4.3.3 Provenance

Ff.1v–2r contain a date of 1610, (e.g. f.2r "This booke Teacheth to be a phisysion") as well as a possible reference to Bedford; there are also other references to names and geographical locations, although these are largely illegible[71]. These are in a later hand than the *Trotula*-texts. The name Thomas Sety is inscribed on ff.110v and 117v. The manuscript

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[69] Available online: http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/illuminatedmanuscripts/record.asp? MSID=995&CollID=9&NStart=121. Last accessed 22/01/2013.

[70] The digit 24 is also inserted on f.100r, according to a numbering of the texts in the manuscript. Not all texts are numbered (the other Trotula-version on ff.106-107, for instance), and occasionally individual recipes or divisions in a text receive a number.

[71] E.g. f.1r "To remember to speake to Turpine, in by the woodstreete to be aquaynted with him from m^r Johnsonne of [?]", "12. of nov^{e}mber on mundaye afore daye" and dates 1536, 1600, 1636. F.2v also contains a table of contents or a list of books, which, however, does not appear to relate to the contents of this manuscript (e.g. "A booke in frenche called the Good stewarde of distillacione").

was acquired by Sir Hans Sloane in 1693 and by the British Museum in 1753. The linguistic forms are not dialectally distinctive.

3.2.4.3.4 Contents

Contents:

1. Ff.1v–8v (ff.6r, 8v blank), miscellaneous notes and recipes[72].
2. Ff.9r–32v*, alphabetical herbal, numbered (Latin and English).
   Inc. "Aaron aronbarba Iarus pes vituli",
   expl. "ȝegi .i. vitriolu*m*" (incl. some later additions).
3. Ff.35r–36r*, medical rules according to the *homo signorum*[73].
   Inc. "Astronomonys sayne þ^t a cirurgione shulde ~~knowe~~ not kutte ne kerne ne opyn no veyne on man*n*es body",
   expl. "haue i*n* mynde alle þes þyngs rehersed of þe 12 synes yf þ^u wolte haue a name floryshed wyt goode fame".
4. Ff.36v–37v, charms (Latin; crossed over).
   Inc. "Ad probandu*m* quis fecit latronu*m* scribe quot no*min*a",
   expl. "apparebu*n*t Serpent*um*".
5. F.37v, a recipe.
   Inc. "To make aqua vite",
   expl. "& put hem in a stillatorye and stille hem with an esy fer*e*".
6. Ff.38r–58r*, treatise on urines[74] (see also LM66, section 3.2.4.4.4, item 1; and JC43, section 3.2.4.5.4, item 10).
   Inc. "Eche vryn is clensynge of blood",
   expl. "And þus endyth þys / tretise to þe honour of god and in helpynge of our*e* emcrysten / Amen /".
7. F.58r, a recipe (in a different hand).
   Inc. "pro emigrantio Take oyle of roses",
   expl. "& þe plast*er* p*ro*bat*um* est"
8. F.58v*, treatise on blood.
   Inc. "ffor to knowe blood of man or woman",

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[72] Partly badly faded and illegible, in a later hand. The punctuation differs from that of the rest of the texts in the manuscript. Includes miscellaneous notes, recipes (one on f.3r is attributed to "M^r doctyr Turner"; possibly Doctor William Turner, f.1568; also f.128r (last flyleaf): "doctur tourners plaster for Dame [?] hand"), a poem (f.1v, *inc.* "God be in my head and in my being", *expl.* "goodnes in thy selfe now & ever lastynge . amen"), an index to the contents, musical notes, miscellaneous notes in a question-answer format relating to love and surgery (f.3r, *inc.* "what `thinge´ is love love is a passion that dothe blynde the fynites, Removeth the vnderstandinge", *expl.*"the whirlepoole of mans laborrys."; f.3r, *inc.* "what are dyuers women of their seknes; Beastes vnperfecte, geven to son thensaid [?] passions", *expl.* "so that he be able to covere hir skine & or in parte `to´ satefye hir luste he is wellcome."; f.3v, *inc.* "what be the paynes of love", "what is the meate of perfect lovers", "who be the messengers of love", "what are the causes of lovers sicnesses", "whiche are the ꝑ̸[?]Benefites of love"; f.4r *inc.* "what is a Surgion: A surgion, is; the servau*n*te of nature"; "what is Surgerie & wherof is it sayde orderyved, & what workinge oughte it to have, & in what sorte oughte a Scilfull Surgion to worke, what is the Intention of a Surcion; And in how manie. kynds is Surgerie devided"; f.4v, *inc.* "what the Intention of a Surceon be"), followed by "A Brefe declaration of the fyve partes of medicine apertaynige to the Artiste whose names folowe", lists of the four elements and humours [f.6r] and a list of the planets and their effects (f.8r, *inc.* "Off the nature of the planetes, telleth vs, noble philosopher callid Tholomevs: In what maner a childe is formed, [in] his mothers wombe"). These folios also contain drawings and illustrations relating to medicine and astrology.

[73] Mentioned in Robbins (1970:402, note 25), Taavitsainen (1987:26).

[74] See also section 3.2.4.2 (LM66; item 1). Ff.41r–v mentioned in Tavormina (2005).

expl. "it signyfeth þᵗ sche haþ lust to man / &c".

9. Ff.59r–61v*, notes and recipes (mostly English).
    Inc. "Terculus / ampl*ius*",
    expl. "Take þᵉ marye of an horslesleggs & anoynte þe pacyents bake þ*er* wᵗ ayenste þe here".

10. Ff.62r–65v, printed leaves from "The Anatomyes of the True Physition".
    Inc. "The Anatomyes of the True Physition, and counterfeit *Mounte-banke*: wherin both of them, are graphically described, and set *set* [sic] *out in their right and Orient colours.*",
    expl. "to the Centure and Iudgement of learned Phisitions, willingly yeelding to conferre with them, and (to vse" (ends abruptly).

11. Ff.66r–86v*, treatise on the properties of medicines and humours.
    Inc. "Thow that art a phisicion and shall yeue medecynes",
    expl. "and as þᵘ dyd fyrste so do thryes Explicit".
    F.86v, a recipe (in a different hand).
    Inc. "To make charde qwinces",
    expl. "take þe fleure of Ryse or amydon /".

12. Ff.87r–89v, another treatise on medicines.
    Inc. "// On iij man*er*is men doue medisynes",
    expl. "late þe fire lassen till it be takyn of for consumpcione and brennyng of þe scrupe Explicit".

13. F.90r* (partly in the hand of the *Trotula*-scribe), two recipes.
    Inc. "Emplastru*m* Nerben take a clene brasse panne",
    expl. "the fflame of ffer come not þ*er* to in þe werkynge".

14. Ff.90v–93r*, "Ludi Nature regis Salomonis"[75] (Latin) (charms and experiments).
    Inc. "Incipiunt queda*m* exp*er*imenta que Salamon rex",
    expl. "& apparebu*n*t plenu*m* v*er*mib*us*".

15. Ff.93v–94r, culinary recipes[76] (different hands).
    Inc. "De plumbo anulum",
    expl. "clowes round aboute by þe egge and in þe mydds yf it plece you / &c /".

16. Ff.94v–95r, alchemical treatise (Latin and English).
    Inc. "Septem metala disponu*nter* p*er* .^. planetas",
    expl. "Aqua filio*rum* a wat*er* is mad of vit*r*iole & salpetir Oliu*m* defilio dei the lyxer".

17. Ff.95v–97r*, alchemical treatise.
    Inc. "[R]yght as þᵉ Nyghtyngale hath þe schellest voys and þe clerest he beeyinge so litill in qu*an*tite Right in þᵉ same man*er*e þis tretice as all philosophie seyth moste worthily eyvynge consid*er*aunse of þe litill laboure & spens þᵗ longeth þ*er* too / wherefore we be*n* bounde heyg`h´ly to þanke god þᵗ hath endywed mankynde wᵗ so p*re*couse science and cun*n*ynge",
    expl. "And holde awey þis rywle vn to þe tyme þᵗ all þe medicyn be turnyd in to þᵉ colo*re* of assches drawynge owt & gryndynge & medelynge to gyder".

18. Ff.97v–99r*, medical treatise (Latin) (? see also JC43, section 3.2.4.5.4, item 9).
    Inc. "Con*tra* dolore capitis oculo*rum*",
    expl. "que fint sine calore".

19. F.99r–v*, recipes (English and Latin).
    Inc. "ffor þe pleuresy yf a man or a woman þᵗ has it",
    expl. "mellis viole et colet de*ter* tuc*um* potu*r*".

20. Ff.100r–105r*, *Trotula* (I).

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[75] Mentioned by Roy (1980:68, note 27), Kieckhefer (2000:171), Klaassen and Phillips (2006:142, note 17), Mitchell (2011:55; 266, note 15).

[76] Including one for gingerbread. Mentioned in Hieatt and Butler (1985:31, 154).

Inc. "Right so wom*m*en w^t owte*n* her*e* fflourys schulle lakke*n* þe office of concepc*i*on",

expl. "and sche schall be deliu*ere*^d þ*er* of in schort tyme w^t owte dowte Expliciu*n*t Secreta mulierum".

21. Ff.105r–v*, recipes and charms [partly by *Trotula*-scribe].
    Inc. "In no*m*ine p*at*ris & ffilij & spi*rit*u*s s*anc*ti Amen".
    Followed by recipes. *Inc*. "Proead morbo cad Take rauenes birdis fro the nest",
    expl. "aswageth glotonye / and helyd chastite quencheth the synne of lecherye &c".

22. Ff.106r–107v, *Trotula* (II).
    Inc. "to drinke oximel // Also ȝeue her*e* to drinke þ^e pouder of absinthij",
    expl. "& holde in fnesyng*e* as meche as sche may so meche þ^t þ^e sperit*us* a ce*n*de and drawe to þ^e matrys . & ȝeue her*e* comon*n*".

23. Ff.108r–117v, charms and recipes in different hands (ff.11r–v lower part of the page torn off).
    Inc. "ffor the Coche that comyt of cold",
    expl. "for myȝte rete*n*tyne [?]".

24. F.118r–119v, recipes (different hand; same as flyleaves. F.120r blank).
    Inc. "To co*n*sumed & congealed blod",
    expl. "deoth the same , but weakely".

25. Ff.120v–126r, prognostication, recipes (including illustrations and tables, same hand as previous item[77]).
    Inc. "The greate King Alixander vsed this arte by the Teachinge of aristotle to knowe the divers or Strange thinges before they hapned",
    expl. "for beste is pisces & moste plentious;.".
    Followed by recipes in the same hand; flyleaves also contain further recipes in the same hand as well as musical notations.

3.2.4.4 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. Misc.c.66

The manuscript contains version D of *Trotula* [ff.83r–86v]. The *Trotula*-text starts on f.83r, on line 12 in mid-line without any break from the previous text, written in the same hand. The manuscript dates from the late fifteenth century, probably from the 1470s (Hanna 2000:282)[78].

3.2.4.4.1 Previous descriptions

Previously described by Horwood, 1871:80); *The Bodleian Library Record* (1949:260); Robbins (1950:257); *Notable Accessions: Guide to an Exhibition Held in 1958, Oxford,*

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[77] Including "to knowe who shall have the victorye in Battaile", "Thus shall you knowe yf it be good or evell, to begine anye Jornye", "of the 12 signes which be good & bad to take Jornes by land or water". See Burnett (1988).

[78] Hanna notes that "Newton's writing, which one would date s. xv ex. or xv/xvi, is not so revelatory as the paper information. This indicates that the book splits into two parts [...] this is also the one portion of the volume in which Newton had no original part [...] Before this point, all the identifiable stocks in the volume are sixteenth-century [...] which suggest Newton was working on this portion in the 1520s. Afterwards, the paper points unambiguously to compilation in the 1470s" (Hanna 2000:282).

Bodleian Library (1958:17); M. Green (1997:87, 2000 [1992]:72); Youngs (1998:212–213; 2008:215–218); Hanna (2000); *Electronic Catalogue of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts* (Bodleian Library[79]); eVK 7952.00.

3.2.4.4.2 The manuscript

The former (nineteenth-century) half-morocco casing is preserved, although the contents are no longer bound together. The manuscript is now divided into a number of separate fascicles[80]. The manuscript is written mostly on paper, in small secretary script, partly on parchment and contains xxiv+165 leaves (of which vii–xxiv, 131–145 are blank). The pages are ruled on all sides. There are two sets of foliation, on upper right-hand corner and lower right-hand corners of rectos; there are no catchwords. The quire containing the *Trotula* measures 292x209mm, with writing space of 219x152mm; the text is laid out in single columns with 47 lines per page.

The ink is faded, and the manuscript has suffered some damage caused by humidity, rendering the text illegible in places.

While the manuscript as a whole includes drawings and calligraphic alphabets, the quire containing the *Trotula* has no decorations, colour or illustrations, apart from illustrated flasks in the urinary (ff.75r–83r). There are some marginal notes or headings largely in the same hand as the main text.

3.2.4.4.3 Provenance

The manuscript was the commonplace book of Humphrey Newton (1466–1536), "a Cheshire country gentleman and minor poet" (M. Green 2000b:40), who lived in Pownall, Cheshire[81]. Bought by the Bodleian Library at Sotheby's 27th of October 1947. LALME characterises the language of the manuscript as "probably of E. Cheshire" (1986, 1:149).

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[79] Available online: http://www.bodley.ox.ac.uk/dept/scwmss/wmss/medieval/mss/lat/misc/c/066.htm. Last accessed 22/01/2013.

[80] The manuscript has been ordered in fascicles as follows as it now stands: ff.1–18; ia–xxiv; 19–25; 34c–39b, 40a–b, 41a–b, 44; 26a+4b, 26b–27c, 28+45, 29–31c, 32+43, 34a, 33+42, 34b; 34c+41a, 35+40a, 36–39b, 40b, 41b, 44; 47–60; 61–74; 75–90; 91–104; 105–111; 112–121; 122–129; 130–149+v; see Hanna (2000) for a codicological description of the manuscript.

[81] See also Pouzet (2011:212–213).

3.2.4.4.4 Contents

The contents are varyingly in English and in Latin, compiled over a period of time and including a number of hands, although mainly written by Newton himself; the manuscript is a "codicological nightmare" (Hanna 2000:280). The manuscript contains Newton's personal notes (list of ancestors, records of the births of his children, Newton history, estate accounts, list of the estate tenants and weapons), legal notes and deeds, lists of debts and accounts, lyrics (including Newton's own poetry[82]), extracts from Chaucer's "Knight's Tale" and "Parson's Tale" and the "Brut" as well as Aesop's fables, lists of the kings of England and the earls of Chester, prayers, prophecies, charms and recipes (medical, magical and household, e.g. recipes for ink), miscellaneous notes relating to household and biblical extracts (Youngs 2008:215–218). The manuscript also includes a number of drawings, sketches and calligraphic exercises, including birds (such as a parrot and eagle) and aristocratic human figures. The manuscript also includes a version of the *peperit*-charm [f.40b][83].

The "bespoke, not homemade, single professionally produced" quire, which also contains the *Trotula*, "which [Newton] either had commissioned or inherited from someone else who had done so" (Hanna 2000:282) also contains other medical material; two urinaries and about twenty-five miscellaneous medical recipes, some added in Newton's own hand. This pamphlet (originally bound separately) consists of purely medical material.

There is no table of contents. The following description of contents refers to designations by Hanna (2000); f.87b is an inserted leaf.

Contents [ff.75r–90v]:

1. Ff.75r–83r*, "De Urinis" (a urinary, constructed as a running commentary on Giles of Corbeil's Latin poem *De urinis*) (see also S121[I], section 3.2.4.3.4, item 6; and JC43, section 3.2.4.5.4, item 10).
   Inc. "[beginning of text illegible] … þe tretis of urine in þese short mane*re* & þe fyrste chapitelle",
   expl. "as in colica Passiou*n* Explicit".

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[82] See Robbins (1950); Hanna (2000); the *Middle English Grammar Project* (available online: http://www.uis.no/getfile.php/Forskning/Kultur/MEG/Ches_L0104_OK1(1).pdf. Last accessed 31/01/2013); *The Digital Index of Middle English Verse* (altogether 34 records) (available online: http://www.cddc.vt.edu/host/imev/. Last accessed 27/01/2013).

[83] The charm is on a separate little leaflet: "for þ^e^ delyu*er*ance of childe Set in þ^e^ ryht fote on þ^e^ dry sole & blesse þe In no*mine* *deu*s : anna pep*er*it samuelem Elizabeth Iohen*em*" etc. See also A12195 (section 3.2.1.3.3), B483 (section 3.2.1.5.4), A34111 (section 3.2.2.3.4), L333 (section 3.2.5.2).

2. Ff.83r–86v*, *Trotula*.
   Inc. "Uhan god þᵉ maker of all þinges in þᵉ fyrste ordinau*n*ce of þᵉ worlde departade naturis of þi*n*gis to eu*er*y creature aftre his fynde",
   expl. "& sche schall be dely*er*ed þ*er* of in schort tyme".
3. Ff.86v–88r*, recipes (Latin and English).
   Inc."Auru*m* potabile facies in hunc modum"
   expl. "swenge al þese to ged*er* it is good".
4. F.87b (inserted leaf), recipes (Latin).
   Inc. "de Mola matric*is*",
   expl. "& purgatoru*m* regate opti*um*".
5. Ff.88v–89r*, a urinary (Latin and English)[84].
   Inc. "Carapo ut pellis camelis he haþ þe dropesie & wynde",
   expl. "seme*n* plantagi*ns*".
6. Ff.89r–90v, recipes.
   Inc. "A regement of dietynge for the mygrem secu*ndu*m Reyns",
   expl. "and be war of to muche drynkynge wyne S*ecun*d*um* Reyns".
   The bottom of f.89r notes "The lat*er* end of þⁱs is on the oþ*er* side the leyfe".
7. F.90v, recipes (two different hands).
   Inc. "Take sorell leuys",
   expl. "Ih*esu* maria [?]".

3.2.4.5 Cambridge, Jesus College, MS 43 (Q.D.I)

The manuscript contains version D of *Trotula* [ff.70r–75v]. The manuscript dates from the fifteenth century and contains a number of medical treatises and recipes in English and in Latin.

3.2.4.5.1 Previous descriptions

The manuscript has been described by James Montague Rhodes (1895:64–66), Singer (1919:card 223), and M. Green (1997:87, 2000 [1992]:71); eVK 3803.00, 7951.00.

3.2.4.5.2 The manuscript

The material is paper (with vellum flyleaves) and contains iv+164+iv leaves (the foliation is lacking f.134; the folio numbers referred to here refer to those in the manuscript). Foliation is later, in pencil on the upper right-hand corner of rectos. The binding is of eighteenth-century leather. The pages are ruled for every line, and enclosing top and bottom lines; there is pricking at edges. There are no catchwords. The dimensions of the

[84] See Hanna (2000:281).

manuscript are 220x143mm, with writing space of 182x116mm; the text is laid out in single columns, with 35 lines per page.

The manuscript contains several different hands; the *Trotula*-text is written in a neat secretary hand in black ink; the same hand is responsible for a number of other texts in the manuscript. There are some rubricated initials, but no colours or illustrations otherwise; other texts within the manuscript contain some rubricated headings.

3.2.4.5.3 Provenance

Flyleaves include pen trials and notes in English. Marginal notes throughout the manuscript are in two different hands. The flyleaves contain a number of names and geographical references, many in Norfolk but also elsewhere around England. In addition, the last leaves contain signatures of "Anne Spelman" [ff.160v, 161v, 162r][85] and (in the same hand) "Thomas Spelman" [ff.160v, 161v][86].

The spelling in the manuscript displays a number of features of the Norfolk dialect, such as *qwyche* 'which' (although usually *weche*), *hold* 'old', *hesy* 'easy'.

3.2.4.5.4 Contents

Contents:
1. Ff.1r–4v, notes (Latin)[87].
2. F. 5r, notes of apothecaries weights and recipes (in two hands).
   Inc. "A scruple is þe wyte of a peny and hath þis sygne",

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[85] With thanks to Dr Frances Willmoth at Jesus College, Cambridge, for her help with the signatures.

[86] F.160v also includes some other notes in the same hand, e.g. "Item payd", "dame". F.164r has "anno domini.m⁰.iiii^mo", "anno domini.m⁰.octagesimo iiij^to".

[87] The flyleaves (which are partly torn, cut and eaten by worms) at the beginning and end contain notes in Latin and include a number of names and geographical locations relating to legal cases, e.g. "Predict comes Gloucestr & herford et macle" [f.1r]; "Norff.Joh. De Manteby et Petrus frater eius petit uersus Robertum de Manteby duas partes quatraginta et sex mesuag." [f.1v]; "Thorp . Matelask . Stenekeye . Manyngtone . Salle . Wethyngham" [f.2v]; "Willums de Ancrenges tenuit Baron. de ffolkestan" [f.2v]; "Noting Herbs de Rysele . Robs de heyle … priori de Symplyngham" [f.3v]; "Radus basset et Johnes le Heyward … Willo deTyfford persone med. Eccl. de Weledon" [f.4r]; "Placita apud Westm. de quindena Pasch. coram E de Weylond & socer suis Anno v.v.E.sextodecimo" [f.4r]; "Johnes de Hilde tulit breue quod vocatur quare impedit" [f.161r]; "[Rob.] fil. Ricⁱ de Adeston …. Thom Ep⁰ hereford" [f.161v]; "Tho. de Aschamton" [f.162r]; "Leycestr" [f.162v; notes in French); "Margareta que sunt vx [widow] Hugon de Wynestuwe petit uersus abbatem de oseneye" [f.163v] (James Montague Rhodes 1895:66); also Eyrington [f.3r], Simone de Wullingham (?) [f.3r], Causton [f.3r]; Weylond [f.4r]; "Johnes basset de Welledon hem be sergant" [f.4r]; Margareta [f.161r], beate marie [f.161r], "johanne filie sic que Johanna" [f.161r]; " (?) filius Bu de Adeston Thom fil Rici de Adeston […] Thom Scyre (?)" [f.161v]; "Johne fil Cecill" [f.162r]; Aschinton [f.162r]; "Emmam vxem ei Ranulph fil Ranulphi de srope (?) & Willam vx ei Hugone de Hinton & matild vx" [f.163v].

expl. "is gode for þe gowte and for bone ake".

3. Ff.5v–10r, treatise on *materia medica* (Latin).
   Inc. "Castor est bestia mirabilis",
   expl. "in plat*er*".

4. F.10r, recipes.
   Inc. "make a watyr of ix erbes",
   expl. "and he schalle slepe wel".

5. Ff.10v–12v, medical treatise (Latin).
   Inc. "Eroeus de quo",
   expl. "medicinis adhibetar vtiliter".

6. Ff.12v–44r, medical treatise (Latin).
   Inc. "Incipit liber de infirmitatibus & venenis",
   expl. "inponem*us* uel donemus".

7. Ff.44v–52r, accounts of various substances (extracted from Pliny, Dioscorides, etc.).
   Inc. "lac est liquor dulcis et candidus",
   expl. "claritati odor*um* hucus*que* plinius".

8. F.52r, two recipes in English (different hand).
   Inc. "ffor w*or*mes in the wombe",
   expl. "wasshe the pacyentys syde".

9. Ff.52v–61r, "De passionib*us* oculo*rum*" (Latin) (? see also S121[I], section 3.2.4.3.4, item 18).
   Inc. "Auctor iste determina*n*s de passionib*us* oculo*rum*",
   expl. "& hec sufficit".

10. Ff.61v–64r, "De Urinis", a treatise on urines (see also S121[I], section 3.2.4.3.4; and LM66, section 3.2.4.4.4, item 1).
    Inc. "[A]lle maner men & women þat willyn knowen a mannes or a womans state be here watyr",
    expl. "Euery vryne a th in reciowns þe lowest".

11. F.64v, a recipe.
    Inc. "ffor swellyng in the body",
    expl. "to bedward & agay*n* at morwe".

12. Ff.65r–69v, recipes (in several hands).
    Inc. "ffor to make flos vngev^entor*um*",
    expl. "and kepe it to þin vse".

13. Ff.70r–75v*, *Trotula*.
    Inc. "Assit p*r*incipio s*an*ta maria meo Whanne god maker of alle þynkes in þe furst ordinawns & of þe world",
    expl. "and sche schall be delyu*er*yd þer of in schort tyme wyth owten dowt Expliciunt Secreta mulierum".
    F.74r includes an inserted leaf attached with a nail with a recipe.
    Inc. "R baccar*um* lauri",
    expl. "sperwort".

14. Ff.75v–122r*, materia medica.
    Inc. "Aloe is hote and dreye in the secu*n*de degre",
    expl. "and þan playstyr it a bove þer onne".

15. Ff.110r–v, insertions in another hand.
    Inc. "Pensadam honds fenel þe rote is vsid",
    expl. "make a playster of psillis and of gleyr"[88].

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[88] Mentioned in MacKinney (1936:412, note 46).

16. Ff.122r–123v[89], recipes (Latin and English).
    Inc. "ffor to make ruris lycoris",
    expl. [?].
17. Ff.124r–126v*, recipes for oils.
    Inc. "Here begynnyth þe makyng of oyles for diuerse infirmitees & furst we schalle declare þe makyng of oyl of laurus",
    expl. "wan it is wrungune þorough a clene cloth".
18. Ff.126v–128r*, "Dicta ypocracii"[90].
    Inc. "Thys book ypocras sent vnto kynge sasar þ^t he desyryd of hym and now I haue made it I send it to yow and wete ye wele it is good tresore . kepe it welle as yowre owne lyff ffor I haue made to helpe & hele of yowre body",
    expl. "Explicit dicta ypocracij ∶ De quatuor infirmitab*us* corpe rum vbi insurgunt .".
19. Ff.128r–129r*, treatise on sicknesses.
    Inc. "These bene þe .iiij. partes þer þe sykenes of þe body begynnen",
    expl. "stoppyd or ellys þe stone".
20. Ff.129r–131r*, treatise on the nine pulses (English)[91].
    Inc. "Intra taury pulsiis prim*um* Spira p*ri*mus co*m*plecto*n*is Tolericis significat Tavrus For to know the disease of a choleric man that is for to say a brown man take his pulse",
    expl. "ageynne þe hote sykenes he mote haue cold medicynes".
21. F.131r, "þe .ix. sawge leuys".
    Inc. "For to know by þe vii speryis a forseyd wanne þe levys bene leyd in the myddys of þe hand",
    expl. "& þat is a tokynnyng of deeth".
22. Ff.131r–133v*, treatise on bloodletting.
    Inc. "To wete an to knowe þe veynes off blode letynge",
    expl. "sanguinus ffaciend*us*".
23. Ff.133v–135r*, on the complexions.
    Inc. "The coleryk man hayth a brown face and somdelle blak and brown or blak herre",
    expl. "is a pale man and hys birt schort lyvyd".
24. F.135r*, treatise on the body.
    Inc. "[T]here ben in a mannys body .ij.C. bonys & xvij.",
    expl. "hope in þe sowle mynds in þe spryt and feyth".
25. Ff.135r–136v*, recipes.
    Inc. "To make nitret for canker and festyr and bottches and for old sores and newe",
    expl. "& make it hote & ley it to a gayn".
26. Ff.137r–139r*, treatise on plague[92].
    Inc. "Here begynnyth a nobil tretyse made of a physyan John of burdews for medysyn ageyn þe pestylens euylle",
    expl. "Explicit tractatus Joh de burgall edit*us* co*ntra* morbu*m* pestilencie qui e*st* morb*us* epid*i*m*ialis* anno d*omini* mill*esimo* ccc^{mo} nonagesimo".
27. Ff.139r–144r*, recipes.
    Inc. "Take the `more´ part of helena campana and the iij^{de} dele of rede dokke",
    expl. "and also in potache & certe curabitur".
28. Ff.144v–145r*, astrological treatise.

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[89] Mentioned in Keiser (2004:243) [ff. 75v–122r).
[90] Mentioned in Robbins (1970:409, note 47).
[91] Mentioned in Robbins (1970:400, note 19).
[92] Mentioned in Singer (1916:171, 173). Possibly John of Bordeaux (see also L333, section 3.2.5.1).

Inc. "Saturnus is cold and drye and wo so is born vndyr þis plainte he shalbe halff folysch",

expl. "it is þen þ^t oon of hem is w^{t}owtyn we*m*me".

29. Ff.145r–146v*, recipes.

Inc. "ffor a ma*n* þat is nomy*n* A p*r*e*c*iows playstyr for a man",

expl. "and if he do nowt hee schal deye w^{t}in schort tyme".

30. Ff.146v–150r*, herbal and recipes.

Inc. "These bene þe vertewes of wurmwode ffirst to make a man to sleppe",

expl. "sprynge it on a wownde whyle it renneth and a non it schalle sese".

31. Ff.150r–155v, recipes and notes on the treatment of wounds (English and Latin).

Inc. "[H]ere begynnyth þe makyng of intretys and onime*n*tys for alle maner wondes and sorys", *expl*. "cura in uulneribus neruo*rum* repertu*rum*".

32. Ff.155v–157v, medical treatise (Latin).

Inc. "Medicina p*ro* corp*or*e humano finaliter co*m*ponu*n*tur",

expl. "lacerto*rum* pectoris".

33. Ff.157v–160v, recipes (English and Latin, several hands).

Inc. "Take ambrose camamyll betony sawge mynt",

expl. "Setymorell . Marygoold .".

34. Ff.161r–164v, notes (Latin and French) (see Item 1 above).

3.2.4.6 Overview of Version D

All of the three extant manuscript versions of *Secreta mulierum* date from the fifteenth century. S121[I] survives as a partial version, while JC43 and LM66 contain the full text. Textually, LM66 is slightly further away from the two others, and also includes material on contraceptives not present in the other two manuscripts.

LM66 is the largest of the *Trotula*-manuscripts, measuring 292x209mm, while S121[I] measures 205x140mm and JC43 220x143mm.

3.2.5 *Trotela* (Version E)

Translation E (*Eng4*), or "Trotela" (the heading in L333) is extant in two manuscripts, London, British Library, MS Sloane 121 [ff.106r–107v] [S121[II]] and Longleat House (Warminster, Wiltshire), MS Longleat 333 [ff.33r–43v] [L333]. The version in S121 is a fragment of only 808 words and dates from the fifteenth century; L333 dates from the late sixteenth century.

3.2.5.1 Translation and sources

The text is a translation of several chapters from the *Trotula major,* with some added material (M. Green 1997:87, 2000 [1992]:72). The text in L333 contains a title "Quidam t[r]actatus defectis mulie*rum* bon*us* et vtalis"; here, the scribe appears to have interpreted the Latin *de secretis* as *defectis*, which may indicate insufficient familiarity with the language (M. Green 2000d:37). Whereas S121[II] contains some phrases in Latin ("ponat*e* su*per* ignem" [f.106v]), in L333 these have been translated into English ("put in a pot ou*er* the fyer of collis" [f.37r]). The material at the end of the text [ff.41v–43v] in L333 derives from other sources (M. Green 1997:88).

The text in L333 commences with "This boke is called trotela the whilk Iohn of Burgwen drew owtt of dyu*er*s bukes of phesik" and ends with the note "now her ends this noble trets of the p*ri*vitays of women that ys called in sum langwag mat*ri*telle and in od*er* sum[ma] trotela that a philosopher drew owt of dyu*er*s bokes of phesik as ypocras . galyen co*n*stantine & oder" [L333, f.43v]. Its attribution to "Iohn of Burgwen"[93] is not found in any extant Latin manuscripts (M. Green 1997:88). L333 also includes a mention of Constantinus Africanus ("buks of ypocras galen & consta*n*tine") as well as a number of other physicians: Oribasius and Instyne, Rufus and Drascolides[94]. The text also refers to "ypoticaries" and "comon medwyffs".

3.2.5.2 The text

Topics include menstruation and menstrual disorders, various uterine disorders, conception, pregnancy, childbirth and sexual disorders (e.g. "for hym that hais lost his kynd of women"; see the Appendix for an outline of the structure of the texts). L333 contains material not present in the other translations or in the extant Latin sources, such as an account derived from Pliny on the noxious properties of menstrual blood (M. Green 1997:88). In addition to explaining that menstruation is necessary, "as atre w[th]owtt flors

[93] Possibly John of Burgundy, who wrote a plague treatise in the fourteenth century, "who may or may not be the same as John de Mandeville, alleged author of the infamous *Voyages of John Mandeuille*" (M. Green 1997:88); an alternative alias appears to be John of Bordeaux. Loen-Marshall discusses "a treatise on the plague, based on the work of John of Burgundy […] [k[nown also as John of Bordeaux"; noting that "Sir John de Mandeville [was] […] a fictitious traveller with an unknown creator, while John of Burgundy was a physician who died in 1372" (Loen-Marshall 2005:95–96). See also JC43, section 3.2.4.5.4, item 26, a plague treatise attributed to "John of Burdews".
[94] "Drascolides" is also mentioned as an ingredient in a recipe: "Also drascolides sodyn hellpps mekyll awoma*n* set in watt*er* , in the whilk was boyled spicarnalis & maik a apyssarye" [L333, f.37v].

bryngs firth not frutts, ryght so wemen wthowt flors ar baren / & vnfrewtfull, & dystroes the cawse of concepcion" [L333, f.33r], the text also adds that "flors in women as noʒt els but to mekell habundaunc*e* of blud & moystnes , the qwilk is p*er*ell*ous* to dyu*er*s things" [L333, f.33r]. Trees and plants will not flower or grow and metal will rust if they come into contact with menstrual blood; "ther for good women shuld noʒt mell wth me*n* in þ^t tym of that seknes". The text continues by explicating on the consequences of children conceived at the time of menstruation: "for as dyu*er*s men holdes of opynyon chilld^{er} gotten in that tyn ar oft sythes lepyrs stutters , gleers or lyspers / or lyers or hures , or theves / or wth vj toes or oþ*er* tymes & mor hotte & lycher*ous*" [L333, f.33r].

The text is addressed to the reader in second person; the patient, as well as the midwife are referred to in the third person (vsse wyne to drynk yf **she** have nott the fev*er* : and yf **she** hav the feu*er* **lett hir** drynk no wyne" [L333, f.35r], "þan it behouyth þ^t **þ^e medewyf** mak a noyntyng as þus Tak fenygrek & þ^e seed of flex boyled & in þ^t a noynte **her** hand & put it in to þ^e prop*er* place þ*er* it was erst and set it þ^e chyld i*n* ordre as it schold be" [S121[II], f.106r]).

Other additions include aphrodisiacs "for conceptyon" [L333, f.43r]. This version contains no contraceptives; Green notes that a lacuna which has caused a loss of some of the sections in the Latin text "is especially intriguing since the missing passages contained the contraceptives" (M. Green 1997:88). The text also includes a *peperit*-charm[95] [f.40v], which "suggests composition of this version prior to the suppression of Mariology in the 1540s" (M. Green 2008:188).

3.2.5.3 London, British Library, MS Sloane 121

The Version E on ff.106r–107v is a fragment, a loose bifolium added later to the manuscript. It dates from the fifteenth century.

3.2.5.3.1 Previous descriptions

For previous descriptions and a description of the manuscript, see section 3.2.4.1 above. Also described in M. Green (1997:88, 2000 [1992]:72); eVK 535.00.

[95] See also A12195 (section 3.2.1.3.3), B483 (section 3.2.1.5.4), A34111 (section 3.2.2.3.4), LM66 (section 3.2.4.4.4).

3.2.5.3.2 The manuscript

There are no catchwords and no visible ruling. Foliation in this section is later, in the right-hand upper corner of rectos. The size of the page is 180x126mm, with written space of 115x85–100mm. The text is set in single columns, with 19 lines per page. Ff.106–107 contain no visible ruling.

There are wide margins especially at the bottom of the pages, which contain various scribbles and drawings, although these are faded and largely illegible. The text is written in anglicana script. The text contains rubricated headings. There are no illustrations.

3.2.5.3.3 Provenance

This section has been added to the manuscript later; there are no other texts in the same hand. The linguistic forms are not dialectally distinctive.

3.2.5.4 Longleat House (Warminster, Wiltshire), MS Longleat 333

MS Longleat 333 [ff.33r–43v] contains the only full version E of the Middle English *Trotula*; the manuscript also contains other medical and astrological texts as well as medical and household recipes. The manuscript is the latest of the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts, dating from the second half of sixteenth century.

3.2.5.4.1 Previous descriptions

There is no previous full description of the manuscript; it has been partly described by Braswell-Means (1993:18), and M. Green (1997:88); eVK 1957.00, 7356.00 .

3.2.5.4.2 The manuscript

The manuscript is written on paper, and contains 71+1 folios with no flyleaves: the additional leaf is from a printed missal. The binding is original, in beige parchment envelope, and contains notes and some additional recipes. The gatherings are irregular, and there are some loose sheets. Foliation is modern, in pencil, in the upper right-hand rectos.

The dimensions are 260x257mm, and the text is set in single columns with writing space of 180–240x90–190mm; there are 34–40 lines per page. There is see-through from other pages, and the the lower half of the manuscript has been slightly damaged in places, rendering some minor sections illegible.

The manuscript, while largely written by one scribe, contains several hands. There are no illustrations or colour. There are no marginalia in the *Trotula*-text; there are, however, marginal notes, additions and signatures elsewhere in the manuscript.

3.2.5.4.3 Provenance

The manuscript bears several dates: "finis 1576" in the main hand of the manuscript [f.66r], and 1578 in another hand ("p*ro*ved by me John Pharoo 1578" [f.59v]); f.66v also has the possible date of 1595. There is also a reference to the *Birth of Mankynde* [f.72r], first printed in 1540 (Braswell-Means 1993:18). In addition, there is a note pasted on the cover "Mr Thomas Hayward of limehowse fell sicke on Saturday the .i. of August in the after noone, but hee had a panis in his shoulder tooke him on Thursday night before".

There are also other signatures in the manuscript: "elizabeth L." (?) [f.52v], "John Slatar" [front cover and f.70v], "John bardsey", or "bawdsey", [f.71r, also erased on f.71v]. Ff.53r and 57r also contain names confirming the efficacy of a certain recipes: "proved by me James Laysenbre" ("for whit wyne that haith loste his coloure", f.57r); "p*ro*ved by me. James .La." ("for clarett vnfyned þ^t ye wole hav soyne fynned", f.57r); "ye shalbe hoill by the ~~graisse~~ grace of god p*ro*ved by me ffranncs Jobsonne" (f.57r); and "& all ys done p*ro*ved by me ffrancs Jobson" (f.53r). Braswell-Means notes that "(w)e do know that [L333 was] acquired by Francis Thynne, first Marquis of Bath, for his new library established at Longleat House in the mid-1570s" (Braswell-Means 1993:70)[96].

The language "demonstrates some Northern and Northeastern features" (Braswell-Means 1993:18). Some characteristic forms include *whilk* or *qwilk* 'which', *ilk(en)* or *ylken* 'each', *syk* 'such'.

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[96] Braswell-Means, however, does not provide a reference for this assertion. Thynne was an avid collector of alchemical writings; and Carlson notes that "Thynne's last dated alchemical collections – his copy of Ripley's *Compound of Alchemy* – were made in April 1578"; after this Thynne focused more on collecting antiquities (Carlson 1989:208); MS L333 is not listed by Carlson as part of Thynne's collections.

3.2.5.4.4 Contents

Contents:

1. Ff.1r–8r*, alphabetical herbal[97].
   Inc. "her after folowithe the vertus of dyuers herbes the maister of herbe Epocras trets ffirst of leiks",
   expl. "yf thow wyll".
2. Ff.8r–11v*, recipes for oils.
   Inc. "her after followith the makyng of all maner of oylle ffirst oyll of Sage Tak Sage & persily",
   expl. "this amendeth all vnnaturall heitts".
3. Ff.12r–32v*, medical recipes.
   Inc. "her after folowth the makyng of watters both filled & vnfilled blew watter",
   expl. "wth alitle rosemary in the bottome of your gelly bage & it wille [?]".
4. F.21v, added leaf in a different hand with two medical recipes.
   Inc. "Amadsone for the bitinge of a mad dorgge [sic]",
   expl. "by the grace of god it wyll healpe theme".
5. Ff.33r–43v*, *Trotula.*
   Inc. "Quidam t[r]actatus defectis mulierum bonus et vtalis ~ This boke is called trotela the whilk Iohn of Burgwen drew owtt of dyuers bukes of phesik",
   expl. "if thow be noght so conyng to wirk by þe medecyns as þer names is wrytten her for strangnes maik thy bylls in forme as it is her wrytten and send them to the ypoticaries and thow may be sone sped ffynis".
6. F.43v*, household and medical recipes.
   Inc. "To maik good yncke to maik ynke of wyne",
   expl. "and weshe any soire : ther with : and yt wyll heall ytt".
7. Ff.44r*, on zodiacal signs.
   Inc. "her folowithe xij signes in þer order Aries they that fall sek in þis signe or in person shall sone pass owt and recover ",
   expl. "pisces long sick never recover : persone never pass owt".
8. Ff.44r*, "Tokens of death".
   Inc. "tokens of deathe Item yf his ballockes wax cold & shrynk Signum morte",
   expl. "Item yf his Eie wax round & gnassheth wth his teeth – Signum morte".
9. F. 44r–v*, urinary.
   Inc. "of vryns Vryne that is red `lyke´ wyne & it be thick or lyk read earth",
   expl. "which torneth mans naturall [?] to vnnaturall".
10. Ff.44v–45v*, treatise on astrology.
    Inc. "Of vryns not seen Soll yf a man or woman bgyn to be sick vpon the day of Soll or craveth remedy",
    expl. "and they þt syck in that signe shalle heill in haiste".
11. Ff.45v–46r*, another treatise on astrology (Latin).
    Inc. "de astris et planetis rervm",
    expl. "cum bonis . bonis . et cum malis . malis : ffinis".
12. F.46v*, medical recipes.
    Inc. "for toth ache perfect remedies",
    expl. "then putt it in boxe or glass wher ye wyll".
13. Ff.47r-57r*, recipes (household, medical, culinary, mostly English).

[97] Mentioned in Keiser (2008:300, note 24); see also Garrett (1911) for an edition of the text (although not one including this MS).

Inc. "her begynnethe treno recett for parfumyng of gloves . cothes : chambers & chystes thyngs veray excellent to be practysed",

expl. "ye shalbe hoill by the ~~graisse~~ grace of god p*ro*ved by me ffranncs Jobsonne". F.52v includes two recipes added in a different hand ("The gray salve for the [?] pokke", "The grene watter for a burnt pyntill").

14. F.57v, charms and recipes (including a table of letters and numbers).
    Inc. "To know any thyng stollen who haith it Taike and wrytte the letters of his nayme that is susspected",
    expl. "& doe in the third degre".

15. Ff.58r-66r, poem on prognostics[98] (the following note has been added on a separate leaf, in a later hand: "An <u>Ancient Poem in Engli</u>sh, abou[t] the proper things to be done & not done on the several days of the Month").
    Inc. "God that all this world haith wroughtte and all mankynd haith maid of nowghtte",
    expl. "bud I do warne yow both mor and les that ye be never the mor bolde for any thyng that I hav tolde ffinis 1576".
    Ff.58v, 59v, 65v and 66r contain added recipes in the margin, in a different hand[99].

16. Ff.66v–67v, medical and general household recipes.
    Inc. "To stanche bloid Taike a frogge and bryne hir",
    expl. "& so eat it [?][100].

17. Ff.68r–68v, an astrological chart and recipes.
    Inc. "This is a speare that is to say arownd wheill that the phelosopheres [?] pyctor*as* maid of lyf . And deathe , of wealth and woo",
    expl. [?][101].

18. Ff.69r–71v, recipes.
    Inc. "How thou shalt temp*er* thy colours to a lymming & how thow shal[t] asyce for to cowche gold",
    expl. "& in saif place þ*t* no body medle with it , but yo*ur* self : for dyssplesur þ*t* may folowe &c".

19. F.72r, a printed leaf from a missal, with notes and additions in different hands.
    Inc. "On aries Jornay good to go tavr*us* it is noth so".

3.2.5.5 Overview of Version E

Extensive comparison between the two extant manuscript versions of the *Trotela* is made more difficult by the fact that S121[II] survives only as a fragment. L333, then, represents the only full version of the *Trotela*. It is clear, however, that L333 includes material omitted in the earlier text, including a number of recipes and a charm to aid childbirth.

While S121[II] is bound together with a number of other, largely medical and astrological,

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[98] See Braswell-Means (1993:37, 148–189).

[99] F.58v, *inc.* "for the gowtte", *expl.* "and yt wyll maik it hoille : by the grece of god"; f.59v *inc.* "for the toth ake", *expl.* "& it will taik away the payne p*ro*ved by me John pharoo – 1578 –"; f. 65v two recipes, *inc.* "agaynst frettyng or gnawing in the belly", *expl.* "& lay yt to the childes heade"; f.66r, *inc.* "The cawsses & remydies of dandruffe of the head", *expl.* "& not hurtfull". F.66r also contains another recipe at the bottom of the page in the main hand, but this is no longer legible.

[100] Illegible.

[101] Illegible.

texts, none of these are in the same hand as the *Trotula*-text, and none are shared with L333, which also includes a number of medical and astrological texts as well as other recipes.

L333 is the latest of all Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts, dating from the late sixteenth century. S121[II] dates from the fifteenth century. S121[II] measures 180x126mm, while L333 is somewhat larger, with page dimensions of 260x257mm.

3.2.6 Overview

The *Trotula*-text appears in a number of contexts: they appear with different texts, in different parts of England. Their ownership patterns vary widely, although often there is little or no information of the readers and users of the manuscripts. The manuscripts date from between the early fifteenth and the late sixteenth centuries. Although they all ultimately derive from the *Trotula*, the different translations adapt and conflate the material in different ways, modifying the contents and adding and deleting passages. Table [3.2] collects together the information of the provenance and ownership of the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts, as well as the overall contents of the manuscripts.

The majority of the Middle English *Trotula*-texts appear in manuscripts with other medical material, written by the same scribe (A12195, B483, S421A, A34111, H403, S121, LM66, L333), or in a different hand, sometimes bound together later (A12195, B483, S121, LM66, JC43, L333). Several contain also astrological or alchemical texts (A12195, A34111, S121, L333). Some manuscripts contain also other material: religious texts (A12195), legal material (A12195, JC43, LM66), poetry or lyrics (A12195, S121, LM66), in one case also grammatical texts (A12195), as well as other miscellaneous material. These other texts are often in English, but also in Latin (A12195, H403, S121, LM66, JC43). Some appear in manuscripts on their own (D37), bound together with another version (CUL33) or accompanied by only one other text in the same hand (S421A); or they may have circulated independently before being bound in the manuscript they are now found in (S121[II]).

While a number of manuscripts contain signatures and/or information about ownership, the scribe of only one is known (Robert Green, H403). Only two (JC43, L333) contain female names; neither of these names is explicitly connected with the *Trotula*-text in particular, but they appear elsewhere in the manuscript. Some of the manuscripts also contain other references or names within the text; these are also noted in table [3.2]. In most cases, there is little further information of the people behind the names; Chapter 6 will refer to this information where available. Some of the manuscripts can be located either by internal references, or linguistic information.

MS	Date	Contents		Provenance	
		Other texts by the same scribe	Other texts in the MS as bound now	Names connected with the MS	Geographical connections
A12195	s.15ex.	Medical, astrological and alchemical texts and recipes, charms	Religious, legal and grammatical texts, lyrics, charms, alchemical, magical and medical texts and recipes	John Leake, George Burn(ham), Edmund Herbard, Thomas Frost, Perry, William Herbert, Joseph Lilly	Norfolk (Burnham, North Creake, Toftrees)
D37	s.15in.	Gynecological recipes	(–)	(–)	(–)
B483	s.15med.	Medical and gynecological texts and recipes	Medical texts, herbals, recipes	Jhon Barcke, John Twyn(n)e, Thomas Twyn(n)e	? Canterbury, Cambridge
CUL33[II]	s.15in.	(–)	Another *Trotula*, recipes	? Adame Thomkyn	
S421A	s.16in.	A regiment of health	(–)	(–)	(–)
A34111	s.15in.	Medical texts and recipes, alchemical texts	(–)	Th. Mid, R. Smith	Southern England
CUL33[I]	s.16	Recipes	Another *Trotula*, recipes	? Adame Thomkyn	? York
H403	an.1544	Medical texts, recipes	(–)	Robert Green, William Hunter	Lincolnshire or Leicestershire
S121[I]	s.15	Herbal, medical and alchemical texts, recipes, charms	Another *Trotula*, charms, miscellaneous notes, medical texts and recipes (also culinary), poetry, musical notes	(–)	? Bedford
LM66	s.15ex.	Medical texts and recipes	Legal notes, tracts, poetry, medical texts and recipes	Humphrey Newton	Cheshire
JC43	s.15	Medical texts and recipes	Medical texts and recipes, legal notes	Anne Spelman, Thomas Spelman[102]	Norfolk
S121[II]	s.15	(–)	(see S121[I])	(–)	? Bedford
L333	s.16ex.	Herbal, recipes (medical, alchemical and household), medical and astrological texts, prognostics	Recipes, poetry	John Slatar, John Bardsey, Thomas Hayward, Elizabeth L., James Laysenbre, ffranncs Jobson	Wiltshire, ? Limehouse, London

Table 3.2. Provenance and contents of the Middle English Trotula-manuscripts.
[102] Also a number of other references (although no other signatures) in the flyleaves; see section 3.2.4.3.

3.3 Summary

This chapter has introduced the background to the primary material used in this thesis, describing the manuscripts in which the Middle English *Trotula* appears. Rather than being a single unified text by one author, the *Trotula* has a long and varied history. The text was transmitted throughout Europe, copied and adapted in a number of languages; the Middle English translations similarly modify the text to different degrees. The information of the varied contexts in which the Middle English *Trotula*-texts appear illustrates the extent to which a single text could be modified and adapted, changed to suit the needs of the scribes, or their audiences. The manuscripts as well as the texts vary in a number of particulars, such as the size of the physical codex, the script, the style of decoration, the inclusion or exclusion of certain passages and sections, the presence or absence of other texts in the codex, the language, and the style of writing. No two of the manuscript texts are the same; neither is their presentation. The rest of the thesis will focus on the particulars of the presentation in these texts. The next chapter, Chapter 4, mirroring the structure introduced in this chapter, provides a description of each of the manuscripts versions from the perspective of supra-textual devices.

4. Descriptions of supra-textual systems in the *Trotula*-manuscripts

This chapter will present descriptions of the supra-textual devices and textual organisation in each of the manuscripts in the data. The techniques used in organising and presenting information in the manuscripts are here scrutinised individually for each manuscript, demonstrating how each of the manuscripts presents a consistent internal *system*; while the usage differs between the manuscripts, the internal arrangement within the texts is consistent. The present chapter will examine these usages in detail; and the chapters thereafter will examine where these different usages and patterns might arise from.

4.1 Manuscripts

The descriptions are grouped by textual affiliations (Versions A–E) and encompass, for each manuscript, a description and examination of

a) the repertoire, functions and forms of supra-textual devices;

b) an assessment of the length of punctuated (or otherwise marked, e.g. paragraphs) units;

c) the structural and grammatical functions of supra-textual devices: how they function in structuring the text and what (if any) syntactical functions they may have;

d) the functions of supra-textual devices on phrasal level;

e) the structuring and identification of recipe text and the role that supra-textual devices play in identifying and organising recipes; and

f) the various other functions supra-textual devices may be seen to perform: the signalling of numerals, line-division as well as other functions, such as emphasis or rhetorical functions. This also includes other functions which do not fit in any of the aforementioned categories.

The second part of the chapter will provide a brief overview of the use of supra-textual devices, drawing together the findings. In addition, the Appendix contains an overview of the structural organisation in each of the manuscripts; arranged by versions, it also provides a comparison of the usage of supra-textual devices to signal structural transitions within each version.

4.1.1 Knowyng of Womans Kynd in Childyng (Version A)

4.1.1.1 London, British Library, MS Additional 12195

4.1.1.1.1 Description of apparatus

The most commonly used symbols are punctus, usually placed mid-line (.), double virgule & punctus (.//. or //. or .//) and double virgule (//). Other symbols are used intermittently: single virgules (/) and virgule & punctus (./). The manuscript also uses rubrication for punctuation marks as well as for whole words and clauses within the text. Initials are rubricated, and sometimes slightly enlarged; they never, however, span more than one line.

The manuscript features two different paragraph marks; there are only two paragraph marks within the text, the form resembling a capital gamma Γ, by which it will be represented here. Another kind of paragraph mark features in the margins. These will be represented by a pilcrow (¶).

The dimensions of the manuscript are 150x105mm, with writing space of 131x97mm. The text is laid out in single columns, the lines per page varying between 20–24. Although the text is primarily presented as continuous, there are some paragraph breaks. Instead of leaving blank space at the end of the lines, the scribe has used line-fillers for these gaps. There are two types of line-fillers, the more common one (n=15) resembling a row of letters "X", the other (n=3) resembling the digit "2" with a long tail. Other occasionally featuring symbols include a symbol to indicate that an item runs on to the next line (see example [4.1.], the symbol represented by "L"; the heading reads "The Redy sygne of mystornyng of þ^e maris is þes").

> [4.1]
> **The Redy sygne of mystornyng of þ^e maris**
> **A**[103] moysto*re* Renyth owt of þe maris L **is þes**
> (f.183r)

There are also some underlinings, and another hand has enumerated the stages of childbirth. There is no other marginalia.

---

[103] Slightly enlarged.

	Frequency	Grammatical		Other functions		
		Structural, clausal and sentential	Phrasal	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Punctus	*250*	24.4% (n=61)	8.0% (n=20)	49.6% (n=124)	0	18.0% (n=45)
Double virgule & punctus	*160*	97.5% (n=156)	2.5% (n=4)	0	0	0
Rubrication	*160*	78.7% (n=126)	0	21.3% (n=34)	0	0
Double virgule	*148*	97.3% (n=144)	2.7% (n=4)	0	0	0
Initial	*53*	96.2% (n=51)	0	0	0	3.8% (n=2)
Paragraph break	*18*	100% (n=18)	0	0	0	0
Virgule	*7*	71.4% (n=5)	0	28.6% (n=2)	0	0
Paragraph mark	*2*	100% (n=2)	0	0	0	0
Virgule & punctus	*1*	100% (n=1)	0	0	0	0
Total	*799*	**70.6% (n=564)**	**3.5% (n=28)**	**20.0% (n=160)**	**0**	**5.9% (n=47)**
		74.1% (n=592)		**25.9% (n=207)**		

Table 4.1. Repertoire in A12195.

The system of supra-textual devices functions at several different levels simultaneously and is used to structure the text in different ways: to indicate syntactical boundaries as well as larger textual and semantic units. Grammatical, textual and pragmatic levels can all be clearly discerned in the usage, and the scribe uses a fairly clearly defined system for punctuation, where the different punctuation symbols have distinct (though to a certain extent overlapping) functions.

The punctuation marks function together with other devices. The text is extensively rubricated. Rubrication is used for punctuation symbols, single words and items within the text (such as numerals) as well as clauses and sentences. It can be used in conjunction with punctuation symbols, or on its own. The use of supra-textual devices is also closely tied together with the linguistic structure, and the importance of punctuation is emphasised by the fact that the scribe frequently rubricates punctuation symbols within the text.

The majority of supra-textual devices (74.1%) function grammatically and structurally, organising the text into sections and subsections, as well as signalling grammatical relationships. Punctuation is also used at the phrasal level, although this is relatively infrequent, despite the relative frequency of punctuation. In addition, supra-textual devices are used to signal numerals (20.0% of total) and can also be used for other, non-grammatical purposes.

The length of units between supra-textual devices varies between 1 and 263 words (see figure [4.1]). The mean average length of these units is 18.88 words. The majority (69.3%) of the units contain fewer than 20 words, while only 0.3% are longer than 100 words.
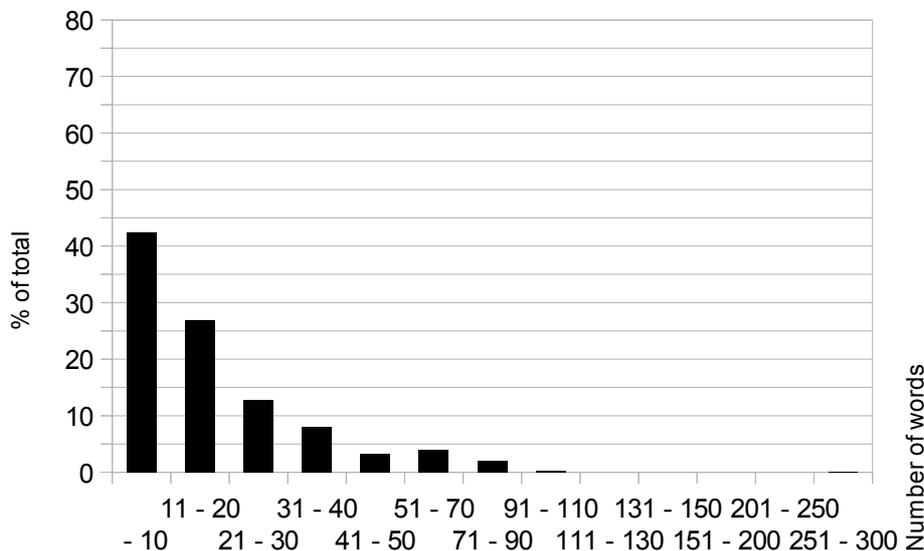
Figure 4.1. Length of units in A12195.

Apart from a single lengthy section (which consists of a description of the womb; see figure [4.2]) at the beginning of the text, the variation in unit length is fairly uniform throughout the text. The longer sections are usually formed of recipes.
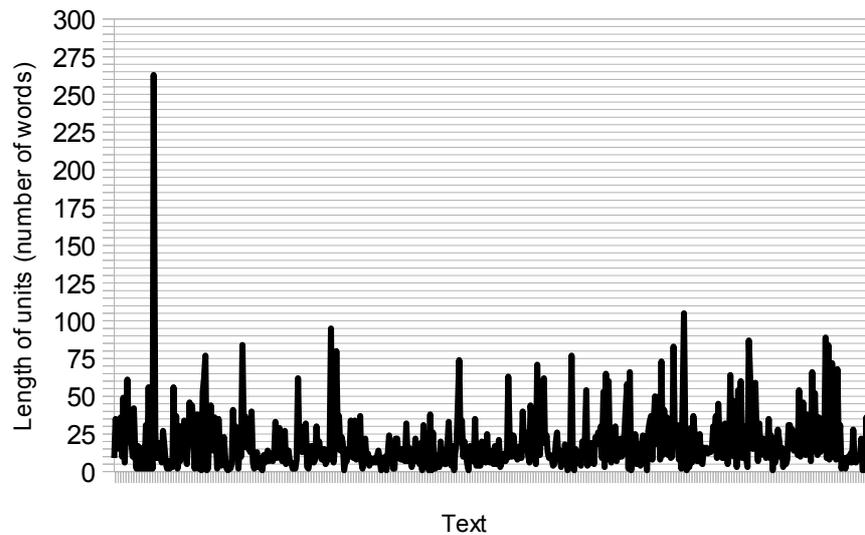
Figure 4.2. Distribution of unit lengths in A12195.

4.1.1.1.2 Structural and grammatical functions

	Frequency	Section break or heading	Coordination / subordination	Relative / adverbial clause	Other
Double virgule & punctus	156	12.2% (n=19)	67.3% (n=105)	5.1% (n=8)	15.4% (n=24)
Double virgule	144	17.4% (n=25)	72.2% (n=104)	4.2% (n=6)	6.3% (n=9)
Rubrication	126	100% (n=126)	0	0	0
Punctus	61	42.6% (n=26)	29.5% (n=18)	27.9% (n=17)	0
Initial	51	72.5% (n=37)	7.8% (n=4)	0	19.6% (n=10)
Paragraph break	18	100% (n=18)	0	0	0
Virgule	5	0	0	0	100% (n=5)
Paragraph marks	2	50% (n=1)	50% (n=1)	0	0
Virgule & punctus	1	100% (n=1)	0	0	0
Total	**564**	**44.9% (n=253)**	**41.1% (n=232)**	**5.5% (n=31)**	**8.5% (n=48)**

Table 4.2. Grammatical functions in A12195.

The text is primarily structured by the use of rubrication and initials, which organise the

text into sections and subsections. These devices also guide the reader's eye to textual transitions as well as important sections. 78.7% of all instances of rubrication and 96.2% of initials are used to structure the text (see tables [4.1] and [4.2]). Paragraph breaks, furthermore, are used divide the text into sections; the breaks are indicated by line-fillers, rather than blank space. The breaks are usually followed by rubrication and/or initials on the next line to signal the beginning of the following section. The majority of punctuation marks also function structurally and grammatically: only the punctus is more frequently used for other purposes (see table [4.1]).

The text commences with the title "**h**er[104] folowyth þᵉ knowyng of womans kynde *&* chyldyng", which is followed by a double virgule, after which the introduction proper starts: "// **O**wer[105] lord god when he had storyd þᵉ warld of all Creatores he made man *&* woma*n* Ressonabel creature" (f.157r); the initials in "her" and "ower" are rubricated. Topic changes are almost invariably signalled by the use of rubrication, which frequently functions in connection with punctuation marks. Thus, in example [4.2], double virgule is used to signal the beginning of a new section, further emphasised by the use of red ink, which here is used for the first words or phrase; whole phrases and clauses are frequently rubricated. The punctus indicates the beginning of a new sentence within this new section (or the end of the preceding clause), which is also highlighted by using red ink. Both of the punctuated marks in this example are also rubricated.

> [4.2]
> þᵗ no man*n* may se what it is Resson wold þᵗ
> I schold tell yew //[106] **ffyrst how** þᵗ it is schapyn
> and formyd and where of it is made **.**[107] **The**
> **marrys** is a vessell made of thyn lether*e*
> (f.158r)

Punctuation marks (primarily punctus, double virgule, double virgule & punctus) can also signal the end of a section, as in example [4.3], where double virgule & punctus appear at the end of the lines. The punctuation tends to be in these cases frequently directly followed by a rubricated heading, enlarged initial or by (rubricated) line-fillers before the following heading.

---

[104] Rubricated initial.
[105] Rubricated initial.
[106] Rubricated double virgule.
[107] Rubricated punctus.

[4.3]
for in sothe sche schall
fall son aftyr in to a gret seknes for yt
well swell in her marris & torn to gret
desses yf sche be not holpyn þ^e sonar .//
T¹⁰⁸he signes of þe marris þt is ou*er*
Replet of humo*re* akyng of eyn & gret
het in her hed & akythe oþ*er* whyll swownyng
& þ^e p*ri*uey memeburs akyth gretly .//
(f.179v)

The punctuation mark can also form part of the line-filler or follow a rubricated title even when there is no syntactical break ("**The fyrst .** Anguisch is of t*r*avellyng of chyld", f.160r). Line-fillers can also appear at the end of a folio, as in example [4.4].

[4.4]
vyletys and oþ*er* swete laxatyuys .//. X X
And yf it come of habundau*n*s of fleme   [f.173r]
þan take garogodiou*n* and polipodin þ^t is fern
þ^t growythe on þ^e oke & sythet in wyne or
(ff.172v–173r)

Although punctuation marks function at the structural level, they are more commonly used to signal section- or paragraph-internal relationships. The functions of double virgule and double virgule & punctus are largely indistinguishable. Both are used to join coordinated clauses or subordinated clauses (76.4% (n=110) [double virgule] and 72.4% (n=113) [double virgule & punctus] respectively of all those used at the grammatical level; see table [4.2]). They are also used to signal, less frequently, temporal and relative clauses (4.2% (n=6) and 5.1% (n=8) respectively) (see example [4.5]). Punctus alone can also be used in these positions. The use of punctus & double virgule is concentrated in the middle of the text; there are no occurrences either at the end or at the beginning of the text, where double virgule alone is used for the functions detailed above.

[4.5]
Nowe haue I told yow þ^e letyng of delyuer
Ance of chyld **.//.**¹⁰⁹ **Now well I wryte yow**
medysignes for Redy delyverance yf
yt be þer Tyme .//.¹¹⁰ whan a woman t*r*auell
& her throwes come .//. **Take** þe Rotis of   ¶

---

108 Rubricated initial.
109 Rubricated double virgule & punctus.
110 Rubricated double virgule & punctus.

þᵉ pollypody & stampe þeme // and bynde þem
vnder þe solles of her fette .//. And þᵉ chyld
xall be born þow it war dede .//. **Or** Take   **¶**[111]
(f.165v)

Both double virgule and double virgule & punctus also appear in other positions. In example [4.6], double virgule, double virgule & punctus, punctus and rubrication all perform certain functions within the passage: double virgule & punctus signals the end of the previous section, while the rubricated heading signals the beginning of the new section ("The signes"); the heading is followed by a punctus. Thereafter double virgule is used to indicate subsections within the passage, listing the symptoms, while double virgule & punctus is used to clarify and expand on the symptoms, and punctus alone appears once at the end of the line ("her brestes . be sor").

[4.6]
all þe evll of þe marris **.//.**[112] **The**[113] **signes of
sufocaciou*n* of the marris be þes** . yf sche draw
her brethe wᵗ deffyculte & schortly & lytyl .//.
for than þe marris Ryssyth vp to þᵉ hart //
her Ioyntes her handis . her fet & her brestes .
be sor & swelyng a bowt her harte & her
weket is mor fat þan it was wonte to be //
þe veynes on her front Ryssyn & swell & a
cold swet Renyth over her face & be her
hede & her pownce steryth but lytel // oþ*er*
wyll þe peyn comyth oftyn & passithe son //
oþ*er* wyll þey wen it be þe gowte mekel
spotyll ryse *in* her mowthe .// & þ*er* passe // but
(f.170v)

The functions of the virgule are not as clearly defined: it can be used to enumerate, to separate efficacy clauses from the body of the recipe and to clarify readings. In all of the cases, the virgule signals a minor break (rather like a modern comma, or, in some cases, colon); it is not associated with any linguistic markers, unlike the double virgule and double virgule & punctus, which generally occur preceding a conjunction or adverb such as *now,* but is used instead of them[114]. The virgule can also be used in to signal other additions, as in example [4.7]. The other manuscripts of Version A do not include the

[111] Rubricated paragraph mark.
[112] Rubricated double virgule & punctus.
[113] Rubricated initial.
[114] In three cases, all of the other versions of this translation (B483, D37, CUL33[II], S421A) have the coordinating conjunction *and* (or &) instead of a punctuation symbol, in one case none of the others punctuate this particular structure, and the last one is an addition only included in this manuscript.

efficacy clause ("sche xall be delyuert"), which here appears to be an addition by the scribe of A12195, perhaps repeated from the recipe above.

> [4.7]
> sche xall be delyuert Ryte sou*n* .//. **yf the chyld** ¶[115]
> be ded in þ^e moders wombe gyf her to drynke
> ysope in hot wat*er* & son sche xall be delyuert .//
> **And Also wryte þe salme of magnyficath in** ¶[116]
> a longe scrow & gyrdit A bowte her / sche xall
> be delyuert .//.[117] **but þ*is* ner non oþ*er*** helpe not tell ¶[118]
> (f.167r)

4.1.1.1.3 Phrasal functions

	Frequency	Enumeration	Coordination	Clarification (terminology)	Other
Punctus	*20*	20.0% (n=4)	50.0% (n=10)	10.0% (n=2)	20.0% (n=4)
Double virgule	*4*	75.0% (n=3)	25.0% (n=1)	0	0
Double virgule & punctus	*4*	0	100% (n=4)	0	0
Total	*28*	**25.0% (n=7)**	**53.6% (n=15)**	**7.1% (n=2)**	**14.3% (n=4)**

Table 4.3. Phrasal functions A12195.

At the phrasal level, the punctus is most frequently used; double virgule and double virgule & punctus can also signal phrasal relationships (table [4.3]). Punctus is used to enumerate (without explicit coordinating conjunctions) and to coordinate ("fowlys . of þe fyld kydis . or getys flesch // fysche of Rynyng wat*er* w^t scalys" [f.176v], "on þ^e ton syde . or on þe toder syde" [f.165v]), although lists of ingredients are frequently unpunctuated ("Take a gret quantyte of nepte & not so meche of sclarye & þ^e medyl barke of a chary tre sauen betony a lytel" [f.174r]). Double virgule and double virgule & punctus also appear occasionally in these positions.

Punctus can also be used for clarifying and explaining terminology or a possibly ambiguous structure. It can thus be used to clarify and to emphasise words or phrases

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[115] Rubricated paragraph mark.
[116] Rubricated paragraph mark.
[117] Rubricated double virgule & punctus.
[118] Rubricated paragraph mark.

("**T**hes[119] . apostemes . or ony cutrax or charbu*n*cle" [f.184r], "**prefocacion . or precipitacion of marris** that is whan it goth owt of his Ryth place ov*er*e lowe" [f.160v]). In example [4.8], punctuation is used to coordinate phrases ("castory & galbanu*m* .//. & brent cloth") as well as to separate modifier from head noun ("federis . brent").

[4.8]
chyn*ne* & pt to her nos a þyng of strong
savor as is castory & galbanu*m* .//. & brent
cloth or federis . brent .//. and be nethen
(f.171r)

4.1.1.1.4 Recipes

Recipes generally appear as paleographical wholes, punctuated on either side, although they can also appear in clusters of usually two, sometimes three, recipes. Altogether 73.8% (n=76) of all 103 recipes are punctuated as single units, as illustrated in figure [4.3]; 25.2% (n=26) appear in clusters of two or three recipes (example [4.9], while 1.0% (n=1) are embedded within the text.

[4.9]
medisignes whan þe marris ben vp at   ¶[120]
þe hart Take a penne and byndit a bowt
w^t woll thyke & þan*ne* wetyt i*n* oyle of bawme
or in oþ*er* oyle of good sauo*er* & put it i*n* at her
weket & þan take asspaltu*m* & put it to
her nos or þ^e horn of a got oþ*er* þ^e leg of a der .
brent or federis . brent & wete it i*n* wyneger
& hold it to her nos & yf sche may opyn her
mowythe & spekyne gyf her castor i*n* wyn
& wet ȝer fyngres i*n* oyle & hold it to her nos
but take not þe penne a wey w^t þ^e woll
tyll sche be holl for yf sche be opyn be nethe
þe peyn well come a gyne .//.
(f.172r)

[119] Enlarged, not rubricated, initial.
[120] Rubricated paragraph mark.
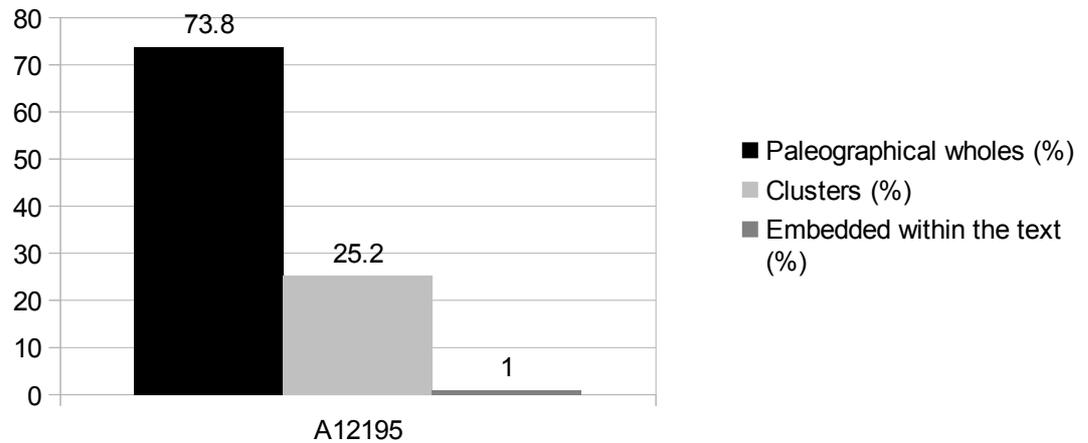
Figure 4.3. Recipes in A12195.
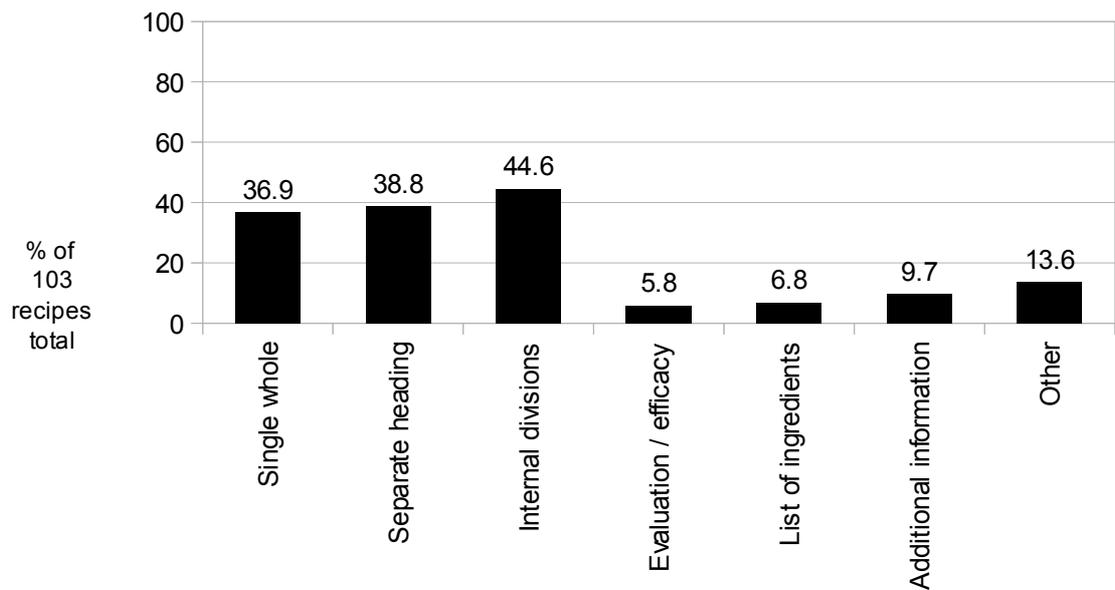
Figure 4.4. Recipe-internal divisions in A12195.

The internal structure of recipes is illustrated in figure [4.4]. Recipes may

a) appear as a single punctuated unit. 36.9% (n=38) of all recipes are presented in this manner, as in example [4.10].

[4.10]
w^t wyte wyn*ne* .//. or ellys take saferon &
galbanu*m* & storax of eche a leke meche i*n*
all a vnce & stampe hem to gydy*re* & mak
of hem as yt war*e* a pessary & vset so //
(f.175r)

b) with a separately punctuated heading or with other internal divisions, usually a separately punctuated efficacy clause or other additional information at the end of the recipe. Lists of ingredients may also be punctuated, and in some cases the different stages of preparation and procedures are punctuated. This, however, is not the case with the majority of the recipes. 44.6% (n=46) of the recipes contain some internal divisions, which can occur also when recipes are clustered or embedded within the text. 38.8% (n=40) of the recipes include a separately punctuated heading, as in example [4.11]; in example [4.12] rubrication functions as a marker for the beginning of the recipe. 21.4% (n=22) contain only heading and the body of the recipe with no further internal divisions.

[4.11]
A[121]**drynke for suffocacyou*n* // Take þe sed of nettyll** & stampe þem to powder & gyf her to drynke in wyne & sche xall be holpyn a non *.//.*[122] **And**[123] **yf her speche fayl** (f.171v)

[4.12]
xall be born þow it war dede *.//.* **Or** Take   **¶**[124]
the seed of wyld comyne as it growyth
In þe herbe // And aft*er* take þ^e woll þ^t growyth
in þe medis of þe front of A schepe and
medell þe seed and þ^t to geder // And whan
nede is bynde yt to hyr Reynes // but as
sone as sche is delyuert take yt A wey
for ellys þe marris sew aft*er* it // **Anoþer**[125] **take**   **¶**[126]
(ff.165v–166r)

The majority of the recipes are signalled by punctuation marks (double virgule and double virgule & punctus), and rubrication is also frequently used to signal the beginning of a recipe: these devices may also be combined, as in example [4.11] above. Rubrication can be used at the beginning of recipes to signal a heading, but also following the heading to signal the beginning of the body of the recipe. The beginning of a new recipe is frequently marked in the margin with a paragraph mark. These are in the hand of the scribe of the main text. In example [4.13], there is a string of recipes, which are all indicated by a paragraph mark in the margin. Some of them are also highlighted by the use of red ink.

---

[121] Rubricated initial.
[122] Rubricated double virgule & punctus.
[123] Rubricated initial.
[124] Rubricated paragraph mark.
[125] Rubricated initial
[126] Rubricated paragraph mark.

Some are, in addition, separated by double virgule & punctus, which can also be used to signal internal divisions. Both punctus and double virgule alone are also used to signal internal divisions within the recipes.

[4.13]
anoþer take lensed & as meche darnell & make   **¶**[127]
powd*er* þ*er* of & etyt at morn & at euen*e* w[t] che[se]
And[128] **yf þe flo*er*is comythe to surfetwssly**
take vynys and bren*n* þem to poud*er*e & put   **¶**
it in a lynen ba*g*ge & put it in at her*e* weket
and it is good **.//.**[129] **yf it come to surfetowsly**
Take hors donge & temp*er*ed w[t] vyneg*re* &   **¶**
as hot as sche may suferit byndit to hyr
navell .//. & whan it is colde het it agyn &
ley þ*er* to mor*e* .//. **Or take þ[e] her** of her hed &   **¶**
byndit a bowte a grene tre what tre þ[t] ʒe
well and it schall stanche .//. anoþ*er* take blak   **¶**
popy & powd*er*e made of egg schellys þ[t] þe
henne hathe sotyn & fayled of chekones
(f.173v)

4.1.1.1.5 Other functions

	Frequency	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Punctus	*169*	73.4% (n=124)	0	26.6% (n=45)
Rubrication	*34*	100% (n=34)	0	0
Virgule	*2*	100% (n=2)	0	0
Initials	*2*	0	0	100% (n=2)
Total	*207*	**77.3% (n=160)**	**0**	**22.7% (n=47)**

Table 4.4. Other functions in A12195.

Punctus is frequently used to signal numerals and abbreviations ("þe secund day .ij. tymes & þ[e] .iij. day **.iij.**[130] Tymys" [f.174v]): 49.6% of all instances of the total are used for this purpose (see tables [4.1] and [4.4]. The punctus is usually placed on both sides of the symbol. Numerals are also frequently also rubricated, and if they occur within a rubricated

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[127] Rubricated paragraph mark.
[128] Rubricated initial.
[129] Rubricated double virgule & punctus.
[130] Rubricated numeral and punctus (on both sides).

section they are sometimes in black ink ("**fyrst ye xall vnder stonde þat in** .iij. **maner wyes . chylder*n* may schew hem Ressonabely at þ*er* berthe**" [f.166r]); the virgule also appears once to signal a numeral. Altogether 88.5% (n=69) of total 78 numerals in the text are punctuated and/or rubricated, as well as 84.2% (n=16) of all weight abbreviations. Written numerals can also be punctuated.

The scribe tends to avoid dividing words at end of lines, but when such divisions occur, they are not punctuated, as in the following examples [4.14, 4.15].

[4.14]
Now well I tell yow what thyng may
let A woman w^t chyld of Ryth fulldeliuer
ance .//.[131] sche may be desturblyd yf sche be
(f.165r)

[4.15]
fall to a woman w^t owt wownd or gre
vance // ȝe scheld do þ^e same medysign*es* þ^t
(f.182r)

Punctus frequently occurs in line-final position (see table [4.4]; "other" functions), where it may signal that the phrase continues on the following line. This, however, does not cover the majority of these instances. The punctus can signal a genitive phrase ("to þe sydis . of þe marris" [f.167v], "in þe moderys . wombe" [f.164v], "hys . hed" [f.168v]) as well as various other phrasal and clausal relationships: it can separate determiners, complements or modifiers ("both þes . Qualites" [f.162v], "a der . brent or federis . Brent" [f.171r], "the woman is . Swelyn" [f.178v]) and verb phrases ("þe blod is . Stopyd" [f.162v]) or to separate a complex noun phrase or an embedded clause. There does not appear to be any significant differences in these cases in usage in line-final or line-internal positions (see also sections 4.1.1.4.5 and 4.1.4.2.5 for similar usages).

Punctus can also be used at the end of a page to signal continuation to the next page. Rubricated initials can also appear at the top of a new page to signal continuation from the previous page, as in example [4.16]; in these cases there is no punctuation at the end of the previous page.

[4.16]
And make mekel vryn .//. & so þ^e flo*er*is is holdyne

---

[131] Rubricated double virgule & punctus.

Anoþ*er*[132] weys . it comyth if so be þᵗ þᵉ blod is . [f.162v]
stopyd þᵗ it may not yssew & þᵗ comyth of cold
(ff.162r–v)

Rubrication can also be used to emphasise important information or to signal evaluation, often in conjunction with other punctuation marks. In the following example [4.17] it is used with and without the double virgule; red ink is used to highlight complete sentences and clauses that demand attention, here "And yf it be Conseyued þ*er* yt schall haue þᵉ to kyn bothe of man and of woma*n* þt is to say both ȝerd and wekete", and the title of the following section, namely "And yf any woman well conceyue a man chylde". Punctuation marks can also be used for the same function.

[4.17]
vp fro þe weket wt Ressistau*n*s to þᵉ seed and
Rotyd *//*[133] **And yf it be Conseyued þ*er* yt schall**
haue þᵉ to kyn bothe of man and of woma*n*
þt is to say both ȝerd and wekete as it
hath be sen oftyn in diu*er*se place **And yf any**
woman well conceyue a man chylde
lete her dress her*e* þᵗ her left hepe may legge
(f.158v)

Paragraph marks are usually inserted in the margins of the text, not in the running text. They do not, therefore, function as grammatical markers, but rather to indicate important or interesting parts of the text for the reader. They are not used consistently to signal structural changes or recipes; rather, they provide evidence of what the scribe wished to draw the attention of the readers to. The primary function of the marginal paragraph marks is to signal the beginning of a recipe or, in some cases, the beginning of a new minor section in the text.

4.1.1.2 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 37

4.1.1.2.1 Description of apparatus

The main punctuation symbol used by the scribe is punctus (.), and spaces have been left for initials (two, three- and four–line), but these have not been filled in. There are also occasional virgules and double virgules.

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[132] Rubricated initial.
[133] Rubricated double virgule.

The dimensions are 129x86mm; the written space measures 104x72mm. The text is laid out in single columns, with 24 lines per page. Apart from the sections marked with the initials, there are no paragraph breaks.

A later hand has also underlined sections of the text and added notes occasionally in the text and in the margins in a purple ink; the latter are only partly visible due to later cropping of the pages; recipes in this hand are marked with a marginal *Rx*. There are also other marks in the margins, wavy upright lines, which are occasionally inserted within the text as well.

	Frequency	Grammatical		Other functions		
		Structural, clausal and sentential	Phrasal	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Punctus	*383*	77.3% (n=296)	1.3% (n=5)	20.6% (n=79)	0	0.8% (n=3)
Double virgule	*107*	7.5% (n=8)	0	0	92.5% (n=99)	0
Virgule	*5*	100% (n=5)	0	0	0	0
Spaces for initials	*4*	100% (n=4)	0	0	0	0
Total	*499*	**62.7% (n=313)**	**1.0% (n=5)**	**15.8% (n=79)**	**19.8% (n=99)**	**0.6% (n=3)**
		63.7% (n=318)		**36.3% (n=181)**		

Table 4.5. Repertoire in D37.

The text is presented as continuous; textual relationships are, therefore, solely indicated by punctuation symbols and linguistic markers. There is no rubrication or any use of colour in the manuscript. The punctus is the primary punctuation mark in the text. It is usually placed mid-line and it generally follows closely the preceding word, while there is a space left before the following word. Major textual divisions after the beginning of the text, where spaces left for enlarged initials appear, are not indicated overtly except by the use of punctus, which is used to indicate both macro- and micro-level relationships; virgule and double virgule occur intermittently, and double virgule is also used to indicate line-final word division. Punctuation is rarely used at the phrasal level (see table [4.5]).

The length of punctuated units varies between 3 and 334 words. While the mean average length of a punctuated unit is 42.87 words, 27.9% of the units are shorter than 20 words. 6.8% are longer than 100 words, and 0.6% in total are longer than 200 words (see figure [4.5]). There is a tendency for there to be relatively long units between punctuation marks, often encompassing several (related) recipes or other semantically connected material. Punctuation is used to signal major textual divisions and to divide the text into sense-units.
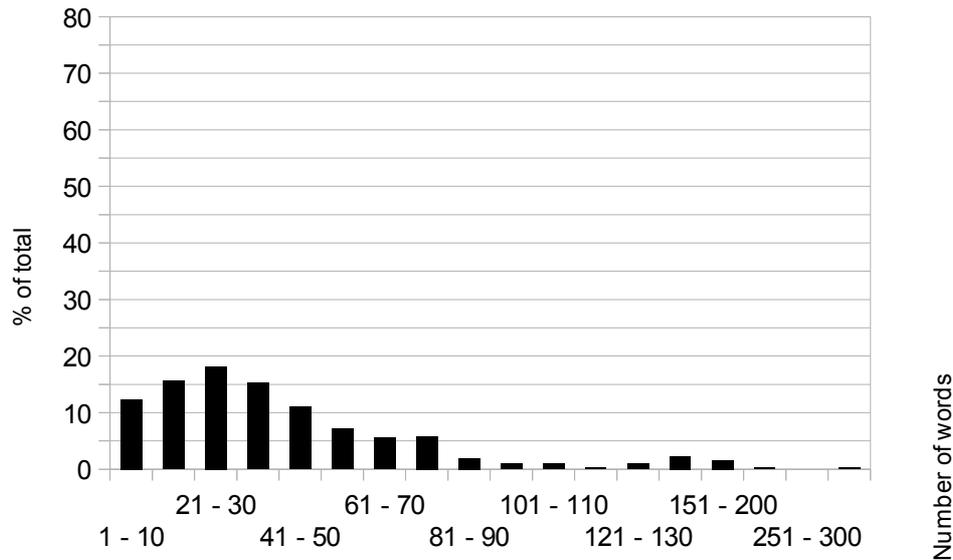
Figure 4.5. Length of units in D37.

The length of units varies throughout the text (see figure [4.6]). The lengthier sections tend to consists of sense-units describing a single subject ("tak a norse for hym to kepe þe chylde", "how ye schall kepe þe chylde þe fyrst yere", "The sygnes of þe matryce þat ys gret replet of humors") or clusters of related recipes, the shorter ones of headings and introductions or short individual recipes. Punctuation can also be used for emphasis.
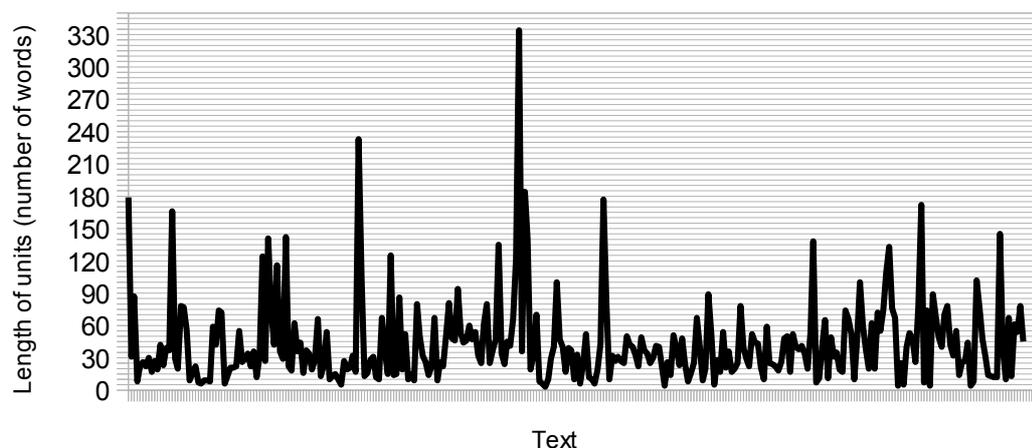
Figure 4.6. Distribution of unit lengths in D37.

4.1.1.2.2 Structural and grammatical functions

	Frequency	Section break or heading	Coordination / subordination	Relative / adverbial clause	Other
Punctus	*296*	36.5% (n=102)	53.0% (n=157)	4.4% (n=13)	8.1% (n=24)
Spaces for initials	*4*	100% (n=4)	0	0	0
Double virgule	*8*	62.5% (n=5)	37.5% (n=3)	0	0
Virgule	*5*	60.0% (n=3)	20.0% (n=1)	0	20.0% (n=1)
Total	*313*	**36.4% (n=114)**	**51.4% (n=161)**	**4.2% (n=13)**	**8.0% (n=25)**

Table 4.6. Grammatical functions in D37.

Apart from the use of space left for enlarged initials, the visual structuring of the text relies largely on the use of punctus alone; virgule and double virgule appear intermittently, as shown in table [4.6].

The text contains four instances of spaces left for initials. One of the spaces is for four-line initial, one for three-line, and two for two-line. The text commences with a space for a four-line initial (example [4.18]). The other initials do not seem to correspond with the major textual divisions, signalling minor sections, although where they appear their placement is carefully designed by the scribe, in each case preceded by paragraph breaks. The only instances to indicate the beginning of major sections are the first initial, and

another one on f.4r. The second space left for an initial occurs on f.2r; after these three at the beginning of the text, there is a final one on f.24v. Punctus appears at the end of these paragraphs preceding the initial [example 4.19].

[4.18]
[O]¹³⁴   ur*e* lorde god whan he had storid
        þe worlde of all creaturs he
        made manne & woman & resona
        bull creatu*re*s & badde hem wexe
& multiply & ordende þat of þem .ij. schulde
cume þe thurde & þat of þe man þat
(f.1r)

[4.19]
for Sup*er*fluite of flourys . Now will I
tell yow medycyns for þe retencon or
faylyng*e* of flowrys as whanne a woman
hath nonne or ryȝht few .
[B]¹³⁵   vt yf ye woll vndyrtak for to
        mak þe flowrys of eny woman
to co*m*me ye muste fyrst vse þys medycyn
viij dayes be for*e* þe day & þe tyme þat
(f.24r)

The punctus functions primarily at the structural and grammatical levels, signalling the end of sections or sense-units or the beginning of new ones. Its usage is tightly bound together with the linguistic structuring of the text; in this sense, the punctus functions as a grammatical marker. Rather than clausal or sentential boundaries, punctuation is generally used to connect or separate sense-units, and is frequently used to indicate headings and introductory material from the section proper (". Now have I tolde yow þe lettyng of redy & tymfull delyu*er*ance of chylde . Now woll I w`r´yth to yow medycynys for redy delyu*er*ance yf hit be her*e* tyme" [f.12r]).

The punctus frequently precedes coordinated and subordinated conjunctions, and can also be used before adverbs and relative conjunctions; 53.0% (n=157) and 4.4% (n=13) of the instances at the grammatical level function thus; in addition, 8.1% (n=24) precede other types of clauses or sentences (see table [4.6]). The length of units varies widely, as illustrated by the examples below. In the first example [4.20], punctuation is relatively frequent, signalling breaks between semantically connected clauses and sentences ("No^w

¹³⁴ Space left for a four-line initial.
¹³⁵ Space left for a two-line initial.

schell I tell yow" … <u>Wo</u>men þat … <u>Ne</u> the þat … <u>Ne</u> tho þat … [Ne tho þat] … Ne maydyns"). This type of punctuation is frequently (although not always) used by the scribe when enumerating items such as symptoms or causes for a certain disease; there is also enumeration in the margin.

[4.20]
Or sche schall sodenly dey . No^w schell
I tell yow wyche women may lese
her flovrys w^t owtyn dyesse & þe cav //
se why they lese hem . <u>Wo</u>men þat be   1^{136}
w^t schyld have no flovrys be cause þe
schylde us norschyde in her*e* body w^t
þe same flovrys . <u>Ne</u> the þat labur*e* moche   2
for be þe sade labur*e* of her*e* body þey
defey her*e* met þat þey r*e*ceyve passyng
ly well . <u>Ne</u> tho þat syngvn & wake   3
mekyll as do þes religios for of her
wakyng & travelyng in syngyng*e* her*e*
blode wastyth & defyet well her*e* repast
Ne tho þat have gret defavte of vytall
for her*e* stomake & her*e* lyuer been of
full pour*e* for to defey all þat þey re //
ceyve . Ne maydyns till þey be .xv. yere
olde for þey be so yoyfull & so yong þat
her*e* met þat þey receyve h^t . And þe
(ff.4v–5r)

Example [4.21] illustrates a lengthier unit between punctuation marks, one which contains a number of recipes, none of which are separately punctuated, apart from the last statement ("And so let har*e* cast & brak"). It should be noted that the first recipes in example [4.21] are for amenorrhoea, and are in the text preceded by a number of other recipes for the same ailment. The following set of recipes ("medycyns for þe delyu*er*ance of þe Secvndyn") begin in the middle of a line, and is not separated from the preceding set of recipes by any punctuation mark or other visual device.

[4.21]
wyket . Or ellys tak wulle & wrap h^t
in þe Iuce of mygwort & rwe & mak
þ*er* of A pessary & vse h^t & ȝyf har*e* eu*ery*
morvn to drynk þys drynk Tak Aristo //   [?]^{137}
log long*er* gencyan bayes of lorer renpon //
tyk of eche ij ȝ. sticados sede of p*er*sely sauge

---

136 Marginal numerals in another hand.
137 Marginal note; illegible due to cropping of the page.

calamynt horhownde camedreos of eche
iij ʒ & of dauk fenell & ache of eche j ʒ
& let sethe all þes to gethyr*e* in white
wynne & ʒiff har*e* to drynk eche day
fastyng medycyns for þe delyu*er*ance   med[icines][138]
of þe Secvndyn yf þe Chylde be borvn
& þe secundynne a byde w^t in let mak
ly of cold watyr & of Aschys & clense fayr*e*
þe lye & put þ*er* to j ʒ of poudyr*e* of ma //
lows & ʒif har*e* to drynk . And so let har*e*
cast & brak . Or ellys ʒif har*e* þat pov //
(ff.28r–v)

If a new sense-unit begins on a new line (example [4.22]), it is not necessarily punctuated; the beginning of the second recipe ("Or tak þe sede of wilde com*m*yn") is indicated by a later reader by underlining as well as a marginal note ("Rx"). In the second example below [4.23], however, the *punctus* signals the end of a section, followed by a space for enlarged initial. The initial as well as the space left at the end of the line, therefore, would be sufficient to signal a break in the text; yet the scribe still inserts the punctuation symbol at the end of the line.

[4.22]
vndyr þe solys of her*e* fete & the
chyld schall be borne all thow he be dede   [f.12v]
<u>Or tak</u> þe sede of wilde com*m*yn as hit   Rx[139]
grovyth in þe herbe & aftur*e* tak woll
(ff.12r–v)

[4.23]
þat þey have no oþ*er* euylys þat nov be
a lyue than thoo women hade þat nov
be seyntys in hevyn .
[R][140]   yht as þe maker*e* of all þyngys
        ordende Treys for to bvrione &
flour*e* & þan aftyrwarde for to
beer*e* froyte . In þe same maner*e* he hath
ordende to all whomen an espvrgymente
(ff.1v–2r)

Both double virgule and virgule occasionally appear at textual junctions or to signal coordinated or subordinated clauses; both are also used at section breaks or to indicate a

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[138] Marginal, another hand.
[139] Marginal, another hand.
[140] Space left for a two-line initial.

heading (see table [4.6]). In addition, another hand occasionally inserts a wavy line within the text (although usually these occur in the margins). These are often inserted in addition to a punctus to emphasise that particular break or section, usually a major textual break or a recipe, as in example [4.24], which also includes underlining and marginal note to signal the beginning of a recipe.

> [4.24]
> <u>her t</u>o ete dyam*ar*gariton & sche schall
> <u>be delyuerde</u> . [{]¹⁴¹ ffor þe same a noþ*er* me //
> dyson p*ro*uyde ofte tymys trew . <u>Tak of</u>   Rx¹⁴²
> myrr þe qua*n*tite of i hasull not & gyf
> (f.13v)

4.1.1.2.3 Phrasal functions

	Frequency	Enumeration	Coordination	Clarification (terminology)	Other
Punctus	*5*	0	20.0% (n=1)	0	80.0% (n=4)
Total	**5**	**0**	**20.0% (n=1)**	**0**	**80.0% (n=4)**

Table 4.7. Phrasal functions in D37.

Punctuation is not generally used at the phrasal level in this manuscript (see table [4.7]), and lists and coordinated phrases appear unpunctuated ("poudyr of Corall þe sede of folefote pome gra nat povdyr of herts horne plantayn centynody saudragon all þes ben good to gythyr*e* or els eche by hym selfe" [f.22v]). The only section with reiterative punctuation following each item or phrase is in example [4.25], containing instructions for writing a charm to aid in childbirth (see also section 4.1.1.3.4):

> [4.25]
> lyuerde . Or tak a lytyll scrowe & wryt
> þys wᵗ in + In no*min*e patris & filij &
> spirit*us* s*an*ti Ame*n* . + s*an*ta maria . + s*an*ta   [?]¹⁴³
> margareta . + ogor + Sugor + nogo . +
> & kyt þat strov in to small pecys & giffe
> her*e* to drynk . Or wrytt in A long strow
> (ff.13v–14r)

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¹⁴¹ Added wavy line within the text, another hand.
¹⁴² Marginal, another hand.
¹⁴³ Marginal note; illegible due to cropping of the page.

4.1.1.2.4 Recipes

The text contains altogether 134 recipes. They are frequently presented as a single paleographical whole, that is, punctuated on either side: 58.9% (n=79) appear thus (see figure [4.7]). Recipes can also appear in clusters (35.1%, or n=47), which most commonly consist of two related recipes, as in example [4.26], but may contain up to four recipes; these clusters may contain a separately punctuated heading.

[4.26]
drynk in wynne . Or tak colrag & radysch   Rx[144]
& sethe them both in wynne & ley hᵗ to
her*e* wyket as hote as sche may suffur*e*
& do þat oftyn Or tak þe myddyll bark of
Cherytre & stampe hᵗ & wryng out þe
Iuce & ʒif har*e* to drynck iij dayes wᵗ
whyte wynne . ypocras sayth þat yf
(ff.27r–v)

Recipes can also be embedded without visual separation in a larger context, as in example [4.27], although this is not very frequent; 6.0% (n=8) are presented thus.

[4.27]
gret dysesse yf sche be not holpyn . The
sygnes of þe matryce þat ys gret re //   [manicule][145]
plet of humors akyng of eyen & grett
het in har*e* hede & akyng oþ*er* will swov //
nyng & þe preuy me*m*brys gretly akyn
medycynne þ*er*for Tak anneys & stamp
hit & medyll hᵗ wᵗ þe gres of a gosse
& wᵗ bothyr & þan cou*er* hit in wolle
or in lynyn cloth þat be clene & put
hit in to þe matryce by þe wyket in
maner*e* of A pessary yf suellyng or oþ*er*
wyse falle to þe matryce þes been the
synes þe pappys suellyng & be co*m*myn
pale & hard & bᵗ medycyn be son*ne* do þ*er*
(f.31v)

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[144] Marginal, another hand.
[145] Marginal, another hand.
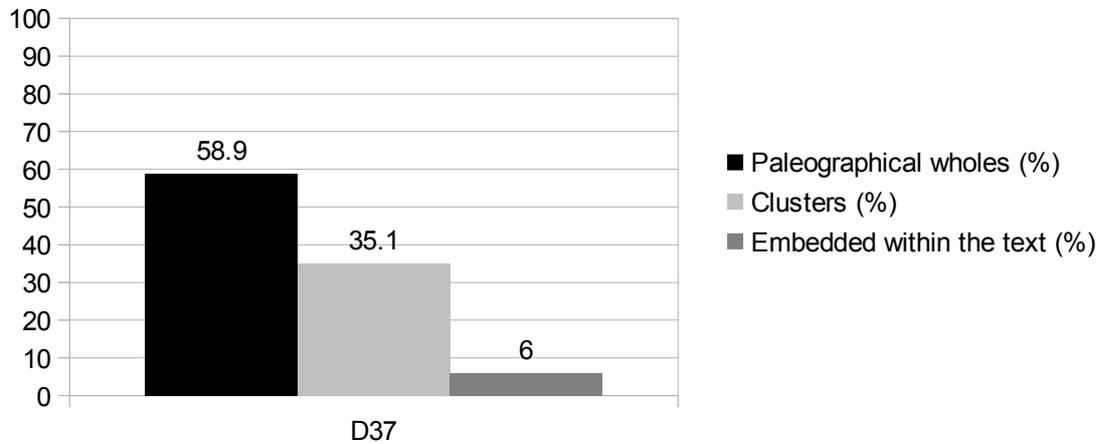
Figure 4.7. Recipes in D37.
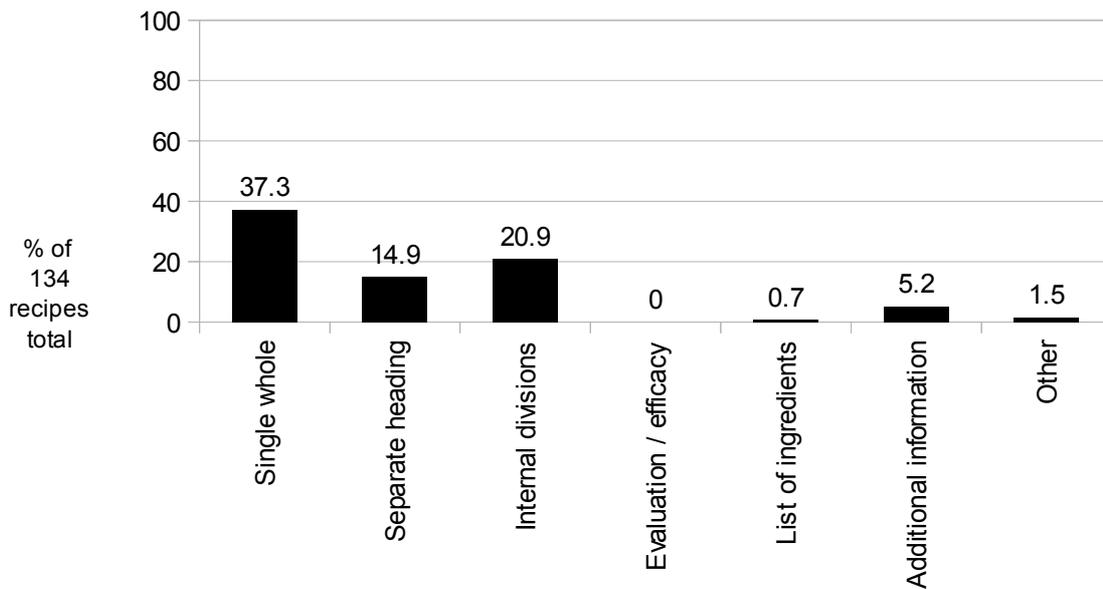
Figure 4.8. Recipe-internal divisions in D37.

Some internal divisions, however, occur (see figrue [4.8]). Recipes can

a) appear as single wholes without further visual or paleographical internal divisions, as in example [4.28]. 37.3% (n=50) of recipes appear in this form.

[4.28]
matrice will sew aftyr*e* h^t . An othyr*e*

tak lek bladys & scalde hem & as hote   Rx[146]
as sche may suffyr hem bynde hem to
her*e* navyll & þey woll delyuer*e* her*e*
a nonne all thowhe þe chyld be dede
b[t] tak hem A way aftur*e* þe delyu*er*ance
A noon or ellys all her*e* bovellys will
sew aftyr*e* . [{][147] how ye schall help a wo
man þat travelyd of chylde . fyrst ye
(f.12v)

b) contain internal divisions. 20.9% contain some internal divisions, most commonly a separately punctuated heading. 14.9% (n=20) of the recipes contain a separate heading (as in example [4.29], "A good drynk for þe Suffocacyon"), while 9.7% (n=13) are structured heading+body of the recipe only without further internal divisions. Sometimes the heading can also be embedded within the previous cluster of recipes or introduction to the topic, and is not punctuated separately. Other punctuated sections may include additional information, but only rarely do any other divisions occur. Lists of ingredients are not punctuated except in a single case.

[4.29]
& bynde hem to her*e* wombe . A good drynk
for þe Suffocacyon . Tak þe sede of netlys   Rx[148]
& stampe hem to poudyr & gyffe hem to
drynk in wynne & sche schall be holpon
a nonne . [{][149] And yf har*e* speche fayle & be
(f.21r)

Recipes are frequently introduced by "and if", "also", "another". The punctus in these cases separates the recipe from those surrounding it, while the linguistic markers signal its relationship with the recipe(s) preceding, marking it as belonging to the same group of recipes. Recipes are also frequently signalled in the margins by "Rx", underlining or a marginal note (as noted previously, these are rarely legible due to later cropping of the pages); they can also be signalled by a wavy line inserted in the margins or within the text. Recipe-internal divisions, where they occur, are signalled by the punctus.

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[146] Marginal, another hand.
[147] Added wavy line within the text, another hand.
[148] Marginal additions.
[149] Added wavy line within the text, another hand.

4.1.1.2.5 Other functions

	Frequency	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Punctus	*82*	96.3% (n=79)	0	3.7% (n=3)
Double virgule	*99*	0	100% (n=99)	0
Total	*181*	**43.6%** **(n=79)**	**54.7%** **(n=99)**	**1.7%** **(n=3)**

Table 4.8. Other functions in D37.

The *punctus* is also used to indicate numerals and weight abbreviations; in some cases also written numerals, although primarily roman numerals ("fro xv. yer*e* till sche be . fyfty wyntyr olde" [f.4v]). The usage is not consistent, however, and numerals are frequently unpunctuated ("The .ij. dyuersyte ys on her*e* berde for þer be men thyke heryde & þ*er* be women smoth . The iij diu*er*site ys on her*e* brestys" [ff.2r–v]); 34.8% of numerals are punctuated. Weight abbreviations are not usually punctuated. There are no arabic numerals in the text.

Double virgules are used to signal line-final word divisions. Altogether 71.7% (n=99) of all line-final word divisions are punctuated [examples 4.30, 4.31]; although unpunctuated divisions do occur as well ("wy che", example [4.30]).

[4.30]
þe forseyde bovell dovnvarde & su*m*me ty //
me be diu*er*se causis þe synvys by þe wy
che matryce ys fastenyde for ou*er* mekyll
(f.6v)

[4.31]
let mak poudyr of all þat And ȝif har*e*
to drynk wᵗ wynne & wᵗ hony clary //
fyed / hᵗ happyth oþ*er* whille þat þe ma //   [?][150]
trice co*m*myth so low þat hᵗ goyth out of
þe wyket . The synes of þe whyche ys   sig[nes][151]
(f.29r)

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[150] Marginal note; illegible due to cropping of the page.
[151] Marginal note; illegible due to cropping of the page.

Lexical items and sections of the text can also be underlined; frequently underlining signals the beginning of a new recipe or section, but can also signal an item of terminology, to clarify and emphasise that item ("And so þis purgacyon ys ordende to women & ys clepte me*n*strual be cause hᵗ co*m*myth eu*er*y monyth onys" [ff.7v–8r], "let har*e* vse Trifera magna eu*er*y nyʒht or ellys Theodoricon Anacardiu*m*" [f.27v]).

4.1.1.3 Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 483

4.1.1.3.1 Description of apparatus

Punctus (.), placed mid-line, is the most common symbol in the text, although other symbols appear as well: double virgule (//), virgule (/), punctus elevatus (⸵) as well as double virgule & punctus (.// or //. or .//.) and virgule & punctus (./ or /.). In addition, the caret (^) is used by the once scribe to signal an omission and subsequent addition.

The size of the pages varies between 220–222x155–160mm, with written space of 170x111mm. There are 28–31 lines per page. The text is presented as continuous and there are no paragraph breaks, colours or decoration.

There are marginal annotations in two different hands; one of these also underlines sections of the text.

	Frequency	Grammatical		Other functions		
		Structural, clausal and sentential	Phrasal	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Punctus	279	73.5% (n=205)	17.2% (n=48)	9.0% (n=25)	0	0.4% (n=1)
Double virgule	60	16.7% (n=10)	0	0	83.3% (n=50)	0
Virgule	36	83.3% (n=30)	8.3% (n=3)	0	8.3% (n=3)	0
Punctus elevatus	11	100% (n=11)	0	0	0	0
Double virgule & punctus	4	100% (n=4)	0	0	0	0
Virgule & punctus	2	100% (n=2)	0	0	0	0
Total	392	**66.8% (n=262)**	**13.0% (n=51)**	**6.4% (n=25)**	**13.5% (n=53)**	**0.3% (n=1)**
		79.8% (n=313)		**20.2% (n=79)**		

Table 4.9. Repertoire in B483.

Despite the rather extensive repertoire of symbols, the functions of individual symbols are not usually distinct (see table [4.9]). The punctus is used to indicate abbreviations and numerals as well as enumerating single items in a list, and the double virgule is used to indicate line-breaks, but the grammatical functions the punctuation marks perform are largely overlapping. Because layout is not used for signalling textual divisions, punctuation marks combined with linguistic items are solely used to signal changes in subject-matter. Rather than sentences or clauses as such, punctuation is used to signal sense-units, which may, for instance, consist of a number of semantically related recipes. 66.8% of punctuation marks function at the structural and grammatical levels. Occasionally, however, punctuation is used for smaller units, and is sometimes used to signal headings as well as enumerate lists of items, for instance; 13.0% of all punctuation marks function at the phrasal level. In these cases, the primary function of punctuation appears to be clarifying and disambiguating the structure. Punctuation can also be used to signal numerals and line-final word-division.

The length of punctuated units varies between 1 and 250. The mean average length of a unit is 40.12 words. Altogether 39.0% of the units are 20 words or shorter in length. The majority (56.3%) of those units below 20 words in length consists of lists, i.e. items

enumerated. 27.5% are longer than 41 words; and 8.5% of the units are between 101 and 250 words (see figure [4.9]).
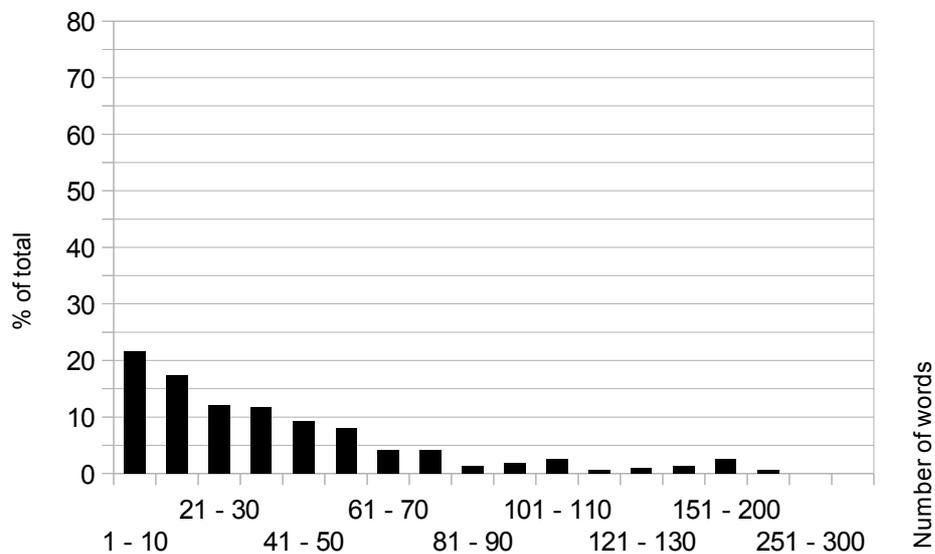
Figure 4.9. Length of units in B483.

While there is extensive variation in the length of the units, the distribution of units of different length is fairly even across the text (see figure [4.10]). The lengthier sections tend to consist of clusters of recipes or sense-units, although in some cases punctuation might be expected between sense-units. Recipes and sections are frequently preceded by a heading or a short introduction, which is often punctuated separately.
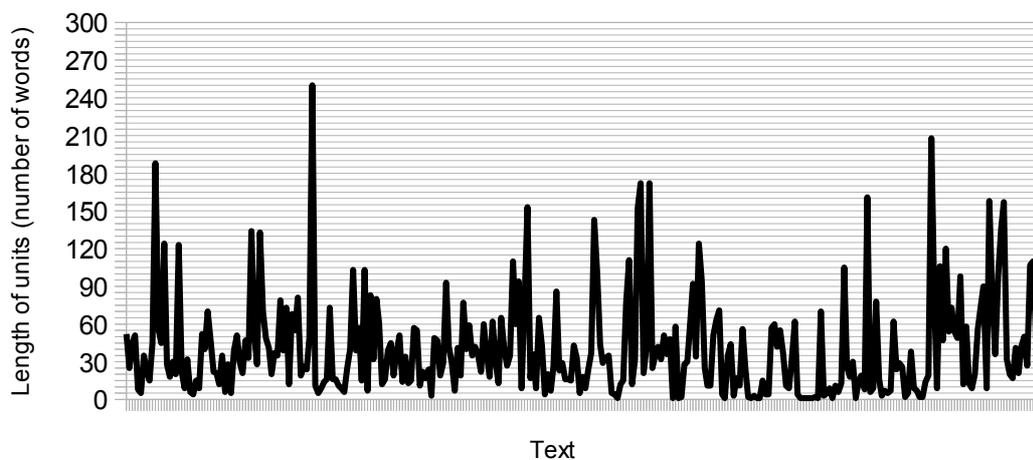
Figure 4.10. Distribution of unit lengths in B483.

4.1.1.3.2 Structural and grammatical functions

	Frequency	Section break or heading	Coordination / subordination	Relative / adverbial clause	Other
Punctus	*205*	33.7% (n=69)	54.6% (n=112)	2.4% (n=5)	9.3% (n=19)
Virgule	*30*	53.3% (n=16)	30.0% (n=9)	0	16.7% (n=5)
Punctus elevatus	*11*	18.2% (n=2)	81.8% (n=9)	0	0
Double virgule	*10*	100% (n=10)	0	0	0
Double virgule & punctus	*4*	100% (n=4)	0	0	0
Virgule & punctus	*2*	100% (n=2)	0	0	0
Total	*262*	**39.3% (n=103)**	**49.6% (n=130)**	**1.9% (n=5)**	**9.2% (n=24)**

Table 4.10. Grammatical functions in B483.

The punctus can be used to signal topic changes and headings, and to indicate the boundaries between sections. It is frequently coupled with a linguistic marker such as *now*, and is used both with cataphoric and anaphoric *now*, as in example [4.32]. These instances signal the beginning of a major section or chapter within the text. Structural breaks in the text can also be signalled by other punctuation marks: virgule, double virgule (as in example [4.33]), double virgule & punctus (see table [4.10]).

[4.32]
hir Ryght hyppe . for so shall she make the [?] seed of   marke
hir husbond to falle on the right syde when þat þe   this
man is conceiued . and in the contrary maner werk   place well[152]
for the femynyn . Now haue I tolde you what the
matrice is and how hit lieth in a womannys body
and now woll I telle you the Angwysshes þat p*ri*nci //
pally dissesen them by her matryce . The first is tra
(f.83v)

[4.33]
then shall no corrupcion hym greve ne entre within
hym but he shall cast it vp agayn sone // how & when
the chylde shall be wenyd when he is þe age of oon   ¶[153]
yere or of ij yer so that he hathe teeth that he may
(f.92v)

---
[152] Marginal, another hand.
[153] Marginal, scribal.

The punctus can also be used to signal boundaries between recipes or to separate the heading of a recipe from the body (example [4.34]). The other symbols can also be used for the same purpose: the virgule, double virgule, double virgule & punctus, virgule & punctus as well as the punctus elevatus can all be found in this position.

[4.34]
be hole in the meane tyme and þan cesse of all
thyngs An oder medicyne that a lady of Salern
vsed . Take p*er*itory malowys calamynte and   No*ta*[154]
þᵉ daisy and let stamp hem & wryng onto þe
(f.95v)

The primary function of the *punctus* is connecting related but separate sense-units and separating headings from the body of the text. The majority of the instances signal coordinated and subordinated clauses as well as other joined clauses, such as temporal, relative and comparative clauses (example [4.35]); again, the virgule can also be used in this function. The majority of these consist of coordinated clauses (example [4.36]), which structure the text, signalling grammatical and textual relationships, although the usage is somewhat inconsistent.

[4.35]
shall sodenly dye . Now shall I telle you whiche
women leste her flou*er*s wᵗouten dissease / and the
cause why þei lese them women that been wyth
chylde hauen no flourys by cause that þᵉ chylde
is norysshed in her body with the same flourys
Ne thoo that ben grevoush seke . for the syknes
wasteth hir blode . Neiþ*er* thoo that laboren muche
for by sadde labourys of þ*er* bodyes they defye ther
mete that they receyve passingly wele Ne thoo
that syngen and wake mekyll . as doon these
Religiouse folke . for of ther wakyng & singyng
ther blode wasteth muche and defieth wel ther
repaste Ne thoo that hauen grett defawte of
vitells for her stomake & lyver been of full poure
(f.84r)

[4.36]
holde the sede that it goo not oute and perysshe . And
if so be that the sede falle into eny of the Chambers
on the right syde it shall be a man chylde if it þ*er*in
abyde & be conceived . And if it falle into eny of the
iij vessellys on þᵉ lyft syde hit shalle be a mayde

---

[154] Marginal, scribal.

chylde . And if it <u>falle in</u> the vessell þat is in the
mydds hit falleth oute & peryshyth fro the place   marke this
of creacion and if it abyde it falleth to corrupcion   place well[155]
(f.83r)

Of the 11 instances of punctus elevatus, nine occur with the coordinating conjunction *but*
("and if nede be bynde hit to her Reynes ⸫ but as sone as she is deliuered take it a wey or
ells the matrice woll sue after hit" [f.88v]). These instances seem to indicate a special
emphasis on the following information, or indicate a break in the discourse, thus signalling
additional information to the topic, as in example [4.37] on possible complications in
childbirth.

[4.37]
syke . And if he haue all his membrys ioynned
to gidder or if he lye overthwarte putto your
hand & if ye may by eny maner of wise doo in
the foorme as I haue sede afore . or in whiche
partye of þᵉ body þᵗ ye may sease hym esily
and so take hym forthe ⸫ but evermore desire
to take the chylde by the hede or ells by the
fete for thoo been þe most esyest weyes of all
(f.90v)

4.1.1.3.3 Phrasal functions

	Frequency	Enumeration	Coordination	Clarification (terminology)	Other
Punctus	*48*	97.9% (n=47)	2.1% (n=1)	0	0
Virgule	*3*	100% (n=3)	0	0	0
Total	*51*	**98.0% (n=50)**	**2.0% (n=1)**	**0**	**0**

Table 4.11. Phrasal functions in B483.

At the phrasal level, the punctus is used for enumeration; the virgule appears occasionally
in the same function (see table [4.11]). This practice is especially prevalent in enumerating
ingredients within a recipe, although it is not consistently used. Thus, a list may be
punctuated after each item (e.g. "ffowlys of þᵉ felde . kydds or goots flesshe . ffysshe of
rennyng water wᵗ scales all thes ben gode for hir to ete" [f.97r]) or it may be intermittently
punctuated (e.g. "take Rue . mynte . pulioll Ryall of eche lyche muche iij cropps of sawge

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155 Marginal, another hand.

iij plants of Red cole iij heds of lekys" [f.96v]) or not at all, particularly in shorter lists (e.g. "Take p*er*itory malowys calamynte and þ^e daisy" [f.95v]).

In addition, the scribe uses the *punctus* to enumerate and list larger sections of text. Again, this practice is not entirely consistent, and the linguistic information occasionally serves the same purpose without the overt need for punctuating the same structure, as in example [4.38], where the first and third item are punctuated, but not second or fourth.

> [4.38]
> as ther been diu*er*se postemys þ^t ben called in englyssh
> bocches or byles . oon comyth of blode & þat is called
> flegmon in frensshe An other and he comyth of coler
> and is called herbesyti omenus the iij^de comyth of
> melancolye and is called cancre . the iiij^th comyth of
> flewme and is called ʒimma*n* or ʒimma and these
> (f.102v)

The punctus can also be used to clarify readings or terminology ("The seconde is suffocacion . p*re*cipitacion or p*re*focacion of the matrice" [f.83v]), as well as for clarifying other structures ("take a litill strowe and wryte this w^tin . In no*mine* pa . & . fi . & s . s. amen + s*anc*ta maria + s*anc*ta margareta" [f.89v]) (see also section 4.1.1.2.4).

4.1.1.3.4 Recipes

The structuring of recipe texts is somewhat inconsistent across the text. Recipes may appear in clusters of two or more (up to eight) recipes (usually for the same ailment, i.e. in semantically connected wholes) without punctuation separating them (65.4%, or n=87; example [4.39]). 24.1% (n=32) of all recipes appear as paleographical wholes, punctuated on either side and with or without further internal divisions. Recipes can also be embedded without separation in a larger context, as in example [4.40]. 10.5% (n=14) appear thus. The majority of the recipes are, therefore, not conceived of as visually independent entities, but tend to be presented in clusters together with other semantically related recipes (see figure [4.11]). The text contains altogether 133 recipes.

> [4.39]
> so þat noon passe but vpwarde . Or take xxx//
> vj bayes of lorer*e* and bete & stamp hem into powd*er*
> and gyffe hir to drynke w^t whyte wyne Or take safron

galbann & storax of eche liche muche that is to sey
j halfe vnce and stamp hem to gidder and make of
them as it wer*e* a pissary and so vse hyt And if the
matrice be so harded that hit holde the flowrys þ^t
hit may not passe Take lynsede & fenygrek of eche
an vnce and temper hem w^t hony and make a py //
ssary and vse hyt . ffor to make the flowrys come
(f.96r–v)

[4.40]
maner of a pissary // If swellyng or oþ*er* vice falle
to the matryce these been the signes the pappes
swelle and becomyn pale & harde & but medicyne
be soner do therto the matric*e* brekyth and moisto*re*
passeth and so the Angwysshe passeth litel & litell
and that maketh þ^t some women may not conceyue
And it is harde to grope aboute the matrice And
they dremyn often for that cause And they wol
not suffre her husbonde to towche to dele w^t theem
A medicyne therfor take þ^e Iuse of Rue and grees
of a gose and make a pissary therof as ye doo to
the matrice that is over replete of humo*re*s for þ^t
is good for all evills in þe matrice / The signes
(f.100r)
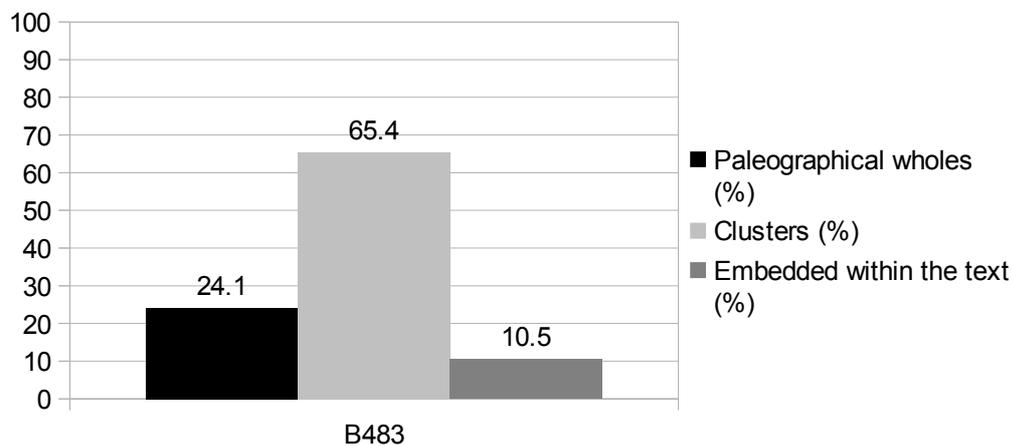
Figure 4.11. Recipes in B483.
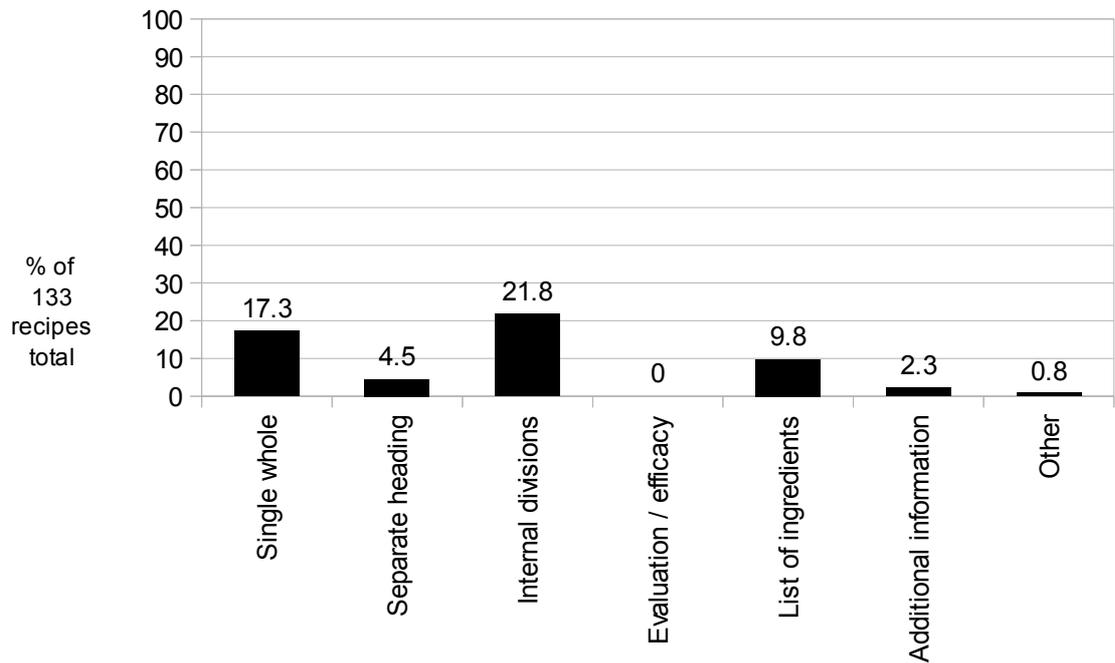
Figure 4.12. Recipe-internal divisions in B483.

As illustrated in figure [4.12], recipes can

a) appear on their own as a single paleographical whole, punctuated on either side with no further internal divisions, as in example [4.41]. 17.3% (n=23) are presented in this manner.

[4.41]
brennyng colys . ffor þᵗ evill ye must take oyle
the whyte of xij eggs saferon mylke of a woma*n*
let medyll all these to gidder and mynyster
hyt with a pissary . for þᵉ evyll in the mat*ri*ce
þat dwellyth stylle in his place take suet of
(f.99r)

b) consist of two or three visually separated sections. 21.8% contain some internal divisions, most commonly a punctuated list of ingredients. The heading or additional information may also be separately punctuated; there are no further divisions. The heading can also be embedded within the previous cluster of recipes or introduction to the topic and punctuation may follow (but not precede) the heading. Additional information to a recipe may likewise be punctuated and then followed by the next recipe without a break. 4.5% (n=6) of all of the recipes contain a separately punctuated heading (example 4.42]), 9.8% (n=13) include a punctuated list of ingredients, as in example [4.43].

[4.42]
same to oon þat spekyth in his slepe . for to make
a woman sone to be deliuered of chylde wheþ*er* hit
be quyk or ded . gyf hir to drynke ditayn ij dra*m* //
mes w^t the watyr of fenygrek and gyf hyr to drynk   here is more medicins
diamargariton and she shall be deliuered . ffor þ^e same ꝛ   for delyverans of child[156]
an other medicyne p*ro*ved often tymys take myrre the   here is apropar
quantite of an hasill nott and gyff hir to drynke w^t   medicine provid[157]
(f.89r–v)

[4.43]
a pissary & vse hit & gyffe hir eu*er*y morne to
drynke this drynke . take aristologe longa . gencian   marke this place[158]
bayes of the lorer . renpentyke of eche ij dra*m*mes
sticados sede of p*er*cily . sawge . calamynte horehound
camedreos of eche ij dra*m*mes & of dauke fenell .
& ache of eche j dra*m*me . let sethe all these in whyte
wyne and gyffe hir to drynke fastyng .
(f.98r)

The punctuation symbol most commonly used to signal recipes as well as recipe-internal divisions is the punctus. Virgule can also be used in recipe-initial position, and double virgule as well as virgule & punctus can also appear. Punctus is the most common punctuation mark to signal recipe-internal divisions; virgule and punctus elevatus can also appear in recipe-internal positions. Recipes can also be signalled in the margins, occasionally by paragraph marks inserted by the scribe, and more commonly by marginal notes and headings in a later hand.

4.1.1.3.5 Other functions

	Frequency	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Double virgule	*50*	0	100% (n=50)	0
Punctus	*26*	96.2% (n=25)	0	3.8% (n=1)
Virgule	*3*	0	100% (n=3)	0
Total	**79**	**31.6% (n=25)**	**67.1% (n=53)**	**1.3% (n=1)**

Table 4.12. Other functions in B483.

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[156] Marginal, another hand.
[157] Marginal, another hand.
[158] Marginal, another hand.

The punctus can also be used to signal numerals and abbreviations; only 13.8% of all numerals and abbreviations are puctuated, however. While the majority of numerals in the text are roman ("wex & suet of a dere evyn mesure .vij dra*m*mes" [f.102r], "The iij^{de} diu*er*site is on hir brests" [f.82v]), there are also instances of arabic numerals punctuated ("take with yo*ur* .2. fyngers" [f.91r]). The text contains only two instances of abbreviated weight measures; quantities are generally written out ("ij dra*m*mes" [ff.96v, 98r], "j halfe vnce" [f.96r]) or expressed in another way ("iij heds of lekys" [f.96r], "a gret quantite of nept and not so much of sclarye" [f.95v]).

The most common function for the double virgule is to indicate a line-break: virgule is occasionally also used for the same purpose. The majority (84.1%) of line-final word divisions are punctuated ("concei // ue" [f.84r], "sub // staunce" [f.85v], "co*m* // plexion" [f.86r]); numerals can also be divided in line-final position (" xxx // vj bayes of lorer" [f.96r]).

The virgule is also used once in conjunction with the caret, to indicate an omission and a subsequent addition of the omitted section at the bottom of the page (example [4.44]).

[4.44]
ne in slawnder of no woman ne for no cause but for þ^e
helpe & helþe of hem / ^ lattyng you certaynly know
that women now alyve have noon oþ*er* evylle than
thoo women hadde that now been saynts in heven
[…]
^ dredyng lesse þ^t veniaunce mygһt falle to hym as it
hathe doon to oþ*er* þ^t haþe shewed her p*ri*uytees in slaunder
of theem
(f.82v)

4.1.1.4 Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.VI.33 (II)

4.1.1.4.1 Description of apparatus

The text contains a wide variety of punctuation symbols. The most frequent symbol is the punctus (.); other symbols used include the paragraph mark (¶), double virgule (//), double virgule & punctus (.//.), virgule (/) and double hyphen (=). The text begins with a four-line initial, after which major sections are signalled by two-line rubricated and

occasionally decorated initials. Within these sections, red initials and letters touched with red as well as red paragraph marks are used.

The manuscript is small, measuring 155x105mm. The size of the written space is 102x69mm. The text is laid out in single columns, containing 21–22 lines per page. The text is divided into paragraphs, the ends of which are filled with rubricated line-fillers ("x . x . x . x .").

There are occasional marginal notes in another hand.

	Frequency	Grammatical		Other functions		
		Structural, clausal and sentential	Phrasal	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Punctus	1482	68.6% (n=1017)	15.6% (n=231)	10.6% (n=157)	0	5.2% (n=77)
Initials	101	92.1% (n=93)	0	0	0	7.9% (n=8)
Paragraph mark	84	95.2% (n=80)	0	0	0	4.8% (n=4)
Double virgule & punctus	48	100% (n=48)	0	0	0	0
Double virgule	24	16.7% (n=4)	0	0	25.0% (n=6)	58.3% (n=14)
Paragraph break	15	100% (n=15)	0	0	0	0
Virgule	5	60.0% (n=3)	20.0% (n=1)	0	20.0% (n=1)	0
Double hyphen	4	0	0	0	100% (n=4)	0
Total	**1763**	**71.5% (n=1260)**	**13.2% (n=232)**	**8.9% (n=157)**	**0.6% (n=11)**	**5.8% (n=103)**
		84.6% (n=1492)		**15.4% (n=271)**		

Table 4.13. Repertoire in CUL33[II].

This manuscript version contains very explicit punctuation. Hierarchical structures are signalled by a variety of symbols and devices. Punctuation functions primarily at the structural and grammatical levels, with 71.5% of all punctuation marks signalling various syntactical structures (see table [4.13]). Punctuation is also used at the phrasal level; altogether, 84.6% of punctuation marks signal sentential, clausal and phrasal structures. Punctuation is also used to signal numerals and line-final word-division as well as for

other, non-grammatical purposes. Although there are some exceptions, and especially the punctus is used somewhat more indiscriminately, the hierarchical order of the punctuation marks can be illustrated as follows, with the initials marking the major sections:

Four-line initial
  Two-line initial
    One-line initial
      Paragraph mark
       Double virgule & punctus
       Double virgule
        Punctus

The mean average length between punctuated units is 8.3 words; altogether 96.2% of these units are less than 20 words in length. The longest single unit is 38 words. There is thus very little variation in unit length (see figure [4.13]).
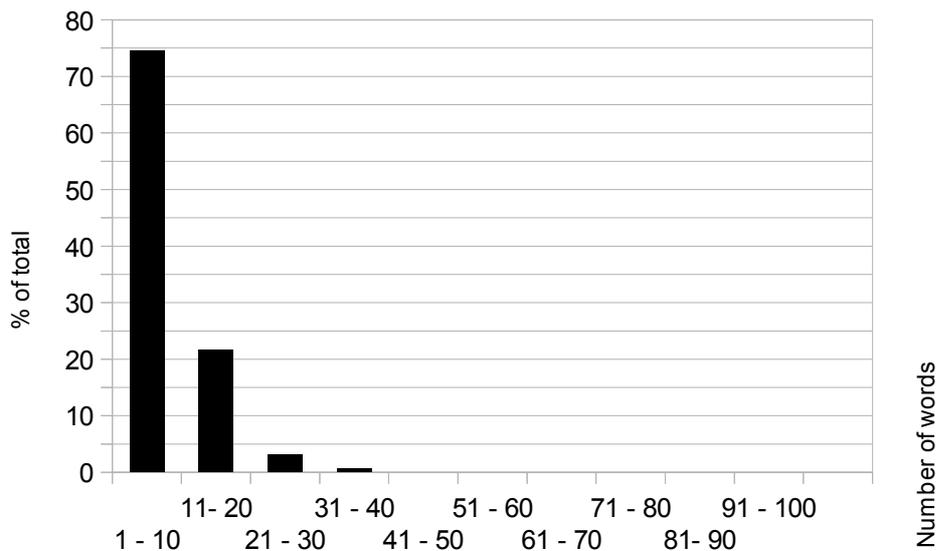
Figure 4.13. Length of units in CUL33[II].

The length of units between punctuation stays constant throughout the text (see figure [4.14]). While short recipes might not contain any internal punctuation, recipes as well as other sections of the text contain frequent punctuation at regular intervals. Punctuation not only signals structural and syntactical divisions (at the sentential, clausal and phrasal levels), but is used with such frequency that an additional, rhetorical function is likely.
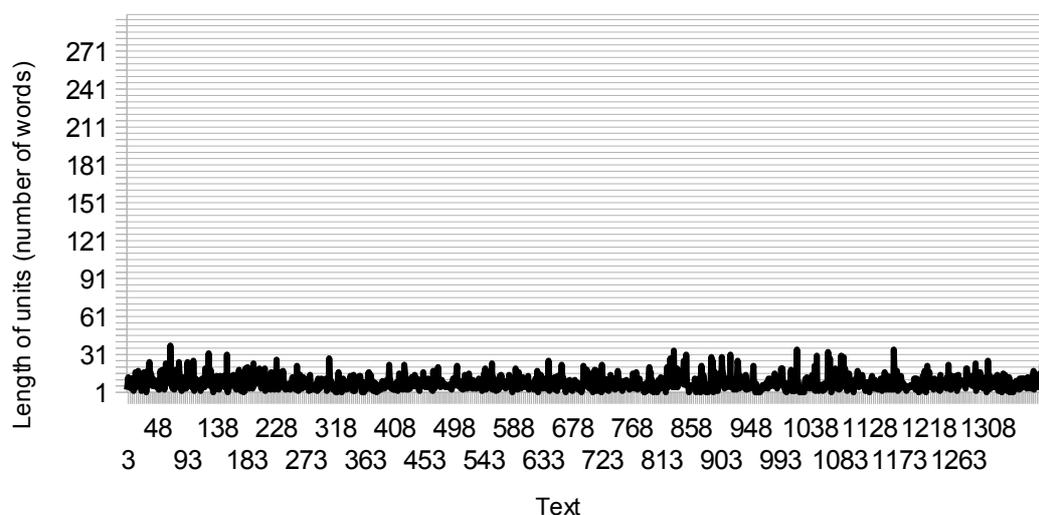
Figure 4.14. Distribution of unit lengths in CUL33[II].

4.1.1.4.2 Structural and grammatical functions

	Frequency	Section break or heading	Coordination / subordination	Relative / adverbial clause	Other
Punctus	*1017*	16.6% (n=169)	54.1% (n=571)	13.2% (n=134)	14.1% (n=143)
Initials	*93*	68.8% (n=64)	28% (n=26)	0	3.2% (n=3)
Paragraph marks	*80*	75.0% (n=60)	17.5% (n=14)	0	7.5% (n=6)
Double virgule & punctus	*48*	79.2% (n=38)	20.8% (n=10)	0	0
Paragraph break	15	100% (n=15)	0	0	0
Double virgule	*4*	25.0% (n=1)	75.0% (n=3)	0	0
Virgule	*3*	0	100% (n=3)	0	0
Total	**1260**	**27.5% (n=347)**	**49.8% (n=627)**	**10.6% (n=134)**	**12.1% (n=152)**

Table 4.14. Grammatical functions in CUL33[II].

The text is divided into paragraphs. New sections as well as new recipes are signalled by rubricated two-line initials. Paragraph-internal divisions are signalled by one-line initials or rubricated paragraph marks. The ends of paragraphs are signalled by punctuation marks (usually punctus, or double virgule & punctus) as well as frequently by rubricated line-fillers; all of these practices are illustrated by example [4.45].

[4.45]
but for the .ij. ferste ye may haue me
dicynes heer aftir . **---xxx---xxx---xxx--.**[159]
K[160]nowe heer what women ar
moste abill to conceyue . and
whanne . **T**ho[161] wome*n* that are purgid
of here corrupte blood and not to meche .
And[162] tho that haue the mowth of þᵉ
matrice nygh and even ayene þᵉ p*re*vite .
(f.9r)

The paragraph mark rarely appears on its own. It is most frequently preceded by a punctus; double virgule & punctus, or a double virgule alone may also precede the symbol. In these cases the preceding punctuation mark usually signals the end of the previous unit and the paragraph mark signals the beginning of the next one. The previous punctuation mark frequently appears at the end of a line, or preceding or following line-fillers, as in the following examples [4.46, 4.47].

[4.46]
yen . and yif ye smyte on the wombe . it
soundith lyke a tabour . and many prikkyngs
rennyth in the wynde to and fro in hir body .
¶ And with sum*m*e women it a bidith a lich
meche . and sum*m*e otherwhile it comyth
and otherwhile it passith . And this euill
(f.29r)

[4.47]
that he is lyfly and born at comenabill
tyme . and esy to norce . **xxx---xxx---xxx**[163]
H[164] ow ye shal kepe the child the firste
yeer . ¶ lete hym euery day be
washe ony*s* or twyes . and non oftener
(f.17r)

Punctuation marks most commonly appear preceding coordinating conjunctions (see table [4.14]). At the clausal level, punctus is the only mark which also appears frequently in other positions, although it appears most frequently before a coordinating conjunction as well. Double virgule, as well as double virgule & punctus, tend to signal a more considerable break in the syntactic structure than punctus alone and are rarely used within

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[159] Rubricated line-filler.
[160] Rubricated two-line initial.
[161] Rubricated initial.
[162] Rubricated initial.
[163] Rubricated line-filler.
[164] Rubricated two-line initial.

a sentence or a sense-unit, but tend to signal the end of a unit [example 4.48]. Punctus alone is the most frequent punctuation mark, used for a number of functions. It is the only punctuation mark to signal relative and adverbial clauses [example 4.49].

[4.48]
here reynes . but as sone as she is de
luierid take it a wey . or ellis the matrice
will sue aftir it . // ¶ Also a nother take
leek bladis and skalde hem // and as hot
as she may suffre bynde hem to here
navyll and thei will deliuer here a non
thowgh the child be ded . but take hem
a way a non after deliueraunce for ell*s*
all will come after . **xxx----xxxx----xxxx .** [165]
(f.11v)

[4.49]
large . And that she be wyse and wel a
vised and not angry nor wrathfull .
And that she loue the chyld . and that she
loue to ete and drynke wel clenly . and
that she dispose here so . that she falle
not costyf . And that she vse not her body
with man . for that myght falle to take
~~here~~ a wey here mylke . ¶ And loke ye do
(f.16v)

4.1.1.4.3 Phrasal functions

	Frequency	Enumeration	Coordination	Clarification (terminology)	Other
Punctus	*231*	38.5% (n=89)	51.1% (n=118)	5.6% (n=13)	4.8% (n=11)
Virgule	*1*	0	100% (n=1)	0	0
Total	*232*	**38.4% (n=89)**	**51.3% (n=119)**	**5.6% (n=13)**	**4.7% (n=11)**

Table 4.15. Phrasal functions in CUL33[II].

Apart from a single instance of virgule, punctus is the only punctuation mark used to signal phrasal relationships (see table [4.15]). These consist primarily of enumeration of lists and coordinated phrases ("Wherof fallith gret dissese . to the bowell . to the bladdere and to þ^e Reynes" [ff.6r–v]; example [4.50]).

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[165]   Rubricated line-filler and punctus.

[4.50]
~~here~~ a wey here mylke . ¶ And loke ye do
not aftir su*m*me olde women . that yeue
Norcis whan here mylke failith to ete
the estreen of Sheep . or of cow . or of
othir femell bestis . to recou*er* her mylk .
and encombrith here stomak . that she
(f.16v)

While lists such as the ones presented above are usually punctuated, the scribe occasionally
leaves sections unpunctuated, especially if there is a line-break ("saveyn the lesse . centory
Rue . wormood"). As in example [4.51], punctuation can also be misleading
('southernwood' becomes "sowth . thernwoode"; see also section 6.3.4.1).

[4.51]
¶ Tak mugwort . saveyn the lesse . centory
Rue . wormood savge . dauc*um* cretic*um* a
meos speric*um* . seltica*m* puliol . p*er*cell myrte
sowth . thernwoode and calamynte . boyle
thes be euy*n* quantite in a pot and lete
(f.25r)

Punctuation is also used to clarify and set out terms ("that is callid . herpesethi omenus"
[f.34r]); usually punctus is used for this purpose, but a lexical item may also be underlined
in addition, as in example [4.52] (". <u>longaon</u> .").

[4.52]
place ouer lowe and the cawse ther
of is a certeyn bowel w^t in*n*e a man
and woman callid . <u>longaon</u> . be
the which the grete vryn passith . Of
(f.6r)

4.1.1.4.4 Recipes

The text contains altogether 129 recipes, the vast majority of which (95.3%) appear as
single paleographical wholes, punctuated on either side and frequently contain internal
punctuation within the recipe text (see figure [4.15]). Recipes can also appear in clusters of
two recipes. In example [4.53], the second recipe ("And yif thei come be cawse") begins
on a new line and possibly for this reason no punctuation separates the two recipes (even
though the scribe frequently uses punctuation in line-final position). 4.7% (n=6) of the
recipes appear in clusters. Recipes never appear embedded in the running text.

[4.53]

A ¹⁶⁶ nd if the ffloures come sur fetously tak vynes . and brenne hem to powdir and put hem in a lynen bagge and so put hem in to here priuite And yif thei come be cawse hire matrice be hurte of trauelynge of child . take Oyle . iiij . ʒ . and medill it with olde Butter . and make a pissary therof . & put in at here p*ri*ute and it shal do here gret ese . ¶¹⁶⁷ Also take hote dunge and (ff.21v–22r)
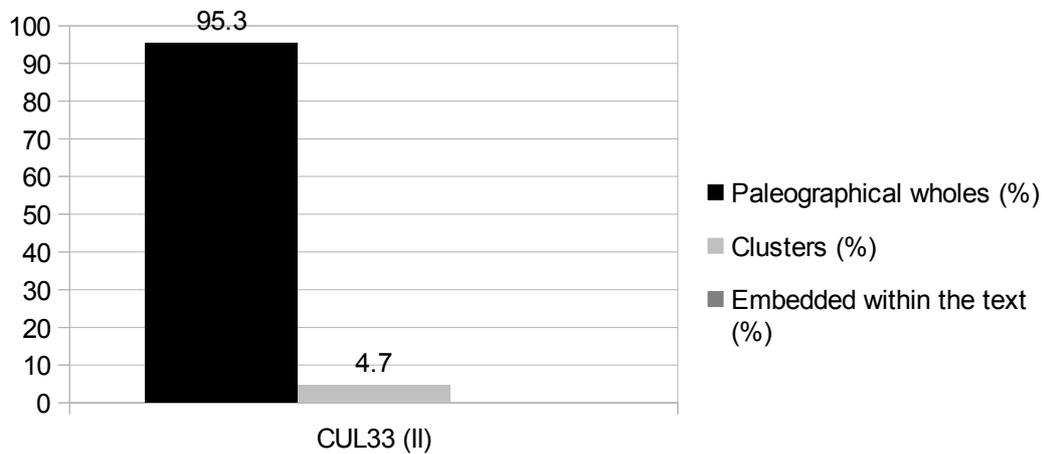
Figure 4.15. Recipes in CUL33[II].

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¹⁶⁶ Rubricated two-line initial.
¹⁶⁷ Rubricated paragraph mark.
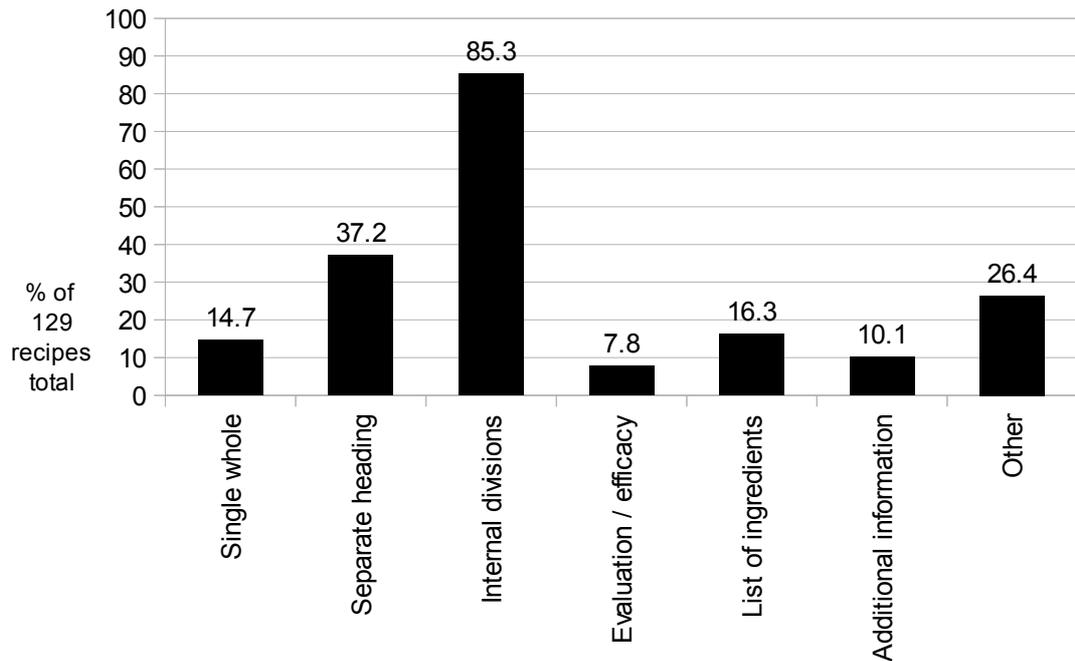
Figure 4.16. Recipe-internal divisions in CUL33[II].

85.3% of all recipes contain further internal divisions, while only 14.7% are presented as single wholes (see figure [4.16]. Recipes can

a) contain a number of punctuated sections, most commonly a separate heading. Altogether 37.2% (n=48) of recipes include a separately punctuated heading, whereas only 9.3% (n=12) have with a separate heading but no further internal divisions (example [4.54]). The majority of recipes contain internal punctuation, separating sections such as an efficacy clause, list of ingredients or stages of preparation and procedure (example [4.55]).

[4.54]
A[168] Good drynke for **S**uffocacion[169] .
Tak the seed of nettill and stampe hem
to powder and yeue here to drynke in
wyn and she shal haue helpe a non .
(f.19r)

[4.55]
Medicines[170] to make redy diliueraunce .   no*ta*[171]
of child . at tyme . whan a woman tra
uailith . and here throwys come . // ¶ Tak
the rootis of polipodye . and stampe hem .
and bynde hem vnder the solys of here
feet . and the child shal be born thowgh

---

[168]   Rubricated initial.
[169]   Rubricated initial.
[170]   Enlarged, but not rubricated, initial.
[171]   Marginal addition, another hand.

it be ded . // ¶ Or ellis tak the seed of wylde
(f.11v)

b) appear as a single paleographical whole, punctuated on both sides but without further internal divisions (example [4.56]). 14.7% (n=19) of all recipes appear thus.

[4.56]
in so that non passe a way . ¶[172] Or take
xxxvj[ti] bayes of lorell and lete stampe
hem in to powdir and gif here to dry*n*ke
w[t] white wyne // ¶[173] Or take Saffron
(f.24r)

Punctus is the principal punctuation mark for signalling both the beginning of recipes as well as recipe-internal divisions. Clusters of recipes are frequently signalled by a rubricated and/or enlarged initial or a paragraph mark; these can be combined with other symbols (punctus or double virgule, or double virgule & punctus; see example [4.55] and [4.56] above). Punctus is also the sole punctuation mark used to signal recipe-internal divisions. Recipes are also occasionally signalled in the margins by an added "no*ta*".

4.1.1.4.5 Other functions

	Frequency	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Punctus	*234*	67.1% (n=157)	0	32.9% (n=77)
Paragraph mark	*4*	0	0	100% (n=4)
Double virgule	*20*	0	30.0% (n=6)	70.0% (n=14)
Virgule	*1*	0	100% (n=1)	0
Double hyphen	*4*	0	100% (n=4)	0
Total	**263**	**59.7% (n=157)**	**4.2% (n=11)**	**36.1% (n=95)**

Table 4.16. Other functions in CUL33[II].

91.8% of all numerals and abbreviations are punctuated, usually on both or either sides of the symbol ("the .ix. Monyth" [f.10r], "take .vij leuis of the fygge tree" [f.22r]).

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[172] Rubricated paragraph mark.
[173] Rubricated paragraph mark.

Despite the otherwise extensive punctuation in this manuscript, line-final word divisions are not usually punctuated, as in examples [4.57] and [4.58]. Only 11.5% are punctuated with a double virgule, double hyphen or virgule ("ty=mely" [f.13v], "fe=thirwort" [f.19v]).

> [4.57]
> ye gyf here ony medicynes . let hire vj .
> or vij dayes a for vse metis and dry*n*
> kys laxtiffs . And take castorin . And
> (f.24v)

> [4.58]
> and makith þ*e* hed to ake and the paci
> ent to lese talent of mete and drynke
> (f.6v)

Punctuation is also used to clarify structures which might otherwise be unclear or ambiguous, as in example [4.59] ("eu*er*y woman that trauaylith . that whan she hath trauayled . that þ*t* . humo*re* that is wreten").

> [4.59]
> swelle . And therfore war eu*er*y woman
> that trauaylith . that whan she hath
> trauayled . that þ*t* . humo*re* that is wreten
> heer aftir come forth clene . And yif þ*t*
> (f.29r)

Punctuation is also used to indicate a word placed below the line after a a paragraph break or at the end of a page, as in the following example, where the paragraph mark is preceded by a double virgule or a punctus [example 4.60] ("for to make the floures to come").

> [4.60]
> than do to hire sum*m*e of the medicynes
> that are wreten for to make the floures
> **A**nd[174] yif the matrice .¶ to come .
> ake gretly tak storax . and good encens
> (f.27r)

When the scribe has misplaced a word, to indicate deletion the word is dotted under the line and crossed out ("but firste vnderstonde . ~~But~~ Wherof the floures come" [f.6v]).

One-line initials are also used to highlight lexical items. Whereas punctus clarifies the sense of clauses or phrases or highlights possibly unfamiliar terminology, initials can be

[174] Rubricated initial.

used to emphasise names of authorities ("**D**[175]ame Cleopat*ra*" [f.24v], "**I**[176]pocras" [f.26r]), but also other items, as in examples [4.61] and [4.62] ("Chyld", "Siknesses").

[4.61]
Yiff[177] ye take a norys to your chíld
          Se that she be yonge and i*n* good state .
that hath trauailed twyes of **C**hyld[178] .
(ff.16r–v)

[4.62]
Heer[179] ye shal knowe of diuers **S**iknesses[180] .
          That were spoke of a fore . that is
seyn . Suffocacion . an precapitacion of þ[e]
(ff.18r–v)

Punctuation also appears in a number of other functions. The punctus appears frequently in line-final position. It can be used to separate genitive phrases ("the body . of man and woman" [f.8v], "mystur nynge . of the matrice" [f.33v]), to separate determiners, complements or modifiers ("or yif he haue mo membris than he shuld haue . of reson" [f.11r], "whan hire ty me comyth . right ner" [f.29v]) or verb phrases ("gre heuynesse . is felte" [f.31v]) (see also sections 4.1.1.1.5 and 4.1.4.2.5).

4.1.1.5 British Library, MS Sloane 421A

4.1.1.5.1 Description of apparatus

S421A contains minimal punctuation; the only symbols used intermittently are the virgule (/) and double hyphen (=).

The text is organised in paragraphs, often with a blank line between sections. In addition to paragraphs, different sections within the text are indicated by marginal headings in the same hand as the main text. There are also some underlinings. The manuscript measures 207x151mm, with writing space of 164x120–125mm. The text is laid out in single columns with 25–26 lines per page.

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[175] Enlarged, not rubricated, initial.
[176] Enlarged, not rubricated, initial.
[177] Rubricated two-line initial.
[178] Rubricated initial.
[179] Rubricated two-line initial.
[180] Enlarged, not rubricated, initial.

There are no additions or annotations in later hands.

	Frequency	Grammatical		Other functions		
		Structural, clausal and sentential	Phrasal	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Paragraph break	*42*	100% (n=42)	0	0	0	0
Virgule	*14*	100% (n=14)	0	0	0	0
Double hyphen	*22*	0	0	0	100% (n=22)	0
Total	*78*	**71.8% (n=56)**	**0**	**0**	**28.2% (n=22)**	**0**
		71.8% (n=56)		**28.2% (n=22)**		

Table 4.17. Repertoire in S421A.

Rather than using punctuation to signal textual relationships, the structure of the text is signalled by the use of blank space as well as marginal headings. Double hyphens are used to signal line-final word division. Apart from that, virgule is the only punctuation mark, signalling different grammatical relationships (see table [4.17]). Syntactical structures are not, however, usually indicated in the text, and punctuation is not used at the phrasal level, nor are numerals signalled by punctuation.

Textual divisions are indicated by paragraph breaks (blank lines between sections or by starting a new paragraph on a new line). The text is divided into 42 paragraphs. Of these, 28 are also accompanied by a marginal heading (which may also occur mid-paragraph). These paragraphs vary from 13 to 872 words in length. Only 3.7% (n=2) of the punctuated units (paragraphs as well as sections signalled by virgules) contain fewer than 20 words, while 35.2% (n=20) are more than 200 words in length (see figure [4.17]). The mean average length of a unit (usually a paragraph) is 202.85 words
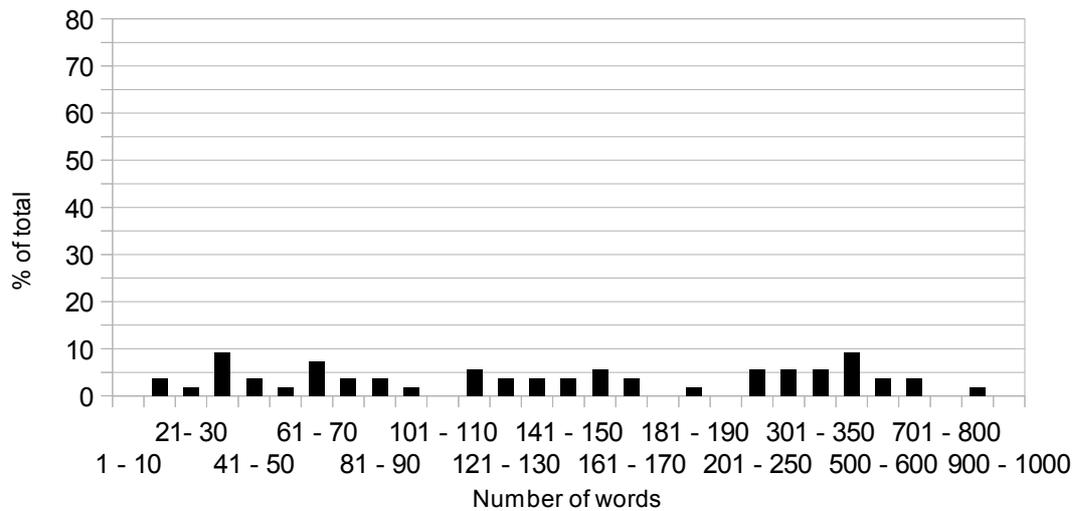
Figure 4.17. Length of units in S421A.

The length of the units varies throughout (see figure [4.18]). Since punctuation is very infrequent, the length of the units largely reflects the length of paragraphs, which may consist of a single sense-unit, or, more frequently, a number of related sense-units (or longer sense-units), such as a cluster of related recipes.
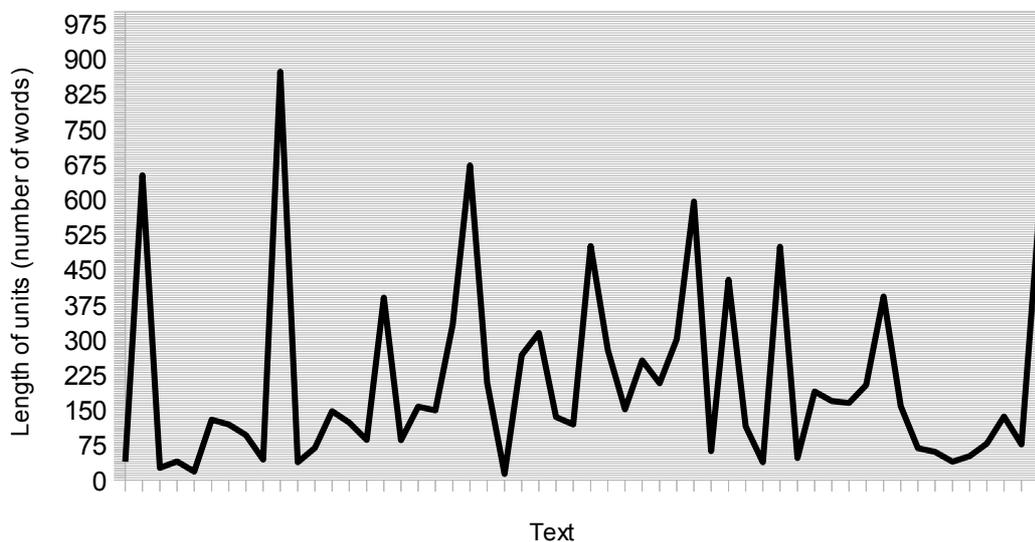

Figure 4.18. Distribution of unit lengths in S421A.

4.1.1.5.2 Structural and grammatical functions

	Frequency	Section break or heading	Coordination / subordination	Relative / adverbial clause	Other
Paragraph break	*42*	100% (n=42)	0	0	0
Virgule	*14*	28.6% (n=4)	35.7% (n=5)	0	35.7% (n=5)
Total	**56**	**82.1% (n=46)**	**8.9% (n=5)**	**0**	**8.9% (n=5)**

Table 4.18. Grammatical functions in S421A.

Rather than using punctuation marks, the scribe has divided the text into paragraphs, frequently accompanied by marginal headings. The main structure-signalling device in this manuscript is the use of marginal titles, all of which are inserted by the hand of the scribe of the main text. There are altogether 53 titles or notes in the margins [example 4.63]. These headings also function as finding-aids, which the reader can use to locate specific information within the main text. These devices structure the text and aid the reader in locating specific sections; within paragraphs, there is minimal punctuation. The headings can also occur in the middle of a paragraph [example 4.64].

[4.63]
At what age a woman may vse her bodye   when a woma[n]
naturally w^t man Clarke saye at xv yers of age   may vse her
& not afore to save her selff ffor euery mayd   bodye
shold kepe her selff fro that deed till her
fflours be ffall and that is co*m*menly at xv yers
of age and ther after that nature & the matryx
may hold that longethe to them of kynde ffor trvly
yf she vse that deed w^t man before that age one
of thes thre 'iii' thengs shall fall to her other she shall
be barren or ells her brethe shall stynke & have
ane evell saver or ells she shalbe lavye of her
bodye but for the two first ye may have medy
cyns heraftir
(f.6v)

[4.64]
because the brethe of the body comethe by flappinge
of the lungs sumtyme the matryx in this seknes
oppressethe the lungs that they may not meve &
flappe forto drawe brethe and so when the brethe
maye neyther in nor owt the body is as dede and
this is the cause that women lye other while in swo=   p*re*focacio*n* or

nne as they were dede also prefocacyon or precy=   *p*recypitac*ion*
pitacyon is when the matrix rysethe owt of the   what it is
ryght place ou*er* lowe and the cause therof is a certen   [f.5r]
bowell w*t*in man or woman callid longaou*n* by the w*c*
the great vryne passethe of the whiche bowell the one
(ff.4v–5r)

There are 14 instances of virgule in the text. All of the instances occur at grammatical breaks in the text; with coordinating or subordinating conjunctions (five occur with the coordinating conjunction *and*: "desire to take hem by the hede or by the feet for they are most easlye / and yff ther be moe then one child and shewe them in the neke of the matrix then w*t* your hand put agayne the tone to the tone side" [f.11r]), following a heading or to indicate the end of a section ("one the same man*er* do one the other side for the female / here is taught youe what is the matrixe & how It lyethe nowe vnd*er* stand the syknesses that dysease / yet first ye shall vnderstand princypally that 3 seknesses disease women in ther matrixe" [f.3v]) (see table [4.18]).

4.1.1.5.3 Phrasal functions

	Frequency	Enumeration	Coordination	Clarification (terminology)	Other
Total	*0*	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**

Table 4.19. Phrasal functions in S421A.

The manuscript contains no phrasal punctuation. Lists of items are either connected by coordinating conjunctions or left unpunctuated ("take ane handfull of Cassy & as mvche of Rve & as mvche of mod*er*wort" [f.20r], "take comen browsed bores grece whet mele Rve onyons sothen meddle thes together in wyne" [f.24v]).

4.1.1.5.4 Recipes

Recipes occur in clusters or, more commonly, embedded within the text: only a single recipe appears in a paragraph on its own. None of the recipes contain separate headings or any internal divisions (see figures [4.19] and [4.20]).
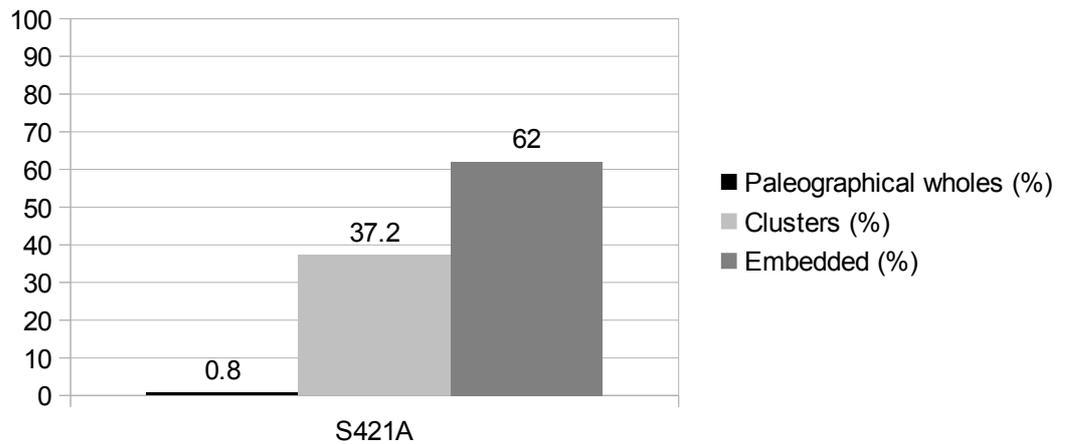
Figure 4.19. Recipes in S421A.
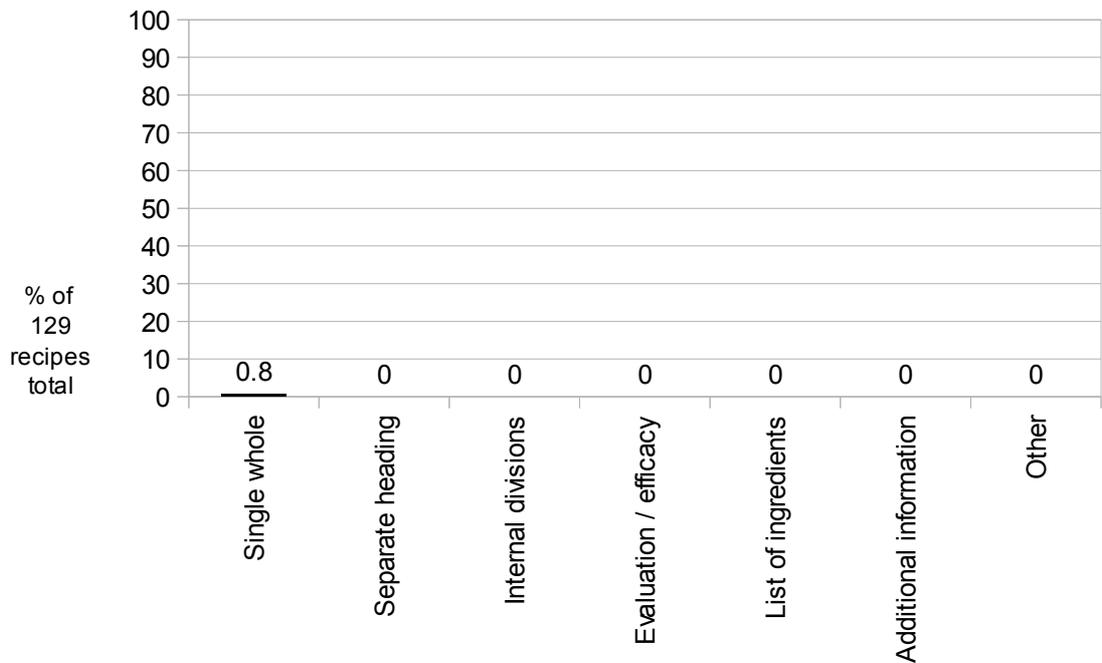
Figure 4.20. Recipe-internal divisions in S421A.

Generally recipes contain no punctuation either at the beginning or within the recipe, as in example [4.65] ("Medicyns to make Redy delyu*er*ance […] Take the Rotts of polipodye [...] or ells take the sede of wild co*m*men […] Also ane other take leke blads"; all of the recipes are headed by "Medicyns to make Redy delyu*er*ance" / "for redye delyu*er*anc*e*") and example [4.66]. Groups of recipes are sometimes indicated in the margins by the scribe by an inserted heading or description, as in examples [4.65] and [4.66]. Individual recipes can also be signalled by a manicule, although this practice does not occur frequently: 1.6%

(n=2) of the recipes are signalled thus. Example [4.66] illustrates also the length of some of

the paragraphs.

[4.65]
Medicyns to make Redy delyu*er*ance of child at tyme   for redye
when a woman travelythe & her threwes cu*m* Take   delyu*er*anc*e*
the Rotts of polipodye & stampe them and bynd them
vnder the soles of her fett & the child shalbe borne
thoughe it be ded or ells take the sede of wild co*m*=
men as it growethe one the herbe & then take woll
that growethe in þ*e* myds of the front of a shepe
do thes two together & when nede is bynde it
to her reynes but as sone as she is delyu*er*d
take it awaye or ells the matrice will sone
after Also ane other take leke blads & skalde
them & as hott as she maye suffer bynd them
to her navle & she shalbe delyu*er*id anon though
the child be dede but take them away ano*n*
after delyu*er*ance for ells her bowells will
com owt after
(f.8v)

[4.66]
medicyns for retencyon or faylynge of flours   lake of
when a woman hathe none or ells very fewe   flours
yff ye will vndertake to make the flowres
to come ye must first vse thes medycynes
folowenge viij dayes before the daye & the
tyme that she was wont to have them the w^c
ye must be certefied by her selff Then take
A grett quantite of nepe & not so mvche of
clarye & the myddle barke of cheryt'r'e
saveyne betayne a lytell quantite & boyle
thes well togethe*r* in whitt wyne & the first
daye of the viij dayes afore her tyme let
her drynke one tyme and the second day
ij tymes & the third daye iij tymes & so eu*er*y
daye more & more to the tyme of her purga
cyon And make a bathe of heyhone nepe pu
lyol ryoll & savyne & lett her bathe every day
fastynge and after meat or she goe to slepe
make her a stewe boyle well in a pott lorel
savyne nepte betayne & make her A fumy
gacyon to receve the sauo*re* benethe oft at her
pryuete vp to her matryx as warme as
she may suffer it and when the tyme of
her*e* purgacyon is past & sesethe of all things
save of the drynke that shold ye geve her as
ye dyd afore her purgacyon Ane other

medycyne Take peritory Malvis calament
& the dayses Ivce stampe them & wrynge out
the Iuse then take fayre whett floure & temp*er*
It w*ᵗ* the Ivce & make therof obles or crespes
& geve her the first daye vij the second day
v the iij*ᵈᵉ* daye iij & she shall purge her
anon & yff the flours come to surfetouslye
then doe the medycyne þ*ᵗ* is wrytten afore
for restreynge of flowres
(ff.16r–16v)

4.1.1.5.5 Other functions

	Frequency	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Double hyphen	22	0	100% (n=22)	0
Total	**22**	**0**	**100% (n=22)**	**0**

Table 4.20. Other functions in S421A.

Numerals are not punctuated (see table [4.20]). The text contains roman as well as arabic numerals and abbreviations ("in the vij moneth" [f.7r], "dry mynts 2 ʒ" [f.18v]). The weight of ingredients can be indicated by abbreviated weight units as well as by writing out the weight, as in example [4.67].

[4.67]
morn*in* drynke of this drynke Also take astro
logye gentian bayes of lorell Rewpontik of
eche ij ʒ sticados seed of p*ar*sle salge calame*n*t
horhownd Camedrios of eche ane vnce of
dauc*um* of fenell of eche a drame sethe all thes
(f.19r)

Despite the lack of punctuation in the manuscript as a whole, line-final word divisions are punctuated in 25.0% of the cases (n=22); usually, however, word divisions are not punctuated (examples [4.68 and 4.69]). The punctuation frequently follows an omission mark ("enge*n*=deryd" [f.2r], "diu*er*=site" [f.2v]).

[4.68]
of child medicynes for thes ye mvst vse co*n*
trarye medicynes that ye vsed to suffocacio*n*
(f.20r)

[4.69]
shall vnderstand princypally that 3 seknesses dis=
ease women in ther matrixe the first is traveling
of child the second is suffocacyon p*re*focacyon precypy
tacyon of the matrixe or dyslocacyon the third is rete*n*
cyon or sup*er*fluite of flowres the first is childyng
(f.3v)

4.1.2 *Liber Trotuli* (Version B)

4.1.2.1 British Library, MS Additional 34111

4.1.2.1.1 Description of apparatus

Paragraph marks, rubricated initials or red colour on the first letter after the paragraph mark, and underlining in red feature primarily as an inseparable combination, although there are occasional instances where these devices may appear separately. The paragraph mark is represented by a pilcrow (¶); they are always rubricated. These devices form the primary structuring device in the text; other punctuation feature infrequently: double virgule (//), punctus (.) and double hyphen (=) appear occasionally. "Initial" here refers to word-initial red shadowing, as well as decorated and/or slightly enlarged initials; none of these span more than one line of writing.

The text is presented as continuous, with no paragraph breaks. It is laid out in single columns, with 25 lines per page. The page dimensions are 271x170mm, with writing space of 203x139mm. There is marginalia in another hand, noting keywords from the text. There are also occasional manicules.

	Frequency	Grammatical		Other functions		
		Structural, clausal and sentential	Phrasal	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Paragraph mark + initial	*248*	100% (n=248)	0	0	0	0
Initial	*11*	54.5% (n=6)	0	0	0	45.5% (n=5)
Double virgule	*5*	100% (n=5)	0	0	0	0
Punctus	*3*	0	0	100% (n=3)	0	0
Double hyphen	*2*	0	0	0	100% (n=2)	0
Total	**269**	**96.3% (n=259)**	**0**	**1.1% (n=3)**	**0.7% (n=2)**	**1.9% (n=5)**
		96.3% (n=259)		**3.7% (n=10)**		

Table 4.21. Repertoire in A34111.

The combination of paragraph mark + rubrication + underlining form the primary apparatus (example [4.70]). They are used to signal titles and headings for sections and recipes, as well as the beginning of the section or recipe after the heading. Punctuation is not used to signal phrasal relationships: lists of items or coordinated pairs are not punctuated, and punctuation is only infrequently used to indicate numerals or line-final word divisions (see table [4.21]).

> [4.70]
> noght helpyng ¶ **Now**[181] it is to tou
> che for to restreyne þe floures of wymen
> ¶ **ff**or[182] oþer while þe mater of hem ariseþ
> to moche for þe veynes of þe marice be
> (A34111, f.199v)

The punctuation can thus not be said to be primarily structural. Because of the lack of hierarchical textual divisions, the supra-textual devices are used to signal individual sense-units and headings or titles to those units, rather than larger textual divisions. Although grammatical structures within these units are occasionally signalled by the use of double virgule, this usage is not consistent and appears very infrequently; punctuation does not, therefore, principally function grammatically, but is used to signal sense-units primarily consisting of recipes.

[181] Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
[182] Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.

The mean average length of punctuated units is 28.99 words. The longest unit between punctuation consists of 129 words (and consists of two recipes). 2.5% of all units are longer than 100 words, while 84.4% are shorter than 50 words. 48.5% are shorter than 20 words (see figure [4.21]). The number of headings and titles punctuated within the text explains the tendency towards short units, and many recipes are very short.

The preference for short units also shows in the descriptive or theoretical sections, whereby a single unit within a descriptive section rarely exceeds 50 words before the next break signalled by punctuation. Here, a tendency towards grammatical punctuation can also be evinced, although the punctuated structures can be interpreted as semantic units as well as grammatical ones. Recipes tend also to be punctuated as single wholes without explicitly marked internal divisions. There are a few exceptions to this rule, but the majority of the instances conform to the same pattern.
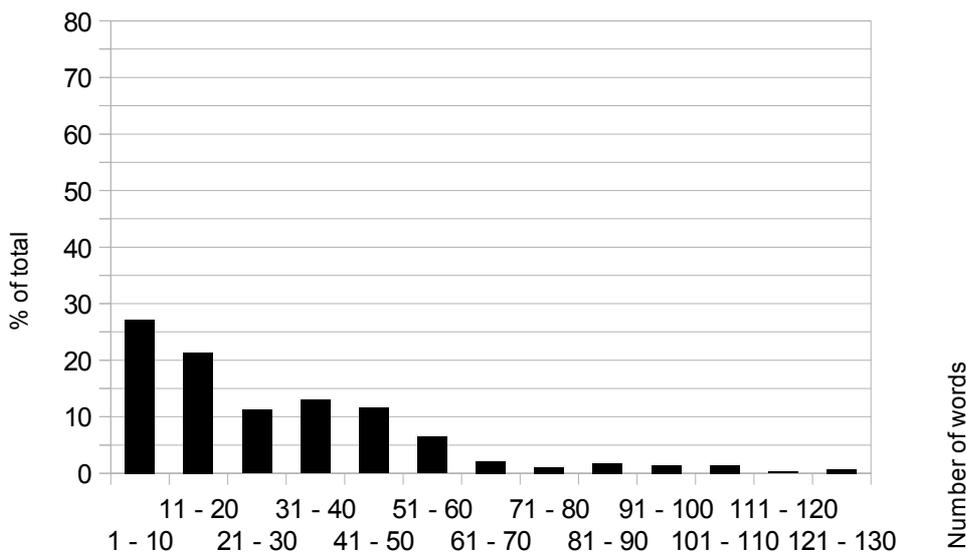
Figure 4.21. Length of units in A34111.

The length of the units stays fairly uniform throughout the text (see figure [4.22]). There is a tendency for the units to become lengthier towards the end of the text, although at the very end the length returns to the same level as it was at the beginning. The variation between headings and the main text or the body of the recipes can be seen in the graphical representation of the punctuated units in the text.
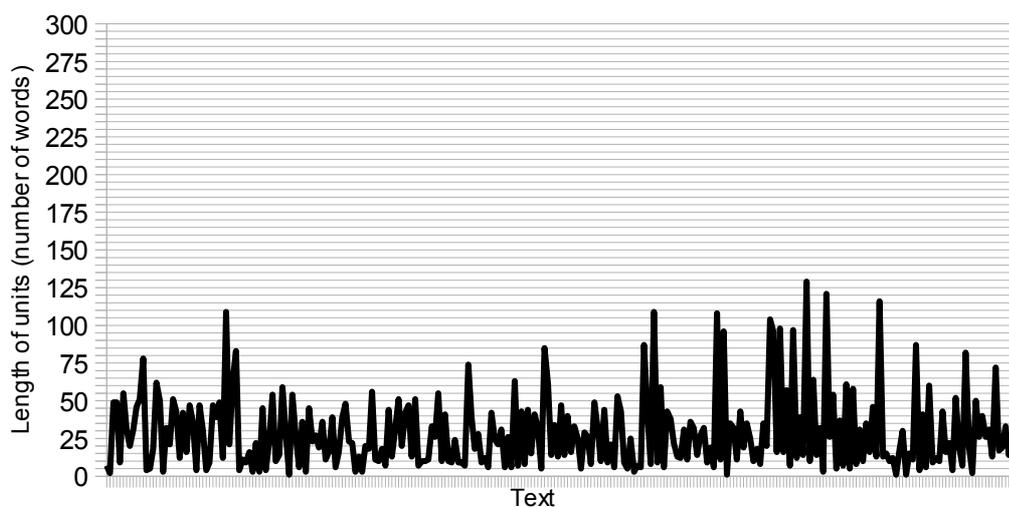
Figure 4.22. Distribution of unit lengths in A34111.

4.1.2.1.2 Structural and grammatical functions

	Frequency	Section break or heading	Coordination / subordination	Relative / adverbial clause	Other
Paragraph mark + initial	*248*	100% (n=248)	0	0	0
Initial	*6*	50.0% (n=3)	0	0	50.0% (n=3)
Double virgule	*5*	20.0% (n=1)	60.0% (n=3)	20.0% (n=1)	0
Total	*259*	**97.3% (n=252)**	**1.2% (n=3)**	**0.4% (n=1)**	**1.2% (n=3)**

Table 4.22. Grammatical functions in A34111.

The text is titled "Liber trotuli" (f.197r). Thereafter the text commences with "Her bygynneþ a boke þat is clepid Liber Trotuli". The initials in "Her" and "Liber" are decorated and rubricated; there are also other flourishes and decorations around the first lines. The "H" ("Her bygynneþ") with its flourishes spans two lines. The first initial starting the text proper is also decorated ("**S**iþen) (example [4.71]).

[4.71]
Liber trotuli
Her[183] bygynneþ a boke þat is clepid **L**iber[184]
Trotuli **S**iþen[185] þat god of his

---

[183] Rubricated and decorated initial.
[184] Rubricated and decorated initial.
[185] Rubricated and decorated initial.

grete grace and souereyn leche ouer alle
oþer haþe ysent myght and strenkeþ to man
(f.197r)

The text is divided into sense-units, generally with a separate heading, as in example [4.72]. Both divisions are marked in the same manner: rubricated paragraph mark, rubricated initial or rubrication of the first letter and underlining in red of the first few words of the unit, as in the following example.

[4.72]
che many oþer ¶ An[186] exp<i>er</i>iment for to pro
ue ȝif a woman traual colde or moist cau
se ¶ Do[187] mak an tent in þe maner of a fyng
ger and enoynt it in oleum puleginum
or in oleum mustelinu<i>m</i> or in oleum laurinu<i>m</i>
or in oþer oyle and do it in þe priue me<i>m</i>
bre whan she goþe to slepe and bynd to
wiþ a strong þryd and ȝif þat it abydeþ
wiþ in whan she awakeþ she trauaulles
of colde and ȝif þat it come oute it is
þe tokenyng of hete ¶ Now[188] do þis me
(f.217r)

Sometimes rubrication and underlining are used without the paragraph mark: this is usually within a section, and while the breaks usually fall at grammatical boundaries, the usage is not consistent and appears simply to be used to punctuate the text at regular intervals. In example [4.73], the "a" at the beginning of the coordinated clause "and so vse" is rubricated.

[4.73]
in water or in wyne and do drenk ¶ Or[189] el
les so drenc þe water þat þe rynde of pou
me garnete is ysoþe in and nute mugges and
þe leues of þe okes and egrimoyne and pla
ntayne and þis be muche helpyng and
after mete do drenk þe pouder of þe stone
of emanx wiþ reyne water ytempred wiþ
þe pouder of coralle and of herteshorne and
of plantayne and of saunk de dragoune
and[190] so vse þe seek þes dietes hennes y

---

[186] Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
[187] Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
[188] Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
[189] Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
[190] Rubricated initial.

bake and fressh fyssh and bere brede and drenk
tysane ymade of bareliche ymenggyd wiþ suker
(f.200r)

Within a recipe, textual divisions are sometimes marked, as in example [4.74], where the "S" in "stamp" is unusually decorative and larger than the other initials; this type of usage, however, occurs only occasionally.

[4.74]
¶ **ff**or[191] streytnesse of womb ¶ **G**a[192]
lien teycheþ in þis maner **S**tamp[193] mug
wede in wyne and so drenc or elles do se
þe mugwede in wyne and do drenk ¶ **O**r[194]
(f.198r)

The double virgule only appears five times in the text. All of the instances signal grammatical divisions within a section or a recipe, indicating a coordinated, subordinated or relative clause (example [4.75]; see also table [4.22]). In one instance the double virgule is used to signal the end of a heading, and is used in line-final and page-final position preceding the beginning of the recipe; its function thus appears to indicate the continuation of the section on to the following page. These, however, are the only instances in which the scribe is concerned in elucidating the sense or the syntactical structure beyond the level of sense-units.

[4.75]
most vsyd ¶ **N**ow[195] it is to touche of some
wyman // þat hau þair priue membre so
large and so euille smellyng where þo
þow þeir hosebondes forsaken he*m* be cau
se of largenes and be þe wykked smel
ne hau no wille to come nere hem ¶ **ff**or[196]
(f.211r)

4.1.2.1.3 Phrasal functions

Punctuation is not used at the phrasal level in this manuscript. Lists of ingredients are usually separated by coordinated conjunctions ("lynseed and malewen and fayn grek ysoþe

[191] Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
[192] Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
[193] Rubricated initial.
[194] Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
[195] Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
[196] Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.

wiþ botir or wiþ gandersgrece or wiþ hengrece and wiþ white of aney" [f.203v]) or left
unpunctuated ("renpontici þe weght ʒ. ij of frank ensens of drie mogwede and of pepir ʒ i"
[f.199r]).

	Frequency	Enumeration	Coordination	Clarification (terminology)	Other
Total	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*

Table 4.23. Phrasal functions in A34111.

4.1.2.1.4 Recipes

The text contains altogether 128 recipes. 93.0% (n=119) of all recipes are presented as
paleographical wholes punctuated on both sides (although only 26.6% appear as single
wholes without any internal divisions); 7.0% (n=9) appear in clusters of two or three
recipes, as in example [4.76] ("or elles tak þe þre leued grasse") (see figure [4.23]).

[4.76]
do drenc ¶ And[197] after þe baþe ¶ Do[198] tak þe
rote of yreod of lunache fenel and catesse
mynt and seþe hem in wyne and do drenc   navill[199]
or elles tak þe þre leued grasse taneseyd
and mogwede and may botir*e* and sta
mp hem and bynd to þe nauille or elles
do seþe hem in wyne ¶ Or[200] elles tak þe
(f.199r)

---

[197] Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
[198] Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
[199] Marginal, another hand.
[200] Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
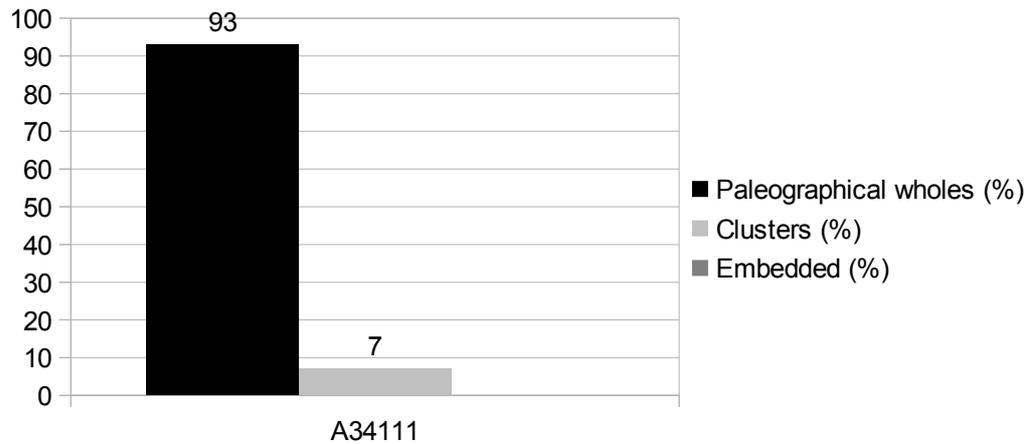
Figure 4.23. Recipes in A34111.
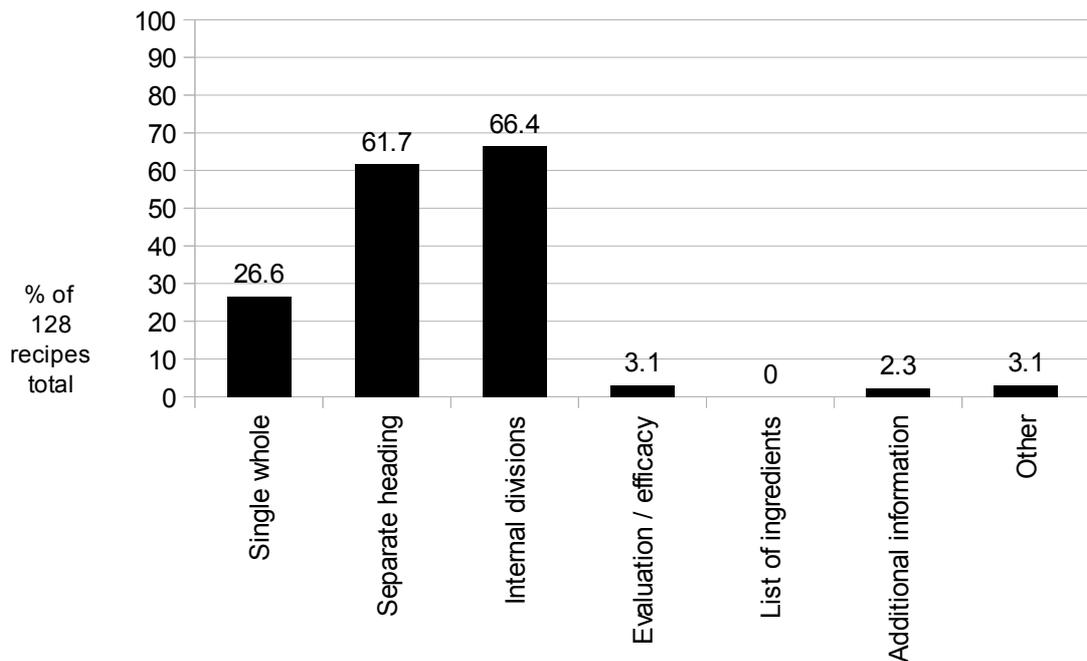
Figure 4.24. Recipe-internal divisions in A34111.

As illustrated in figure [4.24], recipes can

a) contain a separate heading signalled by paragraph mark, rubrication and underlining, after which the beginning of the recipe proper is signalled in a similar manner (example [4.77]). This is by far the most common type of presentation: 60.9% (n=78) of all recipes in the text are thus structured, whereas altogether 61.7% contain a separate heading, but with further internal divisions.

[4.77]
of þe wombe ¶ **ff**or[201] þis maladie ¶ **T**ak[202] smal
ache and faygrek and stamp hem wiþ wy
ne and þan do drenk ¶ **ff**or[203] þe same ¶ **T**ak[204]
(f.202v)

b) appear on their own as a single punctuated whole on either side (example [4.78]). 26.6% (n=34) of recipes appear in this manner.

[4.78]
do seþe hem in wyne ¶ **O**r[205] elles tak þe
rote of smalache of percily and lunache
and of fenel and stamp hem to gyder*e*
and wreng oute þe iuse and þan do
ʒif þe seek drenk ¶ **A** noþer[206] for
(f.199r)

c) contain further sections separated by punctuation. In addition to headings, separately punctuated sections usually consist of efficacy clauses or additional information tagged at the end of a recipe (example [4.79]: "**A**nd þis is wonder helpyng"). 8.6% (n=11) contain such recipe-internal divisions.

[4.79]
millefoile ysoþe ¶ **A**[207] medicine for to holde
þe marice in her oune stede and to haue
no greuaunce þer of ¶ **T**ak[208] þe mergh of
an hert and þe grece of an asse and rede
wex and may butir an*a* and þan take
faynegrek and lynsede and seþe hem in
water at an esy fure wiþ alle þe oþer be
forsayd til þat þei be ysoþe to þe ful and
put in be an instrument ymade þer
fore ¶ **A**nd[209] þis is wonder helpyng for
mo oþer seknes of þe marice ¶ **N**ow[210]
(f.202v)

---

201 Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
202 Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
203 Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
204 Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
205 Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
206 Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
207 Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
208 Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
209 Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
210 Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.

The structure of the recipes is largely uniform throughout the text. The most common appearance consists of the bipartite division into heading+body, with the heading separated by a paragraph mark, underlined and introduced by a rubricated initial or a splash of colour on the initial letter. A heading frequently refers to a group of recipes. A recipe may also contain no separate heading, or a heading not indicated by punctuation, as in example [4.80] (although in this case, it is likely to be an omission by the rubricator, as the heading is preceded by a space).

> [4.80]
> nement **¶ A**noþer[211] **¶ T**ak[212] þe pouder of
> camphirie and þe rote of þe lilie ywasshen
> and swynesgrece and do mak þes to gy
> der wiþ aqua rosacea and do vse   Medi
> cine for to mak clere and soft þe skyn
> **¶ T**ak[213] whetebran and eysil and þe
> pouder of þe rote of þe wyldenepe and
> þe iuse of crowrope þes wel ypoud
> red and mak an oynement wiþ reyny
> water or wiþ aqua rosacea **¶ A**n[214] oyne
> (f.210v)

4.1.2.1.5 Other functions

	Frequency	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Rubrication	*5*	0	0	100% (n=5)
Punctus	*3*	100% (n=3)	0	0
Double hyphen	*2*	0	100% (n=2)	0
Total	*10*	**30.0% (n=3)**	**20.0% (n=2)**	**50.0% (n=5)**

Table 4.24. Other functions in A34111.

Numerals and abbreviations are generally not punctuated ("first vpon o fo te on j day and þe ij day vpon anoþer and so þe iij day and þe iiij" [f.198r], "notemukes iij or iiij" [f.212v]). The text contains only three punctuated instances (e.g. "þe pouder of sal greine ʒ .iij." [f.199r]).

---

[211] Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
[212] Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
[213] Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
[214] Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.

Double hyphen is used to indicate line-final word breaks; these are generally not indicated, as in the example below [4.81], and the double hyphen is only used twice (1.0% of the total 191 instances in which a word is broken in the middle in line-final position). These two instances represent neither morphological nor phonological divisions ("hy=m" [f.206r], "w=hyle" [f.198r]).

[4.81]
¶ **ff**or[215] þe same **T**o[216] mak an emplastre of wor
mode and whyte grece and bynd to þe wo
mbe and to þe reynes bote lege þis plast*r*ᵉ
to þe nauel of þe wombe and tak þe ten
dre leues of þe rew and lege to and it shal
be þe betir ¶ **A**noþer[217] for the same ¶ **T**ak[218]
(f.200v)

Initial rubrication can also be used for personal and place names ("**L**iber[219] Trotuli" [f.197r], "þe quene of **F**raunce[220]" [f.199v], "**G**alyen[221]" [f.197r]). It is also once used at the beginning of a folio, as in example [4.82] below.

[4.82]
it is to touche þe hete of þe marice
Be[222] falleþ oþer whyle þe marice be mys   [f.203r]
temprid in grete hete because þat grete
(ff.202v–203r)

4.1.3 *Boke Mad [by] a Woman Named Rota* (Version C)

4.1.3.1 *Cambridge University Library, MS Ii.VI.33*

4.1.3.1.1 *Description of apparatus*

The text is arranged in paragraphs, with frequent indented headings, and utilises a variety of punctuation symbols. The manuscript features virgule (/), comma (,), punctus (.) and double virgule (//). Paragraph marks (¶) are placed in the margins by the scribe. Another

---

[215]   Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
[216]   Rubricated initial.
[217]   Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
[218]   Rubricated initial and paragraph mark.
[219]   Rubricated initial.
[220]   Rubricated initial.
[221]   Rubricated initial.
[222]   Rubricated initial.

symbol,(represented here by [#], occasionally features in the margins in conjunction with the paragraph mark, usually placed below it.

The manuscript measures 158x105mm, with writing space of 149x93mm. There are 19–22 lines per page. There are two instances of line-fillers (resembling a straight line at mid-line and ending with a virgule stroke), although blank space is primarily utilised to signal paragraph breaks.

Although table [4.25] includes separate entries for "virgule" (/) and "comma" (,), these symbols will be discussed together, as it is unclear whether the scribe intended them as separate symbols. The symbol can be placed above or on the line and generally in either form descends also below the line. It can resemble a straight line, a virgule stroke or a modern comma; the ascenders and descenders are often curved. While the virgule form occurs throughout the text, the comma form appears primarily in the first half of the text.

There is no marginalia, either by the scribe or by other hands.

	Frequency	Grammatical		Other functions		
		Structural, clausal and sentential	Phrasal	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Virgule	*177*	83.1% (n=147)	16.9% (n=30)	0	0	0
Punctus	*128*	85.9% (n=110)	0	13.3% (n=17)	0	0.8% (n=1)
Paragraph break	*103*	100% (n=103)	0	0	0	0
Paragraph mark	*95*	100% (n=95)	0	0	0	0
Comma	*73*	79.5% (n=58)	20.5% (n=15)	0	0	0
Double virgule	*17*	11.8% (n=2)	0	0	88.2% (n=15)	0
Double hyphen	*7*	0	0	0	100% (n=7)	0
Total	***600***	**85.8% (n=515)**	**7.5% (n=45)**	**2.8% (n=17)**	**3.7% (n=22)**	**0.2% (n=1)**
		93.3% (n=560)		**6.7% (n=40)**		

Table 4.25. Repertoire in CUL33[I].

There is a clear hierarchy of symbols, with paragraph marks signalling the beginning of a paragraph (section or a recipe), the punctus signalling the end (as well as indicating

numerals) and commas and virgules marking paragraph-internal clausal and phrasal relationships. Indented headings or titles can also signal major sections and recipes. Double virgules or double hyphens primarily signal line-final word divisions. This manuscript exhibits a clear development towards more modern type of punctuation with hierarchical structures and defined functions for symbols. Punctuation in this manuscript functions primarily at the structural and grammatical levels; altogether 92.0% of all punctuation marks signal sentential, clausal or phrasal relationships. Punctuation is also used to indicate numerals and line-final word-division (see table [4.25]).

The length of punctuated units varies between 1 and 137 words. The mean average length is 18.34 words. 72.2% of the units are less than 20 words in length; and 46.3% of the total are less than 10 words, while only 1.3% are longer than 100 words (see figure [4.25]). The unit length is possibly partly constrained by the size of the page as well as the relatively large hand of the scribe. Thus, although the longest unit between punctuation is 137 words, this is an exception: in general, the scribe prefers fairly short units. Punctuation reflects this; the shortest recipes and paragraphs do not tend to be internally punctuated (unless it is to clarify the sense or reading).
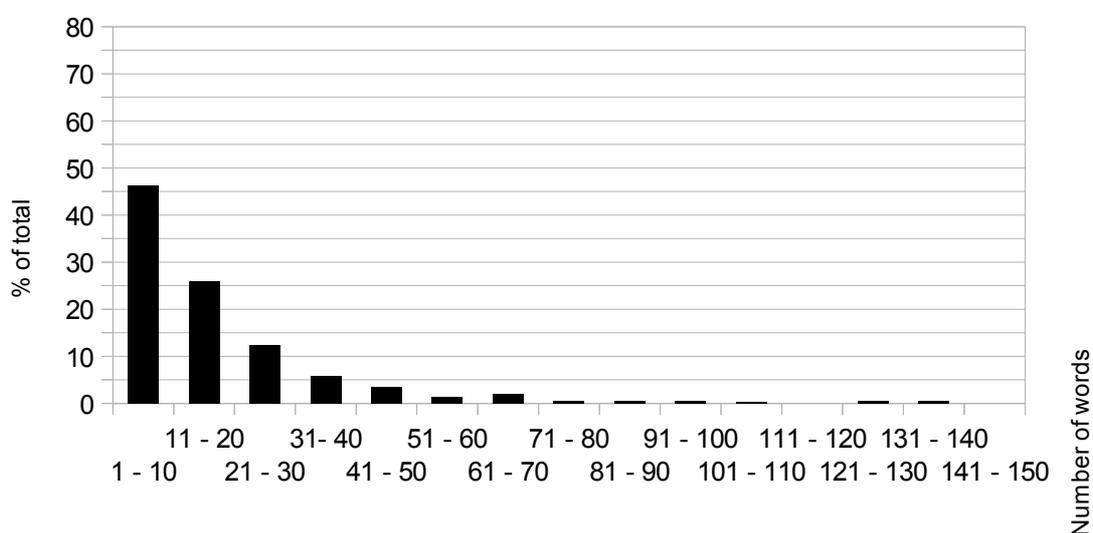
Figure 4.25. Length of units in CUL33[I].

The length of units between punctuation increases towards the end of the text; figure [4.26] below illustrates the variation in unit length, indicating the place where the other Version C (H403) ends. While the text begins with very short units, the end of the text contains considerably lighter punctuation. The end of the text primarily consists of recipes which generally do not contain any internal punctuation.
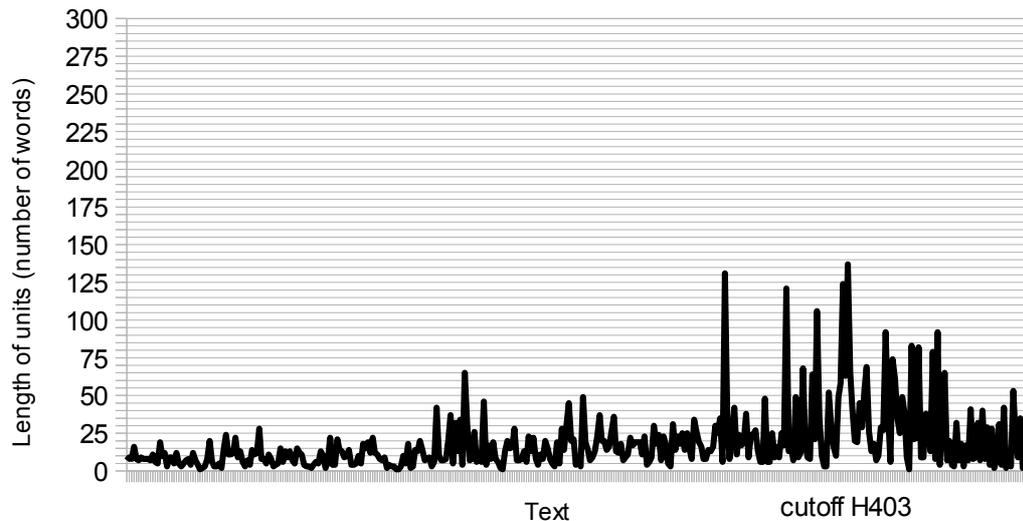
*Figure 4.26. Distribution of unit lengths in CUL33[I].*

4.1.3.1.2 Structural and grammatical functions

	Frequency	Section break or heading	Coordination / subordination	Relative / adverbial clause	Other
Virgule	*147*	10.2% (n=15)	68.7% (n=101)	3.4% (n=5)	17.7% (n=26)
Punctus	*110*	95.5% (n=105)	0	0	4.5% (n=5)
Paragraph break	*103*	100% (n=103)	0	0	0
Paragraph mark	*95*	100% (n=95)	0	0	0
Comma	*58*	8.6% (n=5)	65.5% (n=38)	3.4% (n=2)	22.4% (n=13)
Double virgule	*2*	50.0% (n=1)	50.0% (n=1)	0	0
Total	*515*	**62.9% (n=324)**	**27.2% (n=140)**	**1.4% (n=7)**	**8.5% (n=44)**

Table 4.26. Grammatical functions in CUL33[I].

The text is divided into six parts, as detailed in the preface (example [4.83]).

[4.83]
¶ Of wch dissea ses ther be syx
   principall .
¶ The first is þᵉ slyppyng out of
   the matrice .
¶ The second is þᵉ rysyng of þᵉ ma //
    trice .

¶ The thyrd ys þᵉ wythstandyng
   of the flowris .
¶ The fourthe ys the flyx
   of þᵉ floures .
   The fyfthe is þᵉ letyng of
    concevynge .
¶ The syxth is an hardenes of
   deliueryng in tyme of trauell .
(ff.1r–v)

Apart from the first section, which begins with an indented heading ("of sleppy*ng* out of þᵉ matrice .") and no paragraph mark, each major section thereafter is signalled by a paragraph mark. Often there is also a blank line preceding the sections. Each section comprises an explanation of the disease or problem, details of the causes and/or symptoms for the ailment, and recipes to cure it. The introductory part to each section comprises one to three paragraphs, while the recipes occupy the largest part of the text. Additional or explanatory sections may also be included between the recipes. Each section contains 4–10 recipes. The end of the text consists of miscellaneous recipes which do not adhere to the previous structure; this is also where the other extant version of the text (H403; see section 4.1.3.2) ends.

The paragraph marks are set in the margins, slightly apart from the text. They do, however, form an integral part of the text, signalling the beginning of a new paragraph. The symbol is consistently used to signal the beginning of a new paragraph (example [4.84]). While it can occasionally be used to signal both the heading to a section or a recipe as well as the beginning proper of that section, it can also be omitted if the heading is indented (example [4.85]). The symbol can also be used to signal additions to a section or a recipe; the function in this case appears to be primarily deictic, directing the readers' attention to the items in question.

[4.84]
¶ This boke mad a woma*n* named
   Rota / of þᵉ p*ri*ue sicknesses þᵗ lo*n*g
   to a woman , wᵗ medicynes to
   helpe the*m* in ther neade .
¶ The matrice of a woma*n* ys cause
   oft tymes of ther secknesse aft*er*
   ther yll disposicion / of þᵉ matrice
   co*m*meth ~~commeth~~ many maladise and
                    disseises .
(f.1r)

[4.85]

¶ Also beware þ^t she take no
   colde at þ^t tyme for dyu*er*se
   causes before wrytton .
¶ Also aft*er* a woman*e* ys conceved
   many wyse gyffe her what
   so eu*er* she desyres be it swete
   thynge or soure as tarre or
(f.16v)

The primary function of the punctus is as a structural indicator, signalling the end of paragraphs. It is used in this function with only 10 exceptions, where a virgule, double virgule or no punctuation at all is used at the end of a paragraph. It can also be used to signal the end of a (here indented) heading (example [4.86]).

[4.86]
     Another for the same .
¶ Take a coole stocke þ^t þ^e barke
   is shauen of in þ^e same wise
   put it in , and it is good to
   provoke þ^e flowrs .
(f.9r)

The primary function of both virgule and comma is to signal various grammatical relationships within paragraphs, principally coordinated and subordinated clauses (example [4.87]; see also table [4.26]). While the virgule occurs three times in paragraph-final position (example [4.88]), the comma only appears paragraph-internally. In other positions, they can be used interchangeably. They are used to signal headings as well as to clarify the reading and grammatical relationships within the paragraphs; the punctus is occasionally used for similar purposes, particularly towards the end of the text.

[4.87]
¶ for rysyng of þ^e matrice þ^t is a
# greves disses as they know / And
   it ryses at ther hart / and other
   whyle in ther sydes / first whan
   it is vp vse this and take that
   for a generall rule Then she
   most beware þ^t no swete odore
(f.19r)

[4.88]
¶ Yf a woman haue not her
   flowres ther of co*m*meth gret

seknes , for eu*er*y woman yf
she be in helth and be not w^t
chyld she owght to haue her
flowres eu*er*y month ones ,
from she be . xiiij . yere olde
tyll she be fyfty yere olde /
(f.5v)

Double virgule is also used twice for other purposes: once to signal the end of a section and
once preceding a coordinated *but*-clause (example [4.89]). Since the symbol is a
duplication from the single virgule, which occurs in these positions more frequently, it
could be a variation of that symbol.

[4.89]
this may be su*m*tyme thorowe
the defaute of the mans and
su*m* tyme it may be þ^e dfaute
of þ^e woman / And su*m* tyme
thorow bothe // but to knowe
in whether the faute is / take
this medicyne .
(f.11v)

4.1.3.1.3 Phrasal functions

	Frequency	Enumeration	Coordination	Clarification (terminology)	Other
Virgule	*30*	23.3% (n=7)	76.7% (n=23)	0	0
Comma	*15*	13.3% (n=2)	86.7% (n=13)	0	0
Total	*45*	**20.0% (n=9)**	**80.0% (n=36)**	**0**	**0**

Table 4.27. Phrasal functions CUL33[I].

At the phrasal level, virgules and commas are used to enumerate and to coordinate (see
table [4.27]), and they can be used in connection with or instead of coordinated
conjunctions ("Caponis gresse or gose gresse , or hennes gresse , or malardes gresse / or
the maw of a harte" [f.22r]; example [4.90]). If there are only two items, these do not tend
to be punctuated ("oyle of lillyes or oyle of muske" [f.8v]). Punctuation does not always
occur at the ends of lines.

[4.90]
in this dissease / and she shuld
eyte leks onyonse / mustarde
peper / garlyoke / and cu*m*myn
And fyshe þᵗ hath scales
or schelles and good wyne
mesurably .
(f.9r)

4.1.3.1.4 Recipes

All of the recipes stand alone as paleographical wholes; there are no clusters of recipes, and recipes are never embedded within the text (see figure [4.27]). There are altogether 77 recipes in the text.
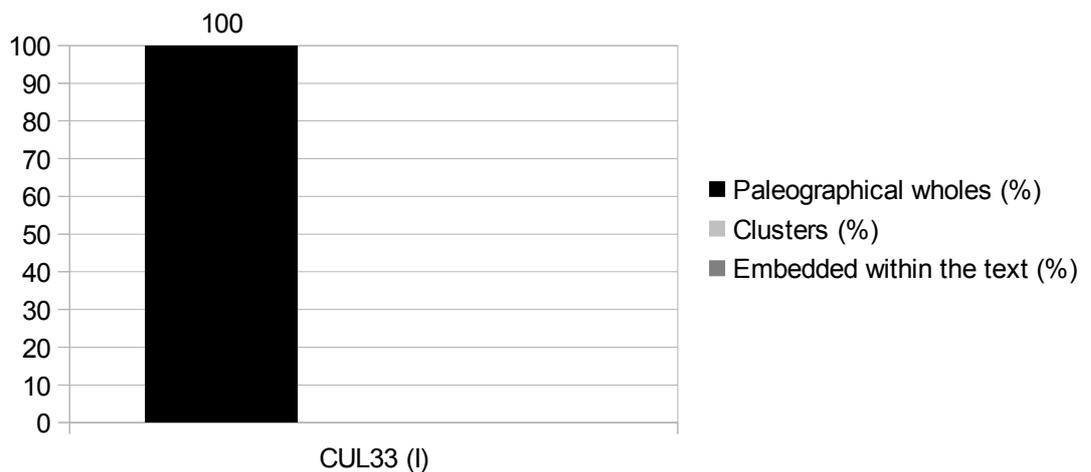
Figure 4.27. Recipes in CUL33[I].
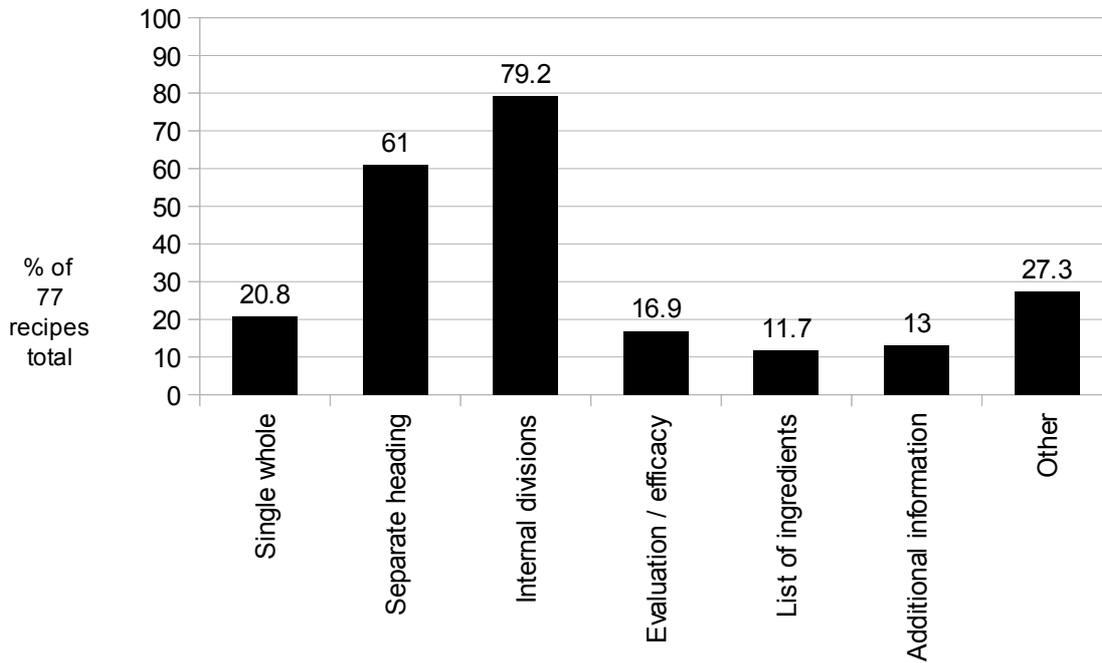
Figure 4.28. Recipe-internal divisions in CUL33[I].

As illustrated in figure [4.28], recipes can

a) contain 2–10 punctuated sections: 79.2% (n=61) contain some internal divisions. Most frequent (61.0% (n=47) of all recipes) is a separate heading, which can be either indented and contained on a separate line and/or punctuated (example [4.91]). 24.7% (n=19) of recipes contain only a separated heading and the body of the recipe with no further internal divisions. Other divisions may occur in the stages of preparation and procedure, as well as in additional descriptions or information or in the lists of ingredients. Efficacy clauses, usually although not always in recipe-final position, can also be punctuated.

> [4.91]
>   for hy*m* þ^t speke in hes slepe .
> Take þe croppes of Rew and þ^e
> croppes of verveyne & stampe
> them together w^t vineger &
> let þ^e pacient dry*n*ke therof ix or
> x . nyghtes last when he goys
> to bed and he shalbe hole .
> (f.31r)

b) appear on their own as a single punctuated whole without internal divisions by punctuation (20.8%, n=16), as in example [4.92].

[4.92]
¶ Also yf a womans child nere
\# ded w^tin her body take and
   geffe her the Iuste of deiten
   to drynke and she shalbe
   delyu*er*ed sone of the chelde
   whether it be ded or quicke .
(f.15v)

A heading may be followed by a number of recipes, in which case related recipes are separated by a virgule or a comma. Headings are frequently indented, standing on a line on their own, and usually followed by a punctus (see example [4.91]; in one case there is indentation as well as a paragraph mark. Most frequently, the title and/or the recipe begins on a new line, preceded by a paragraph mark. Nine recipes are preceded by a virgule, and one by a double virgule. Recipe-internal divisions are signalled by a virgule or a comma. Lengthier recipes can also be divided into two or more paragraphs.

4.1.3.1.5 Other functions

	Frequency	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Punctus	*18*	94.4% (n=17)	0	5.6% (n=1)
Double virgule	*15*	0	100% (n=15)	0
Double hyphen	*7*	0	100% (n=7)	0
Total	***40***	**42.5% (n=17)**	**55.0% (n=22)**	**2.5% (n=1)**

Table 4.28. Other functions in CUL33[I].

The punctus can also be used to signal roman numerals ("thys medycyne most be vsed . ij . or . iij . dayes and more yf nede be" [f.8v]), although its usage is not consistent, and the punctus only appears in 31.4% (n=11) of the cases ("And let hir stande so iiij owrs" [f.17r]). Most of the numerals refer to the length of time a particular cure should be used for ("And powder of myrre boyled in red wyne dronken ix dayes fastyng" [f.28v]). There is only one weight abbreviation ("good suger iij ʒ vnc" [f.23r]). Where weight is indicated in the recipes, the quantities are written out and often vague ("good gynger a vnc" [f.23r], "the red nettyll agrett quantyty" [f.29r]).

The forms of the double virgule (//) and double hyphen (=) resemble one another. The symbols are primarily used to indicate line-final word divisions ("pryncy//pally" [f.26r], "medi//cynes" [f.5r]). The majority (88.0%, n=22) of line-breaks are indicated in this manner; the scribe prefers on the whole, however, not to divide words at the end of lines.

Punctus can also be found in positions where its primary function appears to be either clarifying the syntactical structure or emphasis, as in the example below [4.93]. It also appears once within a heading, preceding and following an -ing form ("take this medicyne . followynge ." [f.27v]).

> [4.93]
> ¶ All such medycynes shuld not
> # be done tyll the mydwyfe se
> that the tyme of her travell
> cum nygh , and þᵗ tyme that
> she travayleth beware
> and loke ther be no wynde
> in the house / lest it entre
> in to the womans bodye / for
> þᵗ may do her moche sorow
> afterwarde .
> (f.16r)

4.1.3.2 Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 403

4.1.3.2.1 Description of apparatus

The most frequent punctuation symbol is the virgule (/); punctus (.) and double virgule (//) are also used. Paragraph marks, the form resembling a capital gamma Γ, by which it will be represented here, signal major textual divisions. These are also frequently accompanied by underlining.

The text is divided into paragraphs and laid out in single columns, with 34 lines per page. The first lines of new paragraphs are outdented. The size of the page is 270x187mm, with writing space of 216x140mm.

There are marginal notes both by the scribe and in later hands.

	Frequency	Grammatical		Other functions		
		Structural, clausal and sentential	Phrasal	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Virgule	*130*	80.0% (n=104)	20.0% (n=26)	0	0	0
Paragraph break	*49*	100% (n=49)	0	0	0	0
Punctus	*41*	14.6% (n=6)	2.4% (n=1)	82.9% (n=34)	0	0
Paragraph mark	*14*	100% (n=14)	0	0	0	0
Double virgule	*8*	12.5% (n=1)	0	0	37.5% (n=3)	50.0% (n=4)
Total	*242*	**71.9% (n=174)**	**11.2% (n=27)**	**14.0% (n=34)**	**1.2% (n=3)**	**1.7% (n=4)**
		83.1% (n=201)		**16.9% (n=41)**		

Table 4.29. Repertoire in H403.

The manuscript relies on the layout of the text rather than punctuation symbols in signalling structural changes. There is a relatively clear hierarchy between different symbols: paragraph marks signal major sections (and perhaps also items worthy of notice), virgule is utilised for signalling paragraph-internal divisions, while punctus is primarily employed to signal numerals; double virgule indicates line-final word or phrase breaks. Altogether 83.1% (n=201) of all punctuation marks function at the structural or grammatical levels, signalling sentential, clausal and phrasal relationships. Punctuation is also used for numerals and line-final word-division; there are occasional non-grammatical usages as well, although these are rare (see table [4.29]).

Supra-textual devices are principally used to indicate sense-units, which are frequently divided into separate paragraphs. Where punctuation appears within these units or within paragraphs, it is used to separate sense-units, and although punctuation symbols fall without exceptions at syntactical junctions, their primary purpose is to signal sense-units, rather than clausal or sentential relationships as such.

The mean average length of units between punctuation marks or paragraph breaks is 28.66 words; the length varies between 1 and 190 words. 50.8% of all units are less than 20

words, while 2.7% are longer than 100 words (see figure [4.29]).
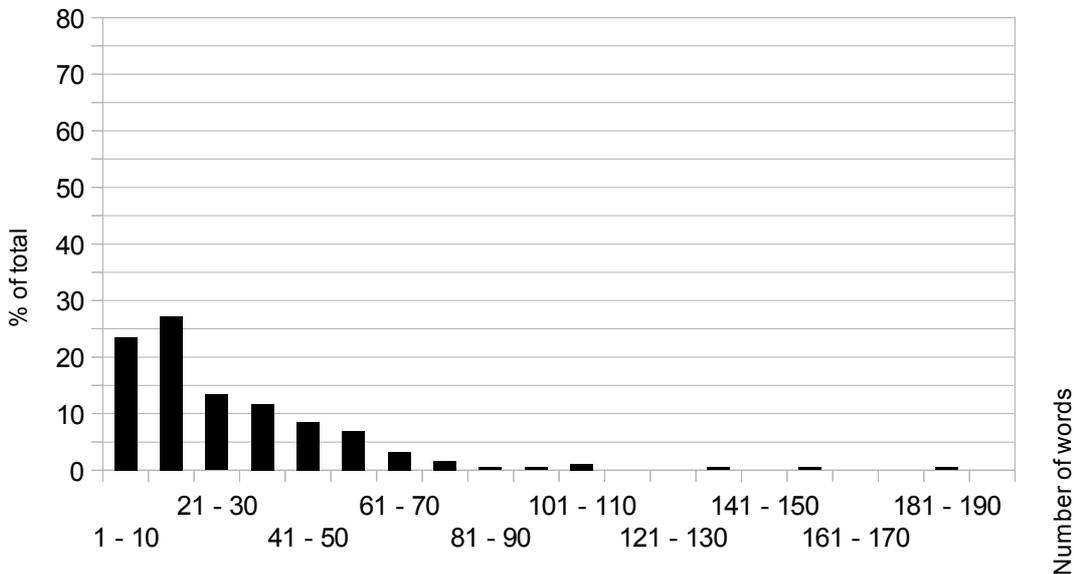
Figure 4.29. Length of units in H403.
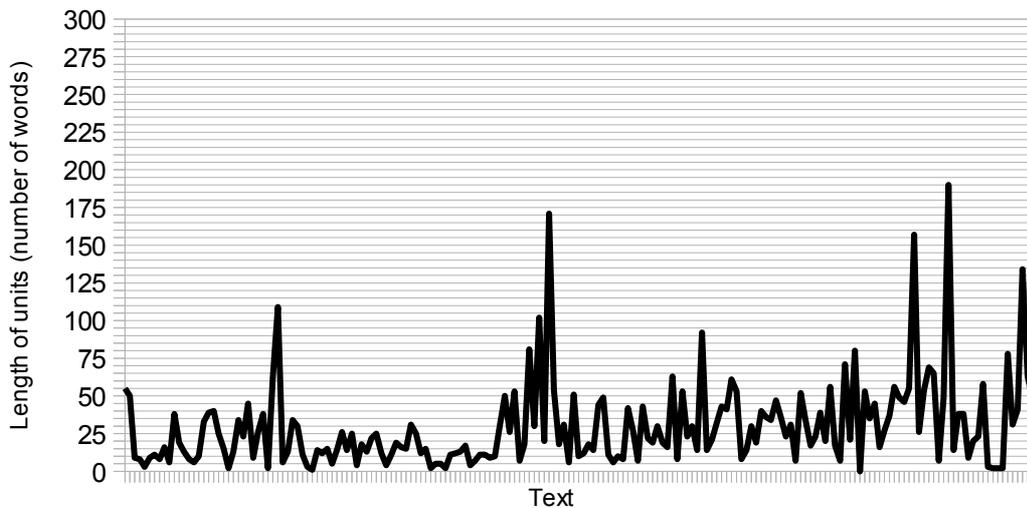
Figure 4.30. Distribution of unit lengths in H403.

Punctuation decreases slightly towards the end of the text, with lengthier paragraphs and less paragraph-internal punctuation (see figure [4.30]). Recipes, however, frequently appear in separate paragraphs or in paragraphs including a number of related recipes. Paragraph division can also be used for emphasis. Although punctuation is used to mark sentences, clauses and phrases, it frequently functions above those levels, signalling sense-units, rather than sentences as such. The longest units tend to consist of recipes, but also include passages such as the following example [4.94], which contains additional

explanations, possibly scribal elaborations on the subject ("and thatt and syche oþer thyngs" etc.).

[4.94]
euere thatt ytt be ore thatt sche dessyrys to haue / fore afturee
thatt awoomane ys consevyde wythe chylde ande thatt wythe
in ij ore iij Monytheys and sum tyme moore ore sumtyme lessee sche
hathe Monye dessyrys an dyuersse appetytts ore lustys ande
theys appetytts ore lusts sume of theme begyne att the sessune
ore tyme of the iij^de Monythe ore att the iiij.^te and frome thatt
tyme thatt awomane ys wythe chylde looke whatt thynge
thatt sche covytts ore dessyrys for to haue lette hyre haue ytt ore
ells ytt Myght fortune to be the causse of the chylds deythe as
Greett docturs of physyke haue declaryde and schewyd in theyre
books and thatt and syche oþer thyngs hathe happonydes fortunede
wythe monye oþer wondurefulle causys ore cassys The wyche
are notte Now to be reherssyde of the wyche Mattere ore thynge
I haue spookkyne ssuffycyentlye be foore thys Bothe in thys booke
and alsoo in oþer lyke wysse as I haue founde by the dotturs
(p.360)

4.1.3.2.2 Structural and grammatical functions

	Frequency	Section break or heading	Coordination / subordination	Relative / adverbial clause	Other
Virgule	*104*	10.6% (n=11)	64.4% (n=67)	11.5% (n=12)	13.5% (n=14)
Paragraph break	*49*	100% (n=49)	0	0	0
Paragraph marks	*14*	100% (n=14)	0	0	0
Punctus	*6*	0	100% (n=6)	0	0
Double virgule	*1*	0	0	0	100% (n=1)
Total	*174*	**42.5% (n=74)**	**42.0% (n=73)**	**6.9% (n=12)**	**8.6% (n=15)**

Table 4.30. Grammatical functions in H403.

Major sections are principally signalled by paragraph divisions. At the beginning of the text, the contents of the text are listed and set out with virgules and paragraph marks. Two later readers have listed the six textual divisions and added page numbers indicating where they are found in the manuscript; this paragraph, then, functions effectively as a table of contents to the text (example [4.95]).

[4.95]
and in asmyche as that the mat*ric*e The wyche þ*ᵗ* women for*e*
   the lake of knoleg calle ther*e* Maris ys caws ofte tyms of
   hyr*e* seknes aftur*e* the Evylle dispo*siti*one of the Maledyes The
   wyche cu*m* of the Matryce and theys arre the p*r*incypalls and
   mooste comunelye hapons vnto theme / Γ <u>and one</u> ys the   <u>1.</u>²²³
   schyppynge owtt of the Mat*ric*e / Γ <u>and anoþ*er*e</u> ys the Ryssynge <u>.2.</u> 348
   of the Mat*ric*e / Γ<u>and anoþ*er*</u> ys / The stoppynge ou*er* wythe stondy*n*ge .<u>3.</u>350
   of hyr hyr flowrs Γ <u>and the</u> .iiij. ys the fluche ou*er* flyxe [o]fe hyr <u>4</u> 352
   flowrys / Γ <u>and the</u> v*ᵗᵉ* ys the lettyngs of conceptyone / Γ <u>and</u>   <u>5</u> 353
   <u>the .vj.*ᵗᵉ* ys</u> the hardnes of the delyuerans in the tyme of   <u>6</u> 358
   hyr*e* labur*e* /
 (p.347)

The text continues thereafter in the order set out in this preface, by going through all the six "principal maladies". Paragraph marks are used to signal the beginning of each of these major sections. All six of the main divisions are outdented and preceded by a paragraph mark and underlining. This combination is used only in the introduction to set out the main divisions, and at the beginning of each main division. In addition, the margins contain a reference or heading in the same hand as the main text to each of the main divisions by numbering them (e.g. ".1.infir*ᵗᵃˢ*") (example [4.96]).

[4.96]
Γ anoþ*er*e infyrmyte of a womans mat*ric*e ys ou*er*e greett plente   <u>.4.Infir*ᵗᵃˢ²²⁴*</u>
   of theyr*e* flowrs and ytt ys callyde the fluxe of hyr*ee*
   flowrs and wythe owtte thatt thys be stancyyde or*e* stoppyde
 (p.352)

The text is set in paragraphs, with the first line of each paragraph outdented (example [4.97]). The ends of paragraphs are generally not punctuated, although both a virgule and a double virgule feature once in this position. The length of the paragraphs varies, and paragraph may consist of one or more sense-units or a single recipe or a number of related recipes. While relative and adverbial clauses, as in example [4.97] ("Thene ytt ys a tokone"), can be punctuated, this is primarily not the case (see also table [4.30]).

[4.97]
   ytt ys atokone of sume greett seknes The wyche ys sodenlye
   cumynge
Iteme the flowrys of awomane ar*e* sume tyme of one collowr*e*
   and sume tyme of ane oþ*er*e / as sume tyme whytt / sume tyme

---

²²³ Marginal additions.
²²⁴ Marginal addition.

greene and sume tyme Redde / Butt whene thatt theye ar*e* of
onye oþ*er* collowr*e* thene Red / Thene ytt ys atokone thatt schee
ys nott welle *att* ees / and yf thatt sche haue ou*er*e lyttylle ofe
them / Thene ytt ys atokone þᵗ sche is nott ou*er*e hoole
and yf thatt awomane be agreett laburar*re* and vsse for*e* swett
myche thene sche schalle haue the leesse neyde to haue þⁱˢ p*ur*gacyon
(p.350)

Virgule is the most frequently used punctuation symbol in the text. Its primary function is to signal various paragraph-internal relationships, at the clausal and sentential levels. It is used to clarify structural or grammatical relations within a paragraph (primarily coordinated structures, as in example [4.98]) and to signal different sections or sense-units within a recipe or a minor section. The symbol can follow a heading to separate it from the beginning of the section and to clarify the structure (example [4.99]). It can also be used to signal the end of a minor section and to precede the introduction of the following (semantically connected) section and to signal the end of a paragraph. The majority of virgules precede a coordinating conjunction (primarily *and*; but also *but* and *or*) as well as other connecting conjunctions and adverbs as well as relative clauses.

[4.98]
Γ The Mat*ri*c*e* su*m*e tyme Ryssys vppe to the stomake / and thatt ys callyde
the Moþer*e* or*e* the ryssynge vppe of the Mat*ri*c*e* and the physycheons
calle ytt suffocacyone of the Moþer*e* or*e* of the Mat*ri*c*e* / and ytt cums
(p.348)

[4.99]
sche may notte answer*e* for*e* aftur warde sche remembres welle
whatt wasse seyde vnto heyr*e* in her*e* seknes and desses / helppe
of thys seknes ys thys . yf þᵗ awomane be fallyne in aswone
and hauynge afeu*er*e and thys infirmyte / Γ <u>Thene take fyrst</u>
(p.349)

The punctus can also be used to signal various syntactical relationships. It is in this role primarily used to signal subordinated clauses, and to specify functions and clarify readings, thus often performing the same functions as the virgule (example [4.100]).

[4.100]
þ*er* of cums grett seknes / for*e* eu*er*ye woomane ys þᵗ schee be in
good heylthe and be nott wythe chylde . ytt be hovys hyr*e* to haue
hyr*e* flowrs eu*er*y Monythe woons frome the tyme thatt sche be
xiiijᵗᵉ ʒeer*e* of agge vnto thatt sche cume vnto the agge of .l.
ʒeers / and yf soobe thatt awomane haue nott hyr*e* flowrys
(p.350)

4.1.3.2.3 Phrasal functions

	Frequency	Enumeration	Coordination	Clarification (terminology)	Other
Punctus	*1*	0	100% (n=1)	0	0
Virgule	*26*	34.6% (n=9)	61.5% (n=16)	3.8% (n=1)	0
Total	*27*	**33.3% (n=9)**	**63% (n=17)**	**3.7% (n=1)**	**0**

Table 4.31. Phrasal functions H403.

The virgule can also be used at the phrasal level to enumerate items; the punctuation mark can be used on its own ("chapons greesse / Goos grees / hens grees / Malards grees" [p.358]), or accompanied by a coordinating conjunction (example [4.101]; see table [4.31]).

[4.101]
wythe in hy*r*e Bodye / fo*r*e the*r*e of cums the Ryssynge of the
Mat*r*ice and the lessynge of hy*r*e apetyde / heede ache / and ache in
the neke / and ache in hy*r*e Bake / The feu*er*es / The dropyce and hartt
burnynge wythe monye oþere Evyllys and seknessys / and yf soo
(p.350)

Virgule is also used to clarify information when a Latin or otherwise possibly unfamiliar term first provided is translated into English ("ane oylle þt ys callyde oleum Musteliumm / oþer wyeys in Englyche oylle of Muske" [p.349]).

4.1.3.2.4 Recipes

The text contains altogether 59 recipes, which usually appear as paleographical wholes, punctuated on both sides (86.4%), but may also appear in clusters of two recipes (13.6%), as in example [4.102] (see figure [4.31]).

[4.102]
and oylle of camamylle ys vereye good fo*r*e the same and alsoo the
Mare of the schanke boons of onye Maner*e* of wylde deer*e* as
Buke or*e* dowe hartt or*e* hynde / looke þᵗ ȝowe keppe ytt freche and
lett hy*r*e anoyntte hy*r*e selfe þer wythe as be foor*e* ys seyde and
alsoo oylle of lorylle oþ*er*weys callyde oylle De Baye hys goode þer
foor*e* and the apothecarys haue all theys oylls redye//
(p.362)
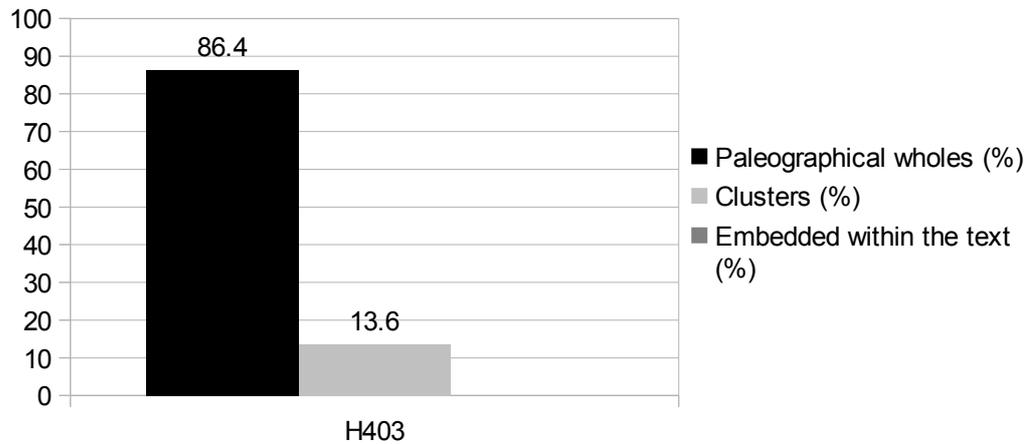
Figure 4.31. Recipes in H403.
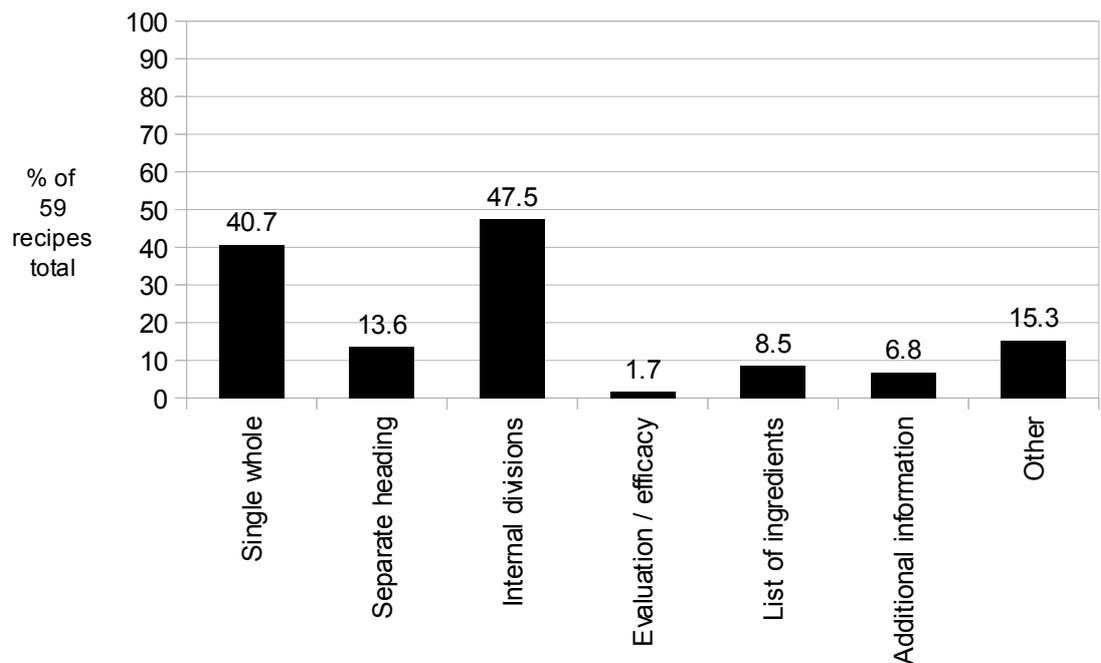
Figure 4.32. Recipe-internal divisions in H403.

Recipes may also contain internal divisions, present in 47.5% of all recipes (see figure [4.32]). Recipes can

a) appear as a single paleographical whole, punctuated on both sides but without any further internal divisions (example [4.103]). 40.7% of recipes are structured in this manner.

[4.103]
alsoo the seed of ane herbe þᵗ ys callyde spowrge and yfe þᵗ   Spowrg.²²⁵
          ytt be putte in as as ys aboofe rehersyde of þᵉ Barlye corne

²²⁵ Marginal, another hand.

sche schalle nott conseffe in thatt ȝeer*e* and as monye ȝeers
as þᵗ awomane dowthe vsse ytt sche schalle notte conseffe
(p.357)

b) contain internal divisions. These most commonly consist of a separately punctuated efficacy clause or additional information, as in example [4.104]. The list of ingredients may also be punctuated, as well as the stages of preparation or procedure, although these are less frequently punctuated. 13.6% (n=8) of all recipes contain a separately punctuated heading.

[4.104]
vij. days or*e* a forttenyght be foor*e* the tyme of delyu*er*ans / alsso
anoþ*er* and and þᵗ ys thys heyr*e* followynge / lett awomane take Redde
Coralle and holde ytt or*e* Bynde ytt to hyr*e* the and ytt wylle
haste the womane to be delyu*er*yd kyndlye or*e* quyclye and su*m*//
mene seye Thatt ytt hathe þᵉ v*er*tu That an yf þᵗ be hangyde
aboutt hyr*e* neeke yf thatt sche labur*e* sche schalbe [de]lyu*er*yde
and þᵗ schorlye / Butte be welle waar*e* that assonne as þᵗ the womane
ys delyu*er*yde thatt the corralle be takone aweye wythe owtt
oney terreynge for*e* p*er*ylle of the cu*m*ynge owtt of the Guttys of
the woomane /
(p.359)

Thus, altogether 86.4% of all the recipes in the text appear as paleographical wholes (with or without further internal divisions). 50.8% of the recipes are begun on a new, outdented paragraph; within paragraphs, the beginning of a new recipe is most commonly signalled by a preceding virgule. Recipe-internal divisions are almost without exception signalled by virgules, as in example [4.104] above (punctus occurs three times, and double virgule once). Recipes can also be noted in the margins by later readers (see example [4.103] above).

H403 is the only manuscript to use *Item(e)* to mark the beginning of a recipe. These are often, though not always, outdented in the margins (in which case it is neither preceded or followed by any punctuation symbol but is clearly set out), but they can also occur within the text to indicate the beginning of a new recipe within a section. They are used to indicate the beginning of a section, followed by *take* and here preceded by a virgule (" / Iteme Take the Iusse of Mugewortt"), which can also be omitted ("Item schepswoolle welle tesyde").

4.1.3.2.5 Other functions

	Frequency	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Punctus	*34*	100% (n=34)	0	0
Double virgule	*7*	0	42.9% (n=3)	57.1% (n=4)
Total	*41*	**82.9% (n=34)**	**7.3% (n=3)**	**9.8% (n=4)**

Table 4.32. Other functions in H403.

The primary function of the punctus is to indicate numerals, and 64.0% (n=16) of all numerals in the text are punctuated. The punctuation mark is placed on both sides of the symbol. When quantities are given, they are often vague ("þ^e Mounttenans of*e* the quanttyte of auallenott ys enouche" [p.362]). Example [4.105] illustrates the variation in the practice of numbering; an arabic numeral is followed by a written numeral ("thirde") and a roman numeral, which is left unpunctuated ("iiij^{te}"). There is also one arabic numeral ("2nd"), which is punctuated.

> [4.105]
> and yf thatt sche be of Moor*e* agge thene theye cu*m* in the .2.^{e}
>   quart*er* of the Moone and yf thatt sche be a stabulle womane
>   and of grett agge Thene theye cume in the thirde q*uarter*e
>   or*e* in the iiij^{te} quart*er*e of the [moon][226]
> (p.352)

Double virgule can be used to signal line-final word breaks ("des//sesys" [p.347]), as well as line-final phrase breaks ("swett//thyngs", 'sweet things' [p.360]; "a//medyne", 'a maiden' [p.361]). The scribe, however, usually avoids dividing words at the end of lines: the text contains only three instances of line-final word division.

The virgule is sometimes used for emphasis. For instance, after providing recipes concerning contraception, the scribe emphasises that "sychethyngs / schowlde notte be knowne wythe ʒongge foowls / Butt for*e* to saffe good and saaggee womene from p*er*ylle" [p.357]; the frequency of punctuation in this passage suggests emphasis.

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[226] Drawn half moon.

4.1.4 *Secreta mulierum* (Version D)

4.1.4.1 London, British Library, MS Sloane 121 (I)

4.1.4.1.1 Description of apparatus

The most frequent symbol in the text is the virgule (/), followed by the double virgule (//). The punctus (.) is also utilised, and a rubricated initial appears once; no other colour or decorations are used.

The text is set in a single column, with 30 lines per page. The dimensions of the page are 205x140mm, with written space of 155x98mm.The text is divided into paragraphs. The first line of a new paragraph is often indented, and on two occasions line-fillers (~ ~ ~) are used at the end of paragraphs, while at other times there is simply a blank space at the end of line, with the following section beginning on a new line. There are also paragraph marks and notes in the margins by the scribe.

	Frequency	Grammatical		Other functions		
		Structural, clausal and sentential	Phrasal	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Virgule	*142*	64.8% (n=92)	12.7% (n=18)	0	6.3% (n=9)	16.2% (n=23)
Double virgule	*83*	100% (n=83)	0	0	0	0
Punctus	*38*	0	5.3% (n=2)	94.7% (n=36)	0	0
Paragraph break	*6*	100% (n=6)	0	0	0	0
Initials	*1*	100% (n=1)	0	0	0	0
Total	*270*	67.4% (n=182)	7.4% (n=20)	13.3% (n=36)	3.3% (n=9)	8.5% (n=23)
		74.8% (n=202)		25.2% (n=68)		

Table 4.33. Repertoire in S121[I].

The majority of punctuation marks function structurally and grammatically; altogether 66.7% signal sentential and clausal structures. Punctuation also functions at the phrasal level. Altogether 74.3% of all punctuation marks, therefore, signal various syntactical

structures. Punctuation can also be used to signal numerals and line-final word division, and it is also used for other non-grammatical purposes (see table [4.33]).

There is a clear hierarchy of symbols. Virgules are primarily used to signal sentence- or sense-unit-internal (clausal and phrasal) relationships, as well as to indicate line-final word divisions, while double virgules separate these larger syntactic structures (sentences or sense-units) from each other. Punctus is primarily used to signal numerals, although it can also be used at the phrasal level. Layout is also used to structure the text on a macro-level, signalling textual divisions.

The length of the punctuated units varies between 1 word and 55 words. 81.5% of the units are shorter than 20 words (see figure [4.33]). There is thus a clear preference for short units; the mean average length of punctuated units is 12.42 words. Punctuation and other supra-textual devices function on various levels: they structure the text on a macro-level, signal structural transitions as well as clarifying syntactical relationships (sentences, clauses and phrases).
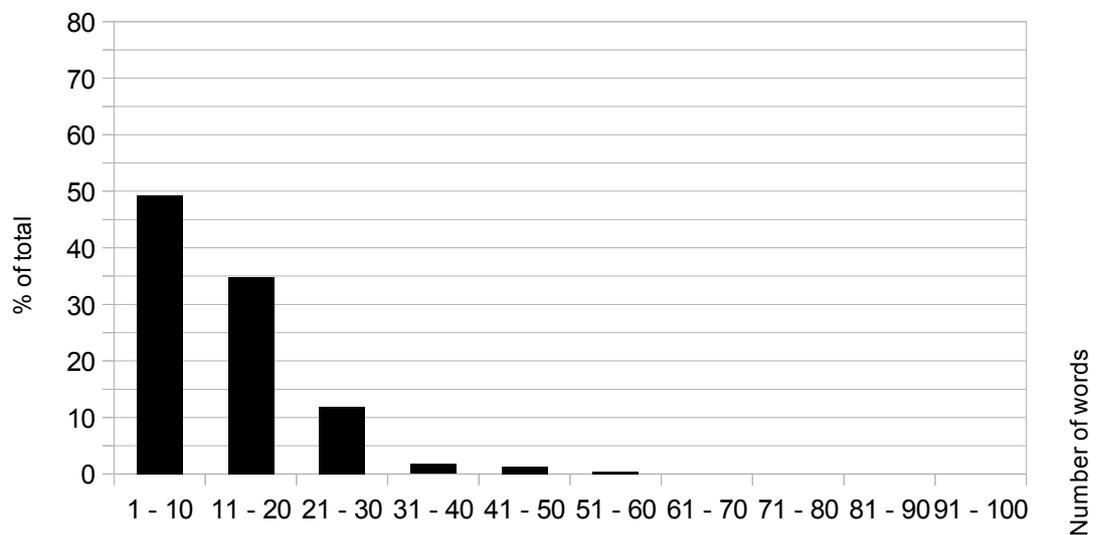
Figure 4.33. Length of units in S121[I].

The length of units stays relatively constant throughout the text (see figure [4.34]). The longest stretches consist of recipes, although the majority of the recipes tend to contain more than one punctuated section.
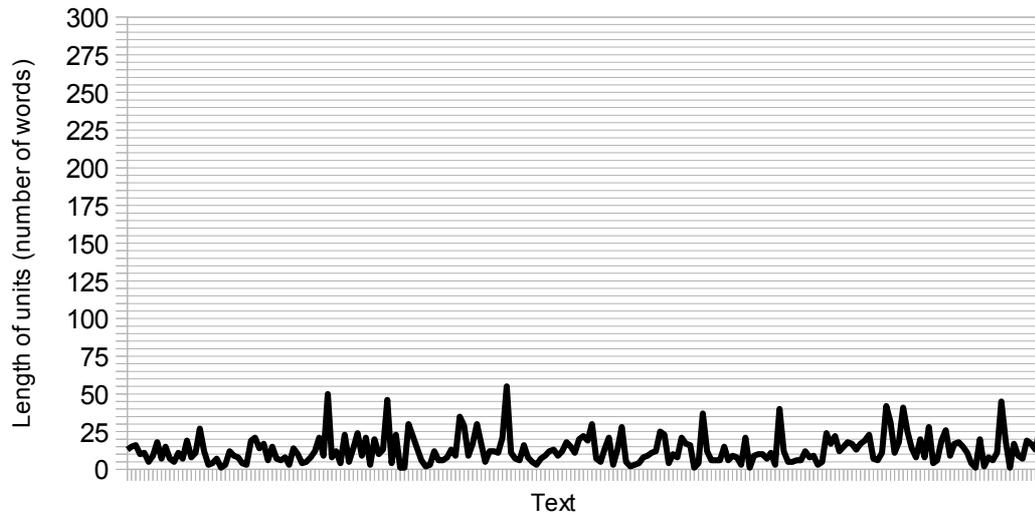
Figure 4.34. Distribution of unit lengths in S121[I].

4.1.4.1.2 Structural and grammatical functions

	Frequency	Section break or heading	Coordination / subordination	Relative / adverbial clause	Other
Virgule	*92*	10.9% (n=10)	60.9% (n=56)	23.9% (n=22)	4.3% (n=4)
Double virgule	*83*	41.0% (n=34)	50.6% (n=42)	0	8.4% (n=7)
Paragraph break	*6*	100% (n=6)	0	0	0
Initials	*1*	100% (n=1)	0	0	0
Total	*182*	**28.0% (n=51)**	**53.8% (n=98)**	**12.1% (n=22)**	**6.0% (n=11)**

Table 4.34. Grammatical functions in S121[I].

The text is divided into paragraphs, signalled by blank space and/or use of marginal paragraph marks. The ends of paragraphs may also be filled with line-fillers and the first line of a paragraph may be indented. The text contains only one rubricated, slightly enlarged initial [example 4.106]. Marginal notes by the scribe also structure the text, signalling textual divisions and directing the reader's attention [example 4.107].

[4.106]
or drede // And yf þey fayle & cese þey bry /
nge in suspecc*i*on of a violent syknesse //

Water[227] .i. vryne of awom*m*an turneþ som tyme
in to grenesse / or in to reednesse . or in to aliu*er*y
(f.100v)

[4.107]
be wont to be schamefaste in childbirthe // Of　　　　No*ta*[228]
þe gou*er*naunse of a wom*m*an & of hire mat*ri*ce a /
fore birþe / & in birþe & aft*er* it is to seye hough
a wom*m*an schall be holpen and hire mat*ri*ce //
　　　　／ dyfficulte of birþe is of þe constreynyng
of þe orifice `.i. mowþ´[229] of þ*e* mat*ri*ce // Wherfor*e* it is agen*er*all　　Regla[230]
rule amongs alle oþ*er* to be consydred*e* // We deme*n*
suche a counsell þ*t* awom*m*an be wele avysed in
(f.102r)

Although the functions of double and single virgules overlap to some extent, double virgules tend to function at the sentential level, whereas single virgules function at clausal and phrasal levels (see table [4.34]). They function within paragraphs as well as signalling the end and beginning of new paragraphs, sections, recipes and sense-units. These new sense-units might introduce additional information to the topic or to emphasise a point, especially when followed by *ffor soþe*, *ffor* or *wherfore* introducing a coordinated clause ("*& lete hir*e* blode aft*er* þ*t* sche hath strenghte // ffor þ*t* is agen*er*all rewle in eu*er*y syknesse þ*t* þ*e* v*er*tyw of þ*e* syke be consyde*red*" [f.100v], "but forsoþe w*t* owte grete / humydite schall sche not conceyue // þese ben þ*e* domes þ*er* of // Sche schall haue wepynge yȝen besyly" [f.103v]).

The virgule is used to indicate the beginning of a new section after a paragraph break; as in the following example [4.108], end of the previous section is signalled by a double virgule, which also follows the initial description of the following section. Virgule may follow a heading and can be used for emphasis, and separate sections (example [4.109]).

[4.108]
fore birþe / & in birþe & aft*er* it is to seye hough
a wom*m*an schall be holpen and hire mat*ri*ce //
　　　／ dyfficulte of birþe is of þe constreynyng
of þe orifice of þ*e* mat*ri*ce // Wherfor*e* it is agen*er*all
(f.102r)

---

[227]　Rubricated initial.
[228]　Marginal, scribal.
[229]　Glossed above the line.
[230]　Marginal, scribal.

[4.109]
be made betwene hem // Also for þ^e same / Ta
ke mylke of an asse & lete it lye on a wommans
navele whyle hire husbond deleþ w^t hire &
sche schall conceyve / c*er*teynly // Anoþ*er* / take þ^e bark
(f.101r)

Primarily the virgule functions within the sense-units, the boundaries of which are signalled by double virgules [example 4.110]. The majority of the virgules precede a coordinating conjunction; these coordinated structures can occur both at the phrasal and clausal level. Virgules can likewise be used to join subordinated, temporal and relative clauses and to introduce lists and to separate sections within a recipe [example 4.111].

[4.110]
humo*re*s þ^t be*n* not competent // And yf it go owte
more or lesse þan it behoueþ / þanne brekeþ
owt þ*er* of many seknesses / þorough þ^e weche
appetytt boþe of mete & drynke is enfebled &
som tyme it makeþ vomyt `.i. castynge´ / and somtyme þeyde
syren to ete rawgh metys / as harde colys or assche^s
& many oþ*er* þyngs ageyn kynde // Som tyme also
(f.100r)

[4.111]
be cause of a deed bore child*e* // ffor yf sche de
                        syre   [f.101v]
erþe colys / or cley / yeue it hire // And yeve hir*e*
Benys soden w^t sugr*e* to ete & to drynke // And
Whanne tyme comeþ of childynge / lete hire ofte*n*
(ff.101r–v)

4.1.4.1.3 Phrasal functions

	Frequency	Enumeration	Coordination	Clarification (terminology)	Other
Virgule	*18*	11.1% (n=2)	77.8% (n=14)	11.1% (n=2)	0
Punctus	*2*	0	0	100% (n=2)	0
Total	**20**	**10.0% (n=2)**	**70.0% (n=14)**	**20.0% (n=4)**	**0**

Table 4.35. Phrasal functions S121[I].

Virgule is used to enumerate and to coordinate (example [4.112]; see also table [4.35]). It can also be used to clarify and set apart items of terminology ("lete hire haue .iij. or .iiij.

tymes / subfumyga c*i*on / & betwene þ^e suffmuygac*i*ons lete hire haue a passarye / & a Suppositorye in hir*e* p*ri*uyte" [f.103r]). The punctus is only used twice at the phrasal level: in these cases, the function is to clarify terminology or indicate an item in a list instead of a virgule ("dropesye . dyssent*er*ye or suche oþ*er*" [f.100r], "**W**ater .i.[231] vryne of awom*m*an turneþ som tyme in to grenesse / or in to reednesse . or in to aliu*er*y colo*re*" [f.100v]).

[4.112]
yeve hire in decocc*i*on // ffemygrek mustilago /
p*er*sile or lynsed*e* / and alitill of Tryacle / or dya
tesseron w^t decocc*i*on of Anyse w^t wyn // And
(f.102v)

4.1.4.1.4 Recipes

The text contains 40 recipes. 90.0% of recipes (n=36) appear as paleographical wholes, punctuated on either side, with or without further internal divisions (see figure [4.35]). Recipes can also appear in clusters of two recipes with no visual separation between them (10.0%, n=4), as in example [4.113].

[4.113]
// Of suche men anoynte þe reynes w^t Arragon*e*
or ellys take þ^e seed of Eruca & of Enforbiu*m*
and make poudir þ*er* of & w^t þe oyle of myste
lyn & pullegiu*m* medle it to gyder*e* & þ*er* w^t
anoynte his reynes // And yf it be in defawte
(f.104r)
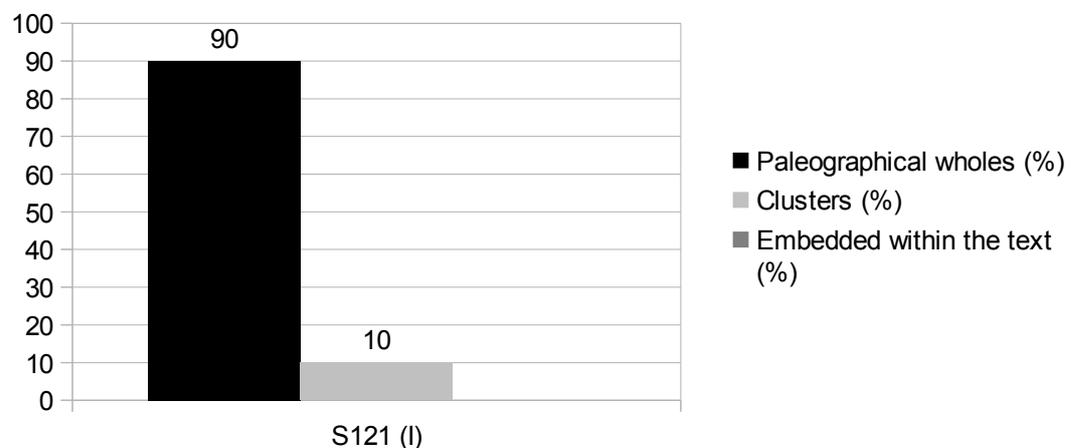
Figure 4.35. Recipes in S121[I].

[231] Although in this instance the gloss to "water" (".i. vryne") is written by the scribe on the line following "water" these glosses usually appear above the line, always preceded by ".i" for "id est".
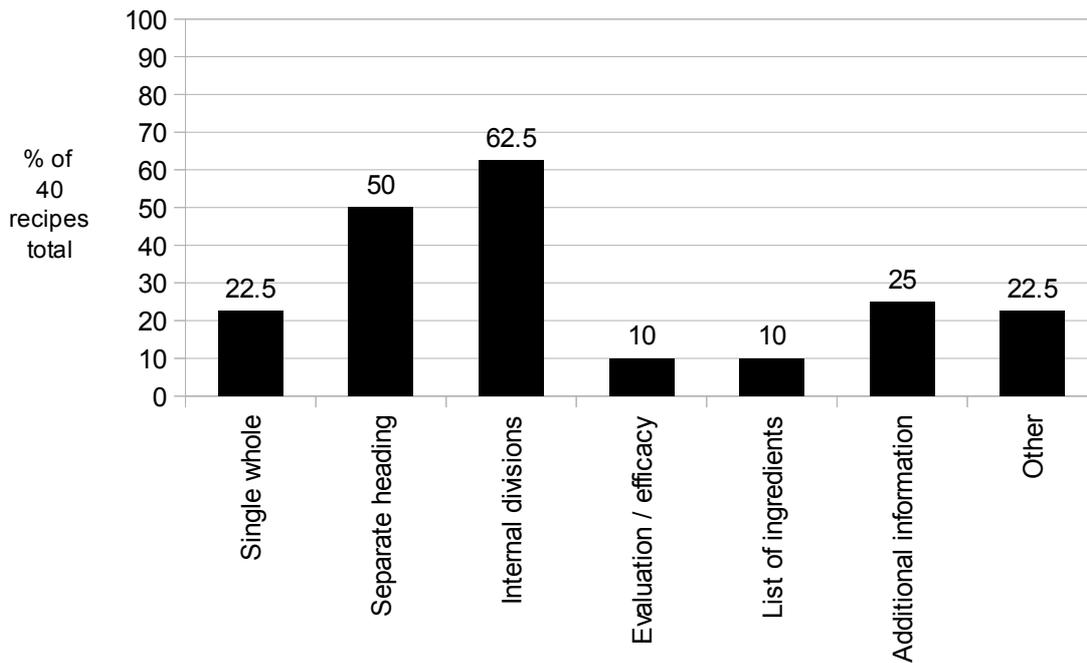
Figure 4.36. Recipe-internal divisions in S121[I].

Recipes can

a) contain a number of separately punctuated sections (see figure [4.36]). 50.0% (n=20) of all the recipes include a separate heading or introduction (example [4.114]), and 12.5% (n=5) contain a separate heading but no further divisions. Other sections, such as stages of preparation and procedure may also be punctuated.

> [4.114]
> If to moche flowynge of blood be aft*er* birþe as þ*er*   ¶*232*
> be som wom*m*en þᵗ aft*er* childynge haue inmod*er*ate
> effusyonn & blood þe weche we schulle helpe
> in þis man*ere* // þᵘ schalte drawe owt þᵉ Iuse of
> Arthemesye of sawge & of p*er*ytorye & make litill
> balles þ*er* of & yeue it hire to ete / And as ofte as þᵘ
> doost þus putte hire in to a bath / & in þis man*ere*
> þᵘ schalte refrayne hem // Or take cley tempyrid   ¶²³³
> (f.104r)

b) consist of a single punctuated whole, as in example [4.115]. 22.5% (n=9) of all recipes appear thus without any internal divisions.

> [4.115]
> Also lete þe woman take þe liu*ere* of a Pygge   ¶²³⁴
> þ*er*e þe soowe hadde but oo Pygg allone & dryᵉ

---

²³² Marginal, scribal.
²³³ Marginal, scribal.
²³⁴ Marginal, scribal.

it & make poud*er* þ*er* of & yeve it boþe to þ^e man
& to þe wom*m*an to drynke and concepc*i*on schall
be made betwene hem // Also for þ^e same / Ta   ¶²³⁵
(f.101r)

The beginning of recipes is generally indicated by a double virgule, whereas the scribe more commonly uses a single virgule to signal recipe-internal divisions. Both of these punctuation marks, however, can appear in either position (see example [4.114] above). Recipes can also be signalled in the margins by paragraph marks, and occasionally by other marginal notes in a later hand.

4.1.4.1.5 Other functions

	Frequency	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Virgule	*32*	0	28.1% (n=9)	71.9% (n=23)
Punctus	*36*	100% (n=36)	0	0
Total	**68**	**52.9% (n=36)**	**13.2% (n=9)**	**33.8% (n=23)**

Table 4.36. Other functions in S121[I].

The primary function of the punctus is to signal numerals. The punctus is placed on both sides or only on one side of the symbol ("þe .xj.^{te} yer*e*" [f.100r], ".iij. or .iiij. tymes" [f.103r]), and 81.3% (n=13) of numerals are punctuated. It is also once used with a written numeral, although this is not a common practice ("till fyfty . yer*e* or sexty or ellis vn to .iij. score & fyftene" [f.100r]). There is only one weight abbreviation.

The virgule is also used to indicate line-final word break ("bry / nge" [f.100v], "ma / trice" [f.101v], "man / nes" [f.105r]). Line-final word divisions are rarely punctuated, however (only 19.5% [n=8] of occurrences) and do not necessarily reflect phonological or morphological principles of division [example 4.116]. The virgule is also used to signal line-final phrase break ("þe / palesye" [f.104v], "a / dropesye" [f.100r], "in to / hire p*ri*uyte" [f.104v]), separating determiners from the subject, as in the example below; when the determiner falls at the end of line it is marked with a virgule to signal that the noun follows ("þe / mat*ri*ce").

---

²³⁵ Marginal, scribal.

[4.116]
haue to moche moyste natur*e* / þanne of þe /
mat*ric*e is þᵉ brayn fulfylled / þe weche smyty
nge ayen*e* enforceþ þe yȝen wilfully to putte
owt teerys & þe cause is þᵗ þᵉ brayn*e* is compa
cient to þe mat*ric*e // þ*er*fore furste lete hire
(f.103v)

4.1.4.2 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. Misc.c.66

4.1.4.2.1 Description of apparatus

The repertoire consists of virgule (/), punctus (.), paragraph mark (¶), double virgule
(//) as well as double (=) and single hyphens (-).

The text is laid out in single columns with no breaks either within the text, or from the
texts preceding and following; the text starts mid-folio and mid-line on f.83r. The
beginning of the text is marked with a slightly enlarged initial. The manuscript is large; the
dimensions are 292x209mm, with writing space of 219x152mm, with 47 lines per page.

The scribe also inserts marginal notes and headings, as well as corrections and additions to
the text.

	Frequency	Grammatical		Other functions		
		Structural, clausal and sentential	Phrasal	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Virgule	109	73.4% (n=80)	4.6% (n=5)	0	0	22% (n=24)
Punctus	103	23.3% (n=24)	17.5% (n=18)	39.8% (n=41)	0	19.4% (n=20)
Paragraph mark	83	100% (n=83)	0	0	0	0
Double virgule	32	100% (n=32)	0	0	0	0
Double hyphen	4	0	0	0	100% (n=4)	0
Hyphen	3	0	0	0	100% (n=3)	0
Double virgule & punctus	2	100% (n=2)	0	0	0	0
Virgule & punctus	2	100% (n=2)	0	0	0	0
Initials	1	100% (n=1)	0	0	0	0
Total	339	66.1% (n=224)	6.8% (n=23)	12.1% (n=41)	2.1% (n=7)	13% (n=44)
		72.9% (n=247)		27.1% (n=92)		

Table 4.37. Repertoire in LM66.

Although certain punctuation symbols function primarily structurally, signalling topic changes and clarifying the textual structure, the hierarchy between the different symbols is not always straightforward. Punctuation marks are frequently coupled and used together, often one mark signalling the end of a section or sense-unit, and another one the beginning of the following section. Since layout is not used for signalling structural transitions, the text is structured solely by the use of punctuation marks, 66.1% of which function at the sentential and clausal levels, and 6.8% at the phrasal level. Altogether 72.9%, therefore, are used for syntactical purposes. Punctuation is also used to signal numerals and line-final word-division, as shown in table [4.37].

The mean average length of punctuated units is 17.11 words; the preference, therefore, is for relatively short units. 70.5% of punctuated units are less than 20 words (see figure [4.37]). While the longest punctuated unit is 96 words, there are only 4.6% longer than 50 words. Punctuation functions to signal grammatical units, as well as sense-units.

Punctuation is also used at the phrasal level, and is frequently used when there are no obvious syntactic requirements.
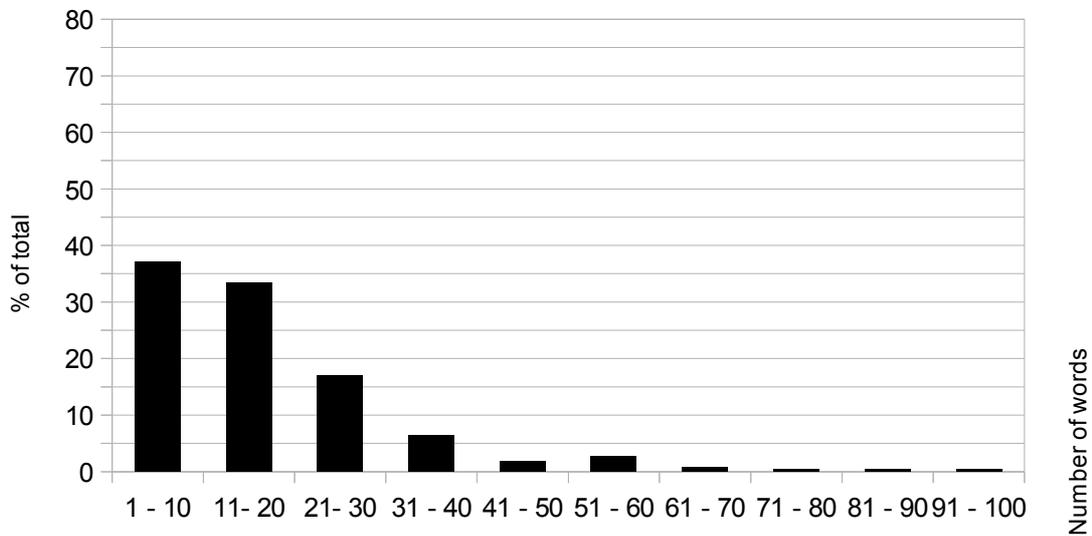
Figure 4.37. Length of units in LM66.

Units of punctuation remain of similar length throughout the text, as illustrated in figure [4.38]. Longer stretches tend to consist of recipes or clusters of recipes.
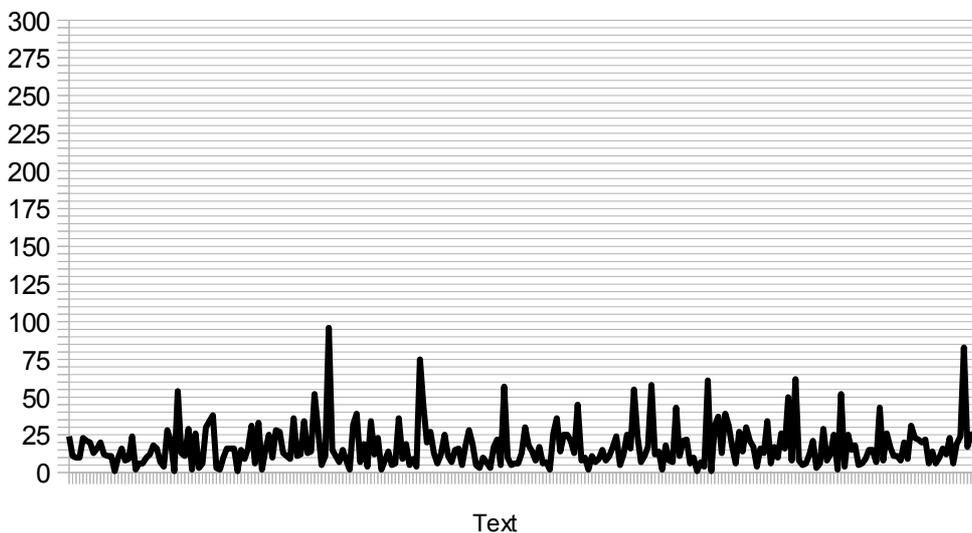
Figure 4.38. Distribution of unit lengths in LM66.

4.1.4.2.2 Structural and grammatical functions

	Frequency	Section break or heading	Coordination / subordination	Relative / adverbial clause	Other
Paragraph mark	*83*	50.6% (n=42)	20.5% (n=17)	13.3% (n=11)	15.7% (n=13)
Virgule	*80*	25% (n=20)	48.8% (n=39)	18.8% (n=15)	7.5% (n=6)
Double virgule	*32*	40.6% (n=13)	25% (n=8)	15.6% (n=5)	18.8% (n=6)
Punctus	*24*	20.8% (n=5)	37.5% (n=9)	29.2% (n=7)	12.5% (n=3)
Double virgule & punctus	*2*	50.0% (n=1)	50.0% (n=1)	0	0
Virgule & punctus	*2*	50.0% (n=1)	50.0% (n=1)	0	0
Initials	*1*	100% (n=1)	0	0	0
Total	*224*	**37.1% (n=83)**	**33.5% (n=75)**	**17.0% (n=38)**	**12.5% (n=28)**

Table 4.38. Grammatical functions in LM66.

Paragraph mark is used to signal the beginning of topic changes and to signal major sections, but it is also used to signal minor sections, recipes, to separate headings from the main text as well as for other grammatical purposes (see table [4.38]). The symbol can be coupled with other punctuation marks (virgule, double virgule, punctus); in these instances, that symbol signals the end of the preceding section (which may be major or minor), while the paragraph mark signals the beginning of a new one (example [4.117]). Although paragraph mark is primarily used for signalling structural transitions, other punctuation marks can also be used for this purpose (example [4.118]; see also table [4.38]).

[4.117]
ȝif it swym*m*e it ys A female // ¶ Also Ypocras seiþ þᵗ A woman þᵗ haþ
consceyued a masclie is well I coulourd / & hir*e* brest is grettere on þᵉ ryȝt side &
þe more breste as ~~ne~~ witnessiþ Ipocras / ¶ of þe impediment of co*n*cepciou*n*
(f.84v)[236]

[4.118]
may not absteyne he*m* / þ*er* for he*m* nedith oure helpe in þis crafte . ¶ ȝif a wo*m*
man wil not consey ve lete hir*e* bere wᵗ hir nexte hir*e* bare skynne / þe heed
of A matrice þat neuer*e* conseyued . for þᵗ is fou*n*den soiþ þat þ*er* wiþ is lettid

---

[236] There are marginal notes expanding on the text by the scribe (e.g. "if it be Amaiden childe sche Sᵗ be paal . & haþ on þe lifte side").

concepciou*n* ¶ A noþ*er* take a smale wesele & take A way þe ballockis þ*er* of &
(f.85r)

Both virgule and punctus are frequently used with coordinating (primarily the ampersand
&) and subordinating conjunctions as well as preceding temporal adverbial and relative
clauses. The punctuation marks can be used within sections and recipes to signal internal
divisions (example [4.119]).

[4.119]
[voydyd] whiche þ*u* schalt knowe in þ*is* man*ere* ¶ Take Alitil of muske .
w*t* sum þinge þat is swete smellynge & put i*n* to hir*e* cownte & if sche
be wel purgid sche feliþ þe swotenesse þ*er* of / neu*er* þe later*e* ʒif sche be
[thirsty] [after] in purgaciou*n* sche is wel I purgid / And whan*ne* sche is so
wel purgid lete hir*e* husbonde ofte tyme swyue hir*e* þat sche may conseyve
¶ Of þe defaute of co*n*cepciou*n* . for þe defaute of þe man / ʒif concepciou*n*[237]
be lettid by defaute of þe man / þat þe defaute is of þ*e* spyritis þat schulde
helpe to putte in þe sperme / or ellis defaute of moistenesse of þe sp*er*me
or ellis defaute of hete of kynde ¶ ʒif it is for defa[u]te of hete . he desirye
(f.86r)

The punctus may precede coordinated clauses, relative clauses and subordinated clauses
(example [4.120]); it is also used to signal the separation of embedded clauses from the
main clause, as well as to separate a heading from the main body of the text (example
[4.121]).

[4.120]
or ellis defaute of hete of kynde ¶ ʒif it is for defa[u]te of hete . he desirye
nat þ*t* crafte of ~~whiche~~ Swyche Anoynte þe reynes w*t* Aragon or*e* take
(f.86r)

[4.121]
ben ~~to þe~~ ordeyned to þ*e* office of nature / And þei . þoruʒ schame & reednesse
of face . he lyynge ne wil not knowlechin / nouþi*re* þei derre not seue
ne schewe to lechis half / þ*e* part of her*e* sykenessis þe whiche bifallen
aboute hir*e* Secrete p*ar*tes ¶ Therfor*e* for*e* hir*e* wrecchid myssese þ*e* whiche
(f.83r)

---

[237] The margins contain notes (scribal).

4.1.4.2.3 Phrasal functions

	Frequency	Enumeration	Coordination	Clarification (terminology)	Other
Punctus	*18*	38.9% (n=7)	38.9% (n=7)	11.1% (n=2)	11.1% (n=2)
Virgule	*5*	60.0% (n=3)	40.0% (n=2)	0	0
Total	*23*	**43.5% (n=10)**	**39.1% (n=9)**	**8.7% (n=2)**	**8.7% (n=2)**

Table 4.39. Phrasal functions LM66.

The virgule as well as the punctus can also be used at the phrasal level for separate items in a list ("watir*e* þ*t* malowis haþ be soden Inne & femygred / lynseed barlich" [f.85r], "fla*m*mule . hemloc cicute . wyne castor*e*" [f.84r]) and for joining coordinated phrases and clarifying terms ("ʒeue it to man þat may not be gete childe / or*e* wo*m*man þat may nat conseyue" [f.84v], "þ*er* falleþ Also su*m* tyme A charpe feu*er*e or bytinge about þe herte . or I dropesie . or dissynt*er*ie" [f.83v]; see table [4.39]). Punctuation is not always used, however, to separate items ("spicus fenel comyn Apiu*m* Ameos & oþ*er* Suche" [f.84r]). Punctuation can also be used either side of a lexical item, to clarify or to emphasise it, as in example [4.122] (". Angwicsch ful .").

> [4.122]
> G^w^alien seiþ þat wy*m*men þat hau straite cowntes & matrices . Angwicsch ful .
> schulde nat conyene wiþ me*n* lest þey conceyue & dy þ[er] w^t^ / but Al swiche
> (f.85r)[238]

4.1.4.2.4 Recipes

The text contains altogether 67 recipes. 65.7% (n=44) of these appear as paleographical wholes, punctuated on either side with or without further internal divisions; the rest appear in clusters of two or more recipes (example [4.123]); see figure [4.39].

> [4.123]
> or ellis defaute of hete of kynde ¶ ʒif it is for defa[u]te of hete . he desirye
> nat þ^t^ crafte of ~~whiche~~ Swyche Anoynte þe reynes w^t^ Aragon or*e* take
> þe seed of eruse & of enforbiu*m* & make poud*er* þer of& w^t^ oyle mustelyn& pule=[239]
> gyn medle it & þ*er* w^t^ anoy*n*te his reynes / ¶ And if it be for defaute of
> (f.86r)

---

[238]   The margins contain notes (scribal).
[239]   There is a note in the margin ("oliu*m*").
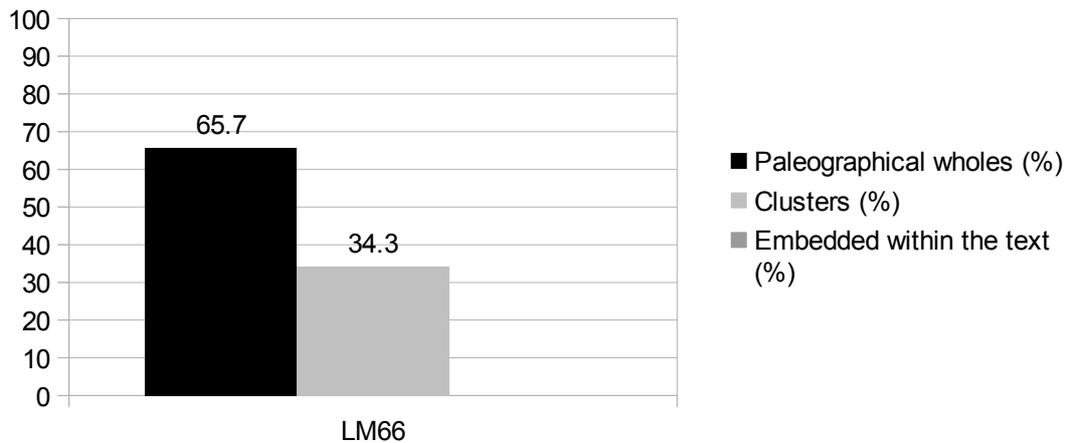
Figure 4.39. Recipes in LM66.
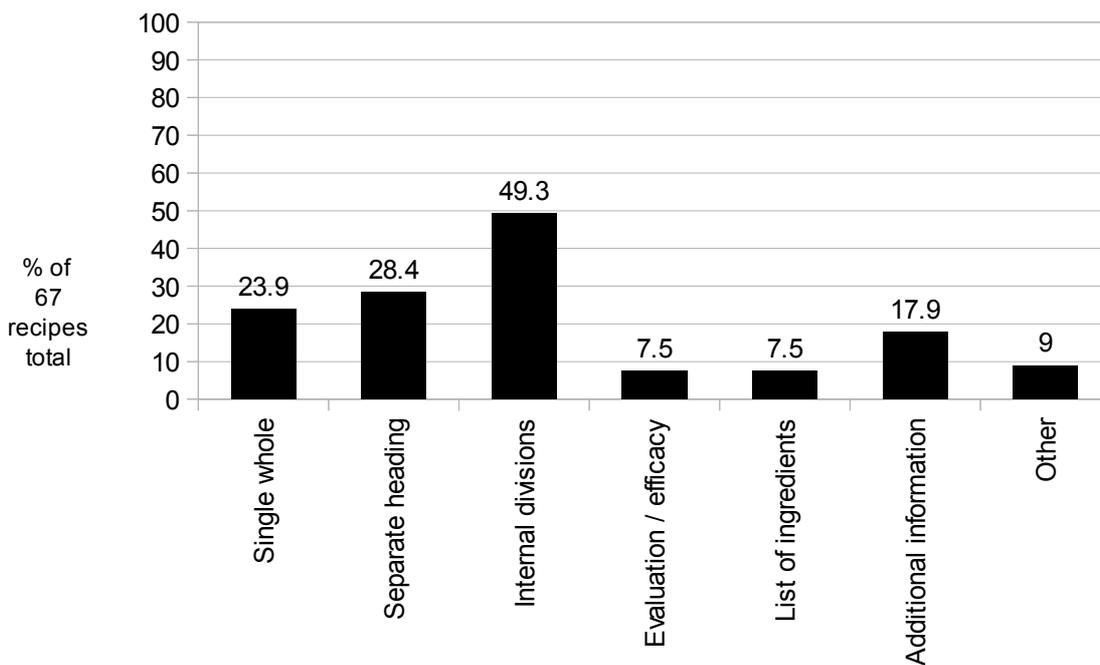
Figure 4.40. Recipe-internal divisions in LM66.

Figure [4.40] illustrates the visual structuring of the recipes. Recipes can

a) appear as single wholes, punctuated on either side but without any internal divisions, as

in example [4.124]. 23.9% (n=16) of recipes appear in this form.

[4.124]
asse & ley it in hir*e* navele & lete it be þ*er* stylle tyl þ*t* hir*e* husbounde `dele´ in hir*e* ¶
Also take þ*e* bark of An ook & make poudir*e* þ*er* of & lete hir*e* drynke þ*er* of
in þe bygynnynge of hir*e* menstrue ~~to be wiþ chillde *in*~~ in þe eende &

sche schall conseyue // Take kepe whanne a wo*mm*a*n* bygynnynge to be
(f.84v)

b) contain up to four punctuated sections. These sections may include heading (altogether 28.4% (n=19) of all recipes include a separately punctuated heading; 6.0% (n=4) are structured heading+body of the recipe, as in example [4.125]), additional information, efficacy clause, list of ingredients or separately punctuated stages of procedure or preparation (example [4.126]).

[4.125]
h̶a̶u̶ ¶ ȝif a wo*mm*an be barayne þoruȝ lake of hir*e* housbonde or*e* þoruȝ hir*e* owne defawte in þis maner it is I knowe / take .2. pottis & in .
Aiþ*er* potte put cantabru*n* .i. b`r´anne & of þᵉ vreyne of þᵉ man & of þᵉ vreyne of þe wo*mm*an & leue it þ*er*e .8. daies or*e* .10. & if it be defawte of barannesse be of þᵉ man þᵘ schalt fynde in þᵉ potte wᵗ his vryne many wormes & cantabri*n*s.i. bran stynkynge ¶ Oþ*er* if it be defawte of þᵉ wo*m*-ma*n* þᵘ schalt / fynde it i*n* hir*e* vrine ¶ And if þᵘ findist in nouþ*ir* // In nouþ*ire* is cause þ*er* of ¶ So þᵗ wiþ help of medecyn it may be holpe þat sche conseyue . ¶ lete Aman take þe ma*tr*ice & þᵉ bowute of an hare & drye
(f.84v)

[4.126]
may not absteyne he*m* / þ*er* for he*m* nedith oure helpe in þis crafte . ¶ ȝif a wo*m* man wil not consey ve lete hir*e* bere wᵗ hir nexte hir*e* bare skynne / þe heed of A matrice þat neuer*e* conseyued . for þᵗ is fou*n*den soiþ þat þ*er* wiþ is lettid concepciou*n* ¶ A noþ*er* take a smale wesele & take A way þe ballockis þ*er* of &
(f.85r)

The beginning of recipes is usually signalled by paragraph marks, which may also be coupled with punctus or virgule, as in the examples above. Double virgule, virgule and punctus can also be used to signal a recipe. Recipes can also be accompanied by a marginal heading or note. All of these symbols can also occur recipe-internally, although virgule is most frequently used for this function.

4.1.4.2.5 Other functions

The principal function of the punctus is to signal numerals and abbreviations. Unlike in all other texts in the data, the majority of numerals in LM66 are arabic (".8. daies or*e* .10." [f.84v], "sche be .20. wynt*er* oolde" [f.85v]) instead of roman, although both are used, as well as written numerals (".ij. ballis of A charpe medecyn" [f.84r], "til fyfty ȝeer*e* or to lxx

ȝeer*e*" [f.83v]). All of the arabic numerals, as well as the majority of roman numerals, are punctuated; all abbreviations are punctuated, on one or both sides of the symbol.

	Frequency	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Virgule	*24*	0	0	100% (n=24)
Punctus	*61*	67.2% (n=41)	0	32.8% (n=20)
Double hyphen	*4*	0	100% (n=4)	0
Hyphen	*3*	0	100% (n=3)	0
Total	**92**	**44.6% (n=41)**	**7.6% (n=7)**	**47.8% (n=44)**

Table 4.40. Other functions in LM66.

The scribe tends to avoid line-final word division: there are only 12 instances, out of which 58.3% (n=7) are punctuated with a double or a single hyphen ("sup=positor" [f.85v], "cau-se" [f.85v]). It should, however, be noted that the manuscript is partly badly faded and line-ends are not in all cases visible.

Punctus is used to clarify potentially ambiguous readings ("And know 3e it wel þat . þ^t dissese infalliþ of ma*n*nys sp*er*me put in to hem" [f.86r]). Both the virgule and the punctus are used in various positions to precede subject or object complements (or the equivalents), or to separate determiners or modifiers ("body was costrayned & I maad / baare" [f.83v], "þat sche be nauȝt makyd / to hote" [f.84r], "& so in to here he schall sprynge his seed as / maistere" [f.83r]). Punctuation can also be used to set adjectives or complements apart from the verb. The usage is not consistent and does not appear to perform a syntactical function. Punctuation frequently appears in line-final position [example 4.127] (see also 4.1.1.1.5 and 4.1.1.4.5).

[4.127]
positor And þ^t sche may wiþ swiche fomentaciou*n*s take comfort & þe .
folowynge make hir*e* to dele w^t hir*e* housbonde ¶ But for soþe w^t oute .
grete [humyd]yte sche may not conseyve / þese ben þ^e do[mes] þ*er* of sche schall haue
(f.85v)

4.1.4.3 Cambridge, Jesus College, MS 43

4.1.4.3.1 Description of apparatus

The text contains very little punctuation. The text uses only two punctuation marks, punctus (.) and virgule (/). In addition, it contains enlarged (two-line), rubricated initials as well as rubricated (one-line) initials.

Although there are some paragraph breaks, the text is mainly presented as continuous. The dimensions of the manuscript are 220x143mm, with writing space of 182x116mm; the text is laid out in single columns, with 35 lines per page.

There are marginal notes. The scribe also inserts some marginal notes as well as corrections and additions to the text.

	Frequency	Grammatical		Other functions		
		Structural, clausal and sentential	Phrasal	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Punctus	21	42.9% (n=9)	19.0% (n=4)	38.1% (n=8)	0	0
Initial	12	100% (n=12)	0	0	0	0
Paragraph break	9	100% (n=9)	0	0	0	0
Virgule	5	80.0% (n=4)	0	0	0	20.0% (n=1)
Total	47	72.3% (n=34)	8.5% (n=4)	17.0% (n=8)	0	2.1% (n=1)
		80.9% (n=38)			19.1% (n=9)	

Table 4.41. Repertoire in JC43.

The majority of the punctuation marks are used to signal clauses and sentences, although punctuation is only used at the beginning of the text; there are altogether only 38 punctuation marks, including rubricated initials. Although punctuation marks are also occasionally used at the phrasal level as well as to signal numerals, the majority of the text contains no punctuation (see table [4.41]). Paragraph divisions likewise occur primarily at the beginning of the text.

The frequencies of punctuated units vary between 3–932 words, paragraph breaks being taken into account as well as punctuation marks. The majority of the units, however, vary between 20 and 100 words, although there is a considerable number of units lengthier than that (see figure [4.41]).
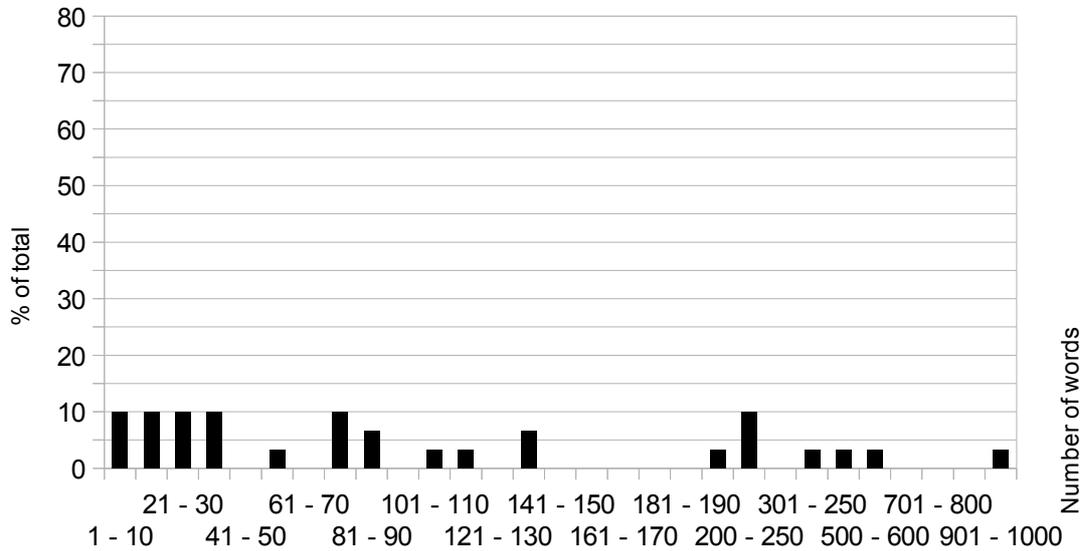
Figure 4.41. Length of units in JC43.

The variation can be evinced in figure [4.42], illustrating the length of units throughout the text. While the scribe begins with a relatively frequently punctuated system, utilising paragraph breaks, punctuation marks and rubricated initials, this system is soon abandoned and thereafter only paragraph breaks are used to signal textual divisions. The end of the text contains, therefore, considerably lighter punctuation, with only occasional paragraph breaks punctuating the text.
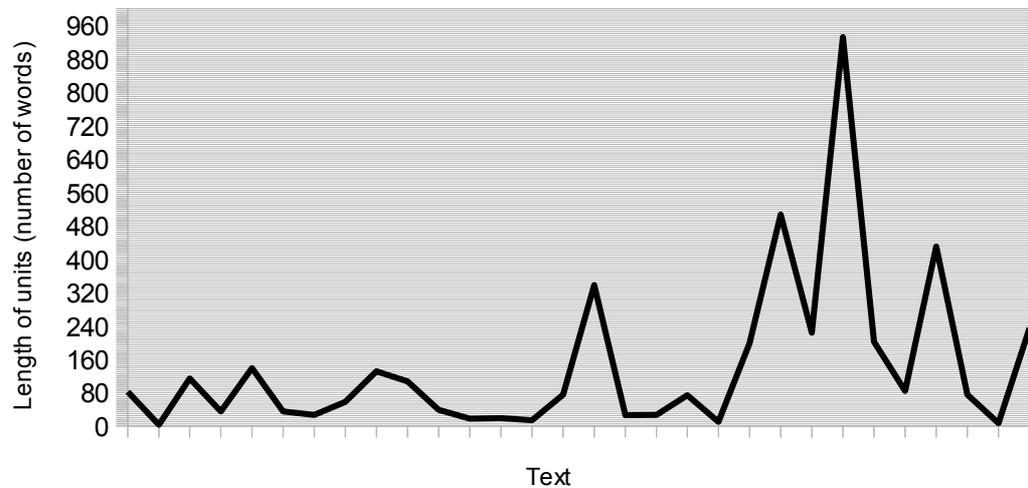
Figure 4.42. Distribution of unit lengths in JC43.

4.1.4.3.2 Structural and grammatical functions

	Frequency	Section break or heading	Coordination / subordination	Relative / adverbial clause	Other
Initial	*12*	41.7% (n=5)	58.3% (n=7)	0	0
Punctus	*9*	0	66.7% (n=6)	11.1% (n=1)	22.2% (n=2)
Paragraph break	*9*	100% (n=9)	0	0	0
Virgule	*4*	0	25.0% (n=1)	25.0% (n=1)	50.0% (n=2)
Total	*34*	**41.2% (n=14)**	**41.2% (n=14)**	**5.9% (n=2)**	**`11.8% (n=4)**

Table 4.42. Grammatical functions in JC43.

The rubricated initials (both two- and one-line) appear in the beginning of the text. The text contains altogether three enlarged, two-line initials, and nine rubricated one-line initials. The text begins with a two-line rubricated initial (f.70r, example [4.128]). The other two-lines initials occur on the following pages (ff.70v and 71r). The last of the one-line initials occur on f.72r; the majority of the initials occur on a single folio page (f.71r), which contains five rubricated one-line initials and one two-line initial (example [4.129]). The initials signal section breaks, recipes as well as coordinated clauses within a paragraph. After f.72r, the structure of the text is only signalled by the occasional paragraph break.

[4.128]

W[240] hanne god maker of alle þynkes in þe furst ordi
nawns & of þe world departyd naturis of þyn
ges to euerry creatur aftyr hys kende he halowed
mankend wyth a synguler dignite abouyn al oþir
(f.70r)

[4.129]

Wer **f**for[241] þer falleþ not honeli þer of a dyscent*er*ye or bytty*ng*
of hert but also þer ffallyth a dyarye for coldenesse of þe ma
tryce or for þe veynes of here bene smale as in a þenne ma
cellent woma*n* **f**for[242] þa*n* þe sup*er*fluite of humu*re*s haue no ffre
goyng howt be þe wyche þey meyte haue passache **O**r[243] el
lys þe humo*re*s bene þikke or vyscouse ` .i. glewy´ & þorough þ con
gelacou*n* of hem he goyng owt is lette **O**r[244] for a woman
etytþ deliciowsly or for any labor þat sche swetyth moche
Ruphus[245] beryth wytnesse þat a woma*n* þat is moche haun
tyd haþ nede to haue habundaunt of menstrewes yf sche
(f.71r)

Perhaps surprisingly, considering the small amount of punctuation in the text overall, the majority of the punctuation symbols are not structural as such; rather, they perform grammatical functions (see table [4.42]). The punctuation marks explicate the relationships between syntactical structures and clarifying the reading, signalling coordinated and subordinated structures as well as relative and adverbial clauses. This system, however, is not continued by the scribe beyond the first pages of the text, after which there is very little punctuation and the text is presented largely as continuous prose, with occasional paragraph breaks but, apart from marginal notes and headings, little visual or structural guidance for the reader (example [4.130]).

[4.130]

lete here do so iiij tymes or more And wat woma*n* þat ha
yth þis norchyng it is nedfull^e þat here p*ri*uyte be anoyn
tyd wyth cold ounnentys þa^t sche be not made to hote of
þe flowynge of here me*n*st'ru'e ou*er*moche Sumtyme menstryne
abundyth ou*er* passyngly weche happyth wanne þe veynes
of þe matrice be to moche appynnyd or hurt for þa*n* þe blod
ffollowyt so owte of mesure it semyt reed & clere or ellis
it is of moche blod and hys engendryd of moche hete and
to moche drynk weche blood wanne it may `not´ be holdyn in
hys vessel it brekyth owt and þat happyth sume tyme for
to grete hete of blod or coler smyttyng ayen fro*m* þe galle

---

[240] Rubricated two-line initial.
[241] Rubricated initial.
[242] Rubricated initial.
[243] Rubricated initial.
[244] Rubricated initial.
[245] Rubricated initial.

weche maketþ þe blood to bolue vp & wanne it may not be
haldyn in hys vessel þan it brekeþ owt for it is medlyd wyth
salt flewm & þat maketh yt þenne & cawseþ it to breke vp fro
þe veynes Thanne do þus Take walnot schellys & make
(f.72r)

4.1.4.3.3 Phrasal functions

	Frequency	Enumeration	Coordination	Clarification (terminology)	Other
Punctus	*4*	100% (n=4)	0	0	0
Total	*4*	**100% (n=4)**	**0**	**0**	**0**

Table 4.43. Phrasal functions in JC43.

On phrasal level, punctuation only occurs to enumerate items ("Diatesseron is made of iiij thyngys þat is to sey of myrre Arystologye & . engalyngale round . gencyan and bayes of laurer" [f.71v]). There are no other phrasal functions, as shown in table [4.43].

4.1.4.3.4 Recipes

There are altogether 63 recipes in the text. Recipes are usually not signalled by punctuation or layout, unless they begin a new section, and they do not contain any internal divisions. They generally appear embedded in a larger context without punctuation or other visual separation from the rest of the text (see figures [4.43] and [4.44]). They are, however, frequently signalled in the margins, as in example [4.131]. In example [4.132], a number of recipes appear in the same paragraph, headed by a rubricated initial. This paragraph is also unusual in containing internal punctuation. Recipes are also elaborated upon in the margins with rephrasing or by keywords.

[4.131]
concyve Also lete woman take lyuer of a pygge þer þe soowe   medicine[246]
hadde but oo pygge alone an dreye it an make powdyr
þer of an ʒeve it boþe to þe man and to þe woman to drynk
& concepcoun schal be mad betweyn hem Also for þe
same Take mylk of an asse an lete lyue on a womans   medicine[247]
navelle weyle here husbond deletþ wyth here & sche
schal conceyve certeynly Anoþer take þe bark of an
hoke & make powdyr þer of & lete here dreynk it in þe

---

[246]   Marginal, another hand.
[247]   Marginal, another hand.

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begynnyng of menstrywes and sche schalle co*n*ceyve   [f.73r]
Take hede wan a woma*n* begynnyth to | in þ*e* ende
chyld þat no thyng be namyd þat sche wold haue   for desyr*e*
& may not haue it for it is to drede it meyth be caw   of woma*n*[248]
se of a dede bore chyld ffor yf sche desyre erþe colys or
cley yeue it here And yeve here bonys sodyn wyth su
ker to hete and to drynk And wanne tyme comyth of
(ff.72v–73r)

[4.132]
for here As comyn apyu*m* & anyse and suche oþer þese sodyn
in wyne & drunk helphyth yer fore
Galyen[249] techeþ þat arthemesye .i. mugwort brayed and dru*n*
ken wyth weyne helpeþ moche Or ellys sodyn in watyr &
drunken in batttynge & also a lytell / yf it be dru*n*ken of nepte
helpyth moche or yf it be sodyn in a bath or yf it be grene   bathyng
brosed & bowden to here navele . or ellys yf it be soden in apot
wele closyd & sche redy naked settyng a bove in a sadyll ffol of ¶ seched .i. a
holys a geynne he p*ri*uyte and so takynge vp þe fume in to he   chayer þ*e* bot
re body þat þe fume þat is reseyvyd wyth Inne forrþ may p*ro*   tum ful of ho
se þe matryce And yf arthemesye wyth þese forseyd herbes   lys ben eye
betaken an sodyn and sche sytte above as it is a for seyd   forth[250]
it profytyth here gretly
(f.71v)

In the majority of cases, the beginning of recipes are not visually signalled. At the beginning of the text, however, recipes may be signalled by the use of rubricated initials, punctus or virgule. Thereafter, recipes can be signalled in the margins by a note (as in examples [4.131] and [4.132]), but there is otherwise no visual signalling to mark the beginning of a recipe. Only one recipe contains any internal punctuation, clarifying boundaries between items in a list ("hu*m*mulok cicute . myrre Castorye Centorye" [f.71v]).

[248]   Marginal, another hand.
[249]   Rubricated initial.
[250] Marginal, scribal.
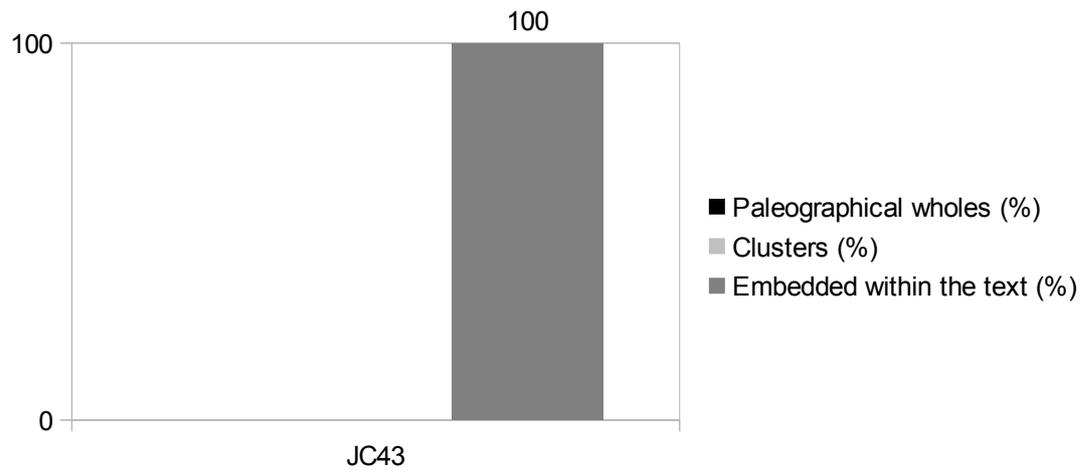
Figure 4.43. Recipes in JC43.
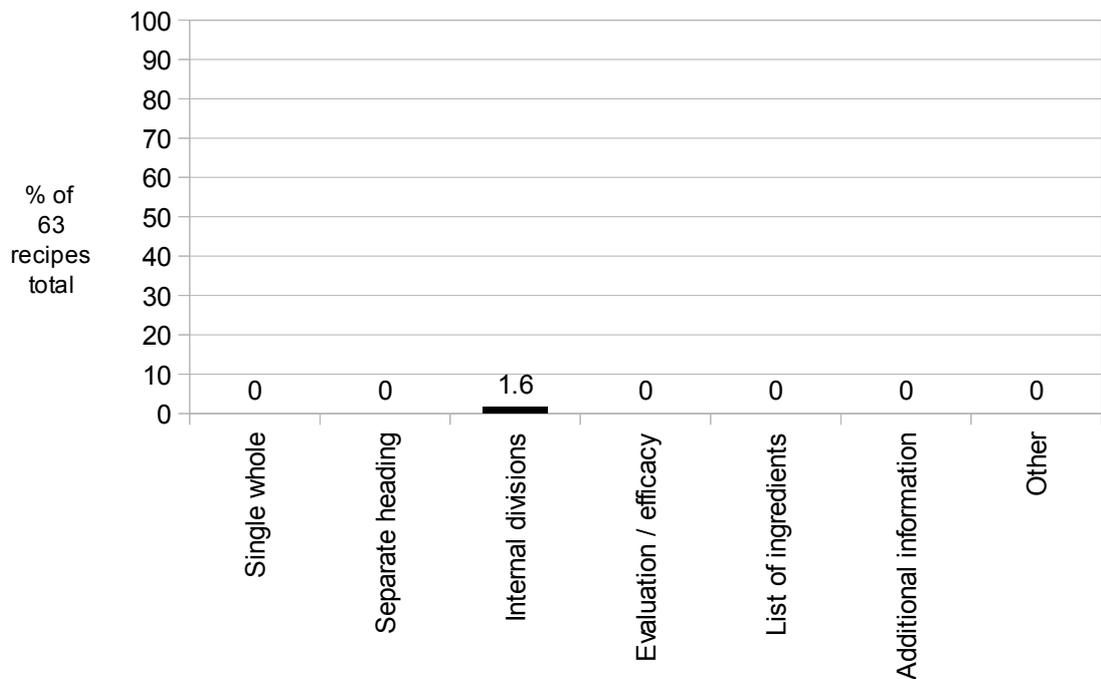
Figure 4.44. Recipe-internal divisions in JC43.

4.1.4.3.5 Other functions

	Frequency	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Punctus	*8*	100% (n=8)	0	0
Virgule	*1*	0	0	100% (n=1)
Total	***9***	**88.9% (n=8)**	**0**	**11.1% (n=1)**

Table 4.44. Other functions in JC43.

The punctus can be used to indicate numerals and abbreviations, although the majority of numerals are not punctuated. Only three numerals are punctuated (9.7%), on both or either sides of the symbol (".ij. or iij dropys of blood" [f.72v]).

Line-final word divisions are not punctuated, although words are frequently divided at the end of lines (example [4.133]); the text contains altogether 124 instances.

> [4.133]
> wyth a medylly*ng* & ordeynyd þe kende of manhod & try
> yd þat not to moche habu*n*daunse of apposyscou*n* schuld
> be vn to fore a noþ*er* but þat woma*n* schuld ine wythd*r*
> awyn from to moche excesse be coldnesse and moyste
> nesse þat a ma*n* wyth stro*n*g qualitees þat is to wete
> (f.70r)

Rubricated initials can also be used for names of authorities ("**R**uphus beryth wytnesse" [f.71r]); this instance, however, coincides with a section break. It is the only example of this type of usage.

4.1.5 *Trotela* (Version E)

4.1.5.1 British Library, MS Sloane 121

4.1.5.1.1 Description of apparatus

Punctus (.) and double virgule (//) are the most frequent punctuation marks; the text also features virgules (/) as well as a single instance of punctus elevatus (⸖). In addition, there are rubricated headings within the text.

The size of the page is 180x126mm, with written space of 115x85–100mm. The text is set in single columns, with 19 lines per page. There are no paragraph breaks.

There are doodles in the margins, which do not appear to be related to the text.

	Frequency	Grammatical		Other functions		
		Structural, clausal and sentential	Phrasal	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Punctus	20	35.0% (n=7)	0	65.0% (n=13)	0	0
Double virgule	19	89.5% (n=17)	0	0	10.5% (n=2)	0
Virgule	10	60.0% (n=6)	0	0	20.0% (n=2)	20.0% (n=2)
Rubrication	2	100% (n=2)	0	0	0	0
Double virgule & punctus	2	100% (n=2)	0	0	0	0
Punctus elevatus	1	100% (n=1)	0	0	0	0
Total	54	64.8% (n=35)	0	24.1% (n=13)	7.4% (n=4)	3.7% (n=2)
		64.8% (n=35)		35.2% (n=19)		

Table 4.45. Repertoire in S121[II].

Although the text only survives as a short, 808-word fragment, it nevertheless offers information about its principles of organisation and exhibits a variety of symbols and devices. While there is some overlap in the functions of the different symbols and devices at the clausal and sentential levels, the different supra-textual devices have fairly clearly defined functions and an established hierarchy: rubrication to signal major sections, double virgule minor sections, virgule and punctus for clausal functions. Altogether 64.8% (n=35) of all supra-textual devices function at the structural and grammatical level. Punctuation does not operate at the phrasal level. The symbols can also have additional clarifying or emphasising functions and they can be used to signal numerals as well as line-final word-division, and for other, non-grammatical purposes (see table [4.45]).

The mean average length of units between punctuation is 19.21 words. The length of units varies between 2 and 51 words. Altogether 61.0% of the units are less than 20 words in length (see figure [4.45]).
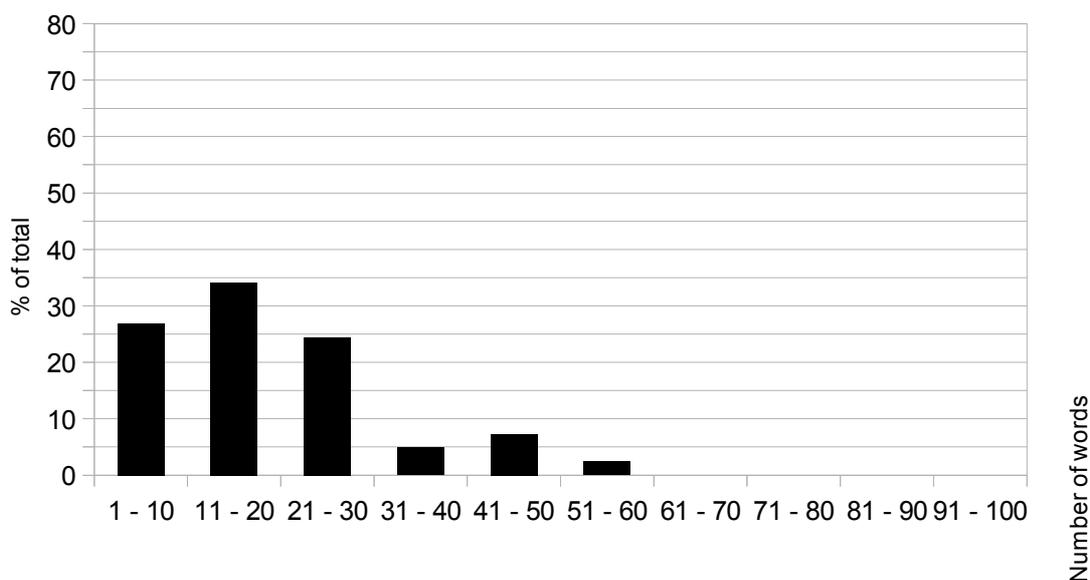
Figure 4.45. Length of units in S121[II].

The length of the units stays similar throughout the fragment (see figure [4.46]). Punctuation functions at the level of sense-units (recipes, for instance, tend to be conceived of as single wholes) but also at the sentential and clausal levels, signalling relationships between and within syntactical units. The longer units consist of recipes with no internal punctuation.
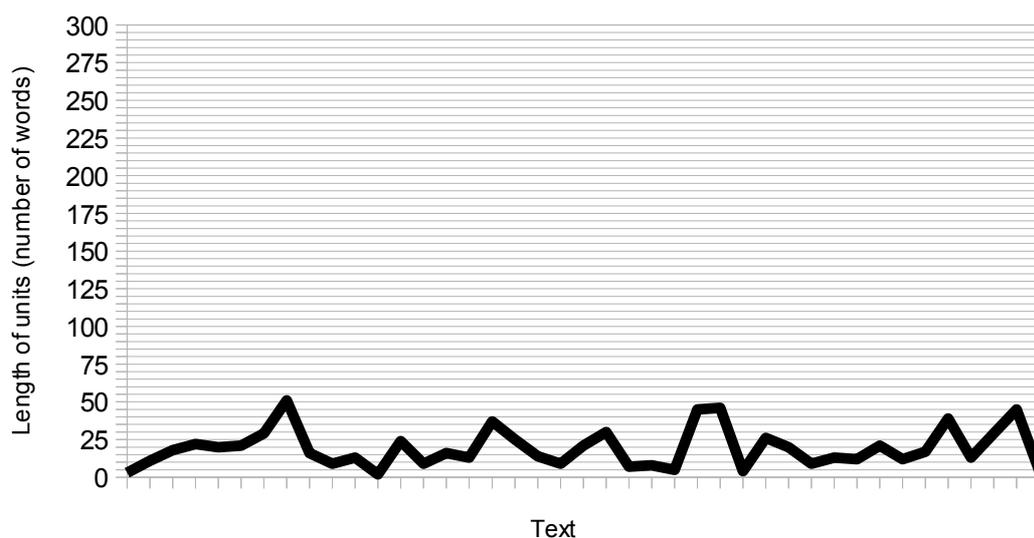
Figure 4.46. Distribution of unit lengths in S121[II].

4.1.5.1.2 Structural and grammatical functions

	Frequency	Section break or heading	Coordination / subordination	Relative / adverbial clause	Other
Double virgule	17	70.6% (n=12)	23.5% (n=4)	5.9% (n=1)	0
Punctus	7	28.6% (n=2)	71.4% (n=5)	0	0
Virgule	6	0	33.3% (n=2)	50.0% (n=3)	16.7% (n=1)
Rubrication	2	100% (n=2)	0	0	0
Double virgule & punctus	2	100% (n=2)	0	0	0
Punctus elevatus	1	0	0	0	100% (n=1)
Total	35	**51.4% (n=18)**	**31.4% (n=11)**	**11.4% (n=4)**	**5.7% (n=2)**

Table 4.46. Grammatical functions in S121[II].

Rubrication is used as a macro-structural marker to signal topic change, as in example [4.134] ("ffor þᵉ child þᵗ mysturnyd & for þᵉ aft*er* berþen & for to wete ȝyf it be a male or female").

[4.134]
meche in here face . ffor comynly sche is a scha /
myd þᵗ folk beholde here colo*re* & þᵗ is lettyng*e*
in þᵉ berþᵉ **ffor þᵉ child þᵗ mysturnyd & for þᵉ**
aft*er* berþen & for to wete ȝyf it be a male or female
Also ȝif þᵉ child come forþ out of ordre oþ*er* wy /
se þan it schold as on leg a forn or arme
(f.106r)

The double virgule as well as the double virgule & punctus are primarily used to signal the beginning of a new section or topic (see table [4.46]). They can be used on macro-level to indicate topic change or within a section to signal the beginning of a subsection or a new recipe (example [4.135]). They can also be used at the clausal level, preceding conjunctive or temporal adverbs and coordinating and subordinating conjunctions. Double virgule can also be used to emphasise sections of the text or offer additional information on a certain topic (e.g. "a noynte her hand & put it in to þᵉ prop*er* place þer it was erst and set it þᵉ chyld i*n* ordre as it schold be // But it behouyth her*e* þᵗ schal do þᵗ dede þᵗ sche haue a smal hand //", f.106r).

[4.135]
// Also ȝyf þᵉ child be strange & dyuers to be
re or ellys ded & wyl nat gladly be delyue //
ryd let herᵉ drinke an oþer womanys melk
& a non sche schal be delyuered .// An oþer tak
rutam arthemesiam opopanak absinthium and
breke hem wᵗ a litel oyle & a litel saferon or
(f.106v)

Virgule and punctus as well as punctus elevatus function primarily at the clausal level, signalling various sentence-internal relationships. The punctus is used for joining together semantically connected but separate clauses, principally to indicate coordinated clauses or to provide additional information on a topic. The virgule is primarily used at the clausal level (although it is also used once to signal the beginning of a new subsection), to join or separate coordinated and subordinated clauses, to introduce lists and to clarify grammatical structures ("Also ȝyf þᵉ blood come not out / þan make me dicynys to herᵉ as þou dost / to clepe out þᵉ mensteris" [f.107r]). Punctus can also be used to signal the end of a sentence or sense-unit, while a double virgule is used to indicate the beginning of the next one; it can be placed at the end of the line, while the following punctuation symbol is placed at the beginning of the following line, as in example [4.136].

[4.136]
& þᵗ helpit herᵉ meche // To preue ȝyf a woman
haue conseyuyd a male or a Femelle Tak watᵉr
of a fayr welle & let þᵉ woman to dropis of melk
or .iij. of þᵉ ryȝthe syde and put hem in watᵉr
and ȝyf it houe it is a male / & ȝyf not a Femal .
// Also ypocras seyth þᵗ a woman þᵗ is wᵗ a ma
le is wel coloryd & þᵉ ryȝhte pappe is gretᵉr þan þᵗ
oþer . And ȝyf sche haue conseyuyd a female sche
schal be pale & þᵉ lefþᵉ pappe more þan þᵗ oþer
(f.107r)

There is only one instance of punctus elevatus, which indicates the end result of a medicine used, and can thus be seen to function deictically or emphatically: "Take rvtam arthemesiam absinthium & pepᵉr broken & ȝouen wᵗ wyn ⁏ strongly helpith" [f.106v].

4.1.5.1.3 Phrasal functions

Punctuation is not used at the phrasal level in the manuscript, as shown in table [4.47]. Lists of items are separated by coordinating conjunctions or left unpunctuated ("rutam arthemesia*m* opopanak absinthiu*m*" [f.106v]). Virgule can also be used to introduce lists, although the list itself is not necessarily punctuated ("/ as chekou*n*s & hennys & smale ȝonge briddys partrichis & fesantys & fyschys wᵗ squamys" [f.107v]).

	Frequency	Enumeration	Coordination	Clarification (terminology)	Other
Total	*0*	**0**	**0**	**0**	**0**

Table 4.47. Phrasal functions in S121[II].

4.1.5.1.4 Recipes

The text contains altogether 17 recipes. Each of these recipes is presented as a paleographical whole; there are no clusters of recipes, nor are recipes embedded in the text (see figure [4.47]).
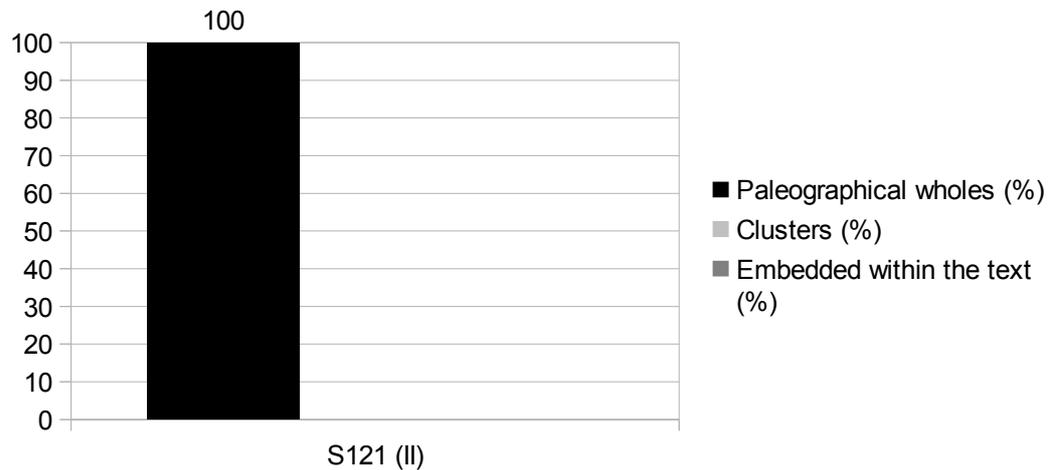
Figure 4.47. Recipes in S121[II].
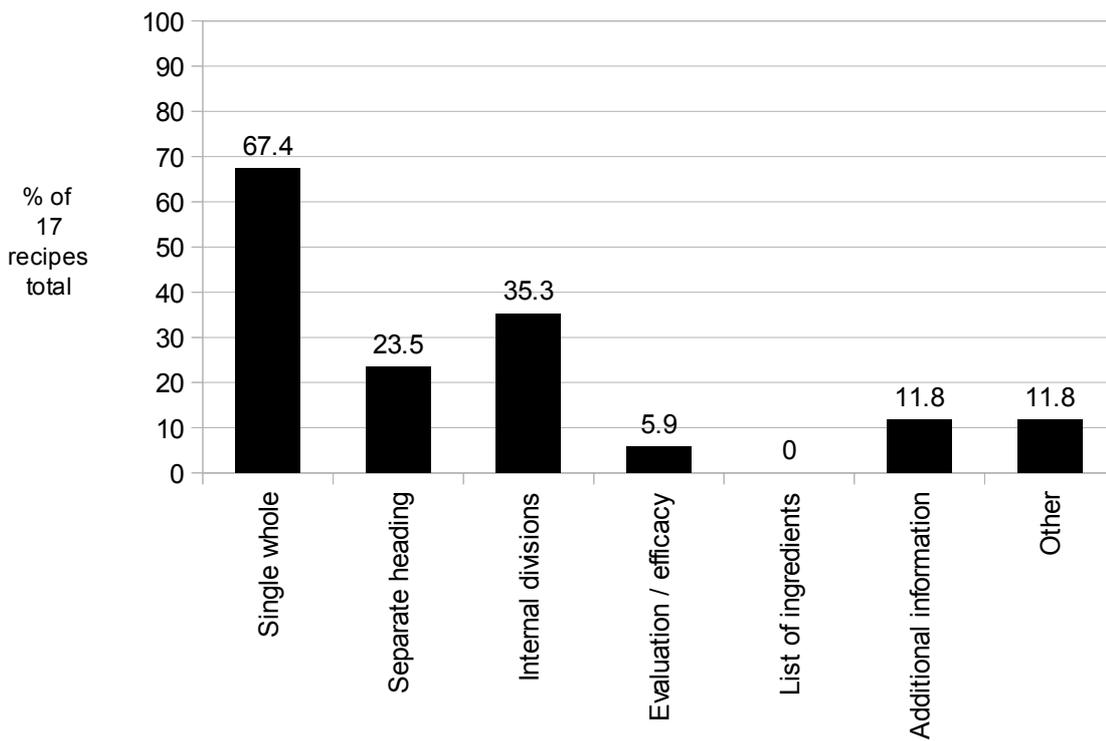
Figure 4.48. Recipe-internal divisions in S121[II].

Recipes can

a) consist of a single whole, punctuated on either side, as in example [4.137]; 64.7% (n=11) of the recipes appear in this form (see figure [4.48]).

> [4.137]
> & a non sche schal be delyu*er*ed .// An oþ*er* tak
> rutam arthemesia*m* opopanak absinthiu*m* and
> breke hem wᵗ a litel oyle & a litel saferon or
> sug*ar* & ponat*e* sup*er* ignem // Also aft*er* tyme þᵗ
> (f.106v)

b) consist of two or more punctuated sections. 23.5% (n=4) of the recipes include a separately punctuated heading. Other sections, such as efficacy clauses or additional information may also be separately punctuated; example [4.138] includes a heading as well as a separately punctuated efficacy clause.

> [4.138]
> schal do þᵗ dede þᵗ sche haue a smal hand //
> ȝyf þᵉ child be ded wᵗ i*n*ne here // Take rvta*m*
> arthemesiam absinthiu*m* & pep*er* broken & ȝo //
> uen wᵗ wyn ⁚ strongly helpith // Or ellys tak (ff.106r–v)

Recipes are usually signalled by a double virgule with some exceptions: two are signalled by rubrication (which also functions to signal the beginning of a major section in the text), two by double virgule & punctus, and one by punctus. Recipe-internal divisions are signalled by virgule or punctus, although double virgule can also be used. Punctus elevatus is used once to separate the efficacy statement from the body of the recipe (example [4.138]).

4.1.5.1.5 Other functions

	Frequency	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Punctus	*13*	100% (n=13)	0	0
Double virgule	*2*	0	100% (n=2)	0
Virgule	*4*	0	50.0% (n=2)	50.0% (n=2)
Total	*19*	**68.4%** **(n=13)**	**21.1%** **(n=4)**	**10.5%** **(n=2)**

Table 4.48. Other functions in S121[II].

The primary function of the punctus is to signal numerals and abbreviations ("to dropis of melk or .iij." [f.107r], "þᵉ pouder of absinthij ʒ.i." [f.106r]). All of the numerals and abbreviations appearing in the text are punctuated, generally on both sides of the symbol.

The double virgule is used twice to indicate a line-final word break; the virgule can also be used for this purpose ("scha/myd" [f.106r], "ʒo//uen" 'given' [f.106v]). The majority of line-final word divisions, however, are not punctuated (example [4.139]); only 30.8% (n=4) are punctuated.

> [4.139]
> Also ʒif þᵉ child come forþ out of ordre oþ*er* wy /
> se þan it schold as on leg a forn or arme
> whanne þᵗ it comyth forþ fyrst // þan it beho
> uyth þᵗ þᵉ medewyf mak a noyntyng as þus
> (f.106r)

4.1.5.2 Longleat House, MS Longleat 333

4.1.5.2.1 Description of apparatus

The manuscript uses a wide array of symbols. Colon (:) and punctus (.) are the most frequent punctuation marks. Virgule (/) and comma (,) are also used. In addition, the manuscript uses tilde (~); its form may vary from (~) to resembling a hyphen (−).

The dimensions are 260x257mm, and the text is set in single columns with writing space of 180–240x90–190mm; there are 34–40 lines per page. The text is divided into paragraphs, which are frequently preceded by intended headings and blank space. There is no marginalia.

	Frequency	Grammatical		Other functions		
		Structural, clausal and sentential	Phrasal	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Colon	*298*	78.9% (n=235)	21.1% (n=63)	0	0	0
Punctus	*256*	22.9% (n=59)	44.2% (n=114)	31.4% (n=81)	0	0.8% (n=2)
Comma	*125*	60.0% (n=75)	36.0% (n=45)	0	0	4.0% (n=5)
Tilde	*69*	4.3% (n=3)	0	0	0	95.7% (n=66)
Paragraph break	*51*	100% (n=51)	0	0	0	0
Virgule	*24*	83.3% (n=20)	16.7% (n=4)	0	0	0
Total	*823*	**53.8% (n=443)**	**27.5% (n=226)**	**9.8% (n=81)**	**0**	**8.9% (n=73)**
		81.3% (n=669)		**18.7% (n=154)**		

Table 4.49. Repertoire in L333.

The repertoire of punctuation symbols differs from that of the other manuscripts (see table [4.49]. While punctus is used frequently, this is the only manuscript to utilise colon and tilde. The forms of comma and virgule are frequently indistinguishable (see also Chapter 4, section 4.1.3.1, MS CUL33[I]). Textual structuring relies primarily on layout: the text is organised in paragraphs, frequently preceded by an indented heading. Punctuation marks perform various functions within these paragraphs. There is frequent overlap in the

functions of different symbols, and occasionally two punctuation symbols are used together ("Or els boilled in poly stopped well with a poll leid / : And then sett yt vnd*er* the woma*n* well stopt abowt hir" [f.34v]).

The mean average length of units between punctuation is 12.16 words. The longest unit is 65 words, and 80.2% of all the units are less than 20 words in length. The preference, therefore, is for very short units (see figure [4.49]). The majority of punctuation marks (50.8%) function at the clausal and sentential levels, structuring the text and signalling textual divisions as well as syntactical relationships. Punctuation is also frequently used at the phrasal level. Altogether 80.1% of all punctuation marks can, therefore, be assigned a grammatical function. In addition, 10.5% of punctuation marks are used to signal numerals. 9.5% of marks, however, are used for other purposes which do not fit the abovementioned categories.
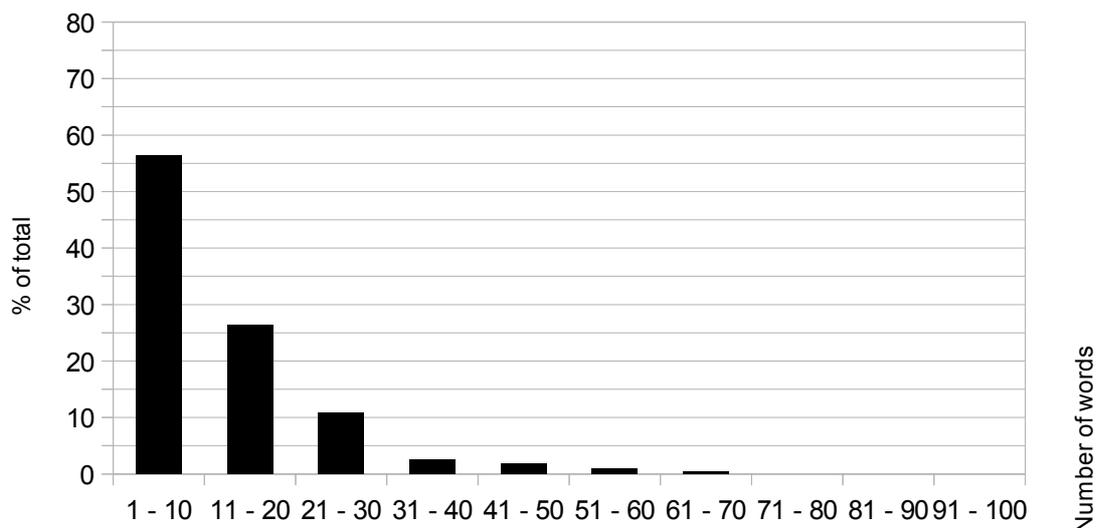
Figure 4.49. Length of units in L333.

While the mean average length between units of supra-textual devices remains fairly constant throughout the text, the layout changes towards the end of the text (see figures [4.49] and [4.50]). While at the beginning paragraphs are preceded by indented headings, towards the end the separate headings are omitted. Sometimes paragraph breaks are indicated with a blank line (or sometimes half-line) between sections. Punctuation is often omitted if a new (connected) unit begins on a new line, especially towards the end of the text. The recipes towards the end of the text contain less punctuation, relying more on layout: while the paragraphs at the beginning of the text are longer and frequently contain a number of related recipes, towards the end of the text each recipe is more likely to be arranged in a paragraph of its own.
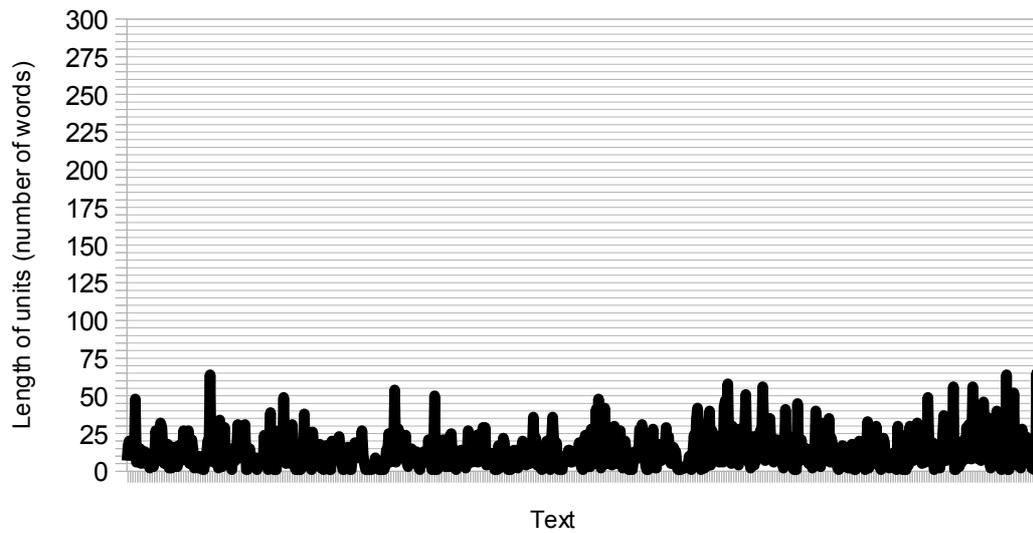
Figure 4.50. Distribution of unit lengths in L333.

4.1.5.2.2 Structural and grammatical functions

	Frequency	Section break or heading	Coordination / subordination	Relative / adverbial clause	Other
Colon	*235*	9.8% (n=23)	48.9% (n=115)	27.2% (n=64)	14.0% (n=33)
Comma	*75*	6.7% (n=5)	57.3% (n=43)	16.0% (n=12)	20.0% (n=15)
Punctus	*59*	39.0% (n=23)	33.9% (n=20)	16.9% (n=10)	10.2% (n=6)
Paragraph break	51	100% (n=51)	0	0	0
Virgule	*20*	65.0% (n=13)	20.0% (n=4)	10.0% (n=2)	5.0% (n=1)
Tilde / hyphen	*3*	100% (n=3)	0	0	0
Total	*443*	**26.6% (n=118)**	**41.1% (n=182)**	**19.9% (n=88)**	**12.4% (n=55)**

Table 4.50. Grammatical functions in L333.

L333 utilises paragraph breaks to indicate textual divisions. New sections are begun on a new line and frequently preceded by an indented heading. Sometimes the heading is inserted on the line where previous section ends. Example [4.140] illustrates all three types of headings. Of the 37 indented headings in the text, 14 are followed by a tilde (37.8%). Tilde can also be used to signal the end of paragraphs, if the next heading is set on the

same line.

> [4.140]
> called skyrewithe & Beth them & fry them with butter : Also eatt
> mallards & gose & lokyng ~~fros[?]~~ foote bests
>   for hym that hais lost his kynd of women
> Tak the sed of fenkell & the sed of p*er*cell & the sed of cardomonye :
> & the sed of caroway : of ylken þ*er* like mekyll : and tak ligun aloes
> apeny weight : & geleffre . galyngale & camiale of ilken apeny
> weightt of rubark .ʒ.ij. off alome of mastyk .ʒ.ij. And do all
> to gether in amorter of brasse & stamp it well than tak aclen
> scowred pan & cast agood deill of sugre þ*er*in & lett it melt & do
> than all that thyngs beforsaid growndyn þ*er* to: & tak clyste of
> ewe: & stir it well to it be thik & rampand : than hastely tak
> it downe & do yt in boxes & vse it ilk aday fastyng
>   another restor alyve ~
> Tak the powd*er* of an erbe that is called saturione þ^t su*m* calles gled
> feet & flors is red & has two stones at the roott & put them
> in mans potage ~   another to restoir þ^e lev*er* that is waysted
> Tak þ^e rots of fenell & p*er*cell & wesch þ^{em} clen & pyll away þ^e bark & cast þ^e
> hartt peiss wth in away : & cut them small & þ^{en} tak abrac potte & put þ*er*in
> (f.39v)

Although the text layout functions as a primary structural device, signalling major textual divisions, punctuation marks are used within paragraphs to signal various sentential and clausal relationships, connecting and separating items and passages, such as recipes. They also function within recipes. The different punctuation marks – punctus, colon, comma and virgule – all perform similar functions (see table [4.50]). Both punctus and colon can be used after a heading, to separate sections within a recipe or to separate two recipes. They are frequently used to signal the beginning of recipes within paragraphs and can be used both preceding and following a recipe heading (example [4.141]).

> [4.141]
> ligum aloes & syk od*er* : Also erbbs þ^t ar swett as myns . fynkell & sykod*er* . also
> be yt knowing þ^t þ*er* ar many thyngs that comon medwyffs knowes well
> langes to þ^e craft , & p*er*ffetts mekyll as drynkyng Every . & many od*er* thyngs þ^t
> eu*er*y ill ma*n* knowis not : Also in wome of aswallew ar stonys þ^t ar good to ber
> on hir & hais many good vertewes .
> (f.41r)

The primary function of the colon is joining together clauses and indicating their relationships. It is used to connect coordinated and subordinated clauses as well as adverbial and relative clauses. Although the other punctuation marks can be used in similar positions as well, they are used less frequently. The comma and virgule, again, can have

similar functions as the punctus and colon. The symbols are primarily used within paragraphs, sections or recipes, whereas punctus can also appear in paragraph-final position. Tilde can also appear in the same position; the majority of the paragraph endings, however, are not punctuated. Example [4.142] exemplifies these various usages of the colon, punctus, comma and tilde.

[4.142]
and yf it be so that the mod*er* be so hard that þir things helpped noȝt
anone : and that ther cum*m*es nothyng owt of the mod*er* , than tak þ^e
fall of abull . or of any best , and su*m* of this powd*er* & put þ*er* to and
meng it wth the Iuys of Isoppe , and than tak alytill wolle well ~
carded : & dresse the woll on lenght & bred & wyin*d* it hard to gether
lyk to the yerd of aman in lenght & in grettnes : so that yt be put w^th
þir thyngs aforsaid into the woman p*ri*vy membre , and his man*er*
of makyng is called apesserye , & another thow may ~~To~~ trye as yt
wer the yerd of aman also: and hollow it & put þ*er*in su*m* glyster :
and yf she be woll helpyn thus it is rightt haad wth hir ~
(f.34v)

4.1.5.2.3 Phrasal functions

	Frequency	Enumeration	Coordination	Clarification (terminology)	Other
Punctus	*114*	74.6% (n=85)	17.5% (n=20)	3.5% (n=4)	4.4% (n=5)
Colon	*63*	47.6% (n=30)	41.3% (n=26)	0	11.1% (n=7)
Comma	*45*	28.9% (n=13)	71.1% (n=32)	0	0
Virgule	*4*	75.0% (n=3)	25.0% (n=1)	0	0
Total	*226*	**58.0% (n=131)**	**35.0% (n=79)**	**1.8% (n=4)**	**5.3% (n=12)**

Table 4.51. Phrasal functions L333.

The primary function of the punctus is enumeration and coordination. As example [4.143] illustrates, other symbols (the colon and the comma as well as the virgule) can also be used for the same purpose and are often used in the same paragraph or clause ("flordelice , and the rotte of lenistic*us* : femil . nepta"). Lists are not always punctuated ("tak ceredyle canagetu*m* archemesia").

[4.143]
well swett , : Also tak the rottes of yreos that is to say flordelice , and the

rotte of lenistic*us* : femil . nepta . & boill them in wyne, and gyf hir
to drynke : also tak ceredyle canagetu*m* archemesia with butter me*n*ged
to gether & bynd to the navell : or els tak savyn & the rote of apij ~
petrocill . lenistic*us* . femell & boill them in wyn & yev hir to drynk
(f.35r)

Punctus can also be used to clarify structural or terminological issues ("the woma*n* fellis grevans in the havnches . that ys in the lyskys" [f.37r]) or to separate or emphasise the name of an authority ("Ipocras . saies in his teching" [f.38r]).

4.1.5.2.4 Recipes

81.4% (n=114) of all recipes in the text appear as paleographical wholes, punctuated on both sides; 18.6% (n=26) appear in clusters together with another recipe, where the beginning of the latter is unpunctuated, or in clusters of three recipes, which may contain further internal divisions, or each is very short, as in example [4.144] (see figure [4.51]).

[4.144]
the stones of abore pyg doth m*ar*velusly healp co*n*seption lyk wyesse doth
abath maid of the decoctione of rosemary & of mor effacy ys
garlik soden in oyle of rosses & woll man*er* in a passarie this is ap*ro*per
medecyn
(f.42v)
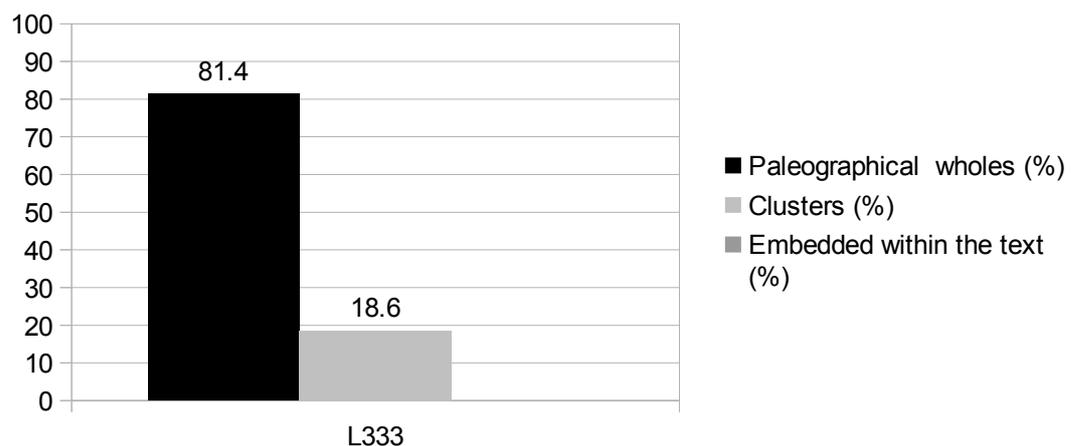
Figure 4.51. Recipes in L333.
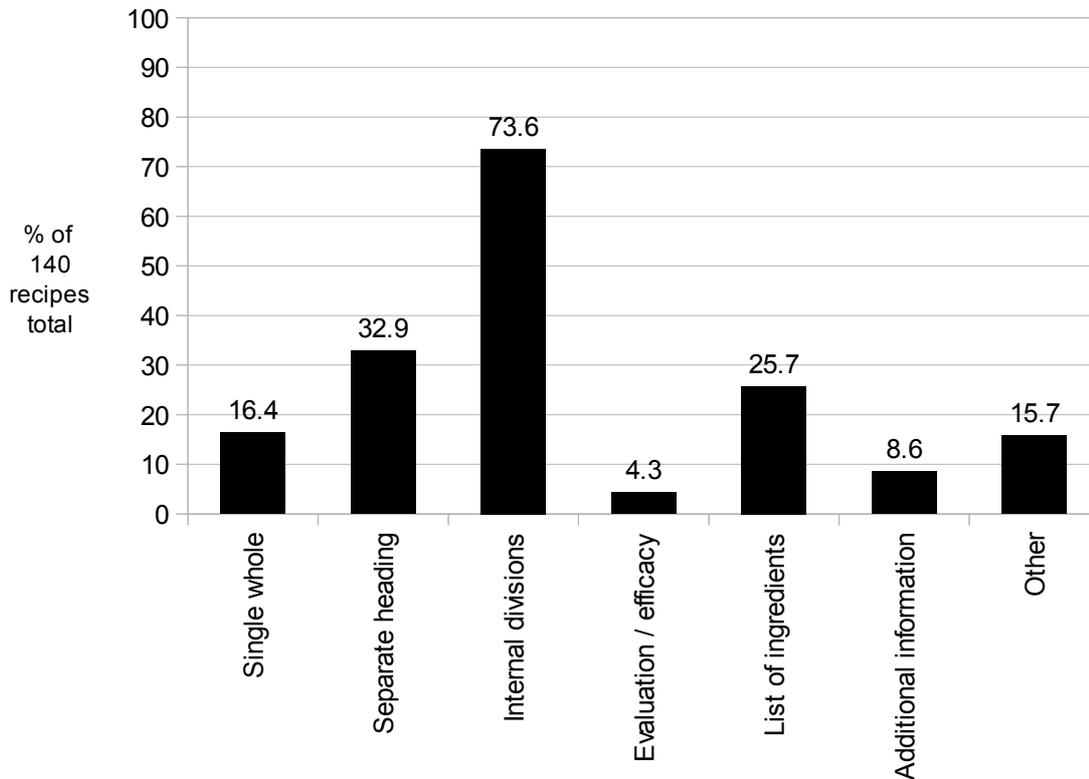
Figure 4.52. Recipe-internal divisions in L333.

The majority of the recipes (76.3% or n=103) also contain separately punctuated sections within the recipe (see figure [4.52]). Recipes can

a) contain 2–11 separately punctuated sections. Recipes frequently contain a separate heading, which can consist of a single clause, or be supplemented by a description of the disease or problem. Titles are frequently set on a separate line and indented and can also be punctuated. Sometimes the title also includes the efficacy clause (example [4.145]). Headings generally precede a paragraph consisting of a number of related recipes (example [4.146]).

[4.145]
                    to maik awoma*n* to have hir flors yt faylle not
Tak the rot of gladdyn & seth it in venigre & when yt is well sodyn set þᵉ
woma*n* ou*er* the pott af*ter* ye ha[v] taken ỿf yt fro þᵉ fier . as hot as she may
suffre yt so þᵗ þ*er* go no ayer away but vp hir prevatye & do this twys or
thryes & she shall haav hir flors : bud look yf she be not wᵗʰ child /
(f.41r)

[4.146]
in mans potage ~   another to restoir þᵉ lev*er* that is waysted

> Tak þᵉ rots of fenell & p*er*cell & wesch þᵉᵐ clen & pyll away þᵉ bark & cast þᵉ
> hartt peiss wᵗʰ in away : & cut them small & þᵉⁿ tak abrac potte & put þ*er*in
> quartts of watt*er* & set it ou*er* the fyer : & þᵉ rotts þ*er*in than tak fyggs and
> mynce them small & put them also in the pote & lett them boyll to
> thre pyntes : tak than agood quart of hony and put therto & lett
> it boyll whiell . than tak it downe & claryfie it thorow aclothe
> into aglasse & stoppe it well that no brethe cu*m* owt & let the sek drink
> it at morne hott & at evyn colde ~
> (ff.39v–40r)

b) appear on its own as one single punctuated whole with no further internal divisions (16.4% or n=23). A recipe may either be punctuated on both sides (example [4.147]), or it may appear in a paragraph on its own (example [4.148]). Recipes with no internal punctuation tend to be very short.

> [4.147]
> to drynke : also tak ceredyle canagetu*m* archemesia with butter me*n*ged
> to gether & bynd to the navell : or els tak savyn & the rote of apij ~
> petrocill . lenisticus . femell & boill them in wyn & yev hir to drynk
> (f.35r)

> [4.148]
> rew sod & stampt in oyll wᵗʰ hennes gres & gosse gres hott laid betwixe
> the navell & þᵉ shar is excellant medecyn
> nettle sed dronk wᵗʰ wyne doth aswag all paynes in the matrix & taketh
> away ventosytye .
> (f.43r)

Paragraphs frequently consist of more than one recipe; within these paragraphs, recipes are usually separated by punctuation marks, most frequently by colon (see example [4.147] above). The same punctuation marks can be used both recipe-initially and recipe-internally, although punctus, comma and virgule are more likely to appear recipe-internally. Often the formulation of the recipes within these paragraphs echoes one another; thus a single paragraph may contain several different recipes all beginning with "(&) also" or "and/or else take". Especially towards the end of the text, recipe texts tend to be unpunctuated, although they frequently appear in paragraphs on their own, as in example [4.148] above.

4.1.5.2.5 Other functions

	Frequency	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
Punctus	83	97.6% (n=81)	0	2.4% (n=2)
Comma	5	0	0	100% (n=5)
Tilde / hyphen	66	0	0	100% (n=66)
Total	*154*	**52.6% (n=81)**	**0**	**47.4% (n=73)**

Table 4.52. Other functions in L333.

The punctus is also used to signal numerals and abbreviations. 88.2% of all numerals and abbreviations are punctuated, generally on both sides of the symbol. Weights can be marked either with symbols or written out ("apeny weight"); abbreviations are always punctuated (example [4.149]). Although the majority of the numerals are roman, there are also some arabic numerals. Both tend to be punctuated ("the powder of ahartts horne .ʒ.3. the fattnes of agose, or ahen .ʒ.9." [f.37v]).

> [4.149]
> & the sed of caroway : of ylken þ*er* like mekyll : and tak ligun aloes
> apeny weight : & geleffre . galyngale & camiale of ilken apeny
> weightt of rubark .ʒ.ij. off alome of mastyk .ʒ.ij. And do all
> (f.39v)

The text contains no instances of line-final word breaks.

The tilde is used at the end of paragraphs and headings. It can also be used to signal an omission, as well as at the end of lines, possibly as a line-filler or to signal the continuation of the phrase to the following line. In many cases, it appears to function as a line-filler (see Marqués Aguado 2009:66 for similar usage). Example [4.150] illustrates all the aforementioned usages.

> [4.150]
>   to provok & to gare cu*m* furth the
>   florrs ariall powder ~
> Tak of camemelle ~[251] . cuscute . ~~eas[?]~~ castorij . mirte . centairie .
> savine . diptain An . ʒ .i. & maik of all þ*er* of apowder . then tak :
> ʒ .i. of this powder wth hony & gef hir of it when she is in hir bathe

[251] "camamelle ~" added later in a different, black ink

and yf it be so that the mod*er* be so hard that þir things helpped noȝt
anone : and that ther cum*m*es nothyng owt of the mod*er* , than tak þ^e
fall of abull . or of any best , and su*m* of this powd*er* & put þ*er* to and
meng it wth the Iuys of Isoppe , and than tak alytill wolle well ~
carded : & dresse the woll on lenght & bred & wyin*d* it hard to gether
lyk to the yerd of aman in lenght & in grettnes : so that yt be put wth
þir thyngs aforsaid into the woman p*ri*vy membre , and this man*er*
of makyng is called apesserye , & another thow may T̶o̶ trye as yt
wer the yerd of aman also: and hollow it & put þ*er*in su*m* glyster :
and yf she be woll helpyn thus it is rightt haad wth hir ~
(f.34v)

4.2 Overview

The functions of punctuation marks were divided into five principal categories: "structural, clausal and sentential", "phrasal", "numerals", "line-final" and "other". As this chapter has shown, and as illustrated in table [4.53], the overwhelming majority of instances can be ascribed a clausal or sentential function; altogether 70.0% of all punctuation marks in the corpus are used to signal textual and grammatical divisions and relationships (see table [4.53] and figure [4.53] below). Primarily, supra-textual devices mark off textual divisions, structuring the texts and organising them into major and minor sections, paragraphs and sense-units. Within this group, however, the type of usage may vary between the manuscripts, some utilising supra-textual devices primarily to signal major textual divisions, while other manuscripts set off sense-units or smaller grammatical structures, sentences and clauses.

Supra-textual devices, and especially punctuation, can also be used on a micro-level, to signal phrasal relationships, primarily to enumerate and coordinate, for which purposes 10.7% are used overall. Not all manuscript texts, however, use this type of punctuation. Numerals tend to be punctuated in most of the manuscripts, although there is extensive variation in the practices here. The practice of punctuating line-final word divisions likewise varies between the manuscripts, some signalling the majority of instances, whereas other manuscripts either do not punctuate line-final breaks, or avoid dividing words at the end of lines altogether. Finally, the "other" category covers all those instances which do not fit the descriptions of the other categories. The examples in this category vary from punctuating names (especially those of authorities) as well as a number of not explicitly grammatical usages of punctuation; this category comprises 5.0% of total.

	Frequency	Grammatical		Other functions		
		Structural, clausal and sentential	Phrasal	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
A12195	799	70.6% (n=564)	3.5% (n=28)	20.0% (n=160)	0	5.9% (n=47)
D37	499	62.7% (n=313)	1.0% (n=5)	15.8% (n=79)	19.8% (n=99)	0.6% (n=3)
B483	392	66.8% (n=262)	13.0% (n=51)	6.4% (n=25)	13.5% (n=53)	0.3% (n=1)
CUL33[II]	1763	71.5% (n=1260)	13.2% (n=232)	8.9% (n=157)	0.6% (n=11)	5.8% (n=103)
S421A	78	71.8% (n=56)	0	0	28.2% (n=22)	0
A34111	269	96.3% (n=259)	0	1.1% (n=3)	0.7% (n=2)	1.9% (n=5)
CUL33[I]	600	85.8% (n=515)	7.5% (n=45)	2.8% (n=17)	3.7% (n=22)	0.2% (n=1)
H403	242	71.9% (n=174)	11.2% (n=27)	14.0% (n=34)	1.2% (n=3)	1.7% (n=4)
S121[I]	270	67.4% (n=182)	7.4% (n=20)	13.3% (n=36)	3.3% (n=9)	8.5% (n=23)
LM66	339	66.1% (n=224)	6.8% (n=23)	12.1% (n=41)	2.1% (n=7)	13% (n=44)
JC43	47	72.3% (n=34)	8.5% (n=4)	17.0% (n=8)	0	2.1% (n=1)
S121[II]	54	64.8% (n=35)	0	24.1% (n=13)	7.4% (n=4)	3.7% (n=2)
L333	823	53.8% (n=443)	27.5% (n=226)	9.8% (n=81)	0	8.9% (n=73)
Total	**6175**	**70.0% (n=4321)**	**10.7% (n=661)**	**10.6% (n=654)**	**3.8% (n=232)**	**5.0% (n=307)**
		80.7% (n=4982)		**19.3% (n=1193)**		
Number of MSS	13	13	10	12	10	12

Table 4.53. Functions of supra-textual devices in the Middle English Trotula.
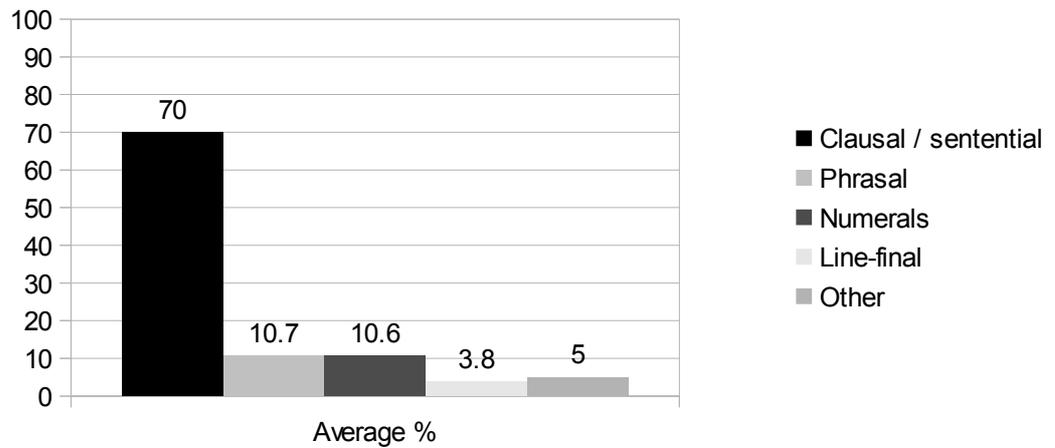
Figure 4.53. Functions of supra-textual devices.

The vast majority (80.7%, n=4983) of the punctuation marks can, therefore, be assigned a structural or grammatical function (on sentential, clausal, or phrasal level). The use of these terms, and the assessment of medieval punctuation in terms of grammar will be further discussed below.

4.2.1 Functions

Returning to the principles of classification introduced in Chapter 2 (see section 2.5.3.1), the system may now be revised as it relates to the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts. The different levels may, and frequently do, overlap, functioning alongside and together with each other. The levels discussed are a) structural, b) sense-units, c) grammatical, d) rhetorical and e) deictic.

4.2.1.1 Structural

At this level, supra-textual devices signal major and minor sections (chapters or their equivalents, paragraphs etc.) within the text. The division of the text into sections is determined by the semantic make-up of the text and its division into different subject-matters; this, therefore, is the overarching level. Structural changes can be indicated by various different means; primarily by punctuation symbols (B483, D37, LM66), by rubrication (A12195, A34111, S121[II]), by enlarged (and frequently rubricated) initials (CUL33[II]) or by division of the text into paragraphs (S421A, L333, JC43, CUL33[I],

H403, S121[I]). This level can also function outside the bounds of the actual text; that is, marginal headings and notes can signal structural changes. These may be added by the scribe (the scribe of S421A is the only one in which structural divisions are consistently indicated in this manner) or by another hand. Although this level can be seen to be included in all of the manuscript texts in a certain sense, some contain more clearly hierarchical divisions than others (see the Appendix). Although structural transitions may be signalled by means of punctuation, features of layout, such as paragraph breaks or rubrication frequently functions at this level.

4.2.1.2 Sense-units

Describing units between punctuation in medieval texts as *sense-units* (as they have been referred to in this thesis), *units of discourse* or *units of reading* (see e.g. Gvozdanovic 2000) appears often to be more appropriate, rather than describing them in syntactical terms. Punctuation in this sense does not explicitly signal syntactical structures (although the marks tend to fall at grammatical junctures) but, rather, larger units of discourse such as a single recipe, a cluster of recipes or another semantically definable unit. The unit can be thought of as representing a single thought, although what constitutes this unit can be defined in various ways.

Sense-units may vary in length, and can comprise anything from a sentence with a single verb to a paragraph or the equivalent of semantically-related sentences. Recipes, for instance, can be thought to comprise a single sense-unit, although related recipes may also be grouped together, particularly if they are very short. Several manuscripts utilise this type of punctuation primarily (B483, D37, A34111, H403, S121[II]). Of those containing little punctuation as such, the division of the text into paragraphs can be seen to function in a similar manner (S421A and, but only to a certain extent, JC43).

Although, as discussed in Chapter 2 (section 2.5.1), the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'sentence' as "A series of words in connected speech or writing, forming the grammatically complete expression of a single thought; in popular use often [...] such a portion of a composition or utterance as extends from one full stop to another" ('sentence', *n*.1, sense 6a, *OED*), a definition which could be used for a sense-unit; the difference lies essentially in the semantic, rather than syntactic, make-up of such a unit. The boundaries and

definitions of what constitutes a "sense-unit" vary between the texts: textually closely related texts with superficially similar systems of punctuation nevertheless differ in particulars. A single unit may, therefore, comprise several *sentences*; often, but not necessarily, joined together in paratactic (but also hypotactic) structures, whereby the presence of conjunctions signals the connections between the different clauses and sentences. These units will be returned to in Chapter 6.

4.2.1.3 Grammatical

At this level, syntactical structures are punctuated beyond the level of sense-units; the units are thus subdivided further and tend to consist of shorter stretches. 'Grammatical' punctuation could include punctuation within a paragraph or within a recipe (rather than treating them as a single unit without any internal divisions); rather than functioning solely at the sentential level, then, this level also comprises clausal and phrasal punctuation. This level also consists of primarily punctuation symbols *per se*, rather than other supra-textual devices although not exclusively. Thus, certain structures may not be punctuated if they start on a new line; layout, in these cases, is deemed sufficient to signal a break in the text without the need for additional punctuation.

As shown in tables 4.53 and 4.54, this level can also encompass structural punctuation (discussed above): altogether 70.0% of all supra-textual devices are used for structural and grammatical functions. While supra-textual devices are used on structural level in all of the manuscripts (36.1% of those used on structural and grammatical levels), the differences are shown on other levels (see table [4.54]). Coordinated and subordinated structures are also punctuated in all of the manuscripts (35.1%), although in others less frequently. The manuscripts frequently present paratactic syntactical structures, in which units of different length (sense-units, sentences, clauses) may begin with a coordinating or subordinating conjunction, whereas relative and adverbial clauses are much less frequently punctuated (7.2%). "Other" grammatical structures refer to those syntactical structures which do not fall into the aforementioned categories (8.3%).

This type of punctuation is used in several manuscripts; S121[I], CUL33[I], A12195, CUL33[II], L333; these manuscripts use supra-textual devices often in a more hierarchical manner. The development towards a modern "sentence" can be evinced in some of these

manuscripts, and punctuation marks are used to signal hierarchical structures also within sense-units or paragraphs. Rather than punctuating recipes, for instance, as single units, recipe-internal punctuation frequently appears.

A manuscript which primarily punctuates structures at the level of sense-units can, however, occasionally punctuate other syntactical structures and utilise for instance also phrasal punctuation; thus, for example, B483 may punctuate lists of items. While supra-textual devices are used to signal textual transitions as well as other sentential and clausal relationships to a varying degree in all of the manuscripts within the corpus, punctuation at the phrasal level appears less frequently (13.3% of those instances used on structural and grammatical levels); it does not appear at all in three manuscripts, and is only occasionally used in some others, whereas in others it is more regular.

	Frequency (grammatical functions)	Section break or heading	Coordination / subordination	Relative / adverbial	Other	Phrasal
A12195	592	42.7% (n=253)	39.2% (n=232)	5.2% (n=31)	8.1% (n=48)	4.7% (n=28)
D37	318	35.8% (n=114)	50.6% (n=161)	4.1% (n=13)	7.9% (n=25)	1.6% (n=5)
B483	313	32.9% (n=103)	41.5% (n=130)	1.6% (n=5)	7.7% (n=24)	16.3% (n=51)
CUL33[II]	1492	23.3% (n=347)	42.0% (n=627)	9.0% (n=134)	10.2% (n=152)	15.5% (n=232)
S421A	56	82.1% (n=46)	8.9% (n=5)	0	8.9% (n=5)	0
A34111	259	97.3% (n=252)	1.2% (n=3)	0.4% (n=1)	1.2% (n=3)	0
CUL33[I]	560	57.9% (n=324)	25% (n=140)	1.3% (n=7)	7.9% (n=44)	8.0% (n=45)
H403	201	36.8% (n=74)	36.3% (n=73)	6.0% (n=12)	7.5% (n=15)	13.4% (n=27)
S121[I]	202	25.2% (n=51)	48.5% (n=98)	10.9% (n=22)	5.4% (n=11)	9.9% (n=20)
LM66	247	33.6% (n=83)	30.4% (n=75)	15.4% (n=38)	11.3% (n=28)	9.3% (n=23)
JC43	38	36.8% (n=14)	36.8% (n=14)	5.3% (n=2)	10.5% (n=4)	10.5% (n=4)
S121[II]	35	51.4% (n=18)	31.4% (n=11)	11.4% (n=4)	5.7% (n=2)	0
L333	669	17.6% (n=118)	27.2% (n=182)	13.2% (n=88)	8.2% (n=55)	33.8% (n=226)
Total	**4982**	**36.1% (n=1797)**	**35.1% (n=1751)**	**7.2% (n=357)**	**8.3% (n=416)**	**13.3% (n=661)**
Number of MSS	13	13	13	12	13	10

Table 4.54. Grammatical functions of supra-textual devices.

4.2.1.4 Rhetorical

At this level, punctuation and other supra-textual devices function primarily to indicate pauses in oral delivery. The units are shorter than at the level of sense-units, but, unlike at the grammatical level, they do not always fall on grammatical junctures (even if this is primarily the case). This level may seen to overlap with those mentioned above; rhetorical units may correspond with semantic units, and overlap with grammatical punctuation is inevitable, since in natural speech pauses tend to fall at syntactical junctures. Labelling

punctuation as structural or grammatical does not, therefore, exclude a rhetorical dimension; this will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

4.2.1.5 Deictic

This level frequently coincides and overlaps with other levels. This type of usage can frequently be observed outside the textual boundaries: in the margins and as additions by readers of the text in the form of additional punctuation, marginal notes or underlining. In a sense all punctuation and other supra-textual devices function at this level, regardless of what other functions they may be perceived to perform, since punctuation can be seen first and foremost to be intended to clarify and emphasise the text. This level can be seen to include the punctuation of numerals as well as line-final punctuation, intended to clarify the structure and meaning of the text. Other interpersonal and communicative functions will be further discussed in Chapter 6.

4.2.1.6 Overview

Supra-textual devices often perform multiple functions simultaneously: they separate clauses, sentences, sense-units and sections from each other, but also establish connections between semantically related (but grammatically separate) units. A single punctuation mark may mark the end of one section and the beginning of the next, although a number of manuscripts in the corpus testify to scribes' desire to separate these functions: in these cases, one symbol may signal the end of a unit, while another one following directly after signals the beginning of the next unit (made more obvious when one symbol is placed at the end of a line and the other one at the beginning of the next line). Supra-textual devices are used to clarify relationships between items and to direct the reader's attention and guide the reader in navigating the text and its meaning.

There is extensive variation in the length of punctuated units as well as in the semantic and syntactic make-up of those units. Those manuscripts with shorter unit lengths tend to contain primarily grammatical (or perhaps, in some cases, rhetorical) punctuation. They also tend to contain more hierarchical systems, where different symbols and features of layout have specialised functions. The implication of the length of units will be further discussed in Chapter 6 (section 6.3.5.2). Those manuscripts which were primarily defined

as punctuating sense-units (and thus, principally, with longer unit lengths than those in the previous category) also tend to have more limited repertoires of supra-textual devices.

Each of the thirteen manuscript versions presented here exhibit an internally largely consistent system, even when that system differs considerably from that of the other closest textual witnesses. The functions supra-textual devices perform should be examined not only based on the form of the symbol; the value is not necessarily determined by the form, but each manuscript, and each text, should be studied within that immediate context, rather than in isolation (Parkes 1997:47).

4.3 Summary

This chapter has focussed on determining primarily the structural and grammatical functions punctuation and other supra-textual devices perform in the data. The focus has been on providing descriptions of the individual systems: the following chapters will return to the data introduced in this chapter, discussing and comparing various aspects therein.

Even though most punctuation symbols (if not necessarily other devices) can be assigned a structural and/or syntactical function, this does not exclude other usages or functions, which may be simultaneous or overlapping. These other usages – which may be primarily categorised as deictic or emphatic as well as rhetorical – have occasionally been referred to; they will be further examined in Chapter 6, where the focus will be on the interpersonal functions supra-textual devices may have. The structuring of recipes will also be returned to in this chapter. The next chapter will compare the findings from the individual manuscript texts and examine the systems of supra-textual devices within the context of textual transmission, scribal innovations and diachronic developments.

5. Page design and structural devices: transmission and diachronic developments

This chapter extends the analysis in the previous chapter, examining the extent to which transmission processes affected the punctuation and layout of the texts and also the degree to which scribes adapted and modified the material. The focus in this chapter is on comparing the use of supra-textual devices across the corpus, and variation in the form and function of individual symbols and devices will be analysed from the perspectives of transmission and diachronic developments.

5.1 Transmission and adaptation: scribal copying

Patterns of transmission and adaptation of medieval manuscripts are complex; scribes frequently modified and adapted the text found in their exemplars. Each manuscript copy is unique, and the design of the manuscripts often differs, sometimes considerably, from one copy to another (see e.g. Wallis 1995:104, Pahta 2001:210, Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004:12–13). The inclusion or separation of different texts in a single codex can create new connections and interpretations of the material. On a textual level, passages may be added, omitted and rearranged. On a linguistic level, the language may display the scribe's dialectal or idiolectal features (McIntosh et al. 1986, Pahta 2001:210, Pahta and Jucker 2011:3–4); spelling mistakes and visual omissions could be inadvertently transmitted, and translators and scribes often struggled with terms and concepts (Pahta 2001:210, Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004:12–13).

Manuscripts, moreover, also vary in other particulars of their presentation: the size and dimensions, material, script, decoration, layout and punctuation could all change from one copy to another. Punctuation, in particular is frequently not included in accounts of scribal transmission, even when the *mise-en-page*, the layout, handwriting and decorations are discussed (e.g. Pahta and Jucker 2011:3–4, Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004:12–13). Scribes could reinterpret the text, and in the process insert, delete or modify the punctuation and layout found in their exemplars, for instance in order to emphasise certain structures or sections or to indicate textual or rhetorical boundaries (Parkes 2008:67–68). The modifications on the level of textual presentation and supra-textual devices can, therefore, also influence the interpretation and reading of the text (Nix 1994:2). Some of the scribal changes may be more deliberate, rather than accidental, and the scribe may act as an active

editor of the text, modifying aspects of the text for instance for a particular audience (Pahta 2001:210), while certain features were transmitted alongside with the text.

Examining these adaptations and changes from the perspective of scribal transmission can offer us more information about the methods of copying and the extent to which certain features could become standardised, especially in the case of authoritative texts (Nix 1994:2); they can also offer another perspective in analysing textual variants and the relationships between different manuscripts (Peikola 2008:28) and be used for identifying scriptoria, and manuscript exemplars as well as dating variant manuscripts (Hughes 1993:151–152). The changes, on the other hand, can be used to examine practices of reading; the modifications and adaptations can provide evidence of the idiosyncratic practices of individual scribes, and textual presentation can be used to study the way in which texts were read and understood by the scribes.

This approach assumes that the scribes were invariably or largely aware of the significance of changes they made, and used them deliberately to influence the reading of the texts they were copying. This, of course, was not necessarily the case, and another perspective on scribal variation is offered by Erasmus, expressing his opinion of scribes copying the text of Jerome:

> What survives was not so much corrupted as virtually destroyed and defaced, and this partly by the fault of illiterate scribes whose habit it is to copy an accurate text inaccurately and make a faulty text worse, to leave out what they cannot read and to corrupt what they do not understand [...] What is more (and this is the most pestilential way of ruining a text), as though it were not enough to have put together so many idiotic blunders, showing equally ignorance and inability to write, under the name of one who is equally a great scholar and a great stylist, they have mixed in their own rubbish into his expositions in such a way that no one can separate them
> (cited in D. McKitterick 2003:45–46)

If the principal concern is with scribal variation, however, rather than on "corrupted" texts or manuscripts, each manuscript text offers a unique account of and perspective on the medieval scribes, their methods and intentions.

5.1.1 From variation into practice

Encountering an exemplar, a scribe would have had to make a number of decisions even

before starting to copy the text, beginning with the manuscript or codex itself where the text was to be copied to matters of layout and use of ink and script. The dimensions of the page could also influence subsequent decisions about the layout of the text. Table [5.1], ordered according to the dimensions of the manuscripts, illustrates the variation of the size of the pages and the margins within the corpus. The variation (the page dimensions vary from 129x86mm [D37] to 292x209mm [LM66]) does not appear to be directly tied to textual affiliations, although most of the manuscripts in which Version A appears tend to be rather small, even pocket-sized. These texts were copied from different exemplars at different times, and there is very little evidence of standardisation of codex size within the Middle English *Trotula*-texts; it is possible that the variation extends to the (Latin and French) exemplars from which the Middle English texts derive.

MS	Version	*Page dimensions*	*Written space*	*Lines per page*
D37	A	129x86mm	104x72mm	24
A12195	A	150x105mm	131x97mm	20–24
CUL33[II]	A	155x105mm	102x69mm	21–22
CUL33[I]	C	158x105mm	149x93mm	19–22
S121[II]	E	180x126mm	115x85–100mm	19
S121[I]	D	205x140mm	155x98mm	30
S421A	A	207x151mm	164x120–125mm	25
JC43	D	220x143mm	182x116mm	35
B483	A	220x150mm	170x111mm	28–31
L333	E	260x257mm	180–240x90–190mm	35
H403	C	270x187mm	216x140mm	34
A34111	B	271x170mm	203x139mm	24
LM66	D	292x209mm	219x152mm	47

Table 5.1. Dimensions of the manuscripts.

After choosing the manuscript, the scribe had to make further decisions regarding the layout. The pages were often (although not necessarily) ruled, determining the size of the margins (with consequences for later readers, who might wish to annotate the text in the margins). Hughes (1993) describes the process in the following way:

> Given a traditional format or a good exemplar, an experienced scribe would have made many decisions about the layout almost without thought: these would be transmitted to the next stage of production in the form of cues and by the layout of what had already been written. The well-known sequence of events in the writing of a medieval manuscript is: 1) the ruling of the pages; 2) the writing of the main text, and cues;

and 3) the addition of the initials, illuminations, and other coloured
material
(Hughes 1993:153; see also Partridge 2011:84)

Initials and rubrication were usually added after writing of the text (often, although not necessarily, by a special rubricator following guidelines set by the scribe of the main text, for instance in the form of double virgules inserted at the points where rubrication was required). The transmission of these features, however, was not necessarily determined solely by the exemplar, as evidenced by the extent of variation in related manuscripts. The style of writing, use of punctuation and decorative features were similarly decisions the scribe had to make, although punctuation could also be added later (Parkes 1992:5, 42, 67; 2012 [1999]:346–347). The material could be chosen based on economic considerations, and the script, for instance, was sometimes determined by considerations of time – certain scripts, such as textura, were far more time-consuming than more cursive scripts (Wakelin 2011:44, see also Partridge 2011:80).

Scribes could not only add, omit or modify passages found in their exemplars, they could also alter the spelling to conform to their own dialectal features. Copying a manuscript from an exemplar, a scribe may a) copy the text *verbatim*, reproducing the text and its spelling; b) translate the text in the exemplar to a variety he is more comfortable or familiar with, changing the orthography, grammatical features and lexis of the exemplar text; or c) produce a mixture of these two (McIntosh 1963, 1973:61; Beinskin and Laing 1981, Smith 1983:105, Horobin 2011:63). The presentation of a text and its use of supra-textual devices can be expected to be subject to similar processes.

Manuscripts frequently contain work by more than one scribe; one such example is MS Hunter 74, in which "Scribe B does a good job of coordinating the visual appearance of his work with that of Scribe A. However, complete uniformity in spelling between these first two sections, even if it were indeed possible, was clearly not a desideratum" (Matheson 2008:60). The correlation between changes in spelling and the layout in manuscripts of the Canterbury Tales has also been commented on (Smith 1985:241, 1988:62; Blake and Thaisen 2004:101–102). The spelling and the visual presentation of a text do not, therefore, necessarily provide a comparable platform: a scribe could follow the exemplar in the visual appearance, whilst changing the spelling of the document to better match his own preferences or idiolect, or vice versa. The processes in question, however, are similar, and the guidelines set above regarding scribal spelling variation can also be applied to the

visual appearance of manuscripts. A reformulation of the process could thus mean that a scribe could

> a) copy the system of supra-textual devices (punctuation, layout etc.) of the exemplar;
> b) produce a mixture of supra-textual devices found in the exemplar and his own; or
> c) use a completely independent system of supra-textual devices.

Changes could occur on various levels: the dimensions of the codex and of writing space and margins; setting the text on the page as continuous text or the use of blank spaces and indentations or outdents to signal paragraph breaks; use of enlarged and/or decorated initials (decisions which had to be made before or during the writing of the text whether or not a separate rubricator or decorator was employed); and use of punctuation symbols (the repertoire and form of marks; placement and additions or omissions).

5.2 Supra-textual devices in the Middle English *Trotula*

The Middle English *Trotula* survives in five textual versions, in 13 manuscripts, from the fifteenth until the late sixteenth centuries. It can, therefore, be expected that the material contains variation due to transmission as well as to diachronic differences.

As detailed in Chapter 3 [section 3.2], Version A, with five extant witnesses, can be further divided into two main versions. S421A, the latest of the manuscripts, follows closely the text found in CUL33[II] (early fifteenth century), although with some omissions. D37 and B483 are likewise closely related textually, while A12195 — roughly contemporary with B483 — follows more closely the textual tradition of D37, with some omissions, but also contains occasional readings found in CUL33[II].

Version B offers no such opportunities for comparison, as it only survives in a single manuscript (A34111) dating from the early fifteenth century.

Version C survives in two sixteenth-century manuscripts, CUL33[I] and H403. While otherwise textually quite close, although both contain additions and omissions not present in the other, there are stark stylistic differences between the two texts.

Version D is extant in three manuscripts. S121[I] survives as a partial version, while JC43 and LM66 contain the full text. Textually, LM66 is further away from the two others. JC43 incorporates some glosses present in S121[I] into the text.

Version E survives in two manuscripts, a fragment dating from the fifteenth century (S121[II]) and a full version of the text from the late sixteenth century (L333). L333 heavily modifies the text found in S121[II]; there are additions and deletions; some of the recipes are elaborated upon, and some included in S121[II] are omitted.

5.2.1 Repertoire of supra-textual devices

Table [5.2] presents the frequencies of each symbol and device for each manuscript as well as the total frequencies in the corpus as a whole. The last row shows the number of manuscripts in the corpus in which each device is used. The table illustrates the variation in the corpus: there are no devices used in all manuscripts, although punctus appears in all but one. Several devices are used only in a small number of manuscripts. The table is ordered according to the frequency of the supra-textual devices.

MS	Punctus	Virgule	Paragraph mark[252]	Double virgule	Colon	Paragraph break	.Double virgule & punctus	Comma	Initials	Rubrication	Hyphen / tilde	Double hyphen	Punctus elevatus	Virgule & punctus	Total
CUL33[II]	1482	5	84	24	0	15	48	0	101	0	0	4	0	0	*1763*
L333	256	24	0	0	298	51	0	125	0	0	69	0	0	0	*823*
A12195	250	7	2	148	0	18	160	0	53	160	0	0	0	1	*799*
CUL33[I]	128	177	95	17	0	103	0	73	0	0	0	7	0	0	*600*
D37	383	5	0	107	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	*499*
B483	279	36	0	60	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	11	2	*392*
LM66	103	109	83	32	0	0	2	0	1	0	3	4	0	2	*339*
S121[I]	38	142	0	83	0	6	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	*270*
A34111	3	0	248	5	0	0	0	0	11[253]	0	0	2	0	0	*269*
H403	41	130	14	8	0	49	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	*242*
S421A	0	14	0	0	0	42	0	0	0	0	0	22	0	0	*78*
S121[II]	20	10	0	19	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	1	0	*54*
JC43	21	5	0	0	0	9	0	0	12	0	0	0	0	0	*47*
Total	*3 004*	*664*	*526*	*503*	*298*	*293*	*216*	*198*	*183*	*162*	*72*	*39*	*12*	*5*	*6175*
Number of MSS	*12*	*12*	*6* *3**	*10*	*1*	*8*	*5*	*2*	*7*	*2*	*2*	*5*	*2*	*3*	*13*

Table 5.2. Repertoire of supra-textual devices in the Trotula-*manuscripts.*

* Marginal (scribal).

The following sections present an overview of the functions of each supra-textual device in the corpus. A table showing the functions of each device is included in each section, detailing the relative and absolute frequencies of occurrences. It should be noted that due to the discrepancies in the length of the texts as well as the number of occurrences of individual devices, the results are not always directly comparable. The quantitative data is intended to provide an overview, giving indications of the tendencies within the corpus and to provide a basis for substantive qualitative analysis.

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[252] Some manuscripts also contain marginal paragraph marks inserted by the scribe: A12195 (n=35), B483 (n=13), and S121[I] (n=15). These will be discussed below in section 5.2.1.9.

[253] As in Chapter 4 (see section 4.1.2.1.1), this number only includes initials, or words with initial red shading, when they appear alone; in most cases, however, the combination of paragraph mark +initial are treated together as one device; the total count of paragraph marks, therefore, also includes instances with initials.

5.2.1.1 Punctus

The punctus is by far the most frequent punctuation symbol in the corpus, and is used in all apart from one of the manuscripts. Its functions are varied; while in some manuscripts it is the principal or even the only punctuation symbol, in others it appears only intermittently to punctuate numerals, which can also be its primary function. The functions of the punctus, therefore, are varied across the data but also across the manuscript texts, and can be used at structural, sentential, clausal as well as phrasal levels. This multifunctionality has also been noted in previous studies of medieval punctuation (Calle-Martín, Miranda-García 2005:38). It can thus be seen as a generic punctuation symbol, able to replace any other symbol and to function on different levels.

The primary function of the punctus in the corpus as a whole is to signal structural and grammatical relationships: to signal the end of units (sentences, sense-units or paragraphs), as well as to join semantically connected units. Altogether 59.7% of all instances function on this level. It can also be used to signal numerals and abbreviations as well as phrasal relationships. Table [5.3] presents a break-down of these functions.

	Frequency	Grammatical		Other functions		
		Structural, clausal and sentential	Phrasal	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
CUL33[II]	1482	68.6% (n=1017)	15.6% (n=231)	10.6% (n=157)	0	5.2% (n=77)
D37	383	77.3% (n=296)	1.3% (n=5)	20.6% (n=79)	0	0.8% (n=3)
B483	279	73.5% (n=205)	17.2% (n=48)	9% (n=25)	0	0.4% (n=1)
L333	256	22.9% (n=59)	44.2% (n=114)	31.4% (n=81)	0	0.8% (n=2)
A12195	250	24.4% (n=61)	8% (n=20)	49.6% (n=124)	0	18% (n=45)
CUL33[I]	128	85.9% (n=110)	0	13.3% (n=17)	0	0.8% (n=1)
LM66	103	23.3% (n=24)	17.5% (n=18)	39.8% (n=41)	0	19.4% (n=20)
H403	41	14.6% (n=6)	2.4% (n=1)	82.9% (n=34)	0	0
S121[I]	38	0	5.3% (n=2)	94.7% (n=36)	0	0
JC43	21	42.9% (n=9)	19% (n=4)	38.1% (n=8)	0	0
S121[II]	20	35% (n=7)	0	65% (n=13)	0	0
A34111	3	0	0	100% (n=3)	0	0
Total	3 004	59.7% (n=1794)	14.7% (n=443)	20.6% (n=618)	0	5.0% (n=149)
		74.5% (n=2237)		25.5% (n=767)		
Number of MSS	12	10	9	12	0	7

Table 5.3. Functions of the punctus.

5.2.1.1.1 Structural, clausal and sentential functions

The punctus, like the modern full stop, can signal the end of sections and paragraphs. The corpus, therefore, reflects general tendencies in the medieval use of the punctus: by the fifteenth century it was increasingly used to mark the end of sentence boundaries, the function it retains today (Petti 1977:25, Pahta 1997:681, Calle-Martín and Miranda-García 2007:363). It can precede line-fillers or be placed in line-final position. It can also be used within sections or paragraphs to separate recipes from each other as well as to signal the

end of a minor section, sense-unit or a recipe; it can thereafter be frequently followed by a rubricated initial, a paragraph mark or another punctuation symbol, signalling the beginning of the following section.

As in PDE, it can be used to conclude units of different length and type – clauses, sentences, sense-units and minor and major sections in a number of manuscripts. This, however, is the primary function of the punctus only in a single manuscript in the corpus: in CUL33[I] 95.5% of the instances of the punctus on the sentential level are used to conclude a paragraph, sentence or a section.

Although it is the most frequent punctuation mark in the data, only two manuscripts (D37 and B483) use the punctus as the principal punctuation symbol, although other symbols also appear in both. In these manuscripts, then, the punctus functions as a macro-structural as well as micro-structural marker. Its clausal and sentential functions are varied, and it can be used for signalling (either separating or joining) coordinated, subordinated, relative or adverbial clauses. It is used for this function in the majority of the manuscripts in which it appears.

	Frequency	Section break or heading	Coordination / subordination	Relative / adverbial clause	Other
CUL33[II]	*1017*	16.6% (n=169)	54.1% (n=571)	13.2% (n=134)	14.1% (n=143)
D37	*296*	34.5% (n=102)	53% (n=157)	4.4% (n=13)	9.5% (=28)
B483	*205*	31.7% (n=65)	54.6% (n=112)	2.4% (n=5)	9.3% (n=19)
CUL33[I]	*110*	95.5% (n=105)	0	0	4.5% (n=5)
A12195	*61*	42.6% (n=26)	29.5% (n=18)	27.9% (n=17)	0
L333	*59*	39% (n=23)	33.9% (n=20)	16.9% (n=10)	10.2% (n=6)
LM66	*24*	20.8% (n=5)	37.5% (n=9)	29.2% (n=7)	12.5% (n=3)
JC43	*9*	0	66.7% (n=6)	11.1% (n=1)	22.2% (n=2)
S121[II]	*7*	28.6% (n=2)	71.4% (n=5)	0	0
H403	*6*	0	100% (n=6)	0	0
Total	*1794*	*27.7%* *(n=497)*	*50.4%* *(n=904)*	*10.4%* *(n=187)*	*11.5%* *(n=206)*
Number of MSS	*10*	*8*	*9*	*7*	*7*

Table 5.4. Structural, clausal and sentential functions of the punctus.

5.2.1.1.2 Phrasal functions

On the phrasal level, the punctus is primarily used to enumerate items in a list with no coordinative conjunctions, as well as to join or separate coordinated phrases. This tends to be a minor usage in most of the manuscripts (see table [5.5]). It can also be used to clarify readings or to emphasise a term. While there are examples from most manuscripts, punctuation often does not function primarily on phrasal level, while some manuscripts use other symbols for the same purpose. 14.7% of all instances of the punctus are used on phrasal level (see tables [5.3] and [5.5]); seven of the manuscripts in the corpus use it to punctuate lists or connect phrases instead of or alongside with coordinating conjunctions.

	Phrasal	Enumeration	Coordination	Clarification (terminology)	Other
CUL33[II]	*231*	38.5% (n=89)	51.1% (n=118)	5.6% (n=13)	4.8% (n=11)
L333	*114*	74.6% (n=85)	17.5% (n=20)	3.5% (n=4)	4.4% (n=5)
B483	*48*	97.9% (n=47)	2.1% (n=1)	0	0
A12195	*20*	20% (n=4)	50% (n=10)	10% (n=2)	20% (n=4)
LM66	*18*	38.9% (n=7)	38.9% (n=7)	11.1% (n=2)	11.1% (n=2)
D37	*5*	0	0	0	100% (n=5)
JC43	*4*	100% (n=4)	0	0	0
S121[I]	*2*	0	0	100% (n=2)	0
H403	*1*	0	100% (n=1)	0	0
Total	*443*	*53.4% (n=234)*	*35.2% (n=154)*	*4.8% (n=21)*	*6.2% (n=27)*
Number of MSS	*9*	*6*	*6*	*5*	*5*

Table 5.5. Phrasal functions of the punctus.

5.2.1.1.3 Numerals and abbreviations

The function of the punctus in signalling numerals and abbreviations remains constant throughout the corpus, and it is used for this function in all of the manuscripts except one (S421A). Altogether 20.6% of all instances are used for this purpose (see table [5.3]). Table [5.6] shows the frequencies of punctuated and unpunctuated numerals and abbreviations. Punctuating numerals and abbreviations can be the sole or primary function of the symbol in some manuscripts.

	Roman numerals		Arabic numerals		Abbreviations		Written numerals	
	Total	Punctuated	Total	Punctuated	Total	Punctuated	Total	Punctuated
A12195	78	88.5% (n=69)*	0	0	19	84.2% (n=16)	20	25% (n=5)
D37	106	40.6% (n=43)	0	0	26	11.5% (n=3)	45	4.4% (n=2)
B483	88	9.1% (n=8)	4	75% (n=3)	2	100% (n=2)	51	0
CUL33[II]	82	90.2% (n=74)	0	0	28	96.4% (n=27)	47	6.4% (n=3)
S421A	58	0	7	0	22	0	64	0
A34111	35	2.9% (n=1)	0	0	14	14.3% (n=2)	20	0
CUL33[I]	35	31.4% (n=11)	0	0	2	50% (n=1)	22	0
H403	25	64% (n=16)	1	100% (n=1)	0	0	6	0
S121[I]	16	81.3% (n=13)	0	0	0	0	5	20% (n=1)
LM66	9	77.8% (n=7)	18	100% (n=18)	10	100% (n=10)	7	14.3% (n=1)
JC43	31	9.7% (n=3)	0	0	3	100% (n=3)	12	0
S121[II]	5	100% (n=5)	0	0	4	100% (n=4)	3	0
L333	33	75.8% (n=25)	4	100% (n=4)	31	100% (n=31)	36	0
Total	*601*	*45.8% (n=275)*	*34*	*76.5% (n=26)*	*161*	*61.5% (n=99)*	*338*	*3.6% (n=12)*
Number of MSS	*13*	*12*	*5*	*4*	*11*	*10*	*13*	*5*

Table 5.6. Numerals and abbreviations.

∗ The frequency count for A12195 includes not only punctuation of numerals by a punctus placed on either or both sides of the numeral (".ij."). but also rubricated numerals ("þᵉ **vij** Ryth in þe mydis").

Variation in the frequencies of numerals and (weight) abbreviations between textually close manuscripts can be explained by the variation in the type of numeral used (roman, arabic or written) as well as in the formulations used (e.g. ".i.ȝ." or "a vnce"). Although roman numerals are prevalent in the data, some manuscripts also use arabic numerals, although never exclusively; they appear intermittently in the manuscripts from the late fifteenth century (B483, LM66, H403 and L333), although in none are they used exclusively or primarily. Both types tend to be punctuated; 45.8% of roman numerals are punctuated, while the figure for arabic numerals is higher at 76.5%. There are, however,

differences between the texts, and while some (B483, S421A, JC43) rarely punctuate numerals, they are more frequently punctuated in all other manuscripts. As in the following example [5.1], roman, arabic and written numerals are often used interchangeably and even following each other.

[5.1]
and yf thatt sche be of Moor*e* agge thene theye cu*m* in the .2.ᵉ
     quar*ter* of the Moone and yf thatt sche be a stabulle womane
     and of grett agge Thene theye cume in the thirde q*uarter*e
     or*e* in the iiijᵗᵉ quart*er*e of the [moon]²⁵⁴ .
(H403, p.352)

5.2.1.1.4 Other functions

The punctus is also used for a variety of other purposes. It can be used to replace other symbols and to clarify readings. In some manuscripts, it appears in line-final position, where its possible function is to indicate to the reader that a phrase (rather than a word, see section 5.2.1.3.2) continues on to the next line. It appears frequently in this position in A12195, CUL33[II] and LM66. It is these three manuscripts in which the punctus primarily also appears in other positions, often mid-phrase or to indicate for instance of-genitives (see further chapter 4, sections 4.1.1.1.5, 4.1.1.4.5, 4.1.4.2.5). While not all of these instances appear to follow regular or consistent patterns (while certain structures are occasionally punctuated, frequently they are not), it is likely their primary purpose is to clarify potentially confusing or ambiguous readings. Pahta and Carrillo Linares suggest that this practice indicates that the text is not directly translated from Latin, but copied from another English exemplar, where these instances correspond to a single word in Latin, as it would be an unlikely place to rest a pen for a translator (Pahta and Carrillo Linares 2006:97).

5.2.1.2 Virgule and comma

This section will discuss the functions of both virgule and comma, as the forms are often indistinguishable. Table [5.7] presents the figures for the virgule as well as the comma; the comma is only used in two manuscripts (CUL33[I] and L333), both of which date to the sixteenth century. Both symbols are primarily used to signal clausal and sentential relationships (altogether 76.8% [virgule] and 67.2% [comma] function on this level),

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²⁵⁴ Drawn picture of the moon.

although they can also function on phrasal level, and are occasionally used for other functions as well. Previous studies have found various, often contradictory, uses for the virgule in the vernacular texts, and its functions frequently overlap with those of the punctus.

| | Frequency | Grammatical | | Other functions | | |
		Structural, clausal and sentential	Phrasal	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
CUL33[I]*	177	83.1% (n=147)	16.9% (n=30)	0	0	0
	73*	79.5% (n=58)*	20.5% (n=15)*	0*	0*	0*
S121[I]	142	64.5% (=92)	12.7% (n=18)	0	6.3% (n=9)	16.2% (n=23)
H403	130	80% (n=104)	20% (n=26)	0	0	0
LM66	109	73.4% (n=80)	4.6% (n=5)	0	0	22% (n=24)
B483	36	83.3% (n=30)	8.3% (n=3)	0	8.3% (n=3)	0
L333	24	83.3% (n=20)	16.7% (n=4)	0	0	0
	125*	60% (n=75)*	36% (n=45)*	0*	0*	4% (n=5)*
S421A	14	100% (n=14)	0	0	0	0
S121[II]	10	60% (n=6)	0	0	20% (n=2)	20% (n=2)
A12195	7	71.4% (n=5)	0	28.6% (n=2)	0	0
CUL33[II]	5	60% (n=3)	20% (n=1)	0	20% (n=1)	0
D37	5	100% (n=5)	0	0	0	0
JC43	5	80% (n=4)	0	0	0	20% (n=1)
Total	664	76.8% (n=510)	13.1% (n=87)	0.3% (n=2)	2.3% (n=15)	7.5% (n=50)
		89.9% (n=597)		10.1% (n=67)		
	198*	67.2% (n=133)*	25.3% (n=60)*	0*	0*	2.5% (n=5)*
		97.5% (n=193)		2.5% (n=5)		
Number of MSS	12	12	9	1	4	4
	2*	2*	2*	0*	0*	1*

Table 5.7. Functions of the virgule / comma*.

5.2.1.2.1 Structural, clausal and sentential functions

As with the punctus, both the virgule and comma are used primarily to join or separate coordinated and subordinated units as well as relative and adverbial clauses; altogether 68.8% (virgule) and 71.4% (comma) of all instances are used for this function (see table [5.8]). This is a function also found in other Middle English texts (Arakelian 1975:618). While it can occasionally function as a macro-structural indicator, it is more commonly used on the clausal level and can for instance be used to signal recipe-internal divisions, rather than the beginning of a recipe (although it can be used for this purpose in H403 and LM66); a similar function has been reported by Alonso-Almeida (2002:222–224).

Both punctus and virgule can be used to signal the end of sections or recipes (or the beginning of a new one). A clear separation in the functions of the two symbols can, however, be seen in CUL33[I]. In this sixteenth-century manuscripts, the punctus is used at the end of paragraphs (much like the modern full stop), while virgules and commas appear primarily paragraph-internally to signal clausal divisions.

The usage of the virgule has been characterised in terms of medial or caesural pause (Petti 1977:26; Calle-Martín, Miranda-García 2007:375). The virgule can resemble the modern comma, not only in function, but also in form, a development which can be seen in two of the sixteenth-century manuscripts in the data. These manuscripts (CUL33[I] and L333) use both symbols, although it is unclear whether the scribes intended the symbol as two separate symbols. A closer examination, however, reveals a differentiation in L333 between the functions of virgule and comma, where, despite the prevalence of commas, virgules can be used to signal the end of a (minor) section or recipe. This usage is infrequent with commas, which, rather than signalling the *end* of a unit, are used to signal unit-internal relationships.

	Frequency	Section break or heading	Coordination / subordination	Relative / adverbial clause	Other
CUL33[I]*	*147*	10.2% (n=15)	68.7% (n=101)	3.4% (n=5)	27.9% (n=41)
	*58**	8.6% (n=5)*	65.5% (n=38)*	3.4% (n=2)*	32.8% (n=19)*
H403	*104*	10.6% (n=11)	64.4% (n=67)	11.5% (n=12)	13.5% (n=14)
S121[I]	*92*	10.9% (n=10)	60.9% (n=56)	23.9% (n=22)	4.3% (n=4)
LM66	*80*	25% (n=20)	48.8% (n=39)	18.8% (n=15)	7.5% (n=6)
B483	*30*	53.3% (n=16)	30% (n=9)	0	16.7% (n=6)
L333*	*20*	65% (n=13)	20% (n=4)	10% (n=2)	5% (n=1)
	*75**	6.7% (n=5)*	57.3% (n=43)*	16% (n=12)*	20% (n=15)*
S421A	*14*	21.4% (n=3)	50% (n=7)	7.1% (n=1)	21.4% (n=3)
S121[II]	*6*	0	33.3% (n=2)	50% (n=3)	16.7% (n=1)
A12195	*5*	0	0	0	100% (n=5)
D37	*5*	60% (n=3)	20% (n=1)	0	20% (n=1)
JC43	*4*	0	25% (n=1)	25% (n=1)	50% (n=2)
CUL33[II]	*3*	0	100% (n=3)	0	0
Total	**510**	**17.8% (n=91)**	**56.9% (n=290)**	**12.0% (n=61)**	**16.5% (n=84)**
	133*	**7.5% (n=10)***	**60.9% (n=81)***	**10.5% (n=14)***	**25.6% (n=34)***
Number of MSS	*12*	*8*	*11*	*8*	*11*
	*2**	*2**	*2**	*2**	*2**

Table 5.8. Structural, clausal and sentential functions of the virgule / comma*.

5.2.1.2.2 Phrasal functions

Virgules can also be used on the phrasal level; here again usage resembles that of the modern comma, primarily to enumerate and to coordinate. Its usage on this level is, however, quite restricted, and those manuscripts which contain phrasal punctuation are more likely to use the punctus. Here, the functions of the virgule and the comma in CUL33[I] and L333 are overlapping, and the symbols are to enumerate and to coordinate,

much like the modern comma. The development towards the functions of the modern comma on the phrasal level, however, can also be seen in some of the earlier manuscripts.

	Frequency	Enumeration	Coordination	Clarification (terminology)	Other
CUL33[I]*	30	23.3% (n=7)	76.7% (n=23)	0	0
	15*	13.3% (n=2)*	86.7% (n=13)*	0*	0*
H403	26	34.6% (n=9)	61.5% (n=16)	3.8% (n=1)	0
S121[I]	18	11.1% (n=2)	77.8% (n=14)	11.1% (n=2)	0
LM66	5	60% (n=3)	40% (n=2)	0	0
L333*	4	75% (n=3)	25% (n=1)	0	0
	45*	28.9% (n=13)*	71.1% (n=32)*	0*	0*
B483	3	100% (n=3)	0	0	0
CUL33[II]	1	0	100% (n=1)	0	0
Total	87	31% (n=27)	66.5% (n=57)	3.4% (n=3)	0
	60*	30% (n=15)*	75% (n=45)*	0*	0*
Number of MSS	7	6	6	2	0
	2*	2*	2*	0*	0*

Table 5.9. Phrasal functions of the virgule / comma*.

5.2.1.2.3 Other functions

Virgules can also be used to signal line-final word division, although other symbols (primarily double virgule and double hyphen) are more commonly used for this purpose (see further below, section 5.2.1.3.3).

5.2.1.3 Double virgule and double hyphen

The virgule can also be doubled. The functions of this punctuation mark are less varied than those of the punctus or virgule, and it is used primarily on clausal and sentential level as well as to signal line-final word division. Double virgules can also be used to signal places for the insertion of paragraph marks to the rubricator, and in some manuscripts

frequently occur preceding a paragraph mark or an initial; they rarely function on the phrasal level. Double hyphens are here discussed in conjunction with the double virgule, because in several manuscripts in the corpus their forms tend to be indistinguishable: this symbol is exclusively used to signal line-final word division, although double virgule has more numerous functions (see table [5.10]).

	Frequency	Grammatical		Other functions		
		Structural, clausal and sentential	Phrasal	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
A12195	148	97.3% (n=144)	2.7% (n=4)	0	0	0
D37	107	7.5% (n=8)	0	0	92.5% (n=99)	0
B483	60	16.7% (n=10)	0	0	83.3% (n=50)	0
S121[I]	83	100% (n=83)	0	0	0	0
LM66*	32	100% (n=32)	0	0	0	0
	4*	0*	0*	0*	100% (n=4)*	0*
CUL33[II]*	24	16.7% (n=4)	0	0	25% (n=6)	58.3% (n=14)
	4*	0*	0*	0*	100% (n=4)*	0*
S121[II]	19	89.5% (n=17)	0	0	10.5% (n=2)	0
CUL33[I]*	17	11.2% (n=2)	0	0	88.2% (n=15)	0
	7*	0*	0*	0*	100% (n=7)*	0*
H403	8	12.5% (n=1)	0	0	37.5% (n=3)	50% (n=4)
A34111*	5	100% (n=5)	0	0	0	0
	2*	0*	0*	0*	100% (n=2)*	0*
S421A*	0	0	0	0	0	0
	22*	0*	0*	0*	100% (n=22)*	0*
Total	505	60.6% (n=306)	0.8% (n=4)	0	34.7% (n=175)	3.6% (n=18)
	39*	0*	0*	0*	100% (n=39)*	0*
Number of MSS	11	10	1	0	6	2
	5*	0*	0*	0*	5*	0*

Table 5.10. Functions of the double virgule / double hyphen*.

5.2.1.3.1 Structural, clausal and sentential functions

Double virgules are primarily used to signal coordinated and subordinated clauses. They are also used preceding and following headings and for signalling the beginning and end of sections or subsections or recipes within the text (see table [5.11]). The macro-textual functions have been noted also in other studies (Petti 1977:26, Calle-Martín and Miranda-García 2007:375); Alonso-Almeida also notes that double virgule could used to indicate sections within recipes (Alonso-Almeida 2002:222–224).

	Frequency	Section break or heading	Coordination / subordination	Relative / adverbial cl	Other
A12195	*144*	17.4% (n=25)	72.2% (n=104)	4.2% (n=6)	6.3% (n=9)
S121[I]	*83*	41% (n=34)	50.6% (n=42)	0	8.4% (n=7)
LM66	*32*	40.6% (n=13)	25% (n=8)	15.6% (n=5)	18.8% (n=6)
S121[II]	*17*	70.6% (n=12)	23.5% (n=4)	5.9% (n=1)	0
B483	*10*	100% (n=10)	0	0	0
A34111	*5*	20% (n=1)	40% (n=2)	20% (n=1)	20% (n=1)
CUL33[II]	*4*	25% (n=1)	75% (n=3)	0	0
CUL33[I]	*2*	50% (n=1)	50% (n=1)	0	0
H403	*1*	0	0	0	100% (n=1)
Total	***298***	***32.5% (n=97)***	***54.7% (n=163)***	***4.4% (n=13)***	***8.4% (n=25)***
Number of MSS	*9*	*8*	*7*	*4*	*5*

Table 5.11. Structural, clausal and sentential functions of the double virgule.

5.2.1.3.2 Line-division

Double hyphens are solely used to indicate line-final word division, a function for which other symbols can also be used: primarily double virgules, but also virgules and hyphens (table [5.12]); other studies indicate that colon could also be used for this purpose (Calle-Martín 2009:38, Petti 1977:27, Calle-Martín and Miranda-García 2005:88), although this is not the case in the present data. Calle-Martín considers the distinction between

morphological and phonological division, but does not indicate how frequently line-final word divisions were punctuated (Calle-Martín 2009).

	Line-final word division		Virgule	Double virgule	Double hyphen	Hyphen / dash
	Total	Punctuated				
A34111	191	1% (n=2)	0	0	100% (n=2)	0
D37	138	71.7% (n=99)	0	100% (n=99)	0	0
JC43	124	0	0	0	0	0
S421A	88	25% (n=22)	0	0	100% (n=22)	0
CUL33[II]	87	11.5% (n=11)	9.1% (n=1)	54.5% (n=6)	36.4% (n=4)	0
B483	63	84.1% (n=53)	5.7% (n=3)	94.3% (n=50)	0	0
S121[I]	41	19.5% (n=8)	100% (n=8)	0	0	0
CUL33[I]	25	88% (n=22)	0	68.2% (n=15)	31.8% (n=7)	0
A12195	21	0	0	0	0	0
S121[II]	13	30.8% (n=4)	50% (n=2)	50% (n=2)	0	0
LM66	12	58.3% (n=7)	0	0	57.1% (n=4)	42.9% (n=3)
H403	3	100% (n=3)	0	100% (n=3)	0	0
L333	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	806	28.7% (n=231)	1.7% (n=14)	21.7% (n=175)	4.8% (n=39)	0.4% (n=3)
Number of MSS	12	10	4	6	5	1

Table 5.12. Line-final punctuation.

As demonstrated in table [5.12], the patterns of word division vary widely. In some manuscripts (L333, H403) the scribe prefers not to break up words at the end of lines; where possible, a word will be kept to one line. If this is not possible, as in three cases in H403, the division is indicated by a double virgule. Other manuscripts show opposing preference: in manuscripts tightly ruled, the scribe prefers to keep the appearance of the text tidy, dividing words at the end of lines wherever necessary and not signalling these line-divisions by punctuation. In some, as in A34111, there is little regard for either morphological or phonological principles in word division; the guiding principle appears to

be in retaining the page layout, and word-divisions are not marked. Only two manuscripts (B483 and CUL33[I]) mark over 80% of line-final divisions. As Calle-Martín concludes, "as in the case of punctuation, word division is subjected to the personal idiosyncrasy of the scribe inasmuch as a particular word-division rule may become a recurrent practice in some texts whilst occasional or non-existent in others" (Calle-Martín 2009:39).

5.2.1.4 Double virgule & punctus

The double virgule combined with the punctus is overwhelmingly used to signal clausal and sentential relationships, primarily to signal the end of a section or a unit, or coordinated and subordinated clauses and sentences. Although it occasionally appears in other manuscripts, it is principally only used in two manuscripts, A12195 and CUL33[II].

	Frequency	Grammatical		Other functions		
		Structural, clausal and sentential	Phrasal	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
A12195	*160*	97.5% (n=156)	2.5% (n=4)	0	0	0
CUL33[II]	*48*	100% (n=48)	0	0	0	0
B483	*4*	100% (n=4)	0	0	0	0
LM66	*2*	100% (n=2)	0	0	0	0
S121[II]	*2*	100% (n=2)	0	0	0	0
Total	*216*	*98.1% (n=212)*	*1.9% (n=4)*	*0*	*0*	*0*
		100% (n=216)		*0*		
Number of MSS	*5*	5	1	0	0	0

Table 5.13. Functions of the double virgule & punctus.

5.2.1.4.1 Structural, clausal and sentential functions

	Frequency	Section break or heading	Coordination / subordination	Relative / adverbial clause	Other
A12195	156	12.8% (n=20)	67.3% (n=105)	5.1% (n=8)	15.4% (n=24)
CUL33[II]	48	79.2% (n=38)	20.8% (n=10)	0	0
B483	4	100% (n=4)	0	0	0
LM66	2	50% (n=1)	50% (n=1)	0	0
S121[II]	2	100% (n=2)	0	0	0
Total	*212*	*30.7% (n=65)*	*54.7% (n=116)*	*3.8% (n=8)*	*11.3% (n=24)*
Number of MSS	*5*	*5*	*3*	*1*	*1*

Table 5.14. Structural, clausal and sentential functions of the double virgule & punctus.

5.2.1.5 Virgule & punctus

The combined virgule & punctus appear only intermittently in the data. All of the instances signal the end of a section or follow a heading in all three manuscripts the symbol appears in; the usage is, therefore, similar to that of double virgule & punctus.

	Frequency	Grammatical		Other functions		
		Structural, clausal and sentential	Phrasal	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
B483	2	100% (n=2)	0	0	0	0
LM66	2	100% (n=2)	0	0	0	0
A12195	1	100% (n=1)	0	0	0	0
Total	*5*	*100% (n=5)*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*
		100% (n=5)		*0*		
Number of MSS	*3*	*3*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*

Table 5.15. Functions of the virgule & punctus.

5.2.1.6 Punctus elevatus

The punctus elevatus only appears in two of the manuscripts, both of which date from the fifteenth century.

5.2.1.6.1 Structural, clausal and sentential functions

In previous studies it has been found to mark a major medial pause in rhetorical terms (Parkes 1992:39) and could be used for instance to separate fronted, embedded constituents (Arakelian 1975:621, 623) and coordinate or restrictive relative clauses (Gradon 1983:42–43). Other functions include introducing coordinate clauses, separating subordinate clauses, introducing an explanation, calling attention to what follows, joining correlative elements at clause level, and separating subject and verb and phrases within the clause (Esteban-Segura 2009:98–99).

In the data considered here, the punctus elevatus functions on the clausal level, and can be used to separate sections within a recipe. In B483, it predominantly appears preceding a coordinate clause headed by *but*. Although it appears exclusively in clausal positions, its primary function appears to be deictic, lending emphasis to what follows: it indicates a result or a contradiction to what preceded.

		Grammatical		Other functions		
	Frequency	Structural, clausal and sentential	Phrasal	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
B483	*11*	100% (n=11)	0	0	0	0
S121[II]	*1*	100% (n=1)	0	0	0	0
Total	*12*	*100% (n=12)*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*
		100% (n=12)		*0*		
Number of MSS	*2*	*2*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*0*

Table 5.16. Functions of the punctus elevatus.

5.2.1.7 Colon

The colon appears only in a single manuscript in the corpus, L333[255]. There is little consensus concerning the function of the colon among scholars (Calle-Martín and Miranda-García 2007:372). It has been argued to have been used for medial pauses (Parkes 1992:302, 304) and final stops as well as for questions and for exclamation marks (Tannenbaum 1931:142, Petti 1977:26).

5.2.1.7.1 Functions

The colon is used to introduce recipes as well as to separate sections within them in L333, and can also appear on the phrasal level to connect and separate phrases; its functions are solely grammatical, but it functions on a number of different levels syntactically. Its usage overlaps with other punctuation marks in the manuscript.

	Frequency	Grammatical		Other functions		
		Structural, clausal and sentential	Phrasal	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
L333	298	78.9% (n=235)	21.1% (n=63)	0	0	0
Total	*298*	*78.9% (n=235)*	*21.1% (n=63)*	*0*	*0*	*0*
		100% (n=298)		*0*		
Number of MSS	*1*	*1*	*1*	*0*	*0*	*0*

Table 5.17. Functions of the colon.

5.2.1.8 Tilde / hyphen / dash

Until the end of the seventeenth century the dash or the hyphen was used to indicate words that were broken by the end of the line as well as, later, to mark compound words (Petti 1977:27). In the present material, however, it is used to indicate line-final word division only in a single manuscript (although the double hyphen, discussed in section 5.2.1.3.2 is used more frequently).

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[255] The mark appears also in another manuscript in the data, although not in any of the other *Trotula*-texts. S121 includes notes in a later, sixteenth-century hand (the codex itself and the majority of the other texts in it date from the fifteenth century), which uses colons.

The dash is also often used simply as a line-filler (Calle-Martín, Miranda-García 2007:374). The tilde (~), in addition to being used as an omission mark, appears in a single text in the corpus, L333. Its form is frequently similar to the hyphen, which appears only in LM66.

		Grammatical		Other functions		
	Frequency	Structural, clausal and sentential	Phrasal	Numerals and abbreviations	Line-break	Other
LM66	*3*	0	0	0	100% (n=3)	0
L333	*69*	0	0	0	0	100% (n=69)
Total	*72*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*4.2% (n=3)*	*95.8% (n=69)*
		0		*100% (n=72)*		
Number of MSS	*2*	*0*	*0*	*0*	*1*	*1*

5.18. Functions of the tilde / hyphen / dash.

While the hyphen in LM66 is used exclusively to signal line-final word division, the functions of the tilde in L333 are less clear. It appears at the end of headings, as well as end of lines mid-sentence. In other texts, it has been found to be used as "a means to adjusting the text to the frame, a kind of line-filler" (Aguado 2009:66), which appears to be its primary function in L333 as well. Its functions, then, are not primarily grammatical or structural, but rather visual.

There are also other symbols generally used as line-fillers. Different kinds of line-fillers appear in altogether five manuscripts; they can resemble crosses, sometimes combined with the punctus and they may be rubricated (x . x . x) or (X X X), as in A12195 (n=18; line-fillers are used whenever there is a paragraph break) and CUL33[II] (n=15; again, line-fillers are used whenever there is a paragraph break); a hyphen or a tilde (~ ~ ~), as in S121[I] (n=2; on four other occasions the scribe does not use line-fillers but leaves a blank space to signal paragraph break); or (– /) (CUL33[I], n=2; there are altogether 103 paragraph breaks in the text).

5.2.1.9 Paragraph mark

The paragraph mark appears in various forms in the corpus. Its placement also varies; it can form part of the running text, or be placed in the margins. Paragraph marks are often added in the margins by the scribe of the main text, although they can also be later additions. Within the text, the paragraph mark appears in six manuscripts, while four of the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts include marginal paragraph marks. There does not appear to be any significant difference in the primary functions of the paragraph mark, whether placed within the text or in the margins, although manuscripts usually prefer either one or the other. The forms also vary.

5.2.1.9.1 Functions

The paragraph mark was used to introduce a new paragraph and as a macro-structural marker to indicate textual relationships (Petti 1977:27); it, therefore, indicated sense-units, or "units of intellectual content" (Saenger 1982:392) or a medial pause (Petti 1977:27). Its primary function in the present corpus is to signal the beginning of recipes, although there is variation between the manuscripts. It can have a number of different forms (see Chapter 2, section 2.5.3).

In CUL33[II] it is used to indicate minor sections or sense-units within paragraphs (while paragraphs are signalled by enlarged initials and the use of line-fillers at the end of them), and primarily to signal the beginning of recipes; the symbol functions in a similar manner in LM66, in which it is one of the primary punctuation symbols. In CUL33[I] paragraph marks are invariably placed at the beginning of new paragraphs, set slightly in the margins. In A34111 they are used to signal the beginning of new sense-units, including recipes. The units signalled by a paragraph mark could, therefore, be of varying length and of importance (on structural level); the paragraph mark rarely functions as a signifier for major structural changes. Rather, it signals a semantic unit (such as a single recipe or a cluster of recipes for the same ailment); often, although not necessarily, a paragraph or a comparable unit.

Three of the manuscripts, A12195, B483 and S121[I] also contain scribal paragraph marks in the margins. These are primarily used to signal major sections or recipes; they thus

function as structural markers; in table [5.19] they are presented alongside paragraph marks within the text (see also Chapter 6, section 6.3.2.2).

	Frequency	Major sections	Recipes	Other
A34111	248	18.5% (n=46)	48% (n=119)	33.5% (n=83)
CUL33[I]	95	13.7% (n=13)	47.4% (n=45)	38.9% (n=37)
CUL33[II]	84	14.3% (n=12)	57.1% (n=48)	28.6% (n=24)
LM66	83	13.3% (n=11)	12% (n=10)	74.7% (n=62)
H403	14	85.7% (n=12)	14.3% (n=2)	0
A12195*	2	50% (n=1)	0	50% (n=1)
	35*	20% (n=7)*	74.3% (n=26)*	5.7% (n=2)*
B483*	0	0	0	0
	13*	76.9% (n=10)*	23.1% (n=3)*	0*
S121[I]*	0	0	0	0
	15*	0*	93.3% (n=14)*	6.7% (n=1)*
Total	**526**	**18.1%** **(n=95)**	**42.6%** **(n=224)**	**39.4%** **(n=207)**
	63*	**27.0%** **(n=17)***	**68.3%** **(n=43)***	**4.8%** **(n=3)***
Number of MSS	6	6	5	5
	3*	2*	3*	2*

Table 5.19. Paragraph marks within the text / in the margins (scribal)*.

In other studies, the paragraph mark has been found to indicate that a word runs over from the previous line (Alonso-Almeida 2002:225, Calle-Martín, Miranda-García 2005:32); it is similarly used in CUL33[II] to indicate a displaced word inserted below the line.

5.2.1.10 Other symbols

The caret (^) can be used to mark insertions (Petti 1977:29), and is usually placed in supralinear position (Aguado 2009:67). The insertions are added at the bottom of the page and the placement of the caret indicates where the inserted segment should be placed in B483.

In D37, added wavy lines, usually in the margins, but occasionally also within the text signal the beginning of a new section, recipe or other minor break in the text. A12195 uses an L-shaped symbol to indicate a run-on from previous line ("The Redy sygne of mystornyng of þᵉ maris is þes") (example [5.2]).

> [5.2]
> namly yf þat thyngs ly nye þe gret vryne //
> **The**[256] **Redy sygne of mystornyng of þᵉ maris**
> **A**[257] moysto*re* Renyth owt of þe maris **L is þes**
> other wyll whytt and other wyll lye & oþ*er*
> (A12195, f.183r)

5.2.1.11 Litteræ notabiliores / *initials*

While simple capital letters in some scripts may be difficult to distinguish, coloured, elaborated and/or enlarged initial letters feature in five of the manuscripts in the data; in addition, one (D37) contains spaces left for enlarged initials, which have not been filled in. The definition as used here indicates identification of a capital letter as a *littera notabilior* as being either enlarged (above line or spanning several lines of text), decorated or rubricated.

Two of the manuscripts (S121[I], LM66), however, both only contain a single instance. A12195 uses rubricated initials; these are sometimes decorated. CUL33[II] begins the text with a four-line rubricated and decorated initial, and thereafter uses 2-line (often decorated) initials to indicate textual divisions as well as 1-line rubricated initials for minor divisions. D37 uses the same technique, although the practice is soon abandoned by the scribe: there are only four instances of spaces (4-, 3- and 2-line) left for initials, which have not been filled in.

Initials are often used to signal textual divisions; their function is, therefore, primarily structural. They organise the text into sections, helping the reader to locate specific sections more easily. Only a single manuscript, CUL33[II], however, utilises them consistently, while in all other manuscripts in the corpus their use is only occasional and tends to cluster at the beginning of the text. Although in some manuscripts their primary function is signalling textual divisions, they are also frequently used to signal the

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[256] Rubricated initial.
[257] Enlarged, not rubricated initial.

beginning of new recipes as well as (especially in the case of 1-line initials) to highlight and emphasise certain sections or words within paragraphs or sentences. They can thus be used for names of authorities or to emphasise and clarify the meaning. They can also be used to signal structural, clausal and sentential relationships, indicating the beginning of a new sentence or sense-unit.

	Frequency	*1-line*	*2-line*	*3-line*	*4-line*	Major section	Recipes	Other
A34111	*259[258]*	*100% (n=259)*	*0*	*0*	*0*	18.1% (n=47)	45.9% (n=119)	35.9% (n=93)
CUL33[II]	*101*	*66.3% (n=67)*	*32.7% (n=33)*	*0*	*1% (n=1)*	36.6% (n=37)	23.8% (n=24)	39.6% (n=40)
A12195	*53*	*100% (n=53)*	*0*	*0*	*0*	35.8% (n=19)	30.2% (n=16)	34% (n=18)
JC43	*12*	*75% (n=9)*	*25% (n=3)*	*0*	*0*	16.7% (n=2)	25% (n=3)	58.3% (n=7)
D37	*4**	*0*	*50% (n=2)*	*25% (n=1)*	*25% (n=1)*	25% (n=1)	25% (n=1)	50% (n=2)
S121[I]	*1*	*100% (n=1)*	*0*	*0*	*0*	0	0	100% (n=1)
LM66	*1*	*100% (n=1)*	*0*	*0*	*0*	100% (n=1)	0	0
Total	**431**	**90.5% (n=390)**	**8.8% (n=38)**	**0.2% (n=1)**	**0.5% (n=2)**	**17.4% (n=75)**	**37.8% (n=163)**	**44.8% (n=193)**
Number of MSS	*7*	*6*	*3*	*1*	*2*	*6*	*5*	*6*

Table 5.20. Litteræ notabiliores.

* Spaces left for initials, not filled in.

5.2.1.12 Rubrication

A12195 uses rubrication for titles, although rubrication is also used for deictic purposes; it is the only extant manuscript to use rubrication in this way (see example [5.3]: "**And yf it be Conseyued þ*er***"[259]). Rubrication is also used in S121[II], where titles within the text are in red ink. The use of rubrics and coloured initials is another feature which shows diachronic differences. Of the four sixteenth-century manuscripts, none uses any of these features.

[258] The initials here counted are those used independently, as well as those used with the paragraph mark; since these two usually feature together, in Chapter 4 (section 4.1.2.1) they were discussed together. Here they are discussed separately in order to compare the functions to those in the other manuscripts.

[259] The example relates to the belief that the uterus was divided into seven chambers; the section explains how the gender of the child is determined by whether the seed falls into the chambers on the right (male) or left (female) side, or in the middle one, which produced hermaphrodites (see Jacquart and Thomasset 1988:34–35, Cadden 1993:198).

[5.3]
xal be a mayde chylde and if yt fall in the
uessell in þe medis it fallyth owt & p*er*eschych
fro þᵗ place of Creacion and if it byde it fall
vn to corupcyons of sup*er*fluite of hete colde &
dryues & moystues & oþ*er* Corupcyons þᵗ passith
vp fro þe weket wt Ressistau*n*s to þᵉ seed and
Rotyd //²⁶⁰ **And yf it be Conseyued þ*er* yt schall**
haue þᵉ to kyn bothe of man and of woma*n*
þt is to say both ȝerd and wekete as it
hath be sen oftyn in diu*er*se place **And yf any**
woman well conceyue a man chylde
lete her dress her*e* þᵗ her left hepe may legge
heyar*e* þan þe Rythte well þt dede is done // and
þan schall þe seed of her hosbond fall in to
þe Rytht seyde wer*e* þe male is Conseyuet //
(f.158v–159r)

5.2.1.13 Layout

The two-column layout used in a number of Latin and French versions of the *Trotula*²⁶¹ is
not used in any of the Middle English manuscripts, all of which employ a single-column
layout, regardless of the dimensions of the codices. The choice to employ a single-column
layout may, however, partly be explained by the dimensions of the pages, as the earliest
extant manuscript versions tend to be quite small; CUL33[II] and D37, measure
155x105mm and 129x86mm, respectively, although overall there is extensive variation in
the size of the pages (see table [5.1] in section 5.1.1).

The layout in the later (sixteenth-century) manuscripts is consistently more elaborate,
employing blank space (indentations, space between paragraphs) to signal textual
divisions, than the earlier ones, regardless of textual affiliations. The earlier manuscripts, if
they employ textual division in this manner, rather than presenting the text as continuous,
tend to use line-fillers and/or rubrication or *litteræ notabiliores* rather than blank space.

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²⁶⁰ Rubricated double virgule.

²⁶¹ Such as Basel, Öffentliche Bibliothek der Universität, MS D.II.17, the standardised ensemble of the Latin
Trotula edited by Green (2001); Kraut's printed edition of the Latin *Trotula* (see Chapter 3, section 3.1.1);
and the Old French translation of *Trotula* in British Library, MS Sloane 3525 (ff.246v–253r), dating from the
early fourteenth century and identified by Green (1996, 1997) and Barratt (1998, 2001) as a source for
Version A.

5.3 Discussion

Neither the frequency nor the type of punctuation appears greatly affected by diachronic developments within the data; the exceptions will be discussed below. On the contrary, some of the earliest manuscript texts contain the most frequent and most elaborate punctuation, while some of the later ones contain hardly any punctuation. The lack of standardised practices allowed scribes to utilise widely varying systems in textual design and presentation. Although it might be expected that the later manuscripts would more clearly show adoption of syntactical punctuation, rather than one based on sense-units, this is not uniformly the case, and awareness of syntactical structures is evident throughout the corpus. The prevailing system, however, is one in which sense-units, rather than explicitly grammatical units, are punctuated.

5.3.1 Transmission of supra-textual devices

Patterns of transmission can be evinced clearly in some manuscripts in the data. The design of the page in CUL33[II] bears a striking resemblance to at least one of the possible source text in French, British Library, MS Sloane 3525 (ff.246v–253r). Apart from the two-column layout employed in the French text (see section 5.2.1.13), the use of 2-line rubricated initials, the decorative patterns running down the side of the text from the initials and the use of rubricated paragraph marks resembles closely those found in CUL33[II] (although instead of alternating red and blue initials, CUL33[II] uses only red). This design does not, however, appear in any of the other extant Middle English manuscript versions. Although it has not been possible within the scope of this thesis to examine and identify all the possible exemplars and textual affiliations the different *Trotula*-versions have, this suggests scope for further study in order to establish textual relationships and patterns of transmission across the various *Trotula*-manuscripts.

The use of supra-textual devices in D37 and B483, which are textually very closely related, resembles each other superficially, although frequently differs in particulars. The similarities, however, are sufficient to suggest an influence from the possibly shared exemplar in the case of B483 (which, while not likely to have been copied from D37, is the later of the two manuscripts), while the differences also suggest other underlying

motivations for the changes. Neither bears much resemblance to CUL33[II] visually or in any of the particulars of presentation.

Some manuscript texts contain relics and traces of transmission patterns, such as the spaces left for initials in D37, the intermittent use of initials in JC43 and S121[I] and the use of the punctus elevatus in B483 and S121[II]. In some cases these remain occasional glimpses, often telling of the methods of reproduction, while at other times the influence is more direct and obvious.

At first glance, the manuscripts containing Version D do not appear to present many similarities in their design. Although JC43 begins the text with a number of rubricated initials as well as paragraph divisions, the system is largely abandoned by the scribe early on; the latter part of the text contains no punctuation and no rubricated initials. Comparing the visual presentation to that of S121[I], the two can be found to correspond frequently, suggesting the design of enlarged and/or rubricated initials as well as breaking the text into paragraphs derive from an exemplar. Neither of these manuscripts, however, utilise initials consistently: S121[I] only contains a single instance and the third extant manuscript version, LM66, does not contain any (apart from a slightly enlarged initial to mark the beginning of the text). LM66 uses paragraph marks at those places where the other texts of Version D use blank space to divide the text into paragraphs. The patterns of spelling are relatively uniform across all three manuscripts; here, as in the use of supra-textual devices, LM66 stands further apart from the remaining two. In the frequencies of the use of supra-textual devices, JC43, with its infrequent usage differs from the other two, in which punctuation is used at regular intervals: in S121[I] the mean average length of punctuated units is 12.42 words, while it is 17.11 words in LM66.

The similarities between the two manuscripts of Version C make it clear that while scribes could modify the material from their exemplars sometimes quite considerably, they were also likely to retain various features found in their exemplars, such as the general layout of the text. Version E offers another example of a similar pattern: while the repertoire of symbols is different, as is the page design at first glance, there are also similarities. While the later manuscript, L333, divides the text into paragraphs, utilising blank space and indented headings for paragraphs, S121[II] uses rubrication for headings, although the text is presented as continuous. The repertoire may, therefore, differ, but the different supra-

textual devices function in the same way.

5.3.1.2 Modifications of supra-textual devices

The patterns of punctuation and other supra-textual devices do not, however, necessarily correspond even in textually closely related manuscripts. There are differences in the repertoires of symbols and devices, as well as in the frequencies and types of punctuation; while punctuation and other use of supra-textual devices in CUL33[II] is very dense (the mean average length of punctuated units is 8.31 words, considerably shorter than in any of the other manuscripts), the presentation of S421A is very different.

CUL33[II], despite its close textual connection with S421A, seems not to have contributed very much to the overall page design in S421A, which is alone in the manuscript texts of this version to employ almost no punctuation, but structures the text in paragraphs (although these largely correspond with those in CUL33[II]; see the Appendix). The manuscript is considerably later than the other manuscripts, and the late (sixteenth-century) date appears to be a determining factor in determining the layout of the text; division of the text into paragraphs separated by blank space is a feature shared with all the sixteenth-century manuscripts in the corpus. Although textually faithful to CUL33[II], the scribe of S421A modifies the spelling as well as the appearance of the text.

The other manuscript versions containing Version A again differ considerably from the patterns found in CUL33[II] and S421A, as mentioned above. Although A12195 is textually closer to the D37 tradition, its system of supra-textual devices is closer to that of CUL33[II]. A1295 and CUL33[II] not only largely share the repertoire of devices, they also agree on the majority of instances in using those devices; although the layout of the two manuscripts differs, the primary elements are similar, especially when compared with the other manuscripts of the same version as well as across the corpus. Despite the similarities, there are also differences, most notably in the use of paragraph marks and enlarged initials, which are not employed in A12195, where, instead, rubrication for whole words, clauses and sentences is used. The length of punctuated units also differs between the manuscripts; while the mean average length of such units in A12195 is 18.88 words, in D37 it is 42.87 words and in B483 40.12 words.

5.3.1.3 External influences

Particulars of presentation could also be affected by the physical, codicological context. This is most notable in the two manuscripts of Version C (CUL33[I] and H403), which, although sharing certain similarities in the general layout of the text, frequently differ in particulars. Thus, in presenting recipes, for instance, the two manuscripts offer a very different picture; CUL33[I] consistently presents a paragraph division whereby each new item begins a new paragraph. This is also likely to be dictated not only by the exemplar, but also by the dimensions of the manuscript page. The hand is rather large, and so each page fits only about 110–125 words (as opposed to H403 where each page contains 365–430 words. The dimensions in turn are likely to have been dictated by the earlier version of *Trotula* (CUL33[II], Version A) with which the manuscript is bound together; since the last pages contain recipes and notes in the main hand of CUL33[I], the two texts are likely to have been bound together by that scribe or around the time of copying of that text.

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The differences between the two manuscripts of Version C are evident on presentational as well as linguistic and stylistic levels, CUL33[I] presenting a linguistically and stylistically simplified version of the text as can be seen by comparing the opening sentence of each manuscript text, as illustrated in examples [5.4] and [5.5]:

[5.4]
¶ This boke mad a woma*n* named
     Rota / of þᵉ p*ri*ue sicknesses þᵗ lo*n*g
     to a woman , wᵗ medicynes to
     helpe the*m* in ther neade .
(CUL33[I], f.1r)

[5.5]
Thys booke was drawne owtte of dyu*er*se boks of me//
dyc*y*ns concernynge the dessessus of women bye
one exp*er*te in the anothamye and specyall co*n*serny*n*ge
the p*ar*ts of awomane and the desses to them ofte tyms bee
happenynge wher*e* in schalbe schewyd monye of ther*e* des//
sessys and remedys for*e* the same bye the grace of gode
(H403, p.347)

CUL33[I] appends a number of recipes at the end of the *Trotula*-text. This section contains a somewhat different layout to the sections before, indicating that it was copied from a different source or sources; this is confirmed by examination of the contents – the end of the text contains miscellaneous medical and household recipes. This, therefore, shows both

independence by the scribe in the design of the manuscript page, and a desire to keep the text somewhat uniform, but also clear influence from the exemplar or exemplars. The punctuation is lighter at the end of the text of CUL33[I], and in particular the absence of commas is notable. At the beginning of the text both commas and virgules abound (see Chapter 4, section 4.1.3.1.1), whereas towards the end of the text both become increasingly rare[262]. The length of units also increases towards to the end of the text, as illustrated in figure [5.1] (see also Chapter 4, section 4.1.1.4.1).
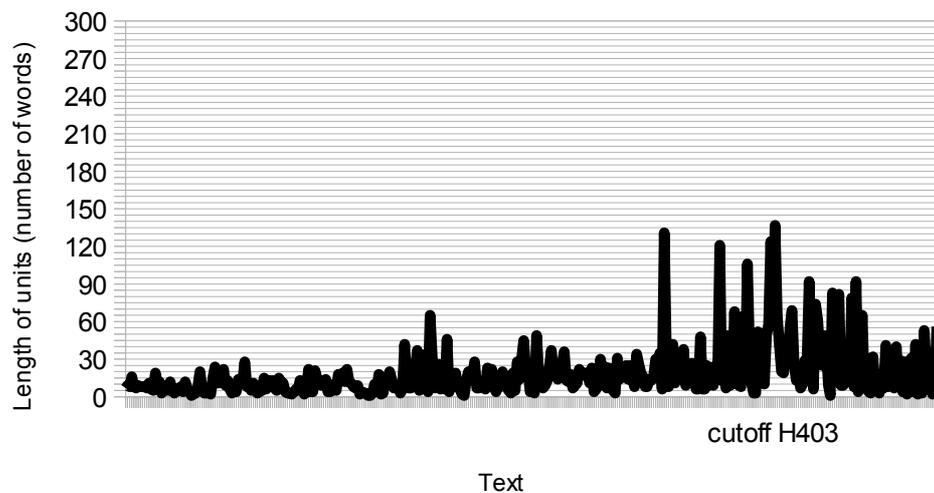
Figure 5.1. Distribution of unit lengths in CUL33[I].

The patterns of supra-textual devices, as well as of spelling, remain uniform throughout the manuscript in A34111. The manuscript, which contains medical and astrological texts in English and in Latin, is written throughout by a single scribe and was designed as a unified whole. Some of the texts at the beginning of the manuscript employ a slightly different layout with clearly-marked paragraph divisions and spaces between them, but otherwise the scribe employs consistently the same system of layout throughout: paragraph marks to mark the beginning of a recipe and/or section, coloured initials likewise and (the only point of departure, with various texts) underlining in red, of the first few letters or words after the rubricated initial and paragraph mark. Similarly, while there is some variation in spelling within the texts, this variation seems to belong to the idiolect of the scribe, as it stays consistent throughout the manuscript.

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[262] Unfortunately, the plot display cannot be saved in the current version of AntConc (3.2.4w) to illustrate the development.

A12195, which contains several other texts in the same hand as the *Trotula*, does not offer as uniform a picture visually. While the general appearance between the texts resembles one another, the closer patterns and repertoires of punctuation differ between the texts in the codex. Similar patterns can be evinced with regard to spelling. Patterns of spelling in the texts written by this scribe vary, although the variation *between* the different texts is not much more considerable than *within* a single text. The variation both in the spelling and punctuation patterns suggests that the scribe of A1295, probably copying from various sources, attempted to translate the text to his own dialect; yet the different influences from the exemplars contribute to the variation. The scribe had an idiosyncratic system of punctuation in his usage; A12195 is the most independent of the extant manuscript versions of Version A linguistically, textually (often omitting passages included in all of the other versions), but also in its system of supra-textual devices.

The design of the "medical quire" in A12195, however, also bears a strong resemblance to some of the texts in the first quire of that same manuscript with its patterns of rubrication. Although it is not clear when the different quires were brought together – the manuscript contains various hands , covering a number of subject matters, written at different times – the design of the previous texts included in the codex could have contributed to the presentation of this text. Since similar patterns of rubrication are not found in any of the other extant Middle English *Trotula*-texts, it is conceivable that the scribe was influenced by the patterns found in the earlier texts in the manuscript. The quire itself where the *Trotula* appears contains different hands, none of which uses the same patterns of rubrication as the *Trotula*-scribe. The usage is not, however, consistent across those texts copied by the *Trotula*-scribe, and the varying patterns of punctuation suggest influence from the various exemplars. Although some of the other texts written by this scribe also contain rubricated headings, none contains such extensive rubrication as the *Trotula*-text, and some contain no rubrication at all.

In JC43, similarly, while the *Trotula*-text contains some rubricated initials, a number of other texts in the manuscript by the same scribe are heavily rubricated, suggesting that the scribe may be copying the particulars of presentation from different exemplars, rather than attempting to create a unified appearance. The scribe of L333, on the other hand, presents a fairly uniform appearance, although there are also some differences between the different texts in the manuscript. These, however, are primarily focussed on the level of individual

symbols (i.e. one text may use a punctuation mark which does not appear in the others); the scribe may, therefore, be influenced by the exemplar in particulars, whilst striving for a coherent, uniform presentation in general.

5.3.2 Diachronic developments

The chronological differences between these manuscripts do not appear to exert considerable influence on how the text is presented. The manuscripts in the corpus span more than a century, and while there are certain differences evident between the earliest and the latest of the manuscripts, as will be detailed below, there are also practices which do not present evidence of diachronic change. The exemplars from which the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts were copied from are, of course, of earlier date, whereby practices of punctuation and relics of older systems can be seen in manuscripts which themselves date from the late sixteenth century.

5.3.1.1 Repertoire and functions of devices

The diachronic differences are most evident on the level of repertoire; individual symbols of devices appear or fall out of use. The layout of the text is most obviously affected: the fifteenth-century manuscripts generally present individual texts continuously, while all four of the sixteenth-century manuscript texts divide the text into paragraphs by indenting, outdenting or leaving an empty line between two paragraphs. While paragraph division does appear in some of the earlier texts as well, the divisions are not indicated by blank space; if a scribe wishes to start a new section, line-fillers are used to fill in the rest of the previous line and to signal a break in the text.

Certain symbols fall out of use; the punctus elevatus only appears in two of the fifteenth-century manuscripts, and the virgule shows clear development towards the form we now recognise as the comma. The doubled forms of the virgule (double virgule and double virgule & punctus) do not appear in any of the later manuscripts. Although not necessarily reflective of the trends in supra-textual devices in the period as a whole, in the present data rubrication only appears in the fifteenth-century manuscripts, whereas the later manuscripts utilise features of layout (paragraph breaks, blank space, indentations) instead to signal headings and textual divisions.

Not only do the form of the devices and symbols change, the functions also show tendencies for specialisation, although some of these tendencies run through the data, and are therefore not necessarily indicative of diachronic changes. Although the punctus is used in some manuscripts as the primary or even sole punctuation symbol, with a variety of functions, in other manuscripts its usage is restricted principally to signal the end of sections and numerals.

5.3.1.2 Overview

There is little uniformity in the systems of supra-textual devices and the appearance of the manuscripts in the corpus, suggesting that, rather than being tied to certain formats and traditions in page design, the scribes of these manuscripts were at freedom to choose and decide how to present the texts. The same is true for other medieval manuscripts; the manuscripts of *Ancrene Riwle* display considerable variation in their structure-signalling devices and use of initials, leading Dahood to conclude that "to some extent matters of format and layout were decided independently by the persons responsible for producing each manuscript" (Dahood 1988:81). Parkes comments that there is a "surprising amount of variety" in copies of the same text and scribes often reinterpret and change boundaries of rhetorical structures (Parkes 2012 [1994]:266, 274). The extent of the independence of scribes in matters of page design is, however, a matter of dispute and various factors are at play. All of the manuscript texts, however, present an internal system, largely consistent in its application. In some cases this system breaks down after the initial establishment; this is the case with the use of initials in D37 or JC43, suggesting influence from an exemplar.

Other manuscript traditions display considerable uniformity in their layout and patterns of rubrication, such as the manuscripts of Nicholas Love, which "provide substantial evidence that the text, marginalia, and pattern of rubrication were standardized, presumably at some early point in the process of transmission" (Ghosh 2000:28). Ghosh suggests that the uniformity of these manuscripts suggests an interest in "the 'uncorrupted' transmission of the text" (Ghosh 2000:28); Wakelin also presents evidence of *literatim* copying in a sample of texts, where "the scribes were self-consistent letter by letter, abbreviation by abbreviation, virgule by virgule, in 82 per cent of the words they copied" (Wakelin

2011:54)[263], and Partridge's survey "strongly suggests that the default procedure was for scribes and other artisans to reproduce their exemplars in details of layout" (Partridge 2011:82). The influence of exemplars has been said to reach not only to manuscripts, but also to printed books:

> Behind every book which Peter Schoeffer printed stands a published manuscript […] The decision on the kind of letter to use, the selection of initials and decoration of rubrications, the determination of the length and width of the column, planning for margins […] all were prescribed by the manuscript copy before him.
> (Lehmann-Haupt, 1950:37–38, cited in Eisenstein 2005:23)

Many such instances of *literatim* copying concern literary texts, or for instance Wycliffite writings; whereas in no case in the present data is the punctuation and other supra-textual devices reproduced "verbatim" even in textually close texts, suggesting a wide scope for individual scribal variation. Like spelling and linguistic variation, textual presentation may vary as a result of a range of factors: influence from the exemplar or exemplars, scribes' individual preferences, local variation as well as the genre and style of the manuscript and text in question. The scribes of the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts, while influenced by the exemplar before them, do not, in general, appear concerned with preserving the system of supra-textual devices; Chapter 6 will examine the motivations and effects of this variation.

The patterns of transmission thus extend beyond the actual exemplars; in order to gain a full picture of how page design is transmitted, it would be necessary to examine the exemplars and extant Latin and French manuscript versions from which the Middle English texts derive. Moreover, the codicological context appears in many cases to be a determining factor: codices as a whole could have been designed according to a scribe's individual preferences (or possibly according to regional or "house styles"; see Voigts 1990 for the so-called Sloane group; see also Taavitsainen 2004b and 2005a:91 for further reference) and the design of a certain text within that codex could have been influenced by the design of another text within the same codex. It is clear, then, that while scribal transmission played a role in determining the presentation of a text, it was not the only, or even necessarily the primary factor.

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[263] He notes that "most changes concerned only the spelling, punctuation or abbreviation of the text" (Wakelin 2011:54); it is not clear, however, whether the changes in punctuation are on the level of individual symbols (i.e. changing for instance a punctus into a virgule), or whether there are more fundamental changes to the system of punctuation.

5.4 Summary

This chapter has focussed on comparing the data, assessing the influence of scribal transmission as well as innovation. The repertoire of supra-textual devices shows some evidence of diachronic changes and certain features can be traced back to the scribes' exemplars; on the whole, however, the scribes modified and adapted the textual presentation quite freely, playing a key role in determining the presentation of manuscript texts. Comparison between form and function of the supra-textual devices across the corpus shows that some forms have more constant functions, while others present more variation. The following chapter will discuss other variables affecting the presentation of the text, focusing on those factors related to the audience and readership of these texts.

6. The pragmatics of reading the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts

In this chapter the textual minutiae discussed in the previous chapters, the use of punctuation marks and other supra-textual devices, are seen as pathways to larger concerns to do with scribal copying and conditions of vernacular literacy. Some of the texts include a preface detailing the reasons for rendering the text into English: "by cause that women of our tonge can better rede & vnderstond this language than eny other / and þat eu*er*y woman lettered*e* may rede hit to oþ*er* vnlettered*e* and help hem and counsalle hem in her maledyes w^t oute . shewyng ther disese to man I haue drawen this and writen it in englysshe tonge" [B483, f.82r]. Medieval literacy is an often-discussed subject, and a number of important studies of the topic exist. The focus in this chapter will be on examining literacy practices through the lens of the physical manuscript page and through textual presentation and organisation, examining what the use of supra-textual devices in the manuscripts can tell us about how these texts could have been read and used in the social and historical contexts in which they appear.

By examining how the texts were presented to the medieval reader – rather than studying the texts themselves in a modern edition, modified and adapted to suit our expectations of how a text should look like – we can attempt to see the text as a contemporary reader might have (discussions such as these are necessarily rife with 'might-haves', 'could-haves'; possibilities rather than certainties; we can, of course, never reproduce the medieval experience as it would have been for the medieval reader). In doing so, we can begin to chart the medieval reading experience, and ask questions such as would a text such as the *Trotula* have been read out loud? Would it have been studied intensively, to be read and memorised? Or would it have functioned as a practical guide, perhaps carried in a pocket and consulted? Do supra-textual devices in these manuscripts suggest special kinds of literacy? How are recipes presented to the reader? How is the presentation of the texts adapted to suit different audiences, with different literacy skills? In what contexts might a text such as the *Trotula* been read and by who? What functions do supra-textual devices have and in what way do they reflect the use of the manuscripts? What role did such texts play in medical practice?

The use of supra-textual devices will be approached as a form of communication: the scribe is communicating with the reader not only through the text itself, but also through the presentation of the text (Smith and Kay 2011:212). Manuscripts provide evidence of communication between the author (and/or scribe) and the reader, whereby "(a) pragmatic analysis that wants to investigate the communicative history of a manuscript or a range of manuscripts must spell out in detail the roles of all the participants in the communicative situation created by the manuscript or, where socio-historical facts are lacking, at least consider the possible alternative scenarios" (Pahta and Jucker 2011:3–4). Each of the manuscripts is unique, copied for potentially widely varying motivations; before mass production of printed texts, "every copy of a text could be […] literally handcrafted for a particular audience" (Barratt 2001:23). This chapter will examine the differences (as well as similarities) between copies of (ultimately) the same text, and what those differences may reveal of the audiences and literacy practices in the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts, as well as situating them in the wider context of medical practice in medieval England.

6.1 Reading supra-textual devices

Parkes states that "the key to the understanding of medieval punctuation lies not in the grammatical theory, nor in the analysis of syntactical or intonation patterns, but in the concern of the scribe or corrector to elucidate the text transmitted to him according to the needs of his own audience" (Parkes 1978:139). The use of punctuation marks and other devices has thus a bearing on how a text is or can be read. Not only does the use of these symbols and devices make the text more easily legible and help the reader to understand connections between different parts of the text, their use also has other implications.

A text completely devoid of punctuation can be very difficult to read for those not used to such a presentation; and so is one with conventions different to our own, as illustrated by the need for editors to modernise the punctuation of medieval texts. Such practices, however, have their own caveats: what medieval readers saw on the page is often completely different from the way in which modern editions represent the texts (see also Chapter 2, section 2.2). Caie notes that "(o)ne might speak of the 'manuscript experience', as the medieval reader would be presented with many more stimuli and much more information on the page than that provided by the text in its modern edition" (Caie

2008:11). Likewise, Troll advocates a more holistic view of medieval literacy: "(o)nly by putting the scribes and their work into *their* context can we approach the medieval experience and their understanding of manuscripts and literacy; only then can we see how manuscript technology constrained medieval culture and knowledge" (Troll 1990:98). Reconstructing the medieval experience of reading is, of course, impossible. Close examination of manuscripts, however, can bring us closer to that experience, even if we always necessarily remain at a distance, not only in time but also by virtue of our own culture, experiences and expectations.

6.1.2 Literacy and reading

Estimates of the number of literate people in medieval society vary considerably. According to some scholars, almost everybody could read and write (Lester 1987:216, also quoted in Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1996:25, Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004:15–16), while others propose figures considerably lower: from about 30% of the population in the more rural areas in the fifteenth century (Du Boulay 1970:118, Keen 1990:224; see also Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg 1996:25, Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004:15–16) or 25% for urban male population and 6–12% for men in general, to about 40% among the London merchants (Thrupp 1989:156; see also Graff 1987:139). By the mid-seventeenth century, about 30% for men and 10% for women could read according to some estimates (Cressy 2006 [1981]:72), figures which have also been characterised as a "spectacular underestimate" (Thomas 1986:103). In rural areas figures were considerably lower (Graff 1987:139), although Graff also states that "literacy reached a level before the sixteenth century that [...] was impressively high" (Graff 1991:95). Other researchers claim that by the sixteenth century 25–30% of the population as a whole was literate (Alexander 1990:36, Bartlett 1995:5).

The estimates, then, show little uniformity, and reflect the difficulties and problems posed by the subject. Reading was not a skill acquired by the higher echelons of the society exclusively, but nor was it so widespread that we can take it for granted that everyone was able to read. These problems are compounded by terminological issues, as the same terms are frequently used to refer to different concepts. The following section will define what is meant by 'literacy'.

6.1.2.1 Defining literacy

Literacy is, as its simplest, defined as "the ability to read and write" ('literacy', *n*., sense 1, *OED*). It is, however, a more complex phenomenon, and can be more accurately represented as a continuum, a dynamic concept with a variety of skills and levels of knowledge (e.g. Clanchy 2007:47, Thomas 1986:97, 99; R. McKitterick 1992:2–3; Ford 1993:22, 36; C. Jones 2000:48, Farina 20120:143–144). A variety of terms has been employed to describe different levels of medieval literacy. What constitutes as 'literacy' differs from our modern concept of 'literate', and defining medieval literacy is not a straightforward task. 'Minimal literacy' might constitute the ability to write one's name or mark, or simply the possession of a seal bearing one's name, but does not suggest that such a person was "educated" or "literate" in the modern sense (Clanchy 2007:46–47).

Some of these abilities distinguished thus only function in limited contexts; a practical or pragmatic reader might be able to read letters or bills, whereas more lengthy and complex texts might be beyond his capabilities (Thomas 1986:113), or he could perhaps only read cursive script, but not textura, for instance (Parkes 1991:285). Reading and writing should also be perceived as separate skills; someone able to read might not be able to write, just as someone able to sign their own name might not be able to write, or even read, more complicated texts. Moreover, *literatus*, in the medieval context, refers not necessarily to someone who could read, but to someone who was literate in Latin. The term also implies a certain degree of learning (Clanchy 2012:188, 228–232). The ability to read and/or write in the vernacular is thus perceived as separate from the ability to read and write in Latin. Yet another aspect of literacy is orality, omnipresent yet elusive in discussions of medieval literacy (M. Green 2008:46); D.H. Green argues that medieval literacy and orality should not be regarded as polar opposites, but, rather, as intertwined and related modes of communication (D.H. Green 2005; see also Chinca and Young 2005:1–4).

Various scholars have also distinguished different types of literacies and different types of readers. Parkes makes the distinction between the *professional reader* (scholar or professional man of letters), the *cultivated reader* (recreation) and the *pragmatic reader* (who read or wrote for business purposes) (Parkes 1991:275). Saenger distinguishes between *phonetic literacy* and *comprehension literacy* – the former minimal literacy, allowing the reader "to decode texts syllable by syllable and to pronounce them orally", the

latter a more advanced type of literacy, associated with silent reading and allowing full comprehension of the written material (Saenger 1989:142).

Thomas speaks of *practical literacy* and *cultural literacy*; he also distinguishes between *black-letter* and *roman-type literacy*. He considers the ability to read texts printed in black-letter as a more basic kind of literacy, as the majority of elementary texts before the sixteenth century were printed in black-letter (Thomas 1986:99) (even though from a modern perspective, black-letter appears much more difficult to read). Parkes also suggests that the cursive script, which enabled quicker writing and, therefore, cheaper books, might have been the only script some pragmatic readers could easily read (Parkes 1991:285).

Another distinction which can be made is between *intensive* and *extensive* literacy: in periods of intensive literacy, fewer texts were available and the readers of those texts would be more familiar with them, while during periods of extensive literacy, reading practices are wider, and therefore more reliant on the written (rather than spoken) mode of delivery (Smith 2012:23–24); these two modes did and still do coexist (Brewer 1997:170–171, Jajdelska 2007:21). In addition, literacy can also be discussed in terms of gender, social class and geographical location (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004:16), female literacy distinguished from that of male literacy, urban middle-class from rural, and upper classes from lower classes.

Furthermore, literacy may be discussed in terms of text-type or genre, acknowledging that different texts can be read in different ways[264]. Thus, most relevant to the current topic, Monica Green introduces the concept of *medical literacy* to describe the way in which medical texts could be read: for information, as quick reference guides, or, in the case of more theoretical works, more thoroughly (M. Green 2000b:6).

The number of different types and modes of classification reflects the different interests and emphases among scholars. Much of this, however, is disagreement about the exact terminology to use; modern scholarship by and large agrees on the broad issues of

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[264] Although detailed discussion of the definitions and constraints of genre is outside the scope of this thesis, it should be noted that the terms 'genre' and 'register' are frequently used interchangeably, and often defined based on external criteria, whereas 'text-type' may be defined based on linguistic criteria (Biber 1995:7–10). For medieval genres and text-types, see Görlach 1995, 2001, 2004; for characteristics of medieval medical and scientific writing and recipes, see Görlach 1992, Diller and Görlach 2001, Taavitsainen 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2005b, Pahta 2001, Grund 2003, Carroll 1999, 2004. On characteristics of medical and scientific manuscripts see e.g. Keiser 2004, Voigts 2007.

medieval literacy, i.e. that it is a complex subject, one not accurately described by the binary divisions between 'literate' and 'illiterate', 'oral' and 'literate', or 'written' and 'spoken'. The wealth of terms and the sometimes minute distinctions between those different skill levels, informative and useful though the discussion may be, can also have the disadvantage of obscuring the view from the real subject-matter, who read what texts, and the way in which those texts were, or could be,read.

These distinctions also depend on which texts and what types of texts were read (printed or handwritten; devotional, scholastic, practical, literary...), who read them (clerics, scholars, women...) and for what purpose, and how the texts were read (such as for memorising, for practical purposes, for recreation...). Innumerable distinctions can be, and have been, made. There are, therefore, a number of ways of approaching the subject of medieval literacy, and despite the wealth of literature on the subject, new approaches can still bring light on the topic. While literacy, then, has been an often-discussed topic, the actual practices of reading and an examination of *how* texts were read is a much more elusive subject. Many existing studies on the subject concentrate on religious, didactic or literary texts, or draw from disciplines such as art history in order to understand how illustrations and visual images on page function (e.g. Camille 1992). A collection of essays edited by Raven, Small and Tadmor (1996), who note the scarcity of such studies in their introduction, examines the subject from numerous perspectives, covering different aspects of reading from the twelfth century until the nineteenth century.

6.2 Contexts of production and reception

The key to uncovering the significance of the presentation of the manuscripts lies in considering the manuscripts in their contexts: the historical, cultural and social settings in which these manuscripts were produced, read and used, as well as the physical manuscript context in which the texts appear. The information about the provenance of these manuscripts is patchy and scarce; for many of the manuscripts, there is no evidence to suggest who read and owned them. Some contain ownership inscriptions, and in some cases even information about the scribe or the patron of the manuscript; these, however, are exceptions to the rule.

This section will present a number of scenarios and contexts in which medicine (in

particular with regard to the subject matters covered in the *Trotula*) was practised and in which texts such as the *Trotula* could have been read: by professional physicians, in domestic or monastic contexts, by midwives, by untrained practitioners, or by those with a general or theoretical interest in medicine or astrology. The subject matters of the Middle English *Trotula* pertain to everyday concerns of women but also include material which could be of interest to a variety of audiences and could, therefore, be read for a number of reasons. While it was long held that "women's sicknesses were women's business" (e.g. Rowland 1981:xv), this assumption has been challenged and the evidence points towards male practitioners reading and using gynecological and obstetrical texts (Benton 1985:48, M. Green 2000 [1989]:39, 58, 61; 2000 [1992]:57; 2008).

In order to provide a basis for discussion on the use of the manuscripts, this section will provide a brief overview of the possible contexts in which these manuscripts were or could have been produced. In addition to providing a general overview of the historical and social circumstances in which the texts were circulated. it will also refer to information, where available, on the provenance of the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts.

6.2.1 Medical audiences and practices

Although Latin was still in late medieval England the *lingua franca* of science, the increase in vernacular translations of classical texts made it possible for medical texts to reach wider audiences. Latin retained its role as the language of learned medicine until mid-seventeenth century, but medical texts (as well as texts in other fields, such as literary, religious and legal) were also increasingly translated into English from the late fourteenth century onwards (Taavitsainen and Pahta 1998:157, Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004:1, 11), although medical texts (recipe collections and remedybooks) in English survive already from the Anglo-Saxon period (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004:1, 11). Medical manuscripts from medieval England are often multilingual, containing Latin and/or Anglo-Norman French as well as English (Voigts 1995, 1996, 2007; Pahta 2001:209; Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004:11-12).

The traditional views of medieval medicine contain a variety of binary divisions: practitioners were learned or unlearned, literate or illiterate; the practice of medicine was theoretical or practical, academic or popular. The term 'learned medicine' is often used to

refer to academic, theoretical medicine, based on classical texts and taught at universities in Latin, while the variety of non-university trained practitioners, lacking formal training, relied largely on practices learned through observation and orally transmitted knowledge; the division between 'learned' and 'popular' grew in the late medieval period (Taavitsainen 2005b:192). The surviving evidence, however, illustrates the merging of these different traditions (Siraisi 1990:18–21); professional physicians made use of popular remedybooks (which could also be written in Latin), while more learned works can be found in the ownership of laypeople with no formal medical training (Taavitsainen and Pahta 1998:160, Alonso-Almeida and Carroll 2004:22–23), nor was all vernacular medical writing directed at a lay audience (Pahta 2001:208, Alonso-Almeida and Carroll 2004:23–24). Taavitsainen suggests that vernacular translations were less likely to have been used in institutional settings, and more likely to have been used by private individuals (Taavitsainen 2004a:49).

Different categorisations of medieval medical material have been proposed. Robbins classifies medical texts into three groups (prognosis, diagnosis, treatment); this classification is based on the contents of the texts (Robbins 1970), but does not take into account for instance remedybooks or recipe collections, which may not fit into any single of these categories (Alonso-Almeida and Carroll 2004:21–22). Voigts' classification of medical material is based on the contents, the intended audience of the texts and their origins, categorising the texts as academic or learned treatises, and popular remedybooks[265] (Voigts 1982:41–43). Pahta and Taavitsainen suggest relabelling the categories into 1) specialised treatises ("a range of learned texts dealing with bloodletting, ophthalmology, embryology, urinoscopy, gynaecology, the plague and other diseases, as well as encyclopaedic treatises rooted in the academic tradition"), 2) surgical treatises (surgical manuals and anatomic descriptions – some of which are learned, and belong to academic texts as well), and 3) remedybooks and *materia medica* (recipe collections with prognostications and charms, health guides, regimen texts on diet and exercise etc; herbals, lapidaries etc.)" (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004:15). As can be seen, there is overlap between these categories, and depending on the parameters used a text may belong to several categories simultaneously. The *Trotula*, for instance, does not necessarily fit neatly into any of the categories: depending on the system of classification used, might be categorised as a specialised treatise, but also, at least in the case of some of the

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[265] Alonso-Almeida and Carroll (2004) offer a re-classification of medical texts, and argue that the term 'popular' is inappropriate for describing many of the texts that usually fall into that category. Other classification systems include for instance that in the Electronic Voigts and Kurtz database (eVK), which classifies medical and scientific writing into a number of categories, including recipes, alchemy, herbs, plague tracts, gynecological and obstetrical texts, surgery and charms.

manuscripts, a recipe book; popular or learned (see also Pahta 1998:61 and Alonso-Almeida and Carroll 2004:31 on the problems in classifying Middle English gynecological treatises).

Studies have found numerous linguistic differences in the different categories mentioned above. Thus, when texts are examined based on the tripartite classification suggested by Pahta and Taavitsainen (2004), differences are found in for instance the use of technical terminology (Norri 1992, 1998), linguistic features indicating involvement and emotionality (personal pronouns, imperative forms, passive and impersonal constructions) (Taavitsainen 1994), expressions of evidentiality and modality (Taavitsainen and Pahta 1998, Taavitsainen 2001d), the use of appositional constructions (Nevanlinna and Pahta 1997) and metadiscursive practices (Taavitsainen 1999) (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004:14). The use of supra-textual devices and possible differences in usage between these different categories has not been studied, but could provide fruitful field for investigation.

Medical teaching in universities was formalised, but medicine was also practised in less formalised settings, such as (noble) households, monasteries and cathedrals; guilds of barber-surgeons emerged in the late fifteenth century. There were various kinds of medical practitioners in medieval England, ranging from university-educated physicians to those who had not received much formal training, such as barber-surgeons, midwives, herbalists, apothecaries, leeches, wise-women, healers and wet-nurses (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004:16, Field 2007:52); although female medical practitioners are often equated with midwives, there were a number of other roles women performed (M. Green 2000 [1989]:43–44).

While there were attempts to control medical practice by the state and the Church, and the 1512 Parliamentary Act restricted medical practice to licensed physicians and surgeons, prior to that there was no universal system of medical regulation or qualification; licenses could be granted by universities or by guild officials as well as ecclesiastical and civic officials (Siraisi 1990:18–21) and medical care was often provided by people with little or no formal medical training (C. Jones 2004:27; Robbins 1970:408). A petition in 1421 stated "that no Woman use the practyce of Fisyk undre the same payne" of "long emprisonement" and a "fine of forty pounds", even though the attempts to restrict medieval practice were largely unsuccessful (Benton 1985:49, M. Green 2000 [1989]:54). Medical

literature and practical works such as recipe collections in the vernacular did not necessarily require a high degree of learning; while medicine was commonly associated with Latin and learning, the vernacular medical works such as herbals and recipe collections indicate the existence of an audience for the vernacular works, who might or might not have been literate in Latin.

The dearth of professional physicians meant that much medical practice was largely in the hands of non-professional practitioners: in the late sixteenth-century Norwich, "there was an estimated one practitioner for every 200–250 inhabitants"; rural areas would have a lower ratio, perhaps about 1 to 400 (Pollock 1993:93, Field 2007:52); Robbins states that "in the fifteenth century there were only about sixty university-trained physicians" (Robbins 1970:408). Medicine was practised in a variety of ways and at different locations. Monastery infirmaries were often loci of medical activity and medicine was also practised within households, especially in rural areas where trained physicians were not necessarily readily available (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004:16, Furdell 2002:96); within households, it is often argued, women were the primary authority (Stine 1996:108, Pelling 1997:70, Field 2007:52).

6.2.2 Childbirth

One of the most prevalent topics in the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts is childbirth. Although the different texts place more or less emphasis on this subject, it is nevertheless one of the most important topics in the texts. Childbirth is often portrayed as being the sphere of women alone[266] (Pollock 1997:288). Although there is little direct evidence of actual practices concerning childbirth in this period, it is assumed that the event was attended by a number of women midwives, family members, friends and neighbours, the so-called gossips – friends, neighbours and relatives were expected to be present, leading to childbirth being portrayed as "a collective female ritual, nurtured and amplified by sisterly solidarity" (Pollock 1997:289). The presence of gossips was in the seventeenth century also a legal requirement. In 1624, a statute against infanticide was passed. In order to be able to prove a stillbirth, not an infanticide, the mother needed to have witnesses

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[266] The Middle English *Trotula* contains one passing reference to witchcraft, although the emphasis appears to be on the concerns of hygiene in cutting the umbilical cord with a piece of glass, earthernware pot or a sharp stone, rather than with a knife or a pair of scissors: "And assentyth nevyr*e* to þe foly of sume olde women þat wer*e* wont to kot hym wᵗ glas or wᵗ a pese of a potte of erthe or wᵗa scharp ston for all þat ys bᵗ foly & wyche Crafte" (D37, f.17r; this remark is present in all of the manuscripts of Version A, apart from A12195).

present; the presence of gossips was thus required by law (Pollock 1997:297–298). Medieval sources rarely make any mention on the attendance in the birth chambers; Early Modern sources – such as manuals for midwives or midwives' diaries – are almost as quiet on the subject. Jane Sharp, in her *The Midwives Book* (1671) does not mention female attendants, nor does the gentlewoman Lady Margaret Hoby, who acted as an over-seer in deliveries. The American midwife Martha Ballard (1734/1735–1812) notes the presence of several women in childbirths, but does not identify them beyond a general remark "Her women were calld" (Pollock 1997:293).

The Middle English *Trotula*-texts themselves contain references to midwives and their duties in assisting in childbirth. Most of these references make it clear that the text is not aimed at midwives, but rather to either a lay attendant or a physician under whose supervision the midwife was to perform her duties. There are also some references to the secret knowledge possessed by midwives (see also Lemay 1990:193): "undyrstand wele þat þer bene physycall remedies þat ben hydde from vs þe qwyche bene don be medwyves" [JC43, f.74r]; "also be yt knowing þt þ*er* ar many thyngs that comon medwyffs knowes well langes to þe craft , & p*ro*ffetts mekyll as drynkyng Every . & many od*er* thyngs þt eu*er*y ill ma*n* knowis not" [L333, f.41r], as well as the authority a midwife could exert in childbirth: "and syche medycyngs scholde nott be Ministereyde vnto the the tyme þᵗ the womane and the Mydwyfe see that ytt be tyme" [H403, p.359]. From the texts, it is unclear whether the physician was expected to be present at childbirth, instructing the midwife in her duties. Some of the instructions are to be performed by the midwife; these, in some cases, seem to place the midwife in the margins, under the control of the doctor, whereas other instances grant the midwife more power and freedom in the event.

Childbirth seems to have remained largely "feminized" throughout the fifteenth century (M. Green 2008:45). The same holds true for later periods; Hobby notes that "(t)he management of childbirth in early-modern Britain was almost exclusively in the hands of women; midwifery manuals, by contrast, were almost all written by men" (Hobby 1999:xvi). Pollock states that "(p)regnancy was managed by women themselves rather than professional medical personnel", suggesting that manuscript recipe compilations, "usually compiled by women", helped women to manage the practicalities of childbirth (Pollock 1997:289).

There would appear to be an anomaly here, then; childbirth is portrayed as belonging to women's sphere alone, yet the majority of the direct evidence points towards men owning, reading and using gynecological and obstetrical texts. Evidence from the Early Modern period, however, suggests that men were also involved in the practicalities of childbirth, and for instance making arrangements for the midwife and the wetnurse (Pollock 1997:295). There is also, contrary to earlier assumptions, evidence of male doctors treating female patients in the Middle Ages (Lemay 1985, M. Green 2000 [1989]:62–63). For instance, Thomas Fayreford, a practising physician in mid-fifteenth century Somerset and Devon, records treating a variety of patients of both genders from different social backgrounds. The records show him treating, for instance, suffocation of the womb, commonly discussed in all of the *Trotula*-texts. Peter Murray Jones remarks that "Fayreford's expertise in gynaecological matters belies the once prevalent idea that male medieval doctors did not meddle in female complaints. On the contrary, in Fayreford's case female ailments seem to have been something of a speciality, as is borne out by the considerable attention devoted to them in the medical section of his remedies" (P.M. Jones 2008:3). There are also other examples of other non-professional or semi-professional practitioners with medical books and an interest in gynecology and obstetrics. The existence of these texts in male ownership does not, of course, prove the *use* of them, and a distinction should be made between intended purpose and actual use (M. Green 2000 [1989]:65).

6.2.3 Domestic medicine

Medicine was also practised in more private settings. From evidence from the Early Modern period, it has been argued that the household, under female authority, was the central location for medical activity: "class distinctions notwithstanding, women were expected to provide for the well-being of their families with salutary home remedies" (Furdell 2002:96; see also Field 2007:52). Indisputable evidence for the extent of domestic medical practice in the earlier periods is, however, difficult to come by, and while scholars have frequently referred to such practices, the evidence remains speculative.

Robbins quotes the words of Chaucer's Dame Pertelote ("Though in this toun is noon apothecarie, I shal myself to herbes techen yow That shul been to youre hele and for youre prow"), stating that "(o)ther manuscripts may have been used by the mistress of a large

household to take care of the common illnesses of her own menage" (Robbins 1970:404; see also Slack 1979:260). Other sources, such as the Paston letters, survive which contain references to and discussions of healthcare and medical treatments. There are varying claims to the extent to which the healthcare of the family depended on the women, and while others suggest domestic medicine provided by women was one of the principal sources of healthcare (Whittaker 1993:20, C. Jones 2000:142), the Pastons at least also relied on other sources and local, East Anglian leeches and apothecaries for medical attention and information (M. Green 2008:38, Whittaker 1993:20). There is, however, no evidence of the Paston women owning or using medical material related solely to women's health, and Green suggests that, rather than evidence for women's involvement in literate medicine, these references are merely "the outcroppings of submerged oral traditions that only in the Early Modern period become fully visible as *written texts*"[267] (M. Green 2000b:47; italics in the original). The extent to which (lay)women themselves were involved in the practices of (literate) medicine and healthcare, then, is difficult to ascertain; we can only use written texts as evidence and can thus only discover hints of the world of orality and the possible oral practices of medicine.

Hanna argues that LM66 was intended for practical use and consultation within the household: "(h)ousehold necessity involves gentry with books, simply to look after the family's health – in Newton's case, apparently the health of women, viewed as having special medical needs, every bit as much as men" (Hanna 2000:283). Youngs presents evidence for "(Newton's) care for his wife's health" as well as his interest in conception and childbirth and speculates that Newton himself was probably concerned with the well-being and sick-care of his family (Youngs 2008:156–7); the manuscript also records the births of his children. The manuscript also contains gynecological recipes in Newton's own hand as well as some other recipes. Hanna comments that these additions are "rather at odds with the original contents, a quire he either had commissioned or inherited from someone else who had done so […] three of the four original items are extremely learned works" (Hanna 2000:283). It is unclear whether *Trotula* is characterised as an "extremely learned work"; however, the added recipe "For to make a woman to conseyue child" is clearly not at odds with the contents of that text, and support Youngs' claims of Newton's preoccupation with his family's healthcare.

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[267] The evidence from books (manuscript as well as printed), diaries, inscriptions, wills and other records from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries suggests that women were involved in various aspects of healthcare, working as midwives, herbwomen, wisewomen, witches, empirical practitioners or in domestic settings (Laroche 2009:2-3).

It should be noted that, while some of the manuscripts may have been used or intended to be used by women, rather than professional practitioners, only two of the manuscripts in the present corpus contain female signatures. In neither of the cases are the signatures in the main hand of the text; in both cases they are also likely to be quite late. L333 (the manuscript itself dating from the late sixteenth century) contains a signature of "elizabeth L." (?), but no further information who she might be. While L333 includes several other signatures and notes testifying to the ownership or usage of the manuscript – apart from this single exception, all of them male – there is little information of the exact backgrounds behind those names. Monica Green argues that the manuscript

> seems […] to have been intended for a domestic context, reflecting both the concerns for progeny common to males and the concern with the very real hazards of childbirth more directly threatening to women […] this text seems the closest we have seen yet to a 'neutral' text, one that could serve the needs and concerns of both the men and the women in a domestic setting, a setting in which the other contents of the ms (short tracts on herbs; medical and culinary recipes as well as ones for making ink, dyeing clothes, distilling, etc.; and works on prognostication) would have had an equally utilitarian value [...] an intriguing exception to the gender-segregated patterns we have seen thus far
> (M. Green 2008:188–189)

The name of Anne Spelman appears several times in JC43; the same hand also includes the name Thomas Spelman. Since Spelman is a common name in medieval Norfolk, there are several contenders to the identities behind these names. Anne and Thomas Spelman are fairly common names in medieval and Early Modern England. There is also a reference to an Anne Spelman being sent to her brother's, Sir Roger Townshend's, residence, 'my Master being sicke' on December 23rd 1636 (Campbell 1989:67). There are no references to Anne Spelman in any of the secondary sources discussing women's book-ownership or the *Trotula*-manuscripts and the secondary sources state that there has, so far, been found no evidence for female ownership for any of the Middle English *Trotula*-texts (M. Green 2000 [1992]:58, Hellwarth 2002:63, Youngs 2008:156–7).

6.2.4 General interest

Medical texts frequently appear in books known to have been written by or for laymen (the term is here used to distinguish professional physicians from those with little or no formal medical training), suggesting an interest in medical matters of a number of people not

necessarily involved in the practical side of healthcare, wishing to gain a certain level of familiarity with the subject (Slack 1979:259–261). These readers might have wanted to consult texts such as the *Trotula* for a number of different reasons; astrologers, or people interested in matters of astrology, might for instance have wished to familiarise themselves with the processes of childbirth in order to calculate horoscopes (M. Green 2000 [1992]:59, 2008:8, 186). Such a usage is suggested by S121, which contains a number of other medical and astrological texts in a number of different hands in addition to the two *Trotula*-texts; L333, as well as a number of the other manuscripts, could also have been used for this purpose. Notes in the flyleaves and elsewhere in S121 in a later (possibly sixteenth-century) hand suggest that this owner (possibly the compiler of the manuscript as it now stands) had an interest in astrology as well as surgery (see also section 6.2.5 below). Notes on "Off the nature of the planetes, telleth vs, noble philosopher callid Tholomevs: In what maner a childe is formed, [in] his mothers wombe" [f.8r] tie the *Trotula*-texts together with the other material in the manuscript.

Medical material appears in a variety of contexts, often in manuscripts which have sometimes been characterised as 'commonplace books' or 'household miscellanies'[268]. One such example is MS Harley 1735, the commonplace book of John Crophill from the fifteenth century, which includes medical, astrological and culinary material as well as zodiacal information, humoural theory, lunar cycles, alchemy, prognostics as well as poetry, herbal recipes and charms for childbirth (P.M. Jones 2008:4). The present corpus includes several manuscripts which could be described in similar terms, such as LM66, H403 and L333[269]. While the information gleaned from the signatures in the manuscripts such as these indicates male ownership, the context in which these manuscripts appear – in private household collections – does not preclude their usage by other members within those (family) circles, even when there is no direct evidence of this (M. Green 2000b:37–8).

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[268] There is disagreement among scholars over the use of these terms ('commonplace book', 'household book', 'miscellany'), which can be used to mean various different things in different contexts; there are medical miscellanies and literary miscellanies, alongside with more eclectically compiled manuscripts. Boffey offers one definition of a 'household book' as "a repository of practical information of more or less domestic kinds – recipes and remedies and instructions on matters such as dyeing, fishing, arboriculture, and book production – which various members of a household may have wished to consult, or to have recorded, for different contingencies" (Boffey 2000:125). Such manuscripts may be defined on the basis of their contents, their usage or methods of compilation and production (Boffey 2000:126–127). See e.g. Boffey (2000), Boffey and Thompson (2007), Hardman (2010) for further discussion and references.

[269] Braswell-Means notes that a number of other manuscripts containing medical astrological texts were owned by professional physicians; she cites L333 as one of the "less professional applications", and suggests that its inclusion of cancelled charms indicates that the charms were perhaps "considered occult and no longer acceptable" (Braswell-Means 1993:71).

For the most part, we do not know much about the owners of these manuscripts. Even when they write their names in the manuscript, it often remains only a name. We have slightly more information about Robert Green, the scribe and owner of H403, although his exact motivations for copying a version of the *Trotula* alongside with other medical and astrological material (both in English and in Latin) still elude us. Perhaps, like Humphrey Newton, the owner of LM66, he was concerned about the health and welfare of his wife and family (Hanna 2000:283, Youngs 2008:156–157). Of Robert Green it is known that he was an alchemist and Count Palatine; several manuscripts in his possession are known. He was born around 1467 and Andrew Watson speculates, based on paleographic evidence, which shows "a strong influence of the English Common Law hand, that he might have been a lawyer" (Watson 1985:312–313); of his familial relations we have no information. His interest in a text such as the *Trotula* could, rather than an interest in practical healthcare, may owe more to his interest in astrology.

6.2.5 Professional or semi-professional medical practitioners

Professional practitioners are obviously among those with an interest in medical texts. As noted above, this is a disparate group with varied levels of education, from Latinate university-trained physicians to midwives, barber-surgeons and healers (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004:16). At the higher end there were learned texts written in Latin, but professional physicians also made use of vernacular translations, although it is not clear to what extent; as Pahta and Taavitsainen note, university-trained physicians' "role in the promotion of vernacular writing remains to be discovered" (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004:16-17).

The *Trotula* could also have been read by practising physicians: as a text-book for purposes of learning, or as a practical guide to be consulted. There were various semi-professional practitioners, who may have made use of 'popular' medical literature (Slack 1979:256–257). There is little evidence, however, to suggest any of the surviving manuscripts of the Middle English *Trotula* were owned or used by professional physicians. As indicated above, those manuscripts where information about the scribe survives, often indicate non-professional ownership, although some notes in L333 suggest it was at some stage used by a practising physician[270]; other internal evidence, however, suggests domestic, rather than

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[270] A note pasted on the inner cover of the manuscript notes that "Mʳ Thomas Hayward of limehowse fell sicke on Saturday the .i. of August in the after noone, but hee had a panis in his shoulder tooke him on Thursday night before" (see Chapter 3, section 3.2.5.4.3).

professional usage. Apart from that, the only manuscript known to have been owned – although, it appears, not necessarily used – by a trained physician was B483.

There are several names connected with B483; John (Jhon) Barcke, as well as John and Thomas Twyn(n)e. Of John Twyne there is abundant information; he was a schoolmaster, and later sheriff, mayor and M.P. in Canterbury and he was an avid collector of manuscripts as well as author, although none of his works survive. He was a controversial character whose appearances in the public records indicate troubles with authorities; it is possible that these were caused by his religious opinions. He was also mentioned as "maintaining and abetting a printer who was illegally at work in his own parish, St Paul's, presumably printing religious material of a nonconformist kind". He died in 1581 (Watson 2004 [1986]:133–135). Most of the manuscripts known to have been owned by Twyne reflect his antiquarian and religious interests. Why he was in possession of B483, a collection of medical treatises (pertaining to specifically male concerns as well as female), is a matter of speculation, although we do know he was married and had children; his reasons for owning such a manuscript, then, could have been similar to those of Humphrey Newton. The manuscript was presented to the Bodleian Library in 1612 by John Twyne's son, Thomas Twyne, who was, in fact, a physician. He was "a scholar and fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and a Doctor of Medicine of Cambridge. He practised medicine in Lewes and was the author of a considerable number of literary works" (Watson 2004 [1986]:144).

The evidence in S121 suggests ownership, in the sixteenth century, perhaps by someone training to be a physician or a surgeon, possibly the same person who bound the manuscript together as it now survives (see above section 6.2.4). Although interesting for considering later re-purposing of gynecological and obstetrical texts, this tells us little of the earlier and intended functions of the *Trotula*-texts, both of which date from the fifteenth century and which could have been circulated as separate bifolios or pamphlets prior to being bound in the same manuscript.

CUL33[I] contains the following introduction to a recipe, mentioning "a lady of yorke"[271]: "this is a feyre medicygne for þᵗ as is wal proued by a lady of yorke / ther was a lady in yorke þᵗ was so gret wᵗ child that she had but a monyth to go / And she was so costyfe both

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[271] The other version C (H403) does not include any mention of a "lady of yorke"; nor does it include the recipes in this section.

before and behy*n*d þ^t she mygh not make water but a sponfull attones [...] when all þ^e fysicion of yorke had forsiden her & seyd she was lyke to dye / than com a doctur of fisike to yorke and sau her at þ^e instance & prayer of a bynnes ma*n* of hit the doctor taugh ther thes medecyne followynge" [CUL33[I], ff.24r–v]. Here the authority is based the empirical practice; although a "doctur of fisike" is quoted as the authority, the medicines have been empirically tested and proven to be effective. Moreover, rather than referring to Latin and Greek authorities, the text refers to local, contemporary practices. Nothing in this manuscript suggests a professional ownership, and the references to authorities and practitioners are generally rather vague ("fisisiones", "potycarys" 'apothecaries', "ye most inquere of þ^e lerned in fisicce and surgery &c").

6.2.6 Monastic medicine

Medical texts could also be composed for charitable purposes, and written by (and for) clerics and monks, who practised medicine and who thereby did not need to resort to professional physicians (Slack 1979:254). Monastic hospitals were often a site for medical care in communities (C. Jones 2000:76). Besides providing healthcare for the surrounding communities, there is also some evidence for self-care within monasteries and nunneries[272]; the evidence, however, has "never been thoroughly studied" and monastic establishments also resorted to professional physicians from outside (M. Green 2000c:341, 343–344, 348–350).

The *Trotula*-text in A12195 is now bound together with a variety of other material, including legal, religious and grammatical treatises. It is likely that the manuscript belonged to a religious house at Creake in north Norfolk, probably that of Augustinian or Austin Canons (C. Jones 2000:111); Barratt notes in her edition of the *Trotula*-text that "on linguistic grounds we may reasonably assume a Norfolk audience, probably male and religious" (Barratt 2001:17). Although the inclusion of gynecological material in an otherwise religious and learned manuscript, whose all known owners are male, might seem puzzling, and at first glance seems to be at odds with the rest of the manuscript, a closer examination reveals several possibilities.

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[272] David N. Bell's survey of the reading materials in medieval English nunneries only includes a single mention of medical material, a recipe for *aqua vitæ* added on a flyleaf (Bell 1995:166). See also M. Green (2000b) for a survey of medieval women's ownership of medical books. Rather than gynecological or obstetrical material, these include variety of texts on surgery, medical theory, horse medicine as well as compendiums, plague tracts, herbals, recipe collections and miscellanies.

Creake had a hospital and a school for boys. In the twelfth century a hospital had been founded at the site of the abbey of Creake by Alice (born Pouchard) and Sir Robert de Nerford. The house of the Austin Canons (as it was to become soon after its establishment) at Creake was founded in honour of the Blessed Virgin in 1206 by the then widowed Alice. The house became an abbey in 1231[273]. The duties of Austin Canons included caring for the sick, which could explain the inclusion of gynecological (as well as more general medical) material in a book owned by them. In addition, Creake's origins appear strongly female, and the inclusion in the first parts of the manuscript of service for St Elizabeth as well as verses for St Catherine suggest a continuing involvement in (female) healthcare. St Elizabeth, the mother of John the Baptist, is the patron saint of pregnant women. St Catherine of Alexandria was noted for her virginity and chastity; St Catherine of Siena, on the other hand, is the patron saint of, among others, miscarriages, sickness and sexual temptation. St Nicholas is, among others, the patron saint of children and pharmacists. Moreover, as noted in Chapter 5 (section 5.3.1.3), the appearance of some of the texts in the first parts of the manuscripts bear resemblance to the appearance of the *Trotula* as well as some other texts within the quire. This context may suggest the use of medical texts in monastic communities, which may have acted as hospitals, or provided advice and functioned as a focal point for literate practices. As such, it may suggest the existence of a textual or discourse community; this concept will be further discussed below (see section 6.4.3.1).

6.2.7 Audiences

The previous sections have examined various scenarios in which the Middle English *Trotula* could have been read, and considered different (potential and real) audiences and readers[274].

While the prologues in Version A claim that the targeted audience is in fact female and that men are expressly prohibited from reading these texts unless it is to help women in their sicknesses ("And yf hit fall any Man to rede hit I pray hym & scharge hym in ovr*e* lady behalue þat he rede hit not in no dyspyte ne sclavndur*e* of no woman ne for no cause . but for þe hele & helpe of hem . Dredyng þat vengavns myht fall to hym as hit hath do oþ*er* þat have schevyd her*e* preyutees *in* sclavndyr of hem" [D37, f.1v]), the other versions are

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less explicit about their intended audience, and rarely address themselves directly to women[275]. Version A states that the intended audience of the text is female; it is written and translated into the vernacular so "that women letteryd maye rede to other vnlernyd and helpe them & counsell them in ther maladyes wᵗowt sheweng ther dyseases to man" [S421A, f.2r]. Thus, Pahta and Taavitsainen label it as "a text written specifically with a female audience in mind", suggesting that "A female readership[276] is implicit throughout the text. Physical evidence of two manuscripts[277] suggests that they may have been designed for practising midwives or women interested in midwifery. The translator also addresses possible male readers, asking them to avoid misogynist readings of the text (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004:17).

Such claims are found in a large number of texts from the medieval and Early Modern periods, with prefaces expressing similar sentiments, and should not necessarily be taken at face value, not in the least because, as in the case of the Middle English *Trotula*, the text was copied even though the target audience may have changed, and, regardless of the intention of the author or translator, texts could be copied, re-purposed and reused (Doyle

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[274] It should be noted that the terms 'audience' and 'readership', while often used synonymously, can be differentiated. As Pahta and Taavitsainen distinguish between the terms, audience is the targeted or potential readership, whereas readership consists of those who have read the text (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004:15, see also C. Jones 2000 and 2004). 'Audience' may also consist of those who are not necessarily literate themselves: thus, members of a discourse or textual community need not to have read the text themselves in order to be part of that community (textual communities will be further discussed below, see section 6.4.3.1). Jones notes that "'audience' tends to suggest the passive reception of a text and places the producers at a remove once a text has been disseminated. In a period when many texts were copied by individuals for personal, or at least localised use, this is a misleading picture. 'Readership' is even more anachronistic, given that literacy was still extremely restricted in medieval England, and access to texts did not necessarily depend on an individual's ability to read for him or herself" (Jones 2004:23-24). The term 'audience' will here be employed to describe the potential readership, including those participating in a textual community. 'Readers' are the assumed readership of a text.

[275] The numerous contexts in which the *Trotula* did, or could, appear are furthermore illustrated by Jankyn's book of "Wikked wives" (quoted in Chapter 3, section 3.1.2) in which *Trotula* appears "bounden / in o volume" with a number of other texts. While in this context, *Trotula* appears, as has been suggested, to gain anti-feminist overtones (see Baird-Lange 1984), as Barratt notes, "(i)t is significant […] that the translator here condemns such contempt as uncharitable, suggesting that the debate was not always one-sided" (Barratt 2010 [1992]:28). Baird-Lange suggests that "Trotula may have given to Middle English a broad term of invective […] a pejorative of Trotula's name ranging in meaning from 'old wives' tales', 'superstition', 'foolish or idle tales', 'a piece of absurdity or nonsense' to 'vicious and diabolical scheming'"(Baird-Lange 1984:249); the *Middle English Dictionary* recognises the usage of 'trot' as "An old woman; also, a hag [...] usu[ally] used disparagingly" ('trot', *n*.2, *MED*; also 'trot', *n*.2.a; *OED* "An old woman; usually disparaging: an old beldame, a hag" ('trot', *n*.2, *OED*) . Cf. also 'trotevale' as "Vain talk, idle tale-telling; also, a trifle; a piece of foolishness" ('trotevale', *n*.†, *OED*; *n*..a, *MED*); although the origins of these words are uncertain, there is nothing to suggest a direct connection to Trotula.

[276] Note, however, the definitions of 'audience' and 'readership' above (see Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004:15); there is no direct evidence of a female readership, although the target audience may have been female.

[277] Barratt, in fact, argues that three of the five manuscripts might have been designed for midwives: "from internal, physical evidence it is possible to argue that both Oxford MS Douce 37, CUL MS Ii.6.33 and BL MS Sloane 421A were designed to be used by midwives or women interested in midwifery" (Barratt 2001:5; see also Green 2000 [1992]:59).

1953:282–283; see also Taylor 1996:50). Marttila, however, argues that these statements "are often backed up by a genuine effort at accommodating their stated target audience and should not be dismissed merely as 'pious hopes or calculated advertisements' (Slack 1979:237)" (Marttila 2011:157).

Similar claims are echoed in a number of medical texts throughout the Middle and Early Modern periods. Another gynecological and obstetrical manual, printed in the sixteenth century repeats similar sentiments: Raynald's 1545 prologue to the edition of *The byrth of mankynde* (originally translated from Latin by Jonas in 1540) is addressed to the "woman readers" and states that

> truly (as I haue ben credybly enformed by dyuers persons wurthy to be beleuyd) there be sith the first lettynge furth of this booke, right many honourable Ladies and other wourshypfull gentyl Wemen, which haue not disdaynyd thoftener by the occasyon of this booke to frequent & haunt Wemen in their labours. **carienge with them this booke in theyr handes, and causynge suche part of it as doth cheifly concerne the same pourpose, to be red before the mydwife, and the rest of the wemen then beyng present** [...] And gaue faithfull counsell also vnto wemen of theyr familiar knowledge **to here the booke red by sum other, or els (such as could) to reade it the*m* selfe**
> [Raynald 1545; boldface mine]

Childbirth, then, is often portrayed as a communal, rather than private, event, potentially involving several members of the community at different stages: midwives, physicians, neighbours and family of the woman in labour. Domestic and professional, private and public spheres can here be seen to intermingle.

Several of the Middle English *Trotula*-texts themselves imply that the texts were intended to be read by women, repeating sentiments about women's shame in front of a male doctor: "Woman [...] wil noght telle to þe leche for shame þe sekenes þat be falleþ and be cause þat she dar noght suffieþ more greuaunce" [A34111, f.197r], "þorowgh schame & rednesse of face […] þey durnowt schewe ne seþ to leches half þe party of here sykenes weche ffallen a bowte here secrete partyes" [JC43, f.70r]. The reason for writing this text (and, moreover, for writing it in the vernacular) is therefore to enable women to be able to gain knowledge of gynecology and obstetrics and to help themselves; without this knowledge they might unduly suffer, being too ashamed to attend a male doctor for consultation. The texts are written "to the healp & remedy of woma*n*" [L333, f.33r], and the translator of Version D

states that "wrechydnesse & dissehese co*m*pellyth my wylle to besynes & most for þ^e love of wome*n* […] I haue laboret wyth swech thyng þat y myth drawe owt þe cures wyth travayl for þe loue of women þorowth þe fadyrly help of epocras & Galyene" [JC43, ff.70r–v]. As noted in Chapter 3, the texts are frequently addressed to the reader in second person, but the woman or the patient is referred to in third person[278]; midwives are also usually referred to in third person[279] (see Chapter 3, sections 3.2.1.2, 3.2.2.2, 3.2.3.2, 3.2.4.2, 3.2.5.2). The perspective in the texts are also frequently, although not necessarily, male rather than female.

The textual evidence nevertheless supports the claim that many of the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts were intended for non-professional readership. Three of the sixteenth-century manuscripts contain references to acquiring medicines from apothecaries: L333 finishes the text noting "if thow be noght so conyng to wirk by þ^e medecyns as þ*er* names is wrytten her for strangnes maik thy bylls in forme as it is her wrytten and send them to the ypoticaries and thow may be sone sped" [L333, f.43v], and CUL33[I] includes several references to obtaining ingredients from apothecaries ("potycarys haue all wey sych oyles redy" [f.22r], "Goo to the pottycuryes and make thys powder" [f.23r]).

The Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts present evidence of a number of different types of owners and users (see also Chapter 3, section 3.2, especially 3.2.6). It can also be assumed that the majority of the readers would not have left explicit signatures in the manuscripts, identifying themselves. As Jones points out in her study of East Anglian medical manuscripts and their readers, "(t)here is enough evidence to conflict with almost any plausible model of an audience that can be proposed" (C. Jones 2000:137).

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[278] E.g. "how **ye** sholde helpe **a woman** þ^t trauelyth of chylde" [B483, f.88v], "**D**o mak **þe woman** go vp be a ladder" [A34111, f.209v], "whan*ne* **sche** is so wel purgid lete **hire** husbonde ofte tyme swyue **hire** þat **sche** may conseyve" [LM66, f.86r], "yf **she** hav the feu*er* **lett hir** drynk no wyne" [L333, f.35r]. The two manuscripts of Version C, however, exhibit some fluctuation ("wasche **hyre** leggs welle beneythe the kneyes Butte noo hyer*e* / and soo warme goo **thow** to **thye** Beede and take **thy** reste", H403, p.363, "put in **yo**^r fyngers in to **hir** p*ri*vete and a noynt it well w^tin as far as **you** kan Reche and let for not shame to saue **your selfe** for **your** p*ri*vete must be anoynted w^tin and not w^tout" (CUL33[I]); see Chapter 3, section 3.2.3.2).

[279] E.g. "Than let **the mydwyf** cache the Secundyne on what part she may" [CUL33[II], f.15r], "þan it behouyth þ^t þ^e **medewyf** mak a noyntyng as þus" [S121 [II], f.106r]. Version D presents a juxtaposition between "us" and "them" in reference to midwives, noting that "þer bene physycall remedies þat ben hydde from **vs** þe qwyche bene don be medwyves" [JC43, f.74r].

6.3 Reading the *Trotula*

The previous section offered a brief overview of those contexts in which the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts were, or could have been, produced, used in different situations, and read. Much of the discussion is necessarily speculative; it must also, in this context, remain somewhat cursory. It provides, however, a necessary backdrop for the examination of the manuscripts themselves and, through them, practices of reading as seen through the lens of the manuscript page. The following sections will explore different ways of reading and interpreting the *Trotula*-manuscripts. The visual presentation in the *Trotula* will here be explored by examining the way in which the texts are structured and presented on the page, including the structure of the text as a whole, the structuring and punctuation of recipes, and how supra-textual devices, including marginalia, function as finding- or memory-aids, as well as emphasising individual parts or sections of the texts.

6.3.1 Structuring the texts

Typically, medical treatises were organised *a capite ad pedem* – from top to toe. This structure would aid the reader in locating desired information, although the accompanying visual apparatus was necessary to aid readers in finding specific information or particular recipes (Keiser 1995:207–208, see also Givens 2006:116–125). Such logical arrangement of material, however, is not possible for a text such as the *Trotula*, and the principles of internal organisation vary widely between the different versions (see the Appendix). The overall structure in the manuscripts can be schematised below, presenting an abstract outline of the organisation of contents in the texts. This scheme has been adapted Görlach's concept of 'standardization of arrangement' (1992:746, 2004:125; see also Alonso-Almeida 2002:209–210).

(TITLE) +
    [PREFACE +
        DESCRIPTION +
        JUSTIFICATION +
        INTRODUCTION] +
    [TOPIC +
        (DESCRIPTION) +
        (SYMPTOMS) +
        (CAUSES) +
        RECIPES]

In Version A, the primary topics (childbirth, uterine suffocation and precipitation and menstruation) are introduced following the preface. Each of these topics is then returned to multiple times; each topic is introduced and described, then returned to in order to provide more detail about symptoms and causes of various ailments, and finally, recipes for each. The majority of the recipes, therefore, are to be found at the end of the text. A12195 uses primarily rubrication, often compounded with punctuation marks, to signal structural changes; CUL33[II] does this with enlarged initials. The remaining three manuscripts contain less clear hierarchical systems of structure-signalling, D37 and B483 utilising punctuation marks to indicate major and minor sections as well as for other purposes, and S421A dividing the text into paragraphs but otherwise not overtly using hierarchical structuring.

Version B, on the other hand, contains little theoretical discussion or background; each topic is only briefly introduced, and the primary focus is to provide remedies. Each punctuated unit (almost without exceptions introduced by a paragraph mark, rubrication and underlining) thus forms an independent sense-unit, rather than a continuous text as such. The text resembles a miscellaneous recipe collection in the sense that there is no organisation of recipes into thematic subgroups, and recipes on amenorrhoea, children's cough, swollen testicles, cosmetics and conception follow each other in no explicit order. The beginning of the manuscript contains an index to the contents, with *incipits* referring to each individual recipe.

Version C is the only version to provide an explicit outline in the preface, introducing the six ailments principally concerning women (movements of womb, amenorrhoea, excessive menstruation, conception and childbearing), each of which is then in turn described; recipes are provided at the end of each section. Both manuscripts include some additional material: H403 includes a section on contraceptives, and CUL33[I] appends a number of miscellaneous recipes at the end of the text. Both indicate textual divisions primarily by features of layout, while using punctuation marks to signal relationships within paragraphs; CUL33[I] also uses paragraph marks to signal new paragraphs.

Following the preface (omitted in S121[I]), Version D describes each topic (relating to menstruation, conception, pregnancy and childbirth as well as a number of uterine disorders), providing recipes for each. As in Versions A and B, some topics are returned to

multiple times. Here, as in Version C, LM66 includes a section on contraception, omitted from the other manuscripts. LM66 uses heavy punctuation, although with little hierarchical structuring, while JC43 begins the text by using rubricated and enlarged initials; the text is largely devoid of punctuation as well as paragraph breaks. S121[I] utilises both features of layout and punctuation to structure the text on the page.

Version E (since S121[II] only survives as a fragment, the description is based primarily on L333) introduces and describes each topic in turn, providing remedies for each. Again, topics may be returned to, and more recipes provided for them later in the text. L333 is arranged in paragraphs, with intended headings preceding each section and punctuation marks signalling paragraph-internal relationships; S121[II] uses rubrication for headings within the continuously presented prose.

These descriptions illustrate the structural organisation within the texts. For readers and users of these texts, the internal arrangement of contents has implications for how they can be read. As the descriptions show, although some of the versions present items more consistently in the order enumerated in the preface (most notably Version C), such principles of organisation are lacking in others; topics are returned to multiple times, and in order to find information about for instance conception, the reader has to search in multiple sections of the text. Version C is the only one to provide what effectively functions as a table of contents, while A34111 includes an index to the contents at the beginning of the manuscript.

The structure of the text, however, was inherited from the exemplars; none of the scribes discussed here have gone to lengths to change the order of contents. The presentation of the text was nevertheless something the scribes could influence, as illustrated in Chapter 5. It is therefore on these details that the following sections will focus on. How would a reader, then, navigate such a text? While some manuscripts use a host of different cues to signal structural transitions and topic changes – rubrication, punctuation symbols, features of layout as well as linguistic cues – others rely primarily on less visual signalling.

The visual aspect of supra-textual devices is also related to the hierarchical structures utilised in the presentation. There are certain devices which tend to function primarily (although not necessarily exclusively) on a structural level, and are often reflected in the

layout of the text. The division of the text into paragraphs, whether it is conducted by using blank space, (rubricated) line-fillers or (enlarged and/or rubricated) initials signals breaks in the text. This is an explicitly visual way of structuring the text: textual divisions can be seen at a glance. The relationships between the different devices function hierarchically, and devices have designated uses.

Other manuscripts, however, utilise very little hierarchical structuring by supra-textual devices; textual divisions, major and minor, are signalled by the same punctuation symbols used elsewhere in the text for signalling minor breaks. This method, then, relies less on visual structuring; the reader has to read through the text in order to find particular sections, which are often linguistically signalled, but offer little visual aid in the same way as rubrication, use of blank space and initials do. That these devices were not always regarded as sufficient by the readers of the manuscripts is illustrated by the wealth of additional devices and marginal notes, which will be further discussed in section 6.3.2.2 below.

Recipes form an integral part of all of these texts. Before exploring these different ways of reading and navigating the manuscripts, the structuring and presentation of recipe texts will be analysed. Chapter 4 presented an overview of the structuring of recipes for each manuscript; the focus here will be on examining the recipe texts from visual and pragmatic perspectives.

6.3.1.1 Reading recipes

The scribes used various means to structure the texts on micro-level. Recipes, as noted above, feature prominently in all of the texts. Although the principles of recipe structuring have been examined by various scholars (e.g. Stannard 1982, Hunt 1990, Görlach 1992 and 2004, Taavitsainen 2001b, Grund 2003, Mäkinen 2004, Carroll 1999, 2003 and 2004), apart from studies by Alonso-Almeida (2002, 2003) and Carroll (2006, 2010), the *appearance* of recipes on the manuscript page is often overlooked. The ways in which recipes are presented, structured and signalled has clear implications for the navigation of the texts. These studies have identified various components or sub-sections within the recipe text; see Carroll for an overview (Carroll 2006:308). Here, the focus will be on identifying recognisable *visual* components of the recipe text, based on previous

identification of the sub-sections within the recipes.

Recipes in medieval recipe collections can be characterised as discrete textual entities. Recipes may be set in separate paragraphs or the beginning may be signalled by a rubricated initial (Carroll 2003:150–152, Alonso-Almeida 2002:217) or rubricated headings, which could be set on separate lines (Keiser 1995:207–208); "in most collections there is clear indication, by titles, rubrication, underlining, paragraphing or marginal mark, that a new recipe is beginning" (Hargreaves 1981:96, Carroll 2006:310). In the present corpus, only some of the manuscripts, however, show such explicit structuring of recipes. 63.7% of all recipes in the data are punctuated as separate textual units (see table [6.1]), and determining the boundaries between recipes can sometimes be difficult, especially in manuscripts with little or no punctuation.

The majority of the recipes, however, are presented as single textual entities in most of the manuscripts; they are preceded and followed by punctuation symbols or rubrication or initials, or set in a separate paragraph. They are also frequently accompanied by a note or a paragraph mark in the margin. Although Carroll notes that "although manuscript collections which run recipes together as if unbroken prose may exist, they are presumably very rare" (Carroll 2006:320–321), in the present data, recipes can also appear in clusters of semantically connected recipes (as also noted by Hargreaves 1981:96), as well as embedded in the running text[280], as illustrated below (table [6.1], figure [6.1]).

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[280] Taavitsainen notes that this occurs in the academic end of medieval medical texts (Taavitsainen 2001b:95, see also Carroll 2004:183), whereas remedybook recipes are more formalised, linguistically, but also "in their discourse placement and identity" (Carroll 2004:184).

	Number of recipes	*Paleographical wholes*	*Clusters*	*Embedded within the text*
A12195	103	73.8% (n=76)	25.2% (n=26)	1% (n=1)
D37	134	58.9% (n=79)	35.1% (n=47)	6% (n=8)
B483	133	24.1% (n=32)	65.4% (n=87)	10.5% (n=14)
CUL33[II]	129	95.3% (n=123)	4.7% (n=6)	0
S421A	129	0.8% (n=1)	37.2% (n=48)	62% (n=80)
A34111	128	93% (n=119)	7% (n=9)	0
CUL33[I]	77	100% (n=77)	0	0
H403	59	86.4% (n=51)	13.6% (n=8)	0
S121[I]	40	90% (n=36)	10% (n=4)	0
LM66	67	65.7% (n=44)	34.3% (n=23)	0
JC43	63	0	0	100% (n=63)
S121[II]	17	100% (n=17)	0	0
L333	140	81.4% (n=114)	18.6% (n=26)	0
Total	*1219*	*63.1% (n=769)*	*23.3% (n=284)*	*13.6% (n=166)*
Number of MSS	*13*	*12*	*10*	*5*

Table 6.1. Structuring of recipes in the Trotula*.*
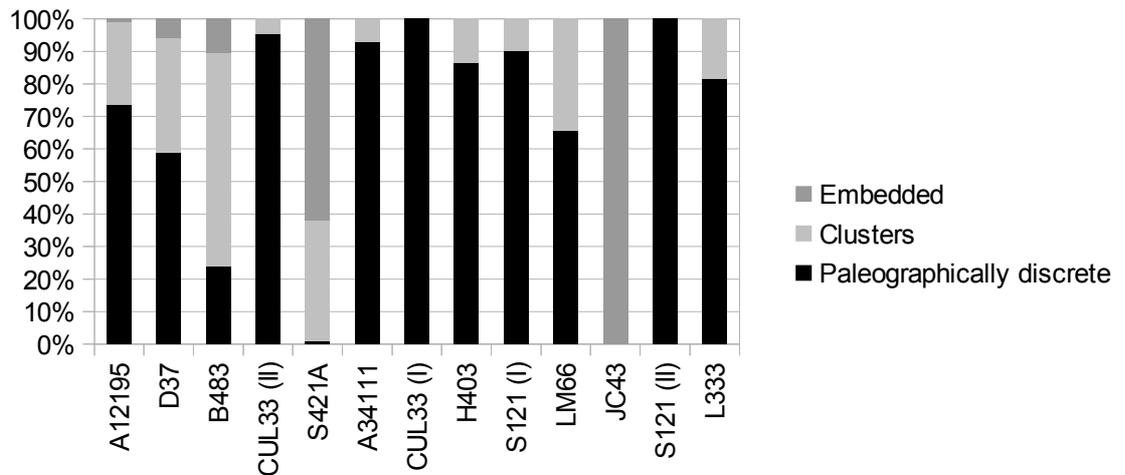
Figure 6.1. Structuring of recipes.

The recipes in the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts can, therefore, appear in various forms. When recipes are presented in clusters of related recipes, no separate heading (beyond a formulaic phrase such as "another (for the same)", "(or) take" or "item") is usually present. Since the group of recipes or the section containing the recipes, however, can be preceded by a heading, a separate heading for each individual remedy is not necessary. From a *visual* and *paleographical* perspective, then, recipes do not always appear as clearly-defined units. This has implications for locating particular recipes or groups of recipes within the text, a topic which will be returned to below (section 6.3.2.1).

6.3.1.1.1 Recipe-internal structure

The focus here is on the presentation of the internal structure of recipes, based on the identification of the following components:

(HEADING) + (DESCRIPTION) + (INGREDIENTS) + (QUANTITIES) + (PREPARATION) + (APPLICATION) + (DOSAGE) + (USE) + (DURATION) + (STORAGE) + (EFFICACY) + (ADDITIONAL INFORMATION)

The identification of the structure of recipes is based on a number of studies (see references above in 6.3.1.1). Not all of these subsections are present in most recipes; some, moreover, appear only in certain manuscripts (such as instructions for storing medicines). There is variety not only in the placement or appearance of the sections, but also in the

ways in which they are presented. Table [6.2] illustrates the percentages of internal divisions within the corpus, showing which sections within recipes tend to be punctuated. The majority of the subsections identified in the recipes are never signalled as separate sections; this feature tallies with the notion of the primary type of punctuation being that of *sense-units*, rather than more detailed syntactical units, although there are exceptions to this (see Chapter 4, section 4.2.1.2).

	Number of recipes	Any internal divisions	Separate heading	Evaluation / efficacy	List of ingredients	Additional information	Other
A12195	*103*	44.6% (n=46)	38.8% (n=40)	5.8% (n=6)	6.8% (n=7)	9.7% (n=10)	13.6% (n=14)
D37	*134*	20.9% (n=28)	14.9% (n=20)	0	0.7% (n=1)	5.2% (n=7)	1.5% (n=2)
B483	*133*	21.8% (n=29)	4.5% (n=6)	0	9.8% (n=13)	2.3% (n=3)	0.8% (n=1)
CUL33[II]	*129*	85.3% (n=110)	37.2% (n=48)	7.8% (n=10)	16.3% (n=21)	10.1% (n=13)	26.4% (n=34)
S421A	*129*	0	0	0	0	0	0
A34111	*128*	66.4% (n=85)	61.7% (n=79)	3.1% (n=4)	0	2.3% (n=3)	3.1% (n=4)
CUL33[I]	*77*	79.2% (n=61)	61% (n=47)	16.9% (n=13)	11.7% (n=9)	13% (n=10)	27.3% (n=21)
H403	*59*	47.5% (n=28)	13.6% (n=8)	1.7% (n=1)	8.5% (n=5)	6.8% (n=4)	15.3% (n=9)
S121[I]	*40*	62.5% (n=25)	50% (n=20)	10% (n=4)	10% (n=4)	25% (n=10)	22.5% (n=9)
LM66	*67*	49.3% (n=33)	28.4% (n=19)	7.5% (n=5)	7.5% (n=5)	17.9% (n=12)	9% (n=6)
JC43	*63*	1.6% (n=1)	0	0	0	0	0
S121[II]	*17*	35.3% (n=6)	23.5% (n=4)	5.9% (n=1)	0	11.8% (n=2)	11.8% (n=2)
L333	*140*	73.6% (n=103)	32.9% (n=46)	4.3% (n=6)	25.7% (n=36)	8.6% (n=12)	15.7% (n=22)
Total	***1219***	***45.5% (n=555)***	***27.6% (n=337)***	***4.1% (n=50)***	***8.3% (n=101)***	***7.1% (n=86)***	***10.2% (n=124)***
Number of MSS	*13*	*12*	*10*	*9*	*9*	*11*	*11*

Table 6.2. Recipe-internal divisions.

Altogether 45.5% of the recipes in the corpus as a whole contain some internal divisions, most commonly a separately punctuated heading (27.6%). Evaluation or efficacy phrases (usually, although not exclusively, found in recipe-final position)[281] are only punctuated in 4.1% of all recipes (see example [6.1]); other sections (such as stages of preparation or procedure) are punctuated in 10.2% of recipes. There is, however, extensive variation between the texts. Thus, while both of the texts in CUL33 contain a high percentage of recipe-internal divisions (see example [6.2]), other manuscripts such as JC43 and S421A do not divide recipes visually into separate sections (example [6.3]).

[6.1]
ȝyf þ^e child be ded w^t i*nn*e here // Take rvta*m*
arthemesiam absinthiu*m* & pep*er* broken & ȝo //
uen w^t wyn ꝛ strongly helpith // Or ellys tak
satureya & breke it & bynd it to her*e* wombe
and it schal pase out quyk or ded þ^e child .
[S121[II], ff.106r–v]

[6.2]
¶ Also when the tyme of delyu*eran*ce
# nere / take Oyle of violetts
　And warme it tyll it be luke
　warme þ^t is as mylke is whe*n*
　it co*mm*eth fro*m* the cowe / and
　anoynt often her body and
　her sydes And her prevete
　beneth well and discretly
　all about it / Or else w^t capons
　grese , or gose gresse , these
　thyngs wyll ease a woman
　gretly when she shalbe
　delyu*er*ed yf thys be vsed
　vij. or viij. dayes before or
　else hardyly afourthnyght
　before the tyme of her
　 labour .
　[CUL33[I], ff.14v–15r]

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[281] For more information, see Jones 1998, who also notes that such phrases are frequently in Latin, even in otherwise completely English texts (C. Jones 1998:200, 202). In the present data, this is the case in CUL33[I], in which the efficacy phrases occasionally appear in Latin (usually "probatum est"). For the most part, however, they are in English (e.g. "thys hath byn offten tymes proved" [CUL33[I], f.18r], "thys is good & ese ynowȝe both for man and woman" [CUL33[I], f.23r], "& it comforts the mod*er* & refresches it wond*er*lie" [L333, f.37v], "dothe asswage the grif vtt*er*ly" [L333, f.43r], "strongly helpith" [S121[II], f.106v], "these been p*ro*fetable for þ^t ewyl" [B483, f.97v], "p*ro*uyde ofte tymys trew" [D37, f.13v]); sometimes they also appear in the first person ("this hav I proved to be wound*er*full good" [L333, f.43v]; cf. also marginalia in B483: "here is medicinis aprovid by me that will cawse a child to be soone borne" [f.88v]). They can also serve as visual and verbal cues for the reader, indicating the end of a recipe (or the beginning when they appear in recipe-initial position).

[6.3]
wyth swete smellyng þyngys To þat avaylyt swete
smellyng spyces or herbes as ment and schuche oþer un
dyrstand wele þat þer bene physycall remedies þat ben
hydde from vs þe qwyche bene don be medwyves & oftimes ha
ue *pro*fydyd for lete hold an ad*a*maunde in here reyt hand and
þat helpyth here Also in þe wombe of a yonge swalowe is
[JC43, ff.73v–74r]

Carroll concludes that paleographical evidence supports the presence of only two sub-
sections within recipe texts, title and the body of the text in her data (Carroll 2006:306,
310). There is, however, extensive variation within the present corpus (see figure [6.2]).
The structure of the heading itself is complicated; recipes for a certain ailment are often
grouped together and frequently preceded by a single heading, with the following recipes
headed by discourse markers such as "another (for the same)", "and (take)", "or (take)",
which tend not to be separately punctuated (although they can be).
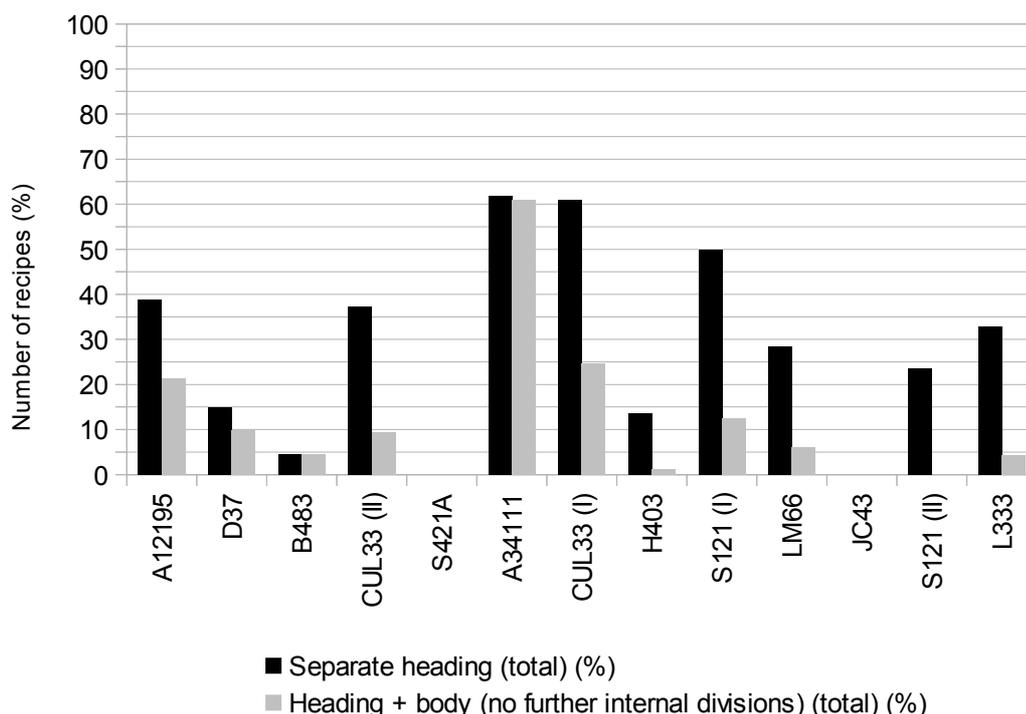
Figure 6.2. Recipe headings.

13.7% of the total corpus present the bipartite structure [heading+body]; this structure is
present in some manuscripts, while completely absent in others (see figure [6.2]). Thus, it
is the principal structure in A34111: 60.9% (n=78) of all recipes in the text are structured in

this manner, while only 5.5% (n=7) present any further internal divisions by punctuation. It is, however, the only manuscript in which this is the predominant recipe structure, although it appears in the majority of the manuscripts (11/13). The figures are slightly higher when the presence of a visually-separated heading as well as other internal divisions are taken into account: altogether 26.8% of all recipes in the data include a separately punctuated heading. In A34111, altogether 61.7% (n=79) of recipes contain a separate heading, and the figures are similar for CUL33[I] and S121[I]: 61% (n=47) and 50% (n=20) respectively. Separate headings are never present in S421A and JC43, and B483 only contains separate headings for 4.5% (n=6) recipes.

Thus, although Carroll states that "the recipe title is a paleographic reality [...] What also becomes clear, however, is that there is no other apparent hierarchy within the text. The body of the recipe is presented and perceived holistically" (Carroll 2006:310; see also Carroll 2010:64). The present corpus, however, presents a more varied picture. While this type of structuring is common in many of the manuscript texts examined here, it is not true of others, which show more complex structuring of the recipe text[282], frequently punctuating recipe-internal divisions and thus signalling the structure of the recipe (see also Alonso-Almeida 2002:228).

6.3.1.1.1 Punctuating recipes

Different means are used for signalling the beginning of the recipe. There is a tendency for the "smaller" punctuation marks to signal internal divisions, while the stronger indicate the beginning (although the same symbols can be used for both purposes, this is not generally

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[282] Although recipe-internal divisions can be punctuated in a number of the manuscript texts, apart from the heading (which can be set on a separate line, indented or outdented), none of the other sections are ever placed on separate lines. Although Carroll (2010) notes that the two-part structure (heading+body), without a a visually separated list of ingredients, remained the norm until the nineteenth century (Carroll 2010:64, 67), this development can be seen in a recipe in L333 (although not within the *Trotula*-text), where the heading, as well as the items in the list of ingredients are each set on a separate line:

> an poysone for Rattes
> Taik a quantite of rosse agre -----d
> of arsnycke the lyk quantite ------d
> qwick sylver lyk moche ----------d
> a quantite of the softe of fyne whiett bread fynelie grate and
> mengle the same in sweatt wortte
> yo*ur* rosse agre , and arsnyck must be fynelie braied in powder & mixed
> wth yo*ur* bread in yor wortte : and when yow hau well myxed yo*ur*
> bread , rosse agre , arsnyck and yo*ur* wortte well to gether than
> must ye putt in yo*ur* qwick silver & worke all to gether p*er*fytlie
> to yo*ur* qwicksylv*er* be consumed & then all is done / - - - -
> and keip it in aboxe savely to þ[t] ye vse it / & in saif place þ[t] no
> body medle with it , but yo*ur* self : for dyssplesur þ[t] may folowe &c (L333, f.71v)

the case). Although the repertoire differs in all of the manuscripts, the same tendency can be evinced across the data. As in the rest of the text, then, there is a certain hierarchical system in place, with certain symbols used to signal the beginning of units, and others to signal unit-internal relationships (see tables 6.3-6.13)[283].
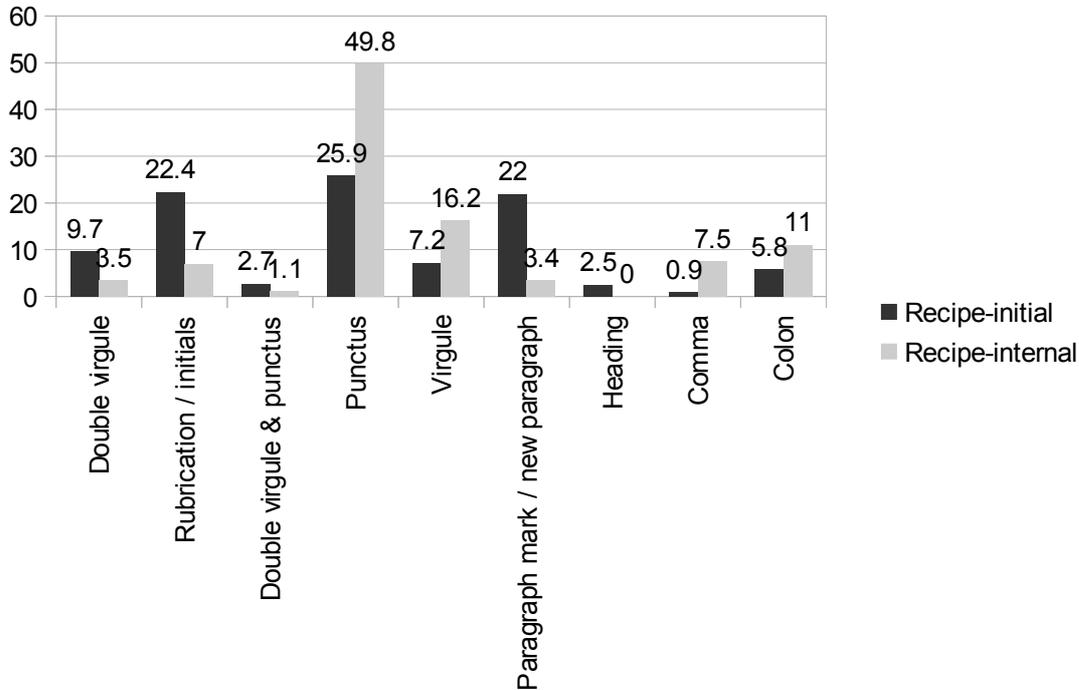
Figure 6.3. Supra-textual devices in recipes[284].

Figure [6.3] illustrates the presence of supra-textual devices in recipe-initial and recipe-internal positions throughout the corpus, presenting the total number of appearances in percentages. Although no symbols or devices are used exclusively in either recipe-initial or recipe-internal positions (apart from intended headings which do not occur recipe-

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[283] An examination of the *Byrth of Mankynde*, an Early Modern printed gynecological and obstetrical manual, reprinted a number of times during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, reveal that there are different structures, some of which resemble the ones in the manuscripts. Thus, in the 1545 version, recipes are prefaced by a paragraph mark and a discourse marker such as *Item* or *also*; they are also frequently (but not always) titled in the margin. The 1552 version sets titles, preceded by a paragraph mark, on a separate line in a slightly smaller typeface. The 1572 version, on the other hand, only occasionally inserts titles in the margins, and instead of providing separate titles, seems to revert to the older usage by simply prefacing each recipe with a discourse marker (*take, another perfume, item, also*). A new usage here is setting the ingredients required in different typeface from the rest of the text, thus highlighting them. The early seventeenth century versions again combine and develop these conventions: the 1604 edition uses again different typeface for the ingredients, but also for some lengthier sections, prefaced by *Item* set out in *textura* (the font used for the rest of the text). The 1613 version provides a general title for a group of recipes, using again different type faces to distinguish between the sections.

[284] This chart does not include those devices which are used in less than 1% of the cases. The omitted symbols are punctus elevatus (0.1%, used in one manuscript recipe-initially; 0.3% (used in two manuscripts recipe-internally), tilde (0.4%, used in one manuscript recipe-initially), comma + colon (0.2%, used in one manuscript recipe-initially, and virgule & punctus (0.1%, used in one manuscript recipe-initially).

internally), individual supra-textual devices tend to occur either in one function or the other. Thus, punctus is used more often to indicate recipe-internal relationships, while rubrication, initials and paragraph marks tend to mark the beginning of a recipe.

Some manuscripts utilise a more hierarchical system, in which, as noted in Chapter 4 (section 4.2.1), symbols have fairly clearly defined usages. Thus, for instance, in A12195 and CUL33[II], rubrication and initials in various combinations are used almost exclusively to mark the beginning of a recipe[285], whereas punctus occurs primarily in recipe-internal positions. There is more overlap in the use of double virgule and double virgule & punctus in A12195, and virgule occurs only once in a recipe-internal position. CUL33[II] also uses paragraph marks to signal the beginning of a recipe (see tables [6.3] and [6.4][286]).

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[285] Other uses for rubrication and initials in A12195 include the marking of larger sections within the text, as well as emphasising and highlighting information.

[286]The tables in this section are all presented in the same format: the first row ("recipe-initial") is presented in percentages of the total number of recipes in each manuscript, while the second row ("recipe-internal") records the total number of occurrences in each manuscript, as a single recipe may have more than one occurrence.

| | Rubrication / initials | | | | | Double virgule | Double virgule & punctus | Punctus | Virgule |
	Initial + rubrication	Initial	Initial + rubrication + double virgule (& punctus)	Rubrication	Rubrication + double virgule & punctus				
Recipe-initial	34% (n=35)					27.2% (n=28)	18.4% (n=19)	1.9% (n=2)	0
	4.9% (n=5)	2.9% (n=3)	2.9% (n=3)	15.5% (n=16)	12.6% (n=13)				
Recipe-internal	N=3					N=16	N=14	N=27	N=1
	0	0	0	0	N=3				

Table 6.3. Punctuation of recipes in A12195.

| | Punctus | Paragraph mark | Initial | | | Double virgule & punctus |
			Initial	Double virgule & punctus + initial	Paragraph mark + initial	
Recipe-initial	48.1% (n=62)	28.7% (n=37)	19.4% (n=25)			0.8% (n=1)
			16.3% (n=21)	2.3% (n=3)	0.8% (n=1)	
Recipe-internal	N=396	N=4	0			0
			0	0	0	

Table 6.4. Punctuation of recipes in CUL33[II].

A34111, on the other hand, uses the combination of initial + paragraph mark + underlining to signal both the beginning of recipes, as well as to separate the heading from the body of the recipe; the same devices are used to signal other sections within the text. Punctuation rarely occurs in recipe-internal positions other than to separate the heading; punctuation can also be used to separate the efficacy clause or other additional information at the end of the recipe (see table [6.5]).

	Paragraph mark + rubrication (+ underlining)
Recipe-initial	96.1% (n=123)
Recipe-internal	(N=90)

Table 6.5. Punctuation of recipes in A34111.

Although table [6.6], below, shows CUL33[I] using new paragraph accompanied by a paragraph mark in recipe-internal positions, these are usually to mark off the heading or introduction to a recipe, and therefore to signal the beginning of the recipe proper. Virgules and commas appear almost exclusively only in recipe-internal positions. Paragraph mark is similarly in LM66 (see table [6.7]) used largely to signal the beginning of a recipe, while virgule and punctus are more likely to occur recipe-internally; double virgule in this text can occur in both positions. S121[II] employs a similarly hierarchical system, with rubrication, double virgule and double virgule & punctus used to signal the beginning of a recipe, while punctus, virgule and punctus elevatus occur primarily in recipe-internal positions; double virgule can also be used after a heading (see table [6.8]).

	New paragraph + paragraph mark	Indented heading	Virgule	Comma	Double virgule	Punctus	New paragraph	Paragraph mark
Recipe-initial	58.4% (n=45)	27.3% (n=21)	11.7% (n=9)	1.3% (n=1)	1.3% (n=1)	0	0	0
Recipe-internal	N=21	0	N=92	N=41	0	N=8	N=5	N=1

Table 6.6. Punctuation of recipes in CUL33[I].

	Paragraph mark			Double virgule	Virgule	Punctus	Punctus & double virgule
	Paragraph mark	Punctus + paragraph mark	Virgule + paragraph mark				
Recipe-initial	50.7% (n=34)			16.4% (n=11)	7.5% (n=5)	3% (n=2)	1.5% (n=1)
	43.3% (n=29)	3% (n=2)	4.5% (n=3)				
Recipe-internal	N=7			N=8	N=26	N=12	N=1
	N=7	0	0				

Table 6.7. Punctuation of recipes in LM66.

	Rubrication	Double virgule	Double virgule & punctus	Punctus	Virgule	Punctus elevatus
Recipe-initial	11.8% (n=2)	70.6% (n=12)	11.8% (n=2)	5.9% (n=1)	0	0
Recipe-internal	0	(N=3)	0	(N=3)	(N=6)	(N=1)

Table 6.8. Punctuation of recipes in .S121[II].

JC43 uses little punctuation overall, but does indicate the beginning of certain recipes with punctuation symbols[287]: initials occur three times[288], and punctus and virgule both twice; punctus also appears in recipe-internal positiona, to separate items in a list of ingredients (see table [6.9]). Generally, however, recipes are not punctuated, although they may be marked in the margins (see further below, table [6.14]).

	Initial	Punctus	Virgule
Recipe-initial	4.8% (n=3)	3.2% (n=2)	3.2% (n=2)
Recipe-internal	0	N=3	0

Table 6.9. Punctuation of recipes in JC43.

Other manuscripts, however, make less distinction between the functions of symbols. D37 uses primarily punctus to signal the beginning of a recipe, although other symbols appear occasionally. Recipe-internal punctuation is not very frequent; punctus is the only symbol used for this purpose (see table [6.10]). In B483, the majority of symbols appear in both positions, apart from double virgule and punctus & virgule which are occasionally used to signal the beginning of a recipe (see table [6.11]).H403 employs punctuation marks fairly indiscriminately to signal both the beginning of a recipe and recipe-internal relationships. A new paragraph frequently starts a recipe, but paragraph divisions are also used after a heading (see table [6.12]). S121[I] uses double virgule primarily to signal the beginning of a recipe, and virgule recipe-internally, although both symbols appear in both positions (see table [6.13]). In L333, punctus is used largely recipe-internally, although the majority of the symbols can be used either recipe-initially or recipe-internally; the text is organised into paragraphs with related recipes in the same paragraph, and so there is perhaps less need to distinguish between the recipes, despite the extensive punctuation in the manuscript (see table [6.14]).

[287] These recipes relate primarily to restoring menstruation; a recipe for aiding conception and one for constipation are also punctuated.

[288] Although some of these may also indicate the beginning of a section, or emphasise the name of an authority such as Ruphus (see Chapter 4, section 4.1.4.3.5).

	Punctus	Double virgule	Virgule	Initials
Recipe-initial	58.2% (n=78)	2.2% (n=3)	1.5% (n=2)	0.7% (n=1)
Recipe-internal	N=28	0	0	0

Table 6.10. Punctuation of recipes in D37.

	Punctus	Virgule	Double virgule	Punctus elevatus	Punctus + virgule
Recipe-initial	41.4% (n=55)	5.3% (n=7)	2.3% (n=3)	0.8% (n=1)	0.8% (n=1)
Recipe-internal	N=51	N=3	0	N=3	0

Table 6.11. Punctuation of recipes in B483.

	New paragraph	Virgule	Punctus	Paragraph mark	Double virgule
Recipe-initial	50.8% (n=30)	42.4% (n=25)	0	0	0
Recipe-internal	N=7	N=48	N=3	N=1	N=1

Table 6.12. Punctuation of recipes in H403.

	Double virgule	Virgule
Recipe-initial	67.5% (n=27)	22.5% (n=9)
Recipe-internal	N=18	N=32

Table 6.13. Punctuation of recipes in S121[I].

	Colon	New paragraph	Punctus	Comma / virgule		Tilde	Comma and colon
				Comma	Virgule		
Recipe-initial	35% (n=49)	28.6% (n=40)	12.1% (n=17)	7.9% (n=11)		2.1% (n=3)	1.4% (n=2)
				5% (n=7)	2.9% (n=4)		
Recipe-internal	N=147	0	N=134	N=67		0	0
				N=59	N=8		

Table 6.14. Punctuation of recipes in L333.

Recipes are frequently identified by discourse markers, such as "another (for the same)", "(and/or/also) take". Those manuscripts with less punctuation, however, do not contain more discourse markers. Although punctuation can function in place of linguistic items (or vice versa), manuscripts such as JC43 or S421A[289], which contain minimal punctuation, do not consequently use more discourse markers to structure the text. Those manuscripts with more extensive punctuation, however, tend to emphasise and highlight these markers.

The internal structure of the recipes has a bearing on the way they can be read. A separate heading can aid the reader in locating a particular recipe (see further section 6.3.2.1 below), but the internal structure may also have implications on the reading practices and interpretation of the text. Although the corpus presents a number of different ways of presenting and dividing recipes, the majority of the recipes do not contain any internal punctuation. The length of recipes is also often a determining factor here: a short recipe requires less punctuation and clarification than a lengthy one with multiple sections and stages of preparation. Other manuscripts, however, do not punctuate recipes of any length. Manuscripts which contain frequent recipe-internal divisions might have been intended to be read by someone with either less advanced literacy skills, or by someone less familiar with the material, thus requiring additional guidance in navigating and interpreting the text. Often, it is clear that the readers of the text did not think the structure provided by the scribe sufficient, and indicated recipes in the margins or by underlining. This can also be seen reflecting the usage of the manuscript: those recipes which were thought particularly useful and noteworthy were marked out for easy locating later on. Scribes also, however, marked some recipes in the margins, either by means of a paragraph mark or by a note or a

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[289] S421A does not use any punctuation to signal recipes, although some recipes begin a new paragraph,

heading providing, most commonly, the purpose of a recipe or the main ingredient (see table [6.15] below; the percentages are of the total number of recipes in each manuscript). Manuscripts with relatively small number of supra-textual devices (such as D37 or JC43) tend to contain more added marginal notes; in others, such as LM66 or A12195 these notes (headings in the case of LM66 and S421A, paragraph marks in A12195) are scribal. Other uses of marginalia will be discussed below in section 6.3.2.2.

	Scribal	Other
A12195	26.2% (n=27)	(-)
D37	(-)	44.8% (n=60)
B483	3.8% (n=5)	20.3% (n=27)
CUL33[II]	(-)	6.2% (n=8)
S421A	8.5% (n=11)	(-)
A34111	(-)	10.9% (n=14)
CUL33[I]	(-)	(-)
H403	(-)	22% (n=13)
S121[I]	(-)	42.5% (n=17)
JC43	(-)	22.2% (n=14)
LM66	34.3% (n=23)	(-)
S121[II]	(-)	(-)
L333	(-)	(-)

Table 6.15. Marginalia in recipes.

6.3.2 Reading the visual language of the page

This section will examine the manuscripts from a visual perspective. The importance of punctuation as a visual guide is illustrated by A12195; the scribe frequently rubricates punctuation symbols as well as words, phrases and sentences within the text to emphasise them. Barratt suggests that the extensive use of supra-textual devices in this manuscript "suggests that, even if not owned by or written for a woman, it might have been designed to be made available for consultation by those known to be relatively inexperienced with

books" (Barratt 2001:37). The appearance of the text also suggests a practical function, and that it was a text intended to be seen (rather than heard): not because of its beauty or decorations, but because of the visual guidance it offers to the reader. Rubrication in this manuscript, then, serves a functional, rather than decorative purpose.

Those manuscripts with explicit visual guidance aiding the reader in locating specific sections and recipes could have been designed as reference-books, enabling quick consultation of the contents without the need to read through the whole text. By signalling individual recipes as well as section headings, the reader can find his or her way around the text by glancing at the page. A similar function is suggested by Dahood in his study of initials in the manuscripts of *Ancrene Riwle* (Dahood 1988). Visual aids – whether in the form of rubrication, marginalia or other form of supra-textual devices – direct the readers' attention, signalling to the reader how and where to locate particular information, enabling quick and effective navigation. Saenger argues that, rather than purely rhetorical, punctuation in late medieval manuscript was "calculated to guide the eye rather than to regulate the voice of a professional reader. Aristocratic books of the fifteenth century used paragraph signs, underlining, and capitalization to divide texts into intellectual rather than rhetorical units" (Saenger 1982:409). These units, as well as the implications to reading therein, will be further discussed below (see section 6.4.1).

6.3.2.1 Finding information

If recipes are not identified visually – whether by means of rubrication, paragraph breaks or punctuation – locating individual recipes is difficult. The reader must, instead, use linguistic clues (such as conventional formulae signalling the beginning of recipes, such as "(and/or) take", "item", "another (for the same)"). Where the beginning of the recipe, however, is clearly signalled, the reader can quickly scan the text in order to find the desired remedy (Carroll 2006:320–321, 2010:64). A12195 frequently rubricates the first word or words in the recipes (example [6.4]), although this particular device does not appear in any of the other Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts.

> [6.4]
> And sche xall be delyu*er*ed **.//.**[290] **ffor** hasty   ¶[291]
> delyueronce queder þᵉ chylde be queke or dede

[290] Rubricated double virgule & punctus.
[291] Rubricated paragraph mark.

> be leve it well þis for thyng þt oftyn haye
> ben A sayed & p*ro*ved full trewly **.//.**[292] **Take of**   ¶[293]
> **merre** þe mowntenons . of A lytell Note & gyf
> her to drynke in wyne .//. and w^t owte fayll
> sche xall be delyuert Ryte sou*n* .//. **yf the chyld**
> [A12195, f.167r]

L333, on the other hand, uses a combination of layout and punctuation. Thus, while the majority of recipes within the paragraphs are punctuated, there is less need to differentiate between the symbols, because recipes for a certain ailment can all be found within a single paragraph or a number of paragraphs following each other, usually (although not always) also signalled by an indented heading. The reader can therefore locate the desired section by scanning the headings; punctuation marks within the sections help the reader in navigating the text. CUL33[I] functions in a similar way, although its use of punctuation is more systematic. Each section and each recipe forms a separate paragraph, within which punctuation marks are used to clarify the sense and to signal sentential relationships.

Recipes can, therefore, be signalled by different visual means: by rubrication, by punctuation or by using blank spaces. As Brodin remarks, "(h)eadings and references to the text in the margin are in red ink. This use of red ink, which was customary, may reflect the scribe's sense of order rather than of beauty; it was practical, for he had to economize on paper and accordingly write headings and text without spaces" (Brodin 1950:41–42). All of these devices perform the same pragmatic function, facilitating finding of information.

The same principles apply to the text as a whole, and the same devices tend to be used to identify recipes as well as other textual boundaries. Devices such as rubrication or headings suggest, in the context of these manuscripts, a practical function, aiding the reader in locating certain information within the text. A text such as this was not necessarily intended to be studied intensively, or to be read from the beginning to the end; rather, these devices enable the reader to find the relevant information quickly (see also Robertson 2003b:120 on a similar function in certain manuscripts of the *Ancrene Wisse*). Sometimes, however, scribes do not provide such explicit finding-aids; often, in these cases, later readers supply the textual apparatus by adding marginal notes, underlinings, or for instance pointing hands; these will be further discussed in the next section below.

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[292] Rubricated double virgule & punctus.
[293] Rubricated paragraph mark.

Not all of the manuscripts, however, use such visual means to structure the text. D37, B483 and LM66 use punctuation marks to signal textual divisions and relationships, but there is little visual guidance otherwise. The scribe of JC43, also, largely omits punctuation marks, although the beginning of the text exhibits an attempt to structure the text visually. The reader of these manuscripts has, therefore, to rely on linguistic clues to determine section boundaries and connections within the text; the emphasis is on lexical cues, not visual ones; the texts themselves, then, contain little punctuation. All of them, however, use another visual device to guide the reader, namely marginal marks and notes, which will be further discussed in the following section.

6.3.2.2 Marginalia

Marginalia are considered here because they are evidence not only of reader activity, but also of the way in which the readers interacted with and complemented the textual apparatus provided by the original scribe or scribes, adding and supplementing devices for navigation. The lack of punctuation and other devices in some of the manuscripts is also interesting in itself; in some of the manuscripts few concessions have been made to help the reader understand the relationships between different parts of the text or to locate and use the information found in the text. To this end, (marginal) additions by the scribe as well as later readers prove crucial; rather than simply notes or scribbles, they enhance the usability of the text by signalling textual boundaries and providing finding-aids for ease of navigation.

Table [6.16] provides an overview of the marginalia in the manuscripts. The columns indicate whether marginalia and other additions are by the scribe of the main text or by a later reader or readers.

MS	*Marginalia*	*Marginalia by the scribe*
A12195	Enumeration	Paragraph marks
D37	Marginal notes[294] Underlining Paragraph marks Enumeration Manicules *Rx*	(–)
B483	Marginal notes	Marginal notes Paragraph marks
CUL33[II]	Marginal notes	(–)
S421A	(–)	Marginal notes
A34111	Marginal notes Manicules	(–)
CUL33[I]	(–)	(–)
H403	Marginal notes Enumeration	(–)
S121[I]	Marginal notes Manicules Glosses	Paragraph marks
LM66	Marginal notes	Marginal notes
JC43	Marginal notes	Marginal notes Insertions and corrections in the text
S121[II]	(–)	(–)
L333	(–)	(–)

Table 6.16. Marginalia.

6.3.2.2.1 Scribal marginalia

Supra-textual devices do not function solely within the text; the margins provide additional platforms for the scribes to add finding-devices to aid the reader. These devices principally take the form of marginal headings referring to the text (noting, for instance, the title of a recipe, a keyword referring to the content or the main ingredient to be used), thus helping the reader to locate specific sections. Sometimes, as in A12195, B483 and S121[I], the scribe adds paragraph marks to signal recipes or noteworthy sections. Although marginal headings in S421A function as the principal finding-device, the scribes of a number of other manuscripts also provide marginal headings, notes and additions, although none as extensively as the scribe of S421A (example [6.5]). Marginalia, therefore, can have both a structural and deictic function.

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[294] Largely illegible due to cropping of pages

[6.5]
that is to saye wᵗ wax soft grece & freshe of a
hogg & medyll them together & make a pessary
of woll & vse It

The signes of slaknes of the pryvyte ar thes	slaknes of
surfett of her flowrs that comethe often in the	þᵉ privyte
monethe & she hathe her naturall lykynge wᵗ	
man & yf It be done to her aganst her will she	
recevithe not the seed of man And yff they	
receve it the first daye or the secund daye this	
shall ye hele as ye do the bledynge of the mat*r*ⁱˣ	

The signes of mysturnynge of the matrixe	mysturny*ng*
the mouthe of the matrix shalbe hard & thike	of þᵉ mat*r*ⁱˣ
that yff she touche it wᵗ her finger she shal	
not fele it & she shall hate to dele wᵗ man	
[S421A, f.23v]	

6.3.2.2.2 Later additions

The majority of marginalia, however are in hands other than the scribes of the texts. These marginal additions can also function quite systematically to structure the text, as well as providing a more personal view of individual readers' interests and reading habits.

6.3.2.2.2.1 Marginalia as text-structuring devices

Later additions can also function as a supplement to the textual apparatus provided by the scribe. *Enumeration* appears in multiple manuscripts. In example [6.6], a reader of D37 has underlined the full section introducing the principal subject matters; a paragraph mark is added preceding the list of topics, and each of the three topics is numbered in the margin. In a similar manner, a reader enumerates the principal concerns in H403 (example [6.7]), as well as noting the beginning of each section in the margins of the text (".1.Infirᵗᵃˢ", etc.); another reader has added page references to further aid navigation.

[6.6]
lyes in womans body . <u>And nov I wol</u>
<u>tell yow þe anguysch þat dysesyth hᵗ</u>
<u>ye schall know fyrst þat þ*er* been .iij.</u>   3.
<u>anguysch . þat p*ri*ncipally dysesyn woman</u>
<u>be here marys . [{]²⁹⁵ The fyrst ys travelyng of</u>   1
<u>chylde . The ij ys suffocacyon p*r*ecipitacou*n*</u>   2

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²⁹⁵ Added wavy line within the text, another hand.

or p*re*focacou*n* of þe marys . The iij ys   3
retencou*n* defaute or sup*er*fluite of flovrys
[D37, ff.3v–4r]

[6.7]
and in asmyche as that the ma*t*ric*e* The wyche þᵗ women fo*re*
          the lake of knoleg calle ther*e* Maris ys caws ofte tyms of
          hyr*e* seknes aftur*e* the Evylle dispo*sitio*ne of the Maledyes The
          wyche cu*m* of the Matryce and theys arre the p*ri*ncypalls and
          mooste comunelye hapons vnto theme / Γ and one ys the   .1.
          schyppynge owtt of the Ma*t*ric*e* / Γ and anoþer*e* ys the Ryssynge   .2. 348
          of the Ma*t*ric*e* / Γand anoþ*er* ys / The stoppynge ou*er* wythe stondy*n*ge .3.350
          of hyr hyr flowrs Γ and the .iiij. ys the fluche ou*er* flyxe [o]fe hyr   4 352
          flowrys / Γ and the vᵗᵉ ys the lettyngs of conceptyone / Γ and   5 353
          the .vj.ᵗᵉ ys the hardnes of the delyuerans in the tyme of   6 358
          hyr*e* labur*e* /
                    Γ The schyppynge owtt of awoomans Matrice
The schyppynge owtt of awomans Ma*t*ric*e* ys whene thatt   .1.Infirᵗᵃˢ
          ytt fallou*er*e ou*er*e lowe downe to the oponynge of hyr*e* Bodye
[H403, p. 347]

In S121[I], recipes are signalled in the margins with small paragraph marks as well as, once, with a pointing hand and underlining. Other noteworthy sections are marked with a marginal no*ta*: the use of the text as a textbook (see section 7.2.1.4) is reflected in the notes marking general rules or advice in the text with a *Regla*, while lists of symptoms are marked with *Signa*. A reader also provides glosses over terminology of Latin origin (e.g. "þe orifice `.i. mowþ´ of þᵉ ma*t*ric*e*"; example [6.8]). These notes, then, aid the reader in finding certain types of sections: recipes, descriptions of ailments or commendations. The marginal apparatus functions as a visual guide, which the reader can scan in order to locate sections within the text. Thus, although a manuscript such as JC43 contains next to no punctuation as such, the reader can locate specific sections by scanning the margins, as in example [6.9].

[6.8]
an*e* esy paas / and whoso eu*er*e be þ*er* Inne lete
hym not behold hir*e* face gretly / ffor wom*m*en
be wont to be schamefaste in childbirthe // Of   No*ta*²⁹⁶
þe gou*er*naunse of a wom*m*an & of hire ma*t*ric*e* a /
fore birþe / & in birþe & aft*er* it is to seye hough
a wom*m*an schall be holpen and hire ma*t*ric*e* //
          / dyfficulte of birþe is of þe constreynyng
of þe orifice `.i. mowþ´ of þᵉ ma*t*ric*e* // Wherfor*e* it is agen*er*all   Regla²⁹⁷
rule amongs alle oþ*er* to be consydred*e* // We deme*n*
suche a counsell þᵗ awom*m*an be wele avysed in

²⁹⁶ Marginal, scribal.
²⁹⁷ Marginal, scribal.

hire laste monthes in dyetynge þᵗ she vse /
[S121, f.102r]

[6.9]
tes & of wormwode & enfume here wyth frankensense
stro*ng*ly to hyre nose & lede here vp & down in þe howse an*n*   Gou*erna*n*s*²⁹⁸
hesy pace and whoso eu*er*e beþer Inne lete hym not be holde   of weme*n*
here face gredly ffor wome*n* bene wont to be schamefaste in
chyldyry~~ng~~berþ Of þe gouernawns of a woma*n* & of here   Of þᵉ go
matryce a fore berþe & in þe birþe & aftyr it is to seye hough   uernaw*n*s
a woma*n* schalle bene holpyn and here matrice it ben diffy   of woma*n*
culte of berþe is of þe constrenynge of þe oryfyce .*i*n. movþe of
[JC43, f.73v]

In some manuscripts, such as S121[I] the use of marginalia, then, takes the form of relatively consistent text-structuring devices: marginal notes and other additions such as underlining function to structure and organise the text alongside those devices and features presented by the scribe, which may have been considered inadequate. In other manuscripts, the marginalia have a primarily deictic function: rather than an attempt at textual structuring, the marginalia function as memory prompts (see also Carruthers 2008:314, Echard 1999:64), and the underlying meaning or logic behind them may be lost to later readers (see also Robertson 2003b:121).

6.3.2.2.2.2 Marginalia as a guide to reading

Those manuscripts with little visual guidance all contain a wealth of marginal notes. Some of them are provided by the scribe of the main text; the majority are additions by readers. These notes, symbols and other additions testify to readers' interests as well as to reading practices which required these visual aids. Before inserting marginalia, the reader has to read through the text, locating topics of interest or useful recipes.

The marginalia in B483 offer evidence that this process of insertion was sometimes done after the initial reading; the marginal notes record, for instance, that "here is medicinis aprovid by me that will cawse a child to be soone borne" [f.88v] (complementing another note in the same hand on the same page noting "medicins that doth cawse a chylde for to be son borne") and "here is apropar medicine provid" [f.89v] or "Here is a propar receit" [ff.94v, 96v, 97v]; they also note that "Here is a nother receit provid bi a lady" [f.95v]. Whether the person writing these marginalia was, in fact, involved in the processes of

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²⁹⁸ Marginal additions; two different hands.

childbirth – as a physician, midwife or a lay assistant, male or female – cannot be confirmed. The notes do, however, offer evidence of use, and it is clear that this particular reader has worked his or her way through the text in order to locate all the recipes deemed interesting or relevant.

Rather than an attempt to structure the text formally, these notes testify to the particular interests of an individual reader. Moreover, they offer evidence for reading practices. The marginal hand in B483 – large, sprawling, uneven – also appears elsewhere in the manuscript, although nowhere as frequently as in the *Trotula*-text. It also appears that the text has been read and reread: studied for information, and the results then recorded. The visual guidance offered by these notes helps the reader later to structure the text, functioning as prompts for memory. While some notes explicitly note the section, as above, the majority of the notes in this hand simply mark recipes or other sections by writing in the margin "marke (this place) (well)" or "note". The notes are frequently also accompanied by underlining of sections of the text, offering explicit visual guidance to aid the reader in locating those sections marked as noteworthy.

In a similar manner, added marginal notes in CUL33[II] may consist of lengthier explications of the contents of the text or rephrasing of the text ("acold man ys hooteste than the hoteste woman"). More often, however, there is simply an added "no*ta*" in the margins [example 6.10]. In H403, the marginal provide titles for the recipes or indicate the main ingredient used ("To help a Woman to conceiue wth Child.", "Savyne", "Loadstone"). Another hand provides the occasional, heavily abbreviated note in Latin ("no*ta*") and numbers the principal ailments as well as providing page references for them "2.Infir^tas" etc., and noting the end of the text with "finis hui*us*". The third hand also provides titles and references in the margin ("gett", etc.).

> [6.10]
> not to streyte vndir the brestis but slak
> so that hire brestis may be at large to
> falle hem of mylke . ¶ ffor many dishesis   no*ta*[299]
> may falle to a woman of ouer streyte
> gyrdynge . in the .vij. monyth . but prin
> [CUL33[II], f.10r]

The annotations in D37 function as additions to the textual apparatus; rather than

[299] Marginal, another hand.

commentary on the text itself, they are intended to supplement the supra-textual devices provided by the scribe. Possibly perceiving these as inadequate, a later reader has supplemented the text with marginal references and underlinings of sections of the text. These underlinings, in particular (as marginal notes are not visible any longer due to cropping of the pages), function to signal the major sections and topic changes within the text, or to indicate important or particularly interesting sections.

The manicules, or pointing index fingers, in some manuscripts are used to signal noteworthy sections. Although Camille states that it was "a universal sign of acoustic performance", usually representing the 'voice' of the Lord (Camille 1985:27), in these manuscript it functions as a deictic device, signalling important sections or passages.

6.3.2.3 Emphasis

Supra-textual devices can function not only as a guide to the structure and reading of the text, but also as deictic devices, flagging sections the scribe or another reader of the manuscript (in the case of marginal notes or other additions) thought noteworthy. The scribes can also do this by punctuation and by using features of layout: to bring out emphases, or to draw the readers' attention to particular sections within the text or a recipe, as in example [6.11] from A12195, where the section "And yf it be Conseyued þ*er* yt schall haue þ^e to kyn bothe of man and of woma*n* þt is to say both ȝerd and wekete" is rubricated, emphasising one of the possible outcomes of conception.

[6.11]
þ^t þe seed fall i*n* t any of þe Chamberes on
þe Rythte syde yt xall be a man chylde if it þ*er*
a byde & be conceyuyd & if it fall in to any of
þe Chamberes or uessels on þe lefte syde yt
xal be a mayde chylde and if yt fall in the
uessell in þe medis it fallyth owt & p*er*eschyth
fro þ^t place of Creacion and if it byde it fall
vn to corupcyons of sup*er*fluite of hete colde &
drynes & moystnes & oþ*er* Corupcyons þ^t passith
vp fro þe weket wt Ressistau*n*s to þ^e seed and
Rotyd **// And yf it be Conseyued þer yt schall**
haue þ^e to kyn bothe of man and of woman
þt is to say both ȝerd and wekete as it
hath be sen oftyn in diu*er*se place **And yf any**
[A12195, f.158v]

After a number of lengthy paragraphs on contraceptives, the scribe of H403 adds the following warning in a short paragraph on its own, warning against improper use of "syche medycyns". The disparity in the length of these paragraphs suggests that the scribe wished to emphasise this particular point.

[6.12]
a cleyene and a pewre meydyne and thys ys a preuye medysyne
and a feyr*e* Boothe for*e* Wyvys and o*þer* woomene alssoo /
Butt syche medycyns as ar*e* stryctors ar*e* nott to be vssyde or*e* doone
att syche tyms as thatt awomane hathe hyr*e* flowrs Nor*ee* whene
thatt sche scholde haue theme for theye wolde lett hyr*e* flowrs
for*e* to cume / and her*e* aftur*e* followys amedycyne to stenche þ*e* flowrs
[H403, p.361]

6.3.3 Memory-aids

The visual appearance of the text can also help the reader in remembering the contents of the text, the visuals functioning as memory-prompts. Carruthers' (2008 [1990]) work on memory demonstrates how page layout also functioned as a mnemonic aid. The design and layout of a certain page could, for instance, help students in imprinting that page, and therefore also the text on the page, in their minds, i.e. committing the page to memory. In the twelfth century, Hugh of St Victor instructs his pupils always to use the same written document when they are memorising a topic, as the different visual appearance of another copy could cause confusion:

> it is a great value for fixing a memory-image that when we read books, we strive to impress on our memory […] the color, shape, position, and placement of the letters […] in what location (at the top, the middle or bottom) we saw [something] positioned, in what color we observe the trace of the letter or the ornamented surface of the parchment. Indeed I consider nothing so useful for stimulation the memory as this
> (cited in Carruthers 2008:10)

Memory and *memorising* frequently feature in discussions of medieval literacy. The visual presentation of a text could aid in memorising a text (Wallis 1995:104–105; see also Hardman 2010:33). There are, however, two sides to this argument. On the one hand, it can be argued that the appearance of a text, with a variety of visual prompts, aids in memorising the textual content. On the other, at a time when writing skills were not so widespread and access to written texts restricted, readers would be more familiar with those few texts they encountered, reading them over and over again. There would,

therefore, be less need for extensive punctuation, whereas "when readers regularly encounter texts which are new to them and which they encounter for the first time with eye rather than ear, the role of punctuation to resolve uncertainties becomes much more important" (Smith 2012:24; see also Jajdelska 2007:49).

Memorising a text is a question, however, not simply of the amount of punctuation; but also the type of supra-textual devices used. Taylor discusses a treatise called *The Book of the Craft of Dying*, "a practical guide on how to assist someone on their death-bed" (Taylor 1996:57), in which the reader is advised to "take hede besyly and studye and lerne dylygently hys crafte off dyinge", studying the contents in detail, "just as if it were a handbook of first-aid, to be ready for the emergency when it comes. This purpose is reinforced by the *ordinatio* […] Throughout the first section there is extensive use of rubricated titles and chapter headings, and the first section ends with a table of contents" (Taylor 1996:58). This apparatus, then, enables the reader to read and memorise the text, and to then use the visual aids to locate the desired sections. Rouse and Rouse note that "if one's study is logically ordered, one may use one's recall as a finding device", rather than "thumb the pages of books to hunt for rules and reasons" (Rouse and Rouse 1992:192–193, 1999:202). As demonstrated above, however (see section 6.3.1), an explicit "logical order" does not necessarily feature as a major organising principle in the *Trotula*-manuscripts.

John Fitzherbert's *Book of husbandry*, first printed in 1523, provides a table of contents, but the preface also offers advice on how the intended reader ("a yong gentylman that intendeth to thriue") should approach the book:

> I auyse hym to gete a copy of this present boke and to rede it from the beginnyng vnto thendyng / wherby he may percuyue the chapiters and contentes of the same / and by reason of oft redynge he may waxe parfet what shuld be done at all seasons [...] Ryght to a man shalbe made wyse / nat all onely by himself but by his oft redyng. And so may this yonge gentylman: according to the season of the yere / rede to his seruauntes what chapyter he woll
> (Fitzherbert 1523, cited in Keiser 2008:494)

The reader, then, is expected to learn the text by reading it "from the beginnyng vnto thendyng", thus enabling him to memorise the structure (further supported by the table of contents and folio references). This further enables him to read suitable passages aloud to his servants in order to instruct them (see also section 6.4.3.1).

The structure of the text of Version A (as detailed in the Appendix) enables the reader to use the text for various purposes at different times: since the majority of the theoretical knowledge is situated in the first half of the text, the reader, if already familiar with the text (as the structure is not explicated in the text itself) could memorise the structure and thus locate the desired sections, depending on whether general information or practical remedies of a particular issue were needed. Visual finding-aids would still, however, be beneficial in finding exact sections of the text, as detailed above (section 6.3.2).

The structure and apparatus of supra-textual devices would often seem to warrant the studying of the text in detail beforehand, in order to be able to use the text later to locate those sections which might be of interest or relevance to the reader. To this end, readers frequently add their own apparatus, structural devices and finding-aids. Memorising a text could have a number of purposes and uses; Russell argues that some manuscripts included brief vernacular texts, intended for parish priests to teach their parishioners for memorisation (Russell 1962:102). Green suggests this practice could have been extended to medical texts (M. Green 2000c:338–339; see also Clanchy 2012:244).

6.4 Interpreting the use of supra-textual devices

The previous sections charted the ways in which the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts utilise supra-textual devices to structure the text and to guide the reader in navigating, reading, understanding and interpreting the contents, and how supra-textual devices could aid in memorising a text. The conventions of supra-textual devices, their use (by the scribes) and understanding and interpretation (by the readers) are embedded in the larger cultural contexts in which they appear, involving a knowledge and understanding of their meaning and hierarchical dependencies (Hellinga 1983:9).

Reading, therefore, also includes the ability to interpret the various symbols on the page and to understand their meaning: 'reading' a text may consist of vocalising the text for other people to *hear*; or it may consist of visual signals, which can only be interpreted through *seeing* the text. A distinction, if one necessarily with blurred boundaries, is commonly made between oral and silent reading. This section will focus on those distinctions, discussing the ways in which these manuscripts would lend themselves to be read, silently or aloud, and exploring the distinctions made at the beginning of this chapter

(see section 6.1.1) of different types of literacies. How are the distinctions made between different literacies – such as oral and literate, silent and communal, medical literacy, female literacy, or the distinctions between a practical or pragmatic, professional and cultivated reader, phonetic and comprehension literacy, practical and cultural literacy, or intensive and extensive literacy – reflected in the present material? Female literacy, in particular, is of relevance here; how likely were women to have read these texts?

This section will begin by examining the length of punctuated units in the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts, and the implications thereof, examining how the manuscripts lend themselves to oral and silent reading practices. In order to accommodate their audiences, scribes made various modifications to the presentation of the manuscript texts; what can these modifications tell us about the (intended) audiences of these texts, and the ways in which they might have been read and used?

6.4.1 Units of reading

It was suggested in Chapter 4 (see section 4.2.1.2) that a 'unit of reading' may be an appropriate term to describe the units between supra-textual devices. This section will examine those units in the Middle English *Trotula*. Figure [6.4] and table [6.17] illustrate the variation in unit length within the corpus (see also Chapter 4). The length of the units has been calculated based on the use of all supra-textual devices within the text, thus excluding marginal marks and notes, as well as all those added by hands other than that of the scribe of the main text. These figures therefore take into account also the use of blank space: the division of the text into paragraphs as well as the use of indented headings and initials.
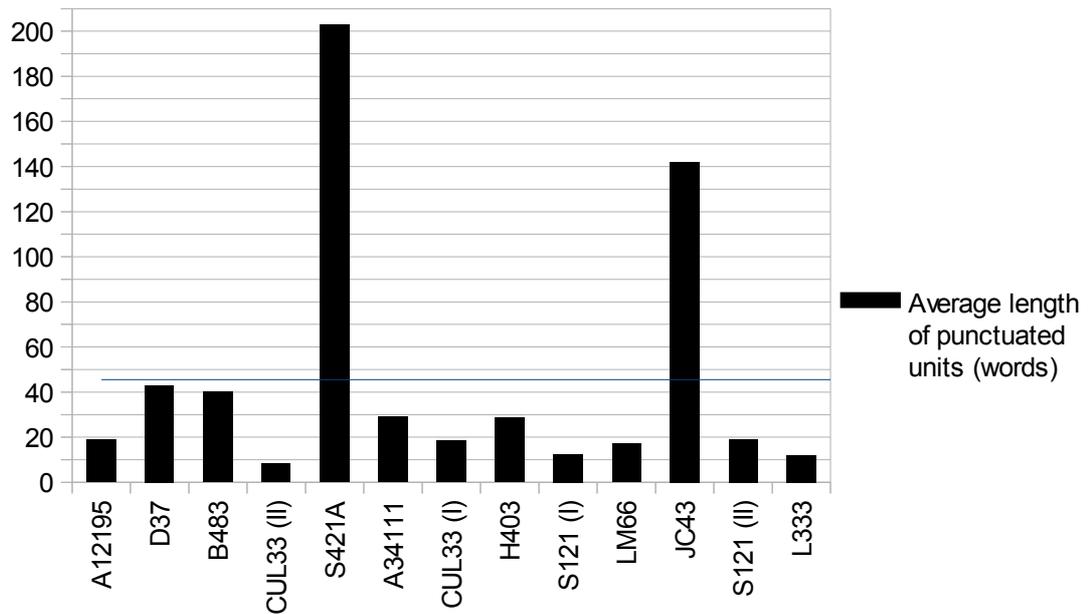
Figure 6.4. Average length of punctuated units.

	Mean average length of punctuated units (words)	% of units less than 20 words	% of units more than 100 words
A12195	18.88	69.3%	0.3%
D37	42.87	27.9%	6.8%
B483	40.12	39.0%	8.5%
CUL33[II]	8.31	96.2%	0
S421A	202.85	3.7%	62.9%
A34111	28.99	48.5%	2.5%
CUL33[I]	18.34	72.2%	1.3%
H403	28.66	50.8%	2.7%
S121[I]	12.42	81.5%	0
LM66	17.11	70.5%	0
JC43	142.16	20.0%	40%
S121[II]	19.21	61.0%	0
L333	12.16	80.2%	0
Mean average	*45.54 / 22.46**	*55.4%*	*9.6%*
Median	*19.21*	*61*	*1.3*

Table 6.17. Length of units.

* Excluding S421A and JC43

Compared to modern data, this average length is in accordance with the length of sentences in the Brown Corpus[300], which, for "learned and scientific writings" is 23.80 words (Gustafsson 1975:11, according to Hiltunen 2012:41). Sentence-length can be used as indicative of stylistic features of a text, although the complexity of a text does not necessarily depend on the length of its sentences alone, but also on the syntactical make-up of those sentences (Hiltunen 2012:41–42). Robinson argues that the development from 'period', or *sententia* (aural and rhetorical concept) to 'sentence' (visual and grammatical concept) should be dated to mid- or late seventeenth century; medieval punctuation is "never except coincidentally syntactic" (Robinson 1998:20). The definition of a modern sentence often depends on the punctuation used (as well as being defined by the presence of a finite verb), whereby 'sentence' is often not an appropriate term to describe the units present in the corpus. This, however, is not uniformly the case, and a number of manuscripts exhibit syntactical structures which more closely correspond to our modern notion of "sentence", a grammatical as well as a semantic concept.

If we examine the patterns of use within the corpus, we find that the length of units varies between 8.31 (CUL33[II] and 202.85 (S421A); the mean average length of units in the corpus is 45.54 words, while the median length is 19.21 words (see table [6.17] above). If S421A and JC43, both manuscripts with minimal punctuation and hence notably longer units between supra-textual devices are discounted, the mean average length of units in the corpus is 22.46 words. It would appear that the length of punctuated units is one factor which can be used to determine the kinds of structures punctuated by the scribes. Thus, for instance in D37, in which the average length of such units is 42.87, punctuation is unlikely to be intended to signal pauses for breathing; nor does it signal 'sentences' or 'clauses', as such units may consist of a number of sentences. Hiltunen, examining the sentence length in legal works, makes the observation that legal texts which tend to contain lengthy sentences "are likely to be consulted selectively, often with just one particular detail in mind" (Hiltunen 2012:42). This interpretation ties in with those reading practices discussed earlier: books such as the *Trotula*-manuscripts used for reference and consultation are more likely to be read silently by an individual.

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[300] Brown Corpus (Standard Corpus of Present-Day American English, available online: http://icame.uib.no/brown/bcm.html. Last accessed 31/01/2013) consists of 1,014,312 words of "edited English prose printed in the United States during the calendar year 1961". 'Sentence' in this context is probably defined in terms of modern sentences – "such a portion of a composition or utterance as extends from one full stop to another" ('sentence', *n*.1, sense 6a, *OED*) – whereas in the present study the lengths of units are calculated by taking into account each instance of supra-textual device. As such, the length of such units are not directly equivalent, but is intended to provide a point of comparison.

'Sense-unit' (or a 'unit of reading') might, then, be a more appropriate term to describe those units which do not necessarily fit in with the grammatical – rhetorical divide. The boundaries and definitions of what constitutes a sense-unit vary between the texts: textually closely related texts with superficially similar systems of punctuation nevertheless differ in particulars. What remains, however, is that 'sense-unit' must be defined on semantic, rather than syntactic grounds (although the boundaries of such units fall at grammatical junctures). A single unit may, therefore, comprise several *sentences*; often, but not necessarily, joined together in paratactic (but also hypotactic) structures, whereby the presence of conjunctions signals the connections between the different clauses and sentences. The unit lengths, then, suggest primarily silent reading practices, where punctuation and other supra-textual devices, rather than functioning as marks for breathing pauses, indicate larger semantic or syntactic units. Different interpretations, however, are available, and the shorter unit lengths in some of the manuscripts may suggest a possible dual function of punctuation. If examined in relation to *reading*, rather than from a structural point of view, 'unit of reading' encapsulates the experience from the reader's perspective. A 'unit of reading' or 'sense-unit' does not, therefore, have to be defined as exclusively intended for oral or for silent reading: it performs the same function, whether the reader is voicing the text to a listener or a group of listeners, or voicing it silently to himself or herself.

6.4.1.2 Seeing and hearing

Chinca and Young note that "(t)here were few books destined for an exclusively reading or an exclusively listening public […] authors anticipated this double reception and included in their works features that were calculated to appeal both to listeners and to readers" (Chinca and Young 2005); D.H. Green calls this the "intermediate mode of reception" (2005:171–172, 196). A text could, therefore, have a double function, whereby the different functions of the text depend on the reader's perception, rather than presenting an absolute division between oral and silent reading practices. This point may be illustrated by reference to CUL33[II], which contains more extensive punctuation than any other manuscript in the corpus. The average length of units between punctuation is 8.31 words, and the scribe frequently punctuates structures beyond syntactical demands, suggesting a primarily rhetorical, rather than for grammatical, use of punctuation (see example [6.18]). On the other hand, the use of rubricated and enlarged, often decorated, initials is also

explicitly visual, and the majority of punctuation marks fall at grammatical boundaries. Here, it is primarily the frequency of punctuation that suggests a possible rhetorical function.

> [6.18]
> nes may not hold it . ¶ And yif the flo*er*s
> that passe come of coleryk . than they are
> yelew. And yif they come of the blood . þ^ei
> are red . **A**nd[301] yif thei come of flwme .
> thei are watir lyke and pale .// ¶ An other
> cawse ther is. whan blood with in the body
> is corrupte . Than nature at his power .
> voydith corrupte thynges and noyand .
> to the body . of man and woman . and so
> makith floures to passe sup*er*habuntau*n*ly .
> so that it makith a woman to lese talent
> of mete and drynke . and febillith here so
> sore that hir^e lyuer coldith . for the blood þ^t
> she lesith . which may not a byde in his //
> keendely hete to defye mete and drynke .
> into kendly blood . but turnyth so in to
> watir . and fallith to a dropsy vncurabill
> [CUL33[II], f.8v]

It should be noted, however, that not all scholars agree with the assessment of multiple (simultaneous) functions, whereby a text can be designed to be read (silently) as well as to be read aloud and heard. Thus, Jajdelska writes that "once the model of the reader as a silent hearer of the text was available, a writer commencing a text would be unable to assume both models of reader at the same time and the same point in the text […] a writer engaged in any given text must choose between one and the other; it is not possible to occupy a position halfway between them, where the reader is half a speaker and half a reader" (Jajdelska 2007:7–8). The distinction between 'oral' and 'literate', however, as discussed above, is not a strict one, and the design of texts reflects that continuum.

The same study by Jajdelska also notes that research shows that silent readers pause in their reading, as guided by punctuation marks (Hill and Murray 2000, Fodor 2002, Jajdelska 2007:46), illustrating the merging of oral and literate (D.H. Green 2005, Chinca and Young 3–4). Marks which can be interpreted as marking a pause in the flow of the text need not mark a pause exclusively for those reading a text out loud; pausing in silent reading is also a way to resolve syntactic ambiguities, whereby distinguishing between

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[301] Rubricated initial.

'grammatical' and 'rhetorical' punctuation is altogether misguided (see also Jajdelska 2007:45–46).

It was noted in Chapter 2 (see 2.3.1), that although medieval reading practices are often characterised as oral, development towards silent reading started already in the early Middle Ages, a development in which punctuation played a considerable part (Saenger 1982:409–410; see also Saenger 1997). Oral and communal reading practices are likely to have played a lesser role in the majority of the Middle English *Trotula*-texts, while offering an interesting scenario for thinking of the function of some of the manuscripts. A more thorough examination of the texts themselves in conjunction with the other aspects of the page and of the manuscript may reveal more about the attitudes of the scribes. Version A, for instance, uses a number of descriptive verbs to refer to the structure of the text, addressing the reader in different ways. The scribes all refer to the act of writing[302]: "I will **wryt** to yow" [D37, f.36r], "Also þ*er* been medicynes the whiche I dare not **wryte** leste some cursed calett wolde it vse" [B483, ff.88r-v], "then doe the medycyne þ^t is **wrytten** afore" [S421A, f.16v]. *Writing* is also, in A12195, B483 and D37, found in parallel with *telling*: "I xall **Tell** yow how ye xall helpe theme wysly at Ned but fyrst I well **wryte** moo medissignes" [A12195, f.166v][303]. B483, D37, CUL33[II] and S421A (but not A12195) also refer to visual imagery, to *seeing* the text: "But firste ye shal **see** mo medicynes" [CUL33[II], f.12v], "as ye shall **see** here after" [B483, f.83v]; instead of *seeing*, in A12195, CUL33[II] and S421A at one point the reader *finds* medicines: "And if it a byde and be not brought forth . be medycines . that ye shal **fynde** in this book she shal stonde in gret perell of deth" [CUL33[II], f.10v]. D37 and A12195 also contain a reference to aurality, to *hearing* the text: "as sche schall her*e* **heere** hereaftur" [*sic*] [D37, f.4r], "as ye xall her*e* after warde" [A12195, f.159v][304].

This suggests perhaps a transitional phase between seeing a text and hearing it. Clanchy suggests that "a modern literate would not say, "he will hear it there", but "he will find it" or "see it there"; the emphasis would not be on the aural, but on the visual (Clanchy

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[302] The reader is also instructed to write the psalm of magnificat in a scroll, as well as, in B483 and D37, another prayer or charm to aid in childbirth.

[303] CUL33[II] and S421A use, instead, simpler headings without a direct address to the reader: "Nowe haue I told yow þ^e letyng of delyuerance of chyld .//. Now well I wryte yow medysignes for Redy delyverance" [A12195, f.165v] is rendered as "These are the lettyngs at redy tyme of childyng . **M**edicines to make redy diliueraunce" [CUL33[II], f.2r].

[304] S421A reads "as ye shall **here** after" [S421A, f.2v], possibly simply an omission of the verb see, as CUL33[II] reads "as ye shal **see** hire aftir" [f.2r]).

2007:69). In the majority of the cases here, it is suggested that seeing the text was the predominant mode.

A text may, however, perform multiple functions. Robertson notes that a book "might be read by a solitary reader in a practice of private silent reading; it might be read by a solitary reader out loud; it might be heard by a group of listeners; or it might be kept in a public place and consulted privately by an individual reader in a community" (Robertson 2003a:14, see also Robertson 2003b:114–115). Female literacy, in particular, is often discussed in terms of communal reading practices; the following sections will discuss women's literacy in medieval England, and consider the Middle English *Trotula* in relation to textual or discourse communities.

6.4.3 Female literacy

Female literacy, as noted previously, is a much debated subject. While there is some evidence of women being literate (both in Latin and in the vernaculars) and of women owning books, the evidence is often conflicted and scattered. Some scholars offer extremely positive views of medieval women's literacy and book-ownership, claiming that more women owned and read books than has often been claimed (Tarvers 1992:307, 320; Bartlett 1995:5; Caviness 1996:142); it was traditionally held that women in the Middle Ages were almost completely illiterate (e.g. Power 1922), but new studies have brought forth more evidence of female readers, book-ownership and reading habits (see e.g. Meale 1993 and 2012, Farina 2012, Robertson 2012). The truth lies somewhere in between; some women could read and write (especially if they were upper-class); others could not (Meale 1993:133–134)[305]; this also applies to the medieval English society as a whole – some lay people were literate, whereas some clerics were illiterate (Clanchy 2007:40, 45).

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[305] Rowland, in her edition of *Medieval Woman's Guide to Health: The First English Gynecological Handbook*, speculates that the text "may have been made for a noble lady, possibly acting as instructress on her estate" (Rowland 1981:15). The manuscript evidence, however, does not indicate that it was ever owned by a woman. Caviness, discussing the books owned by Mahaut de Artois, a French nobel-woman in the fourteenth century, states that "(a)lthough they are not mentioned in the records on works ordered by her, she most probably had books on herbal medicine and gynecology, because both were still practiced by women" (Caviness 1996:143). Green proposes to "amend Caviness's 'most probably' to, at best, a 'might possibly'" (M. Green 2000b:4). There are, however, manuscripts which do not contain any female signatures and are known to have been owned only by men, but which can, however, be argued to have been intended for a female audience. Weldon, discussing the so-called Naples manuscript (Biblioteca Nazionale, Naples, MS XIII.B.29), which contains medical material as well as other texts relating specifically to women, argues that "(t)he selection of texts, together with the manuscript's ordinatio, suggests a volume carefully designed as a "whole book" for a specifically female readership" (Weldon 2009:707).

Book-ownership, however, does not necessarily offer evidence for reading or literacy. Books could be read and used in a variety of ways, some of them not directly obvious to the modern reader. The Life of St. Margaret, for instance – the patron saint of childbirth – was owned by many women. This, however, does not necessarily suggest they read the book; it could also be used by women in childbirth, held against their chests[306] (Robertson 2003a:13). A number of the *Trotula*-manuscripts include charms to aid in childbirth, usually bound against the bare skin of the woman in labour. Ownership of a book, then, does not necessarily indicate that the owner was literate (Meale 1993:133, Robertson 2003a:13).

In addition, most of the evidence about female ownership of books concerns religious or devotional material as well as romances and books such as primers; this is what Green calls "typically feminine" pattern of book-owning (M. Green 2000b:10–11, see also Meale 1993 and Susan Groag Bell 1982). While women owned manuscripts on various subjects in English as well as in French and Latin (Tarvers 1992:320), their ownership of medical books is "unusual rather than normative" (M. Green 2000b:11; see also M. Green 2000c). The catalogues and inventories of female religious houses, which might have been expected to be interested also in medical literature (also because of the higher rate of female literacy than among laywomen), exhibit only sporadic evidence for medical books (M. Green 2000c:343). Wills hardly ever record the ownership of medical books; especially material such as gynecological treatises which often were found as separate pamphlets or bound together with other texts would not have been likely to have been mentioned (Meale 1993:130, C. Jones 2000:138, Tarvers 1992:315).

Undoubtedly some women could read, but assessing the numbers of educated (gentle)women is difficult (Meale 1993:133–134). Bartlett points out, however, that "Evidence of the reading and writing practices of medieval women is far more ample than has often been claimed" (Bartlett 1995:5, see also Tarvers 1992:307, 312–313, 320, Watt and McAvoy (eds.) 2012); some women also acted as teachers[307] (Tarvers 1992:312–313), and "late-fourteenth-century through early-sixteenth-century records indicate that later

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[306] All of the manuscripts of Version A, as well as L333 include instructions for different charms or prayers within the text, to be written down and bound next to the bare skin of the woman giving birth (see Chapter 3, sections 3.2.1.2 and 3.2.5.2); a number of other manuscripts also include charms for difficult childbirth elsewhere in the manuscript (A12195, B483, A34111, LM66).

[307] Such as Maria Mereflete, who is listed in Boston in 1404 as a *magistra scolarum*, "E. Scolemaysteresse" in London in 1408 and "Elizabeth Scolemaystress" in London in 1441 (Tarvers 1992:312–313).

medieval women may accurately be called the "first generation" of English female readers"[308] (Bartlett 1995:7).

Rather than through formal education, most women were probably educated through communal instruction; "it was not uncommon for groups of women to gather around a 'text' with 'literate' women disseminating its contents" (Hellwarth 2002:45). Women, in particular, probably learned to read largely in the family unit; a mother, who was literate, would have been likely to have taught also her children to read (Clanchy 2012:191, Alexander 1990:40, Bartlett 1995:9, Hanna 1996:291, Hardman 2010:15–16; see also Schofield 1968:315). There is, however, very little direct evidence of how common or uncommon it was for girls to be taught literacy skills, or, if, when taught, how the teaching was conducted (O'Mara 1996:98), and the evidence as well as the views of scholars on the matter often appear contradictory (Philips 2003:63). In nunneries, girls were taught to read in the vernacular (French, and, later, English) (Robertson 2003a:18; see also Moran 1985); the education levels of lay people are more debated. Statues and laws were passed to limit common access to education (such as those passed during the Black Plague in 1388 and 1391), as well as, at least in theory, enabling the elementary education of lower classes: the 1406 Statute of Artificers stipulated that "every man or woman of what[ever] state or condition shall be free to send their sons or daughters to receive education at any school that pleases them within the realm" (Alexander 1990:37), and Bartlett states literacy expanded in this period (Bartlett 1995:12–13),

The only female names found within the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts are likely to date from the sixteenth century, or even early seventeenth century; no direct evidence connects any female readers with these texts before that. Although this does not necessarily mean that these texts had no female readers prior to that, there is no tangible evidence to suggest the contrary. Both the textual and the manuscript evidence, however, would seem to suggest that some of the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts were, indeed, designed for a female audience. The study of supra-textual devices, while unable to pinpoint gendered patterns, suggests that some of the manuscripts were designed for an audience with perhaps limited literacy skills, or ones less used to reading. The following section will examine textual or discourse communities; this offers a chance to explore the oral aspect of reading,

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[308] Bartlett's focus is on nunneries; she goes on to say that "(s)urviving books owned by monastic women can be divided into three major categories: liturgical, devotional, and theological"; there is little evidence of medical, and, in particular, gynecological and obstetrical literature in nunneries (see also Green 2000c).

and examine how a manuscript design may have enable the distribution of a text to an illiterate audience, or one with limited literacy skills.

6.4.3.1 Public, communal or mediated reading: textual or discourse communities

Women are often directly associated with gynecological and obstetrical literature, although there is little actual evidence of female readers and owners of medical texts (M. Green 2000b:3–4, 2000c). Some scholars suggest that the existence of gynecological and obstetrical manuals addressed to women can "give us ways of thinking about the development of specifically female literacy" (Hellwarth 2002:46). There appear to be some lay women who did indeed read medical texts, although Green notes that most women appear to have had very limited interaction with medical texts, largely due to their lack of higher education (M. Green 2000c, 2008:41–3). The evidence, therefore, is largely speculative. Jones notes, more generally, that "(t)he range of vernacular translations and the various literacy practices of their readers indicate that we cannot simply imagine an audience of a homogeneous nature for these texts, but should rather consider them within a flexible discourse community, with shared interest in medicine but varying literacy practices and motivations" (C. Jones 2004:31).

Tokunaga, among others, reminds us that "it is important to consider how the practice of reading in the Middle Ages, like that of writing, differed from the modern practice, for an understanding of the variety of ways that reading was practised in the Middle Ages reveals that books were not used exclusively by those who had acquired 'orthographic capabilities'" (Tokunaga 2002:172). *Reading* can, therefore, in the medieval context, refer not only to silent reading but encompass other kinds of reading (and listening): public readings as well as reading within a family or other small circle (C. Jones 2004:24). Saenger argues that, at least in the twelfth- and thirteenth centuries, 'silent' reading as such did not exist: "(t)o read in groups was to read aloud; to read alone was to mumble" (Saenger 1982:379–380), although the development towards silent reading was well developed by the later Middle Ages (Saenger 1982:409–410; Saenger 1997).

Various scholars have suggested that reading, rather than a private activity, was more likely to be communal, especially for women (e.g. Riddy 1993:107, Meale 1993:138–139, Finke 1999:71, Hellwarth 2002:45). Coleman has argued that, for literature in fourteenth and

fifteenth centuries, texts were commonly recited to a group of listeners, a practice preferred because of the shared nature of the experience even by those who could read; reading to an audience was also a way of disseminating information (Coleman 1996:127–128, 143 see also Chinca and Young 2005:8). To be able to participate in literate culture one need not necessarily have been literate oneself; the public or communal nature of reading enabled the dissemination of written word orally also to those who could not read the texts themselves (Schofield 1968:312–13, Thompson 1978:155, Thomas 1986:106–107), and many scholars equate medieval literacy with oral practices (Clanchy 2012:271–274, 287, 294), as discussed in the previous section above. The distinction between 'reading' and 'hearing' is, however, one already made by medieval writers: Nicholas Love addresses his book to "every devoute creatour that loveth to rede or to here this book", and Zeeman suggests that "(f)rom these words alone, it might not be unreasonable to expect that punctuation, if provided by Love, would be designed to guide on either occasion" (Zeeman 1956:12).

The concept of 'textual community' or 'discourse community' is one way of thinking about how texts circulated and were read in medieval society. Jones defines 'discourse community' as a concept which seeks to "help explain and define groups of people connected by texts, either as part of their relationships within a particular type of community, or solely by the texts themselves, which may be used for different purposes by different individuals" (C. Jones 2004:24). The concept was originally proposed and developed by Stock (1983) to describe the ways of reading and access to texts of heretical groups in the early Middle Ages, and has been used by various scholars especially in discussing women's literacy and literate practices (see e.g. Riddy 1993:107, 109, Finke 1999:70). Although the patterns of literacy are likely to have changed as we move from the post-conquest period to later middle ages, such communities or mediated reading practices are still referred to in the context of late Middle Ages and the Early Modern period. Robertson, in her article on *Ancrene Wisse*, argues that reading for women was often mediated through men, "though, given the fragmentary nature of the evidence, it is hard to draw definitive conclusions" (Robertson 2003a:20).

Not all members within such a community need to have been literate themselves, and a text such as the *Trotula* could have been read possibly by a practising midwife, a laywoman, or a layman interested in the healthcare of their family members: one not necessarily with

extensive reading skills or medical education, but one with capabilities sufficient to interpret the text and to locate relevant sections within it. In this way, the use of the text was not necessarily limited only to that of those members of the household or community who could interpret the visual signs on the page, but also to those who could not (see C. Jones 2004:25; see also Taavitsainen 2005a:90). Such reading practices can also be associated with communal or public reading and, in the context of women's literary practices, have been characterised by Riddy as "textuality of the spoken as well as the written word" (Riddy 1993:111), in which emphasis is on memorising texts and transmitting them orally to those unable to read within their social networks (see also Stock 1983:91). Technical reading skills, therefore, play a lesser part in this type of reading practice (Finke 1999:71), although even if a text is disseminated orally to an audience who may not be able to decipher the text themselves, the reader and vocaliser of the text must nevertheless possess those skills.

Textual or discourse communities could have taken many different forms, and a medical discourse community need not have been restricted to professional medical settings: "It extended to anyone who could read English, and, by extension, to anyone who had access to vernacular medical texts, whether as a reader or listener" (Jones 2004:30). LM66 contains a number of additional medical recipes in the same quire in which the *Trotula*-text appears, some of which are ascribed to "Reyns". Robert Reynes was a church reeve, who lived in the village of Acle in Norfolk. His manuscript contains a variety of medical material, as well as other texts such as weather prognostications, obituaries and administrative texts, both in Latin and in English (Kohnen 2011:16). Jones speculates that "(i)t is possible that Reynes served as a local information centre, and gave medical and legal advice to those of his neighbours, who did not own relevant texts or were unable to read" (C. Jones 2004:31). Reynes, then, would have been at the centre of a textual community, helping to disseminate the contents of written texts to those unable to access the texts themselves. Such a practice may have involved reading a text or sections of a text aloud to a listener or a group of listeners; or it may have involved locating relevant information, and paraphrasing it to the audience, placing slightly different demands on the presentation of the manuscript. Unless the reader of the text knew the contents well, a supra-textual apparatus aiding in finding information would have been crucial.

These communities could have centred around various people, and functioned in different

contexts, for instance in a monastic context, such as that suggested for A12195 (see section 6.2.6 above). Such a community could also have been more informal, functioning in the domestic context. Section 6.2 suggested a possible communal and practical mode of reading, one in which the written text functions as a practical aid in childbirth. This offers an interesting clue to one possible usage of a text such as the *Trotula:* a literate (gentle)woman reading the text out loud, in order to instruct the midwife and the other attendants at the time of labour. As discussed earlier (see section 6.4.3.1), communal reading practices such as these described in the texts have often been argued to be the predominant mode of delivery, especially for texts aimed at a female or a lay audiences. If the manuscripts, then, are considered from this perspective, certain demands on the presentation of the text can be presumed. In the scenario presented above, the reader attending childbirth must be able to follow the procedures and to locate relevant information within the text quickly when required, as well as to present the information to listeners.

The appearance and the presentation of the manuscript, then, are of utmost importance when deciphering the possible uses of a text, although, as noted above, a text may well have been intended for multiple purposes. Robertson notes that "(t)he appearance of the *Ancrene Wisse* in the Corpus manuscript by itself as a small book lacking significant adornment and marking its eight parts with five-line initials suggests that it could have been meant to be held by an individual reading privately or by an individual reading to a group" (Robertson 2003a:14, see also Robertson 2003b:114). Similarly, CUL33[II] is pocket-sized, its punctuation patterns suggesting a possible rhetorical function. The layout with rubricated initials and paragraph marks also enables a reader to locate particular sections easily within the text. It could, therefore, have been intended both for aural and visual reception.

6.4.4 Modifying the use of supra-textual devices

The repertoire of marks is indicative of the levels of literacy expected of their audience by the scribes, but presentation and the use of supra-textual devices also reflect the education levels and background of the scribes themselves, not only of their audience(s); the scribes provide their own interpretation of the text. Subtler differences conveyed by the use of a wide repertoire of symbols and devices allowed the scribes to interpret a text in a more

sophisticated way (Parkes 2012 [1994]:266, 273, 277). This section discusses the ways in which the scribes modified the appearance of the text to suit the needs of their audiences.

6.4.4.1 Accessibility

Whereas D37, for instance, utilises the punctus to signal all kinds of textual relationships, and A34111 signals individual sense-units without indicating hierarchical divisions, other manuscripts contain complex hierarchical systems. Certain types of punctuation or layout may have been more accessible for particular audiences, and confronted with a complex system of supra-textual devices, a reader not familiar with such a repertoire would perhaps find such a text more inaccessible than one with a simpler system of punctuation. Bartlett touches on these issues, remarking that "without systematic training in the liberal and scribal arts, an unschooled female reader could easily have missed some of the text's doctrinal nuances, rhetorical strategies, and grammatical devices. Scribal conveniences such as abbreviations might confound a reader unfamiliar with specialized writing practices" (Bartlett 1995:20; see also Grotans 2006, Saenger 1989:142). This should also extend to complex, specialised practices of supra-textual devices.

The version presented in S421A is simplified in comparison with CUL33[II], not only in terms of layout and punctuation, but also textually, presenting a slightly abbreviated, less specialised version. Barratt suggests that S421A "appears to be functional, possibly produced by a reader for his or her own use" (Barratt 2001:16) and further speculates that the textual evidence could provide evidence for the text having been adapted for or commissioned by a particular woman, "who may have been young and relatively inexperienced in such matters"; the simplifications "may also be part of a desire to be more comprehensible to a lay audience, unless it reflects that audience's relatively low social status. Some of these simplifications may be due to the redactor and/or scribe's own lack of expertise rather than that of his audience" (Barratt 2001:34)[309]. Barratt notes that the manuscript "in traditional terms [...] is a 'bad manuscript'. But every medieval MS gives a version of a text that was created for particular reasons, for a particular audience […] [It] has a real interest if one's concern is with the transmission and reception, rather than

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[309] There are also some expansions and glosses for potentially difficult words, e.g. "p*r*efocacyon precypytacyon of the matrixe or dyslocacyon" (f.3v) (where CUL33[II] reads simply "precipitacion or prefocacion of þᵉ matrice" (f.4r)); S421A also explains that when a child is born "agaynst kynd", it means that " he co*m*methe furthe hes face loking vp to hes mothers face" (f.10r). The scribe also occasionally muddles some technical terms, e.g. 'astrologye' as an ingredient, for 'aristologe' (f.19r). Other manuscripts, however, also present evidence of confusion about specialised terminology: "(e)ven more so than Sloane [421A], Additional [12195] badly garbles technical terms" (Barratt 2001:34).

reconstruction, of this text" (Barratt 2001:32). Its simplification extends to the almost complete eradication of punctuation marks; it is, therefore (perhaps unlike its closest surviving textual predecessor CUL33[II]), unlikely to have been intended for reading out loud. The layout (the division of the text into paragraphs and the marginal headings provided by the scribe), however, makes the text easy to navigate.

Another strategy would, in the face of it, seem contradictory to the first one: scribes could establish an extensive system of supra-textual devices, with a number of features such as rubrication and punctuation marks to guide the reader through the text, indicating relationships between items and sections and enabling the reader to easily locate desired information within the text. Thus, as noted above, the simplifications in S421A suggest that the manuscript was designed for a lay audience, Barratt similarly suggests that A12195, with its wealth of devices and rubrication, "might have been designed to be made available for consultation by those known to be relatively inexperienced with books" (Barratt 2001:37). CUL33[II], similarly, presents an organised approach to the text, with its graduated initials and red paragraph marks. It would seem that scribes had two ways of coping with the possibility of an audience not necessarily entirely familiar with all the scribal conventions and practices. Thus, while heavily punctuated, clearly structured texts can be said to reflect a design to accommodate non-specialised users, who might need more guidance in navigating the texts, a text such as S421A, with its exceedingly simple layout and lack of punctuation could also be said to reflect the same desire by its very lack of complexity.

Another type of modification can be seen in the two manuscripts of Version C, which Green characterises as "woman's version" and "man's version" (M. Green 2008:189). CUL33[I] presents a more structured, hierarchical use of supra-textual devices, despite its non-professional appearance when compared with H403. Here, it could be argued again that CUL33[I] is specifically designed for non-specialist audience, requiring more explicit guidance in navigating the text. Textually, CUL33[I] also seems modified for a lay, and possibly explicitly female, audience; the manuscript, Green states, is "clearly intended for the use of a patient who will be treating herself or for a lay attendant" (M. Green 2000 [1992]:69–70).

While all of these texts, then, may reflect the desire to accommodate a non-professional

audience, their presentation suggests slightly different reading practices. The marginal headings in S421A make locating information relatively easy, and can function as memory prompts for a reader already familiar with the text. It is, however, more difficult to locate particular recipes, for instance, within the text. The reader of A12195 or CUL33[I], on the other hand, can quickly scan through the text, seeing the textual divisions as well as the majority of individual recipes at glance.

If A12195, then, is studied from the perspective of supra-textual devices, it appears to be a practical guide (see also section 6.3.2), possibly one intended for readers not familiar with a large number of texts; it contains a wealth of devices, structuring the text, marking out sections and recipes and providing a number of reading- and way-finding devices for the reader. Studies from other perspectives have, however, prompted different judgements regarding its function and provenance.

Green speculates that "the combination of astrological and medical texts [in A12195] [...] suggests use by a physician who might be concerned (whatever his involvement in other aspects of the care of women) to know about the processes of birth in order to cast horoscopes" (M. Green 2000 [1992]:59), whereas the manuscript context suggests religious or semi-religious provenance and origins (C. Jones 2000:111, Barratt 2001:17). Barratt suggests that the manuscript might have been made for a woman (Barratt 2001:37), while Green argues that "(g)iven the poor quality of this particular manuscript, it seems unlikely to have been made for an upper-class recipient" (M. Green 2008:186, note 63).

The quire containing medical material in which the *Trotula*-text appears is, however, bound later with the manuscript. Although it is probable that the different sections of the manuscript were not bound together until much later, its inclusion in a manuscript in a monastic setting suggests other possible explanations. In this context, it could have been available to be consulted by those working in the hospital. Despite the lack of evidence of gynecological treatises in female communities, at least one of the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts (A12195) survives in what could be a monastic context. The scribe appears to have attached special attention to this particular text. Its patterns of rubrication and punctuation are more extensive than in the other texts written by the same hand, and are also suggestive of other (religious) texts bound in the same manuscript. Here, different interpretations are available depending on which aspect of the manuscript is considered,

illustrating the importance of not separating the text itself from its physical as well as codicological contexts.

Green suggests that the codex, containing only this single text (MS Douce 37) "conceivably could have circulated independently among midwives or laywomen with medical interests" (Green 2000 [1992]:59); the small size of the manuscript also suggests practical function. The layout of the text, however, is not very helpful: the average length of punctuated units is 42.87 words, and the repertoire of punctuation marks is very limited. The reader is, however, further helped in locating sections of the text by marginal notes and marks as well as underlining in a later hand (the marginal notes have, unfortunately, later been cropped with the pages and are thus largely illegible; the underlinings and *Rx*-notes next to recipes, both in the same purple ink, still remain). Rather than part of the original design by the scribe, however, these have been provided by a later reader.

6.4.4.1.1 Clarification

Supra-textual symbols can also be used for clarification. In order to remember something, it needs to be understood, and supra-textual devices aid the reader in interpreting the text. They help solve structural and syntactic ambiguities and clarify textual relationships.

Punctuation can be used to clarify different sentential structures by identifying textual boundaries and thus aid the reader in navigating the text. Correct identification of boundaries between recipes or the internal structure of a recipe, for instance, is essential in a medical text such as the *Trotula*. A recipe for amenorrhoea in CUL33[II] instructs the reader to

> [6.13]
> ¶ Tak mugwort . saveyn the lesse . centory
> Rue . Wormood savge . dauc*um* creticu*m* a
> meos spericu*m* . seltica*m* puliol . p*er*cell mynte
> sowth . thernwoode and calamynte . boyle
> [CUL33[II], f.26v]

The same recipe in B483, however, punctuates the list of ingredients differently. The version in that manuscript reads

> [6.14]
> Take mugworte . saueyn the lasse centory . Rwe .

sawge . dauc*um* . cretyke . Ameos . spica*m* celtica*m* . pulioll
p*er*cely mynt sothern wode calamynt & boyle these
[B483, f.97v]

D37, on the other hand, does not contain any punctuation between the items, apart from signalling a line-break ("sovthyrn // wode").

[6.15]
& mak har*e* a stew on þys man*er* . Tak
mugwort savayne þe lasse centory rwe
wormwode savge dauck cretyk ameos
spica celtica pulioll p*er*sily mynt sovthyrn //
wode & calamynt & boyle all þes erbys
[D37, f.28r]

If we examine the ingredients in more detail, we find that in several places in CUL33[II] and B483 the punctuation is potentially misleading, rendering single items into two parts and joining separate items together (see examples [6.16] and [6.17]). Interpreting the list of ingredients then, can be difficult, unless the reader is familiar with all the ingredients. In this case, then, punctuation does not necessarily aid the reader. It also suggests that the scribes were not necessarily familiar with all the plants and herbs, misinterpreting the information found in their exemplar.

[6.16]
¶ Tak [mugwort] . [saveyn] [the lesse . centory]
[Rue] . [Wormood] [savge] . [dauc*um* creticu*m*] [a
meos] [spericu*m*] . [seltica*m*] [puliol] . [p*er*cell] [mynte]
[sowth . thernwoode] and [calamynte] . boyle
[CUL33[II], f.26v]

[6.17]
Take [mugworte] . [saueyn] [the lasse centory] . [Rwe] .
[sawge] . [dauc*um* . Cretyke] . [Ameos] . [spica*m*] [celtica*m*] . [pulioll]
[p*er*cely] [mynt] [sothern wode] [calamynt] & boyle these
[B483, f.97v]

Considering the potential ambiguities, it is surprising that lists such as these are punctuated fairly infrequently in the corpus as a whole. Phrasal punctuation does not occur at all in three of the manuscripts in the corpus, and only occasionally in some others (S421A, A34111, S121[II]; JC43, D37; see chapter 4, table [4.79]). Although for purposes of reading, especially for those with less advanced reading skills (e.g. some of the non-professional audiences), the visual separation of items especially in lists of ingredients

would seem to serve the dual purpose of disambiguating between single items in a list and indicating pauses or disjunctions between those items. Terminological items or names are also frequently punctuated or emphasised; thus, for example, in A12195, "**Thes**[310] . apostemes . or ony cutrax or charbu*n*cle" [A12195, f.184r], or, in CUL33[II], "a certeyn bowel wᵗ in*n*e a man and woman callid . longaon ." [CUL33[II], f.6r], and in L333, "Ipocras . saies " [L333, f.38r]. This both clarifies the usage of a potentially unfamiliar term and emphasises it[311].

It is possible that in many cases the scribes only punctuated items which could have been unfamiliar to their readers and thus needed clarification; in most cases, then, the audience would have been expected to recognise the boundaries between items without any explicit visual or linguistic aid. Tebeaux has suggested that, in sixteenth-century recipe books intended for women, "(t)he nonsyntactical[312] listing of items in many sections suggests that the written instruction was used as a memory prompt rather than as a source of specific instruction to be gained by reading only" (Tebeaux 1993:169, 2007:33–34). Another possibility, of course, is that the scribes themselves were not familiar with the ingredients and preferred to leave such structures unpunctuated if uncertain. The audience, however, would be required to be familiar with the text in order to interpret it correctly.

Tebeaux also notes that "(w)riters of early printed technical books for women apparently realised that a difference existed between writing that would be used to enable the reader to perform a task and writing that would be read slowly and leisurely" (Tebeaux 2007:31). The use of supra-textual devices cannot be separated from the text; they add meaning, clarify and structure the text, guiding readers' interpretation of passages. The understanding of a text often depends on punctuation; in medical texts it can often be vital for the correct interpretation of a recipe. Texts which contain little or no punctuation would appear to affect their usability; if the reader cannot correctly interpret the boundaries of recipes, the ingredients listed within them or the quantities in which they are to be used the text loses its meaning and can, in fact, be positively dangerous. The different interpretations of textual and syntactical boundaries by the scribes can be evinced throughout the data.

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[310] Enlarged, not rubricated initial.

[311] Cf. "Occasionally a word will be spelt with an initial capital against the conventions of English. This device is used when it seems important to draw attention to the fact that the word is being used as a technical term" (Diller 2001:7).

[312] This appears to refer to lists occurring without explicit coordinating conjunctions. The example provided by her indicates that the items in these lists (at least in that specific case) were separated by virgules.

6.4.4.2 Types of reading

Manuscripts such as LM66 contain a wealth of devices, but locating information within these texts is made more difficult by the page layout as well as the non-hierarchical nature of these devices. The text was unlikely to have been intended for quick consultation (as both the size of the codex and the layout suggest), but, rather, for a more intensive type of study and reference. Others contain less visual aids to the reader: in JC43, the scribe chooses to simplify the presentation of the text, even, sometimes, at the expense of clarity. The beginning of the text contains a number of supra-textual devices, but the use of these is largely abandoned by the scribe as the text progresses; there are thus few provisions for the reader, apart from marginal headings to help navigating the text. As noted earlier (see section 6.3.2.1), this approach relies less on visual clues, and more on lexical ones (although the marginal notes aid the reader in locating particular sections, see section 6.3.2.2.2.1, these are not employed systematically to mark all the sections) .

The manuscript context of B483, on the other hand, suggests a more specialised intended usage. Green comments that "while the receptary and herbals [...] may have been accessible to a lay reader, a medical specialist seems the more likely user" and, textually, "(t)here is nothing to suggest an intended audience of laywomen or midwives. Rather, the text seems to be intended for physicians" (Green 2000 [1992]:83-4)[313]. As noted above in section 6.3.2.2.2.2, the marginalia in B483 suggests that a reader has gone through the text, noting some of the interesting or noteworthy sections in the margins, and recording in some cases the applicability of recipes. Such notes can then function as memory prompts, aiding the reader in locating particular sections of the text later (see also section 6.3.3 above). In order to do so, a previous study of the text is required.

These manuscripts, then, contain little to suggest an aural or oral function. For the most part, all require a degree of literacy (although that degree may vary), and the emphasis is

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[313] "Omitting any reference to women's shame in front of male doctors commonly found in other gynecological texts, at one point the author asserts that the physician should base his diagnosis not on examination of the woman's urine alone "for as galyen seith a man may not bettyr be certefied seing oonly but by the lechys subtill askyng and enq*ui*ryng of the woman he shall considre to be certefied in þᵉ knowing of a sekenesse than by tellyng of hym that is syk" [f. 107v] (Green 2000 [1992]:83-4). Cf. the beginning of the *Trotula* in this manuscript as well as in the other manuscripts of Version A: "þat eu*er*y woman lettered may Rede hit to oþ*er* vnlettered and help hem and counsa*i*lle hem in her maledyes wᵗ oute . shewyng ther disese to man" [B483, f.82r]. The manuscript itself contains herbals, other gynecological material as well as material relating to men's health, such as a text "of the swellyng of ballokks" (see further Chapter 3, section 3.2.1.5.4). A number of the texts in the manuscript also contain some Latin, although the manuscript is primarily written in English.

largely on seeing, not hearing. The (intended) practices of reading nevertheless differ between the manuscripts. Manuscripts such as H403 and S121[I], for instance, suggest use by someone possibly less interested in gynecological and obstetrical problems and women's health as such, but someone interested in applying this knowledge; this type of user would have been less likely to have been in need to consult such a manuscript in a practical situation, and more likely to employ the text to study for instance the movements of planets and to calculate horoscopes, in conjunction with other texts. The use of supra-textual devices in these manuscripts suggest that these manuscripts were intended for intensive study, rather than for quick consultation or finding information. Green notes that "(w)hereas previously gynecological literature was read in order to learn about the causes and cures of women's diseases, new readers brought new habits of reading to these texts in the later Middle Ages. Concerned less with alleviating women's suffering than with learning how the female body works as a site of reproduction [...] these new readers came with interests at once more expansive and more limited than those that had guided the texts' original authors or their earlier generations of readers" (M. Green 2000d:5–6).

These readers, then, would have been perhaps at the professional end of the literacy continuum. Their reading practices, rather than involving an intensive study of a small number of texts, were more likely to be more extensive. Smith suggests that punctuation as a guide to resolving textual uncertainties is more important during periods of *extensive* literacy: with more texts available, readers, who "encounter [texts] for the first time with eye rather than ear" require more comprehensive punctuation than readers who encounter fewer texts, but study them more intensively (Smith 2012:23–24); other studies have suggested that "the skilled reader, whose decoding is more visual than aural is best able to extract meaning from punctuation" (Saenger 1997:52; see Scholes and Willis 1990).

Those texts, however, which were earlier suggested as being directed at a lay audience, and perhaps to those not used to reading a large number of texts, often – although not exclusively – contain an extensive apparatus of supra-textual devices, including punctuation marks. This may suggest a difference is genre or text-type: a practical medical guide is likely to be read in a different way to a literary text, but different kinds of medical texts may also be read in different ways (see Taavitsainen 2005b). The term *medical literacy*, introduced by Monica Green, suggests that medical texts may have been read in a different manner to other texts. This might be equated with some degree of *practical* or

pragmatic literacy, not necessarily associated with medical texts alone, but also extending to other types of practical literature, such as culinary recipes, for instance; literacy not used for intensive or in-depth study of texts, but rather one with a practical aim, of finding certain information within the text, or using the written text as a memory prompt.

The primary function of supra-textual devices in these manuscripts, then, is less to solve subtle structural complications, but, rather, to function as finding- and memory-aids. Similarly, a simple system of punctuation utilising a limited repertoire of symbols, such as that in D37, depends less on the ability of the reader to encode a complicated hierarchical system of punctuation. From this perspective, then, the usage in manuscripts such as A12195 or CUL33[II] appears to require more extensive reading skills. For purposes of finding or memorisation, however, rubrication is an explicitly visual device, guiding the reader's eye and helping the reader to interpret the text. As noted earlier, a manuscript may prompt different interpretations depending on which aspects are considered. There are often no straightforward answers. Thus, it was suggested that the punctuation in CUL33[II] indicate a possible oral function; it was also noted that its use of initials and rubricated paragraph mark present an explicitly visual text, enabling the reader to quickly locate desired information within the text. It was also suggested that perhaps this wealth of supra-textual devices indicates that the text was intended for a lay reader, who might require explicit assistance in navigating the text; these functions need not be exclusive. Similar use of hierarchical initials appears in the early manuscripts of the *Ancrene Wisse*, prompting Dahood to suggest that the text was intended "as a study text. Whoever first imposed the system of graduated initials was concerned that readers grasp the relationships between divisions and not just focus on discrete passages" (Dahood 1988;97, see also Robertson 2003b:121), whereas the simpler system used in another manuscript of the same text (London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero A.xiv) of non-graduated initials "facilitates reference […] [and] enables quick scanning of the folios" (Dahood 1988:93, see also Robertson 2003b:122).

In terms of reading practices, then, the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts present a variety of scenarios. While one manuscript presents evidence of intensive reading practices, one in which the text is studied and restudied, such as B483, others suggest more extensive practices. In such cases, the manuscripts may have been intended for occasional consultation, perhaps by someone who was interested only in parts of the text. In terms of

reading abilities likewise, the manuscripts do not present a uniform picture. Some, such as A12195, S421A, CUL33[I] and CUL33[II] seem to have been modified to accommodate non-specialist users, ones not necessarily with extensive literacy skills. These manuscripts suggest a pragmatic approach to the text, providing extensive apparatus to aid the reader in navigating and interpreting the text – or, as in the case with S421A and, perhaps, D37, simplification leading to an absence of specialised supra-textual devices. Few of the manuscripts suggest an oral reading practice, with the possible exception of CUL33[II].

6.4.5 Diachronic developments

The increase of literacy in the Middle Ages and towards the Early Modern period meant that texts such as the *Trotula* were available for wider audiences. Vernacularisation of medicine widened the audiences; printing enabled the dissemination of vernacular texts even wider. Although the English *Trotula* was never printed – although a number of other gynecological texts were printed from mid-sixteenth century onwards (see Chapter 3, section 3.1.1) – these texts nevertheless circulated widely in medieval England, attracting a number of different audiences.

As noted in Chapter 5 (see section 5.3), the variation in the use of supra-textual devices in the Middle English *Trotula* is less due to straightforward diachronic developments, at least from the pragmatic perspective. While rubrication is only used in some of the fifteenth-century manuscripts, and blank space in the layout only in the sixteenth-century manuscripts, the pragmatic motivations and effect are not dissimilar. Neither do the frequency of punctuation and the length of units appear to be due to diachronic changes within this data; some of the earliest manuscripts contain the greatest amount of punctuation, while some of the latest contain none or very little; there are no straightforward patterns. The motivations for the variation, therefore, must lie elsewhere. Givens' study comparing medieval and Early Modern herbals in manuscript and print has argued that the textual apparatus suggests changes in the readership and in the priorities of that readership (Givens 2006:136–144); the developments, however, are less straightforward with the *Trotula*, which seems to have attracted heterogeneous audiences throughout the Middle Ages.

In the Early Modern period, it seems that female involvement with written materials

suddenly expands. Sara Pennell notes the will of Rebecca Brandreth, dating from 1740, in which she bequeaths her daughter Alice, "two receipt Books in folio written by myself one of which said Books being for Surgery and physick and the other for Cookery and Preserves both of the said Books being bound with Leather and on the inside of the Lidds of each of them is mentioned that they were written in they year 1681 by Rebecca Price (that being my Maiden name) and written by myself" (Pennell 2004:240, Masson and Vaughan 1974:345[314]). Such manuscript collections, written by women for their own use and for sharing, seem to become ubiquitous in the Early Modern period. Evidence of continuity from the medieval period, however, seems to be lacking; it is, therefore, unclear whether such practices can be assumed to have continued from the medieval period, or whether this indicated a change in the culture (M. Green 2008).

The Early Modern manuscript compilations of recipes, however, were not solely the domain of women. The manuscripts signed by women often contained numerous hands, and were often also inscribed by men, and frequently also written, fully or partly, by men: husbands as well as scribes. Nicholas Blundell's "great diurnal" records the processes of compilation by a local scribe: "[17 May 1719] Edward Howerd was here […] I gave him some Receipts to writ out for my Wife […] [2 March 1720] I payed Edward Howerd for writing Receipts of Cookery, &c.: in my Wives book" (Pennell 2004:241, quoting Bagley and Tyrer, II, 257-58, III, 6). Blundell also copies some recipes in the book himself, after he had "perused some of Jane Harrisons Receipts to see which of them my Wife had not" (Pennell 2004:245). Blundell's wife, then, does not copy the recipes herself, although the book is hers: she may not have been interested in doing so, or she may have not been able to write (or to write very well) (Pennell 2004:242).

According to Jajdelska, silent reading practices did not gain ground in the society as a whole until the seventeenth century (Jajdelska 2007); it can, however, be argued that these developments started considerably earlier, and that the transition from oral to silent reading can be evinced in late medieval texts. Saenger argues that silent reading practices developed in the Middle Ages (Saenger 1982:409–410; Saenger 1997). Thus far, the examination of the pragmatically-motivated functions in the *Trotula*-manuscripts has shown that many required quite considerable literacy skills, and the presentation of the manuscripts would be more suitable for silent reading practices, rather than oral ones. The

[314]Pennell adds in a footnote that "(u)nfortunately, the current whereabouts of the manuscript used in Masson and Vaughan, and the ancillary documentation concerning Rebecca (Price) Brandreth, are unknown" (Pennell 2004:254; see Masson and Vaughan 1974:1-3).

majority of the manuscripts were intended to be *seen,* not heard. Although it has been argued that women in the medieval England did not engage with medical literature to any considerable extent, it is clear that texts such as the *Trotula* did not necessarily require very advanced reading skills, and could be read in various ways. Whereas some manuscripts appear aimed at an audience with advanced literacy skills, able to interpret and decode written texts, the design for others suggests a lay audience (see also Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004:16). Studies on the linguistic aspects of medical texts – academic/specialised texts, surgical texts, remedybooks - have found a number of linguistic differences in usage between different categories of medieval medical writing, and Taavitsainen argues that "texts for heterogenous lay audiences are very different from treatises aimed at professional people" (Taavitsainen 2010:34-35). This study has demonstrated that, in the use of supra-textual devices, differences are rife within a single text; considering the differences within a "single" text, it would be instructive to study the different genres and categories of medical writing (as well as different genres more comprehensively) in order to find out whether the differences between genres are greater than within them.

6.4.6 Functions of supra-textual devices

According to Alonso-Almeida, the punctuation in other medieval gynecological treatises "serve the function of organising the treatise contents in terms of thematic sections […] another important function […] is that of clarifying particular readings of the text" (Alonso-Almeida 2003:38). The range of functions, however, has been found in the present examination to be even greater than Alonso-Almeida suggests. These devices instruct the reader in reading the text: where to pause (whether reading silently or aloud to an audience), where to locate a particular section; the reader may remember the page layout and consequently recall, seeing the page, and where the desired information is to be found. If the reader is unfamiliar with the text, visual signals such as marginalia or rubrication may direct him/her to the desired information, and guide in interpreting a given section. Punctuation may be used to disambiguate a reading; it may, for instance, separate items in a list, ensuring correct interpretation, or clarify an ambiguous syntactic structure. Punctuation may also help the reader to correctly interpret numerical information as well as divisions between words.

These devices may, therefore, guide the reader to interpret the text in a certain way, or to

navigate and understand the information provided. The presentation of the text could enable or direct certain habits of reading, and by studying the apparatus of the text we can approach the ways in which a medieval reader would have encountered a text (see also Taylor 1996:50). The use of supra-textual devices, then, has enormous significance for the interpretation of the text, whether on a syntactic, rhetorical or semantic level. Supra-textual devices create coherence and structure for the text; variation between the manuscript texts in this respect can be thought to signify different values and emphases on the part of the scribe, but also the readers of the particular manuscripts. While some contain frequent marginal notes and references, others have been left empty. This, of course, does not mean the texts were not read; nor does it, necessarily, signify the illiteracy of those who read the texts.

It has been demonstrated that the manuscript scribes structured and presented the text in different ways, revealing different attitudes towards the text. The scribes could control the ways in which the text could be read: they could use visual strategies to emphasise certain parts of the text, or structure the text on the page in such a way as to enable the reader to locate particular kinds of information. They could also, instead of focusing on the visual aspects as such, choose to present the information in a way which might be less accessible to those with not very advanced literacy skills, or they could choose to present the text in a way accessible to as large audience as possible, using punctuation and other supra-textual devices to clear possible ambiguities and to guide the reader through the text. Supra-textual devices can be used, then, not only to emphasise and clarify information, but also to conceal it. Research into linguistic and psychological effects of reading has shown that the structure and presentation of a text has implications for readers' perception, and these features can be controlled by certain rhetorical and typographical features (Emmott and Sandford 2012:7, 12). Punctuation occurs, as Parkes remarks, where confusion is likely; where the readers were expected to be able to interpret the text, there is no need for punctuation (Parkes 1978:138–139).

The author or scribes' intended audience does not necessarily reflect the usage to which later readers put the texts, and additions to the repertoire of supra-textual devices testify to this. The presentation of these texts reflects the concerns of the scribes and readers: "(f)or [the medieval reader], the 'text' did not exist as an abstract entity; it was always *this* text, fused to *this* manuscript support. This underlay the distinctive medieval way of reading,

digesting and remembering texts" (Wallis 1995:104). Each text, in its unique manuscript context, provides a different interpretation of the text, designed for a specific purpose or reader. The focus in this chapter has not been on the individual symbols and devices used by the scribes as such; while supra-textual devices function in structuring the text on different levels, this chapter has focused on the significance behind the choices made by the scribes. From a pragmatic perspective, the functions performed by supra-textual devices in communicating with the reader and managing the discourse are important. Previous studies have suggested that features such as the size and format of the codex, as well as the construction of books can provide evidence of readership and the ways in which a manuscript may have been used (Saenger 1989:142), and Hardman suggests that an examination of the "paratextual material […] [implies that] the books could be used in a variety of reading situations: by the single reader engaged in private devotions; by the 'public' reader performing for a group of listeners; by learning readers practising and demonstrating their skill; by a teaching adult giving basic religious instruction" (Hardman 2010:28–29). This chapter has suggested that supra-textual devices, including features such as layout, marginalia and use of colour, but also punctuation marks, can also provide us with perspectives on literacy and reading practices.

Clanchy notes that "(m)edieval texts were designed to be read in a variety of ways – orally or silently, by one person or in a group – and at different levels of meaning" (Clanchy 2012:197). The use of supra-textual devices can affect the experience of reading on different levels. One person reading a text in order to learn new information reads it in a different manner from another already familiar with the text. In the former case, the need for supra-textual devices is greater; the reader requires them in order to navigate, understand and interpret the contents of the text. On a structural level, the text may be divided into sections, and further into paragraphs, sense-units, recipes, sentences and phrases. Depending on how the text is intended to be read, all of these sections may be punctuated or signalled otherwise; reading a text without any supra-textual devices would be very difficult indeed. Even those texts with very little punctuation do, nevertheless, offer guidance to the reader in the form of breaking the text into paragraphs, or by inserted marginal notes or headings, by the scribe or a later reader.

Different ways in which a text such as the *Trotula* could be read also has relevance when considering the ways in which medicine was practised. The role of vernacular texts in

medieval medical practice remains unclear; the variety of reading practices revealed by the examination of these manuscript suggests a variety of ways of using the manuscripts; these were texts not only intended to be read, but also to be used. The contexts, then, in which these manuscripts could have been used is of crucial importance in determining the ways in which they were read: a reader attempting to locate a particular section or recipe for instance aiding in childbirth would have required different supra-textual assistance to one studying the text at leisure.

The structuring of the texts and recipes within the texts suggest that while some of the manuscript texts lend themselves to quick consultation, others required more intensive study. The length of punctuated units, likewise, merits consideration: texts with lengthy units are more unlikely to have been intended for oral delivery, and more suited to silent, private reading practices. The texts could be read in a variety of ways: by an individual, studying the text or memorising its contents, consulting selected passages or studying it more intensively. The texts could have been shared among a discourse or textual community, perhaps to aid in childbirth, or they could have been used to study particular aspects of the text. Nor does one function necessarily exclude another; a text may have been intended for silent as well as oral reading, punctuation and other supra-textual devices guiding the reader in pausing in oral delivery, as well as interpreting the syntactical make-up of the text. Explicitly visual devices such as rubrication, use of headings or marginal notes may guide the reader in finding information and perhaps help remembering the contents of the text.

The emphases brought out by the use of supra-textual devices offer us information about what the scribes, as well as the readers, thought important or noteworthy; they can also tell us about the education levels of those involved with the texts. The manuscripts reveal a number of possibilities. Rather than a single text, intended for a single audience, each manuscript provides a unique point of access, designed for a specific purpose; Echard notes that "it is […] crucial to note that the individual specificity of manuscripts ultimately had a great deal to do with determining the individual reading experience, solitary or social, visual or aural" (Echard 1999:72). The audiences of the Middle English *Trotula*, then, were varied. The readers – as well as the scribes – approached the text with varied literacy skills, as well as expectations. Manuscripts could, and were, of course, used in ways different to those intended by their scribes and authors, but studying the ways in

which the manuscript texts are constructed and presented by the scribes to their audiences (however disparate the actual readership may have been) as well as the additions and modifications by readers of those texts can, however, suggest new possibilities for thinking about literacy practices.

6.7 Summary

This chapter has examined the pragmatics of supra-textual devices. Through an examination of the visual language of the manuscripts, this chapter has suggested how the use of supra-textual devices in structuring the text on macro- and micro-levels can affect practices of reading. The different contexts in which the Middle English *Trotula* could have been read and used (by a variety of readers with different skills of reading and different approaches to the text) were examined in order to provide a background for the examination of supra-textual devices. What emerges is an overwhelming sense of the variety within the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts; the texts appear in different contexts, presented in a variety of manners. Textual evidence should, moreover, be treated with caution, and studied together with the information provided by the manuscript, which can offer (sometimes contradictory) views on the intended purpose of the manuscripts.

Examination of the supra-textual devices in these manuscripts suggests a range of literacy practices, from professional to pragmatic, from intensive to extensive, from oral to literate. The examination of the supra-textual devices also raises the question of treating "single" texts as such; rather than a single text, with a homogenous readership, the Middle English *Trotula* suggests varying practices, with varying concerns of reception and audiences whose levels of literacy were not unified. Supra-textual devices function on a number of levels: they structure the text into sections and sub-sections, and, further, into sense-units, sentences or smaller syntactical units, clarifying the relationships between them and helping the reader to interpret the text; they aid the reader in navigating the text, remembering its contents and finding information, such as specific recipes; they provide evidence of reading practices as well as scribal practices; they guide the reader in reading the text, whether silently or aloud. The different manuscripts have different emphases, and offer a wealth of evidence for a variety of reading practices, each designed for a specific audience or a specific purpose, illustrating the need to treat each manuscript text on its own terms.

7. Conclusion

This thesis has examined the use of supra-textual devices in the *Trotula*, a set of Middle English gynecological and obstetrical treatises. Through a close examination of the manuscripts, this thesis has shown that supra-textual devices (punctuation, page layout, marginalia, rubrication and other visual devices on the manuscript page) are an integral part of the text and its interpretation. Their use is not haphazard, as has previously been asserted; supra-textual devices are used purposefully to structure the texts and to communicate with the reader. This thesis has emphasised the importance of studying each manuscript text as an individual entity, situated in its textual, codicological, cultural and historical contexts. Comparison between the manuscript versions has shown that some features can be attributed to transmission, but the scribes were also free to alter and modify the presentation of the text found in their exemplars.

Studying medieval punctuation practices also gives us insights into how scribes understood and interpreted syntactical structures, and how they used supra-textual devices to organise the texts into units of various type and length (major and minor sections, paragraphs, recipes, sense-units, sentences, clauses, phrases). The range of functions performed by supra-textual devices are not, however, limited to textual and syntactical organisation; supra-textual devices are also used for a variety of other purposes, guiding the reader in reading and interpreting the text. The study of supra-textual devices, therefore, has also implications for literacy and reading practices, and it was argued that by focusing on the manuscripts we can discover clues to how they were (intended to be) read and used.

In addition, this thesis has evaluated and discussed some of the key terminology used to discuss punctuation and literacy. In order to address these questions, this thesis has combined both quantitative and qualitative methods; the quantitative data and its analysis underpins the discussion of the usage and functions of supra-textual devices. In 1975, Paul Arakelian, in his study of the punctuation in the manuscript of *Pageant of the Birth, Life and Death of Richard Beauchamp Earl of Warwick, K.G. 1389–1439*, stated that "(i)deally, a study of this punctuation will have two results: it will facilitate our understanding of the text and [...] (t)he punctuation will simply provide us with a clearer picture of late Middle English syntax" (Arakelian 1975:615). This thesis has demonstrated that, in addition to adding to our knowledge of Middle English syntax and understanding of Middle English

texts, the study of punctuation and other supra-textual devices can also offer us perspectives on scribal practices, transmission of texts as well as literacy and reading practices.

Chapter 2 provided contextualisation to the study of supra-textual devices by examining historical developments of medieval punctuation and by charting previous studies in the field. It also introduced some key concepts, terminology and methodology used in this thesis. The term 'supra-textual devices' was adopted and extended from Kostelnick (1990, 1996; Kostelnick and Hassett 2003); this particular term was chosen to describe the repertoire of visual devices, allowing us to take into account the full picture on the manuscript page (as far as it is possible). These devices can be seen to form part of the 'grammar of legibility' (Parkes 1991:2, 1992:23): they contribute to the meaning of the text on a number of levels, structuring the text by organising it into units on various levels, clarifying and emphasising sections or items, and making the text accessible to different audiences and levels of literacy. All of these aspects can be regarded as communication between the scribe and the (intended) audience; moreover, the readers can also contribute to the page design by adding marginal notes, symbols or other devices.

The appearance of a manuscript is determined by a variety of factors and decisions made by the scribe, as well as external factors such as the influence from the exemplar of a particular text, the immediate codicological context and physical restrictions of the manuscript page. In the past, scholars have often argued that supra-textual devices such as punctuation are incidental – that the text is what matters, not the way it is presented. However, in recent years there has been a growing interest in the way in which manuscripts are presented, a growing consensus that the "page matters" (Mak 2011), and also that the little details, often overlooked, such as punctuation marks, matter. The focus throughout the thesis has been on scribal practices, rather than authorial intentions. Partridge suggests that authors such as Chaucer "sometimes thought (and probably worked) like a scribe" (Partridge 2011:102); but scribes could also sometimes think and work like authors. They certainly worked as active editors of texts, often in their approach to the content of the text itself, but also to its presentation.

Although a large number of studies exist on various aspects of textual presentation (such as decoration, layout, punctuation, script), these different aspects are rarely considered

together. Although it has not been possible within the scope of this thesis to for instance map the variation between spelling and scripts to the use of supra-textual devices, this thesis has nevertheless suggested that punctuation and other visual features and devices on the manuscript page all influence the meaning of the text and should, therefore, not be considered as separate neither from each other, or from the text as a whole.

The *Trotula*, extant in five different Middle English versions, in altogether thirteen manuscript versions, formed the primary material for this thesis. The majority of the manuscripts remain unedited, and the descriptions for many only partial; Chapter 3 described the background, textual context and the manuscripts in which these texts appear. In the manuscripts, the text, the linguistic forms and the presentation likewise are adapted and modified by the scribes, whereby each of the manuscript versions presents its own version of the text. The descriptions of the texts and the manuscripts illustrated the differences between each manuscript version, and highlighted the importance of focusing on the individual manuscripts, and the differences and similarities between them.

Chapter 4 described and analysed the use of supra-textual devices in each of the thirteen manuscript versions of the Middle English *Trotula*. Although there was no single standard system of punctuation in medieval England, by providing a detailed description of the individual systems of usage, it was demonstrated how each of the manuscript versions presents its own, largely coherent system. Adapting Lucas' (1971; see also Alonso-Almeida 2002, 2003) model for analysing the functions of supra-textual devices, this thesis has demonstrated that the often-made binary division of 'grammatical' v. 'rhetorical' punctuation is neither very informative nor useful in practice for describing the systems of supra-textual devices present in medieval English writing. In order to assess the functions individual symbols and devices perform, the environment of the devices need to be examined. The textual and immediate linguistic context around each symbol determines its meaning; each text and manuscript relies to a different extent on punctuation, layout, and linguistic items (such as discourse markers) to signal textual and grammatical structures.

The focus in Chapter 4 was primarily on the structural and grammatical functions of supra-textual devices. When the functions of supra-textual devices are examined from this perspective, the majority (80.7%) can be found to function grammatically, i.e. signalling structural breaks as well as sentential, clausal and phrasal relationships; 10.6% are used to

signal numerals and abbreviations, 3.8% line-final word-divisions. Only 5.0% cannot be assigned any of the aforementioned functions. There is extensive variation between the individual manuscript texts, however. Supra-textual devices can be used to signal structural breaks in the text, dividing the text into major and minor sections; they can also be used below the structural level, signalling units of various type and length: paragraphs, sense-units, sentences, clauses, and phrases. While some manuscripts signal these different types of units by hierarchical structures, in which different symbols have clearly defined functions, in others a smaller repertoire of devices covers a variety of functions.

In terms of grammar, using terms such as 'sentence' or 'clause', which in Present-Day English can often be explicitly defined (frequently with reference to punctuation), is however, often misleading when talking about medieval syntax. The make-up of the syntactical units punctuated differs sometimes quite considerably between the texts. The medieval notion of 'sentence' can often, but not always, be characterised as a 'sense-unit' (or *sententia*, or 'unit of reading'). This definition is based on semantic, rather than syntactic grounds; a sense-unit can consist of larger units of discourse such as a single recipe, a cluster of recipes or another semantically definable unit, which may encompass a number of sentences and/or clauses in modern terms. The length of such units may vary considerably, in the present data between 8.31 (CUL33[II]) and 202.85 (S421A) words, and even between textually closely related manuscripts the boundaries of the units do not necessarily correlate. Drawing a line between 'sentence' and 'sense-unit', is, therefore, necessarily fuzzy. Whereas in some manuscripts the system of supra-textual devices denotes primarily semantic units, in others a more "grammatical" system is evident, suggesting that the development towards modern 'sentence' started earlier than sometimes assumed. It was suggested that the length of punctuated units could be used as one of the ways in determining the difference between a 'sense-unit' and a 'sentence', and the variation in the unit lengths suggests also that the texts were intended to be read in different ways. A 'unit of reading' or 'sense-unit' does not have to be defined as exclusively intended for oral or for silent reading: it performs the same function, whether the reader is voicing the text to a listener or a group of listeners, or voicing it silently to himself or herself. While a densely punctuated text may be intended to be read aloud, one with little or no punctuation as such (although other types of supra-textual devices may be used) is more likely to be intended for a more intensive type of readings, while one with extensive visual finding-aids might be intended for quick consultation.

The structuring of recipes, which form an integral part of the text in all of the manuscript texts, provide an opportunity to study and compare the use of punctuation within a defined environment; recipe texts tend to be fairly formulaic, and can often be defined as a single sense-unit. While in the majority of cases, it can be said that recipes are conceived of as independent textual units, this is not always the case, and the corpus exhibits more variation than previous studies would have led to expect. Some of the manuscripts display a tendency towards units which more closely correspond with our modern notion of 'sentence', with hierarchical structures and clearly defined functions for each device; these developments can thus be seen to begin earlier than has previously been asserted. These manuscripts also often contain frequent recipe-internal punctuation, signalling the different sections of recipes, whereas other manuscripts punctuate only the beginning of recipes, or embed them in the running text. This, again, has implications for reading as well as the interpretation of the recipes. The devices used to signal recipes are generally the same as those used to signal major and minor sections; they are also often more frequently punctuated than the rest of the text.

In Chapter 5, the focus moved from the individual manuscripts to forming an overall picture of the usage of supra-textual devices, providing an overview of the functions of each symbol and device across the data. The corpus does not offer clear evidence of diachronic changes, although some tendencies are discernible, such as the use of blank space and the absence or presence of certain symbols and devices in the later manuscripts. These changes, however, occur largely in the repertoire of supra-textual devices, while the pragmatic functions show less evidence of diachronic change across the corpus. In order to assess the full extent of diachronic variation as well as the effect of medium, a comparison between manuscripts and printed books would be required; although the *Trotula* was never printed in English, a number of other gynecological and obstetrical treatises appeared in print in the Early Modern period.

The variation in manuscripts and scribal adaptations and modifications are frequently studied subject-matters, but the use of supra-textual devices is often overlooked. The variation in the usage and functions of supra-textual devices across the data was also examined in Chapter 5 in order to assess the extent of the influence transmitted from the exemplars on one hand, and the extent to which the scribes modified the presentation of the texts on the other. The scribes tend to strive toward presentational coherence within the

individual manuscript texts, whereby deviations from the general patterns may tell us about paths of transmission. While the extent of influence varies, it was concluded that the scribes were free to alter the punctuation and layout of a text to suit their own needs or those of their audience, or for instance to fit in with other texts in the same manuscript (whether those designs stem from a particular text or textual tradition in the manuscript, local or scriptorial conventions, or simply an individual scribe's preferences is a matter requiring further study). It was suggested that the scribal variation regarding supra-textual devices could be compared with spelling variation, and that the scribes could a) copy the system of supra-textual devices of the exemplar; b) produce a mixture of supra-textual devices found in the exemplar and his own; or c) use a completely independent system of supra-textual devices.

These changes could occur on the level of individual symbols and devices, whereby scribes could choose to copy or change individual marks, but preserve the overall layout and type of usage; or they could choose to change the presentation and system of supra-textual devices more fundamentally. In order to uncover the full extent to which supra-textual devices are transmitted along with the text, it would be necessary to examine the Latin and French exemplars of the Middle English *Trotula*-texts; a further comparative cross-linguistic examination would shed more light on the patterns of transmission. It is clear, however, that the scribes frequently and deliberately modified the presentation of the text when copying from their exemplars; some possible reasons were examined in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6 examined the pragmatics of supra-textual devices. The focus was on the communicative aspects of supra-textual devices, which were explored through the structural organisation of the texts, and in particular, recipes; the visual language of supra-textual devices; marginalia and other later additions; the role of supra-textual devices in interpreting and clarifying the text and affecting the accessibility of the text; the way in which supra-textual devices can guide reading practices; and units of reading.

It was argued that the use of supra-textual devices can affect the way in which these texts were or could have been read and used, and that examination of supra-textual devices, therefore, has implications also for studies of literacy. 'Reading', as well as 'literacy' can, in the medieval context, have multiple meanings, and a number of different reading practices or types were suggested, depending on the contexts or situations of reading, as

well as on the reading skills and educational level of the audience or readership; a text could be vocalised, and heard, as well as seen, it could be mediated, or studied silently, read by an individual in private or in a group; intensively studied, memorised, or consulted selectively. These different practices need not be exclusive, and supra-textual devices can function in guiding the eye as well as the voice, in addition to enabling different reading practices, and making the text more accessible to certain audiences.

The questions of audience(s) are especially interesting with regard to *Trotula*, which is a text about women, pertaining (almost) exclusively to female life and female experiences, written in the vernacular rather than in Latin; yet the direct evidence of owner- and readership strongly suggests a largely male audience. The contexts in which the Middle English *Trotula* could have been read are varied, and textual evidence likewise suggests the adaptation of the text to different audiences, although the textual claims are sometimes contradictory to the evidence from the manuscripts themselves. While the examination of supra-textual devices alone cannot establish gendered patterns or tell us *who* read these texts, it can offer clues to *how* the scribes intended the texts to be read, and what type of reading practices and skill levels might have been suitable. Here, the manuscripts exhibit considerable variation. Adapted for particular purposes or for a particular audience, the scribal modifications are reflected in various ways in the texts and manuscripts, and even within a "single" text, there could be a number of different audiences, with different reading abilities and reading practices. Supra-textual devices, moreover, can offer us evidence of how the scribes themselves understood (or, in some cases, misunderstood) the text they were copying, as well as of the ways in which they wanted to present the information on the page to their audiences. While marginal notes and marks can be inserted by scribes, the readers could also supply their own navigational systems, sometimes evident in the margins. Marginalia can function as an additional structuring device or it can record a particular reader's interests, as well as offering us glimpses to how the text was read and used. Manuscripts with less extensive system of supra-textual devices tend to contain more added marginalia, supplementing the navigational system provided by the scribe.

Estimates of literacy in medieval England vary considerably; defining 'literacy' as well as finding evidence thereof, in particular female literacy, is often complicated. Chapter 6 suggested that levels of literacy, and/or access to books is perhaps not as restricted as the

manuscript evidence would seem to suggest: although the evidence provided by the study of supra-textual devices cannot on its own establish who read these texts it can nevertheless suggest different ways of reading. A recurrent distinction in discussions of literacy is one made between orality and literacy; this is also reflected in the binary division between rhetorical and grammatical punctuation. It was argued that both of these distinctions should be seen as points on a continuum, rather than as absolute binary divisions. A text could, for instance, be used within a textual or a discourse community, perhaps in a domestic or a monastic setting; not all participants in such a community need not have been literate themselves.

Supra-textual devices were found to have a range of functions: they can also function as mnemonic aids or finding-aids, as well as helping the reader to memorise the text, drawing the reader's attention to particular sections, clarifying textual and syntactical ambiguities, and making the text more accessible or inaccessible for certain audiences. Returning to the ways in which the texts as a whole, as well as the recipes therein, are structured, Chapter 6 examined the implications of this for an understanding of reading practices. An overtly visual structure aids the reader in navigating the text and locating different sections, and enables browsing of the contents, while a less visual system of structuring requires the reader to study the text in more detail.

Literacy practices, as illustrated by the analysis of the manuscripts of the Middle English *Trotula*, may be complex even within a "single" text, whereby treating each manuscript as a unique witness is important, as texts could be adapted to suit a number of environments and reading practices. A reader with less advanced literacy skills may require more guidance to the text in the form of extensive supra-textual devices, while the usage of supra-textual devices can also inform us about the educational levels of the scribes, as well as their (intended) readership. Different kinds of readers would approach the text from different aspects; the design of the manuscript page enabled or assisted certain practices, while making others more difficult. A reader interested in applying the information found in the text in a practical way, for instance by consulting the text in order to instruct in a childbirth, would approach and read the text in a very different way to one studying the contents intensively in order to learn about astrology, for example. It was suggested that to accommodate a less experienced reader, scribes could either simplify the text and the use of supra-textual devices, or use an extensive array of visual devices to aid the reader. The

majority of these manuscripts contain little to suggest an aural or oral function, although there are some exceptions; moreover, a manuscript need not have been intended solely for oral or silent reading, and a book may be used for multiple purposes. All require a degree of literacy (although that degree may vary), and the emphasis is largely on *seeing*, not *hearing*. The (intended) practices of reading nevertheless differ between the manuscripts; the texts could be used to study particular aspects of medical care or for instance reproduction, they could be used as practical guides, studied intensively or consulted selectively.

The focus in this thesis has been on medical texts; another aspect which would be of interest for further study is the genre- or text-type specific use of supra-textual devices. Comparisons with other texts and text-types could also be used to assess such factors as geographical variation. Other avenues for further research suggested in this conclusion have included extending research to printed books, as well as cross-genre and cross-linguistic comparisons. The strength of the methodology used in this thesis is that it enables the comparison of supra-textual devices which function on different levels, performing numerous functions simultaneously, within and outside of the boundaries of the text. Ascertaining and interpreting the uses of each device can be challenging and time-consuming, especially when they may function on numerous levels and outside of the textual boundaries (such as layout or marginalia). The investment in a fully marked-up (XML) representation including supra-textual devices would enable comparison of these features on a larger scale with greater flexibility and re-use.

In engaging with these issues, this thesis has drawn on and contributed to various areas of study, including historical pragmatics, Middle English syntax, codicology, palaeography, book history, the study of literacy, historical punctuation and scribal variation. Examination of supra-textual devices in their codicological, textual and historical contexts has illuminated the practices of the scribes and offered perspectives on syntactic variation. A pragmatic approach has focused on the use of supra-textual devices as communicative devices, the study of which offers perspectives on literacy and the use of medical manuscripts.

In order to understand the use of supra-textual devices in the Middle Ages, contextualisation is crucial: the immediate linguistic context, the textual context, the page,

the manuscript and the (socio)historical context in which a particular text appears all contribute to the meaning of the text and the way it can be interpreted and understood. The genre of the text, moreover, is important, and this study has shed light on the medical practice in medieval England. This thesis has emphasised the importance of contextualisation, and demonstrated that the visual signs and devices on the page form an integral part of a text, and as such are an important complement to textual and linguistic analyses. The modifications of the supra-textual devices suggest that the scribes copying the texts were aware of the importance of the messages conveyed by punctuation and other visual devices, and frequently modified the appearance of the texts they were copying to suit the needs of their audiences, whereby the study of supra-textual devices can also tell us about the ways in which manuscripts were read and used. It is also important to treat each manuscript as a unique witness; even if a manuscript does not offer new readings, it can still have a story to tell.

And there a poynt for ended is my tale
(Geoffrey Chaucer, the *Canon Yeoman's Tale*,
Huntington Library, MS EL 26 C9, f.202r)

Appendix: Structural organisation in the Middle English *Trotula*-manuscripts

Key:
bold = rubrication
italics = not by the main scribe of the text

Version A

	A12195	*D37*	*B483*	*CUL33 (II)*	*S421A*
Title	**H**er folowyth þᵉ knowyng of womans kynde & chyldyng	(-)	(-)	(-)	(-)
	Rubricated initial				
Preface *Description Justification Description Introduction of topics*	// **O**wer lord god when he had storyd þᵉ warld of all Creatores	[O]urₑ lorde god whan he had storid þe worlde of all creaturs	Our lord god when he had stored the worlde of all creatours	**O**wre lord god . whan he had storid the word of all creatures	Our lord god when he had stored the world of all creaturs
	Double virgule +rubricated initial	Space for a 4-line initial	(-)	Rubricated 4-line initial	(-)
Topic	// Now I haue told yew what is þe marris & how it lyth in womans body & Now I well tele þew the Anguish þᵗ desesen yt	. Nov have I told yow what is þe matryce & how hit lyes in womans body . <u>And nov I wol tell yow þe anguysch þat dysesyth hᵗ</u>	. Now haue I tolde you what the matrice is and how hit lieth in a womannys body and now woll I telle you the Angwysshes þat prᵢncipally dissesen them by her matryce	. ¶ heer is taught yow what is þᵉ matrice . and how it lyth . Now vnderstonde . the syknesse that deshese it	/ here is taught youe what is the matrixe & how It lyethe nowe vndₑrstand the syknesses that dysease
	Double virgule +marginal paragraph mark	Punctus +*underlining* +*marginal note* ("3")	Punctus	Punctus +paragraph mark	Virgule +marginal heading ("3 seknesses")
Topic	// **The fyrst is** chyldyng	[T]he fyrst þat ys chyldyng	. The first is childyng	. The firste is childynge	the first is childyng
	Double virgule +rubricated initial +rubrication	Paragraph break +space for a 2-line initial	Punctus	Punctus	(-)
Topic Symptoms	Suffocacioₙ of marris is anguisch þᵗ makyth women to swell at herₑ hart	. Suffocacion of þe maryce ys an Angvych þat doth women to suell at þe poynt of her herte	. Suffocacion of the matrice is Angwysshe þat dothe women to swell at the poynt of the herte	. Suffocaciouₙ of the matrice is a syknesse that makith a woman to swelle at the poynte of here herte	Suffocacion of the matrixe is a seknes that makethe a woman to swell at the poynt of her hart
	(-)	Punctus	Punctus	Punctus	Marginal heading ("Suffocacyon")

	A12195	*D37*	*B483*	*CUL33 (II)*	*S421A*
Topic Symptoms	// **prefocacion or p*r*eciptacyou*n* of marris**	. Prefocacyon or p*r*ecipytaco*n* of marys	. p*r*efocacion or p*r*ecipitacion of matrice	. Prefocacion or precipitacion of the matrice	Prefocacyon or p*r*ecypitacyon of the matrix
	Double virgule +rubrication +marginal paragraph mark	Punctus	Punctus	Punctus	Marginal heading ("prefoca*cion* precipita*cion*")
Topic Description Symptoms	**The flowors** of women is Anguische	. The flourys of women ys anguysch	. The flowrys of womennys angwys	**T**he flowris is a syknes	The flowers is a seknes
	Rubricated initial +rubrication	Punctus	Punctus	Paragraph break +rubricated initial	Paragraph break
Topic Description Causes	**Now I schall tell ʒew weche women lesse her flo*er*s w^t owt desses And the cause wye þ*ey* less them**	. No^w schell I tell yow wyche women may lese her flovrys w^t owtyn dyesse & þe cavse why they lese hem	. Now shall I telle you whiche women leste her flou*er*s w^touten dissease / and the cause why þei lese them	**T**he cause why women lese here flowres . ar these	The causes whye women lese ther flowres are thes
	Rubrication	Punctus	Punctus	Paragraph break +2-line rubricated initial	Paragraph break
Topic Description	(-)	. Nov schall I tell yow why þys .iij. Anguysch þat I spake of by fore fallyn to women rathyr*e* then to men	. Now shall I tell you why thse iij Angwysses þ^t I spake of befor fallen to women rather þan to men	**W**hy these . iij. syknessis a fore seyd falle to women rather than to men	W'h'y thes thre seknes aforesayd fall to women rather then to men
		Punctus	Punctus	Paragraph break +punctus +2-line rubricated initial	Paragraph break +marginal heading ("3 seknesses")
Topic Causes Recipes	**The fyrst .** Anguisch is of t*r*avellyng of chyld	. The fyrst anguysch þat I spake of ys travelyng of Chylde	. The first Angwish that I spake of is travelyng of chylde	. **T**he firste is traueylyng of Chyld	the first is travelyng of child
	Rubricated initial +rubrication	Punctus	Punctus	Punctus +rubricated initial	(-)
Topic Description Causes Symptoms	**. The .ij.** Angvisch is **Suffocaciou*n*** of marris	. The .ij. Anguysch ys Suffocacyon of matrice	. The secund Angwyshe is suffocacion of the matryce	. The secunde syknesse . is . Suffocaciou*n* of the matrice	The second seknes is suffocacyon of the matrixe
	Punctus +rubrication	Punctus +*underlining* +*marginal note* ("2.") +*wavy line in the margin*	Punctus	Punctus	Marginal heading ("suffoca*cion*")

	A12195	*D37*	*B483*	*CUL33 (II)*	*S421A*
Topic Description Causes Symptoms	**// prefocacion . or precipitacion of marris**	. Precipitacou*n* or p*r*efocacou*n* of matryce ys whan h^t goyth out of hys ry3ht place ou*er* lov & þe cause of þat payne I schall tel yow	.// Prefocacion or p*r*ecipitacion of matrice is when he gooth out of his right place over low and þ^e cause of that payne I sh<u>all tel</u>l you	. ¶ Also prefocaciou*n* or precipitacion is whan the matrice risith owte of the right place ou*er* lowe	also prefocacyon or precypitacyon is when the matrix rysethe owt of the ryght place ou*er* lowe
	Double virgule +rubrication +marginal paragraph mark	Punctus +*underlining*	Punctus and double virgule +*underlining* +*marginal note* ("marke this well for wemens greffes or paynes that doth come of the ma trite")	Punctus +paragraph mark	Marginal heading ("p*r*efocacio*n* or p*r*ecypita*cion* what it is")
Topic Causes	**The .iij. Anguische is Retencion** . þ^t is defawt of sup*er*fluite of flo*er*ys but fyrst I well tell 3ew wer of flo*er*ys comethe & sithyn þ^e caus of Retencyou*n* **.//.** And defawte & þe caus of sup*er*fluite of theme **.//.** and than . medicynes . for eche of theme	The <u>iij</u> Anguysch ys retencyon defaute or sup*er*fluite of flouris . But fyrst I woll tell yow wher*e* of the flouris co*mm*e & þan schall I tell yow þe cause of retencyon & defaut & þe cause of sup*er*fluyte of hem & þan schall I tell þe medycyn for eche of hem	The iij^{de} Angwysh is retencion defaulte or sup*er*fluite of flourys . but first I woll tell you where of the flowrys comen and I shall tell you the cause of Retencion and defaute and the cause of sup*er*fluitee of theem And than shall I <u>telle </u>you þ^e <u>medi</u>cyne for eche of thee<u>m</u>	. // ¶ The thirde syknesse is retenciou*n* . defawte of superfluite . of flowris . but firste vnderstonde . <s>but</s> Wherof the floures come . And aftirward retencion defawte and cavse of here // sup*er*fluite	the third siknes is retencyon of flowres but first vnderstond wherof the flours come & afterward retencyon therof<u> the cause</u> of comynge of flowres
	Rubricated initial +rubrication	Punctus +*underlining* +*note in the margin* ("3")	Punctus +*marginal note (*"Caussi menstrualis") +*underlining*	Punctus & double virgule +paragraph mark	Marginal heading ("retencyon of flouris") +underlining
Topic Causes Symptoms Recipes	**.//. Nowe well I tell yow þ^e caus of Retenciou*n* And fallyng of flo*er*ys**	. // Now schall I tell yow þe cause of retencyon & fallyng of floures	. Now shall I tell the cause of Retencion and failyng of flourys	. ¶ The cause of retenciou*n* and faylynge of the floures	The cause of retencyon & fallyng of flowres
	Double virgule & punctus +rubrication	Punctus +double virgule	Punctus	Punctus +paragraph mark	Marginal heading ("cause of retencyon or lake of flours")

	A12195	*D37*	*B483*	*CUL33 (II)*	*S421A*
Topic Causes Symptoms Recipes	**.// The caus of fallyng of flowris owte of corse .//. Now well I tell ȝew þe caus þ^t makyth þe flowris to fall to habu*n*dntly And owt of cowrs**	. Now schall I tell yow þe Causys þat makyn þe flowrys to fall to sup*er*habundantly & ovte of co'v'rs	/ Now shall I tell you the causes þ^t maken the flourys to falle to sup*er*habundantly and oute of course	**T**he causes that makith the flo*ers* to falle oute of course	The causes that makethe the flours to fall owt of course
	Double virgule & punctus +rubrication	Punctus	Virgule	Paragraph break +2-line rubricated initial	Paragraph break +marginal heading ("flours out of course")
Topic Description Symptoms Recipes	**.//. Nowe well I wryte At what Age A maydyn may vse of drwery**	. Now schal I tell yow at what Age a mayden may vse resonably þe dedyut of dewery	now shall I telle you at what age a mayden may resonable vse to dele w^t man	**A**t what age a woman may vse hire body naturaly . with man	At what age a woman may vse her bodye naturally w^t man
	Double virgule & punctus +rubrication	Punctus	*Marginal note* ("marke this place welle")	Paragraph break +2-line rubricated initial	Paragraph break +marginal heading ("when a woma[n] may vse her bodye")
Topic Description Recipes	**.//. Nowe well I tell yow weche . women be most abyl to conseyve & whan**	. Now schall I tell yow whyche wemen be most abyll to *con*ceyue and whan	. Now shall I tell you whiche women been most able to conceyue & when	**K**nowe heer what women ar moste abill to conceyue . and whanne	Knowe here what women are most able to co*n*ceve and when
	Double virgule & punctus +rubrication	Punctus	Punctus +*marginal note* ("if the matrit be not evine wyth the byrth she can not conceiv child")	Paragraph break +2-line rubricated initial	Paragraph break +marginal heading ("what wome*n* aptest to concive")
Topic Description Recipes	**how A woman xall kepe her whan sche is conceyved**	. Now schall I tell yow how whomen schall kepe hem whan þey knov þey have *con*ceyuyde	. Now shall I tell you how women sholde kepe theem when they know they be conceived	**H**ow women shal kepe hem whan they knowe hem conceyuyd w^t chyld	Howe women shall kepe them when they knowe them concevid w^t child
	Rubrication	Punctus	Punctus +marginal paragraph mark +*marginal note* ("marke this place well")	Paragraph break +2-line rubricated initial	Paragraph break +heading ("howe women shold kepe them when they are concevid")

	A12195	*D37*	*B483*	*CUL33 (II)*	*S421A*
Topic Description Recipes	**.//. And yf ȝe well know what is þe secundyne I schall tell yow**	. And yf ye woll know what ys A secvndyne I schall tell yow	. And if ye woll know what is the secundyne I shall telle you	**W**hat is the // secundyne	What is the secu*n*dyne
	Double virgule & punctus +rubrication	Punctus +*marginal note* [?]	Punctus +marginal paragraph mark	Paragraph break +2-line rubricated initial	Paragraph break
Topic Description Symptoms Causes Recipes	**.// what is abortif And what be his signes an Abortyf** is A chyld þ^t is ded in his modyres wombe	. An abortyffe ys a chylde þat ys dede in hys moder*e* wombe	And abortyfe is a chylde that is ded in his moder wombe	**W**hat is Abortiff . Abortiff is . a childe ded in the modris wombe	What is abortyue It is a child dede in the mothers wombe
	Double virgule & punctus +rubrication	Punctus	Marginal paragraph mark +*marginal note* ("marke this place for a deid child")	Paragraph break +2-line rubricated initial	Paragraph break +marginal heading ("ded child")
Topic Description Recipes Description Recipes	//. **how ye schall helpe A woman þ^t t*r*avell of chylde**	. [{] how ye schall help a woman þat travelyd of chylde	/ how ye sholde helpe a woman þ^t trauelyth of chylde	**H**ow ye shal helpe the woman whan she trauaylith	how ye shall helpe the woman when she travelythe
	Double virgule & punctus +rubrication	Punctus +*wavy line*	Virgule	Paragraph break +2-line rubricated initial	Paragraph break +marginal heading ("[hel]pe for [t]rave[lyng of] woma*n*")
Topic Description Recipes	**Thus schall ȝe fede hyme**	. Thus schall yow fede hym	. Thus shall ye fede hym	. // **T**hus shal ye feede hym	Thus shall ye feed hem
	Rubrication	Punctus	Punctus	Punctus & double virgule +rubricated initial	Marginal heading ("to fed the child")
Topic Description	.//. **Now wyll I tell yow how ye schall schesse a norse . Take a noresche þ^t is ȝonge**	. Tak a norse for hym to kepe þe Chylde þat be yong & in good stat	. take a norsse for hym þ^t is yonge and in goode state	**Y**iff ye take a norys to your child Se that she be yonge and i*n* good state	Iff ye take a nvrse to your child se that she be yonge & in good statt
	Double virgule & punctus +rubrication	Punctus +*marginal note* [?]	Punctus	Paragraph break +2-line rubricated initial	Paragraph break +marginal heading ("nvrse")

	A12195	*D37*	*B483*	*CUL33 (II)*	*S421A*
Topic Description	(-)	. There here lytyll holys full on A mannys body & womannys	// Ther arr litell holys full on a mannes body and womannes	(-)	(-)
		Punctus	Double virgule +marginal paragraph mark		
Topic Description Recipes	(-)	. how ye schall kepe þe chylde þe fyrst yere	. how ye shall kepe the chylde the first yere	**H**ow ye shal kepe the child the firste yeer	Howe ye shall kepe the child the first yere
		Punctus	Punctus +marginal paragraph mark	Paragraph break +2-line rubricated initial	Paragraph break
Topic Description	(-)	. how & whan þe chylde be veynd	// how & when the chylde shall be wenyd	. **H**ow ye shal wene . your child	howe ye shall wene your child
		Punctus	Double virgule +marginal paragraph mark	Punctus +rubricated initial +*note in the margin* ("*no*ta")	Paragraph break
Topic Description Symptoms Recipes	.//. and sythyn I haue tolde yow what is sufocacyon & *p*reciptacyon her be forn & wer of þey come .//. Now well I tell yow þe sygnes how ye xall know þem by whan ye haue þe ton & whan ye haue þe toder //. and þan well I tell yow of all þe evll of þe marris	. And seth her*e* be forr*e* I have told yow what Suffocacyon & *p*recypytacon been & wher*e* of þey co*mm*e . Now woll I tell yow þe sygnes þat ye schall know þat oon fro þe o*þer* & than wyll I tell yow þe synes of all þe euyls of þe matryce	.// And sithe befor I haue tolde you what suffocacion and *p*repitacion been & wherof þe^ei comyn . Now woll I telle you þe^e signes that ye shall know the oon from þe^e other . And then I woll telle you the sygnes of all the evylls of the matrice	.// **H**eer ye shal knowe of diuers Siknesses . that were spoke of a fore . that is seyn . Suffocaciou*n* . an precapitaciou*n* of þe^e matrice . and wherof ther come . and the signes to knowe the ton fro the tother . and all the euyll of the matrice	Here ye shall knowe of dyu*er*s siknesses that were spoken of before that is to saye suffocacyon or *p*recypitacyon of the matryx & wherof they com & the signes to knowe the tone fro*m* the tother & all the evells of the matrix
	Double virgule & punctus	Punctus	Punctus and double virgule +*marginal note* ("here be the sings of suffocacion of the matrix")	Paragraph break +2-line rubricated initial	Paragraph break
Topic Symptoms Recipes	**when þe marris arr owt of hys place be þys signes or ar Removed of hys ry3the place**	. The sygnes how ye schall know whan þe matrys ys remewydde of hys ry3th place	. The signes how ye shall knowe when the matrice is removed of his grett place	.// **T**he signes that ye shal knowe when the matrice is removed oute of right place	The signes þ^t ye shall knowe when the mat*ri*^x is remevyd owt of hes place

	A12195	D37	B483	CUL33 (II)	S421A
	Paragraph break +rubrication	Punctus +*underlining*	Punctus	Paragraph break +rubricated initial	Paragraph break +marginal heading ("the matrix remouyd")
Topic Recipes	**And yf þe flo*er*is comythe to surfetwssly**	. And yf þe flourys co*m*me to surfetusly	And if the flowrys come to surfetuously	**A**nd if the ffloures come surfetously	And yff the flowres *cum* surfetowslye
	Rubricated initial +rubrication	Punctus	(-)	Paragraph break +2-line rubricated initial	Paragraph break +marginal heading ("flowres com to fast")
Topic Description Recipes	**Now sythen I haue told ȝew þe medisignes for sup*er*fluite of flo*er*is Now well I tell ȝow midisignes for Retencyon or fallyng*e* of flo*er*is**	Now syth I have told yow þe medycyns for Sup*er*fluite of flourys . Now will I tell yow medycyns for þe retencon or faylyng*e* of flowrys	Now syth I haue tolde you the medicynes for superfluite of flowrys . Now woll I telle you medicynes for the Retencion or failyng of flowrys	**M**edicines for retencion ~~of~~ or failyng of floures	medicyns for retencyon or faylynge of flours
	Paragraph break +rubrication	Punctus	Punctus +marginal paragraph mark +note in the margin (*A*noþ*er* descu*n* menstrid")	Paragraph break +2-line rubricated initial	Paragraph break +marginal heading ("lake of flours")
Topic Recipes	**yf þe secu*n*dine a byde wt in when þᵉ chylde his born & yf it a byde** styll wᵗ in	medycyns for þe delyu*er*ance of þe Secvndyn yf þe Chylde be borvn & þe secundynne a byde wᵗ in	. Medicynes for þe deliueraunce of þe secundyne if the child be borne and the secundyne abyde with in	**Y**if the child be born and the secundyne a byde stille with In	Iff the chyld be borne & the secu*n*dyne abid still wᵗin
	Paragraph break +rubrication	*Note in the margin* [?]	Punctus +*note in the margin* ("The secu*n*dine")	Paragraph break +2-line rubricated initial	Paragraph break
Topic Symptoms Recipes	// the signe of p*r*efocacio*n* of þᵉ marris be þes	. The signes of p*r*efocacyon or p*r*ecipitacyon of þe matryce ben þes	The signes of p*r*efocacion or p*r*ecipitacion of þᵉ matrice ben these	**S**ygnes of prefocacion . Or preci pitacion of the matrice . ar thes	Signes of prefocacyon or precipitation of the matrix ar thes
	Double virgule	Punctus +*note in the margin* [?]	(-)	Paragraph break +2-line rubricated initial	Paragraph break +marginal heading ("p*r*efocac*yon*")

	A12195	**D37**	**B483**	**CUL33 (II)**	**S421A**
Topic Symptoms Recipes	**.// þes be þe signes of Retencioun of þe mar ris**	. Thys be þe synes of þe retencyon of þe mat*r*ice	. These been the tokyns of Retencion of the matryce	**T**hese are the signes of retencion of the matrice	Thes are the singnes of retencyon of the matrix
	Double virgule & punctus +rubrication	Punctus +*note in the margin* [?] +*manicule*	Punctus +*note in the margin* ("no*ta*")	Paragraph break +initial	Paragraph break +marginal heading ("retentio*n* of þ^e mat*ri*ˣ")
Topic Symptoms Causes Recipes	**.// Thes be þe sygnes of swellyng of þe marris**	. Thes be þe synnes of þe swellyng of þe matryce	. These been the signes of swellyng of þe mat*r*ice	**T**hese are the signes of swellynge of the matrice	Thes are the singnes of swellinge of the mat*ri*ˣ
	Double virgule & punctus +rubrication	punctus +*note in the margin* [?] +*manicule*	Punctus	Paragraph break +2-line rubricated initial	Paragraph break +marginal heading ("swelling of the mat*ri*ˣ")
Topic Symptoms	**be thes signes schall ȝe know whan a woman is nye her tyme of delyverance**	. Be þys synes schall yow know whan a woman ys nygh ha*r*e delyu*er*ance	.// By these signes shall ye know when a woman is nyghe hir deliueraunce	**T**hese are the signes to knowe a woman whan she is ny hire delieraunce	Thes are the singnes to knowe when a wo man is nere her tyme of delyu*er*ance
	Rubrication	Punctus	Double virgule & punctus	Paragraph break +2-line rubricated initial +*marginal note* ("no*ta*")	Paragraph break +marginal heading ("nere her tyme")
Topic Symptoms Recipes	**.// The signes of þe marris þt is ou*er* Replet of humo*re***	. The sygnes of þe matryce þat ys gret replet of humors	The signes of the matrice that is grett replete with humo*r*es	.// **T**he signes of the mat*r*ice þᵗ is ouer repleet with humours	The singnes of the mat*ri*ˣ that is ov*er* replet w^t humo*re*s
	Double virgule & punctus +rubricated initial +rubrication	Punctus +*manicule*	(-)	Double virgule & punctus +initial	Paragraph break +marginal heading ("mat*ri*ˣ replet")
Topic Symptoms Recipes	// and swelyng or oþ*er* wysse fall to þe marris // Thes ben þe signes	yf suellyng or oþ*er* wyse falle to þe matryce þes been the synes	// If swellyng or oþ*er* vice falle to the matryce these been the signes	. **Y**if swellynge or otherwise falle to the matrice . thes be signes	Iff the swellynge or otherwyse fall to the matrix thes be the singnes
	Double virgule	(-)	Double virgule	Punctus +rubricated initial	Marginal heading ("swellyng of þ^e mat*ri*ˣ")
Topic Description Symptoms Recipes	**. The signes of akyng of þe marris is whan þe woman ys delyvert of chyld**	. [{]The sygnes of akyng of þe matryce whan þe woman ys delyuerd of chylde	/ The signes of akyng of the Matryce when the woman is deliuered of chylde	. // **T**he signes of akynge of akyng of [sic] the matrice . Whan the Woman is deliuerid of child	The signes of Akynge of the matrix when the woman is delyveryd of child

	A12195	D37	B483	CUL33 (II)	S421A
	Punctus +rubricated initial +rubrication	Punctus +*wavy line*	Virgule	Double virgule & punctus +rubricated initial	Paragraph break +marginal heading ("akyng of þe matr^ix")
Topic Causes Symptoms Recipes	**The signes of þe hardnes of þe marris**	. The synes of þe hardnes of þe modyre	/ The signes of þe hardnesse of þe matryce	**T**he signes of hardnesse of the matrice	The signes of hardnes of the matrix
	Paragraph break +rubrication	Punctus	Virgule +marginal paragraph mark	Paragraph break +rubricated 2-line initial	Paragraph break +marginal heading ("hardens [sic] of þe matr^ix")
Topic Symptoms Recipes	**The signe of boylyng of þe marris**	The sygnes of þe bovlyng of þe marys ben theyes	/ The signes of boluenyng of the matryce been these	**T**he signes of bolnyng of the matrice	The signes of bolnynge of the matrix
	Paragraph break +rubricated initial +rubrication	(-)	Virgule	Paragraph break +rubricated 2-line initial	Marginal heading ("swelling of")
Topic Symptoms Recipes	**The signes of bledyng of þe marris**	. The sygnes of þe bledyng of þe marys	.// The signes of the bledyng of the matryce	**T**he signes of bleedynge of the matrice	the signes of bledynge of the matrix
	Rubricated initial +rubrication	Punctus	Double virgule & punctus	Rubricated initial	(-)
Topic Symptoms Recipes	**The signes of Renyng of blod of women owt of mesur**	. The sygnes of þe rynnyng of blode of women owt of mesur	/ The signes of rennyng of blode oute of mesure	**T**he signes of rennynge of blood owt of mesure	The signes of Rysinge of bloud owt of mesur
	Paragraph break +rubricated initial +rubrication	Punctus	Virgule +marginal paragraph mark	Paragraph break +2-line rubricated initial	Paragraph break +marginal heading ("rysing of bloud")
Topic Symptoms Recipes	**The signes of slaknes of þe weket be thes**	The sygnes of þe slaknesse of þe wyket ben thes	// The signes of hurtyng of þe mowth of the wombe been these	**T**he signes of slaknesse of the p*r*iuite ar thes	The signes of slaknes of the pryvyte ar thes
	Paragraph break +rubricated initial +rubrication	(-)	Double virgule	Paragraph break +2-line rubricated initial	Paragraph break +marginal heading ("slaknes of þe privyte")
Topic Symptoms Recipes	(-)	/ The sygne of þe palsy of þe marys ys þis	// The signes of palacy of þe matryce is this	**T**he signes of the palasye of the matrice	The signes of mysturnynge of the matrixe
		Virgule	Double virgule	Paragraph break +2-line rubricated initial +marginal note ("no*ta*")	Paragraph break +marginal heading ("mysturnyng of þe matr^ix")

	A12195	D37	B483	CUL33 (II)	S421A
Topic Symptoms Recipes	. **The signes of þe mys storyng of þe marris**	The sygnes of mysturnyng of þe marys	// The signes of mysturnyng of the matrice	**T**he signes of mysturnyng of the matrice	The signes of mysturnynge of the matrix
	Punctus +rubricated initial +rubrication	(-)	Double virgule +*marginal note* ("no*ta*")	Paragraph break +2-line rubricated initial	Paragraph break +marginal heading ("agayne [?]")
Topic Description Symptoms Recipes	**de postemys her is a declaracion of all postemys Ryth as þer be dyu***er***as humo***res*** w**ᵗ in þe body of man Ryhte so be þer diu*er*se apostemys	. And be cause þ*er* be many maner of Apostemys both on A man*e* & woman*e* I will wryt to yow in what man*er* ye schall know on fro Anoþ*er*	And by cause ther be many maner of Apostems Bothe on man & woman I woll wryte to you in what maner ye shall knowe oon from an other	.// ¶ nd [sic] be cause þ*er* are many maner of apostemys . both on man and woman . heer may ye knowe how ye shal knowe on fro another	And because ther are many apostu*m*s bothe of man & woman here maye ye knowe howe to knowe one from ane other
	Rubrication	Punctus	(-)	Double virgule & punctus +paragraph mark +*marginal note* ("To kuer all apostemys in powllesses ffor them")	(-)
End of text	and mak worts þ*er* of // and vs it daylye Tyle þat sche be hall X **X X X X X XX X X X X X** X				

Version B

	A34111
Title	**L**iber trotuli
	Rubricated initial
Preface *Description Justification*	**H**er bygynneþ a boke þat is clepid **L**iber Trotuli
	Rubricated initial
Topic Description Causes Symptoms Recipes	¶ **Now** it is to touche þe floures of woman
	Paragraph mark +rubrication
Topic Recipes	¶ ffor streytnesse of womb
	Rubricated paragraph mark +underlining

	A34111
Topic *Recipes*	¶ Now ȝif þat it be so þat þe marice be so hard þat it may noght be amendyd be þis medicine
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipes*	¶ ffor woman þat desiuereþ litel mater and þat it greueþ wonder muche
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining *+manicule*
Topic *Recipes*	¶ Now ȝif þat it be so þat þe wymen be long tyme hau ylore þair floures
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining *+pointing hand*
Topic *Symptoms* *Causes* *Recipes*	¶ Now it is to touche for to restreyne þe floures of wymen
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Description* *Causes* *Symptoms* *Recipes*	¶ Now it is to touche þe stoppyng of þe marice
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipes*	¶ Now ȝif þat þe marice comeþ doune and goþe noȝt oute
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Description* *Symptoms* *Recipes*	¶ And oþer while þe marice moueþ from hir stede and goþe nouþer vp no doune and it shal be knowen in þis maner
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Causes* *Symptoms* *Recipes*	¶ Now it is to touche þe hete of þe marice
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Description* *Symptoms* *Causes* *Recipes*	¶ And oþerwhyle þer waxen swellyngges and apostemes in þe marice of diuers kyndes
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipes*	¶ A nobil medicine for hardenes and swellyng ¶ and for wynd of þe marice to be ydryue oute
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic	¶ ffor þe cancre in what place of þe body þat it be

	A34111
Recipes	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipes*	¶ **ff**or ache of þe teten þat comeþ of melk
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipes*	**A** noþer for hem þat hau postemes in þe teten
	Rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipe*	¶ **ff**or grete greuance of children þat hau þe cogh
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipe*	¶ **ff**or swellyng of þe priue membre
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipes*	¶ **A** nobil medicine for robbyng a way þe fel in þe face or in þe front or in whate place it is in þe mannesbody
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipe*	¶ **ff**or þe webbe in þe eye
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipe*	¶ **ff**or þe cancre of þe nose
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipe*	¶ **ff**or to restore þe floures of woman
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipe*	¶ **ff**or to whiþholde þe priue floures of woman
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipes*	¶ **ff**or ache of þe marice
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipe*	¶ **ff**or defness of þe eren
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic	¶ **ff**or ballokes þat bien yswolle

	A34111
Recipes	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipes*	¶ ffor brekyng of þe bowels beneþe after þe beryng of þe childe
	Rubricated paragraph mark
Topic *Recipes*	¶ **ff**or þe scab of honder
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipes*	¶ **ff**or man and woman þat will haue smalhere and soft
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipes*	¶ **A** nobil medicine forto make white þe teþe
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipe*	¶ **ff**or to do a way þe wormes in þe visage
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipes* *Description* *Symptoms* *Recipes*	¶ **ff**or þe festre an experiment p*r*oued
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Symptoms*	¶ **ff**or to know whan þe childe is dede in þe moder wombe
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipes*	¶ **A** nobil medicine for to mak white þe face
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Description* *Symptoms*	¶ **N**ow it is to know whan a woman is yswolle wheþer she is in þe dropesye or wiþ childe
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipes*	¶ **ff**or woman þat haþe bien long wiþ oute hir flour
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Description* *Recipes*	¶ **N**ow it is to touche of some wyman // þat hau þair priue membre so large and so euille smellyng where þo þow þeir hosebondes forsaken he*m*
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining

	A34111
Topic *Recipe*	¶ **A** pouder yproued for staunchyng of þe blode ate þe nose and of þe priue floures
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipes*	**ff**or to mak streyt þe priue membre
	Rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipes*	¶ **ff**or to breng rednes and gode colour in woman þat is pale of hew
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipes*	ffor brennyng of þe sone
	Underlining +*marginal reference* ("186.")
Topic *Recipes*	¶ **ff**or stenche of þe mouþe þat comeþ of þe stomac
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipe*	¶ **A** nobil oynement þat is clepid color compositus is made in þis maner
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipes*	¶ **ff**or to make white þe teþe & þe lippes and of faire colour
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Recipe*	¶ **ff**or þe defnes of þe Eren
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
Topic *Symptoms* *Causes* *Recipes* *Symptoms* *Recipes* *Causes* *Recipes*	¶ **N**ow it is to touche of conceyuyng of children
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricatted initial
Topic *Recipes*	¶ **ff**or þe webbe of þe face and for þe freknes and for to do a wey alle maner of filþes of þe face
	Rubricated paragraph mark +rubricated initial +underlining
End of text	Explicit liber trotuli ¶ ¶ ¶

Version C

	CUL33 (I)	*H403*
Title	(-)	[Assit principio sancta maria meo]
		(-)
Preface Introduction Description Outline	¶ This boke mad a woma*n* named Rota / of þ^e p*ri*ue sicknesses þ^t lo*n*g to a woman	Thys booke was drowne owtte of dyu*er*se boks of medycyns concernynge the dessessus of women bye one exp*er*te in the anothamye and specyall co*n*serny*n*ge the p*ar*ts of awomane
	Paragraph mark	(-)
Topic Description Causes Recipes	of shyppy*n*g out of þ^e matrice	¶ <u>The schyppynge</u> owtt of awoomans Matrice
	Paragraph break +indented heading	Paragraph break +indentation +paragraph mark +underlining +*marginal note* (".1.Infir^{tas}")
Topic Description Causes Symptoms Recipes	¶ The matryce ryseses some tymes vp to the stomake	¶ The Mat*ri*ce su*m*e tyme Ryssys vppe to the stomake
	Paragraph break +paragraph mark	Paragraph break +outdentation +paragraph mark +*marginal notes* (" <u>2.Infir^{tas}</u>", " 2 infirmitas")
Topic Description Symptoms Additional information Recipes	¶ Yf a woma*n*n haue not her flowres	¶ and yf þ^t awomane haue notte hyr*e* flowrs
	Paragraph break +paragraph mark	Paragraph break +outdentation +paragraph mark +*marginal note* (" .3.Infir^{tas}")
Topic Description Causes Recipes	¶ A nother gret infirmite of a womans matrice / ys ou*er* gret plenty of her flowrs	¶ . anoþ*er*e infyrmyte of a womans mat*ri*ce ys ou*er*e greett plente of theyr*e* flowrs
	Paragraph break +paragraph mark	Paragraph break +outdentation +paragraph mark +punctus +*marginal note* (" .4.Infir^{tas}")
Topic Description Causes Recipes	¶ A nother Infirmite that ys of the matrice of a woma*n* that is they may nott co*n*ceaue childre*n*e as they wold*e*	¶ anoþ*er* infirmyte of a womans Mat*ri*ce ys thys . soo thatt theye maye nott consefe chyldryne att sume tyme as theye wolde and scholde
	Paragraph break +paragraph mark	Paragraph break +outdentation +paragraph mark +*marginal note* (" <u>5.Infir^{tas}</u>")
Topic Description Recipes	(-)	/ Moor*e* ou*er*e theyr*e* arr*e* certyne thyngs and Medysyns Thatt yf awomane vsse to Beyr*e* theme aboutte hyr*e* alle thatt tyme that sche hasse theme aboutte hyr*e* sche maye nott conseve
		Virgule

	CUL33 (I)	*H403*
Topic Description Causes Recipe	¶ A nother infirmity ther is that is harnes [sic] of delyueru*n*ce in tyme of travell	¶ ano*þer* infirmyte Thatt be lo*n*gs to awomane ys hys hardnes of delyu*er*ans in the tyme of hyr*e* labur*e*
	Paragraph break +paragraph mark	Paragraph break +outdentation +paragraph mark +*marginal note* (".6.Infir^tas ")
Topic Description Recipes	¶ Also aft*er* a woman*e* ys conceved	and frome the tyme thatt awomane hathe co*n*sevyde
	Paragraph break +paragraph mark	Paragraph break +outdentation
Topic Recipes	(-)	Item yf þ^t awomane wer*e* wythe a deyde chylde
		Paragraph break +outdentation
Topic Recipes	To know when she ys conceved	(-)
	Paragraph break +paragraph mark	
Topic Description Recipes	Yf a woman be ouer large beneth to make it narower	and heer*e* followthe a medycyne Thatt awomane the wyche ys wedyde or*e* vue wedyde aftur*e* thatt sche hathe borne a chylde .j. or*e* moo fortune to be too large beneythe and ou*er*e wydde as þ^t ytt offtyne tyms fortunes for*e* to make hyrre in lyke degree ageyne
	Paragraph break +paragraph mark	Paragraph break +outdentation
Topic Recipe	(-)	/ and her*e* aftur*e* followys amedycyne to stenche þ^e flowrs
		Virgule +paragraph break +outdentation +*marginal note* [?]
Recipe(s)	seconde byrth esely and sone w^tout p*er*ell	(-)
	?[315]	
Topic Description Recipes	for rysyng of þ^e matrice þ^t is a greves disses as they know	(-)
	Paragraph break +paragraph mark	
Topic Description Recipe	yf a woman aft*er* she is delyu*er*d of her cheld and be not delyu*er*d of her second birth vse this / medicyne /	(-)
	Paragraph break +paragraph mark	
Topic Description Recipes	To make a woman to be esyly delyu*er*ed	/ for*e* to make awomane esselye to be delyu*er*yde of chylde
	Paragraph break +paragraph mark	Virgule +*marginal note* [?]

[315] Leave(s) missing.

	CUL33 (I)	*H403*
Topic *Recipes*	(-)	for*e* to make awomane to haue hyr*e* flowrs yf thatt theye wer*e* stoppyde
		Paragraph break +outdentation
Topic *Recipe*	To staunche þ^e flyx	/ and <u>fore to</u> stoppe the flowrys or*e* stanche the flowrs
	Paragraph break +paragraph mark	Virgule +*underlining*
Topic Description Recipes	ffor costyffnes To helpe ma*n* or woma*n* þ^t may not go to þ^e p*ri*ve	(-)
	Paragraph break +paragraph mark	
Topic Recipe	ffor them thath haue the fallynge evyll	(-)
	Paragraph break +indented heading +paragraph mark	
Topic Recipes	A medicyne for þ^e crampe	(-)
	Paragraph break +paragraph mark	
Topic Recipe	To make a man to slepe	(-)
	Paragraph break +indented heading +paragraph mark	
Topic Recipes	ffor to make a toth to fall	(-)
	Paragraph break +paragraph mark	
Topic Recipe	ffor a man þ^t is brostyn take this medicyne . followynge .	(-)
	Paragraph break +paragraph mark	
Topic Recipe	The most p*rin*cipall preve medicyne to make a woman to be delyu*er*ed of her latter burden w^{t}out fayle is thys followyng /	(-)
	Paragraph break +paragraph mark	
Topic Recipe	To provoke þ^e flowrs of a woman to cu*m*	(-)
	Paragraph break +paragraph mark	
Topic Recipe	To Cause a woman to conceve	(-)
	Paragraph break +paragraph mark	
Topic Recipe	ffor mola matrics stoppynge or corruptyng of the matrice to clense it vse this	(-)

	CUL33 (I)	*H403*
	Paragraph break +paragraph mark	
Topic Recipe	To make p*er*ssly to grow ynan houre space	(-)
	Paragraph break +indented heading	
Topic Recipe	To make vinegre shortly	(-)
	Paragraph break +indented heading +paragraph mark	
Topic Recipe	Yf yow will have many roses in a garden	(-)
	Paragraph break +paragraph mark	
Topic Recipes	To kepe a mannes here fro*m* fallyng	(-)
	Paragraph break +indented heading +paragraph mark	
Topic Recipe	for a woman þ^t lacketh her mylke	(-)
	Paragraph break +indented heading +paragraph mark	
Topic Recipes	for þ^e fleme	(-)
	Paragraph break +indented heading +paragraph mark	
Topic Recipe	To breke the stone in a mans bleder	(-)
	Paragraph break +paragraph mark	
Topic Recipe	for hy*m* þ^t speke in hes slepe .	(-)
	Paragraph break +indented heading	
Topic Recipe	ffor a wonde þ^t is ful of blodd	(-)
	Paragraph break +indented heading +paragraph mark	
Topic Recipe	ffor a mans voyce	(-)
	Paragraph break +indented heading +paragraph mark	
Topic Recipes	ffor prickyng of a senow w^t a thorne	(-)
	Paragraph break +indented heading +paragraph mark	
Topic Recipe	for wormes	(-)
	Paragraph break +paragraph mark	

	CUL33 (I)	H403
Topic Recipe	ffor þe horsenesse	
	Paragraph break +indented heading +paragraph mark	(-)
Topic Recipe	ffor Ichyng of handes .	
	Paragraph break +indented heading +paragraph mark	(-)

Version D

	LM66	S121	JC43
	(-)	(-)	[Assit principio santa maria meo]
Preface Description Justification	Uhan god þe maker of all þinges	(-)	Whanne god maker of alle þynkes
	Initial		Rubricated 2-line initial
Topic Description Causes Symptoms Causes Recipes	/ þat I expowue þe kynes of Sykenessis / wt þe causes folowunge ... ryȝt so wymmen wt oute hire flouris	(-) ... Right so wommen wt owten here fflourys	Now wyll I furst declare þe kendes of sykenesse and þe cawse folowyng ... Ryth so woman wt owten here flowres
	Virgule … (-)	(-)	Paragraph break +rubricated 2-line initial ... (-)
Topic Description Symptoms Causes Recipes	. ¶ Sumtyme menstrue is a abundaunt ouer passingly	(-)	Sumtyme menstryne abundyth ouer passyngly
	Punctus +paragraph mark +marginal note ("De flux [?] superflue //")		(-)
Topic Recipes Description	¶ ffor to knowe wheþer a womman haþ conseyued a male or afemale	(and many smale wormes)[316]	ffor to knowe wanne a woman hayth conceyvyd
	Paragraph mark +marginal note ("[?] vt feminum")	(-)	(-)
Topic Causes	¶ of þe impediment of concepcioun	(-)	Of þe impediment of concepcioun

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[316] Text acephalous.

	LM66	*S121*	*JC43*
Description Recipes	Paragraph mark +marginal note ("de i*m*pedi*m*meo co*n*cepcone")		(-)
Topic Description Recipes	// Take kepe whanne a wo*mma*n bygynnynge to be w^t child	// Take heed whan a wom*m*an begynneþ to childe	Take hede wan a woma*n* begynnyth to chyld
	Double virgule	Paragraph break +double virgule +marginal note ("Regla")	Paragraph break +*marginal note* ("for desyr*e* of woma*n*")
Topic Recipes	¶ & if a wo*m*man dissiriþ to be ofte tymes w^t childe	// If a wom*m*an desyre ofte to be w^t childe	If a woma*n* desyre oft to be wyth chyld
	Paragraph mark	Double virgule +marginal paragraph mark	(-)
Topic	. ¶ of wymen þat ben vnable to fleschly marchaundisse	// If Women be not able to flesschly lust	If a woma*n* be not able to fleschly lust
	Punctus +paragraph mark +marginal note [?]	Double virgule	*Marginal note* ("flesly lust")
Topic Recipes	. ¶ ȝif a womman wil not conseyve	(-)	(-)
	Punctus +paragraph mark		
Topic Description Recipes	¶ And whane in þe tyme of birþ	// Rypynge in tyme afor*e* birþe	Ryppy*ng* in tyme a for byrþe
	Paragraph mark +marginal note [?]	Double virgule	(-)
Topic Description Recipes	/ ¶ Of þe gouernaile of a womman & of hire matrice Are sche bere childe & in childe bry birþe & After ¶ hit is to sey hou it is to helpen A womman & hire matrice ore sche haue childe in schilding & After	// Of þe gou*er*naunse of a wom*m*an & of hire mat*r*ice a fore birþe / & in birþe & aft*er* it is to seye hough a wom*m*an schall be holpen and hire matrice	Of þe gouernawns of a woma*n* & of here matryce a fore berþe & in þe birþe & aftyr it is to seye hough a woman schalle bene holpyn and here matrice
	Virgule +paragraph mark +marginal note [?]	Double virgule +marginal note ("No*ta*")	*Marginal notes* ("Gou*er*na*n*s of weme*n*", "Of þ^e gouernaw*n*s of woma*n*"
Topic Description Causes Symptoms Recipes Symptoms Recipes	/ ¶ The impediment ^[?]^ of concepcioun ¶ Concepcion is lettid in many maneris as well of man as of woman	Concepcion is lette in many maneres as wele of man as of wo*m*man	Concepcou*n* is lette in many manerus as wele of man as of woma*n*
	Virgule +paragraph mark	Paragraph break	*Marginal note* ("co*n*cepcou*n*")

	LM66	*S121*	*JC43*
Topic Description Causes Recipes Symptoms Causes Recipes	¶ Of þe defaute of concepcioun . for þe defaute of þe man / ȝif concepcioun be lettid by defaute of þe man	/ If þe defawte of concepcion be in þᵉ man	If þe defawte of concepcoun be in þe man
	Paragraph mark +marginal note [?]	Virgule +marginal paragraph mark	(-)
Topic Description Recipes	// ¶ if ^.A.^ comethe flowynge of blod aftire childyn	If to moche flowynge of blood be aft*er* birþe	If to moche flow ynge of blod be aftyr berþe
	Double virgule +paragraph mark +marginal note [?]	Marginal paragraph mark	*Marginal note* ("ffor to moche effusion of blood")
Topic Description Causes Recipes	// of wymmen þat pissen Anyȝte in hire bed A ȝen hire wile	// þ*er*e ben some wom*me*n þᵗ pyssen / in hire bedd*e* be nyghte ageyn hire wille	. þer bene su*m*me wome*n* þat pyssyn in here bedde be nytte a geyn here wylle
	Double virgule +marginal note [?]	Double virgule	Punctus +*marginal note* [?]
Topic Description Recipes	// There ben summe þt syffryn dyssynkterie	// þ*er*e ben som*e* also þᵗ suffren dysfynct*er*ye	þer bene su*m*me also þat suffeþrynne dyssynctorie
	Double virgule +marginal note [?]	Double virgule +marginal paragraph mark	(-)
Topic Description Recipes	// Of constrictories to cownts A constrictorie to A counte þat sche be founden as A maide	/ Of constrictoryes to make a wom*m*ans p*ri*uyte streyte as a mayde	Of constrictories to awomans p*ri*uite stryte as a mayde
	Double virgule +marginal note [?]	Virgule +marginal paragraph mark	(-)
End of the text	(-)	~ ~ ~ ~ Expliciu*n*t Secreta mulierum ~ ~ ~	Expliciunt Secreta mulierum

Version E

	S121 (II)	*L333*
Title	(-)	Quidam t[r]actatus defectis mulie*rum* bon*us* et vtalis ~
		Indentation
Preface Introduction Description Justification	(-)	This boke is called trotela the whilk Iohn of Burgwen drew owtt of dyu*er*s bukes of phesik
		(-)
Topic Description Causes Symptoms	(-)	ffor as mekell as woma*n* haw not , so mekyll hew of ther own selff to dry vp the wikked humors & moystors
		Paragraph break
Topic	(-)	Now of fayling of flors

	S121 (II)	*L333*
Description *Recipes* *Symptoms* *Recipes*		Indented heading
Topic *Description* *Symptoms* *Causes* *Recipes*	(-)	now when a woman haus to mekell handundaunce of hir florrs
		Paragraph break
Topic *Description* *Symptoms* *Causes* *Recipes*	(-)	ffor the strangulyon of the matrice
		Indented heading
Topic *Description* *Recipes* *Causes* *Recipes* *Description* *Symptoms* *Causes* *Recipes*	(-)	for the moder that is comed downe ~
		Indented heading
Topic *Recipes*	(-)	also againe the hardnes of the moder & agayne the ou*er* turnyng þ*er*of & inflamacone & ventosite & wynds that febylls & fallis on all the bodye ~
		Indented heading
Topic *Description* *Causes* *Symptoms* *Recipes*	(-)	for themodir þ^t is vlcertite þ^t is to say wth bylles & boches in yt
		Indented heading
Topic *Description* *Causes* *Recipes* *Causes* *Symptoms* *Recipes* *Causes* *Symptoms* *Recipes* *Causes* *Recipes*	(-)	now may ye vnd*er*stand the cavse of baren women whilk brungs forth no frutte & the healp & the cur agayne ~
		Indented heading
Topic *Recipes*	(-)	for hym that hais lost his kynd of women
		Indented heading
Topic *Description* *Recipes*	(to drinke oximel)	for to kep awoman with childe ~
	(-)	Indented heading
Topic *Description* *Recipes*	**ffor þ^e child þ^t mysturnyd & for þ^e aft*er* berþen & for to wete ȝyf it be a male or female**	for achild that ys mystorned and for the aft*er* byrthing and forto well whether the child be male or female
	Rubrication	Indented heading

	S121 (II)	*L333*
Topic *Recipes*	(-)	for to delyu*er* woman of aded childe
		Indented heading
Topic *Recipes*	(-)	for an woma*n* that travelles
		Indented heading
Topic *Recipes*	// Also aft*er* tyme þ^t a child is born & þ^e secundine is left / w^t ynne	also after tyme that the child is borne & secundyng that ys the mother is lyftyd vp wthin hir agayne
	Double virgule	Indented heading
Topic *Recipes*	// To preue ȝyf a woman haue conseyuyd a male or a Femelle	(-)
	Double virgule	
Topic *Causes* *Recipes*	**ffor a child þ^t is vnspedful in þ^e beryng** Also a ȝens difficulte of beryng .i. strong and diuers in þ^e beryng*e*	for a chylde that ys vnspedfull in berynge ~ Also againe the hardnes & strawnnes & dyu*er*snes in the berynge
	Rubrication	Indented heading +paragraph break
Topic *Recipes*	(-)	to maik awoma*n* to have hir flors yt faylle not
		Indented heading
Topic *Recipes*	(-)	yf she hav to mekyll flux of blod aft*er* hir birth
		Indented heading
Topic *Recipes*	(-)	to know whether awoman shall ever consave or not ~
		Indented heading
Topic *Recipes*	(-)	yf awoma*n* be greved ^with^ the modir
		Paragraph break
End of text	(-)	ffynis

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