

Anglo-Saxon prognostics in context: a survey and handlist of manuscripts

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The various Latin and Old English texts which have come to be called ‘prognostics’ have not, in general, been well served by scholars. For some texts the only available edition is Oswald Cockayne’s *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England* from 1864–6; most others are available only in the broad but somewhat unsystematic series of articles published by Max Förster in *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* in the 1910s and 1920s.¹ Anselm Hughes does not include the eight prognostic texts in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391 in his otherwise fairly thorough edition of much of that manuscript;² Peter Baker and Michael Lapidge omit any discussion of such texts from their excellent survey of the history of the computus in the preface to their edition of Byrhtferth’s *Enchiridion*.³ The mid-eleventh-century Christ Church manuscript now known as London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii⁴ has attracted the notice of many fine scholars, including liturgists, linguists and monastic and art historians, who have been drawn to the series of texts at the beginning of the manuscript (fols. 117–73 and 2–27), including two magnificent full-page drawings (117v and 2v)⁵ and glossed copies of the *Benedictine Rule* and the *Regularis Concordia*.⁶ Helmut Gneuss describes this carefully presented series

¹ See the appendix, p. 212, for a list of editions cited by author’s name and date in these notes.

² *The Portiforium of Saint Wulfstan*, ed. A. Hughes, HBS 89–90 (1958–60).

³ *Byrhtferth’s Enchiridion*, ed. P. S. Baker and M. Lapidge, EETS ss 15 (Oxford, 1995).

⁴ For contents and recent editorial history, see H. Gneuss, ‘Origin and Provenance of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: the Case of Cotton Tiberius A. iii’, *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, their Scribes and Readers. Essays presented to M. B. Parkes*, ed. P. R. Robinson and R. Zim (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 13–48.

⁵ See F. Wormald, *English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (London, 1952), no. 31, and E. Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900–1066: a Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles* (London, 1976), pp. 118–19 (item 100) and pls. 313–14.

⁶ See M. Gretsche, *Die Regula Sancti Benedicti in England und ihre altenglische Übersetzung*, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie 2 (Munich, 1973), L. Kornexl, *Die Regularis Concordia und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion* (Munich, 1993); see also T. Symons, *Regularis Concordia: the Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation* (New York, 1953); and L. Kornexl, ‘The *Regularis Concordia* and its Old English Gloss’, *ASE* 24 (1995), 95–130. Between these texts is a glossed Latin ‘Admonition concerning the Rule’ by Pseudo-Fulgentius, ed. P. Pulsiano, ‘BL Cotton Tiberius A. iii: Fulgentius, *Injunction*’, *ANQ* ns 1 (1988), 43–4, and H. Sauer, ‘Die Ermahnung des Pseudo-Fulgentius zur Benediktregel und ihre altenglische Glossierung’, *Anglia* 102 (1984), 419–25; an epitome of the Rule known as the *Memoriale qualiter*, ed. A. S. Napier, *An Epitome of Benedict of Aniane*, EETS os 150 (London, 1916), pp. 119–28; *De festiuitatibus anni*; and

of interrelated texts as ‘a compendium of the Benedictine Reform movements in Carolingian Francia and in tenth-century England’;⁷ Robert Deshman has argued that the very sequence of texts is ‘laden with meaning’.⁸ Despite their appreciation of these manuscript sequences, however, few scholars have included in their study of this material the eighteen prognostic texts which follow the *Regularis Concordia* in the manuscript (27v–47), though most of these are in the same hand and are arranged, it may be argued, with equal care.

At the same time the Anglo-Saxon prognostics suffered a kind of enthusiastic overproduction at the hands of their early editors. Förster’s determination to demonstrate the classical origins of these texts led him to provide an abundance of analogues and parallels ranging from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries – in Latin, Greek, German, French and Middle English – often in the notes and variants to one text. Such editorial abundance, however illuminating it may be for the history of traditions, makes it sometimes difficult to understand individual texts in their local contexts. Förster’s practices may perhaps be explained by the attitude he and other scholars brought to the prognostics; they have generally been studied from the viewpoint of what Förster called *Volkskunde* ‘folklore’ or *Aberglaube* ‘superstition’,⁹ sometimes qualified as ‘monastic superstition’¹⁰ to distinguish it from the pure products of folk belief.¹¹ To classify a certain sort of text as ‘folklore’, even the apparent oxymoron ‘learned folklore’, is not only to perform some interpretative work upon it, it is to place it as it were outside the realm of literary analysis, removing the text from a situation in a manuscript and a textual history, and into the precincts of anthropology, the domain of the local, the peculiar and the marginal. ‘Folklore’ (in the traditional sense that Förster and other early editors employed it)¹² inevitably implies a distinction between ‘popular’ ways of thinking, writing and acting and the ways of ‘high’ or ‘élite’ culture, but in effect it is a diachronic category: it is the label affixed to what one might call the ‘recessive genes’ of a culture, the practices whose theory was discarded or supplanted on the way to modernity. But this is certainly a *post hoc* characterization of little use in literary or historical analysis; it tells us nothing of

the Capitula of Aachen of 818/819, ed. H. Mordek, *Bibliotheca capitularum regum Francorum manuscripta*, MGH Hilfsmittel 15 (Munich, 1994), 223–5.

⁷ Gneuss, ‘Origin and Provenance’, p. 15.

⁸ R. Deshman, ‘*Benedictus Monarcha et Monachus*: Early Medieval Ruler Theology and the Anglo-Saxon Reform’, *FS* 22 (1988), 204–40, at p. 229.

⁹ It must be admitted that Förster used these words in a qualified sense and with some regret; see Förster 1908a, p. 43. ¹⁰ Henel 1934–5.

¹¹ They are still so classified; in the subject index of Ker’s *Catalogue* one finds ‘**Prognostics**. See **Folklore**’; in Karen and Kenneth Quinn’s *Manual of Old English Prose* (New York, 1990) prognostics are grouped with charms in a section also labelled ‘Folklore’. Cockayne even printed the Old English prognostic texts in Tiberius A. iii without the Latin texts they glossed, perhaps to make them seem more ‘folkloric’ and less learned.

¹² Changing definitions of the term are explored in *Jnl of Folklore Research* 33.3 (1996).

how such texts were used. Viewing texts from the diachronic perspective of the ‘history of . . .’ a subject (whether science, religion – even popular religion – or astrology) tends subtly but inevitably to expropriate them from the context in which they were written and copied, from which they contributed to lived experience. A prayer for safety addressed to the cross, for example, would be assigned without hesitation to the history of religion; a quasi-liturgical ritual ‘charm’ against cattle theft in the same manuscript is regarded as ‘folklore’.¹³ But prognostic texts are found in the same manuscripts as the Psalms, scientific works such as Ælfric’s *De temporibus anni*, or penitential prayers; if we hope to understand the role such texts played in later Anglo-Saxon culture we might begin by assuming that they operated in the same world as their companion texts, were used by the same readers, and were regarded with something of the same respect. A consideration of the context, both material and cultural, of Anglo-Saxon prognostic texts may help us move beyond the misleading distinction between ‘high’ and ‘low’ culture which we bring to them, and which has coloured our understanding both of these texts and of Anglo-Saxon religious practice in general.

Since many of these works are not well known or readily available, it may be best to preface a discussion of their context with a brief survey of texts and their distribution.¹⁴ The texts which we group together under the rubric ‘Prognostics’ may be divided into several different groups, nearly all of which are found in both Latin and English versions:

1. Predictions of the *if . . . then* type based on the calendar:

- (i) *Revelatio* (or *Supputatio*) *Esdrae*, predicting the year’s weather and other events, mostly agricultural, based on the day of the week on which New Year’s Day falls.¹⁵ Latin versions are found in **T4** (with Old English gloss),

¹³ S. Hollis, ‘Old English “Cattle Theft Charms”’: Manuscript Contexts and Social Uses’, *Anglia* 115 (1997), 139–64, and see T. Hill, ‘The Theme of the Cosmological Cross in Two Old English Cattle Theft Charms’, *N&Q* ns 25 (1978), 488–90.

¹⁴ The following typology is based upon my own survey of MSS but is indebted to S. Hollis and M. Wright, *Old English Prose of Secular Learning*, Annotated Bibliographies of Old and Middle Eng. Lit. 4 (Cambridge, 1992), 257–69. The proliferation of MS sigla is a necessary evil in a study like this; see below, pp. 212–30, for a list of editions, sigla, MSS and brief descriptions. In the following notes, MSS listed without intervening commas contain variant versions of the same text; MSS separated by commas contain different versions. A full survey of surviving texts and their relationships, towards which this list is only a gesture, is much to be desired.

¹⁵ Ptd Förster 1908b, pp. 296–301. See L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols. (New York, 1923–58) I, 677–8; E. A. Matter, ‘The “Revelatio Esdrae” in Latin and English Traditions’, *RB* 92 (1982), 376–92, who notes its earliest Latin appearances in ninth-century MSS from Fleury (F) and Lorsch (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 1449, fols. 119–20); and *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: a Trial Version*, ed. F. M. Biggs, T. D. Hill and P. Szarmach, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Stud. 74 (Binghamton, NY, 1990), 29–30. It also appears among Bede’s writings in PL 90, col. 951; see C. W. Jones, *Beda Pseudepigrapha: Scientific Writings Falsely Attributed to Bede* (Ithaca, NY, 1939; repr. in *Bede, the Schools, and the Computus* (Aldershot, 1994)), p. 87.

Æ67, **Æ32**, **F8**; all are similar though none is identical to another. A different Latin version, probably post-Conquest, is found in **J13**; a version based on Christmas rather than 1 January is found in **S10**. English versions in **T16**, **V1** and **H4** (the last based on Christmas rather than 1 January) are all similar both to Latin versions and to one another, but not identical.

- (ii) Prognostic for a newborn child based on the day of the week on which the child is born:¹⁶ a Latin version in **T20** **Æ62** **J4**, an English version in **W3**, **H3** (the two are similar to the Latin version and to one another, but not identical).
- (iii) A general prognostic in English based on the weekday of the new moon is found in **T13**.¹⁷

2. Predictions based on some natural occurrence:

- (i) A forecast in English of various sorts of death and disaster based on the occurrence of wind in the twelve days after Christmas is found in **H5**.¹⁸
- (ii) A forecast in English of various sorts of good fortune based on the occurrence of sunshine in the twelve days after Christmas is found in **H6** and **W1** (the two are closely similar but not identical).¹⁹
- (iii) Brontologies (prognostics based on thunder):²⁰
 - a. By hours of the night and day: a Latin version is found in **T7** (with Old English gloss) **Æ66**.
 - b. By day of the week: an English version appears in **T12** **H9**.
 - c. By month of the year: a Latin version is found in **R1**; an unrelated English version in **V2**.²¹
 - d. A composite brontology in English is found in **W2**; the first part = **T12** **H9**; there follow indications of the meaning of thunder at the hours of the Night Office, then from different directions, then at the hours of monastic daily prayer.

¹⁶ Ptd Förster 1912b, pp. 296–308. A version of this text is printed among Bede’s pseudepigrapha in PL 90, col. 960. ¹⁷ Ptd Cockayne 1864–6, III, 180–2.

¹⁸ Ptd Förster 1912a, pp. 55–64. A Latin version exactly similar is found in Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole 345 (s. xiv), 69rv, which also includes a Latin version of **H4**. A different text on the same principle is found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, nouv. acq. 1616 (Fleury, s.x), 12v, beginning *Si in nocte fuerit uentus in natali domini nostri iesu christi, in hoc anno reges & pontifices peribunt. Si in nocte .ii. fuerit uentus uiri ingrati deficient. Si in nocte .iii. fuerit uentus orfani & mulieres peribunt*; see Thorndike, *History of Magic* I, 678.

¹⁹ Ptd Förster 1912a, pp. 64–71. In both cases Förster notes Latin analogues in later MSS.

²⁰ Middle English versions of these are ptd Förster 1912b, pp. 285–95. See also Thorndike, *History of Magic* I, 679–80. ²¹ Ptd Warner 1917, p. 91.

3. Lists of lucky and unlucky days in the year (sometimes called ‘Egyptian’),²² usually for medical purposes:

- (i) ‘Three marvellous days’ on which only male children are born, and these with incorruptible bodies:²³ a Latin version in **Æ57 J2**; an Old English version in **W6 C6 Vi5**.²⁴ The Old English versions are nearly identical and are closely similar to the Latin, but while **Æ57 J2** name the three days as *novissimus de thebet et duo primi de sabath* (i.e. January and February in the Jewish calendar), the Old English version says they are ‘an þære daga on æftewardan decembre and twigen on forewardan Ianuarii’ and adds, ‘feawe men synd þe þas dagas cunnon’.
- (ii) ‘Three critical Mondays’ on which it is not good to let blood:²⁵ Latin versions in **J1**, **G5**, **G6 Æ18b** and called ‘Egyptian days’ in **G8 Æ56 F6 Di1 Sa1**; a similar text is added to **D2**;²⁶ one English version in **W7 Vi6**, another in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. viii, 22rv and London, British Library, Harley 585 (the *Lacnunga*), 190rv.²⁷ The days are the first Monday of August and the last Monday of March and December; warnings are included against taking medicines, and in some texts eating gooseflesh.
- (iii) ‘Twenty-four critical days’, two in each month, on which it is not good to let blood; days are counted forward from the beginning of the month and backward from the end:
 - a. A Latin version in hexameters, beginning *Iani prima dies et septima fine timetur*, in **Æ18 G6 S9 Tr1** and the gloss to **G4**;²⁸ the same text is distributed

²² Several different sorts of days – groups of three in the year or two per month – are labelled ‘Egyptian’; see Thorndike, *History of Magic* I, 685–96. See also J. Loiseleur, ‘Les Jours égyptiens. Leur variations dans le calendriers du moyen âge’, *Memoires de la Société des antiquaires de France* 33 (1872), 198–253, and R. Steele, “‘Dies Aegyptiaci’”, *Proc. of the R. Soc. of Medicine* 13, supplement (1919), 108–21. For an early version of this tradition (unrelated to surviving Anglo-Saxon versions), see H. Stuart, ‘A Ninth Century Account of Diets and *Dies Aegyptiaci*’, *Scriptorium* 33 (1979), 237–44. ²³ A Latin version appears falsely attributed to Bede in PL 90, col. 960.

²⁴ Ptd Förster 1929, pp. 259–61; Henel 1934–5, pp. 346–7.

²⁵ Versions of this appear among Bede’s pseudepigrapha in PL 90, cols. 955 and 960; see Jones, *Bedaes Pseudepigrapha*, pp. 88–9. For background, see G. Keil, ‘Die verworfenen Tage’, *Sudhoffs Archiv* 41 (1957), 27–58.

²⁶ F. E. Wallis, ‘MS Oxford St John’s College 17: a Mediaeval Manuscript in its Context’ (unpubl. PhD dissertation, Univ. of Toronto, 1984), p. 192, n. 24, notes other versions of this text in continental MSS of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

²⁷ Both versions are ptd Förster 1929, pp. 270–7.

²⁸ Ptd as a Bedan text in PL 90, col. 955; see Jones, *Bedaes Pseudepigrapha*, p. 73. It is no. 7597 in D. Schaller and E. Könsgen, *Initia carminum Latinorum saeculo undecimo antiquiorum* (Göttingen, 1977) and is printed, each line distributed across the twelve months, in Baker and Lapidge’s reconstruction of the calendar of Byrhtferth’s *Computus* (*Byrhtferth’s Enchiridion*, ed. Baker and Lapidge, pp. 391–416). See also L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval*

throughout the calendar in **Vi1 A2 J9** (and in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 296, fols. 1–6, an eleventh-century manuscript).

b. Versions in prose in **G4** (includes the prose portion of **Æ18**, with the verses added between the lines), **F5**, **Di1**, **J10c**, and **C3**;²⁹ an English version in **Vi7 C5 G1–2** (the latter has the two parts of the text in **C5** reversed).³⁰ The English version begins the year in March, but notes the same days as the Latin version; it includes a warning against letting blood on the fourth and fifth days of the lunar month, and on All Saints' Day; **G1** adds a warning against eating gooseflesh on the last day of March or December (cf. 3.ii above). Most Latin versions include a warning against letting blood in the *dies caniculares* and on the fourth, fifth, tenth, fifteenth, twentieth and twenty-fifth days of the month.

c. The Latin text of **J10a Th1**, which lists one unlucky day in each month, is unusual.

(iv) 'Twenty-four unlucky days', not specifically related to bloodletting. A Latin version in **Æ59** calls the days *aegyptiaci*; another Latin version, listing days in the lunar month, is found in **J10b**. An English version (with different days) is found in **Vi2 C4**.³¹

(v) *Dies caniculares* in which bloodletting is prohibited, from eighteen days before Lammas until thirty-five days after (i.e. 14 July until 5 September).³² These dates are often noted in calendars.³³ These are included among other prohibitions in Latin in **Æ18b G4 G7, F7** and separately in **Æ58 G10–11**. An Old English version is found in **Vi3**; another version is found in London, British Library, Royal 12. D. XVII, 'Bald's Leechbook', 54v–55v.³⁴ Both Latin and Old English versions include a warning against letting blood on every fifth day of the lunar month.

4. Lunar hemerologies or 'lunaria', a list of days of the lunar month³⁵ for various actions. These are ultimately based on the principles of lunar astrology,

Scientific Writings in Latin (Cambridge, MA, 1963), no. 651. The days in question are 1, 25 January, 4, 26 February; 1, 28 March; 10, 20 April; 3, 25 May; 10, 16 June; 13, 22 July; 1, 30 August; 3, 21 September; 3, 22 October; 5, 28 November; 12, 15 December.

²⁹ The same text is found added in a hand of s. xii to London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. vi, 114r. ³⁰ Ptd Förster 1929, pp. 265–70; Henel 1934–5, pp. 335–46.

³¹ Ptd Förster 1929, pp. 261–5. Förster prints Greek analogues, and Förster 1903, p. 352 lists Latin analogues. A version of this text in Norman French is found added to Tiberius C. vi, 114r. ³² Ptd Henel 1934–5, pp. 331–3. ³³ See Henel 1934–5, p. 331, for a partial list.

³⁴ See *Bald's Leechbook: British Museum 12 D. xvii*, ed. C. E. Wright, EEMF 5 (Copenhagen, 1955).

³⁵ According to Bede, *De temporum ratione* xxxvi.8–12, ed. C. W. Jones, *Beda's Opera de Temporibus*, Med. Acad. of America Publ. 41. (Cambridge, MA, 1943), the moon takes twenty-seven days, eight hours to complete its circuit around the earth, but because the earth is also moving while the moon revolves around it, the time from one new moon to the next – the synodical lunar

the transit of the moon through its ‘mansions’ from one new moon to another, but the system on which they were based was not included in the simple lists of days.³⁶ Such calendars are at least as old as Hesiod’s *Works and Days*,³⁷ and are perhaps ultimately of Babylonian origin;³⁸ the earliest extant Latin texts, however, are no earlier than the ninth century.³⁹ Formal similarity conceals considerable variation within each type of text.

- (i) Bloodletting, with instructions for good and bad times of day.⁴⁰ A Latin version is found, usually in chart form, in **Æ1 A1 G3 D1 T19 Æ61 J3**; a different and simplified version is found in **L2**.⁴¹
- (ii) Birth, predicting the fortune of a child born on a given day.⁴² A Latin version is found in **T5** (with Old English gloss) **T21 Æ63 F4 J5**; the latter three have the title *Incipit Lunaris sancti danielis de nativitate*. Old English versions, similar but not identical to one another and to the Latin, are in **T15 C8, H2** (days 1–14 only), and **W4**.
- (iii) Medical, offering prognoses on a patient who falls sick on a given day.⁴³ A Latin version is in **T6 C2** (the former with Old English gloss, the latter with the Old English alongside the Latin in chart form) **T22** (days 1–7

month or ‘lunation’ – is slightly longer, traditionally twenty-nine-and-a-half days. This was balanced out by alternating lunar months of twenty-nine and thirty days; lunaria have thirty days.

³⁶ The idea of lunar ‘mansions’ passed into the west with the recovery of Arabic astrology such as the works of Messahall’s *De lune mansionibus* and Haly Embrani’s *De electionibus horarum*; see S. J. Tester, *A History of Western Astrology* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 81–4, L. Means, *Medieval Lunar Astrology: a Collection of Representative Middle English Texts* (Lewiston, NY, 1993), pp. 60–8, and S. Weinstock, ‘Lunar Mansions and Early Calendars’, *Jnl of Hellenic Stud.* 69 (1949), 48–69. None of these Arabic works was known to the Anglo-Saxons; for their textual history, see F. J. Carmody, *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation: a Critical Bibliography* (Berkeley, CA, 1956). See also Thorndike and Kibre, *Catalogue of Incipits*, no. 1093.

³⁷ Hesiod, *Theogony and Works and Days*, trans. M. L. West (Oxford, 1988); see lines 765–828.

³⁸ Tester, *History of Western Astrology*, pp. 82–3 and P. Yampolsky, ‘The Origin of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions’, *Osiris* 9 (1950), 62–83. See also the numerous Babylonian lunar prognostics published by M. Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, MA, 1898), pp. 375–79; or *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 2 vols. (Giessen, 1905–12) II, 457–577. A brief introduction to the subject may be found in U. Koch-Westenholz, *Mesopotamian Astrology: an Introduction to Babylonian and Assyrian Celestial Divination* (Copenhagen, 1995).

³⁹ See Svenburg 1936 and *Lunaria et Zodiologia Latina*, Studia Graeca et Latina Gothoburgensia 16 (Stockholm, 1963); E. Wistrand, *Lunariastudien*, Göteborgs Hogskolas Arskrift 48 (Göteborg, 1942).

⁴⁰ Ptd Förster 1912c, pp. 36–7, Henel 1934–5, pp. 333–5, and cf. the version falsely attributed to Bede, PL 90, cols. 961–2. ⁴¹ **S7** is a list of favourable hours in each day for bloodletting.

⁴² Ptd Förster 1912c, pp. 16–30.

⁴³ Ptd Förster 1912c, pp. 30–6. See C. Weisser, *Studien zum mittelalterlichen Krankheitslunar*, Würzburger medizin-historische Forschungen 21 (Würzburg, 1982).

- only) **Æ64 F3 J6**; Old English versions, apparently unrelated, are in **T11**, **W5**.⁴⁴
- (iv) Dreams, giving advice on the reliability of a dream.⁴⁵ Latin versions are in **T3** (with Old English gloss), **Æ65 J7**, **W8** (the latter includes verses of Psalms for each day of the month);⁴⁶ an Old English version is found in **T8 C7 W8**, and a somewhat similar version in **H1**.
- (v) General, offering advice and predictions for various conditions. Latin versions are found in **T2**⁴⁷ (titled *De observatione lune et quae cavenda sunt*, with Old English gloss), **S8**, and **Æ35** (titled *Argumentum lunare ad requirendum quomodo luna qualiter observitur*);⁴⁸ an unrelated Old English version is found in **T10** (days 1–3 only) **H11** (days 1–17 only).⁴⁹ Förster leaves open the question of whether the general lunaria are the source of the various lists for individual purposes or the product of their compilation;⁵⁰ evidence favours the latter possibility, but in their medieval transmission the lunaria were highly susceptible to various kinds of textual alteration and the two types of lists probably influenced one another almost equally.

5 Lists of the significance of objects seen in dreams, the so-called *Somniale Danielis*.⁵¹ Latin versions, all similar but none identical, are found in **T1** (with

⁴⁴ London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.ii contains a brief note at the bottom of 7r: ‘Luna .i. 7 .iii. 7 .v. 7 .ix. 7 .xi. 7 .xv. qui inciderit in eis cito morietur.’ Though the language is that of a medical lunarium, the dates given are not particularly those of the surviving Latin text. This part of the MS (fols. 3–13) was almost certainly once part of London, British Library, Cotton Galba A. xiv, a private prayerbook written 1029–47 at Winchester, probably Nunnaminster; see A. N. Doane, *Early English Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile* 1 (Binghamton, NY, 1994), 15, and B. Muir, *A Pre-Conquest English Prayer-Book* (BL MSS Cotton Galba A.xiv and Nero A.ii (ff. 3–13)), HBS 103 (Woodbridge, 1988). ⁴⁵ Ptd Förster 1925–6, pp. 58–93.

⁴⁶ A somewhat similar arrangement of Psalm verses for each day of the month is found in a general lunarium in St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek MS 44 (s. ix), fols. 226–8 (pr. Weisser, *Studien zum Mittelalterlichen Krankheitslunar*, pp. 373–80; see pp. 446–7 for a list of later texts which also include Psalms); Förster 1925–6, p. 67, notes a similar text in Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 642, fol. 91 (s. xii; ed. Svenberg 1936, pp. 88–95).

⁴⁷ Ptd Förster 1944, pp. 79–129. ⁴⁸ Ptd Günzel 1993, pp. 117–20.

⁴⁹ Ptd Förster 1912c, pp. 37–45. Förster also prints a general lunarium from Vatican lat. 642, 91v–94r (ed. Svenberg 1936, pp. 30–41). It begins like the Old English version (*Luna .i. mari pleno uade ad regem & pete ab eo, quod nis, hora tertia, & dabitur tibi*) but quickly diverges. In general it lists different activities for each day of the month, including lost or stolen items, propitious activities, and birth and medical prognostics. ⁵⁰ Förster 1944, pp. 8–9.

⁵¹ See L. T. Martin, *Somniale Danielis: an Edition of a Medieval Latin Dream Interpretation Handbook* (Frankfurt, 1981). The work itself was apparently written in Greek in the fourth century (see F. Drexler, ‘Das Traumbuch des Propheten Daniel nach dem cod. Vatic. Palat. gr. 319’, *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 26 (1926), 290–314; a Greek text in a sixteenth-century redaction is published by E. DeStoop, ‘Oneirocriticon du prophète Daniel dédié au roi Nebuchodonosor’, *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d’histoire anciennes* 33 (1909), 93–111) but was translated into Latin early in its life. This version circulated throughout the medieval west and survives in nearly seventy MSS. It is a strikingly polymorphous work, no two copies of

Old English gloss), **F1**, **S11**, **Æ68**. Versions in Old English are found in **T9 H10** (the two are identical), **T17**. The former Old English version is clearly derived from a Latin source similar to the *si videris* list appended to **T1** (items 271–302): it follows that list in relatively good order, and its own order is, for the most part, alphabetical according to Latin but not Old English. But the number and scope of interpolations indicate that it is not a close relative of that text, and its immediate source is unknown.

6. Devices for divination. Unlike prognostics, which simply provide information to correlate natural phenomena and human activities, divinations require action, usually the manipulation of numbers, to answer a question.

- (i) The ‘Sphere of life and death’, usually attributed to ‘Apuleius’ or ‘Pythagoras’. A form of iatromathematical divination, the sphere predicts the outcome of a disease using the day of the month and/or week on which the patient falls sick and the numerical value of the patient’s name.⁵² Various forms of this diagrammatic device are found in Latin; a full study of their dissemination in Anglo-Saxon England remains to be done, but surviving examples include **C1 F2 J8 J11 Th2 Th4 L1 Th3 S6 Vi4 Vi8**; see also London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. vi, 6v.
- (ii) Other devices: an Old English divinatory alphabet, untitled and without accompanying text in its manuscript but probably a version of the *sortes*

which are the same; essentially a catalogue of one-line items, it was naturally subject to a great deal of editing and expansion. Martin discerns ‘two radically distinct versions’ (p. 4) of the Latin text of the *Somniale*, with different dreams and different interpretations for the same dreams; surviving English texts are all versions of the A-text but none is the exemplar of another (p. 65). The version in **T1**, the fullest early version of the text, is in fact a composite list from at least two different sources and textual traditions; the first 249 entries follow alphabetical order, then a group (nos. 250–70) includes items with initials c-v (most of these are found in **Æ68** but not in the first part of **T1**), then a third group (nos. 271–302) contains entries beginning with *si* (e.g., *si videris draconem . . .*, the usual formula being *draconem viderit*). **Æ68** has 154 dreams; **F**, a fragment from Fleury, has 76. See also Thorndike, *History of Magic* II, 290–302; S. R. Fischer, *The Complete Medieval Dreambook. A Multilingual, Alphabetical Somnia Danielis Collation* (Frankfurt, 1982); and E. O. G. Turville-Petre, ‘An Icelandic Version of the *Somniale Danielis*’, *Nordica et Anglica: Studies in Honor of Stefán Einarsson*, ed. A. H. Orrick (The Hague, 1968), pp. 19–36.

⁵² Ptd among Bede’s works in PL 90, cols. 963–6; Jones, *Beda’s Pseudepigrapha*, p. 90, says the table is ‘common in Fleury comput’. See Thorndike, *History of Magic* I, 682–4 and 692–4; Thorndike and Kibre, *Catalogue of Incipits*, nos. 1315, 1522 and 1542; and *Byrhtferth’s Enchiridion*, ed. Baker and Lapidge, p. 427. Further background may be found in E. Wickersheimer, ‘Figures médico-astrologiques des IXe, Xe, et XIe siècles’, *Janus* 19 (1914), 164–7; H. E. Sigerist, ‘The Sphere of Life and Death in Medieval Manuscripts’, *Bull. of the Hist. of Medicine* 11 (1942), 292–303; L. Voigts, ‘The Latin Verse and Middle English Prose Texts on the Sphere of Life and Death in Harley 3719’, *Chaucer Rev.* 21 (1986), 291–305, and *idem*, ‘The Golden Table of Pythagoras’, *Popular and Practical Science of Medieval England*, ed. L. M. Matheson (Lansing, MI, 1994), pp. 123–39.

biblica,⁵³ is found in **Æ40**. A Latin divination for casting lots known as the *sortes sanctorum*⁵⁴ (though not so titled) is found in **J12**, but is probably post-Conquest.

Most texts, as can be seen, are astrological only in the broad sense, lists of fortunate or unfortunate days; seldom is any celestial rationale offered for a given day's character. Though these texts can be divided into groups based on several different considerations, such as the ends to which a prediction is made (agricultural, medical, natal and so forth) and the means by which the prediction is reached (dream interpretation, observation of some natural phenomenon or consultation of the calendar), no such division is seen in the manuscripts containing them. What they share is a conviction that certain times and days have symbolic content or physiological significance, a belief in the relationship between celestial phenomena – thunder, the phases of the moon, or the course of the solar year – and human life, and a hope that through care and knowledge one can foresee, and to that extent control, the unfolding of fortune. The popularity of such texts extended well into the Middle English period⁵⁵ and beyond and is a strong, though often overlooked, link of continuity between Anglo-Saxon and later English literature, indeed between antiquity and the modern world.

Belief in various forms of divination and dream interpretation, and a pragmatically fatalistic belief in the influence of the heavens on lucky and unlucky days, were apparently widespread in late classical culture at every level. The roots of these practices are of incalculable antiquity. Their condemnation is an equally ancient tradition, and most early Christian writers simply repeated the

⁵³ A form of divination in which a question is asked and the Bible is opened at random; either a verse is read or the first letter on the page is compared to a chart of divinatory meanings. See E. Sievers, 'Bedeutung der Buchstaben', *ZDA* 21 (1877), 189–90; A. Schönbach, 'Bedeutung der Buchstaben', *ZDA* 34 (1890), 1–6; and V. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, NJ, 1991), pp. 273–87.

⁵⁴ Some background on this work may be found in W. L. Braekman, 'Fortune-Telling by the Casting of Dice: a Middle English Poem and its Background', *SN* 52 (1980), 3–29. See also *Sortes Sangallensis*, ed. H. Winnefeld (Bonn, 1887), esp. pp. 53–60. Other versions of this work in twelfth-century English manuscripts include London, British Library, Egerton 821, 54v–56r and Los Angeles, Getty Museum Ludwig XII.5, 48r–49v.

⁵⁵ Useful surveys of texts available in England in later centuries, helpful also in understanding earlier material, are L. Means, 'Electionary, Lunary, Destinary, and Questionary: Toward Defining Categories of Middle English Prognostic Material', *SP* 89 (1992), 367–403; *idem*, 'Popular Lunar Astrology in the Late Middle Ages', *Univ. of Ottawa Quarterly* 48 (1978), 187–94 and *idem*, 'The Moon and Medicine in Chaucer's Time', *Stud. in the Age of Chaucer* 8 (1986), 145–56; see also I. Taavitsainen, 'The Identification of Middle English Lunary Manuscripts', *NM* 88 (1987), 18–26, and *Middle English Lunaries: a Study of the Genre* (Helsinki, 1988).

criticisms of earlier pagan authors;⁵⁶ Augustine's condemnations of astrological prediction and fatalism are unusual only in their breadth and in the frequency with which they were imitated.⁵⁷ A single example may suffice:⁵⁸ *Letter 55* to Januarius is largely devoted to explaining why Christian feasts were calculated by the solar and lunar calendars; in it Augustine presents his views on the appropriate and inappropriate uses of forecasting. The observation of signs and seasons was the legitimate concern of the mariner and the farmer as well as the cleric, he admits. The consummate orderliness of the heavens is a guide to earth's changing seasons, but must not be consulted as a guide to man's changing fate:

Se quantum intersit inter observationes siderum ad aeras qualitates accommodatas, sicut agricolae vel nautae observant, aut ad notandas partes mundi cursumque aliquo et alicunde dirigendum, quod gubernatores navium faciunt et hi, qui per solitudines arenosas in interiora austri nulla certa semita gradiuntur, aut ad aliquid in doctrina utili figurate significandum si fit nonnullorum siderum aliqua commemoratio – , quantum ergo intersit inter has utilitates et vanitates hominum ad hoc observantium sidera, ut nec aeras qualitates nec regionum vias nec solos temporum numeros nec spiritalium similitudines sed quasi fatalia rerum eventa perquirant, quis non intellegat?⁵⁹

Yet faith in signs and portents was sound doctrine, and the broadly astrological principles on which many practices of divination and prediction were based

⁵⁶ See D. Amand, *Fatalisme et liberté dans l'antiquité grecque* (Louvain, 1945); Thorndike, *History of Magic* I, 268–86, notes classical attacks on magic and astrology. Useful summaries of early medieval attitudes may be found in M. L. W. Laistner, 'The Western Church and Astrology during the Early Middle Ages', *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 34 (1941), 251–75; Tester, *History of Western Astrology*; T. O. Wedel, *The Medieval Attitude to Astrology, particularly in England*, Yale Stud. in Eng. 60 (New Haven, CT, 1920); V. Flint, 'The Transmission of Astrology in the Early Middle Ages', *Viator* 21 (1990), 1–27; and D. Harmening, *Superstitio. Überlieferungs- und theoriegeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur kirchlich-theologischen Aberglaubensliteratur des Mittelalters* (Berlin, 1979), pp. 76–95.

⁵⁷ Laistner, 'Western Church and Astrology', pp. 259–60; see also Thorndike, *History of Magic* I, 504–22. A useful survey of Augustine's attitude is found in L. Smoller, *History, Prophecy, and the Stars: the Christian Astrology of Pierre d'Ailly, 1350–1420* (Princeton, NJ, 1994), pp. 25–9.

⁵⁸ To it might be added *City of God* V.1–9, *Confessions* VII.6, *De doctrina Christiana* II.21, *De Genesi ad litteram* II.17. The letter is discussed by Flint, *The Rise of Magic*, p. 96.

⁵⁹ Augustine, *Letter 55.8.15* (*S. Aureli Augustini Hipponiensis Episcopi Epistulae*, ed. A. Goldbacher, 5 vols. in 4, CSEL 34, 44, 57 and 58 (Vienna, 1895–1923) I, 186): 'Everyone understands that there is a great difference between observing the stars as natural phenomena, in the way that farmers and sailors do, either to verify geographical areas, or to steer their course somewhere, as pilots of ships do, and travelers, making their way through the sandy wastes of the south with no sure path; or to explain some point of doctrine by mentioning some of the stars as a useful illustration – as I said, there is a great difference between these practical customs and the superstitions of men who study the stars, not to forecast the weather, or to find their way, or for spiritual parables, but to peer into the predestined outcome of events.' Trans. W. Parsons, *Saint Augustine: Letters*, 5 vols., The Fathers of the Church 12, 18, 20, 30 and 32 (New York, 1951–6) I, 272–3.

were scientifically valid – as the moon and other heavenly bodies sympathetically influenced the movements of seas and the growth of plants, so they were thought to affect the minds and bodies, health and fortune, of men.⁶⁰ No one doubted the influence of the stars and planets on weather, health, chemical processes and other natural phenomena; ‘this was not superstition’, says Tester; ‘it was good science’.⁶¹

It is not at all clear to what extent the astrological sciences of the late classical world were known among the early Anglo-Saxons, nor what sort of auguries and prognostic practices might have been common among the English before their conversion;⁶² most references to the subject in Anglo-Saxon England seem dependent upon the condemnations of the Church Fathers and early councils. The *Penitential of Theodore* XV.4 provides sanctions for those performing auguries or divinations by dreams, for example, but this is a copy of a canon of Ancyra and many have little to do with actual Anglo-Saxon practices.⁶³ And yet it may be argued that these condemnations were repeated for some reason, though they may have been directed less to a fully articulated astrological practice than to popular belief in fate, portents and unlucky days.⁶⁴ Ælfric’s Homily

⁶⁰ See J. D. North, ‘Celestial Influence – the Major Premiss of Astrology’, *Astrologi hallucinati: Stars and the End of the World in Luther’s Time*, ed. P. Zambelli (Berlin, 1986), pp. 45–100, and ‘Medieval Concepts of Celestial Influence: a Survey’, *Astrology, Science and Society: Historical Essays*, ed. P. Curry (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 5–18; See further K. Jolly, *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England: Elf Charms in Context* (Chapel Hill, NC, 1996), pp. 110–13; Flint, *The Rise of Magic*, pp. 129–30.

⁶¹ Tester, *History of Western Astrology*, p. 178; see also S. Jenks, ‘Astrometeorology in the Middle Ages’, *Isis* 74 (1983), 185–210.

⁶² Among the most important studies of western astrology since Thorndike’s monumental *History of Magic and Experimental Science* are Tester, *History of Western Astrology*; F. Boll, C. Bezold and W. Gundel, *Sternglaube und Sterndeutung: Die Geschichte und das Wesen der Astrologie* (Darmstadt, 1974); R. Bonnaud, ‘Notes sur l’astrologie latine au VI^e siècle’, *Revue belge de philologie de l’histoire/Belgische tijdschrift voor philologie en geschiedenis* 10 (1931), 557–77; A. Van de Vyver, ‘Les plus anciennes traductions latines médiévales (x–xi siècles) de traités d’astronomie et d’astrologie’, *Osiris* 1 (1936), 658–91; and Flint, ‘The Transmission of Astrology’ and *The Rise of Magic*. Although Flint’s ‘Transmission of Astrology’ has reopened the question of the use of astrology in the early medieval west, Tester’s arguments (*History of Western Astrology*, pp. 112–14) against the survival of the mathematical and astronomical competence required to use astrology in any sophisticated way seem beyond dispute.

⁶³ J. T. McNeill and H. M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance. A Translation of the Principal Libri Poenitentiales and Selections from Related Documents* (New York, 1938; rept. 1990), p. 198. The *Pseudo-Bede Penitential* X.1–4 (McNeill and Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks*, pp. 228–9) also forbids divination.

⁶⁴ Even in the absence of a fully developed theory of astrological influence the English may have held some tradition of lucky and unlucky days related to the calendar and the days of the week; see H. Henel, ‘Planetenglaube in Ælfrics Zeit’, *Anglia* 58 (1934), 292–317, and A. Meaney, ‘Ælfric and Idolatry’, *Jul of Religious Hist.* 13 (1984), 119–35. Likewise evidence has been seen in some texts for the observance of New Year’s Day (whether celebrated on 25 December or 1 January), including prognostications and rituals for securing good luck. See Harmening,

on the Epiphany (*Catholic Homilies* I.7) suggests as much when he condemns astrology:

Us is eac to witenne þæt wæron sume gedwolmen. þe cwædon þæt ælc man beo acenned. be steorra gesetnyssum: and þurh heora ymbrynum him wyrd gelimpe; And namon to fultume heora gedwyld þæt niwe steorra asprang þe ða drihten lichamlice acenned wearð. and cwædon þæt se steorra his gewyrd wære; Gewite þis gedwyld fram geleaffullum heortum. þæt æni gewyrd sy. buton se ælmihtiga scyppend se þe ælcum menn foresceawað. lif be his gearnungum;⁶⁵

This is in fact a fairly close translation of a passage in Gregory the Great's homily for that occasion⁶⁶ condemning the Priscillianist heresy, and Ælfric's use of the past tense suggests that he is not thinking of contemporary practice. He goes on, however, to add a lengthy warning against fatalism which is not in Gregory: 'Nu cwepað oft stunte menn þæt hi be gewyrde lybban sceolon: swilce god hi neadige to yfeldædum: ac we wyllað þissera stuntra manna ydele leasunge adwæscan mid deopnyse godcundra gewrita';⁶⁷ which suggests that he was concerned with general tendencies towards fatalism and determinism of the sort that may have led to a belief in omens and unlucky days.

English condemnations of augury and divination were more often directed not against its theoretical underpinnings but against its cultural setting. The *Pseudo-Egbert Penitential* situates a belief in lunar forecasting alongside the use of charms over medicinal plants as parallel practices:

Nis na soðlice nanum cristenum men alyfed þæt he idela hwatunga bega swa hæðene men doð, þæt is þæt hi gelyfen on sunnan and on monan and on steorren ryne and secen tida hwatunga hira þing to beginnenne, ne wyrta gaderunga mid nanum galdre butan

Superstitio, pp. 117–45 on prohibitions against New Year's prognostics and folk rites; on the date of New Year's Day in England, see D. Whitelock, 'On the Commencement of the Year in the Saxon Chronicles', *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, ed. C. Plummer (1892–3; repr. Oxford 1952), II, cxxxix–cxlii; K. Harrison, 'The Beginning of the Year in England, c. 500–900', *ASE* 2 (1973), 51–70; and M. R. Godden, 'New Year's Day in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *N&Q* ns 39 (1992), 148–50. Other evidence for popular practices may be found in A. Meaney, 'Women, Witchcraft and Magic in Anglo-Saxon England', *Superstition and Popular Medicine in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D. G. Scragg (Manchester, 1989), pp. 9–40.

⁶⁵ 'We should also know that there were some heretics who said that each man was born as the stars ordained, and his fate befell through their courses; and they took as corroboration of their heresy the fact that a new star sprang up when the Lord was in human form, and they said that the star was his fate. Let this heresy be banished from faithful hearts, that there be any fate but the almighty Creator, who provides life to each man according to his deserts' (*Catholic Homilies* I.7, lines 116–23). *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The First Series*, ed. P. Clemoes, EETS ss 17 (Oxford, 1997), 235–6. Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

⁶⁶ See D. Hurst, *Gregory the Great: Forty Gospel Homilies* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1990), pp. 54–61, at 57.

⁶⁷ 'Now foolish men often say that they must live by fate, as if God constrained them to evil deeds; but we wish to dispel the empty lies of these foolish men with the profundity of divine writings' (*Catholic Homilies* I.7, lines 137–9; the defence of free will continues to line 201).

mid *pater noster* and mid *credo* oððe mid sumon gebede þe `to´ gode belimpe. Gif hwa þas idelan þing bega, geswice and andette and fæste XL daga, and gif he eft to þære idelnesse gehwyrfe, þonne fæste he III lengten.⁶⁸

Wulfstan’s homilies include divination among a list of sins to be avoided, placing it in the context of pagan practices involving unauthorized places of worship:

Scyldað eow wið gitsunga and wið gifornessa, and ðæt ge ahwar ne beon manswican ne mansworan, wedlogan ne wordlogan, ne on leasre gewitnesse ahwar standan. And scyldað eow wið galscypas and swyðe georne wið æwbrecas, and wið oferfyllre beorgað eow georne. And ne gyman ge galdra ne idelra hwata, ne wigelunga ne wiccecrafta; and ne weorðian ge wyllas ne ænige wudutreowu, forðam æghwylce idele syndon deoffles gedwimeru.⁶⁹

Likewise the collection of canons made for Wulfstan specifies five years’ penance for anyone bringing *diuinos et sortilegos* into his house.⁷⁰ Wulfstan’s concern with the suppression of divination as part of the regulation of the state is seen in his reiteration of the legal sanctions against it in the *Laws of Edward and Guthrum* 11:

Gif wiccan oððe wigleres, mansworan oððe morðwyrhtan oððe fule, afylede, æbære horcwenan, ahwar on lande wurðan agytene, ðonne fyse hi man of earde and clænsie þa þeode, oððe on earde forfare hy mid calle, buton hig geswican and þe deoppor gebetan.⁷¹

⁶⁸ ‘Indeed it is not permitted that any Christian man practise idle divination like the heathens do, that is, they believe in the sun and the moon and the course of the stars, and seek divination of time to begin their business; nor the gathering of plants with charms, except with the *pater noster* and the *credo* or with some prayer pertaining to God. If anyone practises these idle things, let him desist and confess and fast for forty days, and if he returns to that idleness, then let him fast three Lents.’ *Die Altenglische Version des Halitgar’schen Bupfsuches* (sog. *Poenitentiale Pseudo-Ecgberti*), ed. J. Raith, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa 13 (1933; 2nd ed., Darmstadt, 1964), II.23.

⁶⁹ ‘Guard yourself against greed and avarice, and never be a deceiver or perjurer, pledgebreaker or oathbreaker, nor anywhere stand in false witness. And guard against lechery and very zealously against adultery, and protect yourself well against gluttony. And take no notice of spells and empty sorcery, nor of prognostication or witchcraft; and do not honour wells or trees of the forest, because all such empty things are the devil’s deceptions.’ *Wulfstan Homilies* 8C, lines 161–8. *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, ed. D. Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), pp. 183–4.

⁷⁰ Recension A, no. 71: ‘Si quis paganorum consuetudinem sequens, diuinos et sortilegos in domum suam introduxerit, quasi ut malum foras mittant, aut maleficia inueniant uel lustrationibus paganorum seruiant, quinque annos penitant’ (‘if anyone, following the custom of the heathens, has brought diviners and seers into his house, as if to get them to drive evil outside, or discover spells, or assist at the heathens’ purification ceremonies, he is to do five years’ penance’). *Wulfstan’s Canon Law Collection*, ed. J. E. Cross and A. Hamer (Cambridge, 1999), p. 96. Another canon (no. 72) prescribes penance for those who assist at *auguriis uel incantationibus*.

⁷¹ ‘If witches or diviners, perjurers or murderers or foul, filthy, open whores are caught anywhere in the land, then let them be driven out from the land and cleanse the people, or let them be completely destroyed in the land, unless they desist and atone all the more deeply.’ (*Councils and Synods, with Other Documents relating to the English Church*, I: A.D. 871–1204, ed. D. Whitelock,

In such laws the forbidden practices of divination are seen as a species of licence; the breaking of oaths, sexual irregularity and improper religion are all equated and equally suppressed.⁷²

In most prohibitions divination is associated with pagan survivals or practices of popular religion – charms over herbs, the consultation of a *wicce* or *wiglere* for advice on medical matters, cursing of cattle, abortion and infanticide, offerings at stones and trees and wells. The context in which divination was imagined is captured by the *Canons of Edgar*, no. 16:

[R]iht is þæt preosta gehwylc cristendom geornlice lære and ælcne hæþendom mid ealle adwæscce; and forbeode wyllweorðunga, and licwigelunga, and hwata, and galdra, and treowwurðunga, and stanwurðunga, and ðone deafles cræft þe man dryhð þær man þa cild þurh þa eorðan tihð, and ða gemearr þe man drihð on geares niht on mislicum wig-elungum and on friðsplotum and on ellenum, and on manegum mislicum gedwimerum þe men on dreogað fela þæs þe hi ne sceoldon.⁷³

In effect Wulfstan and the authors of the penitentials, like modern scholars, sought to marginalize such practices by regarding them as ‘folklore’, remnants of an earlier system of belief and symptoms of incomplete conversion. But the manuscript context of prognostic texts suggests otherwise. Most surviving texts are found in at least one Latin version, and English versions are in nearly all cases obviously derived from a Latin original.⁷⁴ The earliest prognostic texts, from the ninth century, appear in French manuscripts such as **F**; for the most part they do not appear in English manuscripts before the eleventh century. The absence of such texts from English manuscripts before this time, the prevalence of Latin versions over English ones, and their appearance in collections of

M. Brett and C. N. L. Brooke, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1981), p. 312. This sanction is repeated almost verbatim in other laws, *V Ethelred* and its Latin paraphrase *VI Ethelred* (*ibid.* pp. 350 and 366) and the *Laws of Cnut* (*ibid.* p. 488).

⁷² The Latin *VI Ethelred* inserts *sortilegia* in a list of crimes including *fornicationes*, *periuria*, *sacrilegia*, and *ebrietates* (*ibid.* p. 371). Some of these prohibitions may have arisen as a consequence of the proximity of pagan Danish settlers to the Christian English; see A. Meaney, ‘Æthelwold, Ælfric, the Norse Gods and Northumbria’, *Jnl of Religious Hist.* 6 (1970), 105–32. Others, however, are at least as likely to be directed at the Christian English themselves.

⁷³ ‘It is right that each priest zealously teach the Christian faith and extinguish all heathenism among all people, and forbid the worship of springs and necromancy, and divination and incantation, and the worship of trees and stones, and the devilish practice in which a child is dragged through the earth, and the error which is practised on New Year’s Night with various spells and in meeting-places (?) and elder trees, and many various delusions which men perform far more than they should.’ *Wulfstan’s Canons of Edgar*, ed. R. Fowler, EETS os 266 (London, 1972), 5. See Harmening, *Superstitio*, pp. 49–75 on the long history of forbidding worship at trees, wells and crossroads in conciliar canons and penitentials.

⁷⁴ The existence of close Latin analogues from slightly later periods or from continental MSS corroborates the probable existence of Latin sources for texts surviving only in English versions.

impeccable monastic provenance such as Tiberius A. iii (T) and London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi + xxvii (Æ), all suggest that the proliferation of prognostics in England must be considered as a consequence, though no doubt an unintended one, of the tenth-century monastic reform – not at its margins but in its midst.

To appreciate the complex place of such texts in later Anglo-Saxon England it may be useful to compare two monks from Winchester: Ælfric, abbot of Eynsham, and Ælfwine, abbot of New Minster. Ælfric was educated at the cathedral school in Winchester by Æthelwold in the 960s and 970s;⁷⁵ Ælfwine, of whom much less is known, was the commissioner and owner of the prayerbook which has survived as Titus D. xxvi + xxvii (Æ).⁷⁶ He became abbot of New Minster in 1031 or 1032⁷⁷ (his name appears in code in Titus D. xxvii, 13v, where he is described as *monachus* and *decanus*, monk and dean, thus fixing the date of the manuscript before 1031); his death in 1057 is recorded in the Easter Table of his own prayerbook. Much can be known of Ælfric's thought and opinion from his writings, and it is usual to cite Ælfric (as I have done here) as a voice, if not *the* voice, of reason and intellectual authority in later Anglo-Saxon England; Ælfwine's psychological portrait can only be inferred from the contents of his prayerbook. Together these two monks, a generation apart, offer a striking contrast in Anglo-Saxon attitudes towards divination and prognostication.

Ælfric's opposition to prognostication (*wiglung*) and other *wiccecraft* was adamant; he devoted one entire Rogationtide homily, *De auguriis*, to its condemnation, and touched upon the subject in several other works, including his homily for the Octave of Christmas (*Catholic Homilies* I.6), the Epiphany homily already cited, and his *De temporibus anni*. The source of *De auguriis* is, for the most part, Homily 54 of Caesarius of Arles,⁷⁸ though Ælfric adapts his source, interpolates apparently original material, and generally makes the homily his own. Its

⁷⁵ A recent synopsis of Ælfric's life is found in J. Wilcox, *Ælfric's Prefaces*, Durham Medieval Texts 9 (Durham, 1994), 1–15.

⁷⁶ Most of the manuscript has been edited by B. Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook* (London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi + xxvii), HBS 108 (Woodbridge, 1993). See also W. de Gray Birch, 'On Two Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in the British Museum', *Trans. of the R. Soc. of Lit.* 2nd ser. 11 (1878), 463–512.

⁷⁷ D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke and V. C. M. London, *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales 940–1216* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 81.

⁷⁸ *Sancti Caesarii Arelatensis, Sermones*, ed. D. G. Morin, 2nd ed., CCSL 103–4 (Turnhout, 1953) I, 235–40; trans. M. M. Mueller, *Sermons*, 3 vols., The Fathers of the Church 31, 47 and 66 (Washington, DC, 1956–73) I, 265–70. The homily appears in Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, 63, fols. 29–31; for connections between this collection and Ælfric, see E. Raynes, 'MS Boulogne-sur-Mer 63 and Ælfric', *MÆ* 26 (1957), 65–73; M. McC. Gatch, 'MS Boulogne-sur-Mer 63 and Ælfric's First Series of Catholic Homilies', *JEGP* 65 (1966), 482–901; and J. Trahern, 'Caesarius of Arles and Old English Literature', *ASE* 5 (1976), 105–19.

comments on local customs and practices must be read cautiously and may not always reflect actual practices in Ælfric's own day;⁷⁹ what is beyond dispute in any reading, however, is Ælfric's rejection of divination:

Nu alyse ic me sylfne wið God, and mid lufe eow forbeode, þæt eower nan ne axie þurh ænigne wiccecræft be ænigum ðinge oððe be ænigre untrumnyse, ne galdras ne sece to gremigenne his scyppend; forðan se ðe þys deð, se forlysd his Cristendom, and bið þam hæðenum gelic þe hleotað be him sylfum mid ðæs deofles cræfte þe hi fordeð on ecnyse.⁸⁰

It is permissible to cast lots in secular matters, he admits ('þis nis nan wigung, ac bið wissung foroft'),⁸¹ but divination in any form is prohibited:

Eall swa gelice se ðe gelyfð wigungum oððe be fugelum oððe be fnum oððe be horsum oððe be hundum, ne bið he na Cristen, ac bið forcuð wiðersaca. Ne sceal nan man cepan be dagum on hwilcum dæge he fare, oððe on hwylcum he gecyrre, forðan þe God gesceop ealle ða seofan dagas, þe yrnað on þære wucan oð þysre worulde geendunge. Ac se ðe hwider faran wille, singe his paternoster, and credan, gif he cunne, and clypige to his Dryhten, and bletsige hine sylfne, and siðige orsorgh þurh godes gescyldnyse, butan ðæra sceoccena wigunga.⁸²

Ælfric's *Homily on the Octave of the Nativity* (*Catholic Homilies* I.6) similarly condemns those who avoid business or bloodletting on Monday, or postpone journeys and voyages because of the position of the moon:

Nu wigliað stunte men menigfealde wigunga on þisum dæge. mid micclum gedwyldæfter hæðenum gewunan ongean hyra cristendom: swilce hi magon heora lif gelengan. oððe heora gesundfulnyse mid þam ðe hi gremiað þone ælmihtigan scyppend; Sind eac manega mid swa micclum gedwyldæfangene. þæt hi ceapað be ðam monan heora fær. and heora dæda be dagum. and nellað heora þing wanian on monandæge: for angynne þære wucan: ac se monandæg nis na fyrrest daga on þære wucan: ac is se oþer; se sunandæg is fyrrest on gesceapnyse: and on endebyrdnyse: and on wurþmynte; [. . .] Nis þæs mannes cristendom naht þe mid deoflicum wigungum his lif adrihð: he is

⁷⁹ A. Meaney, 'Ælfric's Use of his Sources in his Homily on Auguries', *ES* 66 (1985), 477–95.

⁸⁰ 'Now I absolve myself before God, and with love forbid that any of you seek through any witchcraft to enquire after any business or any illness, or seek spells to provoke his Creator, because whoever does this abandons Christianity and becomes like the heathens, who cast lots concerning themselves with the devil's skill, which destroys them eternally.' *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, 4 vols. in 2, EETS os 76, 82, 94 and 114 (Oxford, 1881–1900) I, 368–70.

⁸¹ 'often that is not divination, but guidance' (*Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat I, 370).

⁸² 'Likewise whoever believes in divination, whether by means of birds or sneezes or horses or dogs, is no Christian, but is an infamous apostate. Let no one take heed according to days to see which day he will journey, or on which he should return, because God made all the seven days which run in the week until the end of this world. But whoever wishes to travel should sing his *paternoster* and creed, if he knows them, and cry out to his Lord, and bless himself, and journey carefree with God's protection, and without the devils' divinations' (*Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. Skeat I, 370).

gehiwod to cristenum menn. and is earm hæþengylda. swa swa se ylca apostol be swylcum cwæð; [. . .] Nu ge cepað daga and monða mid ydelum wíglungum;⁸³

The fact that Ælfric returns to these condemnations on several occasions may suggest how widespread such practices were; moreover, Malcolm Godden has suggested that Ælfric is condemning not lay belief but clerical practices.⁸⁴ He may have had in mind something like the learned texts which make up a significant portion of Ælfwine's prayerbook.

Titus D. xxvi + xxvii (Æ) is a miscellaneous collection of Latin and English prayers, offices, religious texts, a calendar and computus. It is a personal and pastoral book which seems to reflect the interests of its owner; it includes both private prayers, such as those for recitation while washing the hands and eyes (69),⁸⁵ and offices of the Trinity (49), the Holy Cross (50) and the Virgin Mary (51), as well as collects for various feasts and offices (73) in the public liturgy, and bits of lore and learning, such as the names of the Seven Sleepers (15) and parts of Ælfric's *De temporibus anni* (36).⁸⁶ The first part of the book, most of what is now Titus D. xxvii, is taken up with calendrical and computistical material (and one penitential prayer, 34, on 26r–27r) among which appear a number of prognostics and lunaria of precisely the kind Ælfric preached against.⁸⁷ As in other New Minster manuscripts like Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422 (D) and London, British Library, Arundel 60 (A), the computus in Titus D. xxvii begins (1, 2r) with a lunarium for bloodletting,⁸⁸ and continues with a calendar (2, 3r–8v)

⁸³ 'Now foolish men work various kinds of divination on this day [i.e. 1 January] with great error, after the manner of the heathens against their Christian faith, as if they could lengthen their lives or health by offending the almighty Creator. There are also many who are caught up in such great error that they plan their journeys by the moon, and their deeds by days, and will not let blood on Monday because it is the beginning of the week. But Monday is not the first day of the week but rather the second; Sunday is first in Creation and in order and in dignity; [. . .] A person's Christianity is worth nothing if he rules his life by devilish divination; he has only the appearance of a Christian, and is a wretched idolater, just as the same apostle [i.e. Paul] said of such men: "You observe days and months with idle sorcery"' (*Catholic Homilies* I.6, lines 161–91. Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies. The First Series*, ed. Clemons, pp. 229–30). For the expression *þing wanian* as 'let blood', see A. Meaney, 'Ælfric and Idolatry', pp. 124–5, and see the entry on bloodletting in *Bald's Leechbook*, 54v–55r: 'blodlæs is to forganne fiftyne nihtum ær hlafmæsse and æfter fif and þritig nihtum forþon þonne ealle æterno þing fleogaþ and mannum swiðe deriað. Læcas lærdon þa þe wisoste wæron þæt nan man on þam monþe ne drenc ne drunce ne ahwær his lichoman wantge butan his nydþearf wære' (emphasis added).

⁸⁴ 'The people who call 1 January "year's day" and the foolish people who practise auguries on that day are perhaps not the common people continuing old pagan celebrations but Ælfric's own ecclesiastical colleagues': Godden, 'New Year's Day', p. 150.

⁸⁵ Numbers refer to texts in Günzel's edition.

⁸⁶ Not included in Günzel's edition; it is collated as D in Ælfric's *De Temporibus Anni*, ed. H. Henel, EETS os 213 (London, 1942). ⁸⁷ See the appendix for a fuller description of these texts.

⁸⁸ The same bloodletting lunarium is found in Harley 3271 (G), but not at the beginning of the MS.

that marks critical days for bloodletting and the beginning and end of the *dies caniculares* in late summer. An incomplete diagram of the relation between the moon and sea is followed by a list in hexameters of the two critical days in each month for bloodletting, a warning against bloodletting and the eating of goose-flesh on the first Mondays of August and March and the last Monday of December, a warning against bloodletting during the *dies caniculares*, and a warning against bloodletting on certain days of the lunar month (18). This in turn is followed by a note on the threefold incarnation of Christ (conception, nativity and resurrection), giving not only the date but the age of the moon (twenty-six days, seventeen days and seventeen days, respectively) on each stage of the incarnation (19).⁸⁹ A collection of more computistical material (20–31) on the *saltus lunae*, the date of Easter, the equinoxes, the length of the seasons, and so forth, is followed by a ‘Revelatio Esdrae’ prediction for the year based on the day of the week on which the first of January falls (32); a penitential prayer (34) is followed by a general lunar hemerology (35) offering information on illness, dreams, and the fortunes of children born on each day of the lunar month, and other information for some days, including a list of good actions, the likelihood of catching a thief, and the possibility of finding lost objects. This in turn is followed by a copy of Ælfric’s *De temporibus anni*, which includes the warning (44r) ‘ne sceal nan cristenmann nan þing be þam monan wiglian. gif he hit deð his geleafa nis naht’. At the end of the quire, on originally blank leaves, two scribes have added brief notes on indulgences and feasts, and an alphabetic divination (40).

The first two quires of what is now Titus D. xxvi also contain a number of prognostic texts, including a note on the three critical Mondays (56) similar to 18, the three marvellous days (57), another note on the *dies caniculares* and other lunar days titled *Quali tempore aperienda sit uena* (58), again similar to 18, but which encourages bloodletting on the fourth, fourteenth and twenty-fourth day of the month, and warns against it on the fifth, tenth, fifteenth, twentieth, twenty-fifth and thirtieth, a list of two unlucky days in each month (59) called *dies aegyptiaci*,⁹⁰ lunaria for bloodletting (61), birth (63), illness (64) and dreams (65),⁹¹ a thunder prognostic (66), a birth prognostic based on the day of the week on which a child is born (62), another calendrical weather prognostic of the ‘Revelatio Esdrae’ type (67) similar to 32, and a version of the dream-dictionary known as the *Somniale Danielis* (titled *Alphabetum somniale excerptum ex Danielis libro* by a later hand) containing 151 dreams (68). These are then followed by prayers, a recipe against boils, and, after two blank pages, a collectar. Clearly Ælfwine did not share Ælfric’s disdain for prognostication. The idea that an abbot of New

⁸⁹ Günzel 1993, p. 112. Günzel notes (p. 200) that the same text is found in Royal 2. B. V (R), 187r.

⁹⁰ The days given are different from those in the calendar, and no mention is made of bloodletting: warnings are given against travel, planting, harvesting and making legal claims.

⁹¹ 61–5 are found in the same sequence in Tiberius A. iii (T).

Minster in the second quarter of the eleventh century used this collection of texts, as he apparently did, in his practices of daily devotion – reading his dreams along with his offices, calculating times for letting blood along with liturgical feasts – drives us to speculate on the place which lunar and calendar divination, to which Ælfric was so opposed only a generation before, might have occupied in the monastic life, and the reasons for the survival and use of prognostic texts alongside more orthodox works.

We may assume that such texts survived in the first instance because, in an important sense, the science of the time authorized and underwrote them; even those who condemned them did not entirely reject their efficacy. Like Augustine, Ælfric makes a concession in the course of his condemnation of calendar prognostication and celestial forecasting; in his homily on the Epiphany he admits:

Is hwæþere æfter gecynde on gesceapenyse ælc lichamlic gesceaft þe eorðe acenð fulre and mægenfæstre on fullum monan þonne on gewanedum; Swa eac treowa gif hi beoð on fullum monan geheawene hi beoð heardran and langfærran to getimbrunge and swiþost gif hi beoð unsæpige geworhte; Nis þis nan wigung ac is gecyndelic þing þurh gesceapenyse; Hwæt eac seo sæ wunderlice geþwærlæcð þæs monan ymbrene: symle hi beoð geferan on wæstm: and on wanunge; And swa swa se mona dæghwomlice feower pricum lator arist: swa eac seo sæ symle feower pricum lator fleowð,⁹²

His information is from Bede's *De temporum ratione* c. XXVIII; in this chapter Bede draws together excerpts from Ambrose, Basil and Vegetius. Quoting Ambrose, *Hexameron* IV.7, Bede says that the moon has the same offices as the sun, 'ut illuminet tenebras, foveat semina, augeat fructus'.⁹³ He goes on to examine the effects of the moon's cycles on living things, again quoting Ambrose nearly verbatim:

In quo grande mysterium est – nam et defectui eius compatiuntur elementa et, processu eius quae fuerint exinanita, cumulantur ut animantium cerebra maritimarum humida. Siquidem pleniore ostreae reperiri ferantur multaque alia cum globus lunaris adolescit. De arborum quoque internis idem allegant, qui hoc usu proprio compererunt.⁹⁴

Later, quoting Basil's *Hexameron*, he repeats these ideas.⁹⁵

⁹² 'It is however natural that each physical created thing which the earth brings forth is fuller and stronger in the full moon than in the waning; likewise trees, if they are cut down during the full moon, are harder and more durable for building, and strongest if they are worked on while sapless. This is no divination but is a natural thing in creation. So also the sea wonderfully agrees with the circuit of the moon: they are always companions in growth and in waning, and just as the moon arises four points [of an hour] later each day, so the sea always flows four points later.' (*Catholic Homilies* I.6, lines 191–9. Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies. The First Series*, ed. Clemons, p. 230.) ⁹³ 'Illuminate the darkness, nurture seeds, and cause fruit to grow.'

⁹⁴ 'In this there is a great mystery – the elements are affected by the waning of the moon and, when they are exhausted by its course, grow again, as for example the humid brains of sea creatures. In fact, oysters and many other kinds of shellfish are said to be larger at the time when the moon is waxing. The same is said of the internal structure of trees by those who have made a special investigation of it.' Jones, *Beda's Opera de Temporibus*, p. 231.

⁹⁵ 'Opinor autem quod et animalibus creandis ceterisque omnibus quae terra producit non parva

In his English work drawn from Bede Ælfric omits most of this material; as he again warns against lunar forecasting, however – specifically the belief that the weather can be predicted by the horns of the crescent moon – he again follows his warning with an admission that the moon does influence the earth, and its phases must be observed for success in some enterprises:

(8.7) Ne sceal nan cristenman nan ðing be ðam monan wiglian. Gif he hit deð, his geleafa ne bið naht [. . .] (8.11) Nu cweðað sume men þe ðis gescead ne cunnon þæt se mona hine wende be ðan ðe hit wedrian sceall on ðam monðe, ac hi[ne] ne went næfre naðor, ne weder ne unweder, of ðam ðe his gecynde is. (8.12) Men magon swa ðeah þa ðe fyrwite beoð cepan be his bleo and be ðære sunnan, oððe þæs roderes, hwilc weder toward bið (8.13) Hit is gecyndelic þæt ealle eorðlice lichaman beoð fulran on weaxendum monan þonne on wanigendum (8.14) Eac ða treowu þe beoð aheawene on fullum monan beoð heardran wið wirmætan and langfarran, þonne ða þe beoð on niwum monan aheawene (8.15) Seo sæ and se mona geðwærlæcað him betweonan, æfre hi beoð geferan on wæstmæ and on wanunge, and swa swa se mona dæghwomlice feower pricon lator arist, ðonne he on ðam oðrum dæge dyde, swa eac seo sæ symle feower pricon lator flewð.⁹⁶

confertur ex lunae mutatione formatio; modo enim laxiora eorum corpora videntur et vacua cum senescit, modo integra et repleta cum crescit, quoniam humorem quemdam cum calore permixtum interius his latenter infundit. Quod ita esse demonstrant hi qui sub divo dormientes lucente luna postquam surrexerint; inveniunt capita sua largissimo rore madentia. Sed et recentes carnes, si sub luna iacuerint, fluida mox putredine corrumpuntur. Idemque significat pecorum cerebrum vel etiam viscera marinorum animalium quae sunt humectiora, necnon arborum medullae' ('I believe that the changes in the moon exert no small influence upon animals and all other living things which the earth produces; when it wanes their bodies seem to lose their density and become empty, when it waxes they seem full and strong, since the moon pours imperceptibly a certain moisture mixed with heat into their inward parts. This is proved by the way those who sleep outdoors when the moon is shining find their heads drenched with dew when they wake up; and by the way fresh meat, if left under the moon, is quickly turned and corrupted; likewise the brain of cattle, the moist interior part of sea creatures, and the pith of trees'). Jones, *Beda's Opera de Temporibus*, p. 232; see Basil, *Hexameron* VI.10.

⁹⁶ 'No Christian should divine any thing by the moon; if he does so, his faith is worth nothing. [. . .] Now some men who do not understand this distinction say that the moon turns itself according to how the weather shall be in a month, but it never turns, for good weather or bad, from its nature. Curious men may, however, take heed by its colour and by the sun, or the heavens, what sort of weather is coming. It is natural that all earthly bodies are fuller in the waxing moon than in the waning, and trees that are cut in the full moon are harder against worms and more durable than those that are cut in the new moon. The sea and the moon agree between themselves – they are always companions in waxing and waning, and just as the moon arises four points later each day than it did the day before, so the sea always flows four points later.' *Ælfric's De Temporibus Anni*, ed. Henel, VIII:7–15. It is possible, as Meaney suggests ('Ælfric and Idolatry', p. 126), that this belief in the moon's influence on the durability of timber was not in fact a common idea in England at the time; it was copied by Bede from Ambrose, from Bede by Ælfric, and from Ælfric by Byrhtferth (*Enchiridion* III.ii.123–40), and seems to have circulated as a morsel of learned science rather than popular lore. Nor is the belief that the direction of the moon's horns predicts the weather found in any other Anglo-Saxon source.

Like Augustine, Ælfric is caught between science and faith: lunar influence is an accepted fact of nature, but forecasting specific events or actions based on celestial influence is a dangerous practice best avoided by any pious Christian. Lunar calendars apparently slipped through this gap between science and prudence.

This is suggested by the fact that the most common prognostic texts, whether lunar or calendrical, are those devoted to medical matters. Though Ælfric condemned those who ‘nellað heora þing wanian on monandæge’, he followed Bede in recognizing the analogy between the veins of the body in the microcosm and rivers and seas in the macrocosm: ‘Swa swa æddran licgað on þæs mannes lichaman swa licgað ða wæteræddran geond þas eorðan.’⁹⁷ A natural corollary of this analogy is a belief in the influence of the moon upon the body’s humours, including of course the blood; reckoning this influence was an obvious and accepted part of medical practice. Bede, like Isidore of Seville,⁹⁸ believed that the moon’s phases should be consulted for appropriate times for bloodletting. In his *Historia ecclesiastica* V.3 Bede relates that St John of Beverley healed a nun who has been imprudently bled on an inappropriate day; the saint chides: ‘Multum insipienter et indocte fecistis in luna quarta flebotomando. Memini enim beatae memoriae Theodorum archiepiscopum dicere, quia periculosa sit satis illius temporis flebotomia, quando et lumen lunae et reuma oceani in cremento est.’⁹⁹ Bede offers a self-consciously rational reason for the prohibition, but it is not difficult to imagine that such belief served to permit, with, as it were, Bede’s *imprimatur*, a broader range of less rational medical calendars. Among the texts which appear to have circulated under Bede’s name is *De flebotomia*, whose various parts are found in manuscripts as early as the Carolingian period: it gives not only the best times for bloodletting (9 Kal. April to 9 Kal. July) but the times to be avoided – every fifth day of the lunar month, and the *dies caniculares* of summer – and cautions that the phases of the moon must be observed for bloodletting.¹⁰⁰ Theodore was not the only cleric learned

⁹⁷ *De temporibus anni* V.8: ‘Just as the veins lie in the human body, so the streams of water lie across the earth.’

⁹⁸ See J. Fontaine, ‘Isidore de Séville et l’astrologie’, *Revue des études latines* 31 (1953), 271–300. Isidore’s advocacy of medical astrology can be found in *Etymologiae* IV.13–14.

⁹⁹ ‘You have acted foolishly and ignorantly to bleed her on the fourth day of the moon; I remember how Archbishop Theodore of blessed memory used to say that it was very dangerous to bleed a patient when the moon is waxing and the Ocean tide flowing.’ *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), pp. 460–1. General information on the widespread Anglo-Saxon faith in the curative and prophylactic power of bloodletting may be found in M. L. Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine*, CSASE 7 (Cambridge, 1993), 159–68.

¹⁰⁰ See C. Singer, ‘A Review of Medical Literature of the Dark Ages’, *Proc. of the R. Soc. of Medicine* 10 (1917), 107–60, at pp. 130–3. Singer’s text must be read with extreme caution. The text is similar to the pseudo-Bedan *De minutione sanguinis siue de pblebotomia*, PL 90, col. 959. It is also found in J, 1v; see Wallis, ‘MS Oxford St John’s College 17’, p. 170.

in the medical arts who sought to observe proper times for bloodletting; prognostics on this topic appear in continental medical manuscripts as early as the ninth century.¹⁰¹ An English version of a table of twenty-four unlucky days for bloodletting in London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A. xv, 130v (C3), is careful to assert, practically in Ælfric's own words, that such observance is not magic, but science:

Ða ealdan læces gesetton on ledonbocum, þæt on ælcum monðe beoð æfre twegen dagas, þa syndon swiðe derigendlice ænigne drenc to drincanne oþþe blod to lættenne, forþamþe an tid is on ælcum þara daga, gif man ænige æddran geopenað on þara tide, þæt hit bið lifleast oððe langsum sar. Þæs cunnede sume læce and let his horse blod on þære tide, and hit læg sona dead . . . Nu eft be þam monan is mycclum to warnienne, þæt man on IIII nihta ealdne monan oþþe on V nihta menn blod ne læte, swa us bec seggað, ærþamþe se mona and seo sæ beon anræde. Ac we gehyrdon seggon sumne wisne mann, þæt nan mann ne leofode, þe him blod lete on ealra halgena mæssedæg, oþþe gif

¹⁰¹ A. Beccaria, *I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano (secoli IX, X e XI)* (Rome, 1956), notes lunaria in the following medical MSS (most of which I have not yet seen), mostly from the ninth century: Bamberg, Staatbibliothek, med. 1 (s. ix); Berlin, Preussische Staatbibliothek, Phillipps 1790 (s. ix); Berlin, Preussische Staatbibliothek, Phillipps 1870 (s. xi/xii); Copenhagen, Royal Library, G.K.S. 1653 (s. xi); Herten, Bibliothek des Grafen Nesselrode-Reichenstein, 192; Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Reichenau CLXXI (s. ix); Lucca, Biblioteca Governativa 296 (s. ix); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 11218 (s. viii/ix); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 6882 A (s. ix); Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, lat. 4418 (s. xi); Uppsala, K. Universitetsbiblioteket, C. 664 (s. ix); St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 44 (s. ix); St Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, 751 (s. ix). E. Wickersheimer, *Les Manuscrits latins de médecine du haut moyen âge dans les bibliothèques de France* (Paris, 1966), notes texts concerning Egyptian days, Spheres of life and death, and lunaria in the following MSS which are not entirely devoted to medical texts: Angers 91 (Fleury, s. x; Egyptian days); Chartres 113 (Chartres, s. ix; 'Sphere of Apuleius'); Dijon 448 (Dijon, s. xiⁱⁿ; Egyptian days); Laon 426 *bis* (NE France, s. ix⁴; Egyptian days); Orléans 276 (Fleury, s. xi; 'Sphere of life and death'); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, 820 (s. xi; Egyptian days); Paris, BN, lat. 1338 (s. xi, Saint-Martial, Limoges, s.xi; Egyptian days); Paris, BN, lat. 2113 (Notre-Dame de Puy, s. x/xi; medical lunarium); Paris, BN, lat. 2825 (s. x; medical lunarium, Egyptian days, *dies caniculares*); Paris, BN, lat. 5239 (Saint-Martial, Limoges, s. x; Egyptian days, 'Sphere of Petosiris'); Paris, BN, lat. 5600 (Saint-Martial, Limoges, s. x; Egyptian days); Paris, BN lat. 6882 (Saint-Hilaire, Poitiers, s. ix¹; medical lunarium); Paris, BN, lat. 8663 (Burgundy?, s. xi; 'Sphere of Apuleius'); Paris, BN, lat. 10233 (s. vii^{ca}; medical lunarium); Paris, BN lat. 11411 (Echternach, s. ix; 'Sphere of Pythagoras'); Paris, BN, lat. 17868 (Paris, s. x; 'Sphere of Petosiris'); Paris, BN, lat. nouv. acq. 1073 (s. xi, xii; Egyptian days); Paris, BN, lat. nouv. acq. 1525 (Saint-Amand, s. ix-x; Egyptian days); Paris, BN, lat. nouv. acq. 1616 (Fleury, s. x; but Wickersheimer adds 'originaire de Bretagne ou d'Irlande', *Les Manuscrits*, p. 140; 'Sphere of Pythagoras', general lunarium, Egyptian days); Poitiers 184 (France, s. xi; Egyptian days); Reims 304 (Saint-Thierry, s. x; Egyptian days); Reims 438 (Saint-Thierry, s. ix; *dies caniculares*); Rouen 496 (Jumièges, s. x; Egyptian days); Strasbourg, Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, 326 (Angoulême, s. x-xi; Egyptian days). The great variety of texts is as remarkable as their wide distribution in ninth- and tenth-century MSS.

he gewundod wære. Nis þis nan wiglung, ac wise menn hit afunden þurh þone halgan wisdom, swa heom god ælmihtig gedihhte.¹⁰²

Divination (*wiglung*) was wrong, but apparently few who used lunar and other calendars considered them *wiglung*. Prognostication as a forbidden practice was imagined in a cultural context among other forbidden practices such as the worship of trees and wells; under the rubric of medical science, in the respectability of the monastic or clerical world and the learned company of Latin texts, presumably, these acts were not regarded as heterodox or diabolical by those who performed them.

The lunarium was only one of several devices for determining favourable days for phlebotomy; Ælfwine's prayerbook contains no less than six texts related to bloodletting, and only three are based on the lunar cycle. Moreover, the lunar science endorsed by Bede and Ælfric offered a basic two-phase hydraulic principle of lunar influence (the waning and waxing of the moon influences earthly moisture), but lunar calendars are more complex, built around a thirty-day cycle which depended on astrological subtleties unavailable to the Anglo-Saxons. The result was an apparently arbitrary allotment of favourable and unfavourable days with no obvious relationship to the phases of the moon. Other prognostics for bloodletting, such as the warnings against 'Egyptian days', note only certain days of the year without any regard for the phase of the moon. Nor do the various calendars agree – while the notes on 'critical days' warn against bloodletting on any day of the month which is a multiple of five, the common lunarium for bloodletting notes that *luna x bonum est* and *luna xxx tota die bona est*. But the science of lunar influence and the medical theory of the humours underwrote and authorized the lunar calendars, which in turn helped authorize other sorts of calendar prognostics. Given such beliefs about lunar influence on bodily fluids and health, it was apparently difficult to segregate lists of good and bad days for bloodletting from lists of good and bad days for general illness, childbirth or the reliability of one's dreams, all of which might be thought to depend, to one degree or another, on the proper balance of the humours.

A further assistance to the legitimization of prognostics, particularly those which involved lunar observation, was undoubtedly the fact that the method of

¹⁰² 'Old doctors set out in Latin books that there are always two days in each month that are very dangerous for taking any potion or letting blood, because there is one hour in each of those days in which, if one opens any vein during that hour, the result will be death or lengthy illness. A certain doctor tested this and let blood from his horse in that hour, and it immediately fell dead . . . Now concerning the moon be very careful not to let blood when the moon is four or five nights old, as books tell us, before the moon and the sea are in harmony. We have also heard a certain man say that no one could live who had blood let on All Saints' Day, even if he were wounded. This is no sorcery, but wise men have discovered it through holy wisdom, as God almighty directed them.'

calculating the age of the moon on any given day was an important part of clerical training, and texts explaining this method were part of most computus collections.¹⁰³ To calculate the date of Easter (on which depended, of course, the dates of the liturgical season from Septuagesima to Pentecost) one had to be able to reckon the relationship between the lunar month, the solar year, and the days of the week. One by-product of this astronomical attention would be a strong sense of the lunar month, a sense which could then be turned to more mundane uses by the inclusion in computus collections of texts of practical value relating to the moon's phases and the course of the calendar; for this reason medical material came to be included in computus collections.¹⁰⁴ While apparently not a part of the early Irish computus such as that found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, 309,¹⁰⁵ or the eighth-century French computus bound with later material in Caligula A. xv (C), prognostic texts found their way from a medical context into later French manuscripts of the Fleury computus such as F and into the computus developed in Winchester at the end of the tenth century represented by Æ, D, A, and Vi,¹⁰⁶ and later Christ Church manuscripts such as T and the closely related C. A Winchester-derived manuscript from Worcester,

¹⁰³ The monastic computus was not a single book, though works such as Bede's *De temporum ratione*, Hrabanus' *De computo*, and Heleric's *De computo ecclesiastico* were sometimes included in it. Rather it was a collection of relatively short texts and tables whose composition varied from one manuscript to another: letters, tables of Easter dates, instructions, and brief tracts relating to the calendar. For an overview, see F. Wallis, 'Chronology and Systems of Dating', *Medieval Latin: an Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. F. A. C. Mantello and A. G. Rigg (Washington, DC, 1996), pp. 383–7, and references cited there. *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, ed. Baker and Lapidge, pp. xl–lx, provide a useful introduction to the subject; H. Henel, *Studien zum altenglischen Computus* (Leipzig, 1934), A. Cordoliani, 'Les Traités de comput du haut moyen âge (526–1003)', *Bulletin du Cange* 17 (1943), 51–72, and Jones, *Bedae Opera de Temporibus*, remain the most complete studies. Hollis and Wright, *Old English Prose of Secular Learning*, pp. 185–95, offer a summary of manuscripts and contents for vernacular items, and see further P. McGurk, 'Computus Helerici: its Transmission in England in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *MÆ* 43 (1974), 1–5, and A. Borst, 'Computus: Zeit und Zahl im Mittelalter', *DAEM* 44 (1988), 1–88. Günzel, *Ælfric's Prayerbook*, pp. 16–30, discusses the computus in that manuscript, and in the process provides an introduction to computus texts; pp. 203–4 of the same work offers a list of Anglo-Saxon MSS containing computus materials. F. Wallis's translation of *Bede: the Reckoning of Time* (Liverpool, 1999) came to hand as this work was being readied for publication; for introduction to the computus, see esp. pp. xviii–lxxxv.

¹⁰⁴ See Wallis, 'MS Oxford St John's College 17', pp. 156–63, and 'Medicine in Medieval Calendar Manuscripts', *Manuscript Sources of Medieval Medicine: a Book of Essays*, ed. M. R. Schleissner (New York, 1995), pp. 105–43, on the relationship of medical and computistical material in manuscripts.

¹⁰⁵ On the Irish origins of the computus see Jones, *Bedae Opera de Temporibus*, pp. 75–7 and 105–13, and *idem*, 'The "Lost" Sirmont Manuscript of Bede's "Computus"', *EHR* 52 (1937), 204–19; D. Ó Cróinín, 'A Seventh-Century Irish Computus from the Circle of Cummanus', *Proc. of the R. Irish Acad.* 82C (1982), 405–30; *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, ed. Baker and Lapidge, pp. xl–xli.

¹⁰⁶ Vitellius E. xviii; this contains no lunar calendar but several lists of unfortunate days for bloodletting.

CCCC 391 (**W**),¹⁰⁷ also has a rich collection of prognostics; in general this material seems to be from a different source than that in Winchester collections, and its inclusion at the end of the manuscript separate from the computus is perhaps significant. Not all English computus collections contain prognostics,¹⁰⁸ nor do all prognostics appear in a computational context – both ‘Bald’s Leechbook’ (Royal 12. D. XVII) and the *Lacnunga* (Harley 585), for example, contain warnings against bloodletting on certain days (the latter of which appears in Vitellius C. viii among computus material), and **S** is entirely a medical manuscript; London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv (**V**) and the added material in Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 115 (**H**), both s. xii, show prognostics in a broadly homiletic context. But it is an inescapable conclusion that the spread of this body of literature in Anglo-Saxon England cannot be separated from the development of the Winchester computus.

One indication of the degree of interest in prognostics is the evidence that their texts, like the various texts which made up the computus, were collected, adapted, organized and developed. The large collection of texts in **T** is carefully arranged with a set of glossed Latin texts preceding a set of mostly parallel English ones;¹⁰⁹ it derives at least in part from previous collections, for the same subgroup of Latin prognostics is found in **Æ61–64**, **T19–22** and **J3–6**, though none can be shown to be copied from the others. **H** contains versions of **T8**, **9**, **10**, **12** and **15**, though not in that order; its source may be a collection of English items similar to that which contributed to **T**, here added to an anthology of vernacular homilies. Prognostic material is found in the company of a note on the Six Ages of the World in **L**, **J**, **T**, **C**, **Ti**, **R**: though the notes are not all the same, the conjunction suggests that these sorts of material travelled together in manuscript collections. Like the texts of the computus, prognostics were portable and multifarious; considerable variation is found within texts and in collections of texts, as one would expect from a work of practical use.

This coexistence, what one might perhaps unfairly call the ‘parasitical’ nature of the prognostic on the computus, may suggest something about the psychology of monastic life: to enter a monastery was to enter into a new relationship to time. By far the majority of Anglo-Saxons at every period lived according to the

¹⁰⁷ Hughes, *Portiforium*, suggests that similarities to Galba A. xv, and the general character of the calendar, argue that the exemplar of the MS was from Winchester.

¹⁰⁸ The computus in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B.v, fols. 2–19 (Winchester, s. xi¹), for example, has no prognostic material; see the discussion by P. McGurk in *An Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Illustrated Miscellany, British Library Cotton Tiberius B.v Part I*, ed. P. McGurk, D. N. Dumville, M. R. Godden and A. Knock, EEMF 21 (Copenhagen, 1983), 51–4, and the discussion in *Byrhtferth’s Enchiridion*, ed. Baker and Lapidge, pp. xlv–xlvi. Other MSS with significant computus material but no prognostics include Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 5. 32, fols. 49–78 (Glastonbury, s. xi¹) and London, British Library, Cotton Julius A. vi (Canterbury?, Durham, s. xi).¹⁰⁹ See the appendix for the sequence of texts.

rhythms of rural or village life; ‘labor time’, as characterized by Jacques le Goff, ‘was still the time of an economy dominated by agrarian rhythms, free of haste, careless of exactitude, unconcerned by productivity’.¹¹⁰ This is no doubt something of an exaggeration, but it may stand to emphasize the contrast between agricultural and monastic life: a life of orderly calendar time, in the course of which the soul is habituated to the rhythm of the liturgical day and year. Monastic discipline is first and foremost a temporal discipline of punctuality and accurate timekeeping. The spiritual life was shaped by the cycles of the calendar – fasts and feasts, psalms and prayers, repentance and celebration were all performed according to calendrical calculations, and their observance was an outward sign of the universal unity of the church. The *Regularis Concordia*, whatever else it may be, is an elaborate timetable. Ælfric’s *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, to take only one example, is explicit about the conformity of the calendar and the monk’s soul: ‘Ergo regularium monachorum consuetudo non sinit ut aliquis frater negligenter occurrat horis canonicis, sed facto signo conueniant omnes ad orationem, et intenti incipiant simul sinaxim simulque finiant.’¹¹¹ Hours were counted and seasons reckoned not by dawn and dusk, seedtime and harvest, but by liturgical observance; the calendar regulated both habits of the body and states of the mind. As the farmer feels the alternation of summer and winter, so the monk feels the succession of Advent and Christmas, Lent and Easter, not just in his mind but in his heart and in his bones. The monastic calendar, however, unlike the agricultural one, requires a fairly precise attention to the calculation of lunar and solar time.

It is this precise attention to time – bordering perhaps on the obsessive – coupled with the confidence that the soul moved to the changes of the calendar that makes late-classical survivals like lunar dream calendars and calendrical prohibitions against the eating of gooseflesh comfortable in their monastic setting; monastic timekeeping creates a context in which these texts could flourish.¹¹² In

¹¹⁰ J. le Goff, ‘Labor Time in the “Crisis” of the Fourteenth Century’, in his *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages*, trans. A. Goldhammer (Chicago, IL, 1980), p. 44. See J. Leclercq, ‘Experience and Interpretation of Time in the Early Middle Ages’, *Stud. in Med. Culture* 5 (1975), 9–19, S. C. McCluskey, ‘Gregory of Tours, Monastic Timekeeping, and Early Christian Attitudes to Astronomy’, *Isis* 81 (1991), 9–22, and the more general discussion in D. Landes, *Revolution in Time: Clocks and the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge, MA, 1983), pp. 53–66.

¹¹¹ ‘The custom of monks living under the *Rule*, then, does not permit any brother to be negligent in attending the canonical hours; but at the bell they shall all assemble for prayer and attentively begin the Office together and finish it together.’ *Ælfric’s Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, ed. C. A. Jones, CSASE 24 (Cambridge, 1998), 113–15, trans. Jones.

¹¹² Henel, surveying the various lists of lucky and unlucky days for bloodletting which survive in many monastic manuscripts, suggests that ‘Unglückstage, die man beachten muss, Heiligkeitage, die man ebenfalls beobachten muss – das scheint den Schreibern der Hss Harley und Bodley 579 “Wissen” von ziemlich derselben Bedeutung gewesen zu sein’ (‘Altenglische Mönchsaberglaube’, p. 344).

a manuscript like **Æ** ecclesiastical observance and lunar observation intersect; they are treated, in effect, as two aspects of the same thing. Egyptian days and canicular days were marked on many monastic calendars alongside saints' days;¹¹³ the lunar dream calendar in **W** contains verses of Psalms for each day, making explicit this link between lunar observation and monastic observance of the Hours. Computing the date of Easter, finding the duration of moonshine, figuring unlucky days for bloodletting, calculating time for the recitation of the Divine Office and reckoning the effect of the moon on the validity of dreams are all interrelated skills; all call upon the clerical familiarity with pastoral, medical, chronometric and astronomical practice.¹¹⁴ In **T**, organized around the two poles of monastic and pastoral concerns,¹¹⁵ the largest series of prognostic material is placed, perhaps significantly, after the monastic rules but before the penitential material: while the former regulates the social body, prescribing a practice of routine and conformity for the good of the soul and the peace of the

¹¹³ Egyptian days, *dies malae*, and/or *dies caniculares* are indicated in or added to all but one (no. 17, CCCC 391 = **W**) of the nineteen calendars printed in F. Wormald, *English Calendars before A.D. 1100*, HBS 72 (London, 1934). Henel 1934–5, p. 331, n. 1, lists MSS in which the *dies caniculares* are indicated; in addition to those printed in Wormald he notes Durham, Cathedral Library, Hunter 100 and Rouen Y. 6 (the Missal of Robert of Jumièges).

¹¹⁴ Two brief texts in Caligula A. xv, 130v, illustrate this point: the first, a note on the extreme dates of Easter, begins 'Ealde witan and wise romane gesetton on gerimcræfte þæt næfre ær. xi. kal. Aprelis. Ne naht æfter .vii. kal. maius. eastor tid gewurðan sceal' ('Old scholars and wise Romans set down in their computi that Easter time must never occur before the 11th Kalends of April or after the 7th Kalends of May'). The following text, a warning against unlucky days in each month, begins 'Ða ealdan læces gesetton on ledon bocum þæt on ælcum monðe beoð æfre twegen dagas þa syndon swiðe derigendlice ænigne drenc to drincanne oþþe blod to lættenne' ('The old doctors set down in their Latin books that in each month there are two days that are very dangerous for drinking potions or letting blood'). The similar appeal to venerable textual authority suggests that the two sorts of information were regarded as in some respect parallel.

¹¹⁵ Many of the texts in this MS, in Gneuss's words, are 'meant to serve the needs of a monastic community' ('Origin and Provenance of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts', p. 28); in addition to the series of texts with which the manuscript begins Gneuss points to (Ker's) items 10a (Vespers and Lauds for an office of All Saints), 22 (*Monasteriales indicia*), 25 (ch. 4 of the Benedictine *Rule* in Latin and Old English), 29 (*Ælfric's Pastoral Letter III*) and 30 (Office of the Virgin). Together this sort of material makes up roughly two-thirds of the whole book. Other items, particularly items 9 and 21, are penitential and confessional in nature. One penitential prayer (item 9i, ed. H. Sauer, 'Zwei spätaltenglische Beichtermahnungen aus Hs. Cotton Tiberius A.iii', *Anglia* 98 (1980), 1–33, as *Exhortation of a Confessor III*) is essentially a vernacular adaptation of ch. 4 of the *Rule*, a text found elsewhere in the same MS in Latin with a different Old English prose translation (item 25); it concludes with another lengthy absolution and benediction, and directions for fasting. The use of a chapter from Benedict's *Rule* suggests that the confessional material in Tiberius A. iii should stand alongside the Benedictine material as a distinctly monastic form of penitential aid, reflecting the pastoral duties of the monks of Christ Church.

community, and the latter heals the moral body, confessing the sins of the flesh and prescribing routines of corporeal penance, prognostics, particularly lunar calendars, chart the health of the physical body seen as a theatre of cosmic influence, a fluid system whose ebbs and flows – whether in the blood, in the course of good and bad fortune, or in the shifting images found in dreams – must be recognized in order to be managed. Prognostics exist, as it were, at the intersection of medical theory, the penitential and the computus, between the care of the body and soul (the confessor is a *gastlican læce*)¹¹⁶ and the observation of the heavens.

Valerie Flint suggests that prognostics and related texts were ‘controlled compromises’, deliberate accommodations of Christianity to paganism; she argues that ‘the monks made their rather simpler efforts in the direction of astrological divination . . . primarily to make friends, and indeed Christians, of the people in the countryside in which they settled, and among whom the old magic persisted in so many of its forms’.¹¹⁷ This may be true in some cases, as Flint’s extensive survey suggests, but eventually one must hesitate over the ascription of intentionality implied by the word ‘primarily’; it may be more accurate to say that so-called ‘magical’ practices flourished in Christian contexts because they were, to put it plainly, congruent with the world-view of monks and priests. Many churchmen, after all, were born and raised in the towns and villages and farms of their own region, and certainly shared with their lay neighbours a worldview which included a belief in celestial influence on earthly life, the existence of days of various qualities, and a desire to use knowledge of such things to one’s advantage whenever possible.¹¹⁸ The monastic life, with its careful attention to and sophisticated instruction in reckoning the passage of time, simply allowed them access to better technology for doing so. It would not be surprising if prognostics were employed in the exercise of pastoral duties; they spoke to the everyday anxieties of people’s lives such as illness, weather, agriculture and childbirth. In their local setting priests and monks were authority figures, confessors and occasional secular authorities, their status enhanced by their use of literacy and Latinity. It may well be that collections of prognostics such as that found in **T** offered a canonically acceptable alternative, with learned pseudo-biblical and textual authority and

¹¹⁶ The metaphor is too common to need citation, but the phrase in this case comes from R. Fowler, ‘A Late Old English Handbook for the Use of a Confessor’, *Anglia* 83 (1965), 1–34, at p. 17, citing a text which follows the prognostic material in Tiberius A. iii. Elsewhere in the same text (p. 26) the analogy is explicit: ‘On wisum scryfte bið swiðe forðgelang forsyngodes mannes nydhelpe, ealswa on godan læce bið seoces mannes lacnung’

¹¹⁷ Flint, *The Rise of Magic*, pp. 142 and 145.

¹¹⁸ Jolly, *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England*, p. 21.

pretensions to scientific objectivity, to more popular forms of augury – ‘be fugelum oððe be fnorum oððe be horsum oððe be hundum’, as Ælfric scornfully characterized them – and to the advice of local healers or wise women and men. But such texts were not directed entirely or in the first instance to the laity; they appear in personal and devotional manuscripts like **Æ**, **W** and **D** whose primary use appears to have been securely within the monastic walls. Nor, undoubtedly, were such texts directed only to rural parishes or the lower classes: in a later period (1101) Matilda, wife of Henry I, summoned Faritius, abbot of Abingdon, to care for her during her pregnancy and interpret the prognostications – ‘curam impendere, prognostica edicere’ – as a kind of outside specialist, and we may imagine that monks of Winchester or Christ Church might have been called on to do the same.¹¹⁹ In effect it is not the laity but the clergy who were susceptible to a belief in the efficacy of complex lunar calendars; prognostics are not a relic of popular belief but a by-product of the monastic reform itself.

Flint attributes the proliferation of lunar prognostics to ‘a division in the Christian ranks, and . . . a greater willingness at the local level than at a central one to make compromises with older beliefs’, but such statements might mislead one into thinking that these lunar calendars were some attenuation of orthodoxy which crept in far from the centres of ecclesiastical authority.¹²⁰ They were not. Nor were they deployed simply as a pragmatic alternative to popular belief; they are most widespread in the later rather than the earlier Anglo-Saxon period, and appear to emanate from Winchester, one of the centres of the monastic reform. Prognostics were copied because they were trusted, and because, no doubt, they were used. If they found their way into a pastoral setting, as an alternative to local *wiccan* or diviners, they were no less used, on the evidence of the manuscripts, by monks and priests as part of their private devotion and regulation of personal health. There is nothing rustic or ‘folkloric’ about **Æ**; its general tenor is not ‘compromise with older beliefs’ but the up-to-date practices of a learned monk in the generation before the Conquest.

It may be described, however, as a portrait of monastic culture from the bottom up, not from the top down – not the orderly world of Æthelwold’s Benedictine Reform movement but the private world of monastic preoccupation with times and seasons, interior movements and exterior portents, spiritual and physical hygiene, in which ‘superstitious’ practices existed comfortably

¹¹⁹ F. Getz, *Medicine in the English Middle Ages* (Princeton, NJ, 1998), p. 13, citing *Chronicon monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stephenson, 2 vols. RS 2 (London, 1858) II, 50. I am grateful to Professor Lea Olsan for calling this reference to my attention.

¹²⁰ Flint, *The Rise of Magic*, pp. 135.

alongside orthodox religious devotions. The mingling of 'high' and 'low' culture represented by such manuscripts challenges our notions of religious practice among the Anglo-Saxons. Recent studies by scholars such as Natalie Zemon Davis, Karen Jolly, Eamon Duffy and Richard Kieckhefer suggest, however, that medieval religious practices cannot easily be separated into simple dichotomies of 'Christian' and 'pagan', 'orthodox' and 'heterodox', 'religion' and 'magic', 'faith' and 'superstition'.¹²¹ These new studies ask us to view medieval Christianity as an intersection of 'official' and 'popular' cultures rather than an opposition. Just as prayers to the cross merge imperceptibly into a 'charm' in the form of a prayer to the cross,¹²² so the practice of observing times and seasons for the liturgical year tends gradually towards the observance of lunar seasons for dreams, good and bad fortune, medical predictions and the forecasting of one's fate at birth. Just as ritual and sacramental action might embrace attitudes and activities we now sceptically regard as 'magical', so medical science and personal devotion might include areas now labelled 'superstition', such as the interpretation of dreams and the forecasting of dangerous days. In this respect, as in many others, our modern categories cut across the grain of the medieval world. The same mentality that could attune itself to the elaborate prescriptions of the *Rule* and the *Regularis Concordia* for the days and seasons of liturgical practice could consult the lunar calendar to learn whether those days were favourable for bloodletting, childbearing or trusting one's dreams. The corpus of prognostic texts suggests that the later Anglo-Saxon conception of the orthodox spiritual life was more capacious than many modern scholars have imagined. If we are to understand these texts properly, we may need to unlearn some of our modern distinctions.¹²³

¹²¹ N. Z. Davis, 'Some Tasks and Themes in the Study of Popular Religion', *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion*, ed. C. Trinkhaus and H. Oberman (Leiden, 1974), pp. 307–36; Jolly, *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England*; *idem*, 'Anglo-Saxon Charms in the Context of a Christian World View', *JMH* 11 (1985), 279–93; and *idem*, 'Magic, Miracle, and Popular Practice in the Early Medieval West: Anglo-Saxon England', *Religion, Science, and Magic: in Concert and in Conflict*, ed. J. Neusner, E. S. Frerichs and P. V. McC. Flesher (New York, 1989), pp. 166–82; E. Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England, 1400–1580* (New Haven, CT, 1992); R. Kieckhefer, *Forbidden Rites: a Necromancer's Manual of the Fifteenth Century* (University Park, PA, 1997). See also J. Van Engen, 'The Christian Middle Ages as an Historiographical Problem', *AHR* 91 (1986), 519–52.

¹²² As in Cotton Tiberius A. iii, fols. 57–60 (Ker's no. 10a-g). The latter is ptd P. Pulsiano, 'British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii, fol. 59rv: an Unrecorded Charm in the Form of an Address to the Cross', *ANQ* ns 4 (1991), 3–5; and cf. J. Zupitza, 'Kreuzzauber', *ASNSL* 88 (1892), 364–5.

¹²³ I am grateful to Peter Baker, Sandor Chardonens, Christopher Jones, Sarah Larratt Keefer, Lea Olsan, Sharon Rowley and Leslie Stratyner for their help and advice during the writing of this paper. Part of the research for this essay was made possible by a stipend from the Barbara Greenbaum Newcomb Fellows program.

Anglo-Saxon manuscripts containing prognostics¹²⁴

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- Förster, M., ‘Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Volkskunde III’, *ASNSL* 121 (1908), 30–46 (cited as Förster 1908c).
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- Förster, M., ‘Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Volkskunde VII’, *ASNSL* 128 (1912), 285–308 (cited as Förster 1912b).
- Förster, M., ‘Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Volkskunde VIII’, *ASNSL* 129 (1912), 16–49 (cited as Förster 1912c).
- Förster, M., ‘Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Volkskunde IX’, *ASNSL* 134 (1916), 264–93.
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- Svenburg, E., *De Latinska Lmarna* (Gothenburg, 1936).
- Warner, R. D.-N., *Early English Homilies, from the Twelfth Century MS. Vesp. D. XIV*, EETS os 152 (London, 1917).

SHORT LIST OF MS SIGLA

- A** London, British Library, Arundel 60
Æ London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi, xxvii

¹²⁴ See Hollis and Wright, *Old English Prose of Secular Learning*, pp. 257–69, for partial descriptions. The list of MSS that follows includes some non-English MSS (such as **F**) which may have been in England before the eleventh century and some English MSS from the twelfth century such as **J** and **V** which might preserve pre-Conquest material. It is not, however, a complete list.

Anglo-Saxon prognostics in context

- C** London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A. xv
D Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422, pt II
Di Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 63
F London, British Library, Harley 3017
G London, British Library, Harley 3271
H Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115
J Oxford, St John's College 17
L Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579
R London, British Library, Royal 2. B. V
S London, British Library, Sloane 475, fols. 125–231
Sa London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A. xii
T London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii
Th London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. i, fols. 2–42 + London, British Library, Harley 3667, fols. 2–18
Tr Cambridge, Trinity College R. 15. 32
V London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv
Vi London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii
W Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391

MANUSCRIPTS

CCCC 391 (W). Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 67; Gneuss, 'Preliminary List', no. 104; Budny, *Manuscript Art*, no. 43.¹²⁵ Worcester Cathedral Priory, s. xi². May have belonged to St Wulfstan of Worcester (c. 1008–95); one of only a few witnesses to the early development of the breviary in England. Contains a Gallican Psalter and Canticles (pp. 24–294), Collectar (pp. 295–560), Latin calendar and computus material (pp. 1–23), and other liturgical items.¹²⁶ At the end of the MS (pp. 713–21) is a series of eight prognostic texts, all in English, in the same hand as the Latin of the main text; it begins incompletely:

1. p. 713. General prognostic based on sunshine during the twelve days of Christmas, beginning imperfectly 'kingum and ricum mannum bið mycel syb þy gear'. (Frank and Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.3.1.1). Similar to **H6**. Ptd Förster 1912a, pp. 65–6.
2. pp. 713–15. General prognostics by thunder based on the day of the week, time of day, and direction in which thunder is heard, beginning 'On anweardne gear gif

¹²⁵ N. R. Ker, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957); H. Gneuss, 'A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100', *ASE* 9 (1981), 1–60; M. Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: an Illustrated Catalogue*, with a foreword by David M. Wilson and an Introduction by R. I. Page (Kalamazoo, MI, 1997). Other works commonly cited below include: R. Frank and A. Cameron, 'A List of Old English Texts', *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English* (Toronto, 1973), pp. 25–306; A. Beccaria, *I codici di medicina del periodo presalernitano (secoli IX, X e XI)* (Rome, 1956).

¹²⁶ Most of the liturgical material is ed. Hughes, *Portiforium*.

hit þunreð ærest on sunnandæg se becnað kyninges oððe biscopes deað oððe mænige caldermen on þam geare sweltað' (Frank and Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.3.1.2). Partly = **T12 H9**. Ptd Förster 1908a, pp. 46–8.

3. p. 715. Birth prognostic by day of the week, beginning 'Gif mon bið acennen [*sic*] on sunnandæg oððe on nihte swa wer swa wif swahweðer hit þonne bið nafað he na mycle sorge and he bið gesælig be his gebyrde' (Frank and Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.3.1.3). Ptd Förster 1912b, pp. 297–300.

4. p. 716. Birth lunarium, beginning 'Onre [*sic*; for On] .i. nihte caldne monan þæt cild þæt swa bið acenned þæt bið liflic. On .ii. nihte aldne monan þæt bið seoc and sicle' (Frank and Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.3.1.4). Ptd Förster 1912c, p. 21.

5. p. 717–18. Medical lunarium, beginning 'Se ðe onre [*sic*; for on anre] nihte monan weorðeð untrum se bið on ðære adle swiðe geswenced. [O]n .ii. nihta monan hraðe æfter sare he ariseð' (Frank and Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.3.1.5). Ptd, except for the last sentence, Förster 1912c, pp. 34–6.

6. p. 718. A list of the three marvellous days, beginning 'Ðry dagas synd on .xii. monðum mid iii nihtum on ðam ne bið nan wif acenned' (Frank and Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.2.1.1). = **C6 Vi5**. Ptd Förster 1929, p. 260.

7. p. 718. A list of three unlucky days for bloodletting, beginning 'Ðry dagas synd on xii. monðum þa synd swiðe unhalwende monnum oððe nytenum blod on to forlætene oððe drenc to drincane' (Frank and Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.2.1.2). = **Vi6**. Ptd Förster 1929, p. 273.

8. pp. 718–21. Dream lunaria: first in Latin, including verses from Psalms for each day of the month, beginning *Luna .i. quicquid uideris in gaudium conuertitur. Beatus uir qui non abiit* [Ps I.1]; *Luna .ii. luna. iii. effectum habent nec in animo ponas. Adstiterunt reges terre.* [Ps II.2] *Tu autem domine susceptor* [Ps III.4], then in English, beginning 'þonne se mone bið anre nihte cald swa hwæt swa þu gesihst. þæte kymð to gefean. On twam nihtum and on .iii. ne bið on þam swefne ne god ne yfel' (Frank and Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.3.1.6). The Latin is collated in Förster 1925–6, pp. 67–74; the Old English – not a translation of the Latin – is ptd Förster 1925–6, pp. 79–86.

CCCC 422, pt II, the 'Red Book of Darley' (D). Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 70; Gneuss, 'Preliminary List', no. 111; Budny, *Manuscript Art*, no. 44. c. 1061. 'Made probably at New Minster, Winchester, for use at Sherborne Cathedral Priory, Dorset, or perhaps made at Sherborne from Winchester material' (Budny, *Manuscript Art*, p. 647). Possibly owned by the Church of St Helen at Darley Dale in Derbyshire as early as the twelfth century, when a mass for St Helen was added on p. 49. A 'decorated, small-format copy of Masses and other Offices, with some Old English texts and headings, and with prefatory calendrical and computistical tables . . . a portable breviary in partial or primitive form' (Budny, *Manuscript Art*, p. 645). The calendar is similar to other New Minster calendars such as those in **A** and **Vi**. Prognostic material is found among computistical texts and includes:

1. p. 27. Bloodletting lunarium, damaged but legible, described in Ker as a 'table of lucky and unlucky days of the moon', in Latin and Old English, beginning '*Luna. i.*

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Bona est her hit i<s god tima.> Luna. ii. Non est bona nis hi<t her god tima.> (Frank and Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.2.2). = **Æ1**. Ptd Henel 1934–5, pp. 334–5.

2. p. 49. Added prognostic text (s. xii), beginning *Isti sunt tres dies anni pre aliis obseruandi*. A version of the 'Three Critical Days'.

Cambridge, Trinity College R. 15. 32 (Tr). Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 90; Gneuss, 'Preliminary List', no. 186. Winchester, New Minster; later in St Augustine's Canterbury, s. xith. Pp. 13–36, containing computus and calendar material, were written by one of the scribes of Titus D. xxvi/xxvii.¹²⁷

1. fol. 37r. A list of two critical days in each month for bloodletting, in hexameters, beginning *Iani prima dies. & septima fine timetur*. = **Æ18a**.

Arundel 60 (A). 'Arundel Psalter'. Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 134; Gneuss, 'Preliminary List', no. 304. Probably from New Minster, Winchester, s. xi².¹²⁸ Prefatory computational material, fols. 1–12, contains:

1. fol. 1r. Bloodletting lunarium titled *Ad sanguinum minuendum*. Closely similar to **Æ1 G3**.

2. 2r–7r. Distributed throughout the calendar are the verses on twenty-four unlucky days for bloodletting, beginning *Iani prima dies et septima fine timetur*. = **Æ18a**.

Caligula A. xv, fols. 120–53 (C). Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 139A; Gneuss, 'Preliminary List', no. 411. Christ Church, Canterbury, s. xi².¹²⁹ 'Three quires containing notes on computus and the calculation and observance of church services, a table of years and annals of Christ Church, Canterbury, lunar prognostics, charms and other notes' (Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 173). Closely related to the texts in **T**, and bound together with extracts (142–53v) from Ælfric's *De temporibus anni* from the same textual family as **T**,¹³⁰ and notes on ferial regulars, concurrents and epacts:

1. 125v. Diagram and text, beginning *Spera apulei platonici de uita et morte*. Ptd Förster 1912c, pp. 45–9.

2. 125v–126. Medical lunarium in Latin and Old English, beginning *Luna prima Qui incidit difficile euadet* 'Se þe afeald earfoðlice he ætwint' (Frank and Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.3.2.1). = **T6**. Ptd Förster 1912c, p. 34; Latin ptd Henel, *Studien*, p. 51; English ptd Cockayne 1864–6 III, 150.

¹²⁷ Contents are noted by M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: a Descriptive Catalogue*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1900–2) II, 363–6, and see T. A. M. Bishop, 'Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts', *Trans. of the Cambridge Bibliographical Soc.* 2 (1954–8), 185–99, at 189–92.

¹²⁸ Facsimile ed. P. Pulsiano, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile 2* (Binghamton, NY, 1994); a description is on pp. 13–18.

¹²⁹ See also P. J. Willetts, 'A Reconstructed Astronomical MS from Christ Church Canterbury', *Brit. Museum Quarterly* 30 (1966), 22–9.

¹³⁰ Ælfric's *De Temporibus Anni*, ed. Henel, pp. xxxv–xxxviii.

3. 129v–130r. Latin list of twenty-four days on which it is not good to let blood, beginning on 129r. *Non interficias. nec sanguis relaxetur*, and on 130r, *Mense Ianuari .i. et antequam exeat dei .vii.* The days are the same as no. 5.
4. 130r. A list of twenty-four unlucky days, beginning ‘Syndon twegen dagas on æghwylcum monðe swa hwæt swa on þam dagum ongyð ne wurð hit næfre geendod’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, B23.2.3.1). Ends ‘And swa hit bið gyme se þe wylle.’ = **Vi2**. Ptd Förster 1929, p. 262; Cockayne 1864–6 III, 224.
5. 130v–131r. A list of the twenty-four days on which it is not good to let blood, beginning ‘Ða ealdan læces geseetton on ledon bocum þæt on ælcum monðe beoð æfre twegen dagas’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, B23.2.3.2). = **Vi7**. The list begins in March. Ptd Förster 1929, p. 266.
6. 131r. A note on the three marvellous days, beginning ‘Ðreo dagas syndon on .XII. monðum mid þrim nihtum. on þam ne bið nan wifmann akenned’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, B23.2.3.3). = **W6 Vi5**. Ptd Förster 1929, p. 260; Cockayne 1864–6 III, 154.
7. 131v–132. Dream lunarium, beginning ‘On anre nihta eald monan swa hwæt swa þe mæteð.’ = **T8 W8**. Ptd Förster 1925–6, p. 79; Cockayne 1864–6 III, 154–6.
8. 132. Birth lunarium, beginning ‘Gif mann biþ akenned on anre nihtne ealne [sic] monan. se bið lang lifes ond welig. Gif he bið on tweigra nihta akenned, se bið a seoc ond unhal’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, B23.3.2.3). = **T15**. Ptd Förster 1912c, p. 21; Cockayne 1864–6 III, 156–8.

Tiberius A.iii (T). Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 186; Gneuss, ‘Preliminary List’, no. 363. Christ Church, Canterbury, s. xi. A monastic miscellany containing, *inter alia*, the glossed Benedictine Rule and *Regularis Concordia*. Prognostic material is in two groups; the first (Ker’s no. 7) is 27v–43 between the *Regularis Concordia* and a group of penitential material, and the second (Ker’s item 12) 65rv before Ælfric’s *De temporibus anni*. The Latin of the first set of prognostics is in the same hand as the monastic material preceding it; the gloss is a different hand from the gloss to the preceding material.

1. fols. 27v–32v. *Sommiale Danielis*, Latin with Old English Gloss, titled *DE SOMNIORUM DIUERSITATE SECUNDUM ORDINEM ABCHARII DANIELIS PROPHETE* and beginning ‘*Aues in somnis qui uiderit et cum ipsis pugnaverit. lites aliquas significat.* fugelas on swefenum se þe gesyhð ond mid him winneð saca sume hit getacnað’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, C16.1). Ed. Förster 1910, pp. 39–70. Errors in Latin which are glossed correctly (e.g. no. 230 *scola*, an apparent error for *scala*, is glossed correctly ‘læddran’) suggest that the gloss may not be original to this MS.
2. 32v–35v. General lunarium, Latin with Old English gloss, titled *De observatione lune et quae cauenda sunt*, beginning *Luna prima; omnibus rebus agendis utilis est* ‘mona se forma. on callum þingum dondum nytlc ys’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, C16.2). Ptd Förster 1944, pp. 79–129.
3. 35v–36. Dream lunarium, Latin with Old English gloss, beginning *Luna prima quicquid uideris. in gaudium erit. et si uideris te uinci. tu tamen uinces omnes inimicos tuos*

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annuente deo. ‘swawætswa þu gesihst on blisse bið ond gif þu gesihst þe beon ofer-cumene ofercymst ealle feond þine geunnendum gode’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, C16.3). Ptd Förster 1925–6, pp. 67–74.

4. fol. 36rv. Calendar prognostic for New Year’s Day (a version of the *Revelatio Esdrae*), Latin with Old English gloss, beginning *Si fuerit kalendas Ianuarius die dominico, hiems bona erit et suavis, ac calida, uer uentuosus, et sicca estas, uindemia bona, oues crescent, mel habundabit, senes morientur, et pax fiet* ‘Gif bið on dæg drihtenlicum winter god bið ond wynsum ond wearm windhladen ond drige wingearð god, sweap [*sic*] weaxað hunig genihtsumað ealde swealteð ond sib gewyrð’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, C16.4). Ptd Förster 1908b, pp. 296–7.

5. 36v. Birth lunarium, Latin with Old English gloss, beginning *Luna .i. qui natus fuerit. uitalis erit* ‘se þe acenned bið liflic he bið’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, C16.5). = **Æ63**. Ptd Förster 1912c, pp. 18–21.

6. 36v–37. Medical lunarium, Latin with Old English gloss, beginning *Luna .i. qui incidit difficile euadet.* ‘se þe afeallað earfoðlice he ætwint’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, C16.6). = **C2Æ64**. Ptd Förster 1912c, pp. 32–4.

7. 37rv. Thunder prognostic based on the hours of the night and day, Latin with Old English gloss, beginning *Si tonitruauerit hora uespertina significat natiuitatem cuiusdam magni* ‘Gif hit þunrað on tide æfen hit getacnað cennednysse sumes micles’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, C16.7). = **Æ66**. Ptd Förster 1908a, pp. 50–1.

8. 37v–38. Dream lunarium in Old English, beginning ‘On anre nihte ealdne monan swa hwæt swa þe mæteð þæt cymð to gefean. [O]n tweigra nihte monan. 7 on þreora. næfþ þæt swefen nænige fremednesse godes ne yfeles.’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, B23.3.3.1). = **C7W8**. Ptd Förster 1925–6, pp. 79–86.

9. 38–39v. Dreambook in Old English, beginning ‘Gif mann mæte þæt he geseo earn on his heafad ufan. þæt tacnað wurþmynt. Gif him þince. þæt he feala earna ætsomne geseo. þæt byþ yfel nið ond manna sætunga ond seara’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, B23.3.3.2). = **H10**. Ptd Förster 1916, pp. 270–93.

10. 39v–40. General lunarium in Old English, beginning ‘On anre nihte ealdne monan far þu to cinge. bidde þæs þu wille. he þe þæt gifð. gang in to him on þa þridan tide þæs dæges oððe þænne þu wene. þæt sæ sy full’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, B23.3.3.3). = **H11**. Imperfect, ending after only three days. Ptd Förster 1912c, p. 43.

11. fol. 40. Medical lunarium in Old English, beginning ‘On anre nihte ealdne monan seþe hine adl gestandeð. se bið frecenlice gestanden. Gif hine on .ii. nihta ealdne monan adl gestandeþ. sona he ariseþ’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, B23.3.3.4). Ptd Förster 1912c, p. 34.

12. 40rv. Thunder prognostic based on the days of the week, beginning ‘On anweardan geare gif se forma þunor cymð on sunnan dæge þonne tacnað þæt cyme bearna cwealm’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, B23.3.3.6). Very similar to **H9** and the first part of **W2**. Ptd Cockayne 1864–6 III, 180.

13. 40v. General prognostic based on the weekday of the new moon, beginning ‘Ðonne se mona bið acenned on sunnan dæg þæt tacnað .iii. þing on þam monþe. þæt is ren ond wind ond smylnys ond hit tacnað nytena wædla ond manna gesynto ond hælo’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, B23.3.3.7). Ptd Cockayne 1864–6 III, 180–2.
14. 40v–41. A note on the growth of the fetus, beginning ‘Her onginð secgan ymbe mannes gecynde. hu he on his modor innoþe to men gewyrðeð’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, B21.4). Ptd Cockayne 1864–6 III, 146.
15. 41rv. Birth lunarium in Old English, beginning ‘Gif mann biþ acenned on ane nihtne ealdne monan. se lang lifes ond welig bið. Gif he bið on tweigra nihta acenned. se bið a seoc ond unhal’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, B23.3.3.5). Similar to **C8 H2**. Ptd Förster 1912c, pp. 21–4.
16. 41v–42. Calendar prognostic for New Year’s Day of the *Revelatio Esdrae* type, beginning ‘Kalendas Ianuarius gif he byþ on monandæg. þonne biþ grimm 7 gemenged winter, 7 god lencten, 7 windig sumor, 7 hreohfull gear biþ, 7 adlseoce menn beoð on þam gear’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, B23.3.3.9). Ptd Förster 1908b, pp. 297–8.
17. fol. 42rv. Dreambook in Old English, beginning ‘Gif man mæte þæt his mon ehte. yfel þæt bið. Gif him mæte. þæt his onsyne fæger si. god þæt bið. and him bið wurðmynt toward. and gif him þince unfæger. yfel þæt bið’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, B23.3.3.10). Ptd Förster 1908b, p. 302; corrections in Förster 1908c, p. 37.
18. 42v–43. Omens in pregnancy, beginning ‘Eft is oðer wise be þissum þingum þæt þu meht witan on bearn cacenum wife hwæþeres cynnes bearn heo cennan sceal’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, B23.3.3.8). Ptd Cockayne 1864–6 III, 144.
19. 65r. Bloodletting lunarium, in Latin, beginning *Luna .i. tota die bonum est. Luna .ii. non est bonum. Luna tertia bona est.* = **Æ61**.
20. 65r. Birth prognostic by day of the week, in Latin, beginning *Die dominico hora diuturna sine nocturna utilis erit qui nascetur. magnusque et splendidus.* = **Æ62**.
21. 65rv. Birth lunarium, in Latin, beginning *Luna .i. qui natus fuerit. uitalis erit. Luna ii mediocris erit.* = **T5 Æ63**.
22. 65v. Medical lunarium, in Latin, beginning *Luna .i. qui inciderit difficile euadet. Luna .ii. cito consurget.* Ends at day 7. = **T6 Æ64**.

Tiberius C. i, fols. 2–42 + Harley 3667, fols. 2–18 (Th). Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 196. Peterborough, c. 1120. Surviving quires vi, vii and xxi of a large collection of computational and astronomical works closely related to **J**.¹³¹ Prognostic material is likewise largely shared with that MS:

¹³¹ Discussed in *Byrhtferth’s Enchiridion*, ed. Baker and Lapidge, pp. lv–lvii; a detailed list of contents is found in Wallis, ‘MS Oxford St John’s College 17’, pp. 693–6. See also F. Saxl and H. Meier, *Catalogue of Astrological and Mythological Illuminated Manuscripts of the Latin Middle Ages*, III: *Manuscripts in English Libraries* (London, 1953), pp. 128–34, and N. R. Ker, ‘Membra Disiecta’, *Brit. Museum Quarterly* 12 (1937–8), 130–5.

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1. Tiberius C. i, 7r. List of one unlucky day in each month, surrounding a diagram of the *syzygia elementorum* (= **J10a**).
2. Tiberius C. i, 7v. Two versions of the 'Sphere of Pythagoras' (= the first part of **J11**).
3. Harley 3667, 4v. A version of the 'Sphere of Pythagoras' with personified 'Vita' and 'Mors' figures. Similar in some respects to **L1**.
4. Harley 3667, 5r. A diamond-shaped prognostic diagram probably similar to that excised in **J**, 41r, with rules for its use, beginning *De quacumque re scire uolueris vel consulere*. (= **J11**).

Titus D. xxvi, xxvii (Æ). Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 202; Gneuss, 'Preliminary List', no. 380. Written for Ælfwine, dean (later abbot) of New Minster, Winchester, s. xi¹. Two small volumes, originally one book in the order D. xxvii–D. xxvi. Contains Latin prayers, offices, religious texts, a calendar and computus. The same scribe wrote some of the same material in **Tr**. Prognostic material appears in several places throughout the manuscript (item numbers follow Günzel's edition):

1. Titus D. xxvii, 2r. Bloodletting lunarium, titled *Ad sanguinem minuendam*, beginning *Luna i. Tota die bona est. Luna .ii. Non est Bona*. = **A1 D1 T19 Æ61** etc. Ptd Günzel 1993, p. 89.
18. Titus D. xxvii, 22rv. (a) A list of the two critical days in each month for bloodletting, in hexameters, beginning *LANI PRIMA DIES ET SEPTIMA FINE TIMETUR. Periculosum est flebotomari in principio mensis ianuarii*. The verses are ptd PL 90, col. 955. (b) A warning against bloodletting and the eating of gooseflesh on the first Mondays of August and the last Monday of March and December, beginning *Super omnes bos sunt etiam isti obseruabilis*. (c) A warning against bloodletting during the canicular days, and against bloodletting on the fourth, fifth, tenth, fifteenth, twentieth, twenty-fifth and thirtieth day of the lunar month. = **G4 G6**. Ptd Günzel 1993, pp. 110–11.
32. Titus D. xxvii, 25rv. Prognostic of the *Revelatio Esdrae* type, based on the day of the week on which the Kalends of January falls, beginning *Kal. Ianuarii si fuerit in prima feria, hiems bona erit et uentus* [sic: for uernus] *uentosus*. Ptd Günzel 1993, p. 115.
35. Titus D. xxvii, 27r–29v. A general lunarium, titled *Argumentum Lunare ad Requirendum Quomodo Luna Qualiter Observitur*, beginning *Luna i. hec dies ad omnia agenda utilis est. In lecto qui incidit diu languescet et longa infirmitate patietur. Et quidquid uideris in gaudium conuertetur. Et si uideris te uinci, tu tamen uinces omnes inimicos tuos. Infans si fuerit natus, uitalis erit*. Provides information on illness, dreams and the fortunes of children for every day of the lunar month; other information, including a list of good actions, the likelihood of catching a thief, and the possibility of finding lost objects, appear for some days. The first fifteen days are more fully discussed than the last fifteen. Ptd Günzel 1993, pp. 117–20.
40. Titus D. xxvii, 55v–56v. Old English alphabet prognostic with a verse doxology, added by a different hand on blank leaves at the end of a quire, beginning 'A. He gangeþ. 7 biþ his siðfæt gesund. B. God þu fintst gif ðu hit onginst. 7 ðe bið

wel' (Frank and Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.3.4).¹³² Ends with a metrical doxology. Ptd Günzel 1993, pp. 121–2.

56. Titus D. xxvi, 3v–4r. The three critical Mondays (see **18b** above), titled *hic noctantur* [sic] *dies egyptiaci, qui observandi sunt per omnia ne quis sanguinem in eis minuire*, beginning *Dies enim egyptiaci, in quibus nulliusmodi nec per ulla necessitate non licet hominem nec pecus sanguinem minuire*. Ptd Günzel 1993, p. 144.

57. Titus D. xxvi, 4rv. The three marvellous days, beginning *Tres dies sunt in anno cum totidem noctibus*. The days are here listed as 1 Thebet and the first two days of Sabath (i.e., January and February in the Jewish calendar). = **J2**. Ptd Günzel 1993, p. 145.

58. Titus D. xxvi, 4v. Canicular days and other lunar days, titled *Quali tempore aperienda sit uena* and beginning *Incipiente artucanis* [sic] *uel arcturi adque Siria stella* (cf. **18b** above, and see Thorndike and Kibre, *Catalogue of Incipits*, no. 726). In addition to the canicular days the text encourages bloodletting on the fourth, fourteenth and twenty-fourth day of the month, and warns against it on the fifth, tenth, fifteenth, twentieth, twenty-fifth and thirtieth. = **G10–11**. Ptd Günzel 1993, p. 145.

59. Titus D. xxvi, 5r. A list of twenty unlucky days in the year, beginning *Incipiunt dies egyptiaci, qui in anno obseruandi sunt, per unumquemque mensem .ii. duo*. The days given are different from those in the calendar, and no mention is made of bloodletting; warnings are given against travel, planting, harvesting and making legal claims. Ptd Günzel 1993, p. 145.

61. Titus D. xxvi, 6rv. Bloodletting lunarium, titled *De flebotomatione uel de minuendo sanguine*, beginning *Luna prima Tota die bonum est. Luna .ii. Non est bonum*. Nearly identical to item **1**, and = **T19**. Ptd Günzel 1993, p. 146.

62. Titus D. xxvi, 6v–7v. Birth prognostic based on the day of the week on which a child is born, titled *De natiuitate infantium*, beginning *Die domenco bora diuturna* [sic; for *diurna*] *sine nocturna uti<.>li erit. qui nascetur magnusque et splendidus*. = **T20**. Ptd Günzel 1993, p. 147.

63. Titus D. xxvi, 7v–8r. Birth lunarium, titled *Incipit lunaris sancti Danielis de natiuitate*, beginning *Luna .i. Qui natus fuerit, uitalis erit. Luna .ii. Mediocris erit*. = **T21**. Ptd Günzel 1993, pp. 147–8.

64. Titus D. xxvi, 8r–9r. Medical lunarium, titled *Incipit lunares* [sic] *de aegris*, beginning *Luna .i. Qui incidit, difficile euadet. Luna .ii. Cito consurget*. = **T22**. Ptd Günzel 1993, pp. 148–9.

65. Titus D. xxvi, 9rv. Dream lunarium, titled *Incipit lunaris de somnis*, beginning *Luna .i. Quicquid uideri* [sic], *ad gaudium pertinet. Luna .ii. et .iii. Affectus erit*. = **T3**. Ptd Günzel 1993, pp. 149–50.

¹³² Described as a 'dream chancebook' by Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages*, p. 8, this is more likely a version of the *sors biblica*, as much a prayer practice as a method of divination: a prayer is said, then the querent opens the Bible or Psalter at random, and the first letter on the left-hand page is compared with an alphabetical list of divinatory meanings. Günzel 1993, pp. 61–3, doubts that this is a prognostic: the work is untitled and includes no instructions for its use. But Günzel offers no alternative explanation for this text, and its similarity to other such works is undeniable.

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66. Titus D. xxvi, 9v–10v. Thunder prognostic, titled *De tonitruis dierum uel trium* [sic: for *noctium*], beginning *Si notauerit* [sic; for *tonitruauerit*] *hora uespertina, significat natiuitatem cuiusdem magni*. = T7. Ptd Günzel 1993, pp. 150–1.

67. Titus D. xxvi, 10v–11v. Calendar prognostic of the *Reuelatio Esdrae* type, titled *Incipiunt signa de temporibus*, beginning *Si die .i. feria fuerint* [alt. from *fuerit*] *kal. ianuarii, hiemps bona et uentosa erit*. Similar to item 32. Ptd Günzel 1993, p. 151.

68. Titus D. xxvi, 11v–16r. A version of the *Somniale Danielis*, titled *Alphabetum somniale excerptum ex Danielis libro* by a later hand, beginning *Aues in somnis uidere et cum illis pugnare: litem significat. Aues in somno capere: lucrum significat*. Similar to T1 but not the same; lists 151 items. Some corrections made by the rubricator. Ptd Günzel 1993, pp. 151–6.

Vespasian D. xiv (V). Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 209. Rochester or Christ Church, Canterbury, s. xiii^{med}. This largely homiletic MS, mostly in one hand, contains two prognostics in English (items 26, 34 in Warner 1917):

1. 75v. Prognostic for the year's weather based on which day of the week the first day of the year falls (a version of the *Reuelatio Esdrae*), beginning 'Ðonne forme gearesdæig byð sunendæig, hit byð god winter. and windig læncetid. dryge sumer. god hærfest' (Frank and Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.3.5.1). Ptd Warner 1917, p. 66.

2. 103v. Thunder prognostic by month, beginning 'On Ianuarius monðe, gyf hit þunreð, hit bodeð toward mycele windes, and wel gewænde eorðe wæstmte. and gefiht' (Frank and Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.3.5.2). Ptd Warner 1917, p. 91.

Cotton Vitellius A. xii (Sa). Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 214. Several originally separate MSS, the first of which (fols. 5–72) is probably from Salisbury (s. xi/xii) and is closely related to Exeter, Cathedral Library, 3507.¹³³ Badly damaged in the Cottonian fire of 1731. Contains computistical and astronomical works by Gildas and Abbo of Fleury, Isidore *De natura rerum*, runic alphabets and short poems on scientific subjects. One prognostic is included among a series of short texts (*De septem miraculis manufactis; de duobus verticibus mundi*; a list of readings for the church year by season) not found in the Exeter MS:

1. 44rv. Note on the three critical Mondays, titled *De Diebus ægyptiacis* and beginning *Hos dies maxime obseruare debemus. In quibus nullomodo. neque ulla necessitate licet homini uel pecori sanguinem minuere*. Similar to Æ56.

Vitellius C. viii, fols. 22–5. Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 221; Gneuss, 'Preliminary List', no. 404. s. xi¹. Leaves are now mounted separately and bound with unrelated material; Old English material includes computistical texts, a fragment of Ælfric's *De temporibus anni*, and a private prayer. Ker notes that texts are closely related to Vi. Between the prayers and the Ælfrician material is one prognostic text:

¹³³ R. Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta: the English Tradition* (Brugge, 1954), pp. 222–7; see also Jones, *Bedae Pseudepigrapha*, p. 121.

1. 22rv. Lines on Egyptian days, beginning ‘Þry dagas syndon on geare þe we egiptiace hatað þæt is on ure geðeode þlihtlice dagas on ðam nateþæshwon for nanre neode ne mannes ne neates blod’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, B23.2.4). Ptd Förster 1929, pp. 271–3.

Vitellius E. xviii (Vi). Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 224; Gneuss, ‘Preliminary List’, no. 407. Probably from Winchester, s. xi^{med}. A psalter with computus, charms etc., all in same hand as the OE gloss to the Latin psalms.¹³⁴ The badly damaged leaves in the front of the psalter contain a calendar, tables, rules for finding Septuagesima etc., rules for determining the age of the moon, notes on concurrents and epacts, and the following:

1. 2r–7v. Distributed throughout the calendar are verses for two unlucky days in each month, beginning *Iani prima dies et septima fine timetur.* = **Æ18**.
2. 9r. A list of the two unlucky days in each month, titled *De diebus malis cuiusque mensis*, beginning ‘[T]weigen dagas syndon on æghwilcum monðe. þæt swa hwæt swa man on þæm dagum onginneð. Ne wurð hit næfre geendod’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, B23.2.5.1). = **C4**. Ptd Förster 1929, p. 262.
3. 13v. Prohibition against bloodletting in the *dies caniculares*, beginning ‘Eahtatina nihtum ær hlafmæssan gangede se styrra up <se is gehaten> canes. þæt is se hara steorra’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, B23.4). Ptd Henel 1934–5, p. 331.
4. 14v. The ‘Sphere of Pythagoras’, beginning imperfectly *..ERE [ratio spere pitagore p]hilosophi quam appollogius descripsit*.
5. 15r. A list of the three marvellous days, beginning ‘Ðry dagas syndon on twelf monðum mid þrim nihtum on þam ne bið nan wif acenned’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, B23.2.5.4). = **W6 C6**. Ptd Henel 1934–5, p. 346.
6. 15r. A list of three unlucky days in the year for bloodletting, beginning ‘Sindon þry dagas synd on twelf monðum. þa syndon swiðe unhalwende men oððe nytenum blod to forlætenne oððe drenc to drincanne’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, B23.2.5.2). = **W7**. Ptd Förster 1929, p. 273.
7. 15rv. A list of the twenty-four unlucky days for bloodletting, beginning ‘þa ealdan læcas gesettan on ledonbocum. þæt on ælcum monðe beoð æfre twegen dagas. þe syndon swiðe derigendlice ænigum menn drenc to drincanne oþþe blod to lætanne’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, B23.2.5.3). = **C5**. Ptd Förster 1929, p. 266.
8. fol. 16r. The ‘Sphere of Apuleius’, with diagram, titled *DE VITA VEL DE MORTE*, beginning *Spera apulei platonici de vita vel de morte vel de omnibus negotiis*. Text ptd Förster 1912c, pp. 46–7.

Harley 585. Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 231; Gneuss, ‘Preliminary List’, no. 421. s. x/xi. Pseudo-Apuleius, Old English *Medicina de Quadrupedibus*, Lacnunga. The volume has been

¹³⁴ A facsimile and description are found in Pulsiano, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile* 2. See also his ‘The Prefatory Material of London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii’, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Their Heritage*, ed. P. Pulsiano and E. M. Treharne (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 85–116.

described as a ‘medical *vade mecum*’¹³⁵ and contains practical remedies. The collection of herb recipes on fols. 130–93 includes one item (item 189, 190rv) in a set of material added (s. xi¹):

1. A list of three Egyptian days, beginning ‘Þry dagas syndon on geara þe we egip-tiaci hatað þæt is on ure geþeode plihlice dagas’ (Frank and Cameron, ‘List of Old English Texts’, B23.2.4) = **Vitellius C. viii**. Ptd Cockayne 1864–6 III, 76; Förster 1929, p. 271.

Harley 3017 (F). Not in Ker or Gneuss. s. ix. Related to Fleury MSS but not from there, according to Baker and Lapidge, *Byrþfērb’s Enchiridion*, p. xlii; Jones, *Beda’s Pseudepigrapha*, p. 122, calls it ‘an excellent example of ninth-century Fleury *computi*’. The presence of a runic alphabet free of continental influence, added on 61r, suggests that the MS may have been in England during the Anglo-Saxon period.¹³⁶ A manuscript of computistical and scientific works, including Bede’s *De temporum ratione* and Isidore on words for times and seasons. Written in two hands throughout. Prognostic material includes:

1. 1rv. A fragmentary version of the *Somniale Danielis* containing seventy-six items, not all of them legible, covering objects from D to N, beginning *D . . . habere: gaudium*. Ptd Martin, ‘Earliest Versions’, pp. 140–1.
2. 58r. The ‘Sphere of Pythagoras’, with diagram, titled *Ratio spere Pithagore philosophi qua Apuleius descripsit*, beginning *Vt quacumque scire uolueris vel consulere*.
3. 58v. Medical lunarium, titled *Incipit eiusdem lunaris de egris*, beginning *Luna .i. qui incidit difficile euadit. Luna .ii. cito surgit*. = **Æ64**. Ed. Weisser, *Studien*, 1982, pp. 273–7.
4. 58v–59r. Birth lunarium, titled *Incipit Lunaris sancti Danibel de nativitate infantium*, beginning *Luna .i. qui fuerit natus uitalis erit. Luna .ii. mediocris erit*. = **Æ63**.
5. 59rv. List of the two critical days in each month for bloodletting, titled *De diebus Egipciacis qui maledictis sunt in anno circulo*, beginning *Ian. intrante die .i. exiente die .vii. Febr. intrante die .iiii. exsiente die .iii*. The same days as **Æ18**. A note in the margin of 59v in a different hand, beginning *In his diebus. si quis in lecto occiderit, non diu uiuit. nec nullum genus periculi dimittit*, lists the ill effects of these days.
6. 59v. A second note in the margin, beginning *Incipit de aliis diebus egipciacis. in quibus nullo modo nec per nulla necessitate non licet nec hominem nec pecus sanguinem minuere nec modicum impendere*, is a warning against the three critical Mondays. Similar to **Æ56**.
7. 59v–60r. A list of various places from which to let blood on different days of the month and warning against the *dies caniculares*, beginning *Bonum est per singulos menses studium habere sicut multo auctores scripsit*. Thorndike and Kibre, *Catalogue of Incipits*, no. 180; Beccaria, *I codici*, pp. 406–7. Also found add. in the margins of **S**, 7v–8r, in a later hand.

¹³⁵ By A. N. Doane, in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile 1* (Binghamton, NY, 1994), 26.

¹³⁶ See L. Martin, ‘The Earliest Versions of the Latin *Somniale Danielis*’, *Manuscripta* 23 (1979), 131–41, and Derolez, *Runica Manuscripta*, pp. 212–17.

8. 63r–64v. A version of the *Revelatio Esdrae*, titled *Hec sunt signa quae ostendit deus Esdre prophetae*, beginning *Kal. ian' si fuerint die dominico, erit hiemps calidus. uernus humidus; estas et autumnus uentosi*. Different from the version in **Æ32** and **67**.

Harley 3271 (G). Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 239; Gneuss, 'Preliminary List', no. 435. s. xi¹. A copy of Ælfric's *Grammar* and miscellaneous materials in Latin and Old English; Latin and Old English are not distinguished in script. In the blank space at the end of the last quire of the *Grammar* (fols. 90–2) are computistical and other notes:

1. 90v–91. Old English prohibition against bloodletting and gooseflesh on unlucky days, beginning 'We gesetton on foreweardan on þysre endebyrdnesse þone monaþ martius' (Frank and Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.2.6). = the second part of **C5**. Ptd Henel 1934–5, p. 336.
2. 91r. Old English list of twenty-four unlucky days, titled *De diebus malis*, beginning 'þa ealdan læcas gesettan on ledenbocun. þæt on ælcum monðe beoð æfre twegen dagas þe syndan swyðe derigendlice ænigne drenc on to ðicgenne' (Frank and Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.2.6). = the first part of **C5**. Ptd Henel 1934–5, p. 336.
3. 102v. Bloodletting Lunarium, titled *De sanguine minuere*. Added in a different hand. = **Æ1**. Beccaria, *I codici*, no. 76.1.
4. 120v–121. Latin list of two unlucky days in each month, beginning *In principio mensis Ianuarii. dies primus. & ante eius exitum dies septimus*. = the prose portion of **Æ18a**; verses are added between lines in a different hand, beginning *hoc ipsum metrice. Iani prima dies et septima fine timetur*. Continues after the list of days with a warning against the *dies caniculares* beginning *Super omnes bos sunt etiam isti observabiles. Ab initio mensis Augusti. dies primus lunae* [gl. 'se forma monandæg']. = **Æ18b**. Beccaria, *I codici*, no. 76.2.
5. fol. 121. Latin warning against the three critical Mondays, beginning *Post .viii. kal. Aprilis. illa die lunae & intrante Augusto illa die lunae*. Similar but not identical to **Æ56**.
6. 122rv. Latin list of two unlucky days in each month, titled *Versus ad dies Aegyptiacos. Inveniendas*, beginning *LANI PRIMA DIES ET SEPTIMA FINE TIMETUR. In principio mensis ianuarii dies primus. hoc est kal. ianuarii, & ante eius exitum dies septimus. hoc est. viii. kal. Februarii*. = **4** above and **Æ18a**. Followed by a text closely similar to **Æ18b**, beginning *Super omnes bos sunt etiam isti observabiles*.
7. 122v. Latin warning against the canicular days, titled *De diebus canicularibus*, beginning *Est etiam istorum temporum obseruanda ratio*. Similar to **4** above, and the latter part of **Æ18b**. Beccaria, *I codici*, no. 76.3.
8. 122v. Latin warning against the three critical Mondays, titled *De tribus diebus Aegyptiaci*, beginning *Primo .viii. kal. aprilis illa die lunae. & intrante agosto illa die lunae*. Similar to **5** above. Beccaria, *I codici*, no. 76.5.
9. 122v–123. Latin list of prohibited and prescribed activities for each month, titled *Medicina Ypocratis. Quid usitare debeat. per singulos menses*, beginning *Mense ianuarii. non minuere sanguinem. potionem contra effocationem tantum bibe*. Beccaria, *I codici*, no. 76.5.

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10. 123v–124. Latin warning against bloodletting during the *dies caniculares*, titled *De Flebotomatione. mensis. Augusto*, beginning *Incipiente ortu canis vel ar'c'turi atque siri stella*. Mostly = **Æ58**. Beccaria, *I codici*, no. 76.6.

11. fol. 124. Latin warning against certain lunar days, titled *Quali tempora aperienda sit uena*, beginning *Quando uena aperienda sit. iiii. luna erit saluberrima. c̄ .xiiii. luna erit bona*. Very similar to the latter part of **Æ58**. Beccaria, *I codici*, no. 76.7.

Harley 3667, fols. 2–18. See **Tiberius C. i**.

Royal 2.B.v (R). The ‘Regius Psalter’. Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 249; Gneuss, ‘Preliminary List’, no. 451.¹³⁷ Winchester, s. xi; Canterbury?, s. x. One prognostic is found at the end of a section of computistical material (and notes on the ages of the world and the sizes of various famous objects)¹³⁸ added to the end of the MS in a different hand (either Winchester or Canterbury, probably s. x/xi):

1. 190rv. Latin thunder prognostic by month of the year, beginning *Si tonitruum fuerit in mense ianuario multe conuentiones sunt. una de ouibus; alia de homibus* [sic]. December is omitted.¹³⁹ The text bears no relation to the English thunder prognostic by month in **V2**.¹⁴⁰ It is followed by a group of Old English prayers, in a different hand, which are also found in **T** (no. 9 in Ker).

Sloane 475 (S), fols. 125–231. Not in Ker or Gneuss, but possibly English.¹⁴¹ A composite MS made up of two parts: the first, fols. 1–124, is from s. xii¹ (it is catalogued by Beccaria, *I codici*, no. 78); the second, fols. 125–231, is written in several hands (s. xi). Both parts contain medical recipes, charms, advice on health, and prognostics, mostly in Latin but two (109rv) in Anglo-Norman.¹⁴² The prognostics in the later (first) part of the MS (nos. 1–5 below) are apparently not of English origin, as they are of a different type from those commonly found in Anglo-Saxon MSS:¹⁴³

¹³⁷ Facsimile ed. P. Pulsiano, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile 3* (Binghamton, NY, 1994); the MS is described on pp. 57–64.

¹³⁸ The first, on the threefold incarnation of Christ, is identical to a note found in **Æ19**, ptd Günzel 1993, p. 112.

¹³⁹ Pulsiano, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 3*, p. 67, says that the prognostic is ‘for the months of January, March, July, and August’, but this is an oversight. These months do, however, have a slightly larger capital than the others.

¹⁴⁰ The indications for each month are somewhat similar to those in the pseudo-Bedan *De tonitruis libellus ad Herefridum* (PL 90, cols. 609–14) surviving in Cologne, Dombibliothek, 102; see Jones, *Bedae Pseudepigrapha*, pp. 45–7.

¹⁴¹ According to Beccaria, *I codici*, pp. 255–9; M. L. Cameron, ‘The Sources of Medical Knowledge in Anglo-Saxon England’, *ASE* 11 (1983), 135–55, at 144, notes that confusion of *n* and *r* suggests that the scribe’s exemplar was in Anglo-Saxon minuscule. See also the discussion of this manuscript in Thorndike, *History of Magic* I, 723–6.

¹⁴² Ptd T. Hunt, *Popular Medicine in Thirteenth-Century England: Introduction and Texts* (Woodbridge, 1990), p. 82.

¹⁴³ They are not catalogued in the typology of prognostics on pp. 183–90 above, but are included here for the sake of completeness.

1. 4v–6r. Dietary and health advice for each month, titled *OBSERVATIO MENSIVM SECUNDUM BEDAM*, beginning *Hoc mense bibe. iii. gulpos vini ieiunus cotidie | electuarium. accipe gingibus. 7 reupontico utem (?)*. *Sanguinum ne minuere. Iani prima dies. 7 septima fine timetur. Luna .i. iiii. v. viiii. xv. egiptiaca. sunt*. Continues through twelve months. Thorndike and Kibre, *Catalogue of Incipits*, no. 632. Beccaria, *I codici*, no. 78.2.
2. 6r. A warning against the *dies caniculares*, beginning *Kal. Augusti usque .iii. non. septembris nullo modo expedit fleetomari mari propter caniculares dies. his caueas*. Also warns against letting blood or drinking medicine on the three critical Mondays.
3. 8r. Note on Egyptian days, beginning *DIES EGIPTIACI. QUI PRO TOTUM ANNUM OBSERVANDI SUNT. VT SANGUIS NON MINUETUR. NEC POTIO SUMETUR. IDEST. iiii. NON LAN. viii. KAL. FEBR.* Beccaria, *I codici*, no. 78.6. Similar to a text in two French MSS (listed in Wickersheimer 1966): Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, lat. 2825 (s. x) and Reims, MS 438 (s. ix¹); the former also includes a medical lunarium and warning against the *dies caniculares*.
4. 37r. Bloodletting lunarium, titled *QUIBUS LUNATIONIBUS BONUM EST SANGUINUM*, beginning *Luna .i. tota die bonum est. Luna .ii. similiter. Luna .iii. non est bonum*. Indications for most days are different from those commonly found in Anglo-Saxon lunaria. Beccaria, *I codici*, no. 78.14.
5. 81r–82r. Medical lunarium, beginning *Luna .i. qui decubuerit. si tertio die allenauerit. sanus erit. Si nero quarto die granior fuerit. cum grandi periculo euadit*. Thorndike and Kibre, *Catalogue of Incipits*, no. 838; Beccaria, *I codici*, no. 78.18 and p. 420. Ptd Weisser, *Studien*, p. 365.
6. fol. 132v–133v. Incomplete ‘Sphere of Pythagoras’, with space left on fol. 132v for a diagram which has not been added. The text begins imperfectly *& partiris in triginta scilicet .xxx. partes & quicquid remanserit in spera respicies & sic inuenies*. Beccaria, *I codici*, no. 78.24a.
7. A list of the best hours in each day for bloodletting, beginning *INCIPIUNT ora se quod sanguinum minuare debes. in primis die dominico bora. ii^o v^o nona. bonum est. Die lunis bora. iiii^o. primis. s. xi. bonum est*.
8. 211r–216v. General lunarium, beginning imperfectly (at day 1) *& dies utilis est omnibus rebus agendum. Puer natus erit inlustris astutus sapiens literatus. in aqua periclitabit & si euaserit posteriori etate melior erit*. Similar in some respects to **T2**. Ptd Svenberg 1936, pp. 25–83. Beccaria, *I codici*, no. 78.28.
9. 216v–217r. Verses on unlucky days, beginning *Si tenebrae egyptus grecos sermone uocantur. In die [sic; for inde] dies mortis tenebrosus iure uocamus. Bis deni binique dies scribuntur in anno. In quibus una solet mortalibus bora timeri. Mensis quoque duos captiuos possidet herum [sic; for borum]. nec simul hos uinctos homines re [sic; for ne] peste trucidant. Iani prima dies et septima sine timetur*. Printed as a Bedan text in PL 90, cols. 955–6. Thorndike and Kibre, *Catalogue of Incipits*, no. 1466; Beccaria, *I codici*, no. 78.29. The verses are those of **Æ18a**, though the preface is not found in that MS.
10. 217rv. Predictions for the year based on the day on which Christmas falls, beginning *Natalis domine prima dies si acciderit domenica scitote hiem en se benignum & uentotosam [sic]. quadragessimam. estatem aridam. uineas opulentas. oues. fetus. perducentes*. Similar to the English text in **H4**.

Anglo-Saxon prognostics in context

11. 217v–218r. Dreambook,¹⁴⁴ beginning *Aues in somnis uidere cum ipsis pugnare lites signis. Aues in somnis capere lucrum signis. Asinas qui uiderit cremantis signus*. Similar to **T1** and **Æ68**. Ends imperfectly after twenty-nine items (only the letters A and B are listed); 218v is blank.

Bodley 579 (L), the ‘Leofric Missal’. Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 315; Gneuss, ‘Preliminary List’, no. 585. NE France, s. ix²; Glastonbury, s. x²; Exeter, s. xi^{med}. A large service book written in France and brought to England in the tenth century.¹⁴⁵ Amid computistical material (38r–58r) are the following:

1. 49b–50a. A version of the ‘Sphere of Pythagoras’, here presented in two diagrams of *Vita* and *Mors*, each labelled, the first beginning *Collige per numerum quicquid cupis esse probandum*, the second *Spera Apulei platonicæ de vita de morte vel de omnibus negotiis*.¹⁴⁶ Similar to **Th3**.
2. 56r. Lunarium, presumably for bloodletting though not so labelled, beginning *Luna prima bona est. Luna secunda bona est*.

Digby 63 (Di). Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 319, Gneuss, ‘Preliminary List’, no. 611. Written in the north of England (s. ix²), but at the Old Minster in Winchester by c. 1000 when the calendar was added (see Ker, *Catalogue*, p. 381).¹⁴⁷ Devoted entirely to computistical texts, including the work of Dionysius Exiguus. Jones groups the MS with examples of the ‘Canterbury Computus’ (including **C**) derived from early Irish computus.¹⁴⁸

1. 36rv. Notes on Egyptian days, titled *INCIPIUNT. DIES. EGIPCIACHI*. and beginning *Mense jan. Intrante die primo. exxiente [sic] dies .vii. Mense feb. Intrante dies .vii. exsiente dies .vii*. Similar to **F5**. It is followed by a warning against the three critical Mondays, beginning *Sunt alii .iii. dies in qibus [sic] nullus penitus nec per nullam necessitatem non licet hominem unum incidere nec pocionem accipere. nec pecus sanguinem minuere*. Similar to **Æ56** and **F6**.

Hatton 115 (H). Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 332; Gneuss, ‘Preliminary List’, no. 639. s. xi². A collection of homilies of unknown origin; the MS was in Worcester by the thirteenth century, where it received glosses by the ‘Tremulous’ scribe.¹⁴⁹ Prognostic material is in two quires (fols. 148–55) added in twelfth century and not part of original MS. The prognostic material consists of eleven paragraphs, each introduced by a red initial letter:

1. 148r. Dream lunarium, beginning ‘Ðære æresten nyhte þonne niwe mone byð ecyemen. þæt mon þonne in sweofne gesihþ. þæt cymeð to gefean.’ (Frank and

¹⁴⁴ See Martin, *Somniale Danielis*, pp. 38–9.

¹⁴⁵ Ed. F. E. Warren, *The Leofric Missal* (Oxford, 1883).

¹⁴⁶ See R. Deshman, ‘The Leofric Missal and Tenth-Century English Art’, *ASE* 6 (1977), 145–73, at 166–8.

¹⁴⁷ The calendar is ptd as no. 1 in Wormald, *English Kalendars*.

¹⁴⁸ Jones, *Bedae Opera de Temporibus*, p. 112

¹⁴⁹ A facsimile is ed. C. Franzen, *Early English Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile* 6 (Tempe, AZ, 1998); a description is on pp. 44–54.

Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.3.6.1). Ptd Cockayne 1864–6 III, 158–60, Förster 1925–6, pp. 90–2.

2. 148v. Birth lunarium, beginning 'Se ðe bið acenned on annihtne mona. se bið lange lifes. ond weleði. Se þe bið on .ii. nihta ealdne monan. se bið seoc' (Frank and Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.3.6.2). = **T15**, ending imperfectly in the same place (fourteen nights). Ptd Cockayne 1864–6 III, 160–2; Förster 1912c, pp. 21–4.

3. 148v22–149r. A prognostic based on the day of the week at childbirth, beginning 'Swa hwilc man swa on sunnandæg. oððe on niht acenned bið. orsorglice leofæð he. ond bið fægger' (Frank and Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.3.6.3). Ptd Cockayne 1864–6 III, 162; Förster 1912b, pp. 297–300.

4. 149r12–149v7. Weather forecast based on the day of the week on which Christmas falls, beginning 'Gif middeswintres messedeg b'i'ð on sunnandæg. þonne bið god winter. ond lengten windi. ond drige sumer. ond wingeardas gode' (Frank and Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.3.6.4). A variant of the *Revelatio Esdrae*. Ptd Cockayne 1864–6 III, 162–4.

5. 149v8–23. Predictions of misfortune based on the occurrence of wind during the twelve days after Christmas, beginning 'Her segh ymb drihtnes gebyrd. ymb þa .xii. niht hs [*sic*; for *bis*] tide. Gyf se wind byoð on þa forma niht. gehadode weras sweltað' (Frank and Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.3.6.5). Ptd Cockayne 1864–6 III, 164; Förster 1912a, pp. 56–8.

6. 149v24–150r17. Predictions of good fortune based on the occurrence of sunshine during the twelve days after Christmas, beginning 'Þy forma dæg drihtnes gebyrde. gyf sunne scyneð. mycel gefea byoð mid mannum. ond genihtsum' (Frank and Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.3.6.6). Similar to **W1**. Ptd Cockayne 1864–6 III, 164–6; Förster 1912a, p. 65.

(7–8. Number of masses and psalms equivalent to a fast; ptd Cockayne 1864–6 III, 166.)

9. 150v. A thunder prognostic for the days of the week, beginning 'On anwardne ger gyf hyt þunrie on sunandæg. þonne tacnað þæt micelne blodes gyte in sumere þeode' (Frank and Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.3.6.7). Similar to **T12**. Ptd Cockayne 1864–6 III, 166–8.

10. 150v10–152v3. Dreambook in Old English, beginning 'Gyf mon meteð þæt he geseo earn on his heafod unfan [*sic*] gesettan. þæt tacnað micel weorðmynd. Gyf þe þince þæt þu geseo feola eara ætsamne. þæt byð yfel nið' (Frank and Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.3.6.8). = **T9**. Ptd Cockayne 1864–6 III, 168–76; Förster 1916, pp. 270–93.

11. 152v4–153v16. General lunarium in English, beginning 'On annihthe monan fær to cyninge. ond bidde þes þu wille. ge þæt gefeð gang in to him on þa þridda tid þes deges. oðð þonne þu wyte þæt sæ si ful' (Frank and Cameron, 'List of Old English Texts', B23.3.6.9). = The text found in fragmentary form in **T10**. Ends before the bottom of the page at the 17th day of the month. Ptd Cockayne 1864–6 III, 176–80; Förster 1912c, pp. 43–5.

Oxford, St John's College 17 (J). Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 360, Gneuss, 'Preliminary List', no. 683. Written at Thorney Abbey, 1110–11; containing Bede's *De temporum ratione* and other scientific and computational texts.¹⁵⁰ Written by two scribes throughout, apparently in collaboration. Among the 'miscellaneous texts and tables' noted by Baker and Lapidge, *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, on 1v–12r are the following:

1. 3v. Latin warning against the three critical days, beginning *Hi tres dies sunt obseruandi*. Similar to **Æ56** but not identical.
2. 3v. Latin note on the three marvellous days, beginning *Tres dies sunt in quo anno cum tribus noctibus ut fertur in quibus mulierum nonquam nascitur*. = **Æ57**.
3. 4r. Bloodletting lunarium, beginning *Luna .i. Tota die bona est. Luna .ii. Non est bona. 'Bona est'*. = **Æ61**. Annotations to the list offer differing opinions on the status of each day; these often seem to follow the recommendations in the general lunarium found in **T2**.
4. 4r. Birth prognostic based on the day of the week on which a child is born, beginning *Die domenco hora diuterna [sic] siue nocturna qui nascentur utillimi erit & magni*. A slightly abbreviated version of **Æ62**.
5. 4r. Birth lunarium, beginning *Luna .i. Qui natus fuerit uitalis erit. Luna .ii. Mediocris erit*. = **Æ63**, but with slight differences in wording and avoiding the errors of that copy.
6. 4r. Medical lunarium, beginning *Luna .i. Qui ceciderit difficile euadet. Luna .ii. Cito consurget*. Closely similar to **Æ64** but not identical.
7. 4r. Dream lunarium, beginning *Luna .i. quicquid uideris ad gaudium pertinet. Luna .ii. Affectus erit*. Similar to **Æ65** but not identical.
8. 8v. 'Sphere of Petosiris', similar in most respects to the 'Sphere of Apuleius' or 'Pythagoras' found in other MSS. Not accompanied by instructions (for which see PL 90, cols. 963–6) or by a list of the numerical value of letters, rendering it of doubtful utility.¹⁵¹
9. 16r–21v. Distributed throughout the calendar (*Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, ed. Baker and Lapidge, pp. 390–416) is a list of the two critical days in each month for bloodletting, in hexameters, beginning *Iani Prima dies et septima fine timetur*. = **Æ18**.
10. 40v. At the end of a section of cosmographical *rotae* and diagrams, three brief texts on Egyptian days are added to the margin of a diagram describing the Twelve Winds. (a) A list of one unlucky day in each month, beginning *Isti dies obseruandi sunt in singulis mensibus in quibus diebus maledicus est populus egyptiorum*.¹⁵² = **Th1**. (b) List of twenty-four unlucky days in the lunar month, beginning *Sunt in unoquoque mense duo dies*. (c) List of twenty-four Egyptian days in the year, beginning *De diebus egyptiacis qui maledicti sunt in anno*. The days named are those in the verses in **Æ18**.
11. 41r. Following the cosmographical *rotae* and notes on unlucky days are two versions of the 'Sphere of Pythagoras', with diagram, beginning *Ratio spere phytagori*

¹⁵⁰ Described in Wallis, 'MS Oxford St John's College 17', P. S. Baker, 'Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion* and the Computus in Oxford, St John's College 17', *ASE* 10 (1981), 123–42, and *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, ed. Baker and Lapidge, pp. liii–lv.

¹⁵¹ See further Wallis, 'MS Oxford St John's College 17', pp. 248–50. ¹⁵² *Ibid.* pp. 456–7.

philosophi quem apuleius descripsit (= **Th2**) and accompanied by a (now excised) diamond diagram with a caption, beginning *De quacumque re scire uoluerit uel consulere* (= **Th4**).

12. 157v–158v. Following several short works on the zodiac is a form of divination by lots, probably dice, known elsewhere as the *sortes sanctorum*, beginning *c.c.c. Animum tuum si dubitantem sentis crede primo modum deo adiuuante inpetrabis quam uis*, continuing through all permutations of three lots with six numbers on each, and ending with a brief office and prayer (*Libera nos domine de potestate tenebrarum. & de manu mortis eterna eripe nos. ut uoluntas tua sit in omnibus aperta absque ambiguitate per hoc signum fortis te nobis poscentibus*).

13. 159r. Following a text on the fifteen signs of the Last Judgement is a version of the *Reuelatio Esdrae*, begins *Si prima feria kal. Ian. fuerit. frugifer annus erit. extremi hominum morientur. frumentum et uinum abundabit. Apes perficient. oues morientur. naues periclitabuntur. gentes mouebuntur. fremitur belloris erit. pugna nulla. pax breuis. in mense septembri grauis mortalitas et silue perficient*.