



Geographical and Dialectal Distribution of Platearius' *Liber de Simplici Medicina* in England

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ABSTRACT

This article aims to give an account of the sources from which we can draw some information concerning the geographical and dialectal distribution of Platearius' *Liber de simplici medicina* in England. The Latin copies and the Middle English renderings preserved as British holdings reveal dynamic and widespread dissemination of this treatise. Linguistic and extra-linguistic factors will help us find out the origin or dwelling place of some of the people who copied, read or owned an exemplar of the work. Dialectal features and toponymical references found in the exemplars will be taken into account alongside some legal and library records.

KEYWORDS:

Circa instans, Latin-Middle English, dialects

I. INTRODUCTION

Studies of Latin, French, German, and Dutch versions, translations and adaptations of the *Liber de simplici medicina*, as well as of some of its near contemporary and later works, have evinced the great impact and long-term influence of this medieval pharmacological treatise. As also attested by further translations into Hispano-Provençal, Catalan, Hebrew, Danish and English, this work, attributed to the famous teaching physician Matthaeus Platearius (d. 1161), became an essential handbook for medical practitioners, apothecaries and botanists. It was used for more than four centuries, and came to be known in many places other than Salerno, its original place

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of composition. Its relevance to the history of medicine and pharmacy, together with the philological and sometimes artistic value of its extant manuscripts, have led the critique to raise this book on simple medicines, more commonly known as *Circa instans* (*CI*), to the category of well-established masterworks like Dioscorides's *De materia medica* and Plinius's *Natural History* (Steinschneider, 1867: 112).

Englishmen already knew the Latin *CI* as far back in time as the thirteenth century, as shown by some manuscripts dating from that time,¹ and by Bartholomeus Anglicus himself, who borrowed from it for his *De proprietatibus rerum* (Dorveaux, 1913: xvi). The Latin treatise was often copied and bound together with the *Antidotarium Nicholai*,² and Latin versions of Platearius' works were also read by students from the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The Royal physician John of Gaddesden referred to Matthew Platearius in his *Rosa anglica medicinae* (Getz, 1995: 384-391), and so did in their writings the surgeon John of Arderne (Jones, 2005) and the cleric John Mirfield, who worked in London as well (Hunt, 1990: 39). Despite the already acknowledged importance of this book on simples, little is still known about its geographical and dialectal distribution in England. However, some further first-hand valuable information about where or by people from where the *CI* was copied and owned can be extracted from its extant manuscripts and other primary documents where the treatise is mentioned.

II. AIMS AND METHOD

As far as Great Britain is concerned, we currently know of the existence of as many as twenty-nine Latin exemplars and of twenty-six Middle English (ME) ones. These manuscripts were gathered, classified, and briefly described in Garrido-Anes (2004; 2005), but they have not yet been localised. It is our purpose here to give an account of such hitherto unexplored sources, in order to provide with an overall idea of the widespread distribution of this work in England.

Ten of those Latin manuscripts supply some trustworthy evidence of English ownership and readership,³ but the English glosses or isolated proper names found in them do not always provide us with sufficient clues to be able to further ascertain the provenance or dwelling place of copyists, readers or owners. As stated by R. Beadle, "the silence of the historical record [...] is in no way surprising, since the scribes [...] had little or no reason to leave any trace of where or how they had obtained their exemplars" (1994: 74). Notwithstanding this fact, observation of toponymical references in some of these Latin and ME sources has allowed us to elicit some interesting information. In addition, we have linguistically scanned sixteen ME manuscripts. The remaining ten exemplars are tables that the present study has not taken into consideration.

Aiming at the dialectal localisation of the language of the ME versions, we have followed the methodology proposed in *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediuevul English*, henceforth *LALME* (McIntosh, Samuels & Benskin, 1986). Through completion of the survey questionnaire, we have here devised the Linguistic Profiles (LPs) of the different scribes involved in the copying, which are offered in Appendix II. As it is the practice in *LALME* (vol. 3: xiv), the absence of

parentheses enclosing a word means that it is the dominant form; single parentheses stand for forms occurring about one third to two thirds as frequently as the most common one; and double parentheses indicate that the form enclosed by them appears in the text less than about one third as commonly as the main one. The recount of forms has been made, when necessary, with the aid of the *Oxford Concordance Programme*, and the *fit-technique* has been then applied to match those forms with the dialectal variety that they stand for. This technique consists in the plotting of the scribes' forms with those found in LALME dot and item maps.⁴ When dealing with ME manuscripts, we have to confront several problems, though:

[M]anuscripts that seem to be from aii area inay have less significant coniection with that area than at first tiine appears [...], the dialect evidence itself presents so many problems, especially when there are layers of scribes to a greater or lesser extent translating the work of their exemplars into their own dialect [...]; there is no iicessity to suppose that a scribe worked in his native area, or wrote for those who lived in the iinmediately surrounding region [...]; inanuscripts from elsewhere may have been comrnissioned or bought or inherited by local readers, so that they became the manuscripts located in that new area, just as much as manuscripts written by local scribes in the local dialect for a local audience (Turville-Petre, 1983: 126).

The dialectal localisation of late-medieval exemplars, like the fifteenth-century manuscripts that concern us here, may also become blurred by the progressive abandonment of local forms. Manuscripts and scribes travelled, and "it is natural to think that scribes of Norfolk training [for instance] would scarcely have persisted in using that area's highly dialectal colouration of their work [...] if they were working anywhere other than East Anglia" (Beadle. 1991: 90). That could have been the case, though, with certain copies of medical manuscripts intended for personal use, while others, being, indeed, much more standardised, show, therefore, very few localisms.

On the basis of what has just been said, we have here associated some *CI* manuscripts with a specific geographical area according to either toponymical reference, which may be a hint at where the manuscripts were owned and used at some point of their transmission at least, or to linguistic evidence found in the English versions. The latter case does not mean straight away that the text was necessarily copied in the corresponding dialectal region, but only that it was written in a language peculiar to that area. Because of the above-mentioned difficulties, it is not always easy to match an exemplar with a place of provenance or use. Nonetheless, our knowledge about the diffusion of the work will become more and more accurate with the study and comparison of as many parallel texts as possible.

III. GEOGRAPHICAL OR DIALECTAL LOCALISATION OF SOME COPIES OF THE *CI* IN ENGLAND

The Midlands is the area that shows the highest concentration of manuscripts of Platearius' work. This might be due to the strategic geographical location of the two English Universities,

where the work was very well known, and from where its popularity must have emerged. As pointed out by M. L. Samuels, "since most university work was presumably still in Latin, it seems likely that, whenever English was used for other purposes, the writers used their own local spellings" (1981: 47). He suggested that Norfolk spellings, for example, must have been accepted in Cambridge. Thus, the fact that most of the ME exemplars of Platearius' treatise retain dialectal features from counties neighbouring Oxford and Cambridge⁵ could perhaps be explained on the basis of a potential non-official circulation of English versions of the *CI* and other such works in university circles. Nonetheless, the treatise later expanded its scope of diffusion to less academic spheres both socially and geographically speaking.⁶ Indeed, other records from church libraries and legal documents have shown that the diffusion of this work also reached parts of the island that were more northerly.

Beginning with the extra-linguistic information found in the Latin manuscripts, we know that the Doctor in Medicine John of Stoke legated the codex **Cambridge, Peterhouse 52** to a religious house named St. Peter's.⁷ This book locates the donor in Bryngton (Bromswold), in the county of Huntingdonshire, which belonged to the Diocese of Lincolnshire.⁸ **Cambridge, Trinity College R. 14.49** belonged to the Franciscan Convent of Babwell in Bury St. Edmunds (Suffolk), whereas **Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wood Empt. 15 (SC. 8603)** was written by J. Bobych in a more southern location, at Exeter (Devonshire), by the mid-fifteenth century (Parkes, 1969: list of figures, 3. i). In turn, the ME *CI* text in **Glasgow University Library, MS Hunter 307 (U. 7. 1)** contains a fifteenth-century allusion to Southwark (London), indicating that a gardener requested that particular copy: "At Suthework, at the Christopher inquire for one gardner" (f. 1v).

Other than that, linguistic evidence reveals that nine of the ME manuscripts analysed were written in an East-Midland language. The verbal inflections found in them and the predominance of <o> as the reflex of OE and ON /ā/ (as in *stone*, *bone*, and *oak*), as well as of WGmc /ǣ/ + /mb, nd, ng/ (as in *hand*, *long*, *strong*, *womb*) immediately exclude the north of the country. The representation of OE /y (:)/as <i, y> or <e> in words such as *fire*, and of OE /o, a/ + nasal as <a> (*man*, *name*) allows us to also discard the West Midlands.

Eight of these nine texts clearly show an East-Anglian dialect, mostly from Norfolk or, at the most, from bordering areas in the adjoining counties. The LP for **Cambridge, Jesus College Q. D. 1, ff. 75v-121r** undoubtedly points to Norfolk and Suffolk. Here converge the features that follow: <et>, <-yt> as verbal inflections for the THIRD PERSON SINGULAR OF THE PRESENT INDICATIVE (LALME vol. 4: 323); <sc< instead of <sl>, as in *schleyth* (SLEYTH) (vol. 4: 322); *welle* and *wele* for WILL (vol. 4: 43); and the possessive HIS as *hese* (vol. 1: 543, map 1131; vol. 4: 314). The same may be said of: <wu> for <wo>, as in *wurmes* (vol. 4: 322); *weyn*, *seyth*, *seite*, *feyr*, for WINE, SIGHT and FIRE (vol. 4: 318); the addition of non-etymological initial <h> as in *his* and *holde* for IS and OLD (vol. 1: 500, map 849; vol. 4: 320); <w> for <u> as in *swche* for SUCH; or *porowgh* and *ynowgh*, instead of *porough* and *ynough* (vol. 4: 322). Other features such as <nk> for <ng> as in *stoppynk*, *thynk*, *pink*, *werkynk* (for STOPPING, THING and

WORKING) (vol. 4: 321) also take us to the two East-Anglian counties when checked against the restrictive <th> form in words written with <3> or <gh> in other dialects: *nyth*, *seyth*, *mythi* and *borowgth*, for NIGHT, SIGHT, MIGHTY and THROUGH (vol. 1: 387-388, rmaps 330 & 334; vol. 4: 94-96). The verb TO HAVE spelt as *hayt*, *hapt*, *hayth*, *haphth* has been attested only in Norfolk (vol. 4: 190), which might serve for a narrower localisation of this rmanuscript within East Anglia.

Applying the *fit-technique* to the forns found in **Cambridge, Gonville and Caius 6091340, ff. 20r-45v** leads us to the northwesternmost tip of Norfolk near Lincolnshire, as suggested by some hybrid or blend forms characteristic of border areas (vol 1: 26), such as *yhow* for THOUGH (*yhof* + *yow*) or *yhorow* for THROUGH (*yhoru* + *yhrow*). The former spellings are northern (vol. 4: 57), whereas the latter have been recorded in Norfolk (vol. 4: 99). This rmanuscript combines prototypical features of this East-Anglian county with others of a more northern distribution. Among the Norfolk ones, we should highlight *xalt* and *xuld* for SHALL and SHOULD (vol. 1: 342, rmaps 149-150), <w> for <u>, as in *drwnkyn* (vol. 4: 322), or *nowgth* for NOT, *nyth* for NIGHT, and *mowgth* (vol. 4: 83 & 94-96). The THIRD PERSON SINGULAR PRESENT INDICATIVE in <-s> had already reached the Midlands by the fifteenth century (Lass 1992: 136), and its use has been attested in Norfolk as well (vol. 4: 109).¹⁰ Other forms generally associated with the north, such as *ar* for ARE (vol. 4: 32), *hase*, for Present-Day English HAS (vol. 4: 190), *mot(e)* for MIGHT (vol. 4: 95), or <u> as the reflex of OE /ō/ (as in *ruse* and *gude* for ROSE and GODE) (vol. 4: 187) can still be accommodated in this East-Anglian county."

The plotting of the forns in **London, British Library, Sloane 706, ff. 21r-93v** takes us to the south of Norfolk or to bordering areas of Suffolk, with *xult* and *xal* (SHALL) (vol. 1: 342, maps 149-150), *feer* and *feyr* for FIRE (vol. 4: 170), *furste* for FIRST (vol. 4: 171), and *wyke* for WEEK (vol. 1: 444, map 559; vol. 4: 276). The addition of non-etymological <h>, as in *hony* for ANY, has been recorded in neighbouring areas of these two East-Anglian counties as well (vol. 2: 74; vol. 4: 29).¹²

London, British Library, Additional 29301, ff. 55r-89r may also be localised in East Anglia, with *nyth* for NIGHT (vol. 4: 94-96), *qwan*, *qwat*, *qwoso* or *qwer* for WHEN, WHAT, WHO or WHERE (vol. 1: 372, maps 270-274), and *hese* for the possessive HIS (vol. 1: 543, map 1131; vol. 4: 314). <Sc|> instead of <sl> (*sleep* as *sclepe* and *slay* as *scleyth*) (vol. 4: 322), the SECOND PERSON SINGULAR OF THE PRETERITE OF DO as *deddyst* (vol. 4: 153), and *wyke* for WEEK (vol. 1: 444, map 559; vol. 4: 276), also coincide in this area. The very restrictive forms *chult* and *chal* for SHALL (vol. 1: 340, rmap 142) point again to Norfolk as the most likely area of provenance within this East-Midland region.

London, British Library, Sloane 404, ff. 2r-243r; 294r-319v may be placed in East Anglia too, as shown by the coexistence of forms such as *ffurste* for FIRST (vol. 4: 125), the addition of non-etymological <h> as in *halle* for ALL, *his* for IS (vol. 4: 320), or the form *theym* for THEM (vol. 4: 13). *No3th* for NOT has been recorded relatively often for Norfolk only (vol.

1: 377, rmap 289; vol. 2: 200), which should allow for localisation in this county rather than in Suffolk.

London, British Library, Sloane 297, ff. 72r-78v is also to be localised in the same area, with *ny3th* for NIGHT (vol. 1: 387-388, maps 330 & 334) and <s|> as <scl>, as in *scleyth* and *sclepe* for SLAY and SLEEP (vol. 4: 322). The form in <-yth> for weak past participles, as in *callyth* for CALLED, has been recorded for the whole of East Anglia as well (vol. 4: 324-325), while, as noted above, *no3th* for NOT (vol. 1: 377, rmap 289; vol. 2: 200) seems to allow for the exclusion of Suffolk in favour of Norfolk.

In **London, British Library, Sloane 635, ff. 35r-69v**, the plotting offeer for FIRE (vol. 1: 406, rmap 408), of *moch* and *mych* for MUCH (vol. 4: 30-31), and of the THIRD PERSON SINGULAR PRESENT SUFFIX <-yt> (vol. 4: 111), together with *furste* for FIRST (vol. 4: 125), broadly locates the manuscript in the eastern part of the Midlands, probably the area comprising Leicestershire, the south of Lincolnshire, Ely and Norfolk. A narrower localisation within the remaining counties is possible if we take into consideration that the use of <w> for <u>, as in *abowt* or *mowth*, reduces the area to Norfolk and Suffolk. Having said that, the items SAY found as *saye* (vol. 4: 241), and THOUGH found as *pogh* (vol. 4: 58), have not been attested in Suffolk. Other forms like *sschal* and *sschul* for SHALL and SHOULD (vol. 1, 341, rmap 146), or *porw* for THROUGH (vol. 4: 97), do certainly confirm the Norfolk provenance of the language of the text, as it overlaps in this area with the realisations of the previous items.

London, British Library, Sloane 1764, ff. 47r-114v shows fewer local usages than the manuscripts just analysed, but its LP entries point to Norfolk again after the plotting of forms like *porowgh* (THROUGH) (vol. 4: 97), *nought* (NOT) (vol. 4: 83), *ffeer* (FIRE) (vol. 4: 170), and *furste* (FIRE) (vol. 4: 125). The absence of inflection to express the THIRD PERSON SINGULAR PRESENT INDICATIVE seems to further restrict the dialectal provenance of the text to the area between the Isle of Ely and Norfolk (vol. 4: 110). Furthermore, on the flyleaf of this codex there is a note dated on April 1, 1463, which mentions Saint Margaret's Church, from Norwich (Norfolk)."

The last of these East-Midland manuscripts is **Cambridge, Trinity College R. 14.32, ff. 128r-129v, 8r, 8v, 10v, 11r, 18r, 18v, 19r, 28r, 61r-64r**. The authors of *LALME* talked about the copyists of the different texts within the codex as "various hands in similar language" (vol. 3: 127, LP 6300), and turned them all into a single Essex LP. The item forms of the *CI* part alone do certainly overlap in the easternmost part of the Midlands, and the *fit-technique* points to an area comprising Essex and the very south of Suffolk. This manuscript shows <w> for <u> (vol. 4: 322), <ou> before nasals, as in *tounge* (vol. 4: 319), *feyre*, *fyer* and *fyre* for FIRE (vol. 1: 406-407, maps 408-410), and *hur* for HER (vol. 1: 310, rmap 23). They all coincide in this part of the country when plotted against the restrictive form *mony* for MANY, which is not so common in Suffolk, let alone Norfolk (vol. 1: 327, rmap 91; vol. 2: 62).

Another five manuscripts were written in a more western language. These texts include features such as the reflex of OE /o/a/ + nasal consonant as <o> (*mon* and *nome* for MAN and

NAME, respectively),¹⁴ or rounded vowels for the representation of the evolution of OE /y (:)/.¹⁵ The orthographic representation <eo>, prototypical of the southwest, appears in these manuscripts not only as a reflex of OE <eo>, but also as what J. J. Smith defines as “‘back-spellings’ in the sense that they indicate an unhistorical spread of eo [...] to contexts which had never had them in OE” (1991: 58): *neose* (<OE *nosu*), *meofon* (<OF *moveir*, L *mouere*).

One of these manuscripts is **London, Medical Society, MS 131, ff. 3r-56v**. It may be placed in the border area between Herefordshire, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, with *IT* as *hit* (vol. 1: 310, map 24), *mon* and *nome* for *MAN* and *NAME* (vol. 1: 328, map 95), *lyfer* or *fefer* for *LIVER* and *FEVER* (vol. 4: 322), *treo* for *TREE*, and *beo* / *beop* as forms of the verb *TO BE* (vol. 4: 33). From OE /y:/. *FIRE* appears as *fuyr* (vol. 1: 407, map 412), *LITTLE* as *luytil* (vol. 1: 419, map 459), and *FILTH* as *fulþe* (vol. 1: 526, map 998), while *FILL* and *FIRST*, from OE /y/, can be found as *fulle* and *furst* (vol. 1: 526, map 995; 409, map 417). The plotting of these items with *THEIR* and *HER* as *hur(e)* (vol. 1: 320, map 62; 310, map 23), and *EACH* as *vchon* converge in this region (vol. 1: 327, map 89). *Sugg-* for the verb *TO SAY* is a very restrictive prototypical feature of this area (vol. 1: 431, map 508; vol. 4, 241-242).

The language in **London, British Library, Sloane 1088, ff. 1a-60b** is very similar to that of the previous manuscript. The application of the *fit-technique* locates the text in the border territory delimited by Herefordshire, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, with *mon* for *MAN* (vol. 1: 328, map 95), *abofen* for *ABOVE* (vol. 4: 322), and *beop* or *beon* as forms of the verb *TO BE* (vol. 4: 33). *FIRE* appears as *fuyr* (vol. 1: 407, map 412), *LITTLE* as *luytil* (vol. 1: 419, map 459), and *FILTH*, *FILL* and *FIRST* as *fulþe* (vol. 1: 526, map 998), *fulle* (vol. 1: 526, map 995), and *frust* (vol. 1: 409, map 418) or *furst* (vol. 1: 409, map 417). *HER* is found as *hur* (vol. 1: 310, map 23), and *sugg-* is also used for *SAY* (vol. 1: 431, map 508), restricting the dialectal area of provenance of the manuscript to that small part of the southwestern Midlands.

London, British Library, Sloane 105, ff. 66r-100v does not display too many local traits, but the plotting on maps of the following forms seems to point to the south of Staffordshire: *hit* for *IT* (vol. 1: 310, map 24), *fuir* for *FIRE* (vol. 1: 407, map 412), *bip* for *ARE* (vol. 4: 33), *pau3* for *THOUGH* (vol. 4: 58), and *þur3* for *THROUGH* (vol. 4: 101).

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1477, ff. 114r-195v contains forms like *fulthe* (vol. 1: 526, map 998), *full* (vol. 1: 526, map 995), and *furste* (vol. 1: 409, map 417) for *FILTH*, *FILL* and *FIRST*. A more accurate delimitation of the territory is certainly possible thanks to some other questionnaire forms that limit the area to the upper half of the county of Warwickshire, within the triangle formed by the north of Worcestershire, the south of Staffordshire and the southwest of Leicestershire. Thus, we can find in the text the *THIRD PERSON PLURAL OF PRESENT INDICATIVE* verbs ending in <-ythe> (vol. 4: 111), *LITTLE* as *lytte* (vol. 4: 211), and other forms like *maye* (vol. 4: 215), *nowght* (vol. 4: 83) and *thorowgh* (vol. 4: 97), for *MAY*, *NOT* and *THROUGH*, recorded for Leicestershire, as well as *by3ende* (vol. 4: 133) or *thowgh* (vol. 4: 57), attested in Worcesterhire.

Cambridge, CUL Ee. 1.13 displays many traits that lead us to an area of Herefordshire not far from the neighbouring counties of Worcestershire and Gloucestershire, but it also contains features of a possible East-Anglian source text. However, for reasons of space, we are not going to deal with these eastern traits here. Some of the western characteristics that allow for its localisation are: hit for IT (vol. 1: 310, rnap 24), *mon* for MAN (vol. 1: 328, rnap 95) and *mony* for MANY (vol. 1: 327, rnap 91), or *bip* for ARE (vol. 4: 33). Both the combination of *fuyr*, *fuyre*, *fyr* for FIRE (vol. 1: 407, rnap 412; vol. 4: 322), alongside initial <v> for <f> in *vire* and *vyr* (vol. 4: 322),¹⁶ and the occurrence of <f> where <v> would be expected (*fyneger*) (vol. 4: 322), point to the southwestern counties. The plotting of more restrictive forms like *sugg-* for SAY (vol. 1: 431, rnap 508), *þrow3* and *þrow3e* for THROUGH (vol. 4: 101), *brunn-* for BURN (vol. 4: 137), *þeke* for THE SAME (vol. 4: 239-240), *silf(e)* and *silue* for SELF (vol. 4: 249), and the occurrence of <-en> plurals for nouns other than those weak in OE, such as *honden* for HANDS (vol. 4: 323), locate the text in the aforementioned area. As may be inferred from Renaissance marginal annotations, yeomen in Derbyshire seem to have later owned the text in the sixteenth century.¹⁷

The manuscript **Leeds, Ripon Cathedral XVIII, H. 1 [2], ff. H6r-H6v**, a small fragment of the *CJ* written in the margins of a 1493 incunable, is almost illegible and too short to localise, but verb inflections for the THIRD PERSON SINGULAR OF THE PRESENT INDICATIVE (*growethe*, *comforythe*) suggest that it should be a Midland or southern text.

Finally, the ME manuscript **London, British Library, Egerton 2433** can be associated with the north of England. After the plotting of the questionnaire items, the place of provenance of the language of this manuscript should not be situated in the rnap any lower than Lincolnshire. The most restrictive forms are the pronouns (*yei*, *yam*) (vol. 4: 11, 14), the singular and plural verbal forms in <-s>, (vol. 4: 108-111), the reflex of OE /ð/ as <u> in *gud* (GOOD) (vol. 4: 187), the absence of palatalisation, as in *mykyll*, *mykill* (MUCH) (vol. 4: 31), or *3off* (THOUGH) (vol. 4: 59).

Even though little evidence remains, the Salernitan *Liher de simplici medicina* was also used in northern parts of England. R. Beadle (1994) and J. B. Friedman (1995) call our attention to the fact that manuscripts of northern provenance were more and more common since the turn of the fourteenth century. The name Platearius was written in a catalogue compiled in 1372 by the Austin monks of York (Getz, 1998: 50), but we can only speculate about the works they had, for this could have been *Johannis Platearius* as much as *Matthaeus*, the author of the *Practica brevis*. However, Friedman makes specific reference to a *CJ* manuscript mentioned in a testament, and even though he does not provide any further evidence (1995: 263), in one of the edited wills from York (Raine, 1836: 343), we can read that a Doctor in Medicine called John Parker legated a medical book entitled *Circumstans* to the Vicar of Hamsthwaite in West Riding Yorkshire.¹⁸ This title is, beyond doubt, a mistranscription for the words *Circa instans*. Moreover, Anthony Higgin, founder of Ripon Cathedral Library and Dean from 1608 to 1624, offered his books to this library in North Yorkshire, as stated in his testament preserved in the York Registry (Fowler, 1873). Among them, there was the above-mentioned 1493 incunable

with Pietro di Crescenzi's work *Ruralia Commoda*. The spelling of one of the former owners of this book, whose name is illegible, betrays his northern origin, for we can read "awe thys bowke" (LALME vol. 4: 234). The language of the *CI* fragments which were written in the margins of this volume are not northern, but the text ended in northern hands as it has just been shown.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Platearius' work offered a comprehensive collection of easy medical remedies based on vegetal, animal and mineral simples. It also provided a few recipes with instructions for embalming corpses, for depilation, to do one's nails, to protect books from worms and to kill mice. In other languages and countries, *De simplicibus medicina* proved to be a reference work very much used and read in academic, professional, aristocratic and domestic circles. Our study of the *CI* in England has revealed a similar trajectory, given that most of the extant evidence points to a work that circulated in the lower half of the island among religious houses, medical practitioners, gardeners and yeomen. This is supported, on the one hand, by certain toponymical references in the Latin manuscripts mainly, and, on the other hand, by the fact that most of the ME copies were written in Midland varieties of the language, which, curiously enough, happen to point to virtually the same areas where the *Antidotarium Nicholai* was copied and owned. A more northerly distribution has also been confirmed, not only by the language of a ME copy and the spelling of the owner of a book with a *CI* fragment, but also by references made to Platearius' work in some wills and documents from York. Based on the extant evidence, these are the places connected with the *CI* in England, either geographically or dialectally speaking (See Map in appendix I). Considering that there must have been many more copies that are now lost, its distribution must have been much denser and wider.¹⁹ This study has presented further proof of the widespread influence of Platearius' twelfth-century treatise on simples. The linguistic and toponymical evidence directly extracted from the analysis of its extant manuscripts has contributed to filling in some gaps in the hitherto unknown distribution of this work in England.

NOTES

1. Cambridge, Peterhouse 52, ff. 95r-100v (13th/14th c.); Cambridge, Trinity College R. 14.40, pp. 51-118 (12th-13th c.); London, BL Sloane 209, ff. 3r-40v (13th c.); London, Wellcome Library 536, ff. 13r-34r (late 13th c.); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 197, ff. 4v-33r (13th c.).

2. Manuscripts with the *Antidotarium Nicholai* and the Latin *CI* are, for example, Cambridge, Peterhouse 52; Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 14. 40; London, Wellcome Library 536; and Oxford, Pembroke College 15. Manuscripts with the Latin *Antidotarium* and an English *CI* are: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius 6091340; and with the *Antidotarium* and the *CI* in Middle Dutch, London, British Library, Additional70515.1 am grateful to María José Carrillo-Linares for sharing with me her own list of manuscripts of the *Antidotarium Nicholai*.

3. Apart from those in note 1, see also Cambridge, Trinity College R. 14.32, ff. 151r-168r (15th c.); Cambridge, Trinity College O. 9. 10, ff. 137r-140v (15th c.); London, BL Royal 12 E.V., ff. 1r-93v (14th c.); London, BL

Sloane 390, ff. **49a-71a // 73a-168b** (14th c.); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Wood **Empt. 15 (sc. 8603)**, ff. **106r-116v** (15th c.).

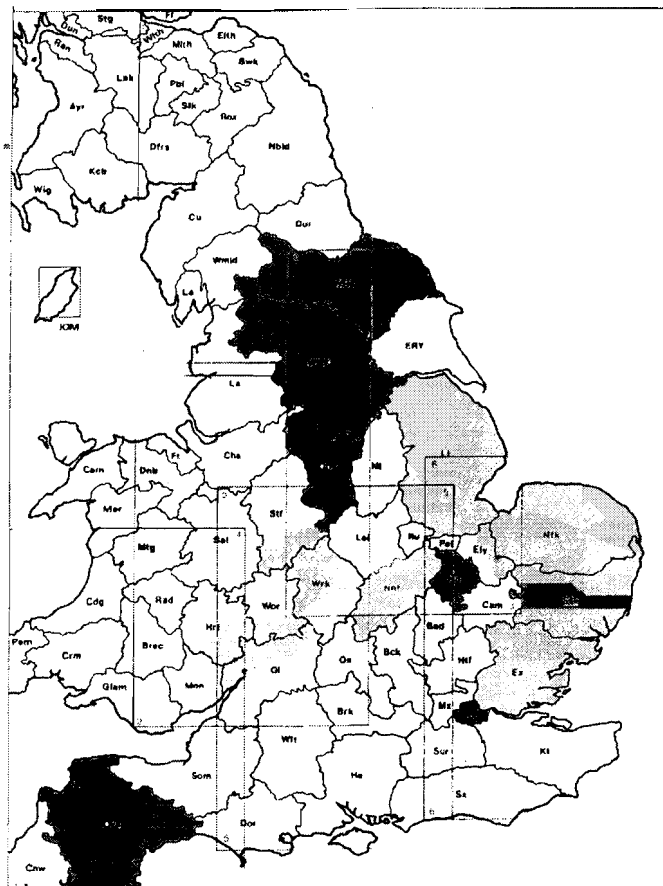
4. For a more detailed description of the *fit-technique*, see Benskin (1991).
5. A very similar distribution has been devised for the ME copies of the *Antidotarium* Nicholui, another influential pharmacological treatise composed at Salerno. See M. J. Carrillo-Linares in this volume.
6. For more information about the intended readers of the vemacularised CI, see Garrido-Anes (2004)
7. On the flyleaf: "Iste liber est communitatis domus S. Petri ex legato mag. Johannis de Stokes, Doctoris in Medicinacuius anime propicietur Deus" [This book belongs to the House of the Community of Saint Peter, as it was legated by the Master John of Stoke, Doctor in Medicine. May God be favourable to his soul].
8. On the flyleaf: "Bryngton, Lyncoln. Dioc. Super Bronswolde"
9. All further references belong to LALME, unless othenwise specified.
10. Even if LALME does not provide any information regarding the approximate time span in which the forms recorded were used within the two centuries covered, some features, like <-s> third person singular in Norfolk are, obviously, later. For more information on the need for the dating of variants for purposes of dialectal localization. see Williamson (2004).
11. My thanks to Jeremy J. Smith for his remarks on the probable Norfolk provenance of the text.
12. Beadle (1991: 103) already included the whole codex in a list of manuscripts apparently copied by Norfolk scribes, but no LP was provided.
13. "Certificatio Petri Cantele, Rectoris ecclesiae Sanctae Margaretae [...], Norwicen [...] Dat. 1 Apr. 1463" (f. 3r). [Certificate of Peter Cantele, Rector of the Church of Saint Margaret [...], Nonvich [...] dated on 1 April 1463].
14. Towards the beginning of the fourteenth century, the form *man* was beginning to penetrate the West Midlands through Derbyshire, Wanvickshire, Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire. Other counties like Staffordshire, Worcestershire and Herefordshire seem to have retained mon longer. See G. Kristensson 1987: 209-215.
15. OE /y (:)/ remained in Cheshire and most of Derbyshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, and the westemmost part of Leicestershire, in Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, Gloucestershire, and Oxfordshire. It appeared as /i (:)/ in eastem Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and the east of Leicestershire. See Kristensson (1987: 209-215).
16. For more information on the origin and expansion of initial voiced fricatives, see Nielsen (1994), and Kristensson (1987: 209-215).
17. Grateful acknowledgement is here made to Michael Benskin for taking a look at the LPs, and also to Peter M. Jones for helping me to decipher the sixteenth-century marginal scribbling that relates these CI-Renaissance readers with the county of Derbyshire.
18. "Item lego vicario de Hamsthwayt. i. librum vocatum *Circumstans*" [Thus, I bequeath a book called *Circumstans* to the Vicar of Hamsthwaite].
19. Right before submitting this article, we happened to identify one more CI text in ME among the herbal material contained in London, British Library, Sloane 770, ff. **45v-48v**. It seems to be written in a central Midland dialect, maybe from Northamptonshire, but no concluding remarks can be made until more work is done on it.

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APPENDIX I: Map**



Licht colour: broad distribution of *CI*, based on linguistic evidence

Dark colour: broad distribution of *CI*, based on toponymical references

** This Map is based on the *LALME* county map and is here used with the author's permission.

APPENDIX II: Linguistic Profiles

Jesus College O.D.1

HER: here, hyr	A. O: o	EVLL: euyll, euyll, (yuyll)
LT: it	THERE: þer	FLRE: fyre, fere (feyr)
THEY: þey	WHERE: were	FIRST: fyrst ((furst))
THEM: hem	MIGHT: cf. n. nyth, seyth;	GIVE: imp. yeue
THEIR: here, her	adj. mytthi	GOOD: adj. god
SUCH: swche	THROUGH: þorowgh, þorough	HAVE : 3rd sg. hayt, hapt , hayth,
MANY: many	(þorou, þorowe) ((þorowgth))	hapt , hath; 2nd sg. hafte; pl. haue
MAN: man	WHEN: wane, wan	HIGHT: hane
ANY: any (ony)	PRESENT PPLE: -yng (ynk)	HIM: hym, hem
MUCH: moche	VERBAL SUBSTANTIVE: -yng	HOW: hough
ARE: bene. be	(ynk)	KIND: kende
IS: is (his)	3rd SING. PRES. IND.: -eth, -eþ,	LITTLE: lyttyl, lytyl
SHALL: sg. schal, schalle;	yth, (-et, -yt)	MAY: 3rdsg. may; pl. mowe
pl. schull	PRESENT PL.: O, -yn, -yth	NICH: adj. ny
WILL: sg. wyll, wyl, (welle,	WEAK PAST PP.: -yd	OLD: holde
wele); pl. wol.	ABOVE: prep. abouen	SAY: pl. seye
IF: yf	ASK: ask-	TOGETHER: togedyr
AGAINST: ayen (again)	BE: pp. ben	WEEK: weke
AGAIN: ayen (ageyn)	CALL: pp. callyd, clepyd	WHO: woso
SINCE : seþ	DO: 3rd sg. doyth; pret. dede	-ER : -er
WH-: w-	DOWN: adown	
NOT: nowt, not	ENOUGH: ynowgh	

Cambridee, Gonville & Caius 609/340

IT: it (yt)	A. O: o	GOOD: gode, god (gude)
THEY: yei	THERE: yer (ther)	HAVE : 3rd sg. has, hase; 2nd sg.
THEM: yem	MICHT: cf. nyth	has
THEIR: yeir	THROUGH: yhorow	HIGH: hy-
SUCH: such	WHEN: when	HILL: pl. hyllis
WHICH: ye which	PRESENT IND.: -yng	HIM: hym
MANY: many	VERBAL SUBSTANTIVE: -yng	KIND: kind
MAN: man	3rd SING. PRES. IND.: -is, -ys	LESS: less
MUCH: mych	(-es)	LITTLE: lytyll
ARE: be (ben) ((ar))	PRESENT PL.: O	MAY: 2. sg. mayst; pl. may
IS : is	WEAK PAST PP: -yd	NEITHER + NOR: neiyer + nor
SHALL: sg. xall, xal, xalt (schall)	STRONC PAST PP: -en, -yn	OLD: old
SHOULD: xuld	ABOUT: prep. about	OR: or
WILL: 2nd sg. wylt; 3rd sg. wyll	ABOVE: prep. aboue	OUT: owt, out
WOULD: wyld	BE: inf. be	SAY: pl. say
FROM: from ((frame))	BOTH: both	SELF: self
THEN: yen, yan	BUT: butt , but	THREE: thre
THAN: yan	CALL: pl. call; pp. cald, callyd	UNTIL: tyll
THOUGH: yhow	DO: 3rd sg. doys	WHAT: -what
IF: if	DOWN: down	WHETHER: whedyr
ACAIN: a3eyn (agayn)	FIRE: fyr	-ER : -er
SINCE: conj. syth, seth	FIRST: first	-EST : -est
YET: 3et	GIVE: imp. 3yff, 3eue; 3rd sg.	
WH-: wh-	3yuys; pp. 3ouen, 3euen	
NOT: nott, nowgth		

London. BL Sloane 706

SHE: sche
HER: here, hyre
IT: it
THEY: þey
THEM: hem
THEIR: here, hyre
SUCH: such, suche
MANY: many
MAN: man
ANY: ony ((hony))
MUCH: moche, moch
ARE: ben (be)
IS: is, ys
ART: art
SHALL: sg. schall (schal) ((xalt, xal)); pl.: schulle, schull, schul
WILL: sg. wole; 2nd sg. wolte
pl.: wole
FROM: from
AFTER: after
THEN: þane, þanne
THAN: þan, þanne
THOUGH: þou3, þowgh
IF: if, yf
AGAINST: ayen (ageyn)
AGAIN: ayen
ERE: conj.: or
SINCE: conj: seþþe
WHILE: whyles, whyle
WH-: wh-
NOT: not (nought)
A. O: o
WORK: vb.: werk-worche
THERE: þer
WHERE: wher-

MIGHT: vb. 2nd sg. myghte,
nyght ((mayst)) **conf.** n. syghte.
nyght, adv. myghtly, lyghtly
THROUGH: þorowgh, þorough
WHEN: whanne, whan
PRESENT IND.: -yng, -yngce,
-inge
VERBAL SUBSTANTIVE: -yng,
-yngce, -inge
3rd SING. PRES. IND.: -eþh, -eþ
PRESENT PL.: O, -en
WEAK PAST PP.: -yd, -ed ((-yt))
STRONG PAST PP.: Ø, -en
ABOUT: prep. abowte
ABOVE: prep. aboue
AMONG: prep. among, amonge
ASK: ask-
AWAY: away
BE: pp. be
BEFORE: adv. tofore, afore;
prep. tofore
BEYOND: beyende, beyend
BOTH: boþe
BURN: vb. brenn-; pp.: Brent
BURY: pp. beried
BUT: but
CALL: pp. clepyd
DO: inf. do; 3rd sg. pres. **doop**;
2nd sg. pret. dedyst; 3rd **sg.** pret.
dyde; pp.: don
DOWN: **doun**, adoun
ENOUGH: ynough (ynow)
EVIL: yuyll, yvyll, yvyle
FILL: fylle
FILTH: fylþe
FIRE: feer, feyr, (ffeer)

FIRST: furste
FLESH: flessch
GIVE: imp. yeue; pp.: youen,
yeuen
GOOD: adj. good
HAVE: **inf.** haue; 3rd sg. hath;
2nd sg. hast; **pl.** haue
HILL: hyll-
HIM: hym
HOW: hought
KIND: kynde
LESS: lesse, lasse
LITTLE: lytyll
MAY: sg. may; **pl.** mowen
NEITHER + NOR: neþer + ne
NEVER: neuere
NEW: nywe
NIGH: ny
OLD: old
OR: or
OUT: owt
SAY: inf.: seye; pres. pl.: seye;
pp.: seyð
SELF: sg. self, selff
SILVER: syluer
TOGETHER: togydre
WEEK: sg. wyke
WHAT: -what
WHETHER: wheþer
WHO: whoso
WHOSE: whos
WITHOUT: prep. adv.: withowte
-ER: -er

London. BL Additional 29301

HER: hyr, hyre, here
IT: it
THEY: þei
THEM: hem
THEIR: here
SUCH: suche
MANY: many
MAN: nian
ANY: any
MUCH: moche
ARE: beþ, ben
IS: is
ART: art
SHALL: 2ⁿ sg. chalt, schalt; **3ⁿ**
sg. pres.: chal, schal; pl.: schal,
chal
WILL: wol

WOULD: wold
FROM: fro
AFTER: aftir
THEN: þan, þanne
THAN: þan, þanne
THOUGH: þei
IF: 3ef, 3if, yf, if
AGAINST: a3en, a3eyn (a3ens)
AGAIN: a3en
ERE: conj. er
SINCE: adv. syth, siþ; conj. siþen
WHILE: whiles
WH-: wh (qw) ((w))
NOT: no3t
A. O: o
WORK: vb. werch-
THERE: þer

WHERE: qwer-
MIGHT: 2ⁿ sg. my3t; cf. n.
sight. li3t, nyght, nyth; cf. adv.
ly3tly
THROUGH: þro3
WHEN: when, whan, qwan
((wan))
PRESENT PP.: -yng
VERBAL SUBST.: -yng
3ⁿ SING. PRESENT IND.: -iþ,
-eþ, -yth, -eþ
PRESENT PL.: O, -iþ, -eþ
WEAK PAST PP.: -yd, -ed, id
((et))
STRONG PAST PP.: -en, O
ABOUT: prep. abowt. about
ABOVE: prep. aboue

AMONG: prep. among
 ASK: ax-
 BE: pp. ben, be
 BEFORE: adv. befor, fore,
 before; prep. tofor
 BEYOND: be3onde
 BOTH: bothe
 BURN: bren-
 BUT: but
 CALL: clepid, clepyd
 DO: inf. don; **3^a sg.** pres. **doþ**;
2^a sg. pret. dedyst; **3^a sg.** pret.
 dede; pp. don
 DOWN: **doun**
 ENOUGH: inow
 EVIL: eucl
 FILL: fille
 FILTH: filþ
 FIRE: fyre
 FIRST: ferst. first

FLESH: flesche
 GIVE: imp. 3eue; **pp.** 3ouen,
 3euen
 GOOD: adj. gode
HAVE: inf. haue, **3^a sg.** haþ, pl.
 haþ, han, haue
 HIGHT: hat
 HILL: hill
 HIM: hym
 HOW: how
 KIND: kende
 LESS: lesse, lasse
 LITTLE: litel
 MAY: sg. may; pl. may
 NEITHER + NOR: **noþer**
 NEVER: **neuer**
 NEW: newe
 NIGH: adj. neye, neygh, nere,
 ne3e
 OLD: old

OR: **oþer**
 OUT: owt
 THE SAME: þilke
 SAY: inf. say; **pl.** seiþ; pp. -
 seyde
 SELF: self
SILVER: seluer
 TOGETHER: togedir, togeder
 TWO: two
 WEEK: wyke
 WHAT: what, qwat
 WHETHER: **wheþer**
 WHO: whoso, qwoso
 WHOSE: whos-
 WITHOUT: prep. wiþowte,
 wiþouten
-ER: -ere, -er
-LY: -ly

London, BL. Sloane 404

SHE: sche
 HER: her
 IT: it (yt)
 THEY: they
 THEM: them (theym)
 THEIR: here
 SUCH: suche
 WHICH: the whiche
 MANY: many
 MAN: man
 ANY: any
 MUCH: moche
 ARE: be
IS: ys (his)
 SHALL: sg. shal
 SHOULD: sg. schulde
 WILL: sg. wyl ((wiil))
 WOULD: wolde
 FROM: frome

AFTER: after
 THEN: then
 AGAINST: ayenste
 WH-: wh-
 NOT: not (no3th)
 O: o
 WHERE: **where-**
 MIGHT: might; cf. sight
 THROUGH: thorow
 WHEN: whan
 PRESENT PP.: -yng
 VERBAL SUBST.: -yng
 3rd SING. PRESENT IND.: -yth,
 -eth
 PRESENT PL.: **O**
 WEAK PAST PP.: -yd, -ed
 STRONG PAST PP.: -en
 ALL: halle
 BEFORE: adv. byfore, byffore

CALL: pp. called
 DO: **3^a sg.** douth
 DOWN: **doun**
 EVIL: euyl
 FIRE: ffyre
 FIRST: ffurste
 GIVE: pp. yeuen ((yeued))
 GOOD: adj. good
 GROW: **grow-**
HAVE: sg. hath; **pl.** haue
 HOW: how
 LITTLE: litil
 SAY: inf. say; sey-; pp. seyde
 TOGETHER: togeders, togiders
 WHAT: what
YOU: yow, you
 YOUR: your

London, BL, Sloane 297

HER: her
 IT: yt (hit, hyt)
 THEY: þey
 THEM: hem (them)
 THEIR: here
 MAN: man
 ANY: any
 ARE: byn, byth
IS: is
 ART: art
 SHALL: **sg.** schall
 IF: yf
 AGAINST: ayenst

WH-: wh-
 A. O: o
 WHERE: where
 MIGHT: cf. ny3th
 WHEN: whan
 PRESENT PP.: -ing, -yng
 3rd SING. PRESENT IND.: -yth
 PRESENT PL.: -yth (0)
 WEAK PAST PP.: -yd (-yth)
 STRONG PAST PP.: -yn, O
 BE: pp. be
 BEFORE: adv. afore
 BUT: but

DO: **3^a sg.** doth
 FIRST: ferst
 GOOD: adj. good
HAVE: inf. haue; 3^a sg. hath; **pl.** haue
 HILL: hyll-
 LITTLE: lytyl
 OLD: olde
 THE SAME: þylke
 -scl- for *st-*: *scleyth, sclepe*

London, BL, Sloane 635

HER: her
IT: yt ((hyt))
 THEY: þey
 THEM: hem
 THEIR: here
 SUCH: such
 MAN: man
 ANY: any
 MUCH: moch, mych
 ARE: ben
IS: ys
 SHALL: **sg.** sschal, sschul
 WILL: **sg.** will, wol
 THOUGH: þogh
 IF: yf
 SINCE: adv. setthyn

WH-: wh-
 A. O: o
 WHERE: where
 MIGHT: cf. nyght, syght
 THROUGH: þorw
 WHEN: when, whan
 PRESENT PP.: -yng
 3^a SING. PRESENT IND.: -eth (-yt)
 PRESENT PL.: -en, -yth, -eth
 STRONG PAST PP.: 0, -en
 ABOUT: **abowt**
 ASK: **ax-**
 BUT: but
 EVIL: yvell, yvel
 FILL: fill

FIRE: feer
 FIRST: **first** (furst)
 FLESCHE: fflesch
 GIVE: yeve
 GOOD: adj. good
HAVE: 3^a sg.: hath; **pl.** han
 HILL: hill
 HOW: how
 LITTLE: lytel, lytell
 MAY: **sg.** may; **pl.** mow
 NIGH: adj. nyghe
 OTHER: **woper**
 THE SAME: thilke, thylke
 SAY: inf. saye

London, BL, Sloane 1764

HER: hire
 IT: it
 THEY: þey
 THEM: hem
 THEIR: here, hire
 SUCH: suche
 MAN: man
 ANY: any
 MUCH: moche
 ARE: ben
IS: is
 SHALL: **sg.** schall, schal
 WILL: **sg.** wole
 THEN: þan, þanne

IF: yf
 AGAINST: ayen
SINCE conj.: **seþþe**
 WH-: wh-
 NOT: nought
 A. O: o
 WHERE: where-
 MIGHT: cf. nyght
 THROUGH: þorowgh
 WHEN: whanne
 PRESENT PP.: -ynge
 VERBAL SUBST.: -ynge
 3rd SING. PRESENT IND.: -eth, -eþ, Ø

PRESENT PL.: -eþ, -en
 WEAK PAST PP.: -ed, -yd
 STRONG PAST PP.: 0, -en
 ALL: all
 ASK: ask-
 BE: pp. be
 BUT: but
 CALL: pp. **called**
 DOWN: adown
 EVIL: yuyll
 FILL: fille
 FIRE: ffeer
 FIRST: furste
 GIVE: imp. yeue

GOOD: adj. good
HAVE: inf. **have**; 3rd sg. hath,
hab; **pl.** haue
 HILL: hill-
 HOW: hough

KIND: kind
 LITTLE: **litill**
 MAY: sg. may
 NIGH: adj. ny

SAY: inf. seye; **pl.** sey; pp.
 seyð
 TOGETHER: togyder

Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 14. 32

HER: hir, hur (her)
 IT: it
 THEY: they
 THEM: hem
 THEIR: **here**, her
 SUCH: such
 MANY: mony
 MAN: man
 ANY: ony
 MUCH: nioch
 ARE: be, ben
IS: is
 SHALL: sg. schall, schal, **pl.** schull
 WILL: sg. will
 THEN: than, then
 THOUGH: though
IF: if, yf
 AGAINST: **ayen**
 AGAIN: agayne
 WH-: **wh**-
 NOT: not
 A. O: o
 THERE: there

MIGHT: cf. sight, sighte, nyght,
ryght
 THROUGH: thorough, thorough
 WHEN: whan
 PRESENT PP.: **-yng, -ing**
 3rd SING. PRESENT IND.:
-yth, -ith, -eth
 PRESENT PL.: **-eth**
 WEAK PAST PP.: **-ed, -id, -yd**
 ((-eth))
 STRONG PAST PP.: **O, -en**
 ABOUT: prep. aboute
 ABOVE: adv. aboue
 BOTH: bothe
 BURN: pp. brent
 BUT: but
 CALL: pp. called
 DO: 3 **sg.** pres. ind.: doth
 DOWN: downe
 FILL: fill
 FILTH: **filth**
 FIRE: fyer, fyre, feyre,
 FIRST: furste
 FLESH: flesche

GIVE: pp. yeuen, youen;
 imp. yeue
 GOOD: gode ((good))
HAVE: 3rd **sg.** hath
 HIM: him (hym)
 KIND: kynde
 LESS: lasse
 LITTLE: lytyll
 MAY sg.: maye
 NEW: newe
 NIGH: nye
 OR: or
 OUT: oute
 SELF: self
SILVER: siluer
 TOGETHER: togeddyr,
 togedir, togedder
 TWO: twoo
 UNTIL: till
 WELL: adv. wele

London, Medical Society, MS 131

HER: her (hur)
 IT: it (hit)
 THEY: **þei**
 THEM: hem
 THEIR: her (hure)
 SUCH: suche
 EACH: vchon
 MANY: many, manye
 MAN: mon
 ANY: ony, any, eny
 MUCH: niyche, muche
 ARE: **beþ, beoþ, beep**
IS: is
 SHALL: sg. chal, schal; **pl.**
 schuleþ, shulen
 WILL: sg. wol, wil, wolle; **pl.**
 wileþ
 WOULD: wilt
 FROM: fro
 AFTER: aftur

THEN: þenne
 THAN: þan
 THOUGH: þau3
IF: 3ef, 3if (if)
 AGAINST: a3en, a3eyn
 ERE: conj. er
 SINCE: adv. sipþe
 conj.: seþþe
 WHILE: whilis
 WH-: **wh**-
 NOT: nou3t, no3t
 A. O: o
 WORK: vb. worch-
 THERE: þer
 WHERE: wher-
 MIGHT: vb. 2 sg. my3t; cf.
 n.: si3t, ny3t, ri3t; adj.:
 my3ti
 THROUGH: þorou3, þro3u
 WHEN: whenne, whan

PRESENT PP.: **-yng**
 VERBAL SUBST.: **-yng**
 3rd SING. PRESENT IND.: **-eþ,**
-iþ, -ith
 PRESENT PL.: **-eþ, -en**
 WEAK PAST PP.: **-id, -ed**
 STRONG PAST PP.: **-en**
 ABOUT: prep. aboute
 ABOVE: prep. aboue
 ALL: **alle**
 AMONG: prep. among
 ASK: ax
 BE: **inf.** beo, ben
 BEFORE: adv. tofore, toforen;
 prep. tofore
 BEYOND: **bi3onde**
 BOTH: **boþe**
 BURN: **brenn-**
 BUT: bote

DO: 3rd sg. pres. **doip**; 3rd sg. pret.: **dude**
 DOWN: **doun**
 ENOUGH: **ynow, ynou3**
 EVIL: **yuel**
 FILL: imp. **fulle**
 FILTH: **fulþe**
 FIRE: **fuyr**
 FIRST: **furst**
 FLESH: **flesch**
 GIVE: imp. **3ef**; 2nd sg. **3efest**; pp. **3efen, y3efen**
 GOOD: adj. **good, goode** ((god))
 HANG: **hong-**
HAVE: inf. **hafe**; 3rd sg. **hap**; pl. **han**
 HIGHT: **hatte**

HILL: pl. **hullis**
 HIM: **him (hem)**
 HOW: **hou**
 KIND: **kynde**
 LESS: **lasse**
 LITTLE: **luytil**
 MAY: sg. **mowe**
 NEITHER + NOR: **nowþer + ne**
 NEVER: **nefer**
 NEW: **newe**
 NIGH: adj. **ny3** ((ny3t))
 OLD: **old**
 OR: **oþer**
 OUT: **out**
 THE SAME: **þilke**
 SAY: **sugg-**
 SELF: sg. **silf**

SILVER: **siluer**
 THREE: **þreo**
 TOGETHER: **togidre**
 TWO: **two**
 WEEK: **wike**
 WELL: adv. **wel**
 WHAT: **what**
 WHETHER: **wheþer**
 WHOSE: **whos**
-ER: -er (ir)
-LY: -ich
-f- for v-: **lyfer, lifer, fefer, hefj, ofer**
-Extension of the -en plural to nouns other than those weak in OE: **honden**

London, BL Sloane 1088

HER: **hur, hure**
 IT: **it**
 THEY: **þei**
 THEM: **hem**
 THEIR: **hur**
 SUCH: **suche**
 EACH: -ich
 MANY: **mony**
 MAN: **man, mon**
 ANY: **eny, ony, any**
 MUCH: **muche**
 ARE: **beþ, beoþ**
IS: **is**
 ART: **art**
 SHALL sg. **schal**; pl. **schulleþ, schulle**
 WILL: **wole, wol (wil)**
 FROM: **fro**
AFTER: **aftur**
 THEN: **þenne**
 THAN: **þan**
 THOUGH: **þou3**
IF: **3ef, 3if**
 AGAINST: **a3en**
 AGAIN: **a3eyn**
 SINCE: adv. **siþþe, seþþe**
 WHILE: **whilis, whiles**
 WH-: **wh-**
 NOT: **no3t, nou3t**
 A. O: **o**
 WORK: vb. **worch-**
 THERE: **þer**
 MIGHT: 2nd sg. **mi3t** cf. n. **li3te, ny3t**; adj. **my3ti**

THROUGH: **þorou3, þur3**
 WHEN: **wenne, when, whanne**
 PRESENT PP.: -ing, -inge
 VERBAL SUBST.: -ing, -inge
 3rd SING. PRESENT IND.: -eþ, -iþ
 PRESENT PL.: -iþ, -eþ
 WEAK PAST PP.: -ed, -id, yd
 STRONG PAST PP.: -en, Ø
 ABOUT: **aboute**
 ABOVE: prep. **abofen**
 ALL: **al, alle**
 AMONG: prep. **among**
 BE: inf. **ben, beon**; pp. **ybeo, yben**
 BEYOND: **bi3onde**
 BOTH: **boþe**
 BURN: **brenn-**
 BUT: **bote**
 CALL: pp. **clepid**
 DO: inf. **to don**; 3rd sg. pres. **doip**; pl. **doip**; pp. **don**
 DOWN: **doun**
 ENOUGH: **ynou3**
 EVIL: **yuel**
 FILL: **fulle**
 FILTH: **filþe, fulþe**
 FIRE: **fuyr**
 FIRST: **frust, furst**
 FLESH: **flesche**
 GIVE: **imp. 3ef**; pp. **y3efen, 3euen**
 GOOD: adj. **good, goode**

HAVE: inf. **hafe, haue**; 3rd sg. pres. **hap**; pl. **han**
 HIGHT: **haite**
 HIM: **him, hym**
 KIND: **kynde**
 LESS: **lasse**
 LITTLE: **luytil, litil, lytil**
 MAY: sg. **mowe**; pl. **may, mown**
 NEITHER + NOR: **nowþer + ne**
 NEVER: **neuer**
 NEW: **newe**
 NIGH: **nei3**
 OLD: **old, olde**
 OR: **oþir, oþer**
 OUT: **out**
 THE SAME: **þilke**
 SAY: inf. **sugge**; pp. **said**
 SELF: **silf**
SILVER: **syluer**
 THREE: **þre**
 TOGETHER: **togidre, togedre**
 TWO: **two**
 WEEK: **wike**
 WELL: **wel**
 WHAT: **-what**
 WHO: **whoso**
 WHOSE: **whos**
 WITHOUT: prep. **withoutte**
-ER: -er, -ir
-LY: -iche

London, BL Sloane 105

HER: her
 IT: it (hit)
 THEY: þai
 THEM: hem
 THEIR: her, hir
 SUCH: suche
 WHICH: wheche
 MAN: man
 ANY: ony, eny
 MUCH: muche
 ARE: biþ
 IS: is
 SHALL: sg. schal, shal
 WILL: sg. wil, wole, wolle
 AFTER: after
 THEN: þan
 THAN: þan
 THOUGH: þau3
 IF: 3if (if)
 AGAINST: prep. a3ayn
 ERE: conj. er
 WH-: wh-
 NOT: not, no3t
 A. O: o

MLGHT: mi3t, cf. n. si3t,
 adv. mi3tili
 THROUGH: þur3
 WHEN: whan, when
 PRESENT PP.: -ing, -yng
 VERBAL SUBST.: -ing,
 -yng
 3rd SING. PRESENT IND.: -eþ,
 iþ
 PRESENT PL.: -yn, -eþ
 WEAK PAST PP.: -id
 STRONG PAST PP.: -yn, -en, O
 ASK: ask-
 BE: pp. ben
 BEFORE: adv. tofore
 BURN: brenn-
 BUT: but
 DO: imp. inf. do; 3 sg. doþ;
 pp. don ENOUGH: yno3
 EVIL: euyl
 FIRE: fir, fyr (fuir)
 FLRST: first
 FLESH: flesche, flessche

GOOD: adj. gode
HAVE: inf. han ; 3' sg. hath,
 haþ; 2' sg. hast; pl. han, haue
 HILL: hill-
 HIM: hym
 HOW: how
 KIND: kynde
 LITTLE: litil, litel
 MAY: 2' sg. mai, maist
 NIGH: adj. ne3e
 OLD: olde
 SAY: pl. saiþ, sayn; pp. -said
 SELF: self
SILVER: siluer
 TOGETHER: togedir
 TWO: two
 WHETHER: wheþer
 WHO: whoso
 WHOSE: whose
-ER: -ir
-LY: -li

GIVE: imp. 3if, 3eue

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1477

HER: here
 IT: it
 THEY: theye, they
 THEM: hem
 THEIR: here
 SUCH: suche
 EACH: -yche
 MANY: manye
 MAN: man
 ANY: any
 MUCH: moche
 ARE: bethe
 IS: is
 SHALL: sg. schall; pl.
 schulle, schull, schulleth
 WILL: wole, woll
 WOULD: wolt, wold
 FROM: fro
 AFTER: after
 THEN: þanne, þe, than
 THAN: than, þan
 THOUGH: thowgh,
 thowghe

IF: 3eff, 3effe
 AGAINST: a3enst, a3en
 AGAIN: a3en
 ERE: er
 SINCE: adv. sythe, sythen;
 conj. syth
 WHILE: whyles
 WH-: wh-
 NOT: nowght, nott
 A. O: o
 WORK: vb. worch-
 THERE: þer
 WHERE: where-
 MIGHT: vb. 2' sg. myght; cf. n.
 ly3ght, syght; adj. ly3ght,
 myghtye, myghty; adv.
 myghtelyche
 THROUGH: thorowgh
 WHEN: whenne, when
 PRESENT PP.: -yng, -yng
 VERBAL SUBST.: -yng, -yng
 3rd SING. PRESENT IND.: -ith,
 -eth

PRESENT PL.: -ethe, -yth, -ythe
 WEAK PAST PP.: -ed, -ede, -yd,
 -id
 STRONG PAST PP.: -yn, -en
 ABOUT: prep. abowte
 ABOVE: prep. above
 AMONG: among
 ASK: ax-
 BE: inf. be; pp. be
 BEFORE: adv. before, toforen;
 conj. tofore
 BEYOND: prep. by3ende
 BOTH: bothe
 BURN: bren-
 BURY: pp. beryed
 BUT: but, bott
 CALL: pp. clepyd
 DO: inf. do, don; 3' sg. pres.
 dothe; 2' sg. pret: dedyst; pp.:
 ydoon
 DOWN: down
 ENOUGH: ynowgh
 EVIL: euyll

FILL: full	LESS: lasse	-sayd
FILTH: fulthe, fylthe	LITTLE: lytle, lytell	SELF: sylfe, selfe
FIRE: fyre, fyer	M A Y s g . m a y ; p l .	SILVER : syluer
FIRST: first, furste	maye, mowen, mowe	TOGETHER: togedre
FLESH: flessche	NEITHER + NOR: neyther	TWO: two
GIVE: imp. 3eff, 3eue; pp.: 3euyn, yyeuyn	+ ne	WEEK: woke
GOOD adj.: gode, goode	NEVER: neuer	WELL: adv. wele
HAVE : inf. haue; 3 rd sg. pres. hathe, hath; 2 nd sg. pres. hast; pl. haue	NEW: newe	WHAT: -what
HIGHT: hate	NIGH: adj. nygh, nyghe	WHETHER: wheder
HIM: hym	OLD: old	WHO: whoso
HOW: how	OR: other, oþer	WHOSE: whos
KIND: kynde	OUT: owte	-ER : -er
	THE SAME: thilke, þilke	-LY : -lyche
	SAY: inf. sey, seyn; pl. seyn; pp.	

Cambridge, CUL Ee. 1. 13. ff. 1r-91v

HER: her ((hur, huire))	WHILE: while ((whiles, whyle))	aboute
IT : hit ((it))	WH-: wh- ((w-))	AMONG: prep. among (amonge)
THEY: þey ((þei, þai))	NOT: not ((now3t, now3te, no3t, no3te, nou3te, nou3t, ((notte))	ASK: 2 nd sg. axest
THEM: hem ((þem))	A. O: o ((a))	AT: rel. at
THEIR: her ((here, hur))	WORK: n. worch-; vb. inf. worchin; 3 rd sg. pres. ind. worchþ.	BE: inf. be ((ben, beon)); pp. be
SUCH : such (suche, soche)	THERE: þer	BEFORE: adv. afore, byfore; prep. tofor
EACH: euerych (euery, euerich)	WHERE: wher-	BEYOND: beyond
MANY: mony ((many))	MIGHT: vb. 2 nd sg. my3te (my3t) ((mi3te)) cf. n. -y3te (-i3te) ((-y3th, -y3t)) cf. adj. -i3te (-y3ty, -i3t) ((-y3te, -i3gte, -i3gt)); cf. adv. -i3t (-i3te, -y3ti)	BOTH: boþ (boþe) ((bothe))
MAN: man ((mon))	THROUGH: þrow3 ((þrow, þrow3e))	BURN: brann-, bren-, brenn-; pp. brant (ibrant, ibrannte, brent)
ANY: ony (any, eny))	WHEN: when ((whan))	BURY: p p beried.
MUCH: moche (moch) (muche, much))	PRESENT PP.: -yng ((-ing, -yng))	BUT: but (bot, bote))
ARE: beþ ((bebe, beth, biþ, ben, be, bethe, biþe))	VERBAL SUBST. -yng (-ing) ((-inge, -yng))	CALL: pp. clepid ((clepud, clopin, klepid, callid))
IS : is (ys))	3 rd SING. PRESENT IND.: -yþ, -iþ (-ith) ((-eþ, -yth, -eth, -yþe, -iþe, -eþe, -uþ, -uth))	DO: imp. do; inf. don, do; 3 rd sg. pres. doþ, doþe ((dothe, doth)); 3 rd pl. pres. doþ; 2 nd sg. pret. dudust; 3 rd sg. pret. dede; ppl. don ((do, doon, idon))
ART: art	STRONG PAST PP.: -yn (un) ((en, in, on))	DOWN: down, adown ((doun, doune))
SHALL: sg. schal; pl. schul (schullþ) ((schull, schulltyn, scal))	ABOUT: prep. aboute (abowte) ((abowt, about))	ENOUGH: inow3e (inow3)
SHOULD: pl. ((schuld))	ABOVE: adv. aboue; prep.	EVIL: euyl (evyl)
WILL: sg. wol. woll ((wool, wole. will, wille)); pl. wol		FILL: fil
WOULD: sg. wold		FILTH: filþ (filþe) ((fylþ, fylþe))
FROM: fro, from		FIRE: fuyr ((fuyre, fyr, vire, vyr))
AFTER: after ((efter))		FIRST: furst (first)
THEN: þen ((þan))		FLESH: flesch ((flesche, fflesche, fflesch))
THAN: þan		GIVE: yeue ((yef, ieue, yyf, geue, yif)); pp. yeuen ((yyeuen))
THOUGH: þow3 (þau3)		GOOD: good ((god))
IF : if ((iff, yf, yff, yef, yeue))		HAVE : unmarked (inf, pres. subj) haue; 3 rd sg. pres. ind. haþ (hath) ((hat)); 2 nd sg. pres. ind. hast; pl. han ((haueþ))
AGAINST: ayen (ageyn) ((ayeyn, again, a3eyn, a3en))		
AGAIN: ageyn		
SINCE: adv. seþe (seþ) ((seþþe, seþþ, seþen, sethe)); conj. seþ		

HIGH: hi3e	NIGH: ni3e, ne3e, ne3, ney3	TWO: two
HIGHT : hat	OLD: old	UNTIL: til
HILL: hillis	OR: oþer ((or, ouþer, owþer))	WEEK: sg. woke (weke)
HIM: him ((hym, hem))	OUT: oute, out, owt (owte)	WELL: adv. wel (well)
HOW: how	THE SAME: þeke, þek	WHAT: -what
KIND : kynd ((kynde, kynd))	SAY: inf. say, sugge; 3 ^a pl. pres. sey, suggyth; pp. sayd (said)	WHETHER: wheder
LESS: lasse	((saye))	WHO: whoso ((whose))
LITTLE: litul ((litil, lytul, lytil))	SELF : sg. silfe (silf, silue); silfe, silf.	WHOSE: whos
MAY: sg. may ((mow)); pl. mowpl ((mowyn, may))	SILVER : siluer	WITHOUT : pr. wythout ((wythowt, wythotyn)); adv. wythout, wythowt
NEITHER + NOR: neyþer (noþer)	THREE: þre	-ER : er ((or, -ere))
NEVER: neuer (nouer)	TOGETHER: togedre ((togedrus))	
NEW: new		

London, BL Egerton 2433. ff. 49r-54v

IT : it (yt)	RESENT PP: -yng (-and)	KND: kind
THEY: yei	3rd SING. PRESENT IND.: -es (-is, -ys)	KNOW: know-; pp. knowyn
THEM: yam	PRESENT PL.: -ys	LITTLE: lytyll, lytill, litill
MANY: many	WEAK PAST PP: -ed, -yd	MAY: sg. may
MAN: man	STRONC PAST PP: -yn, -en	MOTHER: mother
MUCH: mykyll, mykill	ALL: all	NAME: n. name
ARE: ar	AWAY: away	OLD: ald
IS : is (ys)	BE: be	OR: or
SHOULD: schuld	BEYOND: by3end	OUT: owt
WILL : sg. wyll	BOTH: boye	SAY: 3 ^a sg. pres. ind. seys; pl. seys
FROM: fro	BURN: bren-	SELF: self
AFTER: after	BUT: bot	THREE: three; ord. therd
THEN: yen	CALL: pp. called, callyd, cald	TOGETHER: togeder
THOUGH: 3off	FIRE : fyr	TWO: two
IF : if, yf	FIRST : first	WITHOUT: prep. wythowt
WH-: wh-	CIVE: imp. gyf	YOU : you
NOT: notte, not (nogh, noght)	OOD: adj. gud	-LY : -ly
A. O: o (a)	HAVE : 3 sg. has, hase	
MICHT: cf. sight	HIM : him	
WHEN: when		