

**Syon Abbey: Its Herbal, Medical Books and Care of the Sick:
Healthcare in a Mixed Mediaeval Monastery.**

By

John Adams,

Syon Abbey Research Associates

This work may be freely cited as:

ADAMS, J. S. (2015)

***Syon Abbey: Its Herbal, Medical Books and Care of the Sick:
Healthcare in a Mixed Mediaeval Monastery***

CONTENTS

Syon Abbey: Its Medical Books, Herbal and Healthcare	Pages 3 to 84
Medical Books in the Syon <i>Registrum</i> Section B and SS2	Pages 85 to 118
Details on Donors of Medical Books	Pages 119 to 122
List of Manuscripts Consulted or Cited	Pages 123 to 124
Text From Joseph Strutt's, <i>Bibliographical Dictionary</i> (1785) (to accompany Image of Thomas Betson in text at page 12)	Pages 125 to 126
Select Bibliography	Pages 127 to 141

Syon Abbey: Its Medical Books and Care of the Sick¹

1 Syon Abbey: A Brief History.

The reasons for the unlikely founding in 1415 of a Swedish abbey of 60 nuns and 25 brothers to the west of London by Henry V (1387-1422) are to be sought in the bitter struggle between France and England during the Hundred Years' War. This war had effectively begun in May 1337, with the seizure of the continental possessions of Edward III of England (1312-1377) by Philippe VI of France (1293-1350). This act led directly to the Battle of Crécy in 1346, in which Edward III destroyed the French army, killing many of the nobility. It was probably following this battle that Bridget of Sweden (1303-1373), a powerful and inspired voice in the Europe of the time, claimed to have received guidance from Christ himself, calling for a dynastic marriage between the French and English royal houses, so that the dual inheritance would fall to a legitimate heir, and thus end the wars.²

This appeal, which was sent to Pope Clement VI (from 1342 to 1352), was transmitted to England by King Magnus IV of Sweden (1316-1374) in 1348.³ But it was, perhaps not surprisingly, picked up and used by English polemicists as supporting England's claim to France. Bridget's *Revelations* had in fact assigned the *maiolem iusticiam* (the better claim) to Edward III, though both he and the French king were also described as ravenous beasts. The particular *Revelations* were furthermore incorporated in England into *The Regement of Princes*, a guide to good governance prepared for the future Henry V in 1410-1411, when he was still Prince of Wales.

Henry V became king of England in April 1413. The *Revelations* underpinned his failed marriage negotiations with France in early 1415, also motivated his foundation of Syon Abbey. Bridget of Sweden had added an appeal for the Kings of

¹ I am grateful to Stuart Forbes, also of a member of Syon Abbey Research Associates, and co-author of *The Syon Abbey Herbal*, for his comments, and for proofreading this paper.

² Birgitta of Sweden, *Revelationes*, Book IV, Chapters 103-105. See Alicia Spencer-Hall, (2013) and Neil Becket (1993) for details. The relevant text in Chapter 105 is spoken by Christ: '*Quod per matrimonium fiat pax, et sic regnum per legitimum heredem poterit pervenire.*' [So that there may be peace through marriage, and the kingdom may fall to the lawful heir.] A full English text is at: [http://www.saintsbooks.net/books/St.%20Bridget%20\(Birgitta\)%20of%20Sweden%20-%20Prophecies%20and%20Revelations.html](http://www.saintsbooks.net/books/St.%20Bridget%20(Birgitta)%20of%20Sweden%20-%20Prophecies%20and%20Revelations.html)

³ See also Morris (1999), pp.79-80 for details.

France and England to establish religious houses, based on her own foundation at Vadstena, and it was to this model that Henry V turned – the Bridgettine Abbey of Syon.

Another ostensible motivation, for Henry's founding of Syon was to complete by prayer the penance of his father, Henry IV, for his seizure of the throne in 1400, and starving to death of the rightful king, Richard II.

After Henry V came to the English throne in 1413, he rebuilt one of the royal residences at Sheen. The site was on the Thames at Richmond, and Henry proposed to construct near it three monastic houses of strict religious observance. The orders chosen were the Carthusians, Celestines and Bridgettines. The houses were to be named Bethlehem, Jerusalem and Syon respectively. The initial building of Syon went ahead on a site near the present Twickenham Bridge in London, and the foundation stone was laid by Henry V on 22nd February 1415. The Battle of Agincourt was only eight months away. By 1420 Henry was regent of France, and married to the French King's daughter. The throne of France appeared within his grasp, when he suddenly died, either of dysentery⁴ or pleurisy⁵, in August 1421. The French throne fell to his son, the infant Henry VI of England (b.1421, d.1471).

Henry V guaranteed Syon an initial income of 1,000 marks annually (about £666, or about £500,000 now, an expensive royal investment) and in 1417 he also endowed it with lands seized from 'alien' (i.e. French) priories in England. The site at Twickenham, however, soon proved too small and damp for habitation, and new quarters were sought not far away and still near the River Thames. The new foundation stone was laid in 1426 and occupation commenced in 1431. The abbey church was however not completed for nearly another sixty years.

Bridgettine monasteries, being double houses of men and women, were of a unique design, and St Bridget's *Revelations* were specific about size and layout. The monasteries were to be plain and simple, and although archaeological evidence at Syon has revealed no more than the footprint for the church and sisters' accommodation, and perhaps the brothers' reredorter (communal latrine), this evidence suggests that Syon was closely modelled on the mother house at Vadstena.

⁴ *Histoire de Charles VI*, Juvenal des Oursins (1388–1473). See

<https://archive.org/details/histoiredcharle00juv> This version is perhaps influenced by Henry's reported wish to remove the shrine of St Fiacre (a sixth century Irish monk) from France to England. St Fiacre was the patron saint of dysentery (also called *le mal de Fiacre*).

⁵ *Baker's Chronicle*, p179, citing Peter Basset, Henry's Chamberlain, who was present at his death. Pleurisy was probably understood as inflammation of the lungs.

This groundplan has of course implications for the location of the two separate infirmaries (for the brothers and sisters), with their separate halls, chapels, kitchens and cloisters, and any herb gardens, all of which are relevant to our interests here, but have yet to be located.

Funds for building of Syon Abbey were short in the early years. Henry VI inherited the throne in 1421, and his building priorities were not Syon, but Eton and King's College, Cambridge. Consequently, in 1440 he diverted Syon's lucrative source of income arising from St Michael's Mount in Cornwall to his own educational projects. Syon, however, gradually became known for its learning and piety and it attracted patrons and postulants, particularly from nearby London and its surrounds. These were among the educated, well connected and wealthy, who donated volumes, including medical books, to its growing library, as well as funds for its endowment.

When in 1461 Edward IV (1442-1483) came to the throne, St Michael's Mount and the other appropriated properties were finally restored to Syon, and spending on the abbey's buildings, which had been at a trickle, was able to resume in earnest. Building accounts for the twenty years from 1461 up to 1481 show almost £12,000 (perhaps £10mn today) was spent on the 'newe chirche' and cloisters, of which over £5,000 (perhaps £6.5mn) was spent from 1479-1481.⁶ The final consecration of the monastery and the dedication of the high altar, situated unconventionally at the west end of the church according to the Bridgettine requirements, was on 20th October 1488. The library was perhaps on the North side of the church, with access by a door onto the pulpit, since sermons were prepared in the library.

Syon seems to have avoided involvement in the political infighting that characterised the War of the Roses. The invasion of England by Henry Tudor – later Henry VII (1457-1509) in 1485 and Richard III's death at the Battle of Bosworth, followed by Henry's marriage in 1486 to Elizabeth of York, (Edward IV's eldest daughter), finally brought to an end the Roses' conflicts, and ushered in a period of relative stability.

Syon Abbey was then to enjoy comparative peace and patronage. It became a centre for pilgrimage, preaching and learning, and the writing of printed devotional books. Given its aristocratic status, it is not surprising that it eventually became enmeshed in the political upheavals generated by the divorce of Catherine of Aragon

⁶ On an *historic standard of living value* for purchase of goods and services, as adjusted by historic UK Retail Price Index calculations. See <http://www.measuringworth.com/index.php>

in 1533, the Oath of Supremacy to Henry VIII in 1535, and the Dissolution of the major monastic houses in 1539. Syon was closed in November of that year, Thomas Cromwell having apparently engineered a case of *Praemunire* (infringement of the royal legal jurisdiction) in collusion with the Bishop of London.⁷ Syon Abbey did not lack courage in this unequal struggle. One of its priest-brothers, the gifted Richard Reynolds, was executed in 1535 for his opposition to the Oath of Supremacy, and one quarter of his body displayed on the Syon Abbey gatehouse.

In the Dissolution of the Monasteries (from 1534 to 1539), Jacka⁸ lists 123 nunneries in England alone, with a total number of women religious of 1,198. She notes that the Dissolution also included nunneries in Ireland (3), Wales (3), and the Isle of Man (1), possibly Calais (1) as well as the Gilbertine double order with 139 nuns. At the end, Syon had 51 nuns, but Shaftesbury in Dorset had more, at 57. Next came Amesbury, Wiltshire with 33, and Barking, Essex with 30.

Syon's annual income was the rather precise £1,944. 11s. 5¼d, partly from in properties in twelve counties, from Cornwall to Lancashire.⁹ This was doubtless an administrative and accounting nightmare, requiring a bailiff for each manor. If we assume about 80 religious living on £1.1mn annually, the per capita expenditure was only £14,000; this seems a rather low sum to feed and clothe one person and to meet upkeep on the buildings.

By way of comparison, Shaftesbury Abbey in Dorset (Benedictine nuns, AD 888 to 1539), the next wealthiest convent of nuns after Syon, had 57 inmates at the Dissolution but a lower annual income of £1,208. 6s. 0d. Glastonbury Abbey, the richest of all the monastic institutions, but with only 20 pensionable monks by the end, had £3,301. 7s 4d. But most nunneries, in Jacka's telling phrase, were 'as poverty stricken as they were aristocratic.....that any nun was ever drawn from a class below the rich bourgeoisie is extremely doubtful, and the dominant class in the nunneries was the country gentry.'

After the Dissolution in 1539, a group of Syon sisters went to a Bridgettine sister house at Termonde in Flanders, returned briefly under Mary I, only to be exiled again in 1558 under Elizabeth I. It was, however, Syon's proud claim that it had never given up the seal or keys of the Abbey, nor signed away the deeds. The

⁷ For details see Jones and Walsham (2010) p.68.

⁸ Jacka (1917, p2).

⁹ About £1.1mn on an *historic standard of living value* for purchase of goods and services, as adjusted by historic UK Retail Price Index calculations. See <http://www.measuringworth.com/index.php>

order returned to England finally in 1861, from their residence in Lisbon. They were the sole English religious order to survive the Dissolution. They were finally disbanded in 2011, because of falling numbers and ill-health, and only a few years short of the 600th anniversary of their foundation in 1415.

2 Thomas Betson, Last Recorded Librarian of Syon Abbey: His Library Catalogue, Notebook, Herbal and Engraved Portrait.

Sometime around May¹⁰ of 1481 Thomas Betson, probably from near Billericay in Essex, and aged about 45, a church lawyer, ordained priest, and for the previous 15 years rector of the small parish of All Saints, Wimbish in Essex, left the world and joined Syon Abbey. He became a member of an enclosed order with a theoretical maximum (as stipulated by Saint Bridget) of some 60 nuns and 25 'brothers' (including both consecrated priests and lay brother). By Betson's time it was one of the largest and best endowed religious institutions in England, with a deserved reputation for learning, religious fervour and strictness.¹¹ Both the men and women within its enclosure were subject to its Abbess, who answered only to the Pope.¹²

Betson was fortunate to arrive when a reforming Confessor General, Thomas Westhaw, appears to have taken the brothers' library in hand.¹³ Betson was given the duty of librarian, and in his spare moments in the newly-built library room attached to the church, he perhaps began to write out a herbal in his Notebook.¹⁴ He first made a neat quasi-alphabetical list of 700 herbal plant names, many not native to

¹⁰ See: *Repertorium: An Ecclesiastical Parochial History of the Diocese of London Vol 2*, (1710) pp.671/674 by Richard Newcourt, a Notary Public. Betson was appointed to Wimbish on 28th June 1466, and his successor, Thomas Copley, was appointed on 22 May 1481. Betson must therefore have left some time before then. A document on the wall of Wimbish church is an abbreviated copy of the *Repertorium*. Bateson (1898, Introduction page xxiii, note 5) misread 'Witham' (the next entry in the *Repertorium*), for 'Wimbish'. I am grateful to Stuart Forbes of SARA for drawing the above to my attention. For the *Repertorium* see:

<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=JyBaAAAAAYAAJ&pg=PA674#v=onepage&q&f=true>

¹¹ The full complement was sixty sisters thirteen priests, another four 'deacons' (in fact also ordained priests, of which Betson was one), and eight lay-brothers. The size of the community varied over time.

¹² See the excellent summary of the legal position in Makowski (2011), pp. 160-167.

¹³ See Gillespie (2001) pp. xlv-xlvi for details. We have no evidence for a sisters' library, nor of the books and missals undoubtedly kept for Church use.

¹⁴ St John's Cambridge MS 109, E.6. Notebook of T. Betson of Syon.

Britain, in Greek (transcribed), Latin, French and Middle English, which he called a *Herbarium*. There are also a few transcribed entries from Arabic.¹⁵ He then added a random selection of herbal remedies, with one chapter wholly in Latin on the use of urine for diagnosis, particularly of women's conditions, and another chapter on the preservation of herbal essences in distilled alcohol.

Betson's purpose in compiling the *Herbarium* was perhaps straightforward. It provided him with reference book to the various names of plants in his several herbals in the medical 'B' section of the library. As a librarian he would perhaps have been questioned by his fellow monks on the meaning of difficult entries in these other herbals. One might also speculate that, if as seems likely, Syon called in physicians to prescribe medicines, and apothecaries to dispense their prescriptions, then the *Herbarium* provided a guide as to what exactly these herbs might be. We know, for example, that payments were made to external medical practitioners at Syon. For a period of three years in the 1520s we read, somewhat tantalisingly, in the Treasures accounts¹⁶ a series of entries, all for considerable sums of money:-

Item in reward to phssicyens surgeons medycines and other xli li. xix s. viij d.
(£41-19-8 – perhaps worth £20,000 to £24,000 in modern money in 2014. It is unclear if this was a bill for whole year or a one-off payment for a visit).

This is a large amount of money, for example if set against the wages of a bricklayer at Syon at the time, of 6d a day – say £7 to £8 in a year. It would be even more intriguing if we knew what herbs and treatments had been prescribed, for which side of the house, for which brothers or sisters, and what operations the surgeons had performed.

We should however perhaps not exclude the possibility that Betson began the compilation of the herbal when he was still Rector of Wimbish in Essex. Certainly his inclusion of intimate female ailments in his remedies sits more easily with the role of a parish priest than that of an enclosed monk.

Betson went to the trouble of heading up his alphabetical entries in the *Herbarium* with groups of synonyms (Latin or English), either by using brackets to link these together, or else by underlining header words and marking them with a

¹⁵ See page 54 below for discussion of the Arabic entries and their sources.

¹⁶ SC 6/Addenda/3485/7 cited here. These have been only partially transcribed, and similar entries occur elsewhere. I am grateful to Stuart Forbes for this extremely useful discovery. Pers. Comm., 22 July 2015.

red sign. His Remedies are much less well organised. They appear to be in no order, but certain words are underlined, capitalised, indicated with a pointing hand (*manusculus*) or simply marked with the letters *NB*. None of these systems can be said to be a good finding a remedy or treatment for a particular illness. There is also no index to the remedies.

The Notebook is also essentially a desk study, with no reference to the habitat or appearance of the plants cited, no illustrations, no indication of when to gather or how to store a plant, nor the length of time of its efficacy.¹⁷ There is also no '*quid pro quo*' section, which was an addition to herbals that allowed unavailable plants to be substituted by another. Such substitutions were usually the province of the apothecary, and therefore their presence in a herbal was neither obligatory nor uniform.¹⁸ We have in fact no evidence that Betson, or any other member of the Syon Abbey community, male or female, had any practical knowledge of herbalism, botany or medicine.¹⁹

Betson's Notebook is therefore more likely to be a personal reference document, not intended for eventual publication, or reading by others. It also contains, apart from the *Herbarium* and herbal remedies, sources for canon law, English history, and even some star maps. There are long sections (omitted from our text) on the preparation and use of multiple mirrors to somewhat magical kaleidoscopic effect; on codes, secret writing and inks; and on methods to burn coloured lettering into steel knives. These are copied from a variety of sources, principally the anonymous *Secretum Philosophorum*.²⁰ It reveals Betson as someone with wide-ranging and perhaps rather boyish enthusiasms. He liked practical jokes and included one to convince people that an apple is possessed: it involved secreting a stag beetle inside a hollowed-out apple, so that the apple moved around his desk.....

The Notebook is small and almost square, only some 5¾ inches long by 4¼ inches wide (14.6 x 10.8 cm). The skin on the wooden boards is off-white, but beneath it, particularly against the inside rear wooden board, lies what may have been the typical Syon deep pink binding, now much faded. The text is on paper,

¹⁷ For a good example of a text on how and when to gather herbs, see: Dawson, Warren R., (1934). *A Leechbook or Collection of Medical Recipes from the Fifteenth Century. The text of Medical Society of London MS No. 136, (paras 386 to 438)*

¹⁸ We are grateful to Christina Stapley of Hearts Ease Herb Books for drawing this to our attention.

¹⁹ See however *Magdalena Boeria*, nun at Syon, and daughter to the Physician to Henry VII and Henry VIII, at p25 below.

²⁰ Anonymous, c.1300, no copy listed at Syon, and still not yet in print.

with a few added sheets of vellum, and in handwriting varying from the neat to the illegible. This is not surprising if it was compiled over a 36 year period (1481 to 1517) by an increasingly elderly Betson. There may however perhaps have been more than one writer at work in the Notebook. This is uncertain, since Betson was skilled in penmanship, and used a number of different handwriting styles.

The Notebook, with its varied handwriting and rapid shifts of style and language, also draws on a variety of medical sources. In the library 'B' Section Betson had available almost the whole panoply of mediaeval and much of the classical *corpus* of medical, medical astrology and herbal literature. He was intimately acquainted with these books, having also been given the task of compiling, or perhaps updating, the library catalogue (*Registrum*) of over 1,700 manuscript and printed volumes, each containing multiple titles.²¹

This raised the question whether Betson had incorporated some of these medical sources, both printed and manuscript, into his own text. Why are there no descriptions of any plant or habitat? Did he know any Greek and especially Greek plant names, as a result of the new wave of learning sweeping across Britain and Europe? Where did he acquire the strange remedies – such as dead dog stuffed with frogs for curing gout? Before we answer these questions, let us look first at what kind of person Betson was. We need to bear in mind the great length of time he was at Syon, from around 1481, to his death in February 1517.²²

Despite the instability in England leading up to the death of Richard III in 1485, Betson was fortunate to see great continuity at Syon, in serving under only two long-lived abbesses - Elizabeth Muston (1456-1497), and Elizabeth Gibbs (1497-1518). He probably also served under only four Confessors-General: Thomas Westhaw (d.1488), William Falkley (d.1497), Stephen Saunders (d.1513), and finally John Trowell (d. 1523), all of whom were graduates with previous experience of administration. Between them, these Confessors-General gave nearly 100 volumes to Syon Abbey library. We have no record of donations by any of the sisters or Abbesses, nor of any books (medical or otherwise) in a sisters' library

We do not know what duties, apart from being librarian, fell to Betson at Syon. It was a double monastery, and may have had its own special arrangements for the priest-brothers, who were by the 1470s and 1480s a male community in which graduates predominated.²³ The usual mediaeval monastic practice in *single*

²¹ The Syon *Registrum* has been edited by Bateson, (1898), and Gillespie, (2001).

²² 1516 old style. For legal and most other purposes the mediaeval year did not end until Lady Day, 25th March of the following calendar year.

²³ See Cunich, Peter, (2010).

monasteries was for the duties of the librarian to fall to the Precentor, one of the major officials after the Abbot and the Prior, and who acted as a kind of registrar for official documents.²⁴ But we have no direct evidence that Betson ever carried such a title at Syon, or fulfilled that role.

The tasks which we know that Betson undertook, such as preparing the library *Registrum*, and copying the Rule for the Brothers suggest that at least some of the typical Precentor's duties fell to him.²⁵ It may also be that some of the entries in the *Syon Martyrologium* (list of deceased religious and patrons) are in his hand. He may have been in correspondence with religious houses elsewhere, requesting their prayers.²⁶ He copied out, though he did not invent, the guide to hand signs in the monastery for the times of silence.²⁷ The sign for 'sleep' or 'dormitory' is still in common use today – both hands joined, and placed against the head, which is inclined to one side.

Betson was also entrusted with writing the first recorded book to be published by Syon, entitled *A Ryght Profytable Treatyse* which was printed in 1500 by Wynkyn de Worde. Part of the draft for this book is in his Notebook. Its English style and grammar reveals that Betson's original dialect and place of origin were probably near to Billericay in Essex (for details, see pp.56-58 below).

Apart from his Notebook and Library catalogue, Betson is blessed with a third miraculous and fragile survival: a print from the copper plate used perhaps for a printed indulgence, that contentious reformation issue. We have what seems to be an undated engraved portrait of Betson, by an unknown artist, on a broadsheet which contains Latin verses, possibly by Betson, entitled '*Oratio de omnibus sanctis*' (a prayer to all the saints).²⁸

²⁴ For more details on the early (c. AD 1295) role of the Precentor and Librarian see: Clark, (1897) pp. 59 -69; and Crossley, Fred, (1949), p13. The BL *Corpus* Volume 5 affirms that John Whytefield, who compiled the 1389 catalogue at Dover Priory, was probably also Precentor. Stoneman, (1999).

²⁵ British Library MS Additional 5208, fols 3v -18v. *The Rules of St Saviour and St Augustine*.

²⁶ See also Doyle, 1956b and 2004 who states Durham University Library MS Cosin V.iii.16 to be: 'A copy of a letter from one convent of nuns to another.... The letter could have been composed by the spiritual director of a nunnery, and its style and script resemble those of Thomas Betson, brethren's librarian at Syon Abbey.'

²⁷ Previously St Paul's Cathedral MS 25,524, and now in the London Metropolitan Archives. For text see: <https://archive.org/details/ryghtprofytable00betsuoft> (CUP 1905).

²⁸ Joseph Strutt, *Bibliographical Dictionary* (1785), plate iv, British Library shelfmark G.4421, cited by Erler (1992). For text see Appendix I, pp138-139 below.



Plate 1: 'TB De Syon' – Thomas Betson, tonsured and in the habit of a preaching deacon.

From: Joseph Strutt, *Bibliographical Dictionary* (1785), plate iv, British Library shelfmark G.4421

See page 96, Appendix 1, for a full text transcription.

This is the sort of ephemeral piece of paper that might have been given to pilgrims who attended the famous Syon Pardon at Lammastide on August 1st. It shows the kneeling image of Betson, heavily tonsured, in Bridgettine deacon's habit with a small circular emblem over his heart. He appears to be kneeling outdoors, on a small patch of grass. As one of the four Syon deacons, Betson was entitled, according to the Syon Additions to the Rule to 'bear on their mantles a white circle, for the incomprehensible wisdom of the four doctors whose figure they bear, in which circle, four little red particles in manner of tongues shall be sewed, for the Holy Ghost enflamed them.'²⁹

Betson is identified at the foot of the illustration by his monogram 'TB' and the words *De Syon*.³⁰ He is shown below an image of a standing Virgin and Child, a crescent moon at her feet. One verse of the text refers to *Thomas, spes Anglorum*, probably the martyred Thomas à Becket (1118-1170), reflecting a little glory on his namesake, Thomas Betson. It is however extremely strange that an enclosed devout monk might choose such a self-celebratory image – perhaps Betson had no say in the matter. Could it be a piece of publisher's blurb, to promote the publication in 1500 of Betson's *Treatyse*? Or was it in fact printed after Betson's death in 1517, as some sort of preliminary move towards his beatification?

3 The Later History of Syon

Betson overlapped for four years at Syon with its most famous son, and the only martyr of the whole Bridgettine Order, Richard Reynolds.³¹ Reynolds was perhaps 50 years younger than Betson. He was a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and entered Syon in 1513. He donated 94 books to Syon library, some at his profession, others perhaps later. He is said to have known Hebrew, Greek, and of course Latin. He was dismembered, in his Bridgettine robes, at Tyburn on 4th May 1535 for opposing the supremacy of Henry VIII as Head of the Church in England. One quarter of his body was exposed over the gatehouse at Syon Abbey. His sister, Edith, a nun at Syon, remained there until her death in June 1538.

Betson died on 20th February 1517, and was interred in a brick vault at the west end of the south aisle of the church, on the brothers' side of the monastery, and

²⁹ Saint Gregory the Great, Saint Ambrose, Saint Augustine, and Saint Jerome. Syon had a formal preaching role, and these were the models to emulate, and the orthodox sources to use.

³⁰ According to Erler (1992) this may refer to the origin of the text, rather than to Betson himself.

³¹ For details and sources, see entry in ODNB by Virginia R. Bainbridge.

to the east of the present Syon House. Archaeology has since pinpointed his grave, but not his bones, so thoroughly was all trace of the church at Syon Abbey dismantled after the Dissolution in 1539. Opposite, further east, is also buried an Agnes Betson, possibly a relative. She appears only at the end of her life, in the *Martyrologium*: 'Agnes Betson, soror' and died on 22 April 1510. We know nothing about her, nor, if related, she ever chose to meet Thomas Betson at the grated windows, for the permitted whispered conversations with relatives, which more strictly observant nuns were encouraged to forgo.

4 Betson and Herbs.

We have little to indicate what Betson was like as a person – the collection of passages in the Notebook are mainly conventional and utilitarian. He must have been trusted at Syon as sufficiently conservative and orthodox to run the library and publish a book. But in his Notebook doodles he reveals a little more of himself. Most are penwork, or intricate little swirling knot patterns pricked out on the page, as guidemarks for the ink. However, on one page there are also two small pike swimming in the top margins (folio 43v and 44r) accompanied by some lines of a favourite quotation: –

*Si tibi defidant medici, medici tibi fiant
Hec tria: mens leta, labor, moderata dieta.*

If so be that lechys do thee fayll,
Make this thi governans, if that it may be:
Temperat dyet and temperate traveyle.....³²

This quotation is from the influential and widespread School of Salerno *Regimen Sanitatis* – believed, perhaps incorrectly, to be dedicated to Robert, son of William the Conqueror (c. 1054-1134), copies of which were probably in the Syon *Registrum* at B.11 (SS1.88) or B.29 (SS1.106). According to Gillespie there also seems to have been a rhyming version of this in English by Lydgate - the *Dietarium rithmizatum in Anglicis* at B.29 (SS1.106d). The English version cited above is lines 9-11 of this latter. The English ends with the charming line, pertinent to this book and to Betson's herbal: '*this prescription comes from no apothecary.*'

³² (Lydgate (c. 1370 – c. 1451): His translation of the *Dietarium rithmizatum* is possibly B.29 (SS1.106d) of the medical section in the Syon brothers' library.

But the above lines also appear in a text on fishing, contemporary with Betson: *Treatyse of Fysshynge Wyth an Angle*, (written before 1450, with a printed version by 1496). It would be a pleasant thought, but completely without foundation, to imagine Betson at his desk in the Brothers' Library, a private copy of the *Treatyse of Fysshynge* to hand, longing to be out by the nearby Thames, all the while idly sketching little pike into his Notebook. Or perhaps there was fishing at a 'stew' or fishpond at Syon, as at the motherhouse at Vadstena in Sweden, to satisfy the house's needs of meatless Fridays and for fasting in Lent. The fact that an unidentified *Oleum benedictum*, rubbed on fishermen's nets, can attract fishes also caught Betson's eye:

Oleum benedictum: si piscatores unxerint retia sua, multitudinem piscium congregabunt. (Folio 110v, lines 28-30).

Oleum Benedictum: if fishermen annoint their nets [with it], a multitude of fishes will gather.³³

And finally, it may be that we have Betson's own thumbprint in ink, rather blurred, in the central gutter between folios 105v and 106r, a strange extra-textual physical presence across five centuries. But Betson, as a Librarian, would doubtless not have been pleased by blots on one of his own Syon library books – he had, after all, finished his *Ryght Profytable Treatyse* with words of admonition to new postulant nuns: '*Lerne to kepe your bokes clene.*'

Although we have Betson's *Herbarium* and his Remedies, we do not really know what he himself thought of herbs and their uses. We do have one reference, however. In his *Ryght Profytable Treatyse* he has the following strange connection regarding greed, diet, medicines and lettuces:

It is wryten in the lyf of saynt Benet that a religious woman with a gredenys, receyued a wycked spiryte in etynge of letuse in the gardeyn.

There may be more to this than at first appears: lettuce seems to have had a mixed name in herbal history. Galen had rated 'lettuce' as cold in the first (weakest) degree - just below springwater, and having little effect. But Avicenna had noted its

³³ Perhaps Hemlock (EMED) or Henbane (Gilbertus Anglicus). One thinks also of the use of Hempseed by anglers as an attractant bait.

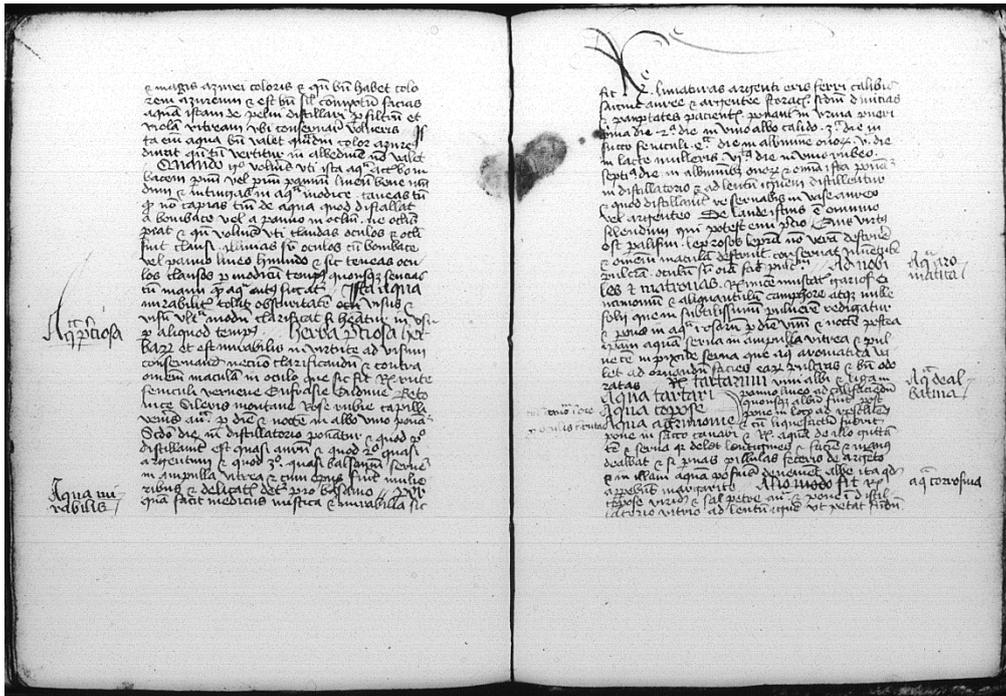


Image 1. Betson's Notebook: Image 110, folios 105v – 106r. Thomas Betson's thumbprint ?

value as a food, and changed its degree of coldness to the second – this is picked up by Betson's source: *Letise is colde and moist in the second degree*' (folio 91r, lines 24-25). Macer Floridus still saw in lettuce a cure for 'polucion of the sperme', that is, 'night pollution' (lines 20-25, on p90 of the Frisk edition). Perhaps we are hearing in Betson echoes of a very old debate.

The second reference is also in the *Ryght Profytable Treatyse* (Text page 30, lines 16-20). Here Betson introduces a rather weak joke:

Beware also of glotony whiche is moder of all unclennesse & bocheres of chastyte / & kepe your stomach rather voyd than to take to it superfluyte wherethrough ye shal not nede to take medicinys for a digestion.

It should of course be borne in mind that 21 remedies for stomach complaints are listed in Betson's herbal – one of the highest in the total range of illnesses, and reflecting perhaps constant fasting and an unbalanced diet, rather than excess.

Also, it has to be remembered that our modern Romantic sensibility in approaching 'Nature' is still some centuries away. Betson's approach to the delights of nature in a garden is to move immediately to encourage his female readers to conventional mediaeval religious sentiments. Addressing the novice nuns, he writes in his *Treatyse*:

Whan ye shal go to your garden & seen the herber & grene trees, smellynge the floures, & fruytes with theyr swetnesse, meruaylle the grete power of god in his creatures & thenne labour & engendre in your mynde, or talkynge of devocion & lyfte vp your herte to heven & thynke verely that the maker of them that is your spouse in heven is vnspekable fayre, swete, delectable, and gloryous.

5 Herbals at Syon and in Britain

Turning to the herbals in the Syon Library 'B' section, (as opposed to books on medicine, which are covered later below), we note immediately that none of those held at Syon seem to have had any direct influence on Betson's *Herbarium* or his list of remedies. It is futile to search Betson for 'head to toe' lists of ailments, or descriptions of plants, their habitats, or any systemic approach to their humoristic degrees of heat and cold, dryness or moisture. Nor does Betson suggest the best time to collect herbs or the length of time they are viable. Betson might for example have drawn on the approach set out systematically by John of Gaddesden (1280?–1361?) in his *Rosa Medicine sive Rosa Anglica* (SS1.83a, and SS1.129s) – Syon having two of seven recorded monastic copies in Britain. But any such organised approach is lacking in Betson's *Herbarium* and remedies.

Syon had three copies of the very common *Macer Floridus*, (early 11th century, author unknown).³⁴ These are the only copies recorded in Britain *in English* at a religious house, according to the British Library *Corpus of Mediaeval Libraries*. Bateson (p. xxx) notes that one copy from Syon had in fact already gone missing at the time of the compilation of the *Registrum*. Syon had no copies in Latin, in contrast to the 30 or so Latin copies in Britain, spread over as many houses and colleges. By numbers alone, this text (in Latin) was clearly amongst the most popular mediaeval herbal texts, in Britain and in Europe; there are seven copies at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF) alone. Syon's motherhouse at Vadstena also had a copy in MS at UU C 28 (dated 1340) together with another incomplete section.

³⁴ 'A small number of manuscripts associate the work with a writer called Odo, once named as Odo Magdunensis, from which the author is sometimes supposed to be Odo of Meung, an unknown figure.' From the BL *Corpus* entry for Macer Floridus. Syon's copies are at B.43 (SS1.120), B.10 (SS2.33d) and B.32 (SS2.40). Around 30 copies are listed in British houses in the British Library *Corpus* at p594: <http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/ohf/documents/projects/listofidentifications.pdf>

Syon had in fact seven medical titles in English, more than one quarter of Syon's 24 English books). Its position in holding the only recorded English copies of *Macer Floridus* and also an English version of the *Compendium Medicinae* by Gilbertus Anglicus, is distinctive. Although these books are recorded on the brothers' side, one might speculate they it reflects both the needs of the sisters for technical medical texts not in Latin, and also the requirement in the Bridgettine Rule that the vernacular tongue be used for communication within the house, again in preference over the more usual mediaeval requirement for Latin. The vernacular was also specified for the weekly sermons.³⁵ It seems unlikely that the Latin educated brothers would opt for a medical text in English over the authoritative text in Latin. It was in fact not until the 1550s that John Caius would begin to standardise English medical terms – until then there was no general agreement on what was a 'correct' translation of the Latin, or indeed the Greek terms and plantnames.³⁶

There were also at least four anonymous English alphabetical lists of 'medicinalia' synonyms at Syon, of which two apparently in English alphabetical word order, (*secundum ordinem alphabeti anglice*). One is listed as the last item in *Registrum* B5 (SS1.82ll), part of a huge compendium of over 269 folios. Its position at the end suggests a kind of index or reference work for the whole volume. Another is at B6 (SS1.83e), in a large compendium of 257 folios. The third is also at B6 (SS1.83c) and is '*anglice et gallice*' bound together with the intriguing but doubtless essential *Experimenta ad pulices & Ratones effugandos*' (tried remedies for getting rid of fleas and rats). Similar 'medicinalia' in English are at B.31 (SS1.108). There was also a list of '*Termini physicales*' at B16 (SS1.93h) '*partim latine, partim anglice.*'

One might however suspect the number of English medical books at other houses would have been higher, if their librarian cataloguers had been as meticulous as Betson. For example, two of Syon's seven English medical books at B.31 (SS1.108) *Experimenta Medicinalia* and B.43 (SS1.120), Macer, *De Uiribus Herbarum*), are identified by their *secundo folio* which is, unusually, in English, though their titles remain in Latin.

A close second to Macer in mediaeval popularity was the herbal *Circa Instans* of Matthaeus Platearius (12th century). There were three copies at Syon, and in a dozen houses in Britain, and three at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France. There are four surviving copies listed in Ker, at Pembroke College, The Royal College of Physicians and Winchester College.

³⁵ *Rule of Our Saviour*, cap xiii.

³⁶ See also Rodriguez, María Victoria Domínguez (2010) in SELIM, Journal of the Spanish Society for Mediaeval English Language and Literature, No 17, Oviedo, 2010: *Constructing Anatomical Terminology in Middle English: The Case of British Library MS Sloane 3486*. University of Oviedo.

We also find at both Syon (SS1.141w, SS1.980d) and Vadstena (C 178) copies of the equally popular Pseudo Aristoteles: *Epistula ad Alexandrum de Conservatione Sanitatis*. There were at least eight copies of this in Britain; it was also probably contained as a chapter in the nearly 20 copies of the *Secretum Secretorum* circulating in other houses in Britain.

We also have at Syon two copies of the fairly common *Dioscorides (Dioscorides) de viribus herbarum secundum ordinem alphabeti*. Gillespie characterises this as 'Probably the 11-cent Latin alphabetical redaction of Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, based on the ancient Latin translation with the addition of more recent material.' Ten copies of this version of Dioscorides are listed in the British Library *Corpus*, including the two at Syon (SS1.85c and SS2.34). Until the late 15th century, when new Latin translations of the Greek began to appear, this was one of the main routes for access to the Greek Dioscorides for the Latin world. But it is not until 1499 and in a Venice edition that Dioscorides in the original Greek begins to appear.

The 12th century Salerno production, the *Antidotarium Nicholai* (or *Nicolai*) was also extremely popular. In Britain there were around 40 copies in different houses, with at least another thirteen books of various commentaries. The Bibliothèque Nationale de France also has 18 MSS copies. Syon had four copies of the *Antidotarium* itself, and another two copies of a commentary by Iohannes de S. Amando (d. 1323). The list of plants in the *Antidotarium* is superficially similar to Betson's *Herbarium* list, but it is difficult to show that Betson used it as a direct source – the order of the plants and its inclusion of many Greek-derived names seem to indicate that the *Antidotarium* was not used. It had some influence on Betson's prime source, John Bray³⁷ and Mirfield's *Sinonoma Bartholomaei*, and so can perhaps be considered a secondary source for Betson³⁸.

The *Antidotarium Nicholai* was also known as the *Antidotarium parvum*, since it was an abridgement of the *Antidotarium magnum*, compiled in the late 11th century.³⁹ Syon did not have a copy of the *magnum*, perhaps because the latter was too early for Syon, and had already been replaced by the *parvum*. Green points out that no

³⁷ British Library [BL Sloane MS 282](#), ff. 167v-173v

³⁸ Mowat J.L.G. *Sinonoma Bartholomaei & Synonyma Antidotarii Nicholai*. Oxford, Clarendon Press. (1882)

³⁹ For details of English and other holdings of the *Antidotarium magnum* see: *The Antidotarium magnum: A Short Description*. Revised draft: 2 November 2013, Monica H. Green, Professor of History, Arizona State University.

http://www.academia.edu/4611623/Antidotarium_magnum_-_An_Online_Edition

manuscript copies of the *magnum* postdate the 13th century, and it did not see print until 1541 – hence also too late for Syon.

Finally, a herbal outlier, and an omen: Syon had two copies of the *Hortus Sanitatis*, of Jakob Meyderbach, both in Latin, and probably in the Mainz printed version of 23 June 1491 (appropriately St John's Eve), and also one of the Strassburg printed versions of 1497, 1505 or 1517, since these *secundo folios* agree with that at Syon. This was a large, lavishly illustrated book with sections on animals and minerals as well as plants. The woodcuts are of good quality, and occasionally show an almost cartoon comic sense of humour – for example, two small boys fighting while waiting in the queue to have urine samples diagnosed.

But the German version of the *Hortus Sanitatis* (*Gart der Gesundheit*, appearing in 14 editions from 1485 to 1492,) preceded its Latin translation, reversing the normal flow – the future is passing to Germany and the vernacular tongues. It is to the German-speaking protestant world that William Turner⁴⁰ in the 1550s will look, and to Fuchs, who will provide him with his woodcuts for his own Great Herbal of 1551. There are furthermore over 200 surviving copies of the 1491 *Hortus Sanitatis* in Latin alone worldwide, suggesting an initial print run of over 5,000 copies. Clearly the copying of manuscripts by hand is at an end, and an international mass market in books, of which religious houses and religious books are only a part, has been detected by the publisher.

The possession by Syon Brother's Library of two manuscript copies of Gilbertus Anglicus is not surprising.⁴¹ Gilbertus had a high reputation in the middle ages, though he is a shadowy character, and has few ascertainable biographical details or dates.⁴² Yet he is fortunate to have seven surviving attributable copies of his works in Britain (see Ker I, p55), implying a wide distribution of perhaps over 150 MSS copies in the middle ages in religious houses. Syon's possession of two copies *in English* is however unique.

The Latin versions included details of treatments suitable for women and children, and a gynaecological section. The Syon English version at the Hunterian in Glasgow does not have an English gynaecological section, though it retains the

⁴⁰ Turner, usually described as the father of English botany, lived at Syon House in the 1540s as physician to Protector Somerset, and compiled what may be the only post monastic audit of a monastery garden. See below, p.38.

⁴¹ Possibly B.6 (SS1.83f) and certainly B.43 (SS1.*117)

⁴² For details, see his useful summary by Faye Getz in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

section on complaints affecting the male organ (satyriasis, pimples and *apostems of the yerde*, etc).⁴³

Table 1: Unique Recorded Medical Books at Syon: Brothers' Library

1	Macer	<i>Middle English Macer Floridus</i>		(From late 1100s)
2	Maurus of Salerno	<i>Anatomia</i>		(d. c.1214)
3	Walter Agilon	<i>Compendium urinarum</i>		(First half of 13c.)
4	Gilbertus Anglicus	<i>Tractatus de medicinis in anglicis</i>		(d. 1250)
5	John Mirfield of Barts	<i>Synonoma Bartholomaei</i>		(d. 1407)
6	„	<i>Breviarium Bartholomaei</i>		
7	Simon of Genoa,	<i>Synonyma Medicinalia</i>	PB	1473
8	Heinrich Kramer	<i>Malleus Maleficarum</i>	PB.	1487
9	Antonius Gazius	<i>Corona florida medicinae</i>	PB.	1491
10	Messahala	<i>de Significationibus Planetarum</i>	PB	1493
11	Querico de Augustis	<i>Lumen Apothecariorum.</i>	PB.	1495
12	Arnoldus Villanova	<i>de Simplicibus Medicinis</i>	PB.	1504 ?

6 Medical Astrology Books and Syon

There are over 15 volumes, containing 50 titles, in the Syon Catalogue which are directly concerned with astronomy, astrology, birthdates and prognostication. Their inclusion in the 'B' medical section would have been considered normal at this point in the history of library cataloguing. The very first book listed in the medical section at B.1, is in fact Albumaser, *De Iudiciis Astrorum* (i.e. 'On the Judgements of the Stars' by Haly Abenragel, d. 1037), bound with a series of books on geomancy, the influence of the planets, use of the Sphere, and an astronomical almanac.

Two examples from the same version in the British Library may perhaps suffice for its 152 pages, 180,000 words of its text: Chapter 65, page 120 (*'in iacendo cum mulieribus*) gives guidance on the best time to approach women for *'delectationem et gaudium'*. It includes contraceptive advice – avoid intercourse when the moon is in Cancer, Scorpio or Pisces. Conversely, Chapter 46, p116, gives these as the best signs under which to take laxatives. Prediction of the outcome of litigation, times for sea

⁴³ The English Gilbertus in Wellcome MS 537 also edits out references to diseases of women and children, travel, and to the use of animals and animal parts in medicine. Getz (2010, p xvi) takes this, and the nature of the binding and illumination, as evidence that this variant version was probably also produced in a monastic house.

journeys, and the death of kings, are also covered, along with when best to have a haircut, and whether a marriage will be happy. Clearly a book that was reasonable and practical in equal measure, with exciting and unusual reading matter for an enclosed Brother in the 1500s. The next 'B' section entry in the catalogue, B2, has five titles, also completely given over to astronomy / astrology.

By way of balance, there is at M.77 b (SS1.810) the widespread '*Tractatus Fratris Thome Aquinas utrum liceat uti Iudiciis astrorum.*' (A tract by Brother Thomas Aquinas on whether it is permissible to use the Judgements of the Stars). Aquinas set out the classic church position:

'..... if anyone take observation of the stars in order to foreknow casual or fortuitous future events, or to know with certitude future human actions, his conduct is based on a false and vain opinion; and so the operation of the demon introduces itself therein, wherefore it will be a superstitious and unlawful divination. On the other hand if one were to apply the observation of the stars in order to foreknow those future things that are caused by heavenly bodies, for instance, drought or rain and so forth, it will be neither an unlawful nor a superstitious divination'.⁴⁴

At B.1e (SS1.78e) is the intriguing '*De Geomancia qua non licet Christianum uti*' (Geomancy which it is not lawful for a Christian to use), bound up with a Robert Grossteste on the Sphere.

Apart from the Gilbertus Anglicus text in the Hunterian, the second surviving manuscript from the Syon *Registrum* medical section, (*Registrum* SS1. 79, B.2) is on astronomy and astrology and is now Cambridge University Library Ms Hh. 6.8. It contains five separate titles with a distinct Spanish / Arab slant – there is a text with astronomic tables for Toledo, and a comparative table for the Arabic and Christian years from 1316 to 1378. It also contains a treatise on building the astrolabe by Messhala (the Persian Jewish Masha'allah ibn Atharī, c.740–815 CE), translated as *Astrolabium* by John of Seville, (*fl.* from 1135 and 1153). This was the first treatise on the astrolabe in Arabic, and primarily deals with its construction and use. The Syon manuscript is therefore a product of the great translation of texts from Arabic into Latin emanating from Spain, Sicily and Salerno in the period from 900 onwards, which is discussed below.

We know from the *Registrum* that some of the astrological books at Syon were given by four named donors: three Syon Brother-priests: Richard Reynolds, John

⁴⁴ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, Lib XCI-C, II^a-IIae q. 95 a. 5 co.
<http://www.logicmuseum.com/authors/aquinas/Summa-index.htm> (accessed 25 April 2014).

Bracebridge, John Steyke, and someone called only 'Wilcokkes' - most probably a London merchant.⁴⁵ There are also three astrological donations which bear no donor name. *Secundo folio* evidence shows that the donations by Steyke and Wilcocks are of volumes dating between 1485 to 1497, from imprints at mainly Venice, but also Augsburg and possibly Nuremberg. This seems to indicate that the donors, at least, had access to materials on astrology which were pan-European in origin, and were reprints of classical texts. This fits well with the ascent of Astrology to the status of a subject taught at the universities all over Europe and one which would remain influential with academics, the educated and the illiterate for several centuries to come. Medical astrology was of course an important part of this, looking at the exact time of onset of a disease, and linking it to malevolent stars or planets.

If we take the brother-priest John Steyke (d.1513) as an example, we see that of the 77 books and manuscripts he donated, at least 11 are directly concerned with astrology or its mathematical calculation. Steyke was born perhaps in the 1450s, took a Cambridge degree, and joined Syon around 1489, after serving in two Norfolk parishes for some eight years – a mature, educated postulant, with experience of the world. Yet his library donations clearly reflect the continued hold that astrology had on the late mediaeval mind. Syon Abbey saw no problem in praying, by way of recompense for these books, for the relief of his soul after death.

Volumes of astrology were also given to Syon by lay people, probably with similar motivation: 'Wilcokkes' (17 titles in his sole donated volume B.55 (SS1.132), with sections printed in 1469 and also in 1493). Wilcokkes was possibly a London draper or bookdealer. Another secular donation of an astrological work, Ptolemy's *Cosmographia* of either 1482 or 1486, at B.53 (SS1.130), is noted as by 'Browne', probably John Browne, Steward of Syon by 1489 and until 1505, a lawyer and member of the Inner Temple. These are the wealthy bourgeois of London, who feel comfortable in offering volumes of astrology to one of the most devout and orthodox monasteries in the country, in return for prayers after their death.

At Syon we also find at SS1.104 a copy of the printed classic of the period, *De vita libri tres* (also known as *De Triplici Vita*) by Marsilio Ficino (1433-1499). This has been described as the most significant book of medical astrology of the Italian Renaissance.⁴⁶ It was another of Richard Reynolds' donations. Syon also had two out of ten copies in Britain of Julius Firmicus Maternus' *Mathesis* written c. 334-37. This was a neo-Platonist text from the time of Constantine I, and so old that in fact circulated in the west *before* Arab astrology arrived – in fact so old that it had been

⁴⁵ See p.117 below for details.

⁴⁶ Horoscopes and Public Spheres: Essays on the History of Astrology, Günther Oestmann, H. Darrel Rutkin & Kocku von Stuckrad. Walter de Gruyter. 2005.

attacked by St Augustine. Syon's copy, on *secundo folio* evidence, was the much later Aldine edition, printed in Venice in 1497, and donated by Richard Reynolds. This too was a popular and influential book in Europe, with around 90 copies still in existence, and also contained the Thomas Linacre translation of *De Sphaera* (from the Greek by Proclus Diadochus, d. AD 485).

But it was the Arabs, and those who wrote in Arabic who excelled in the world of astrology and astronomy, as authors, interpreters and transmitters of texts.⁴⁷ Their basis was Greek astrology and astronomy as transmitted by translations of Ptolemy (c. 90 to c.168 AD) in the *Almagest* (no copy at Syon, but 15 in Britain), and his defence of astrology in the *Quadripartitum* (two copies at Syon, out of a dozen recorded in Britain).⁴⁸

The Persian Albumasar (Abu Ma'shar Ja'far, 787–886), was one of the earliest and most important transmitters, and is the first name to appear in the *Registrum* medical section at B.1 (SS1.78). Syon had two copies of his *Flores Astrorum* (at least 8 separate copies recorded in Britain, with 40 surviving manuscripts and 12 printed editions worldwide), and two copies of his *De Magnis Coniunctionibus* (out of five listed in Britain). Both were translated by John of Seville (fl. 1135 to 1153). Syon did not however have the Albumasar's other important work, the *Introductorium maius*, though there were six copies at other houses in Britain.

Syon also had seven works of astrology / astronomy by Messahala (Masha 'Allah Ibn Athari, d. c. 815), again mainly translations by John of Seville. These include Messahala *Astrolabium* (on making an Astrolabe); and *De interrogantibus* (on astrological queries) which were both fairly common in Britain; his *De revolutionibus annorum mundi* (two copies at Syon) was also common for the period, though with only a handful of copies recorded in Britain. Its focus on the relationship of the king to his kingdom at the turn of the astrological year, may have been an attraction for Syon as a royal foundation. It was given by Steyke who died 31 March 1513 and is hence probably a printed book, most likely, on *secundo folio* grounds, the Venice edition of 1493 – with over 140 copies of this version surviving worldwide, implying a print run of several thousand copies.

⁴⁷ The Warburg Institute provides a useful guide to the importance and influence of Arab astrological and astronomical writings and also copies of key texts, on which the following section draws. See: Bibliotheca Astrologica Latina, Notices by David Juste & Charles Burnett. <http://warburg.sas.ac.uk/library/digital-collections/bibliotheca-astrologica/#c968>

⁴⁸ SS1.¶124a (with commentary by Haly ibn Drodan), and at SS1.132d.

Syon had the only two recorded BL *Corpus* copies in Britain of *De Significationibus Planetarum in Natiuitate* by Messahala at SS1.124x and SS1.132q. This was a rare work, with only four manuscripts now extant, according to Ker.

A more common astrological volume was the *Capitula* (or *Iudicia*) *Almansoris* (author unknown) which survives in forty manuscripts and a dozen printed editions. Syon had two copies (at SS1.124e and SS1.132k) out of only four recorded in the British Library *Corpus* – presumably not the whole picture for Britain, given this book's popularity. Syon's volume at SS1.124 was most probably, on *secundo folio* grounds, an astrological compendium in a Venice edition of 1493, of which there are nearly 150 surviving copies worldwide, implying a print run for this one edition of over 4,000 copies. It had been translated into Latin by Plato of Tivoli in 1136 who, with due consistency, cast a horoscope to determine the most favourable date to start his work. This was clearly a successful astrological *iudicium*, if measured by his book's five hundred year circulation: it was still being reprinted in 1674.

Coming closer to the time of Syon itself, western authors had begun to produce their own astrological works. Those of Pierre d'Ailly or Petrus de Alliaco (1350-1420), bishop of Cambrai and Cardinal, were in the forefront, and Syon had a copy of his *Concordantia astromomiae cum theologia*, which, with two other volumes attempted to locate major events in the history of the world in relation to their major planetary conjunctions. The three other copies of the *Concordantia* listed in Britain were only to be found at Oxford University Colleges.

7 Arab Authors and Medical Books at Syon

Syon has a selection of the usual works by the Arabs both as authors and as commentators on the Greek classics but one immediately noticeable quirk is the absence of Avicenna's *Canon Medicinae* (Abu 'Ali al-Husain ibn 'Abdallah Ibn Sina, 980–1037), although there are copies listed in around 30 other British houses.⁴⁹ Syon had in fact only one book by Avicenna – *De Viribus Cordis* at SS1.89b, another gift of Bracebridge. *De Viribus Cordis* was often in the translation of Arnold of Villa Nova, and printed from 1476 with the *Canon*. But the Bracebridge, with *floruit* around 1420, probably gave a manuscript version.

It may also be that Syon's need for Avicenna was met by another volume of great popularity: the *Viaticum* by Constantinus Africanus, a compilation for clinical

⁴⁹ For a useful summary of the introduction of Greek and Arabic texts see: Jacquart, Danielle (1992) *The Introduction of Arabic Medicine into the West: The Question of Etiology, in Health Disease and Healing in Mediaeval Culture*. Macmillan.

teaching of the Canon of Avicenna, of which there are over 50 examples in Britain, including one at Syon in seven parts. It might, from its innocuous title, be mistaken for a spiritual guide for the dying (*Viaticum* being another name for receiving communion sacrament on the point of death). It is in fact a translation of a book by Algizar (Ahmed Ibn Al Jazzar c.875-979) and is a 'head to heel' medicine handbook (*de capite ad calcem*). But it also contains an intriguing section on how to recover from love-sickness: gripping reading, but perhaps ill-suited for a cloistered brother (or even sister) coping in a colder climate than 9th century Tunisia, in its suggested remedies of wine, women and song.⁵⁰

Another popular writer in Arabic, but a Christian, was Iohannitius (Hunayn ibn Ishaq, 809–873), whose Galen - *Isagoge ad artem parvum Galeni* was present in Britain, with around 26 houses holding copies; Syon held four. There were almost no other titles by Iohannitius in circulation in Britain. A similar situation seems to have prevailed in France – 23 manuscript copies of the *Isagoge* and little else by Iohannitius at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF). At Syon it was probably in the Constantinus Africanus translation, and given that the donor of three copies was again Bracebridge (*fl.* 1420) these were also probably in manuscript form. (There was a printed version from Venice in 1491 – with over 30 *incunabula* copies still surviving, but there is no evidence for one of these copies being at Syon.)

Avicenna's great commentator and opponent, Averroes (Ibn Rushd, 1126–1198), is also present at Syon in his compendium of general medicine, the *Colliget* (holdings in ten British houses), together with some of his popular commentaries on Aristotle's *Metaphysica* and *De Caelo et Mundo*. Syon also had a copy of his *De Tyriaca*, the universal herbal remedy, at SS1.89c, again given by Bracebridge and so probably in manuscript.

With regard to Iohannes Mesue (Masawaih al-Mardini – also known as Iohannes Damascenus (before AD1015), Syon had four titles: two copies of his *De Simplicibus Medicinis* (out of nine in British houses), one of his *Aphorisms* (out of ten British holdings), one out of five copies of his *Practica*, and finally an unidentified book on blood-letting, '*flegbotomia*'. Syon also had a copy of his *Opera Medicinalia*. Syon did not have a copy of his Mesue's *Opera Medicinalia*, but there seem in any case to have been only two of these in British houses.

⁵⁰ See also: Wack, Mary F., (1990). *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages: The Viaticum ad its Commentaries*. University of Philadelphia Press, Philadelphia.

8 Medical Books Missing at Syon

There is no recorded copy at Syon or any other religious house in Britain of the influential *Fasciculus Medicinae* (in circulation on the continent from around 1400 and in print from 1491, attributed incorrectly to Johannes de Ketham), and there appear to be no record of a manuscript survivals in Ker. This compilation book of surgery with excellent illustrations was printed in eight editions from 1491 (Venice) to 1500, and over 130 copies survive in Latin alone. Its absence from monasteries can only be partly explained by the ban on surgery for the higher orders of the priesthood, since both Syon, and the Carthusians at Sheen just across the river, had other books of surgery. It may of course be that it is somewhere in the BL *Corpus*, but under another name.

Also missing at Syon was a named copy of *De Herba Vet(t)onica*, (i.e. *Betonica officinalis*, Betony) attributed to Antonius Musa (63 BC-14 AD). There was in fact only one recorded copy in Britain, at St Augustine's Canterbury. The printed *editio princeps* was somewhere between 1478 and 1482, when it was mistakenly included as the first chapter of the *Herbarium* of the Pseudo Apuleius printed at Rome by de Lignamine. There were only two copies of the Apuleius *Herbarium* recorded in Britain (at Syon and also St Augustine's Canterbury). There is only one surviving attributable copy in Britain – Eton College MS 204 (Ker Vol II, p779, (1)) which is also with an Apuleius. It was perhaps more common elsewhere in Europe, with four copies in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France (BNF).

Betson does of course cite Betony as a herb, with eight mentions, and this is perhaps a reflection of the great respect in which Betony was held from antiquity onwards - the herb had the reputation of curing 47 different illnesses. At one point a source for the Betson remedies show the variant name for Betony – '*Vetonica*' (rather than *Betonica*) at Folio 117r, Line 14, as the recommended drink for the month of March. It is all the more curious that this classic had not percolated through Britain.

It is also noteworthy that there was little at Syon by Arnoldus of Villanova, or his school, despite their extensive works on medicine and alchemy.⁵¹ There were in all about 10 copies of Villanova's *Opera* in the British religious houses. Syon had only Villanova's *De simplicibus medicinis*, donated by Bracebridge at SS2.46c, which was

⁵¹ Conrad Gessner in his *Eunonymus*, 1575, p157, repeats an *Aqua Mirabilis* very similar to Betson's at Image 110 Right, Folio 106r, and attributes it to Arnaldus Villanova. So perhaps Betson again had access to a source for Villanova, or his apocrypha, not listed in the *Registrum*.

the only recorded copy in Britain. Bracebridge's floruit is given as 1420, so a manuscript donation - the text was not printed (with Villanova's *Opera*) until 1504. Syon also had the *Regimen Sanitatis* by Villanova at K.13 (SS1.623c), one of only three copies in Britain.

Finally, Syon does not seem to have had a copy of a key herbal work – the *Liber Graduum* of Constantinus Africanus, which showed the humoristic degrees of various herbs. There were around ten houses in Britain with copies of this book, without which many herbal texts would have been incomprehensible or even dangerous. It may however have been included, as was customary, in Syon's two holdings of Constantinus' *Practica Pantegni* at SS1.82q or SS1.92m. These are both early in the catalogue, and the latter was given by Bracebridge, so perhaps again in manuscript rather than printed form.

In both Syon and in Britain as a whole, according to the evidence of the British Library *Corpus*, there was no *Agnus Castus*, (fifteenth century MSS⁵²) nor a Rufinus (his herbal, *Liber de virtutibus herbarum*, after 1287, had limited circulation and influence even within Italy) and no *De Diversis Medicinis* (an English derivative text, with a section on women's ailments.) The *Virtutes Septem Herbarum* of Albertus Magnus was only present in Britain at Peterhouse, Cambridge, recorded late, c.1535, by Leland, while the 'home-grown' and early herbal of Henry of Huntingdon (1085-1155), *De herbarum virtute* only occurs in one religious institution, the ancient foundation of Holme St Benet's in Norfolk.⁵³ There is no Alexander Trallianus ('of Tralles' c. 525 – c.605) at Syon, but a scattered selection of eight of his works were elsewhere in Britain.

For completeness it may be useful to flag up, in the context of mental health, that Syon's catalogue contains the only recorded copy of the *Malleus Maleficarum* in a British monastic library, at SS1.¶1339. (The University of Oxford had the only other copy in Britain.) It was given by Thomas Kyrkhaugh (d.1523, already at Syon by 1518) who donated in all 42 books. He was ordained, but was perhaps not, according to Gillespie (p582), a graduate. The papal bull condemning witchcraft (*Summis desiderantes affectibus*) had been issued on 5th December 1484, at the request of the Dominican Inquisitor, Heinrich Kramer, who wrote the *Malleus* – published before April 1487. Given this apparent limited availability, the influence of the *Malleus* may

⁵² There is mention of the plant in Betson's *Herbarium* under its French name at Folio 70v, Col. B, line one as *Toteseyn* (*Tutsayne* in Bray). But there is no mention of *Agnus castus* or its uses in Betson's Remedies.

⁵³ Recently rediscovered: Henry of Huntingdon, *Anglicanus ortus: a Verse Herbal of the Twelfth Century*, edited and translated by Winston Black. Toronto, Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2012.

have been relatively small in Britain. This contrasts with the picture in Europe, where overall it ran through over nine editions between 1487 and 1515. Of these editions there still exist in excess of 300 copies, implying a print run of over 7,000, if we use Neddermeyer's estimate of 4.2% survival rate for *incunabula*.⁵⁴

Perhaps the message from the low circulation in Britain of the *Malleus* is not about the contents of this notorious book, but rather that Syon again, either by chance or by careful choice, had access to a European book of considerable impact, when it was apparently not available elsewhere in Britain. '*Sorsery or witchcraft*' were of course specifically forbidden in the Syon Additions to the Rule. (Aungier, (1840) p259).

9 A Proposed Sisters' Medical Library at Syon

There is no record of the sisters' library at Syon, much less of any medical books. Indeed, the records for women's convent libraries both in Britain and on the continent are poor, and where they do exist, consist mainly of liturgical and devotional books, and breviaries.

David N. Bell found only one medical item (and that perhaps uncertain) among the books in mediaeval English convents.⁵⁵ This is Cambridge University, Magdalene College, MS 12 (F.4.12), a devotional text, possibly owned by Elizabeth Crytchley of Syon (her inscription '*Elizabeth Crytchley off Syon anno 1521*'). It has a recipe for '*Water Ymperyal*'. This is '*Aqua Imperialis*', a distilled aromatic compound water, included in the first *London Pharmacopoeia*, 1618, and presumably expensive, since it contained 30 barks and leaves, to which lavender and rosemary were added.⁵⁶ The same book also contains auspicious days for bloodletting. There

⁵⁴ Neddermeyer, Uwe (1998). *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch*, Band 61, Teil 1 & 2, Buchwissenschaftliche Beiträge aus dem Deutschen Bucharchiv München. Harrasowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, Germany. See Table 4, page 77, for calculated 4.2% survival rate of *incunabula*.

For digital and other catalogues of mediaeval manuscripts in Austrian and German libraries, see: <http://www.manuscripta-mediaevalia.de/hs/kataloge-online.htm>

For Germany, Austria and Switzerland see:

<http://www.handschriftencensus.de/forschungsliteratur/kataloge>

I am grateful to Dr. Andrea Rzhacek, MAS, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Institut für Mittelalterforschung, for drawing these to my attention.

⁵⁵ Bell, David N. *What Nuns Read: Books and Libraries in Mediaeval English Nunneries*. Kalamazoo, Cistercian Studies Series 158. Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1995.

⁵⁶ See: Matthews, Leslie G. (1967) *The Royal Apothecaries*. Wellcome Historical Medical Library, New Series Volume XIII, Chapter 4, note 45, page 81.

are other recipes, including one which must be later than the death of Henry VII in January 1547: '*a suffrayn medycyn for a man or a woman where nature ys wastyd which king henry viii usyd.*'

To this sole survivor might be added an intriguing note: the name of '*Magdalene Boeria*' appears in a 1533 copy of the *Myrrour of Christes Passion* translated by John Fewterer.⁵⁷ Boeria was professed in 1518, and died in 1539. She was the daughter of John Baptista Boerio of Genoa, physician to both Henry VII and Henry VIII; her two brothers were educated by Erasmus. One wonders what education she had, and if she knew of her father's business, and whether she applied it at Syon.⁵⁸

Monica Green cites another two other medical books from the 11th and 12th centuries, and a Herbal left by Elizabeth Wellys in her will of 1520 to the Minories (Franciscan Poor Clares) in London for the nuns' common use.⁵⁹ But, as Green points out, we have no catalogues from convents, and so cannot know what medical books, if any, were lost at the Dissolution.

It is to be regretted in this context that almost no details survive of the libraries of the Gilbertine order (1130-1536) – England's only native foundation, and like Syon, combining nuns and priests, lay sisters and lay bothers. Of their 26 houses at the Dissolution, there are scant library records for five, all in Lincolnshire, and before 1536.⁶⁰ These simply state for Bullington, Ormsby and Haverholme Priors: '*Although there are many books in this house, they are commonly available in print....or irrelevant to our matter*' and list no medical books.⁶¹ Only Haverholme shows what

⁵⁷ John Rylands University Library, Manchester: *Myrrour of Christes Passion* translated by John Fewterer (STC 14553) from Ulrich Pinder's *Speculum passionis Domini nostri*. Erler, p141. Pr.Bk. STC 14553. Robert Redman 12 December 1533. Boeria is not in Early English Book Owners.

⁵⁸ See: *Syon Abbey and Its Books: Reading, Writing and Religion, C.1400-1700* By Edward Alexander Jones, Alexandra Walsham, Boydell and Brewer 2010, p86.)

⁵⁹ Green, Monica H. (2000). *Books as a Source of Medical Education for Women in the Middle Ages: Female Religious Institutions Owning Medical Books*. *Dynamis. Acta His. Med. Sci. Hist. Illus.* 2000, 20, 331-369. PDF: <http://www.ugr.es/~dynamis/completo20/PDF/Dyna-11.PDF> Table I, p361.

⁶⁰ See: *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, Volume 3 (1992). The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*, edited by BELL, David N., pp153-156.

⁶¹Liddell, J. R. (1939) *Leland's lists of manuscripts in Lincolnshire monasteries*. *English Historical Review*, Volume 54, 1939, pp88-95. The source is BL Ms. Roy., Appendix 69.

may have been at least one printed book – Giles of Rome’s *De Regimine principum*, printed at Augsburg in 1473 – and as Leland says, a rather common book, with some 20 copies recorded by the *Corpus*, of which one at Syon (SS1.618a). (There are around 50 surviving copies listed worldwide in the British Library *Incunabula* catalogue).

Deanesly (1920) looked at three catalogues extant from continental convents: that of the Dominican nuns at Nuremburg for 1456-69, containing 350 books; the Franciscan Tertiaries of Delft, second half of the 15th century with 109 books; and an unpublished number at the women’s cloister at Wonnestein in 1498.⁶² The Nuremburg and Delft catalogues contained however no books of medicine, though the record for Delft appears to be only a section of the whole library. The list of books at Wonnestein has not been published. More recent work (2013) on the library at the Dominican convent of St. Katharina's in St. Gallen finds only liturgical, devotional and books of sermons listed.⁶³

Green (2000) lists the female religious foundations in mediaeval Europe where medical books or material are to be found. Of 17 foundations where records exist, only 31 books are medical, out of a total of more than 1,200. The Bridgettines at their house in Elbing bei Danzig had three books with medical contents (out of a library of 39 volumes). These included a 14th century copy of a herbal (*De Simplicibus*) attributed to Mesue (also known as Iohannes Damascenus, d.857) and translated into Latin in the late 1200s; an unattributed *Questiones Medicales*; and some medical texts from Avicenna and Galen. Similarly, the Bridgittines of Maihingen in the diocese of Augsburg had one medical book out of 23 – a text in German and Latin of ‘*materia medica*, cooking, horse medicine, ointments and plaisters.’

10 A Putative Sisters’ Library of Medical Books

Given this lack of evidence for medical books in convents in Britain and Europe, we might be permitted to speculate what medical and herbal books would have been available and useful to the sisters at Syon in any putative sisters’ library.

⁶² Deanesly, Margaret (1920) *The Lollard Bible and other medieval Biblical versions*, Cambridge University Press.

⁶³ Mengis, Simones & de Gruyter Walter. (2013). *Schreibende Frauen um 1500: Scriptorium und Bibliothek des Dominikanerinnenklosters St. Katharina St. Gallen*. (There is a list of MSS on pp274-376, but no index to the text.)

We know, for example, that six male establishments, at Austin Friars York, Christ Church Canterbury, St Augustine's Canterbury, Dover Priory, Leicester and Titchfield Abbeys all had copies or extracts from Trotula's *De passionibus mulierum*. There was also, less surprisingly given his propensities, a copy in the Westminster Library of Henry VIII.⁶⁴ The Syon Brothers' *Registrum* yields no example. The absence at Syon of the *Trotula*, its presence at other male monastic institutions, and the very nature of the contents, make it a prime candidate for any imputed collection in a Sisters' Library at Syon.

The *Liber Soracii phisici ad Cleopatram Reginam de Mulieribus* of Soranus might also be considered as a candidate for a useful women's library, though there was only one copy of this in Britain, at Christ Church Canterbury. Other titles for consideration might also be his *Gynaecia seu de Morbis Mulierum*; there were copies at St Augustine's Canterbury and Austin Friars York.⁶⁵ In the context of religious women's health, it is interesting to note that an eleventh century copy of the *Gynecia* survives from the Oxford Carmelite convent (Ker p142), under the attribution to 'Muscio' – though ultimately derived from Soranus. It did not appear in any mediaeval catalogue, as recorded in the British Library *Corpus of Mediaeval Libraries*. This perhaps indicates some of the dangers in being too categorical about what books did or did not exist in the past in Britain

Perhaps another likely candidate for a sisters' library is a copy of the Pseudo Albertus Magnus, *De Secretis Mulierum*. There was only one copy in Britain, at St Augustine's Canterbury, and there are no surviving copies listed in Ker.

Perhaps the limited number of these medical texts in Britain is indicative of a general neglect of the area of religious women's health, or that it was more customary at a convent or mixed order to employ an outside physician, rather than self-doctoring. We simply do not have sufficient evidence at Syon. We do know, for example, that in the mid-fifteenth century the Augustinian monks of Oseney Abbey in Oxford (1129-1539), employed an outsider, Roger Fabell (fl. 1450-1495), who performed *inter alia* the role of physician (Getz 1998, p17).

⁶⁴ There are only three attributable survivals in Ker of the *Trotula* in Britain, of which the sole monastic copy is a 13th century version at Westminster Abbey (MS34 /1, Ker p401).

⁶⁵ Soranus also covered varieties of male and female homosexuality in his book *On Acute Diseases*. No copy is listed in the BL Corpus as being present in Britain. See: Caelius Aurelianus, *On Acute Diseases* and *On Chronic Disease*, IV, 9, 131-137, cited by Fordham Jesuit University of New York. Fuller text at: <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/pwh/soranus1.asp>

Finally, it is noticeable that the *Physica*, attributed to Hildegard of Bingen (1098-1179), and her *Causae et Curae* are apparently absent from all British monastic collections. She is listed only once, for her *Liber subtilitatum diuersarum naturarum creaturarum* in the Westminster Library of Henry VIII. As if to confirm this absence, Ker gives no surviving uncatalogued books by her. Hildegard of Bingen, given her reputation as an outstanding female, might also have been a suitable candidate for any convent library.

11 Medical Books in English

Another way to approach the question of the contents of any imputed sisters' library at Syon, is to ask what medical books were commonly available in English at this time. This sidesteps the question, of course, of the level of Latin, spoken and written, on that side of the house at Syon.

By way of context, Dorothy Waley Singer⁶⁶ estimated that there were perhaps a total of 1,032 English medical MSS in existence by the end of the 15th century, against 6,651 in Latin. Robbins suggests that both these numbers are too high, but that the proportions are correct.⁶⁷ This would in either case allow for a wide choice of material on women's ailments (though the number of books directly attributable to women authors is much more limited).

This question is however finally not productive, since there are in fact very few English translations or written works of any kind listed in the monastic libraries of the British Library *Corpus*, and only two medical works, both of which at Syon, as discussed above: the English Gilbertus Anglicus *Compendium seu Liliium medicinae* (two copies at Syon); and Macer Floridus *De Viribus Herbarum* of which Syon appears to have had the only English translation in Britain. There was a Ricardus Anglicus (d. c. 1352) *Flebotomia* at Syon (SS1.107m), but this was most likely in Latin. There is no evidence that any of the 13 copies of the *Trotula* currently known to have been present in mediaeval monastic libraries was in English. Monica Green has identified five Middle English versions of the *Trotula*, and one so-called *Trotula* in English,

⁶⁶ Notes on English Mediaeval Scientific Texts, British Library CUP D.65, Manuscripts, cited in *Interstices: Studies in Late Middle English and Anglo-Latin Texts in Honour of A.G. Rigg*, 2004. Ed. Richard Firth Green and Linne R. Mooney. University of Toronto Press.

⁶⁷ Medical Manuscripts in Middle English, Robbins, Rossell Hope, *Speculum*, Vol XLV, Number 3, July 1970. Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass.

which is in fact taken from Gilbertus Anglicus. But we have no evidence of the *Trotula* in either Latin or English at Syon.⁶⁸

It may be that, if we exclude our rather full picture of Syon's catalogue, we are being again misled by the coverage of the British Library *Corpus of Mediaeval Library Catalogues*. The illustrated but anonymous '*Sekenesse of Wymmen*' identifiable as being from the Augustinian Canons at Maxstoke Priory (1336-1536) in Warwickshire, and dated to the second half of the 15th century, appears in no catalogue of the time, but is present as British Library Sloane MS 2463.⁶⁹ Maxstoke Priory itself is absent from the British Library *Corpus*, having left almost no trace, at least in any catalogue, of any of its books.

If we turn from the contemporary catalogue entries to the actual rate of survival of monastic books in English, Ker lists less than 50 books (including one in Scots). Syon, in Ker, contributes the high total of 13 surviving English books to this list, which includes book not necessarily from the *Registrum*, but, for example, breviaries owned by sisters at Syon. It is curious that of the 26 surviving books at Sheen, across the River Thames from Syon, four are also in English – mainly Rolle and Hilton. Perhaps one of the duties of this strict Carthusian foundation was to copy out devotional books in English and pass them to the sisters at Syon, as we see in the case of James Grenehalgh and Joanna Sewell (discussed at p77 below).

12 Medical Books in the Mother-House Library at Vadstena

There are very few surviving medical manuscripts, and no printed books, from the Bridgettine mother house at Vadstena listed in the Swedish National Library or in the other major repository at Uppsala University.⁷⁰ There is also no surviving pre-reformation catalogue, though it seems likely that one would have existed. After the Reformation in Sweden (conventionally dated to 1527) religious books did not survive in large numbers, though Vadstena was the exception. The library there was already somewhat depleted before the Abbey's final closure in 1597, but the remaining books were saved in the 17th century.

⁶⁸ See: *The Trotula: An English Translation of the Medieval Compendium of Women's Medicine*, edited by Monica H. Green, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011, p165.

⁶⁹ See Yale Medical Library MS 47, fols 60r-71v, and British Library Sloane MS 2463. Both are in print. Also: <http://www.reproduction.group.cam.ac.uk/the-sekeness-of-wymmen/>

⁷⁰ For the fate of the library at Vadstena see: Wolodarsji, Anna (2011): *The Vadstena Library, Making New Discoveries in The Birgittine Experience in Papers from the Birgitta Conference in Stockholm*, 2011. Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm.

A number of the manuscripts and printed books from the library for the brethren at Vadstena have survived. Most of these are kept today in the Uppsala University Library. The collection was for a time at Vadstena Castle, and books served as chocks against the recoil on gun carriages; folio MSS were also despoiled for over a century to provide covers for royal account books. Elsewhere, books were used to line the bellows of pipe organs. Books of altar and choir, having little relevance after the reformation, had low survival rates, as at Syon.

The surviving attributable Vadstena manuscripts have now been extensively catalogued and indexed as part of the C MSS collection at Uppsala University.⁷¹ Hedlund and Härdelin (1990, p20) point out that that they consist, however, of 'very simple books, the monks' personal belongings, where they have transcribed not only proper texts but also very often just excerpts, or their own annotations.' There are however a few medical manuscripts, which are covered below.

The holdings of the library at Vadstena have been partially reconstructed by Andersson, but the aim was mainly to cover the sermons.⁷² These formed a large part of the library - a common trait with Syon, since preaching was a major duty of the order. The National Library in Sweden keeps only very few of the Vadstena Library manuscripts, mainly devotional texts in Old Swedish, and none of these contain any substantial medical items. It is thought that these manuscripts belonged, in principle at least, to the sisters.

Vadstena had been founded in 1346, so predating Syon by nearly 70 years, and its MSS reflect the earlier acquisitions. It had at least one splendid medical book in manuscript form, which Syon might well have envied: this is C 661 in the Uppsala University Catalogue. Dated 1295, of French origin, with 356 folios, it contains Hippocrates *Aphorismi & Prognosticon & De Regimine Acutarum*, a Giles de Corbeil *Urina* and the Galen *Microtegni*. Its date, contents and French origin may perhaps indicate a University of Paris medical set book, from early in the life of that institution (founded c.1160). It is paralleled at Syon by the university set books of the *Articella*, containing similar materials⁷³ The *Articella* was an anonymous mid

⁷¹ Andersson-Schmitt, Margarete, & Hedlund, Monica (10 Volumes 1989 -) *Mittelalterliche Handschriften Der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala*. Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm.

⁷² See: R. Andersson, *Predikosamlingar i Vadstena klosterbibliotek* (Uppsala, 1994) and A. Fredriksson Adman, *Vadstena klostrets bibliotek: en analys av förvärv och bestånd* (Uppsala, 1997). We are grateful to Anna Wolodarski, Librarian at the National Library of Sweden, Manuscripts, Maps and Pictures, for this information.

⁷³ See for example SS1.95e, SS1.92d, SS1.95g. The BL Corpus gives several more examples of *Articella* materials at Syon.

twelfth century Salerno compilation of five key books: the *Isagoge* of Johannitius; the *Aphorisms* and *Prognostics* of Hippocrates; *De Urinis* of Theophilus Protospatharius; and *De Pulsibus* of Philaretus).

At Vadstena there was also the *Practica Maior* and *Practica Minor* of the French author Roger de Baron now UU C71. Syon did not have a full Roger – it had only '*de diuersis medicinis ex tractatu Rogeri maioris*' at SS1.82l. There were a dozen copies of Roger in Britain, mainly with the Augustinians at Canterbury, Dover and York.

Finally, while there is evidence for the exchange of religious books between Syon and Vadstena, there is none for the exchange of medical books. The Vadstena Ricardus Rolle de Hampole at UU C621 originated from the hand of Katillus Thornberni of Vadstena, who was seconded to England from 1408-1421 to assist with the founding of the Bridgettine house, and perhaps copied it while there. Similarly, Clement Maidstone at Syon (d.1456) copied out Walter Hilton's *Scala Perfectionis* in Latin for the brothers at Vadstena (now UU C159). Syon had several copies of this work in both Latin and English. The copy sent to Vadstena by Syon includes a Salisbury Rite, works by St Anselm, and possibly a work by the English Theologian, Alexander Neckham or Nequam (1157-1217). There are six titles from the works of Nequam in the Syon catalogue. None is of direct medical interest, though his encyclopaedic *De Naturis Rerum* (two copies at Syon) contains some mention of herbs. It would be interesting if further examination of Nequam showed a link between Betson's herbal and Vadstena. But Betson's main source for his *Herbarium* was clearly the royal physician John Bray (discussed below at page 42.)

The shorter medical texts and marginal notes in the Vadstena manuscripts are similar in form to those in Betson, and reveal a common European thinking on medicine, humours and bloodletting. The diagnosis of leprosy, and its transmission by intercourse with a woman during her period, are also common strands. There are the usual collections of *Synonyma*, and a wrestling with the names Greek plants that have no northern equivalents. As in Betson's recipes, there is the ever present threat of Plague, to be countered at Vadstena by special religious services. Astrology also appears in a text linking a comet and the plague – *signa pestilentiae* and *portenta cometae* in C 213, folio 191v. Dated 1458, it perhaps refers to the recent visitation of Halley's Comet in 1456.⁷⁴

⁷⁴ A volume by John Fewterer (Confessor General, d. 26 September, 1536) STC 20193.5, *Deuoute Prayers in Englysshe* also contains *this lytell boke containeth certayne gostly medycyne* with prayers, including a blessing for the bed, chamber and windows, and an address to one's *propie angel* (guardian angel) for protection against the plague. At the end, a statement common to herbals: *probatum est* [this has been tested.]

Both Syon and Vadstena have remedies added to the religious texts in the blank margins; these are inevitably for coughs, headaches or toothache. The legibility of these insertions, usually in an undateable and indecipherable hand, is equally problematic for the modern English and Swedish editors. It is also curious that one manuscript from Vadstena (C54, folio 53v) and another from Syon (Betson's Folio 83r, Column B, Line 20) contain remedies for horse doctoring: an echo of the Roman herbals owned by large estate owners who needed to treat their quadrupeds as well as their bipeds. And there are of course recipes at both Syon and Vadstena for that most pressing need of librarians in any mediaeval library: how to make good ink.

13 Syon Abbey Gardens: After the Dissolution of 1539.

It is not clear from the written records if there was a monastic herb garden at Syon, and its location has not been revealed by the series of archaeological digs in the past decade. We do know that both Protector Somerset (d.1552) and the 'Wizard' Ninth Earl of Northumberland (d.1632) rearranged the gardens of Syon House. There was further landscaping of the park and lakes in 1760 by Capability Brown.

This probably means that a process of erasure has taken place many times. The recent Birkbeck archaeological digs revealed large circular brick structures to the east of the site of the church, interpreted as raised flower beds. Perhaps traces of any herb gardens can be recovered too, along with the brothers' and sisters' infirmaries which they may have served. The infirmary sewer at Soutra Aisle in Midlothian was found to be full of Henbane, that universal mediaeval anaesthetic, and other medicinal seeds.⁷⁵ If the same excavations were to happen at Syon, they might cast further light on the Syon Abbey Herbal.

Jackson (1910) in his guide to the trees and shrubs of Syon House notes the variety of Cypress mentioned by William Turner in 1548 (*Cupressus sempervirens*) was still present.⁷⁶ Gerarde in his herbal of 1597 also says that then there were Cypress trees at "*Syon, a place neare London, sometime a house of nunnes.*" These slow growing trees may have been monastic in origin – they were presumably already sizeable enough for Turner to remark on them. Jackson also states, without giving sources, that in 1910:

⁷⁵ See Moffat (1987-1998).

⁷⁶ Jackson, A. Bruce (1910).

Near the eastern front of the house some Mulberry trees still remain, which were planted there by the Lord Protector Somerset under Turner's direction. The botanic garden laid out by Turner was probably in front of the house, between it and the river [Thames], where the old prints show a walled garden, but the site is not known for certain.

The Mulberries at Syon are of especial historical interest, from the fact that they include what is reputed to be the oldest tree in England, said to be introduced from Persia in 1548. A remarkable specimen is growing from a small mound near the flower garden, and, though evidently of great age, it still bears fruit.

Jackson identifies the above as the *Morus nigra* or Black Mulberry, cultivated for its fruits. *Morus alba* or White Mulberry was then (1910) also present at Syon, on the south side of the Lake. This latter is the natural habitat of the silk worm. It seems unlikely that silk was ever prepared at Syon Abbey. The accepted date for the first and unsuccessful attempt being in 1609 under James I. Turner did not mention Mulberry trees in his audit of Syon gardens in 1548, so we may perhaps assume that their arrival post-dates the 1539 Dissolution.

It is not known if bees were kept at Syon. We know that Richard Reynolds gave to the library, at B.21 (SS1.98e), a Palladius *de Re Rustica* and *de Institutione*, in the Bologna edition of 1494 which dealt, inter alia, with gardening, cattle raising, bee-keeping and dovecotes. Bees in the orchards and gardens would have been ideal for both pollination of fruit trees, for producing wax for candles, and for honey. Honey and wax were of course frequent additions to herbal recipes, both to make pills, and to render them less bitter.

The requirement that the candles used at mass should be only of beeswax (rather than animal fats) may be ancient, their use being mentioned by St Jerome as early as AD 378.⁷⁷ The many altars at Syon, and lighting for the choir stalls, must also have consumed large amounts of wax, especially in winter, but one would be hard pressed today to find any mediaeval beeswax in quantity. We do, however, have what may be one small drop of Syon beeswax. On folio 71r of a copy of the *Mirror of Our Lady* in English, owned by Sister Elizabeth Moncton, there is small drop of bright yellow beeswax, with perhaps the indentation of a tiny fingernail.⁷⁸ No other Syon MS of the many we have examined seems to have wax gutterings, certainly

⁷⁷ Jerome, *Carmen cerei*, and Augustine,

⁷⁸ Aberdeen University Library: MS.134. Last Leaf: '*This booke belongyth to syster Elizabeth Monton*' identified as Elizabeth Mountayne or Montague (professed 15 August 1518 – perhaps deceased by 1539, and in the *Martyrologium* as 17 July).

none with this intimate and perhaps slightly guilty personal signature from somewhere between 1518 and 1539. The last monastic beeswax.....

14 Dating the Syon Abbey Herbal.

When did Betson start his task of compiling the herbal, and when did he lay down his pen? One indication of dating is at the very end of his notebook, where, in tiny handwriting, almost hidden, he wrote down a prophecy that 'all flesh would perish by fire in 1500.'⁷⁹ This could of course have been written by Betson at any time prior to 1500. We have been unable to discover a source for the prediction, though a millennium and a half would naturally attract expectations. If the Notebook had already been made up before 1500, an end-note on the back cover would be a good place to secrete a perhaps dangerous prediction.

Firmer dating for the Herbal is perhaps provided by publication in 1500 of Betson's *A Ryght Profytable Treatyse*. What look like the draft 'foul papers' for this publication appear very early in the Notebook and before the Herbal, at folios 10v to 12r. If we conclude that everything after these folios is post-1500, then the Herbal would presumably have been written after 1500, but before Betson's death in February 1517. We need, however, to assume that the Notebook was bound up in the order it was written, but this is not necessarily the case. It may even be possible that the herbal text was compiled *before* Betson joined Syon Abbey, and when he was still a secular cleric in Wimbish. This might explain his many notes on pregnancy and women's illnesses, given that it is unlikely that a brother at Syon would be involved in the care of sick sisters.⁸⁰

The world did not however end in 1500. Betson lived on, probably into his 80s to February 1517. In October of that year, Luther posted his 95 theses on the doors of Wittenberg Castle Church, attacking the indulgences such as those which Betson had perhaps endorsed. But the world would indeed end for Syon Abbey in 1539, with its closure and demolition. Betson's precious library was cast to the winds. Of the 55 volumes listed in the medical section 'B' of the *Registrum*, only two are known to survive; of the 1,747 in the library as a whole, only 43 have ever been found. And this is the picture for practically every religious house in Britain. According to Ker,

⁷⁹ Inserted into the space in a capital letter P, on endpage, an unnumbered reused sheet from a breviary or hymnal.

⁸⁰ Vincent Gillespie, Pers. Comm. August 2014.

of perhaps more than 120,000 titles in over 600 British cathedrals, abbeys, convents, colleges and hospitals, perhaps a meagre 6,000 or 5% are now identifiable, perhaps reinforcing Neddermeyer's bleakly precise '4.2%' survival rate for *incunabula* in the German-speaking areas of Europe.⁸¹

Syon Abbey Church was dismantled stone by stone. The lead from the roofs was probably melted *in situ* (elsewhere, the now unneeded choir stalls provided the firewood), and the great bell tower was demolished. Some time after 1547 the Duke of Somerset, Protector to the Protestant boy-king, Edward VI, moved into what buildings remained, laid out new gardens, and brought in his entourage his physician, William Turner. Turner was, like Somerset, also a Protestant, and is seen as the father of English botany. He had fled abroad under Henry VIII, returned under Edward, and after the latter's death, had to leave England again when Catholic Mary I came to the throne. He returned under Elizabeth, but his nature had soured, and he did not thrive.

In the late 1540s Turner was at Syon and noted the plants; this is a unique post-Dissolution audit. He found amongst other things a Pomegranate tree.⁸² This was both a symbol of fertility, and also the emblem of Catherine of Aragon, a frequent visitor to Syon Abbey. She however bore no living male issue in her six pregnancies, when Henry VIII still loved her.⁸³ But, as Turner writes, in a twist of politics, religion and gardening, '*There are pomegranates in my Lord Somerset's garden in Syon, but their fruit cometh never to perfection.*' He had not foreseen the death of Edward, and the succession of Catholic Mary, when the flame at Syon would be briefly rekindled (1556-58) by the refoundation of the Abbey.

There is an intriguing footnote to Turner's stay at Syon. An inventory for Syon House prior to its 1594 acquisition by Henry Percy, 9th Earl of Northumberland, records one unidentified room as being 'Master Morgayns Potticary [apothecary].' The inventory lists nothing of significance, but a Hugh Morgan (c.1530-1613) was apothecary to Queen Elizabeth from 1583 onwards. Morgan also knew Turner, and had been given some roots of Hedge Hyssop,

⁸¹ Ker (1964), Neddermeyer (1998).

⁸² See Appendix 4. John Tradescant, in Parkinson's *Theatrum Botanicum* (1640), is credited incorrectly with introducing the pomegranate into England, but nearly a century later. There was still a Pomegranate tree at Syon at the time of Forrest's 1831 audit, classified under *Hardy Trees* at page 120: *Punica Granatum, I v. flavescens*.

⁸³ See British Library Royal MS 11 E XI, given to Henry VIII, which contains the image of a pomegranate tree within *Felix Anglia* as a sea-girt castle, below sprigs of the Lancastrian and Yorkist red and white roses. From Flanders c.1516.

(*Gratiola officinalis*), by him.⁸⁴ Perhaps therefore a garden which specialized in growing medicinal herbs continued to exist at Syon, from before the Dissolution and up to at least the 1580s.

15 The Medical Section Books in Syon Abbey Library.

Before turning to the Syon Abbey Herbal proper, we need to look at the books available to Betson in Section B of the Syon Library. Up to perhaps the 1520s the books represented donations by both those joining Syon and by lay people. It is generally thought that the donations have a random quality, representing the individual collections of the donors, perhaps from their university days. Several points are immediately noticeable in looking at Syon's holdings of medical books:

- Syon had most current European medical, medical-astrological and herbal classics. Despite the random nature and extended period of their donation, the 55 listed volumes of both printed books and manuscripts in the 'B' section of the *Registrum* at Syon, and the over 250 titles they contain, are similar to most of the British and major European holdings in religious houses.⁸⁵
- Syon also held copies of many books which had for some time been part of the required reading at the main medical universities abroad, such as Paris and Montpellier, as well as the astrological and astronomical texts known to have been required by the University Bologna. For example, at Paris by 1422 apothecaries were required to have the *Antidotarium Nicholai*, the *Circa Instans* of Platearius and the *Cinonima Correcta* (Serapion's Synonyms).⁸⁶ Syon had the first two of these, and possibly also the Serapion in an omnibus edition.
- These holdings may indeed reflect the academic interests of their donors, rather than any official acquisitions policy, though the range, at least in medicine is surprisingly wide. Some books were perhaps already dated by the time they came to be accessioned at Syon. But the last 100 or so printed books (medical and medical-astrology) donated by Richard Reynolds both before and after his profession, reflect the wider world of what may be called early modern neo-platonic humanism.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ See ODNB entry John Bennell, 'Morgan, Hugh (c.1530–1613)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edition, Jan 2008.

⁸⁵ See Appendix 2 for transcription of the *Registrum* from Gillespie (2001).

⁸⁶ See Trease (1959) p47, footnote 194.

⁸⁷ For an excellent background paper, and further notes on Betson as librarian, see: Gillespie, Vincent (2010). *Syon and the English Market for Continental Printed Books: The Incunable Phase in Syon Abbey and Its Books: Reading, Writing and Religion, c.1400 – 1700*. Boydell Press, Woodbridge.

- Syon seems to have acquired a considerable number of books in its medical section which appear unique in Britain. Its library often has the only copy of a medical book in Britain, as listed in the British Library *Corpus of Mediaeval Libraries*.⁸⁸ However, the fragmentary nature of other extant monastic library records, as evidenced in the British Library *Corpus*, make it difficult to assert Syon's pre-eminence with complete confidence.
- Syon's collection of medical books in *English* also appears unique in Britain. The British Library *Corpus* lists only about 60 mediaeval library books as being definitely in the English language, out of perhaps 9,000 titles.⁸⁹ Of these, some ten are from Syon, and five are medical. This stark picture is only marginally improved by Ker, whose list of surviving attributable books in English in all British houses is only around 100, out of his total of some 6,000 survivors.⁹⁰
- Syon is curiously paralleled by holdings of English devotional books across the River Thames at the Carthusian house at Sheen. Of these, four survive (Ker, 1964, p 178). Could there have been a relationship at work here, with Sheen copying books in English, to be passed to Syon novices?

Despite this rich resource, Betson seems to have used almost none of the medical, astrological or herbal books in his library in compiling his own herbal. Instead Betson used the following sources, which were not in the library:

1. For his *Herbarium*, Betson used the *Sinonoma de nominibus herbarum* of John Bray (d.1381), Physician to Edward III. It is preserved in six MSS. Of those four examined, the closest to Betson seems to be BL Sloane MS 282, fols. 167v–173v, which tallies closely with Betson's *Herbarium*.⁹¹ Betson also seems to

⁸⁸ Edited by Sharpe, Professor R. (1990-2013).

⁸⁹ The search terms include translations into English (26), and the catalogue terms: *Anglica, Anglice, Anglicis, Anglico, Anglic.,Englishe, and lingua vernacula*. The total includes two texts in Old English.

⁹⁰ Jones, (1999b) cites the growing number of translations into English of medical and scientific books from 1375 onwards - see pp. 434-435. Some were 'of unimpeachable academic quality.'

⁹¹ British Library, Sloane MS 282, fols. 167v–173v: '*sinonima de nominibus herbarum secundum magistrum Iohannem Bray*'; Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 1661 pp. 245-66; Cambridge University Library Dd.II.45; Cambridge Trinity College MS O. I. 13 (1037) ff. 37v-44r (incomplete); Durham University Library: DUL MS Cosin V.III.11; Glasgow University Library, MS 185, ff. 1-6v. The Glasgow and Durham MSS have not yet been examined by the author.

have had access to the remedies contained in the British Library Sloane MS 521, mainly using the anonymous and general collection of remedies at folios 189-275. This is slightly curious, since Sloane 521 also contains Bray's *Practica Medicinæ*, at Fols.128-159v, but this does not seem to have been used by Betson.⁹²

2. It is less clear what text Betson had in front of him when compiling his list of Remedies. Certainly his wording follows closely that of Bray in Sloane MS 521 on numerous occasions, but he omits a considerable amount of Bray material. Betson does however insert symbols into his text at the points where he departs from Bray – usually two strokes as //, or else a paragraph mark as ¶. This seems to suggest that Betson had several sources open in front of him, and was inserting chosen remedies, in some kind of order which is no longer apparent to us.
3. For example, he included remedies from Sloane MS 3285, a Middle English collection which according to eLALME linguistic analysis (see below) originated somewhere close to the northern border of Sussex with Kent.⁹³
4. Betson also uses remedies found in Dawson's *Leechbook*.⁹⁴ Perhaps further research may reveal the relationship to Betson of Sloane 282, 581 and 3285 as well as the *Leechbook*.
5. Betson's section *de Urinalibus* ('on urine flasks') draws on two widely circulating texts of the early Middle Ages, *Urina Rufa* (Reddish Urine) and *Colamentum sanguinis* (Cleansing of the Blood). These two texts originated in a 12th-century uroscopy treatise that has been called by German scholars, '*Der kurze Harntraktat*' (The Short Treatise on Urine). The text was mistakenly attributed to Johannes Vitalis (d.1327) in both the manuscript (1300s) and printed version (1531) of his *Pro Conservanda Vitae*.

⁹² Sloane MS 521 is tiny – 5 inches high, by 2 ½ wide, (13cm x 7). It is confusingly paginated three times, but is probably about 300 folios long, and contains about 105,000 words in very small but perfect handwriting.

⁹³ Mackintosh, Samuels & Benskin (2013). Edinburgh University Electronic Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English. <http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html>

⁹⁴ Dawson, Warren R., (1934). *A Leechbook or Collection of Medical Recipes from the Fifteenth Century. The text of Medical Society of London MS No. 136.*

6. Betson may also have used a copy of the *Breviarium Bartholomaei* of John Mirfield (fl.1390) of St Bartholomew's Hospital in London.⁹⁵ Betson's recipe for an *aqua ardens* (at lines 15-19 below) is almost identical to Mirfield's *Breviarium*, folio 262r, col A, line 48. But other 'aqua ardens' texts in Betson differ greatly from Mirfield. The number and coverage in Mirfield's *Breviarium Bartholomaei* is extensive, with fifty different distilled waters. The overlap with Betson is small, suggesting that another source, which we were unable to identify, must have been used by Betson. The same is the case with the sixty 'Oleum' recipes in Mirfield's *Breviarium Bartholomaei*, which bear little relationship to those of Betson.

7. There are also some similarities in Betson with the sections on various *Aquae Vitae* in the *Tractatus Mirabilium Aquarum (de Preciosa Aqua ad Oculos)* by Petrus Hispanus, c.1205-1277, who was perhaps identical with Pope John XXI (*sedit* 1276-77). The Latin text of Betson (folio 108r, line 1 to folio 109r, line 8) follows it, with some variations in BL Sloane 1754, which is from St Augustine's, Canterbury, c. AD 1300.

8. Conrad Gessner in his *Euonymus*, 1575, p157, repeats an *Aqua Mirabilis* very similar to Betson's at Image 110 Right, Folio 106r, and attributes it to Arnaldus Villanova. So perhaps Betson again had access to a source for Villanova, or his apocrypha, which does not appear to be listed in the *Registrum*.

16 Analysis of Betson's *Herbarium* and the Remedies.

The two sections of Betson's Herbal fall neatly into the *Herbarium* list of plants (copied from Bray Sloane MS 282) and the list of remedies (assembled by Betson himself). The *Herbarium* is a reference work designed by John Bray, as befits a physician to the king, to be a guide to a pharmacopeia of herbs. Bray's list of plant names illuminates a number of difficulties in deciphering the text of Betson, who was perhaps working from a slightly corrupt version. To choose one of many examples, Betson has what looks like '*connarasses*' which gives no clue as to its real meaning. Bray has the more intelligible '*toun cress*' or '*town cress*', which is a form of watercress.

It looks however as though Betson had access to other sources, also used by Bray. For example with regard to *Anacardus*, a cashew-like nut, Bray quotes a source

⁹⁵ Probably at B6 c, (SS1 82) in the *Registrum*

in English: *Anacardus is the lous of an elephant & sume sey that hit ys the fruyt of a tree.* Betson had access to the same quotation, but in Latin - *Anacardus est pediculus elephantis; secundum quosdam est fructus cuiusdam arboris.* This canard does not appear in antiquity, but it is in the 12th century *Circa Instans*, which actually debunks the 'louse origin.' It is also in the late 13th century *Clavis Sanitatis* by Simon of Genoa.⁹⁶ So Betson and Bray were perhaps drawing on different language versions of the same source.

There appears to be no correspondence between the plants cited in the *Herbarium* by Betson, and those listed in his Remedies. This is probably because, as mentioned above, Betson draws many of his remedies from sources other than Bray. Betson's *Herbarium* has nearly 700 entries, many being rather rare and exotic plants. But there are only 130 or so plants listed in Betson's Remedies. Even when Betson cites a common English plant in the *Herbarium* – such as St John's Wort (nine times), this only translates into one mention in his remedies. Henbane, an important analgesic and soporific, also has nine mentions in the *Herbarium*, but only three in the remedies. Furthermore, of the 130 or so named herbs in the remedies, 44 are used in only one or two remedies, despite being relatively common in Britain.

There was considerable variation between herbs used in mediaeval herbals within the same basic recipe. Hargreaves in 'Some problems in Indexing Middle English Recipes' (1981) points out the variety in remedies in the 200 or so manuscripts he examined. He mentions 40 variant recipes, for example, of Betson's 'For cleansing of the head' (Betson Notebook folio 96r, line 14 onwards). He notes that variants tend to omit and simplify, or even change the ingredients. For example 'Peletre of Spayne' is retained in full by Betson, but often becomes in other manuscripts elsewhere simply 'Peletre'. Betson's remedy required five days to work. In Hargreaves, most of his 40 examples for 'cleansing the head' required only three or four days. Even within Betson these variants can also be shown, in his mentions of *Pestilencia*, the Plague. He has three very different remedies for the plague, with about seven ingredients each, and only two ingredients overlap, Feverfew and Knapweed. Hargreaves gives several explanations for this variation in what is essentially the same remedy: scribes copying the same recipe several times a day, ultimately from memory; miscopying, simplifying and editing; and translating from a Latin or French original.

Hargreaves also looked at 25 different recipes for 'headache'. Betson lists another 14 (including some in Latin), but of these only two appear to be the same as in Hargreaves' samples. So there is, as one might well expect, not only variations within remedies, but also, as perhaps today, completely different remedies (e.g.

⁹⁶ 'Simon online': <http://www.simonofgenoa.org/index.php5?title=Anacardus> (accessed 31 May 2014).

asprin or paracetamol) available for the same complaint. These variations may also be attributed to the fact that a pharmacopeia was driven both by a list of diseases, and a list of herbs arranged according to their various uses and applications.

Betson has, for example, eight mentions of gout, including one at folio 99v, lines 13-21, which involves taking an owl, baking it to powder, before turning it into an ointment. This striking recipe is fairly widespread across manuscripts, time, and English dialects, and is memorable for its weirdness.⁹⁷ As with many such strange remedies, the modern reaction is to believe that it might just work. This possibility is perhaps called into question by Sloane 3285, folio 43, lines 6-13, which cites almost the same recipe as a cure for the *falling sickness* (epilepsy) but involves reducing a *Raven* to powder. Feckenham, last Benedictine Abbot of Westminster Abbey, has a powdered *Jay* for the same illness at Remedy 348 in his *Sovereign Remedies*.⁹⁸ In BL Royal 12 B XII 'Cancre' is cured by the head, feet and intestines of a baked *Crane*.

Betson and his contemporaries used not only animal ingredients but also chemical and mineral materials. It was not realized that some of these chemical and mineral ingredients could be harmful, particularly if used over a long period. For example, a Betson recipe to whiten women's skin (folio 109v) called for various compounds of lead, made aromatic with camphor. Curiously, one of Betson's ingredients was still trading under its mediaeval name of *Litargirio*, and being sold to the Latino community in the US as late as 2003 as an anti-perspirant. It was one third ground lead, and was the subject of a US government health warning as a source of poisoning.

Mediaeval herbals are also full of citations that a particular remedy works. We find in the margins of Betson's text the set phrase '*Expertum est*' implying that the recipe had been tried and tested successfully. This occurs for example at folio 111r, line 22, in another cure for gout. It required the production of an ointment from a very old and very thin dog which had been killed and stuffed with frogs between two feasts of the Virgin, i.e. August 15th (Assumption of the Virgin into Heaven) and September 8th (Birth of the Virgin). This was perhaps linked in the popular mind with the Dog Days around this period. The application of frogs and frogs' legs to cure gout is ancient, Betson's cure being only one more variant.

⁹⁷Also in the *Liber de Diversis Medicinis* (Thornton MS, Lincoln Cathedral A.5.2) ed. Ogden, Margaret Sinclair, EETS OUP 1938, at folio 306v lines 30-35, p63, and note on p.110. Similar recipes occur in Dawson p206, para 655; Henslow MS A, line 15, p19; Sloane 3285 Fol.3v, lines 14-32; and also in Culpeper's *Last Legacy* as late as 1671.

⁹⁸ See Lalor (1995) and Macgill (1990).

Betson contains not only remedies involving the consumption of animals, he also cites solutions for dealing with various creatures: to get rid of moles, put an onion in their runs; use St John's Wort to seize snakes without being bitten; burn Asafoetida to have a rout of wild animals follow you; and avoid bee or wasp stings by applying juice of Mallows. These are of course the stuff of general folklore, ancient and modern.

It is of course all too easy for us in the enlightened 21st century to make fun of the more exotic elements in Betson's selection of remedies – dried bees for baldness, dead dogs, frogs and baked owls for gout, an *Aqua aromatica ad nobiles et matronas*. From what we know of Betson, we should be careful before we assume that the joke is on him. He too may have smiled wryly as he glanced at his source material. But of unassailable seriousness, and more worthy of our sympathy, are the pills and potions '*contra pestilenciam*' at a time when the Plague was still a real and constant threat, against which there was little that could be done, except, as the Vadstena manuscripts tell us, to consult the stars, and implore the assistance of heaven by prayers and masses.

One way to endorse a recipe was to cite it as having been used by royalty, both as a ploy to gain prestige, and also perhaps on the not unlikely assumption that royalty had access to the best advice and could afford the best ingredients. Betson does this only once, at folio 107r, line 12, for Tyngewich's *Aqua Nobilis* recipe for the eyes, requiring about 20 ingredients. Tyngewich was physician to Edward I, though Betson or his source changes this to Edward III. Bray was of course Physician to Edward III, and this may account for the error.

More practically, some of the ingredients in Betson's remedies are often an element to make them palatable, or to act as a preservative. Honey is a good example of both, and appears 20 times in the Betson recipes, for example to remove the bitterness of *Spurges* or *Mustard*. Various gums e.g. *Storax*, are also commonly used to bind ingredients into pills, while perhaps also having a supposed medical effect.

Dangerous herbs seem to have been avoided by Betson or his sources in the remedies – no Hemlock, Mandrake or Aconite. The latter two are not even in Betson's *Herbarium* list, though Bray has *Mandragora*. There are only three minor uses of Henbane in Betson (as a pain reliever for toothache and headache) and only one mention for Deadly Nightshade, in an *aqua vite* (folio 109r, Line 12 onwards). Hellebore, which can also have dangerous repercussions, occurs only twice, as a laxative and to provoke purging. Its psychotropic effects, known from antiquity, are

not mentioned.⁹⁹ Pennyroyal, which can have an abortifacient effect, is mentioned six times in Betson though without any mention of its dangers, and once as actually aiding conception. The role of delivering a dead foetus is allocated to Rue¹⁰⁰ and Mugwort, at folio 90v, line 9 and folio 91v, line 17.

Betson cites several kinds of pain-killers – two from poppies, one from Henbane, and one from *Quinquiracium*, whose identity is now uncertain (see next paragraph). Henbane was of course well known in the mediaeval period, and formed the basis of John Arderne's surgical interventions for the *fistula in ano* – fistula in the anus, a condition doubtless rendered more painful by continuous riding on horseback. Henbane was also one of the major finds in the infirmary drains at Soutra Aisle in Scotland.¹⁰¹

Quinquiracium, which occurs in both Betson and Bray with the opiates, is extremely rare as a term, and does not seem to have been picked up by Hunt (1989) in the 64 MSS of *Synonima* from the 11th to the 15th century which he examined.¹⁰² It does however occur in Mirfield's *Sinonoma Bartholomaei*, and it seems probable that this was the ultimate source for both Betson and Bray. The exact identity of *Quinquiracium* appears to be lost, but its name is ultimately derived from Cyrenaica, now in Libya. A variety of the name, *Quirinacium*, is also in the *Latin Galen* (see Everett 2012), but the term seems to have been an invention of the Middle Ages. It has a parallel and perhaps precedent in another place-name among the opiates: *Opium Thebaicum*, from opium poppies originally grown at Thebes in Egypt. This term is in both Betson and Bray, and is fairly common in herbals.¹⁰³

By the 15th century trade in spices was already well established. Betson has chosen a number of recipes or remedies that call, for example, for Nutmeg (14 in all, if Mace is included), as well as Cinnamon (7). Cloves only feature in three recipes,

⁹⁹ See for example chapter on Hellebore by Robert Bridges in Sargant, William (1957). *Battle for the Mind: A Physiology of Conversion and Brainwashing*.

¹⁰⁰ As hinted by a perhaps pregnant Ophelia in her celebrated list of herbs in *Hamlet*, Act IV, scene 5, lines 3053-3060, beginning 'There's rosemary, that's for remembrance.....There's rue for you and some for me.'

¹⁰¹ See Moffatt, (1987-1998).

¹⁰² Folio 79v, Col. A, Line 27. An unidentified plant. EMED gives '**Quirinaik**, the gum resin of the Old World *silphium*'. It is equated in Mowat, SB p.32 to *Ferula foetida*, *Asafoetida*. Its location in Betson's *Herbarium* next to *opium* suggests another opiate, perhaps its original use.

¹⁰³ In Mowat, *Alphita* at p.129 as *Opium thebaicum idem succus papaveris albi*.

and the supposedly ubiquitous mediaeval Cumin is only in four examples. Garlic (while not strictly a spice) is also relatively absent, with only 3 mentions, while Saffron is mentioned in only one remedy, and perhaps under the name crocus in a pill for the Plague, (Image 98 Right, Folio 94r lines 14 to 17).

Finally, we see once in Betson's remedies the unknown herbalist explaining his craft and prescription, not in any abstract terms of a plant's degrees of heat or cold, or of humours, or the motions of the stars, but in a straightforward description of their action on the patient:

*'Et nota quod Bugula tenet plagam apertam, Millefolium purgat, Sanicla sanat.'*¹⁰⁴

[Note that Bugle keeps the wound open, Millefolium purges it, and Sanicle heals it.]

And it is certainly the herbalist speaking down to the surgeon when he goes on to state in the same paragraph that his cure is achieved solely by means of a potion:

'sine instrumento sirurgico, et sine ferro, et sine ligno, et sine tenta.'

[Without the use of a surgical instrument, or a knife, or any wooden implement, or of a probe.]

17 Betson's Choice of Remedies.

Betson's use of John Bray's *Sinonoma*, as one of the best available, meant that there was very little leeway for choice in the names of plants for his *Herbarium*. But the choice of remedies might have been more under Betson's control. Yet it is an eclectic collection, in which cosmetics and distilled aromatics, such as rose water, take up much space, and jostle for attention with serious medical conditions. This was however standard practice in the herbal from classical times to the Renaissance.

Betson lists around 450 remedies for various complaints. By far the largest number is for eye complaints (24 remedies). This probably reflects the easy transmission of some eye infections and the lack of clean water. It may also have been caused by the general smokiness of an environment where candles were the main form of lighting, and wood (or charcoal) the main form of fuel for heating and cooking. Perhaps reading religious books and missals in poor light was also an

¹⁰⁴ Folio 113r, lines 12-15.

added strain on the eyes, 'sore eyes' being the principal sub-category. The lack of spectacles, or use of unsuitable lenses may also have been another contributory factor. Spectacle frames were in fact found in the recent Syon Abbey archaeological excavations, though the glass was missing.¹⁰⁵ The Sisters may have been particularly affected by incense and candle smoke, since their choir was raised up at clerestory level (a so-called 'flying choir') to avoid any possible contact with the laity or brothers.



Image 3: Nun with Glasses, Stone Sculpture, Salisbury Cathedral c.1430.
For evidence of glasses at Syon Abbey, see footnote 104 below.

Stomach problems also loom large, with 21 remedies, perhaps a reflection of the monastic life, and a poor, restricted and unbalanced diet, and continuous fasting. (See page 73 below for details of the fasting regime at Syon.) There are also several remedies for those with 'no talent to mete' meaning loss of appetite. Gout also figures largely in the remedies, with 9 remedies, while 'dropsy' probably resulting from a variety of causes, but also related to diet, has 13 herbal treatments. There is also a range of remedies associated with strokes, such as loss of speech, palsy, apoplexy and paralysis. Fever, at 21 remedies, also cover a wide range, and interestingly these include both the tertian and quartan fevers, which are both characteristic of malaria, treated below in the case studies of this Introduction (see page 60 below).

Occasionally Betson seems to have chosen a particularly luxurious recipe, such as that of Nicholas of Tynechewik (d.1339), folio 107r, lines 9-23. Here the recipe requires 18 ingredients, distilled over three days, and including the urine of a young boy, and breast milk. Not surprisingly it is an '*aqua aquarum nobilissima, pro omni*

¹⁰⁵ See Bibliography: Wessex Archaeology, October 2003.

causa et omni vitio oculorum' [a most noble water of waters, for every purpose and every defect of the eyes.] Betson's '*Pomum Ambre*' (pomander) recipe is marked '*pro divitibus*' (for the rich – there are other lesser varieties for the poor), and has nine ingredients, including amber and exotic aromatic gums.

Another recipe at folio 106r, lines 1-15 differentiates between the wealth of patients, '*secundum divitias et pauperitates patientis*.' It goes on to provide a long and involved recipe for a rich patient for a distilled water, which takes six days to make, and is to be stored in a gold or silver vase. The crown however must go to Betson's *Aqua vita perfectissima*, which has 37 ingredients, many exotic. It is immediately followed by a less expensive version of 13 ingredients, made from the more usual native British plants.¹⁰⁶

One puzzling aspect is why Betson chose to place so much emphasis on the health of women, and complaints which would not have presented themselves to him. He lists over two dozen herbal applications, from conception to delivery, by way of lactation, inflammation of the nipples, breast cancer, and the diagnosis of pregnancy by uroscopy. For equal measure, there are a good number of complaints associated with the male genitalia, as mentioned earlier.

But we have in fact no indications when and why Betson wrote his Herbal. It may have merely reflected his wide range of interests. It might have been a way for him to check on the names of herbs being sold to the monastery by apothecaries, or recommended by physicians. We might also speculate (and it is no more than that) that it might have been a draft book to pass through the '*rota*' to the sisters side. This, however, seems rather unlikely, given the large amount of difficult Latin in the text. It also seems unlikely that his herbal was a draft for external publication. The market had moved on, and there was by 1500 (the likely date of compilation) a good supply of high quality printed herbals, illustrated with woodcuts, coming into England from the continent. One example is the Latin *Hortus Sanitatis* of which Syon had a copy, and which Betson as librarian may have seen.¹⁰⁷

18 Pagan Charms and Christian Names.

¹⁰⁶ Folio 103r, line 12 onwards.

¹⁰⁷ Syon *Registrum*, SS1.109, B.32. The *secundo folio* indicates a publication date between 1497 and 1517.

There appear to be no charms or spells in Betson, unlike those found in many mediaeval herbals. In fact, Betson chooses not to repeat a charm present in Mirfield's *Sinonoma Bartholomaei* (Mowat p.189) under 'Mullein':

Tapsus Barbatus Maior....Molena...Pistatus cum pane grosso tritici, postea elixatus in vino rubeo et emplastratus circa manus ab intrante, domo eius inimicus exiet.

[Mullein..... if it is ground with large breadcrumbs, then added as an elixir in red wine, and used as a plaster around one's hand on entering a house, the enemy (*perhaps meaning the Devil*) will depart.]

These spells and charms could have a long lifetime. Gilbertus Anglicus had them, and noted that some believed that wounds could be cured by a charm (*divino carmine* - see Getz 1998 p.41). Even as late as the 1580s John Feckenham, the former Benedictine Abbot of Westminster Abbey, disgraced but miraculously alive as an orthodox and conservative Catholic, incorporated them into his *Sovereign Medicines*.¹⁰⁸

With regard to Christianised names of plants there are over seven hundred entries in Betson's *Herbarium* but surprisingly only a very small number of the names carry Christian connotations. Even these latter are most likely to be the popular names, or at least those popularised by the Church, and sometimes perhaps replacing pagan or obscene names. There are also a small number of names where a reference to the gods and goddesses of antiquity are retained, but these tend to be the 'learned' names, derived from the classical pre-Christian sources.

Clearly deriving from Christianity is the ubiquitous 'St John's Wort', *Hypericum perforatum*, though several other plants bore this name. St John's Wort comes into flower around the summer solstice, close to the Eve and Nativity of St John the Baptist (23rd and 24th June). But Gilbertus Anglicus, at folio cccix in the British Library copy of the *Compendium Medicinae* has a recipe for '*Oleum benedictum: in vigilia beati iohannis baptistae, collige iusquiamum in magna quantitate*' [Oleum Benedictum, on the vigil of St John the Baptist, gather henbane in great amounts] where it is plainly Henbane that is to be collected. St John's Wort was therefore only one of the herbs collected at that festival.¹⁰⁹ There was also a sermon in the Syon

¹⁰⁸ See bibliography: MacGill, Elizabeth Rawson, (1990).

¹⁰⁹ Cf. French proverb; '*Employer toutes les herbes de la [fête de] Saint Jean*' - to use all available means.

library *de maleficiis in vigilia sancti Iohannis Baptiste*.¹¹⁰ This is the intriguing ‘Concerning Witches on the Eve of St John.’ which is attributed to St Augustine in the *Registrum* at N.64 (SS1.918).

Given its ancient name of *fuga demonum* and its high modern reputation for assisting in mental health problems, it is perhaps disappointing to find that Betson cites only one unlikely use for St John’s Wort – *Ut Serpentes manu capias sine dampno: unge manum tuam cum succo Herbe Sancti Iohannis Baptistis et non nocebis*. (To seize snakes by the hand without hurt, anoint your hand with the juice of the herb of St John the Baptist, and you shall take no harm.)¹¹¹

Another contender for a religious name might be Betson’s *Barba Aaron*, or *Arum maculatum*, lords and ladies. This plant had a more obscene folk name as an aphrodisiac, ‘priest’s pintle’, still lurking in ‘cuckoo pint’ in modern English. The other old name, ‘Wake Robin’ is likewise a reference to the male organ and *Arum*’s irritant effect.¹¹² *Barba Aaron* might be seen as a biblical reference, but perhaps it conflates Aaron of the Bible and his luxuriant beard, with a possible name from Dioscorides of *Aron*.

For those who like to beat the Oxford English Dictionary on earliest recorded dates for a word, or the University of Michigan Middle English Dictionary on entries, we have Samphere (modern Samphire) in Betson – not recorded in the EMED in this form, and not in the OED before 1542, (it is in *King Lear* by 1608). In the OED it is said to be a form of the French ‘*Saint Pierre*’, but is also perhaps a variant of ‘*perce pierre*’ – a stone crop name. Betson also has *Powder Holland*, as sort stomach settler. It is not in the EMED, and appears only in the OED in 1534. The problem with dating these entries is that parts of the Notebook may have been written post-Betson’s death in 1517 – there is a suggestion of other unidentifiable hands at work.

Hemlock is also called *Herba Benedicta*, the blessed herb, and there may be an element here of not speaking the name of a particularly dangerous plant: it was a potent painkiller which could also bring death in its wake. Similarly Deadly Nightshade had its potency concealed and its name Christianised in Betson as *Herba*

¹¹⁰ Perhaps same as Merton College, Oxford: *Johannis de Sacro-Bosco liber de coniputo*; Exstat impress. in 8vo. Paris. 1551, a. Sermo B. Augustini *de decimis reddendis et de vitandis maleficiis, quae fiunt in festiuitate S. Iohannis Baptiste*. [Not yet seen by author.]

¹¹¹ Folio 95r, lines 1-3. See also Reeds (2012) for fuller discussion of *Hypericon perforatum* L. in folk medicine.

¹¹² See Grigson, (1958), pp.429-431 (*Arum maculatum*) and pp.290-291 for Deadly Nightshade and Dwale.

Sancte Marie, Seynt Mary Bery. In this context it is interesting to note that the vernacular name 'dwale' meaning to stupefy, and used in Turner both for an anaesthetic drink containing Hemlock, and also as a name for Deadly Nightshade, does not occur in Betson. It is frequent in many mediaeval herbal texts, including Betson's source, Bray, in Sloane MS 521, in a recipe for Dwale, where Hemlock, Henbane and Bryony (*wyld nepe*) appear, but Deadly Nightshade is omitted.¹¹³

There is also some mild clerical humour in naming – for example, Cowslips are called *Herba Paradisi* – the flowers were seen as similar to the bunch of keys to the pearly gates of paradise held by St. Peter (hence the French and German folk names 'clef de Saint Pierre', 'Peters Blume').¹¹⁴ There may also be a slight confusion and mis-pronunciation here – Primrose being used for *paralysis*, perhaps strokes. Perhaps a confusion of *Paradis* and *Paralysis*.

But the main surprise in Betson is the number of plants listed by their classical Latin names – with Venus coming out as the main inspiration. The modern *Umbilicus rupestris*, Pennywort, was *Umbilicus veneris* (Venus' navel); *Vervena officinalis*, Vervain, was *Herba Veneris*; while *Achillea millefolium*, Yarrow was *Supercilium veneris* (Venus' eyebrow). One 'Venus' name has survived into modern scientific usage: *Adiantum capillus-veneris*, or Maidenhair fern in the modern vernacular. It was *Capillus Veneris* (Venus' hair) in Betson.

Plant names also tend, like other words, to become obsolete and fall out of use. Betson and Bray both have variants of the now incomprehensible *Yekersteys* for cuckoo pint – *Yeke* being 'cuckoo', while '*tarse*' was a term for the 'penis' and still in use in 1530 (OED). But, like '*yerde*' and '*pint*' these terms have long since been replaced. Betson uses the word '*pintle*' for Sloane 3285's '*yerde*'. The use of '*pintle*' was however probably declining, and would be obsolete by 1600 (OED); the use of '*yerde*' would go on for another two centuries. It is therefore noticeable that Betson shows no hesitation in including words now considered vulgar from his text sources. But he uses less direct terms to refer to the female genitalia, using '*muliebria*' as a polite Latin alternative. Other texts of the period use less polite terms.

Celandine, *Chelidonium majus* had the English name 'Tetterwort', tatters then being a skin disease such as eczema and impetigo, supposedly cured by this plant with its dangerous acidic bright orange liquid. The meaning of 'tatters' is today no longer generally recognised, though 'wort' retains its place in herbal medicine as a suffix for curative herbs, just as the 'banes' in English are poisonous (e.g. Fleabane,

¹¹³ Voigts, L. E. & Hudson R. P. (1992), pp. 34–56. See also Sloane MS 521 Folio 229/225/29v., Line 21.

¹¹⁴ Folio 72v, Col. A, Line 3.

Henbane, Wolfsbane and Cowbane). Compound words ending in '-wort' occur throughout plant names in both Bray and Betson; compounds in '-bane' are present only as 'Henbane.'

19 Betson and the Greek Names of Plants.

There were apparently only four books in Greek in the library at Syon, none of them medical and it is fairly clear that Betson had little in the way of Greek language or reading skills.¹¹⁵ Doyle (1956) gives a few examples of what he calls Betson's 'would-be Greek' and 'Greek by ear,' but there is no sustained written Greek text by Betson. He could manage the common χ *chi* symbol as in *Palma Xti* ('Christi' - *Leonurus cardiaca*, Motherwort.), and *Hastula Sancti Xtofori* ('Christofori' - *Actaea spicata*, Baneberry, Herb Christopher). He was however dependent on his unreliable sources for Latinised versions of the Greek names of plants.

As a result, Betson can occasionally be seen struggling with the spelling of Greek terms, with variants appearing in the margins of his text. For example, at folio 108r, Betson has copied out *Diaconithon*, and then added in the right margin *Diacathicum*. His probable source was no help, since his main source, Sloane MS 1754 also appears to be corrupt at this point. Perhaps the text should have read '*Diacatholicon*', a purge or universal remedy, containing *inter alia* Senna and Rhubarb. It was in the *Antidotarium Nicholai*, at Betson's elbow, but according to the OED, did not arrive as a word in written English before 1562.¹¹⁶

Betson's uncertainty over Greek names can also be partly ascribed to John Bray, his major source for the plant names in the *Herbarium*, who had been writing about a century before, in 1400, well before knowledge of Greek became more common in England. Even as late as 1538, in his *Libellus de Re Herbaria*, Turner was still complaining about the lack of Greek learning in the botanical area, and only one herbal available in English – '*all full of unlearned cacographees [mis-spellings] and falselye naminge of herbes.*'

Betson, in compiling his herbal, perhaps died too early to benefit from the efforts of Thomas Linacre (c.1460–1524), who translated seven works by Galen into Latin from the original Greek. None of these had been previously published. These appeared from 1517 to 1524, after Betson's death (in February 1517). Fewterer, the Confessor- General, donated a copy of the earliest book to the library, a *Galienus de sanitate tuenda, cum aliis*, in an edition from Paris dateable to 1517 on *secundo folio*

¹¹⁵ See Bateson (1898), p.viii. Syon's four Greek texts were Erasmus's New Testament, the Psalter, Aratus, *Phenomena*, and the text of Proclus's *Sphaera* in Greek and in Linacre's Latin translation. See also Doyle, A. I. (1956).

¹¹⁶ This late date may reflect the lack of early medical texts in the OED noted by Hunt: the term also appears in the Middle English translation of Guy de Chauliac as early as c.1425.

grounds, at B.23 (SS1.100). This was presumably accessioned by Betson's unnamed successor as librarian.

20 Betson and Bray's List of Plant Names.

It is well beyond the scope of this paper to look at the history of plant-names from the Greeks to Betson. What follows is a short summary of some of the more interesting usages to be found in Bray and Betson. The English herbalists of the early 1500s were dealing with five linguistic inheritances – Greek, Latin, Norman or Anglo-French, native English, and to a much lesser extent Arabic. Their ability in these languages varied (Arabic, Greek and French being their weakest), as did the range and ability of the languages themselves to handle technical matter. Greek and Latin had the advantage of providing accepted technical terms, a long tradition, but with many corruptions of spelling, compounded by misunderstanding of the differences in flora between the Mediterranean and Northern Europe. English was still developing its technical terms, and did not of course have the international intelligibility of Latin.

It is also very likely that Betson and Bray had never seen a number of the more exotic plants they cite, which may have been rare in London. They are thus reduced to repeating old tales about a world of mysterious possibilities. It still seemed possible to them that the legendary stone, the *Lapis Lyncis*, was fossilized Lynx urine or faeces - it was probably belemnite fossils, with their passing scatological similarity. Mirfield mocks those who assert that 'amber' came from whales – of course it came from trees. Perhaps he had seen neither amber nor ambergris. And he also affirms, like many others, that the Narcha fish, some sort of electric eel, gave rise to the term 'narcotic'.¹¹⁷ Perhaps, as Betson repeats, cashew nuts really were elephant lice, or was this just an apothecary's misunderstood witticism?

Given the large influence that writers in Arabic, both Christian and Muslim, had on western medicine in the period, it is surprising not to find more Arabic terms in Betson or Bray. Even where these occur, Bray seems to have adopted a corrupt form of the Arabic terms. This can be seen in two examples. Bray has *Libleb* and Betson *Lablis* for Dog's Mercury (*Mercurialis perennis*).¹¹⁸ Simon of Genoa (fl. circa 1200), with perhaps better access to Arab sources, is more informative: under '*Alhulbub*' he states: '*yelbub est mercurialis et iebub et halbub.*' Again, looking at

¹¹⁷ Mowat, *Alphita*, p.123, and Folio 79r, Col. A, Line 13. The Greek term from which 'narcotic' is derived means to benumb, deaden. OED.

¹¹⁸ Folio 78v, col. A, line 31.

Betson's '*Binni robenet*' and Bray's '*Ben iubium*', these on closer inspection turn out to be the Arabic for Red and White '*Behen*.'¹¹⁹ These two plants are completely different and non-native to Britain. They both happen to be astringent, and are thus lumped together in our text.

21 English Names in Betson and Bray.

With regard to English plant names, most of Betson's (derived from Bray) in the *Herbarium* are well attested from other sources, such as the 64 MSS cited by Hunt.¹²⁰ The main problem is the lack of any standardisation of the spelling and the use of names. Hunt regularly cites four or more possible modern names for one mediaeval name. Mediaeval *Scabiosa* has five mediaeval names: this could be critical, since one, *Morel*, might be the dangerous *Atropa belladonna*, Deadly Nightshade, or the less noxious *Succisa pratensis*, (Moench), Devil's Bit Scabious. It took several more centuries after Betson before flora would be identified and named in a scientific fashion, starting with Linnaeus (from his 1735 *Systema Naturae* onwards).

22 Latin Names.

Betson and Bray were drawing on a Latin tradition which ultimately goes back to Pliny's *Natural History*, of which there was copy in Syon library. But many new Latin works had been created in the intervening period, including some by translation into Latin from the Greek sources via Arabic.

Betson probably had better Latin than Bray: Bray produces the extraordinary Latin spoonerism - *Fecula cotidia* for *Cotula fetida*, Mayweed. Betson has the correct term for oak apple - *pomum quercinum*, while Bray or his copyist has the amusing *pomum porcinum*, ('pig apple') perhaps by analogy with *Rostrum porcinum*, Sowthistle. The Bray variant does not appear to be attested elsewhere and is therefore most likely merely a scribal error.

Sometimes Latin and French names appear intertwined: *malum granatum* and *pomme garnet* for our modern pomegranate.¹²¹ And finally there is the charming *Herba*

¹¹⁹ Folio 72v, col. B, lines 21-23. The white is *Centaurea Behen*, White Behen. The red is *Statice Limonium*, Sea Lavender or Red Behen

¹²⁰ Hunt, Tony, (1989). *Plant Names of Medieval England*. Woodbridge.

¹²¹ Folio 75r, col. B, lines 25 and 27.

Luminaria, the Latin name for Mullein (*Verbascum thapsus*). This refers to the use of Mullein as a wick, soaked in fat, for a kind of torch. Mowat cites a number of such Mullein names, including 'Torches' and '*Candela Regia*' - an unexpected insight into the use of one plant in the past.

20 French Names.

French, and Norman French are generally absent from Betson, and he does not attempt to transmit the French names found in Bray. Even in Bray's time knowledge of French must have been limited: Mistletoe is cited by Bray in perhaps a 'heard' version, as Wilde Cheyn, (= French *gui de chêne*, oak mistletoe). Meanings have also shifted: the French *Pee de pulayn* (meaning *coltsfoot*) is used in Bray for *Arum maculatum*, whereas our modern English 'Coltsfoot' is now *Tussilago farfara* - a completely different plant with different qualities and uses. Dandelion of course occurs in Bray and Betson, but in the French spelling only (*dent de lyon*). It had the additional mediaeval Latin name of *Caput Monachi* - Monk's Head, referring to its baldness (and the monk's tonsure) once its seeds have blown away. Bray and Betson march in complete agreement in their texts, with *Caput Monachi*, *Dens Leonis*, *Lyons Toth* and *Dent de Lyon*.¹²²

Both Betson and Bray use variants of the French '*Chastaynes*' for the modern English word 'Chestnut'. The OED shows that modern 'Chestnut' is only recorded from 1519, so was perhaps just gaining ground at the time of Betson's death. Similarly, modern 'Mustard' is absent from Bray and Betson, but variants of '*senevei*' (from Latin via Old French; cf. modern German 'senf') are used.

Both Bray and Betson carry variants of what appears to be the Norman French '*Tutsan*' for *agnus castus*.¹²³ '*Tutsan*' is now used for *Hypericon androsaemum* in modern French. Turner (1548) uses *Tutsan* in this French sense, so perhaps the two uses had co-existed in England in the mediaeval period and up to the Renaissance. Turner states: '*Androsaemon is the herbe (as I dooe gesse) whiche we call totsan, and the Poticaries falsly cal Agnus castus*' (cited in OED).

23 Linguistic Analysis of Betson's English.

The web-based University of Edinburgh eLALME project allows for over 400 linguistic markers, differentiated by both grammar and spelling, to be plotted onto a

¹²² Folio 73r, Col. B, Line 14.

¹²³ Folio 70v, Col. B, line one; *Toteseyn* in Betson, *Tutsayne* in Bray.

map of Britain, against a large database of similar documents in Middle English from 1350 up to about 1450. Betson's dates are probably somewhat later – perhaps from the 1440s to his death in 1517. But it seemed worthwhile to make the attempt at analysis, since many of Betson's speech habits will have been in part laid down within the eLALME timespan.

Two sets of Middle English texts were used to triangulate Betson's dialect – (i) the complete English text of the remedies, which are John Bray, mediated and updated by Betson, and (ii) the text of the '*X Mandata*' or Ten Commandments at column A, folios 10v to 11v in Betson's notebook. We have assumed that the latter is Betson, writing in his own voice – certainly the English is difficult and awkward. Betson was however not the author of the text of the remedies.

The result from eLALME shows a strong correlation between two points on the map. These are, in the first place, Essex locations around Billericay, and Sudbury in Suffolk. We do not know if Betson came from Essex, but it *may* be significant that, according to Dr Doyle, someone of the same name was Rector of Wimbish in Essex from 1466 (i.e. prior to Betson joining Syon Abbey in 1481). If this is correct, then eLALME may indicate that Betson was still using some dialect and writing conventions acquired early in his life, and changing his manuscript sources to a written form of his own dialect.

The other eLALME cluster for the English remedies is around Rochester in Kent: this may in fact be indicative of the dialect influence of Sloane 3285, which seems to have been a major Betson source for Remedies, or at least to share a common ancestor with Betson's text. Sloane 3285 is described as coming in part from Sussex, 'somewhere close to the northern border with Kent'. Care must be exercised here, because the analysis of Sloane 3285 was also carried out using eLALME.¹²⁴ But if correct, it looks as if in this case Betson simply copied this particular text, rather than amending it to suit his own speech habits.

From the above, it does not seem that Betson, despite having practised as a lawyer for several years, had approximated his writing to the new Chancery Standard English. Its use was expanding from the 1470s onwards under the influence of books printed by Caxton from 1473, then Wynkyn de Worde, and more elegantly, by Pynson from 1491, with all three aiming at a form of more widely intelligible English.

¹²⁴ Loen-Marshall, Maria-Helena (2005).

The second source for Betson's English is a religious miscellany in the Notebook, including the Ten Commandments. This seems to be part of the foul papers for Betson's *Ryght Profytable Treatyse Drawen out of Dyuerse Wrytynges to Dyspose Men to Be Vertuously Occupyed in Theyr Myndes and Prayers* (Wynkyn de Worde, c.1500). Analysis of Betson's text at folios 10v to 12r by means of eLALME also suggests a location in Essex, at Billericay. Betson can then be fairly confidently identified as being from Essex.

24 Syon and the Care of its Sick:

Case Studies of Diseases and Forms of Treatment.

The differing rules of the Brothers and the Sisters at Syon both contain sections on the management of their mutual infirmaries (whose locations at Syon have yet to be uncovered by archaeology).¹²⁵ These were only for the community – there is no suggestion of care for outsiders. For both sides the emphasis is on the spiritual as well as the physical healing: the Brothers' Keeper, for example, should

'styre, exhorte, and comforte them (the sick) to be confessyd and receive the sacraments of holy chirche.' He is also responsible for setting out the items needed for the last rites *'whan any brother is to anelyd...'* [to be anointed]. This is in addition to being

'strong and mighty to lift and move them...often change ther bedding and other clothes, ley to her [their] plasteres, give hem ther medicyns and mynster unto them mete and drynke, fyre, water and other necessaryes nyght and day after the counsel of the physician...'

There is a fine character portrait of the qualities needed in a Keeper to treat both physical and mental illnesses:

'not squames [squeamish] to handle hem and wash hem; not angry nor unpaciente, though one have the vomett, another the flyxe, another the frensy - now cryeng, now syngyng, now chidyng, now fyghtyng. For ther be some maner of sekeness that provoke the seke to angry, and when the matyr is drawn into the brayn, it alyeneth ther mendes [minds].'

The sick brother, if he recovered, was required to do public penance ('take hys veyne') for his absence from services during his sickness. This was a common feature in monastic rules (also in the Benedictine), though strange to our modern way of

¹²⁵ Chapter lvii, pp.126-128 in Hogg (1980) and *Rule of Our Most Holy Saviour* (1914).

thinking, where illness is generally not seen as divine punishment for sin. The Additions for the Sisters give further details on how a recovered nun is to behave:

'...kneeling before the Abbess she shall say "Mother, with your leave I have been for some time in the Infirmary, and I have transgressed in meat, drink and many other ways, not keeping the regular times of eating, drinking and sleeping and the like, wherefore I do crave mercy and pardon." And then the Abbess shall impose upon her some penance.....'
(1914 translation).

Finally it is worth noting that personal hygiene was not ignored. The Remedies section of Betson's Notebook contains several recipes for soap. One in particular is for making a bushel at a time. This is around 80lbs or 36 kilos and probably enough to provide each member of the Syon community with one pound weight of soap at each making.¹²⁶ There are also recipes for making a coarser black soap – presumably for cleaning rooms and use in the kitchens, rather than for personal use.

25 Malaria at Syon ?

We have no direct evidence of Malaria at Syon Abbey, but the disease was at that time endemic in parishes along the River Thames and in the coastal marshes in Essex and Kent. Its distinctive symptoms allow it be identified as far north as Lancashire and the Solway Firth on the West Coast, and in Lincolnshire on the East, even as late as the beginning of the 20th century.¹²⁷ We know also that the first foundation of Syon at Twickenham was abandoned after a short time because of the unhealthiness of the location.

The British varieties of Malaria were not the deadly *P. falciparum*, but two lesser varieties which debilitated rather than quickly killing their victims. Dobson, in his article *The History of Malaria in England*, identifies five British species of mosquito capable of carrying the parasites, and one in particular which lived in close proximity to humans (*A. atroparvus*) as the likely culprit in transmitting '*vivax malaria*' – the so-called 'benign' form in Britain. Betson and the authors of his herbal sources are unlikely to have identified mosquitoes as a source of malarial fevers. More likely they saw only the cause as the 'humours': the damp and fogs of the Thames.

¹²⁶ Folio 89v, Lines 3-27.

¹²⁷ See: Dobson, M. J. (1989) for summary and bibliography on this topic.

Malaria was generally diagnosed in the Middle Ages by the periodicity of three fever symptoms – ‘quotidian’ ‘tertian’ and ‘quartan’. Quotidian occurred every 24 hours, tertian had a 48 hour periodicity (i.e. recurred every three days), while quartan with a periodicity of 72 hours, was classed as occurring every four days. These three periodicities are now known to be associated with the lifecycle of the three individual and different malarial parasites.¹²⁸ It was possible to have more than one variety of Malaria at the same time – witness Falsaffe’s death from a ‘burning quotidian tertian’ in Henry V.¹²⁹

Another symptom of Malaria is enlargement of the spleen. It is interesting to note therefore that both ‘tertian’ and ‘quartan’ fevers, and illnesses of the spleen, appear regularly in Betson’s remedies. Two of the herbs in his *Herbarium* are qualified by the *Sinonoma Bartholomei* as being useful against the ‘quartan’ (*Camedreos* – Germander Speedwell and *Gramen amcaste* – Couch Grass). Camomile is cited as good ‘for the hede ake and brennyng (burning) ague’ which is probably malarial, producing alternate hot and cold agues.¹³⁰ Betony and Parsley are cited by Betson against the ‘Fever Tercian’, Vervain for both tertian and quartan.¹³¹ Basil is stated to be useful for quartan fever, and may in fact indeed reduce fever.¹³²

The modern *Tanacetum parthenium* or ‘Feverfew’ is not specifically identified by Betson with ‘tertians’ or ‘quartans’, but he has the annotation ‘febrifu’ (i.e. fever-dispelling) against Henbane perhaps as a generic analgesic treatment for fevers and pains, rather than an alternative name for Henbane.¹³³ *Tanacetum*, as *Febrifuge Maior* is only mentioned by Betson in the context of the Plague (see folio 112v).

Malaria did not of course spare the noble or the rich: Catherine of Aragon, before her second marriage, to Henry in 1509 was believed to have had ‘tertian ague’, perhaps contracted in England. Sir William Butts, Surgeon to Henry VIII for many years, died of an appropriately complicated variety of the fever, diagnosed as

¹²⁸ “Quotidian fever, with a periodicity of 24 hours, typical of *Plasmodium falciparum* or *Plasmodium knowlesi*; Tertian fever (48 hour periodicity), typical of *Plasmodium vivax* or *Plasmodium ovale malariae*; Quartan fever (72 hour periodicity), typical of *Plasmodium malariae malariae*”. *Wikipedia*, 7 July 2014

¹²⁹ HV, Act II, scene 1, line 105

¹³⁰ Folio 92v, Line 33.

¹³¹ Folio 92v Lines 8-9, 13 & Folio 93r, Line 11.

¹³² Christina Stapley of Heartsease, *Pers. Comm.* Aug 2014.

¹³³ Folio 75r, Col. B, Line 2.

'dooble febre quartanz.' Henry VIII himself is said to have had an attack of 'ague' just before he died in 1547.

Urine could be used for diagnosis of Malaria. In the *Harntraktat* text cited by Betson there is the chilling comment '*Urina Nigra: in quartarna semper est mortalis et mala*' (Black urine in quartan [fever] is always fatal and bad). And also '*Urina lucida sicut cornu significat indispositiones splenis et indispositiones quartarne*' (urine transparent like horn signifies illnesses of the spleen and the quartan [fever]).¹³⁴

Blood-letting was used regularly as one of the means treating fevers. We do not have direct evidence in Betson, but quotidian, tertian and quartan fevers are all included in the 15th century Gonville and Caius MS 176/97 on phlebotomy, which has the added interest of being early, in English, and of a technical nature.¹³⁵ Lines 161-162 state that: '*the 3^{en} (tertian) wiche ofte tymes is curid of phlebotomie.....*' (i.e. by bloodletting). The tertian and quartan fevers are covered in some detail in lines 189 to 206, with recommendations for herbal treatment – '*electuary frigidum and confortative of the stomach, as succar ros(arum)*' This casts a somewhat different light on Betson's several recipes for preserving roses, if Betson is suggesting that they may have been administered against malarial fevers.

By way of comparison, it is noticeable that Feckenham in his *Sovereign Medicines* (early 1580s) also has a considerable number of remedies aimed at the quotidian, tertian and quartan agues (remedies 74-83). His audience was the poor without access to physicians, and his remedies are consequently for the most part homely and inexpensive, such as snail shells, Mouse-ear Hawkweed (*Pilosella officinarum*), nettles and cobwebs.

26 The Sweating Sickness and Syon ?

In 1552, on the occasion of the fifth (and final) outbreak in England of the Sweating Sickness, the renowned physician John Caius published a short book on the topic, setting out his views on the causes, preventative measures and remedies.¹³⁶ This was the first book to appear in English dedicated to one disease. He noted that the illness seemed to have appeared with the arrival from France of the future Henry VII at Milford in Wales on 7th August 1485, and killed numerous

¹³⁴ Folio 84v, Line 4, and Folio 84v line 5.

¹³⁵ Voigts, Linda E., & Mcvaugh Michael R. (1984).

¹³⁶ See: <https://archive.org/stream/thesweatingsickn33503gut/33503.txt>

people in London by October of that year, sparing neither aristocracy nor ordinary citizens. There were subsequent visitations in 1488, 1506, July to December 1517, and May to July 1528.

The Sweating Sickness may have visited Syon in 1488, when there is a run of increased mortality recorded in the Syon *Martyrologium*. The brothers were first to suffer: lay brother Robert Bryde on 16 May, the Confessor General Thomas Westhaw (who may have appointed Betson as librarian) on 1 June, Brother Robert Derham on 4th June and lay brother Robert Hall on 7 June. It then affected both the brothers and the sisters - Robert Frynge, priest, and Sister Alice Hutton (aged c.80), died on 10 June, Sister Isabel Lambourn on 15 June, Sister Catherine Dymock on 17 June, Sister Marion Cross on 4 July, Sister Catherine Fogg on 2 October and Sister Joan Payne 20 October.¹³⁷ There is another peak in deaths at Syon between March and August 1508, which may possibly have been associated with a recurrence of the Sweating Sickness.¹³⁸

The Syon mortality figures imply deaths of about 10% of the sisters, and perhaps a similar mortality for the male religious, including priests and lay brothers. Dyer's study of Sweating Sickness in 1997 gives an estimate of only between 1.2% and 2.2% mortality in England in those parishes where records have survived. He does however have one peak at Farnworth in Lancashire of over 10%, and possible other samples at 5% and 7%. Perhaps inclusion of the enclosed religious communities, where data still exist, might have yielded higher figures overall. If the Sweating Sickness was, as some suggest, a highly infectious pulmonary condition, then joint male and female attendance at church services, and even closer auricular confession of the sisters by the confessors might have provided the vector route.

There is however no mention *per se* of the Sweating Sickness in Betson, and none of the ingredients cited by Caius in his cures seem to match any remedy in Betson. The link between Syon's increased mortality in 1488 and the Sweating Sickness cannot therefore be affirmed with certainty, though it seems a probable cause.

¹³⁷ Strangely, she is not recorded as being buried like the other sisters in the abbey church at Syon.

¹³⁸ John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, realising he had the Sweating Sickness, retired to Sheen Priory (Carthusian), opposite Syon Abbey, and died there on the 16th of September 1519. British History on-line: *The Priory of Sheen*, citing Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses* (Bliss), i. 26.

27 Toothache.

Toothache is the only condition picked out in red in the Syon copy of Gilbertus Anglicus (now in the Glasgow Hunterian Library).¹³⁹ Betson has seven mentions of teeth and rotting gums, treated variously with Lesser Celandine tied to the finger, powdered Roses, a distillation of Cloves (probably useful as a pain-killer), Garlic or Yarrow. There is also a toothpaste or teeth whitener, *farinam ordeï, sal, mel et acetum* (barley meal, salt, honey and vinegar). Loose teeth are to be fixed by an application of horse dung.¹⁴⁰ Clearly dentistry was an area of medicine in its infancy.

28 Breast Cancer.

The well-researched higher incidence of breast cancer among nuns seems to have first been described clinically in 1713 by Bernardo Ramazzini in his book on occupational diseases.¹⁴¹ Monica Green also draws attention to one mediaeval explanation of breast cancer in women, based on the corruption of blood: '*The unexpelled menstrual blood was diverted up to the breasts through special veins that connected them to the uterus...*'¹⁴²

Betson mentions '*kancur*' only once in this context, at folio 100v, lines 1-4.

For the kancur in a woman's pappis: Take the penns [wing feathers] of the white gose [goose] and the juse of Cellidony [Greater Celandine] and bray [crush] them well to gider, and ley therof to the sore pappe.

Greater Celandine (*Chelidonium maius*), powdered with rose petals, and mixed with vinegar, is also cited in *Circa Instans* as being useful against cancers in the mouth or those external to the body. But the plant is categorised as a 'powerful irritant' by Grieve in her herbal.¹⁴³ Another suggested use by Betson and his sources for the eyes is therefore of considerable danger.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁹ Bodarwé (2002, p260), cites monastic arrangements for the pulling of teeth.

¹⁴⁰ Image 105 Left, Folio 100v, lines 13-14.

¹⁴¹ Ramazzini, Bernardo (1713).

¹⁴² Green, Monica H. (2010).

¹⁴³ See on-line version at: <http://botanical.com/botanical/mgmh/c/celgre43.html>

¹⁴⁴ Folio 101v, lines 7-17 and Folio 107r, line 24 onwards.

29 Tuberculosis (TB).

TB would have been a constant risk in large monastic communities with a hundred or more individuals attending church services, eating and sleeping in close proximity to each other. 'Thisic' – probably TB, is one of the first illnesses noted in Betson.¹⁴⁵ The illness, it is claimed, produces '*urina rubea*' (folio 30r, line 2), though this colour of urine is also cited as a sign for eight conditions in all, including imminent death, and so a reminder that urine may not have been a very accurate diagnostic tool. It is also in the same text associated with *Periplimonia*: abscesses on the lungs, again perhaps TB¹⁴⁶. Betson has palliative remedies for '*thisicis*' involving distilled alcohol and camphor (folio 108v, line 10), which might at most have alleviated the coughing.

The '*perilose kogh*', as perhaps one of the symptoms of TB (see EMED entry), receives two mentions, at folio 97r, lines 15-19, and folio 108r, line 4. Here the remedies are Rue, Pepper, Sage, Milk of Almonds and Wild Celery, again perhaps as palliatives. There are also two remedies for 'spitting blood' (folio 96v, lines 25-30), which involve Betony, Rue, Wild Celery, Mint and goat's milk. Against this there is the unhygienic practice mentioned at folio 94r, line 23, of adding sputum and mercury to a remedy for skin complaints.¹⁴⁷

Finally, in the Additions to the Rule there is an injunction, unconnected to TB, which prohibits spitting on the steps going up to the dormitory, unless one stubs it out with one's foot. This perhaps was more of a safety measure, born of experience of slippery stone stairs in the dark.

30 A Case of Leprosy at Syon c.1487.

Carole Rawcliffe (2006, p279) draws attention to a case of leprosy at Syon around 1487, when the then Abbess, Elizabeth Muston, (1456-1497) petitioned Rome for permission to remove immediately Nicholas Edward, a leprous brother, for fear that the infection might spread to the rest of the community. The papal reply allowed her to remove both Nicholas Edward, and any other member of the

¹⁴⁵ Betson lacks the detailed descriptions of TB contained, for example, in the *Breviarium Bartholomaei* of Mirfield under *De Ptisi*. See Hartley and Aldridge (1936) pp.74-89 for Latin and English text of symptoms and treatment.

¹⁴⁶ Henry V was reported by his chamberlain as dying of this. See page 4, footnote 5 above.

¹⁴⁷ *fasting spatill*: 'the spittle of one observing a fast or eating sparingly.' EMED.

community (nun or brother) who might in future be afflicted with leprosy or any other contagious disease, to a place assigned to receive them.¹⁴⁸ This approach by the Abbess to Rome was of course necessitated by the nature of the perpetual vows of the sufferer, who was not permitted to leave the monastery without dispensation.

Betson, who may well have been aware of this case, has four references to Leprosy in his Remedies, including an oil, *Oleum Leprosorum*, made from violets or using a live snake.¹⁴⁹ In this context, Rawcliffe (2006, p279) also notes a case of Leprosy at Sempringham Priory (Gilbertine double monastery, 1131-1538), where the novice mistress was shunned by the rest of the community, because she had massaged a leprosy sufferer with an ointment – perhaps with this *Oleum Leprosorum*.

Betson's sources also suggest for Leprosy the use of calamine or zinc ore, presumably for its soothing qualities, rather than curative effect. There is also a very long and complicated *Aqua Mirabilis* for lepers involving 13 ingredients, mainly metals-based, and only for the rich.¹⁵⁰ A cheaper variety was available for the poor. Betson's source indicates that this remedy is also good for *Lepra non vera* [false leprosy], showing perhaps the difficulty of diagnosing this disease correctly.¹⁵¹ Betson also cites an *Aqua vite perfecta* which seems to have been a cure-all, including leprosy of the face. This was the part of the body where leprosy was most frequently noticed, as being the most difficult to conceal.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ *Calendar of Papal Registers, Papal Letters* Vol XV, 1484-92, p42, Item 76, 29 July 1487, *Reg. Lat. 846 A*, folios 24 1r – 24 1v.

¹⁴⁹ Folio 104v, lines 3-6; folio 108r, lines 16-17 & 18-24, folio 104v, lines 4-5 & *Oleum Leprosorum*: folio 117r, line 21.

¹⁵⁰ Folio 106r, lines 11-13. This bears a remarkable resemblance to text from Arnaldus Villanova cited by Gessner – see next footnote.

¹⁵¹ Image 110 Right, Folio 106r, line 12. *Lepra non vera* is a rare term, occurring in Conrad Gessner's 1575 *Euonymus* p157. Gessner cites Villanova as his source. There are strong similarities to Betson, pointing to a common source in Arnoldus of Villnova, flagged up by Gessner. See: https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=npNTAAAACAAJ&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_ge_summary_r&cad=0#v=onepage&q=lepra&f=false

¹⁵² Dietary and medical treatments for Leprosy, including herbs, are given in Rawcliffe (2006), pp. 213-251.

31 Blood-Letting.

Detailed accounts of mediaeval blood-letting (*minutio*) in male monastic orders are given in Clark, (1897) pp.lxi – lxxiii, and Bowers (2007). The authority for this practice was Galen, the most respected and readily available of the ancients, in his *de curandi ratione per venae sectionem*. The purpose was not only to relieve illness, but also to prevent it, by reducing the amount of surplus blood which might turn into ‘corrupt material’. For women there was the added concern that failure to menstruate allowed corrupt blood to remain in the body and cause illness. Even animals were not exempt – horses were also blooded on St Stephen’s day (26th December).

Blood-letting took place in some orders by organised rota, in others by personal choice. The frequency of bleeding varied – the Cistercians were bled four times a year and Augustinian Canons eight times. We do not know the frequency of bloodletting at Syon, nor if it varied between the brothers and the sisters. There is however an interesting printed *Sarum Hours*, dated to 12 July, 1514, the *Hore beatissime Virginis Marie*.¹⁵³ ‘*Sancta Birgitta*’ and ‘*Sancta Katerina*’ have been added to litany, suggesting use at Syon. This contains ‘*The canon for letynge of blode.*’

Betson and Bray mention only one location in the body for blood-letting (at folio 81v, col. B,) the *Salvatelle*, involving four veins, which occur in both the foot and the hand. In Bray’s precise terms it is ‘*Bytwene the litel finger & the next fenger & upon the foote in the same place*’. The left vein on the left side of the body was believed to affect the spleen (with perhaps implications for the treatment of Malaria), and on the right the liver.¹⁵⁴

Many medical books of the time had much fuller sections on blood-letting than Betson, the most popular being the *Regimen Sanitatis Salerni*, which existed in most mediaeval libraries in Britain. (It is in six houses in the BL *Corpus*). Syon had an AD 1480 printed copy from Cologne at K.13 (SS1.623c), and possibly another at B.29 (SS1.106), with an unidentified phlebotomy at B11 (SS1. 88g) by Maurus of Salerno. Vadstena also had a *Phlebotomia*, partly in Swedish, at MS UU C19.

Blood-letting is set out in more detail in the Barnwell Customary (pp199-217, Chapters 43-48). The section finishes somewhat depressingly with Extreme Unction

¹⁵³ Cambridge University Library Rit.c.351.1 STC 15918. (Sole other copy at Gonville and Caius). http://estc.bl.uk/F/9KENT9A4BYNJAJRI87UVE16JELPVK99IHT5UX2N1G279F3TIKP-06434?func=full-set-set&set_number=003033&set_entry=000001&format=999

¹⁵⁴ Clendening, (1960) p286-287.

and arrangements in the case of death. Blood-letting seems to have taken place in the infirmary or another isolated location, and was attended, in some orders, with an alleviation of the Rule as regards diet, silence and attendance at services. The first meal after blood-letting is specified: soft-boiled eggs, with parsley and sage which had been washed in salted water. The Master of the Farmery is also enjoined (Chapter 44) to be sure to have various ingredients at his disposal including ginger, cinnamon and peony.

The patient remained in the Infirmary for up to three days. (The Cistercians, as befitted their rigour, were not allowed any time in an Infirmary.) Although recreation was recommended, the playing of chess or dice was banned. There were also arrangements for private blood-letting, on request but by special permission, outside the regular institutional arrangements, presumably for those with 'hot livers' or a perceived excess of morbid material. These recipients received no special treatment, but continued afterwards with the normal round of services.

The Customary of the Barnwell Augustinian Canons in Cambridgeshire (written around AD 1296) also specifies that the Mastery of the 'Farmery' (infirmary) have a servant, whose duty it is to show the water of the sick to the physician, and then to note what their diet should be (*eorum urinas medico ostendat, et qualiter se habere debent in cibis et potibus diligenter attendat* at Chapter 44).

Since the expenses of the physician and medicines are specifically mentioned in the Syon Additions as '*lawful expenditures*', it may be appropriate to cite here the humane specifications as to expenses in Chapter 45 of the Barnwell Customary: the Master of the Farmery is exhorted to be always on hand to deal with a serious and sudden onset of ill-health, so that the sick man may want for nothing to relieve his infirmity or sufferings – for no book or chalice (*Nec enim liber vel calix*) ought to be considered too precious to be sold, to save the life of a brother in this situation. This brings together and surpasses our themes of herbs, health and the duties in the infirmaries at Syon.¹⁵⁵

It is unclear as to how, and by whom, the blood-letting was performed at Syon. If it was carried out on a regular but restricted basis (in order not to affect attendance at services adversely), then a month of daily blood-letting might allow all 60 sisters to be both bled and to recuperate for three days in small batches of five or six. This would need to be repeated for a whole month four times a year. It suggests that

¹⁵⁵ *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*. Ed., John Willis Clark, Cambridge University Press, 2011.

blood-letting by a trained brother or sister would be more efficient than calling on an external practitioner, but we do not know the practice at Syon.

Finally, it may be worth mentioning in this context that the leech or blood-sucker, *sanguisuga*, is not mentioned in Betson despite his inclusion in the *Herbarium* of animals of the witches' brew, such as bats and newts.¹⁵⁶

Whatever the situation with regard to blood-letting at Syon, medical treatment of the sisters by a resident physician seems, according to the Additions to the Rule, to have been unlikely: '*If any suster be so seke that sche may not be couered [cured?] with oute medicine, sche schal be brought to the crates (grating) to the physician*'.¹⁵⁷ This exception was expressly permitted by the papal decree *Beata Clara* under Pope Boniface VIII (1294-1303): *A doctor is not included in the above law (prohibiting entrance to a convent), on the grounds of serious illness (in a nun)*.¹⁵⁸

32 Other Arrangements for the Sick at Syon.

There is extant a papal dispensation of 3 Sept 1457, for Richard Wyot, a brother at Syon. He had, when subjected to the strictness of the rule fallen 'often and gravely ill'. He was allowed to transfer to another order of milder observance.¹⁵⁹ A similar permission was granted to on John Pinchbeck (professed 1459) on 8 Jan 1462, who could no longer 'with a quiet mind and a good conscience dwell' at Syon, to take himself to some mendicant order. A similar papal letter of 27 March 1501 carries an intriguing insight into the Syon pardons and treatment of the sick.¹⁶⁰ 'The faithful of those parts are singularly devoted to it [Syon Abbey], and a great multitude flock to it.' The Confessor-General may therefore 'appoint some places for the healthy, others for the sick and aged' to hear mass at a portable altar. There is of course no suggestion or evidence that Syon or its nuns cared for the sick in a formal fashion on these occasions, or in any general way.

¹⁵⁶ Leeches are recommended in Avicenna's *Canon of Medicine*, Sections 1037-1043, p.512, Gruner, 1929. See also EMED for medical citations.

¹⁵⁷ The 'crates' were either the iron grating around the public area of the church, or a grating between the external and internal part of the monastery, and not necessarily the grille which separated the laity from the religious within the church.

¹⁵⁸ Cited in Bodarwé (2002, p259 and footnote 135).

¹⁵⁹ *Papal Letters*, Vol. 11, 1455-1464, pp. 151-2

¹⁶⁰ *Papal Letters*, p97, no.91, Reg. Vat. 844, fos 89v-92r

It may also be worth mentioning in the context of healthcare that a number of nunneries took in as sisters (presumably against a cash payment) those who were deformed or insane. Jacka cites a number of houses where the episcopal visitation turned up sisters who were 'lunatica', 'ideota', or 'a fole', as well as deaf and dumb, or an 'idiot fool'.¹⁶¹ Again we have no evidence for this at Syon

There are no mentions of smallpox or syphilis in Betson, nor of any plants associated with their treatment or cure, though both diseases were already known in his time.

33 Uroscopy.

Neither Dioscorides nor Galen appears to have used urine as a means of diagnosing diseases, apart from for urinary tract infections. But diagnosis of disease and prognosis of its course by the examination of urine was one of the basic tests introduced to the west by the Salerno School of Medicine. In particular the *de Urinis* of Maurus of Salerno (c.1130-1214) was one of the major works to which physicians of the 12th and 13th century referred. It was present in at least three houses in Britain, but appears to be absent from the Syon library catalogue.

Syon had however around twenty titles on uroscopy, in some 10 volumes, including most of the classic texts. These included a copy of Theophilus (fl.? 7th century), *de Urinis*, at B.30 (SS1.107e), in a Latin translation of the Greek. This was a common text, recorded in at least a dozen British houses or colleges according to the *BL Corpus*.

Theophilus served as a source of Giles de Corbeil's poem of the same name, *de Urinis*, also present at Syon at B.5 (SS1.82x and SS1.82cc), but probably in manuscript form. This too was a popular work – 15 recorded copies in Britain. The commentary by Gilbertus Anglicus on Corbeil's *de Urinis* was also at Syon, one of five copies recorded in Britain. There was also a copy of the *Liber urinarum* by Isaac Iudaeus, translated by Constantinus Africanus, and printed at Lyon in 1515. Bateson notes that this title was used in the Paris medical course, and its popularity is shown by its presence in at least a dozen British houses.¹⁶² Finally, Syon had the sole recorded copy in Britain of Walter Agilon's *Compendium urinarum* at B.5 (SS1.82z). Despite this selection of useful academic works, Betson's main source of information on

¹⁶¹ Jacka (1917, chapter 1, p7-8).

¹⁶² See also Bateson (1898) p14, footnote 3.

uroscopy in his Notebook, as we have already noted, was the *Harntraktat*, (folios 84r to 86r), which was probably not at Syon Abbey.

Although there is no indication of the use for diagnosis at Syon, uroscopy could no doubt also act as a protection for an abbey against unsuitable female candidates seeking to become novices. The *Harntraktat* diagnostics allow for both a virginity test (folio 85r, lines 25-27) and a pregnancy test (lines 12 – 19, applicable even in the first few months of pregnancy), as well as detection of recent sexual intercourse with a man (lines 27-29). Similar urine diagnostics for virginity, pregnancy, and intercourse are repeated at Betson's folio 30r, lines 7-15.¹⁶³

Finally although the era relied regularly on with diagnosis by urine, Gilbertus Anglicus was aware of the symptoms of diabetes, such as 'continual thirst, dryness of the mouth, emaciation, inordinate appetite, frequent and profuse urination' but he does not mention the taste of sugar in the urine. Certainly diagnosis by the smell of urine is often mentioned by other practitioners as one of the signs for diabetes.¹⁶⁴ It may be because tasting and touching the urine had been rejected by Avicenna as "objectionable".¹⁶⁵ Apart from his long citation of the *Harntraktat*, Betson also cites several other examples of the diagnosis by the use of urine. For example, at folio 100r, line 28 onwards:

Recipe urine of him that is seke, and kast it on a Rede Netill at ones whan he hath pist, and come agen at the morrow, and if the Netill be not dede, it is a token of lif. And if it be dede, he shal dy.

This strange diagnostic technique, which occurs in other herbals, seems to lean towards charms and sympathetic magic (of which Betson is singularly free). The 'rede netill' is probably the Red Dead Nettle, *Lamium purpureum*, a Dead Nettle, with no sting, and hence perhaps by imagined extension, a diagnostic tool.

Menstruation is beyond the scope of this text. It is covered in detail by Green (2005). Betson shows no hesitation in mentioning it in his Notebook, and uses the standard terms '*flouris*' (one example) and *menstrua* (four examples).¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ See Green (2011) p179, *de Urinis Mulierum* for further discussion of the source of this text.

¹⁶⁴ *per odorem* – see folio 30r, line 3 for the other signs.

¹⁶⁵ See Avicenna, *Canon of Medicine*, Inspection of Urine, Section 606, p325, Gruner, 1929.

¹⁶⁶ For examples, see Image 95 Left, Folio 90v, line 5, and Image 89 right, Folio 85r, lines 29-30.

34 Care of the Sick – The Sisters’ Infirmary and the Parlour at Syon

The Syon Additions to the Rule begin with an admonition to the Abbess concerning the religious basis for care of the sick, but then moves on to give guidance for her choice of a sister for the Infirmary, and then to advise the latter on how best to fulfil her duties.¹⁶⁷ The Additions move swiftly on to injunctions to a sick sister not to ‘be importunate’ and that suffering in this life will reduce any time owed in Purgatory, reminding us that the care of the sick and sickness itself was seen as both physical and spiritual. It is likely that the Infirmary and the Parlour, discussed below, will have been heated by a fire. The Infirmary also had a chapel attached.

Since our Lord Jesus Christ taketh what is done to the sick as it were done to himself, the Abbess ought to have great care and tenderness of them, wherefore like as there be divers infirmities, so ought there to be diverse manner of places for them. One, for all manner of sicknesses as is the common infirmiary, another for them that be recovering as is the common parlours.

To the keeping of the sick shall be deputed such a Sister by the Abbess that dreadeth God, having diligence about them for His love, and well skilled for to do service to them, strong enough to lift them up and lead them from place to place, when need is, to Church or Infirmary Chapel, and can exhort and stir up and give comfort to them on spiritual matters.

Often change their beds and clothes and give them medicine, and minister to them all other necessaries night and day as need requireth, after the counsel of the Physician and the precept of the Abbess.

She must have much patience with the sick, that they may thereby get them an everlasting crown.

The sick ought not to be importunate, nor weary their infirmarians, desiring now one thing now another; they ought to think inwardly that if they patiently suffer their bodily sickness in this present life it shall stand for their Purgatory in time to come and for a little pain here easily suffered, they shall get their everlasting reward.’

Within the dormitory there seem to have been individual cubicles or cells:

¹⁶⁷ The following citations are taken from *The Rule of our Most Holy Saviour* (1914) which includes The Syon Additions and The Rule of St Austin. ‘From the British Museum and St Pauls’ Manuscripts’. In modern English. No publisher, but approved by the *Censor Deputatus* and the Bishop of Plymouth.

'...if any suddenly fall sick in the night, then she may knock or call some Sister to her cell as softly as she can to help her. And if any be importune in her crying out, or in making a noise, then she is to be had to the infirmary for unresting of others...'

The Syon Additions to the Rule carry interesting information on how the sisters were to be treated in the event of illness: after specifying the conditions under which a Bishop may enter the enclosed part of the monastery during visitations, they state:

'None other shall enter the enclosure, except it be necessary, as physicians, workmen, labourers, and such others. And when they do enter they shall do so with some prudent extern person of the household, if need be, excepting the physicians, and if possible they are not to be seen by any except by the sisters ...who receive medicines or minister any medicines to the sick, even though they speak not to them....'

Perhaps the most strange aspect of the treatments of sickness, to our modern minds, is the formal readmission of a recovered sister to the life of the community after illness: she had appear before the full chapter of the sisters and Abbess, and use a form of self-accusation and assumption of guilt for her sickness:

'...kneeling before the Abbess she shall say "Mother, with your leave I have been for some time in the Infirmary, and I have transgressed in meat, drink and many other ways, not keeping the regular times of eating, drinking and sleeping and the like, wherefore I do crave mercy and pardon." And then the Abbess shall impose upon her some penance.....'

This section is immediately followed by the duties of the Infirmary with regard to the administration of the sacrament Extreme Unction to a dying sister – provision of candles, woollen balls for the anointing and so on. After the anointing, which would take place when the signs of death were apparent, two sisters were to remain with the sick person *'unto their departure (i.e. death), or until they be out of danger.'*

So long as the sickness continued, and death did not occur, there were to be daily prayers for the sick person in choir by the sisters. Then, as the sister lay dying, the great bell would be tolled, and the convent would come together kneeling by the body and praying. There was a rather conventional, but perhaps comforting, short order of prayers at the vigil for the dead – a *'De profundis'* and *'Magnificat'*, *'levavi oculos meos'* and a short prayer – *'pro animabus familiarum tuarum quas hodie de hoc seculo migrare iussisti: ut non tradas eas in manus inimici, nec obliviscaris in finem.....'* [for the souls of thy maidservants whom you have this day commanded to leave this age: that you may not hand them over into the hands of the enemy, nor forget them at the end...]

The Additions to the Rule also contain one other small telling detail where herbs will have been involved – at the *Mandatum* or Washing of the Feet on Maundy Thursday, when in imitation of Christ ministering to his apostles, the Abbess would wash the sisters' feet. There was provision for '*two basins at least, of warm water, with a decoction of aromatic plants therein.....*'

35 Dietary Regulations and Fasting

The Syon Additions to the Rule also cover in some detail the kinds of food which the sisters were to be served. Since diet clearly has a bearing on the health of a community, these are set out here, extracted from the duties of the cellaress:

For the sisters she shall every day order two manners of pottage, or at least one, and that is the best of all. If there be two, one may be served of flesh or fish, after the day is, and the other of vegetables.

She shall also order for two kinds of meats, of flesh or of fish, one fresh the other powdered, boiled or roasted.....If the portion be small it is to be supplemented with a pittance.

On fish days she shall order for white meats, if they may be taken by the Rule...

For supper she shall order either fish or white meats.... lightly for the digestion and good bodily health, after the discretion of the Abbess, so that the servants of God may continue strong in His service.

On water days she shall order for buns or new bread, two manners of vegetables at least, also fruit, and this in competent measure, either roasted or boiled.

It is clear that, despite the requirement to fast on certain days, the emphasis was on a sufficiency of food, and the maintenance of the health of the community.

36 Fasting at Syon

Michael Tait has pointed out that the level of fasting at Syon went beyond the general requirements of the Church. In period of Advent (usually from the fourth Sunday before Christmas) fasting was of the same nature as Lent. These two periods of Lent and Advent amounted to between 10 or 11 weeks annually.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁸ Tait, Michael (2013 & 1975). *A Fair Place, Syon Abbey 1415-1539*.

Another period of seven weeks was taken up with reduced diet of fish and dairy products – *in piscibus et lacticiniis*, from the Friday after the Ascension to Pentecost Sunday; Holy Cross to Michaelmas; and All Saints to Advent (see below). Outside these fasting days, meat could not be eaten on a Wednesday, Friday or Saturday – only fish and dairy again. A further twenty specified days were bread and water only.

The implication here is that, if observed strictly, the rules on fasting forbade meat on up to 220 days in the year, and covered perhaps over 300 days in total. There would of course be some overlaps in days – fasting in Advent and Lent would include a number of Fridays and Wednesdays, which were normal fast days. The rules did however allow for ‘white meats’ with the fish – presumably fowl. The rules also allow the Abbess some discretion in ordering food, *so that the servants of God may continue strong in His service*. There were of course alleviations for the sick and elderly, and for those whose work would be affected by fasting:

‘Aged sisters and sick, and also young and whole that from labour or any faintness or feebleness. Or for any other reasonable cause, may not abide fasting till the Convent goeth to dinner, may on the fasting days, except water days, take bread and drink in the refectory after De Profundis at the grave, or by the licence of the Abbess or President. On super [?] days they may take an egg or two, or anything ordered for them by the officers, but none shall take any pottage of flesh meat but in the Infirmary, and this with the special licence of the Abbess.’

This provision also applied to the Abbess herself – she was not to have ‘*any more delicate meat prepared than the convent hath, except in the case of her sickness or feebleness....*’ Indeed the Abbess could freely give up her office because of ‘*age or impotence, or incurable sickness.*’

It is not perhaps surprising that many of the complaints addressed in the Herbal are related to digestion, with the stomach alone mentioned 21 times – one of the most frequent after the leading illness, complaints of the eyes.

37 The Days of Fasting

The Additions to the Rule specifies in great detail the periods of fasting. For 'Lenten Meats', which were presumably fish and white meats such as fowl, these ran as follows:

- Advent to the day of the Nativity - a period of about four weeks. 'Lenten meats'
- Friday before Quinquagesima Sunday to Easter Day. About seven weeks of 'Lenten meats'
- Friday after the Ascension till Pentecost Sunday. About ten days: 'Fish and white meats.'
- Feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (September 14th) to Feast of St Michael (29th September). About 16 days. 'Fish and white meats.'
- Feast of All Hallows to Advent. About four weeks. 'Fish and white meats.'
- Every Wednesday: abstain from 'flesh' at dinner and supper- 'Fish and white meats.' 52 days
- Every Friday of the year: 'Lenten meats' 52 days.
- Every Saturday of the year: 'Fish and white meats.' 52 days

Fasting on bread and water:

- The day before the Blessed Virgin Mary's Purification (February 1st), Annunciation (24th March), Assumption (14th August), and Christ's Nativity (24th December). Four days.
- On the vigils of all the Apostles – double feasts counting as one day only (Saints Peter and Paul, Philip and James, Simon and Jude). These probably numbered 10 days in all, scattered through the year.
- Feast of St John before the Latin Gate, St John Baptist, St Michael Archangel, All Saints, Good Friday, and Eve of Corpus Christi. Six days.

- In addition, a sister who had contravened the rule in some way was also condemned in some cases to bread and water for two days.

This gives a total of about 20 bread and water days, and more than 300 for 'Fish and white meats.' But again the Rule is softened '*with this caution that the sick and aged are to be excepted in all fasts, and indulgence is to be used towards those who are known to be too weak to perform their office when they fast.*' Furthermore, when fasts were not in force, 'flesh' (red meat) was allowed four times a week - (presumably at the main meal) while flesh and white meats were permitted at supper.

Some idea of the menu of an average house is given in the Syon rule:

For the sustres and brethren sche [the cellaress] shal euery day for the more parte ordeyne for two maner of potages, or els at leste for one gode and that is best of alle. If ther be two, that one be sewe [broth] of flesche and fische, after [according to what] the day is; and that other of wortes or herbes, or of any other thing that groweth in the yerthe, holsom to the body, as whete, ryse [rice], otemele, peson [peas] and suche other. Also sche schal ordeyne for two sundry metes, of flesche and of fysche, one fresche, another powdred [salted], boyled, or rosted, or other wyse dyghte [prepared], after her discrecion, and after the day, tyme and nede requyreth, as the market and purse wyllle stretche. And thys schal stonde for the prebende, which is a pounce of brede, welle weyed, with a potel of ale and a messe of mete....

On fysche dayes sche schal ordeyn for whyte metes, yf any may be hadde after the rewle, be syde fysche metes, as it is before seyde. Also, ones a wyke at the leste, sche schal ordeyn that the sustres and brethren be serued with the newe brede, namely on water dayes, but neuer with the newe ale, nor palled [stale] or ouer sowre, as moche as sche may. For supper sche schal ordeyn for some lytel sowpyng, and for fysche and whyte mete, or for any other thyng suffred by the rewle, lyghte of dygestyon equyualente, and as gode to the bodyly helthe....

*On water dayes sche schal ordeyne for bonnes [buns] or newe brede, water grewel, albreys [?] and for two maner of froytes at leste yf it may be, that is to say, apples, peres or nuttes, plummes, chiryas, [cherries] benes, peson, or any suche other, and thys in competent mesure, rosten or sothen, or other wyse dyghte to the bodyly helthe, and sche must se that the water be sothen with browne brede in maner of a tysan¹⁶⁹, or with the barley brede, for coldenes and feblenes of nature, more thys dayes, than in dayes passed regnyng. [i.e: moreso on these days of illness than on other days preceding]. Aungier, *op. cit.* pp. 393-4.*

¹⁶⁹ The modern looking 'tysan' for those with cold or feeble natures, occurs in English as early as 1398.

Despite these generally tough conditions there are also touches of humanity. The sisters did not sleep on bare boards, but rather on straw mattresses, though with only two coarse blankets, and no linen sheets. Their winter attire, reflecting perhaps some half-forgotten influence from Vadstena, was furred in winter - lambskin or sheepskin, with a 'pelisse' or rug of lambskin also permitted. Winter boots were to the knee, lined with coarse material, with stockings to match.

39 Mental Health and Syon – A Case Study in Love.

We know little of the passions and frustrations which may have driven some of the religious, male and female, of this community. There is however one outstanding example. In 1915 Margaret Deanesly unpicked the doomed literary relationship of James Grenehalgh, professed 1495 as a monk at Sheen Priory (Carthusian, 1414-1539) just across the River Thames, and Joanna Sewell at Syon who was professed in 1500.¹⁷⁰ Bateson suggests that the two had met during Sewell's year's novitiate, which would have customarily been spent outside Syon, before her profession.

Grenehalgh gave Sewell a number books that he had laboriously copied out (including the perhaps ambiguous *Incendium Amoris* - The Bonfire of Love), and added their intertwined initials, with IG and IS forming IGS. There is also a catchword at one point *inebrias– thou makest drunk*, with the page-break perhaps chosen on purpose to contain the offending initials *InebriaS*.¹⁷¹ Of these annotated books, five still survive.¹⁷² There is some evidence that Grenehalgh and Sewell may have met together on Thursday, 13th February 1504, the Vigil of St Valentine's Day, though, as Sargent points out, this would have been contrary to both Bridgettine and Carthusian discipline.

Grenehalgh also gives advice on diet to Sewell. He selects a passage from Hilton's *Scala Perfectionis*: '*That manner of food that least checks and least troubles the heart, and may keep the body in strength – be it flesh, be it fish, be it bread, be it ale – that I believe the soul chooses to have, if it may come by it.*' Grenehalgh, who as a Carthusian

¹⁷⁰ Deanesly (1915). See also Sargent (1984), and Kerby-Fulton, Hilmo, and Olson, 2012.

¹⁷¹*mentes quam tuo capis amori, tam clare inebrias*. Rolle, *Incendium Amoris*, f.77, ed. Deanesly.

¹⁷² British Library BL Add 24661, Richard Rolle, *Incendium Amoris*. 15 c. Copied by Grenehalgh for Joanna Sewell. Cambridge University, Emmanuel College: MS 35 (I.2.14); Oxford University, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. Th. D. 27, ff. 196v-200v; Philadelphia, and Rosenbach Foundation H491, all with intertwined monograms.

was forbidden meat, adds for Sewell's benefit: '*Follow not the book in this, but rule according to discretion, and take counsel.*'¹⁷³

But it is Grenehalgh's copy of the *Scala Perfectionis* which takes on a more ominous note of counsel. It contains a text addressed directly to the devil and almost in the form of an exorcism - '*Discede, liquesce.*'¹⁷⁴ (*Go thy way and melt to nought* in one elegant mediaeval translation).¹⁷⁵ There is also a sketch of a church building, presumably that at Syon, in which the name of Joanna Sewell is placed in the transept, protected by the Saviour, Mary, St Bridget and St Augustine.¹⁷⁶

This is a complicated document to untangle. We can assume from its context that it was intended to be sent to Sewell by Grenehalgh. The text beginning '*O tortuose serpens*' is taken, slightly disordered, from a long hymn by Prudentius (d. ?AD 413), sung as part of the Office before retiring to bed. The hymn has as its theme divine protection from night terrors and temptations to impurity.

Someone evidently noticed the exchange of books and the intertwining of initials. Grenehalgh was questioned by his superiors, removed from Sheen to the Coventry Carthusians in 1507 or 1508 and then, on remaining 'obdurate', was sent to their Kingston-upon-Hull house.¹⁷⁷ The trials of a contemplative vocation for someone of Lancastrian origins, now in a Yorkist stronghold, at a time when England's weather was dominated by wet summers and freezing winters, does not bear too close examination. He was dead by about 1530. We do not know his age, but he was perhaps 60, having had half a lifetime to reflect on his errors.

But Joanna Sewell remained at Syon, dying in 1532 – perhaps in her 50s, and was interred there with her sisters, *iuxta gerras*, beside the church grating made from cast iron. We do not know whether she was publicly upbraided for her '*defautes*' in the chapterhouse of the Abbey, in front of the Abbess and full body of her sisters.¹⁷⁸ But we do know from the Syon Additions to the Rule what happened by way of

¹⁷³ Sargent (1984) p.106 and p.94.

¹⁷⁴ Now Rosenbach Foundation H491, Walter Hilton's *Scala Perfectionis* (*The Ladder of Perfection*) (Wynkyn de Worde, Westminster 1494, STC 14042).

¹⁷⁵ William Flete '*De Remediis contra Temptaciones*' in *The Digital Index of Middle English Verse*.

¹⁷⁶ See also Krug (2008) for an interesting coverage of this text.

¹⁷⁷ See Sargent (1984), Volume 1, p79

¹⁷⁸ According to the Brothers' Rule, the sending out of 'any lettres of carnal affection' was classed as one of the most '*grevous defautes*' of '*echery and the synne against nature.*' Aungier, (1840), pp. 255-256,

'Bodily Discipline' to those sisters who committed serious errors. The erring sister was required to bare her back, and then:

Ther schal not be yeven for the discipline but five laches [lashes], but yf the defaute be of the more grievous defautes, or els that sche or they schewe any token of rebellion, then the discipliners schal not cese till the abbesse chargeth them to cese. And the laches in disciplines owe not to be to softte or to esy, but moderately scharpe, after the commandment of the abbes.

Betson has a number of recipes for mitigating the effects of beatings. Black Bryony, for example, was long known for treating bruises. But tucked away in his notes, at folio 81v, col. B, Betson, who may have known of the scandal, has a gentler comment: *Fatua is at gode for them that ben love sike*. [Figs from the Mediterranean Sycamore are good for those who are love sick].

Fatua generally referred to the insipid-tasting Sycamore fig, which is restricted to sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East. But at Syon it may have been understood as the Mulberry. The more exotic but practical remedies for love-sickness of the *Viaticum*, translated by Constantinus Africanus, were totally inappropriate for religious – wine, women and song.¹⁷⁹

The final offending Grenehalgh volume is strangely poignant.¹⁸⁰ It is the '*Incendium Amoris*' (The Bonfire of Love) by Richard Rolle of Hampole, an early Yorkshire mystic, whose own innocent relations with women had also apparently attracted criticism. It contains on fol. 18v the combined monograms of Joanna Sewell and James Grenehalgh (the 'IGS' symbol). There are also a number of allusive catchwords, featuring *amoris* and *inebrias* and perhaps also too many illuminated 'S' letters (Sewell) for coincidence. On the vellum of the last page is written in a firm hand, '*Amor Dei Vincit Omnia*' [The love of God overcomes all things] which for English readers could only bring to mind Chaucer's rather flighty prioress, whose pendant bore a similar motto. Then at the end of the book there appears in Latin: '*Mens est tibi*' - 'My thoughts are with you'. The book has been closed while these words were still wet, leaving a ghostly reversed images on the opposite pages.

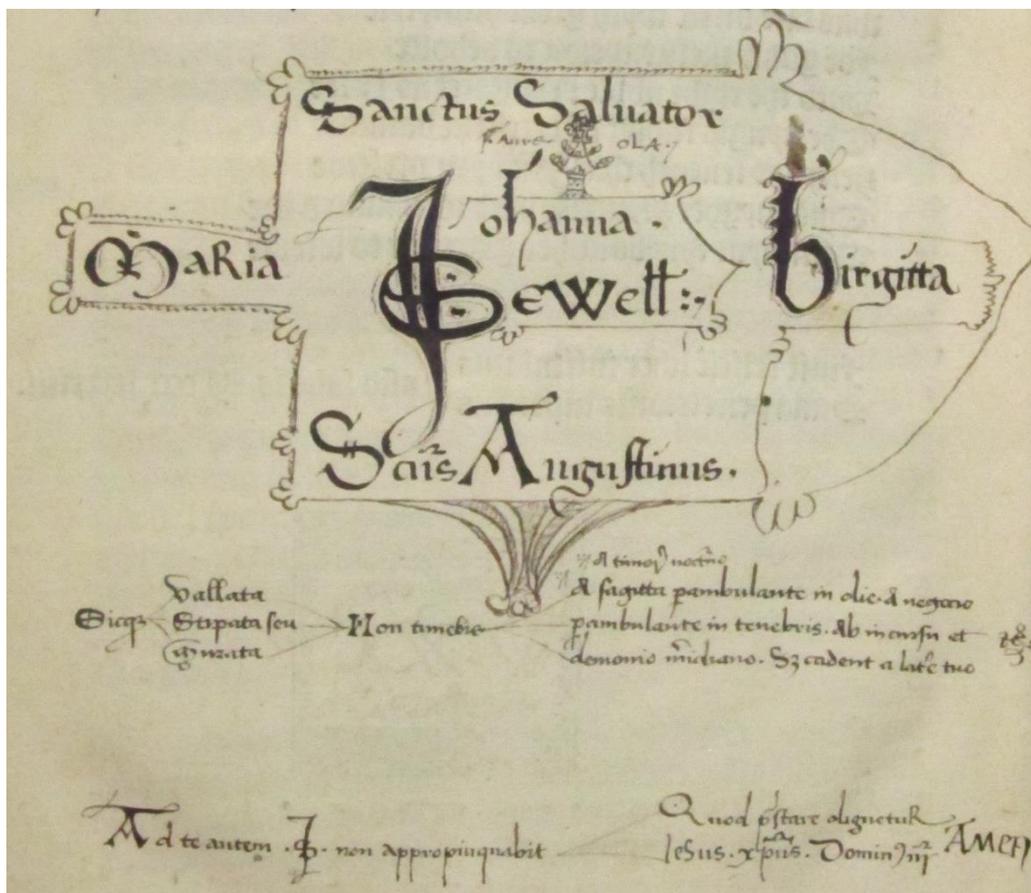
And then in a less clear feminine hand appears: '*Gentle Jesu have mercy on me, Joanna*'. And below that, but curtailed, is '*anno domino millesimo quin....*' (In the year of the Lord 15.....), perhaps 1500, the year of Joanna's profession as a nun of Syon.

¹⁷⁹ See Wack, Mary F., (1990). *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages*

¹⁸⁰ British Library BL Add 24661, Richard Rolle, *Incendium Amoris*.

And a few more lines of handwritten text, but with the ink wiped away, wet and blurred, made forever illegible.¹⁸¹

FINIS



Part of Image sent to Joanna Sewell by James Grenehalgh, showing her protected by the Holy Saviour, St Bridget, St Augustine and Mary. In Rosenbach Foundation H491, Walter Hilton's *Scala Perfectionis* (*The Ladder of Perfection*) (Wynkyn de Worde, Westminster 1494, STC 14042). Her name and initials both shown (in centre and bottom left – *Ad te autem JS non appropinquabit.*)

¹⁸¹ Both Power (1922, pp. 53-54) and Jacka (1917, pp. 59-69) cite cases where celibacy fell below the required standards. The Nun of Watton provided a disturbing 11th century precedent in a double Gilbertine monastery. Cromwell and his visitors were however unable to find any such cause against Syon in the late 1530s.

**Medical Books in the Syon *Registrum* Section B,
in other sections of SS1 and SS2, and a List of Donors.**

**Reproduced by kind permission of the Editors
of the Corpus of British Mediaeval Library Catalogues
Syon Abbey,
Edited by Vincent Gillespie,
The British Library in association with The British Academy
2001**

SS1 series

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	Secundo Folio
78		B.1	2 ^o fo. <i>de proprietate</i>
a.			Albumaser de Iudiciis astrorum in octo libris quorum duo primi cum 2 ^{bus} fere capitulis. [Albumazar, <i>de magnis coniunctionibus</i> , tr. John of Seville: pr. Augsburg 1489 (GW836)]
b.			Idem in libro Florum de dimidio anni. [Albumazar, <i>de floribus astrorum</i> , tr. John of Seville: pr. Augsburg 1488 (GW837)]
c.			Tholomeus in tractatu de arbore. [Unidentified]
d.			3 ⁱⁱ deficiunt scilicet de effectibus causatis ex motibus planetarum.
e.			De Geomancia qua non licet Christianum vti.
f.			Item Almenak profacii generale omni Regioni orbis de equacione solis & lune, aliorumque planetarum suis cum canonibus. [Prophatius Judaeus. <i>Tabulae Almanac</i> ed. G. Boffito & C. Melzi d'Eril (Florence 1908)]
g.			Item lyncolniensis de Spera. [Robert Grosseteste, <i>De Sphaera</i> : pr. Venice 1508]

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	Secundo Folio
79		B.2	2 ^o fo. <i>tabula</i>

Now Cambridge University Library Ms Hh. 6.8 (s xiii/xiv.)

- a. Tabule reuolucionis solis & lune aliorumque planetarum varie. [Tables for the latitude of Toledo.]
- b. Canones de equacione solis, & lune & aliorum planetarum. [*Canones de equacione planetarum et eclipsium solis et lune...*unpr. Thorndike / Kibre 1239]
- c. Item qualiter ex motu solis in variis temporibus mensuratur annus, mensis, dies, & hora. [Astronomical tables and notes and a comparative table for the Arabic and Christian year from 1316 to 1378]
- d. Tabule ostendentes latitudinem & longitudinem diuersarum Regionum ab occidente. [Author not identified]
- e. Canon docens artem componendi Astrolabium & alia Instrumenta & ad ea clarus intelligendum & de nominibus variorum Instrumentorum. [Messhala, *Astrolabium* tr. John of Seville ed. R T Gunther, *Early Science in Oxford* (Oxford 1921-1925). 5. 195-231.]

JSA: There seems to have been an edition of the *Astrolabium: De Astrolabii Compositione et Utilitate*, included in Gregor Reisch's *Margarita phylosophica* (ed. pr., Freiburg, 1503;the text is included in the Basel edition of 1583. Its contents primarily deal with the construction and usage of an astrolabe. WIKI

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	Secundo Folio
80	Raynolde	B.3	2 ^o fo. <i>Tu quem</i>

\\ b.1. //

- a. Opera Martiani Capelle de nuptiis philologie et Mercurii.
De grammatica. De Dialectica. De Rhetorica. De Geometria.
De Arithmetica. De Astronomia. De Musica.

[Martianus Capella, de nuptiis philologiae et Mercurii pr. Venice 1499 (Goff C117). The *secundo folio* above agrees with the edition of (a) printed in Modena in 1500 (Goff C118).

- b. Item Homeri poete Ilias. [Ed. F. Vollmer, Poetae latini minores 1913.]
- c. Item Iohannes Ferrariensis de natura anime rationalis. De immortalitate anime. De inferno et cruciatu anime. De paradyso et felicitate anime. [Iohannes Canales Ferrariensis, de coelsti uita pr. Venice 1494. (Goff J3130)]
- d. Item Rabanus de laudibus sancte crucis.
[Hrabanus Maurus, de laudibus sanctae crucis; Migne, Patrologia Latina 107]

81 Raynolde		B.4	2 ^o fo. <i>maiores</i>
-------------	--	-----	-----------------------------------

\\ a.29. //

Leobaptista. De re edificatoria.

[Leon Baptista Alberti *De re aedificatoria* pr. Florence 1485 (GW 579). The secundo folio agrees with the edition printed in Paris in 1512.]

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	Secundo Folio
82		B.5	2° fo. mea

- a. De urinis & earum cognicione. [Not identified. Gillespie, p. lxxviii, cites this as written by William Dalton, and appearing as pp123 and 340 in Bale's Index.]
- b. Bernardus de Gordiano de urinis abbreviatus et est secunda particula eiusdem de conseruacione vite humane, fo. 6°.

[Bernard Gordon, *De urinis* (part 2 of *De conseruatione uitae humanae*): See: *Practica Gordonij dicta Liliium. Tractatus eiusdem De urinis*. Venice : Bonetus Locatellus for Ottaviano Scoto, 22 Dec. 1498, which contains *De ingeniis curandorum morborum*. --*De regimine acutorum*. --*De pronosticis*. --*De urinis*. --*De pulsibus*.]

- c. Synonoma herbarum tam gallice quam anglice secundum ordinem alphabeti, cum eorum graduacionibus. fo. 22. [See Gillespie note c, p28, on sources for *Synonoma*.]
- d. Medicine quedam vtiles. fo. 27. [Author not identified]
- e. Phaleretus de pulsubus (sic), fo. 28.
[Philaretus *Liber pulsuum*, Latin, tr. Pr. Venice 1483.]
- f. Tractatus Johannicii de Febribus & earum curis. fo. 29.
[Not known as a work of Iohannitius. Perhaps his translation of Galen.]
- g. De diuersis medicinis, sirupis & confectionibus. fo. 45. [Author not identified.]
- h. Egidius metrice de pulsuum differentiis cum eiusdem commento. fo. 47. [Giles of Corbeil *De pulsibus*. Ed. L. Choulant(Leipzig 1928). According to Bateson 1898, 'These works were required in the Paris medical course. See Rashdall's Appendices' (The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, by Hastings Rashdall. Cambridge 1895, and revised edition 1936)]
- i. Quedam vtiles medicine, fo. 66. [Author not identified.]
- j. Bernardus de Gordiano. De pronosticis in quinque particulis. fo. 67. De diuersis dia[? etis], pill[ulis], empl[astris] & vnguentis. fo. 88.
[Bernard Gordon, *Liber pronosticorum*: pr. with his *Liliium medicinae* Ferrara 1486 (GW 4081).]
- k. Opus breue de medicinarum equipollenciis. fo. 90. [Author not identified.]

- l. De diuersis medicinis ex tractatu Rogeri maioris. fo. 91. [An extract from Roger de Baron *Pratica pr. in Cyurgia Guidonis de Cauliaco* Venice 1498]
- m. Tractatus de arte pronosticandi & de Crisi. fo. 91. [Author not identified.]
- n. De oleis, sirupis, clisteriis & suppositoriis. fo. 101. [Author not identified.]
- o. Iohannes Mesue de medicinis digestiuis, simplicibus & compositis. fo. 104. [Probably an extract from John of Parma, *Praticella ex dictis Mesue abbreviatus*: ed. M.A. Mehner 1918....Perhaps *Simplices medicine secundum Mesue* unpr.]
- p. Tractatus qui dicitur Practica puerorum. fo. 105. [*Pratica puerorum* ed. K. Sudhoff...Munich 1925.]
- q. Pantegni Constanti[ni] affricani particule 7^{tem}. fo. 106. [Part of Constantinus Africanus *Pantegni* pr. Lyon 1515. See Gillespie p28 for MS sources.]
- r. Plathearius de simplici medicina. fo. 154. [Matthaeus Platearius *De simplicibus medicinae*.]
- s. Tabula M. Petri de Dacia de medio motu lune. fo. 202. [Peter of Dacia *Tabula* unpr.]
- t. De ingenio morbos curandi secundum Bernardum de Gordiano. fo. 204. [Bernard Gordon *De ingenio sanitatis sive tabula ingeniorum curandi morbos*: pr. with his *Lilium medicinae*, Ferrara 1486 (GW 4081).]
- u. Opus triplex de regimine morborum acutorum. fo. 206. [Perhaps Bernard Gordon, *Regimen Acutorum*, with his *Lilium medicinae*, Ferrara 1486 (GW 4081).]
- v. Bernardus de gordiano in tractatu graduacionis. fo. 209. [Bernard Gordon *De gradibus*.]
- w. Magister Iohannes de sancto Paulo de virtute simplicis medicine, fo. 214. [John of St Paul: *De simplici medicinae virtutibus* ed. G. H. Kramer (Leipzig 1920).]
- x. Egidius de urinis metrica cum paucis glosulis. fo. 220. [Giles of Corbeil *De urinis*: ed. L Choulant (Leipzig 1826)]

- y. Quedam questiones in arte physica. [fo.] 223. [Author not identified.]
- z. Tractatus vrinarum M. Walteri Agillum & M. Petri de herberi . fo. 224.
[Walter Agilon, *Compendium urinarum* ed. J. Pfeffer Berlin (1891)... Perhaps with a commentary by Peter de Herbery (untraced).]
- aa. Epistola Aristotelis ad Alexandrum de Regimine vite. fo. 226.
[Aristotle, *Epistola Aristotelis ad Alexandrum*: unpr.]
- bb. Questio de appoplexia. fo. 227. [Author not identified.]
- cc. Tractatus de urinis ex versibus Egidii cum coloribus expressis. fo. 228.
[Perhaps as above x: [Giles of Corbeil *De urinis*: ed. L Choulant (Leipzig 1826)]
- dd. Alius tractatus de urinis. fo. 232. [Author not identified.]
- ee. Practica M. Willelmi de Dalton in Cirurgia cum aliis medicinis utilibus & experimentis. fo. 234. [William Dalton: *Practica in chirurgia* inc. 'Contra sonitum aurium illatum.' Not known to survive. Bale reported seeing this copy in the house of Richard Grafton - Gillespie, p. lxxviii cites this as appearing as pp123 and 340 in Bale's Index.]
- ff. Tractatus exponens nomina quarundam passionum. fo. 240. [Author not identified.]
- gg. Ricardus de signis morborum & egritudinum. fo. 242. [Ricardus Anglicus, *Summa de signis morborum* the fifth part of the *Micrologus*: part ed. H. E. Beusing. (Leipzig 1922). Gillespie, p. lxxviii, cites this as appearing as pp123 and 340 in Bale's Index.]
- hh. Summa magistri Senis de urinis compendiosa & sensatissima. fo. 258.
[Author not identified.]
- ii. Tractatus de pulsibus. fo. 261. [Author not identified.]
- jj. Libellus de remediis contra Pestilenciam. fo. 267. [Author not identified.]
- kk. Contra Apostemata & alios morbos cum Emplaustro Magistri Henrici de Amanda villa, fo. 268. [Probably a leaf from Henry de Mondeville, *Chirurgia*

ed. J. L. Pagel (Berlin 1892). Tract 2 *doctrina* 2 deals specifically with *apostemata*.....]

- II. Medicinalia secundum ordinem alphabeti anglice synonymata, fo. 269.
[See Gillespie note **c**, p28, on sources for *Synonoma*.]

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	Secundo Folio
83		B.6	2 ^o fo. <i>electuarium</i>

\\ **b.40.** //

- a. Rosarium medicine ex plurimis medicinis & experimentis collectum secundum compilationem M. Gaddesdone de Oxoniis. fo. 9^o. [John of Gaddesden, *Rosa medicina siue Rosa Anglica*: pr. Pavia 1492 (Goff J326)...J. P. Cholmeley (Oxford 1912) with details of all early editions. Gillespie, p. lxxviii, cites this, (or possibly 129a below) as appearing as p. 206 in Bale's Index.]. For text see: <http://www.ucc.ie/celt/published/T600008/>
- b. Tabula siue Rubrice capitulorum eiusdem in principio libri quotatum. fo. 1^o. (As above ?)
- c. Synonoma medicinalium secundum ordinem alphabeti tam anglice quam gallice cum eorum graduacionibus. fo. 165.
[See Gillespie note **c**, p28, on sources for *Synonoma*.]
- d. Item Synonoma Aaron secundum ordinem alphabeti, fo. 174.
[John Mirfield (attrib.), *Synonoma Bartholomei* inc. 'Aaron, iarus, pes vituli ed. J.L.G. Mowat (Oxford 1882); appended to Mirfield's *Breuiarium Bartholomaei* in Oxford Pembroke College, MS 2. 'Aaron' is the first word of the *Synonoma Bartholomei*.]
- e. Item medicinalia secundum ordinem alphabeti anglice synonymata. fo. 196.
[See Gillespie note **c**, p28, on sources for *Synonoma*.]
- f. Tractatus in anglico de medicinis & vnguentis, & eorum vsu & confectione. fo. 203. [Perhaps the Middle English translation of Gilbertus Anglicus, *Compendium medicinae*, also known as the *liber de diuersis medicinis*, see 117 below.
- g. Item pro languentibus oculis & visu reparando. fo. 257.
(As above ?)

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	Secundo Folio
84	Bracebrigge	B.7	2° fo. <i>quia pro</i>

\\b.16. //

- a. Viaticum sive Pantegni Constantini affricani a Girardo egregie commentatum & in septem libros divisum.
[Constantinus Africanus, *Viaticum* pr. Venice 1505 etc, Lyon 1515...]
- b. Liber Epidimiarum ypocratis incomplete. [Hippocrates *Epidemia* Latin tr. pr. in *Articella* Padua 1476 etc. Here incomplete. Book 6 of the work circulated as a 'Liber epidemiarum' in the Middle Ages , and was printed in the *Articella* accompanied by the commentary of Iohannes Alexandrinus....]

85	Bracebrigge	B.8	2° fo. <i>emina habet</i>
----	-------------	-----	---------------------------

- a. Expositiones quorundam nominum medicinalium. [[Author not identified.]
- b. Tractatus brevis de ponderibus & mensuris medicinalibus cum Figuris expressis. [Author not identified.]
- c. Dioscorides de viribus herbarum secundum ordinem alphabeti.
[Probably the 11-cent Latin alphabetical redaction of Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, based on the ancient Latin translation with the addition of more recent material: pr. Colle 1478 (GW 8436), Lyon 1512.]
- d. Synonomacio medicinalium secundum ordinem alphabeti, vsque ad nomen *Ripus*. [Author not identified.]

86	Raynolde	B.9	2° fo. <i>minusque</i>
----	----------	-----	------------------------

\\b.12. //

- a. Castigationes Hermolai Barbari in plinium. Idem in castigationes plinii secundas. [b. ?] Eiusdem Glossemata in plinium. [Hermolaus Barbarus, *Casigationes Plinianae et Pomponii*: pr. Rome 1493 (GW 3340); the *secundo folio* agrees.]

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	Secundo Folio
87	Raynolde	B.10	2 ^o fo. <i>pescennius</i>

\\ b.3. //

- a. Julii Firmici Astronomicorum libri octo. [Julius Firmicus Maternus, *Mathesis (De Nativitatibus libri VIII)*: pr. Venice 1497 (GW 9980).]
- b. Marci Manilii Astronomicorum libri quinque. [Marcus Manilius *Astronomion libri V*: pr. Nuremburg 1497.]
- c. Arati phenomena, Germanico Cesare interprete, cum commentariis et ymaginibus. [Aratus *Phaenomena*, tr. Germanicus Caesar; pr. with Marcus Manilius Bologna 1474 (Goff M203).]
- d. Arati eiusdem phenomenon fragmentum, Marco T[ullio] C[icerone] interprete.
[Cicero *Aratea*]
- e. Eiusdem phenomena, Rufo festo Avienio paraphraste.
[Rufus Festus Avienus, *Aratea* pr. Venice 1488 (GW 3131)]
- f. Eiusdem phenomena grece. [Aratus *Phaenomena*, Greek text.]
- g. Theonis commentaria in arati phenomena grece.
- h. Procli Diodochi (sic) opera grece.
- i. Eiusdem spera, Thoma linacro interprete.

[All the above works are brought together in the Aldine edition of Firmicus Maternus, printed in Venice in 1499 (GW 9981) with same secundo folio as here. Bateson points out (page 12, footnote 6) that it seems likely that these were the only Greek texts in the Brothers' Library.]

\\ b.29. //

- a. Gilbertus super versus Egidii de urinis. [Gilbertus Anglicus, Commentary on Giles of Corbeil's *De Urinis* largely unprinted.]
- b. De tortura cum eius signis & remediis. fo. 86.
[Author not identified.]
- c. Egidius metrice de differentiis pulsuum cum eiusdem commento. fo. 87.
[As above 82h: Giles of Corbeil *De pulsibus*. Ed. L. Choulant(Leipzig 1928)]
- d. Ymago de 12^{cim} signis zodiaci in humano corpore. fo. 134.
[Author not identified.]
- e. Ymago flegbothomie cum suis canonibus. fo. 135.
[Author not identified.]
- f. Magister Maurus de anothomia corporis humani. fo. 135.
[Maurus of Salerno, *Anothomia*.]
- g. Idem de flegbothomia. fo. 138.
[Maurus of Salerno, attrib; perhaps by Roger of Salerno, *De flebotomia*.]
- h. Sermo beati Augustini de periculo sacerdotum. fo. 145.
[Caesarius of Arles, *De periculo sacerdotis*]
- i. Tractatus quidam vtilis de anothomia. fo. 147. [Author not identified]
- j. De modo preparandi & dietandi nauigantes & iterinerantes {sic}, fo. 157.
[Author not identified.]
- k. De mola matricis. fo. 160. [Author not identified.]
- l. De quarundam medicinalium aquarum confectionibus. fo. 162.
[Author not identified.]
- m. Practica puerorum. fo. 165. As 82.p: Tractatus qui dicitur Practica puerorum.
[*Pratica puerorum* ed. K. Sudhoff...Munich 1925.]
- n. De clisteriis & suppositoriis. fo. 168. [Author not identified.]

- o. Ricardus de signis morborum & egritudinum ac de crisi & signis eiusdem. fo. 171. [As 82.gg: Ricardus de signis morborum & egritudinum. Ricardus Anglicus, *Summa de signis morborum* the fifth part of the *Micrologus*: part ed. H. E. Beusing. (Leipzig 1922)]
- p. Versus Salerni fo. 219.
[Either *Versus Salernitani*.....Or astrological verses from the *Regimen Sanitatis*...]
- q. Versus generales de membrorum distinctione. fo. 237.
- r. De quibusdam restauratiuis cum aliis. fo. 237.
- s. De diuersis humorum purgatiuis. fo. 237.
- t. De coloribus vrinarum & eorum significacionibus. fo. 238.
- u. De triplici egritudinum distinctione generali. fo. 239.
- v. De quibusdam medicinis attractiuis, dissolutiuis & consumptiuis. fo. 239.
- w. De membrorum complexione particulari. fo. 239.
- x. Quibus pocionibus & herbarum succis in singulis mensibus vtendum sit cum aliis. fo. 240.

[Authors of items q to x above not identified.]

89 **Bracebrigge** **B.12** **2° fo. inferioribus**

- a. Amphorismi vrsonis cum eiusdem commento.
[Urso of Calabria, *Liber Aphorismorum*.]
- b. Auicenna de viribus cordis, fo. 40. [Avicenna, *De viribus cordis* tr. Arnold of Villa Nova, pr. with his *Canon Medicinæ*, Padua 1476 (GW 3116)]
- c. Auaroys de Tiriaca . fo. 49.
[Averroes, *De tyriaca*; pr. with other works, Bologna 1497-1500 (GW 3109).]
- d. Iohannes de sancto Amando super antitodarium Nicholai. fo. 54.
[Iohannes de S. Amando, Commentary on the *Antidotarium Nicholai Salernitati*: pr. Venice 1495 (Goff M516) &c; Thorndike/Kibre 1008.]
- e. Amphorismi Iohannis Damasceni ab ysidoro commentati fo. 54.
[John of Damascus (Iohannes Mesue) *Liber aphorismorum*: pr. with the *Aphormismi* of Maimonides, Bologna 1489 (Goff M77), Thorndike/Kibre 824. With unpr. commentary by 'Isodore' as apparently here, Thorndike/Kibre 777.]

- f. Antidotarium Nicholai. fo. 140. [*Antidotarium Nicholai Salernitani*; pr. Venice 1471 (Goff N160), Thorndike/Kibre 165, 490.]
- g. Synonoma medicinalia mundini de foro Iulii, secundum ordinem alphabeti. fo. 151. [Mundinus de Foro Julio, *Synonyma* : pr. Milan 1473 (Goff S526)]
- h. Liber hebemesue de medicinis & earum rectificacione. fo. 203.
[Either John of Damascus (Iohannes Mesue), *De consolatione medicinarum* pr. in his *Opera Medicinalia*, Venice 1471 (Goff M508) &c Thorndike/Kibre 415.
Or John of Parma *Practicella ex dictis Mesus abbreviatus* Thorndike/Kibre 1295.]
- i. Liber graduum hebemesue secundum ordinem alphabeti. fo. 238.
[Author not identified.]
- j. Prima summa Grabadin medicinarum vniuersalium. fo. 240.
[John of Damascus (Iohannes Mesue), *Practica sive Grabadin medicinarum particularium* pr. in his *Opera medicinalia* Venice 1471 (Goff M508) &c; Thorndike/Kibre 68, 361, 495 &c.]
- k. Item medicine quedam purgatiue cum aliis. fo. 264. [Author not identified.]
- l. Item Salernus in suis versibus medicinalibus & precipue de urinis. fo. 165.
[Either *Versus Salernitani*.....Or astrological verses from the *Regimen Sanitatis*...]
- m. Item alius tractatus de urinis. fo. 177. [Author not identified.]

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	<i>Secundo Folio</i>
90		B.13	2 ^o fo. <i>contempti</i>
			Tractatus de arte & vero modo predicandi cum aliis. [Author not identified.]
91		B.14	2 ^o fo. <i>in quacumque</i>
a.			Epistola ypocratis ad Macenatem de dieta, cura & custodia corporis. [Ps. Hippocrates, <i>Epistola ad Maecenatem</i> . Bateson points out that this was printed in Celsus' <i>De re medica</i> , lib. 8 Paris 1528-9. 'But this copy is probably MS.']
b.			Herbarium Apulei platonic.

[Ps Apuleius, *Herbarium* pr. Rome 1483/84 (GW 2300)... Thorndike/Kibre 2, 591.]

- c. Dietarium vniuersale imperfectum.
[Perhaps Isaac Iudeus, *De dietis universalibus et particularibus* tr. Constantinus Africanus or Gerard of Cremona: pr. Lyon 1515.... Thorndike/Kibre 239, 1252.]
- d. Ypocras de pronosticis mortis.
[Hippocrates, *Prognostica* Latin tr: pr. in Articella, Padua 1476 (GW 2678) &c...]
- e. Tractatus de ponderibus medicinalibus. [Author not identified.]

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	Secundo Folio
92	Bracebrigge	B.15	2 ^o fo. de vno

- a. Bernardus de Gordiano de conseruacione vite humane in quatuor particulis cum suis Rubricis. [Bernard Gordon, *De conseruatione uitae humanae*: pr. Lyon 1574, 669-855].
- b. Ypocras de regimine acutorum cum glosulis. fo. 7. [Hippocrates, *Regimen acutorum* Latin tr: pr. in Articella, Padua 1476 (GW 2678) &c...]
- c. Ysagoge Iohannicii aliquialiter glosate. fo. 78. Tegni Galieni cum quibusdam glosulis. fo. 87. [Iohannitius, *Isagoge ad Artem paruam Galeni* tr. Constantinus Africanus pr. Venice 1491 &c. Thorndike/Kibre 856, 1352, and 311]
- d. Tegni Galieni cum quibusdam glosulis fo. 87. [Galen *Tegni* tr. ? Gerard of Cremona: pr. in *Articella*, Venice 1483 (GW 2679) and 1487 (GW 2680). Thorndike/Kibre 1585, 858, 757.]
- e. Ypocras in pronosticis. fo. 18 (sic).
[Hippocrates, *Prognostica* Latin tr: pr. in *Articella*, Padua 1476 (GW 2678) &c...]
- f. Phalaretus de cognitione pulsuum. fo. 114.
[Philaretus *Liber pulsuum*, Latin, tr., pr. Venice 1483.]
- g. Amphorismi ypocratis cum quibusdam glosulis vsque ad infra quintum librum. fo. 117. [Hippocrates, *Aphormismata*, Latin tr: pr. in *Articella*, Padua 1476 (GW 2678) &c...]

- h. De ponderibus et mensuris specierum & medicinarum in opere quadruplici, fo. 125.
- i. Quidam versus de diuersis materiis. fo. 126.
- j. Circulus domorum & aspectuum planetarum. fo. 127.

[Authors of the above **h, i** and **j** not identified.]

- k. Tractatus Ysaac de urinis bonus, fo. 127.
[Isaac Iudaeus, *Liber urinarum* tr. Constantinus Affricanus, pr. Lyon 1515. 'The book was used in the Paris medical course' – Bateson, p14, footnote 3].
- l. Questiones super librum februm ysaak a magistro hugone de Euesham disputaiae. fo. 160.
[Hugh of Evesham, *Quaestiones on the De febris* of Isaac Iudaeus, not known to survive. This may be the copy seen by Bale on the shop of Richard Grafton, who acquired books 'ex spoliis Syon.' See: Gillespie, p. lxxviii, citing this as appearing at p. 170 in Bale's Index.]
- m. Pantegni Constantini affricani super Auicennam incomplete, fo. 170.
[Part of Constantinus Africanus *Pantegni* pr. Lyon 1515. See Gillespie p28 for MS sources.]
- n. Item tractatus de spera. fo. 189. [Perhaps as 78g: Item lyncolniensis de Spera. [Robert Grosseteste, *De Sphaera*: pr. Venice 1508. Or perhaps more likely Iohannes de Sacro Bosco, *Tractatus de sphaera*..... Thorndike/Kibre 1577, 1524.]

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	<i>Secundo Folio</i>
93	Bracebriggs	B.16	2^o fo. eos per

- a. Regule quedam astronomie. fo. 30.
- b. Exequie defunctorum absque Commendacione. fo. 6.
- c. Letania cum 7 psalmis penitencialibus. fo. 29.
[Authors of the above **a, b** and **c** not identified.]
- d. Ysagoge Johannis cum glosa in margine. fo. 43.
[Iohannitius, *Isagoge ad Artem paruum Galeni* tr. Constantinus Africanus pr. Venice 1491 &c. Thorndike/Kibre 856, 1352, and 311]
- e. Tractatus de ydonietate, herbas, flores, semina & Radices collegendi & de eorum conseruacione. fo. 140.

- f. Compendia conclusiua demonstracionum sciencie perspectiue. fo. 143.
- g. Quedam medicine breues. fo. 108.
- h. Termini physicales secundum ordinem alphabet, partim anglice, partim latine synonomati. fo. 108.
- i. Discripciones, diffinitiones, diriuaciones, & expositiones quorundam terminorum physicorum tam in morborum denominacionibus quam medicinarum & librorum physicorum intitulationibus. fo. 148.
- j. Experimenta ad pulices & Rationes effugandos cum aliis.

[Authors of the above **e to j** not identified.]

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	<i>Secundo Folio</i>
94	Bracebrigge	B.17	2° fo. <i>ira et</i>

\\ **b.14.** //

Lilium medicine secundum Bernardum de Gordiano cum Rubricis in principio capitulatis. [Bernard Gordon, *Practica dicta Lilium Medicinae*, pr. Naples 1480 (GW 4080). Thorndike/Kibre 772.]

95 Bracebrigge **B.18** **2° fo. *qui sanguinem***

\\ + //

- a. Ysagoge Iohannicii. [As 92c: Galen *Tegni* tr. ? Gerard of Cremona: pr. in *Articella*, Venice 1483 (GW 2679) and 1487 (GW 2680). Thorndike/Kibre 1585, 858, 757.]
- b. Liber phalereti de negocio pulsuum. fo. 4°. [As 82.e: Philaretus *Liber pulsuum*, Latin, tr. Pr. Venice 1483.]
- c. Liber Egidii de urinis metrico compositus cum commento. fo. 5°. [As 82 x: Giles of Corbeil *De urinis*: ed. L Choulant (Leipzig 1826)]
- d. Amphorismi ypocratis libri 7^{tem} cum Commento galieni ac prefacione Constantini Africani. fo. 14. [Hippocrates, *Aphorismata*, Latin tr: pr. in *Articella*, Padua 1476 (GW 2678) &c...]
- e. Pronosticorum ypocratis cum Commento libri 3 fo. 56. [As 91.d: Hippocrates, *Prognostica* Latin tr: pr. in *Articella*, Padua 1476 (GW 2678) &c...]

- f. Ypocras de Regimine acutorum cum Commento galieni. fo. 80. [Hippocrates, *Regimen acutorum* Latin tr: pr. in *Articella*, Padua 1476 (GW 2678) &c...]
- g. Tegni galieni cum Commento incomplete, fo. 107.
[Galen *Tegni* tr. ? Gerard of Cremona: pr. in *Articella*, Venice 1483 (GW 2679) and 1487 (GW 2680). Thorndike/Kibre 1585, 858, 757.]

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	Secundo Folio
96	Bracebrigge	B.19	2° fo. <i>nominatur</i>

In new hand: \ caret // \+// Apparently 'missing' (*caret*) from the Library.

- a. Plathearius secundum ordinem alphabeti de singulari & simplici medicina.
[Matthaeus Platearius *De simplicibus medicinae*.]
- b. Octo uersus domini Albi Cardinalis aduersus vrbanum papam de laude & virtute Scabiose cum aliis medicinis & experimentis. fo. 122.
[The 'Albus Cardinal' was John Tolet (d.1275), an English Cistercian assumed to have trained in medicine and natural science in Toledo.... Various texts are attributed to him...but these verses cannot be identified.] See DNB
- c. Ars breuis de aqua vite conficienda & de eius effectibus, fo. 123.
- d. Tractatus breuis de urinis & earum significacionibus. fo. 125.
- e. Item questio de febre terciana cum aliis. fo. 128.
[Authors of items c to e unidentified.]

97	Fewterer	B.20	2° fo. <i>aliqua quis</i>
----	----------	------	---------------------------

\b.17. Florida Corona.

[Antonio Gazio, *Corona floridae medicinae siue de conseruatione sanitatis*: pr. Venice 1491 (GW 10563) &c. Thorndike/Kibre 413.]

98	Raynolde	B.21	2° fo. <i>Oletum</i>
----	----------	------	----------------------

Opera agricolacionum Columelle, varronis Catonisque necnon Palladii cum exscricionibus et commentariis D. philippi Beroaldi.

[*Opera agricolacionum Columellae, varronis catonisque necnon Palladii cum exscruptionibus et commentariis D. Philippi Beroaldi et commentariis quae in aliis impressionibus non extant*: pr. Bologna 1494 (Goff S348), with same *secundo folio*.]

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	Secundo Folio
99	Raynolde	B.22	2° fo. <i>percussi</i>

Strabo de situ orbis.

[Strabo, *Geographia*, tr. Guarinus Veronensis & Gregorius Tiphernas: pr. Rome 1469 (Goff S793), with same *secundo folio*.]

Digital version at:

http://inkunabeln.ub.uni-koeln.de/vdib-cgi/kleioc/0010/exec/pagemed/%22s13-27480_druck1%3d0001.jpg%22

100	Fewterer	B.23	2° fo. <i>diu viuas</i>
-----	----------	------	-------------------------

Galenus de sanitate tuenda, cum aliis.

[Galen *De sanitate tuenda* tr. Thomas Linacre: pr. Paris 1517 &c, with same 1517 *secundo folio*.]

101	Bracebrigge	B.24.	2° fo. <i>vel quia non</i>
-----	-------------	-------	----------------------------

- a. Libellus de flegbothomia. [Author not identified.]
- b. Breuiarium de signis, causis & curis morborum diuisum in quinque particulas cum suis Rubricis. fo. 6. [Attributed to 'Bartholomaeus medicus' in Betson's index to the catalogue.]
- c. Derivaciones & efficacie quorundam nominum medicinalium. fo. 62.
- d. Item de diuersis dia[etis] cum aliis medicinis. fo. 64.
- e. Tractatus notabilis de illis que proficiunt & nocent membris humanis. fo. 64. [Authors for items c to e above not identified.]
- f. Bestiarium hugonis de sancto victore de naturis rerum cum quorundam animalium formis in pictura. fo. 118. [Perhaps some part of Hugh of Fouilloy (ps. Hugo of Saint-Victor), *De bestiis et aliis rebus*....But as the text here contained pictures or diagrams, it is more likely to be a *Bestiarium*....]

- g. Antidotarium Nicholai in cuius medio inseruntur medicine in minoribus quaternis. fo. 151. [As 89.f: *Antidotarium Nicholai Salernitani*; pr. Venice 1471 (Goff N160), Thorndike/Kibre 165, 490.]
- h. Libellus de Flegbothomia cum aliis medicinis. fo. 167. [Perhaps one of the texts attributed to Ricardus Anglicus.]
- i. Magister Ricardus de urinis & earum significacionibus. fo. 170. [Ricardus Anglicus, *Regulae de urinis*, forming the second part of his *Micrologus*, unpr: Thorndike / Kibre 1274.]
- j. Item alie medicine, fo. 175.

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	<i>Secundo Folio</i>
102		B.25. (Entry erased)	
103	Raynolde	B.26.	2 ^o fo. <i>diius</i>

\\ b.15. //

Cosmographia pii pape.

[Pius II (Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, *Cosmographia*: pr. Venice 1477 (Goff P730)). The secundo folio agrees with the version printed at Paris in 1509.]

104 Raynolde	B.27	2 ^o fo. <i>sum et si</i>
--------------	------	-------------------------------------

\\ b.5. //

a. Marsilius ficinus de triplici vita.

[Marsilio Ficino, *De vita libri tres (De Triplici vita)*: pr. Florence 1489 (GW 9882).]

b. Item cena saluberrima baptiste fiere mantuani

[Baptista Fiera Mantuanus *Coena siue De cibariorum virtutibus* pr. [Rome 1489-98] (GW 9891) &c.]

Secundo folio agrees with the edition of a. printed at Paris, not after 1496.

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	Secundo Folio
105	Bracebrigge	B.28.	2° fo. vnde

\ b.34. //

Practica Chirurgie henrici de Amanda villa vsque ad infra doctrinam 3^{am} tractatus 3ⁱⁱ. [As 82.kk: Henry de Mondeville, *Chirurgia* ed. J. L. Pagel (Berlin 1892), apparently complete, since the edited text finishes with *Tract 3, doctrina 3* and is followed by an *Antidotarius*.]

106		B.29.	2° fo. in differentiis
-----	--	-------	------------------------

\ b.10. //

- a. Tractatus vtilis de Regimine sanitatis. [Perhaps the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitatum*....Thorndike/Kibre 96, 569. Manuscripts and early editions are listed by Renzi, 5. 113-72, *Collectio Salernitana*, Naples (1852-59). Or possibly Bernard Gordon, *Regimen sanitatis*, being the fourth part of his *De conservatione vitae humanae*, Thorndike/Kibre 1420.]
- b. Iohannes de Burgundia de morbo pestilentiali. [John of Burgundy, *Tractatus de morbo epidemia* Thorndike/Kibre 1420.]
- c. Experimenta Corii serpentis. [Probably Iohannes Paulinus, *De corio serpentis (Experimenta)* Thorndike/Kibre 295. Possibly Nicholaus Polonus *Experimenta de serpentibus*, or Thorndike/Kibre 300 (*De pelle serpentis XII experimenta*), and Thorndike/Kibre 315.]
- d. Dietarium rithmizatum in Anglicis. [The most popular Middle English dietary was by John Lydgate....it survives in fifty-five manuscripts.]
- e. Alphabetum laudatorium beate marie. [Author not identified]

107		B.30.	2° fo. & Aristologia
-----	--	-------	----------------------

- a. Salernus in 12^{cim} tabulis super sciencia medicinali. [Tabulae remedium Salernitanae, Thorndike/Kibre 4, 1109.]
- b. Ypocras in libro pronosticorum. fo. 17.

- [As 91.d: Hippocrates, *Prognostica* Latin tr: pr. in *Articella*, Padua 1476 (GW 2678) &c...]
- c. Phaleretus de pulsibus. fo. 24.
[As 82.e: [Philaretus *Liber pulsuum*, Latin, tr. Pr. Venice 1483.]
- d. Ypocras in libro afforismorum. fo. 26.
[As 92.g: Hippocrates, *Aphormismata*, Latin tr: pr. in *Articella*, Padua 1476 (GW 2678).]
- e. Theophilus de urinis. fo. 39.

[Theophilus, *Liber Urinum*, Latin tr.: pr. *Articella*, Padua 1476 &c. Thorndike/Kibre 393.]
- f. Tegni Galieni. fo. 50. [As 92d: Galen *Tegni* tr. ? Gerard of Cremona: pr. in *Articella*, Venice 1483 (GW 2679) and 1487 (GW 2680). Thorndike/Kibre 1585, 858, 757.]
- g. Egidius de urinis bene commentatus. fo. 74.
[As 82x: Giles of Corbeil *De urinis*: ed. L Choulant (Leipzig 1826)]
- h. Egidius de motu pulsuum. fo. 83.
[As 82h: Giles of Corbeil *De pulsibus*. Ed. L. Choulant (Leipzig 1928)]
- i. Ypocras de Regimine acutarum febrium. fo. 89. [As 92b: Hippocrates, *Regimen acutorum* Latin tr: pr. in *Articella*, Padua 1476 (GW 2678) &c...]
- j. Galienus in Atthonomia (sic). fo. 100. [Galen (attrib.), *Anatomia*: Thorndike/Kibre 854, 1086 1141-2.]
- k. Antitodarium Nicholai secundum ordinem alphabeti. fo. 109.
[As 89f: *Antitodarium Nicholai Salernitani*; pr. Venice 1471 (Goff N160), Thorndike/Kibre 165, 490.]
- l. Magister Ricardus anglicus de urinis. fo. 134.
[As above 101.i: Ricardus Anglicus, *Regulae de urinis*, forming the second part of his *Micrologus*, unpr: Thorndike / Kibre 1274]

Betson's index adds two further entries for this shelfmark:

m. Ricardus Anglicus, De flegbothomia fo. 140. [Ricardus Anglicus, (ascr.) *De flegbothomia*....Thorndike/Kibre 854, 1086.]

n. Ricardus Anglicus, De anothomia fo.146. [Ricardus Anglicus, *Anatomia*...Thorndike/Kibre 575]

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	Secundo Folio
108		B.31	2° fo. <i>oute of</i>

Experimenta medicinalia quasi per totum librum cum quarundam herbarum virtutibus intermixtis. [Appears from the *secundo folio* to be a collection of recipes in Middle English

109	Fewterer	B.32	2° fo. <i>serpentarie</i>
-----	----------	------	---------------------------

\\ b.7. //

Ortus sanitatis. [Hortus Sanitatis: pr. Mainz 1491 (Goff H486) Thorndike and Kibre 5, 994. This *secundo folio* agrees with the editions printed in [Strassburg 1497] (Goff H487), [Strassburg c. 1505] and [Strassburg] 1517.]

110	Bracebrigge	B.33	2° fo. <i>tibiarum</i>
-----	-------------	------	------------------------

a. Gilbertus de viribus & medicinis herbarum secundum ordinem alphabeti cum quorum (*sic*) medicinalium synonomatibus. [Perhaps a work by Gilbertus Anglicus or an extract from his *Compendium medicinae sive Lillium medicinae* pr. Lyon 1510; Thorndike/Kibre 3, 881.]

b. Quarta particula de conseruacione vite humane secundum Bernardum de gordiano. fo. 106. [Bernard Gordon *Regimen sanitatis, being the fourth part of his de conseruacione vite humane* pr. Lyon 1574...Thorndike /Kibre 1420.]

c. Antitoda (*sic*) quedam & medicamina contra morbos corporis humani. fo. 165. . [Perhaps the *Antidotarium Nicholai* (as 89f) though this work is usually explicitly identified in the catalogue.]

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	Secundo Folio
111	Roger Necton	B.34	2° fo. <i>fe est</i>
<p>a. Gilbertus in suis septem libris medicinalibus cum titulis cuiuslibet libri premissis & prequotatis vel dicitur Compendium medicine. [Gilbertus Anglicus, <i>Compendium medicinae sive Lillium medicinae</i> pr. Lyon 1510; Thorndike/Kibre 3, 881.]</p>			
112	Asplyn	B.35	2° fo. <i>homo</i>
<p>\\ b.4. //</p> <p>Liber medicinarum cum diuersis tabulis. [Author not identified.]</p>			
113	Steyke	B.36	2° fo. <i>palpebrarum</i>
<p>Lilium de medicinis secundum Bernardum de Gordiano de monte Pesulano. [As 94: Bernard Gordon, <i>Practica dicta Liliium Medicinae</i>, pr. Naples 1480 (GW 4080). Thorndike/Kibre 772.]</p>			
114	Steyke	B.37	2° fo. <i>Ita quanta</i>
<p>\\ b.24. //</p> <p>Geometria Euclidis cum Commento Adelardi in 15 libris. [Euclid, <i>Elementa</i> tr. Robert of Ketton (attrib Adelard of Bath): pr. Venice 1482 (GW 9428).]</p>			
115	Steyke	B.38	2° fo. 24, 3 . 38
<p>a. Algorismus Guillerini [Not identified]</p> <p>b. Jordanus in arte metrica. [Jordanus de Nemore, <i>Arithmetica</i> pr. with commentary by Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, Paris 1496 (Goff J472), Thorndike/Kibre 1600.]</p> <p>c. Bacon in perspectiua. [Roger Bacon, <i>Perspectiva</i>: pr. Frankfurt 1614]</p>			

- d. Item Bacon de speciebus cum aliis. [Roger Bacon, *De multiplicatione specierum, Perspectiva*: pr. Frankfurt 1614].

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	Secundo Folio
116		B.39	2 ^o fo. <i>bis [-] prepositis</i>

\\ b.19. //

- a. Epistola missa dementi pape. [Author not identified]
- b. Concordancia astronomie cum theologia et cum historica narratione. [Petrus de Alliaco, *Concordancia astronomiae cum theologia*: pr. Augsburg 1490 (Goff A471) &c.]
- c. Expositio in Psalmum I^m [Author not identified]
- d. Item Ephemerides siue almanach perpetuum. [Iohannes Regiomontanus *Ephemerides siue Almanach perpetuum* pr Venice 1498 (Goff R1110). There are many early editions of *Ephemerides*, but this is the earliest exact match to the title.]

117

B.40

2^o fo. *and of*

\\ b.8. //

Tractatus de medicinis in anglicis.

[Gilbertus Anglicus *Compendium medicinae*..... Now Glasgow, University Library MS Hunterian 509 (V.8.12)]......Preceded in the manuscript by notes on elements, humours, times and a urinary.] Westhawe's name is visible but lightly erased – see Gillespie *Corpus* p42 for details and bibliography. Also Glasgow University website: Digitised Text: <http://hunter.uma.es/>
Details of Text:

http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/manuscripts/search/detail_c.cfm?ID=36021]

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	Secundo Folio
118	Westhawe	B.41	2° fo. <i>reseruetur</i>

\\ b.6. //

- a. Iohannes de sancto Amando super Antidotarium Nicholai cum tabula in principio. [As 89d: Iohannes de S. Amando, Commentary on the *Antidotarium Nicholai Salernitati*: pr. Venice 1495 (Goff M516) &c; Thorndike/Kibre 1008.]
- b. Tractatus de graduacionibus herbarum, specierum & vnguentorum cum aliis. [Author not identified].
- c. Experimenta medicinalia cum aliis. [Author not identified].
- d. Tractatus de urinis metrice.
[Perhaps as 82 x: Giles of Corbeil *De urinis*: ed. L Choulant (Leipzig 1826)]

119	B.42	2° fo. <i>effundere</i>
-----	------	-------------------------

\\ b.37. //

Ortus sanitatis. [As 109: Hortus Sanitatis: but this *secundo folio* agrees with the edition pr. Mainz 1491 (Goff H486) Thorndike and Kibre 5, 994.]

120	B.43	2° fo. <i>wrote</i>
-----	------	---------------------

\\ b.18. //

Macer de virtutibus herbarum. [Odo of Meung ('Macer Floridus') *De viribus herbarum*, English tr.: ed. G. Frisk, Essays and studies on English Language and Literature 3 (Uppsala 1949). Also: The Middle English Version of *De Viribus Herbarum* (GUL MS Hunter 497, ff. 1r-92r), Calle-Martín, Javier and Miranda-García, Antonio, (eds). Verlag Peter Lang, 2012.]

121	Steyke	B.44	2° fo. <i>Cuidam</i>
-----	--------	------	----------------------

\\ b.11. //

Plinius de naturali historia. [Pliny the Elder, *Historia Naturalis*: pr Venice 1469 (Goff P786) &c...This *secundo folio* agrees with the edition edited by Phillipus Beroaldus in Venice in 1491 (Goff P796)].

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	Secundo Folio
122	Steyke	B.45	2° fo. <i>Arcus</i>

\\ b.35. // Tabule equacionum planetarum ad componendum almanakis
faciliter. [Author not identified]

123	Steyke	B.46	2° fo. <i>us in sciendo</i>
-----	--------	------	-----------------------------

\\ b.26. // Haly Abenragel de iudiciis astrorum cum tabula. [Haly ibn Regel,
De iudiciis astrorum: pr Venice 1485 (Goff H4), &c. This secundo folio agrees
with the edition printed in Venice 1485 (Goff H4)]

124	Steyke	B.47	2° fo. <i>posse</i>
-----	--------	------	---------------------

\\ b.32. //

- a. Ptholomeus in Quadripartite cum Haly Hebenrodan.
[Ptolomy, *Quadripitum*, tr. John of Seville, with commentary by Haly ibn
Drodan: pr Venice 1484 (Goff 1088), 1493 (Goff P1089)]
- b. Item centiloquium eiusdem cum commento Haly.
[Ps. Ptolemy *Centiloquium* tr. John of Seville, with commentary by Haly ibn
Drodan: pr Venice 1484, 1493.]
- c. Idem de stellis beibeniis. [Hermes, *De stellis beibeniis*, tr. Salio, pr. Venice
1484., 1493; Thorndike/Kibre 153 (prol.), 486 (text).]
- d. Item centiloquium bethem, et de horis planetarum ac de significacione
triplicitatum ortus. [Bethem *Centiloquium* and *De horis planetarum* pr. Venice
1484, 1493. Thorndike/Kibre 1389 (Cent.) and 299 (De horis).]
- e. Item Centum quinquaginta propositiones Almansoris.
[Almansor, *Iudicia seu Propositiones*: pr. Venice 1484, 1493; Thorndike/Kibre
113.]
- f. Item Zahell de interrogacionibus electionibus et Temporum significacionibus
in iudiciis. [Zael *Introductorium as astrologiam* pr. Venice 1484, 1493 &c.
Thorndike/Kibre 1411.]

- g. Item Messahallach de recepcionibus planetarum & interrogacionibus cum [Messahalla *De receptione planetarum sive de interrogationibus* tr. John of Seville: Thorndike/Kibre 1410, 414.]
- h. epistola in duodecim capitulis ac [Messahalla, *Epistola de rebus eclipsium et coniunctionibus*, tr. John of Seville: pr. Venice 1484, 1493 Thorndike/kibre 1217.]
- i. de reuolucionibus annorum mundi. [Messahalla, *de revolutionibus annorum mundi*, tr. John of Seville: Thorndike/kibre 362.]

This secundo folio, and the entire contents of this entry, agree with the omnibus edition printed in Venice 1493 (Goff P1089)

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	Secundo Folio
125	Steyke	B.48	2° fo. <i>Corruptibilia</i>

\\ b.25. //

Guido bonatus de forliuio de iudiciis astrorum cum Nouem aliis tractatibus astronomie. [Guido Bonatti, *Decem tractatus astronomiae*; pr. Augsburg 1491 (GW 4643). Thorndike/Kibre 97. This *secundo folio* agrees with the edition printed in Augsburg 1491 (GW 4643).

126	Steyke	B.49	2° fo. <i>fuert</i>
-----	--------	------	---------------------

- a. Albumazar de coniunctionibus magnis. [As 78a: Albumazar, *de magnis coniunctionibus*, tr. John of Seville: pr. Augsburg 1489 (GW836)]
- b. Item Centilogium Tholomei cum commento haly fo. 1°. As 124b: Ps. Ptolemy *Centiloquium* tr. John of Seville, with commentary by Haly ibn Drodan: pr Venice 1484, 1493.]
- c. Item liber Sapientis de iudiciis siue de presciencia futurorum. [In this context probably Zael, *Introductorium ad astrologiam seu De iudiciis seu De interrogantibus*, Latin tr: pr Venice 1493 (Goff 1089).....Thorndike/Kibre 1411.
- d. Item electiones Zahel. Id. *De electionibus* Latin tr: pr Venice 1493 (Goff 1089).....Thorndike/Kibre 985

- e. Idem de Temporibus. Id. *De temporibus seu Liber temporum* Latin tr: pr Venice 1493 (Goff 1089).....Thorndike/Kibre 1411.
- f. Item Hermes Ablaydus de virtutibus stellarum, Lapidum et herbarum. [Hermes *De quindecim stellis.*]
- g. Item Tabula stellarum fixarum domini Alphonsi illustris regis hyspanie. [Tabulae Alphonsi: pr Venice 1483 (GW 1257), Thorndike/Kibre 1552.

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	Secundo Folio
127	Steyke	B.50	2° fo. <i>ctrina</i>

\\ b.38. //

- a. Julius firmicus de Natiuitatibus. [As 87: Julius Firmicus Maternus, *Mathesis (De Natiuitatibus libri VIII)*: this *secundo folio* agrees with the edition printed in Venice in 1497 (GW 9980).

128	Steyke	B.51	2° fo. <i>commissa</i>
-----	--------	------	------------------------

\\ b.9. //

Boicius in arismethica duo libri. [Boethius, *De institutione arithmetica*: pr. Augsburg 1488, (GW4586)].

129	Raulyn	B.52	2° fo. <i>Quoniam</i>
-----	--------	------	-----------------------

\\ b.39. //

Rosa medicine. [John of Gaddesden, as 83a: *Rosa medicina siue Rosa Anglica*: pr. Pavia 1492 (Goff J326)...J. P. Cholmeley (Oxford 1912) with details of all early editions. This, or 83a above are cited by Gillespie, p. lxxviii, as appearing as p206 in Bale's Index.]

- a. Corona florida siue conseruacio sanitatis. [Antonio Gaxio, as 97: *Corona floridae medicinae siue de conseruatione sanitatis*: pr. Venice 1491 (GW 10563) &c. Thorndike/Kibre 413.]
- b. Lumen Apothecariorum. [Quiricus de Augustis, *Lumen Apothecariorum* pr. Turin 1492 (GW3063), &c. This *secundo folio* agrees with the edition printed in Venice 1502 and perhaps with the edition printed in Pavia 1492 (Goff J326).]

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	Secundo Folio
130	Browne	B.53	2° fo. <i>non enim</i>

\\ b.33 . //

Claudii phtolomei Alexandrini cosmographie librie (sic) 8° cum pluribus tabulis depictis. [Ptolomy, *Cosmographia*, tr. Iacobus Angelus: pr. Venice 1475 Goff P1081. This *secundo folio* agrees with the editions printed in Ulm 1482 (Goff 1084 and Ulm 1482)

Digital Version:

http://www.juntadeandalucia.es/cultura/bibliotecavirtualandalucia/catalogo/catalago_imagenes/grupo.cmd?path=10154

131	Dode	B.54	2° fo. <i>Intestinis</i>
-----	------	------	--------------------------

\\ b.25. //

Salernus cum comento . [*Tabulae remediorum Salernitanae*, Thorndike/Kibre 4, 1109.]

132	Wilcokkes	B.55	2° fo. <i>tionibus et</i>
-----	-----------	------	---------------------------

\\ b.28. //

- a. Bessarionis cardinalis in calumpniatorem platonis libri 4.
- b. Item eiusdem examinacio legum platonis translacionis et errorum eius declaracio.
- c. Item eiusdem de natura et arte aduersus Georgium Trapezuntium.
[a-c: Bessarion, *Adversus calamniatorem Platonis*, *Correctio librorum Platonis de legibus Georgio Trapezuntio interprete* and *De natura et arte aduersus Georgium Trapezuntium*: pr. together in Rome 1469 (GW 4183)
- d. Item liber quadripartiti Ptholomei.
- e. Centiloquium eiusdem.
- f. Centiloquium hermetis.
- g. Eiusdem de stellis beibeniis.
- h. Centiloquium bethem et
- i. de horis planetarum,
- j. de significacione triplicitatum ortus.
- k. Centum quinquaginta proposiciones Almansoris.
- l. Zael de interrogacionibus
- m. de electionibus,

- n. de temporum significacionibus in iudiciis.
- o. Messahallach de recepcionibus planetarum,
- p. de interrogacionibus.
- q. Epistola eiusdem cum 12 capitulis.
- r. Et de reuolucionibus annorum mundi.

[**d-r** : The remainder of this volume is as 124 – see above.

The *secundo folio* agrees with the edition **a-c** printed in Rome 1469 (GW 4183).
The remainder of this volume is the omnibus edition printed in Venice 1493
(Goff P1089).]

Medical Books not in the B Section

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	<i>Secundo Folio</i>
------------------	-------	------------------	----------------------

138	Raynolde	C.6	2° fo. <i>cessere</i>
-----	----------	-----	-----------------------

\b.67// 1 Item opus pandectarum Mathei Silvatici cum Simone Ianuense.

Matthaeus Silvaticus *Liber pandectarum medicinae* pr. Naples 1474 (Goff S570) TK 1225, 1305.

152		C.20	2° fo. <i>aut minor</i>
-----	--	------	-------------------------

\+// a **Versus notabiles de urinis.**

153	Betson	C.21	2° fo. <i>in omnibus</i>
-----	--------	------	--------------------------

\b.83// a In hoc volumine excerpte sunt capitulatim omnium librorum Animalium proprietates et qualiter moraliter applicari possunt rebus iuxta earundem condiciones. b Prima pars Alberti de naturis rerum. c Dialogus creaturum inter se murmurantium moralizatus.

b Albertus Magnus (*after* Thomas of Cantimpré) *De natura seu naturis rerum.*

623	Grene	K.13	2° fo. <i>Dierunt</i>
-----	-------	------	-----------------------

\t.17// *Regimen sanitatis ad regem Aragonorum*: pr. [?Turin c. 1474] (GW 2532); pr. with *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum*, Cologne 1480; ed. A. Trías Teixidor SS1.¶623c

Registrum SS2: Class-marks reconstructed from the Index and from erasure.
(For details see Gillespie, *Corpus*, p439 et seq.)

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	Secundo Folio
------------------	-------	------------------	---------------

SS2.31		B.3	
--------	--	-----	--

a Iordanus episcopus de ponderibus & de motu ponderosum fo.35.
b Ranulphus monachus cisterciensis de arte Kalendarii.

[**a** Jordanus de Nemore *Tractatus de ponderibus*.
(Treatise on weights, 12-13 c.). **b** Ranulph Higden, *In arte kalendarii*,
unpr. (should read 'Cestrensis' – of Chester, not Cistercian.)]

SS2.32		B.4	
--------	--	-----	--

<Aristoteles> liber dictus *Secreta Secretorum* sive de Regimine Principum
ad Alexandrum.

PS. Aristotle as SS1.980d: Latin translation from the Arabic.

Hartley & Aldridge point out (p111 onwards) that the *Secreta Secretorum*, despite its attribution to Aristotle, as a letter by him to his pupil, Alexander the Great, was probably written in the seventh or eighth century in Syriac, then translated into Arabic. Its medical section appears to have been translated into Latin in Toledo in the period around AD 1135-1153 by a Jewish convert to Christianity, Johannes Hispaliensis. From thence it reached the School of Salerno, and was turned into a versified form. King Edward III of England had an illuminated copy of the *Secreta*, while Mirfeld knew both the Toledo and the Salerno forms, and intertwines them. It is therefore impressive, but not surprising, that this forgery turns up some 800 years later at Syon, having passed through scholars versed in at least three languages and three major religions.

SS2.33		B.10	
--------	--	------	--

a Bernardus de gordiano medicus de modo practizandi &
[**a** Bernard de Gordiano, *modus medendi seu modus practicandi*: unpr;
Thorndike/Kibre 487.]

b de medicinis digestivis evacuativis tam compositis quam simplicibus

fo. 3. [b id. De medicinis conficiendis: unpr; Thorndike/Kibre 352]

c Iordanus medicus de turre in monte pessulano filio suo eunti ad practicam. fo. 217. [c Iordanus de Turre *Recepte quas fecit filio suo as practicam anno 1318: unpr.* Thorndike/Kibre 522.]

d Macer philosophus de virtutibus herbarum in anglica. fo. 227. [Odo of Meung ('Macer Floridus' as SS1.120 qv [*De viribus herbarum*].

e Nicholaus medicus in suo antidotario. [Antidotarium Nicholai Saleritani: as SS1.89f: *Antidotarium Nicholai Salernitani*; pr. Venice 1471 (Goff N160), Thorndike/Kibre 165, 490.]

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	Secundo Folio
SS2.34		B.13	
		<Dioscorides> ad medicinam utilium secundum ordinem alphabeti. [As SS1.85c: <i>Dioscorides de viribus herbarum secundum ordinem alphabeti</i> . Probably the 11-cent Latin alphabetical redaction of Dioscorides, <i>De materia medica</i> , based on the ancient Latin translation with the addition of more recent material: pr. Colle 1478 (GW 8436), Lyon 1512.]	
SS2.35		B.20	
		<Ysaak medicus. In 3 ^{bus} libris de dietis. [Perhaps Isaac Iudaeus: as SS1.91c: <i>De dietis universalibus et particularibus</i> tr. Constantinus Africanus or Gerard of Cremona: pr. Lyon 1515.... Thorndike/Kibre 239, 1252.]	
SS2.36		B.23	
		Plathearius medicus de simplici medicina. [Matthaeus Platearius, as SS1.82r: <i>De simplicibus medicinae</i> .]	
SS2.37		B.25	<2° fo.> [corda]
SS2.38		B.26.	
		a Averroes in suo collectorio. fo. 27. [Averroes, <i>Colliget</i> Latin translation by Armengaud Blasius, but not printed until 1573-76. Other version in Ferrara 1482 (GW 3107); Thorndike/Kibre 762.]	

b Ypocras medicus , in secretis in sepulchro eius inventis sub capite, fo. 136. [*Ps Hippocrates, Liber secretorum* Latin translation: pr. Venice 1508

c Damascenus medicus de flegbotomia. fo. 136. Ypocras medicus in secretis in sepulchro ejus inventis, fo. 136. [Unidentified phlebotomy by Iohannes Mesue (Masawaih al-Mardini).] Mesue was also known as 'Damascenus'

Gillespie Number	Donor	Registrum Number	Secundo Folio
------------------	-------	------------------	---------------

SS2.39		B.27	
--------	--	------	--

Lamfrancus medicus mediolanensis in sua Chirurgia cum suis Rubricis. [Lanfranc of Milan, *Chirurgia*: pr. Venice 1498 with the works of Guy de Chauliac; Thorndike/Kibre 757, 983].

SS2.40		B.32	
--------	--	------	--

Macer philosophus de virtutibus herbarum in anglice. [Odo of Meung ('Macer Floridus'); as SS1.120: *De viribus herbarum*. There appears, according to the publisher's blurb, to have been no Latin printed edition before the 1550s – Heinrich Petri, Basel - 'antea nunquam in lucem edita.']

Note: There did exist a Macer Floridus, *De Viribus Herbarum Carmen*, of which the earliest ISTC edition is at Naples by Arbaldus de Bruxella, 9 May 1477. There were seven other editions up to 1500.}

SS2.41		B.39	
--------	--	------	--

Algarismus in suo figurali algarismo. Fo.1^o [Also at SS1.20h and SS2.5c - but author of these three copies is unidentified.]

SS2.46c		C.16	
---------	--	------	--

De medicinis simplicibus: pr. in his *Opera*, Lyon 1504, fols. 285v–298r; Diaz '†Bernardus de noua villa Cathalani medicus . . .' for 'Arnaldus de Villa Nova'

Donors¹⁸², by number of medical donations (total donations in brackets, and including Gillespie's SS2 recovered erasures):-

- 12 (77) **Steykys/Steyk/Steyke**, John, Priest: d. 31 March 1513. 'Dominus Iohannes Steyke, Sacerdos' in Syon Martyrology. Studied at Cambridge, and was then Rector at St Lawrence's Norwich from 1480-84, then Rector of Brundell, Norfolk, 1483-89, after which he joined Syon.

Gillespie¹⁸³ notes that of the 77 books Steyke gave to Syon, there were probably 33 manuscripts, while his 44 books ranged from publishers all over Europe. The latest dateable printed book is from Venice in 1497, confirmed by the same *secundo folio*: it is 'De Nativitatibus' by Julius Firmicus, a Roman astrologer of the 340s. It was in fact held, typically for the mediaeval period, in the B or medical section. His other 'medical' donations to Syon are also astrological or mathematical (10 volumes), together with Pliny the Elder's huge rambling natural history, and a printed 1480s medical compendium by Bernard Gordon (originally written c.1305), a Latin *Lilium medicine* – another copy of this was given by Bracebrigge (but with a differing *secundo folio*).

- 11 (122) **Bracebrigge, Bracebridge**, John, Priest: died on 27 March c. 1428 (included in the Syon Martyrology, but no year given there). He was Master of Boston Grammar School (Lincs) from 1390, and of Lincoln Cathedral School from 1406 and a vicar choral during this period. He was licensed to preach in Lincoln Diocese in 1409. He may have joined Syon in 1420 at the time of the first professions. He appears to have been the only graduate among the Brothers at the election of the second Confessor General in 1428.

The donations of Bracebrigge are more solidly medical in character – Plathearius, Gilbertus Anglicus, Bernard Gordon, *De conservatione vitae humanae*, some of Hippocrates, Avicenna and Averroes, and a herbal guide to collecting and preserving herbs, flowers, seeds and roots. But the latter volume also included 'Rules for Astronomy' (B.16, SS1.93).

¹⁸² The varied sources for these short biographies can be found in Bateson 1898, and Gillespie's *Corpus* pp567-594

¹⁸³ Gillespie, V., in 'The Incunabular Phase', Syon Abbey and its Books: *Reading, Writing and Religion in England, c.1400-1700*. Edited by . Jones E. A. & Walsham A. *Studies in Modern British Religious History*. Boyden and Mardell (2010) <http://www.camden-house.com/store/catalog/docs/9781843835479.pdf>

- 9 (95) **Raynolde, Richard, Priest:** d. 4 May 1535 – Martyrology: ‘Dominus Richardus Raynold, sacerdos, qui mortem sustinuit apud Tyburne propter catholicam fidem martir’. He had studied at Christ’s College, Cambridge, and was BA by 1505-1506, MA 1509-1509. Fellow of Corpus Christi by 1510. A university preacher by 1509. Bachelor of Divinity by 1513, and then Doctor. Cambridge, 10th Confessor General. Hanged for denying the King’s supremacy in 1535. DNB.

Raynolde also gave at least one book containing a defence of astrology – Marsilius Ficinus *De Vita* and books of geometry, arithmetic and astronomy – a 1500 edition of Martianus Capella who wrote around 410; and another book (B.10, SS1.87) including a work on astronomy by Julius Firmicus.

The date of Raynolde’s earliest donated book is 1493 - Hermolaus Barbarus, *Casigationes Pliniana et Pomponii*: agrees with the *secundo folio* of edition printed in Rome in that year. It corrects the errors and misreadings of Pliny.

- 4 (77) **Fewterer, John,** 2.26 September 1536. 7th Confessor General: Fellow of Pembroke hall, Cambridge by 1505, ordained in 1507, a university preacher 1510-11, elected Confessor-General 1523. He was apparently still active in Cambridge as late as 1515, so may have missed the period of Betson’s stewardship of the library. His interests, according to his donation of books to the library,

Fewterer’s books are solidly general and the medical copies – include a Galen (Paris 1517 – according to its 2^o folio) and an *Ortus (Hortus) Sanitatis* (Strassbourg 1497, 1505 or 1517 by 2^o folio), one of two copies in the library.

- 2 (55) **Westhawe/ Westhaugh and variants, Thomas:** Fellow of Pembroke from 1432. Ordained and also MA in 1437. Bachelor of Theology in 1448, and then later Doctor. Rector of All-Hallows the Great, London 1448 until 1459, the probable date of his entry to Syon. Professed in 1459, and in June 1460 became the third Confessor General. This suggests that he was already elderly when he joined Syon. He died on 1 June 1488 during an epidemic of the Sweating Sickness.

(The Sweating Sickness also overtook several other Syon religious: Brother Robert Bryde on 16 May, Brother Robert Hayle on 7 June, Robert Frynge, priest, and Sister Alice Hutton (aged c.80), both on 10 June, Isabel Lambourn on 15 June, Catherine Dymock on 17 June, Sister Marion Cross on 4 July, Sister Catherine Fogg on 2 October, Sister Joan Payne 20 October. This would

imply deaths of about 10% of the sisters, and perhaps a similar level for the male religious.)

Westhawe was originally identified in the *Registrum* as the donor of a Gilbertus Anglicus *Compendium medicinae* in English (now Glasgow University Library, MS Hunterian 509) but his name was subsequently erased. Gillespie points out the flyleaf note: '*Sperhawk semper secundum post obitum Magistri thome westaw si superuiuat*' and adds (after Doyle) 'The erasure of Westhaw, still visible to the naked eye, as donor of this volume probably reflects uncertainty or scruple as to who was the the actual donor [to the house of Syon]...'. Perhaps implying that the real donor was thought to be Sperhawk, since his will, proved 1474, ambiguously leaves 'to Syon, where Master Thomas Westhaw resides' money and 'the book of medicine he [assumed by most scholars to be Westhawe] wrote with his own hand.'

In view of the above, Gillespie considers the scribal claim on folio.169 as spurious: 'I Robart beuerley have wretten al yis boke etc.' But it might be useful to consider whether Beverley is claiming to be the translator from Latin into English,, rather than the scribe.

Sperhawk also gave a Latin version of the *Compendium medicinae* to Pembroke College, MS 228. I have not examined the Pembroke version, but in general terms the Latin versions include details of treatments suitable for women and children. The English versions, compiled perhaps in and for a monastic context, do not.

- 1 (1) **Necton, Roger:** MA Oxford by 1438, and Doctor of Medicine by 1446. Rector of St Mary Woolnoth in the City of London from 1464 to his death in 1484. Although not at Syon, he is the sole medical doctor to have given a book to Syon. See also: The Index of Middle English Prose, Handlist XI: Manuscripts in the Library ... By Linne R. Mooney, where a Roger Necton p63

And at Wellcome:

[http://archives.wellcomelibrary.org/Dserve/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqCmd=show.tcl&dsqSearch=\(RefNo=='MS7117%2F31'\)](http://archives.wellcomelibrary.org/Dserve/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqCmd=show.tcl&dsqSearch=(RefNo=='MS7117%2F31'))

- (13) **Asplyn, Asplyon, William:** d. 3 April 1485, named in Syon Martyrology. MA Oxford by 1439, Fellow University College 1439-43, serving as Bursar. Bachelor of Theology by 1443. Vicar of Cheshunt, Herts in 1443,

resigned 1460. He was at Syon by 1474. One of the donors to the library of University College, Oxford, giving 18 books.

- 1 (9) **Raulyn, Thomas**, Priest, d. 4 December 1532, and named in Syon Martyrology. He was previously ordained a subdeacon in 1485 to the title of St Radegund's priory, Cambridge. A collection of three medical texts, including the *Lumen apothecariorum*¹⁸⁴ printed either in Pavia in 1492, or Venice in 1502, according to the *secundo folio* evidence. The *Lumen* is basically a herbal, and lists plants which overlap with, but are not necessarily the source of Betson's *Herbarium*.

- 1 (1) **Browne**: Since the *secundo folio* of the book which 'Browne' donated, a copy of Ptolomy's *Cosmographia*, agrees with the edition printed in Ulm 1482, it seems likely that this may be John Browne, Steward of Syon by 1489 and until 1505. He was a lawyer and member of the Inner Temple. He was also donor of the famous Syon altarpiece.

- 1 (20) **Dode/Dodde, John**: Priest, named in Syon Martyrology, d. 24 August 1500. Gillespie suggests (p575) that he may have been the John Dodd educated at Winchester College and New College Oxford; Bachelor of Civil Law by 1460-61, and Bachelor of Canon Law by 1467. He became a notary public by papal authority by 1461. These legal qualifications perhaps are reflected in his gift of 5 law books to Syon. He had also been Vicar of Lambourn, Berks from 1466-68, and of St John's Maddermarket (Norwich) from 1467-89, and in 1488 gave one book to New College. His sole medical book to Syon is described as *Salerno cum commento* – possibly the *Tabulae remediotorum Salernitanae* from the Salerno school.

- 1 (1) **Wilcokkes, William**: Perhaps a London draper, according to Gillespie (p592), dealing in works printed by John Lettou in 1480-81. Wilcokkes appears to have withdrawn from the trade after sponsoring only a few books. His donation to Syon was part printed in Rome in 1490 and the remainder in Venice in 1493. This latter, items **d** to **q** in the *Registrum* is a collection of astronomical and astrological texts.

¹⁸⁴ For text see: <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/bpt6k58651g/f4.image>

List of Manuscripts Consulted or Cited.

Aberdeen University Library, MS 134: *The Mirror of Our Lady*.

Alnwick Castle MS 758.

British Library MS Additional 5208, (fols 3v -18v by Betson). *The Rules of St Saviour and St Augustine*.

British Library Additional MS 22285: *Syon Martyrologium*.

British Library Additional MS 24661: Richard Rolle, *Incendium Amoris*.

British Library, Harvey MS 3: *Breviarium Bartholomæi*, (John Dee's copy).

British Library Royal MS 7 F XI; '*Liber qui intitulatur Florarium Bartholomei*'. Attributed to John Mirfield. 15th cent.

British Library, Sloane MS 282, fols. 167v-173v: '*sinonima de nominibus herbarum secundum magistrum Iohannem Bray*'.
'

British Library Sloane MS 521: ff. 128-159b, John Braye, *Practica medicinæ* & f. 159 b, John Braye, *Pillulæ ad omnia vulnera ubicunque*. 14th cent.

British Library, Sloane MS 1754: '*Medicina quam faciebat sibi Ypocras [Hippocrates]*.

British Library, Sloane MS 3825: *Janua magicæ res*

British Library, Sloane 4031: Lydgate, *Dietarium rithmizatum in Anglicis*.

Cambridge University, Corpus Christi College, MS 141: *Registrum bibliothecæ de Syon*.

Cambridge University, Gonville and Caius MS 176/97: *on Phlebotomy*.

Cambridge University, Magdalene College, MS 12 (F.4.12): 'a devotional text'.

Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 1661 pp. 245-66; Bray's *Sinonima*.

Cambridge University Library Ms Hh. 6.8: Messhala, *Astrolabium*.

Cambridge University Library Dd.II.45; Bray's *Sinonima*.

Cambridge, St John's College MS 109, E.6: Notebook of T. Betson of Syon.

Cambridge Trinity College MS O. I. 13 (1037) ff. 37v-44r (incomplete); Bray's *Sinonima*.

Durham University Library: DUL MS Cosin V.III.11; Bray's *Sinonima*. [not seen]

Durham University Library MS Cosin V.iii.16, folio 118r. & v. A letter written by Thomas Betson.

Eton College MS 204: *de Herba Vettonica*.

Glasgow, University Library MS Hunterian 509 (V.8.12) : *Tractatus de medicinis in anglicis*: Gilbertus Anglicus - *Compendium medicinae*.

Glasgow University Library, MS 185, ff. 1-6v.: Bray's *Sinonima*. [not seen]

London Metropolitan Archives: See St Paul's Cathedral below.

Medical Society of London, MS 136, edited by Dawson (1934), q.v. in Bibliography.

Oxford University, Bodleian Digby MS 29, Item 32, ff194b – 196, *Tractatus Brevis sed Perutilis de Constellationibus*.

Oxford University, Bodleian MS Selden B35, amended by Mowat, with BL Sloane 284.: *Synonyma Antidotarii Nicolai* and *Sinonoma Bartholomei*.

Oxford University Bodleian 130: Pseudo Apuleius: *De virtutibus bestiarum in arte medicinae*.

Rosenbach Foundation H491: William Hilton, *Scala Perfectionis*.

St Paul's Cathedral MS 25,524, now in the London Metropolitan Archives: *Syon Additions for the Brethren* and *The Boke of Sygnes*, and other Syon material. Fols 3r-4v, and 56r-84v are written by Betson.

University of Uppsala UU C 28: Macer Floridus, *de Viribus Herbarum*.

Valor Ecclesiasticus Temp Henr VIII Auctoritate Regia Institutus (Volume I, 1810, British Library)

Extant Copies of Bray's *Sinonima*:

*British Library BL Sloane MS 282, ff. 167v-173v.

*Cambridge, Magdalene College MS Pepys 1661, pp. 245-66.

*Cambridge Trinity College MS O. I. 13 (1037) ff. 37v-44r (incomplete).

*Cambridge University. Library MS Dd. XI, 45 ff. 145-53.

*Durham as DUL MS Cosin V.III.11.

Glasgow University Library, MS 185, ff.1-6v.

Underlined MSS above were consulted by Hunt.

Those marked with an asterisk (*) were seen by JS Adams.

Of those seen, BL Sloane 282 seems the closest to Betson. Durham Cosin is also similar and better organised than any of the others.

Appendix 1: Text From Joseph Strutt, *Bibliographical Dictionary* (1785), plate iv, and text, page 28. To accompany the copy of the Image itself.

“Plate IV: This singular curiosity is already spoken of in the fourth chapter of this Essay (pp17-19. *Strutt had bought the plate at a sale in 1784*); there is the greatest reason to believe it was engraved in England, and the plate itself bears every mark of great antiquity. It had a hole at the top quite through it, by which it appears to have been fastened by a nail to the wall, perhaps of some religious place, and to this circumstance, it is not improbable, we owe its preservation. The scratches and other defacements which it has sustained from the hand of time, could not be removed without danger of destroying the originality of the engraved work, and for that reason it was conceived to be much better to let them remain as they are, than to run any hazard that was not absolutely necessary. The plate is in my own possession.¹⁸⁵”

The prayers contained upon the plate are, as my readers may readily see, in Latin; but as this work may fall into the hands of some persons unacquainted with the old manuscript forms of letters, which are here closely imitated, I have transcribed them (some few words excepted, which are by no means intelligible to me.)”

ORATIO DE OMNIBUS SANCTIS

Gaude mater salvatoris
Felix fide flos decoris
Mundique solacium
Nunc letare celi choris
Ju hoc festo et langoris
Nostri sis remedium.

Gaude Michael *in* hac die
Gabriel Raphaelque Messie
Angelorum ordines
Nos precamur nobis pie
Sitis cause melodie
Supra celi cardines.

Gaude Petre cum sodali
Paulo Xto speciali
Luceus orbis climata
Et caterva (*celestia* ?) generali
Vestri sita loco tali
Nos cum eis adiuva.

Gaude Thoma, spes Anglorum
Et Georgi tutor horum
Cum Edwardo nobili
Tu *Laurenti* regem lorum
Ut *tuamur poli* chorum
Cum favore Stephani.

¹⁸⁵ Current whereabouts unknown.

Gaude ventre conservatus
O Baptista mire natus
Sacer degens seculo
Patriarchis sociatus
Et prophetis viae (*vite ?*) flatus
Ffac finire júbilo,

Gaude presul on Martine
Nicholai hugo line
Posse nobis gratiam
Erkenwalde que Birine
Iam cum tuis Augustine
Da supremo gloriam

Gaude Virgo Katerina
Margaretta, Magdalena
Cum Brigitta Birgida et
Anna ffides & Xristina
Nos servando..... *divina*
Gens celorum júbila
Amen. Letamini in Domino &c
Et Gloria, omnes.

Concede quibus *omnipotens Deus, ut intercessio sancte Dei genetricis Marie sanctarum que omnium celestium virtutum & beatorum patriarcharum, prophetarum, apostolorum, evangelistarum, martyrorum, confessorum atque virginum & et omnium electorum tuorum nos ubique letificet ut dum eorum merita recolemus proemia (senciamus?), per eundem Xristum dominum nostrum Amen.*

'The words printed in italics are such as are very difficult to decipher; and I am by no means certain, that the true meaning is given to them. In the seventh prayer, there are two words which I cannot explain.'

Select Bibliography

- ADAMS, J. S., (2012). A Bibliography of Syon Abbey to the Dissolution in 1539, with some Sources for the Early History of Syon House to 1600. <http://syonabbeyociety.wordpress.com/sara-bibliography/>
- ADMAN, A. Fredriksson (1997). *Vadstena klostets bibliotek: en analys av förvärv och bestånd*. Uppsala.
- ALLEN, D. C. (1941), *The star-crossed Renaissance: the quarrel about astrology and its influence in England*. Duke University Press.
- ANAGNOSTOU, Sabine, EGMOND, Florike, & FRIEDRICH, Christoph, (2011). *A Passion for Plants: materia medica and botany in scientific networks from the 16th to the 18th centuries*. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Pharmazie. Wissenschaftliche Verlagsgesellschaft, mbH, Stuttgart, Germany.
- ANDERSON, Frank J. (1997) *An Illustrated History of Herbals* Columbia University Press.
- ANDERSSON, E., (2011). *Responsiones Vadstenenses: Perspectives on the Birgittine Rule in Two Texts from Vadstena and Syon Abbey*. Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis, Studia Latina Stockholmiensia LV, Stockholms Universitet. Stockholm, Sweden.
- ANDERSSON, R. (1994) *Predikosamlingar i Vadstena klosterbibliotek*. Upsala, Sweden.
- ANDERSSON-SCHMITT, Margarete, & HEDLUND, Monica (10 Volumes 1989 -) *Mittelalterliche Handschriften Der Universitätsbibliothek Uppsala*. Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm.
- ANDRÉ JACQUES, (1985). *Les Noms de Plantes dans la Rome Antique*. Les Belles Lettres. Paris, France.
- ARBER, A. 1938. *Herbals, Their Origin and Evolution*, University Press, Cambridge.
- APPLEFORD, Amy, (2015) *Learning to Die in London, 1380-1540*, University of Pennsylvania Press.
- ARRIZABALAGA, Jon. (1998). *The Articella in the Early Press, 1476-1534*. Cambridge Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine & CSIC Barcelona, Department of History of Science.
- AUNGIER, (1840). *History of Syon Monastery*, J. Nichols and Son, London.
- AVICENNA, *Canon of Medicine*, Ed. O. Cameron Gruner, AMS Press, New York, 1929.
- BAADER, Gerhard (1985). *Mediaeval Adaptations of Byzantine Medicine* in The Dumbarton Oaks Papers, Number thirty-eight, 1984, Symposium on Byzantine Medicine. John Scarborough, Editor. Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington DC.
- BAINBRIDGE, Virginia R. (2004). 'Reynolds, Richard [St Richard Reynolds]. *Oxford Electronic Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press.
- BARKER, Juliet (2005). *Agincourt*. Little, Brown.
- BARRATT, Alexandra (2001). *The knowing of woman's kind in childing: a Middle English version of material derived from the Trotula and other sources*. Cheltenham: European Schoolbooks.

BARTHOLOMAEUS ANGLICUS, (1975 and 1988). *On the Properties of Things, John Trevisa's Translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus De Proprietatibus Rerum, a Critical Text*, eds. M. C. Seymour, et al., vols. 1 and 2 (1975); vol. 3 (1988).

BATESON, Mary (1898). *Catalogue of the Library of Sion Monastery, Isleworth*. CUP.

BAYARD, Tania (1985). *Sweet Herbs and Sundry Flowers; Medieval Gardens and the Gardens of the Cloisters*. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, David R. Godine Publisher.

BECK, R. T., (1974). *The cutting edge: early history of the surgeons of London*. London.

BECKETT W. N. M., (2009). *Thomas Betson*. *Oxford Electronic Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press.

BECKETT, Neil (1993). *St Bridget, Henry V and Syon Abbey*. In *Studies in St. Birgitta and the Brigittine Order, Volume 2, pp125-150, Analecta Cartusiana 35:19, Spiritualität Heute und Gestern, Band 19*. HOGG, James, Editor. Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, Austria.

BELL, David N. (1992). *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, Volume 3 (1992). The Libraries of the Cistercians, Gilbertines, and Premonstratensians*. British Library.

BELL, David N., (1995). *What Nuns Read: Books and Libraries in Mediaeval English Nunneries*. Kalamazoo, Cistercian Studies Series 158. Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications.

BENSKIN, M., LAING, M., KARAIKOS, V. & WILLIAMSON, D. K., (2013). *An Electronic Version of a Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*. University of Edinburgh, eLALME.
<http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html>

BETSON, Thomas (before AD 1517) *Notebook*; St John's College, Cambridge. MS 109 (E.6).

BETSON, Thomas. *Registrum bibliothecae de Syon. 'The catalogue of the Library of Syon Monastery, Isleworth.'* xv-xvi c. Latin on vellum. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Parker Medieval Manuscripts MS 141. *Catalogue to the Brothers' Library*. See also Bateson (1898) and Gillespie (2001).

BETSON, Thomas, (1500). *A Ryght Profytable Treatyse Drawen out of Dyuerse Wrytynges to Dyspose Men to Be Vertuously Occupyed in Theyr Myndes and Prayers*. Westminster: Wynkyn de Worde. STC 1978.

BILDHAUER, Bettina, (2005). *The Secrets of Women (c.1300): A Mediaeval Perspective on Menstruation, in Menstruation, a Cultural History*, Edited by SHAIL, Andrew, and HOWIE, Gillian, Palgrave MacMillan.

BISHOP, Louise M., (2007). *Words, Stones, & Herbs: The Healing Word in Medieval and Early Modern England*. Syracuse University Press.

BLUNT, Wilfrid & RAPHAEL Sandra, (1994). *The Illustrated Herbal*. Thames and Hudson.

BODARWÉ, Katrinette, (2003). *Pflege und Medizin in mittelalterlichen Frauenkonventen ('Care and Medicine in Medieval Nunneries')* in the *Medizin Historisches Journal (Medicine and the Life Sciences in History)*, Urban & Fischer Verlag, 3-4, Band 37, 2003.

BOTFIELD, B., ed. (1838). *Catalogi veteres librorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelm. Catalogues of the Library of Durham Cathedral at various periods from the Conquest to the Dissolution, including catalogues of the Library of the Abbey of Hulm, and of the MSS. preserved in the Library of Bishop Cosin, at Durham.* Surtees Society, Volume 7.

BOWERS, Barbara (2007). *The Medieval Hospital and Medical Practice.* Ashgate.

BOWN, Deni, (1995). *The Royal Horticultural Society Encyclopedia of Herbs and their Uses.* Dorling Kindersley.

BRIDGET (BIRGITTA), Saint. *Reualaciones Extrauagantes.* Chapter 28, Sections 1-10.
https://riksarkivet.se/Media/pdf-filer/SanctaBirgitta_Reuelaciones_Extrauagantes.pdf

BRIQUET, Charles Moïse, (1907). *Les Filigranes. Dictionnaire historique des marques du papier des leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600.* A facsimile of the 1907 edition with supplementary material contributed by a number of scholars. Edited by Allan Stevenson. (The New Briquet. Jubilee edition).

BRODIN, Gösta, (1950). *Agnus Castus, A Middle English Herbal. Essays and Studies on English Language and Literature, VI,* edited by SB Liljegren.

BYNUM, Caroline Walker (c.1987). *Holy Food, Holy Fast, the significance of food to mediaeval women, c. 1480-1533.* Berkeley, University of California Press.

CAIUS, John. (1552). *A Boke or Counseill Against the Disease Commonly Called the Sweate, or Sweatyng Sicknesse.* Richard Grafton, London.

CANUTI, Benedictus, Bishop of Väseras, Denmark (1485?). *A lital boke...for the ...Pestilence.* Manchester University Press facsimile, 1910.

CAREY, H. M. (1992). *Courting disaster: astrology at the English court and university in the later middle ages.* New York: St Martin's.

CATHERINE OF SIENA, (1519). *The Orcherde of Syon,* Wynkyn de Worde, London.

CATTO, J., (2003). *Bibliographical Notes: Thomas Betson of Syon Abbey.* English Historical Review, Apr 2003; 118: 487 - 488.

CLARK, John Willis (1897). *Observances in use at the Augustinian Priory of St Giles and S Andrew, at Barnwell Cambridgeshire.* Macmillan and Bowes, Cambridge.

CLENDENING, Logan, (1960). *Source Book of Medical History.* Courier Dover Publications.

COATES, Alan (1999). *English Medieval Books: The Reading Abbey Collections from Foundation to Dispersal* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

COLLINS, Minta (2000). *Medieval Herbals: The Illustrative Traditions.* British Library Studies in Mediaeval Culture, British Library, London.

CONNOLLY, Margaret & MOONEY, Linne R. (2008). *Design and Distribution of Late Medieval Manuscripts in England.* Boydell and Brewer.

- CROSSLEY, Fred. H., (1949). *The English Abbey, Its Life and Work in the Middle Ages*, Batsford, London.
- DAEMS, W. F. (1993). *Nomina simplicium medicinarum ex synonymariis Medii Aevi collecta. Semantische Untersuchungen zum Fachwortschatz hoch- und spätmittelalterlicher Drogenkunde*. Studies in Ancient Medicine 6. (Leiden, Brill).
- DARWIN, Tess, (2008). *The Scots Herbal: The Plant Lore of Scotland*. The Mercat Press.
- DAWSON, Warren R., (1934). *A Leechbook or Collection of Medical Recipes from the Fifteenth Century*. The text of Medical Society of London MS No. 136. MacMillan and Co, London.
- de HAMEL C. (1991). *Syon Abbey: The Library of the Bridget Bridgettine Nuns and their Peregrinations after the Reformation, with the Manuscript at Arundel Castle: an Essay*. Otley. Privately printed at Smith Settle for the Roxburghe Club.
- DE VRIEND, Hubert Jan (1984). EETS *The Old English Herbarium and Medicina de quadrupedis* No OS 286. Oxford University Press.
- DEANESLY, Margaret (1920). *The Lollard Bible and other medieval Biblical versions*, Cambridge University Press.
- DEANESLY, Margaret, (1915). *The Incendium Amoris of Richard Rolle of Hampole* (Manchester University Press). http://lollardsociety.org/pdfs/Rolle_IncendiumAmoris.pdf
- DENDLE, P., & TOUWAIDE, A., (2008). *Herbs and the Medieval Surgeon*, in *Health and Healing from the Medieval Garden*. Woodbridge, The Boydell Press, Woodbridge.
- DOBSON, M. J. (1989). *History of Malaria in England*. Journal of the Royal Society of Medicine, Supplement No 17, Volume 82, 1989.
- NEBBIAI-DALLA GUARDA, Donatella (1994). *Les Livres de l'infirmieries dans les Monastères Mediaévaux*. Revue Mabillon 66, pp57-81.
- DOYLE, A. I. (1956a). *Thomas Betson of Syon Abbey*, The Library, 5th series, 11 (1956).
- DOYLE, A. I. (1956b). *The Durham University Catalogue for Cosin V, III, 16*, in *The Library*, 5th ser. 11 (1956) 115-118.
- DOYLE, A. I. (2004). "A Letter Written by Thomas Betson, Brother of Syon Abbey" in *The Medieval Book and a Modern Collector: Essays in Honour of Toshiyuki Takamiya*. D S Brewer & Yushodo Press, Cambridge and Tokyo.
- DUGDALE, W., (1692). *Monasticon Anglicanum* VI, (1), 540. R. Midgley.
- DUKE, James A., (2003). *The Green Pharmacy*. Rodale.
- DYER, Alan (1997). *The English Sweating Sickness of 1551: An Epidemic anatomised*. Medical History. July 1997; 41(3): pp362-384.

- EARLE, J. (1880). *English Plant Names from the Tenth to the Fifteenth Century*. OUP.
- ELLIS, Roger (ed.) 2008. *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English: Volume 1: To 1550*. Oxford University Press, in particular pp195-196. See: <http://librarun.org/book/56160/1>
- ERLER, M. C. (1992). 'Pasted-in embellishments in English manuscripts and printed books, c.1480–1533', *The Library*, 6th ser., 14 (1992), 185–206.
- EVERETT, Nicholas, (2012). *Alphabet of Galen*, University of Toronto Press.
- FECKENHAM, J. (c.1570). *The Book of Sovereign Remedies* in LALOR, Daphne, (1995). MS X3346 (Alexander Turnbull Library Wellington NZ). University of Auckland Ph.D. Thesis 1995. PDF: <https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/2281>
- FITTER, R., FITTER, A., & BLAMEY, Marjorie (1974). *The Wild Flowers of Britain and Northern Europe*. Collins.
- FLETCHER J. R., (1930-1940). *Manuscripts relating to the history of Syon Abbey*, Exeter University.
- FLETCHER, J. R. (1933). *The Story of the English Bridgettines of Syon Abbey*. South Brent, Devon: Syon Abbey.
- FORREST, R., (1831). *Alphabetical catalogue of the plants of Syon Garden 1831*. A & R Spottiswoode.
- FRANCIA Susan & STOBART, Anne, Editors. (2014). *Critical Approaches to the History of Western Medical Medicine from Classical Antiquity to Early Modern Period*. Bloomsbury.
- FRIBORG, Jeppe T., YUAN, Jian-Min, WANG, Renwei, KOH, Woon-Puay, LEE, Hin-Peng and YU, Mimi C., (2008). *Incense use and respiratory tract carcinomas in Cancer*, 113: 1676–1684. doi: 10.1002/cncr.23788. <http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/cncr.23788/full>
- FRIES, S., 'De Svenska Växtnamnen i S.A. Forsius' *Physica*, 1611' (1979). *Festskrift till Björn Pettersson*, 29.12.1979 (1979), 21-6.
- FRISK, Gösta, (1949). *A Middle English Translation of Macer Floridus de Viribus Herbarum*. Essays and Studies on English Language and Literature, III, edited by SB Liljegren. A.-B Lundequistska Bokhandeln, Uppsala.
- GASK, G. E., (1926). 'The Medical Staff of King Edward the Third' in *The Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 1926; 19 (Sect Hist Med): 1–16.
- GEOGHEGAN, D., (1957-58). 'A licence of Henry VI to practise alchemy'. *Ambix*, 6 (1957–8), 10–17.
- GETZ, Faye (1990). 'Medical practitioners in medieval England', in *Social History of Medicine*, 3 (1990), 245–83, esp. 278–9.
- GETZ, Faye (1992). 'The faculty of medicine before 1500', in *Hist. U. Oxf. 2: Late med. Oxf.*, 373–405.
- GETZ, F. M. (1991). *Healing and Society in Medieval England: A Middle English Translation of the Gilbertus Anglicus*. Univ. of Wisconsin Press.

- GETZ, Faye, (1998). *Medicine in the English Middle Ages*. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, USA.
- GILCHRIST Roberta, (1994). *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women*. Routledge, London & New York.
- GILCHRIST, Roberta & SLOANE, Barney (2005). *Requiem, The Monastic Cemetery in Britain*. Museum of London Archaeology Service.
- GILLESPIE, Vincent, Ed., (2001). *Corpus of British Mediaeval Library Catalogues, Volume 9, Syon Abbey, with The Libraries of the Carthusians*, edited by AI Doyle. Published by the British Library in association with The British Academy.
- GILLESPIE, Vincent. (2002). 'Syon and the New Learning.' (2002) in *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England*, edited by James G. Clark, 75-95. Woodbridge.
- GILLESPIE, Vincent (2010). *Syon and the English Market for Continental Printed Books: The Incunable Phase in Syon Abbey and Its Books, Reading, Writing and Religion, c1400 – 1700*. Boydell Press, Woodbridge.
- GILLESPIE, Vincent & POWELL, Susan, (2014). *A Companion to the Early Printed Book in Britain, 1476-1558*. Boydell & Brewer Limited.
- GORDON, George (attributed. 1849). Manuscript Catalogue of trees at Syon.
- GRADWOHL, Alex (2013). *Herbal Abortifacients and their Classical Heritage in Tudor England*. Penn History Review Volume 20, Issue 1, Spring 2013, Article 3. (Online PDF resource).
- GRAHAM, Rose, (1903). *Saint Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertians*. London, E. Stock.
- GRAHAM Timothy, Eds *Herbs and Healers from the Ancient Mediterranean Through the Medieval West*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.
- GREEN, Monica H. (2000a). *Books as a Source of Medical Education for Women in the Middle Ages: Female Religious Institutions Owning Medical Books*. *Dynamis. Acta His. Med. Sci. Hist. Illus.* 2000, 20, 331-369. PDF: <http://www.ugr.es/~dynamis/completo20/PDF/Dyna-11.PDF>
- GREEN, Monica H., (2000b). *Women's Healthcare in the Mediaeval West*, Ashgate, Variorum VII.
- GREEN, Monica H., (2005). *Flowers, Poisons and Men: Menstruation in Mediaeval Western Europe, in Menstruation, a Cultural History*, Edited by SHAIL, Andrew, and HOWIE, Gillian, Palgrave MacMillan.
- GREEN, Monica (2008). *Making Women's Medicine Masculine: The Rise of Male Authority in Pre-Modern Gynaecology*. Oxford University Press.
- GREEN, Monica H. (2010). *Bodily Essences: Bodies as categories of difference in A Cultural History of the Body in the Middle Ages*. Berg, Oxford and New York.

- GREEN Monica H., Editor, (2011). *The Trotula: An English Translation of the Medieval Compendium of Women's Medicine*, University of Pennsylvania Press.
- GREEN, Monica H. (2013). *The Antidotarium magnum: A Short Description*. Revised draft: 2 November 2013, Arizona State University.
- GRIGGS, Barbara, (1982). *Green Pharmacy: A history of herbal medicine*. London: Jill Norman and Hobhouse.
- GRIGSON, Geoffrey (1958). *The Englishman's Flora*. Readers Union, Phoenix House, London.
- GRINWIS, Marjan, (2007). *Reading Faces: Translation of a Latin text and translation and edition of a Middle English text concerning physiognomy*. Universiteit Utrecht.
Web resource: <http://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/24993>
- HAINES, C. R., (1927). *The Library of Dover Priory: Its Catalogue and Extant Volumes*. The Library, (1927) s4-VIII (1): 73-118.
- HALES, Mick, (2000). *Monastic Gardens*. Stewart, Tabori and Chang, New York.
- HAREN, M. J., (1978). *Calendar of Papal Registers: Papal Letters, XV, no. 76*. Dublin.
- HARGREAVES, Henry (1981). *Some problems in Indexing Middle English Recipes* in Edwards and Pearsall eds., *Middle English Prose, Essays on Bibliographic Problems*, New York, Garland.
- HARTLEY, P. H.-S. & ALDRIDGE H. R., (1936). *Johannes de Mirfeld of St Bartholomew's, Smithfield: his life and works*. Cambridge, C.U.P.
- HARRISON, Walter (1775). *A new and universal history, description and survey of the cities of London and Westminster, the borough of Southwark*. London. p. 127. (Cited by Wikipedia).
- HARVEY, B., (1993). *Living and dying in England, 1100–1540: the monastic experience*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- HARVEY, John, *John Bray*. ODNB. *Oxford Electronic Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/3294>, accessed 14 June 2014]
- HEDLUND, Monica, HÄRDELIN, Alf & NILSEN, Anna. (1990). *Vadstena klostrets bibliotek, Ny katalog och nya forskningsmöjligheter (The Monastic Library of Mediaeval Vadstena, A new Catalogue and New Potentials for Research.)* Almqvist & Wiksell International, Stockholm, Sweden.
- HEINRICH, Fritz, (1896). *Ein Mittelenglisches Medizinbuch*. Halle, Max Niemeyer.
- HELLINGA, Lotte & TRAPP, J. B., Eds. (1999). *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume III, 1400-1557*. Cambridge University Press.
- HENSLOW G. (1899). *Medical Works of The Fourteenth Century, together with a List of Plants recorded in Contemporary Writings, with their Identifications*. London, Chapman and Hall, Ltd.
- HEWE, N., (1947). *Välsignade Växter: Skrock och Fakta om Hundra Läkeörter*. Stockholm, Sweden.

- HILTON, Walter, (1494). *Scala Perfectionis (The Ladder of Perfection)* Wynkin de Worde, Westminster 1494, STC 14042. (The Rosenbach Foundation H491 copy).
- HOGG, James, (1980). *The Rewyll of Seynt Sauuioure Volume 3: The Syon Additions for the Brethren and The Boke of Sygnes from the St Paul's Cathedral Library MS*. Institut Für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, Universität Salzburg, Austria.
- HARTLEY, Percival Horton-Smith Hartley & ALDRIDGE, Harold Richard, (2013). *Johannes de Mirfeld of St Bartholomew's, Smithfield: His Life and Works*. Cambridge University Press, 2013 (and 1936).
- HUGHES, Muriel Joy, (1943). *Petri Abelard Opera I, 176*, cited in *Women Healers in Mediaeval Life and Literature*, Books for Libraries Press, Freeport New York.
- HUNT, T. (1986-87). "The Botanical Glossaries in MS London BL Add. 15236," *Pluteus* 4-5 (1986-67).
- HUNT, Tony, (1989). *Plant Names of Medieval England*. Woodbridge.
- HUNTING, P., (1998). *A History of the Society of Apothecaries*. London, Society of Apothecaries.
- JACKA, H. T., (1917). 'Dissolution of the English Nunneries', (London University M.A. Thesis, 125pp.)
- JACKSON, A. BRUCE (1910). *Catalogue of Hardy Trees and Shrubs at Syon House, Brentford*. pp. ix. 38. West, Newman & Co.: London. Copies are in the London Library in St James's Square, and in the Library at Kew but not the British Library.
- JACQUART, Danielle (1992). *The Introduction of Arabic Medicine into the West: The Question of Etiology, in Health Disease and Healing in Mediaeval Culture*. Macmillan.
- JAMES, M. R., (1903). *Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge*. Cambridge University Press.
- JAMES, M. R., (1913). *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*. Cambridge University Press.
- JAMES, M. R., (1925). *Abbeys*. Great Western Railway, Paddington Station, London.
- JAMES, Montague Rhodes, (1926). *Greek Manuscripts in England before the Renaissance*. The Library, Fourth series, Vol. VII. No. 1, June 1926.
- JONES, E. A. & WALSHAM, A., (2010). *Syon Abbey and Its Books: Reading, Writing and Religion, C.1400-1700*. Boydell and Brewer.
- JONES, Peter, (1984). 'Secreta Salernitana', *Kos* (1984), 33-50.
- JONES, P. M. (1994). 'John of Arderne and the Mediterranean tradition of scholastic surgery' in *Practical medicine from Salerno to the Black Death*, ed. L. Garcia-Ballester.
- JONES, Peter Murray (1999a). *Medical Libraries* in LEEDHAM-GREEN & WEBBER, Teresa, Eds. (2006). *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Volume I, to 1640*.

- JONES, Peter Murray (1999b). *Medicine and science* in HELLINGA, Lotte & TRAPP, J. B., Eds. (1999). *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Volume III, 1400-1557*. Cambridge University Press.
- JONES, W.R.D. (2004). *Turner, William (1509/10 - 1568)*. Oxford Dictionary of National Biography (web resource). Oxford University Press.
- JUSTE, David & BURNETT, Charles. *Bibliotheca Astrologica Latina*. The Warburg Institute website. <http://warburg.sas.ac.uk/library/digital-collections/bibliotheca-astrologica/#c968>
- KEISER, George R., (1999). *Practical Books For The Gentleman*, p.474-477, in Hellinga, Lotte & Trapp, J. B., Eds. (1999).
- KER, N. R., (1964 -1987). *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*. Volumes I-V, and Supplement to the Second Edition (1987), edited by Andrew G. Watson. London, The Royal Historical Society.
- KERBY-FULTON, Kathryn, HILMO, Maidie, and OLSON, Linda, (2012). *Opening Up Middle English Manuscripts. Literary and Visual Approaches*. Cornell University Press, Ithaca and London.
- Klostermedizin Forschungsgruppe*: www.klostermedizin.de Website of the University of Würzburg.
- KRÄMER, Sigrid, & BERNHARD, Michael, (1989). *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*. C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München.
- KRUG, Rebecca, (2008). *Reading Families: Women's Literate Practice in Late Medieval England*. Cornell University Press.
- LALOR, Daphne, (1995). *The Book of Sovereign Remedies: MS X3346 (Alexander Turnbull Library Wellington NZ)*, by John of Feckenham DD, c.1570. University of Auckland Ph.D. Thesis 1995. PDF: <https://researchspace.auckland.ac.nz/handle/2292/2281>
- LANG, S. J., (2004). 'Bradmore, John (d. 1412)', *Oxford Electronic Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press.
- LEHMANN, Paul, (1928). *Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz*. C.H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, München. Volume 2, pp.435-440.
- LEEDHAM-GREEN & WEBBER, Teresa, Eds. (2006). *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Volume I, to 1640*.
- LATHAM, R. E., (2008). *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources, with Supplement*. Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press.
- LAUNERT, Edmund, (1981). *The Edible and Medicinal Plants of Britain and Northern Europe*. Hamlyn.
- LELAND, John. (1549), *The laboryouse journey [and] serche of Johan Leylande, for Englandes antiquites*. [London: Printed by S. Mierdman for John Bale, 1549]. STC 15445.
- LE STRANGE, Richard (1977). *A history of herbal plants*. Angus and Robertson, London.
- LIDDELL, J. R., (1939). *Leland's lists of manuscripts in Lincolnshire monasteries*. English Historical Review, Volume 54, 1939, pp88-95. The source is BL Ms. Roy., Appendix 69.

- LINDEBLAD, Karin (2010). *Lavendel, hjärtstilla och svarta vinbär (Lavender, Motherwort and Blackcurrants)*. The Museum of National Antiquities, Stockholm Studies, 14.
- LOEN-MARSHALL, Maria-Helena (2005). *An Edition of the English Texts in the British Library MS Sloane 3285, Practical Medicine, Sussex Dialect and the London Associations of a fifteenth century Book*. Ph.D. Thesis for the University of Glasgow. Web version available.
- LOUDON, J. C. (1838 onwards in eight volumes). *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum, with 3489 species of plants at Syon.* Henry G. Bohn, London.
- MACGILL, Elizabeth Rawson, (1990). "This Booke of Sovereign Medicines" . . . Collected of Maister Doctour ffecknam late Abbott of Westmynster. An edition of Folger MS V.b.129 (ca. 1570), with Introduction, Transcript, and Annotation, and Plant List with Identification. Ann Arbor, Mich.: UMI, 1990.
- MACKINTOSH, Angus, SAMUELS M. L. & BENSKIN, Michael, (1986 & 2013). *Edinburgh University Electronic Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*. <http://www.lel.ed.ac.uk/ihd/elalme/elalme.html>
- MAKOWSKI, Elizabeth (2011). *English Nuns and the Law in the Middle Ages. Cloistered Nuns and their Lawyers, 1293-1540*. The Boydell Press.
- MATTHEWS, Leslie G. (1967). *The Royal Apothecaries*. Wellcome Historical Medical Library, New Series Volume XIII.
- MCSARRAN, Francis, Chief Editor**, (2013). *The Middle English Compendium*, web resource comprising *The Electronic Middle English Dictionary*, *The HyperBibliography of Middle English* and *The Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse*. University of Michigan: <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/med/>
- MENGIS, Simones & de GRUYTER Walter, (2013). *Schreibende Frauen um 1500: Scriptorium und Bibliothek des Dominikanerinnenklosters St. Katharina, St. Gallen*. (There is a list of MSS on pp274-376, but no index to this text.)
- MEYVAERT, Paul, (1986). *Medieval Gardens*, in *The Medieval Monastic Garden*. Dumbarton Oaks.
- MOFFATT, Dr Bryan, (1987-1998). *Sharp Practice, Reports 1-6: Researches into the Mediaeval Hospital at Soutra, Lothian*.
- MORGAN, N., THOMSON, R.M. (2008). 'University books and the sciences, c.1250-1400', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain*, vol. II (1100-1400). Cambridge University Press.
- MORRIS, Bridget, (1999). *St Birgitta of Sweden*. The Boydell Press, Woodbridge.
- MOWAT, J. L. G., (1882). *Sinonoma Bartholomaei & Synonyma Antidotarii Nicholai*. Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- NIELSEN, H., (1978). *Läkeväxter Förre och Nu*. Stockholm, Sweden.
- NEDDERMEYER, Uwe (1998). *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch*, Band 61, Teil 1 & 2, *Buchwissenschaftliche Beiträge aus dem Deutschen Bucharchiv*, München. Harrasowitz Verlag, Wiesbaden, Germany.

- NORTH, J. D. (1986). *Horoscopes and history*. Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, 13. Warburg Institute, University of London.
- NYBERG, Tore (1965). *Birgittinische Klostergründungen des Mittelalters*. (Bibliotheca Historica Lundensis, xv.) Lund, Sweden: C W K Gleerup; Munich, Germany.
- OESTMANN, Günther, RUTKIN, H. Darrel, STUCKRAD, Kocku Von (2005). *Horoscopes and Public Spheres: Essays on the History of Astrology*. Walter de Gruyter.
- Ó CONCHUBAIR, Mícheál (1988). *Uisce Beatha*. *Studia Hibernica*, No. 24, 1984-8, pp64-65.
- ODY, Penelope, (1993). *The Herb Society's Complete Medicinal Herbal*. Dorling Kindersley.
- OGDEN, M. S., (1971). *The Cyrrurgie of Guy de Chauliac*. EETS Vol 265.
- O'MALLEY, C. D., (1968). *Tudor Medicine and Biology in Huntington Library Quarterly* Vol. 32, No. 1 (Nov., 1968), pp. 1-27 University of California Press.
- OPSOMER-HALLEUX, Carmélia, (1986). *The Mediaeval Garden and its Role in Medicine in Mediaeval Gardens, History of Landscape Architecture Colloquium*, edited by MACDOUGALL Elisabeth B., Dumbarton Oaks.
- PÄCHT, O., & ALEXANDER, J. J. G., (1973). *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*. Clarendon Press, Oxford.
- PAGE, William, ed. (1907). *A History of the County of Oxford, Volume 2*. Victoria County History. Archibald Constable & Co.
- PAVORD, Anna, (2005). *The Naming of Plants: The Search for Order in the World of Plants*. Bloomsbury.
- PEPLOW, Elizabeth & PEPLOW Reginald (1988). *In a Monastery Garden*. David & Charles.
- PHILLIPS, Elaine (1999). *A Short History of the Great Hospital, Norwich*. Jarrold.
- PLINY (1963). *Natural History* Books XX to XXVII translated by WHS Jones. Loeb Classical Library. Harvard University Press.
- POLUNIN, Oleg. (1972). *The Concise Flowers of Europe*. OUP.
- PORMANN, Peter E. (2013). *The Mirror of Health: Discovering Medicine in the Golden Age of Islam*. Published by The Royal College of Physicians.
- POWER, D. A., & SOUTH, J. F., eds. (1886). *Memorials of the craft of surgery in England*. Cassell & Co.
- POWER, Eileen (1922). *Mediaeval English Nunneries c.1275 – 1535*. Cambridge University Press.
- RAMAZZINI, Bernardo (1713). *De Morbis Artificum Diatriba*. Geneva.
- RAMSAY, Nigel & WILLOUGHBY, James L, (2009). *Hospitals, Towns and the Professions: Corpus of Medieval Library Catalogues 14*. British Library.

- RAWCLIFFE, C., (1984). 'The hospitals of later medieval London', *Medical History*, 28 (1984), 1–21.
- RAWCLIFFE, C., (1988). 'The profits of practice: the wealth and status of medical men in later medieval England', *Social History of Medicine*, 1 (1988), 61–78.
- RAWCLIFFE, Carole, (1998). 'Hospital Nurses and their Work', in *Daily Life in the Late Middle Ages*, Richard Britnell, ed. Stroud: Sutton Publishing.
- RAWCLIFFE, Carole, (1999). *Medicine for the Soul: The life, death and resurrection of an English Medieval Hospital, St Giles, Norwich, c.1249-1550*. Stroud: Sutton.
- RAWCLIFFE, Carole, (2002). 'Passports to Paradise: How English Medieval Hospitals and Almshouses Kept their Archives', *Archives*, Volume 27.
- RAWCLIFFE, Carole, (2002). 'Written in the Book of Life': Building the Libraries of Mediaeval English Hospitals and Almshouses; *The Library*, Vol.3:2 (2002).
- RAWCLIFFE, Carole, (2006). *Leprosy in Medieval England*, Woodbridge, Boydell and Brewer.
- REEDS, Karen, (1980). *Botanical Books in Mediaeval Libraries* in *Res Publica Litterarum* III, 1980.
- REEDS, Karen, (2012). *St John's Wort (Hypericum perforatum L.) in the Age of Paracelsus and the Great Herbals: Assessing the Historical Claims for a Traditional Remedy*. Chapter 9 in VAN ARSDALL, Anne &
- REYNOLDS, Susan, (1962). *A History of the County of Middlesex*. Volume 3, Victoria County History, Oxford University Press.
- RIDDLE, John, (1965). 'The Introduction and Use of Eastern Drugs in the Early Middle Ages', *Sudhoffs Archiv für die Geschichte der Medizin* 49 (1965), 185-98.
- RIDDLE, John, (1974). *Theory and Practice in Medieval Medicine*. *Viator* 5.
- RIDDLE, John, (1992). *Contraception and abortion from the ancient world to the middle ages*. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard U.P.
- ROBBINS, Rossell Hope, (1970). *Medical Manuscripts in Middle English*, *Speculum*, Vol XLV, Number 3, July 1970. Mediaeval Academy of America, Cambridge, Mass.
- RODRIGUEZ, María Victoria Domínguez, (2010). *Constructing Anatomical Terminology in Middle English: The Case of British Library MS Sloane 3486*. In SELIM, *Journal of the Spanish Society for Mediaeval English Language and Literature*, No 17, Oviedo, 2010: University of Oviedo.
- ROHDE, Elanour Sinclair, (1922). *The Old English Herbals*. Longmans, Green and Co. London. *Rule of Our Most Holy Saviour* (1914) which includes The Syon Additions and The Rule of St Austin. 'From the British Museum and St Pauls' Manuscripts'. In modern English. No publisher or Author given, but approved by the *Censor Deputatus* and the Bishop of Plymouth. See: <http://www.archive.org/stream/ruleofourmosthol00briduoft#page/10/mode/2up>
- RZIHACEK-BEDÖ, Dr. Andrea (2005). *Medizinische Wissenschaftspflege im Benediktinerkloster Admont bis 1500*. R. Oldenbourg Verlag, Wien, München.

- SARGEANT, William, (1957). *Battle for the Mind, A Physiology of Conversion and Brain-Washing*, Baltimore, Maryland and Hammondsworth, England: Penguin Books.
- SCARBOROUGH, John, (1984). *Early Byzantine Pharmacology*, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, Vol. 38, Symposium on Byzantine Medicine, (1984).
- SCARBOROUGH, John, (2002). *Herbs of the Field and Herbs of the Garden in Byzantine Garden Culture* Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection. Washington DC.
- SEYMOUR, Michael, Ed., (1988). *Bartholomaeus Anglicus, trans. John Trevisa. On the Properties of Things, De Proprietatibus Rerum, A Critical Text*, 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975-1988.
- SHARPE, Professor R. Editor, (1990-2013). *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues*, Volumes I to XV, July 1990 to November 2013. British Academy and British Library, London. Web resource, November 2013. <http://www.history.ox.ac.uk/research/project/british-medieval-library-catalogues.html>
- SHARPE, R., CARLEY, J.P., THOMSON R.M., WATSON, A.G., (1996). *English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*. The British Library in association with the British Academy.
- SIM, Alison, (1997). *Food and Feast in Tudor England*. Sutton Publishing.
- SINGER, C., (1916). "Thirteenth Century Miniatures Illustrating Medical Practice," in *History of Medicine*, PRSM 9.
- SINGER, Charles, (1927). *The Herbal in Antiquity and its Transmission to Later Ages*, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 47 (1927), 1-52.
- SINGER, Dorothy Waley, *Notes on English Mediaeval Scientific Texts*, British Library CUP D.65, cited in *Interstices: Studies in Late Middle English and Anglo-Latin Texts in Honour of A.G. Rigg*, 2004. Ed. Richard Firth Green and Linne R. Mooney. University of Toronto Press.
- SMITH, Eliza (1753). *'The Compleat Housewife or Accomplish'd Gentleman's Companion.'* London.
- SPENCER-HALL, Alicia, (2013). *Textual Authority and Symbolic Capital: Birgitta of Sweden's Inclusion in Walter Bower's Scotichronicron*. *Journal of the North Atlantic*. Special Volume 4 (107-119).
- STEANE, John. (1985 & 2014). *The Archaeology of Medieval England and Wales*. Routledge.
- STONEMAN, William T., (1999). *Dover Priory Vol 5: Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues*. British Library.
- STRACKE, Richard J. ed. (1974). *The Laud Herbal Glossary*. Rodopi N.V. Amsterdam.
- STREHLOW, Wighard. (1988). *Hildegard of Bingen's Medicine*. NM: Bear and Co.
- STRUTT, Joseph, (1785) *Bibliographical Dictionary*. British Library shelfmark G.4421.
- TAAVITSAINEN, Irma, PAHTA, Päivi, MÄKINEN, Martti, HILTUNEN, Turo, MARTTILA, Ville, RATIA, Maura SUHR, Carla, TYRKKÖ, Jukka, (2000-2010). *Corpus of Early English Medical Writing*

1375–1800, (EMEMT). John Benjamins Publishing Company. (A copy of this CD is available at the British Library).

TAIT, Michael (2013 & 1975). *A Fair Place, Syon Abbey 1415-1539*.

TALBOT, C. H., & HAMMOND, E. A., (1965). *The Medical Practitioners in Medieval England: A Biographical Register*. Wellcome Historical *Medical* Library.

THOMAS AQUINAS *Summa Theologiae*, Lib XCI-C, II^a-IIae q. 95 a. 5 co.
<http://www.logicmuseum.com/authors/aquinas/Summa-index.htm>

THORNDIKE, Lynn, (1946). *The Herbal of Rufinus, from the unique Manuscript*. Chicago, Illinois, University of Chicago Press.

THORNDIKE, Lynn & KIBRE, Pearl (1963). *A Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings in Latin* (Cambridge, MA: Mediaeval Academy.) and supplements.

THROOP, Patricia (1998). *Hildegard von Bingen's Physica: the complete English translation of her classic work on Health and Healing*. Rochester, VT: Healing Arts.

TOUWALDE, Alain (2012). *Quid Pro Quo, Revisiting the Practice of Substitution in Ancient Pharmacy*; Chapter 2 in *Herbs and Healers from the Ancient Mediterranean Through the Medieval West*, edited by Anne Van Arsdall & Timothy Graham. Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

TREASE, G. E., (1959). *The spicers and apothecaries of the royal household in the reigns of Henry III, Edward I and Edward II*. Nottingham Mediaeval Studies iii.

TURNER, William, (1538 & 1548). *Libellus de Re Herbaria & The Names of Herbs*. London: Ray Society Reprint (1965).

VAN ARSDALL, Anne & GRAHAM Timothy, Eds (2012). *Herbs and Healers from the Ancient Mediterranean Through the Medieval West*, Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

VAN DE WALLE, Etienne, and RENNE, Elisha, editors (2001). *Regulating Menstruation: Beliefs, Practices, Interpretations*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

VITALIS, Johannes, (1260-1327) (ascribed) *Pro conservanda sanitate tuendaque prospera valetudine, ad totius humani corporis morbos et aegritudines salutarium remediorum curationumque liber*. First printed Mainz, 1531.

VOIGTS, Linda Ehrsam (1984). 'Medical Prose' in *Middle English Prose, A Critical Guide To Major Authors And Genres*, edited by A. S. G. Edwards. Rutgers University Press.

VOIGTS, L. E., (1995). 'A doctor and his books: the manuscripts of Roger Marchall', in *New science out of old books*, ed. R. Beadle and A. J. Piper. Aldershot.

VOIGTS, L.E., & HUDSON R. P. (1992). *A drynke called dwale: a surgical anaesthetic from late medieval England*. In *Health, Disease And Healing In Medieval Culture*, Campbell S, Hall B, Klausner D, editors. New York: St Martin's Press.

- VOIGTS, Linda E., & MCVAUGH Michael R. (1984). *A Latin Technical Phlebotomy and Its Middle English Translation*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, Volume 74, Part 2 1984, Philadelphia: Cambridge Gonville and Caius MS 176/97 attr. Henry of Winchester.
- VOIGTS, Linda Ehrsam & KURTZ, Patricia Deery, (2000). *Scientific and Medical Writings in Old and Middle English: An Electronic Reference CD*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
Website: <http://cctr1.umkc.edu/search>
- WACK, Mary F., (1990). *Lovesickness in the Middle Ages: The Viaticum ad its Commentaries*. University of Philadelphia Press, Philadelphia.
- WALLNER, B. (1964). *The Middle English Translation of Guy de Chauliac's Grande Chirurgie*, in *Acta Universitatis Lundensis n.f.*, avd. 1, bd. 56, nr. 5 (1964).
- WAY, A., (1857). *Bill of medicines Furnished for the Use of Edward I. 34 and 35 Edw I, 1306-1307*. Archaeological Journal 14.
- WEAR, Andrew, FRENCH, Roger Kenneth & LONIE Iain M., ed. (1985). *The Medical renaissance of the sixteenth century*. Cambridge University Press.
- WEBSTER, C., ed. (1979). *Health, medicine and mortality in the sixteenth century*. CUP.
- WESSEX ARCHAEOLOGY, (2003). *Syon House, Syon Park, Hounslow - an archaeological Evaluation of a Bridgettine Abbey and Assessment of the Results*, page 22, prepared by Wessex Archaeology and issued by The Trust for Wessex Archaeology in October 2003, Document Reference 52568.05.
- WILLARD, Charity Cannon, (1992). *The Writings of Christine de Pizan*. Persea, NY.
- WILLIAMSON, Elizabeth M., (1988). *Potter's New Cyclopedia of Botanical Drugs & Preparations*. Saffron Walden: CW Daniel Company Limited.
- WOLODARSKI, Anna (2011). *The Vadstena Library, Making New Discoveries in The Birgittine Experience in Papers from the Birgitta Conference in Stockholm, 2011*. Kungl Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, Stockholm.
- WORMALD, F., & WRIGHT, C.E., editors, (1958). *The English Library before 1700*. Athlone, London.
- YOUNG, S., (1890). *The Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London: compiled from their records and other sources*. London: Blades, East & Blades.