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TIJDSSCHRIFT OVER JOURNAL OF MIDDELEEUWSE MEDIEVAL LETTERKUNDE LITERATURE IN DE IN THE LOW NEDERLANDEN COUNTRIES
Newly Discovered Notebooks of a Sixteenth-Century Flemish Astrologer Physician

LÁSZLÓ SÁNDOR CHARDONNENS AND HANS KIENHORST

Introduction

In 1988, Willy Braekman, an authority on medieval and early modern Dutch practical science (artes in Dutch, after the concept of the medieval artes), published two prognostic texts in late medieval English from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Ashmole 189.¹ This composite manuscript in four parts is well-known to English scholars for its ‘curious melanges of astrological and medical lore’.² Yet it does not only contain texts in English. If Braekman had ventured into the third part of the volume, which the descriptive catalogues refer to as German, he would have discovered 85 folios of practical science in Flemish and Latin, copied by a Flemish astrologer physician probably working in the 1520s and 1530s. It is in the nature of discoveries that they are serendipitous, which may explain why the third part of Ms Ashmole 189 was only properly identified as Flemish by a student of English, Sigrid Noordam, who examined the other parts of the manuscript for her MA thesis.³ Subsequent forays into the manuscript elucidated that the discovery of the Flemish part of Ms Ashmole 189 is at least as significant as that of the Vienna codex or the manuscripts from Hattem.⁴ The Vienna and Hattem manuscripts, which likewise concentrate on medicine and astrology, provided important new input over the past three decades for the study of late medieval and early modern Dutch practical science. With its focus on astrology and medicine in texts that mostly have no direct analogues, the Flemish part of Ms Ashmole 189 is, as we will demonstrate, a vital new source (one of several, in fact) that acts as a counterpoint to the manuscripts that have been the mainstay of Dutch artes research in recent years.⁵ This article introduces the manuscript under discussion, details its composition, date and origin, and offers an analysis of its contents. An inventory of the contents is appended. The scope of the article does not permit us to cover...

¹ Braekman 1988, 83-111.
² Eldredge 1992, xii.
³ Noordam 2010, 28, n. 28. The work of students Ester van Miltenburg, and Erick Aufderheyde and Alan Moss underscored the importance of Sigrid’s discovery.
⁴ For the Vienna codex (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2818), see Huizenga 2004; for the Hattem manuscripts (now Utrecht, Universiteitsbibliotheek, hs. Hattem C3, C4 and C5), see Braekman 1981.
⁵ We found analogues for four out of 78 texts, i.e., items 11, 35, 44 and 55 in the appendix. In our search we also identified several other manuscripts with medieval Dutch artes that are as yet unknown, including Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms O. 8. 29, which contains an analogue of item 55. An article on these manuscripts is in preparation.

* We would like to thank Amand Berteloot, Vincent Hunink, Jan Kuyp† and Margit Rem for their help with various aspects of the investigation. Orlanda Lie and the anonymous referees of Queeste provided many helpful suggestions and comments.
all aspects of the manuscript; it is hoped nevertheless that this study provides a good vantage point for future investigations.

Description of ms Ashmole 189

Ms Ashmole 189 is one of many hundreds of composite scientific volumes gathered and assembled by the English antiquarian Elias Ashmole (1617–1692), whose heraldic, genealogical and scientific interests are reflected in the collections of artefacts in the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford and in the collections of manuscripts and printed books now housed in the Bodleian Library. Descriptions of the Ashmolean manuscripts have appeared in varying degrees of detail, but none identified the Flemish part of ms Ashmole 189 in a recognisable manner. It was, in fact, consistently described as German. The first reference to the manuscript is in the so-called Old Catalogue published six years after Ashmole’s death, in 1698. In this catalogue, Edward Bernard described all manuscript collections then available in Oxford. For the Ashmolean manuscripts, Bernard relied upon the thematically organised list of contents assembled by Edward Lhuyd, Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum at the time, and under the headings ‘Astologici. [sic] lat.’ and ‘Astrologici eng.’ items 6666 and 6777–6780, respectively, pertain to various parts of the composite ms Ashmole 189. The final item, 6780, though under the heading of astrology in English, is described as a ‘Tractatus Medico-Astrologicus, Germanice’, which we take to refer to the Flemish part. Solely devoted to the Ashmolean manuscripts, William Henry Black’s catalogue from 1845 examined the collection in greater detail. Here, ms Ashmole 189 is designated as a composite volume in four main parts. Perpetuating the misidentification in the Old Catalogue, the Flemish part is said by Black to have been ‘written in a small and difficult German hand’. More recent descriptive catalogues either repeat the Old Catalogue, such as Falconer Madan’s Summary Catalogue, for instance, or focus on the English-language texts. Laurence Eldredge’s study of the Ashmolean manuscripts for the Index of Middle English Prose is an example of the latter and only briefly refers to the Flemish part. Eldredge concludes that it is ‘occupied by texts in German and Latin’. With such a persistent misidentification of the Flemish part of ms Ashmole 189 as German, it is not surprising that the manuscript has so far escaped the attention of researchers of the Dutch artes.

Ms Ashmole 189 is a composite manuscript that is bound with three added quires of blank leaves in such a way as to suggest four main parts. The codicological units

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6 On Ashmole’s life and his collections, see Josten 1966, vol. I.
8 Black 1845, col. 152.
11 The codicological structure of ms Ashmole 189 is more complex. Part I is one unit and now comprises 60 folios (f. 1–50 and 60–69); part II is in two units of diverse origins (f. 72–103, 104–115, preceded by flyleaves f. 70 and 71); part III is in six units by the same scribe (f. 116–147, 148–159, 160–171, 172–191, 192–199, 200); and part IV is in four units of diverse origins (f. 201–202, 203–209, 210–211, 212–219).
in parts I, II and IV were all produced by English scribes of diverse origins and contain astrological and mantic texts, mainly in the vernacular. The units in part III were produced by one scribe of Flemish origin and contain astrological and medical texts.

It is not known why Ashmole had these particular units of various origins bound into one composite volume, but the physical dimensions of the parts are comparable, and the texts share an interest in practical science, which may be why they ended up together. That said, a good part of the Ashmolean collection is in quarto, and Ashmole prioritised collecting practical science, particularly astrology, divination and medicine, so the internal structure of the many composite volumes that populate the Ashmolean collection may have been somewhat arbitrary.

Inspection of the manuscript allows us to date its assembly to Ashmole’s lifetime. In fact, ms Ashmole 189 is just one of many compilations that came into existence after Ashmole had sent piles of codicological units of diverse origins to his binder for processing into larger composite volumes. Much to the chagrin of Edward Lhuyd, who was tasked with preparing the index of Ashmole’s books in the early 1690s, Ashmole was an almost compulsive collector of scientific materials that would otherwise not have survived in view of their ephemeral nature, such as the working papers of astrologers and physicians. The complex composite volumes that the binder created from these perishable sources are characteristic of the Ashmolean collection as a whole. The binder, apparently, assembled the composite manuscripts at his discretion and subdivided them into parts by means of what seems to us a fairly ad hoc use of added quires of blank leaves. In the case of ms Ashmole 189, the watermarks of the paper that was added to construct the composite volume can be dated to the first half of the 1680s, suggesting assembly of the manuscript in the final decade of Ashmole’s life. That the early sixteenth-century Flemish units ended up in this specific composite manuscript in late seventeenth-century England may have been a coincidence, therefore, though a fortunate one in view of the fact that the working papers of an early modern Flemish astrologer physician may not have been meant for posterity in the first place.

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12 See, for instance, Ashmole’s notes about unbound manuscripts and booklets sent for assembly to his binder on 20 March 1676, 7 February and 17 March 1677, and the reference in his will to the disposal of ‘Manuscript bookes and other Manuscript papers not yet sorted nor bound up’ (Josten 1966, vol. IV, 1444, 1454–1455, 1468, 1829, respectively).
13 In a letter dated 18 April 1693, Lhuyd wrote to an anonymous benefactor of the Ashmolean Museum: ‘You take care to send us nothing but what is valuable & pertinent. But I could heartily wish Mr Ashmole had also done the same in his Legacy of Books; & instead of many ms volumes of Mr Naper’s [sic] Astrological Practice in Physic, & above five hundred other Astrological books, I wish he had given us 50 of his best books relating to coyns and other antiquities, & to Natural Philosophy’ (Gunther 1920–1967, vol. XIV, 177).
14 The added paper in ms Ashmole 189 has the watermarks arms of Amsterdam and foolscap. The former, which occurs in the paper of the three added quires, is comparable to Heawood 1950, no. 322 (Amsterdam, 1685). The latter, which was only used for a few years in the early 1680s, is encountered in the endpapers of ms Ashmole 189 and, for instance, in the pastedowns of surrounding manuscripts, such as Oxford, Bod. ms Ashmole 183, 188, 192 and 195, indicating that Ashmole had batches of manuscripts bound around the same time. The foolscap watermark is closely similar to Mosser, Sullivan, et al. 1996–, nos. fol. 1846 (London, 1681/2), 2022 (1683), 2023 (1683) and 1804 ([1683]).
Black’s description of ms Ashmole 189 suggests that the Flemish part consists of one codicological unit, whereas in reality it consists of five independently produced booklets followed by a single leaf. These six units were produced by a single scribe, who used a rather informal *littera cursiva* (‘small and difficult’, in the words of Black), which seems to indicate that he made the units for his own use. A later scribe added two medical recipes on f. 171v and some scribbles on f. 198v. The subdivision into six units is corroborated by textual boundaries in conjunction with quire boundaries, changes in the aspect of the hand, and the origins of the paper. Three types of watermarks can be distinguished, whose upper and lower parts are only partly visible roughly halfway down the page in the gutter produced by the binding. The improvised manner in which the scribe folded the sheets and assembled the quires permitted a measure of flexibility in the copying process and suggests that the compiler of the booklets was anything but a professional scribe. The six codicological units are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Folios</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1    | 116–147| *Composition:* eight quires of bifolia.  
*Paper:* gothic majuscule P with forked stem, without additional motifs; width 16–18 mm. Distance between chain lines: ca. 25 mm. Similar to Piccard 2003-, nos. 106838, 106856 and 106859 (all Ghent, 1522).  
*Contents:* astrology, astrological medicine, magic and medical recipes (items 1–33). |
| 2    | 148–159| *Composition:* one quire of six bifolia.  
*Paper:* probably three lilies in shield with crown and quatrefoil above and small majuscule F beneath; width 24 mm. Chain line as midline; distance between outer chain lines: 43–44 mm. Similar to Piccard 2003-, nos. 128521 (Weissenstein, 1533), 128560 (s.l., 1532) and 128577 (Lübeck, 1535).  
*Contents:* medical recipes (items 34–43). |
| 3    | 160–171| *Composition:* two quires of four and two bifolia, respectively.  
*Paper:* probably pot with cover surmounted by crown; width 21 mm. Distance between chain lines: 22–24 mm. Comparable to Piccard 2003-, nos. 31471 (Stockholm, 1534) and 31495 (Geldern, 1520–1521).  
*Contents:* astronomical tables and directions (items 44–52). |
| 4    | 172–191| *Composition:* two quires of four and six bifolia, respectively.  
*Paper:* same as unit 1.  
*Contents:* horoscopes, astronomical tables and directions (items 53–61). |
| 5    | 192–199| *Composition:* one quire of four bifolia.  
*Paper:* same as unit 3.  
*Contents:* astronomical tables and directions, divination (items 62–76). |
| 6    | 200    | *Composition:* damaged paper singleton.  
*Paper:* no visible watermark.  
*Contents:* unidentified text and astrological table (items 77–78). |
It is not known whether the units were produced in their present order, or how they were stored in their original state, but the overview above allows us to make two observations about the working method of the scribe. First, the scribe used one type of paper per unit, with the paper of unit 1 returning in unit 4, and that of unit 3 in unit 5. If the dates of the watermarks are indicative of the period in which the units were copied, then units 1 and 4 and possibly units 3 and 5 (whose opening table is a reworking of the closing table of unit 4) antedate unit 2. Although unit 6 does not have an identifiable watermark, the hand of the scribe and the contents resemble units 3 and 5, giving the presumed order of production 1-4-5-3-6-2. Second, the scribe seems to have organised the units around specific themes. Unit 1, which is also the longest, is an anthology of astrology, magic and astrological and curative medicine. A large part of unit 4 is taken up by prefabricated astrological charts that would enable an astrologer physician to make impromptu astrological readings during consultations with clients, so without having to perform extensive calculations beforehand (see fig. 1). Units 5, 3 and 6, in contrast, are mainly concerned with the basics of calculating horoscopes by means of the astronomical tables and directions provided. Finally, unit 2 features curative medicine in the form of recipes for physical complaints.

By organising his materials in discrete units, the scribe would have been able to quickly retrieve the right kind of information, despite the fact that he sometimes returned to units he had already completed to copy short notes and recipes into the margins (e.g., the medical recipes on f. 147r and 147v in unit 1, directly preceding the medical unit 2), and into empty spaces towards the end of these units (e.g., the list of the six ages of the world on f. 159r, the astrological charts on f. 171r, and the medical recipes on f. 199v; the ends of units 2, 3, and 5, respectively). The contents of the units in light of their supposed order of production might be indicative of the interests of the scribe, who may have started out in the field of astrology and astrological medicine, to take in curative medicine at a later stage.

The above two observations give a strong impression that the units were produced in separate stints. This notion is supported by differences in the page layout and textual layout, some of which are occasioned by the type of material that was being copied. Titles and rubrics are *currente calamo* throughout, for instance, so in the ink of the main text. In several cases, guide letters indicate where initials were to appear, but the initials themselves never materialised. Red ink is used, however, in the tables and diagrams of units 4, 5 and 3 (but not in the table of unit 6). Units 1 and 2 do not contain any tables. More telling, though, are the differences between unit 2 and the other units. The number of lines varies, for instance, with unit 2 having a significantly higher number of lines per page than any other unit. Another difference is the general aspect of the scribal hand, which is fairly constant within a single unit, and closely similar across units 1, 4, 5, 3 and 6, compared to that of unit 2. The aspect of the hand of the medical recipes that were added later in the bottom margin of f. 147r and 147v, for example, does not match that of the other texts in unit 1, but it is closely similar to the hand of unit 2, suggesting that these recipes were copied when the scribe was working on unit 2, which focuses on medicine. Another feature that separates unit 2 from the others are the two crude imitation wash initials in the ink of the main text (f. 153v),
Fig. 1 The start of a series of prefabricated astrological charts that would allow impromptu astrological readings during a consultation between an astrologer and a client. Oxford, Bod, ms Ashmole 189, f. 173r. By kind permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.
which do not occur anywhere else. These initials may have been based on the layout of the exemplar. The exemplar will also have played a role in the variable use of astrological symbols for the planets and the zodiacal signs in tables and astrological charts. While the depiction of these symbols is mostly constant, those for the planet Saturn and the signs Taurus, Leo, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn and Pisces display variation that probably goes back to the source texts, the more so since the scribe used a stable set of symbols when he composed astrological charts for actual clients.

The composition of the Flemish part of ms Ashmole 189 can be dated tentatively to the 1520s and 1530s. A terminus post quem are the natal horoscopes for clients, who most certainly were born at some point prior to consulting the astrologer physician. An astrological chart on f. 194v, for instance, dates the birth of a certain Giliaen Denis to 19 June 1491, 7.50 p.m. (see fig. 2). The subsequent text dates his conception to 11 September 1490, 1.12 p.m. (f. 195v). How old the client would have been at the time of the consultation is of course not known, but he will have been born before the composition of the chart. The watermarks of the paper provide a somewhat more certain time range, since they find analogues in paper used in datable documents of the 1520s and 1530s.

Some of the texts provide references that suggest the same time frame. A debatable terminus ante quem is furnished by the list of the six ages of the world, added on f. 159r. This list presents the six eras of salvation history with their corresponding lengths: from Creation to the Flood (1656 years), from the Flood to the birth of Abraham (292 years), from Abraham to the birth of David (940 years), from David to the Babylonian captivity (485 years), from Babylon to the birth of Christ (189 years), and from Christ to Judgment Day. The end of the text reports the world to be 5199 years old, giving an annum praesens of 1637. With all numbers being in the Roman numeric system that notoriously invites mistakes, 1637 could easily have been a miscalculation for 1537. More certain support for production in the 1530s comes in the form of the astrological material added by our scribe on f. 167r, in unit 3. The table underneath the astrological chart on this page lists a series of astrological values for the seven planets for the years 1531-1540. The strongest case for a terminus ante quem in the late 1530s, finally, are two sets of astrological charts for a certain Liejan vander Walle, added by our scribe. One set is on f. 171r, at the end of unit 3. The first chart in this set is for Liejan’s birth on 12 August 1501, 3.08 pm, and the subsequent chart assigns the solar revolution (the return of the Sun at a later point in time to its corresponding position in the natal horoscope) to the year 1536. The other set of charts is on f. 194v, in unit 5, directly underneath the chart for Giliaen Denis (see fig. 2). In this set, a slightly different natal horoscope for Liejan is crossed out, which may mean that the one on f. 171r is the correct one. To the right of this natal horoscope is a

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15 On the use of such symbols in practical science, see Gettings 1981; Voigts 1989.
16 The script and internal evidence in the other texts do not support composition of the manuscript in the seventeenth century.
17 These differences in the natal horoscopes may have been occasioned by a variety of factors. They may have been based on a different location or moment of birth, for instance, or the use of astronomical tables for a different location or year than the place and time intended.
Fig. 2. Natal horoscope for Giliaen Denis, followed by a set of charts for Liejan vander Walle. Oxford, Bod, MS Ashmole 189, f. 194v. By kind permission of the Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford.
chart for a planetary revolution for the year 1533, and underneath it one for the year 1534. Since the two sets of charts for Liejan vander Walle in units 3 and 5 were added by the scribe at a later date and seem to reflect an actual consultation of the astrologer physician by a client, they postdate the other texts in these units, but they must have been current at the time of writing, making the 1530s the latest possible time of composition of these units.

The origin of the scribe, if not of the Flemish part of ms Ashmole 189, can be assigned with some certainty to the southern Netherlands, and more specifically to Flanders. The prefabricated astrological charts on f. 173r-187v seem to have been designed for a latitude of ca. 51° N, which crosses Belgium just south of Ghent. This latitude is explicitly identified by an astronomical table on f. 193r, which also mentions the Brabantian town of Leuven. The astronomical table on f. 191v, the last page of unit 4, contains a reference to the town of Borgloon, then in the county of Loon, at present in the Belgian province of Limburg. Yet f. 192r, the first page of unit 5, contains a slightly reworked table on the same subject, whose values may reflect the actual location where the scribe had his practice, which we presume is a town or village in Flanders on the basis of his dialect. Flemish dialectal features are the spelling ou for oe before velars and labials, e.g., ghenouch ('enough') souct ('seek') gheprooft ('tried'; but note boeck and zoecken in item 6); the spelling au(u) for ou(u), e.g., saude ('should'), caunt ('cold'), mauue ('woman'), autheyt ('antiquity'); and prothesis of [h] before a word-initial vowel, e.g., huwe ('your'), hooere ('ear'), heersten ('first'; but eersten is also attested, as is the much less frequent form ierste). These features point to a Flemish scribe, while the exceptions quoted above may be due to the dialects of some of his exemplars.

The whereabouts of the units before they ended up in the Ashmolean collection are not known, but the presence of some brief texts added by a second scribe indicate that they remained in use in Flanders at least initially. At the very end of unit 3, on f. 171v, this second scribe added two medical recipes in the vernacular, and towards the end of unit 5, on f. 198v, he added some scribbles. Judging by the script and the dialect, this person was active in Flanders in the 1540s or 1550s. It is impossible to establish how the second scribe came in possession of the units, but the nature of the additions suggests a professional interest in medicine. Yet another sixteenth-century scribe used the bottom right corner of f. 117r to calculate a longitude, possibly to cast a horoscope. The input longitude is slightly west of Bruges, and the output longitude is between Bruges and Ghent. There is no further record of the units before their appearance in the Ashmolean collection.

18 As calculated by Huizenga (1993) on the basis of an analogue in the Vienna codex. 19 The fact that astronomical tables were linked to specific towns (i.e., longitudes) on specific latitudes enabled astrologers to calculate accurate horoscopes by adjusting the numbers in the tables for the longitude of their own location. In other words, the mention of a town helped an astrologer on the same latitude to calibrate his data set, but it does not by definition mean that he was operating in this town.
Analysis of the Contents of the Flemish Part of ms Ashmole 189

Reflecting the pointed saying *inscius medicus est qui astronomiam ignorat*, the Flemish part of *ms* Ashmole 189 preserves the instructional texts, excerpts, notes, lists, tables, recipes and astrological case studies that an astrologer physician would have employed in diagnosing and treating his clients, and in casting their horoscopes prior to a consultation, diagnosis or treatment. This combination of contents into one source book is rare in Dutch *artes* manuscripts, adding to the value of the manuscript under discussion. The items range from curative medical texts, such as recipes that address a wide spectrum of everyday physical complaints, to diagnostic texts on astrological uroscopy, which obviates physical inspection of both the urine and the patient, and brief chapters on technical aspects of casting horoscopes, such as calculating a conception horoscope from the moment of birth. There is even room for a sprinkling of magical texts that seem out of place in the larger astrological and medical context of the notebooks (items 2, 11, 12, 23). The scribe must have been aware of their precarious nature, because those magical items that affect the free will of other people are in cipher, such as a recipe for a rather unsavoury love potion (f. 116r). Aside from some of the recipe collections, most tables and a few brief items in Latin, the texts are in the vernacular, and most of them are uniquely attested.

The relevance of bringing the Flemish part of *ms* Ashmole 189 to the attention of the academic community is that it provides insight into the kinds of materials an astrologer physician compiled into an anthology for his own use. The manuscript differs significantly from other Dutch *artes* volumes, such as hs. Hattem C5 and the Vienna codex. All three manuscripts consist of discrete codicological units that are to a large extent thematically organised, but the compilers and the contents of these units differ. It would be beyond the scope of this article to enter into an exhaustive comparison, yet three observations can be made. First, the Flemish part of *ms* Ashmole 189 are the private working papers of an astrologer physician in his own informal cursive script with a rather irregular textual layout, in contrast to the Vienna codex, which was in all likelihood compiled by a professional scribe under the direction of a practising physician, and this may also apply to hs. Hattem C5, even though the hand is less formal than that of the Vienna codex. Whether the manuscripts were written by their respective owners or under their direction, the contents show that they had

20 From the introduction of the *Astrologia Ypocratis*, a late medieval treatise of astrological medicine; see Kibre 1978, 141.
21 These magical texts are studied in Chardonnens 2018.
22 The contents are described in more detail in the appendix below.
23 For ease of comparison, the Flemish part of *ms* Ashmole 189 is here related to the two *artes* manuscripts that are most well-researched, but it should be kept in mind that the latter antedate the volume under discussion, originated in different milieus, and are much longer. There are some contemporary *artes* manuscripts that are of comparable length, but these are little researched and in general feature longer tracts and fewer of the short items that characterise *ms* Ashmole 189, e.g., Amsterdam, Universiteitsbibliotheek, ms XV G 6; Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms II 5225; The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, ms kaw XXVIII; and London, British Library, ms Sloane 764 (see Jansen-Sieben 1989, 218–220, 268–269, 333–334, and 396–397, respectively).
different interests. The Flemish part of ms Ashmole 189 gives decidedly more attention to astrology than to medicine, with some magical texts in between the other items. The medical texts can be divided into curative and diagnostic ones. Among the latter, some of the uroscopical texts use the astrological approach most famously introduced in the De urina non visa by William English (fl. 1219-1230), which replaced diagnosis on the basis of inspection of a client’s urine by diagnosis on the basis of astrological calculations. The Vienna codex blends astrology and medicine in roughly the same way that the Flemish part of ms Ashmole 189 does, but it has much more extensive coverage of curative medicine, and it includes other types of practical science, such as alchemy and distillation.25 Hs. Hattem C5, on the other hand, focuses almost exclusively on medicine, particularly on curative medicine, and includes some magic and alchemy. Second, the scribe of the Flemish part of ms Ashmole 189 seems to have been less concerned with copying texts in their entirety than the compilers of the other two manuscripts. All of the items in the Flemish part of ms Ashmole 189 are either short texts in their own right or excerpts of longer texts. The compilers of the other two manuscripts, conversely, not only copied shorter items, such as individual recipes, but also longer treatises, such as the Secreta secretorum and a lengthy alphabetical herbal in hs. Hattem C5, and the Antidotarium Nicolai, the Chirurgia magna of Bruno Longoburgensis (ca. 1200-1286), and the herbal Circa instans in the Vienna codex. The most important difference, thirdly, is that the Flemish part of ms Ashmole 189 features astrology, astrological diagnostic medicine, and relatively straightforward medical recipes, whereas hs. Hattem C5 and the Vienna codex also include texts that would have been of great benefit to physicians who gravitate more towards curative medicine and less towards astrology in their daily work, such as tracts on medical theory, bloodletting and surgery, plague treatises, antidotaries, herbs, and rules for hygiene and health. These medical texts in hs. Hattem C5 and the Vienna codex are the stock-in-trade of medieval and early modern educated medical professionals, in particular of physicians trained at universities, apothecaries, and the top layers of surgical practitioners, but they are lacking in our manuscript.26 On the basis of the texts preserved in ms Ashmole 189, our scribe seems to have relied upon astrology and astrological diagnostic medicine, and to a lesser extent on the curative medicine that is concentrated in unit 2.

This comparison bears out that our scribe was probably more of an astrologer with medical interests than a regular physician, an apothecary or a surgeon. The materials he left us give the impression of a thematically but spontaneously organised anthology of brief texts and excerpts about matters that had a direct bearing on his professional activities, and in part contain evidence of his professional activities in the form of horoscopes. This is precisely what sets the Flemish part of ms Ashmole 189 apart from other Dutch artes manuscripts, because text witnesses of the artes are not in short supply, but examples of how the artes were actually put into practice, astrology in particular, are rare from Dutch sources.

26 For the varieties of medical practitioners, see Siraisi 1990, 17-47; Huizenga 1997, 294-305.
Concluding Remarks

The manuscript introduced in this article is a hitherto unknown composite volume containing Dutch practical science, which is now part of Oxford, Bod, ms Ashmole 189. The manuscript consists of 85 folios of astrology and medicine in Flemish and Latin, spread across five notebooks and a single leaf that were produced by a single scribe. The scribe organised the units by topic and worked on them in separate stints. Codicological and textual evidence suggests that he was active in the 1520s and 1530s, and the dialect of the texts points at a Flemish astrologer physician. The units subsequently came into the possession of another person, who added a few items in Flemish in the 1540s or 1550s.

What makes the Flemish part of ms Ashmole 189 such a valuable addition to the manuscripts of Dutch practical science is the fact that it consists of booklets of private working papers that are unlike the more carefully constructed medical and astrological compendia known from late medieval Dutch sources, such as the Vienna codex and hs. Hattem C5. The six units, in fact, are thematically organised units that would have been meaningful primarily to the person that copied them, without any claim to long-term significance. Even so, these private notebooks circulated in Flanders for some time before they eventually ended up in the collection of Elias Ashmole, where they were bound together with English practical science, only to be wrongly identified as German in all descriptive catalogues since 1698. This oversight has been corrected with the publication of the present article.

Appendix: Contents of ms Ashmole 189, f. 116-200

This appendix provides an overview of the texts in the Flemish part of ms Ashmole 189. Text divisions in the manuscript are not always clear, so we have distinguished as many items as is practicable, even if some items taken together might arguably form one larger text, which may be the case for some of the uroscopical texts and the astronomical tables. Exceptions are the medical recipe collections (items 24, 36, 37), which together consist of several hundred items but that we have regarded as three composite texts. Medical recipes outside these collections have, however, been treated as individual items.

Each item is introduced by a short description and its location in the manuscript, followed by a rubric (if any), and the complete text if it is brief, or the incipit and explicit if it is long. Comments on the text conclude each item. Most texts are uniquely attested, but analogues have been identified where possible. Glosses to astrological terms are provided in footnotes. Ingredients of magical and medical recipes are glossed in footnotes, with the Dutch ingredient presented first, followed by a square bracket and the English gloss.27

Abbreviations have been expanded silently in the interest of space, except in running texts in Latin that are so garbled that expanding the abbreviations would only make the texts worse (items 7, 8, 9, 77). In these cases we have suggested a solution between brackets. The idiosyncratic use of abbreviation marks and the many grammatical mistakes in these items seem to indicate that the scribe had a limited command of written Latin. Spelling, punctuation and capitalisation (except for names) follow the manuscript. Illegible letters and physical damage to the manuscript have been indicated in double square brackets. Line endings in lists in the manuscript are here indicated with a vertical stroke (|).

Symbols:
- Aspects: $\sigma$ conjunction; * sextile; $\Delta$ trine; $\Phi$ opposition.  
- Planets:  
  - A: Sun;  
  - B: Moon;  
  - C: Mercury;  
  - D: Venus;  
  - E: Mars;  
  - F: Jupiter;  
  - G: Saturn.  
- Signs:  
  - a: Aries;  
  - b: Taurus;  
  - c: Gemini;  
  - d: Cancer;  
  - e: Leo;  
  - f: Virgo;  
  - g: Libra;  
  - h: Scorpio;  
  - i: Sagittarius;  
  - j: Capricorn;  
  - k: Aquarius;  
  - l: Pisces.  
- Weights:  
  - £ ounce; ℒ pound.

Unit 1: f. 116-147

1 Note on astrometeorology (f. 116r/1-10)

Text: Als $\Phi$ es met $\sigma$ of in enich $\sigma$ aspect of in zijn $\Phi$ dan heft hem den wint geerrene ende als $\Phi$ es onder den scijn vander $\Phi$ dan zo keert hem den wint gerne naer het norde of naer het tweste ende als $\Phi$ es in cancro onder den schin vander $\Phi$ dan eyst gerne doncker inde lucht ende grooten wint ter zee ende als $\Phi$ es in virgo onder tschin van $\Phi$ et bediet groot quaet ende vele siechede onder die lieden ende ware $\Phi$ in $\Phi$ onder den schin vander $\Phi$ zo saude de lucht harde caut zijn ende et zaude herde tideliken vriesen dus zeyt Albumazar

Comments: this note deals with the influence on the weather of aspects between planets and the location of planets in the zodiac. The information is excerpted from a longer planetary zodiologium of the kind found in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2818, f. 10va-12rb.29 The text is attributed to the great Persian astrol-oger and philosopher Abu Ma’shar (787-886), but the matter of the influence of the planets on meteorological phenomena was a major topic for other middle eastern astrologers too, such as Masha’Allah (ca. 740-815) and al-Kindi (ca. 801-873). Huizenga cites al-Kindi’s De radiis as the source for the planetary zodiologium.30

2 Magical recipe (f. 116r/11-23)

Rubric: de amore. Text: Nempt $\sqrt{3}$ n$\Phi$ten m$\Phi$schats vanden cleensten ende besten die gh hy cont vinden ende sqgelcht die inne ende wacht dan dat ghys weder ghecricht als gh hy ter thuisr$\Phi$ gaet ende maectsse [leg. maectsse] scooene ende laetse droeeghen

28 An aspect is the angle between planets in a horoscope, which is said to have a positive or negative influence; hence conjunction: an angle of 0-10° (when the planets are closely together); sextile: an angle of 60° (one-sixth of the celestial sphere of 360°); square: an angle of 90° (one-fourth of 360°); trine: an angle of 120° (one-third of 360°); opposition: an angle of 180° (half of 360°, when the planets are opposite each other).
ende als drooeghe zijn dan pulferersse [leg. pulferersse] ende nempt een crogt daer meede dat heet iporic⁸m dit puluerert deen metten anderen ende nempt een luttele van huq Pep bl86de ende alzo vele van huwer net9⁹⁶n ende doet van huwen zw66⁹⁶ daer inne van onder huwe h8ckqs3e een luttele ende gheft dit een vra9⁹⁶ of m9⁹⁸cht [leg. m5⁶cht; h and ⁸ being closely similar in the scribe's hand] die ghy wilt dat huwen wille doet zij salt doen dat ghy wilt ende dat en zalse niet laten omme al dat inde wert es³¹

Comments: the scribe used a simple vowel-number cipher (here indicated in italics), perhaps to shield the contents of the recipe or add to its efficacy: ⁵ = a, ⁶ = e, ⁸ = o, ⁹ = u, ⁹⁹ = uu/w. A form of sorcery, love potions were considered illicit since they were thought to take away the victim's free will. The potion is a mixture of nutmeg (ground after digestion and excretion), hypericum and bodily fluids, to be administered to an unwitting woman for her to do her suitor's bidding. Edition: Chardonnens 2018, 8.

3 Dye recipe (f. 116r/24-29)

Rubric: probatum est zwart haer. Text: Omme zwart haer te maken nempt tarterum een $L$ wijnedic ghedestelert ende i $L$ sapen tsamen in ghesoden ende doeter i onse coliquintida inne ende laetet al zo st[a]en een dach ende nacht ende wast daer hu haer [mede i] weke zo wordet al zwart dat daer met ghewasschen. Comments: this recipe is for a black hair dye. The bottom right corner of the folio is torn out, affecting the endings of the last three lines of the text.

4 Text on astrological uroscopy (f. 116v/1-117r/2)

Inc.: Dit zin ⁷ sunderlinghe questien omme orine te iugierene ende dat princpeael bider vren datmense hu bringhen zal ende die vre zulde nemen ter zonen opganc. Expl.: Eyst vre secht dat hy heeft bleynkens in zijnen lichame daer bloet vte looept ende beuinghe ende vele bloets in zijnen lichame

Comments: this uroscopical text diagnoses a client’s illness using the planetary ruler of the weekday on which a client’s urine is brought into the physician’s practice, so without judging the urine itself.³³ The physician is instructed to foil any attempt at fraud by asserting that when the bringer of the urine denies the nature of the illness, he has come to test or deceive the physician. Analogue: item 18.

5 List of planetary rulers (f. 117r/3-8)

Text: Item tes te verstaene dat den zondach es de vre van B heere ende den maendach de vre van D heere ende den dissendach G vre heere ende den woensdach de vre van Q heere ende tdonderdaechs F ende tfrindaechs Q vre ende tsaterdaes [leg. tsaterdaechs] H vre ende dit es altooes te nemen opfuen tonnen opganc ende gheft dan huwe vonnessen naer dese ⁷ vessen [leg. vonnessen] vorseit

31 nutmeg; iporic⁸m] hypericum; bl86de] blood; net9⁹⁶n] sperm; zw66⁹⁶ ... van onder huwe h8ckqs3e sweat from one’s armpit.
33 A planet that is particularly powerful in a certain zodiacal sign is its ruler, e.g., the Sun is the planetary ruler of Leo. Since planets and signs are also assigned to houses in a horoscope, and to hours and weekdays, planets may also rule houses, hours and weekdays.
Comments: this list offers the user of the preceding uroscopical treatise a method to identify the principal planetary ruler of each weekday.

6 List of planetary rulers (f. 117r/9–119r/13)
Rubric: Dits omme vonnessen te gheuen op den loop der 7 planeten. Inc.: Hier inne desen boeck zulde vinden warachteghe vonnessen tot 28 die sulde zoeken bijder 2 loop. Expl.: Ḩ tfrindaechs tsuuchtens ten 4 int westen ten 11 noorden ten 6 naernoene zo es hij int oosten explicit
Comments: establishing the location of a planet at a given weekday and hour following the 28 mansions of the Moon, this list enumerates 49 planetary rulers, one for each planet on each weekday. A later user of the manuscript employed the bottom right corner of f. 117r to calculate a longitude, possibly to cast a horoscope.

7 Drawings of the twelve zodiacal constellations (f. 119r/14–119v/4)
Rubric: Sngna [leg. Singna] zodiaci s(un)t 12 et h(ec) sunt figura
Comments: the name of each zodiacal constellation is followed by a schematic drawing of the stars that make up the constellation.

8 Drawings of the constellations of the 28 mansions of the Moon (f. 119v/5–120r/8)
Rubric: manciones lune in p(re)dic(t)is 12 signis s(un)t 28 quaru(m) cuilib(et) de zodiace cede(n)t g(raf)us 31 sec(un)d(i) 26 fe(re) et su(n)t iste
Comments: each lunar mansion is represented by a constellation that is observed to stand behind the Moon at that point in time. The names of the constellations associated with the lunar mansions are followed by schematic drawings of the stars that make up these constellations.

9 Excerpt on the essential dignities of the planets (f. 120r/9–15)
Text: Stelle in uirtut(is) ariet(is) su(n)t saturni et mart(is) mixte(m) te(m)porate(m) i(n) calore excedentes i(n) ore m(er)curij i(n) cauda vener(is) ¶ in tauro ven(us) & satur(n)i paru(m) achorazie seu pliades m(a)rt(is) & lune aldebra(n) seu ort(us) tauri nat(ur)e mart(is) alie bide(m) [leg. ibidem?] sat(ur)ni & m(er)curi aliqua(m) tulu(m) que i(n) pedib(us) sunt m(ar)t(is) & alie bide(m) [leg. ibidem?] que i(n) cornib(us) sunt m(ar)t(is) & alie bide(m) [leg. ibidem?] tulu(m) vener(is) lucide
Comments: this excerpt identifies the essential dignities of some of the planets relative to their position in the zodiac.

10 List of human features and their position in the body (f. 120r/16–25)
Text: Tferstant des menschens leyt int voerhooft | ende die onthaudenesse leyt achter inde herssenen | ende die gramscape leyt in de galle | ende die ghiericheyt leyt inde

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34 A lunar mansion is a stage of the Moon’s passage through the ecliptic, the apparent path of the Sun through the celestial sphere, which takes roughly 28 days, hence 28 lunar mansions.

35 Dignities (essential and accidental) are a measure for a planet’s heightened influence at a particular location in a horoscope. If a planet is in its own house, for instance, it has accidental dignity, while it has essential dignity in its own zodiacal sign.
leuere | ende die verhoetheyt leyt int herte | ende den aesen leyt inde longhere | ende die blischepe leyt inde milte | ende het ghedachte leyt inde nieren | het bloet leyt inde lijs | ende de ziele leyt int bloet ende den geest [leg. geest]

Comments: this list maps various human features onto the body, such as reason in the forehead, anger in the gall bladder, and the soul and mind in the blood.

11 Magical recipe (f. 120v/1-4)
Rubric: Item wilde zien dat niement ghesien en can. Text: nempt die galle vanden catrolle ende stampse metten smerre van eender wijtter hennen ende saluet hu ooghen daer mede ghyn dat niement ghesien en can

Comments: this is a magical recipe for seeing hidden things by applying an ointment to the eyes. Analogue: London, Wellcome Library, ms 517, f. 65r.

12 Magical recipe (f. 120v/5-7)
Rubric: Item om tanden huute te doen vallene. Text: zo nempt et graen vanden heertvelt metten blaren alle die tanden die ghy daer mede wrijft tsij goet of quaej sij zullen alle huute vallen

Comments: this is a magical recipe for making teeth fall out by applying the seeds and leaves of the unidentified plant *heertvelt* to the teeth. Edition: Chardonnens 2018, 4.

13 List of the seven climes (f. 120v/8-121r/12)
Rubric: vande 7 climaten. Inc.: Allexander heenich prinne der werlter ouerleit der werlter iijf lxxxi. iaeer eer Christus gegeboren was. Expl.: Het seuenste climaet behijnt in orientem bijden lande van Goch ende Goote ende lijdt bijden lande van Turkien

Comments: this text lists the seven climes (i.e., geographical regions) into which Ptolemy (ca. 90-ca. 168) divided the known world.

14 List of the seven planets and their climes (f. 121r/13-19)

Text: Tclimaet van \( \mathfrak{B} \) es Babeloien | ende \( \mathfrak{A} \) climaet es Turkien | ende \( \mathfrak{C} \) climaet es Roome | \( \mathfrak{D} \) climaet es Romenien | \( \mathfrak{D} \) climaet es Arabien | \( \mathfrak{D} \) climaet es Dezijnde | \( \mathfrak{D} \) climaet es Spaeingen ende orientem usque ad mare

Comments: the seven planets are here linked to the seven climes which they were thought to govern.

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36 galle vanden catrolle] gall of a tom cat, see Braekman 1997, 431, n. 3; smerre van eender wijtter hennen] grease of a white hen. A number of ophthalmological recipes include, alongside herbal ingredients, the gall of eels, hares, poultry, partridges, sheep or vultures; see de Vreese 1894, no. 311, 575, Braekman 1970, no. 311, 575, 578, 778, 868, 871, id. 1975, no. 339, 845, 846.
37 Braekman 1966, no. 3. The ingredients in the analogue are the gall of a goat and the grease of a white hen.
38 graen vanden heertvelt metten blaren] seeds and leaves of the unidentified plant *heertvelt*. *Heertvelt* also occurs in several other vernacular recipe collections, including the *Cyngie* of Jan Yperman (ca. 1260-ca. 1331); see Van Leersum [1912], 170. Braekman surmised that it stands for ivy, though without explaining why; see Braekman 1965, 89 (s.v. *certweltlovre*), id. 1970, 419 (s.v. *certwelt*), id. 1999, 238 (s.v. *certwelt*).
15 Astrological medical prognostication (f. 121v/1-5)
Rubric: Oft de ziecke ghesont zal worden of en zal etcetera. Text: So wanneer dat Ξ ende den heere des assendents behindert zijn als vanden heere des 8 hus zo eyst zeere te duchten voer den ziecken als dat hy steruen zal
Comments: this prognostication predicts peril for a client when the aspect of the planetary ruler of the eighth house (the house of death) blocks the Moon and the planetary ruler of the ascendant.39

16 Astrological medical prognostication (f. 121v/6-11)
Text: Item besiedt den assendent inder 16 kalenden van iulij tot inden daghe doe hy de zieke te bedde viel ende dan zo doelt [leg. deelt] dit voort by 3 ende eyst dat zake dat op dien tijt een houer blijft zo staet de ziecke ras op ende blijfter 2 houer zo staet hy ouer lanc op maer blijfter niet ouer zo en staet die ziecke niet op
Comments: this prognostication predicts the course of an illness by means of calculations involving the ascendant.

17 Astrological medical prognostication (f. 121v/12-122r/22)
Rubric: Noch vanden zeluen. Inc.: Item zo wie zieck wort op den dach vander Ω dan zo salmen op dien tijt alleene nemen dien vorseit Ω dach daer desen ziecken op te bedde gheuallen es. Expl.: Item zo wie zieck wort inden daghe van Ο ende die dan voort ten 5ten daghe daer naer die sieckte verswaert dese sterft daer of ten 14den daghe daer naer
Comments: this prognostication predicts the course of an illness by means of the weekday on which it started.

18 Text on astrological uroscopy (f. 122v/1-123r/6)
Rubric: Item wildij weten wat ziechede dat een menssche heeft zonder die orine te besien. Inc.: So besiet ten heersten wiens wijle dat es vanden planeten als hu die orine brocht wort of ghevraecht wort. Expl.: Ende heyst Iupiter zo es de siechte verwandelt inne 3 passien so dat hij heeft harten lichame ende onder de rebben een bernende curtse
Comments: this uroscopical text diagnoses a client’s illness using the planetary ruler of the weekday on which a client’s urine is brought into the physician’s practice, so without judging the urine itself. The physician is instructed to foil any attempt at fraud by asserting that when the bringer of the urine denies the nature of the illness, he has come to test or deceive the physician. The final entry (for Mars) is lacking. Analogue: item 4.

39 A house is one of twelve subdivisions of a horoscope, each house covering 30° of the celestial sphere (one-twelfth of 360°), which enables an astrologer to map the location of the twelve zodiacal signs and the seven planets at a given place and time onto a horoscope (see fig. 1 and 2 for examples). Each house covers a certain area of existence, such as life (first house), health (sixth), and death (eighth). The ascendant is the sign on the eastern horizon at the time for which a horoscope is cast.
19 Sample astrological chart (f. 123r/bottom half)
Comments: this sample astrological chart presents the twelve houses, the seven planets in their joys, the four cardinal directions of the sky (mirrored, as is customary in sky charts), and the symbols for the planetary aspects of opposition (♀), trine (△), square (□) and sextile (★).¹⁰

20 Astrological treatise of the twelve zodiacal signs (f. 123v/1-129r/22)
Inc.: Als op gaet den hoghen assendent die porte des hemels die daer gheboren wort als een gheboren kindt dat comt opder Werlt. Expl.: Ende zijne siechten die deen vanden anderen commen van gramschepen ende wonden ende van smake al dat biijter es
Comments: this astrological treatise explains which illnesses and predispositions are associated with each ascendant sign, based on the corresponding sign in the sixth house (the house of health). One zodiacal sign per page. With sample astrological charts on the pages for Cancer and Virgo.

21 Astrological treatise of the seven planets (f. 129v/1-132v/24)
Inc.: Ghes sterck ende van cauder complexien ende drooghe vree ende diefte verra der ende ghierich thebbee ander lieden goedt of djinghen. Expl.: Bes caut ende nat van complexien ende es ghelijc den herssenen ende in haer vre eyst quet wercken of purgeren de herssenen
Comments: this astrological treatise addresses the properties of the seven planets, ranging from their associated temperaments to the personality types and predispositions of people born under their influence. One planet per page.

22 Astrological treatise of marriage (f. 133r/1-134r/1)
Rubric: Dit zijn die xi vonnessen of sentenssien vanden huwelike nader natuere vanden xii teekenen alzo ghys hier na zult hooren. Inc.: Deeste [leg. Deest] vonnese die man die es van ♆ nempt hy het wijnjie die es van ♉ daer met heeft hy wijnninghe ende goede auontuerue. Expl.: deen naer dandere tot datmen compt aen dat teeken daer en begint ende alzo gaet voert vanden eenen teeken ten anderen | Explijcit deo gracias
Comments: this astrological treatise discusses the influence of the zodiacal signs of partners in a marriage. Eleven examples are provided for combinations of Aries with other signs, and the end of the text gives instructions on how to proceed with the other signs.

23 Magical charm (f. 134r/2-10)
Text: Met desen worden doetmen alle pelgherems op staen alzo verre als ghys hen liedien in hare hoore zecht ende diese niet en can die doese scruen [leg. scruien] inne een briefuelken ende stecse den pelgrems in zijne rechte hooere zo staet hy op het es

40 A planet’s joy is the location in a zodiacal sign where a planet likes to be most of all in relation to the position of another planet. The joy is not necessarily identical to the sign of which a planet is ruler. Jupiter, for instance, is in its joy when the Sun stands in a sign ruled by Jupiter, e.g., Sagittarius or Pisces.
gheprouft | m6nssch6 7c b6806 [leg. b696] b9 [leg. h9] d6qr d6 c5cht b6sn h66r6n b6ns g8d 6nd6 d9o1nt [leg. d90r] d6 g6rd76ntst6 lhesus Christus d5t gh7 dp st56t ende wech gaet | verum probatum est
Comments: the scribe used a vowel-number cipher (here indicated in italics) to shield the contents of the spell: 5 = a, 6 = e, 7 = i, 8 = o, 9 = u/v. The spell makes pilgrims stand up and leave, either by whispering the spell in their ears, or by sticking a written spell in their right ear. Edition: Chardonnens 2018, 6.

24 Medical recipe collection (f. 134r/11-137r/29)
Expl.: Explicit tractatus qui intitulatur Thesaurus pauperium [sic] magistri Petri Hijspani quondam pape
Comments: this large group of mostly brief recipes (many are only two lines long) treats a variety of physical complaints and illnesses. The explicit explains that the recipes are excerpted from Peter of Spain’s Thesaurus pauperum, a medical recipe collection thought by some to have been compiled by the later Pope John XXI (1210x1220-1277). The recipes are in Latin with occasional glosses in Flemish.

25 Two uroscopy wheels (f. 137v/top half, 138r/top half)
Rubric: Omme oryne te iugherene [top margin of f. 137v; repeated in bottom margin of f. 138r].
Comments: the twenty types of urine and seven diagnostic patterns customarily depicted in a single uroscopy wheel are here divided into two wheels. The uroscopy flasks are drawn with ink but not coloured. Each diagram covers three-fourths of a page. The remainder of f. 137v was used to copy a list of the four elements (item 26); the remainder of f. 138r was used to start a longer uroscopical text (item 27).

26 List of the four temperaments (f. 137v/bottom half)
Text: Sangwijne zijn van natueren ghelijc die locht vochtich ende warme | Dese begerren vele ende moghen vele | Colerike zijn van natueren ghelijc dat vier drooge ende warme | Dese begerren vele ende moghen lettele | Flumatika zijn van natueren ghelijc dat water caut ende vochtich | Dese begerren lettele ende zij moghen vele | Melancolie zijn van natueren ghelic die erde caut ende drooge | Dese begherren lettele ende moghen lettele
Comments: this list introduces the four temperaments and their associated elements, qualities and personality types.

27 Medical uroscopical text (f. 138r/bottom half-142r/6)
Inc.: Die oryne es een suuerijnghe des bloets ende die orine beteekent bysonderlic ende specialic die passien ende ghebreken van twee dijnghen. Expl.: Item orine die zeere zwart es die den vrawuen overcom die eeneeghe rootheyt ghecrich als zij be-roert wort die beteekent solucie ende ontbondenheyt der menstrum of der manne-liker stonden der vrawuen
Comments: this text introduces the practice of uroscopy by means of studying the colour, consistency, sediments, clarity and foam of urine. The text also presents medical diagnoses connected to the various conditions of the urine under scrutiny.
28 Medical uroscopical note (f. 142r/7-142v/15)
Rubric: Dit es de maniere omme orine te iugerene. Inc.: Dit es de maniere omme die orine te gugerene als alle dinghen ouersien ende bemerct zijn die van eenen medecin meerster ouermerct behoert te zijne. Expl.: ende dese vorseyde manieren zyn ghe-nouch voer die gugheringehe or iudicien ende bewijsinghe der orinen amen | Cum gratia et preuilegio deo gratias
Comments: this text excerpts diagnoses connected to only a few types of urine. Black opined that this text was copied from a printed book on the basis of the privilege at the end of the text.41 Printed books with uroscopy in the vernacular have been attested, but none is an analogue to our text.42

29 Medical uroscopical note (f. 142v/16-20)
Text: Het hondersceet vander vrauwen orine ende des mans dese des mans orine heeft onder eenen rinck ende der vrauwen orine niet. Ende der bersten [leg. beesten] orine heeft twee ringhen eenen ondere ende eenen bouen Daer by machmen bekennen des mensschen orine vor beesten
Comments: this note explains that urine from men has a ring at the bottom in the uroscopy flask, whereas urine from women lacks this ring. It further explains that animal urine has two rings. By these means the physician can distinguish the source of the urine under inspection, presumably in order to avoid situations in which he is being tested (knowingly or unknowingly) by a client or someone masquerading as a client.

30 Hemerological text on planetary rulers (f. 143r/1-146v/15)
Rubric: omme te wetene op wat daghe of vre dat goet es eeneghe zaken te beginnen omme profijt or wijnninghe thebbene. Inc.: Eist dat ghy wilt in eneghe zaken profiteren zo besiet opden zondach die heerste vre van Ξ ende die dan portter die sal keeren met groote winninghe. Expl.: 7 ringnert inde 7 vre ende dese vre die es nuttelic tot allen dijghen
Comments: this text predicts the outcome of an undertaking, depending on the planetary ruler of the weekday and hour at which the undertaking commenced in a list of 49 items, one for every planet on every weekday. One weekday per page. The bottom margin of f. 143v contains the number sequence 110110000001100111101000100110, which is the solution to a mathematical permutation known as the Josephus problem. With a history going back to the Jewish historian Titus Flavius Josephus (37–ca. 100), the Josephus problem is a counting-out game that was popular in the medieval and early modern period.43

41 Black 1845, col. 152.
43 Ahrens 1918, vol. II, 118–169. The same number sequence occurs in several other late medieval manuscripts of practical science, for instance, in the English manuscript London, British Library, ms Harley 2407, f. 2v, and the German manuscript Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 4394, f. 183v.
Table of fixed stars (f. 146v–147v)
Comments: this table lists a number of properties of twenty-six fixed stars, e.g., longitude, latitude, declination and magnitude.

Medical recipe (f. 147r/bottom margin)
Text: Nempt gerstenmeel ende queappel kernen ende asyn maect daer een plaester af iegen podogram
Comments: this recipe against gout was added in the bottom margin by the main scribe.

Medical recipe (f. 147v/bottom margin)
Text: Nempt ongheblust calck swarte zeepe ende maket nat met speecsel tot dat dicke es als deech dit maect een gader binnen 8 huerren et tuum ponr [leg. pone] istum supra also dicke als eenen vijngher
Comments: this recipe for an unidentified complaint was added in the bottom margin by the main scribe. The text switches to Latin at a crucial point and then switches back to Flemish, perhaps indicating that it addresses a complaint of an intimate nature, possibly constipation.

Medical recipe (f. 148r/1-16)
Rubric: Een pock zalue. Inc.: Eerst zulde nemen een vierrendeel gheluwe was ende een vierrendeel spieghelharst vanden besten die ghij ghecrijgen muecht. Expl.: Roert altoes wel omme tot dat grau wert maer ghij moet altooes roerren tween huerren lanck achter dat ghij dat pulfer daer in ghedaen hept
Comments: this recipe treats a form of pox.

Medical recipe (f. 148r/17-20)
Rubric: Noch een ander recept ieghen tzelue. Text: nempt een vierrendeel bakesmers ende iii lootwijt wel ghepulffert ende ii ℥ olij lauwers ende een ℥ olij van spijck of peterolie ende onder ½ ℥ quycseluer ghestampt alte gader

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44 gerstenmeel] barley flour; queappel kernen] pips of a quince; asyn] vinegar.
45 ongheblust calck] quicklime; swarte zeepe] black soap; speecsel] saliva.
46 Some recipes against constipation recommend a thick paste cut into finger-sized suppositories to be applied rectally; see de Vreese 1894, no. 4, Braekman 1975, no. 937.
47 gheluwe was] yellow wax; spieghelharst] rosin.
36 Medical recipe collection (f. 148r/21-153r/27)
Comments: a large collection of medical recipes addressing a wide range of complaints and illnesses. The layout of this recipe collection differs from the preceding two recipes, suggesting a separate stint or exemplar. F. 148v–149r are empty, but the rubric of the first recipe on f. 149v (‘Een ander ieghe tzelue’) clarifies that it continues from where the recipes on f. 148r left off, so the empty pages may be accidental. The recipes are in Latin and Flemish.

37 Medical recipe collection (f. 153v/1-157r/17)
Comments: a collection of about 30 recipes against belching, vomiting and jaundice. The layout of this recipe collection differs from the preceding one, suggesting a separate stint or exemplar. The middle of f. 155r and the bottom half of f. 157r are empty. The recipes are in Latin and Flemish.

38 Medical recipe (f. 157v/1-5)
Text: Nempt huenich een pont asijn een half pont spaens groen ¾ i aluins ¾ ½ i een half once [sic] coect dese aent vier tot dase dicke worde ende root worde want sij wonderlic es naer haerre operacie so verliese haer rootheitt [sic] ende wert weder groene
Comments: judging by the next recipe and the analogue item 74, this recipe seems to treat infected wounds. It was added by the main scribe independently of the preceding recipe collection. Analogue: item 74.

39 Medical recipe (f. 157v/6-8)
Text: Nempt huenich een ½ pont terbentijn een quaertier heefdeech en once de wortele van yrios een ½ once ende minghelt dese want zij trect dat etter wte
Comments: this recipe seems to treat infected wounds. It was added by the main scribe independently of the preceding recipe collection. The remainder of the page is empty.

40 Medical recipe (f. 158r/1-30)
Rubric: Dit naervolghende es hoemen een bat maken zult ende wat instrumenten ende in wat manyre. Inc.: Alder eerst zulde doen maken eenen herdene pot van xii stoopen ende dien zulde doen ghelijc eenen rooempot met eender langher tote van onder haluen voete. Expl.: Ende als hy een vre wt ghewest heeft ende dan zalue hem striicken met strijcken met strijck zalue [log. dan zalmen hem strijcken met strijck zalue]
Comments: this recipe outlines the steps for preparing a medicinal bath for an unspecified complaint. The procedure involves assembling and heating up a pot with medicinal herbs whose fumes are to be released into the bathwater. The final instructions are to apply an ointment to the client’s skin, which may be a reference to the first recipe on f. 158v. If so, the medicinal bath is likely to treat pox or contracted nerves as well.

49 asijn| vinegar; spaens groen| copper acetate; aluins| alum.
50 huenich| honey; terbentijn| turpentine; heefdeech| yeast; wortele van yrios| orris root.
51 Medicinal baths were used more often in the treatment of contracted nerves; see Braem 1975, no. 21.
41 Medical recipe (f. 158r/1-12)
Rubric: Item dit es de zalve tieghen de vercrompen zenuwen vanden pocken oft gaten of haer artijcke oft fledecijn. Inc.: ghy zult nemen \(\text{℥}^1\) opsijcicrocie \(\text{leg.}\) oxsijcicrocie; \(\text{℥}^1\) osmonde \(\text{℥}^1\) dealtea ses \(\text{℥}^1\) dassesmauts 4 onsen paerdemaercx. Expl.: Ende camferre ende maect hier af een zalue. Comments: this recipe treats contracted nerves (‘vercrompen zenuwen’) as a result of a pox infection.

42 Medical recipe (f. 158v/12-22)
Inc.: omme die pocken binnen hebben te zuiveren ende wte te doen commen dat hij alzo suyver wesen zal ofte hij noeyt gheene ghehadt en hadde. Expl.: so zal hij binnen 40 daghen alzo suver zijn ofte hy noeyt gheene pocken ghehadt en hadde Comments: this recipe treats a form of pox.

43 List of the six ages of the world (f. 159r/1-27)
Inc.: die eerste eeuwe oft autheyt der werlt die gheduert heeft totter dyluvie na die Hebreuesche duerdese, dusent vi hondert lvi jaer. Expl.: Ende de werlt hadde ghestaan v dusent i’xcix ia[[er]] Comments: this list presents the six ages of the world: from Creation to the Flood, from the Flood to the birth of Abraham, from Abraham to the birth of David, from David to the Babylonian captivity, from the Babylonian captivity to the birth of Christ, and from Christ to Judgment Day. The end of the text reports the world to be 5199 years old. A set of Roman numbers added on f. 158v may represent the scribe’s calculation of the age of the world. The text was added by the main scribe. F. 159v is empty.

Unit 3: f. 160-171

44 Table of the properties of the twelve signs of the zodiac (f. 160r)
Comments: this table lists seven properties of each sign of the zodiac: its planetary ruler, its nature, its temperament and associated elements, advice on whether to let blood, advice on whether to take medication, the part of the body ruled by the sign, and the sign’s associated gender and cardinal direction. Analogue: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2818, f. iv.53

45 Directions for finding the ascendant (f. 160v/1-24)
Rubric: Tabula equacionem domorum ascendentum om te wetene den waractighen [leg. warachtighen] ascendent tot elcker vren van den daghe Inc.: Nempt den graet solis ende gaetter met in die tafele in tzelue teeken. Expl.: Dan es hij gheuerificert ende perfect Comments: these directions provide a sample calculation to identify the ascendant and the signs in the other houses, using the table of houses on f. 161r-166v. Analogue: item 56.

52 oxsiicicrocie [osy(r)croceum, a plaster or compound containing saffron; osmonde] royal fern; dealtea] marshmallow; dassesmauts] badger fat; paerdemaerx] horse marrow; camferre] camphor.
46 Table of houses (f. 160v/25-26, 161r-166v)
Rubric: hier volcht Θ opganc onderganc ende verneminghe [leg. verneminghe] der teeken
Comments: this table identifies the ascendant and the corresponding signs in the other houses. One zodiacal sign per page.

47 Sample astrological chart with table (f. 167r)
Comments: this astrological chart presents the twelve houses, their quality and relative strength, and the planets in their joys. The central square of the astrological chart contains a table of values for the relative strengths of the dignities assigned to the seven planets. The table directly underneath the chart covers values for the years 1531-1540. The chart and table were added by the main scribe.

48 Directions for finding the almuten⁵⁴ (f. 167v/1-19)
Inc.: Om almutas te maken so gaet totte 5 planeten ylech te weten Θ graet ascendent pas [leg. pars] fortune σ oft δ voer gaende der gheboten. Expl.: Exempel in dese fy-gure es Θ almutas Θ ende 4 deelen met haer
Comments: these directions provide a sample calculation to identify the value of the almuten and the essential dignities of the seven planets with the help of the position of the Sun in the zodiac at a given point in time, using the table on f. 168r-170v. The planet with the highest value is the almuten of the astrological chart. The directions are in a lighter ink than the following table, suggesting that the directions and the table were written at different points in time.

49 Almuten table (f. 168r-170v)
Comments: this table identifies the almuten. Each page covers two signs of the zodiac.

50 Two astrological charts (f. 171r/top)
Comments: these astrological charts are a natal horoscope for Liejan vander Walle, dated to 1501, and a solar revolution for 1536. The charts were added by the main scribe in a different ink. The aspect of the hand is identical to the astrological charts for Liejan in item 65.

51 Medical recipe (f. 171v/1-2)
Rubric: ten borsten. Text: Nardus ende balsem linsaet dat tam es⁵⁵
Comments: added by a later scribe, this recipe treats chest ailments.

52 Medical recipe (f. 171v/3-5)
Rubric: ten oghen. Text: Recipe celandonie ende millelote ghestampt ende gheleijt op bede de sijden vanden hoefde van voeren op tvoerhoeft⁵⁶
Comments: added by the same later scribe, this recipe treats eye problems.

54 The almuten is the most influential planet in a horoscope by having the most powerful dignities.
56 celandonie] celandine; millelote] melilotus.
Unit 4: f. 172-191

53 Astrological chart with note and table of almuten and dignities (f. 172r)

Text of note: pas [leg. pars] fortune valt inden 2 graden [leg. graet] Q | Den graet der α is den 9 graden & | Den graet ascendent ylech | Ende α alcoden | Ende gheft zijn meeste iaren wele zijn 66 | Sol es almutas | Ψ ende Λ deelen met haer

Comments: the astrological chart presents a reading for an ascendant in 17º Virgo, including the location of the seven planets. The note to the right of the chart sheds light on the pars fortunae, planetary aspects and the almuten. The table underneath the chart provides sample calculations for the sums of the almuten and the essential dignities for each planet.

54 Table of planetary aspects with note on planets under the sunbeams55 (f. 172v)

Text of note: Rayen achter ende voren zijn 9 graden Α 9 graden Ω 8 graden Ω 15 graden Μ 7 graden Μ 7 graden Ω 12 graden zijn in expoldus

Comments: this table presents a quick way to discover the aspects of opposition, trine, square and sextile in one go for all twelve signs of the zodiac, based on the ascendant sign. The table makes it unnecessary to calculate planetary aspects, and it may have been designed to be used in conjunction with the prefabricated astrological charts on f. 173r-187v. The accompanying note references the maximum distance for each planet to be under the sunbeams.

55 Prefabricated astrological charts (f. 173r-187v)

Comments: astrological charts like these made it easy for practising astrologers to devise a client’s horoscope by providing prefabricated figures of the twelve houses for each degree of the ascendant, starting with 1º Aries and ending with 30º Pisces (see fig. 1). The scribe drew 360 squares (one for every degree of the celestial sphere), but completed only the first 264 figures, so from 1º Aries up to 24º Sagittarius. Analogue: Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.8.29, f. 104r-117v. An iconographically more remote analogue than the previous one is in MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2818, f. 24r-29v.59 German and English analogues are in Coburg, Landesbibliothek, MS 5, f. 37r-84v, and Los Angeles, William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, UCLA, f ms.1999.003, respectively.

56 Directions for finding the ascendant (f. 188r/1-24)

Rubric: Om te wetene den graet ascendent gheuerificert tot elcker vren ende minuten vanden daghe. Inc.: Nempt den graet Ω ende gaetter met inde tafele recht tot inder teeken daer Ω in es. Expl.: ende doetter den ascendent toe dat ghij daer vint in minuten ende seconden daer hebbdij huwen ascendenten perfect

57 The pars fortunae is an indicator of the material success a person may experience in life. Its location is identified in a horoscope by calculating the distance between the Sun and the Moon and then adding this distance to the ascendant.

58 For a planet to be under the sunbeams signifies a type of conjunction with the Sun at which the closeness of a planet to the Sun is said to weaken the influence of this planet in a horoscope.

Comments: these directions provide a sample calculation to identify the ascendant, using the tables on f. 189v-191v. Analogue: item 45.

57 Directions for finding the ascendant and the other houses (f. 188r/25-189r/10)
Rubric: Om den ascendent te vijnden metter 12 huysen. Inc.: Exempel ic vant Σ in 8 graden daer met ghijnc ic inde tafel voorseit tot onder teeken daer Σ in was. Expl.: doen maecte ic een figure zo ghij vel weet
Comments: these directions provide a sample calculation to identify the ascendant and the signs of the other houses with the help of the position of the Sun in the zodiac at a given point in time, using the tables on f. 189v-191v.

58 Two sample astrological charts (f. 189r/bottom half)
Comments: the first astrological chart presents the planets in their joys; the second presents the twelve houses.

59 Astronomical table (f. 189v-190r)
Comments: this table lists the equation of time. Six signs per page. The table is in Latin.

60 Astronomical table (f. 190v-191r)
Comments: this table lists the right ascension of the zodiacal constellations. Six signs per page. The table is in Latin.

61 Astronomical table (f. 191v)
Comments: this table lists the right ascension of the Sun. Tables such as these would have been tailored to a specific location to aid a local astrologer in casting horoscopes. In this case, the table is glossed ‘laet’ and ‘borchlooen’. The table is in Latin.

Unit 5: f. 192-199

62 Astronomical table (f. 192r)
Comments: this table of the right ascension of the Sun differs slightly from the previous one. The table is in Latin.

63 Astronomical table (f. 192v-194r)
Comments: this table lists the oblique ascension of the zodiacal constellations for the town of Leuven, at a latitude of 51° 0’ N (both town and latitude are identified on f. 193r). Three signs per page. The table is in Latin.

60 The ascension is the vertical rising of a planet above the horizon witnessed from the equator (right ascension) or from another point on Earth (oblique ascension).
64 Astrololgical chart (f. 194v/top half)

Rubric: Die minste merringhe es in 200 ende 58 daghen | die middel merringhe es in 200 ende 73 daghen | Die meeste merringhe es in 200 ende 88 daghen

Comments: the rubric, which identifies the limits of the lengths of pregnancy, is probably for the text starting on f. 195r (see fig. 2). The astrololgical chart underneath the rubric is a natal horoscope dated to 19 June 1491, 7.50 pm, and seems to pertain to the birth of a certain Giliaen Denis, whose name is written directly next to the chart.

65 Three astrololgical charts (f. 194v/bottom half)

Comments: these astrololgical charts are a natal horoscope for Liejan, dated 1501, and two planetary revolutions for 1533 and 1534, respectively (see fig. 2). The charts were added by the main scribe in a different ink, and are unrelated to the natal horoscope for Giliaen Denis in the previous item. The aspect of the hand is identical to the astrololgical charts for Liejan vander Walle in item 50.

66 Directions for finding the moment of conception (f. 195r/1-196r/5)

Inc.: Ome te wetene die merrijngh des kijnts inder moeder lichame by den welcken men weten mach den tijt der gheborten ende die ontfanghenesse des kijnts. Expl.: So nempt den graet des teekens welc dat valt inden graet ascendent orientael

Comments: these directions provide sample calculations to establish the moment of conception by the length of a pregnancy, so the astrolger could then cast a conception horoscope. The calculations are based on the position of the Moon in the natal horoscope of the client. F. 195v addresses the natal horoscope in item 64, and dates the moment of conception to 11 September 1490, 1.12 pm.

67 Directions for calculating the almuten at the moment of conception (f. 196r/6-21)

Rubric: by desen wer [leg. wert] gheuerificert die gheborton. Inc.: Item inden eersten merck wie dat verwint inden graet der & oft & voorgaende der gheborton. Expl.: Ende daer na verandert die gheheel figuren dan es die gheborte gheuerificert nae der leerringhen van Tholomeus

Comments: attributed to Ptolemy, these directions provide a method to calculate the almuten at the moment of conception.

68 Directions for calculating the almuten at the moment of conception (f. 196r/22-197v/7)

Rubric: Dit gheweten sijnde dan souct eenen anderen wech na der leerringhe [[......]].

Inc.: By deser manieren wert gheuerificert die gheborte ende men vinter bij die concepctie dat es die merringhe des kijnts inder moeder lichame. Expl.: so en es sij niet tot haren rechten tijde dan wert zij gheuerificert bijden almuten voorseit

Comments: these directions provide an alternative method to calculate the almuten at the moment of conception.

61 The text provides the name of a natural philosopher, or a technical term, but it is abbreviated so much that we cannot decipher it.
Directions for finding the pars fortunae (f. 197v/8-19)

**Rubric:** Pars fortune. **Inc.** [:O]m pars fortune te makene so besiet oft die gheborte es daechelijck of nachtelic. **Expl.** So begijnt van ♄ ende volleght den graet als voorseit es van ☉ et cetera

Comments: these directions offer a method to find the *pars fortunae*.

Medical(?) recipe (f. 198r/1-5)

**Text:** om een pijnte waters een half once canfer ende ende [*sic*] room van zoete melc tot ½ once canfer ende een ceseyn manna ende legt inde clocke stockskens in cryuce ende leght daer op vleechs [*leg. vleesch*] dat mager es ende van eennen weer⁶²

Comments: the purpose of the recipe is unclear, but the use of a retort (‘clocke’) to distil waters for physical complaints is well-documented.⁶¹

**Table of the zodiacal lengths of ascension**⁶⁴ (f. 198r/6-17)

Comments: this table groups the zodiac constellations into sets on the basis of their length of ascension. Since the constellations are not of equal size, the time varies.

Sphere of Pythagoras with directions for use (f. 198v-199r/22)

**Inc.**: Dicta goras [*leg. Pictagoras*] ende Tholomeus ende die coninc Alxaders [*leg. Alexanders*] die plaghen in vorleden tijden bij desen te procederen doer welcke zij creghen groote fictorie. **Expl.**: ende dit werpt af bij 9 ende datter blijft dat souct int argghement als voorseit es et cetera

Comments: the Sphere of Pythagoras is a prognostic method to divine life or death, victory or defeat and a number of other issues by performing a calculation based on the numerical values of the letters of one’s name, the weekdays and the day of the Moon, as instructed on f. 199r. All possible outcomes are presented in the diagram on f. 198v. Underneath the diagram, the later scribe of items 51 and 52 wrote down something now illegible.

Medical recipe (f. 199v/1-7)

**Rubric:** om hooft wonden. **Text:** Nempt olye ende de bladeren van roosen ende sietse in een flachsche staende in eenen ketelle met water dan bewaerse ende als ghijse van doene hebt dan nemptse van dier olyen ende doeren van eyeren al euen vele ende slaghet al cleyne om hooft wonden net daer v wieken inne⁶⁵

Comments: this recipe treats head injuries.

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⁶² waters] (distilled) water; canfer] camphor; room van zoete melc] sweet cream; manna] the juice of an unidentified medicinal tree or herb, possibly comfrey; vleesch dat mager es ende van eenen weer] lean meat of a ram.


⁶⁴ The zodiacal length of ascension is the time it takes for a constellation to cross the horizon.

⁶⁵ olye ende de bladeren van roosen] rose oil and rose leaves; doeren van eyeren] egg yolk.
74 Medical recipe (f. 199v/8-10)
Rubric: Een corosijfkijn om quaat vleesch. Text: Nempt spaens groen ende huenich siedt dat zo langhe tot dat rooet worde.
Comments: this recipe treats infected wounds. Analogue: item 38.

75 Medical recipe (f. 199v/11-12)
Rubric: Item. Text: nempt asiefeteda ende mijnghit die met wieroock ende haut dat in den mont het verdrijft de tantswerre.
Comments: added by the main scribe, this recipe treats toothache.

76 Medical recipe (f. 199v/13-15)
Text: Recipe sarcocolla met ameldonck ende wijt suykere gheminghelt drijvet die vochticheit ende dat etter wten ooghen bouen alle medicinen ende vertert dat vele [leg. vule] vander ooghen.
Comments: added by the main scribe, this recipe treats eye infections. Pen trials were added underneath the recipe.

Unit 6: f. 200

77 Unidentified text (f. 200r/1-4)
Text: tantu(m) virtute(m) inte sussipias vt qua(c)ue mulier inte aspoperit [leg. aspoxerit; p and x being closely similar in the scribe’s hand] ta(n)tu(m) in amore meo ardeat sicut Eua in delectione(m) Adam exurit hoc s(an)cto benedicet et colle te(m) babtisa in no(m)i(n)e Aaren ex Balamstoi o rex
Comments: this unidentified text seems to be an excerpt from a magical charm to make a woman fall in love. It is unclear whether this is part of a verbal charm or some form of magic using images (if aspoxerit is a variant of aspexerit). The remainder of the page is empty.

78 Astronomical table (f. 200v)
Comments: this table lists the position of the Sun in the zodiacal constellations and identifies the corresponding ascendant. The table is in Latin.

Samenvatting

In dit artikel wordt een nog onbekende verzameling Vlaamse artesteksten ingeleid en geanalyseerd. Zij bestaat uit een vijftal schriftjes met notities en een los blad, die deel uitmaken van handschrift ms Ashmole 189 van de Bodleian Library in Oxford. De

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