



## Middle English *Antidotarium Nicholai*: Evidence for Linguistic Distribution and Dissemination in the Vernacular

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### ABSTRACT

The medieval treatise known as *Antidotarium Nicholai* is preserved in Middle English in several versions from at least five different manuscript families. The Latin version of this treatise was a requirement in the medical curriculum at medieval European universities. The purpose of this paper is to establish the provenance or distribution of the language in eight of the extant copies in order to arrive at a conclusion about the diffusion of this work. Analysed are the dialectal forms and features of the copies found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 424, London, British Library Harley 2374, Glasgow, University Library Ferguson 147, Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole 1438, Cambridge, Magdalene College Pepys 1307, Cambridge, St. John's College 37 and Glasgow, University Library Hunter 117. With this analysis I intend to determine the filial relationship among the different versions, and to locate each copy within a specific dialect area.

### KEYWORDS

*Antidotarium Nicholai*. Middle English, dialects

### I. INTRODUCTION

From the end of the fourteenth century until the coming of the printing press vernacular manuscript versions of medieval medical or pharmacological treatises originally in Latin spread throughout England. The fifteenth century witnessed a huge increase in the production of scientific material in English, not only in the areas in which the Latin texts were mainly used, that is, at the medieval Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, but also in other places where the

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learned treatises were less likely to have been used.<sup>1</sup> In some cases, the vernacular versions differed slightly or considerably from their Latin counterparts (Garrido Anes, 2004: 1-15). In other cases, they were literal translations from the source with very little adapted or reworked material. The treatise known as *Antidotarium Nicholui* was a famous tract extensively studied at medieval universities, since it was part of the compulsory reading to obtain a degree in Medicine at several schools.<sup>2</sup> That was the case with the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge (Getz, 1992: 386; Bullough, 1962: 165). At the same time, the treatise was used in everyday practice. In several places such as Paris, the University, in association with the clergy, was in charge of the regulation of medical activities, and established that all the apothecaries should swear that "they were keeping on hand for easy reference a corrected copy of the *Antidotarium* of Nicholas of Salerno" (Kibre, 1953: 14).

Different Latin texts have been catalogued under the same label, namely, *Antidotarium Nicholai* (henceforth AN). Nevertheless, there are differences among those texts that allow a classification into three different groups, which themselves are far from being completely homogeneous, since we hardly find two exact copies of the same text. Those in which there is a prologue by the author, where he mentions his name, represent group A.<sup>3</sup> The prologue is followed by a list of recipes arranged in alphabetical order, starting always with *Aurea Alexandrina*.<sup>4</sup> The number of recipes in this group varies from around 100 to 250 and the internal structure of the recipes consists of the following elements: (a) name of the recipe (e.g. *Adrianum*) (b) etymological explanation of the name (e.g. *It ys cleped of Adryan, Emperouer of Rome, þe wyche yt compownde*), (c) therapeutic properties (e.g. *to wyche sekenes þees medycynes had be proued*), (d) ingredients and measures (e.g. *how moche of eueryche kynde of gummes, herbes, sedes, and spyces amonge al medycynes þei scholde take*), (e) manner of preparation (e.g. *þe maner of confectynge*), and (f) method of administration (e.g. *þe maner of despensynge*). Group B comprises texts where there is no author's prologue, and the text begins with the first recipe, namely, *Aurea Alexandrina*.<sup>6</sup> The number of recipes in the manuscripts of this type is much larger, being in some of them more than one thousand, although some others are very brief. The internal structure of the recipes is different from those belonging to group A. They are divided into the following parts: (a) name of the recipe, (b) therapeutic properties, (c) ingredients and measures. In group C, the texts lack also the authorial prologue and the compounds are arranged as an abridged list where each recipe is made up with the following elements: (a) name of the recipe, (b) etymological explanation of the name, (c) therapeutic properties of the compound. The number of recipes in this group is smaller —around one hundred— but they start as well with *Aurea Alexandrina*.<sup>7</sup>

The AN in Middle English (henceforth ME) is preserved in several manuscripts, which can be classified together with the Latin manuscripts in the different groups mentioned above. However, as group A is not very homogeneous and it could be subdivided into different families and traditions, the manuscripts in ME are equally different from each other. There are at least five different manuscript families in ME, two of them related to group A, another which fits

perfectly into group C. and two more that could be adapted to group B.<sup>8</sup> Family one, corresponding to group A of the Latin manuscripts, comprises: **Glasgow, University Library Ferguson 147, ff. 1-55v**<sup>9</sup> (F) and **Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole 1438, pp. 166-178 (O)**. Family two, corresponding also to group A of the Latin manuscripts, being a different family among them, comprises **London, British Library Harley 2374, ff 31-64v**<sup>10</sup> (B) and **Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 424, ff. 35-41v**<sup>11</sup> (C). Family three is represented by a single manuscript, **Cambridge, St. John's College 37, III, ff. 8-34**<sup>12</sup> (J) and it is closer to, although not a literal translation of, the Latin manuscripts in group B. In this text there is a prologue that differs considerably from that of the other families, and there is no reference to the author at all. A single manuscript, **Cambridge, Magdalene College Pepys 1307, ff. 1-51**<sup>13</sup> (M), which seems to be also an abridgement of the Latin texts of group B, represents family four. There is no prologue and the information for each item in the antidotary seems to be split up into two different sections: in the first one (ff. 1-41) there are the ingredients and manner of preparation, while in the second one (ff. 41-51) the therapeutic properties of the compounds are to be found. Family five includes **Glasgow, University Library Hunter 117, ff. 34-36 (H)**, and **Cambridge, St. John's College 37, I, ff. 29r-31r (S)**. These two copies correspond to group C of the Latin manuscripts.<sup>14</sup>

## II. AIMS AND METHODOLOGY

In this study, I intend to carry out a linguistic analysis of several copies of the AN in ME in order to establish the provenance or distribution of this work in the vernacular. My aim is to try to arrive at a conclusion about the diffusion of this work in Medieval England. The analysis offered here uses the forms and features for items in McIntosh, Samuels and Benskin (1996), *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English* (henceforth MLME). Following the methodology developed by the authors of this work, I will try to localise the texts dialectally using the *Fit-Technique* (Benskin, 1991), taking into consideration the combination of forms and features (linguistic assemblage) which are found in them. For each of the texts to be fitted I have supplied the Linguistic Profiles (henceforth LP) in the appendix. In all the cases a macrodialectal fitting has taken place before arriving at the processes I will be focusing on here, which are in fact reduced to stages 3 and 4 of the Fit-Technique (Benskin, 1991: 21) for most manuscripts. By comparing the assemblages for the different texts with the forms from the LPs localised in LALME which form a dialectal continuum, one should, in principle, be able to establish their provenance. In theory, the provenance would be that of the scribe, although sometimes this could be misleading since the same scribe copying from different sources could produce quite different LPs. Thus, we should analyse different texts by the same copyist in isolation instead of thinking of the language of a scribe as uniform, and whenever possible, compare the results obtained from the analysis of different works by one scribe to reach a more reliable conclusion about the provenance of a work. This is very plausible when works by the same scribe are bound together

in the same codex, but it is not so easy when different works by one scribe are scattered in different codices. In most instances, it is even difficult to identify them as works copied by the same person. This is the case where the scribe copied closely the language of his exemplar rather than translating it into the forms of his own written language. Without reaching a level which constitutes a *Mischspruche* (Benskin & Laing, 1981) the scribe's choices could be multiple, and his tolerance of several of the forms in his exemplar does not mean that those forms would be his first choice in other contexts.

None of the ME manuscripts containing the AN considered here have any extra-linguistic evidence of provenance, therefore the language is the only resource available to place them in a geographical area. An additional hindrance is that not all the existing copies of the AN in ME were written at the same time. There is actually a time-depth between the earliest, which is datable in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and the two latest ones, that seem to have been written one century later. This constitutes an obstacle, since the later texts are likely to show fewer dialectal features than the earlier ones. For this reason, the language of ME texts of the AN copied in the same or nearby areas could look rather different at various historical moments. The material in LALME is not organised by date, so it is not possible to compare each assemblage with data collected for the same period.<sup>15</sup>

### III. THE MIDDLE ENGLISH MANUSCRIPTS OF THE *ANTZDOTARZUM NICHOLAI*

The manuscripts containing a version of the AN analysed in this paper are all bound with other medical or scientific works.<sup>16</sup> The earliest of them seems to be the copy found in S, which was composed in the fourteenth century, although it is bound with other fifteenth-century works. The AN is placed in part III and it is written on vellum using a formal book hand. Initials are in red and blue, and the first ones in both the prologue and the main text are illuminated. M has been dated to the second quarter of the fifteenth century (McKitterick & Beadle, 1992: 14-15) and it is written on parchment in Anglicana Formata, with some Secretary influence. It shows red plain initials. F has not been dated, although it seems to have been copied in the first half of the fifteenth century. It is written on parchment in Bastard Anglicana, with two-line red initials. B was copied in the early fifteenth century on parchment in Bastard Anglicana. It also shows two-line red and blue initials throughout. C was composed late in the fifteenth century (Skeat, 1872: xi), and O seems to be a later fifteenth-century copy as well. Both are on paper, and in a small current Secretary hand. They are unornamented and in C the red initials are unfinished after f. 37v.

As I stated before, the earliest texts are likely to have more dialectal features than those written at the end of the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, the features found for the verbal inflections exclude the northern part of the country for all the manuscripts of the AN. Table I shows the distribution of these features in the different texts analysed. The differences found in all the texts are relatively few, and only certain peculiarities in the third person singular present

indicative of texts J (e.g. <-et>) and O (e.g. <-t>), and of the weak past participle of O (e.g. <-ude>) and the strong past participle of J (e.g. <-in>) could restrict the area a bit more, as we shall see below.

	J	M	B	F	O	C
present ppt	-inge	-yng	-yng	-ynge	-yng	-yng
verbal subs	-inge	-yng	-yng	-ynge -inge	-yng	-yng
3sg. pr iiid	-eþ -iþ -ct		-cþ	e -iþ	-ith -eth -t	-eþ -yþ
pr pl	-en -eþ		-eþ	-eþ, -uþ	-ith -eth	-eþ -yþ
weak pt	-ed -id			-ed -id -yd	-ede ((-ude))	-ed -id
weak pt ppt	-ed -id	-yd -cd	-ede -dc ((-ude - ud))	-de -ed	-ed -id -yd	-ed
strong pt ppt	-in					

Table 1: Verbal intlections in the different ME manuscript copies of AN.

Table 2 shows the distribution of the forms of the verb *to be*. Differences are found in the usage of the present indicative plural, which shows variation that is important from the dialectal point of view, since some of the forms are quite restricted. I shall come back to these features in the analysis of each text.

	J	M	B	F	O	C
ARE	beii beþ (biþ))	beii beth	buþ buth	beþ (bebe)	bcth beeth ben be	be
WAS			was	was		was
WERE	wcr wcreii					
IS	is	is	ys is	vs (lis))	is	is
BEEN	bi (ben)		ybe	be		be

Table 2: Forms of TO BE in the different ME manuscript copies of AN.

The distribution of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person plural personal pronouns shown in Table 3 equally excludes the northern part of the country for all the texts. Only some of the forms for THEIR found in B and F and probably some for THEM in J and M could be more restricted, as will be shown below.

	J	M	B	F	O	C
THEY	þey	þei	þey þei	þei	they thei	þey
THEM	hem (ham)	hem ((þem))	liem ((hyiii))	hem hym	hem	hem
THEIR	her	licre	heare (þeare))	her ((þeare heare))	her	here ((þere))

Table 3: Third person plural pronouns in the different ME manuscript copies of AN.

### III.1 The earliest evidence: St. John’s College Cambridge 37 and Magdalene College Cambridge, Pepys 1307

The earliest of all the extant texts known as AN in ME is J. This text shows many forms and features that permit its localisation. By comparing our data with the information in LALME, we

find that the orthographic distribution of many of the forms encountered in this text is, nevertheless, quite wide. Some other forms seem to restrict further the possible areas of occurrence, and there is a third group that have not been attested in numerous places. Their weak attestation in some counties should also be treated with caution, since this is less likely to signify the exclusion of the possibility of occurrence in nearby counties, than just lack of evidence in the texts analysed in LALME. J is probably the least standardized of all the manuscripts analysed here, and it equally contains a greater number of rare forms not found in many other sources. The pages of the *AN* have been analysed in LALME, although there is no LP for this text; it has been broadly localised in East Anglia."

The verbal forms do not vary a great deal in the different texts analysed here, as seen in the data shown in Table 1. The ending <-t> for the third person singular present indicative, often coexisting with other forms in J, has been attested in a good number of places but there are no records of this form for the northern part of the Midlands, or for several counties of the central Midlands such as Leicestershire, Rutland, Soke of Peterborough, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Middlesex, London or Northamptonshire. There are equally no occurrences in southern counties such as Dorset, Hampshire, Surrey, Wiltshire or Berkshire. It has been widely attested in Norfolk and Suffolk, where it is to be found in eleven LPs localised in those counties. It has been attested also in Essex in two LPs. On the other hand, forms of past participles with the ending <-in> have been recorded for the northern material and are also very common in East Anglia, although we lack information for Essex.

The form *togidre* is used exclusively for the item TOGETHER by the scribe of J, although it normally coexists with other alternative forms wherever it occurs (LALME Vol 2: 351-356). It is found in many parts of the country, among them Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex. *Fer / fere* on the other hand are predominantly eastern forms for FIRE, and although they are to be found in south-eastern texts as well, they occur much more frequently in the eastern Midlands. Forms such as *3ef* for IF and those for AFTER with initial <e> have very different distributions since *efir / eftir* occur much more frequently in the north and only sporadically in the south and Midlands. In the East Midlands, forms with initial <e> are recorded only for Norfolk and Suffolk, but only in three LPs; they occur also as minority forms in one LP in Essex. On the other hand, *3ef* is never found in the north. It seems to be mainly used in the West Midlands and the southern counties, although it occurs also in the East Midlands. It is recorded as a dominant form in seven LPs in Norfolk, and it is attested in Suffolk and Essex as well, although not as a dominant form. Thus, both *3ef* and *efir / eftir* may coexist in these three counties but most others are excluded.

There are three items analysed for the northern material in LALME that occur in this text and that are attested in Norfolk (and one of them in Suffolk as well): *heyre* for AIR, *herpe* for EARTH and *hefed* for HEAD. These forms would not exclude other counties for which no data has been collected, but they confirm the eastern origin of the text. These three forms show, at the same time, a feature that has been analysed for the southern material only: the three of them show the addition of unetymological initial <h-> or the omission of etymological <h-> (LALME

vol 4: 320). Other examples of this same feature are *alf* for HALF and *helde* for OLD. Both features are perfectly acceptable in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex. The suffix <--end> of *e3tend* for the ordinal of the item EIGHT is recorded in the southern appendix of LALME (vol. 4: 323) as a not very common form. It has been found in three LPs in Norfolk and one in Suffolk, very near the Essex border.

The distribution of three forms in the text that occur less than one third as frequently as the dominant form, could help to fit this text within smaller boundaries. These forms are *ham* for THEM, which occurs twice in the text, *bip* for ARE, and *na3t* for NOT, which occur only in one instance. Neither of these three forms has been recorded for Norfolk. *bip* is attested in Suffolk and *ham* is recorded extensively for Essex and occurs also in one LP localised on the borders of Suffolk and Essex. *Na3t* is recorded for Essex in two LPs. Forms for the item SILVER occur only once in the text as *seluer* and that is the reason why in the LP it appears as dominant. This form is not attested in Norfolk or Suffolk either, but it is recorded in three LPs in Essex. None of the forms and features of this text are rejected in Essex and only the last set of forms would exclude Suffolk and Norfolk. As they are just minority forms in this text, they cannot be trusted to fit the text but their inclusion by the scribe could mean that they were not too alien to him. This fact could place the text either in Essex or in Suffolk, a county close to the area in which all these forms were currently used. Nevertheless, Norfolk cannot be completely excluded by this evidence either.

Another early copy of this tract is the one found in M, although this was copied in the early fifteenth century. As in J, there are many forms and features which enable its localization, since the language shows, in general, quite a good number of dialectal forms associated with very specific areas. No dialectal analysis of this text has been carried out before, and the only information about its provenance is found in the Pepys Library Catalogue where the authors state that "[T]he early provenance of the book is not known, though the spelling suggests that the scribe was probably trained or brought up in East Anglia" (McKitterick & Beadle, 1992: 14-15). I have tried to fit the text in this manuscript within narrower boundaries than those just mentioned. For this micro-fitting, I make use here of a handful of forms which strongly restrict the area of occurrence of some of the most common linguistic features when they come together in the small set shown in Table 4.

MAY	mayst
THREE	þredde
FIRE	fer fere
FLESH	fleysche
KIND	kende
WILL	wolt
SIALL	xal xalt
MIGHT	nyth
3sg. Pre. Ind.	-et

Table 4: Key test features for the dialectal location of the ME text M of *AN*.

Of these forms there are some which are found occasionally in places other than East Anglia; even so, as an assemblage their area of occurrence is restricted. Among them are the forms for FIRE which have been mapped in LALME, and whose distribution can be seen in dot map 408 (LALME, vol. 1: 406). These mainly occur in the east and south east of the country. *Fer / fere* have been recorded for Norfolk in many more instances than in the rest of the counties. A similar case is the form for the item KIND, which is also mapped in LALME, and occurrences with medial <e> are attested, as dot map 1040 shows (LALME, vol.1: 531), mainly in the eastern part of the country in Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex in seventeenth LPs. Nevertheless, this is an item analysed only for the southern material, so this would not exclude the possibility of occurrences in the northern counties. Similarly, forms in <-ey-> for FLESH are mapped in LALME, as shown in dot map 420 (LALME, vol.1: 409), they occur more frequently in Norfolk, although Suffolk is not excluded. *Prede* and the representation for the feature THIRD PERSON SINGULAR PRESENT INDICATIVE have been used in LALME for the southern material only, and once more, those spellings are commoner in Norfolk and Suffolk, although they are not exclusive there.

*Xal / xalt, mayst* and *nyth* are more restricted. The forms with <x-> initial for the item SHALL are clearly associated with the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk only. The form for MAY found in this text is only recorded in one LP in Suffolk. The spelling <-th> in words like *nyth*, also suggests one of these two counties. The last form taken into account here is *wolt* for the second person singular of the verb WILL. In spite of being recorded for many places, there are no attestations for this word in Norfolk and only one in Suffolk in LP 8450. This LP corresponds to several pages of **London, British Library Sloane 340**, a text localised in the southern part of Suffolk (LALME, grid 606 266). The manuscript contains medical material and some recipes forming part of the text of the AN are mentioned on SS 70r-72v. The recipes are arranged according to their specific qualities. The LP provided for that manuscript is quite similar to the one I have supplied for M, and the script also suggests that the same scribe could have been responsible for both pieces of work. Nevertheless, there is no certainty of that since the scribe in M uses some forms of the Secretary script in a mainly Anglicana hand, especially in the forms for the letters <g>, <c>, and <r>, while the scribe of the Sloane manuscript retains the Anglicana forms.

### III. 2 Mid-fifteenth-century evidence: British Library London, Harley 2374 and Glasgow University Library Ferguson 147

A quick glance at B's and F's assemblages is enough to determine their western provenance which is confirmed throughout the fitting process. In both of them there is an accumulation of linguistic features that, while not being exclusively from the West Midlands, give an undisputable western flavour to the texts when they are considered together. Nevertheless, the assemblages of forms are not quite the same although they overlap. In B, when plotting together the features shown in Table 5, there is almost a complete elimination of many regions so that the



possible area of coexistence of all these forms is reduced to the counties of Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Worcestershire, and Warwickshire.

ARE	bup̄ buth
FROM	fram
EVIL	yuele
FIRE	fuyre fure
FIRST	furst
LITTLE	lutel

Table 5: Key test features for the dialectal location of the ME text B of AN.

IT	hit
FROM	frani
MANY	mony
FIRE	fuyre
FIRST	furst

Table 6: Key test features for the dialectal location of the ME text F of AN.

Likewise, the use of the features displayed in Table 6 in F leads us to this same area. There are, nevertheless, other forms which determine more accurately the possible place of provenance of both copies. *þilke* for THE SAME, which is found in both texts, occurs frequently in Gloucestershire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Herefordshire. In both texts the form *togader* for TOGETHER, which has been mapped in *LALME* (dot map 540, vol.1: 439), is more restricted. Forms with medial <a> have been recorded for the west Midlands only in eight LPs in Gloucestershire, and in four LPs in Herefordshire. In Warwickshire, only one LP shows a form with <a>.

In F *woleþ* for the plural present indicative of the verb WILL is very restricted. It has been attested only in one LP in Worcestershire spelt with a single <l>, although spellings with <ll> expand the area a bit more, and the counties of Gloucestershire, Warwickshire and Herefordshire could be included (dot map 166. *LALME*, vol.1: 346). *Ho* so for the item WHO is also common in all those counties. The letter <3> in OUT has been analysed for the southern material and the evidence in *LALME* shows that in the west it occurs in LPs in Herefordshire, Warwickshire or Worcestershire, but no attestations have been found in Gloucestershire. Other forms are far more restricted and they exclude some of the areas previously mentioned. Among these forms is *hym* for the item THEM, which is not common but has been recorded in three LPs in Gloucestershire and one in Herefordshire, near the border with Gloucestershire. There are otherwise, two rare forms not recorded in *LALME*: *þheare* for the item THEIR has not been attested, but other words with <3> occur sporadically in some areas in the west such as Gloucestershire, where it is found in six LPs. Together with *þheare*, which occurs only once, the scribe uses the form *heare* which is not recorded in *LALME*, although it is in the *Middle English Dictionary* (Kurath *et al.*, 1952-2001) in London, British Library Stowe 34, a manuscript containing *Dialogue on Vices and Virtues*, and localized in Essex.<sup>18</sup> However, this manuscript was copied in the early thirteenth

century. The word *tweyen* for TWO is a very uncommon form attested only in one LP in Worcestershire among the counties of the west, though it is not a dominant one.<sup>19</sup> This weak attestation should be taken with caution, since other similar forins (*tweye*, *tweyn* or *tweyne*) are very common and occur in most of the counties of the west as well. The last two are very rare, so we should ignore them in the fitting. Even if some of these items cause the rejection of some counties, we can easily fit this text in the border areas of the counties of Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and probably Worcestershire.

Some of the forms just mentioned are also present in B. Among them, it is worth mentioning the word *3heare* for the item THEIR which, as in F, occurs only once and coexists with *heare*. In order to restrict the area of provenance for this manuscript, we need to make use of forms such as *kuynde* or *muynde* for the item KIND, *goude* for the item GOOD, and the spellings <-ssh(-)> or <-ssch(-)> for FLESH. The occurrences of the latter are mapped in *LALME* (dot map 423, vol.1: 410) and are attested in Gloucestershire and Warwickshire, while the *goude* forms are also mapped (dot map 434, *LALME*, vol.1: 413), and restrict the area to north-west Gloucestershire or south Herefordshire. The occurrences for KIND are also quite restricted and they are found in LPs in these two counties as well. Thus, both F and B could be localised in the same area: the most north-western part of Gloucestershire stretching out to the borders of Herefordshire to the north and Monmouth to the west.

### III. 3 The latest evidence: Corpus Christi College Cambridge 424 and Bodleian Library Oxford, Ashmole 1438

Fitting C and O is not as a straightforward task as fitting other manuscripts of the AN. Most of the forms and features encountered in these two copies are quite standard and can be found almost everywhere in the country. Nevertheless, the northern part is excluded by the verbal and nominal inflections I have mentioned above (see Table 1). Negative evidence of many other northern forms also excludes this part of the country. Being a later fifteenth-century text, the dialectal forms are less likely to appear than in earlier texts and that is the reason why, as a whole, these texts look dialectally rather thin. In fact, the language of these two copies fits perfectly in what Samuels has called “a colourless regional writing”, implying by this that “the dialectal traits that survive amount to only a small inventory of non-standard forms which even taken in combination, might belong to a number of widely separated districts” (1981: 44).

However, C could be localized broadly in the West Midlands by comparing some of the forms found in this text with their occurrences in the LPs in *LALME*. The form hit for the pronoun IT occurs widely, although its occurrences in the most eastern parts of England, especially in the eastern Midlands, are scarce. A bit more restricted seems to be the past participle of the verb GIVE that comes out as *y3eve* or *3eve*. These have been attested in LPs in Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Warwickshire and Worcestershire, in the western Midlands, although they occur also in many other places.

Although these items cannot exclude by themselves the East Midlands as an area of provenance for this text, their combination with the occurrences of other forms allow us to disregard that part of the country. One of these forms is *mony* for the item MANY, which occurs mainly in the western part of the country. On the other hand, this form should be taken cautiously in this particular text, since it occurs only once throughout the whole treatise. It could be just a relic carried over from a previous copy. However, some are not occurrences of alternative forms for that item, so it could also be the usual spelling for the scribe, the item being used just once in the text.

The form *mowe*, which appears often in the text, has not been attested in many places but it seems to be the most common for the plural of MAY. The instances for the singular are even fewer than those for the plural. It is to be found in five out of the six texts of the AN as Table 7 shows, and there is lack of evidence in M. In view of that, its western attestation only (although widely) in the counties of Warwickshire and Shropshire (also in Stanford as *mow*) does not probably exclude other places in nearby counties such as Herefordshire, Worcestershire or Gloucestershire.

	J	M	B	F	O	C
MAY	may inowe	<i>Not attested</i>	inowe	may (mowe)	may mow	may mowe

Table 7: Variants of MAY in the ME manuscript copies of AN.

The form *fyere* found in C is very uncommon. It does not appear in any other manuscript of the AN, and the evidence in LALME is small. This form is attested in the west part of the country only in two LPs localised in Herefordshire and Warwickshire. A close alternative form *fyer* is a little less restricted and is attested in many more places, though most of them in the east. Among the counties of the west, it is attested only in Warwickshire. Finally, the forms *lytle* for LITTLE and *noþer* for NEITHER together with the rest would restrict the area further, placing the text somewhere in the borders of the counties of Warwickshire, Worcestershire and Gloucestershire. *Lytle* is attested in one LP in western Gloucestershire and in another one in western Worcestershire, and *noþer* is attested only in Warwickshire in the South West-Midlands as the form representing NEITHER, but its provenance is more extensive when used in the combination NEITHER +NOR. All these forms and features together lead to a provenance for this text somewhere in the southern borders of Warwickshire and Worcestershire and in the northern border of Gloucestershire, together with the southern part of the border between Warwickshire and Worcestershire.

The last of the texts analysed here is O. In this case, its fitting has been very difficult and I have not been able to reach any definite conclusions. The text, as shown in its LP, presents many standardised forms and features, and even those that give the impression of being more uncommon are not restricted to a small geographical area or they are attested in areas widely distant from each other. In general, the assemblage looks quite similar to that of C, although it presents fewer forms that allow us to identify the provenance with a reliable degree of

accuracy.<sup>20</sup> There are in this text forms that are the same as those found in the previous one. Table 8 shows in bold type the forms and features that are different in both texts. The rest of them are virtually the same:

	O	C
IT	it	it <b>hit</b> yt
SUCH	swych	<b>suche</b>
WHICH	which whcch	þe whyche (þe wiche)
MANY	niany	<b>monv</b>
ARE.	beth bech bcn	bc
	be	
NOT	not <b>nat</b>	not
WHEN	whan	<b>whan when</b>
3sg. Pr ind	-ith -eth -f	-cþ -yþ
Weak præt	-cde ((-ude))	-ed -id
BUT		bote
CALL	clepid (ppt)	<b>called</b> ycelepyd (ppt)
	clepeþ (3s)	
ENOUGH	ynow	vnowgh
FIRE	<b>fyr</b> fyre	fycrc
FLESH	flesshe	flesclie
GIVE	<b>3oue</b> (ppt)	<b>v3eve</b> (ppt)
OUT	out owte outc	out
PRAY	<b>prayed</b> (ppt)	<b>vprevid</b> (ppt)

Table 8: A comparison of key test features in texts O and C of *AN*

Some of the differences are not very significant from the dialectal point of view, such as variation in the item CALL. Some others in O do not exclude the area of occurrence of C, since they are widely spread throughout many places of the country. *i.e.* the forms for the items IT (*it*), MANY (*many*), NOT (*nat*), WHEN (*whan*), BUT (*but*), FIRE (*fyr*, *fyre*), ENOUGH (*ynow*) and PRAY (*prayed*). The corresponding forms in C are far more restricted and I have used some of them for the fitting of that text. The form for WHICH in O is somewhat more restricted than those found in C, but it coexists with those in C in the area where the latter has been localised (*LALME*, vol. 2: 46). Therefore, this leaves us only with seven forms and features in O that could shed some light on the provenance of this text, as long as they are different from those in C. *Swych* for SUCH, *beeih* for the item ARE (since the other forms for this item are quite wide spread as well), <-!> for the THIRD PERSON SINGULAR PRESENT INDICATIVE, the minority ending <-ude> for the WEAK PAST PARTICIPLE, *3ove* for the past participle of the item GIVE, *owte* for OUT, and the form *flesshe* for FLESH

The most widely spread of these is *swych*, which occurs, as dot map 74 (*LALME*, vol. 1: 323) shows, much more frequently in the eastern part of the country. It has been attested in eighteen LPs in Norfolk, in eleven LPs in Suffolk and three in Essex. The western part of the country is not completely excluded by this form since it has been attested in Herefordshire in two LPs and in Worcestershire in two more. What seems evident is that this form is far more common in the east. The same is the case with the form *3ove* for the past participle of the item

GIVE. It is attested in eight LPs in Norfolk, four in Essex and two in Suffolk. This makes many more instances than those found in the west, which are limited to one LP in Gloucestershire, one in Warwickshire and one in Wiltshire. When plotting all these forms with *flesse* and *beeth* the only places in which such an assemblage occurs are Warwickshire and Essex. The minority ending <-ude> for the weak past participle is very common in the counties of the west, but it has been recorded for Essex in three LPs. The use of <w> for <u> in words like *awte* seems to point to the eastern part of the country, especially Norfolk and Suffolk, although it is attested in Essex as well. This form and the last feature to be plotted here, make the linguistic situation a bit more puzzling, in the sense that the ending <-l> for the third person singular present indicative has never been attested in Warwickshire (Herefordshire being the only county of the western part of the country in which it occurs, in three LPs). On the other hand, this ending is widely used in the east: it is recorded for Norfolk in four LPs, for Suffolk in five LPs, and for Essex in one LP. If we add to this assemblage the form *thilke* for the item THE SAME, which appears in O but not in C, we should go back to the possibility of placing this manuscript either in Warwickshire (where the form appears in ten LPs) and in Essex (where it is attested in six LPs). Indeed, Warwickshire is rejected by two features, and leaving them out of the assemblage, we could fit the text in both counties. As the ending <-l> has been found in Herefordshire, it would not be impossible to find it in a text written in another western county, and the spelling <w> for <u>, although not attested in *LALME* for the western counties, is common in some texts from Herefordshire and Warwickshire.<sup>21</sup> The rest of the forms, which are coincidental with those in C, are also possible in Essex, but they are also possible in Warwickshire, as shown above.

### III. 4. The manuscripts of the AN analysed in *LALME*

Two manuscripts, which belong to the last family of manuscripts of the ME AN, have been fully analysed in *LALME*. These are the ones I have called H and S. As the text in this family is very much reduced, and as the recipes start in English but change into Latin in a set starting with letter <d>, it is not possible to localise the language of this part of the codices in isolation. In *LALME* they have been analysed together with the rest of the texts copied by the same scribe, and this is what their corresponding LPs reflect, that is to say, the language of a group of texts by the same scribe. Both H and S were written by a fifteenth century hand and they are both on paper, although the script in H seems to be somewhat older. The text of the AN seems to be closely connected in these two copies since in both of them the recipes begin to be written in Latin at the same point after the recipe called *Diamargariton*.<sup>22</sup> The LP for the language of the scribe of H is LP 4622 (grid 637 304), while that for the language of the scribe of S is LP 735 (grid 572 296). Both have been localised in Norfolk, although one of them can be fitted in the western part of Norfolk and the other one in the eastern part of the county. Both LPs are almost identical in the use of the majority of forms.

#### IV. CONCLUSIONS

Alongside the fitting by hand of the different manuscripts containing a version of the *AN* in ME. Keith Williamson from the University of Edinburgh's Institute for Historical Dialectology has kindly run his latest version of Comp FT2 on all of them.<sup>23</sup> The result of the computerised fitting has been the same: two of them are clearly western in origin and they can be placed around the most north-western part of Gloucestershire stretching out to the borders of Herefordshire to the north and Monmouth to the west. Two others are clearly eastern, and their place of provenance could be Suffolk or Essex. For the two later versions of the treatise the computerised fitting programme has given alternative areas, quite distant from one another, so the result is not conclusive.

The results show that the early evidence has a clear provenance in East Anglia. Both manuscripts (J and M) have been affiliated here with those of Latin group B. Mid-fifteenth century copies (F and B) are western and they are associated with Latin group A. The evidence of the latest manuscripts (C and O) is far more complex and one of them seems to have been copied in the west or by a western scribe, while the other is more likely to have been copied in the eastern part of the country, probably in Essex. These two copies have been regarded also as belonging to group A of the Latin manuscripts. The texts fully analysed in *LALME* (H and S), on the other hand, are connected with group C of the Latin manuscripts and they have both been associated with East Anglia, more precisely with Norfolk. The Latin manuscripts were probably scattered in different libraries and the evidence I mentioned above in note 1 is very small compared to the number of existing manuscripts. Consequently, this evidence does not help to support or discard my arguments here.<sup>24</sup> It seems clear that, at least in the western part of the country, texts with a similar origin were copied, and that the existing copies were not probably the only ones circulating in the fifteenth century, since the texts analysed here are independent from one another. I have localised the two other branches in the textual tradition of this treatise in the east. The two main areas encountered in this study are, in fact, areas of extensive production in general, and of large production of medical texts in particular. Diffusion of the manuscripts after the process of copying could have been greater, but their production seems to be restricted to the places I have mentioned here. The Latin *AN* was copied in some occasions during the Middle Ages along with Platearius' *Circa Instans*, and although there are no extant copies of both treatises together in ME, the dissemination of the copies of Platearius' work seem to have had a similar distribution to those of the *AN*.<sup>25</sup> The areas in which both of them were copied are in the vicinity to both Medieval English Universities.

## NOTES

1. Undoubtedly, there were copies in different cultural centres of the country. **Some** of the Latin versions seem to **have been in the medieval** libraries of individual monasteries or **colleges**. N.R. Ker (1964) listed the following: Cambridge, University Library Add. 6865, which was at the Augustinian priory of St Giles in Bamwell (Cambridgeshire), London, BL Harley **5228**, housed in medieval times in the Benedictine Cathedral priory of B.V.M. at Worcester, and Cambridge, St. John's College 172, which belonged to the medieval Benedictine Cathedral priory of St. Cuthbert at Durham.
2. The number of existing manuscripts in Latin attests to the popularity of the treatise. **I have** collected a list of Latin manuscripts which is **still** far from being complete. **I have** checked only those housed in British and French libraries, and these number eighty. There are **also some** copies known to be in other European libraries as they were catalogued by Thonidike and Kibre (1963). However, their list is **also** incomplete. They mentioned fifteen in libraries **outside Britain**, although they only reported about fifteen more in British libraries, while **I have** compiled a list of forty-five.
3. They **all have the incipit** "Ego Nicolaus a quibusdam rogatus in practica medicine studere uolentibus ut eos recto ordine modum dispensandi, conficiendi..." (Cambridge, Clare College Library 12, f. **177r**) [**I Nicolas**, required by those **willing** to study the practice of medicine as **well** as the right way of administering and preparing...].
4. The texts in this group start the recipes in this way: "Aurea Alexandrina dicta est ab aureo, alexandrina ab Alexandro **pericissimo** philosopho inuenta. **Prope** ualet ad omnem uicium capitis ex **fritate**, maxime ad omnem reumaticam passionem..." (Cambridge, Clare College Library 12, f. **177v**) [Aurea Alexandrina, so-called from gold, Alexandrina from Alexander, the famous philosopher who invented it. **It is** appropriate for **all** illness of the head that come from coldness, mainly for the **evils** of the rheum...].
5. All quotations in this section are from Clagow, University Library Ferguson 147, f. Ir.
6. Incipit: "Aurea alexandrina faciens ad reuma capitis **cuius** dolorem sedat, oculorum lacrimas stringit, dentium dolorem aufert non **solum** bibica sed etiam superposita ..." (Cambridge, Trinity College O. 1.21, f. **1r**). [Aurea alexandrina acting on the rheum of the head whose pains **mitigates**, it restrains the tears from the watery eyes, it **removes** the pain from the teeth not only by drinking it but **also** by applying it over...].
7. **Incipit**: "Aurea prope ualet ad omnem in cuius capitis ex **fritate** maxime ad reuma et grauedinem oculorum..." (Oxford, Bodleian Library Rawlison C. 328 f. **126r**). [Aurea. **It is** good for everyone's head, mainly from coldness, for rheum and for the coldness of the eyes...].
8. **I have been** unable to obtain a copy of the manuscript housed in the Marquis of Bath Library at Warminster, Longleat House, so I am unable to **classify this** manuscript at **all**. Nevertheless, its **incipit** makes me think that it **could** be a text that would correspond to those of group A, but lacking the prologue: "It is good properly to **all** the vice of the head (id est) come of cold and to **all** manner of rheum". (Warminster, Longleat house 174, f. 15). Quoted from Voigts & Kurts (2000). Cf. note 4 above.
9. The beginning of the recipe reads: "Aurea Alexandrina. Yt ys cleped aurea, of gold, alexandrina, of Elysander **þe** perfytyste phycician yfoundede. Properlyche yt ys good for al euell of **þe** hed of coldnes, mostewhate to al rewmatyke rennyngde **doun**..." (Clagow, University Library Ferguson 147, f. 2r). Cf. note 4 above.
10. The beginning of the tract in this manuscript is **missing**. **It starts in the middle of the recipe called** *Confectio Alipie Muscate*.

11. The beginning of Aurea Alexandrina is as follows: "Aurea Alexandrina. It is seyde of goldand of Elysaunder þe whyche wasmost best yprevid phisician. It is good for þe rewmeof þe hedeofcoldness..." (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 424, f. 35r). Cf. note 4 above.

12. The beginning of the recipes is as follows: "Aurea Alexandrina. Aurea dicitur ab aureo in multis passionibus probata . It is god for rewme and for ake of efde, and of rennyng of eyene, for ake of teþe, for wodled, for lufte, for tisike, for cardiacle, for brakynge of blod, for palesi both hotandcold..." (Cambridge, St. John's College 37,111 f. 9v). Cf. note 5 above.

13. The incipif for the first part of the text is: "Aurea Alexandrina recipe asarabaca, carpobalsami, henbelle seed, Englysche ganyngale ana..." The incipif for the second part of the text is: "Aurea Alexandrina is good for the wynde in þe hed þat comyth with an hete þat þe yen, and þe gomys of þe mowth, and þe nose, and þe erys, and al þe membrys of þe body is englemyd þerwith, and it is good for þe palsy..." (Cambridge, Magdalene College Pepys 1307, f. 41r). Cf. note 5 above.

14. The incipif for these two texts is: "Yis electuarie aurea alexandrina is good for allé eueles in a manes hed yat komen of cold andof rewme and of heete and it is good for bade eyne for feble herynggeandfor rewme yat fallets doun to a mannes chaeles..." (Glasgow, University Library Hunter 117, f. 34). Cf. note 7 above.

15. Regarding this matter, Williamson (2004:101) states that LALME users should take into consideration that the linguistic material in that work "comes from texts datable from the early fourteenth century to the late fifteenth century, and its core period is 1350 to 1450. A LALME map therefore presents this material as if it were synchronic when there is in fact considerable time-depth".

16. C is copied together with an excerpt of Chaucer's *Treatise on the Asfrolabe* among other works. The same scribe is responsible for both works.

17. Other texts in the same codex have been fully analysed in LALME and a LP is provided. Part I ff. Ir-1 l v has been localised in Norfolk. In these folios there is another text of the AN (S) to which I will refer later. Parts I and II have been localised in south central Norfolk, very near the Suffolk border (LALME, Vol. 1: 64). These texts, fully analysed in LALME, are fifteenth-century copies, while J is a fourteenth-century text.

18. I am grateful to Margaret Laing for having provided information about the localization of this text.

19. It is also attested in one LP localised in Essex.

20. Other pages from Oxford, Bodleian Ashmole 1438 have been analysed in LALME, but for the ones containing the AN, only the following information is found: "Part I. Hand 1 pp. 149-170; 173-178. Not in NME" (LALME, Vol. 1: 145).

21. These forms in fact occur in texts from Warwickshire and Herefordshire. See Garrido Anes in this volume. I am grateful to Edurne Garrido Anes for having discussed and shared with me the results of her research on the distribution of the ME copies of Platearius' Circa *Instans*.

22. The connection seems to be expanded to other texts in the same codex. In a personal letter sent by H. Hartgreaves to the librarian of St. John's College Cambridge on May 5 1968, and attached now to James' catalogue, he noticed "a close connection between your manuscript and Glasgow University Library Hunterian ms. 117. Not only some of the charms are the same [...] but the note found on your f. 29 [...] is found on f. 50 of the Hunterian manuscript". This note refers to the names of the compounds of the AN. Beadle (1991: 100) also states that these two manuscripts "judging by their choice and arrangements of texts stand in some close relation to one another".



23. For an explanation of the automated fitting with a computer method (Comp FT2) see Laing and Williamson (2004: 89-91). I am also indebted to Keith Williamson for his criticism on a first draft of this paper.

24. Cambridge, University Library Add. 6865 is nevertheless a manuscript of group A, quite close to the ME texts in F and O. London, BL Harley 5228, is a manuscript of group C, and Cambridge, St. John's College 172, belongs to group B.

25. See Garrido Anes in this volume

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## APPENDIX: Linguistic Profiles

Cambridge, St. John's College 37 III (ff. 8-34)

THESE: þise, bis  
 IT: hit, it  
 THEY: þey  
 THEM: hem ((ham))  
 THEIR: her  
 WHICH: wich, wiche  
 MANY: mani  
 MAN: man  
 MUCH: moch, mochil  
 ANY: ani  
 ARE: ben, beþ ((bip))  
 WERE: weren, wer  
 IS: is  
 SHALL: schal  
 SHOULD: schulde  
 WILL: wilt (2sg), willen (pl)  
 AFTER: aftir, efter, eftir, eft  
 THEN: þan  
 THAN: þan  
 IF: 3ef ((39))  
 AS: as, als  
 AS+AS: alsas  
 AGAINST: a3ens, a3en  
 STRENGTH: strenkþe  
 Wh-: wh-w-  
 NOT: no3t ((na3t))  
 THERE: þer  
 MIGHT: mi3ti (adj), ri3t (adj)  
 THROUGH: þur3, þor3  
 WHEN: wan, wanne  
 substantive plural: -is, -s  
 verbal substantive: -inge  
 3sg pres indicative: -eþ, -iþ ((-t))

present plural: -en, -eþ  
 weak preterite: -ed, -id  
 weak past participle: -ed, -id  
 strong past participle: -in  
 ABOUT: aboute  
 AFTERWARDS: eftenvarde  
 AIR: heyre  
 ALL: alle, al  
 AWAY: away  
 BE: bi (ben) (ppl)  
 BEFORE: bifore  
 BENEATH: bineþ  
 BETWEEN: bitwix  
 BURN: bren  
 CALL: clepid, cleped, called (ppl)  
 DAY: day, dayes (pl)  
 DO: doþ (3sg)  
 EARTH: herþe, erþe  
 EIGHT: et3end (ord)  
 ENOUGH: ino3  
 EVIL: euele, euel  
 EYE: eyene, e3en (pl)  
 FATHER: fader  
 FIRE: fere, fer  
 FIRST: first  
 FIVE: fife, feue  
 FLESH: flesche  
 FOUR: verþe (ord)  
 GOOD: god, gode  
 GIVE: 3ef  
 HEAD: efd, efde  
 HOLY: holi  
 KIND: kynde, kende

KNOW: knawe  
 LITTLE: litil  
 LIVE: liuen  
 LOVE: loue (vb), luft (sb)  
 MAY: may, mowe (pl)  
 MONTH: moneþ  
 MOTHER: moder  
 NEW: newe  
 NEITHER+NOR: noþer+not  
 NIGH: ne3  
 OLD: helde  
 OR: oþer  
 OTHER: oþer  
 OUT: out  
 OWN: awne  
 SAY: sayn (inf), sed (ppl)  
 SELF: selue  
 SILVER: seluer  
 SOME: sum  
 SUN: sonne, sun  
 THOU: þu  
 THY: þin  
 THREE: þrid (ord), þre (card)  
 TOGETHER: togidre  
 TWO: two  
 UPON: vpan  
 UNTIL: til  
 WAY: wey  
 WELL: wel  
 WITHOUT: wiþoute, wiþout  
 YEAR: 3er, 3ere  
 -NESS: -ness

Cambridge, Magdalene College Penvs 1307 (ff. 1-51)

THESE: þese  
 IT: hit, it  
 THEY: þei  
 THEM: hem ((þem))  
 THEIR: here  
 MANY: many  
 MAN: man  
 ANY: any  
 MUCH: moche, inoch  
 ARE: ben, beth  
 IS: is  
 SHALL: xalt, xal

WILL: wolt (2sg), wole (3sg),  
 wil (3sg)  
 FROM: fro  
 AFTER: aftyr  
 THEN: þan, þanne  
 THOUGH: þow  
 IF: if, 3if  
 AS: as  
 AS+AS: as as  
 AGAINST: a3en  
 AGAIN: a3en

STRENGTH: stronyeth (3sg)  
 Wh-: w- (qw-) ((wh-: ))  
 NOT: nat, not, no3t  
 THERE: þer  
 WHERE: were(euer)  
 MIGHT: nyth (for night)  
 THROUGH: þrow, throw  
 WHEN: wan (qwan) ((whan))  
 substantive plural: -ys  
 present participle: -yng  
 3sg pres indicative: -eth, -t. ʹ  
 weak past participle: -yd, -ed

ABOUT: abowte	FLESH: fleysch	SELF: self
ABOVE: aboue	GOOD: good	SOME: som
AIR: eyre	HAVE: haue, hast (2sg)	SUN: sonne
ALL: al, alle	HEAD: hed, hede	THOU: þu
AWAY: awey, away	KIND: kende	THY: þin
BEFORE: afor <sup>n</sup> , byfore (afore)	LITTLE: lityll, lytyl, lytly, litil	THREE: þredde (ord)
BURN: brent (ppf)	MAY: may, mayst (2sg)	TOGETHER: togyder, togeder
BY: be	NAME: name	TWO: twey
DAY: dayes, dayis	NEW: new	UNTIL: tyl
DO: do (imp)	OLD: olde	WELL: wel, wole
EARTH: erthe	OR: oþer	YE: 3e
EYES: yen (pl)	OTHER: oþer	-NESS: -nesse
EVIL: euyl, yuelys (pl)	OUT: owt	
FIRE: fyre, fer	OWN: owen	
FIRST: fyrste	SAY: seyde (ppf)	

London, British Library harley 2374 (ff. 31-64v)

THESE: þees	weak past participle: -ede ((-ude))	LIFE: lyue
IT: it	ABOVE: aboue	LITTLE: littell, litel, lutel
THEY: þey, þei	AFTERWARDS: aftenvarde	MAY: mowe (sg, pl)
THEM: hem	ALL: al, alle	MOTHER: moder
THEIR: heare	AMONG: amonge	NAME: name
WHICH: þe whiche, wiche	AWAY: awey	NEW: newe
EACH: eche	BE: be, ybe (ppf)	OLD: olde
MAN: man	BEFORE: bifore	OR: or
ANY: any (ony)	BENEATH: bineþe	OTHER: oþer, oþere
MUCH: moche	BETWEEN: bytwene	OUT: out
ARE: buþ, both	BUT: bote	THE SAME: þilke
IS: ys, is	BY: : by, bi	SAY: seye (inf), saide (ppf)
WAS: was	CALL: (y)clepude (ppf)	SEE: seo (inf)
WILL: wolt (2sg), wole (2pl)	DAY: daies (pl)	SELF: selue
FROM: frani	DEATH: deþ	SILVER: seluer
AFTER: after	DO: doþ (3sg)	SOME: sum
THEN: þenne	DOWN: doun	THOU: þu
THAN: þan	EITHER: eiþer	THY: þyne
IF: if (3if)	ENOUGH: ynow	THREE: þridde (ord)
AS: as	EVIL: yuele	TOGETHER: togadere, togedere,
AS+AS: as as	EYE: y3ene, y3en (pl)	togudere
AGAIN: a3eyn	FIRE: fuyre, fure	TWO: twey
WHILE: while	FIRST: furst	UNTIL: tille
LENGTH: lengþe	FLESH: flessch, flessche	UPON: vppon
Wh-: wh-	GIVE: 3eue (ppf)	WELL: wel
NOT: not	GO: goþ (3sg)	WHETHER: wheþer
THERE: þer	GOOD: goude ((goud))	WHO: whoso
THROUGH: þorow	HAVE: haue, haueþ (pl)	WITHOUT: wiþoute
WHEN: when, whenne	haue, haþ (sg)	YOU: 3e
substantive plural: -es ((-is))	HEAD: heede	YEAR: 3ere
present participle: -yng	KIND: kuynde, muynde	-LY: -lyche ((-ly))
verbal substantive: -yng	KNOW: knowe	-NESS: -nesse
3sg pres indicative: -eþ	LESS: lasse	
present plural: -eþ	LIE: leye (inf), yleyde (ppf)	

**Glasgow, University Library Ferguson 147 (ff. 1-55)**

THESE: <b>pees</b>	substantive plural: <b>-is, -ys</b>	LIFE: <b>lyue</b>
IT: <b>yt</b> ((hit))	present participle: <b>-ynge</b>	LITTLE: <b>lytylle</b>
THEY: <b>pei</b>	verbal substantive: <b>-ynge</b>	MAY: <b>may</b> (mowe) ( <i>sg, pl</i> )
THEM: <b>hem, hym</b>	3sg pres indicative: <b>-eþ, -iþ</b>	MONTH: <b>monþe</b>
THEIR: <b>her</b> ((3heare))	present plural: <b>-eþ, -iþ</b>	NAME: <b>nanie</b>
SUCH: <b>suche</b>	ABOVE: <b>aboue</b>	NE+BE: <b>nys</b>
WHICH: <b>wyche, wiche</b> ((weche))	AFTERWARDS: <b>aftenvarde</b>	NEW: <b>new</b>
EACH: <b>eche</b>	ALL: <b>alle</b>	OLD: <b>old</b> ((alde))
MANY: <b>mony</b>	AMONG: <b>amonge</b>	ONE: <b>on, oon</b>
MAN: <b>man</b>	AWAY: <b>awey</b>	OR: <b>or</b>
ANY: <b>any</b>	BE: <b>be</b> ( <i>ppl</i> )	OTHER: <b>oþer</b>
MUCH: <b>moche</b>	BEFORE: <b>byfore</b>	OUT: <b>ou3t, out</b>
ARE: <b>beþ</b> (bebe)	BENEATH: <b>bynethe</b>	PRAY: <b>ypreiede</b> ( <i>ppl</i> )
IS: <b>ys</b> ((is))	BUT: <b>bote</b>	THE SAME: <b>þilke</b>
SHALL: <b>schal</b>	DAY: <b>dayes</b> ( <i>pl</i> )	SAY: <b>sayde</b> ( <i>ppl</i> ), <b>sey, sei</b> ( <i>inf</i> )
SHOULD: <b>scholde</b> ((schuleþ))	DEATH: <b>deþ</b>	SELF: <b>silf</b>
((schul))	DOWN: <b>doun</b>	SILVER: <b>syluer, siluer</b>
WILL: <b>woleþ</b> ( <i>pl</i> ), <b>will</b> ( <i>sg</i> )	EITHER: <b>ayþer</b> ( <i>eiþer</i> )	SOME: <b>summe, sum</b>
WOULD: <b>wolte</b>	ENOUGH: <b>ynow</b>	SUN: <b>sounne</b>
FROM: <b>fram, fro</b> : ((from))	EVIL: <b>euel, yuele, yuelys</b> ( <i>pl</i> )	THOU: <b>bu, þau</b>
AFTER: <b>after</b> ((aftur))	EYE: <b>ey3en</b> ( <i>pl</i> )	THY: <b>þine</b>
THEN: <b>þanne, þane</b>	FIRE: <b>fuyre</b> ((fyre))	THREE: <b>þrydde</b>
THAN: <b>þan, þanne</b>	FIRST: <b>furst, furste</b>	TOGETHER: <b>togader, togeder</b>
IF: <b>3ef, 3efe</b>	FLESH: <b>flesche</b>	TWO: <b>tweyen, tweyn, tewye</b>
AS: <b>as</b>	GIVE: <b>3ef</b> ( <i>imp</i> )	UNTIL: <b>tylle</b>
AS+AS: <b>as as</b>	GOOD: <b>gode</b>	WELL: <b>wel, welle</b>
AGAINST: <b>d e n, a3eyne</b>	HAVE: <b>hathe, haþe</b> ( <i>3sg</i> ),	WHO: <b>hoso</b>
Wh-: <b>wh-</b>	<b>hauþe</b> ( <i>pl</i> )	WITHOUT: <b>wypou3t</b>
NOT: <b>not, no3t, nou3t</b>	HEAD: <b>hed</b>	WORSE: <b>worse</b>
WHERE: <b>wherfore</b>	HOW: <b>how</b>	YOU: <b>3e</b> ( <i>pl</i> )
MIGHT: <b>my3t</b>	I: <b>l</b>	-LY: <b>-lyche</b>
THROUGH: <b>þoro3</b>	KIND: <b>kynde</b>	-NESS: <b>-nes</b>
WHEN: <b>whan, whane</b>	LET: <b>let</b>	
	LIE: <b>lyeyde</b>	

**Oxford, Bodleian Library Ashmole 1439 (pp.166-178)**

IT: <b>it</b>	AFTER: <b>after</b>	present participle: <b>-ynge</b>
THEY: <b>thei, they</b>	THEN: <b>then</b>	verbal substantive: <b>-ynge, -inge</b>
THEM: <b>hem</b>	THAN: <b>then, than, thanne</b>	3sg pres indicative: <b>-ith, -eth, -t</b>
THEIR: <b>here</b>	IF: <b>if</b>	present plural: <b>-ith, -eth</b>
SUCH: <b>swych</b>	AS: <b>as</b>	weak preterite: <b>-ed, -id, -yd</b>
WHICH: <b>which, whch</b>	AS+AS: <b>as as</b>	weak past participle: <b>-ed, -id, -yd</b>
EACH: <b>eche</b>	AGAINST: <b>a3enst</b>	ABOVE: <b>aboue</b>
MANY: <b>many</b>	AGAIN: <b>a3en</b>	AFTERWARDS: <b>aftenvarde</b>
MUCH: <b>moche, moch</b>	Wh-: <b>wh-</b>	ALL: <b>al, all</b>
ARE: <b>beth, beeth, ben, be</b>	NOT: <b>not, nat</b>	AMONG: <b>among</b>
IS: <b>is</b>	THERE: <b>þer</b>	BEFORE: <b>before</b>
SHALL: <b>shal</b>	WHERE: <b>where</b>	BENEATH: <b>benethe</b>
SHOULD: <b>shulde</b>	MIGHT: <b>myght</b>	BUT: <b>but</b>
WILL: <b>wole, wylt</b> ( <i>2sg</i> ) <b>wolle</b> ( <i>2pl</i> )	WHEN: <b>whan</b>	EITHER: <b>eyþer</b>
FROM: <b>fro, from</b>		ENOUGH: <b>ynow</b>

EVIL: <i>evyl</i> , <b>evil</b>	KIND: <i>kynd</i>	SELF: <i>self</i>
EYE: <i>eyen</i> ( <i>pl</i> )	LET: <i>let</i>	SOME: <i>sum</i>
FIRE: <i>fyr</i> , <i>fyre</i>	LIE: <i>ileyde</i> ( <i>ppl</i> )	THOU: <i>þu</i>
FIRST: <i>fyrst</i>	LITTLE: <b>lytil</b>	THY: <i>thy</i>
FLESH: <i>flesh</i> , <i>flesshe</i>	MAY: <i>may</i> , <i>mow</i> ( <i>sg</i> , <i>pl</i> )	TOGETHER: <i>togeder</i>
GIVE: <b>3ove</b> ( <i>ppl</i> )	OLD: <i>olde</i>	UNTIL: <i>til</i>
GOOD: <i>good</i>	ONE: <i>on</i> , <i>one</i>	WELL: <i>wel</i>
HAVE: <i>hathe</i> ( <i>sg</i> , <i>pl</i> ), <b>have</b> ( <i>inf</i> ), <i>hau</i>	OR: <i>or</i>	WHO: <i>whoso</i>
HEAD: <b>hede</b>	OUT: <i>out</i> , <b>owte</b> , <i>oute</i>	WITHOUT: <i>withoute</i>
HOW: <i>how</i>	PRAY: <i>prayed</i> ( <i>ppl</i> )	-LY: <i>-ly</i> , <i>-lyche</i>
I: <i>y</i>	THE SAME: <i>thilke</i>	-NESS: <i>-nes</i>
	SAY: <i>sey</i> ( <i>inf</i> )	

## Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 424 (ff. 35-41v)

THE: <i>be</i> , <b>þoo</b> ( <i>pl</i> )	3sg pres indicative: <b>-eþ</b> , <b>-yþ</b> , <b>-yth</b>	NEITHER: <b>noþer</b>
THESE: <b>þes</b>	present plural: <b>-eþ</b> , <b>-yþ</b>	NEW: <i>newe</i>
IT: <i>it</i> , <i>hit</i> , <i>yt</i>	weak preterite: <i>-ed</i>	OLD: <i>old</i> , <i>olde</i>
THEY: <b>þey</b>	weak past participle: <i>-ed</i>	ONE: <i>oon</i>
THEM: <i>hem</i>	ABOVE: <i>abowe</i> , <i>above</i>	OR: <i>or</i>
THEIR: <b>here</b> (( <b>þere</b> ))	AFTERWARDS: <i>afterward</i>	OTHER: <b>oþer</b>
SUCH: <i>suche</i>	ALL: <b>all</b>	OUT: <i>out</i>
WHICH: <b>þe</b> <i>whyche</i> ( <i>wiche</i> )	AMONG: <i>among</i>	PRAY: <i>pray</i> ( <i>inf</i> ), <i>yprevid</i> ( <i>ppl</i> )
EACH: <i>eche</i>	AWAY: <i>away</i>	SAY: <i>say</i> , <i>sey</i> , <b>seid</b> ( <i>ppl</i> ) <i>seyd</i> ( <i>ppl</i> )
MANY: <i>mony</i>	BE: <i>be</i> ( <i>ppl</i> )	SEE: <i>see</i>
MAN: <i>man</i>	BEFORE: <i>before</i> , <i>byfore</i>	SELF: <i>selfe</i>
ANY: <i>eny</i>	BURN: <i>ybrent</i> ( <i>ppl</i> )	SILVER: <i>syluere</i>
MUCH: <i>moche</i>	BUT: <i>but</i>	SOME: <b>some</b>
ARE: <i>be</i>	BY: <i>by</i>	THOU: <b>þu</b>
IS: <b>is</b>	CALL: <b>called</b> ( <i>ppl</i> ), <i>yclepyd</i> ( <i>ppl</i> )	THY: <b>þy</b> , <b>þyn</b>
WAS: <i>was</i>	DAY: <i>dayes</i> ( <i>pl</i> )	THREEord: <b>þryde</b> , <i>thyrde</i>
SHALL: <b>shall</b> , <b>schall</b> , <b>schull</b>	DEATH: <i>debe</i> , <b>deþ</b>	TOGETHER: <i>togeder</i>
SHOULD: <i>schulde</i> , <i>shuld</i>	DO: <i>do</i> ( <i>inf</i> ), <b>doþ</b> ( <i>3 sg</i> )	UNTIL: <i>tyll</i>
WILL: <i>wylt</i> ( <i>2sg</i> ), <i>wylle</i> , <i>wole</i> , <b>wyll</b> ( <i>pl</i> )	DOWN: <i>down</i>	UPON: <i>vpon</i>
WOULD: <i>wolde</i>	EITHER: <b>eyþer</b>	WELL: <b>well</b>
FROM: <i>from</i>	ENOUGH: <i>y-nowgh</i>	WITHOUT: <i>without</i>
AFTER: <i>after</i>	EVIL: <i>evyl</i> , <i>evel</i>	YE: <i>3e</i>
THEN: <b>þen</b> , <b>þan</b>	EYE: <i>eyen</i> ( <i>pl</i> )	YEAR: <i>3ere</i>
THAN: <b>þan</b>	FIRE: <i>fyere</i>	-LY: <i>-ly</i> , <i>-lyche</i>
IF: <i>if</i> , <i>iff</i>	FIRST: <b>first</b>	-NESS: <i>-nes</i>
AS: <i>as</i>	FLESH: <i>flesche</i>	
AS+AS: <i>as as</i>	GIVE: <b>y3eve</b> ( <i>ppl</i> ), <i>3eve</i> ( <i>imp</i> )	
AGAINST: <b>a3en</b>	GO: <b>goþ</b> , <b>goeþ</b> ( <i>3 sg</i> )	
AGAIN: <b>a3en</b>	GOOD: <i>good</i>	
LENGTH: <b>length</b>	HAVE: <b>hap</b> , <b>hape</b> , <i>haue</i> , <b>have</b> ( <i>pl</i> )	
Wh-: <b>wh-</b>	HEAD: <b>hede</b>	
NOT: <i>not</i>	HOW: <i>how</i> , <i>howe</i>	
THERE: <b>þer</b>	I: <b>1</b>	
MIGHT: <b>my3te</b>	KIND: <i>kynde</i>	
THROUGH: <b>þrough</b> , <b>þrowe</b>	KNOW: <i>knowe</i>	
WHEN: <i>whan</i> , <i>when</i>	LESS: <b>lasse</b>	
substantive plural: <i>-es</i> , <i>-ys</i>	LIFE: <i>lyfe</i>	
present participle: <i>-yng</i>	LITTLE: <b>lytle</b>	
verbal substantive: <i>-yng</i>	MAY: <i>may</i> , <i>mowe</i> ( <i>sg</i> , <i>pl</i> )	
	NAME: <b>name</b>	