Als die maen is inden weder

Practical Advice in a Late-Fifteenth-Century Astrological Calendar Manuscript

Amsterdam UB MS XXIII A 8



Master Thesis RMA Medieval Studies Irene Meekes - van Toer 0138010 15 mei 2013 Supervisor: Orlanda S. H. Lie

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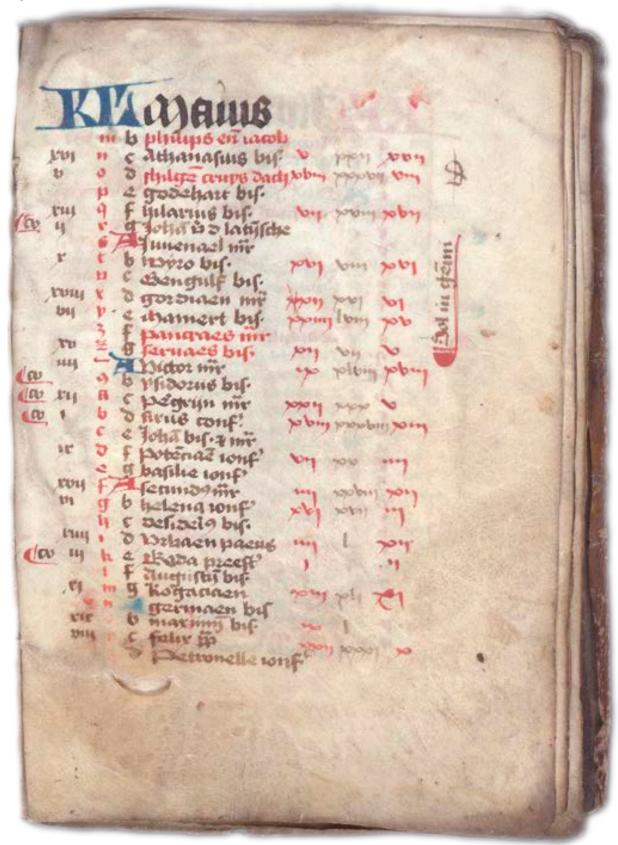
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Figure 1: Amsterdam UB MS XXIII A 8, Fol. 11r.



PART I: INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Deep inside the vaults of the Amsterdam University Special Collections Library, in an inconspicuous little container with the signature Amsterdam UB MS XXIII A 8, sits a small, unassuming fifteenth-century codex of no more than twenty-four parchment leaves. Perfunctorily described in catalogues as an 'astrological calendar', no one seems to have paid it much attention over the past several centuries. Countless medieval codices begin or end with a calendar, and though many of them are quite beautifully made, at first glance they all seem rather similar. They are useful to a literary historian for dating or locating a manuscript, but otherwise they do not command much scholarly attention.

This particular little codex, however, contains a rather intriguing mystery - a mystery that proves not exactly uncomplicated to unravel. No less than eleven texts and tables surround the calendar: two zodiologia prognosticating the influence of the zodiacal signs, a melothesia enumerating the physical influences of those signs, a disease lunarium prognosticating illness according to the days of the moon, three texts warning of inauspiciously perilous days, and assorted chronology and computus texts and tables to aid in using the calendar. Why did somebody choose to construct such a curious little compendium of astrological material? How exactly could all this complex information be put to practical use? What sort of person would have done so, and to what extent - if any - did they allow astrology to influence their daily life? Holding the little notebook in my hands, looking back over the centuries to the medieval person holding it hundreds of years ago, I cannot help but attempt to imagine who they were and how they might have felt and thought. To me, this is the most naturally interesting question to ask when contemplating such an artifact.

1.2 THE PROBLEM

The manuscript under consideration consists of what we call *artes literature*; instructive and utilitarian texts reproduced because of their practical usefulness rather than their 'recreational, aesthetic, religious or emotional' qualities.² In the past few decades, the argument has already been convincingly made that studying artes texts is worthwhile, not merely for the sake of philology and linguistics, but especially for broadening and nuancing our perception of medieval

¹ Amsterdam University Library Catalogue: http://lib.uva.nl/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?fn=display&doc=UVA_LMS002258570&vid=UVA Medieval Manuscripts in Dutch Collections Catalogue: http://www.mmdc.nl/static/site/index.html; search term 'astrological calendar'.

² JANSEN-SIEBEN 1989, xii.

world view.³ So the main question to be answered now is: in what ways exactly will it benefit us to conduct in-depth research into one specific artes codex? What new insights can be gained by careful study of the various aspects of such a codex? Will it change our understanding of medieval thought if we incorporate the expressions of medieval world view as they are reflected in everyday utilitarian texts?

The other major question to be addressed in this thesis is methodological in nature. Since the New Philology debate in the final decades of the twentieth century, the main focus of literary historians has shifted from purely text-internal research, to consideration of the text in connection with its context, which some felt had been unduly neglected. ⁴ In the search for the immaterial 'fixed' text, the variance and continual adaptation of medieval literary culture was lost to view.⁵

In the wake of this dispute, Keith Busby coined the term New Codicology, an approach which attempts to take all contextual aspects of medieval texts into consideration. Whereas earlier literary scholars sometimes viewed the manuscript as an irksome obstacle between them and the texts, things have changed for the better. It was gradually appreciated that medieval codices are the only aspect of medieval literary culture which we can access directly. No longer does an aesthetical view of medieval literature take exclusive precedence over seeing the texts as products of cultural history. It is realized that texts do not stand alone in a vacuum, but that they originated from and functioned within a social and cultural environment. Moreover, they also intercommunicate directly with the texts in their immediate manuscript surroundings, and with the codicological environments themselves. All of these aspects can contribute to a deeper understanding of how meaning is generated within the texts. Increasingly, therefore, manuscripts are being edited and published in their entirety, and more and more aspects outside of the texts themselves are being incorporated in the research.

This raises new problems, of course; such comprehensive research requires expertise in a plethora of fields and disciplines. We will need to familiarize ourselves with other methodologies and be ready to seek the help of experts in foreign fields. I am convinced, however, that such an all-encompassing interdisciplinary methodology is eminently suitable to the study of artes literature. Whatever we can bring to bear on the texts will help us to understand the mind of the medieval people who wrote and used them. As Stephen Nichols wrote: "[T]he manuscript space

³ See especially HUIZENGA/LIE/VELTMAN 2002, 11-36; and LIE/VELTMAN 2008, 9-26.

⁴ NICHOLS 1990, 7.

⁵ NICHOLS 1990, 3.

⁶ BUSBY 1999.

⁷ BUSBY 2002, 1.

⁸ BUSBY 2002, 1.

⁹ MERTENS 1994, 9.

¹⁰ See for instance the recent series of diplomatic editions 'Middeleeuwse Verzamelhandschriften uit de Nederlanden' (Medieval Miscellanies from the Low Countries).

contains gaps through which the unconscious may be glimpsed". ¹¹ I hope to prove in this thesis that my ventures in this direction have made a suitable methodology for artes research.

1.3 METHODOLOGY

Thankfully, to conduct such wide-ranging research we do have some strategies available which have yielded properly plausible hypotheses in previous studies. We find time and again that just as New Codicology advocates, it really takes a clever combination of various research angles to find different pieces of the puzzle. An excellent example of this can be found in Erwin Huizenga's investigation of the medical manuscript preserved at the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna, with the signature 2818. Huizenga used a combination of three approaches to reconstruct a profile of the person who might have compiled and used this diverse collection of medical and astrological texts, and to gain insight in the way the manuscript functioned in its time. First, Huizenga conducted a careful analysis of the material context of the texts, examining how the manuscript was built up and put together over the years. Next, he methodically explored the contents of the various texts, looking for clues in the topics covered and the sources drawn on, and in the relationships between the texts. Lastly, he took a virtual step backwards to gain a broader view, and attempted to place the manuscript in its wider sociocultural and historic context. All these clues together finally provided the foundation for a substantiated hypothesis regarding the functioning and the possible proprietor of the manuscript.

Within the scope of this master thesis it will, of course, not be possible to proceed as comprehensively as in this exemplary study. However, we can still make a resolute effort at uncovering as much of the evidence as possible, and endeavor to explain to the reader the background against which the information in the codex made perfect sense. A three-pronged approach will be employed to find out as much as we can within a limited time frame. We will analyze the codicological context to allow conjecture regarding the conception of the codex, delve into the internal logic of the texts, and sketch the cultural and historic background against which the manuscript would have functioned. Analysis of the contents and comparison with similar or parallel texts will tell us how the codex functioned, and give us an understanding of the position of this particular collection of texts among others of its kind. Investigation into the socio-cultural position of medieval astrology will enlighten us as to the significance of astrological texts in general, and also point us in the direction of a specific type of user. At the end of this quest we will be able to make several confident statements about the origin, age and function of this unjustifiably neglected little codex. Having elucidated the underlying framework of medieval thought, we will hopefully succeed in coming a little closer to understanding the mind and world of the medieval person who last held this little notebook in their hands.

¹¹ NICHOLS 1990, 8.

¹² HUIZENGA 1997.

¹³ HUIZENGA 1997, 16-20.

1.4 STATUS QUAESTIONIS

Codex Amsterdam UB MS XXIII A 8 has enjoyed at least a cursory glance from a couple of researchers. First to describe it is Ria Jansen-Sieben, in her inventory of Middle Dutch artes texts published in 1989. ¹⁴ In the *Repertorium*, the codex is referred to from the lemmas CHRONOLOGIE, COMPUT-TAFEL, COMPUTUS-TEKST, DIERENRIEM, DIES, LUNARIUM, MAANZODIOLOGIUM, MELOTHESIA and ZIEKTEPROGNOSE. ¹⁵ She enumerates the texts and tables it contains and assigns to them functional titles based on content, since the codex itself does not include any titles at all. She also gives incipits, the opening words, for each text. Jansen-Sieben dates the codex rather specifically to 1495 AD, which as we shall see below is debatable. ¹⁶

In 2004, Joris Reynaert mentions our codex in an article exploring the manuscript context of texts on Lucky and Unlucky Days. ¹⁷ Taking Jansen-Sieben's *Repertorium* (lemma DIES) as the source for his corpus of twenty-one codices, Reynaert finds Days-texts primarily in medical and astrological manuscripts, and also in the company of literary, administrative, entertaining and religious texts - even in prayer books. In treating Amsterdam UB MS XXIII A 8, he replicates Jansen-Sieben's list of the texts found in the volume, paying special attention to the three Daystexts since they are his main concern. ¹⁸ Reynaert implicitly questions Jansen-Sieben's dating of the codex, placing it instead in the first half of the fifteenth century. He concludes that Amsterdam UB MS XXIII A 8 is a 'typical example' of a collection of astrological texts, and focuses in the rest of his exposition on the other manuscripts.

So far, this is all the investigation that has been done into this codex. However, similar codices have been edited and published before. In particular, attention will be paid to the 1989 edition of an astrological compendium owned by a sixteenth-century Sister of St. Claire from The Hague.¹⁹

1.5 TARGET AUDIENCE

The information contained in this codex is rather complex. In order to grasp the internal logic of the manuscript, one must take into account the underlying thought processes and medieval world view. The aim of this thesis is to explain as much of the essentials as is required for the average well-educated interested reader to appreciate the medieval texts. Footnotes and an extensive bibliography will allow further inquiry into specific topics, as well as facilitate peer review. To stimulate further research, a diplomatic edition is included, as well as detailed codicological information. In order to aid the readers' engagement in the arguments presented in this thesis, English paraphrases of the texts in the codex are also provided. This allows us to disclose the

¹⁴ JANSEN-SIEBEN 1989 provides an overview of Middle Dutch instructive or utilitarian texts (artes literature) and their editions up to 1989. Description Amsterdam UB MS XXIII A 8: 220.

¹⁵ JANSEN-SIEBEN 1989, 40, 42, 47, 48, 94, 96, 108 and 203. Strangely, this codex is not mentioned under the lemma ASTROLOGIE, nor under KALENDER or under ZONZODIOLOGIUM.

¹⁶ See below, chapter 2.

¹⁷ REYNAERT 2004a, 79-98.

¹⁸ REYNAERT 2004a, 86.

¹⁹ WEILER 1989.

manuscript to a wider audience and makes it possible to share this fascinating subject with the world.

1.6 THESIS OUTLINE

Detailed examination of Amsterdam UB MS XXIII A 8 will prove to be an exciting challenge. As no thorough research has yet been conducted, who knows what surprises may turn up? As we shall see, all of the texts have their counterparts in other medieval codices. Many studies have already been done regarding medieval calendars, with zodiologia and lunaries, with Days-texts and with chronology and computus. This will be reflected in the various chapters of this thesis, as we will more closely examine some interesting features of Amsterdam UB MS XXIII A 8. The fact that every text has a parallel somewhere in medieval artes literature, can only pique our interest to find out how a particular one fits into its textual tradition, or in what ways it might differ from all we have seen before. Furthermore, it will be interesting to discover what this particular combination of texts signifies. Reynaert's designation of this codex as a 'typical example' naturally begs evaluation.

Several promising avenues of research can be devised. Due to limitations of time and space, a selection must be made. In the following chapters, we will first describe both the contents of the manuscript codex and its material aspects. Next, we will sketch an outline of the medieval world view as it pertains to the heavens, and show how this is intricately connected to the medieval understanding of sickness and health. In the third chapter we will explore the types of daily activities discussed in the two zodiologia, and see what they reveal about the intended audience for whom the manuscript was written. The fourth chapter will explore the Perilous Days-Texts in this codex. In the final chapter we will take up the question of whether the texts in this codex form a medical manuscript or not. The concluding paragraphs will address the larger issues posed in the introduction and summarize what new information can be added to the state of the research. A diplomatic edition of the manuscript and free English paraphrases of the texts can be found in Part II and Part III of this thesis.

2. THE MANUSCRIPT CODEX

For medievalist research over the past several decades, scrutiny of the manuscript environment is becoming increasingly important. No longer can it suffice to examine a text only as a stand-alone entity. If we wish to understand how it functioned in its time, we cannot ignore the manuscript context surrounding it. First we will briefly describe the contents of the manuscript. Then, we will go into a little more detail explaining how the calendar works. Next, we will examine the material context of the manuscript by doing some codicological exploration. And finally, we will combine content and context in an attempt to analyze the significance of the way the codex is structured.

2.1 CONTENT DESCRIPTION

As we have seen, the manuscript in codex Amsterdam UB MS XXIII A 8 basically consists of a twelve-month calendar, surrounded by accompanying texts and tables. In order to get an overview of the various elements, they will be briefly described in the order of their appearance.

1. Fol. 1r: Three Particularly Dangerous Days

Inc.: Ipocras secht dat iii dage sijn int iaer dan en salmen niet laten...

This text lists a number of days on which bloodletting will have adverse effects, as well as a few days on which it will be especially propitious. Some instructions are given as to which veins to let for specific ailments to the eyes and head. Full discussion to be found in chapter 5: Perilous Days.

2. Fol. 1v: Table showing the Sign of the Moon

Table showing what sign the moon is in for each day of each year of the 19-year Metonic cycle. This was important information in connection with the lunar zodiologium, listed below under no. 11. Explanation to be found below, in paragraph 2.2: The Calendar.

3. Fols 2r-6r: Solar Zodiologium

Inc.: Aries. Die weder. Aries is een teyken ende comt uten oesten ende is droge ende heit...

This is a text of prognostication concerning the period of time when the sun is in each of the signs of the zodiac, respectively. It lists activities which are deemed either auspicious or inauspicious, depending on the influence of the various signs, which in turn depends on their qualities. It is concerned with both medical advice and with everyday life. Full discussion to be found in chapter 4: Zodiologia.

4. Fols 6r-6v: Parisian Days

Inc.: Du salt weten dat inden iaer zijn xxxij dagen die te mael quaet sijn...

This is another Days-text, similar to the first under no. 1. This one warns not only against bloodletting, but also a number of other, non-medical, actions and events. The actual dates must be sought in the calendar; they are the dates marked with ∞ . Full discussion to be found in chapter 5: Perilous Days.

5. Fol. 6v: Chronology

Inc.: Voert meer saltu weten dat die uren begint ander middernacht...

This text informs its audience about time reckoning. Explanation to be found below, in paragraph 2.2: The Calendar.

6. Fols 7r-7v: Zodiac-Melothesia

Inc.: Hier na siet men wair toe die xij teyken op dese tafel. Nota. Aries is goet droge ende warm...

In this text all the zodiacal signs are listed, together with a brief indication of their qualities and the body parts over which they have particular influence. Full discussion to be found in chapter 6: Medical Manuscript.

7. Fols 7v-8r: Computus

Inc.: Item wanneer men die iaren ons heren deilen mach in geliken vier delen so ist een scolt iair...

Here we find elaborations on several temporal aspects of the calendar, as well as instructions on how to use the calendar and tables. Explanation to be found below, in paragraph 2.2: The Calendar.

8. Fol. 8v: Interval Table

This table allows us to find the date of Easter and its related mobile feasts according to the official church calendar. Explanation to be found below, in paragraph 2.2: The Calendar.

9. Fols 9r-14v: Calendar

An elaborate calendar consisting of eight columns. Explanation to be found below, in paragraph 2.2: The Calendar.

10. Fols 15r-15v: Perilous Days

Inc.: Die beste ende vroeste meister hebben xlv quader onganser dagen...

This is the third and last Days-text found in this manuscript. Misfortunes are listed similar to those found in the Parisian Days-text under no. 4. Dates are written out in the current text. Full discussion to be found in chapter 5: Perilous Days.

11. Fol. 15v: Days conferring incorruptibility

A short text which mentions three days when the body of anyone who is born on them will not rot after death until doomsday. Full discussion to be found in chapter 5: Perilous Days.

12. Fols 16r-23v: Lunar Zodiologium

Inc.: De weder. Als die maen is inden weder Soe ist goet wanderen van steden te steden...

Another prognostication text, similar in structure and content to the Solar Zodiologium under no. 3. The largest single text in the manuscript. Full discussion to be found in chapter 4: Zodiologia.

13. Fol. 24r: Disease-lunary

Inc.: Item den enige siechet an comt als die maen is van enen dage die sal genesen... A final prognostication text, but quite different from the zodiologia. Here the days of the lunar month are listed from the first day of the moon to the thirtieth, and a prognosis is given for any person falling ill on each of these days.

2.2 THE CALENDAR

The calendar at the center of this codex is a particularly interesting one, displaying eight or nine columns for each month. In order to understand how the calendar functions in the manuscript, we must recognize its parts. We will show the construction of the calendar from its most basic medieval form, gradually adding columns until we arrive at the complete structure we find in Amsterdam UB MS XXIII A 8.

The simple version of a calendar found in most manuscripts contains a set of only three columns. 20 Such a simple calendar is primarily used to determine the dates of the liturgical feasts. The calendar shows no count of the days of the month, such as we use today, because they didn't use that. 21 Medieval people were used to naming days after the saint or martyr whose feast day it was, or by a short count from such a day. For instance: 'des dinxdaghes voer sente jan baptisten gheboerte' - 'on the Tuesday before the birthday of St John the Baptist', which would be the Tuesday before 24 June. ²² One column names the set liturgical feast days, one gives the Golden Numbers and one the Sunday Letters.

Due to the intrinsic nature of the solar system, the cycle of the moon is not consistent with the annual cycle of sun and seasons. The moon traverses the zodiacal circle in about twenty-seven days, what is called a sidereal month. Its orbit around the earth lasts about twenty-nine-and-ahalf days (a synodic or lunar month). Seen from Earth, the moon therefore doesn't return to the same position on the same day until nineteen years later. ²³ This is why there are nineteen Golden Numbers, one for each year of the cycle. The Sunday Letter tells us in any given year what day is the Sunday. The Golden Number and the Sunday Letter combined can be used to calculate the date of Easter. ²⁴ Most medieval calendars consist of the basic three columns of Golden Numbers, Sunday Letters and names of the Saints whose feast day it is. Like this:

²⁰ REYNAERT 2005, 257-59. ²¹ GUMBERT 2003, 215.

²² GUMBERT 2003, 216.

²³ WALLIS 1996, 384.

²⁴ For a detailed explanation of the intricacies of Easter Calculation, see VAN DE PAS/LINDERS 1989a.

KL Maius

Golden Numbers	Sunday Letters	Saints' Feast Days
	b	philips ende iacob
xvi	c	Athanasius bisscop
V	d	shilgen cruys dach
	e	godehart bisscop
xiij	f	hilarius bis <i>scop</i>
ij	g	Iohan voer d latijnsche
	A	Iuuenael m <i>artelae</i> r
X	b	Wyro bisscop
	c	Gengulf bisscop
xviij	d	gordiaen m <i>artelae</i> r
vij	e	Mamert bisscop
	f	pancraes m <i>artelae</i> r
XV	g	seruaes bisscop
iiij	A	Victor martelaer
	b	Ysidorus bisscop
xij	c	Peregrijn martelaer

This basic calendar gives us the feastday, the Golden Number and the Sunday letter for each day. Of the feast days, most are black but some are rubricated. The black ones were celebrated only in church, whereas the red feast days were public holidays. We can thus know what day of the week it is, and calculate the dates of Easter and the other mobile feasts in any given year. In many situations, this was enough. However, for astrological and medical purposes, more detailed information is required. In the case of our manuscript more specifically, in order to use the lunar zodiologium we need a way to find out what zodiacal sign the moon is in at any specific date. Therefore a column of moon letters is added, the third column in the manuscript calendar. It consists of the letters of the latin alphabet, supplemented with four additional symbols which we here represent as $\Sigma \xi - 9$. We even receive specific instructions for using this column, on fol. 8r. "Whosoever wishes to know in which sign the moon is located on any day, let him take the red letter which is in front of the Sunday Letter in the calendar, and seek that same letter in the table, under the Golden Number of the year. And then find on the left hand side of the table what sign the letter belongs to, and on what day the moon is in that sign."

KL Maius

Moon Letters	S.L.	St. Feast Days
m	b	philips ende iacob
n	c	Athanasius bisscop
O	d	shilgen cruys dach
p	e	godehart bisscop
q	f	hilarius bis <i>scop</i>
r	g	Iohan voer d latijnsche
S	A	Iuuenael m <i>artelae</i> r
t	b	Wyro bisscop
V	c	Gengulf bisscop
X	d	gordiaen m <i>artelae</i> r
У	e	Mamert bisscop
Z	f	pancraes martelaer
Σ	g	seruaes bisscop
_	A	Victor martelaer
9	b	Ysidorus bisscop
a	c	Peregrijn martelaer
	m n o p q r s t v x y z 9	m b n c c o d p e q f r g s A t b b v c c x d d y e z f Σ g A 9 b

Now if you wish to know the exact moment when the moon is new, you still need some more information. For each year in the nineteen-year lunar cycle, in each month, you can find out the hour, the minute and the *punctus* at which it was new, by looking at the three columns with roman numerals on the right hand side of the calendar.

KL Maius

G.N.	M.L.	S.L.	St. Feast Days	Hours	Minutes	Puncti
	m	b	philips ende iacob			
xvi	n	c	Athanasius bisscop	V	xxij	xvij
V	O	d	shilgen cruys dach	xviij	xxxvij	viij
	p	e	godehart bisscop	· ·		
xiij	q	f	hilarius bisscop	vij	xviij	xvij
ij	r	g	Iohan voer d latijnsche	_	•	
v	S	A	Iuuenael martelaer			
X	t	b	Wyro bisscop	xvj	viij	xvj
	V	c	Gengulf bisscop	_	-	_
xviij	X	d	gordiaen martelaer	x xij	xvj	vj
vij	y	e	Mamert bisscop	xxiiij	lviij	XV
Ü	Z	f	pancraes martelaer	·	Ü	
XV	Σ	g	seruaes bisscop	xij	vij	V
iiij	_	A	Victor martelaer	ix	xlviij	xviij
-	9	b	Ysidorus bisscop		v	
xij	a	c	Peregrijn martelaer	xxij	XXX	V

In order to use the solar zodiologium, we need to know when the sun transits from sign to sign. This only happens once a month, so it is easily conveyed in the calendar. Medieval astrology

usually assumed that the sun changed signs around the middle of each month, instead of around the 21^{st} as is asserted in today's magazine horoscopes. Last but not least, we have two columns marking Perilous Days, when all kinds of enterprises are dangerous to undertake. The 32 Parisian Days are marked in the leftmost column, by an infinity loop preceded by a paragraph symbol, thus: $\P \infty$. *Dies Aegyptiaci* (Egyptian Days) are marked in the rightmost column, by a D crossed by a transverse line: D. Depending on the side of the page (recto or verso) one of those columns also contains the solar transit marker.

KL Maius

Parisian Days	G.N.	M.L.	S.L.	St. Feast Days	Н.	М.	<i>P</i> .	Dies Aeg & solar transit
		m	b	philips ende iacob				
	xvi	n	c	Athanasius bisscop	V	xxij	xvij	Ð
	v	O	d	shilgen cruys dach	xviij	xxxvij	viij	
		p	e	godehart bisscop				
	xiij	q	f	hilarius bisscop	vij	xviij	xvij	
$\P\infty$	ij	r	g	Iohan v <i>oer</i> d latij <i>n</i> sche				
		S	A	Iuuenael martelaer				
	X	t	b	Wyro bisscop	xvj	viij	xvj	
		V	c	Gengulf bisscop				ini
	xviij	X	d	gordiaen m <i>artelae</i> r	xij	xvj	vj	Sol in gemini
	vij	y	e	Mamert bisscop	xxiiij	lviij	XV	n g
		Z	f	pancraes martelaer				ol i
	$\mathbf{X}\mathbf{V}$	$\mathbf{\Sigma}$	g	seruaes bisscop	xij	vij	V	S.
	iiij	_	A	Victor martelaer	ix	xlviij	xviij	
$\P\infty$		9	b	Ysidorus bisscop				
$\P\infty$	xij	a	c	Peregrijn martelaer	xxij	XXX	V	

In order to find the dates of Easter and its dependent religious feasts, the Golden Numbers and the Sunday Letters in theory sufficed. This was in fact the earliest and most important function of the tradition of computus. However, in this and other Late Medieval calendars, the Golden Numbers had been adapted for astrological purposes, so a separate interval table was necessary to find the Easter date. He find this table in our manuscript on fol. 8v. In the computus text on fol. 8r, a starting point for finding the Golden Numbers and Sunday Letters is given for the year 1408. The Sunday Letter for that year was *G* and the Golden Number was III. Presumably, one would then count from there to find the information for any year other than 1408. Interestingly, no account is taken in this example of the fact that 1408 was a leap year, and thus had two Sunday Letters; the *A* before Leap Day (the day after February 23) and the *G* afterwards.

²⁵ WALLIS 1996, 383.

²⁶ About the problems with and adaptation of the Golden Numbers in the period before the Gregorian Calendar Reform, see REYNAERT 2005, 259, and especially VAN DE PAS/LINDERS 1989a, 14-23.

²⁷ VAN DE PAS/LINDERS 1989a, 16 and 18.

2.3 Material Context

Having seen what texts the manuscript comprises, we now want to take a good look at the codex itself. 28 From the perspective of New Codicology, taking into account the codicological context of the manuscript could tell us a lot about the meaning of the texts. Moreover, Erik Kwakkel has shown that the physical format of the book, which is the result of conscious choices made by the scribe, can be in related to the intended use of the book as well as to the cultural milieu in which it was produced and used.²⁹ The selection of writing support material, i.e. parchment or paper. can indicate whether the book was intended for a rich or a poor audience, and it can help determine the intended use and circumstances of origin. Connected with this are the chosen dimensions of the product, since these have to be determined before ever the writing is started. The choices made about the mise-en-page, that is the layout of the texts in the manuscript, can betray evidence of who might have used the manuscript and to what purpose. The decisions made about ruling of the page, rubrication and binding can all contribute to an understanding of how the codex came about. The preference for a certain script can give clues about the affluence of the intended audience, since a more difficult script would take longer to write and was therefore more expensive. Certain specific abbreviations may even give telltale signs pointing to the person who wrote the manuscript. 30 All of these characteristics together can be summed up under what Kwakkel has aptly termed 'cultural residue': "[the] paleographical and codicological features related to the cultural context in which the manuscript was made". 31

Since we are dealing with a typical artes codex, we will also take into account the sample study which Joris Reynaert conducted in 2004, of the material context of the artes texts preserved in the Gent University Library. When investigating the codicological aspects of our codex, we will use the comparison with Reynaert's results to aid us in our interpretation of the manuscript, bearing in mind the fact that the situation in Gent – which was a major book production center during the late Middle Ages – may not be entirely comparable to the circumstances in which our codex originated.

2.3.1 Provenance, Date, Location

Amsterdam University Special Collections Library MS XXIII A 8 is part of the Bibliotheek der Nederlandsche Maatschappij tot Bevordering der Geneeskunst (KNMG), which is on permanent loan at the University of Amsterdam, the Netherlands. It was presumably sold to the KNMG by Nico Israel, a twentieth-century antiquarian and book dealer in Amsterdam, whose name and

²⁸ The interchangeable use of the words 'codex' and 'manuscript' can sometimes lead to confusion. I will use the word 'codex' when referring to the material object, the booklet itself, and use the word 'manuscript' when speaking of the (immaterial) collection of texts contained in the codex.

²⁹ KWAKKEL 2007, 244-245. The following list of 'choices' to be made in the production of manuscripts has been derived from a lecture given by Erik Kwakkel on 28 April 2013 in Utrecht.

³⁰ KWAKKEL 2003, 233-34.

³¹ KWAKKEL 2007, 245.

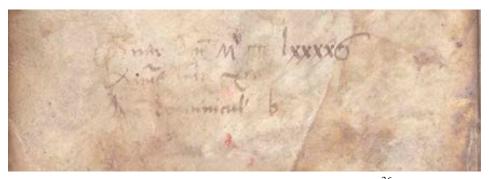
³² REYNAERT 2004b, 149-67.

initial are written in pencil on the inside back cover.³³ In whose possession it had previously resided is unknown, and though there may have been other marks of provenance on the inside front cover, they can no longer be deciphered.

Dating of the codex proves rather a puzzle. The mention of the year 1408 on fol. 8r. at first seems to provide a direct clue that the codex could be dated from the beginning of the fifteenth century, in concordance with Reynaert's assertion. However, it is very well possible that the year 1408 may have been copied uncritically from the text which served as an exemplar for this manuscript. Reynaert's dating would make it up to almost a century older than Jansen-Sieben posited in 1989. It is not entirely clear on what evidence her date of 1495 is based, unless it were on the roman numerals on the front inside cover (line 10) which may with some reservation be interpreted as M IIII LXXXX6. Could the Arabian number 6 be meant for a roman numeral V? In any case, the writings on the front inside cover cannot simply be assumed to bear any direct relationship to the production of the manuscript. Nor does it seem possible that 1495 could have been a misreading of 1408, which is written as 'XIIII' ende VIII'. We do, however, have some more circumstantial evidence which can give us clues to answer the question when the manuscript was created.

Figure 2: front inside cover

First and foremost, there is the script. The *littera hybrida* of the main text hand is a script which quickly gained popularity in the Low Countries, but not



until after 1440 was it established as a book hand for Middle Dutch manuscripts.³⁶ It seems safe to place our codex in the second half of the fifteenth century. But there is another clue. In our manuscript we find this word in an indubitable context: the chronology on fol. 6v tells us that 'LX mynuten maect een vre'; sixty minutes make one hour.³⁷ Frank Brandsma points out that according to the Middle Dutch Dictionary (MNW), the word 'minute' in the meaning of 'one sixtieth of an hour' is not in use until the end of the 15th century. ³⁸ Based on paleographical as well as philological grounds, we therefore propose a refinement of the codex's dating to the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

³³ Very little information seems to be available on Nico Israel. I thank manuscript curator Klaas van der Hoek of the University of Amsterdam Special Collections Library, who freely shared his knowledge.

³⁴ REYNAERT 2004a, 86.

³⁵ JANSEN-SIEBEN 1989, 220.

³⁶ OBBEMA 1996, 72.

³⁷ 6v18 (Fol. 6v line 18). References to lines in the manuscript will henceforth be given in this format.

³⁸ BRANDSMA 2003, 261, note 2. MNW, lemma MINUTE.

The saints venerated in the calendar's martyrology, especially those saints whose names are rubricated (written in red ink), can be a great help in determining the location where the calendar was written. The presence of no less than eighteen saints specifically celebrated in the diocese of Utrecht is a strong indication for placement there. Of these Utrecht saints, three are rubricated, suggesting their holidays were important not only in church but outside of it as well. The other rubricated holidays are celebrated all over medieval Europe, and are not much use for locating the calendar. A more definite location within the diocese of Utrecht cannot easily be discerned, although we do have one more clue. The texts are written in Middle Dutch with a marked orthographical preference for changing the vowel 'o' for an 'a' (as in 'paten' for 'poten', or 'haven' for 'hoven'). This may suggest a more easterly origin, as such spelling can be traced to the region of Guelders and Cleves. According to Erik Kwakkel, the use of double 'f' is another 'eastern clue'. However, the martyrology contains no landmark saints or other indications pointing to a specific town or monastery.

2.3.2 Writing Support Material

The codex UB MS XXIII A 8 consists of a total of 24 leaves, organized into three quires and bound in contemporary parchment. Contrary to catalogue descriptions, the leaves are also all parchment. This fact is quite remarkable, considering both the age of the codex and the type of manuscript. Paper does appear to have been the fifteenth century's preferred choice for codices devoted to artes literature, according to Reynaert's study. There are several possible reasons why the scribe (or his customer) opted for parchment instead. Use of parchment could reflect the relative age of the codex, placing it earlier rather than later in time, were it not for the fact that the arguments presented above preclude an early dating. The material could also offer a clue to the milieu in which the codex was developed; use of parchment continued much longer in religious environments, where often a more conservative and traditional mindset held sway. And indeed, the only fifteenth-century parchment codices Reynaert finds are both largely

http://lib.uva.nl/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?fn=display&doc=UVA_LMS002258570&vid=UVA.

Medieval Manuscripts in Dutch Collections Catalogue: http://www.mmdc.nl/static/site/index.html; search term 'astrological calendar'.

³⁹

³⁹ These eighteen saints are: Pontianus (Jan 14), Ignatius (Jan 31), Helena (Feb 8), Hegesippus (April 7), Godehard (May 4), Wiro (May 8), Gengulf (May 9), Basilla (May 20), Lebuinus (June 25), Benignus (June 28), Frederick (July 18), Hycinthus (July 26), Evurtius (Sept 7), Regenfledis (Oct 8), Lebuinus (Nov 12), Radbod (Nov 29), Severus and Severinus (Dec 2), and Valeric (Dec 12). Data found under the appropriate lemma's in GROTEFEND 1898.

⁴⁰ These are: Pontianus (Jan 14), Lebuinus (June 25), and Lebuinus (Nov 12).

⁴¹ Examples in both quire one: paten (2r17) and in quire three: haven (17v19).

⁴² VAN LOEY 1976, 64.

⁴³ This was indicated by him during an interview I had with him on 6 May 2013. Examples of 'ff' can be found in both quire one: *offte* (5r22), and in quire three: *lieff* (20v16).

⁴⁴ Amsterdam University Library Catalogue:

⁴⁵ REYNAERT 2004b, 162-63.

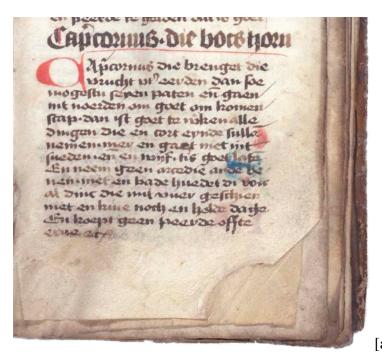
⁴⁶ BISCHOFF 1990, 134.

⁴⁷ REYNAERT 2004b, 162; KWAKKEL 2007, 251.

religious in nature.⁴⁸ Nevertheless, we do not encounter any religious texts in our codex, nor can we find much else to suggest monastic origins.

The other possible motivation for using parchment is an economical one. Since parchment was more expensive than paper, it was often used to display wealth. ⁴⁹ However, in this case it looks like an option even cheaper than paper was used. A close look at the codex reveals that many of the parchment leaves show irregularities; some are shorter than others (notably fol. 1/8 and fol. 10/13), many display a slightly curved edge (fols. 1-4, 14-18) or a very curved edge (fol. 10, top and bottom), and some have been cut off at a slant (fol. 8 and fol. 12). Fol. 11 has a small hole at the bottom below the calendar columns, and fol. 5 even has its entire lower corner cut off in a rather peculiar manner (see figure 5). ⁵⁰ What does the use of such poor-quality parchment say about the function of the codex?

Figure 3: Pebble hole on fol. 5



Erik Kwakkel has shown that in numerous cases, small codices were fashioned out of the residual scraps of parchment left over from cutting a leaf out of an animal skin.⁵¹ These codices were no more than 15 cm high, due to the nature of parchment-making. The off-cuts often show signs of the edges of the animal skin, such as crescentshaped cavities where the animal's limbs used to be, and pebble holes where the skin had been fastened to a frame for drying. 52 The quality of the parchment scraps was often abominable, with "translucent patches horny bits: stretch [and]

discoloration [...], streaks left by the parchment maker's knife, pronounced follicles, and ink that

⁴⁸ REYNAERT 2004b, 156-57.

⁴⁹ KWAKKEL 2003, 243.

⁵⁰ A decent codicological description really ought to contain detailed information on such noteworthy irregularities. Unfortunately, time did not permit of another visit to the Special Collections Library at Amsterdam University in order to study these irregularities in detail. I hope to be able to remedy this situation sometime in the near future.

⁵¹ KWAKKEL 2012.

⁵² KWAKKEL 2012, 240-41.

has not properly caught because of the overall poor quality of the surface". ⁵³ Yet many of these discarded remainders ended up as bifolia, often in codices made for personal use where appearances did not matter as much. ⁵⁴

With this in mind, we can easily identify the bifolia our codex consists of as such parchment off-cuts. The irregular measurements (never higher than 15 cm) are due to the non-standard size of the scraps, the curved edges are the edges of the animal skin, and the strange corner on fol. 10 shows where a pebble used to secure a piece of string to the skin was cut out. The person who prepared these leaves for book production did not take much care to conceal the imperfections of the material. This seems a substantial argument for the assumption that the *Astrological Calendar Manuscript* was indeed intended for personal use by its maker, as opposed to having been created to order for a paying customer. The fact that off-cuts were used to construct an artes codex neatly conforms to expectations, as this is one of the main types of codices for which they were employed. See

⁵³ KWAKKEL 2012, 248.

³⁴ KWAKKEL 2012, 252.

⁵⁵ In contrast to some other cases, where so much care is taken that it is all but impossible to detect the fact that offcuts were used; see KWAKKEL 2012, 248.

⁵⁶ As Erik Kwakkel made clear in his lecture d.d. 28 April 2013.

2.3.3 LAYOUT

The three quires each have a different number of leaves: quire 1 contains four bifolia (fols 1r-8v), quire 2 (containing only the calendar) has three (fols 9r-14v), and quire 3 consists of five bifolia (fols 15r-24v). We thus find a physical separation, as well as a substantive one, between the calendar and the accompanying texts. The outer bifolium of the third quire shows a number of noteworthy deviations to which I will return below. Otherwise the quires are quite typical for artes codices. The parchment leaves measure approximately 95 to 100 mm by 150 to 155 mm. The written space on each side of a typical leaf measures circa 75 by 110 mm, and though ruling can hardly be discerned, most of the pages do show some traces of outlining and leadpoint ruling (using a leaden stylus or plummet). There are no hints of pricking to aid in the ruling. The calendar pages also appear to have been ruled in leadpoint, although here and there the column boundaries may have been inked in. Fols 1v and 8v contain tables instead of columns, and these are drawn in ink. Both the sparse ruling and the presence of tables conform to the general picture of artes codices.

On the leaves with running text, there is a single column on each side of a leaf, and each column has between 22 and 25 lines, on average. The tendency towards single column layout is again typical of codices containing artes manuscripts. Only the second to last page (fol. 24r) contains two columns, untidily outlined in ink and measuring approximately 25 by 110 and 40 by 110 mm. There is no foliation (page numbering) present anywhere in the codex, nor any catchwords or leaf signatures to help with binding. The latter is highly irregular in traditional parchment codices, but entirely consistent with the practice of artes manuscripts. It suggests that this codex was produced domestically, and that the division of labor was shared among only one or two people, so there was no need for written instructions.

2.3.3.1 The Extra Bifolium

The outer double leaf of the third quire in many respects seems slightly irregular in appearance compared to the rest of the codex. ⁶³ Where this quire's inner four bifolia accommodate a single text (the lunar zodiologium), the outer one has a few short text in different inks and at least two different hands. These are the manuscript's third and fourth Days-texts on fols 15r and 15v, and the disease lunarium on fol. 24r; while the final page (fol. 24v) shows three lines of writing at the top, made partly illegible by the use of a reagent. The part that is legible is not enough to determine if someone was starting a new text or just trying out their pen. The disease lunarium on the second to last page (fol. 24r) is the only page that has two columns, as we have seen. The ink is darker in color and the script is not evidently contemporary with the rest of the codex, but

⁵⁷ REYNAERT 2004b, 163.

⁵⁸ For example fols 3v and 4r.

⁵⁹ For example fols 13v and 14r.

⁶⁰ REYNAERT 2004b, 163.

⁶¹ REYNAERT 2004b, 163.

⁶² REYNAERT 2004b, 163.

⁶³ Fols 15 and 24.

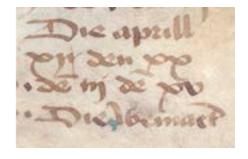
probably dates from the early sixteenth century. ⁶⁴ The Days-text on fols 15r-v exhibits a lighter sepia colored ink and larger, more florid letters than those in the rest of the codex. Strikingly, this bifolium is the only one lacking rubrication of any kind. It was this fact which first drew my attention to the possibility that this could be an extra bifolium, possibly added after the rubrication was finished, but obviously before the binding was done. An intriguing possibility is that this bifolium may have functioned initially as a cover for the lunar zodiologium, and that the extra space was later filled in with appropriate texts, either before or after the binding. ⁶⁵ This could be an indication that the lunar zodiologium formed an independent production unit, and might even have functioned separately before becoming integrated into this codex.

2.3.4 Script and Abbreviations

The main script is a *Littera Hybrida*, carried out in a fairly neat hand (the Text Hand). ⁶⁶ An unusual characteristic of this hand is the capital S, which shows a dot in its round underbelly. ⁶⁷ On the deviant bifolium outside quire 3, at least two other hands can be discerned: a contemporary fifteenth-century one responsible for the third and fourth Days-texts on fol. 15r and v (Hand 2); and an early-sixteenth-century hand which wrote the disease-lunarium on fol. 24r (Hand 3). The difference between Text Hand and Hand 2 can be seen in the use of different ink and different pen control, but is most apparent in the way the X is formed in the roman numerals. The Text Hand forms the X by first drawing a short stroke from the upper left down to the lower right, and then lifting the pen and adding a stroke from the upper right down to the lower left, to far below the line. Hand 2, on the contrary, writes his X by drawing the entire letter in one cursive stroke starting at the upper left and ending at the lower left, so the right half of the character forms a loop. See fig. 4.

Figure 4: the two x-es





This is where it gets complicated, because the same cursive X can be discerned in several places throughout the manuscript, most notably in the calendar pages and in the Interval Table on fol. 8v. We also find a cursive X in several other places, for instance fol. 1r lines 5 and 6, and fol. 6v lines 19 and 20. But the X in line 18 on that same page is a non-cursive one. It seems that the two

⁶⁴ This observation was made by Erik Kwakkel.

⁶⁵ I am indebted to Erik Kwakkel for proposing this interpretation.

⁶⁶ For a clear distinction between *Littera Hybrida* and *Littera Textualis*, see KLEIN 1999, 88, Note 4.

⁶⁷ This observation was made by Erik Kwakkel.

hands cannot be unambiguously distinguished based on just one letter. When we look at the calendar, we find that the Golden Numbers columns have all been written with the Text Hand X, while the rightmost three columns (with the hours, minutes and puncti of the new moon) all show a cursive X. These columns cannot have been added long after the calendar was made, as demonstrated by the position of the 'Sol in [Gemini etc.]' clauses, which on fols 11r, 12r, 13r and 14r have been written to the right of these columns. More intricate research is necessary to determine the exact role of each hand, but what we can conclude from this brief investigation, is that at least two people have been involved in the production of this codex.

The three lines of text on the final page, fol. 24v, may be attributed to a fourth hand, although this is hard to discern because they are partly obscured by reagent and there are only very few letters to help identify it. Scattered throughout the codex are a handful of marginalia in a cursive hand, almost certainly added at a later date. These might possibly give clues to the ownership of the codex and, at the very least, provide unquestionable proof that it has been used. Unfortunately they have been treated with a reagent and are no longer legible. The ink color suggests that it might have been this same hand which added some mysterious markings next to the final column on some of the calendar pages. Finally, most paragraphs are preceded by headings or incipits which are written in *Littera Textualis* and are two lines high.

Abbreviations are very common in medieval manuscripts and are found throughout the texts; a detailed inventory of them can be found in the pages preceding the edition. However, I wish to draw the attention to a couple of abbreviations which may tell us something about the person or persons who contributed to the writing of the manuscript. A long *s* with a diagonal line through its shaft, almost like a curl, can be seen on fol. 8r, line 20. This is used to shorten the word *vorseid*, but it is not a common abbreviation for *-eid*. Instead, it is an abbreviation for the word *schelling* (shilling), normally found in accounts. ⁶⁹ Another typical accounting abbreviation, the so-called 'pig's tail', is found in several places throughout the manuscript, interestingly in all three of the identified hands. The pig's tail is used as a shortening for the word *Item* (6v20, 15v11, and 24r1), and twice as a contraction of *-etera*, in the phrase *et cetera* (1r24 and 5r23). The fact that these abbreviations slipped in seems a good indication that the person writing must have had experience in accounting, either as a professional clerk or in the course of his or her business. ⁷⁰

The inside of the front cover shows a plurality of scripts and inks. Among these are marks of ownership, most recently by the University of Amsterdam Special Collections Library. Regrettably, part of this page too has been treated with a reagent, and the writing that has not been destroyed is difficult to decipher. The most legible part consists of four lines in Latin, which will be briefly discussed in chapter 6. It also seems possible that someone made a few annotations and calculations to aid in using the calendar, since roman numerals can be discerned.

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⁶⁸ Cf. fols 2r, 4r, 8r, 9r and 20r. For illustration, see figure 1, p. 2. More on these markings below, in chapter 5.

⁶⁹ KWAKKEL 2003, 233-234.

⁷⁰ KWAKKEL 2003, 233.

Both the Text Hand-type X and a cursive X similar to that of Hand 2 show up on this page, though it is impossible to confirm that they are contemporary. Otherwise, no definite information can be gleaned from examination of this inside cover.

2.3.5 Rubrication and Decoration

Our codex is not lacking in colorful rubrication. Most capital letters throughout the running texts have been rubricated, and alternating blue and red lombards, mostly two but occasionally up to five lines high, are used for structuring the texts into logical compartments.⁷¹ The same function is fulfilled by the red and sometimes blue paragraph symbols, which are also found in the tables. Throughout the calendar, red and blue ink are used to help guide the eye along the various columns, and red is used to highlight important feast days in the martyrology. It is quite possible that the rubrications were done by the copyist himself (or herself), instead of having been outsourced to a professional rubricator. Alternatively, they could have worked together so closely that no written communication was necessary. This view is supported by the lack of guide letters to tell which lombards must be inserted. According to Willem Kuiper, the fact that blue ink was used as well as red does indicate a more luxurious codex, but in our case 'luxurious' does not seem like an appropriate adjective. 72 At any rate, it looks as though the blue ink ran out before the text did, since we find only one blue lombard in the last quire. Let us rather say that a fair amount of care was taken in creating the codex. This combination of care and economy likely hints at a middle class audience; interested in scientific information and able to read and afford books, but not affluent enough to order a luxury edition.⁷³

Of decoration there is hardly anything to be said. As is typical of artes codices, there are no illuminations, historiated initials or decorative borders. 74 Many utilitarian books include schematic illustrations, but here all we find are two practical tables. The overall impression of the codex is that of a rather ordinary and practical handbook, not meant to be attractive or luxurious but utilitarian.

2.4 Internal Structure/Immaterial Context

Now that we have considered the material context of the texts, let's see what we can learn from the way the content is structured. As we have seen, our codex contains several texts of a more or less astrological nature, organized around a calendar. Not only is the calendar central to the manuscript in a figurative sense, it is also physically situated in the middle of the codex. This is somewhat unusual, since of the many calendars found in medieval codices, most are placed either at the beginning or at the very end. 75 We may therefore legitimately ask whether the different quires were originally created together, or if instead any or all of the quires may have initially functioned separately and have been collected into a convolute at a later time.

 $^{^{71}}$ For the distinction between lombards and initials, see KUIPER 1980, 50-51. 72 KUIPER 1980, 51.

⁷³ BIEMANS 1999, 71.

⁷⁴ REYNAERT 2004b, 164.

⁷⁵ LOISELEUR 1872, 198.

2.4.1 The Calendar Quire

Since the calendar occupies exactly one quire, it is possible to assume that it functioned independently. It may also have been part of another manuscript before ending up in this one. This hypothesis works fine for some of the calendar's information. Having only the calendar in possession, we can easily consult the martyrology and find out what saint or martyr the day is dedicated to. The same goes for the dates of the *festa immobilia*, the Christian feast days connected to a specific calendar date, such as Christmas and the Assumption of Our Lady (August 15). However, that is just about all we can do. Having only the calendar poses some difficulties, since at least half of the calendar's columns are not easily understood by themselves. We need tables and accompanying texts.

The third column for instance, with the 'moon letters' indicating the position of the Moon in the zodiac, is rather useless without a table telling the reader the corresponding sign for each year of the lunar cycle. It will also do no good to consult the last three columns showing the hour, minute and (medieval) second of the new moon, if we do not have any information to which this is relevant. Even the Golden Numbers and the Sunday Letters, found in the second and fourth column respectively, cannot help us to find the dates of the *festa mobilia*, the movable feasts connected with the date of Easter, without some additional instruction on how to go about calculating.

We can therefore deduce that although some features of the calendar can stand on their own, it cannot be used in its entirety without the aid of its concomitant tables and explanatory passages. And in order to be fully functional, it also requires additional texts which can bring meaning to the information the calendar provides. As we shall see, both of the supplemental quires are necessary for satisfying these conditions.

2.4.2 The First Quire

The solar zodiologium, which occupies most of the first quire, both needs and completes the calendar (fols. 2r-6r). What good is it to know what signs collaborate with the Sun to create a favorable time for having a wedding, if one does not have the means to find out when such auspicious times will come about? Conversely, why note the sun's transit if we have no data which makes this fact relevant?

The melothesia on first inspection appears not to be connected to the calendar. It briefly relates each zodiacal sign to a certain part of the human body, but these are not in the calendar, nor is it very useful merely to know which sign rules which body part. Rather, the melothesia is to be seen in conjunction with the zodiologium. That is where the reader will find out how the position of the sun affects the medical treatment of the human body.

All the tables as well as the chronology and computus texts are found in the quire preceding the calendar (fols 1v, 6v, 7v, 8r and 8v). None of them would be of much use without a

⁷⁶ Moon letters fully explained in WEILER 1989, 46-48.

complementary calendar. The texts warning the reader of Perilous Days also have an undeniable relationship to the calendar (fols 1r and 6r-6v). Not only do the Days-texts explicitly name a set of dates on which certain activities ought to be avoided, the second text even cross references to the calendar itself (pointing out the ∞ -symbols in the calendar's first column).

The computus texts on fol. 8r provide the clearest indication that the first quire was intended to be a companion to the calendar. The first one explains how to find out in what sign the moon will be located on any day in the year, using both the calendar in quire one and the table on fol. 1v. The second one references the last three columns in the calendar, which give the hour, minute and *puncti* of the new moon. There can be no question that quire one was undoubtedly conceived in conjunction with the calendar.

2.4.3 The Third Quire

Now that we have established that the first and second quire are intrinsically related to each other, let's take a look at the third quire. It opens with another Days-text, whose connection with the calendar has already been recognized. This is followed by a lunar zodiologium, whose design is very similar to that of the solar zodiologium (except that it considers the position of the moon and not the sun in relation to the zodiac), and thus it also needs a calendar in order to function as intended. The final text with which the manuscript concludes is the disease-lunary, summing up the prospects of the diseased person according to the day in the lunar cycle when the disease was first apparent. In order to figure out what is likely to happen to your patient (or yourself), you need to have some way of knowing when the moon was new. And so you will need the calendar, specifically the three columns which give the hour, minute and *puncti* of the new moon. We have already established, however, that this lunary was added in the early sixteenth century. Checking for the possibility that the last three columns could also have been a later addition to the calendar, we find that this is unlikely. Fols. 11r, 12r, 13r and 14r show the reference to the solar transit to the right of the column with puncti, which means there would have been an unaccountable gap between the martyrology, and the "Sol in Gemini" et cetera. Besides, we have just seen these columns mentioned in quire one. It would seem that there is a distinct possibility that quire three at first functioned as a separate unit, perhaps only as the lunar zodiologium with a blank cover, and that it was only later added to the first two quires.

2.4.4 THE COMBINATION

When considering the texts in the final quire, we see that two of them are inherently tied to the moon. This is unlike any of the texts in the first quire, where only the zodiac and the position of the sun are contemplated. Admittedly, we must not disregard the table with moon letters, which does indeed indicate the position of the moon (but not its cycle). So we have the sun and time reckoning in the first quire, the moon in the third quire, and Days-texts in both of them. One might judge four Days-texts to be excessive, were it not for the fact that none of them mention quite the same set of days. We may suppose that whoever compiled this manuscript was keen to leave nothing to chance, and decided to include any and all references to the evil influence of

particular days of the year. The first and last quires consequently do not have any disturbing overlap between their texts. Instead, they rather complement one another, providing additional content to give more comprehensive advice. We may therefore safely conclude that the first two quires inherently belong together, and that the third was a logical and worthwhile addition.

2.5 Tradition of Astrological Manuscripts

When comparing the elements making up our manuscript to those of other medieval astrological manuscripts, we find many parallel and a few intriguing dissimilarities. Typical for such manuscripts is the combination of a calendar with astrological texts, in particular computus and tables, health regimina, texts on Perilous Days, planetary influences, bloodletting, moonverses, zodiologia and temperament theory. We can tell right away that our codex contains only some of those. Especially the absence of references to planets is noteworthy. The astrological manuscript belonging to the Poor Clares nun in the Hague (KB KA XXVIII) is much more comprehensive, containing many computus texts and tables, medical recipes, meteorological prognostications, expositions on the structure of the universe and the theory of the four elements (discussed in the next chapter), magical elements, poems and information on the influence of all the planets. It can justly be called an 'anthology of astrological knowledge'. In contrast, Amsterdam UB XXIII A 8 seems quite a selective and even focused collection of texts, composed with a specific purpose in mind. It will be interesting to find out what this purpose may have been.

⁷⁷ TIMMERMANS 1989, 99, and SCHÖNFELDT 1962, 85-86.

 $^{^{78}}$ van de Pas/Linders 1983b, 132-36.

⁷⁹ SCHÖNFELDT 1962, 86.

3. THE MEDIEVAL UNIVERSE

In order to better comprehend the meaning of the texts in the *Astrological Calendar Manuscript*, this chapter will explore the cultural historical background against which these texts were set to parchment. We will describe the medieval understanding of the universe and explain how the medieval theories of sickness and health are connected to it. This will provide us with a theoretical framework in which the various texts can be placed. In the next chapters we will look at some of the texts in more detail.

3.1 THE ROOTS OF MEDIEVAL ASTROLOGY

Mention the word astrology, and most people will immediately think of the horoscopes, still curiously omnipresent in today's newspapers and magazines. The stars beneath which we were born are supposed to have something to do with our personality, or influence the course of our day. Although few people still take these sort of things seriously, most people are aware of the concept and many will be able to tell you their 'sign'. This is a leftover relic of what has been a significant paradigm for many centuries: the movements in the heavens directly influence what happens on Earth. For ages the notion of the physical influence of the planets and the zodiacal signs has been acknowledged. This conviction had been embraced by the ancient peoples in Mesopotamia, the Ancient Egyptians, the Greeks and the Romans alike. Medieval scholars, with their characteristic reverence for authority, were thus naturally inclined to adopt it as well. After having been largely forgotten in Western Europe during the Early Middle Ages, a comprehensive astrological theory reentered Western European discourse in the 12th and 13th centuries via translations of Arabian texts into Latin. 81

How did this persistent belief come about? It is plain to see for everyone that the sun exerts a significant physical influence over life on Earth. The influence of the moon is clearly noticeable as well, given the ocean tides, the female monthly cycle, and so on. Extrapolated to the rest of the heavenly bodies, it seemed logical that not just Sun and Moon, but all the planets and stars had a palpable physical influence over life on Earth. Moreover, because the patterns of stars we see are different from season to season, it was reasonable to infer that the stars were the actual cause of the changing seasons, and of the weather itself for that matter. Linked to the human propensity to expect fortune or misfortune at the same time as it previously occurred, we begin to understand the foundations of the inclination towards astrological prognostication. Of course it was important to know what all these influences were to be able to prepare for their

⁸⁰ BURNETT 1996, 369, and BRAEKMAN 1977, 154.

⁸¹ WERKGROEP UTRECHT 1983, 9.

⁸² LEWIS 1964, 103.

⁸³ REYNAERT 2008, 205. Although Reynaert asserts that we can observe that spring begins when the sun moves into Aries, etc., I feel this is formulated inaccurately. We cannot see what sign the sun is in, because the sun blinds us and obscures the stars by day. What we can observe is the seasonal sequence of constellations passing overhead by night. By calculation we can then *infer* where the sun must be in relation to the zodiac, but we cannot observe it directly.

⁸⁴ WEBSTER 1916, 272.

consequences; hence the demand for astrological information. In order to understand how in the Middle Ages astrological influences were believed to come about, we must appreciate the medieval view of the universe.

3.2 THE MEDIEVAL UNIVERSE

Medieval people imagined the universe as an ordered and finite place. Rather than staring into an empty, silent darkness, stretching out infinitely in all directions, a medieval person looking up towards the night sky would have seen a towering but fathomable hierarchy of heavens.⁸⁵ The foundation of the medieval world view was the ancient geocentric model, established by the Greek Aristotle in the fourth century BC and further developed by Ptolemy in Alexandria some five hundred years later. The medieval model placed the earth as a relatively tiny speck at the center of a succession of concentric revolving spheres. Each of the planets was contained in one of these spheres, from the moon in the lowest sphere, via Mercury, Venus and the sun, all the way up to Mars, Jupiter and Saturn. Beyond Saturn there was said to be the firmament, home of the fixed stars (and thus of the zodiac). Beyond that was the *primum mobile*, the first movable sphere, from which originated the movement which, filtering down, set all the other spheres in motion. 86 This *primum mobile* was moved, as it were, by the love of God, and was the limit of time and space.⁸⁷ Outside of it was nothing but the divine, a heaven in which neither place nor hour had any meaning. The sun with its powerful light, reflected by the planets and the stars, was able to illuminate the vast expanse of the spheres, so there was no darkness anywhere except in a cone of shadow cast by the earth. 88 Neither was it silent, for the spheres in their perfect circular motion exuded a perfect harmony of music.⁸⁹

85 LEWIS 1964, 98.

⁸⁶ GRANT 1996, 365.

⁸⁷ LEWIS 1964, 96.

⁸⁸ LEWIS 1964, 111.

⁸⁹ LEWIS 1964, 112.

Schema huius præmissæ diuisionis Sphærarum.

Figure 5: Geocentric Universe

3.3 THE ZODIAC

The notion of the zodiac has been passed down for thousands of years. Seen from Earth, it looks as if all the planets (including Sun and Moon) are circling the earth along a belt of constellations about sixteen degrees wide. It is, however, not constellations that medieval astrology is concerned with, but rather the *signs* of the zodiac. Whereas the constellations are all different sizes, according to astrology the signs of the zodiac are a construct dividing the circle of the zodiac into twelve equal parts of thirty degrees each. ⁹⁰ They are placed so that the spring

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⁹⁰ BURNETT 1996, 372.

equinox falls between the signs of Pisces and Aries, hence the reason for beginning the astrological year – and the zodiologia – with the Ram. The influence of the signs of the zodiac combined with the influence of the planet which moved in front of it (or was 'in' the sign, as we say) could either strengthen or weaken each other.

3.4 THE SUBLUNARY WORLD

Up there, everything consisted of aether, the *quinta essentia* or fifth element, flawlessly complete and immutable. Below the sphere of the moon, things were of an altogether different and changeable nature. Here, the interplay of various primary qualities or properties – hot, cold, moist and dry – created the four earthly elements: earth, water, air and fire. Each of the four elements was ever inclined to move towards its natural position. Thus, earth (the heaviest element) was gathered into a ball trying to get to the lowest point, the center of the earth; while fire (the lightest element) was always moving upward towards the heavens. Water and air had their natural places in between. The countless ways in which the elements could be combined resulted in the different forms of matter and life on Earth. From the lowest celestial sphere, that of the moon, the heavenly movement was communicated to the sublunary environment around Earth, where it mixed up the elements and caused growth and change, death and decay. Because the movement was caused by God, it was ultimately God's will that set the spheres in motion and caused the influence of the planets and stars.

3.5 Humoral Pathology

Despite the fundamental difference between the celestial stillness and the tumultuous world below, they thus shared an intimate connection through the medium of the influence of the heavens. In medieval thinking, humans were seen as miniature worlds, microcosms reflecting the order of the universe at large, the macrocosm. Consequently, they were similarly made up of an immutable eternal soul and a perishable body. ⁹⁷ The human body was built out of a combination of the four elements, which were likewise under the physical influence of the planets and stars. According to the teachings of the most authoritative physicians of Greek and Roman antiquity, Hippocrates and Galen, the combination of the four qualities – hot, cold, moist and dry – in our bodies resulted in four bodily fluids: blood, phlegm, yellow bile and black bile. In a healthy person, the mutual proportions of these fluids – also called humors – achieved a perfect balance. ⁹⁸ This is not to say that everyone should have an equal or identical proportion of these humors; instead in every person one or two of the humors took on a dominant aspect. This gave rise to a number of different *temperaments*, of which the most widely known were the sanguine,

⁹¹ GRANT 1996, 364.

⁹² HUIZENGA/LIE/VELTMAN 2002, 20. See fig. 6, p. 32.

⁹³ HUIZENGA 2004, 9.

⁹⁴ LEWIS 1964, 95.

⁹⁵ LEWIS 1964, 102.

⁹⁶ HUIZENGA/LIE/VELTMAN 2002, 21.

⁹⁷ HUIZENGA/LIE/VELTMAN 2002, 20.

⁹⁸ HUIZENGA/LIE/VELTMAN 2002, 21.

the phlegmatic, the choleric and the melancholic.⁹⁹ Much as these terms sound like character traits to our modern ears, in temperament theory they had more to do with the physical state than with the psyche.

3.6 Humoral Imbalance

Illness, according to humoral pathology, was the consequence of disturbances in the delicate balance of humors. ¹⁰⁰ And the path to recovery lay in the restoration of equilibrium among the four humors, always in keeping with the patient's temperament of course. Treatment therefore was concerned with either decreasing or amplifying the power of the various qualities and humors. One of the most widely deployed techniques was that of phlebotomy or bloodletting, the drawing off of noxious blood in order to leave the patient with a more healthy mixture of humors. Polluting humors, or *materia peccans*, could also – through biological functions – be removed via all the other bodily fluids. ¹⁰¹ Additional means of restoring the balance could involve dietary adaption, the administration of medicine or the performance of surgical procedures. ¹⁰² For all of these methods, however, it was essential to take into account the cosmic influence of the heavens. ¹⁰³ Any self-respecting physician was therefore expected to have ample knowledge of astrology and of astronomical movements. ¹⁰⁴

Figure 6: Temperament Theory

3.7 Influence of Planets and Stars

The connection between astrology and medicine may not be obvious to the modern reader, but in pre-modern societies this was a completely natural association. The planets in their spheres, as well as the fixed stars, more specifically the signs in the zodiac, had their undeniable influence over the human body. A good or bad nature was ascribed to each zodiacal sign and each planet, as well as a combination of two of the aforementioned qualities –

NEMDS - MAAN

MARS - MERCURIUS - ZON LEEUW CHOLERICUS (GELE GAL) GEEL - BITTER 4.14 VÜ TEMPE JEUGD / 114-201 WELLANCHOLICUS (ZWARTECAL) ZUIDEN SANGUINICUS (BLOED) STIER MENS OUDERD ON PHLEGMATICUS (SLUM) AVLERMAN

⁹⁹ HUIZENGA/LIE/VELTMAN 2002, 21.

 $^{^{100}}$ HUIZENGA/LIE/VELTMAN 2002, 21.

 $^{^{101}}$ HUIZENGA/LIE/VELTMAN 2002, 22.

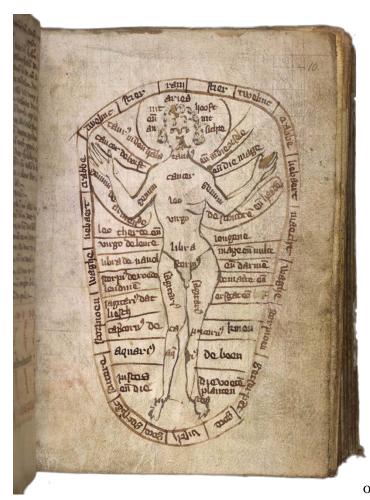
¹⁰² Huizenga 2004, 31-49.

¹⁰³ HUIZENGA 1997, 22.

¹⁰⁴ HUIZENGA 1997, 23.

or contraries – of hot and cold, moist and dry. ¹⁰⁵ Each sign also was assigned dominance over one or more specific body parts or internal organs in the human body. To start from the top; Aries governed the head, Taurus the neck, Gemini the shoulders and so on, ending with Pisces ruling the feet. This arrangement can easily be visualized by picturing a human body stretched out along the zodiac, with the head resting on Aries at the beginning of spring, and the feet among the fish in Pisces at the end of winter. It was often pictured in the Middle Ages as the Zodiac Man, one of the more ubiquitous images found in medieval manuscripts. ¹⁰⁶

Figure 7: Zodiac Man. British Library, Egerton 2188. Circa 1353.



Our small utilitarian manuscript lacks illustrations, but the relationship between the zodiac and the human body is described in a compact zodiacal melothesia. ¹⁰⁷ Its impact on health care can be discerned throughout the zodiologia. ¹⁰⁸ It must be remembered, however, that the influence of the heavens was purely physical. The one thing over which the heavenly bodies did not have any influence whatsoever was man's free will. ¹⁰⁹

3.8 CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY VERSUS DETERMINISM

Until long after the middle ages, astronomy and astrology were like two sides of the same coin. 110 A distinct separation into a legitimate scientific part and a questionably nebulous part, such as we have today, was not an issue. Both the study of the movements of celestial bodies and of their influence

on life on Earth were part of the same *ars astronomia*, one of the seven liberal arts and even the one that was considered to be the most important.¹¹¹ There was, however, a distinction into the

¹⁰⁵ LIE/VELTMAN 2008, 16.

 $^{^{106}}$ HUIZENGA/LIE/VELTMAN 2002, 22.

¹⁰⁷ Text 6, fols 7r-v.

¹⁰⁸ Texts 3 and 12, fols 2r-6r and 16r-23v respectively. See chapter 4: The Zodiologia.

¹⁰⁹ HUIZENGA/LIE/VELTMAN 2002, 21.

¹¹⁰ REYNAERT 2006, 70, note 1.

¹¹¹ BRAEKMAN 1977, 154.

more mathematical astronomy and the more physical astrology. ¹¹² If anything, astronomy was applied in the service of astrology, since if one wishes to know what influence the skies will exert, one must know how they are positioned. Investigating the heavens was deemed a noble pursuit, since the arts were practiced not merely for educational purposes; studying nature served to enrich human knowledge of God and his creation. This was part of the Neoplatonic point of view, advocated by St. Augustine in the second century AD. ¹¹³

Nevertheless, Christianity has always taken a somewhat ambiguous view towards astrology. 114 On the one hand, the planets and stars were created by God, so any power they had or any influence they exerted ultimately came from God. On the other hand, the influence of the stars and planets could not be allowed to be very great, because if the stars determined your course of action, that would disqualify man's free will. 115 And as the great thirteenth-century scholastic Thomas Aquinas asserted, free will was essential for choosing between good and evil, and thus earning one's place in heaven. 116 If there was no free will, then Christianity would have no purpose. Finally in the thirteenth century, Albertus Magnus distinguished permissible forms of astrology from prohibited ones. 117 It was the division of astrology into distinct branches that allowed Christians to practice some of it while shunning other types. Divination astrology was anathema, because it purported to predict the future of individuals as if their fate were irrevocably fixed. 118 'Natural' astrology, on the other hand, fit right in with Christian beliefs and was even encouraged. This type of astrological prognostication limited itself to the physical influences of the planets and stars. Far from rejecting it, Christian world view had incorporated this notion. After all, it was God who had first set in motion the celestial spheres, and who thus controlled the planets' movements and their effects down on Earth. 119 Thomas Aquinas pointed out that wise men sought to be aware of their natural weaknesses, so that they could then restrain those tendencies if they led towards evil. 120 In order to be able to recognize the forces that influenced their natural inclinations, astrological knowledge was essential.

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¹¹² BURNETT 1996, 369, 370 and 372.

¹¹³ BRAEKMAN 1977, 154.

¹¹⁴LEWIS 1964, 103-104. See HERTEN 2002 for an extensive discussion of the attitude of the Church towards astrology.

¹¹⁵ HERTEN 2002, 88.

¹¹⁶ HERTEN 2002, 97-98.

¹¹⁷ BURNETT 1996, 371.

¹¹⁸ HERTEN 2002, 96.

¹¹⁹ HUIZENGA/LIE/VELTMAN 2002, 20-21.

¹²⁰ HERTEN 2002, 99.

4. THE ZODIOLOGIA

In order to find out more about the way this manuscript functioned in the period when it was first conceived, and hopefully determine at what kind of audience it was aimed, we will take a closer look at the two zodiologia in our manuscript. By far most of the pages of the little notebook are occupied by the two zodiologia (9 pages solar zodiologium, quire 1; 16 pages lunar zodiologium, quire 3), so we may reasonably assume that some importance was attached to them.

4.1 DESCRIPTION OF THE ZODIOLOGIA

A zodiologium is a type of prognostication text centered around the zodiac. There are two different kinds of zodiologia; a solar one based on the sun and a lunar one based on the moon, also called a zodiacal lunary. They basically tell the user whether the stars are favorable for one activity or another, and offer advice on when to refrain from certain actions and when to go ahead and act. These injunctions provide a source of guidance to help the user avoid pitfalls and seize opportunities. The activities covered range from everyday labors and social activities to healthcare advice. They include traveling and pilgrimage, transacting trade, speaking with rulers, sowing and planting, getting married, building houses, changing into new clothes, sending letters, and many more. A typical passage reads as follows:

"Libra. It is a good time to travel to the east on trade business. It's a good time to let blood, for it will make you healthy. One can start all things that last a short time. One can move into houses, but this is not the best sign to do so. Don't take any medicine for the eyes, and beware of anything that requires earth. One should not hold court days, nor fight. Don't sow, plant, or build anything out of wood, for none of this will do you any good." (4r7-21).

The solar zodiologium (beginning on fol. 2r) is the third item in the manuscript, after the Daystext on fol. 1r and the table on fol. 1v. It presents the twelve signs of the zodiac in their regular consecutive order starting with Aries, followed by on average about sixteen lines of admonitions and injunctions per sign. ¹²² The solar zodiologium offers advice for those times in the year when the sun is 'occupying' the various zodiacal signs, which is to say that from our point of view on Earth, the sun moves in front of those signs. Since the position of the sun relative to the zodiac cannot be observed directly, one way to find out is to observe what sign comes up in the east right after the sun has gone down in the west, and then count to the opposite sign in the zodiac. But it is much easier to look it up in the calendar, of course. Tradition dictates that the transition from one sign to another take place in the middle of each month. This is reflected in our calendar, where we find the Latin formulation "Sol in [aquario etc.]" written in the margin of each calendar month. ¹²³ The rules for each sign are thus valid for a month at a time. The solar sequence repeats itself every year at the same time. It is itself the basis of the calendar, in tune

¹²¹ TAAVITSAINEN 1988, 46.

¹²² A total of 188 lines, making an average of 15.66.

This is one of the few occurrences of Latin in the manuscript, with the exception of the zodiologium paragraph titles and some notes on the front inside cover which will be briefly discussed in chapter 6.

with the consecutive seasons, and returns to the same point at the same date time and time again. 124

The lunar zodiologium (beginning on fol. 16r) is founded on the same principle as the solar one, except that it is based on the position of the moon in the zodiac. The text has been set up similarly to the solar zodiologium, but it treats its subject matter more elaborately, taking up on average a little over 29 lines per zodiacal sign. The lunar system is also much more dynamic and complex than the solar course. Unlike the prognostications in the solar zodiologium, which are valid for an entire calendar month at a time, those in the lunar zodiologium change about every two and a half days or so. Calculations or, much simpler, tables, are therefore needed in order to figure out exactly when the conditions in the lunar zodiologium apply. Our Astrological Calendar Manuscript contains a table for finding out which sign the moon is in (fol. 1v).

4.2 Similar Prognostication Texts

We do find a reasonable number of zodiologia or zodiacal lunaries occurring in Middle Dutch manuscripts. The Repertorium lists six codices under the lemma ZONZODIOLOGIUM. ¹²⁷ Two of those codices also contain a lunar zodiologium, and are listed together with thirteen others under the lemma MAANZODIOLOGIUM. ¹²⁸ The related lemma DIERENRIEM (zodiac) mentions eleven more manuscripts. ¹²⁹ Jansen-Sieben and Reynaert have provided editions of two of those Middle Dutch zodiologia. ¹³⁰ Upon inspection, it is immediately clear that those zodiologia (which are separate translations of the same Latin original) are inherently different in content from the ones we find in our codex. ¹³¹ Their texts successively discuss the name of the sign, why the sign is named so, the day of the year when the sun enters the sign, and the number of hours in the day and night. The influence the signs have is limited to the weather. ¹³² This clearly shows that the intention behind these texts was entirely different from that behind our current manuscript. The other two zodiologia impart scientific astrological knowledge for its own sake, while the purpose of the text on hand is clearly to use that knowledge in order to advise people on what course they should take.

As diverse as the injunctions in the zodiologia are, is there any kind of system to be discovered underlying the questions of whether or not to send letters or move into a new house? To answer this, we must take a look at a broader range of astrological prognostication-texts. Several types

¹²⁴ Not taking into account the process of precession, which is responsible for the shift of the zodiac relative to the sun over the course of 26,000 years.

¹²⁵ A total of 351 lines, making an average of 29.25. Aries with 46 lines get the longest treatment by far, with the number of lines declining towards the end where Pisces is left with 19.

¹²⁶ TAAVITSAINEN 1987, 19.

¹²⁷ JANSEN-SIEBEN 1989, 204.

¹²⁸ JANSEN-SIEBEN 1989, 95-96.

¹²⁹ JANSEN-SIEBEN 1989, 47.

¹³⁰ JANSEN-SIEBEN 1968 and REYNAERT 2008.

¹³¹ REYNAERT 2008, 206.

¹³² REYNAERT 2008, 206-207.

of prognostication can be distinguished, ranging from the very broad and vague to the very small and specific. Thus, we find predictions for the future of entire societies, for the solving of personal problems based on the moment of asking (horary questions), for the future in store for an individual based on their moment of birth (nativities), and for choosing the right time for specific actions, based on the position of the heavens when the action begins (elections). ¹³³

In our manuscript, we do not encounter any examples of prognostication for societies or of answers to personal questions. Of the third kind, nativities, we find only very vague and general examples. Rather than basing the prediction on the specific birth data concerning one individual, more general prognostications are made. For instance, we hear that any man who is born when the moon is in Aries will be well-loved and will be a murderer! Or that "any person born when the moon is in Leo will be a bad person and will mock all he sees". This kind of collective nativity, unspecialized and thus within the reach of poor people, is also called a destinary. The examples of destinatary phrases are few and far between though, and do not appear to have been a major focus of our texts. What we find instead, is an elaborate record of elections – advice on when to begin all kinds of activities – only here and there augmented by other types of prognostication.

We can show this clearly by comparing our zodiologia to the more commonly occurring *lunarium* or lunary. The term lunary appears to cover a small category of texts, which share the common characteristic of being structured around the phases of the moon. They can be either focused on a single type of prognostication (simple lunary), or provide the answers to many questions all at once (collective lunary). Whether collective lunaries evolved from the combination of simple ones or whether simple lunaries split off from the collective is difficult to determine. Our own manuscript contains an extremely brief example of a simple disease-lunary (fol. 24r). It simply lists the days of the lunar cycle, from the first day of the moon to the thirtieth, and predicts in a very few words the course of the disease for anyone who had fallen ill on that day. The prognosis is based on the moment the disease took hold, which of course is rather a tricky moment to pinpoint. If things did not turn out as predicted, one could always blame it on the diagnosis. This disease-lunary was added later than the rest of the texts in the manuscript, but it fits in very well and makes good use of the calendar and the tables found earlier in the manuscript, where the exact start of the lunar cycle can be discovered.

4.2.1 COLLECTIVE LUNARIES

But for a successful comparison with the zodiologia, we need to take a look at the more elaborate examples of lunaries. The classic 'collective' one centers around a list of seven questions to be

¹³³ Based on classification by Irma Taavitsainen, TAAVITSAINEN 1988, 34-39.

¹³⁴ 16v19-21.

¹³⁵ 19r9-11.

¹³⁶ TAAVITSAINEN 1988, 36.

answered, each dependent on the phase of the moon. These questions can be formulated as follows. 137

- 1. For what kind of activity is this an auspicious day?
- 2. Will someone who has escaped capture today be apprehended?
- 3. Will something that has been lost or stolen today be found again?
- 4. What kind of future is in store for a child born on this day?
- 5. Will someone who has fallen ill today recover?
- 6. Should credence be lent to dreams dreamt on this day?
- 7. Is this an auspicious day for bloodletting?

When we compare this list to the content of our zodiologia, we find some resemblances and several dissimilarities. In the table below, we can see which of the seven questions was dealt with or not, in each of the signs in both zodiologia.

	Solar Zodiologium						Lunar Zodiologium							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Aries	X						X	X		X	XX	X		X
Taurus	X						X	X						
Gemini	X						X	X	X			X		X
Cancer	X						X	X		X				X
Leo	X						X	X			X			X
Virgo	X						X	X			X			X
Libra	X						X	X		X	X			X
Scorpio	X						X	X			XX	X		X
Sagittarius	X						X	X		X				X
Capricorn	X						X	X						X
Aquarius	X						X	X						X
Pisces	X						X	X						X

We can see right away that each of the zodiologia has a slightly different approach. The question of bloodletting is faithfully answered in both zodiologia. It is only omitted once, in the treatment on Taurus in the lunar zodiologium, so we can assume this is an oversight by the copyist. Question one, telling us what activities are favorable to pursue, is the one most elaborately treated in both the solar and lunar zodiologia. Plenty of activities and enterprises are either recommended or discouraged, according to the ruling sign. The solar zodiologium seems quite systematical, as it never deviates from these two questions. The lunar zodiologium on the other hand gives an altogether more disorganized impression, which makes it easy to tell that it has been compiled from several source texts. Or possibly, the text could have been faithfully copied from a source text that itself had been a compilation. In any case, each section in the Lunar zodiologium repeats its opening lines about two thirds of the way down, "when the moon is in

¹³⁷ List translated from MARCELIS 1986, p. 86.

..." and often some of the injunctions are repeated as well. In several instances, the text even contradicts itself internally, first saying bloodletting will be beneficial and then warning against it (22r22/22v13-14). Or saying it is good to travel by water, and then telling us not to go on any ship (21r20/21v5). Some questions are answered only once or twice (2 and 5), others a little less than half the time (3 and 4). It seems that these were not the questions deemed most pressing. Nor do we find any reference to dreams. Whether no mention of them was made in the exemplar texts, or whether the copyist decided to leave them out is impossible to know. Taken all together, it would appear that the copyist has attempted to tailor the texts to the sphere of interest of his intended audience, but that he hasn't been entirely consistent doing so.

4.3 ACTIVITIES IN THE ZODIOLOGIA

The range of activities on which advice is offered (i.e. elections) in one or both of the zodiologia is fairly broad. To some extent, they can be lumped into summarizing categories. However, as with much vernacular literature in the later Middle Ages, the texts are hardly systematic, so grouping them together is a challenge. Not all of them occur in the same frequency or in both of the zodiologia. Another table below will make this clear. As a rough draft of categories, we can list the following:

- 1. Traveling
- 2. Working with water, earth and fire
- 3. Agricultural activities
- 4. Getting married
- 5. Bloodletting
- 6. Other medical procedures (including having sex and clipping nails)
- 7. Social activities (in the larger sense)
- 8. Trading activities
- 9. Craft activities (carpentry, weaving and the like)

	Sc	Solar Zodiologium							Lunar Zodiologium										
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Aries	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X			X	X	X	X	X
Taurus		X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X		X	X		X	X	X	X
Gemini	X	X	X		X	X	X		X		X			X	X	X	X		
Cancer	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
Leo			X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X
Virgo		X	X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Libra	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X			X	X	X	X	X
Scorpio	X		X		X	X	X	X	X		X		X	X	X	X	X		X
Sagittarius	X	X		X	X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Capricorn	X	X	X		X	X	X	X			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Aquarius	X		X	X	X		X	X	X		X			X	X	X	X	X	X
Pisces		X	X		X	X	X	X	X		X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X

In general, it seems the activities are fairly well distributed over both the zodiologia. The solar zodiologium concentrates on agriculture more than the lunar one, which mentions travel and weddings more often than its counterpart. Trading activities appear to have suddenly popped into view in the solar zodiologium, as if the copyist decided halfway through that they should be included after all. But there seem to be no significant differences between the two texts, as far as their focus of interest.

4.4 Connecting Practice to Theory

The internal logic governing what activities are and are not recommended for any time is often quite difficult to discern. In a few instances, however, it is possible to connect information from other texts and figure out the rationality. Take for instance the references to bleeding and medicating certain body parts, scattered throughout the zodiologium. We can easily connect these to the melothesia found on fols 7r and 7v. This text tells us which body parts are governed by which zodiacal sign. Starting with Aries again, the human body is divvied up from the head down, as if it were stretched out along the zodiac with the head in Aries and the feet in the Fish. Next, we read in the zodiologium that we should never take medicine for the head when the Sun is in the Ram (2r9-10). When it is in Pisces we should not take medicine for our feet (6r7-9). This logic can be followed throughout both of the zodiologia; for instance fol. 17r22-23 tells us that when the Moon is in Taurus it is bad to treat the neck and throat, which are governed by the Bull (17r11-13). The underlying assumptions are reflected in the well-known image of the 'zodiac-man', essentially the visualized content of our melothesia. We will now take a look at some more of the theory behind what we find in the zodiologia.

4.4.1 The Zodiologia and the Theory of the Four Elements

The author or copyist has chosen the solar zodiologium as the place to elucidate the inherent qualities of the signs. Nearly every item begins with a variation on the phrase "Aries is a sign which comes out of the east and is dry and hot" (2r2-4). This refers to the compass wind assigned to each sign, as well as the qualities corresponding to those of the four elements, which we have seen in chapter 3: The Medieval Universe. The elements are earth, water, air and fire; the qualities are hot, cold, moist and dry. Each element combines in itself two of the qualities: hot and dry belong to Fire; hot and moist make Air; cold and dry are inherent to Earth; while Water is cold and wet. A medieval audience familiar with this paradigm would instantly have seen the connection to the theory of the four temperaments, and thus to health and medicine. In particular, the notion is stressed that it is unwise to treat any body part which is ruled by the currently dominant sign.

4.4.2 WINDS AND TRAVEL

It is not only the health regimen which is dictated by this intimate connection between signs, qualities, elements, and directions. When we combine the data found in the zodiologia, we can suddenly see all kinds of patterns and connective influences. The sequence of elements is

¹³⁸ See fig. 7, p. 33. For an extensive treatment and images of the zodiac man, see MARCELIS 1986.

repeated every four signs, as are the four winds. This has a direct consequence on the activities recommended for each sign. The direction the sign comes from is a good direction to travel in. For instance, Aries (according to the solar zodiologium fol. 2r3) comes out of the East; both texts tell us this is a good time to travel to the east (fol. 2r4-5 and fol. 16r19-21). Eight months - or two cycles - later, no wind is mentioned in Sagittarius, but again we find recommendations to travel eastward (fol. 5r2-3 and fol. 22r11), and even a warning against going into the west (fol. 21v18).

4.4.3 ELEMENTS AND ACTIVITIES

The perceived influence of the elements on human activity is also readily discernible from the texts. The elements are not explicitly mentioned as connected with the signs, but we can derive them from the qualities of the signs, which are listed frequently. Strikingly, not all of the advice seems to be wholly concordant with seasonal change. In a practical calendar, one would expect to see weather-dependent activities like travel and agriculture prescribed according to the season. Certainly it does seem a little strange to find encouragement for sowing plants in the middle of winter, when the sun is in Capricorn (5r10-12). In the passage about Virgo we are told this is a good time for doing anything to do with earth, such as sowing and planting trees and vineyards (3v12-14). We find the sentiment repeated on in the lunar zodiologium (20r1-4). According to the calendar, the Sun is in Virgo from the middle of August to the middle of September. Seasonally, that is a time for harvesting, not for sowing or planting trees. However, at the beginning of the passage, we were informed about the qualities of Virgo, to wit: cold and dry. These are the two qualities that belong to the element Earth. The principle behind this mechanism is that the element connected to the ruling sign must be favorable. The best time for working with a specific element is the moment when that element is at its strongest efficacy. And that is the time when the sun or moon is in a sign connected with that specific element. If you wish, for example, to build a water mill (23v5-6; 3r7-9), it's a bad idea to do it when the sun or moon is in Taurus (Earth), but a great idea to wait until either the sun or the moon (ideally, both) are in Cancer, Scorpio or Pisces (Water). The same (mutatis mutandis) goes for activities having to do with Earth and Fire, although the element Air is not ever mentioned in terms of "working with it".

4.6 LACK OF THEORETICAL EXPOSITION

The texts themselves are aimed towards a very pragmatical setting, wasting little words on theoretical exposition, but instead focusing on practical advice for everyday life and general healthcare. This presupposes an audience having no need for such theoretical substantiation, either because they would not use it or because they already knew all of it. Unlike the solar zodiologium, the lunar one occasionally explains its reasoning by explicitly connecting the qualities or elements associated with the signs to the injunctions it gives (for example 16v8-16; 17v16-19). These are some of the few places where the manuscript affords a glimpse of the underlying theories, while in most cases the text is purely practical. It seems quite remarkable to find a medieval manuscript dealing with such complex issues as astrological and medical advice,

and then failing almost entirely to offer any theoretical background information or explanations of how to use the texts and tables contained in it. The best explanation for this apparent negligence can be that it was considered redundant to include such material. This leads to the supposition that the copyist must have had a really good idea of the experience and education of his or her intended audience. In fact, it is not unlikely that the copyist might himself have been the end user. In that case, this person was at least accomplished enough to be rather proficient at writing, and to deem unnecessary the insertion of information they had already internalized.

4.7 Intended Audience

Examining the various types of activities with which the zodiologia are concerned can be a great way to help determine for what kind of audience the texts were intended. Right away, we can see evidence of interest in agricultural activities (mainly sowing and planting), crafts and industry (carpentry, weaving, cutting clothes, building water mills et cetera), and trading activities (buying, selling, exchanging gold and so on). This suggests that the advice was intended for farmers and artisans, merchants and traders. 139 The fact that only certain times were considered suitable for speaking with kings and lords may be another indication that the audience was not expected to be found in high places. 140 On the other hand, 'daghe holden', holding court days, is not something we imagine merchants or carpenters to practice, let alone farmers. 'Receiving lordship' is also clearly aimed at the upper class of people. So which is it, peasants and burghers or lords and ladies? It seems pretty unlikely that someone would have need of both types of guidance. There are several conceivable possibilities to account for this seeming discrepancy. One option is that the owner of the notebook was in a position to tender advice to a wide range of people. A traveling barber perhaps? Someone not too high on the ladder to stop at small parishes and tend to villagers, yet sophisticated enough to advise the lord of the land as well. Alternatively, these seeming discrepancies could be merely the result of indiscriminate copying. In that case, the copyist did not make an effort to adapt the text in the exemplar to fit the intended audience, but simply copied whatever lay in front of him or her. The trouble with this hypothesis lies partly in the inconsistency which is present throughout the manuscript. However, it is a known common trait of vernacular adaptations that they abandon the systematic approach which may have been discernible in the Latin sample text.

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¹³⁹ TIMMERMANS 1989, 98.

¹⁴⁰ TIMMERMANS 1989, 98-99.

5. Perilous Days

As we have seen, by consulting the zodiologia the user of this manuscript would have been able to determine the best and the worst times for numerous activities they might wish to pursue. However, the manuscript appears to emphasize the point that reckoning on Sun, Moon and zodiac alone is not safe. There are a great many days on which any enterprise begun will turn sour, and many more when things like bloodletting will do more harm than good. These are by a general name called 'unlucky days', or the Perilous Days, and our manuscript enumerates plenty of them. There are also a few 'lucky days' to be found. Let's take a closer look at the four separate texts about special days that our manuscript contains, the tradition of Perilous Days, and their relationship to the calendar. This will likely give us clues as to how the codex functioned.

5.1 HISTORY OF PERILOUS DAYS

The concept of Perilous Days is both ancient and widespread, having disseminated throughout Medieval Europe by the end of the Middle Ages. ¹⁴¹ At the root of the idea appears to lie the conviction that unfortunate events are apt to repeat themselves on particular days. ¹⁴² So, for instance, in ancient Rome the Ides of March (March 15th) was considered an unlucky day after the assassination of Julius Caesar. In the Middle Ages, the notion was embraced that all the calamitous affairs in the bible (such as Cain's murder of Abel, the deluge, John the Baptist's decapitation and of course the crucifixion of Christ) had taken place on Fridays. Friday therefore was felt to be a particularly dark day. ¹⁴³ Mondays were also considered unsuitable by some. ¹⁴⁴ However, most unlucky days were not confined to any specific day of the week.

As we shall see, several types and classes of Perilous Days can be distinguished, each deriving from different origins. The extent of their influence varies in both direction and intensity. Their consequences pertain to the medical realm, as well as more generally to facets of daily life. In the case of our manuscript, we will find that some of the original aspects and beliefs associated with unlucky days have become mixed up or contaminated. Furthermore, because we are dealing with four separate texts within one volume, some interesting contradictions may be discovered. But first we will describe each of the texts, so that we have a clear idea of what we are talking about.

¹⁴¹ FÖRSTER 1929, declares the Days-texts to be "Occidental Medieval commonplace" (259), and finds them "very frequently" in Latin manuscripts (274). THORNDIKE 1923, 695-696, lists 23 manuscripts containing Days-texts from the 9th to 13th centuries, asserting that number could probably be 'greatly multiplied'. ROBBINS 1939, 321, lists at least 10 texts about unlucky days, most of them in verse. KEIL 1957, 37 ff., describes Days-texts in a variety of Middle High German manuscripts. WALLIS 1995, 107, calls calendar poems containing i.a. Egyptian Days 'ubiquitous in medieval calendars'. JANSEN-SIEBEN 1989, 48, under lemma 'DIES', references 22 Middle Dutch manuscripts.

¹⁴² WEBSTER 1916, 272.

¹⁴³ WEBSTER 1916, 273.

¹⁴⁴ FONCKE 1943, 66-69.

5.2 DESCRIPTION OF THE DAYS-TEXTS IN MS XXIII A 8

5.2.1 Text One: Three Dangerous Days

Perhaps significantly, our manuscript actually opens with a text warning the reader about three particularly dangerous days (fol. 1r). Invoking the authority of Hippocrates, the ancient Greek physician, three days in the year are specified when on no account should any bloodletting be performed. The three days are the first of April, the first of August and the last day of the year, December 31st. No specific motivations are given in this case, though in other places we will see some dire warnings about the consequences of ignoring such injunctions. The text then continues on to indicate that there are several other dates which, on the contrary, are especially beneficial to the health, and bloodletting can and should be performed with great efficacy. Two days are named when bloodletting will protect a person from ever going blind, and if one wishes never to suffer any fever, one has only to be bled on the fourth, the fifth, or at the very end of May. The next few sentences provide more exact information on which veins to bleed in order to relieve certain aches and ailments, in this case particularly to the head. Finally, the paragraph concludes with what at first seems a recap: "These are the three days on which no one should let blood", only instead of repeating itself, it mentions year's end, St. Peters day in August (August 1st), and "Our Lady's night in March" (March 25th). 146

5.2.2 Text Two: Thirty-two Parisian Days

The second text talking about perilous days in our manuscript can be found on fols 6r-v. Without actually naming them as such, this texts describes the effects of thirty-two so-called Parisian Days marked in the calendar. On the authority of 'learned writers', it is asserted that anyone who bleeds any vein on any of these days will die within the year. However, in this case it is not merely bloodletting which must be avoided at all costs. Anyone who has the misfortune to be born on any of these days will either not live long or stay poor all their lives. A man and woman who get married on such a day will suffer the same fate, nor will they ever enjoy peace. Anyone who moves into a new house will not prosper. Whosoever travels to strange lands runs a great risk of never returning home, and the buying or selling of goods will not profit anyone. Instead of listing the dates, the text informs its audience that the respective days can be recognized by a certain sign on the manuscript's calendar. Here, we see a degree of integration of separate parts of the manuscript which has not been apparent before.

5.2.3 Text Three: Forty-Five Dangerous Days

The third mention of evil days is found at the beginning of the third quire, immediately following the calendar. This time, it is 'the best and wisest masters' who are credited with the information. No less than forty-five perilous days are then announced, although when we add up the dates

¹⁴⁵ Middle Dutch "rede", translatable as "fever", might in fact refer to several pathological symptoms, each supposedly caused by a different humoral imbalance. See KEIL 1957, 58.

¹⁴⁶ KEIL 1957, 55, affirms the connection between the feast of the Annunciation to Mary and prohibitions on bloodletting.

actually listed we only come to thirty-nine of them. The evil consequences of these forty five days are quite similar to those associated with the Parisian Days. Being born on such a day guarantees a short life; falling ill is a surety of death. Setting out for travel means the return home becomes a matter of chance. Should two people have intercourse, they would have to separate due to poverty. And, in general, any great enterprise begun on any of these days will end in failure. The entire month of December is accidentally omitted from the list, as are two days in respectively January and May. Still, most of it is there, and it is certainly enough to be able to conclude that these are definitely not the same Parisian dates as are mentioned in the second text. 147

5.2.4 Text four: Three Lucky Days

This last Days-text is tacked onto the Forty-five Dangerous Days almost as an afterthought. It lists three days which have a rather peculiar beneficial effect. If anyone were born on any of those days, their body would be prevented from rotting until doomsday.

5.3 Sources of the Texts

In the case of short and abundantly present texts such as Days-texts, it is virtually impossible to identify an exact source text. We know the Days-texts did not originally arise in a vernacular environment, but whether these particular texts were directly translated from Latin examples or copied from another vernacular manuscript is difficult to tell. There are several categories or 'families' of unlucky days, which all have their own tradition. However, because there are only so many ways to express the concept, the wording only ever slightly varies within each category. Thus the only means of pinpointing a source would be by finding a precise parallel, and even then we would have the problem of distinguishing which came first. However, it is not vital to know which particular texts provided the pattern for our manuscript, as long as we are able to determine and describe the categories or traditions to which they belong. These being established, we can then use a comparative method to position them in relation to these traditions.

5.4 STANDARD DATES

As for the question of which standard dates should be associated with each tradition; this is not always a simple question to answer. There are a number of circumstances to be considered. First, there is the fact that there are so many different traditions to begin with. Not always are they positively identified as being one set or another, and thus they are easily mixed up and confused. This problem is compounded by the practice of compiling information from different sources together into one text, as we can tell most certainly has been done in the case of our manuscript (or its predecessor). More importantly, most of the manuscripts contain lists of dates written in

¹⁴⁷ Only nine days overlap between the two texts, which means text 2 has 23 days which are not found in text 3, and text 3 has 30 days not found in text 2.

¹⁴⁸ FÖRSTER 1929, 259, mentions both Latin and Late Greek source texts.

¹⁴⁹ See for instance the first Days-text in our manuscript (Fol. 1r), where the "three days on which no one should let blood" mentioned at the beginning, are not the same as those mentioned at the end.

roman numerals. These are notoriously prone to copying errors.¹⁵⁰ Miss just one little stem, and your four is now a three for example. Multiply this by the number of times a text has been copied, and we can begin to see why it would be almost miraculous for several texts to contain the exact same list of dates.

5.5 ASTROLOGICALLY CALCULATED DAYS

While the general concept of 'unlucky days' seems to be fairly ubiquitous, they appear in several distinct forms. One class of unlucky or 'critical' days, harking back to the ancient Greek physician Galen, is determined by astronomical observation. Within the paradigm of medieval astrology, where both positive and negative traits have been assigned to planets and constellations, it seems logical to assume that disease is caused by the fortunate or unfortunate influence of the heavens. Especially important for this brand of medicine are the influences of Sun and Moon. ¹⁵¹ We can see this type of thinking reflected in the two zodiologia comprising most of our manuscript, although none of our Days-texts appear to rely much on such complex reckoning. It was, however, considered possible to determine auspicious and inauspicious days according to astronomical calculation. This would result in a new set of unlucky days each year, where both the number and the time of their occurrences would vary. One would obviously require some expertise in the field in order to be able to carry out this method. It may have been the express purpose of all the texts and tables in this small to circumvent such a necessity for astronomical sophistication. This could provide those in the medical profession with at least a rudimentary understanding of astronomical calculation, which as we know was deemed vital. ¹⁵²

5.6 Days According to Tradition

On the other hand, a much more accessible way of reckoning with unlucky days is by following tradition. Consulting a calendar (if available) allows anyone interested in such things to plan their activities around inauspicious days. Or even more simply, by reading or memorizing a text, one can take into account several sets of fixed dates. No longer is the character of these days dependent on astronomical and astrological relationships; instead it is their position in the year which is decisive. It seems very probable that most of these traditions had their origin in astronomical science, but that they subsequently developed into static convention due to their perceived general usefulness. The similarities of their content may also have played a role in transforming previously dynamic systems into more or less rigid tradition. ¹⁵³ There are a number of such traditions to be distinguished. We find several of them represented in the *Astrological Calendar Manuscript*.

¹⁵⁰ REYNAERT 2004a, 80.

¹⁵¹ KEIL 1957, 30

¹⁵² HUIZENGA 2004, 11; see also THORNDIKE 1941, 141-142.

¹⁵³ KEIL 1957, 33-35.

5.6.1 DIES AEGYPTIACI

The oldest known examples of Perilous Days appear in Egyptian calendars, some dating back as far as 2000 B.C. ¹⁵⁴ These gradually grew in complexity, culminating in a set of two dozen fixed dates, two in every month. Based on the lunar cycle, the two days would be set at an equal distance from the beginning and end of each month, a condition which would soon be lost in translation. The earliest example containing these twenty-four dates is preserved from the thirteenth century BC. ¹⁵⁵ This is the ultimate source of those days known in medieval times as the *Dies Aegyptiaci*, or simply 'Egyptian Days'. On the origin of Egyptian Days, no agreement was reached in the writings of the Middle Ages, although almost always they are connected to biblical events. ¹⁵⁶ In several instances we find medieval writers, among them the famous thirteenth-century Flemish writer Jacob van Maerlant, asserting that the evil aspect of these days has its foundation in the Egyptian plagues described in the book Exodus. ¹⁵⁷ Other authors have attributed them to an angelic vision experienced by Joseph son of Jacob in Egypt. ¹⁵⁸

At first glance, we find no evidence of these *Dies Aegyptiaci* in our manuscript. However, it looks as if our calendar contains some hidden traces of them, in the form of "a simple D cut by a transverse line", marked in the final column of some of the months. ¹⁵⁹ Although but ten days are marked thus, the dates show enough conformity to those of the *Dies Aegyptiaci* to allow them to be identified as remnants of this system. ¹⁶⁰

Table 3.

Comparison of *Dies Aegyptiaci* as found in UB MS XXIII A 8 to those found in 5 mss. by KEIL 1957, p. 46. While none of the lists are exactly the same as the incomplete one found in our manuscript, neither are any of them exact replicas of any other. Corruption and contamination have clearly taken place in all of the sets detailed here. Of the ten days marked in our manuscript, 5 have an exact mirror in at least one of those listed by Keil (those are in bold), and another three are but one little stem removed from being a perfect match. We may therefore safely assume that the dates marked by a cursive Đ in our calendar are indeed remnants of the ancient Egyptian unlucky days.

¹⁵⁴ WEBSTER 1916, 295.

¹⁵⁵ KEIL 1957, 27.

¹⁵⁶ LOISELEUR 1872, 203.

¹⁵⁷ REYNAERT 2004a, 80. According to LOISELEUR 1872, 203, the plagues were supposed by some to have lasted an entire year (in intervals).

¹⁵⁸ LOISELEUR 1872, 203.

¹⁵⁹ To wit: February 23, May 2, July 14 and 22, August 1, September 3, October 3, November 5 and 27, and December 17). LOISELEUR 1872, 199, guided me to the explanation of these mysterious symbols. ¹⁶⁰ Cf. table 3

	UB MS XXIII A 8 Đ	Keil Dies Aegyptiaci							
Jan		1 25	1 26	1 25		2 6 16			
Feb	23	4 26		4 20		7 25			
Mar		1 28	1 28	1 28		3 24			
Apr		10 20	10	10 20		3 21			
May	2	3 21	3 25	3 25		3 21			
June		10 16	11 14	10 16	9 15	7 20			
July	14 22	13 22	13 22	13 22	13 22	6 18			
Aug	1	1 30	1 30	1 31	1 30	6 21			
Sep	3	3 21	3 21	3 21	21	2 19			
Oct	3	3 22	2 22	3 22		3 20			
Nov	5 27	5 28	4 28	5 28		2 24			
Dec	17	7 22	7 22	7 22		4 14			

Where ostensibly the "D" symbols for Egyptian Days seem to be in the rightmost column of the calendar, on second viewing these marks appear to have been made to the right of the rightmost column, that is: in the margin outside the calendar. Together with a different color ink, this may be a sign that these ten Egyptian Days might have been added at a later time. Corroborating this hypothesis is the fact that the D's are written in a cursive script not found elsewhere in the manuscript, unless it were in the marginalia of which there are a handful, clearly written in cursive script but illegible due to the reagent used in some previous era to try, ironically, to make them more legible. Even though we are not able to make out the words, something may be inferred from the position of these comments. One such note, for instance, is found at the top of the calendar (fol. 9r). It seems very possible that the author of these marginalia is clarifying some use of the calendar not elaborated on in the running text. The note might explain that the dates marked with D are especially unlucky days, perhaps even naming them Egyptian. None of the Days-texts in other Middle Dutch manuscripts we have seen offer a comparable list of Egyptian Days, although often enough they are called such. On the other hand, who's to say that if we dig through a number of calendars, we won't find some similarly obscure markings denoting the Egyptian tradition? What can be said for sure is that the designation 'Egyptian Days' has survived all the adventures of copying mistakes, misplacement and wandering astray of the original content categorized under that name.

5.6.2 PARISIAN DAYS

Much later, possibly around the end of the fourteenth century AD or somewhat earlier, arise the beginnings of another tradition; 32 unlucky days known as the 'Parisian Days'. ¹⁶¹ Contrary to the *Dies Aegyptiaci*, these days don't depend on the months or the lunar cycle at all, having instead as their unit of measurement the solar year. Information on the inauspicious character of these days is ascribed to the calculations of the learned masters and astrologers of the renowned University of Paris. Although the Parisian Days are most often associated with bloodletting and other medical procedures, in many cases we also find a plethora of other activities warned

¹⁶¹ On Parisian Days: KEIL 1957, 39 ff.

against. Without a doubt, these are the 32 dates which are marked in our codex's calendar, and they are introduced by the second Days-text.

5.6.3 Compilations of Perilous Days

The origins of an even more elaborate system of Perilous Days are not easily traced. The third Days-text in our manuscript announces a grand total of 45 Perilous Days. Texts listing a similarly high number of days are found elsewhere in Middle Dutch manuscripts. ¹⁶² From sixteenth-century Germany, astrological rules for lumberjacks have been preserved, which include a list of apparently as many perilous days as could be found, thereby eliminating 85 productive days from the calendar. Other medieval texts variously list 58, 40 or 49 days as dangerous. ¹⁶³ There appears to be some confusion about where these traditions came from. In the Middle Ages, they were variously attributed to the Parisian scholars, Greek masters, Arabian astrologers, or perhaps even the eighth-century English scholar Beda Venerabilis. ¹⁶⁴ It surely seems safe to conclude that these extensive catalogs have been compiled from several sources.

5.6.4 THREE DAYS

An additional strong tradition returning time and again is that of three 'particularly dangerous days' on which all sorts of mishaps may befall a person. No matter which specific dates are called, or whose authority is established as underlining the significance of these days, the evil associated with them always centers on the same few critical life events, plus bloodletting. The very first text in our manuscript names three days which are very ill-favored for bloodletting (1r1-4), and then goes on to name another set of three days when bloodletting is inadvisable (1r20-25). 'Three days' seems to have had quite a satisfying ring to it, since there are also three days on which overindulging in food and drink can be fatal, as well as three dangerous moondays. ¹⁶⁵

5.6.5 Lucky Days

Some days in the year rather than having ill effects, instead are reported to have some fairly spectacular beneficial properties. One fifteenth-century manuscript names twenty-eight days on which anything one begins will come to a good end. Some other days which can be considered lucky are those on which bleeding will have the effect of permanently preventing blindness or fever. In these cases however, it must be noted that both going blind and contracting fevers can also be the result of bleeding on, again, particular days of the year. It is likely that this is the result of some contamination or copying mistake. Which of them was the original clause is

¹⁶² REYNAERT 2004a, 80.

¹⁶³ KEIL 1957, 45-48.

¹⁶⁴ THORNDIKE 1923, 688 takes the view that these lists are imitations of the Egyptian Days, whereas KEIL 1957, 29 and 50 appears to view them as a separate tradition.

¹⁶⁵ REYNAERT 2004a, 79.

¹⁶⁶ The Geraardsberg Manuscript, Brussel KB 837-845. GOVERS 1994, 130.

¹⁶⁷ KEIL 1957, 56-58.

obviously a tough question to answer. All in all though, it is undeniably clear that the number of unlucky days far outweighs the number of lucky ones.

5.6.6 Days Conferring Incorruptibility

The fourth Days-text In our *Astrological Calendar Manuscript* talks about three other days that would also seem to belong to the category of lucky days. Apparently the bodies of people born on those days will not decompose after death, at least until doomsday. While it is not explicitly stated that not rotting is a thing to be desired, neither is it warned against in the text. Most scholars appear to interpret the 'incorruptibility clause' as a positive thing and therefore see these three days as lucky. ¹⁶⁸ Bart Besamusca describes how in the Middle Dutch *Lancelot en prose* the body of Lancelot's dead grandfather has not decomposed, and tentatively connects this to the type of incorruptibility clause we see here. ¹⁶⁹ However, there may be another explanation. In some religious texts, incorruptibility is associated with the sanctity of saints and martyrs. There are many instances where a saint's remains are reported to exude a sweet scent and to be completely intact even after decades in the ground. ¹⁷⁰ Which of the two connections the audience of the *Lancelot en prose* would have made can only be guessed at, but at the very least there seems to be a clear indication that it is lucky to be born on one of these particular three days, since one will enjoy a benefit otherwise accorded only to God's favorites.

5.7 CUMULATIVE EFFECT

What with all these different systems of determining perilous days, it would seem to become very bothersome to keep up with. And no wonder; all four texts together claim a total number of no less than 80 unlucky days. Taking into consideration the fact that some of these days seem to be missing, and others overlap, we are left with 65 days. Now adding the Egyptian Days inconspicuously marked in the calendar, we are looking at a total of 71 separate days which are deemed unlucky, unhealthy, inauspicious, dangerous and altogether evil. That is nearly twenty percent of the year, all of them days on which to be careful of some, most or all activities. ¹⁷¹ And keep in mind; these Perilous Days are all irrespective of the day of the week or the positions of Sun and Moon, so prohibitions can be expected at almost any time. It would be very interesting to try and find out whether there are mentions of Perilous Days *outside* of the usual lists and calendars. Do they appear in other artes texts or in literature? Discovering how common they are and especially the context in which they may be found, will help us interpret the extent to which medieval people actually let their lives be governed by prohibitions such as these. ¹⁷²

¹⁶⁸ FÖRSTER 1929, 259.

¹⁶⁹ BESAMUSCA 1991, 20.

¹⁷⁰PRINGLE 2001.

¹⁷¹ 19.45%, to be exact.

¹⁷² Orlanda Lie has pointed out to me that confessionals sometimes contain punishments for people who have 'committed the sin of believing in Perilous Days'. Unfortunately, time did not permit me to look into this. It would be a very interesting subject in combination with the rest of this astrological manuscript.

5.8 Negative and Positive

As we have seen in chapter 4: The Zodiologia, many of these evil consequences, whether conveniently vague or startlingly specific, are also connected to a series of astronomical occurrences. In particular, the positions of moon and sun in relation to the zodiac will determine the outcome of activities like travel, moving house, getting married and beginning great enterprises. A significant difference, however, is that the zodiacal lunaries also offer positive advice on the desirability of these actions. They will declare such things as: "Now is a good time for traveling on trade" or "This is a good time to work all things to do with water". Whereas the Days-texts are almost exclusively filled with dire warnings, the zodiologia may offer the audience a more hopeful outlook on life. Adherence to these precepts may give the user a sense of control over a world they are otherwise largely unable to influence.

6. MEDICAL MANUSCRIPT?

The final question which we will consider with respect to the Astrological Calendar Manuscript, is the extent to which it may be considered a medical codex. As we have seen above, we have a clear indication that at one point in its history it was indeed designated as medical, since its penultimate provenance lay with the medical library of the KNMG, the Royal Dutch Society for the Advancement of Medicine, which has conferred its entire collection of historical medical writing, including recipe collections and anatomical atlases, on permanent loan to the University of Amsterdam. 173 Another interesting tidbit in this context is the Latin text which can barely be read on the front inside cover (lines 6-9). Loosely paraphrased, it can be interpreted as follows: 'Strong and healthy bodies, optimistically persevering in wholesome things, will often overcome the approaching dangers of illness.' ¹⁷⁴ While this does not exactly provide any definite evidence that this codex was owned by a physician or a surgeon, it does reconfirm that medicine or health care is one of the main topics covered in the manuscript. But would it have been useful to a medieval medical professional?

6.1 Medical Texts

Two of the texts in our manuscript are nearly exclusively medical in nature. These are, of course: the melothesia on fols 7r-v, which enumerates the connections between the zodiacal signs and the body parts which they govern; and the disease-lunary on the last leaf (fol. 24r), which informs the user about the prospects of the diseased person according to the day of the lunar cycle when their illness first manifested itself. Both of these texts are intimately connected to the calendar, and they would be quite useless without a way to find out when the information they impart is applicable. But other than that, neither of them requires any specialized medical knowledge or skills to understand. The melothesia can be viewed as an explanation of the theory behind some of the injunctions in the melothesia, and the lunary as an easy – though perhaps a bit crude - guide to self-diagnosis. If this manuscript belonged to anyone in a medical profession, we might expect a little more detail. Many medical codices contain pharmaceutical recipes, for instance, or details for identifying diseases, anatomical information or surgical instructions. 175

6.2 OTHER MEDICAL ADVICE

What sort of medical advice do we encounter in the texts of this manuscript? Well, first and foremost, it is clear that phlebotomy, the practice of bloodletting, featured prominently in the mind of the compiler. We have already found it mentioned in two of the three Days-texts, and in all of the sections of both zodiologia save one. This medical procedure was extremely versatile, which is to say it was "considered part of the medical treatment for nearly every ailment known to man". 176 However, unsurprisingly, bloodletting was not always sufficient, and other

¹⁷³ Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam, MS XXIII A 8.

¹⁷⁴ Tom de Schepper generously offered me his help in deciphering and translating the Latin. The paraphrasing into English obviously falls under my responsibility.

¹⁷⁵ HUIZENGA 1997, 2002 and 2004 gives many such examples. 176 DAVIS 1979, 1.

treatments and cures were necessary. Our manuscript speaks of cutting away sores and ulcers, of taking medicine in various forms (arcedie, medecyn, dranck, pocie), of 'physicking' and of 'cupping'. But it is also full of references to hygiene, or actions we wouldn't normally categorize under the heading 'medical' today. We receive instruction for bathing, shaving and clipping nails, and even for cutting and wearing new clothes or for having intercourse. These things were nevertheless an integral part of medieval healthcare. ¹⁷⁷

6.3 Phlebotomy

Bloodletting, the drawing off of quantities of blood in order to relieve all kinds of symptoms and maladies, was one of the most common medical procedures in the fifteenth century. ¹⁷⁸ It was prescribed in cases of "thick or red urine, ulcers and inflammation, fevers, a rapid pulse, headaches, attacks of lunacy, tuberculosis, venereal diseases, irregular menstruation, dropsy, back aches, bladder stones, scabies, and all possible kinds of tumors". ¹⁷⁹ The easiest way it could be done was by simply opening a vein and allowing the blood to flow into a basin. 'Cupping', on the other hand, involved placing a cup in which the air has been heated on a person's skin, right over a small cut. The low pressure created inside the cup by the cooling air then caused the cut to start bleeding. In some cases neither of these methods was practicable and leeches were used. Although bloodletting was thought to be beneficial, it was certainly not to be practiced indiscriminately, and could be very dangerous under the wrong (astrological) conditions, as we have seen particularly in the Days-texts.

The information about bloodletting included in the texts does nonetheless seem rather incomplete. Although the 'when' is mentioned very frequently, there are hardly any further directions on how or where to perform a phlebotomy. The only place where any such instruction does occur is in the first Days-text on fol. 1r. There we find a brief enumeration telling us which parts of the body to bleed in order to cure certain specific complaints. For example, we should open the vein in the forehead to relieve 'ringing and whistling in the head' (tinnitus?), or the veins in the eyebrows against any diseases of the eye. Otherwise, however, we only find rather vague references to 'letting the arms' and warnings such as not to bleed the nose when the moon is in Aries (a reference to the melothesia). The question is, whether greater detail was omitted because it was assumed to be common knowledge, or because it was not deemed necessary for the intended audience. Our interpretation of the intended audience will depend partly on our answer to this question.

6.5 Various Medical Practitioners

So who, then, would have use for this curious compromise? Let's take a look at the various possibilities. We can distinguish three major types of medieval medical professionals; doctors in

¹⁷⁷ JANSEN-SIEBEN 1971, 174, and VAN DAM 2008, 49-51.

¹⁷⁸ HUIZENGA 1997, 22.

¹⁷⁹ HUIZENGA 2004, 48.

medicine, surgeons, and barbers. ¹⁸⁰ The highest regarded were the educated physicians, the *doctores medicinae*. Only affordable by the rich, a learned doctor of medicine had spent up to fifteen years at a university, in Paris or Bologna, Montpellier or Padua, studying scholarly texts by medical authorities. Such learning came at a cost and was only available to a very few. Our manuscript is highly unlikely to have belonged to one such, since one would expect in the first place, Latin; and in the second, a much more extensive and specialized collection of medical texts. The texts that we find here discuss medical issues, but are not near as detailed as one would expect a university educated physician to have used. And even more telling is the fact that our booklet is composed in the vernacular. A *doctor medicinae* would surely have written and read in Latin, the language of science and learning. The most commonly cited reason for translating utilitarian texts in vernacular languages was to make scientific knowledge available to a lay audience.

Surgeons were primarily engaged in treating external wounds and injuries, for which they needed instruments and medicines. ¹⁸¹ A surgeon would certainly not be sufficiently served if he had nothing but the *Astrological Calendar Manuscript* to aid him. Nor can we in good conscience ascribe the manuscript to an apothecary. ¹⁸² The book contains no recipes whatsoever, nor any texts on the properties of this or that herb or potion. Medical advice specifically aimed at women is completely absent, so we can rule out midwives as possible users. ¹⁸³ We can, however, very well imagine our little manuscript in the possession of a barber or a lay doctor. Barbers were responsible for the general medical care of most of the population, limited to dental care, haircuts and shaving and most especially: bloodletting. ¹⁸⁴ They particularly needed to have access to astrological knowledge about the best times for bloodletting, and equally important: when on any account to avoid it. However, their profession stood in low regard and they were generally but poorly educated, which means they would require vernacular translations of medical and astrological texts. In other words, this might be just the sort of person who could have put the information contained in our codex to profitable use.

There is a last possibility to be considered; that an ordinary interested person may have wanted to reference these texts in case they or someone close to them fell ill. Given the relative simplicity of the information and the economy of its materials, it looks more like some sort of a domestic astrology book than a reference book for a professional healer. It is also interspersed with so much advice other than medical, which makes it seem more of a general oracle than anything else. In that case, we could be looking at a notebook that might have served as a 'family healthcare and practical guide' to a medieval household.

¹⁸⁰ HUIZENGA 2004, 15-22.

¹⁸¹ HUIZENGA 2004, 17.

¹⁸² HUIZENGA 2004, 19.

¹⁸³ HUIZENGA 2004, 23.

¹⁸⁴ HUIZENGA 2004, 22.

7. CONCLUSIONS AND REFLECTIONS

Having investigated the *Astrological Calendar Manuscript* Amsterdam UB MS XXIII A 8, the moment has now come to take the results of this investigation and start drawing some conclusions. It is time to see what worthwhile knowledge we have gained by closely examining this artes codex and its contents. Are we any the wiser about this codex in particular and astrological manuscripts in general? We also need to evaluate whether the implementation of New Codicology has paid off and discuss how it will benefit the research to include codicological and palaeographical investigation in future endeavors.

7.1 RESULTS

Based on our codicological, paleographical and philological investigations we have been able to concluded the following. The codex was created in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, probably somewhere in the eastern regions of the large swath of land belonging to the diocese of Utrecht at that time. It was created for an audience of an interested middle class reader, perhaps a semi-professional, who already possessed enough astrological knowledge to be able to comprehend the motivations behind the practical advice, as well as experience in reading such texts and tables. The compiler of the manuscript must have been aware of his audience's capabilities and limitations; it seems quite possible that he knew them personally or even created the codex for himself. The copyists showed skill at writing and had at least some experience in accounting. The codex itself was produced both economically and with care; while low-cost materials were used, careful attention was given to the lay-out, the writing and the rubrication. Texts were selected to complement each other and make a good portion of scientific understanding available to a lay audience not versed in Latin. Unfortunately, we have not been able to decipher the marks that may possibly have conveyed information about use and ownership of the manuscript over the centuries. At some future time these may well be interpreted yet with the use of advanced techniques.

The texts are all very practical and seem to be aimed at everyday use. The range of possible activities is wide, so nearly everyone could find something useful. The selected texts provide prognostication for all kinds of activities during the year, taking into account the influence of the sun, the moon and the signs of the zodiac, as well as the evil effect of many Perilous Days. Special attention is paid to the relation between the stars and the human body. The social activities recommended for various times in the year appear to be designed for all strata of society, from farmers to merchants, and from lords to priests. The practical advice for daily life does not seem to be specifically aimed at any specific type of person, nor written especially for women, either. The significant amount of medical information may point towards a medical practitioner of some kind, although certainly not a highly trained one. Specialized information one would expect to find in that case is distinctly lacking. A medieval barber, however, might make good use of the medical astrological advice, as well as perhaps serve as a sort of general fount of commonplace wisdom for those in need of guidance. The occupation of barber or a lay doctor might bring with it some experience in accounting, allowing even the possibility that the

manuscript was (partly) written by one. However, so much of the contents are not specifically medical that it might be misleading to classify the codex as such. Perhaps it is best to conclude that what we have here is a universal manual for getting through life in the fifteenth century.

7.2 Tradition

By comparison of Amsterdam UB XXIII A 8 with the tradition of astrological manuscripts in Middle Dutch and other later medieval vernaculars, we have seen that this specimen is at once a fitting example of this tradition and a special case on its own. Its structure closely resembles the type of manuscripts Schönfeldt has described as 'anthologies of astrology', by its inclusion in one volume of a calendar with tables, perilous days, bloodletting advice, medical advice, a melothesia, a lunary, and information on the zodiac. However, in some ways it is also strikingly unique, as is reflected in the absence of any information on the planets and the absence of theoretical exposition which gives the manuscript a distinctly practical flavor. The Astrological Calendar Manuscript is selective and focused in its material; it was clearly composed with a specific purpose in mind: to guide the user in his everyday life.

A codex such as this, which contains several separate texts, is often described in the literature as a 'miscellany'. ¹⁸⁶ However, with Keith Busby (who despises this word) I must agree that that doesn't make it sound very interesting – as if the manuscript was randomly thrown together out of whatever texts were lying around. ¹⁸⁷ A much better word in this context is 'anthology', which suggests a careful selection.

7.3 Position of Astrology

In sketching the socio-cultural background against which this type of astrological compendium functioned in its time, I hope to have shown that it was not only possible but logical and natural that manuscripts such as this one came to be created. Any vague misgivings that astrology was viewed by the Roman Catholic Church as a species of superstitious devilry must be abandoned, as we have seen that the conviction that life on Earth was directly and physically influenced by the heavens was as ubiquitously embraced as was Christianity itself. The existence of practical guidebooks helping to harness this influence for the better can only be expected. The extent to which the possible audience of such a manuscript would have allowed their daily life to have been directed by this, is difficult to establish, but the large number of astrological writings that have survived do not leave much doubt of the important position of astrology in medieval society.

7.4 Contributions to Previous Research

With regard to the scant previous research into this codex, I have been able to refine several statements made earlier. We have revised the dating to the last quarter of the fifteenth century; a

¹⁸⁵ SCHÖNFELDT 1962, 86.

¹⁸⁶ See for instance VAN ANROOIJ 1999.

¹⁸⁷ Busby expressed his disgust with the title 'miscellany' during a masterclass on manuscripts he gave at Utrecht University on 24 April 2013.

safer, more general date than Ria Jansen-Sieben had done, since we have found no conclusive evidence for her assertion of 1495 AD. On the other hand, we have had to contradict Joris Reynaert's supposition, as both philological and palaeographical characteristics exclude the possibility that his dating of the first half of the fifteenth century was correct.

The available library catalogues designating the codex material as paper stand to be corrected as well, since the material is indubitably parchment. An interesting specification can be added to this revision, since it is not regular parchment but the cheap discarded off-cuts from a regular hide which have been used in making this codex.

Finally, I propose some emendations to the enumeration of the texts in the manuscript as listed by Ria Jansen-Sieben. This regards the identification of the tables on fols 1v and 8v respectively. The first table is named "Table of Golden Numbers" and the second "Table of Sunday Letters". A closer look at the tables reveals their true purpose. The first is intended for finding out what zodiacal sign the moon is in on any given date, and would be more aptly named "Table showing the Sign of the Moon". The second table is an interval table which appears to be intended for finding the dates of the mobile feasts, and had better be called "Interval Table". As a final point, I recommend that the third Days-text in her list be split into two, leaving one text that gives Perilous Days, and one which mentions the three days conferring incorruptibility.

7.5 Reflections

In my opinion it will be very rewarding to continue involving the context – both codicological and philological – in our research into other codices of similar texts. As we have seen, many little details added together were able to give us just that much more information to put together a convincing picture. The more contextual information we can gather, the more dimensional, focused and more colorful our picture will get. The involvement of different perspectives will generate new questions to be asked, and perhaps elevate neglected aspects of medieval culture to scholarly relevance.

The field of medieval studies is a pre-eminently interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary field, and is becoming more so almost as we speak. In order to write our generation's stories about the past, we need to be not only codicologists and palaeographers, philologists and historians and literary scholars. We need to be students of philosophy and psychology, art history and religious history, sociology and historical anthropology. And certainly also of the history of the natural sciences. It seems such a shame to me that the divisions between the humanities and the natural and social sciences run so deep. Many an astronomer would love to study historical astronomy, but is not able to deal with the ancient texts. And scholars who specialize in historical languages may not be expert enough to be able to discern what astronomers wish to know. Too often do we scholars move around in the same circles without meeting the others, the scientists who could

¹⁸⁸ This opinion was voiced by astronomer Frank Verbunt during an interview I had with him in the early spring of 2012. Regrettably, the scope of my research has not allowed a more interactive participance of the field of scientific astronomy. I hope that an opportunity to pursue this connection may yet present itself.

fertilize our imaginations by cross-pollination. Real interdisciplinarity seems to be reserved for the select few who have been able to make lasting contacts outside of their domain or were lucky enough to have studied in more than one field.

We must strive to write not only a history of language, but also to combine our strengths with those of scientists and philosophers of science. We need an integration of disciplines, or at the very least we need short and open lines of communication. When more people bring together their resources, exchanges can take place that will enrich the entire enterprise. This seems especially true in the case of the study of the Middle Ages, which is not by its nature a uniform field of study with clearly defined methods. Of course, this does not mean that all instances of teamwork will necessarily work in this ideal way. Often scholars from different disciplines will have their own way of doing things, and not be prepared or even able to adapt to another view. It might be that researchers believe they are working together on the same thing, only to find out later that they were looking from different perspectives and didn't understand each other correctly. However, all these reservations aside, communication across disciplines will enhance all our understandings. Already this is being demonstrated by associations such as WEMAL, the Study Group Middle Dutch Artes Literature, which is populated by medievalists from many disciplines and regularly invites other scholars to join in its discussions.

In my own experience, I have found every single meeting with scholars or scientists from other disciplines to have yielded interesting perspectives and unlooked-for opportunities. I am glad to have followed the advice of Keith Busby, who emphasized that we should seek expertise outside of our own specialization. My excursion to Leiden to interview codicologist Erik Kwakkel about certain codicological details of the *Astrological Calendar Manuscript* has afforded me much insight into its creation. And my meeting with astronomer Frank Verbunt has started me thinking about what medievalists and natural scientists could do for each other.

Most importantly, as researchers we must continue to use our imaginations and open up to the possibilities of new ways of thinking. As educated 21st century people, we think those medieval scholars with their geocentric world view were wrong, because we 'know' the earth revolves around the sun and not the other way around. But in reality we are all much alike, since they 'knew' their ideas were right. We would be wise to keep an open mind and be ready to think outside the box. Who knows what historians will write about our own world view hundreds of years from now? Many things that were common knowledge in the Middle Ages are now viewed as endearing nonsense. Will our common knowledge, will the paradigms that make up our world view suffer the same fate?

¹⁸⁹ As he said during the masterclass on manuscripts mentioned previously.

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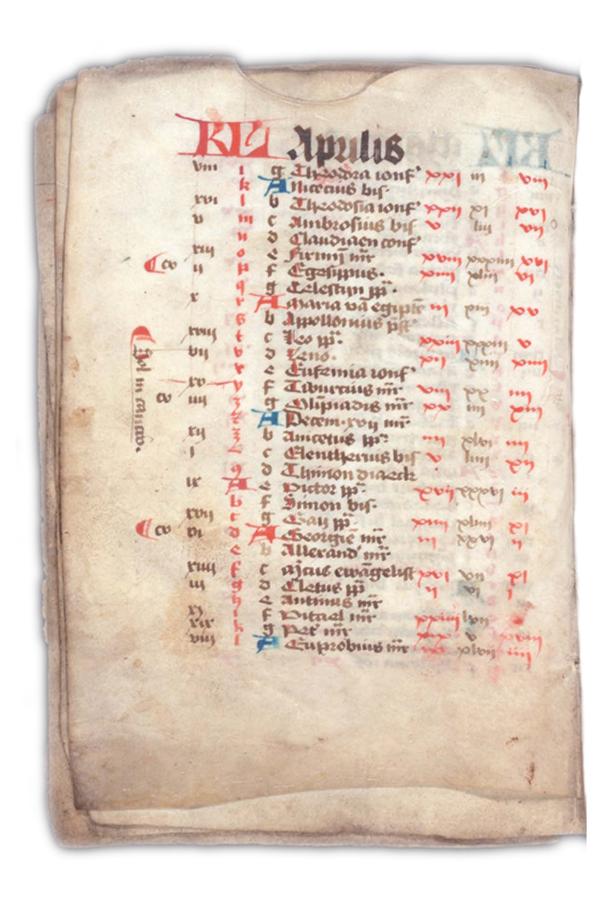
PART	11:	EDI	rion
1 / 1 / 1	11.	$\mu\nu$	\mathbf{I}

Astrological Calendar Manuscript

Ms. Amsterdam,

Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam, ms. XXIII A 8

Diplomatic edition delivered by Irene Meekes - van Toer



DIPLOMATIC EDITION OF AMSTERDAM UB MS XXIII A 8

1. EDITORIAL JUSTIFICATION

As with any edition, diplomatic or otherwise, it is necessary that a justification should be given of the way it has been handled. The strategies used to transcribe the medieval handwritten characters from the parchment to the computer screen must be explained, and the choices made accounted for. First, we will briefly return to New Codicology and its impact on the construction of modern editions. We are a long way removed from the nineteenth-century Lachmannian editors, who attempted to reconstruct the 'ideal' or 'original' medieval text from all available manuscripts, even going so far as to change spelling and dialect. Nor are we satisfied with Bédier's method of single ('best-') manuscript editing while entirely ignoring the fact that there could be other versions of the text. Both of these methods tended to take an aesthetical literary view of medieval texts, rather than seeing them as phenomena of cultural history. They saw the text as completely isolated from the codex in which it is preserved, from the texts which surround it and from the culture which produced it.

In fact, with Busby we must question whether indeed we require editions at all, since according to him "any form of modern edition [is] by definition an anachronism" and an aberration. ¹⁹³ That's why we must take this methodological criticism further. I cannot agree with Dembowski that 'even the most anti-interventionist editor does not wish to produce a simple diplomatic transcription of a manuscript.'. ¹⁹⁴ After all, it all depends on the purpose for which the edition is produced. In this case, the main purpose of the edition is to disclose the contents of the codex to a worldwide audience of specialist medievalists, very few of whom may be able to gain direct access to the codex in question. Because each of them may have different questions and therefore use different methodologies, I feel that it is vital to keep intact as many intrinsic features as possible of the text as it is found in the manuscript.

2. DIPLOMATIC VERSUS CRITICAL

These considerations ultimately led to the decision to restrict the work to a diplomatic edition, combined with an English translation. A diplomatic edition, in essence, is a faithful representation of the texts and tables found in the manuscript, where the only interpretation done by the editor is in the transcription of the characters depicted in the manuscript to characters reproducible by modern word processing software and printing apparatus. A critical edition, on the other hand, even a relatively modern one, contains many more interventions by the hand of the editor. Capitalization will be adapted to modern practice. Some spelling will be altered, such as the changing of 'u', 'v' and 'w' to modern usage or the switching around of 'i' and 'j'.

¹⁹⁰ DEMBOWSKI 1993, 515.

¹⁹¹ DEMBOWSKI 1993, 531.

¹⁹² MERTENS 1994, 9

BUSBY 1999, 13, reiterated by Busby during the masterclass mentioned earlier.

¹⁹⁴ DEMBOWSKI 1993, p. 529.

Sometimes, obvious mistakes on the part of the copyist will be emended, and this is clearly an interpretative act. Equally importantly, punctuation will be introduced in order to aid the reader in the deconstruction of syntactical units and sentences. This is often an extremely subjective business in medieval texts. If there is punctuation already present, it is almost never consistent. 195 And where it is not present, many of the sentences will be quite ambiguous and open to interpretation. This applies especially to texts which include enumerations, such as many of the texts in the Astrological Calendar Manuscript contain. A list of recommended activities may for instance run like this: 'Good is building houses getting married speaking with lords and monarchs sending letters is bad'. We are now called upon to interpret the intended meaning of the text; whether only building houses is good and the rest bad; whether sending letters is bad but all the rest is good; or some kind of compromise in between. Modern punctuation would have to solve all these problems and ambiguities, leaving no trace of the mystery inherent in the text and leaving nothing to the interpretation of the reader. Thus the final critical edition is very much the product of decisions made by the editor. The research is always moving forward, however, and the choices an editor makes today can quickly become as outdated as yesterday's newspaper. As new avenues of research are opened up, information which was deemed irrelevant before may become essential. These are the reasons why I have wished to produce a strictly diplomatic edition.

3. Edition practices

When we look at editions of Middle Dutch artes texts, it appears that the terms 'diplomatic edition' and 'critical edition' enjoy a somewhat varied interpretation across the field. The amount of intervention by the editor can vary on a sliding scale from absolutely sparse to downright meddlesome, but the divide between diplomatic and critical has been placed in greatly differing places along that scale. The recent edition of Der vrouwen heimelijcheit by Orlanda Lie and Willem Kuiper does not proclaim whether their edition is diplomatic or critical, but a glance at the editorial principles instantly reveals that they chose to edit critically; silently solving abbreviations, adding punctuation and even separating words that were written as compounds in the medieval manuscript. 196 The Werkgroep Utrechtse Neerlandici, in 1983, termed their edition of Eyn corte decleringhe deser spere critical, having modernized spelling and capitalization, adapted word separations, and silently solved abbreviations. ¹⁹⁷ Furthermore, they have emended their text in fifty places and provided an extensive list of word explanations and annotations. Indeed quite a lot of intercession between the reader and the text as originally found in the manuscript, thus the appointment of the edition as critical is well placed. However, Weiler et al. in 1989 called their edition of 's-Gravenhage KA XXVIII 'strictly diplomatic', although spelling and capitalization, punctuation and abbreviations had all been adapted to modern usage, thus

¹⁹⁵ Jacqueline Wessel is in the process of conducting an investigation into punctuation practices in medieval manuscripts. Dissertation at the University of Amsterdam expected 2016.

¹⁹⁶ LIE/KUIPER 2011.

¹⁹⁷ WERKGROEP UTRECHT 1983, 34-37.

taking away many opportunities for interpretation by the reader. 198 The only major difference from the first example is the absence of word explanations and annotations, but these are after all exterior to the text. Outside the realm of artes literature, the same confusion reigns: a 1996 allegedly diplomatic edition of Mariken van Nimwegen by Dirk Coigneau has been similarly redacted as regards spelling, capitalization, punctuation and even emendations. ¹⁹⁹ All in all, it is clear that any editorial interventions force the editor's perspective on the reader, thereby guiding them along a certain interpretative path. Needless to say, this is not always a bad thing, because frequently a text requires interpretation in a specific way in order to be properly understood. The editor, who has intimately worked with the original manuscript and studied text and context in detail, is often best equipped to direct such exegesis and provide relevant commentary. The problem arises when descriptions and definitions are not clearly delineated. Then again, it may not be much of a problem since the practice has been for the past decades at least to account for the changes and emendations to the text. A researcher is therefore nearly always in a position to know whether the edition in front of her/him is useful to them or not. Ultimately, however, it would be best if the distinction between a very sec diplomatic edition and a heavily edited critical one should be strictly observed.

4. THE DIPLOMATIC EDITION

The diplomatic edition accompanying this thesis has been kept as 'clean' and basic as possible. No emendations have been made, no spelling has been altered. The only commentary is philological, pointing out medieval emendations or marginalia, and without deliberately changing anything. That being said, some reservations must be made. Not all characters employed by medieval scribes can be unambiguously translated to a modern character. Reading a medieval manuscript is always a decoding process, and interpretation cannot be avoided entirely. However, if interpretational acts can be standardized as much as possible, the dependence on the preferences of the editor can be limited to a minimum.

In 1994, prompted by similar considerations, a new series of editions was initiated by a collective of literary historians specializing in Middle Dutch. ²⁰⁰ These scholars signaled the need for comprehensive editions of miscellany manuscripts, and formulated a set of principles to guide future editors in the series. Their aim has been to provide a model for strictly diplomatic editions which will be useful for many kinds of methodologies. Since then, over a dozen editions have seen the light of day, and the series has been well established in the field. I have decided to model my edition of UB MS XXIII A 8 in accordance with this series' guidelines, because I am in total agreement with the editorial principles they express.

5. Translation into English

¹⁹⁹ COIGNEAU 1996, 49.

¹⁹⁸ WEILER 1989, 139.

²⁰⁰ MERTENS 1994.

A translation into any modern language poses many of the same difficulties. Spelling may not be an issue, but the problems of punctuation are very much present. Many ambiguities will inevitably be lost in translation. If we wish to unlock this Middle Dutch text to an English speaking audience, however, some kind of compromise must be achieved. The decision finally reached was primarily informed by the target audience the introduction was written for. The aim is to introduce a Middle Dutch astrological manuscript to a general (possibly English-speaking) audience, without a background in historical astrology, and with little or no experience in reading Middle Dutch, while at the same time making the manuscript available to research. In order to present a focus for the concepts introduced in the various chapters, and also in order to provide examples of the types of writings found in such a volume, it was vital to offer some version of the texts in the manuscript. However, a critical edition of the Middle Dutch text would still have presented insurmountable difficulties to an English-speaking reader. To a specialized scholar of Middle Dutch, however, there are many advantages of having a diplomatic edition instead of a critical one. By considering only the diplomatic edition, they can get as close as possible to the original text (without actually traveling to Amsterdam) and possibly include it in their own research. By comparing it to the English translation, the researcher can find out how the translator has interpreted the medieval text, and see whether their own linguistic judgment is in agreement or not. For the editor/translator, the advantage is that the text can be freely paraphrased and need not stick absolutely to the exact wording of the text, because anyone requiring the exact wording can refer to the diplomatic edition.

6. EDITORIAL PRINCIPLES

The following contains the text of the manuscript Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam, ms. XXIII A 8, diplomatically transcripted in accordance with the transcription guidelines of the series "Middeleeuwse Verzamelhandschriften uit de Nederlanden" (Medieval Miscellanies from the Low Countries). ²⁰¹ In some cases, however, additional or deviating rules have been applied. These have been justified below. Because this edition is intended as part of a Research Master Thesis and not, initially, for publication, guidelines 1-14 (which elaborate on the requirements for publication) have been passed over.

15. Transcription

15.3 The guidelines prescribe that a double ii should be transcribed as ij. This does not occur anywhere in the manuscript.

15.8 Capital letters have been rendered as such, according to the guidelines. In nearly every case, capital letters in this manuscript are also touched with red ink. However, because this has not been consequently implemented by the medieval rubricator, the red touch-ups have not been functionally interpreted in this edition but are shown as found.

18. Punctuation

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²⁰¹ MERTENS 1994.

18.1 Differentiation between comma's (,) and full stops (.) would require too much interpretation. All such punctuation marks have therefore been rendered as full stops.

19. Rubrics

The guidelines require that "all color differences which are intended to highlight or structure text, are displayed in the transcription". ²⁰² In published editions, colors are rarely available to the editor. However, since this edition will be published solely on the internet, I have decided to display the red and blue ink of lombards and other letters, especially since it will be easier to read the calendar this way, and to see the differences between the first and the last quire.

19.1 Two types of rubrication appear in this manuscript: letters and characters are either written entirely in red or blue, or they have been touched with red ink to make them stand out. This last happens frequently (but not in every case) with capitals letters and headings. In this edition the letters and characters which have been written entirely in color are rendered in **bold** red, whereas the letters which have only been touched with red are in roman (but are still red). This keeps the different systems of rubrication intact, which may become important to certain types of interpretation.

19.2 The alternating colors of the lombards (which function as initials) have been shown as in the original. Their height has been maintained wherever possible throughout the edition. The reason for this is their structuring function.

20. Line, column and page allocation

Each page in the manuscript has been given its own page in the edition.

Following the guidelines, line numbering in the left margin (which includes headings and inscriptions) starts anew on each folium. In contrast to the guidelines, line numbering in the right margin, which starts anew with each separate text in the manuscript, also includes headings and inscriptions. This allows for easy reference to the headings and inscriptions as well as the lines in the texts. To avoid confusion, the first line of each separate text is also numbered.

Tables have not been included in the line numbering.

The calendar has been treated slightly differently. Lines have been numbered anew on each folium, however the heading has not been included this time. It would be confusing if the number of the line did not correspond with the day of the month. Line numbering in the right margin has been omitted, because it would unnecessarily clutter the page which already has so many columns and numbers.

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²⁰² MERTENS 1994, 20.

20.3 Fol. 24r is the only text page with two columns instead of one. According to the guidelines, they are referenced as column 'a' and 'b' (for left and right). The calendar columns are also referenced by fol. and column letter, a-i.

21. Text structure

In the transcription, separate texts which appear on the same page have been separated by a blank line. Separate paragraphs within the zodiologia have not been treated as separate texts, and have thus not been separated by a blank line, which is consistent with the situation in the codex itself. Blank lines which appear within the texts in the manuscript have been maintained.

7. ABBREVIATIONS

In the chart below the abbreviations occurring in the manuscript are listed with their solutions, along with one example of each. Solutions are based on full forms from the near context wherever possible.

Main text hand

1. Apostrophe

```
For
                   in w'den (1r8) werden
           er
                   in sagitta'i<sup>9</sup> (1v table) Sagittarius
           r
                   in Oct' (9re2) Octave
           ave
           inte
                   in s' (9re2) sinte
           essoer in conf' (9re5) confessoer
                   in he'mijt (9re10) heremijt
           isscop in b' (10re1) bisscop
                   in felicita' (10re7) felicitatis
                   in Q'rijn (10re30) Quirijn
           ui
                   in M'cus (10vf25) Marcus
           ar
                   in v' (11re6) voer
           oer
                   in ag'cole (14re27) agricole
           ostoli in ap' (14re30) apostoli
```

2. Overhead horizontal line

```
For de in en (1r4) en de
n in salmē (1r2) salmen
m in pelegrīmaedse (2r16) pelegrimmaedse
```

3. Contraction by means of an overhead diaeresis

For	a telaere	in mr (9re8) martelaere
	aeus	in pp (9re12) paeus
	arti	in mris (9re22) martiris
	osto	apli (9re24) apostoli
	ree	in pster (9ve19) preester
	ma	in thos (13ve11) thomas

4. Contraction by means of a full stop

For scop in bis. (9re26) bisscop cop in biss. (9re29) bisscop

5. Overhead curl

For re in rechteñ (1r6) rechteren

ri in Cap~cornus (5r10) Capricornus

ndu in secus (14ve2) secundus

6. Symbol for et

For et in [...] c[...] (1r24) et cetera

7. P crossed by a line

For er in ppetua (10re7) p*er*petua

8. 'Pig's tail' abbreviation²⁰³

For etera in [...] c[...] (1r24/5r23/6v20/15v11/) et cetera

9. Superscript t

For eit in blinth^t (22r3) blintheit

10. Superscript a

For gili in Vi^a (11ve28) Vigilia

11. Superscript o

For ensi in ass^o (12vf15) ass*ensi*o

tio in concep^o (14ve8) concep*tio*

12. Superscript s

For vita in nati^s (13re8) nativitas

13. Reverse c

For on in cf' (13re6) confessoer

14. The 9-symbol / the ⁹-symbol

For us in sagitta'i⁹ (1v table) sagittarius

15. Suspension by means of a long s crossed by a line

For eid in vors (8r20) vorseid

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 $^{^{203}}$ As described by KWAKKEL 2003, p. 233-34.

Second hand (fols 15r-v)

1. Apostrophe

For r in meiste' (15r2) meister

er in wed' (15r8) wed*er*

2. Overhead horizontal line

For de in en (15r1) en de

n in yemāt (15r4) yemant

3. Overhead curl

For re in geboeñ (15r12) gebo*re*n

4. 'Pig's tail' abbreviation

Forem in It[...] (15v11) Item

Third hand (fol. 24r)

1. 'Pig's tail' abbreviation

Fortem in I[...] (24r1) Item

2. Symbol for et

For et in siech[...] (24re1) siechet

3. Overhead horizontal line

For n in maē (24r2) maen

Front inside cover

Regrettably, I have not been able sufficiently to describe the abbreviations used on the front inside cover. Many of them were too badly faded to make out, and by the time I discovered this, it was too late to ask again for the help of Tom de Schepper (who helped me decipher this page in the first place). Rather than give an incomplete and possibly faulty interpretation, I have decided to omit descriptions of the abbreviations and include an image of this page instead.



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DIPLOMATIC EDITION delivered by Irene Meekes - van Toer

XXIII A 8

Sanct° Domini LXXXVI
seriem nr|3606
Sanctum ineternuum V
liber Dominicatus V

pater noster. Finit]

Corp*or*a sana [*et*] fortia que m*u*lto spe longi spacij p*er*seuere*n*t salub*ri*a q*uo*tie*n*s inf*ir*ma[*rum*] appropinq*ua*b*u*nt p*er*iculo *et* p*raeter*ib*u*nt Re*sponsorium*. sic esto. am*en*.

Q inte d*omi*ni M° IIII LXXXXV
[Linus] [was] [XV]
Liber dominicatus V
[
[appro]

	POCTAS secht dat III dage sijn int	+	1
	iaer dan en salmen niet laten. Als die		
	yrste dach van april. die yrste dach van		
	oest en <i>de</i> iaersauont ¶Nu merckt		
5	wie dat latet opten XIIII dach in meert		5
	inden rechteren arm of opten XI dach in		
	den luchteren arm in april in april die		
	mach nummer blint werden Ende we dat		
	latet inden lesten einde van meymaent		
10	den IIII of den V dach die en sal nummer		10
	den rede hebben die sal ende mach in bei		
	den armen laten \P Die ader int voer		
	hoeft is goet gelaten tegent singen		
	ende dat pipen inden hoefde ende dat clop		
15	pen vanden aderen ende den ogen binnen		15
	anden hoken salmen laten om der ogen		
	clairheit wed <i>er</i> te krigen. En <i>de</i> tege <i>n</i>		
	dat singen ende pipen ende cloppen inden		
	Die aderen inden wijnbrawen teghen		
20	alle ogen smitten Dit sint III		20
	dage in welcke men niet laten en		
	sal. Als jaersauont Onser vrouwen		
	auont inden meert Ende sinte peter		
	inden oest <i>et cetera</i>		

¹r1 Marginalium: '+'-sign in right margin. Possibly used to signify new text.

¹r4 Symbol: paragraph marker; henceforth represented by a Pilcrow Sign: ¶.

¹r12 An open space about the length of one word occurs between laten and ¶Die.

+

¶	Dat gul den getal	I				>	IN	IIA	VIII	XI	×	IX	IIX	XIII	XIIII	XV	XVI	XVII	XVIII	XIX	
¶	Aries	ξ	0	е	v	m	b	S	i		q	f	Z	n	С	v	k	9	S	g	A
"	taurus	_	р	f	Z	n	С	t	k	9	r	g	Σ	О	d	X	1	A	t	h	G
	taurus	9	q	g	Σ	О	d	v	1	A	S	h	ξ	р	e	y	m	b	v	i	
	taurus	A	r	h	ξ	р	e	X	m	b	t	i		q	f	Z	n	С	X	k	
	gemini	b	S	i		q	f	У	n	С	v	k	9	r	g	Σ	О	d	У	1	
	gemini	С	t	k	9	r	g	Z	О	d	Х	1	A	S	h	ξ	р	e	Z	m	
¶	cancer	d	v	1	A	S	h	Σ	р	e	У	m	b	t	i		q	f	Σ	n	
"	cancer	e	X	m	b	t	i	ξ	q	f	Z	n	С	v	k	9	r	g	ξ	0	
	cancer	f	У	n	С	v	k	_	r	g	Σ	0	d	X	1	A	s	h	_	р	
	leo	g	Z	О	d	X	1	9	S	h	ξ	р	e	у	m	b	t	i	9	q	
	leo	h	Σ	р	e	у	m	A	t	i	_	q	f	Z	n	c	v	k	A	r	
	virgo	i	ξ	q	f	Z	n	b	v	k	9	r	g	Σ	0	d	X	1	b	S	
	virgo	k	_	r	g	Σ	О	С	X	1	A	S	h	ξ	p	e	У	m	С	t	
\P	libra	1	9	S	h	ξ	p	d	у	m	b	t	i		q	f	Z	n	d	V	/
	libra	m	A	t	i		q	e	Z	n	c	v	k	9	r	g	Σ	0	e	X	G
	scorpio	n	b	V	k	9	r	f	Σ	0	d	X	1	A	S	h	ξ	p	f	у	
	scorpio	О	С	X	1	A	S	g	ξ	p	e	у	m	b	t	i		q	g	Z	
	scorpio	p	d	у	m	b	t	h		q	f	Z	n	c	V	k	9	r	h	Σ	
\P	sagitta <i>rius</i>	q	e	Z	n	c	v	i	9	r	g	Σ	0	d	X	1	A	S	i	یح	G
	sagittarius	r	f	Σ	0	d	X	k	A	S	h	بح	p	e	у	m	b	t	k		Ψ
	cap <i>ri</i> corn <i>us</i>	S	g	یک	p	e	у	1	b	t	i		q	f	Z	n	c	V	1	9	
	cap <i>ri</i> corn <i>us</i>	t	h		q	f	Z	m	c	v	k	9	r	g	Σ	О	d	X	m	A	
\P	Aquarius	v	i	9	r	g	Σ	n	d	X	1	A	S	h	یک	p	e	у	n	b	G
	Aquarius	X	k	A	S	h	ξ	О	e	у	m	b	t	i	_	q	f	Z	0	c	Ф
	Pi scis	у	1	b	t	i		p	f	Z	n	c	v	k	9	r	g	Σ	p	d	
	Piscis	Z	m	c	V	k	9	q	g	Σ	О	d	X	1	b	S	h	ξ	q	e	
	Pi scis	Σ	n	d	X	1	A	r	h	ξ	p	e	у	m	c	t	i		r	f	

¶Taurus

¶leo

¶capricornus

¶aquarius

¶piscis

In alle desen teike nen ist guet bomen paten wijngarden planten ende seyen

¹v Marginalium: '+'-sign in upper left margin. Possibly used to signify new text.

¹v Symbol: ligature Gt. Significance unknown. Henceforth represented by &

¹v Sketch: two lines running from Taurus and from pisces to a Left Curly Bracket encompassing the column on the right.

¹v Damage: edge of parchment eaten into, possibly by mice. Down the length of the list, from Taurus to pisces.

	Aries. Die weder.	1
	Ries is een teyken ende comt uten oesten. en <i>de</i> is droge en <i>de</i> heit. Soe ist	
5	goet gaen int oesten. so ist guet te werken alle	5
	dinc mit vuer guet ist laten guet ist	
	beginnen alle dinck die een cort eyn	
10	de sullen hebbe <i>n</i> . men en sal geen arce die nemen totten hoefde. men en	10
10	sal geen huese beginnen te timmeren	10
	men en sal in geen huese varen mitter	
	woen. en <i>de</i> genen dranck neme <i>n</i> . Tis	
	guet bruloft te maken ende nye kleder	
15	te snyden. tis guet breue en <i>de</i> baeden	15
	te seynden. en <i>de</i> pelegri <i>m</i> maedse te wa <i>n</i>	
	deren. Tis quaet seyen of paten	
	Taurus. die stier.	
	haurus comt uten suden. soe ist	
20	goet alle dinck te beginnen die	20
	een lanck eynde als huese te bouwen	
	in huese varen. Echtscap te stedigen.	
	tis boese beginnen te striden. bistu eers	
	ten opter banen. soe v <i>er</i> lesestu T is	
25	guet boemen paten ende wijngaer	25

²r Marginalium: cursive script at top of page, illegible due to the use of reagent; possibly explaining the zodiologium.

	Mer quaet ist toe beginnen dingen		
	die een cort eynde sullen hebben. Ar		
	cedie mogestu wal nemen. mer en		
	laet niet anden armen noch en bade		
5	niet. ende en begint geen dinck mit	30	
	water. mer du mogest wal dage		
	holden		
	<u>¶Gemini</u>		
	emini die comt uten westen		
10	die is heit ende lieflick. alst tey	35	
	ken dair in is soe ist guet vrent		
	scap te maken ende eendrachticheit		
	mer alle dese dingen en saltu niet		
	stedigen di en comt een beter tey		
15	ken. Du machs wal striden ende vech	40	
	ten. mer niet en laet anden armen		
	mer guet ist te varen vten enen hue		
	se int ander. en neme geen arcedie		
	anden armen. guet ist pelegrimmaed		
20	se te gaen. ende dage te hoelden mit	45	
	heren ende mit vorsten. boden ende breue		
	machstu wal seynden. sie u <i>er</i> weruen		
	oer dingen. ende wattu beginnes		
	mit water dat wort guet. Mer en		

	pote geen boemen. noch en bou	50
	wet geen huese. en de en neem geen	
	arcedie.	
	¶Cancer. die kreeft.	
5	ancer is guet. Soe ist guet	
	striden of kiuen. guet ist	55
	wanderen int noerden. goet ist	
	maken alle dingen die to water	
	horen als watermolen. mer en	
10	nemet geen arcedie totter herten	
	noch en maket genen hilick. en	60
	tymmert geen nye huys. noch	
	en wercket geen dinck mit vuer	
	en pote geen boeme breue en <i>de</i>	
15	boden machstu wal seynden. goet	
	ist laten inden armen.	65
	<u>¶Leo. die leuwe.</u>	
	eo comt vit den oesten hie	
	is heit ende droghe. soe machs	
20	tu wal spreken mit heren. ende	
	mit vorsten. du mogest w <i>er</i> ken	70
	alle dinck die een kort eynde sul	
	len hebben. du machs wal striden	

	ende vechten ende dage holden baden	
	ende breue mogestu wal seinde <i>n</i> .	
	du mogest wal bome paten tis	75
	guet echtschap te maken. ende du	
5	salte arcedie nemen totter magen	
	totter herten ende tott <i>er</i> leuer.	
	Mer en laet niet anden armen	
	noch en bade niet. noch en tymmer	80
	geen nye huys.	
10	¶Virgo. die ionfer	
	irgo is colt ende droege. soe	
	ist guet te doen alle dinc	
	mitter eerden als seyen boeme	85
	paten ende gaerden te planten	
15	Tis guet alle dinc te wercken	
	dattu begeers. tis goet wedu	
	wen te nemen te wiue. tis oic	- 0
	guet huese tymmeren ende in huse	90
	varen te wonen. du mogest echt	
20	schap maken. mer tis quaet ionc	
	frouwen te nemen. Want sie	
	crigen ducke kleyn kinder. ende doet	o =
	geen dingen die mit vuer ge	95

schien moten. noch en stride of en kiue niet en bade oic niet noch en snyde gheen nye cleder ende en laet niet anden armen. 5 Mer du mogest wal dag holden 100 ¶Libra. die wage ibra soe ist goet wanderen 1 ✓ int oesten om komenschap dan ist goet laten daer van wer 10 destu gesont. du machs beginnen 105 al dinck die een cort eynde sul len hebben. du machs in huse varen te wonen. mer dit en is dat beste teyken niet. ende 15 en arcedie die ogen niet. ende 110 huede di voer alle dingen die mitter eerden geschien. noch du en salst geen dage holden noch niet strijden. ende en seye of 20 en pate of en timmer niet want 115 ten diet di al nie ¶Scorpio. die scorpioen

⁴r7 Marginalium: cursive script in right margin, illegible due to the use of reagent; possibly indicating a special interest in the sign of Libra. Cf. fol. 20r, where Libra is again annotated.

corpio dair vindestu ynne	
meer boesheiden dan goe	
des. du machs alleen striden ende	120
vechten. ende du moeges medecyn	
nemen. mer en holt geen dage	
vaer niet in huesen mitter woen	
en laet niet en seyet geen korn	
en pate geen bome noch en ba	125
de niet. en coept noch en v <i>er</i> coept	
niet golt of siluer noch peerde	
en snydet geen nye kled <i>er</i> en <i>de</i>	
en trect der niet an noch en be	
gint niet te wande <i>re</i> n pelegri <i>m</i>	130
maedse te water noch te lande	
vliet dit teyken wair du kans	
¶Sagittarius. de schutte.	
agittarius. In dit teyken	
vindestu voel guets. du	135
mogest wal maken vrentscap	
onder viande. tis guet hilick te	
maken mer en brengt sie niet	
te hoep te bedde. of die vrouwe	
en kriget gene kinder. <mark>D</mark> u	140
	meer boesheiden dan goe des. du machs alleen striden ende vechten. ende du moeges medecyn nemen. mer en holt geen dage vaer niet in huesen mitter woen en laet niet en seyet geen korn en pate geen bome noch en ba de niet. en coept noch en vercoept niet golt of siluer noch peerde en snydet geen nye kleder ende en trect der niet an noch en be gint niet te wanderen pelegrim maedse te water noch te lande vliet dit teyken wair du kans Sagittarius. de schutte. agittarius. In dit teyken vindestu voel guets. du mogest wal maken vrentscap onder viande. tis guet hilick te maken mer en brengt sie niet te hoep te bedde. of die vrouwe

	mogest wal laten anden armen	
	ende wanderen oestwart om komen	
	scap bade ende wercke al dinck	
	die mit vuer geschien. striden	
5	ende vechten te beginnen is goet	145
	Mer en neemt geen arcedie	
	en doet niet mitter eerden. erue	
	ende peerde te gelden dat is goet	
	Capricornus. die bocshorn	
10	Apricornus die brenget die	150
	vrucht ut <i>er</i> eerden dan soe	
	mogestu seyen paten ende gaen	
	int noerden om goet om komen	
	scap. dan ist goet te w <i>er</i> ken alle	
15	dingen die en cort eynde sulle <i>n</i>	155
	nemen. mer en gaet niet int	
	sueden. en <i>de</i> en wijf. tis goet laten	
	En neem geen arcedie anden be	
• •	nen. niet en bade huedet di voir	4.40
20	al dinc die mit vuer geschien	160
	niet en kiue noch en holde dage	
	En koept geen peerde offte	
	erue <i>et cetera</i>	

	¶Aquarius.	
	quarius comt vten suyt	165
	westen. soe machstu bou	
	wen huese seyen poten. en <i>de</i> in	
5	huese varen te wonen. da <i>n</i> mo	
	gestu wal laten anden aderen	
	en <i>de</i> al dinck die een cort eynde	170
	sullen hebben kiuen striden ende	
	dage holden en is guet noch	
10	quaet. du en salst genen langen	
	wech wanderen. du mogest	
	wal copen ende vercopen wattu wils	175
	an runderen of anderen dieren	
	mit vier voeten breue ende boden	
15	mogestu wal seynden. bruloft	
	te maken is guet. mer behende	
	dinge te oefenen is bose	180
	want wie dat is en beholt niet	
	Piscis. Die visch.	
20	ischis comt vten noerde <i>n</i>	
	en <i>de</i> is tot voel dinghen	
	guet, du mogest dan bouwen	185

5 10	nye huese. ende dair in varen te woenen. du mogest wal seyen poten ende wijf nemen. du moe gest wal doen al dinck die van waters wegen geschien als di ken grauen ende watermoelen te maken geuen ende nemen. Mer du en salte dijn voete niet arce dien. ende du en salst geen dinck doen mit vuer du mogest wal striden ende vechten ende daghe holden copen of vercoepen erue peerde of ander dinck. ende ten is goet of quaet laten anden ar men.		190 195 200
13	men.		200
	Du salt weten. Dat inden iaer sijn XXXII dagen die te mael quaet sijn. die meisters vander	#	1
20	schrift schriuen. Soe welck men sche inder dagen vorseid enich lit ter aderen liet. die most bynnen den iaer steruen. alsoe veer alst		5

	geen guet teike <i>n</i> en is. En <i>de</i> wort	
	een kint geboren. dat en mach	
	niet lange leuen. en <i>de</i> leefdet lan	10
	ge het bliuet altoes arm. Ende ne	
5	met een man een wijf si en leuen	
	beide niet lange noch mit vreden	
	ende leuen si lange si bliuen altoes	
	arm. Ende trect yemant in huese te	15
	wonen die en krigen geen ghe	
10	lucke. Wandert yemant yn vre	
	meden lande selden of niet en ko	
	met hi wed <i>er</i> te huys. en <i>de</i> wattu ko	• •
	pes of vercopes dat en diet di niet	20
	Dese daghe. saltu kennen	
∞	bi desen teyken inden kalendier	
#	Voert meer saltu weten dat die	1
	vren begint ander middernacht.	
	Item LX mynuten maect een vre Ende	
	XXIIII vren make <i>n</i> ene <i>n</i> natuerlic	
20	ken dach ¶Item XVIII puncten	5
	maken een minute	

⁶v15 *Marginalium: symbol marking the Parisian Days in the calendar, left margin. Henceforth represented by a Lemniscate (infinity symbol):* ∞.

⁶v16 Marginalium: +-sign surrounded by four dots in left margin. Possibly used to signify new text.

⁶v20 Significant indentation between dach and ¶Item.

⁶v20 Emendation: first X crossed out, emending XXVIII to XVIII.

	Hier nae siet men wair toe die XII teyken op dese tafel.		1
	¶Nota		
5	Aries is goet droge ende warm hem dient hoeft ende aensicht Taurus. is bose kolt ende droge hem dient die hals	+	5
10	Gemini. is bose kolt ende nat hem dient die scholderen ende armen Cancer is middelmaet kolt ende nat. hem dient die borst. Leo. is quaet. Ende hem dient die		10
15	rugghe ende sijden Virgo. is bose warm ende nat hem dient die leynden. Ende die buyc ende dat ingeweide		15

	L1bra. is guet warm ende nat.	
	hem dient die leynden	
	Scorpio. is bose kolt en <i>de</i> nat hem dient die scheemde.	20
5	Sagittarius. is guet warm ende nat. hem dient die hopen ende dien	
	Capricornus. is bose kalt en <i>de</i> droge. hem dient dat au <i>er</i> ste van den benen.	25
10	Aquarius. die is goet ende kolt. hem dient die knyen ende die been beneden.	
15	Piscis. is middelmaet. kalt ende nat. hem dienen die vote mit horen to behoren.	30
	Item wanneer men die iaren ons heren deilen mach in geliken vier delen so ist een scolt iair. ende comt tallen vier iaren	1

Die weten wil. in wat teiken die maen alle dage is 5 die sal nemen den seluen roden boekstaf. die bauen den sonnen 5 dages litteren stiet int kalender ende soken dan in der tafelen den seluen boec staf. ondert gulden 10 getal des iaers. ende soe vint he inden anbeginne. wat teiken den 10 boekstaue dienen. Ende op wat dage dat hi is inder manen. **TDie ontfenisse.** des nyen 15 lichtes te weten. Soe salmen soe ken dat gulden getal des iaers int kalendier. dat wijst alle iaer 15 ende alle maent dach vren mynu ten ende puncten der ontfencknis 20 ¶Inden iair van XIIII^C ende VIII doe was g sonnendach 20 ¶Item na den iaer vorseid. so was die m III aureus numerus ende dat omme giet tot XIX iaren 25 [

⁸r Marginalium: +-sign in right margin. Possibly used to signify new text.

⁸r12 Marginalium: +-sign in right margin. Possibly used to signify new text.

⁸r14 Emendation: t crossed out, emending soekent to soeken.

⁸r20 Symbol: an uncial m, possibly used as a capital letter. From the context, perhaps an abbreviation for 'getal'?Cf. fol. 20v22.

⁸r Marginalium: three short lines of cursive script in the bottom right corner of the page, illegible due to the use of reagent. Possibly expanding on computus information.

+								
¶sondager litter		A	b	c	d	e	f	g
	I	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VII	VII	VII
	II	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	V
	III	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX	VIII	VIII
	IIII	VIII	VIII	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII
	V	VI	VI	VI	VI	V	V	V
	VI	IX	IX	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII
	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII	VII	VI	VI
	VIII	X	X	X	IX	IX	IX	IX
	IX	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VII
	X	VII	VII	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI
	XI	IX						
	XII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VII	VII	VII	VII
	XIII	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	VI	V
	XIIII	IX						
	XV	VII						
	XVI	VI	VI	VI	V	V	V	V
	XVII	IX	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII	VIII
	XVIII	VII	VII	VII	VII	VI	VI	VI
	XIX	X	X	IX	IX	IX	IX	IX
¶au <i>er</i> dag	<u>he</u>	Ι	II	Ш	IIII	V	VI	

KL Januarius.

	∞	XIX	A	A	iaersdach	XXXI	IX	XIIII
		VIII	b	b	Octave sinte ians	VI	XV	\mathbf{V}
			c	c	Octave sinte ians			
		XVI	d	d	Octave alre kinder	II	LIX	XIII
5	∞	V	e	e	Simon confessoer	XV	XLI	XIIII
			f	f	dertien dach			
	∞	XIII	g	g		ШІ	XIII	XIII
	∞	II	h	A	Valeriaen m <i>artelae</i> r	XXIIII	XIII	Ш
			i	b				
10		X	k	c	pauwel he <i>re</i> mijt	XIII	XII	XII
			l	d	drie coninge			
	₽	XVIII	m	e	Iohan p <i>aeus</i>	IX	XXI	II
	So	VII	n	f	Octave dertienden	XXII	II	XII
	Sol in aquario		0	g	ponciaen martelaer			
15	1 20	XV	p	A	Maurus abt	VIII	XI	I
	ца	IIII	q	b	Marcelli paeus	VI	V	X
	rio		r	c	Anthonij monachi			
		XII	S	d	Prisce virginis	XIX	XXXIIII	I
		I	t	e	Marij <i>et</i> Marthe	XV	XLII	XIX
20			V	f	Fabiani et sebastiani			
	∞	IX	X	g	agneet ionfer	ШІ	XXIII	XVIII
			y	A	Vincentijn martiris			
		XVII	Z	b	Emerenciane	XXIIII	VII	VIII
		VI	Σ	c	thimotei apostolis	XIII	XIII	XVIII
25			ξ	d	sinte pauwel			
		XIIII	_	e	Policarp bisscop	L	XXII	VIII
		III	9	f	Iohan bisscop	XXII	III	XVI
			A	g	Octave agneten			
		XI	b	A	Valerius biss <i>cop</i>	X	XVI	XII
30			c	b	Aldegunt ionfer			
		XIX	d	c	Ignacius bisscop	XVI	XXIIII	XV

⁹r Marginalium: three short lines of cursive script in the top right corner of the page; illegible due to the use of reagent. Possibly explaining Dies Aegyptiaci (symbolized in the calendar by Đ, see next page) or general use of the calendar.

⁹re2 Emendation: ians appears to be either written with a variant letter form of a or crossed out; the latter seems more likely as the actual octavo feast of St. John's would have been celebrated on January 3rd (where it is also placed).

KL februarius.

		VIII	e	d	Brigide ionf <i>er</i>	XIX	XXXV	VI	
			f	e	lichtmissen				
	∞	XVI	g	f	blasius bis <i>scop</i>	XIII	XLIII	XIIII	
		V	h	g	Philee m <i>artelae</i> r	IIII	XXV	V	
5			i	A	Agatha ionf <i>er</i>				
		XIII	k	b	Vedast m <i>artelae</i> r	XVII	VI	XIIII	
		II	1	c	Augulius bisscop	XIII	XV	Ш	
			m	d	Helena coninginne				
		X	n	e	Appollonia ionfer	I	XLVI	XVIII	
10	L.		0	f	Scolastica ionf <i>er</i>				
	Sc	XVIII	p	g	desiderius bisscop	XXII	II	Ш	
	Sol in pisce	VII	q	A	dorothea ionfer	X	XLVI	XII	
	<u>1 p</u> .		r	b	eulalia ionfer				
	isce	XV	S	c	valentij <i>n martelae</i> r	VI	XXII	II	
15	ICD	IIII	t	d	faustina ionfer	XIX	XXXVI	XI	
	∞		V	e	Iuliane ionfer				
	∞	XII	X	f	Polocronius bisscop	VIII	XXXVI	II	
		I	y	g	Simeon bisscop	XIIII	XXXVI	X	
			Z	A	sabijn p <i>ree</i> ster				
20		IX	Σ	b	eucharius confessoer	XVII	VIII	I	
			ξ	c	LXXIX martelaren				
		XVII	_	d	sinte peter	VIII	XVI	IX	
		VI	9	e	Vigilia	I	LVII	XVIII	Đ
			A	f	sinte mathias				
25		XIIII	b	g	Victorijn martelaer	XIIII	XXXIX	IX	
		III	c	A	Allexander bisscop	X	XLVII	XIIII	
			d	b	Leander bisscop				
		XI	e	c	Romaen abt	XXII	XXIX	VIII	
			:						

⁹vc29 It looks like the rubricator started on the letter f before realizing the month was already ended. The continued ruling of the calendar columns may have put him on the wrong track, as February only has 28 days.

KL marcius.

		XIX	f	d	Swidbert bisscop	XIX	XXXVII	XVI
		VIII	g	e	Simplicius martelaer	VIII	XIX	IX
			h	f	Celidonius martelaer			
		XVI	i	g	Lucie paeus	Ш	XXVII	XV
5		V	k	A	Focas martelaer	XVII	IX	VI
			1	b	Victor victoriaen			
		XIII	m	c	perpetua felicitatis	П	XX	$\mathbf{X}\mathbf{V}$
		II	n	d	philomeen	I	XXIX	V
	Ø		0	e	XL martelaren			
10	Sol in ariete	X	p	f	Allexander martelaer	XIIII	XL	Ш
	n a		q	g	gorgonius martelaer			
	i lc	XVIII	r	A	gregorius paeus	X	XLIX	Ш
	S	VII	S	b	macedonius preester	XXII	XXX	XIII
			t	c	XLVII m <i>artela</i> ren			
15	∞	XV	V	d	longijn m <i>artelae</i> r	XX	XXXIX	Ш
	∞	IIII	X	e	Herebert bisscop	VIII	XX	XI
			y	f	geertruyd ionfer			
	∞	XII	Z	g	Allexander bisscop	XXI	II	Ш
		I	Σ	A	iohan heremijt	VIII	X	XI
20			ξ	b	gutbert bisscop			
		IX		c	benedictus abt	\mathbf{V}	LII	II
			9	d	Pauwel bisscop			
		XVII	9	e	Victoriaen	П	XLII	X
		VI	A	f	pingmenius preester			
25			b	g	onse vrouwe			
		XIIII	c	A	ludger bisscop	XIIII	XXIII	X
		III	d	b		Ш	XIII	X
			e	c	Guntran coninc			
		XI	f	d	Eustachius abt	XXII	XIIII	
30			g	e	Quirijn martelaer			
		XIX	h	f	Balbina ionfer	XII	XXI	IX

KL Aprilis

		_	-						
			VIII	i	g	Theodora ionfer	XXI	III	VIII
				k	A	Nicecius bisscop			
			XVI	1	b	Theodosia ionfer	XXII	XI	XVI
			V	m	c	Ambrosius bis <i>scop</i>	\mathbf{V}	LIII	VII
5				n	d	Claudiaen confessoer			
			XIII	0	e	Firmij <i>n martelae</i> r	XVIII	XXXIIII	XVI
		∞	II	p	f	E gesippus	XIIII	XLIII	VI
				q	g	Celestijn p <i>aeus</i>			
			X	r	A	Maria van egipten	Ш	XIII	$\mathbf{X}\mathbf{V}$
10				S	b	Appollonius preester			
	1_		XVIII	t	c	Leo paeus	XXIII	XXXIII	V
	Sol in cancro.		VII	V	d	Zeno	XII	XIIII	XIIII
	l ir			X	e	Eufemia ionf <i>er</i>			
	1 CE	_	XV—	y	f	Tiburcius martelaer	VIII	XX	Ш
15	ıncı	∞	IIII	Z	g	Olimpiadis m <i>artelae</i> r	XX	IIII	XIII
	ŗ.			Σ	A	Decem XVII martelaren			
			XII	ξ	b	Anicetus paeus	Ш	XLVI	Ш
			I		c	Eleutherius bisscop	\mathbf{V}	LIIII	XII
				9	d	Thimon diaeck			
20			IX	A	e	Victor paeus	XVII	XXXVI	Ш
				b	f	Simon bisscop			
			XVII	c	g	Gaij p <i>aeus</i>	XIIII	XLIIII	XI
		$\P\infty$	VI	d	A	Georgien martelaer	Ш	XXVI	II
				e	b	Allexand <i>er martelae</i> r			
25			XIIII	f	c	Marcus ewangelist	XVI	VII	XI
			III	g	d	Cletus paeus	II	VI	I
				h	e	Antimis m <i>artelae</i> r			
			XI	i	f	Vitael m <i>artelae</i> r	XXIIII	LVII	X
			XIX	k	g	Peter martelaer	XIX	V	XVIII
30			VIII	1	A	Euprobius m <i>artelae</i> r	IX	XLVII	Ш

KL Maius

			m	b	philips ende iacob				
		XVI	n	c	Athanasius bis <i>scop</i>	\mathbf{V}	XXII	XVII	Ð
		V	0	d	shilgen cruys dach	XVIII	XXXVII	VIII	
			p	e	godehart bisscop				
5		XIII	q	f	hilarius bis <i>scop</i>	VII	XVIII	XVII	
	$\P\infty$	II	r	g	Iohan voer d latijnsche				
			S	A	Iuuenael m <i>artelae</i> r				
		X	t	b	Wyro bis <i>scop</i>	XVI	VIII	XVI	
			V	c	Gengulf bisscop				ini
10		XVIII	X	d	gordiaen m <i>artelae</i> r	XII	XVI	VI	Sol in ge <i>m</i> ini
		VII	y	e	Mamert bisscop	XXIIII	LVIII	XV	in S
			Z	f	pancraes m <i>artelae</i> r				ol j
		XV	Σ	g	seruaes bisscop	XII	VII	\mathbf{V}	S
		IIII	_	A	Victor martelaer	IX	XLVIII	XVIII	
15	∞		9	b	Ysidorus bis <i>scop</i>				
	$\P\infty$	XII	a	c	Peregrijn martelaer	XXII	XXX	\mathbf{V}	
	$\P\infty$	I	b	d	sirus conf <i>essoer</i>	XVIII	XXXVIII	XIII	
			c	e	Iohan bisscop et martelaer				
		IX	d	f	Potenciaen ionfer	VII	XX	IIII	
20			e	g	basilie ionf <i>er</i>				
		XVII	f	A	secundus martelaer	IIII	XXVIII	XII	
		VI	g	b	helena ionf <i>er</i>	XVI	XVII	III	
			h	c	desiderius bisscop				
		XIIII	i	d	Vrbaen paeus	IIII	L	XII	
25	∞	III	k	e	Beda preester	I		II	
			l	f	Augustijn bisscop				
		XI	m	g	Rogaciaen	XIII	XLI	XI	
			n	A	germaen bisscop				
		XIX	0	b	maximij <i>n</i> bis <i>scop</i>	IX	L		
30		VIII	p	c	felix paeus	XXII	XXXI	X	
			\mathbf{q}	d	Petronelle ionf <i>er</i>				

[hole]

KL Junius.

		XVI V	q r	e f	Nicomeet m <i>artelae</i> r Marcellij <i>n</i> en <i>de</i> pet <i>er</i>	XVIII VII	XXXIX XXI	XVIII
5		XIII II	s t v	g A b	Quirijn biss <i>cop</i> bonifaes biss <i>cop</i>	XX XVI	II XI	XVIII VIII
	\mathbb{T}^{∞}	X	x y z	c d e	Medart confessoer	ш	LII	XVII
10	\mathbb{q}_{∞}	XVIII VII	Σ ξ	f g	Primus ende feliciaen	I XIIII	I XLII	VII XVI
		XV IIII	9 9	A b c	barnabas apostel Odulph confessoer Felicula ionfer	XIX XXI	LI XXXII	VI XVI
15	Sol in cancro.	XII I	A b c	d e f	Valerius ende rufus Vitus ende modestus blasius bisscop	XXI XVII	XIIII XXII	XV XIIII
	<u>[0</u>	IX	d e f	g A b	allexius conf <i>essoer</i> marcus m <i>ar</i> celliae <i>n</i> geruaes p <i>ro</i> thaes	XX	IIII	V
20		XVII VI	g h i	c d e	Albaen m <i>artelae</i> r X dusent m <i>artelaren</i>	XVI IIII	XII LIIII	XIII
25		XIIII III	k l	f g	¶Vigilia sinte iohan baptist	XV XIII	XXXV XLIIII	XVI III
25		XI XIX	m n o	A b c	sinte lebuijn confessoer Iohan ende pauwel VIJ sleper	II XXII	III XXV	XII II
30		VIII XVI	p q r	d e f	benignus martelaer – Vigilia sinte peter ende pauwel pauwels hoechnis	XI VII	XXXIII XV	XV I

[hole]

¹¹vf3 Emendation: it looks as if the copyist started to write an X before realizing he needed to skip a line. The stroke is crossed out.

¹¹vf10 Emendation: it looks as if the copyist forgot an I and wrote it in in superscript.

KL Julius

		• MIIC	10							
		V	S	g	Octave sinte iohans	XX	V	X		
			t	A	onse vrou visi <i>tatio</i>					
		XIII	v	b	sinte thomas verheuen wert	VIII	XLVII	I		
		II	X	c	sinte mertens verheffinge	IIII	LV	XIX		
5		-	y	d						
		X	Z	e	Octave peter ende pauwel	XVII	XXXVIII	XVIII		
			$\mathbf{\Sigma}$	f	Wynnibald bisscop					
		XVIII	ξ	g	Kiliaen m <i>artelae</i> r	XIII	XLV	VIII		
		VII	_	A	Zeno m <i>artelae</i> r	II	XXVI	XVII		
10			9	b	Souen brueder					
		XV	A	c	sinte benedictus verheuen wert	XXII	XXV	VIII		
		IIII	b	d	Nabor en <i>de</i> felix	VI	XVI	XVI		ائد
			c	e	Margareet ionfer					Sol in leone.
		XII	d	f	Focas biss <i>cop</i>	XXII	LVIII	VII	Đ	lec
15		I	e	g	scheidinge d <i>er</i> apostelen	XX	VI	XV		in
	$\overline{\infty}$		\mathbf{f}	A	hilarij <i>n</i> monic					Sol
	∞	IX	g	b	theodosia ionfer	VIII	LVIII	VI		
			h	c	Frederic bisscop					
		XVII	i	d	arsenius monic	IIII	LVI	XIIII		
20		VI	k	e	sabijn m <i>artelae</i> r	XXII	et8	V		
			1	f	Braxedis ionfer					
		XIIII	m	g	maria magdalena	VI	XIX	XIIII	Đ	
		III	n	A	Appollinar bis <i>scop</i>	II	XIIII	IIII		
			0	b	cristian ionfer. Vigilia					
25		XI	p	c	sinte iacob apostel	XV	IX	XIII		
			\mathbf{q}	d	iacinct m <i>artelae</i> r					
		XIX	r	e	ermolaus preest <i>er</i>	XI	XVIII	III		
		VIII	S	f	panthaleon martelaer	XXIII	LIX	XII		
			t	g	Felix simplicius					
30		XVI	V	A	Abdon se <i>n</i> nes	XX	VIII	XI		
		V	X	b	germaen bisscop	VIII	XLV	XI		

¹²rg20 Instead of roman numerals, the copyist has written an 'et' symbol followed by what looks like an Arabian number 8. Significance unknown.

KL Augustus

			_							
				y	c	sinte peter				Đ
			XIII	Z	d	Steuen paeus	XII	XXXI	II	
			II	Σ ξ	e	Steuen martelaer	XVII	XXXIX	X	
				ξ	f	Iustijn preest <i>er</i>				
5			X	_	g	Oeswalt coninc	XVI	XXI	I	
				9	A	Sixtus m <i>artelae</i> r				
			XVIII	a	b	donaet bisscop	II	XIX	X	
			VII	b	c	Ciriacus martelaer	XV	X	XVIII	
				c	d	V igilia				
10			XV	d	e	sinte laurens	XI	XIX	XVIII	
			IIII	e	f	Tiburcius martelaer	XIIII		XVII	
				f	g	Euphus diaec				
		⊨	XII	g	A	ypolitus m <i>artelae</i> r	XIIII	XXIIII	VII	
		Sol in virgine.	I	h	b	V igilia	XII	L	VIII	
15		in		i	c	onse vrou ass <i>ensio</i>				
		νi	IX	k	d	Arnulph confessoer	VIII	XXII	XVI	
		<u>19</u>		1	e	octave laurens				
		ne.	XVII	m	f	agapitus m <i>artelae</i> r	XXI	XI	VII	
			VI	n	g	Magnus m <i>artelae</i> r	XVII	XXII	$\mathbf{X}\mathbf{V}$	
20				0	Ā	bernardus abt				
	$\P\infty$		XIIII	p	b	<i>pri</i> uatus bis <i>scop</i>	VI	III	VI	
	∞		III	q	c	Octave onser vrouwen	XIX	XII	$\mathbf{X}\mathbf{V}$	
				r	d	V igilia				
			XI	S	e	sinte bartolomeus	XV	IIII	V	
25			XIX	t	f		III	II	XIIII	
			VIII	V	g		XXIIII	XXXIIII	Ш	
				X	A					
			XVI	y	b	Augustijn bisscop	XII	LII	XIII	
			V	Z	c	sinte iohan [onthoeft]	VIII	XXXIII	Ш	
30				$\mathbf{\Sigma}$	d	Felix adauctus				
			XIII	ξ	e	Paulijn bisscop	XXI	XVI	XII	
						J 1				

KL September

		1							
		II	_	f	Egidius abt	VI	XXII	XI	
			9	g	Antonijn martelaer				
		X	A	A	Remaclus bisscop	XIX	V	II	Ð
			b	b	Marcellus martelaer				
5		XVIII	c	c	Herculaen bisscop	XV	XIII	X	
		VII	d	d	Magnus confessoer	Ш	LV	I	
			e	e	Euoraus bisscop				
ff		XV	f	f	onse vrou nativitas	XXIIII	III	IX	
		IIII	g	g	Gorgonius martelaer	XII	XLV	XVIII	
10			h	A	Hilarius paeus				
		XII	i	b	Protus ende iacinct	I	XVI	IX	
		I	k	c		XXI	XXXIIII	XVII	
			1	d	mateynbisscop				ra.
		IX	m	e	shilgen cruys dach	X	XVI	VIII	lib
15			n	f	Octave onser vrouwen				Sol in libra
		XVII	0	g	Lucie gemmiaen	VI	XXXIIII	XVI	Sol
	$-\infty$	VI	p	A	Lambert bisscop	XVII	VI	VII	
	$-\infty$		\mathbf{q}	b	Colubane confessoer				
		XIIII	r	c		VI	XLVII	XVI	
20		III	S	d	V igilia	Ш	XXV	VI	
			t	e	Matheus apostel				
		XI	V	f	mauricius m <i>artelae</i> r	XVI	XXXVII	XV	
			X	g	Tecla ionfer				
		XIX	y	A		XII	XLVI	V	
25		VIII	Z	b	Firmijn bisscop	I	XXVII	XIII	
			Σ	c	Cip <i>ri</i> aen en <i>de</i> iustij <i>n</i>				
		XVI	ξ	d	Cosmas damiaen	XXI	XXVI	IIII	
		V	_	e	Wenselaus coninc	X	XVII	XIII	
			9	f	sinte [mich]iel				
30		XIII	9	g	Iheronimus preester	XXII	LIX	Ш	

KL October.

	II	a	A	Remey bisscop	XIX	VII	XII	
		b	b	Leodegar bisscop				
	X	c	c	twe ewalden	VII	XVII	Ш	Đ
		d	d	Franciscus confessoer				
∞	XVIII	e	e	Appollinar m <i>artelae</i> r	Ш	XVII	XI	
	VII	f	f	Fidis ionfer	XVI	XXXIX	II	
		g	g	Marcus paeus				
	XV	h	A	Ragenfleet ionfer	XII	XLVII	X	
	IIII	i	b	Dyonijs martelaer	II	XIX	I	
		k	c	sinte victor martelaer				
	XII	1	d	sinte thomas verheffen	XIX	X	X	
	I	m	e	Cipriaen et felix	X	XVIII	XVIII	
Sol in		n	f	Theophilus bisscop				
	IX	0	g	Kalixtus paeus	XXIII		IX	
		p	A	CCC mauren				
Sc	XVII	q	b	Galle confessoer	XXIII	VIII	XVII	
110	VI	r	c	Florencius bisscop	VII	L	VIII	
2100		S	d	Lucas ewangelist				
en	XIIII	t	e	Ianua <i>r</i> ius martelaer	XX	XXXI	XVII	
	III	V	f	Quirijn martelaer	XVI	XL	VII	
		X	g	XJ dusent meechde				
	XI	y	A	Seuerus bisscop	V	XXII	XVI	
	XIX	Z	b	Seuerijn bis <i>scop</i>	I	XXX	VI	
	VIII	$\mathbf{\Sigma}$	c	Felix bisscop	XIIII	XI	XV	
		ξ	d	Crispij <i>n</i> crispiniae <i>n</i>				
	XVI	_	e	Amant bisscop	XX	XX	\mathbf{V}	
	V	9	f	Vigilia	XXIII	I	XIIII	
		A	g	sinte simon iude				
	XIII	b	A	Narciscus bisscop	XI	XLIII	\mathbf{V}	
	II	c	b	CC ende XX martelaren	VII	L	XIII	
		d	c	Quintijn martelaer				
	8 ¶Sol in Scorpioen	X XVIII XVIII XVIII XII I I Scorpioes XIIII XII XII XII XII XII XII	X X XVIII XVIII XVIII XVIII XVIII XVIII XVIII XVIII XVIII XXIIII XXIIIII XXIIII XXIIII	b b X	b b Leodegar bisscop X c c twe ewalden d d Franciscus confessoer XVIII e e Appollinar martelaer VII f f Fidis ionfer g g Marcus paeus XV h A Ragenfleet ionfer IIII i b Dyonijs martelaer k c sinte victor martelaer XII l d sinte thomas verheffen I m e Cipriaen et felix n f Theophilus bisscop IX o g Kalixtus paeus XVII q b Galle confessoer VI r c Florencius bisscop XVIII t e Ianuarius martelaer III v f Quirijn martelaer XIII t e Ianuarius martelaer III v f Quirijn martelaer XII y A Seuerus bisscop XIII ∑ c Felix bisscop ∀III ∑ c Felix bisscop ∀IIII D A Narciscus bisscop ∀IIII C D CC ende XX martelaren	b b Leodegar bisscop X c c twe ewalden d d Franciscus confessoer XVIII e e Appollinar martelaer III	b b Leodegar bisscop X c c twe ewalden d d Franciscus confessoer XVIII e e Appollinar martelaer XVIII f f Fidis ionfer g Marcus paeus XV h A Ragenfleet ionfer XII XLVII IIII i b Dyonijs martelaer XII l d sinte thomas verheffen I m e Cipriaen et felix x XVIII n f Theophilus bisscop IX o g Kalixtus paeus XVIII q b Galle confessoer VII v c Florencius bisscop VII r c Florencius bisscop XIII t e Ianuarius martelaer XIII t e Ianuarius martelaer XIII t e Ianuarius martelaer XIII y f Quirijn martelaer XIII y f Quirijn martelaer XIII x y A Seuerus bisscop VII XXXX VIII Σ c Felix bisscop XXIII XIIII XIII XXIII XIIII XIIII XIII XXIIII XIIII XIIII XIIII XXIIII XIIII XIIII XIIIII XXIIII XIIII XIIII XIIIIIII XXIIII XIIII XIIII XIIIIIIII	b b Leodegar bisscop X c c twe ewalden VII XVII III d d Franciscus confessoer XVIII e e e Appollinar martelaer III XVII XI SVIII f f Fidis ionfer XVI XXXIX II g g Marcus paeus XV h A Ragenfleet ionfer XII XLVII X IIII i b Dyonijs martelaer XII l d sinte thomas verheffen XIX X X I m e Cipriaen et felix X XVIII XVIII n f Theophilus bisscop IX o g Kalixtus paeus XXIII l XVIII IX p A CCC mauren XXIII t e Ianuarius martelaer XIII t e Ianuarius martelaer XIII t e Ianuarius martelaer XIII t e Ianuarius martelaer XX XXXII XVIII XX X XXIII VIII XVIII XX X X XIII III XX X X X XXIII VIII XVIII XX X XXIII XVIII XVIII XX X XXIII XVIII XVIII XX X XXIII XVIII XVIII XX X XXXII XVIII XX X XXXI XVIII XX X XXXI XVIII XX X X XXXI XVIIII XX X X XXX XXIII XXIII XX X X XXXI XVIIII XX X X XXXI XVIIII XX X X XXX XXXI XVIIII XX X X XXXI XXIII I XIIIII XX X XXIII XXIIII X XIIII XX X XXIII XXIIII X XIIII XX X XXIII XXIIII XX X XXXI XXIII I XIIIII XX X XXIII XXIIII X XIIII XX X XXIII XXIIII X XIIIII XX X XXIII XXIIII X XIIII XX X XXIII XXIIII X XIIIII XX X XX XXIII XXIIII XXIIII XX X XX

KL Nouember.

		X	e	d	Alle heligen	XXV	XXXIII	Ш	
			f	e	Alle sielen				
		XVIII	g	f	Hubertus bisscop	XVI	XLI	XII	
		VII	h	g	modesta ionfer	\mathbf{V}	XXIII	Ш	
5			i	A	felix preester				Ð
		XV	k	b	Leonard	I	XXXI	XI	
		IIII	l	c	willibrort bisscop	XIIII	XIII	П	
			m	d	vier gecroenden				
		XII	n	e	theodorus m <i>artelae</i> r	П	XLIIII	XII	
10	$-\infty$	I	0	f	martijn p <i>aeus</i>	XXIIII	III		0
			p	g	mertijn bisscop				ari
		IX	\mathbf{q}	A	Lebuyn confessoer	XI	XLIIII	X	gitt
			r	b	brictius bis <i>scop</i>				sa
		XVII	S	c	serapion m <i>artelae</i> r	VII	LII	XVII	in
15		VI	t	d	secundijn martelaer	XX	XL	IX	Sol in sagittario
			V	e	oethmar bis <i>scop</i>				
		XIIII	X	f	Aniaen bisscop	IX	XV	XXVIII	
	$-\infty$	III	y	g	octave sinte mertijns	V	XXIIII	VIII	
			Z	A	elisabeth wedue				
20		XI	Σ	b	maximijn bisscop	XVII	V	XVII	
			ξ	c	maurus martelaer				
		XIX	_	d	Cecilia ionf <i>er</i>	XIIII	XIII	VII	
		VIII	9	e	crisogonus martelaer	XI	LV	XVI	
			9	f	Katherina ionfer		+		
25		XVI	A	g		XXIII	IIII	VI	
		V	b	A	Linus paeus	XI	XLV	XV	
			c	b	Vitael agricole				Đ
		XIII	d	c	trophij <i>n</i> m <i>artelae</i> r	XXIIII	XXVII	VI	
		II	e	d	Ratboet. Vigilia	XX	XXXV	I	
30			f	e	sinte andries apostel				

¹⁴rf1 Roman numerals XXV obscured by smudging of the rubric.

¹⁴rg9 Roman numeral X obscured by smudging of the rubric.

¹⁴re10 Emendation: bis crossed out between martijn and paeus.

¹⁴rg24 '+'-sign. Significance unknown, possibly emphasizing St. Catherine.

KL December.

		X	g	f	sinte loy bisscop		XVI	V	
			h	g	Seuerus et secundus				
		XVIII	i	A	Claudius	\mathbf{V}	XXV	XIII	
		VII	k	b	Barbara ionf <i>er</i>	XVIII	VII		
5			1	c	Iulius m <i>artelae</i> r				
	∞	XV	m	d	sinte nicolaeus bisscop	XIIII	XV	XII	
	∞	IIII	n	e	Octave sinte andries	II	LVII	Ш	
			0	f	Onse vrou conceptio				
		XII	p	g	Eucharius biss <i>cop</i>	XV	XXXVIII	XII	
10		I	q	A	Eulalie ionf <i>er</i>	XI	XLVII	II	
			r	b	Damasius paeus				
	 	IX	S	c	Walericus confessoer	XIII	XXVIII	X	
	Sol		t	d	Lucie ionfer				
	in	XVII	V	e	Nicasius bis <i>scop</i>	XX	XXXVII	I	
15	Ca	VI	X	f	Valeriaen bisscop	IX	XVIII	X	
	<u>pri</u>		y	g	drie kind <i>er</i> inden auen				
	CO	XIIII	Z	A	sinte ignacius	XXII		I	Đ
	Sol in Cap <i>ri</i> corno.	III	Σ	b	W i <i>n</i> nibalt	XVIII	VIII	IX	
	1•		ξ	c	Nemesius m <i>artelae</i> r				
20		XI	—	d	¶Vigilia	VI	IIII	XVIII	
		XIX	9	e	sinte thomas apostel	II	LVIII	VIII	
			a	f	Didimus martelaer	XV	XXXVII	XVII	
		VIII	b	g	Victoria ionf <i>er</i>				
			c	A	¶Vigilia	XI	XLVII	VII	
25		XVI	d	b	kersdach	XXIIII	XXIX	XVI	
		V	e	c	sinte steuen martelaer				
			f	d	sinte iohan apostel	IIII	XI	VII	
		XIII	g	e	Alre kinder dach	IX	XIX	XV	
		II	h	f	Thomas van cantelborch		_		
30		**	i	g	Dauid coninc	XXII	L	VI	
		X	k	A	Siluester paeus				

		+	
	Die beste ende vroeste meister hebben.		1
	XLV quader onganser dagen		
	weert saick dat yemant worde ge		
5	boren op een van desen dagen die en		5
	solde niet lange leuen ende worde hi		
	sieck hi solde steruen ende giet hi vten		
	lande tis auentuer of hi weder comt		
	naem hi oec een wijf of een wijf		
10	enen man si solden moeten scheiden		10
	van armoden en <i>de</i> begonst yema <i>n</i> t		
	enige grote dingen op enich van		
	desen dagen dat en qwaem niet		
	tot enen gueden eynde. Dit sijn		
15	die dagen die loemaent hefter		15
	VII den I de <i>n</i> II de <i>n</i> IIII de <i>n</i> XI. de <i>n</i>		
	XIX. den XXV. Die sporkell III.		
	den IIII. den XVIII. den XXVIJ		
	Die merte heft <i>er</i> IIII. de <i>n</i> I den III		
20	den XVI. den XVIII. Die aprill		20
	heft <i>er</i> III. de <i>n</i> X den XI den XX		
	Die mey heft <i>er</i> V. de <i>n</i> III de <i>n</i> XV		
	den XVI den XX. Die wemaent		

	hefter III. den IIII den X den XVI.	
	Die hoymant heft <i>er</i> III. den XII de <i>n</i>	25
	XIII. den XIX Die oestmaent	
	hefter III. den yrsten. den XX. den	
5	XXX. Die herfst <i>er</i> maint hefter	
	III. den III den XVII Den XXI.	
	Die hoestelmaent die hefter III	30
	den III den VI den XXII Alre he	
	ligen maent hefter IIII den II den	
10	vijften. den XVII. den XVIII	
	Item inden iaer sint drie dagen	1
	waert dat yemant worde geboren	
	op enich van dese dagen die en	
	mocht niet Rotten voer doemsda	
15	ge Dats is die kalende van	5
	sporkel. Ende die leste van april	
	Ende die yrste van oest.	

	De weder.	1
	Ls die maen is inden we	
	der. Soe ist goet wan	
	deren van steden te ste	
5	den. en <i>de</i> bloet laten ande <i>n</i> arme <i>n</i> . een	5
	sweer off swil doer te snyden anders	
	dan alleen int hoeft. tis guet boe	
	den te seynden. tis quaet dingen	
	te beginnen die stedich sullen bliuen	
10	tis goet nye kleder an te trecken	10
	want sie sullen schier v <i>er</i> niet w <i>er</i> de <i>n</i>	
	Wort een dinck vloren te hant	
	wordet weder geuonden. ende	
	wort oick yemant siek hi ge	
15	neset te hant. Een mensche die	15
	dan wort geboren die sal alte	
	quaet werden. Die weder regeert	
	dat hoeft dat aensicht dat swart	
	van den ogen en <i>de</i> die ore <i>n</i> ¶Als	
20	die maen is in den weder soe ist	20
	goet reisen oestwart om comen	
	schap. want diesal schier gedaen	
	werden. tis guet te wercken	
	al dinc die mit vuer geschien tis	
25	goet bloet laten anden armen	25
	te baden en <i>de</i> al dinck die o <i>n</i> lange	

	dueren sullen. Its quaet noeft		
	wasschen ofte visicken scheren		
	ofte koppe <i>n</i> te setten inde <i>n</i> hals		
	nese te bloden. of wijf te nemen	30	\mathbf{C}
5	of huese te maken of in enige		
	heerscappie te gaen. ende dingen		
	die men lange durende hebben		
	wil die sal men niet beginnen Ende		
	want een weder ederkauwet.	35	5
10	en salmen geen medecijn nemen		
	want men soud sie weder auer ge		
	uen. In allen teyken als die eder		
	kauwet als weder stier bock. ende		
	lest van den schut en salmen	40	0
15	geen medecijn nemen noch dranc		
	want men weder spiet. Dit is		
	te v <i>er</i> staen als die teiken van		
	den oest op gaen dat weder is		
	dan warm. Een knecht die dan	45	5
20	ter werlt comt die sal gemynt		
	w <i>er</i> de <i>n</i> en <i>de</i> sal sij <i>n</i> een mordenar		
	<u>¶Taurus.</u>		
	\bigwedge ls die maen is in de <i>n</i> stier soe		
	ist goet te doen dese dingen	50	0

	die hier nae geschreue <i>n</i> staen	
	dingen te beginnen die men ste	
	dich wil hebben. hilick te maken	
	heerschappie tontfaen. korte	
5	wege te reysen dat maect ge	55
	wyn. comenschap te doen. soen	
	te maken onder vianden. konst	
	te beginnen. In doesteren toe	
	gaen. tis quaet groete reysen	
10	te wanderen. werck te snyden	60
	ofte visiken. Die stier heeft	
	den hals die stroet ende den noster	
	ende den buel van den noec. ende	
	die sericheit vanden ogen. Als	
15	die maen is inden stier soe ist	65
	goet seien tune te maken. wijn	
	gaerden te poten. bome te paten	
	want si wassen schier. ende due	
	ren lange. huese te maken ende	
20	wijf te is goet. Ende alle dingen	70
	die men stedich wil hebben	
	Tis quaet visiken den hals ende	
	die keel. en <i>de</i> strijt te beginne <i>n</i>	
	ende vit gaen om vechten. Die	
25	wege reisen die men beghint die	75

werden geeyndet. Dat weder is colt ende droege. ende die wynt sal bider eerden wesen. ende die wolken lopen bider lucht sonder water ende biwilen 5 ist rustich 80 ¶Gemini. ls die maen is inden twilinck dan ist goet vrede maken. hilic te maken grote reisen te bestaen int 10 westen pleite te beginnen te versellen 85 tegens enen. ende gemeen dingen te doen te gaen biden lande. tis quaet bloet laten nye kleder an te doen in orden te gaen. ende te varen bider see Die twiling revgiert die 15 90 arme ende scholderen. Als die maen dair in is dat is een warm teiken ende vuchtich. dair om ist guet vit hauen te varen. mer tis quaet wege 20 beginnen te wanderen. want hi moet 95 weder begonnen tis quaet medicijn anden armen te nemen of nagelen te korten of anden armen te laten Want hi moet twe steke hebben

100 ende dair sal kueme bloet vit ko men. somwilen swelt die arm ende die mensche steruet. somwilet soe geneset die mensche ende valt 5 hie weder die dan vliet die wort geuangen tis dan goet medecijn 105 te nemen sonder dan daer voer sproken is. .Cancer. ls die maen is inden kreeft 10 A soe ist guet te beginnen dingen 110 die onlange dueren sullen. Tis guet visschen bloet laten werck te snijden sond*er* inden meert tis oic 15 guet kleder an te trecken van ste de to stede te wanderen. dat men 115 verliest dat wort geuonden. tis oic guet gaen tegent noerden. tis oic quaet dingen te stadigen. hilick te 20 maken is quaet want hi en bliuet niet in gueden spunten noch ver 120 sellen noch knechte te ontfaen noch te varen vten enen huese int ander noch konsten te beginnen

	in oerden te gaen is quaet. die cre uet reigiert die borst hant mage ribben milt ende longen. als die maen is inden kreeft dat is oer woenin	125
5	ge soe ist guet wege te reysen	
	en <i>de</i> comenschap te bestae <i>n</i> en <i>de</i> strijt te beginne <i>n</i> en <i>de</i> te vechte <i>n</i> . en <i>de</i> wat	130
	men kort wil eynden. Tis quaet	130
	visiken die borst huese te tymmeren	
10	hilick te maken ende in nye woningen	
	te trecken. ende beginnen dingen die	
	men mit vuer moet wercken die	135
	tijt is colt ende vuchtich.	
	¶Leo	
15	ls die maen is inden lew soe	
	ist guet spreken tegen coningen	
	en de groete heren huese te timmeren	140
	strijt te beginne <i>n</i> is quaet onroer	
	guet te kopen pande te nemen	
20	baden te hueren ende tontfaen ende	
	herschappie tontfaen is al quaet	

	Die nye cled <i>er</i> an trect die wort	145
	daer mede sieck of hi sterft tis	
	quaet hilic te maken vrede te ma	
	ken visiken of pocie te nemen	
5	tegen die koertse mit blode ende	
	bloet te laten noch seer te snijden	150
	noch in oerden te gaen noch wech	
	te beginnen noch varen int water	
	die dan geboren wort dat is eyn	
10	quaet mensche ende wilt al bespot	
	ten dat hi siet. De lew de heft	155
	dat bauenste vander magen thent	
	die senen die sijde en <i>de</i> die weke	
	been ende den neck als die maen	
15	inde <i>n</i> lew is soe ist guet te wercke <i>n</i>	
	alle dingen mit vuer ende te doen	160
	alle dinck die een kort eynde sol	
	len hebben tis guet huese te maken	
	te cope <i>n</i> en <i>de</i> golt te wandele <i>n</i> en <i>de</i>	
20	geel laken te copen tis quaet nye	
	kleder an te trecken. weet doet	165

die sal sieck werden of mit wapen versneden. tis quaet visiken thert die leuer die aderen die tijt is heit ende droge. ende als die maet giet 5 bi der leuwen mont dan pleget 180 die lucht neuelachtich te wesen **Virgo.** ls die maen is inder maget soe ist guet wanderen van stede to stede ende gemeyn dingen te begin 10 185 nen nye cled*er* an te trecke*n* stride*n* beginnen is quaet. pleit te beginnen ende hilic te maken is goet visiken ende bloet te laten in oirden te gaen 15 konsten te leren boden te nemen 190 te seyen comenschap te doen ende mit einer te versellen is guet. mer niet mit enen wiue tis goet reisen tegent suden. die maget 20 heuet den lichaem ende die hemelic 195 ke steden in den buyck. Ende als die maen inder maget is soe ist

_	guet te seien wijngarden ende bomen te planten webben te beginnen scriuen ende alle dinc te doen die mitter eerden geschien. want in allen ge	200
5	meynen teiken als inden twili <i>n</i> ck die maget die schut die visch en <i>de</i>	
	oic die guede w <i>er</i> ke <i>n</i> die men wil	
	hebben dubbelt. tis quaet nemen	205
	een maget te wiue. want si sal on	
10	drachtich wesen. mer tis goet te	
	nemen een wijf die geen maget	
	en is tis quaet reisen tegent	
	noerden. en <i>de</i> dinge <i>n</i> te doen die mit	210
	vuer geschien ende medicijn te nemen	
15	die tijt is kolt en <i>de</i> droge die wint	
	is bi der eerden die wolke <i>n</i> lopen	
	sonder water. die dan geboren wort	215
	is wijs ende van allen luden gemynt	215
	Libra. []	
20	ls die maen is in libra dat is	
	inder wegeschael. soe ist guet	

²⁰r19 Marginalium: cursive script in right margin, indecipherable on the scans; possibly indicating a special interest in the sign of Libra. Cf. fol. 4r, where Libra was also annotated.

	te doen alle ruerende dinghen te Wan	
	de <i>re</i> n van stede toe stede <i>n</i> nye kled <i>er</i> an	220
	te doen reisen te gaen tegent westen	
	tis quaet huese timmeren in oerden te	
5	gaen in huese te trecken herschappie	
	an te neme <i>n</i> datmen v <i>er</i> liest dat wort	
	gevonden. tis guet bloet laten ende seer	225
	te snyden. tis quaet visike <i>n</i> knecht	
	tontfaen. ende te versellen mit yemant	
[]	wie dan geboren wort leuet mit	
	arbeit Die wage schael heuet dat	
	auerste vanden buyck ende dat beneden	230
	te schamen is den rugge die lancken	
	ende die leynden si gheuet dat anschijn	
15	schoen ende vleysch te maten. ende den	
	mannen dat hem die vrouwen lieff	
	hebben Als die maen is inder wage	235
	schael soe ist guet reisen tegent	
	westen om comenschap ende bloet	
20	te laten en <i>de</i> te beginne <i>n</i> dinge <i>n</i> daer	
	men een kort eynde van hebben wil	
	Tis quaet visiken die blase mer	240
	te doen dingen die te eerden horen	

	en <i>de</i> niet meer eynde bege <i>re</i> n. die tijt	
	is warm ende vuchtich ende dick wate	
	rich ende die wint is ducke rustelick	
	tis guet vit hauen te scheiden.	245
5	¶Scorpioen.	
	ls die maen is den schorpioen soe	
	A ist quaet wande <i>re</i> n van stede <i>n</i> nye	
	kleder an te doen seer te snyden	
	bloet te laten hilic te maken. Guet	250
10	ist huese te maken. Tis quaet vi	
	siken te seyen pays te maken. die	
	schorpioen crocht die voten des men	
	schen schemenissen beide inden mannen	
	ende inden wiuen gebreck vanden ge	255
15	beyn die van beide <i>n</i> inden eynde	
	vloyet des bloets en <i>de</i> die duyster	
	nissen vanden ogen. Die sieck w <i>er</i> t	
	hi en genes <i>et</i> niet haeste tis quaet	
	in orden te gaen herscappie an te	260
20	nemen. tis goet reysen te water ende	
	te lande. Als die maen is inden schor	
	pioen. soe is die tijt kolt en <i>de</i> vuchtich	
	ende en weet niet wat goet te beginnen	

	is. want die maen is dan in een	265
	geual ende in auenturen nochtan alsmen	
	seit soe ist dan guet medicijn te nemen	
	tis quaet reisen te lande en clym op	
5	genen boem en ganc in genen schepe	
	en neemt geen medecijn ter moder	270
	behoef of ten buyc. Een knecht	
	die dan wort geboren sal wesen beanxt	
	al sijn leuen. ende een maget sal spot	
10	hebben mit allen luden	
	¶Sagittarius	275
	ls die maen is in sagittarius dat	
	is inden schut. soe ist guet te doen	
	alle gemeen dingen te wande <i>re</i> n van	
15	stede te stede bloet te laten seer te sny	
	den visiken heerschappie tontfaen	280
	ende versellen is guet. tis quaet te water	
	varen tegent westen te reysen ende	
	knecht tontfaen. ende vrede te maken	
20	tusschen vianden. seien den acker is quaet	
	tis goet konst te leren en webben te	285
	beginnen. watmen verliest salmen vinden	
	ende een deel verloren bliuen. Die schut	
	heuet die dien ende die vleck vanden	

	lichaem ende auerulodich van leden	
	als die derde hant die seste vinger	290
	blintheit caluheit bal van oghen	
	mede siecte van biesten ende verspringen	
5	Als die maen is in den schut so ist	
	guet uergaderinge te maken tusschen	
	vreynde <i>n</i> die twiste <i>n</i> die salmen	295
	raet geuen bloet te laten hilic	
	ordineren mer niet eynden. off	
10	twijf en soude niet drachtich sijn	
	tis guet reisen tegent oesten om	
	comenscap ende alle dingen te doen	300
	die mit vuer geschien gelt te	
	wisselen. weghe te beginnen. tis	
15	quaet dingen te beginnen die mit	
	water geschien. die tijt is warm	
	ende droeghe.	305
	<u>¶Capricornus</u>	
	ls die maen is in den bock soe	
20	salmen copen gestade ende hantiren	
	tis goet visiken alle die lede sonder	
	die been. tis guet bloet laten hilic	310
	maken. tis quaet vrede te maken	
	in orden te gaen ende wanderen tegent	

	noerden ende van stede te stede nue	
	se te make <i>n</i> en <i>de</i> borge v <i>er</i> selle <i>n</i> ende	
	knecht an te nemen. tis guet te	315
	beginnen wigen ende pleite ende te	
5	seien die boc heuet die knyen	
	ende die senen. als die maen is in	
	den boc soe ist guet seien wijn	
	garden planten ende alle dinghen	320
	die mitter eerden geschien te gaen	
10	int suden om comenschap. ende	
	alle dingen die een cort eynde	
	sullen hebben tis guet wijf te ne	
	men in strijde te gaen. tis quaet	325
	bloet laten ende pocie te nemen visiken	
15	die tijt is colt en <i>de</i> droge die wint	
	is bid <i>er</i> eerde <i>n</i> en <i>de</i> die wolke <i>n</i> lopen	
	bi der lucht sond <i>er</i> wat <i>er</i> biwilen	
	mit neuel.	330
	<u>¶Aquarius</u>	
20	ls die maen is inden vierd <i>er</i>	
	A dan ist guet huese te maken	
	ende bruggen ende stedige dingen	
	te hantiren want si bliuen in goe	335
	den puncten hilic te maken versel	
25	len herscappie te neme <i>n</i> en <i>de</i> peys	

	te seinden in oerden te gaen ende konst		
	te leren ende visiken. tis quaet seer te		
	snyden bloet te laten nye cleder an	3	340
	te trecken te varen bi den water		
5	pelegri <i>m</i> maedse te gaen. Die vier		
	der heft die been totten enckelen		
	ende die senen die daer to horen ende		
	bleecheit ende gele sucht ende de leyn	3	345
	den. tis guet wijf nemen in nye hue		
10	se te varen bloet laten ende dingen		
	te doen die men wil hebben dat		
	lange dueren sullen. tis quaet visi		
	ken die been ende langen wech te	3	350
	nemen die tijt is warm ende vuchtich		
15	ende die wint is goet. tis dan goet		
	vit hauen te varen		
	¶.Piscis.		
	ls die maen is in den visch soe	3	355
	ist guet alle gemeen dingen		
20	te doen sonder striden ende iagen. tis		
	goet hilic te maken. versellen heer		
	scap te ontfaen. seer te snyden		
	tis goet laten knecht te nemen	3	60
	ende te reysen tegent noerden		
25	nye cleder an te doen die visch		

heft dey voet ende dat hoeftouel ende die senen ende die senen vanden voet. tis guet wijf nemen vrede maken gelt te wisselen webben te beginnen ende alle dingen te doen die mit water geschien als watermolen te maken te reisen int noerden biden water pocie te nemen comenschap te doen tis quaet visiken die voet ende wat mit vuer geschiet, die tijt is colt ende vuchtich.

Wat hier voersproken is
Dat is te verstaen als dat teyken
op gaende is vten oesten ende als
die maen niet belet en is van enen
anderen planeet.

[...]

15

23v

Here the manuscript has another little scribble that looks like either three large dots or three tiny characters.

	Item den enige siechet	1	Die XIIII sorchlick	25
	an comt als die maen		Die XV genese <i>n</i> Die XVI	
	is van enen dage die		cort genesen of corst steruen	
	sal genesen		Die XVII genese <i>n</i> Die XVIII	
5	Des anderen dages	5	genesen Die XIX mach genesen	ı
	genesen		Die XX genese <i>n</i> Die XXI	30
	Des III dach cume		cort genesen of cort steruen	
	genesen		Die XXII cort genesen	
	Des IIII d cortster		Die XXIII genesen	
10	uen	10	Die XXIIII niet genesen	
	Die V dach cort		Die XXV en mach net genesen	35
	steruen		Die XXVI o <i>n</i> lange leue <i>n</i>	
	Die VI d lange		Die XXVII genesen	
	quellen		Die XXVIII genesen	
15	Die VII niet gensen	15	Die XXIX lange quellen	
	Die VIII niet genesen		Die XXX en mach niet	40
	Die IX genesen		genesen	
	Die X corts gene			
	sen of corts steruen			
20	Die XI genesen	20		
	Die XII genesen			
	mer lange quellen			
	Die XIII balde of			
	saen genesen			

[Vele echtsame wan de man is moe] Des sonauendes [ouer verrteyn] nacht Dar na so lecht men allelluia N. Israel

PART III: TRANSLATIO	N(
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Astrological Calendar Manuscript

Ms. Amsterdam,

Special Collections of the University of Amsterdam, ms. XXIII A 8

Translation delivered by Irene Meekes - van Toer

TRANSLATION AMSTERDAM UB XXIII A 8

Translation Principles

This translation has been produced for the purpose of aiding the English-speaking reader in following the arguments made in Part I of this thesis, the Introduction. It is not intended to provide a scholarly English edition of the texts, and may even be called a paraphrase. I have not, therefore, stayed very close to the text, but have instead attempted to elucidate and interpret some parts of the texts which seemed obscure or ambiguous, and have added elements for clarification where I considered them necessary.

1. Three Particularly Dangerous Days

[Fol. 1r] According to Hippocrates, there are three days in the year when one should not let blood. These are: the first day of April, the first day of August and New Year's Eve.

Take note: whoever lets blood on the 14th day of March from the right arm; or on the 11th day of April from the left arm will never go blind. And whoever lets blood at the very end of May and the fourth or the fifth day will never again have a fever. One should let blood from both arms. Letting the vein in the forehead is a good remedy against ringing and whistling in the head, and throbbing of veins and eyes. And one should let blood from the corners of the eyes to regain the clarity of the eyes. And against the ringing, whistling and throbbing in the [...]. ²⁰⁴ [And one should let] the veins in the eyebrows against all diseases of the eyes.

These are the three days on which one should not let blood: New Year's Eve, Our Lady's night in March, ²⁰⁵ and Saint Peter's in August. ²⁰⁶

3. Solar Zodiologium

[Fol. 2r]

3.1 Aries: the Ram

Aries is a sign which belongs to the east. It is dry and hot. When the sun is in Aries it is a good time to travel to the east, to work with fire or to let blood. It's good to begin anything that will end shortly. Don't take any medicine for the head. Don't start building houses and don't move into any house. Don't take any medicinal drink. It's good to have weddings, and to make new

²⁰⁴ Elliptical sentence in the manuscript.

²⁰⁵ March 25.

²⁰⁶ August 1.

clothes. It's good to send letters and messengers, and to go on a pilgrimage. It's bad to sow or plant.

3.2 Taurus: the Bull

Taurus belongs to the south. Then is a good time to begin anything that will last a long time, such as building houses, moving into houses and getting married. It's bad to start a war: if you are the first to go onto the battlefield, you will lose. It's good to plant trees and vineyards. [Fol. 2v] But it's bad to begin anything that will last only a short time. You may take medicine, but don't let blood from the arms and don't bathe. Don't start anything that has anything to do with water. You may however hold court days.

3.3 Gemini

Gemini belongs to the west. It is hot and friendly. When the sun is in this sign it is a good time to forge friendships and to unify, but do not perpetuate all these things, unless a better sign comes up. You may do battle and fight, but don't let blood from the arms. It's good, however, to move from one house to another. Don't take any medicine for the arms. It's good to go on a pilgrimage, and to hold court days with lords and monarchs. Messengers and letters you may send for they provide you with things, and anything you start that has to do with water, will succeed. But don't [Fol. 3r] plant any trees, don't build houses, and don't take any medicine.

3.4 Cancer: the Lobster

Cancer is good. When the sun is in Cancer, it is a good time for fighting and arguing. It's good to travel to the north. It's good to build all things that are associated with water, like watermills. But don't take any medicine for the heart, and don't get married. Don't build new houses, and don't do any job that has to do with fire. Don't plant any trees. You may send letters and messages. Letting blood from the arms is good.

3.5 Leo: The Lion

Leo belongs to the east. It is hot and dry. When the sun is in Leo, it is a good time to speak with lords and monarchs. One can work all things that last a short time. One can battle [Fol. 3v] and fight, and hold court days. One can send messengers and letters. One can plant trees. It's good to get married, and one should take medicine for the stomach, the heart and the liver. But don't let blood from the arms, don't bathe, and don't build new houses.

3.6 Virgo: the Virgin

Virgo is cold and dry. Then is a good time for anything that has to do with earth, such as sowing and planting trees and vineyards. It's good to do anything one desires. It's good to have intercourse with a widow. It's also good to build houses and to move into houses. You can get married, but it's bad to have intercourse with virgins, for they will often have children that are too small. Don't do anything that requires fire, [Fol. 4r] and don't fight or quarrel. Also, don't bathe, don't make any new clothes and don't let blood from the arms. It is allowed, however, to hold court days.

3.7 Libra: the Scales

Libra. When the sun is in this sign, it is a good time to travel to the east on trade business. It's a good time to let blood, for it will make you healthy. One can start all things that last a short time. One can move into houses, but this is not the best sign to do so. Don't take any medicine for the eyes, and beware of anything that requires earth. One should not hold court days, nor fight. Don't sow, plant, or build anything out of wood, for none of this will do you any good.

3.8 Scorpio: the Scorpion

[Fol. 4v] In Scorpio one will find more wickedness than good. One can only do battle and fight, and one can take medicine. But don't hold any court days, don't move into houses, don't let blood don't sow corn, don't plant any trees, and don't bathe. Don't buy or sell any gold or silver, nor horses. Don't make any new clothes, nor wear any, and don't start any pilgrimage over water or on land. Flee this sign whenever you can!

3.9 SAGITTARIUS: THE ARCHER

Sagittarius. In this sign one will find much good. One can make friendship among enemies. It's good to get married, but don't have intercourse too often or the woman won't have any children. One [Fol. 5r] can let blood from the arms, travel eastward on business, bathe, and do anything that has do with fire. It's good to begin battling and fighting, but don't take any medicine. And don't do anything that has anything to do with earth. Buying land and horses is good.

3.10 Capricorn: the Horned Buck

Capricorn brings out the fruit from the earth. When the sun is in Capricorn, it's a good time to sow, plant and travel northward on trade and business. It's a good time to do all things that will last a short time. But don't go into the south. And don't have intercourse. Letting blood is good. Don't take any medicine for the legs. Don't bathe. Beware of all things to do with fire. Don't quarrel, nor hold court days. Don't buy any horses or land et cetera.

[Fol. 5v]

3.11 AQUARIUS

Aquarius belongs to the southwest. When the sun is in Aquarius, one can build houses, sow, plant, and move into houses. Then one can let blood, and do anything that will last a short time. Quarreling, battling and holding court days is good nor bad. One should not travel a long way. One can buy and sell any cattle or other animals with four feet. One can send letters and messengers. It's good to have weddings. But it is bad to practice skills, for they will not provide a livelihood.

3.12 Piscis: The Fish

Piscis belongs to the north, and is good for a lot of things. One can build [Fol. 6r] new houses, and move into them. One can sow, plant, and have intercourse. One can do all things that have to do with water, such as building dikes and building watermills to take and to give away. But one

should not take medicine for one's feet, and one should not do anything that has to do with fire. One can battle and fight, and hold court days, buy or sell land, horses and other things. And it is good nor bad to let blood from the arms.

4. Parisian Days

You should know that the year has thirty-two days which are altogether bad. As the scholars write: Anyone that lets blood from any limb in the days aforementioned, will die within the year, especially when [Fol. 6v] the dominant sign is a bad one. And if a child is born on such a day, it won't live long, and in case it does live long, it will always stay poor. And if a man has intercourse with a woman, neither of them will live long nor in peace; and if they were to live long, they will always stay poor. And should anyone move into a house, that person won't find happiness. If anyone travels in strange lands, seldom if ever will he return home. And whatever you buy or sell, it won't benefit you.

5. CHRONOLOGY

You will know these days by this sign in the calendar: ∞

Furthermore you should know that the hours begin at midnight. Sixty minutes make an hour. And twenty-four hours make a natural day. Eighteen *puncti* make a minute.

6. Zodiac-Melothesia

[Fol. 7r] Here below one sees what the 12 signs in this list are for.

Nota

Aries is good, dry and warm. The head and face belong to him.

Taurus is bad, cold and dry. The neck belongs to him.

Gemini is bad, cold and wet. The shoulders and arms belong to him.

Cancer is medium, cold and wet. The chest belongs to him.

Leo is bad. The back and sides belong to him.

Virgo is bad, warm and wet. The loins, and the belly and the intestines belong to him.

[Fol. 7v] Libra is good, warm and wet. The loins belong to him.

Scorpio is bad, cold and wet. The genitals belong to him.

Sagittarius is good, warm and wet. The hips and the thighs belong to him.

Capricorn is bad, cold and dry. The upper legs belong to him.

Aquarius is good and cold. The knees and the lower legs belong to him.

Piscis is medium, cold and wet. The feet and their attachments belong to him.

7. Computus

When one can divide the years of our lord into four equal parts, then it is a leap year. And that happens every four years.

[Fol. 8r] Whosoever wishes to know in which sign the moon is located on any day, let him take the red letter which is in front of the Sunday Letter in the calendar, and seek that same letter in the table, under the Golden Number of the year. And then find on the left hand side of the table what sign the letter belongs to, and on what day the moon is in that sign.

To know the conception of the new moon, one must seek the Golden Number of the year in the calendar. That will give for every year and every month, the day, hours, minutes and *puncti* of the conception.

In the year 1408 the Sunday Letter was G.

After the year in question, the number III was the Golden Number and that will come again in 19 years.

10. Perilous Days

[Fol. 15r] The best and wisest scholars have named forty-five bad and unhealthy days. Anyone born on any of these days will not live long. And should anyone get ill, he will die; and should anyone travel abroad, his return is a matter of chance. If a man has intercourse with a woman or a woman with a man, they will have to separate due to poverty. And should anyone begin any great thing on any of these days, it will not come to a good end. These are the days: January has seven: the first, the second, the fourth, the ninth, the nineteenth and the twenty-fifth. February has three: the fourth, the eighteenth and the twenty-seventh. March has four: the first, the third, the sixteenth and the eighteenth. April has three: the tenth, the twelfth and the twentieth. May has five: the third, the fifteenth, the sixteenth and the twentieth. June [Fol. 15v] has three: the fourth, the tenth and the sixteenth. July has three: the twelfth, the thirteenth and the nineteenth. August has three: the first, the twentieth and the thirtieth. September has three: the third, the seventeenth and the twenty-first. October has three: the third, the sixth and the twenty-second. November has four: the second, the fifth, the seventeenth and the eighteenth.

11. Days Conferring Incorruptibility

There are three days in the year when anyone is born on any of those days, he cannot rot before doomsday. That is the first of February, the last of April and the first of August.

12. Lunar Zodiologium

[Fol. 16r]

12.1 THE RAM

When the moon is in the Ram it is a good time to travel from place to place. And to let blood from the arms, or to cut away an ulcer or tumor, except one that's on the head. It's good to send messengers. It's bad to begin things that will last a long time. It's good to wear new clothing, for they will soon be destroyed. When something is lost, it will be found at once. And should anyone fall ill, he will recover right away. Anyone born at this time will grow up to become a criminal. The Ram governs the head, the face, the pupils of the eyes and the ears.

When the moon is in the Ram, then is a good time to travel eastward on trade business, for it will soon be done. It's good to work all things that have to do with fire. It's good to let blood from the arms, to bathe, and to do all things that will last [Fol. 16v] only a short time. It's bad to wash your head or to take medicine for it; to shave or to let blood by cupping from the neck, to bleed the nose, or to have intercourse, build houses or go into any lord's territory. And one should not begin things that one wishes to last for a long time. And because a ram ruminates, one should not take any medicine for one will only throw it back up again. In all of the signs with ruminators such as Ram, Bull, Buck, and last of all the Archer, one should not take any medicine, nor medicinal drink, for one will spit it back up. That is to say: when the sign comes up in the east. The weather then is warm. A boy who is born then will be well-loved and will grow up to be a murderer.

12.2 TAURUS

When the moon is in the Bull, then is a good time to do the things [Fol. 17r] written below: To begin things one wishes to last for a long time, to get married, to receive power. Traveling a short way is profitable, to trade, to make reconciliation among enemies, to begin arts and to travel eastward. It is bad to make long journeys, to make clothes, or to practice medicine. The Bull has the neck, the throat, the nostrils, the bridge of the nose, and the soreness of the eyes. When the moon is in the Bull, it is a good time to sow, build enclosures, plant vineyards, plant trees for they will soon grow and last a long time, to build houses and to have intercourse is good. And all things one wishes to have secure. It is bad to take medicine for the neck and the throat, and to begin a fight and to go out to fight. The road one begins to travel [Fol. 17v] will be ended. The weather is cold and dry, and the wind will be close to the ground. The clouds will travel along the sky without giving rain. Now and again it will be calm.

12.3 GEMINI

When the moon is in the Twins, it is a good time to make peace, to get married, to undertake great journeys into the west, to begin pleading in court, to conspire against someone, and to do the usual things on the land. It's bad to let blood, to wear new clothing, to take vows, and to sail the sea. The Twins govern the arms and the shoulders. When the moon is in the Twins, it's a warm and moist sign, that's why it's good to set out from home. But it's bad to begin traveling, for you would have to start over. It's bad to take medicine for the arms, or to trim your nails, or to let blood from the arms, for one will need two pricks of the needle, [Fol. 18r] and hardly any blood will come out. Sometimes the arm will swell and the patient will die; sometimes the patient will heal and then relapse. Whoever flees at this time will be captured. It's a good time to take medicine, except for the aforementioned body parts.

12.4 CANCER

When the moon is in the Lobster, then it's a good time to begin anything that will last a short time. It's a good time for fishing, letting blood and cutting furs, except in March; it's also good to wear new clothes and to travel from place to place. Whatever one loses at this time will be found again. It's also good to travel north. It's bad to secure things for the future. It's a bad time to wed, for the marriage will not last. It's not good to unite; nor to hire servants, nor to move from one house to another, nor to begin arts, [Fol. 18v] to take vows is bad. The Lobster governs the chest, hands, stomach, ribs, spleen and lungs. When the moon is in the Lobster, which is her house, it's a good time for travel and trade, to begin a war and to fight, and whatever one wants to finish quickly. It's bad to take medicine for the chest, to construct houses, to get married, to move into new houses and to begin things which need to be worked with fire. It is a cold and damp time.

12.5 LEO

When the moon is in the Lion it's a good time to speak to kings and lords, and to build houses. It's bad to begin a fight, to buy property, to pawn things, to hire and receive messengers and to take on lordship is all bad. [Fol. 19r] Whoever buys new clothes will get ill in them or even die. It's bad to get married, to make peace, to practice medicine or to take potions against hemorrhagic fever, to let blood. It's not good to cut sores, or to take vows, or to start any travels, or to sail on the water. Whoever is born then, will be a bad person and will want to ridicule al that he sees. The Lion governs the upper part of the stomach up to the nerves, the waist, the cartilages and the neck. When the moon is in the Lion it's a good time to work all things that have to do with fire and to do all things that will last a short time. It's good to build houses, to buy, and to exchange gold, and to buy yellow broadcloth. It's bad to wear new clothes. Whoever does so, [Fol. 19v] will become ill or die by means of a weapon. It's bad to practice medicine on the heart, the liver and the veins. It is a hot and dry time, and when the moon is at the Lion's mouth, the air tends to be nebulous.

12.6 VIRGO

When the moon is in the Virgin it's a good time to travel from place to place, to start new things in general, and to wear new clothing. It's bad to start fighting. It's good to start legal processes and to get married. Practicing medicine, letting blood, taking vows, learning new arts, taking on messengers, sowing, doing trade business, and to get together with someone is good, but not with a woman. It's good to travel south. The Virgin governs the womb and the private parts in the belly. And when the moon is in the Virgin, It's [Fol. 20r] a good time to sow, plant vineyards and trees, begin embroidering, and to do all things that have to do with earth. For in all general signs such as Twins, Virgin, Archer, Fish, and more, the good works one wants to have will double. It's bad to have intercourse with a virgin, for she will be infertile. But it's good to have intercourse with a woman who is not a virgin. It's bad to travel north, to do things that require fire, and to take medicine. It is a cold and dry time. The wind is close to the ground and the clouds pass by without giving rain. Whoever is born at this time will be wise and well-loved by everyone.

12.7 LIBRA

When the Moon is in Libra, that is in the Scales, it's a good time [Fol. 20v] to do all moving things such as traveling from place to place, wearing new clothing and traveling westward. It's a bad time to construct houses, to take vows, to move into a house and to take on leadership. Whatever one loses will be found again. It's a good time to let blood and to cut sores. It's bad to practice medicine, to hire servants and to get together with someone. Whoever is born then will live a hard and troubled life. The Scales govern the upper part of the belly, the private parts, the back, the underbelly and the loins; they lend the personal appearance its beauty and flesh in proportion. And they give to the men, that the women love them. When the moon is in the Scales, it's a good time to travel to the west on trade business, to let blood, and to begin things one wishes to end shortly. It's bad to take medicine for the bladder, but good to do things that have to do with earth and one doesn't want to end. The time is warm and moist, and often watery, and the wind is often calm. It's a good time to set out from home.

12.8 Scorpio

When the moon is in the Scorpion, it's a bad time to wander from place to place, to put on new clothes, to cut away sores, to let blood, and to get married. It is good to build houses. It is bad to practice medicine; to sow, and to make peace. The Scorpion governs the loins and private parts in both men and women, broken bones when blood flows from both ends, and blindness of the eyes. Whoever falls ill, will not recover quickly. It's bad to take vows or to take on lordship. It's good to travel over water and on land. When the moon is in the Scorpion, the time is cold and moist. And it's hard to know what things are good to start, because the moon is in an uncertain and precarious place. However, they say it is a good time to take medicine. It's bad to travel over land, and don't climb any trees, don't go into any ship, and don't take any medicine for the womb or the belly. If a boy is born, he will be fearful all his life, and a girl will mock everyone.

12.9 SAGITTARIUS

When the moon is in Sagittarius, that is in the Archer, it is a good time to do all common things: to travel from place to place, to let blood, to cut away sores, to practice medicine, to take on lordship, and to get together with someone. It's bad to travel over water, to travel westwards, to hire servants, and to make peace among enemies. Sowing the field is bad. It's good to learn arts and to start weaving. Whatever one loses will be found again, but part of it will remain lost. The Archer governs the thighs, the birthmarks, and plenty of defects, such as the third hand, the sixth finger, blindness, baldness and defects of the ball of the eyes, also sickness of bewilderment and epilepsy. When the moon is in the Archer, it's good to reunite quarreling friends, one should advise them. It's good to let blood, to formalize marriages, but not to end them, because then the woman will not get pregnant. It's good to travel to the east on trade business, and to do all things that have to do with fire, to change money and to start a journey. It's bad to start things that have to do with water. The time is warm and dry.

12.10 CAPRICORN

When the moon is in the Buck, one should steadily buy and trade. It's good to practice medicine on all the limbs, except the legs. It's good to let blood and to get married. It's bad to make peace, to take vows, and to travel to the north, or from place to place; to build houses, to sell pledges and to hire servants. It's good to start fights and, legal procedures, and to sow. The Buck governs the knees and the nerves. When the moon is in the Buck, it's good to sow, to plant vineyards and to do all things that have anything to do with earth; to go south on trade business and to do all things that will last a short time. It's good to have intercourse and to go into battle. It's bad to let blood, and to take potions or to practice medicine. The time is cold and dry, the wind is close to the ground and the clouds pass along the sky without giving rain, sometimes with fog.

12.11 AQUARIUS

When the moon is in the Pail, it's a good time to build houses and bridges, and to trade things that remain, for they will stay proper. It's good to get married, to get together, to take on lordship and to make peace, to take vows, to learn arts, and to practice medicine. It's bad to cut away sores, to let blood, to put on new clothes, to sail on the water and to go on a pilgrimage. The Pail has the legs and their nerves down to the ankles, paleness, jaundice, and the loins. It's good to have intercourse, to move into new houses, to let blood and to do things one wishes to last for a long time. It's bad to take medicine for the legs and to take long journeys. The time is warm and moist and the wind is good. It's a good time to set out from home.

12.12 PISCES

When the Moon is in the Fish, it is a good time to do all common things, except for fighting and hunting. It's good to get married, to get together, to take on lordship and to cut away sores. It's good to let blood, to hire servants, to travel to the north and to put on new clothes. The Fish governs the feet, and fever of the head, the nerves, and the nerves of the foot. It's good to have intercourse, to make peace, to change money, to start weaving and to do all things that have to do with water, such as building watermills. It is good to travel north over water, to take potions and to trade. It's bad to take medicine for the feet, and to do anything that has to do with fire. The time is cold and moist.

What has been said above only counts when the sign is rising in the east and when the moon is not hindered by any other planet.

13. DISEASE-LUNARY

If a person falls ill one the first day of the new moon, he will recover. The second day he will recover. The third day he will barely recover. The fourth day he will soon perish. The fifth day he will soon perish. The sixth day he will suffer a long time. The seventh day he will not recover. The eighth day he will not recover. The ninth day he will recover. The tenth day he will either soon recover or soon perish. The eleventh day he will soon recover. The fourteenth day it is worrisome. The fifteenth day he will recover. The sixteenth day he will either soon recover or soon perish. The seventeenth day he will recover. The eighteenth day he will recover. The nineteenth day he may recover. The twentieth day he will recover. The twenty-first day he will either soon recover or soon perish. The twenty-second day he will soon recover. The twenty-third day he will recover. The twenty-fourth day he will not recover. The twenty-fifth day he cannot recover. The twenty-sixth day he will not live long. The twenty-seventh day he will recover. The twenty-eighth day he will recover. The twenty-ninth day he will suffer a long time. The thirtieth day he cannot recover.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the people who have been instrumental in helping me to get this thesis finished. To the staff of the Bibliotheek Bijzondere Collecties van de Universiteit van Amsterdam, especially curator of manuscripts Klaas van der Hoek; many thanks for your helpful and friendly services, which were much appreciated. I thank Erik Kwakkel, who generously took the time to help me along on some codicological points, and Tom de Schepper, who freely offered to help me decipher some Latin phrases. My thanks also go to Judith van den Berg-Goddijn, who has been helpful in editing my translations at the last moment, and to Connie Brinksma-Hopkins, who took time out of her busy schedule to help edit some parts of my thesis. I thank the people in the Afstudeergroep, without whose weekly meetings and daily encouragement I would not have gotten this far. I will miss taking lunch in the Botanical Gardens with you all. I am especially grateful to my supervisor Orlanda Lie, for her patient and stimulating guidance, always served with tea and wise counsel. Thanks to my parents and friends, who have stood by me all this time. My good friend Jacqueline Wessel must be mentioned here, without whose boundless confidence in my ability this thesis would never have been written. I will never forget the many hours of studying together in the library, the opportunity to sound out hypotheses and the comforting optimism with which you have cheered me on time and again. Finally, to my husband Geert, ever my biggest fan; I give my deepest appreciation for the innumerable things great and small with which you have sustained me through the years. You have my love, always.