‘Arabic Astrology’ in Early Medieval England?
A Re-Examination of Prognostics and Planetary Knowledge in Three Winchester Manuscripts, c. 1023-1060

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Table of Contents

Figures

Tables

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Leaving the completion of this section until the very end only confirms that my journey with the Sophia Centre at the University of Wales Trinity Saint David has come to its inevitable end. Despite having reached this milestone, I am also struck by the disappointment I feel at concluding a truly unique, intellectually rigorous and enriching academic experience. The programme tutors have been nothing but supportive, encouraging and helpful in their feedback over the years and I have benefitted from their vast knowledge and wisdom. I will certainly miss being a part of the Cultural Astronomy and Astrology Programme.

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Abstract

Questions around whether some form of astrology was practiced in early Medieval England often engage with textual 'tools' known as 'prognostics'. Prognostics range from lists of 'lucky' or 'unlucky' calendar days to weather omens to prescribed activities according to the lunar cycle. Some scholars have questioned whether certain prognostics have their origins in 'Arabic astrology', thereby suggesting an earlier dating for the revival of horoscopic astrology.

This dissertation queries whether prognostics can be considered as evidence of horoscopic astrology by analysing three manuscripts from eleventh-century Winchester. In treating the manuscripts as a corpus of interconnected cosmological and astronomical knowledge, this dissertation demonstrates the importance of considering texts within their original manuscript context. This dissertation also argues that previous scholarship may have underemphasized the role these texts could have played in non-predictive contexts.

While the contents of a prayerbook and psalter likely did not facilitate more technical astrological practices, a mathematical procedure found in a treatise included within a computus anthology may have permitted approximate calculations of planetary longitudes. Although the procedure does not yield accurate results and therefore casts doubt on whether it could have enabled more technical astrological practices, these manuscripts taken together illustrate the diverse astronomical and cosmological interests of a single monastic community in the early eleventh century.

Finally, this dissertation revisits the contested 'pastoral hypothesis' in which scholars have debated how prognostics may have been deployed by their manuscript users. This dissertation proposes that the realities of daily life in a monastic community coupled with the spiritual and administrative responsibilities of an abbot could suggest that prognostics may have been consulted in specific circumstances. This research adds nuance to previous studies of the history of astrology, proposing that prognostics may have enabled a subtle expansion of what came to constitute 'natural astrology' in the twelfth century.

Introduction

Questions around the extent to which some form of astrology was practiced in early Medieval England[1] often engage with 'prognostics'—textual 'tools' that predicted future states or events through various 'mechanisms', including but not limited to lists of 'lucky' or 'unlucky' calendar days, weather omens or the monthly lunation cycle.[2] The range of manuscripts containing prognostics vary, found among the ancillary material of computus manuscripts dealing with the reckoning of Paschal time, embedded alongside medical remedies and recipes, or copied among prayers, offices and devotional material in psalters and private prayerbooks.[3]

Valerie Flint, Stephanie Hollis and Michael Wright have all alluded to possible connections between specific types of prognostics and astrology. Flint viewed certain lunar and onomantic prognostics (prognostics using the letters in a person's name) as important precursors to astrology's 'rehabilitation' in the later Middle Ages, while Hollis and Wright queried whether the preponderance of lunar prognostics suggested that the English may have

[1] This paper will use the term 'early Medieval English' or 'pre-Conquest English' to refer to the inhabitants of England between 537-1066. The term 'Anglo-Saxon' will be used only in the context of original scholarly quotations or in the titles of cited works. This decision has been informed by the early work of Susan Reynolds who demonstrated that, by the eighth century or even earlier, the 'simple word "English" (*Angli, Anglici*)' was commonly used as a self-referential term. See Susan Reynolds, 'What Do We Mean by "Anglo-Saxon" and "Anglo-Saxons"?', *Journal of British Studies*, 24.4 (1985), 395-414 (p. 398) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/175473> [accessed 13 May 2024]. David Wilton's more recent 'lexical analysis' clarified continental uses of the term in the pre-Conquest period, linked in part to Alcuin of York, who reportedly used 'Anglorum Sax[o]nia' (Saxony of the English) to distinguish between those living in England and 'their continental forbears' and in more a toponymical sense. Wilton also noted that the term 'Anglo-Saxon' was more commonly used in pre-Conquest Latin texts rather than Old English ones, suggesting a kind of ambiguity in Anglo-Latin sources. Ethnonymic uses of the term were more limited and often appended to a regional qualifier prior to the eighth century. The term was sometimes applied to the unified kingdom of Wessex and Mercia under Æthelstan (c. 924-939), though, ultimately, the term 'Anglo-Saxon' is more problematic in its modern application. See David Wilton, 'What Do We Mean by *Anglo-Saxon*? Pre-Conquest to the Present', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 119.4 (2020), 425-456 (p. 435-439) <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/766894> [accessed 19 May 2024].

[2] Stephanie Hollis and Michael Wright, *Old English Prose of Secular Learning* (Cambridge: Brewer, 1992), p. 262; László-Sándor Chardonnes, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics, 900-1100: Study and Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), p. 1.

[3] Chardonnes, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, pp. 24-64.

been studying astrology despite the prevailing opinion that 'Arabic astrology had not reached them in any form' prior to the twelfth century.[4]

This dissertation seeks to probe Hollis and Wright's query further. While elements of 'Arabic learning' had already reached England through continental connections by the second half of the tenth century, the extent to which prognostics foreshadow an earlier dating for the study of 'Arabic astrology' warrants further consideration.[5] Building on existing prognostic scholarship, this study intends to analyse the mechanisms by which the early Medieval English predicted the future, how various frameworks for the computation of time facilitated the use of prognostics and whether these tools point to an earlier dating for the revival of horoscopic astrology. To facilitate this enquiry this dissertation focuses on three eleventh-century Winchester manuscripts, parts of which have been attributed to the same scribe: London, British Library, Cotton MS Titus D xxvi + xxvii (Ælfwine's Prayerbook); London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius E xviii (Vitellius Psalter); and Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.15.32 (Trinity Computus).[6] Treating these manuscripts as a contextually

[4] Valerie Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 134-135, 145; Hollis and Wright, *Old English Prose*, p. 262. Examples of those contending that 'Arabic astrology' was only recovered in the twelfth century include Stephen McCluskey, *Astronomies and Cultures in Early Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 148; Hilary M. Carey, 'Astrology in the Middle Ages', *History Compass*, 8.8 (2010), 888-902 (pp. 889-892) <DOI: 10.1111/j.1478-052.2010.0070 3.x>; Theodore Otto Wedel, *Astrology in the Middle Ages* (Mineola, NY: Dover, 2005 [1920]), p. 25.

[5] C. Philipp E. Nothaft, *Dating the Passion: The Life of Jesus and the Emergence of Scientific Chronology (200-600)* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 113-114; James Westfall Thompson, 'The Introduction of Arabic Science into Lorraine in the Tenth Century', *Isis*, 12.2 (1929), 184-193 (p. 187) <https://www.jsto.org/stable/224784> [accessed 3 April 2024].

[6] T.A.M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), item 26, p. 23; David Dumville, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, A.D. 950-1030* (Suffolk: Boydell, 1993), p. 136; N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990 [1957]), item 224, p. 30; Simon Keynes, ed., *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester: British Library Stowe 944 Together with Leaves from British Library Cotton Vespasian A. viii and British Library Cotton Titus D. xxvii* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger, 1996), pp. 67-68; Phillip Pulsiano, 'Abbot Ælfwine and the Date of the Vitellius Psalter', *ANQ*, 11.2 (1998), pp. 3-12 (pp. 4-5). Ælfwine's Prayerbook was accessed digitally through the British Library's Digitised Manuscripts at <iiif.bl.uk/uv/#?manifest=https://bl.digirati.io/iiif/ark:/81055/vdc_100056027194.0x000001> (London, British Library, Cotton MS Titus D xxvi) and <iiif.bl.uk/uv/#?manifest=https://bl.digirati.io/iiif/ark:/81055/vdc_1000581 07969.0x000001> (London, British Library, Cotton Titus D xxvii). The Vitellius Psalter (London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius E xviii) was accessed digitally at <iiif.bl.uk/uv/#?manifest=https://bl.digirati.io/iiif/ark:/81055/vdc_100074817 411.0x000001>. The Trinity Computus (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.15.32) was accessed digitally at <https://mss-cat.trin.cam.ac.uk/manuscripts/uv/view.php?n=R.15.22#?c =0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&xywh=-1182%2C-204%2C5087%2C4069>.

related corpus intends to restore prognostics not only to their original manuscript context, but also to a larger social and intellectual one, endeavouring to illuminate how an early Medieval English monastic community might have understood and potentially engaged in prediction according to the movements of the heavens.

This dissertation will begin by reviewing scholarship on prognostics and astrology before turning to a methodological overview. A discussion of Anglo-Latin attitudes toward astrology will follow, as well as a discussion of the term 'Arabic astrology'. The analysis of the three manuscripts will examine the content and structure of prognostics, their temporal connections and cosmological context. Finally, this dissertation will consider whether prognostics may indeed reflect elements of 'Arabic astrology' prior to its more commonly cited reemergence in the twelfth century. This dissertation will now turn to discussing the scholarship on which it intends to build.

Literature Review

Studies of early Medieval English prognostics can be divided into two major periods, one from around 1841 to 1944, and the other emerging from the 1990s to the present. The first period saw the collection, editing and translation of various prognostics. Thomas Oswald Cockayne's three-volume *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England* was among the earliest texts to provide Modern English translations of Old English medical, magical and cosmological texts, including prognostics.[7] In the first-half of the twentieth century, Emmanuel Svenberg and Max Förster advanced understandings of lunar prognostics (*lunaria*) and their analogues across various languages, although contemporary scholars criticized their failure to situate *lunaria* within their original manuscript context.[8] This early

[7] Thomas Oswald Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England* (London: Longman, 1864-66), 3 vols.
[8] Chardonnes, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, pp. 22-23; Lorenzo DiTommaso, 'Greek, Latin, and Hebrew Manuscripts of the *Somniale Danielis* and *Lunationes Danielis* in the Vatican Library', *Manuscripta: A Journal*

period also saw a predominantly folkloric lens applied to textual study. Heinrich Henel notably labelled prognostics as *Mönchsaberglaube* (monastic superstition)—a position that both Roy Liuzza and Maria Carmela Cesario have since challenged by situating certain prognostics within the larger field of early Medieval English 'scientific knowledge'.[9]

Sustained scholarly interest in early Medieval English prognostics re-emerged in the 1990s alongside a parallel track of Middle English prognostic research which began at least a decade earlier. Though few intentional intersections appear between the two historical periods, scholars of early Medieval and Middle English prognostics grappled with common problems, including their origins, sources and place in the history of scientific knowledge.[10] No comprehensive English-language study has fully traced the transmission and development of prognostics from the early Middle Ages to the Early Modern period, despite continuities in predictions around weather, harvests, lists of lucky and unlucky days and other prognostics found in both Medieval manuscripts and Early Modern almanacs.[11]

Within the history of astrology, prognostics have been unevenly studied, often being treated as separate from or as crude precursors to the revival of its later, more technical form.

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for Manuscript Research, 47-48 (2003-2004), 1-43 (p. 13); Roy Liuzza, 'Anglo-Saxon Prognostics in Context: A Survey and Handlist of Manuscripts', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 30 (2001), 181-230 (p. 182-183) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44510548> [accessed 28 July 2023].

[9] Heinrich Henel, 'Altenglischer Mönchsaberglaube', *Englische Studien*, 69 (1934), 329-49, as cited in Maria Carmela Cesario, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics: The Twelve Nights of Christmas and the* Revelatio Esdrae (Published PhD thesis, University of Manchester, 2007), p. 23, n. 11 <https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/anglo-saxon-prognostics-twelve-nights-christmas/docview/2115803591/se-2> [accessed 9 September 2023]. For Cesario's refutation of this characterisation, see p. 25. On prognostics as '[underwritten] by the science of the time', see Roy Liuzza, 'Anglo-Saxon Prognostics in Context', p. 200.

[10] For example, see Laurel Braswell, 'Utilitarian and Scientific Prose', in *Middle English Prose: A Critical Guide to Major Authors and Genres*, ed. by A.S.G. Edwards (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1984), pp. 337-87; Laurel Braswell, 'Popular Lunar Astrology in the Late Middle Ages', *Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, 48.3 (1978), 87-194; Laurel Means, 'Electionary, Lunary, Destinary, and Questionary: Toward Defining Categories of Middle English Prognostic Material', *Studies in Philology*, 89.4 (1992), 367-403 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4174433> [accessed 3 June 2024]; Irma Taavitsainen, 'The Identification of Middle English Lunary MSS', *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, 88.1 (1987), 18-26 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43343791> [accessed 3 June 2024].

[11] Means, 'Electionary, Lunary, Destinary, and Questionary', pp. 387, 402; Bernard Capp, *English Almanacs, 1500-1800: Astrology and the Popular Press* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1979), pp. 27-28; Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York: Macmillan, 1923), I, p. 684; Don C. Skemer, '"Armis Gunfe": Remembering Egyptian Days', *Traditio*, 65 (2010), 75-106 <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41417991> [accessed 19 November 2023].

Jim Tester omitted any mention of prognostics in his 1987 *History of Astrology*, instead claiming that 'the representation of the zodiac, or its description in books, cannot be taken as evidence for the presence of astrology' in early Medieval Europe.[12] Two decades later, Nicholas Campion offered a more balanced assessment, suggesting that 'simplified forms of interrogations…and natal astrology' could be found in prognostic genres.[13] David Juste identified six prognostic types in various European manuscripts, citing them as separate from, though partially related to, astrology, including two commonly found in the corpus of early Medieval English prognostics: *lunaria*—predictions organized according to the lunations from one New Moon to the next—and 'critical days'—unpropitious undertakings based on a combination of lunar influence, calendar days and astronomical phenomena.[14] Finally, Charles Burnett viewed prognostics as 'popular (non-scientific)' forms of astrology.[15]

M.L.W. Laistner first expounded on the notion of 'popular' versus 'scientific astrology' in the 1940s, the latter of which, he argued, the Western Church sought to suppress through 'official' condemnations of 'popular' or 'rustic superstitions'.[16] In his estimation, the decline of astrological condemnations in later centuries, coupled with the 'lack of proper [astrology] manuals', signalled the disappearance of '"scientific" astrology in the West'.[17] Critical of Laistner's position, Flint offered an alternative reading of astrological condemnations, arguing that even as early as the sixth and seventh centuries, 'much more may have been happening in the field of "scientific" astrology…than we have been inclined, led by Laistner,

[12] Jim Tester, *A History of Western Astrology* (New York: Ballantine, 1987), p. 104.
[13] Nicholas Campion, *A History of Western Astrology*, 2 vols. (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), II: The Medieval and Modern Worlds, p. 23.
[14] David Juste, *Les* Alchandreana *primitifs: Étude sur les plus anciens traités astrologiques latins d'origine arabe (Xe siècle)* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 21-23.
[15] Charles Burnett, 'Astrology', in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. by F.A.C. Mantello and A.G. Rigg (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1996), pp. 369-382 (p. 370).
[16] M.L.W. Laistner, 'The Western Church and Astrology During the Early Middle Ages', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 34.4 (1941), 251-275 (pp. 263, 275) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1507991> [accessed 4 April 2024].
[17] Laistner, 'The Western Church and Astrology', p. 275.

to admit'.[18] Instead, Flint described a complex Christian landscape that accommodated and even appropriated 'superstitious' intercessory modalities out of religious pragmatism. Conversion and an ability to maintain the faith of the converted was easier when the Church compromised 'in compensation for the more effective outlawry of other [supernatural] forms…thought to be peculiarly hostile to Christian principles'.[19] Astrology was one such compromise: Flint argued that it was 'enthusiastically practiced throughout' the early Middle Ages as evidenced by monks '[making] their rather simpler efforts in the direction of astrological divination'.[20] Early attempts at divination notwithstanding, recent scholarship maintains that the mathematical foundations necessary for horoscopic astrology (sometimes termed 'Arabic astrology'), such as the ability to calculate planetary longitudes, were entirely unknown in Western Europe until the twelfth century.[21]

One final consequential area of scholarship concerns the relationship between astrology, prognostics and computus. Computus as a genre may have had astrological roots as Arno Borst has argued. Quoting the late Roman author and astrologer Julius Firmicus Maternus, Borst believed that it was he who introduced the term 'computus' and intended it to refer to 'astrological interpretation of the computed and observed planetary orbits', not to counting or computation.[22] However, by the early Middle Ages, computus came to embody

[18] Flint, 'The Transmission of Astrology in the Early Middle Ages', *Viator*, 21 (1990), 1-27 (pp. 10-11).
[19] Flint, *The Rise of Magic*, pp. 397-399.
[20] Flint, *The Rise of Magic*, p. 145; Carey, 'Astrology in the Middle Ages', p. 889; Richard C. Dales, *The Scientific Achievement of the Middle Ages* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), p. 140.
[21] Bruce Eastwood, 'Astronomy in Christian Latin Europe, c. 500-c.1150', *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, 28 (1997), 235-258 (p. 253), in Bruce S. Eastwood, *The Revival of Planetary Astronomy in Carolingian and Post-Carolingian Europe*, Variorum Collected Studies Series (London: Routledge, 2002); McCluskey, *Astronomies and Cultures in Early Medieval Europe*, pp. 148-149; Chris Mitchell, *Roger of Hereford's Judicial Astrology: England's First Astrology Book?* (Published PhD thesis, University of Leicester, 2019), pp. 36-37 <https://figshare.le.ac.uk/articles/thesis/Roger_of_Hereford_s_Judicial_Astrology_England_s_First_Astrology_Book_/11793636?file=21522555> [accessed 29 September 2023].
[22] Arno Borst, *The Ordering of Time: From the Ancient Computus to the Modern Computer*, trans. by Andrew Winnard (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1993), p. 20.

what Faith Wallis called, 'the science and technique of calendar construction'.[23] Her complex description of its considerations are worth quoting at length:

> The medieval computist had to account for the precepts of divine law (the rules governing Passover in the Old Testament) and the data of sacred history (the account of Christ's passion and resurrection in the Gospels), as well as the motions of the heavenly bodies, and the conventions of the Julian calendar. He had to harmonize all this data and reduce it to a formula, and ideally, to a cycle, expressed in mathematical terms.[24]

Indeed, the computus itself came to be accompanied by what Laurel Means described as the 'extracted and applied computational matter in the form of calendars and expositions on their use'.[25] This included calendars that not only recorded the 'metonic cycles of new moons, sunrises [and] sunsets', but also dominical letters used to identify the Sundays of the week in each cycle, information about the Sun's course through the zodiac, the dates of Easter and other moveable feasts, and even inauspicious days for various undertakings.[26] Wallis's work on computus revealed that these and other ancillary texts, such as prognostics, came to '[attach] themselves to the computus' by the very 'kind of associative attraction' that Means described.[27] Subsequent and focused scholarship on individual computus manuscripts has testified to the increasing sophistication of the genre in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, with computus manuscripts gradually incorporating diagrams, encyclopaedic notes, and mathematical and astronomical texts.[28] This complex interplay between text and context led

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[23] Faith Wallis, '"Number Mystique" in Early Medieval Computus Texts', in *Mathematics and the Divine: A Historical Study*, ed. by T. Koetsier and Luc Bergmans (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2004), pp. 181-199 (p. 183).
[24] Wallis, '"Number Mystique"', p. 184.
[25] Laurel Means, '"Ffor as moche as yche man may not haue Þe astrolabe": Popular Middle English Variations on the Computus', *Speculum*, 67.3 (1992), 595-623 (p. 597) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2863658> [accessed 3 October 2024].
[26] Means, 'Popular Middle English Variations on the Computus', p. 597.
[27] Faith Wallis, 'Medicine in Medieval Calendar Manuscripts', in *Manuscript Sources of Medieval Medicine: A Book of Essays*, ed. by Margaret R. Schleissner (New York: Garland, 1994), pp. 105-143 (p. 107).
[28] Kees Dekker considered 'encyclopaedic notes' to include biblical characters and events, scientific phenomena, ecclesiastical events, numbers, measurements, dimensions and time spans. While Dekker attributed their proliferation to the Benedictine Reform, he did not suggest how they might have been used beyond an obvious didactic function. See 'The Vernacularization of Encyclopaedic Notes in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts,' in *Secular Learning in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. László-Sándor Chardonnes and Bryan Carella, *Amsterdamer Beträge zur älteren Germanistik* 69 (Amsterdam: Rodopoi 2012), pp. 65-95 (pp. 65-66); and 'The Organisation and Structure of Old English Encyclopaedic Notes,' in *Filologica Germanica*, Pubblicazione patrocinata e finanziata dall'Associazione Italiana di Filologia Germanica (Milan: Prometheus, 2013), 5, pp. 95-130 (pp. 98-100).

some scholars to argue that the inclusion of prognostics in computus manuscripts pointed to their 'Christianization', thereby '[distinguishing] them from divination'.[29] Despite this potential nuance, scholars such as Hollis nonetheless considered prognostics to be a '"superstitious" analogue to computus study', ultimately demonstrating both the persistence of 'popular superstitions' and the declining 'intellectual standards of monasteries…on the eve of the Conquest'.[30]

Thus, having provided an overview of the scholarly foundations for this research, including the origins of prognostic studies, their position within the history of astrology and the role of computus, this dissertation will now turn to outlining its methodology.

Methodology

Early studies of prognostics tended to dissociate prognostic texts from their manuscript context, resulting in what Phillip Pulsiano termed as 'scholarly dismemberment'.[31] Pulsiano argued that this approach precluded researchers from understanding how these manuscripts may have been received by 'a larger literate community'.[32] Ciaran Arthur noted a similar phenomenon in early editions of pre-Conquest English charms, while Roy Liuzza extended this criticism to diachronic histories, including histories of astrology.[33]

In restoring prognostics to their original manuscript context, one achieves what the American Medievalist Gabrielle Spiegel described as the 'advantage of collapsing text and

[29] Cesario, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, p. 16; Anne Lawrence-Mathers, *Medieval Meteorology: Forecasting the Weather from Aristotle to the Almanac* (Cambridge; Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp. 40-41.
[30] Stephanie Hollis, 'Scientific and Medical Writings', in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 188-208 (p. 192).
[31] Pulsiano, 'The Prefatory Matter of London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii', in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and their Heritage*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine M. Treharne (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 85-116 (p. 86).
[32] Pulsiano, 'The Prefatory Matter of London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii', p. 86.
[33] Ciaran Michael Arthur, *The Liturgy of 'Charms' in Anglo-Saxon England* (Published PhD thesis, University of Kent, 2015), p. 134 <https://kar.kent.ac.uk/54689/1/114C%20Arthur%20The%20Liturgy%20of%20Charms%20in%20ASE.pdf> [accessed 2 October 2024]; Liuzza, 'Anglo-Saxon Prognostics', p. 183.

context'.[34] Spiegel argued that 'all texts [occupied] determinate social spaces, both as products of the social world of authors and as textual agents at work in that world'.[35] It is only through carefully examining a text that, in Spiegel's view, an understanding of a work's 'form and content' can then be situated within 'broader patterns of culture at any given time'.[36] Tracey-Anne Cooper's study of London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius A iii, which contains numerous prognostics, included an extensive commentary on the significance of the manuscript context, arguing that texts ought to be read not only according to those that precede and follow it, but as part of the entire codex. Cooper wrote that many approaches lose the idea that a manuscript is ultimately a book: a 'tangible object that can be read, referenced, consulted, copied, glossed or read to others, and on which numerous people may have commented, corrected or doodled'.[37]

Although Cooper's assessment guides the analysis that follows, it is clear from manuscripts, such as Ælfwine's Prayerbook, that the form they currently take differs from their original. Scribal additions in successive centuries aside, manuscripts were often modified by future users who extracted and repurposed their content. For example, British Library, Cotton MS Caligula A xv, which contains various prognostics, once formed a single manuscript with London, British Library, Egerton MS 3314.[38] Antiquarian book collectors who came into possession of many of these manuscripts after the monasteries were dissolved in the sixteenth century also made their own amendments.[39] The seventeenth-century book

[34] Gabrielle Spiegel, 'History, Historicism, and the Social Logic of the Text," in *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997), pp. 3-28 (p. 22).
[35] Spiegel, 'History, Historicism and the Social Logic of the Text', p. 24.
[36] Spiegel, 'History, Historicism and the Social Logic of the Text', p. 24.
[37] Tracey-Anne Cooper, *Monk-Bishops and the English Benedictine Reform Movement: Reading London, BL, Cotton Tiberius A. iii in its Manuscript Context* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2015), p. 9.
[38] P.T. Willetts, 'A Reconstructed Astronomical Manuscript from Christ Church Library Canterbury', *The British Museum Quarterly*, 30.1/2 (1965), 22-30 (p. 26) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4422915> [accessed 16 December 2024].
[39] A.G. Watson, 'Sir Robert Cotton and Sir Simonds D'ewes: An Exchange of Manuscripts', *The British Museum Quarterly*, 25.1/2 (1962), 19-24 (pp. 21-22) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4422731> [accessed 18 November 2024].

collector Sir Robert Cotton—once the owner of both Ælfwine's Prayerbook and the Vitellius Psalter—was known for removing leaves, rearranging texts or joining leaves from different manuscripts to form new composite codices.[40] Thus, while this dissertation ultimately adopts the principle of a codex as representative of a larger contextual unit of arranged ideas, it does so cautiously and with due consideration for the likely modifications made to manuscripts over time. Where known, additions by later hands will be noted, as well as any larger manuscript modifications which scholars have been able to identify. These alterations should not materially impact the aim of this dissertation and its intent to study the three Winchester manuscripts as part of a related intellectual unit. Assessing these manuscripts independently and together intends to add nuance to existing understandings of early Medieval English astronomical, astrological and cosmological knowledge, while simultaneously recognizing the range of knowledge and its potential uses.

In examining Ælfwine's Prayerbook, Carl Phelpstead suggested that a 'cosmocritical' reading—that is, '[recognizing] the ways in which texts reveal, reflect, and construct relationships between humans and the non-human that extend beyond this world'—could free scholars from the restrictive categories that contemporary branches of scholarship project onto historical study.[41] This variation of Spiegel's 'collapsing of text and context' enabled Phelpstead to 'globalize' the manuscript, advocating for its analysis as part of a total worldview that accommodated seemingly incongruous material, such as the co-location of prognostics with religious material that appeared to prohibit divination.[42] By accepting the premise that these texts formulated a coherent worldview and, as Liuzza argued, 'operated in

[40] James P. Carley and Colin G.C. Tite, 'Sir Robert Cotton as Collector of Manuscripts and the Question of Dismemberment: British Library MSS Royal 13 D.I and Cotton Otho D.VIII.,' *The Library*, s6-14.2 (1992), 94-99 (p. 97) <https://doi.org/10.1093/library/s6-14.2.94> [accessed 18 November 2024]; Hollie Morgan, 'Old English Items in London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius C. I', *New Medieval Literatures*, 13 (2011), 137-147 (p. 137) < https://doi.org/10.1484/J.NML.1.102442> [accessed 22 November 2024].
[41] Carl Phelpstead, 'Beyond Ecocriticism: A Cosmocritical Reading of Ælfwine's Prayerbook', *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, 69.291 (2018), 613-631 (pp. 619-620) <DOI: 10.1093/res/hgy037>.
[42] Phelpstead, 'Beyond Ecocriticism', pp. 623-624.

the same world as their companion texts', it may be possible to achieve a more nuanced understanding of a manuscript's historical moment.[43]

This dissertation also aims to achieve a greater understanding of competing sociocultural phenomena. Prognostics proliferated in the wake of the late tenth-century Benedictine Reform, which itself is the subject of thorny historiographical debates.[44] At a high level, the Reform initiated liturgical and practical changes. Greater emphasis was placed on pastoral care and scholarly learning, including translating texts from continental sources.[45] Ælfric, abbot of Eynsham (c. 955-1010) and Archbishop Wulfstan of York (d. c. 1023), heirs to the intellectual foundations of the Reform, carried out its implementation. This backdrop becomes particularly consequential for viewing prognostics as components of monastic learning, religious piety and pastoral care rather than as oddities or outliers within a manuscript.

Instead of focusing on a single manuscript, this dissertation will examine three, all likely originating from eleventh-century Winchester. As Cooper noted in her study of Cotton MS Tiberius A iii, texts can be studied within progressively larger relationships—a single text co-located between those bookending it, a group of texts within a single manuscript and an entire 'manuscript in relation to its scriptorium, library, and other related manuscripts'.[46] These relationships can enable a more complex contextual understanding of individual texts. The focus on Winchester as a leading intellectual, religious and administrative centre is also consequential. While Winchester was never a capital city, its significance has nevertheless been likened to other 'disembedded capitals', such as eighth-century Baghdad, tenth-century

[43] Liuzza, 'Anglo-Saxon Prognostics in Context', p. 183.
[44] Giles Constable, 'Monasteries, Rural Churches and the *Cura Animarum* in the Early Middle Ages', in *Cristianizzazione ed organizzazione ecclesiastica delle campagne nell'alto medioevo: espansione e resistenze. Settimane di studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 10-16 aprile 1980* (Spoleto: Presso la sede del Centro, 1982), I, pp. 349-389 (p. 351); Francesca Tinti, 'Benedictine Reform and Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Early Medieval Europe*, 23.2 (2015), 229-251 (pp. 229-236) <https://doi.org/10.1111/emed.12098> [accessed 3 October 2023].
[45] Cooper, *Monk-Bishops*, p. 13.
[46] Cooper, *Monk-Bishops*, p. 9.

Córdoba or Aachen in the Carolingian Age—all cities located at a nexus of royal power, trade and intellectual culture.[47] Linguistic studies of extant texts likely originating from Winchester have revealed not only a 'tightknit' monastic community that successfully codified Old English, but also an intellectual hub responsible for transmitting copious learning to religious centres across Britain, including to Christ Church, Canterbury, Rochester and Exeter.[48] This included developments such as Winchester's own computus construction, which, Simon Keynes argued, centres like Worcester inherited.[49] Byrhtferth of Ramsey's (c. 970-c. 1020) computus commentary, *Enchiridion* (Handbook, c. 1011), also included a recension of the Winchester computus.[50]

Important linkages may also be made to prognostics. Winchester was a leading centre for manuscript compilation and copying based on various continental influences; its scriptorium produced myriad codices consequential to the study of early Medieval English magic and medicine.[51] These manuscripts not only testify to the wide-ranging interests of the Winchester monastic community, but also demonstrate a belief in the interconnectedness between lunary movements and terrestrial influences—a theme recurrent in astrology and prognostics.[52] Thus, this multi-manuscript approach intends to underscore the importance of

[47] Katherine Weikert, Ryan Lavelle and Simon Roffey, 'Communities, Authority and Power in Winchester, c. 800-c. 1200', in *Early Medieval Winchester: Communities, Authority and Power in an Urban Space, c. 800-c. 1200*, ed. by Ryan Lavelle, Simon Roffey and Katherine Weikert (Oxford: Oxbow, 2021), pp. 1-18 (p. 5).
[48] Ursula Lenker, 'The Monasteries of the Benedictine Reform and the "Winchester School": Model Cases of Social Networks in Anglo-Saxon England?', *European Journal of English Studies*, 4.3 (2000), 225-238 (pp. 226, 234-235) <DOI: 10.1076/1382-557(200012)4:3;1-S;FT225>; Helmut Gneuss, 'The Origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's School at Winchester', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 1 (1972), 63-83 (pp. 70-71) <DOI: 10.1017/S0263675100000089>; Walter Hofstetter, 'Winchester and the Standardization of Old English Vocabulary', *Anglo-Saxon England,* 17 (1988), 139-161 (pp. 159-160) <DOI: 1017/S0263675100004051>.
[49] Keynes, *Liber Vitae*, p. 115.
[50] Keynes, *Liber Vitae*, p. 115.
[51] M.B. Parkes, 'The Palaeography of the Parker Manuscript of the "Chronicle", Laws and Sedulius, and Historiography at Winchester in the Late Ninth and Tenth Centuries', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 5 (1976), 149-171 (pp. 163-165) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44510673> [accessed 28 July 2024]; Stephanie Hollis, 'Anglo-Saxon Secular Learning and the Vernacular: An Overview', *Secular Learning in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by László-Sándor Chardonnes and Bryan Carella (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2012), pp. 1-43 (p. 31); Emily Kesling, *Medical Texts in Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* (Suffolk: Brewer, 2020), p. 48; Chardonnes, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, p. 91.
[52] As an example, in the *Old English Herbarium*, the efficacy of sow-thistle for staving off evil influences was greatly improved when the Moon was in Capricorn. See *Medieval Herbal Remedies: The* Old English

the manuscript context in understanding how prognostics may have functioned within their specific textual, intellectual and religious spaces and what they reveal about astrological learning in the eleventh century. However, before examining the texts, this dissertation will establish the Anglo-Latin cosmological framework for and attitudes towards prognostics and astrology. As a final note, all Latin and Old English translations that follow, unless otherwise noted, are my own.

Cosmos and Superstition: Anglo-Latin Attitudes towards Astrology and Prognostics

Identifying the cosmological texts that Anglo-Latin scholars in pre-Conquest England had access to presents various practical difficulties. By the ninth century, devastating Viking raids and the decline of monastic culture and English book production precluded sustained scholarly enquiry within monastic communities. Two-and-a-half centuries later, the Normans further altered the shape of English libraries, not only importing their own volumes, but also deeming vernacular English books 'unworthy of preservation'.[53] With respect to texts surviving from the sixth to the tenth centuries, Helmut Gneuss estimated that fewer than 150 books may be identified compared to the 'several thousand' that may have existed previously.[54]

Assessing the influence of the Benedictine Reform, Michael Lapidge concluded that the contents of early English libraries '[reflected] choice rather than random acquisition'.[55] What these libraries lacked was as important as what they held, with the near-absence of classical philosophical and cosmological literature potentially revealing a bias towards collecting or

Herbarium *and Early-Medieval Medicine*, ed. and trans. by Ann Van Ardsall, 2nd edn (London: Routledge, 2023), 111:2, p. 176.

[53] Ernest A. Savage, *Old English Libraries: The Making, Collection, and Use of Books During the Middle Ages* (London: Methuen, 1911), p. 45.

[54] Helmut Gneuss, 'Anglo-Saxon Libraries from the Conversion to the Benedictine Reform', in *Books and Libraries in Early England* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1996), II, pp. 643-688 (p. 645).

[55] Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 128.

copying texts that aided in biblical exegesis or in ecclesiastical matters.[56] Winchester may have been exceptional; its holdings appeared to have been 'broad enough' for someone like Ælfric to source material for his 'homilies, sermons, hagiography, exegesis, science and translation'.[57] Elmer Johnson and Michael Harris believed that cathedral libraries had more secular books owing to the emphasis placed on education in addition to devotion.[58] This likely explained Winchester's broader collection, though the number of books possessed by any early Medieval library was small compared to the High Middle Ages.[59]

The landscape is bleaker when attempting to assess access to astrological material. Juste, summarizing the commonly accepted state of affairs with respect to astrology between 500-1100, wrote, there are 'no extant horoscopes, no known astrologers, nor even the name of a single individual positively interested in astrology'.[60] While a stark assessment, the progressive recovery of astrological and astronomical material throughout the ninth to eleventh centuries should not be overlooked. The Benedictine monastery of Santa Maria de Ripoll was collecting treatises on geometry, mathematics, astronomy and calendrical computation as early as the ninth century, while treatises on the astrolabe began circulating in Western Europe around the end of the tenth.[61] Geometrical models of planetary movements were recovered through Martianus Capella and Calcidius, while Julius Firmicus Maternus's astrological treatise, *Mathesis*, witnessed a similar revival.[62] Gerbert d'Aurillac (later Pope

[56] Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, p. 129.
[57] Cooper, *Monk-Bishops*, p. 69.
[58] Elmer D. Johnson and Michael H. Harris, *History of Libraries in the Western World*, 3rd edn (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow, 1976 [1965]), p. 105.
[59] Johnson and Harris, *History of Libraries*, p. 105.
[60] David Juste, 'Horoscopic Astrology in Early Medieval Europe (500-1100)', *La conoscenza scientifica nell'alto medioevo. Settimane di Studio della Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, LXVII (Spoleto, 25 aprile – 1 maggio 2019)* (Spoleto: Fondazione Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2020), pp. 311-333 (p. 311).
[61] Kocku von Stuckrad, *Locations of Knowledge in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Discourse and Western Identities* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), p. 129; Marco Zuccato, 'Arabic Singing Girls, the Pope, and the Astrolabe: Arabic Science in Tenth-Century Latin Europe', *Viator*, 45.1 (2014), 99-120 (p. 118) <DOI: 10.1484/J.VIATOR.1.103784>.
[62] Bruce Eastwood, 'Invention and Reform in Latin Planetary Astronomy', in *Latin Culture in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Medieval Latin Studies Cambridge, 9-12*

Sylvester II, c. 940-1003) requested a 'secret copy' of *Mathesis* from Rainard of Bobbio in 988, just twelve years before an English monk at Fleury was copying parts of it.[63]

Despite this, Greek astrological and astronomical works remained largely inaccessible until the twelfth century; this included Ptolemy's *Almagest*, which contained detailed information on the movements of the planets, as well as tables of celestial positions.[64] For the practice of horoscopic astrology, tables of planetary positions allowed accurate astrological charts to be calculated for any individual or event past, present or future. Although computus texts often contained information on the luminaries, including the age of the Moon or the date of the Sun's monthly entry into new zodiac signs, precise horoscopic calculations would have been impossible based on this material alone.

Although the lack of astrological texts poses challenges to reconstructing the astrological material available in pre-Conquest England, through the work of Lapidge, Gneuss, Frank Rella and others, it is possible to ascertain the cosmological works that the English likely possessed. Staples of every monastic library likely included copies of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (On the Consolation of Philosophy); Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (Etymologies) and *De Natura Rerum* (On the Nature of Things); and Bede's *De Natura Rerum* (On the Nature of Things, hereafter DNR), *De Temporibus* (On Times, hereafter DT) and *De Temporum Ratione* (On the Reckoning of Time, hereafter DTR). These texts, however, supplied little relevant information for anyone interested in astrology.[65] Rather, they established ideas about the cosmos: its composition of fixed and 'wandering' stars; the notion of a revolving, multi-spherical universe; its four elemental properties; the

September 1998, ed. by Michael W. Herren, C.J. McDonough and Ross G. Arthur (Turnhout: Brespols, 2002), pp. 264-297 (pp. 290-291).

[63] Juste, 'Horoscopic Astrology', pp. 319-320.

[64] Nathan Sidoli, 'Mathematical Tables in Ptolemy's *Almagest*', *Historia Mathematica*, 41 (2014), 13-37 (pp. 14, 20) <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.hm.2013.10.004> [accessed 13 January 2025].

[65] Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library*, p. 127-128; Frank A. Rella, 'Continental Manuscripts Acquired for English Centers in the Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries: A Preliminary Checklist', *Anglia*, 98.1-2 (1980), 107-116 (pp. 112-115).

course of the planets through the zodiac; the influence of the Moon on animal behaviour and human physiognomy; and, perhaps most importantly, methods for computing time. Content more relevant to astrology could be gleaned from Capella's *De Nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii* (The Marriage of Philology and Mercury) or Macrobius's *Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis* (Commentary on the Dream of Scipio), including the characteristics of the planets or information about the rising times of certain zodiac signs. Neither of these texts, however, described the technical components of horoscopic construction and their dissemination beyond Ramsey has been questioned.[66] Perhaps the most problematic assessment of early Medieval English learning comes from Peter Baker and Michael Lapidge who concluded that there is 'little evidence' of a continental 'scientific curriculum in Anglo-Saxon England' which would have taught the seven liberal arts, including astronomy and astrology.[67]

The Benedictine Reform's emphasis on practical astronomical and computistical learning may have partially contributed to Baker and Lapidge's assessment. Both Ælfric and Byrhtferth, products of this pedagogic shift, produced didactic texts aimed at making complex cosmological and computistical precepts accessible to lay clerics. Their respective natural philosophical and computistical works emphasized a cosmology rooted in biblical cosmogony. For Ælfric, the luminaries were not only essential components for the reckoning of Paschal time, but also representations of the divinatory and ecclesiastical components of Christianity—a trope used by preceding generations of Christian writers.[68] For Ælfric, the cosmos also held a moral dimension: thoroughly Christianized, the luminaries were not the subject of deific worship—a practice he condemned in his homilies—but were emblematic of

[66] Michael Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature 900-1066* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1993), pp. 40-41.
[67] Peter S. Baker and Michael Lapidge, 'Introduction', in *Byrhtferth's Enchiridion*, ed. and trans. by Peter S. Baker and Michael Lapidge (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), pp. xv-cxxxiii (p. lxxxv).
[68] Ælfric, *De Temporibus Anni*, ed. and trans. by Martin Blake (Cambridge: Brewer, 2009), pp. 78-79; Giles Constable, 'The Relation Between the Sun and Moon in Medieval Thought (to 1200)', in *Medieval Thought and Historiography*, ed. by Giles Constable (London: Routledge, 2017), pp. 115-124 (pp. 115-117).

the prevailing Christian reimagination of a formerly 'pagan' cosmos.[69] Even in hagiography, the role of an astrologer appeared to have shifted. In his *Life of St. Oswald*, Byrhtferth suggested that 'skilful astrologers can clearly and without error investigate the measures of all months and days' through the 'wandering' Moon—an activity more suited to the astronomical foundations of computus than to interpreting horoscopes.[70]

Byrhtferth and Ælfric also owed an intellectual debt to the Venerable Bede (c. 672-735), whose natural philosophical work provided an outline of a Christianized cosmos built upon 'pagan' authors such as Virgil and Pliny. Consequential to discussions of astrology and prognostication, Bede, despite attempts at rationalizing the cosmos, appeared to grapple with planetary and stellar influences and even lunar symbolism. Planetary movements, thunder, lightning, variations in the appearance of the Moon and even stars such as Canicula and Arcturus could bring about changes in weather.[71]Although Bede did not deny the physical effects of the planets on the terrestrial world, the boundary of this influence was carefully circumscribed to the more natural-meteorological than the fatalistically predictive. Comets were exceptional, portending to 'a change of royal power or plague or wars or winds or heat'.[72] Astrology, however, remained 'alien' to Christian faith.[73]

In her commentary on Bede's DTR, Wallis suggested that Bede likely understood 'what ancient technical astrology purported to do'.[74] One of Bede's sources for DTR, Pseudo-

[69] Ælfric, 'Passio Apostolorum Petri et Pauli', in *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. and trans. by Benjamin Thorpe (London: Richard and John E. Taylor, 1881), I, pp. 364-384 (pp. 366-367).
[70] Byrhtferth of Ramsey, 'The Life of Saint Oswald (AD 997-1002)' in *The Lives of St. Oswald and St. Ecgwine*, trans. and ed. by Michael Lapidge (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009), pp. 5-6. '…uerum etiam illa uaga Lucina per cuius cursum rationes omnium mensium et dierum satis liquido astrologi periti queunt inuestigari ablato errore' (Lapidge's translation).
[71] Bede, *On the Nature of Things and On Times*, ed. and trans. by Calvin B. Kendall and Faith Wallis (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 2010), p. 80.
[72] Bede, *On the Nature of Things*, pp. 89.
[73] Bede, *The Reckoning of Time*, ed. and trans. by Faith Wallis (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999), p. 16.
[74] Faith Wallis, 'Commentary', in Bede, *The Reckoning of Time*, pp. 271-375 (p. 268).

Clement's *Recognitiones* (Recognitions), included detailed descriptions of planetary placements that could influence the character of an individual. For example,

> when Mars, holding the centre of his house, regards Saturn quarterly, with Mercury towards the centre, the full moon coming upon him…he produces murderers, and those who are to fall by the sword, bloody, drunken, lustful, devilish men, inquirers into secrets, malefactors, sacrilegious persons, and such like, especially when there was no one of the good stars looking on.[75]

Although Pseudo-Clement vehemently refuted what he called 'astrological lore', the inclusion of technical astrological material, such as the mundane houses or descriptions of inauspicious planetary relationships, recalls Tim Hegedus's contention that such terminology was employed to 'increase the impression that [polemicists] were well informed about astrology'.[76] Thus, Bede might have known the components of a horoscope on a theoretical level despite the absence of mathematical apparatuses to construct one.

It is possible that at least the theoretical components of astrology may have been studied among the early Medieval English. Aldhelm (c. 639-709) documented his learning of both astronomy and astrology under Theodore at the School of Canterbury in his letter to Bishop Leuthere of the West Saxons, writing,

> with regard to the zodiac, the circle of the twelve signs that rotates at the peak of heaven, I think one should be silent lest an obscure and profound subject, which requires a lengthy kind of explanation of its matter, be defamed and cheapened, should it be explicated by a paltry train of interpretation, especially since the skill of the astrological art and the complex reckoning of the horoscope require the laborious investigation of the expert.[77]

This quote may imply that even in Aldhelm's day, horoscopy, if practiced, demanded both knowledge around its construction and interpretation, neither of which it appears he himself possessed. Bede does not corroborate Aldhelm's account of astrology being taught at Canterbury, though Aldhelm included it among the seven liberal arts consistent with the

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[75] Pseudo-Clement, *Recognitions of Clement*, in *The Writings of Tatian and Theophilus and The Clementine Recognitions*, *Anti-Nicene Christian Library: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325*, trans. by Rev. B.P. Pratten, Rev. Marcus Dods and Rev. Thomas Smith (Edinburgh: Clark, 1868), pp. 135-471, IX.xvi, p. 411.
[76] Tim Hegedus, *Early Christianity and Ancient Astrology* (New York: Peter Lang, 2007), p. 31.
[77] Aldhelm, 'Letter to Leuthere', in *Aldhelm: The Prose Works*, ed. by Michael W. Herren and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge: Brewer, 1979), pp. 152-153 (p. 153).

standard Medieval view of the included disciplines.[78] However, a potential education in theoretical astrology did not equate to its endorsement: elsewhere Aldhelm remarked on the 'laughable stupidity' of astrologers who 'think they are able to divine or have knowledge of fate, fortune or birth'.[79]

Bede and his successors were undoubtedly familiar with the anti-astrological arguments of patristic authors, however, many of the arguments that Christian polemicists had advanced centuries earlier were largely lacking in Bede's works; this included fears that astrology's fatalistic interpretations could override the necessity of religious worship, that astrologers could not reliably cast horoscopes owing to the speed with which the heavens moved, that twins born under the same celestial configuration often led very different lives, that astrological Providence had been nullified after Christ's birth and that astrological determinism did not supplant personal agency and the purpose of God's judgement after death.[80] Whether this corroborates Laistner's contention that the near-absence of astrological condemnations correlated to the decline of horoscopic astrology remains less certain; rather, it could point to a reorientation of how astrology was perceived more in line with Flint's contention.

Late patristic authors, chief among them Isidore of Seville (c. 560-c. 636), drew sharp distinctions between astronomy and astrology. According to Isidore, astronomy '[contemplated] all the courses of the heavenly bodies and the figures of the constellations' as

[78] Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. and trans. by Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), IV.ii, pp. 332-335. '…ita ut etiam metricae artis, astronomiae et arithmeticae ecclesiasticae disciplinam inter sacrorum apicum uolumina suis auditoribus contraderent'. 'They gave their hearers instruction not only in the books of holy Scripture but also in the art of metre, astronomy, and ecclesiastical computation' (Colgrave and Mynors's translation). For Aldhelm's list of the seven liberal arts, see Aldhelm, 'Epistola ad Acircium' (Letter to Arcircius), in *Aldhem: The Prose Works*, pp. 34-47 (p. 42).
[79] Aldhelm, 'Epistola ad Acircium', p. 43.
[80] Hegedus, *Early Christianity and Ancient Astrology*, pp. 11, 25; Nicola Denzey 'A New Star on the Horizon: Astral Christologies and Stellar Debates in Early Christian Discourse', in *Prayer, Magic, and the Stars in the Ancient and Late Antique World*, ed. by Scott Noegel, Joel Walker and Brannon Wheeler (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), pp. 207-221 (pp. 211-212). For an extensive treatment of these arguments by a patristic author, see Saint Augustine, *The City of God Against the Pagans*, trans. by William M. Green (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1963), II, particularly V.i-ix, pp. 132-181.

well as the 'habitual movements of the stars'.[81] By contrast, astrology was more objectionable, particularly when its practitioners '[associated] the twelve signs of the zodiac with specific parts of the soul or body' or when they '[attempted] to predict the nativities and characters of people by the motion of the stars'.[82] The 'superstitious' or 'harmful computations' that made horoscopic astrology possible were also the source of their danger.[83] Astronomy on the other hand allowed one to 'observe the logic of the stars and the change of seasons', including changes to the body brought about by celestial 'mutations'.[84]

The turning of the seasons represented one pathway into a more 'natural' and permissible form of astrology that had long been practiced in antiquity and that found itself absorbed into lay Christianity. The Greek poet Hesiod detailed various agricultural and nautical undertakings suitable under the rising and setting of certain stars or according to certain seasons—a position that St. Augustine would later echo when citing the difference between the '[observation] of the stars as natural phenomena, in the way that farmers and sailors do' and 'the superstitions of men who study the stars…to peer into the predestined outcome of events'.[85] The Roman poet Virgil wrote that the Moon's 'dim horns' forecasted 'abundant rain for farmers and the ocean', while Pliny noted that the stars had their own forces, '[creating] effects corresponding to [their] particular nature', whether moisture, frost, heat, dew, or cold.[86] As much as classical 'pagan' sources testified to practical applications of celestial observation, predictive applications were also present. Virgil, for example, spoke of

[81] Isidore, *The Etymologies of Isidore of Seville*, trans. by Stephen A. Barney and others (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), II.xxiv.15, p. 80.
[82] Isidore of Seville, *Etymologies*, III.xxvii.2, p. 99.
[83] Isidore, *Etymologies*, III.lxxi.39, p. 106.
[84] Isidore, *Etymologies*, IV.xiii.4, p. 115.
[85] Hesiod, *Theogony, Works and Days*, trans. by M. L. West (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), pp. 48-49, 54-55; Saint Augustine, 'Letter to Januarius Regarding the Celebration of Easter (c. 400)', in *The Fathers of the Church*: *Saint Augustine Letters*, trans. by Sister Wilfrid Parsons (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008 [1951]), I, pp. 260-293 (pp. 272-273).
[86] Virgil, *The Georgics*, trans. by L. P. Wilkinson (Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin, 1982), I.427-430, p. 70; Pliny, *Natural History*, trans. by H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938), II.xxxix.105, pp. 248-249.

the Moon's 'appointed lucky days […] for various tasks', while Pliny noted the significations of portents from thunder, lightning and meteors, even if he did not appear entirely convinced of their validity.[87]

In neither Ælfric's nor Wulfstan's surviving works were condemnations of astrology as explicit as in the writings of patristic authors. Conspicuously absent were the more pointed criticisms of planetary influence and mathematical calculation, with the emphasis appearing to shift to broader condemnations of 'heathen' practices.[88] The secular Laws of Cnut (1020), which Wulfstan had a hand in authoring, saw 'heathenism' defined as the,

> …worship of idols, heathen gods, and the sun or the Moon, fire or water, springs or stones or any kind of forest trees, or indulgence in witchcraft, or the compassing of death in any way, either by sacrifice or by divination or by the practices of any such delusions.[89]

Wulfstan also drafted the earlier laws of King Æthelred (c. 1009), which also contained prohibitions against heathenism. Catherine Cubitt has interpreted Æthelred's laws as an attempt at reputational reinvention after a series of Viking raids, military defeats and natural disasters were perceived as expressions of divine disfavour. [90] In this context, it is possible to speculate that the eradication of pagan superstition was not the sole focus of reformers like Wulfstan; rather, the prohibition of these practices were subsumed by the larger aim of '[expiating] national sin' in favour of popular 'conversion and penitence'.[91]

The prohibited practices mentioned in Ælfric's homilies appeared to be non-astrological, including enquiries into illness, the casting of lots through witchcraft, auguries

[87] Virgil, *The Georgics*, I.276, p. 65; Pliny, *Natural History*, II.liii.139, pp. 276-277; II.lv.142-144, pp. 278-281.
[88] For example, see Wulfstan's homily, 'On Heathen Practices', in *The Political Writings of Archbishop Wulfstan of York*, ed. and trans. by Andrew Rabin (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 160-161.
[89] 'II Canute', c. 1020, 5.2, in *The Laws of the Kings of England: From Edmund to Henry I*, ed. and trans. by A.J. Robertson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925), p. 175-219 (p. 176). '…þæt bið þæt man idol weorðige, hæþne godas and sunnan oððe monan, fyr oððe flod, wæterwyllas oððe stanas, oððe æniges cynnes wudutreowa, oððe wiccecræft lufie, oððe morðweorc gefremme on ænige wisan, oððe on blote oððe on fyrthe, oððe swylcra gedwimera ænig ðing dreoge' (Robertson's translation).
[90] Catherine Cubitt, 'The Politics of Remorse: Penance and Royal Piety in the Reign of Æthelred the Unready', *Historical Research*, 85.228 (2012), 179-192 (pp. 186) <DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2281.2011.00571.x>.
[91] Cubitt, 'The Politics of Remorse', p. 191.

from birds, sneezing, horses or dogs, or practices that echoed the contents of lunar prognostics, such as 'journeying by the moon'.[92] In 'Epiphania Domini' (The Epiphany of the Lord), Ælfric offered the most direct references to astrology in his rejection of the idea that 'every man is born according to the position of the stars, and that by their course his destiny befalls him'.[93] To suggest that this last example is evidence of a surviving horoscopic astrological practice in early Medieval England would be an intellectual leap, particularly as Liuzza has interpreted Ælfric's opposition to astrology as a more general rejection of 'fatalism and determinism of the sort that may have led to a belief in omens and unlucky days'.[94] What this may illustrate, however, is the persistent current of popular beliefs coexisting with and potentially influencing normative Christian practices. One may surmise that segments of early Medieval English society likely believed in the influence of the luminaries and in certain types of astral fatalism despite the Church's 'official position'.

A similar interpretive difficulty extends to prognostics, though the challenge lies in identifying whether the prohibited practices described applied to clerical or lay Christian communities. Daniel Anelzark suggested that Ælfric's prohibition of divination by the Moon in *De Temporibus Anni* (On the Times of the Year, hereafter DTA) demonstrated his 'scepticism about prognostics based on the lunar cycle'.[95] However, an alternate reading of the passage may not conclusively suggest that prognostics were the intended target of this condemnation. The preceding sentences outlined the differences of opinion between 'laymen' ('*ða læwedan*') and the 'learned' ('*ða gelæredan*') concerning the beginning of each new

[92] Ælfric of Eynsham, 'Octabas et Circumcisio Domini Nostri', in *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, trans. and ed. by Benjamin Thorpe (London: Richard and John E. Taylor, 1844), I, pp. 90-103 (pp. 100-101); 'Sermo in Laetania Maiore [De Auguriis]', in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints*, ed. and trans. by Walter W. Skeat (London: Trübner, 1881), pp. 364-383 (pp. 368-371).
[93] Ælfric, 'Epiphania Domini', in *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, I, pp. 104-121 (pp. 110-111). '…þæt ælc man beo acenned be steorrena gesetnyssum, and þurh heora ymbryna him wyrd gelimpe…' (Thorpe's translation).
[94] Liuzza, 'Anglo-Saxon Prognostics in Context', pp. 192-193.
[95] Daniel Anlezark, 'The Anglo-Saxon World View', in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, 2nd edn, ed. by Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 66-81 (p. 68).

Moon, thus highlighting divergent understandings of how to reckon lunar time.[96] Given that the sentence in question does not specify what lunar divinatory activities Ælfric had in mind, one could imagine references to lay practices just easily as monastic ones. Furthermore, Yitzhak Hen and Bernadette Filotas have identified Frankish homilies and penitentials prohibiting the 'adoration of the moon', including the New Moon's '[propitiousness] for building a house or contracting a marriage', and its inauspiciousness for undertaking journeys, forms of farm work, cutting wood, or cultivating and pruning vines—activities that were codified in many of the collective Anglo-Latin *lunaria*.[97] Thus, one may consider the lunar prognostics extant in monastic manuscripts as but one thread of lunar observation and behavioural correlation in Ælfric's period.

Malcolm Godden also took the view that Ælfric opposed 'calculating lucky and unlucky days for travelling or bloodletting' and 'prognostications relating to the beginning of the year'.[98] In his homily 'Octabas et Circumcisio Domini Nostri' (The Octaves and the Circumcision of Our Lord), Ælfric condemned the 'manifold divinations' that 'foolish men' practiced on the first day of January 'after heathen custom, against their christianity [*sic*]'.[99] There is no indication, however, that Ælfric's intended audience was monastic, nor that these practices came exclusively from English sources.[100] Audrey Meaney also disputed Godden's interpretation on grammatical grounds, suggesting that these condemnations may have been

[96] Ælfric of Eynsham, *De Temporibus Anni*, pp. 90-91.
[97] Yitzhak Hen, 'Paganism and Superstitions in the Time of Gregory of Tours: *Une Question Mal Posée!*', in *The World of Gregory of Tours*, ed. by Kathleen Mitchell and Ian Wood (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 229-240 (pp. 230-231); Bernadette Filotas, *Pagan Survivals and Popular Superstition in Early Medieval Pastoral Literature* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2005), pp. 128-129.
[98] Malcolm Godden, 'New Year's Day in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Notes and Queries*, 39.12 *(*1992), 148-150 (p. 149).
[99] Ælfric, 'Octabas et Circumcisio Domini Nostri', pp. 98-101. 'Nu wigliað stunte men menigfealde wigelunga on ðisum dæge, mid micclum gedwulde, æfter hæðenum gewunan, ongean heora cristendom…' (Thorpe's translation).
[100] Audrey Meaney, 'Æfric's Use of his Sources in his Homily On Auguries', *English Studies*, 6 (1985), 477-495 (p. 478).

directed more at the '"common people continuing" superstitious practices embedded in the landscape'.[101]

One final point may be made concerning the reception of prognostics among monastic copyists. Although no information survives around how these prognostics may have been used, Liuzza noted that a line in an Egyptian Days prognostic in Cotton MS Caligula A xv which indicated that the calendar's prescriptions were, 'no sorcery', rather, 'wise men… discovered [them] through holy wisdom'.[102] Although Liuzza rendered the Old English word *wiglung* as 'sorcery', Martin Blake, László-Sándor Chardonnes, Audrey Meaney and Mary Serjeanston all preferred 'divination' as the Modern English equivalent.[103] Benjamin Thorpe appears to have been an outlier, rendering the identical phrase in Ælfric's homily, 'Octabas et Cicumcisio Domini Nostri', as 'This is no charm' (*Nis þis nan wiglung*).[104] Chardonnes argued that Ælfric intended *wiglung* to mean 'divination' and that the verbal echoes of this phrase in Cotton MS Caligula A xv demonstrated a scribal familiarity with Ælfric's work as this phrase is 'not found anywhere else and must have originated with Ælfric'.[105] Richard Shaw went even further, proposing that Ælfric himself may have been the author of an Egyptian Days prognostic based on the contention that Ælfric '[accepted] the action of the moon and other bodies on created things'.[106] The repeated echoes of the phrase, *Nis þis nan*

[101] Audrey Meaney, '"And we forbeodað eornostlice ælcne hæðenscipe": Wulfstan and Late Anglo-Saxon and Norse 'Heathenism', in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York: The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. by Matthew Towend (Turnhout: Brespols, 2004), pp. 461-500 (p. 477-478).
[102] Roy Liuzza, 'What is and is not Magic: The Case of Anglo-Saxon Prognostics', *Societas Magica Newsletter*, 12 (2004), 1-4 (p. 3) <https://www.societasmagica.org/userfiles/files/Newsletters/docs/SMN_Spring_2004_Issue_12.pdf> [accessed 28 November 2023]. 'Nis þis nan wiglung, ac wise menn hit afunden þurh þone halgan wisdom' (Liuzza's translation). Note that Liuzza indicated that this phrase appears on f. 130^{v}, however, the phrase appears on f. 131^{r}, ll 3-4 of the digital manuscript <https://iiif.bl.uk/uv/#?manifest=https://bl.digirati.io/iiif/ark:/81055/vdc_100058106204.0x000001>.
[103] Ælfric, *De Temporibus Anni*, pp. 90-91; Chardonnes, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, p. 118; Audrey Meaney, 'Ælfric and Idolatry', *Journal of Religious History*, 13 (1984), 119-135 (p. 121); Meany, 'And we forbeodað eornostlice ælcne hæðenscipe', p. 494; Mary S. Serjeantson, 'The Vocabulary of Folklore in Old and Middle English', *Folklore*, 47.1 (1936), 42-73 (pp. 54-55).
[104] Ælfric, 'Octabas et Circumncisio Domini Nostri', pp. 102-103.
[105] Chardonnes, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, pp. 98-99.
[106] Richard Shaw, '"Just as the Books Tell Us": A New Work by Ælfric?', *Notes and Queries*, 61.3 (2014), 328-336 (pp. 331-334) <DOI: 10.1093/notesj/gju104>.

wiglung, may therefore suggest Ælfric's desire to identify more clearly what was and was not *wiglung*—ultimately, a seemingly prohibited category of activity for the monastic community.

Although fols. 120-153 of Cotton MS Caligula A xv were produced at Christ Church, Canterbury in the last third of the eleventh century, this phrase also concludes a nearly-identical Egyptian Days prognostic in the Vitellius Psalter.[107] There the copyist maintained that 'wise men discovered [this knowledge] through the Holy Spirit, just as God commanded it'.[108] Although Chardonnes glossed *halgan gast* (Holy Spirit) as 'holy wisdom' in his edition of *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, the more literal translation of the phrase resembles a passage found in the sixth-century monk and computist Dionysius Exiguus's position on the cyclicality of Easter calculations. Dionysius Exiguus wrote that the Church Fathers at Nicea had 'confirmed this rule of the aforementioned [19-year] cycle, not so much from worldly experience *as from the illumination of the Holy Spirit* (emphasis mine)'.[109] While it may be difficult to take a single line as representative of attitudes to an entire corpus of predictive tools, these phrases may suggest that there was something 'holy' about computus as the vehicle for certain prognostics, bearing in mind the anachronistic application of the term 'prognostics'. Indeed, the texts that contemporary scholars have labelled 'prognostics' may not have been regarded as frivolous superstition or divination, but as related to or even derived from the more sacred calendrical cycle.

While this section has shown that patristic attitudes toward astrology were much more explicit, the evidence for conclusively anti-astrological positions is lacking in early Medieval

[107] Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, item 411, p. 74.
[108] Cotton MS Vitellius E xviii, fol. 15^{v}. As I was not able to identify the phrase clearly on the digital manuscript, I relied on Chardonnes's transcription in *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, p. 371. '(Nis þa na)n wiglung. ac wise menn hit afunden þurh þone halgan gast. 'swa swa him dihte god' (my translation).
[109] Dionysius Exiguus, 'Epistolae Duae De Ratione Paschae, Epistola Prima', in *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, Latin Series, ed. by J.P. Migne (Paris: Turnholt, 1862), 67, pp. 19-23 (p. 19). 'Hanc autem regulam praefati circuli non tam peritia saeculari quam Sancti Spiritus illustratione sanxerunt…'.

England. Forms of lunar and calendar-based prognostication were practiced and potentially even condemned, however, as this section has argued, pointing to these textual references as unequivocal indictments against monastic prognostics may be more difficult to support. The other avenue that could shed light on the potential for astrological practices may be in the manuscripts themselves. This next section will investigate the Winchester manuscripts to query the evidence for and extent of astrological learning based on the prognostics that they contain.

Prognostics at Winchester: Restoring the Manuscript Context

This section will examine the prognostics contained in Cotton MS Titus D xxvi + xxvii (Ælfwine's Prayerbook); Cotton MS Vitellius E xviii (Vitellius Psalter); and Trinity College, MS R.15.32 (Trinity Computus). As noted earlier, these manuscripts share a scribal connection and possible association with Ælfwine (d. 1057), the dean and later abbot of the New Minster.[110] Before discussing the prognostics, a few contextual remarks describing the manuscripts are warranted.

Ælfwine's Prayerbook is comprised of two 'pocket-sized volumes' (130 mm x 95 mm) believed to have been a single manuscript in the order of D xxvii-D xxvi, with the calendrical material preceding the devotional content.[111] Scholars have dated the prayerbook to 1023 x 1031 and identified as many as eleven hands, including potentially Ælfwine's own, as contributing to its contents between the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[112] Opinions vary as to how this manuscript may have been used, with scholars proposing that Ælfwine may have

[110] Pulsiano, 'Abbot Ælfwine and the Date of the Vitellius Psalter', p. 6.
[111] Heinrich Henel, 'Introduction', in *Ælfric's De Temporibus Anni*, ed. by Heinrich Henel (London: by Oxford University Press, 1942), pp. ix-lviii (pp. xx-xxi).
[112] Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England Up to 1100* (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2001), item 380, p. 70; Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, item 202, pp. 264-266; Günzel, 'Introduction', in *Ælfwine's Prayerbook: London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. XXVI + XXVII*, ed. by Beate Günzel (London: Boydell Press, 1993), pp. 1-85 (pp. 2, 8-11).

relied on its texts during private devotion, to conduct services at chapels on the monastery's outlying estates, to lead the public liturgy, or to instruct monks and priests in the basic calculations of Easter.[113]

The prayerbook is predominantly composed in Latin; a portion of Ælfric's DTA, as well as a few short texts, including those on the division of time, directions for private devotion and a recipe for boils, appear in Old English. Overall, the content reflects a range of religious, computistical, natural philosophical, medical and prognostic material, the last of which totals nineteen texts based on the categories established by contemporary scholars.[114] The prayerbook also contains two prognostics not found in any other extant manuscript: an alphabet prognostic and a lunar weather prognostic based on the colour of the Moon.[115] A comprehensive description of all prognostics found in Ælfwine's Prayerbook, as well as in the two other Winchester manuscripts discussed below, may be found in Appendix A.

By contrast, the Vitellius Psalter (210 x 126 mm) has been variously dated to 975 x 1080, although paleographical studies suggest a mid-eleventh century New Minster provenance.[116] The Psalter, considered to be one of twenty-four surviving psalters written in England between the eighth and twelfth centuries, includes a variety of charms, a riddle, computistical material, a calendar and medical recipes.[117] The psalter contains just over half a dozen prognostics with an emphasis on listings of 'unlucky' days, including Egyptian and Dog Days in Old English and Latin; a prognostic that contemporary scholars term the 'three

[113]Alicia Corrêa, *The Durham Collectar*, Henry Bradshaw Society (London: Boydell, 1992), pp. 112-113, n. 2; Cesario, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics in Context*, p. 26; Günzel, 'Introduction', p. 59; Liuzza, 'Anglo-Saxon Prognostics', p. 200; D.H. Turner, 'Prayer Book of Ælfwine', in *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art 966-1066*, ed. by Janet Backhouse, D.H. Turner and Leslie Webster (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1984), no. 61, p. 75; Keynes, *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster*, p. 114.
[114] Chardonnes, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, p. 95.
[115] Cotton MS Titus D xxvii, fols 55^{v}-56^{v} (alphabet prognostic); Cotton MS Titus D xxvi, fols 5^{r}-6^{r} (colour of the Moon); Chardonnes, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, p. 58.
[116] James L. Rosier, *The Vitellius Psalter*, ed. by James L. Rosier, pref. and intro. by James L. Rosier (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1962), pp. vii-viii (p. vii); pp. xv-xxxv (p. xvi); Francis Wormald, *English Kalendars Before AD 1100* (London: Harrison & Sons, 1934), I, p. 155; Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, item 407, p. 73.
[117] Pulsiano, 'The Prefatory Matter', p. 85.

miraculous birthdays'—days on which only boys are born and whose bodies do not putrefy before Judgement Day—and two Spheres of Life and Death respectively attributed to the Greek philosophers Apuleus Platonicus and Pythagoras. Chardonnes noted that a bloodletting lunary like the one found on the second folio of Ælfwine's Prayerbook likely preceded the calendar as was 'customary with Winchester calendars'.[118] The psalter was among the manuscripts damaged in the Cotton Library fire in 1731, compromising the integrity and readability of the manuscript.[119]

Finally, the Trinity Computus (21.5 x 16.5 cm) has been dated to the first-half of the eleventh century based on a cross that was added to the year 1036—a customary marking often placed next to the year in which a calendar was made.[120] Although the manuscript was initially compiled at the New Minster, it eventually moved to St. Augustine's, Canterbury.[121] The manuscript contains virtually no prognostics save for the Egyptian and Dog Days marked in the calendar (pp. 15-26) and a hexameter of 'critical days' according to the months of the year (p. 37). The hexameter verses resemble those found in Ælfwine's Prayerbook, though the specified lists of days following each monthly verse have been omitted. The balance of the manuscript contains various astronomical treatises which will be discussed in the subsequent section.

To return to the original question—that is, whether prognostics with lunar influence could suggest that the early Medieval English were practicing 'Arabic astrology'—it is helpful to restate the components of 'Arabic astrology', namely the calculation of accurate

[118] Chardonnes, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, p. 37.
[119] Phillip Pulsiano, 'London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii, "Vitellius Psalter"', *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Facsimile: Psalters 1*, Medieval and Renaissance Text Studies (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 1994), 2, pp. 50-56 (p. 51).
[120] Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, item 186, p. 45; Michael Wright and Stephanie Hollis, 'Cambridge, Trinity College, R.15.32 (945)', *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile: Manuscripts of Trinity College, Cambridge*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2004), 12, pp. 31-39 (p. 31); Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts,* item 90, p. 135; Simon Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Other Items of Related Interest in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge* (Binghamton, NY: State University of New York at Binghamton, 1992), pp. 30-32.
[121] Wright and Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, p. 31.

planetary positions and the point of the ecliptic rising on the eastern horizon at a specific time. The former required mathematical calculations that neither the material in Ælfwine's Prayerbook, nor the Vitellius Psalter contain. The latter could have been roughly calculated according to the time of day, as Ælfric noted in DTA: the 'twelve signs…are so wide, that they fill two hours with their ascent or descent'.[122] In both manuscripts, however, references to the planets are conspicuously absent, save for the assignment of the days of the week to their planetary namesakes in both Apuleian Spheres.[123] The only potential correlation to later forms of astrology may be found in the subject matter that the prognostics address. Just as astrological judgements (*iudicia*) in the High Middle Ages could be made about a nativity, the weather, political events, medicine, the most auspicious time for certain undertakings (i.e., elections) or specific questions (i.e., interrogations or 'horary' astrology) so too could prognostics furnish information about these topics.[124]

Broadening the scope of what constituted astrology by invoking Isidore's definition of its 'superstitious' form also sees prognostics avoid many of its trappings. There are no references to the zodiac or attempts to correlate parts of the body with zodiacal signs. Certain character traits and even the fates of individuals contained in the lunaries are general rather than specific, based not on celestial configurations calculated for a specific time and place, but rather on the repeated cyclicality of time. An infant born on the fifth lunar day will always die in youth, while those born on the sixth are guaranteed to be healthy and happy.[125]

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[122] Ælfric, *De Temporibus Anni*, pp. 82-83. 'Ðas twelf tacna…sind swa brade, þæt hi gefyllað twa tida mid hire upgange oððe niðergange' (Blake's translation).
[123] See Appendix A.
[124] H. Darrel Rutkin, 'Understanding the History of Astrology (and Magic) Accurately: Methodological Reflections on Terminology and Anachronism', *Philosophical Readings*, 7.1 (2015), 42-54 (p. 44). My thanks to Chris Mitchell for drawing my attention to Rutkin's article. Although Means proposed a typology of various prognostic types and their relationships to forms of astrology in 'Electionary, Lunary, Destinary, and Questionary', the categories are confusing according to the most common forms of astrology practiced in the High Middle Ages. For this reason, Keith Thomas's typologies, though identified within the context of Renaissance astrology, are preferred. See Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York, NY: Scribner, 1971), p. 286.
[125] See Appendix B, 'Lunary, collective'.

Whoever falls ill on the twelfth lunar day will recover, but if illness befalls them on the twenty-eighth, death is inevitable.[126]

Lunar prognostics in the later Middle Ages took on increasing complexity adding lunar phases, zodiacal signs, the twenty-eight lunar mansions and even the triplicities—i.e., the elemental properties of the signs, whether fire, air, water, or earth.[127] The development of more complex lunaries depended, in part, on tables and instruments to achieve more sophisticated calculations, as well as Latin translations of Arabic texts which were only accessible in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[128] This said, early Medieval English libraries were not without classical texts, including medical treatises that discussed the humours, bloodletting and even prognostics for life and death.[129] Bede, for example, wrote that St. John of Beverly knew the dangers of '[bleeding] a patient when the moon [was] waxing and the Ocean tide flowing', though Chardonnes maintained that this was unconnected with any form of lunar prognostic.[130]

In later Medieval lunaries, the five to nine days before the Full Moon were considered auspicious owing to a belief in the Moon's more beneficial mathematical configuration to the Sun.[131] In the prayerbook, those five to nine days contain mixed directions, both permitting and prohibiting bloodletting. The other lunaries are similarly mixed in their prescriptions: while the forecasts in the dream lunary demonstrate the most consistency with the auspicious lunar configuration, the birth lunary notes both favourable and unfavourable destines for

[126] See Appendix B, 'Lunary, illness'.
[127] Means, 'Electionary, Lunary, Destinary, and Questionary', pp. 378, 381, 384.
[128] For example, a text on the lunar mansions by the Arabic author Abū 'l Hasan 'Ali ibn ab 'r-Riğāl's (Haly Abenragel) was only translated into Latin in the mid-thirteenth century. See Stefan Weinstock, 'Lunar Mansions and Early Calendars', *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 69 (1949), 48-69 (p. 49) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/69462> [accessed 26 July 2024]; Taavitsainen, 'The Identification of Middle English Lunary Mss', p. 19.
[129] M.L. Cameron, 'The Sources of Medical Knowledge in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 11 (1983), 135-152 (p. 142).
[130] Bede, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, V.3, pp. 460-461. '…Theodorum archiepiscopum dicere, quia periculosa sit satis illius temporis flebotomia, quando et lumen lunae et reuma oceani in cremento est' (Colgrave and Mynors's translation); Chardonnes, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, p. 116-117.
[131] Means, 'Electionary, Lunary, Destinary, and Questionary', p. 384.

infants, while the collective lunary prohibits the commencement of any activity on the thirteenth lunar day.[132] In an older study of early Medieval English medicine, Wilfrid Bonser suggested that the number five was particularly important for bloodletting procedures; in Oxford, St. John's College, MS 17, the fifth, tenth, fifteenth, twentieth, twenty-fifth and thirtieth days of the month were deemed inauspicious.[133] This is consistent with the prohibited days found in only one of the two bloodletting lunaries in Ælfwine's Prayerbook: the lunary appearing in D xxvi has left the tenth day blank and indicated that the twentieth day was good.[134] Bonser also observed that the crisis days of an illness correlated to the quarters of the lunar cycle; however, like the bloodletting lunary, the forecasts in the prayerbook's illness lunary, while deeming the seventh, fourteenth and twenty-eighth lunar days inauspicious for an invalid, disrupt the anticipated pattern by offering a positive forecast for the twenty-first lunar day.[135] Thus, as Liuzza wrote, the 'system' on which early Medieval English lunaries were structured is unknown, while Means maintained that many lunar prognostics, even in the later Middle Ages, did not use 'astrological principles' as their foundation.[136]

Structurally, prognostics reflect a multiplicity of temporal schemes. Wallis proposed three in her study of a ninth- and a twelfth-century computus manuscript, organizing the medical material around seasonal time as represented by dietary and hygienic prescriptions, astronomical time reflected in *lunaria* and calendrical time expressed through the monthly Egyptian Days.[137] An inventory of the prognostics contained across all three Winchester manuscripts demonstrate five possible time units. The units this dissertation proposes differ

[132] See Appendix B, Luna .vi.-.xiii., all lunaries.
[133] Wilfrid Bonser, *The Medical Background of Anglo-Saxon England: A Study in History, Psychology and Folklore* (London: Wellcome Historical Medical Library, 1963), p. 214.
[134] See Appendix B, 'Lunary, bloodletting', D xxvi, 6^{rv}, Luna .x., .xx..
[135] Bonser, *The Medical Background of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 215.
[136] Liuzza, 'Anglo-Saxon Prognostics in Context', p. 187; Means, 'Electionary, Lunary, Destinary, and Questionary', p. 384.
[137] Wallis, 'Medicine in Medieval Calendar Manuscripts', pp. 112-122.

from Wallis's owing to the breadth of prognostic genres found in the Winchester context. The various forms of astrological judgement identified in the practice of astrology in the High Middle Ages may also be found in the subject matter that the prognostics predict, although the alphabet and dreambook prognostics are outliers as no temporal structure suits their content. This is not necessarily problematic as oneiromancy (dream divination) and mantic alphabets do not find a natural home in astrological judgements. Therefore, these two prognostics, as well as the dream lunary, have been omitted from consideration within the following temporal discussion.

The units of time that appear to span all other prognostic genres include 'lunar time', measured from one lunation to the next; 'solar time' based on the Julian calendar; 'astronomical time' distinguished here from 'lunar time' as being based on the heliacal rise of certain stars; 'diurnal time' based on the division of the day and night; and 'scriptural time' based on biblical references.[138] Table 1.1 assigns the various prognostics to the five temporal units and categorizes their predictions according to the types of 'judgements' that they made based on the categories established in later Medieval astrology. Most types of astrological judgement are represented, though the unit of time does not necessarily correlate to the type of judgement the prognostic makes. Lunar time is strongly represented, being used for all types of judgements. This may be one reason why Hollis and Wright proposed a potential linkage between lunar prognostics and 'Arabic astrology', though there is no indication in the manuscripts themselves that the lunar phases, mansions or any other Arabic astrological consideration was known to the early Medieval English.

[138] See Appendix A for an inventory of all prognostics and the units of time used.

Table 1.1. Prognostics Organized by Unit of Time
(excluding the Alphabet Prognostic, Dreambook and Dream Lunary)

Unit of Time	Prognostic Genre	Type of 'Judgement'
Lunar Time	Colour of the Moon Lunary, birth Lunary, bloodletting Lunary, collective Lunary, illness *Apuleian Sphere* *(+ onomantic procedure)*	Weather Nativity Medical Election, Medical, Nativity, Horary Medical Medical, Horary
Solar Time	Birth, weekday Egyptian Days Year prognosis (Pseudo-Edras) *Apuleian Sphere* *(+ onomantic procedure)*	Nativity Medical, (Election)* Weather Medical, Horary
Astronomical Time	Dog Days	Medical
Diurnal Time	Brontology (Lunary, bloodletting)	Weather, Political (Medical)*
Scriptural Time	Birth, Three Miraculous Days	Nativity

Notes:
- (*) indicate secondary prohibitions. Egyptian Days typically prohibit bloodletting, however, Ælfwine's Prayerbook adds prohibitions on journeying, planting vines or harvesting (D xxvi, f. 5^{r}), while bloodletting lunaries also use 'diurnal time' in addition to 'lunar time' to prescribe certain preferable hours of the day (see also Appendix B).
- The italicized 'Apuleian Sphere' in both the 'lunar' and 'solar' time rows indicates that both played a role in arriving at a judgement in addition to an onomantic procedure.

One nuance lost in any attempt to categorize prognostics are the interdependencies that they share with other manuscript texts. Bloodletting offers the most concrete example, given that aspects of lunar, solar, astronomical and diurnal time were all considered in its undertaking. In the three Winchester manuscripts, twelve hexameter verses establishing the Egyptian Days appear, considered by some scholars to be independent prognostics.[139] In Ælfwine's Prayerbook, the verses are found between an incomplete diagram on the relationship between the Moon and the sea and a description of the Dog Days; this latter text, although regarded as a separate prognostic by Chardonnes, appears connected to the hexameters insofar as it clarifies additional prohibitions beyond bloodletting, including eating

[139] Chardonnes, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, pp. 345-369.

gooseflesh and taking medical remedies.[140] In the Vitellius Psalter, the hexameters have been translated into Old English and appear with an explanatory introduction and conclusion. They are bookended by directions for ascertaining the age of the Moon and a set of Easter Tables.[141] Finally, the Trinity Computus contains the sparest version of the hexameters, omitting any qualifying information beyond identification of the two inauspicious monthly days.[142] Table 1.2 illustrates how the month of January was framed in each manuscript.

Table 1.2. Comparison of Egyptian Days Prognostic, 24 Per Year

Manuscript	Original	Translation
Cotton MS Titus D xxvii, Ælfwine's Prayerbook, fols. 22^{rv}	**IANI PRIMA DIES ET SEPTIMA FINE TIMETVR.** Periculosum est flebotomari in principio mensis ianuari, hoc est kal. ianuarii, et ante eius exitum die .vii., hoc est .vii. kal. februarii.	**THE FIRST DAY OF JANUARY AND THE SEVENTH DAY FROM THE END ARE TO BE FEARED.** It is dangerous to let blood in the beginning of the month of January—this is the kalends of January—and before the seventh day from its end—this is the seventh kalends of February.
Cotton MS Vitellius E xviii, Vitellius Psalter, fols. 15^{rv}	**O**n ianuarius se forma. 7 ær his ende se seofeða.	**I**n January the first and the seventh before its end.
Trinity College, MS R.15.32, Trinity Computus, p. 37	**Kl. Jan.** Iani prima dies & septima fine timetur.	**Kalends of January.** The first day of January and the seventh from the end are to be feared.

These hexameters, believed to have been derived from the early sixth-century Latin grammarian Priscian, appear in various continental and English calendars, with F.P. Pickering observing that they were even adapted in 'purely "computistical" marginals'.[143] In the Trinity Computus, the hexameters appear after directions for establishing the dates of certain moveable feasts, potentially suggesting that their inclusion in a manuscript may have informed calendrical construction as much as they did the changing quality of time. In fact,

[140] Cotton MS Titus D xxvii, fols 21^{v}, 22^{v}-23^{r}. Chardonnes divided the text following the hexameters so that the first sentence of the text was treated as part of the hexameters (p. 376), while the remaining text was treated as a separate Dog Days prognostic (p. 285). cf. Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 110-111.
[141] Cotton MS Vitellius E xviii, f. 9^{r}.
[142] Trinity College, MS R.15.32, p. 37.
[143] John Hennig, 'Versus de Mensibus', *Traditio*, 11 (1955), 65-90 (pp. 82-83) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27830309> [accessed 8 November 2023]; F.P. Pickering, *The Calendar Pages of Medieval Service Books* (Reading: Reading Medieval Studies, 1980), p. 5 <https://centaur.reading.ac.uk/84673/> [accessed 25 October 2024].

Chardonnes observed that, 'by the eleventh century, the Egyptian and Dog Days were becoming a standard ingredient of Anglo-Saxon calendars'.[144]

The interdependencies between prognostics and their surrounding texts may be further illustrated by the structures of the lunaries themselves. Identification of the specific lunar days likely depended on the computus tables for the ages of the Moon.[145] In the prayerbook, this table provided the corresponding age of the Moon for the first day of a month, which then could have permitted anyone consulting the computus to ascertain the Moon's age in reference to the calendar day in order to act on the prognostic's prediction. Additionally, the prognostics themselves may have contained their own interdependencies. A decision on whether to let blood depended not only on the guidance in the lunary, but also additional information gained from the Egyptian Days marked in the calendar, consideration of whether that day fell on one of the 'Three Critical Mondays', and the seasonal prohibition accorded by the Dog Days. Similarly, in the case of dreams, one may surmise that the guidance on whether a dream would have an effect or not depended on use of the non-temporal dream lunary, which provided a list of potential topics that a dreamer might dream and their corresponding significations, from birds to ships to darkness, storms or hearing thunder.[146]

It is conceivable that prognostics may have been viewed as extensions of natural time-reckoning and, to some degree, complimentary to a more 'natural' form of astrology per Isidore, though his definition was more narrowly confined to the turning of the seasons and influences on the body. Isidore would likely have excluded the character- and fate-based birth lunary included in Ælfwine's Prayerbook, though there may have been a growing possibility that what constituted 'natural' astrology was also in flux. Hugh of St. Victor (1096-1141) took an expanded view of 'partly natural' astrology in the first half of the twelfth century. Hugh

[144] Chardonnes, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, p. 28.
[145] Cotton MS Titus D xxvii, fols 9^{r}-10^{r}.
[146] Cotton MS Titus D xxvi, fols 11^{v}-16^{r}.

included ‘the temper or “complexion” of physical things, like health, illness, storm, calm, productivity, and unproductivity’ as ‘natural’ , rather than ‘superstitious’.[147] This definition, albeit asynchronous, may show the subtle shifts that prognostics could have been part of in the period of astrology’s gradual recovery throughout the eleventh century.

One prognostic genre that does not fit easily into the temporal structures proposed above is the Apuleian Sphere. As noted in Table 1.1, although it combines lunar and solar time, it also required an onomantic procedure, taking the day of the week and month that an individual fell ill and adding those to the number of letters in their name, the sum of which was divided by thirty.[148] The remainder was then located in either the upper or lower hemisphere of the circle; if the sum appeared in the upper hemisphere, a positive outcome was expected, if in the lower, a negative one.

This prognostic represents one of two principal onomantic devices believed to have been transmitted from antiquity and appearing in various languages, including Greek, Syriac, Arabic, Hebrew and Ethiopic.[149] Although these devices also circulated throughout the Arab world, Henry Sigerist believed the origins of the Spheres of Life and Death to be Greek, likely first translated into Latin around the sixth century, while Joanna Edge favoured a seventh- to ninth-century date for their translation.[150] Julie Stevenson proposed that the Sphere’s reliance on the Moon for its divinatory framework ‘clearly lent itself to the

[147] Hugh of St. Victor, *The Didascalion of Hugh of St. Victor: A Medieval Guide to the Arts*, trans. Jerome Taylor, Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, 64 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), II.10 (p. 68). Luís Campos Ribeiro suggested that this passage reflected ‘more [openness] to a wider range of applications of astrology’. Riberio believed that Hugh’s major concern was with ‘superstitious astrology… [defying] free will and chance events’, not unlike his various patristic predecessors. See Luís Campos Ribeiro, *Jesuit Astrology: Prognostication and Science in Early Modern Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2023), p. 36.
[148] Roy Michael Liuzza, ‘The Sphere of Life and Death: Time, Medicine, and the Visual Imagination’, in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, 2 vols., ed. by Kathleen O’Brien O’Keefe and Andy Orchard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), II, pp. 28-52 (pp. 44-45).
[149] Juste, *Les* Alchandreana, pp. 206-208; David Juste, ‘Non-Transferable Knowledge: Arabic and Hebrew Onomancy into Latin’, *Annals of Science*, 68.4 (2011), 517-529 (p. 518) <https://doi.org/10.1080/00033790.2011.588005> [accessed 9 June 2024].
[150] Henry E. Sigerist, ‘“The Sphere of Life and Death” in Early Medieval Manuscripts’, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 11.3 (1942), 292-303 (p. 293) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44442761> [accessed 10 June 2024]; Joanna Edge, *Onomantic Divination in Late Medieval Britain: Questioning Life, Predicting Death* (Suffolk: York Medieval Press, 2024), p. 65.

development of 'Egyptian days', though Chardonnes refuted this connection.[151] The Sphere has also been erroneously attributed to Greek, Celtic and early Medieval English priests, scholars and saints, including Hippocrates, Columcille and Bede, as well as to the Egyptian priest Petosiris, who was credited with authorship of an astrological text.[152] Edge rejected all of these ascriptions based on their dates and a careful reading of the source texts.[153]

Two Apuleian Spheres appear in the prefatory matter of the Vitellius Psalter. Arthur highlighted their importance as 'bookends', bracketing charms, rituals and 'exercises in secret writing'.[154] Although the psalter's charms and rituals have a predominantly agricultural flavour, most scholarship has focused on their medical application. However, this may overemphasize both the range of their potential application and the types of manuscripts in which they are found. Liuzza collated continental and English copies of the spheres attributed to Apuleius, identifying the Vitellius Psalter, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579 (the 'Leofric Missal') and Cotton MS Caligula A xv as distinct from continental versions and likely descending from a single exemplar.[155]

The 'Spheres of Life and Death' as they are more broadly termed, predicted the course of an illness and, as the name suggests, whether an invalid would live or die. The prognostic texts in the Vitellius Psalter describe broader applications as well, suggesting that the 'device' could also be useful for 'all businesses and lawsuits' (*de omnibus negotiis aut causis*) or whatever the querent wished to investigate.[156] Edge observed that the number twenty-four was omitted in the device's numerical remainders, highlighting the ubiquitous problem of copying corruptions.[157] Nonetheless, the combination of some form of lunar and solar time-

[151] Julie Stevenson, 'The Nature of the *Laterculus*', in *The 'Laterculus Malalianus' and the School of Archbishop Theodore*, ed. and trans. by Julie Stevenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 21-55 (p. 51); Chardonnes, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, p. 183.
[152] Edge, *Onomantic Divination*, p. 60.
[153] Edge, *Onomantic Divination*, pp. 72-73.
[154] Arthur, *The Liturgy of 'Charms' in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 165.
[155] Roy Michael Liuzza, 'The Sphere of Life and Death', p. 30.
[156] Cotton MS Vitellius E xviii, f. 14^{v}.
[157] Edge, *Onomantic Divination*, p. 69-70.

reckoning coupled with the basic mathematical calculations show a structural similarity to later forms of technical astrology, though one may argue that this similarity is tenuous at best. The conceptual framework for interrogations may have been present, however, the Spheres of Life and Death bore no relationship to the planets or their myriad configurations. In fact, the planets are largely absent in both the Vitellius Psalter and Ælfwine's Prayerbook, leading one to query how they may have fit within the state of cosmological knowledge at Winchester. This next section will explore this question further.

Where are the Planets? The Trinity Computus and Horoscopic Calculations

As the preceding section argued, prognostics fit within a complex scheme of time-reckoning, complimenting the quantitative study of computus with tools to judge the quality of time. However, the elements described above were not horoscopic, nor were they sufficient to demonstrate that the early Medieval English might have had access to the technical components required to practice 'Arabic astrology'. The absence of the planets and the ability to locate them within time and space could not have been accomplished using the material found in either Ælfwine's Prayerbook or the Vitellius Psalter. This section intends to explore the third Winchester manuscript, the Trinity Computus, in greater detail to ascertain whether a Medieval monk may have been able to cast a horoscope using its various treatises.

The Trinity Computus differs from the other Winchester manuscripts in that it contains virtually no prognostics beyond the Egyptian and Dog Days. As noted previously, the versions of these texts appeared in manuscript sections dealing with the calendar. This could have made their primary use calendrical, rather than explicitly divinatory, insofar as they established the annual dates on which certain undertakings should be avoided. Thus, while contemporary scholars have tended to group these texts under the umbrella of 'prognostics', their form and function may have complimented the study of computus rather than the art of

divination. This assessment would also be consistent with the arrangement of calendrical material in the Trinity Computus. The hexameter of critical days appears in the computus section following the calendar and various lunar tables and opposite an explanation of lunations and their relationships to the key moveable feasts in the Christian calendar.[158] On the next page, a more curious addition appears below a table of moveable feasts—namely, a zodiacal diagram.[159]

The diagram (Figure 1) appears to illustrate the twelve-fold division of the zodiac beginning with the sign of Capricorn on the left-hand side. This placement corresponds to the sign that would be regarded as rising on the eastern horizon were this a horoscope. The remaining zodiacal signs follow sequentially. Around the circumference of the circle, the main mathematical relationships between the signs are marked according to Aries in the bottom-most position. From left to right, the 'hexagonum' is 60° away, or the equivalent of two signs spaced at 30° intervals, the 'tetragonum' 90° or three signs away, the 'trigonum' 120° or four signs away and the 'diametrum' 180° or five signs away. This diagram contains no planets and no indication of the degree of the ecliptic rising on the eastern horizon. In addition, some of the zodiacal glyphs appear radically different from those typically found in horoscopic diagrams throughout the later Medieval period. While the diagram contains no astronomical information and no indication of its relationship to local time and space, it was most likely added to the manuscript in the mid-eleventh century.[160]

[158] Trinity College, MS R.15.32, pp. 36-37.
[159] Trinity College, MS R.15.32, p. 38.
[160] Keynes, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Other Items of Related Interest in the Library of Trinity College*, p. 31. My thanks also to Dr. Erik Kwakkel at the University of British Columbia for helping to confirm the approximate date of the diagram's inclusion.

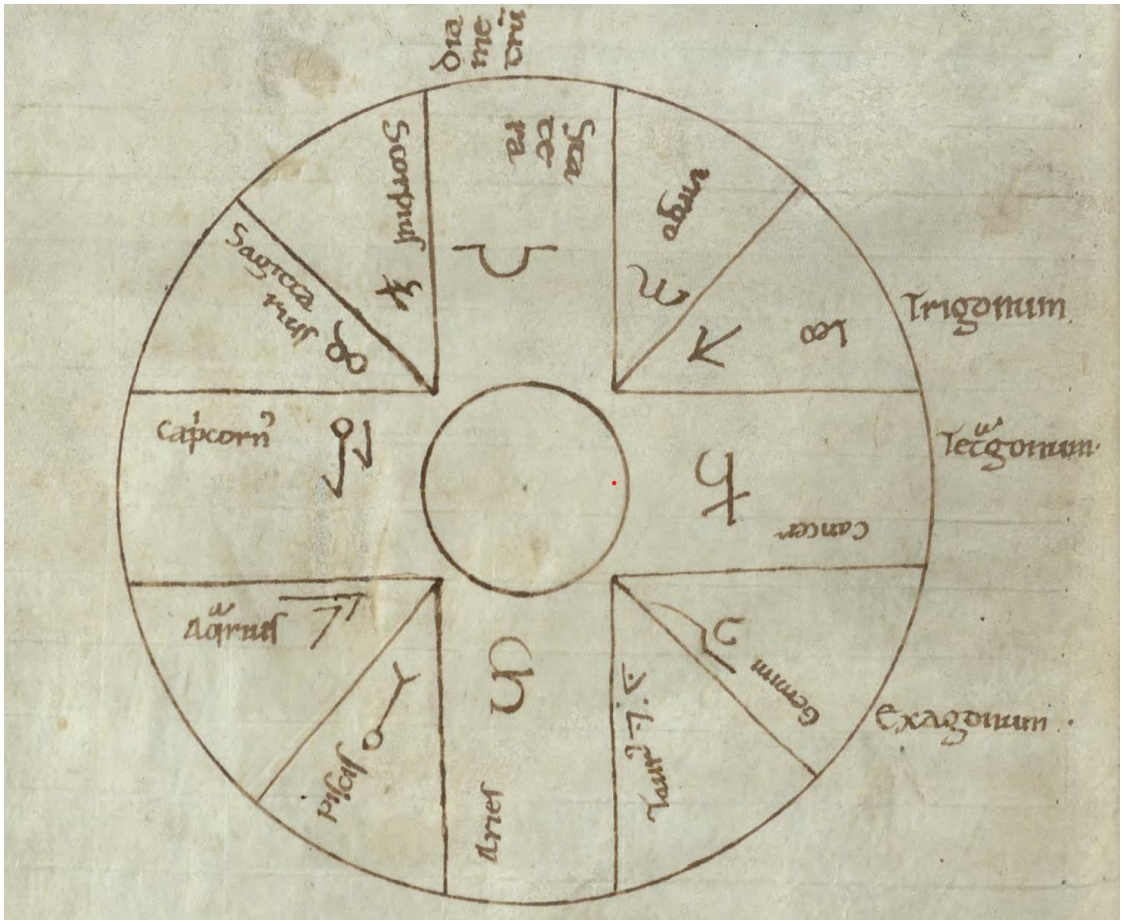

Figure 1. Zodiacal image depicting the twelve astrological signs and their mathematical relationships, 11th century. *Image:* Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.15.32, p. 38, CC BY-NC 4.0. With permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.

The shape of this diagram bears some resemblance to early horoscopic figures. In contrast to most later Medieval horoscopes which were often square in shape, this diagram instead resembles the shape of a Greek horoscope that Otto Neugebauer and Henry B. Van Hoesen transcribed from 497 BCE.[161] The pronounced cross in the centre with the subsequent mundane houses mapped at even 30° intervals was considered a common shape for Byzantine horoscopes, though in Neugebauer and Van Hoesen's diagram comparing typical horoscopic shapes of Byzantine, Arabic and Latin origin, the Byzantine model is not enclosed in a

[161] Figure 20, Otto Neugebauer and Henry B. Van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* (Baltimore, MD: J.H. Furst, 1987 [1959]), p. 156.

circle.[162] This may not, however, represent a horoscopic diagram of Greek origin as John David North noted that circular zodiacal diagrams date back to antiquity.[163]

Greek terms for the planets, however, appear in an anonymous astronomical text contained in the Trinity Computus.[164] Scholars have not been able to identify the source of this text, although it also appears in London, British Library, MS Harley 2506.[165] Mary Catherine Bodden suggested that by the late pre-Conquest period, monastic copyists had greatly improved the accuracy with which they copied Greek characters and terms, many of which were often drawn from grammatical and natural historical material in addition to liturgical and ecclesiastical sources.[166] Despite a fascination with Greek etymology, it is unlikely that any English monk in this period possessed more than a fleeting knowledge of selected vocabulary, although Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester (c. 904-984) was likely connected to a Greek-speaker from King Edgar's court.[167] Lapidge also observed that, as a result of this connection, the Latin works produced under 'Æthelwod's aegis shows a marked preference for Greek vocabulary'.[168] The *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster even recorded the name of a Greek monk, *Andreas Grecus*, in the list of the house's Benedictine monks.[169] Lapidge thus surmised that a Greek monk may have been at Winchester at some point in the early eleventh century.[170] This makes both the diagram and the short astronomical text

[162] Figure 24, Neugebauer and Van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes*, p. 163.
[163] John David North, 'Diagram and Thought in Medieval Science', in *Villard's Legacy: Studies in Medieval Technology, Science, and Art in Memory of Jean Gimpel*, ed. by Marie-Thérèse Zenner (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 265-288 (p. 268).
[164] 'D(OMI)NE d(eu)s om(ni)p(oten)s. S(an)c(t)a trinitas & indiuisa unitas', Trinity College, MS R.15.32, pp. 209-212.
[165] Wright and Hollis, 'Cambridge, Trinity College, R.15.32 (945)' p. 37.
[166] Mary Catherine Bodden, 'Evidence for Knowledge of Greek in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 17 (1998), 217-246 (pp. 218-220) <DOI: 10.1017/S0263675100004087>.
[167] Michael Lapidge, 'Byzantium, Rome and England in the Early Middle Ages', in *Roma fra Oriente e Occidente: 19-24 Aprile 2001* (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 2002), pp. 363-400 (p. 392).
[168] Bodden, 'Evidence for Knowledge of Greek', pp. 225-227; Lapidge, 'Byzantium, Rome and England', p. 392.
[169] Lapidge, 'Byzantium, Rome and England', pp. 377-378.
[170] Lapidge, 'Byzantium, Rome and England', pp. 377-378.

curious additions, particularly when imagining what sort of exemplar they might have been copied from or what influenced their inclusion.

While the origins of the diagram appear unclear, its inclusion complements the manuscript content more broadly. The Trinity Computus contains various astronomical treatises, including Hyginus's astronomical poem on the constellations, Book VIII (On Astronomy) of Capella's *De Nuptiis* and a fragment of Cicero's *Aratea*.[171] Although none of these texts could have aided a monk in understanding the technical components of horoscopic construction, their contents could have explained aspects of the cosmos. Hyginus's astronomical poem presented the twelve zodiac signs and their order, explained the Sun's course through the zodiac and introduced the names and mythology of the constellations.[172] Capella's *De Nuptiis* described the elemental composition of the world, the varying ascending times of the zodiac signs, the fact that planets change the direction of their apparent motion in the sky and the scheme of planetary exaltations and depressions.[173] These texts, along with the popular ninth-century computus manual by Helperic d'Auxerre, and texts attributed to Abbo of Fleury, were also copied together in earlier manuscripts, including MS Harley 2506. According to at least one scholar, this corpus of texts may have originated with the continental scholar Abbo of Fleury (c. 945-1004), compiled in advance of his tenure at Ramsey (985-987).[174] While others have suggested that this compilation may have been sent to England after Abbo's return to the continent, Abbo's contributions may shed light on the astrological potentials embedded in the Trinity Computus.

[171] Hollis and Wright, 'Trinity College, R.15.32 (945)', pp. 36-37.
[172] 'HIGINUS MAGISTER FABIO PLURIMA(M) SALUTEM', Trinity College MS R.15.32, pp. 39-135.
[173] 'MARTIANI. MINEI. FELICIS. CAPELLAE. AFRI. CARTAGINENSIS. | DE ASTROLOGIA LIBER INCIPIT IN NOMINE D(OMI)NI N(OST)RI IE(S)U CHR(IST)', Trinity College, MS R.15.32, pp. 136-165.
[174] Ivana Dobcheva, *London, British Library, Harley MS 2506 - Aratea Digital* (2018) <https://ivanadob.github.io/aratea-data/desc__london_bl_harley_2506.html> [accessed 22 November 2024]; Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, item 428.4, p.76.

Abbo of Fleury possessed considerable knowledge in all aspects of the quadrivium making him, in Marco Mostert's view, 'probably the most important transmitter of Carolingian science in England'.[175] Scholars have also compared the influence of Abbo's learning to that of his rival, Gerbert d'Aurillac, whose reported affinity for '*forbidden knowledge* derived from the Arabs of Spain' has been attested to in various sources.[176] However, making any definitive statements that concretely connect Abbo to the transmission of astrology would be misleading. Rather, as Charlotte Denoël has observed, the zodiac played an important role in Abbo's cosmology, enabling his commentary on Hyginus.[177] Additionally, he had a penchant for onomantic prognostics like those appearing in the Vitellius Psalter.[178] Juste even noted Abbo's inclusion of 'astrological prognostica and divinatory devices in his Computus' thereby suggesting that he likely had at least an interest in the astrology of the period, though this might not necessarily have been horoscopic astrology proper.[179] Particularly consequential to this interest may be a treatise on planetary astronomy appearing in the Trinity Computus. Extensively analyzed by Juste, it contained a method for calculating the position of the planets in the zodiac—a component missing in many late Latin astronomical texts.[180]

[175] Elizabeth Dachowski, *First Among Abbots: The Career of Abbo of Fleury* (Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2008), p. 46; Faith Wallis, *MS Oxford St. John's College 17: A Mediaeval Manuscript in its Context* (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1985), pp. 186-187; Marco Mostert, *The Political Theology of Abbo of Fleury: A Study of the Ideas About Society and Law of the Tenth-Century Monastic Reform Movement* (Hilversum: Verloren Publishers, 1987), pp. 32, 40-41.
[176] Zuccato, 'Arabic Singing Girls', p. 101; E.R. Truitt, 'Celestial Divination and Arabic Science in Twelfth-Century England: The History of Gerbert of Aurillac's Talking Head', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 73.2 (2012), 201-222 (pp. 202-203, 214-215) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23253761> [accessed 9 July 2023].
[177] Charlotte Denoël, 'Imagining Time, Computation and Astronomy: A *Computus* Collection from Micy-Saint-Mesmin (Vatican, BAV, MS Reg. lat. 1263) and Early Eleventh-Century Illumination in the Loire Region', in *After the Carolingians: Re-defining Manuscript Illumination in the 10th and 11th Centuries*, ed. by Beatrice E. Kitzinger and Joshua O'Driscoll (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2019), pp. 118-160 (p. 156).
[178] Denoël, 'Imagining Time', pp. 123, 127.
[179] Juste, 'Horoscopic Astrology', p. 333.
[180] Juste, 'Neither Observation nor Astronomical Tables: An Alternative Way of Computing the Planetary Longitudes in the Early Western Middle Ages', in *Studies in the History of the Exact Sciences in Honour of David Pingree*, ed. by Charles Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 2004), pp. 181-222 (p. 196).

The treatise entitled *Sententiae Abbonis De Differentia Circuli et Sperae* (The Abbot's Opinions Concerning the Difference of the Circle and the Sphere) and likely composed around 978, provided a descriptive explanation of the universe, the zodiac, the course of the planets and their characteristics. It noted that Mercury and Venus never stray far from the Sun; that Saturn, Jupiter and Mars have erratic paths; and that all these planets 'sometimes…may be seen holding their regular course and sometimes they are in the habit of proceeding backwards amidst the zodiac'.[181] Very little of this introductory material may be seen as expressly astrological, instead forming some of the astronomical content complimentary to computus study. Ron Thomson, having assessed the corpus of Abbo's astronomical work, called it 'highly derivative', drawn primarily from Pliny and useful only insofar as providing a basic cosmological backdrop to computus.[182]

However, Juste noted at least one potential astrological application. Abbo appeared to have copied a procedure for 'computing the position of each planet…in the zodiac' from earlier Carolingian material, notably from a short anonymous text entitled, *In Quo Signo Versetur Mars* (In which Sign is Mars, hereafter IQSVM).[183] This text described a procedure for locating the current zodiacal position of the planets that went beyond the computations of the positions of the luminaries described in computus material. Appearing to combine scriptural time—namely, the number of years elapsed since the creation of the world based on the Septuagint—with a system of zodiacal periods for the planets predicated on their assumed zodiacal positions at the beginning of the world, Abbo thus stated,

[181] Trinity College, MS R.15.32, p. 5. '…aliquando videantur regularem sui cursus ordinem tenere, et interdum cum signifero retrogradientes pergere solent'.
[182] Ron B. Thomson, 'Two Astronomical Tractates of Abbo of Fleury', in *The Light of Nature: Essays in the History and Philosophy of Science Presented to A.C. Crombie*, ed. by J.D. North and J.J. Roche (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1985), pp. 113-133 (pp. 115-116).
[183] Juste, 'Neither Observation nor Astronomical Tables', p. 189.

> …if you want <to make the computation> for Mars, since there are 6177 years, 6 x 1000 = 6000 and 6 x 29 = 174. In this third year [of Mars's cycle], in the month of August, there remain 30 months, for we have begun and finished these years in the month of March and 6 x 5 = 30. Then we believe that Mars is at the moment in the fifth sign from Scorpio, that is Pisces. The same <applies> to the other <planets>.[184]

As described above, the remainder provided the current year of the planetary cycle, which was then to be interpreted according to the time elapsed since the current planetary cycle began. While Juste identified errors with Abbo's procedure, including in the maximum elongations of Mercury and Venus, as well as in the calculation of Mars's planetary period, he de-emphasized this point in a later article, concluding that this was the only method available for identifying planetary longitudes in the West prior to the twelfth century.[185]

Juste may have overstated the importance of this procedure, though he carefully noted that it could not be taken as 'evidence of astrology'.[186] While the revival of theoretical astronomy was in its infancy, monastic communities were closely attuned to visible celestial movements. The mathematical calculations that Abbo proposed could have been corroborated through visible sky observation; at that point, Stephen McCluskey argued, Abbo's computations would 'never have survived any comparison with observations of the planets'.[187] One potential counterpoint to this argument may be Pliny's observations concerning Mars. He noted that its course was 'very difficult to observe' owing to its lengthy period of invisibility and its apparent station 'in the signs of the zodiac for periods of six months'.[188] The challenges inherent in observing Mars were the subject of an exchange

[184] Juste, 'Neither Observation Nor Tables', pp. 190, 198. 'Ut si de Marte vis, quia VI [milia] CLXXVII anni sunt, sexies mille sunt VI [milia] et sexies XXIX sunt CLXXIII. Supersunt hoc tertio anno in mense Augusto menses XXX, quia hos annos in mense Martio cepimus et finivimus et sexies V [=quini] sunt XXX. In quinto igitur a Scorpione signo, hoc est in Piscibus, Martem modo esse credimus. Similiter de reliquis' (Juste's translation).
[185] Juste, 'Horoscopic Astrology', p. 330.
[186] Juste, 'Horoscopic Astrology', p. 333.
[187] McCluskey, *Astronomies and Cultures in Early Medieval Europe*, p. 153.
[188] Pliny, *Natural History*, ed. and trans. by H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938), II.xii.60-61 (pp. 208-209), II.xv.77, pp. 220-221; Tom McLeish and Mary Garrison, 'Reversals in Wartime: Alcuin and Charlemagne Discuss Retrograde Motion', *Interfaces*, 8 (2021), 14-53 (p. 21) <DOI: 10.54103/interfaces-08-03>

between Alcuin of York and Charlemagne, the latter of whom claimed that Mars had been invisible for almost a year between 797-798.[189] Historical calculations have shown that this could be attributed to the planet's southernly position at this time.[190] This may be one reason that the procedure for finding Mars was developed, as well as what motivated Abbo to adapt it. While Juste noted that this procedure also appeared in the *Alchandreana*—a book he considered as '[belonging] to the oldest collection of astrological treatises of Arabic origin available in the West'—it is important to note that the *Alchandreana*'s methods for delineating topics ranging from nativities to the course of illnesses or the recovery of stolen objects depended on onomantic procedures and not planetary calculations.[191] This leads one to question the extent to which the mathematical procedure described above had any practical utility.

While flaws in Abbo's calculations may have precluded accurate computational knowledge to identify the correct position of the planets, a diagram in *Sententiae Abbonis* may offer additional clues around how Winchester's monastic community may have understood the relationship between planetary latitudes and longitudes (Figure 2). Marco Zuccato urged that these graphs be studied alongside the astronomical writings in which they appeared so as not to misrepresent 'the real status of astronomical knowledge before the major Arabic translations'.[192] This argument, once again, emphasises the importance of the manuscript context in comprehending fully the visualization of planets within their celestial and spatial contexts.

[189] McLeish and Garrison, 'Reversals in Wartime', p. 26.
[190] McLeish and Garrison, 'Reversals in Wartime', p. 26.
[191] Juste, 'Neither Observation nor Astronomical Tables', p. 200.
[192] Marco Zuccato, 'Pre-Arabic Medieval Astronomy', review of *The Revival of Planetary Astronomy in Carolingian and Post-Carolingian Europe*, by Bruce S. Eastwood, *Metascience*, 12 (2003), 357-359 (p. 359) <DOI: 10.1023/B:MESC.0000005862.38642.da>.

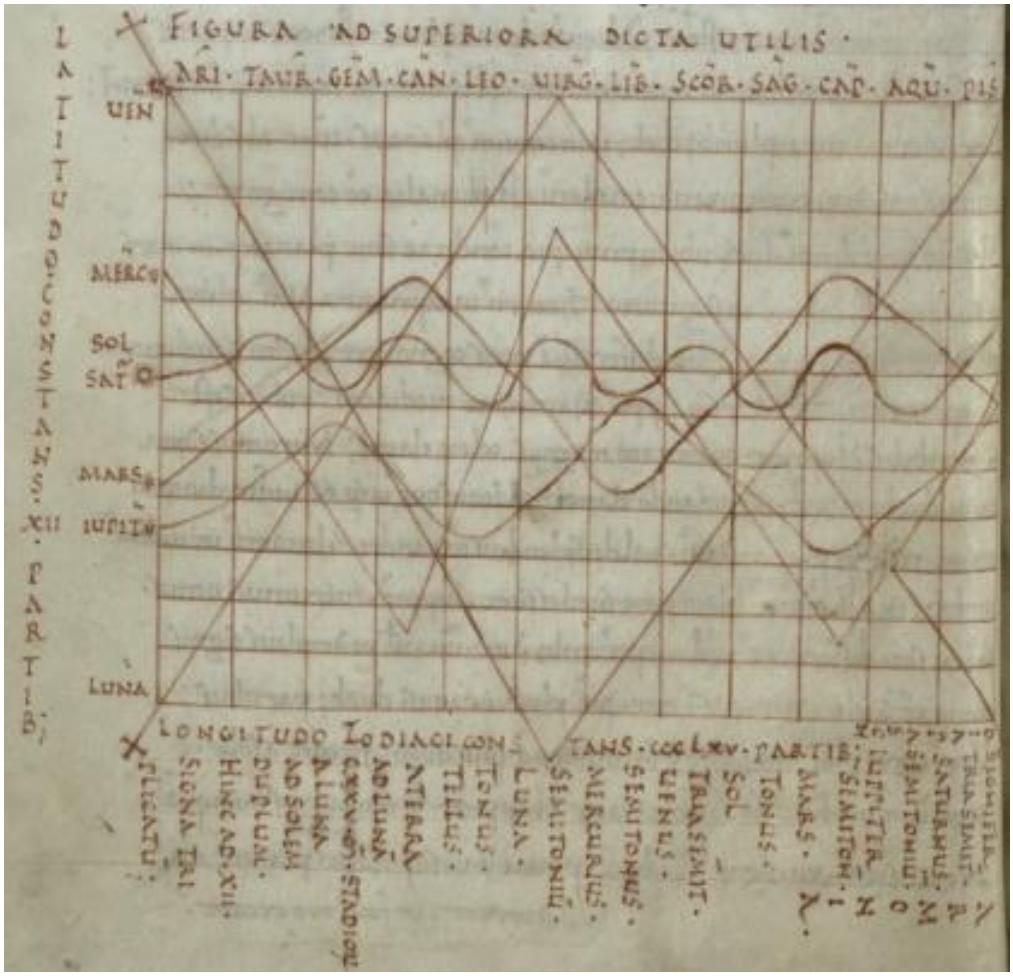

Figure 2. Table of planetary latitudes and longitudes. *Image:* Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.15.32, p. 6, CC BY-NC 4.0. With permission of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.

In the case of the diagram appearing in the Trinity Computus, the image bears a direct relationship to the text, schematizing the discussion preceding it around the ordering of the courses of the planets through the zodiac.[193] In Figure 2, the signs of the zodiac are listed in order along the top, beginning with the sign of Aries. Along the left side, the abbreviations of the planets are supplied, with Venus at the top-left corner, the Moon at the bottom-left corner, and the planets from Mercury, the Sun, Saturn, Mars and Jupiter provided in that order in between. In the preceding text, Abbo noted that the zodiac arranges the twelve signs through which the seven planets 'wander obliquely and are carried towards the east' (*ex obliquo*

[193] Cf. Pliny, *Natural History*, ed. and trans. by H. Rackham (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938), I, II.vi.31, pp. 188-189, II.xii.59-67, pp. 206-215.

discurrunt et ad orientem feruntur).[194] The zodiac, he went on to say, has 365 *partes* (degrees) in longitude, however, only twelve in latitude, likely reflected in the 12 x 12 grid in which the 365 *partes* are divided into roughly thirty-degree segments. This also reflects his understanding of planetary movements, with Mercury never 'able to be withdrawn more than 32 degrees from the Sun' (*numquam a sole plus xxxii partibus poterit elongare*).[195] Mercury is depicted just over the 30-degree line from the Sun (Sol) found in the middle of the diagram. The reference to Venus and the Moon 'holding everything in common' (*luna cum Venere omnes tenet in commune*) may explain the positioning of Venus and the Moon on the furthest extremes of the graph, particularly as Venus is described as 'exceeding [the band of the zodiac] here and there in latitude' (*hinc et inde eum Venus excedit in latitudine*).[196] The co-location of the Sun and Saturn in the centre of the grid may speak to their role in holding the two middle positions (*medias duas tenet*).[197]

This diagram references longitude as well, though it is unclear how to interpret it with respect to the latitudinal references along the vertical axis. North suggested that '[t]here was no plan to plot latitude against longitude' in these Plinian diagrams, which may explain the difficulty in understanding the relationship.[198] The text along the bottom notes distances in planetary harmonics which are not described in the treatise itself. Wallis has suggested that this table is largely a copy of previous Carolingian diagrams, though the dimensions for the zodiacal band across the axes may be an Abboan modification, while Bruce Eastwood noted that variants of this diagram circulated in England thanks to Abbo's invention.[199] Although the extent to which any credible form of calculations for planetary longitude may have

[194] Trinity College, MS R.15.32, p. 4.
[195] Trinity College, MS R.15.32, p. 4.
[196] Trinity College, MS R.15.32, p. 4.
[197] Trinity College, MS R.15.32, p. 4.
[198] North, 'Diagram and Thought in Medieval Science', p. 277.
[199] Wallis, *MS Oxford St. John's College 17*, p. 427; Eastwood, 'Astronomy in Christian Latin Europe, c. 500-c.1150', p. 251.

existed prior to the recovery of planetary tables in the twelfth century is questionable, the graphical depiction of the relationships between planetary latitude and longitude may show at least a theoretical understanding of the two components necessary for identifying planetary positions.

From the Trinity Computus alone, there is no indication that Abbo's mathematical procedures may have been attempted. While the absence of marginalia modifying or commenting on Abbo's procedure should not discount its potential use, it seems more likely that Abbo's treatise reinforced the cosmological foundations of computus, rather than prompted enquiries into the construction of horoscopes. This assessment aligns more closely with Thomson's comments on Abbo's text than Juste's, however, the importance of *De ratione spere* as a transitional text in the trajectory of astronomical history should not be overlooked. Although its contents largely reflect continuity in the tradition of descriptive and encyclopaedic astronomy consistent with late Latin authors, McCluskey argued that Abbo's work '[falls] somewhere between the computistical anthologies of the Carolingian schools and the more complex treatises on the sphere that would appear in the universities of the thirteenth century'.[200]

The other essential component for casting horoscopes involved identifying the sign rising on the eastern horizon. This may have been easier to grasp from the material contained in the Trinity Computus and even from Ælfric's DTA. Book VIII of *De Nuptiis*, in addition to providing a basic cosmology concerning the composition of the world and the heavens and their motions, included a section detailing the hour in which a sign was rising or setting.[201] Some zodiacal signs were said to rise more slowly than others—a nuance that Ælfric overlooks as described earlier. Capella, however, noted the differences in rising time: a 'slight bending' (*parua inflexione*) in Capricorn results in it taking two-and-a-quarter hours to rise,

[200] McCluskey, *Astronomies and Cultures in Early Medieval Europe*, p. 152.
[201] Trinity College, MS R.15.32, pp. 150-152.

Leo rises at two-and-a-third, while Aquarius takes just an hour-and-a-half and six *partes* of an hour.[202] Although Juste argued that this information, coupled with Abbo's procedure, could have enabled the early Medieval monk to cast horoscopes, the accuracy of such an endeavour is questionable.

To return to one of the methodological aims of this dissertation, when the three Winchester manuscripts are regarded as an interrelated corpus of cosmological knowledge, the differences in their cosmological scope is apparent. Unquestionably, the Trinity Computus is the most technical among the three codices, despite the astronomical material falling largely within the descriptive encyclopaedic tradition. Its solely Latin compositions further suggest that any didactic use would have likely been confined to monastic audiences whose education invariably included an intimate knowledge of computus and its mechanisms. Patrizia Lendinara observed that monastic schools throughout the entire pre-Conquest period were indeed 'the principal seats of learning', however, this should not be interpreted as a place where 'the full range of subjects' of the *trivium* (grammar, rhetoric and dialectic) and the *quadrivium* (geometry, arithmetic, astronomy and harmony) were pursued.[203] Rather, subjects like grammar were privileged insofar as they prepared one for the study of Scripture or for the practice of the *opus Dei* (God's work), which included the recitation of the Divine Office, contemplation of the Rule of St. Benedict or reading edifying religious texts.[204] While the early Medieval English appeared to engage in a mere shadow of the Carolingian educational programme, it was likely that a basic 'scientific' foundation would have been gleaned from assorted excerpts of Boethius, Macrobius and Capella.[205] This may have been

[202] Trinity College MS R.15.32, p. 150.
[203] Patrizia Lendinara, 'The World of Anglo-Saxon Learning', in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, 2nd edn, ed. by Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 295-312 (pp. 301, 309).
[204] Lendinara, 'The World of Anglo-Saxon Learning', p. 301.
[205] Lendinara, 'Instructional Manuscripts in England: The Tenth- and Eleventh-Century Codices and the Early Norman Ones', in *Form and Content of Instruction in Anglo-Saxon England in the Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence*, *Papers Presented at the International Conference, Udine, 6-8 April 2006*, ed. by Patrizia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari and Maria Amalia D'Aronco (Turnhout: Brepolis, 2007), pp. 59-114 (pp. 87-88).

one particular use of the Trinity Computus, though, as Lapidge put it, the 'intricacies of the scientific quadrivium', though likely '[glimpsed]' by Abbo's pupils at Ramsey, unfortunately did not appear to 'survive Abbo's departure'.[206] Although the contents of the Trinity Computus may, in fact, suggest that Abbo's teachings were disseminated beyond Ramsey given that the manuscript was largely compiled in the first-half of the eleventh century, it is likely that Abbo's procedure went untested by the Winchester community.

By contrast, the cosmology presented through Ælfric's DTA demonstrates a simplified cosmographical model where basic celestial and temporal mechanics were briefly explained and, at times, scripturally contextualized. Heavily influenced by Bede, a lay cleric may have found its qualitative summaries helpful in understanding the courses of the luminaries, the names of the zodiac signs, the changing of the seasons, meteorological phenomena and even how to reckon different units of time. The complexities of Easter calculations were confined to summaries of how lunar calculations were arrived at. Any complex discussions or mathematical procedures were omitted; in fact, Ælfric's reticence to enter into any sophisticated cosmological discussion is evinced in his attitude towards the courses of the planets, writing that their courses 'may seem very incredible to unlearned people'.[207] It is thus not unreasonable to assume, as Nicole Guenther Discenza did, that DTA's sole aim was 'to give Latin-illiterate students a basic understanding of the workings of the Sun, Moon, and earth', but little more beyond that.[208]

However, abbot Ælfwine would have been proficient in Latin and no doubt more than likely to explain the procedures inherent in Paschal calculations or the theoretical courses of the planets. Although no record survives of him specifically outside the various biographical

[206] Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature 900-1066*, pp. 40-41.
[207] Ælfric, *De Temporibus Anni*, pp. 92-93. '…hit wile þincan swiðe ungeleaffullic ungelæredum mannum…' (Blake's translation).
[208] Nicole Guenther Discenza, 'Following in the Tracks of Bede: Science and Cosmology in the English Benedictine Reform', in *Anglo-Saxon Traces*, ed. by Jane Roberts and Leslie Webster (Tempe, AZ: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2011), pp. 67-86 (p. 69).

details noted throughout the prayerbook, as an abbot Ælfwine would have likely been elected from among the New Minster's own members per the Rule of St. Benedict and thus received an extensive education in Latin.[209] Even if, as Lendinara suggested, his knowledge of the quadrivium's disciplines was lacking, astronomical material often found its way into scriptural commentaries. For example, in Ælfric's translation of Alcuin of York's commentary on Genesis, Ælfric did not hesitate to include the courses of their planets and their periods in Latin—the language of a more learned audience who would not presumably regard his descriptions with dubiety.[210] Thus, given the varied contents of Ælfwine's Prayerbook, the Vitellius Psalter and the Trinity Computus, questions arise around not only their intended audience, but also their possible uses, particularly given that prognostics appear in the prayerbook and psalter and not in the computus anthology. This next section will query potential reasons for the differences in manuscript content.

Reconsidering the Pastoral Hypothesis

In contrast to the more utilitarian content and construct of Ælfwine's Prayerbook and the Vitellius Psalter, the Trinity Computus appears wholly concerned with cosmology and astronomy. Absent any Old English texts, it was likely used by Latin-speaking monks to acquire the foundations of astronomy necessary to understand the basis of computus. The near-absence of prognostics in the Trinity Computus—save for those which were more likely intended to inform calendar construction—raises questions around who might have benefitted from the inclusion of countless prognostics in both Ælfwine's Prayerbook and the Vitellius

[209] Dom Thomas Symons, *Regularis Concordia: Anglicae Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque: The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*, trans. by Dom Thomas Symons, intro. by Dom Thomas Symons (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons, 1953), pp. ix-lix (p. xxx).
[210] William Procter Stoneman, *A Critical Edition of Ælfric's Translation of Alcuin's* Interrogationes Sigwulfi Presbiteri *and the Related Texts* De creatione et creatura *and* De sex etatibus huius seculi (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1982), pp. 117-119.

Psalter. Beyond the natural affinity that prognostics share with the structure of the calendar, it is not immediately apparent why a monk would have needed to know the fates or characters of infants, whether a dream predicted widowhood or what the outcome of a lawsuit might be.

One of the main scribes associated with both the Trinity Computus and Ælfwine's Prayerbook, Ælfsige (Ælsinus), was simultaneously described by Keynes as 'a computus buff', '[interested] in prognostics' and principally responsible for 'the more personal and devotional elements' in Ælfwine's Prayerbook.[211] Although Pulsiano rejected the possibility that Ælfsige or even Ælfwine were directly responsible for the Vitellius Psalter (instead suggesting that they may have been responsible for the exemplar from which the psalter was copied), Ælfsige's contribution to both the practical-didactic prayerbook and the more 'technical' computus may suggest a monastic worldview in which prognostics, computus, astronomy and scripture coexisted without any of the religious discordance that has sometimes been suggested by contemporary scholars.[212] While the Winchester manuscripts appear to demonstrate varying contexts and potential audiences for their material, Keynes's characterisation of Ælfsige may point to a monastic milieu interested in predicting mundane, medical and genethlialogical matters, although this does not resolve the question of why these topics might have interested them.

In analysing the manuscript context in which prognostics appeared, Chardonnes foregrounded *computi*, medical sections and even the addition of prognostic texts to the blank spaces of manuscripts.[213] Prayerbooks, psalters and other liturgical manuscripts did not earn their own category; rather, these materials were subsumed by a fourth category entitled 'prognostic sections'.[214] This categorization may underemphasize the importance of liturgical manuscripts as a distinct locus for prognostic texts. Where the calendar ordered the liturgical

[211] Keynes, *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster*, pp. 67-69, 112.
[212] Pulsiano, 'Abbot Ælfwine and the Date of the Vitellius Psalter', pp. 8-9.
[213] Chardonnes, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, pp. 26-59.
[214] Chardonnes, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, p. 49.

year and its various observances, the myriad offices divided the day and week according to prayer and contemplation, making prognostics a temporally relevant inclusion.

In Ælfwine's Prayerbook, a second 'prognostic section' follows the calendar and computus material. Cotton MS Titus D xxvi begins with directions for private devotion, containing the names of invocations and prayers to be recited or sung throughout the week and instructions for when the prayers are to be recited 'secretly', where the supplicant is by themselves (*dihlice, þær ðu sylf sy*).[215] This may be interpreted not only as a direction that the various prayers ought to be recited in seclusion, but also, as Cooper observed, in 'communal' settings.[216] Cooper wrote that 'private devotions were not necessarily solitary devotions'; singing was one instance where the devotional activity might have been carried out in the company of others.[217] While the editor of a transcription of Ælfwine's Prayerbook, Beate Günzel, believed that the offices in Cotton MS Titus D xxvii were likely 'intended only for private devotion', there may be instances where the material also indicated performance by Ælfwine, both in his capacity as abbot and as head of the choir.[218] Potential evidence for use in services may be found in the Old English Rubric that follows the prognostic section, prescribing the order in which various prayers and psalms were to be sung or the collection of prayers to be recited daily for sinners.[219]

Two encyclopaedic notes follow the directions for private devotion, one concerning the six ages of the world divided from the Biblical Flood to the coming of the Antichrist in the year 1000, and another concerning the length of Christ's body and the types of wood used to construct the Cross on which he was crucified.[220] Thirteen different prognostics follow sequentially, ranging from illness, dream and birth lunaries to thunder prognostics, a Pseudo-

[215] Cotton MS Titus D xxvi, f. 2^{v}.
[216] Cooper, *Monk-Bishops*, p. 130.
[217] Cooper, *Monk-Bishops*, p. 130.
[218] Günzel, 'Introduction', *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, pp. 53, 59.
[219] Cotton MS Titus D xxvi, f. 16^{v}.
[220] Cotton MS Titus D xxvi, fols 3^{r}-3^{v}.

Edras and a dreambook. The prognostic section precedes a recipe for boils, decisions made at a Bishop's synod and a collection of prayers based on the penitential psalms.[221] This seemingly eclectic collection of prayers, recipes, notes and prognostics appears fragmented when compared with the organized framework of the calendar and computus. However, the co-location of prognostics with prayers may reflect a point that Pulsiano raised in his examination of the Vitellius Psalter: namely, that psalms and prayers linked 'religious practices and what we might call today popular superstition and "home remedies"'.[222] In short, the devotional context may be critical in revealing how, where and by whom these prognostic texts may have been used.

Around the time of the Conquest, Olga Timofeeva estimated that the secular clergy outnumbered monks by a ratio of more than five to one.[223] This is particularly consequential as the secular clergy and ordained monks were tasked with *cura animarum*, or pastoral care, defined by Giles Constable as 'the performance of those ceremonies that were considered central to the salvation of the individual Christian'.[224] This could be directly contrasted with monks whose lives were intended to be cloistered and organized according to the schedule set out in the Rule of St. Benedict. As Constable put it, 'monks and nuns were professional contemplatives', their lives dictated by *lectio* (reading), *meditatio* (meditation), *oratio* (payer) and *contemplatio* (contemplation).[225] However, this may overemphasize the extent to which the monastic community succeeded in its goal of seclusion from the wider world, as Constable himself also noted various circumstances in which monks came in contact with the laity.[226]

[221] Cotton MS Titus D xxvi, fols 3^{v}-16^{r}.
[222] Pulsiano, 'The Prefatory Matter', p. 91.
[223] Olga Timofeeva, 'Anglo-Latin Bilingualism Before 1066: Prospects and Limitations', in *Interfaces Between Language and Culture in Medieval England: A Festschrift for Matti Kilpiö*, ed. by Alaric Hall and others (Leiden: Brill, 2010), pp. 1-36 (pp. 14-15).
[224] Constable, 'Monasteries, Rural Churches and the *Cura Animarum*', pp. 351, 353.
[225] Giles Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 15.
[226] Constable, 'Monasteries, Rural Churches and the *Cura Animarum*', p. 353.

In her study of everyday life in the cloister, Julie Kerr detailed many of these circumstances. For example, the Scottish abbey of Melrose was situated on a Roman road connecting England to Tweedale and the Lothians making it 'a popular stopping-off point for those travelling between England and Scotland'.[227] At Abingdon, visitors descended on the monastery for various feasts and celebrations, while Abbot Æthelwig (1059-77) at Evesham (Worcestershire) provided daily care to 'Maundy men' in exchange for their participation in various offices.[228] Monks received visits from family, seasonal workers were employed for the annual harvest and servants ranging from egg-collectors to washerwomen were among those monks regularly encountered.[229]

As the head of the monastic community, an abbot such as Ælfwine provided spiritual guidance and consolation, maintained discipline and likely toured the monastery, including the infirmary daily.[230] Carine van Rhijn, a scholar of Carolingian prognostics, argued that the bishop or priest often fulfilled 'the role of expert', needing to possess knowledge that 'went beyond just what happened in and around the local church, but included matters of health and disease, of birth and death, of weather, the harvest and of cattle'.[231] Flint similarly underscored the need for Christian alternatives to local knowledge and pointed to prognostics as the type of information 'a Christian pastor and healer might have about them'.[232]Although Chardonnes argued that extant textual sources prohibiting superstitious practices suggest that it was unlikely the church would 'propagate "Christian" superstitions to displace "pagan ones"', it appears equally unlikely that the church made no room for divination among its

[227] Julie Kerr, *Life in the Medieval Cloister* (London: Continuum, 2009), p. 19.
[228] Kerr, *Life in the Medieval Cloister*, pp. 24, 36.
[229] Kerr, *Life in the Medieval Cloister*, pp. 33.
[230] Kerr, *Life in the Medieval Cloister*, pp. 26, 76. Wulfstan of Winchester described the 'customary tour of the monastery' (*more solito peragraret monasterium*) the abbot made. See Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of Æthelwold*, ed. and trans. by Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon, 1991), pp. 26-27.
[231] Carine van Rhijn, 'Pastoral Care and Prognostics in the Carolingian Period. The Case of *El Escorial, Real Biblioteca di San Lorenzo*, ms L III 8', *Revue Bénédictine*, 2.127 (2017), 272-297 (p. 296).
[232] Flint, *The Rise of Magic*, p. 314.

normative practices.[233] Robert Wiśniewski reiterated one prevailing scholarly opinion in his study of early Christian divination: namely, that Christian divinatory practices 'were based on …commonly known and readily accessible pagan models'.[234] Instances of clerical divination were also documented by sources such as Gregory of Tours (c. 538-594) and William of Malmesbury (c. 1095-c. 1143).[235] Further, aspects of Christianization might be seen in the attribution of certain weather and dream prognostics to the biblical prophets Ezra and Daniel. Even the Egyptian Days were given a biblical foundation in the twelfth century when they were associated with the Ten Plagues that sought to compel the Pharaoh to release the Hebrews from Egypt.[236]

Chardonnes also refuted the pastoral hypothesis based on the manuscript context. Citing both Ælfwine's Prayerbook and the Vitellius Psalter as examples where prognostics were included among the computus material, Chardonnes believed that it was unlikely the owners of these books would be '[explaining] the foundations of time-reckoning to a lay audience'.[237] In his view, the absence of 'unambiguous signs' pointing to the 'actual use' of prognostics beyond 'emendations or alterations' to prognostic texts could suggest that 'many types of superstition [referenced in Anglo-Saxon texts] are literary phenomena, which is particularly true of prognostication, judicial astrology and magical rituals'.[238] In short, Chardonnes believed that many of these manuscripts never 'left the scriptoria in which they were produced' and might have just as easily been deployed in 'the education of monks…as

[233] Chardonnes, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, p. 137.
[234] Robert Wiśniewski, *Christian Divination in Late Antiquity*, trans. by Damian Jasiński (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam Press, 2020), p. 251
[235] Hen, 'Paganism and Superstitions in the Time of Gregory of Tours', p. 232; George Henderson, '*Sortes Biblicae* in Twelfth-Century England: The List of Episcopal Prognostics in Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.7.5', in *England in the Twelfth Century: Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Daniel Williams (Suffolk: Boydell, 1990), pp. 113-135 (p. 114); William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: The History of the English Bishops*, ed. and trans. by M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon, 2007), pp. 218-219.
[236] Skemer, '"Armis Gunfe"', pp. 82-83.
[237] Chardonnes, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, pp. 134-135.
[238] Chardonnes, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, pp. 127, 140, 142.

for parish priests and other churchmen who had contact with the lay community'.[239] However, Frederick Paxton's views on scribal activity are an essential counterpoint to this perspective. Paxton argued that the idea of 'scribes slavishly copying manuscripts with little regard for their content is largely a misleading caricature'; rather, owing to the resource and time constraints of book production, texts 'demanded choice and a certain selectivity when working'.[240] Therefore, it may stand to reason that prognostics would not have been copied and so extensively disseminated if their function were solely literary.

In a chapter on saintly life in early Medieval England, Lapidge described a pastoral landscape rife with illness of disease. Quoting the late tenth-century Winchester monk Lantfred on the miracles of St. Swithun, Lapidge relayed a jarring portrait of the Old Minster filled day and night with people 'afflicted with appalling physical deformities, festering wounds, blind, paralytic, deaf, dumb, mutilated indescribably… clustered around the shrine of St. Swithun…moaning in pain and praying aloud for the deliverance from their suffering'.[241] Monks did not, therefore, appear as cloistered as the Benedictine Rule suggested, instead encountering many lay Christians seeking ministration. In Ælfric's Letter to the Monks at Eynsham, he noted the frequency with which paupers were to be fed and cared for by the monastic community and included the direction that,

> After Sext one shall celebrate the mass for the poor, who have been assembled beforehand for this purpose in numbers determined by the abbot. [The monks] shall wash and dry and kiss the feet of the men only, and, after pouring water over their hands, they [*scil*. the poor] shall also be given food and whatever [else] the abbot deems appropriate.[242]

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[239] Chardonnes, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, p. 136.
[240] Frederick S. Paxton, '"Signa Mortifera": Death and Prognostication in Early Medieval Monastic Medicine', *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 67.4 (1993), 631-650 (p. 641) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/44445835> [accessed 14 March 2024].
[241] Michael Lapidge, 'The Saintly Life in Anglo-Saxon England', in *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, 2nd edn, ed. by Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 251-272 (p. 251).
[242] Christopher A. Jones, *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 128-129. 'Sexta peracta celebretur missa pauperibus ante ad hoc collectis, secundum numerum quem abbas praeuiderit. Et lauent pedes uirorum tantum et extergant atque osculentur et, data aqua manibus illorum, dentur eis etiam cibaria et quicquid abbas praeuiderit' (Jones's translation).

Thus, it may be conceivable that an abbot such as Ælfwine could have required these myriad prognostic texts in service of the lay community. It is not beyond the realm of the possible that, as private prayerbooks were taking on dynamic developments in the eleventh century, the additions of new genres of prayer and meditations could have extended to including non-devotional material as well.[243] As Pulsiano argued, prayers—and one may assume, by extension, the books containing them—were 'not confined to liturgy and private devotion, but also served a function within a broad range of curative formulas and charms'.[244]

The seemingly utilitarian construction of both manuscripts, as well as what scholars have revealed about the compilation and usage of devotional books, may warrant a reconsideration of prognostics as solely a text-based phenomenon. Cooper, for example, argued that the scriptoria of reformed houses like Winchester, 'were not only busy producing psalters and the liturgical volumes needed for the correct performance of their *Opus Dei*…but they were also producing library books and school books'.[245] Johnathan Black and Kate Thomas have demonstrated that no extant manuscripts from the pre-Conquest period were 'intended for private prayer alone', and, indeed, private devotional books were but one channel 'by which forms of worship associated with the [Divine] Office could be brought to a somewhat wider public'.[246] Thomas Hall introduced the contention that Ælfric's DTA may indeed have been a beneficial text for laypeople, refuting Hollis's suggestion that priests could have consulted it prior to ordination.[247] It is possible to imagine Ælfic's text being read to lay people not unlike the way that Wulfstan of Winchester described Æthelwold as

[243] Jonathan Black, 'The Divine Office and Private Devotion in the Latin West' in *The Liturgy of the Medieval Church*, ed. by Thomas J. Heffernan and E. Ann Mathers, 2nd edn (Kalamazoo, MI: Western Michigan University, 2005 [2001]), pp. 41-64 (p. 59).
[244] Phillip Pulsiano, 'Prayers, Glosses and Glossaries', in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001), pp. 209-230 (p. 211).
[245] Cooper, *Monk-Bishops*, p. 68.
[246] Jonathan Black, 'The Divine Office', p. 61; Kate Thomas, *Late Anglo-Saxon Prayer in Practice: Before the Book of Hours* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2020), p. 6.
[247] Thomas N. Hall, 'Ælfric as Pedagogue', in *A Companion to Ælfric*, ed. by Hugh Magennis and Mary Swan (Leiden: Brill, 2009), pp. 193-216 (p. 215).

‘[teaching] young men and the more mature students, translating Latin texts into English for them, passing on the rules of grammar and metric, and encouraging them to do better by cheerful words’.[248]

Finally, the potential pastoral application of prognostics could be hypothesized from the very sources that Chardonnes cited. While figures such as Ælfric forbade ‘enchanters’ (*galdras*) from being consulted on any mundane matter, Christian substitutions were actively promoted, such as the recitation of the Lord’s Prayer and Creed in lieu of heeding the best day on which to undertake a journey.[249] This phenomenon was also shown to extend to devotional uses of the Cross, linking it to ‘practical applications’, including remedies, invocations, amulets or rituals for finding lost objects.[250] Even inauspicious days for administering sacraments were noted in Ælfwine’s collective lunary.[251]

From a sociocultural standpoint, the importance of the coming of the Antichrist in the year 1000 was also noted in the prayerbook, despite its production some twenty to thirty years later. While the monks at Winchester may have been further removed from the ‘millennial anxiety’ that gripped their forbears, the Viking raids and subsequent famine were likely imprinted on the collective psyche.[252] Prognostics like the Pseudo-Edras which predicted lack and abundance or mass illnesses and death, the thunder prognostic predicting the persecution of Christians, or the rituals and charms in the Vitellius Psalter which addressed agricultural issues may all have represented matters of vital concern to the

[248] Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of St. Æthelwold*, pp. 46-49. ‘…adolescents et iuuenes semper docere, et Latinos libros Anglice eis soluere, et regulas grammaticae artis ac metricae rationis tradere, et iocundis alloquiis ad meliora hortari’ (Lapidge and Winterbottom’s translation).
[249] Ælfric, ‘De Auguriis’, pp. 368-371.
[250] Karen Louise Jolly, ‘Cross-Referencing Anglo-Saxon Liturgy and Remedies: The Sign of the Cross as Ritual Protection’ in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. by Helen Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 2005), pp. 213-243 (pp. 214-215).
[251] Cotton MS Titus D xxvii, 27^{v}, Luna .v.. See also Appendix B.
[252] Catherine Cubitt, ‘Apocalyptic and Eschatological Thought in England Around the Year 1000’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 25 (2015), 27-52 (pp. 29, 32-34) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26360590> [accessed 31 January 2024].

monastic community.[253] As Arthur noted, protecting livestock, apiaries and their produce were important for monasteries; the same could be said for proximate lay communities who depended equally on peace, benevolent weather and healthy agricultural conditions.[254] Thus, one may argue that the interrelationships between religious content, pastoral applications, clerical knowledge and lay practices contributed to a more multi-valent worldview in which charms, recipes and prognostics were copied and presumably consulted alongside computistical and religious material.

Conclusion

Were the early Medieval English studying 'Arabic astrology'? The extant evidence at Winchester under Ælfwine's abbacy does not appear to support this, nor does the contention that lunar prognostics were influenced by some form of Arabic learning. While the Trinity Computus has shown that a determined monk could have cast a horoscope based on its material, it also indicates that such an attempt would have been approximate at best given the faulty astronomical and mathematical foundations outlined in its procedures. Instead, this dissertation has endeavoured to reinforce the notion that prognostics formed both an essential analogue to computus study to assess the quality of time and a necessary adjunct to pastoral ministration, predicting the quality of the year, the health of the population and the state of agricultural affairs for a monastic community and its neighbours. The calendrical basis of computus alone, despite its astronomical foundations, could not have enabled clerical authorities to carry out medical or pastoral duties if questions turned to whether a particular harvest year might be fruitful or whether an infant born might be destined for the church.

Despite criticisms of diachronic studies, prognostics have featured unevenly in the study of astrology's history, often treated as crude precursors to the full recovery of technical

[253] Cotton MS Titus D xxvi, fols 9^{v}-11^{v}; Cotton MS Vitellius E xviii, f. 15^{v}.
[254] Arthur, *The Liturgy of 'Charms' in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 172.

horoscopic astrology in the twelfth century. This dissertation has also sought to challenge this perception, emphasizing that many of the constituent elements of prognostics fit within the prescribed uses of 'natural' astrology and time-reckoning per authorities such as Isidore and Bede. Furthermore, although extant textual evidence is lacking, this dissertation has also proposed that prognostics may have enabled a subtle expansion of what came to constitute 'natural astrology' in the twelfth century, while at the same time continuing their own trajectory of development alongside more technical astrology in the High Middle Ages and Renaissance. Though hinting at various topical linkages to later forms of astrology, the prognostics examined do not appear to provide sufficient evidence of a more technical astrological learning pre-dating its commonly cited twelfth-century recovery. As noted throughout, one of the most conspicuous textual absences (and essential components of horoscopic astrology) were the planets. Their omission in Ælfwine's Prayerbook and the Vitellius Psalter may be indicative of the varied contexts in which astronomical and astrological knowledge could have been transmitted, contrasting lay and monastic knowledge with the spheres in which astronomical learning and practical application took place.

The other thread that this dissertation endeavoured to address, however briefly, is the notion of prognostics as belonging to a body of illicit superstitious practices condemned by Anglo-Latin Church authorities. Little is known about how the monastic copyists of these prognostics or the users of these prayerbooks and psalters regarded or even deployed prognostics. From fragmentary evidence found in manuscripts such as Cotton MS Caligula A xv and Cotton MS Vitellius E xviii, it may be difficult to discount fully that prognostics were regarded as analogous to and by no means incongruous with the 'holy wisdom' that computus appeared to embody. Elaine Treharne has observed the tendency of modern humanists to '[work] in categories of textual division' despite the fact that most eleventh- and twelfth-century English texts were 'reworkings of received materials made anew for different

audiences'.[255] Depending on the scribes, compilers and adaptors, modern scholars must assume that specific editorial and functional choices were made about texts and their sequences in manuscripts.[256] This makes Liuzza's contention that prognostics 'operated in the same world as their companion texts, were used by the same readers, and were regarded with something of the same respect' an essential foundational understanding for the study of prognostics.[257] The distinctions between religion and superstition or divination appear insufficient to understand fully how these texts may have aligned with rather than contradicted Anglo-Latin Christian cosmology.

Finally, this dissertation has endeavoured to illustrate something about the cosmological orientation of an eleventh-century English monastic community. While the extent to which its abbot directly curated the content of these manuscripts is unknown, it is apparent from the contributions of a single monk that interest in the cosmos was both taking on an increasingly theoretical-astronomical basis alongside more practical-utilitarian concerns. The contents of all three manuscripts show the discrete uses of various elements of cosmological knowledge, both 'popular' and 'scholarly'. Without overstating their importance, prognostics may contribute to understanding one of the ways in which monastic communities used various forms of calendrical time-reckoning to serve the needs of both their own monastery and the proximate community.

[255] Elaine Treharne, *Disrupting Categories, 1050-1250: Rethinking the Humanities Through Premodern Texts* (Leeds: ARC Humanities Press, 2024), pp. 7-9.
[256] Treharne, *Disrupting Categories*, p. 9.
[257] Liuzza, 'Anglo-Saxon Prognostics in Context', p. 183.

Appendix A:
Inventory of Prognostics Contained in the Three Winchester Manuscripts

Notes:

The layout of this table was partially adapted from the reference list, Appendix 2, of László-Sándor Chardonnes's *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 549-558, in which he provided a summary list of the prognostics found in early Medieval English manuscripts.

1. The column titled 'Prognostic Genre' refers to the contemporary titles given to various prognostic genres, largely based on Chardonnes's work.
2. The column marked 'Unit of Time' refers to the temporal structure of the prognostic:
    a. 'Lunar time' refers to the lunar month from one lunation (New Moon) to another.
    b. 'Solar time' refers to the standard Julian calendar days.
    c. 'Diurnal time' refers to the reckoning of the times of the day and night.
    d. 'Astronomical time' refers to the use of astronomical events to predict the quality of time, for instance the heliacal rising of certain stars.
    e. 'Scriptural time' refers to the use of allegorical-biblical time, such as Judgement Day.
    f. 'N/A' stands for 'not applicable' and indicates where no specific temporal structure is applied.
3. The distinction between 'Egyptian Days, 24' and 'Egyptian Days, 3' refer respectively to the twenty-four Egyptian Days marked throughout the twelve calendar months and the three 'Critical Mondays', or the three days of the year on which bloodletting was prohibited.
4. Unless noted by '(OE)' at the end of the genre description, all prognostics are in Latin.

Folios	Prognostic Genre	Description of Genre / Content	Unit of Time
London, British Library, Cotton MS Titus D xxvi+xxvii (*Ælfwine's Prayerbook*)			
D xxvii, 2^{r}	Lunary, bloodletting	Predicts the optimal day or hour to let blood according to the lunar month.	Lunar
D xxvii, 3^{r}-8^{v}	Egyptian Days, 24 Dog Days	Egyptian Days are marked with a *D'* in the calendar, while the Dog Days are identified by text indicating their beginning (July 17, f. 6^{r}) and end (September 5, f. 7^{r}). There are discrepancies in the beginning of the Dog Days between the three manuscripts.	Calendar (Egyptian Days) Astronomical (Dog Days)
D xxvii, 22^{rv}, 22^{v}-23^{r}	Egyptian Days, 24 Dog Days	Hexameter verses detailing the days of each month that are dangerous for bloodletting, followed by lists of additional days. A lengthy paragraph follows the verses (f. 22^{v}-23^{r}), which describes the perils of the Dog Days, including dietary prohibitions.	Calendar (Egyptian Days) Astronomical (Dog Days)
D xxvii, 25^{rv}	Year prognosis (Pseudo-Edras)	Offers predictions spanning the quality of the weather each season, population deaths, peril to ships, and other such mundane predictions based on the day of the week that the kalends of January (January 1) falls.	Solar

Appendix A:
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Folios	Prognostic Genre	Description of Genre / Content	Unit of Time
D xxvii, 27^{r}-29^{v}	Lunary, collective (also called a 'general lunary')	Lists various undertakings that are either auspicious or inauspicious according to each day of the lunar month. This lunary also includes predictions on whether someone who fell ill will recover or die, whether thieves will be caught, whether dreams will come to pass, and the general quality or character of an infant born each day.	Lunar
D xxvii, 55^{v}-56^{v}	Alphabet prognostic	This prognostic is not wholly predictive, although it has been typically included in the corpus of prognostics by contemporary scholars, with some qualification.[258] Ælfwine's Prayerbook is also the only manuscript in which an 'alphabet prognostic' appears. It contains phrases that correspond to the letter of the alphabet, although it is not sufficiently clear what its use may have been. For example, the entry for the letter 'F' reads, 'It signifies death from death; in this year expect goodness from God'. Thie expectation of goodness may considered a prediction, which can be contrasted with the letter 'Y'. It 'signifies love and salvation'.[259] Chardonnes noted that this prognostic was added later.[260] (OE)	N/A
D xxvi, 3^{v}-4^{r}	Egyptian Days, 3	Text describing the key dates of the year with an emphasis on adverse lunar influence, particularly three critical days on which veins bled, drugs taken or goose-flesh eaten could lead to death. The prohibition on goose consumption is thought to have been a peculiarity of early Medieval English prognostics.[261]	Calendar

[258] Chardonnes includes the alphabet prognostic in his *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, pp. 179-180. In Chardonnes's subsequent study of the alphabet prognostic, he noted Hollis and Wright's treatment of it as separate from other prognostics. See László-Sándor Chardonnes, 'The Old English Alphabet Prognostic as a Prototype for Mantic Alphabets', in *Secular Learning in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. by László-Sándor Chardonnes and Bryan Carella, *Secular Learning in Anglo-Saxon England* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2012), pp. 223-37 (pp. 223). Hollis and Wright noted that early scholarship identified this text as a form of 'alphabet divination' and compared it to Latin *sortes* (lots). Further, they indicated that 'connections with the alphabetically organized Dreambooks do not seem to have been explored', nor whether this text may have been used as an 'organizing principle in prognostic texts', given the frequency with which runic alphabets appeared in pre-Conquest English manuscripts and occasionally in charms. See Hollis and Wright, *Old English Prose*, p. 266.

[259] Chardonnes, 'The Old English Alphabet Prognostic', pp. 225, n. 10. 'F. tacnað deaþ fram deaþe on þyssum geare bide god godes'; 'Y. Býcnað sibbe 7 gesynta' (Chardonnes's translations).

[260] Chardonnes, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, p. 47.

[261] Skemer, '"Armis Gunfe"', p. 77.

Appendix A:
Inventory of Prognostics contained in the Three Winchester Manuscripts

Folios	Prognostic Genre	Description of Genre / Content	Unit of Time
D xxvi, 4^{rv}	Birth, Three Miraculous Days	A brief prediction concerning three days on which no women are born and the bodies of men born will not putrefy before the Judgement Day.	Scriptural
D xxvi, 4^{v}	Dog Days	Describes the temporal limits of the Dog Days and the various associated dangers, including bloodletting. Some dates of the lunar month unfavourable for bloodletting are listed (with one contradicting the bloodletting lunary in D xxvii, f. 2^{r}).	Astronomical
D xxvi, 5^{r}	Egyptian Days, 24	Description of prohibited activities on the two Egyptian Days per month, such as planting vines or threshing. The days are also listed.	Calendar
D xxvi, 5^{r}-6^{r}	Colour of the moon	Describes various weather predictions according to the colour of the moon on the fourth lunar day only. The prognostic opens with a description of the distance of the Sun and Moon from earth attributed to Pythagoras.	Lunar
D xxvi, 6^{rv}	Lunary, bloodletting	A bloodletting lunary like the one found on D xxvii, f. 2^{f} with some divergences in the guidance for specific days. The tenth lunar day is left blank.	Lunar
D xxvi, 6^{v}-7^{v}	Birth, weekday	Contains a few general predictions about the character or fate of an infant born on each day of the week and, in some instances, the general time of day or night.	Solar
D xxvi, 7^{v}-8^{r}	Lunary, birth	Like the structure of the bloodletting lunary, the prognostic is organized according to the days of the lunar month with almost single-word characterizations of the character or destiny of a child born on that day. For example, on the eighth lunar day, a child born will die in youth, or on the twelfth lunar day, a child born will be religious.	Lunar
D xxvi, 8^{r}-9^{r}	Lunary, illness	Similar in structure to both the bloodletting and birth lunary, brief notes about the prognosis of an invalid are given. For instance, if someone fell ill on the third lunar day, they will recover, on the twenty-fifth lunar day, they will languish and die.	Lunar
D xxvi, 9^{rv}	Lunary, dreams	Like the above-noted structure of the bloodletting, birth and illness lunaries, the dream lunary offers brief predictions on dream	Lunar

Appendix A:
Inventory of Prognostics contained in the Three Winchester Manuscripts

Folios	Prognostic Genre	Description of Genre / Content	Unit of Time
		interpretation. For instance, on the thirteenth lunar day the dream will come to pass after seven days while dreams on the twenty-seventh to twenty-ninth lunar days will pertain to joy.	
D xxvi, 9^{v}-10^{v}	Brontology	Organized according to the hours of day or night, this prognostic offers varied mundane predictions, such as, 'If [thunder occurs] at sunrise, it signifies certain people converting to a belief in Christ'.[262]	Diurnal
D xxvi, 10^{v}-11^{v}	Year prognosis (Pseudo-Edras)	Like the Pseudo-Edras in D xxvii, this text contains various predictions about the quality of the year. The texts are largely consistent, with some slight variations. For instance, the Pseudo-Edras in D xxvi indicates that if the kalends of January falls on the first day of the week, cows will multiply, whereas in D xxvii, it is sheep.[263] The close spelling of cows (*boves*) and sheep (*oves*) may indicate a scribal error, particularly as the Vitellius Psalter likely postdates Ælfwine's Prayerbook.	Solar
D xxvi, 11^{v}-16^{r}	Dreambook	This prognostic is not necessarily predictive but rather describes the meaning of certain objects appearing in dreams, for instance, 'seeing running beasts signifies a commotion', or 'having guests signifies bereavement'.[264]	N/A
London, British Library, Cotton MS Vitellius E xviii (Vitellius Psalter)			
1^{r}	Lunary, bloodletting (missing)	One may surmise that the content of this missing lunary would closely follow the form and content of D xvii, f. 2^{r}.	Lunar
2^{r}-7^{v}	Egyptian Days, 24 Dog Days	Chardonnes only reprinted the various Egyptian and Dog Days appearing in the calendar, however, Wormald reprinted the full calendar. In the latter, a clearer portrait of the intersection between the soli-lunar calendrical structure is achieved.[265] Below the name of each month, key information is provided, including where the Sun is	Calendar

[262] Cotton MS Titus D xxvi, f. 10^{r}. 'Si hora .vi. ortu solis, significat gentem aliquam conuenientem ad fidem Christi'.
[263] Cf. Cotton MS Titus D xxvii, f. 10^{v}. '…boves crescent, et mel abundanter erit…', translated as '…cows will multiply and honey will be abundant…'; Cotton MS Titus D xxvi, f. 25^{r}. '…oves multiplicabuntur, et mel habundabit…', translated as '…sheep will multiply and honey will be abundant…'.
[264] Cotton MS Titus D xxvi, f. 12^{r}. 'Bestias curres uidere: perturbationem significat'; f. 13^{v}, 'Hospites habere: uiduitatem significat'.
[265] Wormald, *English Kalendars Before AD 1100*, pp. 155-167.

Appendix A:
Inventory of Prognostics contained in the Three Winchester Manuscripts

Folios	Prognostic Genre	Description of Genre / Content	Unit of Time
		in the zodiac at the beginning of the month, the hexameter verse for the critical days, and the number of solar and lunar days in the month. Like the calendar in Ælfwine's Prayerbook, the Egyptian Days are marked with a *D'*. Chardonnes appears to have included the Dog Days, which were recorded as beginning on July 14 and ending on September 5 in the calendar as a separate prognostic.[266]	
9^{r}	Unlucky days	Describes the two inauspicious days each month based on the age of the moon. These days are said to have been perilous for taking medicine and letting blood for both humans and animals.	Lunar
13^{r}	Dog Days	Describes the Dog Days and the various prohibitions, such as bloodletting, according to when the Dog Star appears in the sky. The prohibition takes on a religious dimension by forbidding all Christians from bloodletting during this period.	Astronomical
14^{v}	Apuleian Sphere	Damaged in the Cottonian Library fire, Chardonnes has indicated that 'the diagram is irreparably damaged at the left-hand and bottom margins' impairing readability. The sphere bears some diagrammatic differences in comparison with the second sphere appearing on f. 16r. Three rings enclose the primary sphere, with the outermost ring containing a combination of numbers and letters and numbers appearing to follow a primary alphabetical sequence, for example 'A iii. Bxii. C.xxvii. D.xxiii. E.xv. F. [illegible] '. The second inner ring is blank. The third inner ring appears to contain the same alpha-numeric sequence, although parts of it are similarly illegible due to damage. The Latin word *vita* (life) appears at the top of the inner-most circle, with three columns and six rows containing the numbers I-IIII, VII, IX. XI, XIII-XIIII, XVI-XVI, XIX-XX, XXII, XVIII, XX[illegible], XXVII, and X. Below this the word *mors* (death) appears. One surmises that the structure of columns was replicated as per the Apuleian Sphere on 16r, however, a large portion of the	Lunar + onomantic procedure

[266] Cotton MS Vitellius E xviii, fols 2^{r}-7^{v}; cf. Chardonnes, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, p. 289.

Appendix A:
Inventory of Prognostics contained in the Three Winchester Manuscripts

Folios	Prognostic Genre	Description of Genre / Content	Unit of Time
		folio is missing, with only a few numbers in two columns remaining. The text appearing above the sphere indicates the procedure for using the prognostic device, employing a combination of lunar days, the days of the week and an onomantic procedure.	
15^{r}	Birth, Three Miraculous Days	A brief prediction concerning three days in which no women are born and the bodies of men born will not putrefy before the Judgement Day. (OE)	Scriptural
15^{r}	Egyptian Days 3	Textual description of the three days of the year on which bloodletting or the drinking of medical remedies is prohibited. The prohibition on bloodletting extends to animals as well. Eating goose could prove fatal—a prohibition which similarly appears in D xxvi, f. 3^{v}. (OE)	Solar
15^{rv}	Egyptian Days, 24	A lengthy prognostic text appearing to expand on some of the prohibitions listed in D xxvi, 3^{v}-4^{r}, Egyptian Days, 3. Consistent with the agricultural flavour of the psalter's prefatory matter, this prognostic indicates that bloodletting is not only dangerous to humans, but also to horses. A list of the prohibited days follows, like the Latin hexameters, although this list begins with March and ends with February.	Solar
16^{r}	Apuleian Sphere	Chardonnes commented on damage to the bottom margin which has rendered the text illegible in the bottom-left corner.[267] The diagrammatic component includes a central circle enclosed within three others, which is divided in half. In the upper hemisphere, the Latin word *vita* (life) is written, with 'vi' appearing on the left and 'ta' on the right, enclosing the numbers I-IIII, VII, IX, XI, XIII-XIIII, XVI-XVII, XIX-XX, XXII-XXIII, XXVI-XXVII in three evenly divided columns, and X, while *mors* (death) is written at the very bottom of the lower hemisphere where the remaining numbers appear in an identical arrangement. The text appearing above the	Lunar + onomantic procedure

[267] Chardonnes, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, p. 195.

Appendix A:
Inventory of Prognostics contained in the Three Winchester Manuscripts

Folios	Prognostic Genre	Description of Genre / Content	Unit of Time
		sphere indicates the process for consulting the sphere, requiring a combination of lunar days, weekdays and an onomantic procedure.	
Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.15.32 (Trinity Computus)			
pp. 15-26	Egyptian Days, 24 Dog Days	The calendar marks the two monthly Egyptian Days as *dies mala* or 'evil day' in brown ink. The Dog Days commenced on July 14 (p. 21) and end on September 5 (p. 23).	Solar
p. 37	Egyptian Days, 24	This prognostic contains the hexameter for the Egyptian Days, like the one found in D xxvii, 22^{rv}. There is, however, a discrepancy in the days listed in the month of February.	Solar

Appendix B:
Comparison of Guidance in the Lunaries found in British Library, Cotton MS Titus D xxvi + xxvii (Ælfwine's Prayerbook)

Notes:

- A colour scheme has been used to demonstrate similarities and differences between the predictions.
  - For the bloodletting lunaries, blue rows correspond to favourable times for bloodletting, orange to unfavourable.
  - For the illness lunary, all predictions in which the native will die or is in grave danger are in orange; if they will live, even if they will experience a lengthy illness, it is coloured blue. This extends to the collective lunary, where the illness predictions follow the same colour scheme and associated rationale.
  - In the birth, dream and collective lunaries, correspondences shared between the predictions for specific lunar days are coloured green, while a lack of correspondence is coloured pink. In some instances, the corresponding lunary entries have been treated as equivalent even if not written identically when the overall prediction is comparable.
- Items in square brackets denote additions I have made where letters or characters were omitted in the original manuscript or where I have made certain comments or interpretations of the original text. In many instances, where there appeared to be a lack of clarity in the prediction, Cotton MS Tiberius A iii was consulted as many of the predictions contained in its lunaries are close or identical to those appearing in Cotton MS Titus D xxvi + xxvii.
- Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

Lunar Day (Luna)	**Lunary, bloodletting (D xxvii, f. 2^{r})**	**Lunary, bloodletting (D xxvi, fols 6^{rv})**	**Lunary, illness (D xxvi, fols 8^{r}-9^{r})**	**Lunary, birth (D xxvi, fols 7^{v}-8^{r})**	**Lunary, dream (D xxvi, f. 9^{rv})**	**Lunary, collective (D xxvii, fols 27^{r}-29^{v})**
.i.	Tota die bona est. *The whole day is good.*	Tota die bonum est. *The whole day is good.*	Qui inciderit difficile euadet. *Whoever falls [ill] will recover with difficulty.*	Qui natus fuerit uitalis erit. *Whoever will be born will be healthy.*	Quicquid uideri ad gaudium pertinet. *Whatever is seen pertains to joy.*	Hec dies ad omnia agenda utilis est. In leceto qui inciderit diu languescet, et longa infirmitate patietur. Et quidquid uideris in gaudium conuertetur. Et si uideris te uinci tu tamen uinces omnes inimicos tuos. Infans si fuerit natus uitalis erit. *This day is useful for all actions. Whoever will fall ill will languish in bed for a longtime and will suffer from a long illness. And whatever you will see will be turned into joy. And if you will see yourself conquered, you will nevertheless conquer all your enemies. If an infant will be born, it will be healthy.*

Appendix B:
Comparison of Guidance in the Lunaries found in British Library, Cotton MS Titus D xxvi + xxvii (Ælfwine's Prayerbook)

Lunar Day (Luna)	Lunary, bloodletting (D xxvii, f. 2^{r})	Lunary, bloodletting (D xxvi, fols 6^{rv})	Lunary, illness (D xxvi, fols 8^{r}-9^{r})	Lunary, birth (D xxvi, fols 7^{v}-8^{r})	Lunary, dream (D xxvi, f. 9^{rv})	Lunary, collective (D xxvii, fols 27^{r}-29^{v})
.ii.	Non est bona. *It is not good.*	Non est bonum. *It is not good.*	Cito consurget. *He will recover quickly.*	Mediocris erit. *He will be mediocre.*	Affectus erit.[268] *It will have effect.*	Similiter hec dies ad omnia agrere utilis est: emere, uendere, nauim ascendere, iter facere, sementem seminare, propagines facere, ortum struere, terram proscindere. Furtum factum cito inuenietur. Infirmus cito conualescet. Et si uideris somnium siue bonum siue malum non ponas in animo quia nullum effectum habet. Infans cito crescit et non erit uitalis. *Similarly, this day is useful for everything: buying, selling, boarding a ship, making a journey, sowing seed[s], making propagations, constructing a garden, ploughing the land. A stolen article will soon be found. A patient will soon recover. And, if you will see a dream, whether good or bad, do not put [it] in [your] mind because it will have no effect. An infant grows quickly and will not be healthy.*
.iii.	Ad hora .iii. bona est. *It is good until the third hour.*	Bona est. *It is good.*	Euadet. *He will recover.*	Infirmus erit. *He will be weak.*	Affectus erit. *It will have an effect.*	De omnibus que agenda sunt abstinere oportet, nisi solum quod uis ut non renascatur utile est extirpare. In ortum nullum penitus opus exerceatur quia uane nascuntur herbe. Furtum factum cito inuenietur. Sompnum si uideris nullum effectum habet. In lectum qui inciderit non euadet. Infans mediocriter crescet et non erit uitalis. *One should abstain from all that needs doing, except only what you wish to root out so that it will not be renewed. No thorough work should be done in the garden because no herbs will grow. A stolen article will soon be found. If you will see a dream, it has no effect. Whoever falls into bed will not recover. An infant will grow moderately and will not be healthy.*
.iiii. (.iv.)	In matutina bona est.	In matutina bona est.	Laboret et surget.	Tractator regum erit.[269]	Bonus et affectus erit.	Omnia opera incipere bonum est: molendinos edificare, aqueductus aperire. Qui fugerit cito inuenietur. In lectum qui

[268] The dream lunary entries often use *affectus erit* (it will be affected) while the corresponding entries concerning dreams in the collective lunaries use *effectum habet* (it will have an effect). Although the meanings differ, I propose that these should, in fact, align and therefore have translated all successive entries of *affectus erit* in the dream lunary as if they were *effectum habet*.

[269] 'Regni' may have been intended as the collective lunary contains the identical prediction for an infant born that day.

Appendix B:
Comparison of Guidance in the Lunaries found in British Library, Cotton MS Titus D xxvi + xxvii (Ælfwine's Prayerbook)

Lunar Day (Luna)	Lunary, bloodletting (D xxvii, f. 2^{r})	Lunary, bloodletting (D xxvi, fols 6^{rv})	Lunary, illness (D xxvi, fols 8^{r}-9^{r})	Lunary, birth (D xxvi, fols 7^{v}-8^{r})	Lunary, dream (D xxvi, f. 9^{rv})	Lunary, collective (D xxvii, fols 27^{r}-29^{v})
	It is good in the morning.	*It is good in the morning.*	*He will be sick and will rise.*	*He will be a manager of kings* [sic?].	*It will be good and will [have] an effect.*	inciderit aut cito morietur aut uix euadet. Sompnum si uideris effectum habet, spera et consule deum. Infans tractator regni erit. *It is good for beginning all work: building mills, opening an aqueduct. Whoever will flee will soon be found. Whoever will fall into bed will either die quickly or soon recover. If you will see a dream, it has an effect – hope for and consult God. An infant will be manager of a kingdom.*
.v.	Non est bona. *It is not good.*	Non est bonum. *It is not good.*	Tricabit et surget. *He will delay and will rise.*	Iuuenis tolletur. *He will be taken away young.*	Secundum quod uideris fiet. *Accordingly, what you will see will be.*	Sacramentum dare non est bonum sed periculosum. Qui fugerit aut mortuus aut ligatus annuntiabitur. Furtum factum inuenietur. In lectum qui inciderit cito morietur. Somnia suspensa erunt, secundum quod uideris, fiet tibi. Caue consilium ne prodas. Infans iuuenis morietur. *It is not good for giving sacraments, but dangerous. Whoever will flee will either be reported dead or bound. A stolen object will be found. Whoever will fall into bed will soon die. Dreams will be uncertain; accordingly, what you will see, will come to be for you. Be careful not to reveal a plan. An infant will die young.*
.vi.	Non est bona. *It is not good.*	Non est bonum. *It is not good.*	Non euadet. *He will not survive.*	Vitalis erit. *He will be healthy.*	Secundum quod uideris fiet. *Accordingly, what you will see will be.*	Utile est uenatum pergere. Furtum non inuenietur. Infirmus diu languescet. Somnum certum erit, sed caue ne dicas alteri. Cautus esto. Consilium detegere noli fiet enim extra tuum decretum. Infans uitalis et felix erit. *It is useful to go hunting. A lost object will not be found. A patient will languish for a long time. A dream will certainly be but be careful not to tell it to another. Beware [what] will be. Do not disclose a plan for it will be done without your input [decretum]. An infant will be healthy and fortunate.*
.vii.	Omni die bona est.	Tota die bonum est.	Medicina sanabitur.	Vitalis et utilis erit.	Quicquid uideris post multum tempus fiet.	Sanguinem minuere bonum est et pectus purgare. Qui fugerit cito inuenietur. Eger si medicatus fuerit cito sanabitur. Et somnium uerum erit presens et futurum et post longa tempora. Infans bonus erit utilis et uitalis.

Appendix B:
Comparison of Guidance in the Lunaries found in British Library, Cotton MS Titus D xxvi + xxvii (*Ælfwine's Prayerbook*)

Lunar Day (Luna)	**Lunary, bloodletting (D xxvii, f. 2^{r})**	**Lunary, bloodletting (D xxvi, fols 6^{rv})**	**Lunary, illness (D xxvi, fols 8^{r}-9^{r})**	**Lunary, birth (D xxvi, fols 7^{v}-8^{r})**	**Lunary, dream (D xxvi, f. 9^{rv})**	**Lunary, collective (D xxvii, fols 27^{r}-29^{v})**
	The whole day is good.	*The whole day is good.*	*He will be cured by a remedy.*	*He will be healthy and helpful.*	*Whatever you will see will come to be after much time.*	*It is good to let blood and to cleanse the soul. Whoever will flee will soon be found. If a sick person will be a doctor[?] he will be healed quickly. And a dream will come true, present and future and after a long time. An infant will be good, helpful and healthy.*
.viii.	D[i]e nona usque ad noctem bona est. *It is good from none [3:00 p.m.] until night.*	De non[a] usque ad sero bonum est. *It is good from none until late.*	Diu languet et surget. *He will languish a long time and will rise.*	Iuuenis decidet. *He will die young.*	Cito uidebis. *You will see [it] soon.*	Semen seminare et apes mutare bonum est. Eger diu languescet et non euadet. Sompnium tuum cito fiet, secundum id quod uideris. Et si aduersa uideris ad orientem te uerte. Infans in omnibus erit adquisitor et iuuenis decidet. *It is good to sow seed[s] and to move bees. A sick person will languish for a long time and will not recover. Your dream will soon come to be according to that which you will see. And, if you will see obstacles, turn yourself toward the east. An infant will be an acquirer in all things and will die young.*
.viiii. (.ix.)	Bona est. *It is good.*	Est bonum. *It is good.*	Languet. *He will be ill.*	Omnium adquisitor erit. *He will be an acquirer of everything.*	Cito uidebis. *You will see [it] soon.*	In omnibus agentibus inchoare bonum est et somnium cito manifestabitur, infra dies .xii. Eger diu egrotabit et sanabitur. Infans bonus erit et uitalis. *It is good to begin all things and a dream will soon manifest after twelve days. A sick person will be ill for a long time and will be healed. An infant will be good and healthy.*
.x.	Non est bona. *It is not good.*	*[Left blank in the original manuscript]*	Diu egrotat. *He will be ill for a long time.*	Circuibit multas regiones. *He will wander [in] many directions.*	Quicquid uideris nullum malum est. *Whatever you will see is not evil.*	Omnibus rebus bonum est inchoare. Et sompnium uanum erit tamen infra diem .iii. euenire solet. Qui in laborem inciderit non diu permanebit. Infans multas regiones circuibit. *It is good to begin all things. And a dream will be untrustworthy, still, after three days, it usually happens. Whoever will fall ill will not remain sick for long. An infant will wander [in] many directions.*

Appendix B:
Comparison of Guidance in the Lunaries found in British Library, Cotton MS Titus D xxvi + xxvii (Ælfwine's Prayerbook)

Lunar Day (Luna)	Lunary, bloodletting (D xxvii, f. 2^{r})	Lunary, bloodletting (D xxvi, fols 6^{rv})	Lunary, illness (D xxvi, fols 8^{r}-9^{r})	Lunary, birth (D xxvi, fols 7^{v}-8^{r})	Lunary, dream (D xxvi, f. 9^{rv})	Lunary, collective (D xxvii, fols 27^{r}-29^{v})
.xi.	Non est bona. *It is not good.*	Non est bonum. *It is not good*	Periclina periclitat. *He will be threatened by danger.*	Omnium adquisitor erit. *He will be an acquirer of everything.*	Somnus tuus sine pericolo. *Your dream [will be] without danger.*	Bonum est in uineam ingredere. Somnium sine periculo explebitur infra triduum et non est falsum. Infans adquisitor erit in omnibus. *It is good to go into the vineyard. A dream will be fulfilled without danger after three days and it is not false. An infant will be an acquirer in all things.*
.xii.	Non est bona. *It is not good.*	Bonum est. *It is good.*	Surget. *He will rise.*	Religiosus erit. *He will be religious.*	Cum omni gaudio fiet somnus tuus. *Your dream will come to be with every joy.*	In omnibus rebus agentibus bonum est inchoare. Et somnium firmum erit et cum omni gaudio fiet secundum quod uideris et infra dies. ix. Eger diu languebit et surget. Infans religious erit. *It is good to begin all things, undertakings. And a dream will be firm and will come to be with every joy according to what you will see and after nine days. A sick person will languish for a long time and will rise. An infant will be religious.*
.xiii.	Ad hora v. bona. *[It is] good until the fifth hour.*	Bona est usque ad hora nonna. *It is good until the hour of none.*	Aliquot tempus aegrotat. *He will be ill for some time.*	Aduersus impeditor erit. *He will be an adversary, a hinderer.*	Infra dies .vii. fiet somnus tuus. *Your dream will come to be after seven days.*	Aliquod opus inchoare non est bonum. Somnium infra dies ix. explebitur secundum quod uideris. Tamen te ipsum cautum agas et sollicitum. Eger longo tempore cubabit. Infans emptor[270] erit et iracundus et non erit uitalis. *It is not good to begin any work. A dream will be fulfilled after nine days according to what you will see. Nevertheless, you yourself should act cautiously and apprehensively. A sick person will lie in bed for a long time. An infant will be a buyer and hot-tempered and will not be healthy.*
.xiiii. (.xiv.)	Bona est. *It is good.*	Bonum est. *It is good.*	Laborat et surget. *He will be sick and will rise.*	Omnium tractator erit. *He will be a handler of everything.*	*[Omitted in the original manuscript]*	Omnia que agenda sunt bonum est inchoare. Somnium infra dies .xii. conplebitur fiet iuxta quod uidisti, cum omni gaudio psalmis et orationibus. *It is good to begin all actions. A dream will be fulfilled after twelve days very close to what you will see with every joy in psalms and prayers.*

[270] Perhaps 'impeditor' was intended as many birth predictions closely follow the contents of the birth lunary.

Appendix B:
Comparison of Guidance in the Lunaries found in British Library, Cotton MS Titus D xxvi + xxvii (Ælfwine's Prayerbook)

Lunar Day (Luna)	Lunary, bloodletting (D xxvii, f. 2^{r})	Lunary, bloodletting (D xxvi, fols 6^{rv})	Lunary, illness (D xxvi, fols 8^{r}-9^{r})	Lunary, birth (D xxvi, fols 7^{v}-8^{r})	Lunary, dream (D xxvi, f. 9^{rv})	Lunary, collective (D xxvii, fols 27^{r}-29^{v})
.xv.	Non est bona. *It is not good.*	Non est bonum. *It is not good.*	Periclitabitur. *He will be in danger.*	Iuuenis morietur. *He will die young.*	Nullum bonum effectum abes [possibly *habet*]. *It will have no good effect.*	Non est bonum inchorae ullum opus. Somnium bonum et effectum habet. Infans iuuenis morietur. *It is not good to begin any work. A dream [is] good and has an effect. An infant will die young.*
.xv[i].	Inutilis est. *It is harmful.*	Inutilis est. *It is harmful.*	Locum mutabit et surget. *He will change place and will rise.*	Vitalis et pauper erit. *He will be healthy and poor.*	Post multum tempus fiet somnus tuus. *After much time your dream will come to be.*	Post longum tempus fiet somnium est namque utilis. Eger diu languebit et uix euadet. Infans uitalis erit et pauper. *After a long time, a dream will come to be, for indeed it is useful. A sick person will languish and will hardly recover. An infant will be healthy and poor.*
.xvii.	Bona est. *It is good.*	Tota die bonum est. *The whole day is good.*	Tricabit et surget. *He will delay and will rise.*	Infelix erit. *He will be unfortunate.*	Similiter. *Similarly [presumably to the above entry].*	Somnium quod uidisti fiet infra dies .xx. et in secreto cubili tui aliquid uidebis sine perturbatione. Infirmus uix euadet. Infans felix erit.[271] *A dream that you will see will come to be after twenty days and you will see something in the secrecy of your bed without disturbance. A sick person will hardly recover. An infant will be fortunate.*
.xviii.	Non est bona. *It is not good.*	Non est bonum. *It is not good.*	Laborabit et surget. *He will suffer and will rise.*	Non diu uiuet. *He will not live a long time.*	Infra dies .xx. fiet somnus tuus. *Your dream will come to be after twenty days.*	Euenire solet somnium infra dies .xxx. sed propter hoc deprecare deum tuum ut in bonum mittat. Infirmus multo tempore iacebit, sed euadet. Infans iuuenis morietur. *A dream usually comes to be after thirty days, but on account of this entreat your God that he might send good. A sick person will lay for a long time, but he will recover. An infant will die young.*
.xviiii. (.xix.)	Melior est. *It is better.*	Melior est. *It is better.*	Similiter. *Similarly.*	In honore erit. *He will be in honour.*	Infra dies .xx. fiet somnus tuus.	Similitudo somnii in secreto tuo uidebis infra dies .x. Caue ne plus quam duobus diacs quia ualde auguriosum est. Eger per medicinam sanabitur. Infans in magno honore erit.

[271] Given how close 'felix' and 'infelix' are, this may have been a copying error.

Appendix B:
Comparison of Guidance in the Lunaries found in British Library, Cotton MS Titus D xxvi + xxvii (Ælfwine's Prayerbook)

Lunar Day (Luna)	Lunary, bloodletting (D xxvii, f. 2^{r})	Lunary, bloodletting (D xxvi, fols 6^{rv})	Lunary, illness (D xxvi, fols 8^{r}-9^{r})	Lunary, birth (D xxvi, fols 7^{v}-8^{r})	Lunary, dream (D xxvi, f. 9^{rv})	Lunary, collective (D xxvii, fols 27^{r}-29^{v})
					Your dream will come to be after twenty days.	*The likeness of a dream you will see in your secrecy [will come to be?] after ten days. Beware not to speak to more than two [people] because it is a strong prediction. A sick person will be healed through a remedy. An infant will be in great honour.*
.xx.	Non est. *It is not [good].*	Tota die bonum est. *The whole day is good.*	Similiter. *Similarly.*	Bellator erit. *He will be a warrior.*	*[Omitted in the original manuscript]*	Somnium ne dicas ullo homini. Caute enim agrere debes erit siquidem licet a longe. Eger cito surget sanus. Infans felix erit et fortissimus bellator. *Do not speak to any man [about] a dream. Indeed, you ought to act cautiously since it will [come to] be although after a long time. An invalid will soon rise healthy. An infant will be fortunate and the greatest warrior.*
.xxi.	In matutina bona est. *It is good in the morning.*	In matutina bona est. *It is good in the morning.*	Readiuuabit. [Re[m?] adiuuabit.][272] *He will help the matter.*	Latro ingeniosus erit. *He will be a clever thief.*	Ad gaudium pertinet. *It pertains to joy.*	Quodcumque in sompnio uideris bonum est, licet aliquid sit peruerse. Eger non diu languebit. Infans erit latro fortissimus. *Whatever you will see in a dream is good, although it may ruin another. A sick person will not languish long. An infant will be the boldest thief.*
.xxii.	Ad hora .iii. et .vi. bona est. *It is good until the third and sixth hour.*	Tota die bonum est. *The whole day is good.*	Languet et surget. *He will be ill and rise.*	Laboriosus erit. *He will be industrious.*	Ad gaudium pertinet. *It pertains to joy.*	Uerum est somnium et certum. Eger cito sanabitur. Infans religious erit. *A dream is true and certain. A sick person will be healed quickly. An infant will be religious.*
.xxiii.	Ad hora v. bona est.	Ab hora .viii. bonum est.	Similiter. *Similarly.*	Vulgarus erit.	Rixam habebit & contentiones. sine ulla detractione.	Dicere somnum socio debes quia aliquando solet accidere infra dies .viii. Eger prope surget sanus. Infans luxuriosis erit nimis.

[272] For comparison, the illness lunary in Cotton MS Tiberius A iii, f. 37^{r}, offers 'rem adiuuabit' and it is glossed in Old English as 'þinc he fultumað'. In Liuzza's translation of the prognostics in this manuscript, he rendered the Latin and Old English translations as, 'He will help the thing [?]'. 'Matter' can be an alternative meaning of both 'þinc'/'þing' in Old English and 'res' in Latin, which may offer a slightly clearer translation. Cf. Liuzza, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, pp. 166-167. See also 'þing', in Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 1060; 'rēs, rei', in *A Latin Dictionary Founded on Andrews' Edition of Freund's Latin Dictionary*, ed. by Charlton T. Lewis and Charles Short (Oxford: Clarendon, 1945 [1879]), p. 1575.

Appendix B:
Comparison of Guidance in the Lunaries found in British Library, Cotton MS Titus D xxvi + xxvii (*Ælfwine's Prayerbook*)

Lunar Day (Luna)	Lunary, bloodletting (D xxvii, f. 2^{r})	Lunary, bloodletting (D xxvi, fols 6^{rv})	Lunary, illness (D xxvi, fols 8^{r}-9^{r})	Lunary, birth (D xxvi, fols 7^{v}-8^{r})	Lunary, dream (D xxvi, f. 9^{rv})	Lunary, collective (D xxvii, fols 27^{r}-29^{v})
	It is good until the fifth hour.	*It is good from the eighth hour.*		*He will be common.*	*He will have a dispute and controversies without any slander.*	*You ought to tell a dream to a friend because it usually happens sometime after eight days. A sick person will almost rise healthy. An infant will be exceedingly self-indulgent.*
.xxiiii. (.xxiv.)	Bona est. *It is good.*	Bonum est. *It is good.*	Diu languet. *He will be ill a long time.*	Copiosus erit. *He will be rich.*	Aliquam salutem promittit. *It largely promises health.*	Omne quod uideis de tua salute promittit. Eger morietur. Infans girouagus erit. *All that you will see promises health with regard to you. A sick person will die. An infant will be a vagabond.*
.xxv.	Malum est. *It is bad.*	Non est bonum. *It is not good.*	Languet et morietur. *He will be ill and die.*	Pericula multa patietur. *He will endure many dangers.*	Infra dies .x. fiet somnus tuus. *Your dream will come to be after ten days.*	Precaue metus futuros. Solet enim euenire infra dies xv. Eger sustinebit maximam iniuriam. Infans inopiam patietur. *Beware future fears for [they] usually happen after fifteen days. A sick person will sustain the greatest injury. An infant will suffer scarcity.*
.xxvi.	Non est bona. *It is not good.*	Non est bonum. *It is not good.*	Languet. *He will be ill.*	Nec dies nec pauper erit.[273] *He will be neither rich nor poor.*	Infra dies .x. fiet somnus tuus. *Your dream will come to be after ten days.*	Ad gaudium ueniet somnum tuum sed de inimicorum insidiis sollicitum te facito. Eger cito conualescit. Infans amabilis erit ualde.[168] *Your dream will come to joy, but you will be made anxious concerning the plots of enemies. A sick person will soon recover. An infant will be very pleasant.*
.xxvii.	Tota die bona est. *The whole day is good.*	Tota die bonum est. *The whole day is good.*	Tricabit et surget. *He will delay and will rise.*	Amicos erit.[168] *He will be friendly.*	Ad gaudium pertinet.[168] *It pertains to joy.*	Sollicitus esto quia infra diem ipsum euenire solet, aliquando in bonum aliquando in malum. Eger uere diu languebit. Infans mediocris erit, nec diues nec pauper.[274] *You will be anxious because after a day [a dream] usually comes to be, sometimes into good, sometimes into bad. A sick person will certainly languish for a long time. An infant will be of middling station, neither rich nor poor.*

[273] It appears that the birth lunary and dream lunary predictions replicate the collective lunary predictions but are inverted for days .xxvi. and xxvii.
[274] Günzel interprets 'vere' as 'vero', which I have adopted in my translation. See Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 120.

Appendix B:
Comparison of Guidance in the Lunaries found in British Library, Cotton MS Titus D xxvi + xxvii (Ælfwine's Prayerbook)

Lunar Day (Luna)	Lunary, bloodletting (D xxvii, f. 2^{r})	Lunary, bloodletting (D xxvi, fols 6^{rv})	Lunary, illness (D xxvi, fols 8^{r}-9^{r})	Lunary, birth (D xxvi, fols 7^{v}-8^{r})	Lunary, dream (D xxvi, f. 9^{rv})	Lunary, collective (D xxvii, fols 27^{r}-29^{v})
.xxviii.	Bona est. *It is good.*	Non est bonum. *It is not good.*	Aeger multum iacebat et morietur. *A sick person will lay* [translated here as 'iacebit'] *a great deal and will die.*	Neglegens erit. *He will be unruly.*	Ad gaudium pertinet. *It pertains to joy.*	Totum somnium quod uidisti ad letitiam ueniet tibi. Eger aliquid languebit, sed euadit. Infans neglegens erit et uagus. *The entire dream that you will see will come to joy for you. A sick person will somewhat languish but will recover. An infant will be unruly and wandering.*
.xxviiii. (.xxix.)	Malum est. *It is not good.*	Non est bonum. *It is good.*	Aeger euadet. *A sick person will recover.*	Bonus et proui [*the remainder of the word is unreadable, possibly ending in 'r'*] erit.[275] *He will be good and a provider.*	Ad gaudium pertinet. *It pertains to joy.*	Hylaritatem et gaudium significat. Eger non morietur. Infans bonum erit et suauis. *[A dream] signifies cheerfulness and joy. A sick person will not die. An infant will be good and agreeable.*
.xxx.	Non est bona. *It is not good.*	Similiter. *In like manner.*	Aeger laborabit et surget. *A sick person will suffer and will rise.*	Negotia multa tractabat. *He will manage many affairs.*	Infra duum [possibly *triduum*] fiet somnus sine periculo.[276] *After three days, a dream will come to be without danger.*	Similitudinem aliquam infra dies .ix. dies [*sic*] uidebis aut totum somnium. Eger numquam sanus erit. Infans de fortuna tractabit. *Similarly, something that you will see will come to be after nine days or the entire dream. A sick person will never be healthy. An infant will manage with regard to wealth.*

[275] Günzel indicated that the letters were erased and noted that in Cotton MS Tiberius A iii, the word 'prouisor' was used. I have adopted this substitution. See Günzel, *Ælfwine's Prayerbook*, p. 148.
[276] For comparison, Cotton MS Tiberius A iii, f. 36^{r}, offers 'triduum' instead of 'duum'.

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