A Real-life Picture of Medieval Healing: A Stylistic Study of Old English Medical Text *Lacnunga*

by

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Abstract

This thesis discusses the real-life situation of early medieval medical practice in England. It focuses on the remedies of *Lacnunga*, an Old English medical collection which has been suggested by scholars as a guide for real medical practice. By conducting a broad analysis on its remedies that are various in contents and styles, this thesis aims to answer the questions of the ways in which these remedies were used and transmitted. To do so, it employs a stylistic approach to examine the remedies in *Lacnunga*.

The first part of the thesis aims to provide a systematic analysis of the structure and typology of the remedies which is the foundation for its further discussion. It begins by displaying different types of sentences in the remedies and then moves to a detailed analysis of stylistically special cases.

The second part of the thesis aims to answer the questions it proposed. The real-life situation of medical practice, including ingredient gathering, medicine making and applying, will be discussed first. It focuses especially on the roles of participants: the practitioner, their possible assistants and the patient. Then it discusses the circulation and transmission of the remedies by examining the variant versions of *Lacnunga*'s remedies.

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Introduction

Health and disease are probably the top concerns for every human being since the beginning of life. Throughout history, countless remedies have been created and written down in different times and places. While the earliest medical texts in Europe are written in Greek and Latin, Old English is the only vernacular language in Northern Europe to have its own medical literature before the end of the eleventh century[1] and scholars have suggested that these medical texts are guides of real practical healing.[2] While there are thorough studies of their content and history, the real-life situation of human-remedy interaction, in other words, how would an early medieval medical practitioner or patient in England actually read, comprehend and use the remedies and how would a remedy writer or scribe actually manipulate and transmit them, has not received sufficient study. In this study, I will examine selected remedies with a stylistic approach and try to answer the questions above.

The surviving Old English medical texts have been widely studied by scholars and there are four major compilations that have received the most attention. *Bald's Leechbook* (BLch) is a two-volume collection of medical texts which is likely the earliest medical collection in Old English. The two books are well-structured with table of contents and chapters

[1] M. L. Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 1.
[2] See Julia Bolotina, 'Medicine and Society in Anglo-Saxon England: The Social and Practical Context of Bald's Leechbook and the Lacnunga'. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Cambridge, 2016. See also Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon Medicine*.

marked by roman numerals, remedies in both books are arranged in a head-to-foot organisation. It contains not only translations of Mediterranean remedies but also remedies that are original in the vernacular.[3] *Leechbook 3* appears in the same manuscript as BLch and follows its second volume. Although they seem to be a single collection, scholars have agreed that it is originally a separate work based on several differences between them.[4] Nevertheless, *Leechbook 3* also has a structure of head-to-foot arrangement and a table of contents. The *Old English Herbarium Complex*, also known as the *Old English Pharmacopeia* is a translation of Latin medical works which differentiates it from the other three compilations. It consists of two parts, the *Old English Herbarium* (OEHerb) which is a translation of the enlarged version of the Latin *Herbarium* and the *Medicina de Quadrupedibus*. [5] This study focuses on the fourth compilation which is known as the *Lacnunga* (Harley 585, ff. 130r-193r). Unlike the other collections, it lacks any system of organisation and is the only one that does not have a table of contents. Linguistically, although *Lacnunga*'s language is generally characteristic of Late West Saxon, several instances of temporal and regional variations can be found.[6] Orthographically, scholars have agreed that it is the work of

[3] Emily Kesling, *Medical Texts in Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2020), p. 23.
[4] See Ibid, p. 57.
[5] Ibid, p. 130-4.
[6] E. Pettit (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Remedies, Charms, and Prayers from British Library MS Harley 585: The Lacnunga Volume I* (Lewiston, 2001), pp. 167-205. Translations given from the *Lacnunga* are Pettit's with my own emendations on the translation of subjunctive verbs.

at least two scribes based on their different styles of writing.[7] However, variations appear even in the hand of a single scribe, such as the various styles of decorating letters and the use of different symbols or markers. There also seems to have no standardisation of the size of letters and the paragraphing of remedies.[8] Therefore, *Lacnunga* is certainly a less organised collection of remedies and its scribes were most likely working from multiple exemplars which accounts for its stylistically various remedies.

Lacnunga's disordered and unpolished characteristics has been criticised by early scholars. As summarised by Bolotina in her recent work, *Lacnunga* was assessed as 'a simplistic hodgepodge of popular charms, and as a world away from the kind of formal and learned medical writing'.[9] They also share a similar assessment on *Lacnunga* that its unscholarly nature reflects 'more of actual practice'[10] and it is 'folk medicine at its lowest level'.[11] Although Kesling's recent study of the non-Old English texts in *Lacnunga* has provided a different view on its compilation, in which she argues that the texts 'suggest a learned interest in the power of letters, words and language',[12] studies of *Lacnunga* still have an overall emphasis on its 'magical or superstitious content'[13]

[7] Ibid, pp. 138-141. See also, Harley MS 585, British Library Catalogue, <http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Harley_MS_585> [accessed 6 June 2022].
[8] See the pictures of *Lacnunga* from the digitalised manuscript on Harley MS 585, British Library Catalogue.
[9] Julia Bolotina, 'The Lacnunga: Controlled Communication, or Physician's Notebook?', *Quaestio Insularis*, 16 (2016), 16-59 (p. 18).
[10] K. L. Jolly, *Popular Religion in Late Saxon England: elf charms in context* (Chapel Hill, 1996), p. 107.
[11] Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon medicine*, p. 34.
[12] Kesling, *Medical Texts*, p. 129.
[13] Ibid, p. 95.

which Meaney terms extra-medical elements.[14] However, in this study I will examine a wide range of its remedies which have a great variation in style and content. It will begin with an analysis of the structure of medical texts which will provide the notions of their typology. Then I will have a detailed analysis of the special and problematic cases in the remedies which will provide a sight of *Lacnunga*'s diversity and its method of compilation. In the third section, the concept of participant role will be introduced and used in a case study to examine the real-life situation of medical practice in early medieval England. After that, a pair of stylistically similar remedies will be analysed which suggests the plausibility of using a stylistic approach to find out remedies with common source or origin. The final section will examine the variant versions of *Lacnunga*'s remedies that are found in other manuscripts, by focusing specifically on the variants in BLch, the differences between them and their corresponding remedies in *Lacnunga* and the situation of early medieval remedy circulation will be discussed. Altogether, this study seeks to provide a new perspective on the real-life situation of early medieval medical practice in England and re-examine the special and unique medical collection *Lacnunga*.

The data collected for this study includes the content of f.130r to f.179r from the part of Harley MS 585 manuscript, traditionally known as the *Lacnunga*. This range of folios is

[14] Audrey L. Meaney, 'Extra-Medical Elements in Anglo-Saxon Medicine', *Social History of Medicine*, 24.1 (2011), 41-56. It needs to be noted that the term 'extra-medical' is based on our modern understanding of medicine. For the early medieval people, they may treat them as a reasonable part of healing.

agreed to be the work of a single scribe by several scholars.[15] This scribe is also responsible for a copy of the *Old English Herbarium* in the same manuscript. This means that the data for this research comes from a source that has the same linguistic and orthographic idiosyncrasies, and perhaps also means that this scribe made a consistent choice of examples that may differ from the second person who worked on this collection of medical texts. As pointed out by Cameron,[16] the second part of *Lacnunga* has a larger proportion of Latin items than the first part, the second scribe also left more errors than the scribe of current dataset. There are 143 remedies included in this study, based on the numbering of entries by Pettit.[17] Apart from the entries of *Lacnunga*, this study also examines the remedies from other Old English medical texts which are either variants or analogues of their corresponding *Lacnunga* entries based on Pettit's identification.[18]

[15] Pettit, *Lacnunga vol. I*, pp.138-141. See also, Harley MS 585.

[16] Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon medicine,* p. 46.

[17] Pettit, *Lacnunga vol. I.* It needs to be noted that the concept of entry is artificially added by scholars for the ease of cataloguing, remedies in the manuscript of Lacnunga are not numbered and do not function as entries.

[18] E. Pettit (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Remedies, Charms, and Prayers from British Library MS Harley 585: The Lacnunga Volume II* (Lewiston, 2001).

1. The structure of medical texts

Because of the multiple origins of *Lacnunga*'s remedies, these texts vary significantly in terms of their linguistic and stylistic features. In this part of the study, I will examine the structure of these entries. Based on the function of each part, sentences/clauses in a medical text can be basically divided into three parts: 1. Introduction, 2. Instruction, 3. Commentary.

1.1 Introductory sentence

An introductory sentence is defined as the first sentence of an entry which tells the reader the purpose of the remedy. It also catches the reader's attention and provides the focus of the remedy. The introductory sentences in the dataset can be categorized into three main types which introduce the remedy from three different angles.

The first type (Type 1) introduces the remedy by addressing the reader with the name of the disease or a certain symptom it is designated to cure using a prepositional phrase. This type of introductory sentence is the most frequent one (52 times in 143 entries, 36.4%).

(1) *Wið heafodwræce*… **[II]**

It introduces the disease this remedy aims to cure: 'For headache…'.

(2) *Wið giccendre wombe*… **[CXXII]**

It introduces the symptom this remedy aims to cure: 'For itching belly…'.

The second type (Type 2) introduces the remedy by addressing the reader to the medicine or medical product it aims to make. There are 34 instances (23.8%) of this type of introductory sentence and it appears in three different forms as in (3), (4) and (5):

(3) *To heafodsealfe 7 to ehsealfe*… **[IV]**

The first form uses the preposition *to* with the products the remedy aims to make to form a prepositional phrase that parallels with the structure of Type 1: *To heafodsealfe 7 to ehsealfe* 'For a head-salve and for an eye-salve'.

(4) *Eahsealf*… **[V]**

The second form simply places the product name at the beginning of a remedy to express its purpose.

(5) *Wyrc spiwdrænc*… **[XLVI]**

The third form uses the verb *wyrcan* 'to make, to work' in its imperative form with the product to form an imperative verb phrase: *Wyrc spiwdrænc* 'Make a drink to induce vomiting'.

This kind of introductory sentence takes the form of instruction but functions as an introduction of a specific kind of medicine. In comparison, similar constructions can be found in remedies as an instruction: *Gif ðeor sy in men. Wyrc drænc. …* 'If *ðeor* is in a person. Make a drink. …' (Entry LXIX). In this case, the noun which follows *wyrc* is often a general term like drink or salve rather than a specific one like *spiwdrænc* in (5) or *sealfe wið heafodwærce…* 'a salve for headache…' in Entry XLIX.

The third type (Type 3) introduces the remedy by addressing the reader with the symptom or the situation in which the remedy is designated to be used. This type appears 20 times (14%) in the dataset and has three different forms as in (6), (7) and (8):

(6) *Gif poc sy on eagan*… **[IX]**

The first form of Type 3 introductory sentence uses subjunctive *gif* clause which describes a symptom or a situation that requires medical care: *Gif poc sy on eagan* 'If there is a stye in an eye'.

(7) *Wið ðon ðe mon attor gedrince*… **[XXVIII]**

The second form also features subjunctive clause, it begins the sentence with *wið ðon ðe* 'in the event that' then describes the situation that the remedy is used for: *mon attor gedrince* 'a person drinks poison'.

The third form only appears once in the dataset:

(8) *Se man se ðe biþ on healsoman…* **[XIV]**

'The person who has erysipelas of the neck…'

This instance introduces the situation in indicative which distinguishes it from the other two forms.

1.2 Instructional sentence

Instructional sentences are where the majority of a remedy's content lies. They are independent clauses with a single verb denoting instruction, some of them have an attached dependent clause which serves the function of adding a specific request and condition or detailed explanation to the instruction. For most of the remedies, their instructions would include all the steps about collecting the ingredients, making the medicine and finally applying it. Although they are mostly paratactic and syntactically simple sentences, they are stylistically various and may tell us information about the identity of their target audience, the real-life situation of medicine making in early medieval England, their sources, and more.

The most frequent syntactic structure for an instructional sentence is Imperative Verb-(Subject)-Object (568 times in 692 cases, 82%). It gives instruction to a second person

referent, in other words, the reader.

(1) Eahsealf. **Genim streawberian nyþeweardan 7 pipor. Do in clað. Bebind. Lege on gesweted win. Drype of þan claðe ænne dropan in ægðer eage. [VI]**

The bold part is the instruction for this remedy. It includes the step of ingredient gathering: *Genim streawberian nyþeweardan 7 pipor* 'Take the lower part of strawberry and pepper'. Then follows the steps of medicine making: *Do in clað. Bebind. Lege on gesweted win* 'Put it in a cloth. Wrap it up. Put it into sweetened wine'. Finally, the step of medicine applying: *Drype of þan claðe ænne dropan in ægðer eage* 'Drip one drop from the cloth into either eye'.

In many cases the verb *(ge)niman* 'take' in the ingredient gathering step is omitted which makes the step an ingredient list:

(2) Eahsealf. **Win 7 piper**. Do in horn 7 in þa eagan þonne þu ðe restan wille. **[V]**

'An eye-salve. Wine and pepper. Put it in a horn and in the eyes when you want to rest.'

In most cases the subject of imperative verbs is not expressed, but there are instances where it is expressed, it is of course *þu* 'you':

(3) …þonne nim **ðu** clatan moran þa greatan III oðde IIII … þonne se cicel colige þonne wyrc **þu** ma… **[LXXV]**

'then (you) take roots of *clate*, the greater one, three or four … when the cake cools, then (you) make more…'

The second structure of instructional sentence is Subjunctive Verb-(Subject)-Object (73 times in 692 cases, 10.6%). It gives instruction to third person referents whose identity differs in different cases. Therefore, subjunctive verbs in instructional sentences function as third person imperative. In editions of *Lacnunga*, scholars (Gratton and Singer (GS)[19] and Pettit[20]) translate this structure by its modern English counterpart auxiliary *let* (see the entry 14.a of *let* in OED:[21] 'The imperative with noun or pronoun as object often serves as an auxiliary, forming the equivalent of a first or third person of the verb which follows in the infinitive'.) or sometimes treat it wrongly as second person imperative or passive construction. To unify its translation and avoid confusion with the Old English use of *lætan*, this study will use the modal verb *should* (in brackets) to translate Old English subjunctives instead of using auxiliary *let* to make it close to the Old English text.

(4) …nim þonne clæne buteran. þrywa **gemylte** ðe þa

[19] J.H.R. Gratton and Charles Singer, *Anglo-Saxon magic and medicine* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952).
[20] Pettit, *Lacnunga vol. I.*
[21] let, v.1. OED Online, <www.oed.com/view/Entry/107496> [Accessed 6 June 2022].

sealfe midweorcean wile. **Singe** man ane mæssan ofer ðam wyrtum ær man hy tosomne do 7 þa sealfe wyrce. **[XVIII]**

'…then take pure butter. Who will work with the salve (should) melt it thrice. One (should) sing a mass over the plants before one put them together and make the salve.'

Similar to the imperative instructions, the subject of subjunctive verbs is not always expressed, in the translation, these unexpressed subjects are indicated by square brackets:

(5) …**Nime** þonne ealde buteran. 7 **wylle** þa wyrta 7 þa rinda. **Don** eall tosomne þonne hit beo æne awylled. **Sette** þonne. **[XXXI]**

'[One] (should) take old butter and boil the plants and the barks. [One] (should) put all together when it is boiled once. Then [one] (should) set.'

The third structure of instructional sentence is *lætan*-Infinitive Verb (33 times in 692 cases, 4.8%). There are three possible interpretations of the function of *lætan* in the dataset: passive, permissive and causative.

(6) … **Læt singan** mæssan ofer. **[XXIX]**

(7) … **Læt niman** ænne greatne cwurnstan 7 **hætan** hine 7 **lecgan** hine under þone man 7 **niman** wælwyrt 7

leomucan 7 mugcwyrt 7 **lecgan** uppan þone stan 7 onunder. **[LXXVIII]**

As stated by Royster,[22] '… the use of *let* with no subject of the following infinitive expressed … is scarcely more than a periphrasis for the passive voice'. In these two instances, the function of *lætan* can be interpreted as a periphrasis of passive voice: 'let mass be sung over', 'let a great mill-stone be taken and let it be heated and placed under the person and let *wælwyrt* and brooklime and mugwort be taken and placed upon and beneath the stone'.

On the contrary, when the agentive subject of the following infinitive is expressed or can be inferred by the context, *lætan* has a permissive function:

(8) …7 **læt reocan** *þone bræð* upon þone man swa hat swa he hatust forberan mæge. **[LXXVIII]**

'…and let the vapour steam upon the person as hot as he can bear.'

(9) … **Læt yrnan** ofer *þone rec*. **[CXXXVI]**

'Let the smoke drift over (them).'

The causative function of *lætan* may overlap with the

[22] James Finch Royster, 'Old English Causative Verbs', *Studies in Philology*, 19.3 (1922), 328-356 (p. 353).

permissive function,[23] it can be observed when the subject of the infinitive is not an Agent:

(10) … **Læt standan** oð hit sy hluttor. **[IX]**

'Let it stand until it is clear.'

(11) … Sete ofer fyr. **Læt socian**. … **[XXXI]**

'Set over a fire. Let it soak. …'

It can also be observed when the following infinitive verb belongs to a pair of causative and non-causative verbs. The following example is a comparison between Entry VI of *Lacnunga* and its variant version in BLch:

(12) … **Drype** of þan claðe ænne dropan in ægðer eage. **[VI]**

'Drip one drop from the cloth into either eye.'

(13) … **Læt gedreopan** on þa eagan ænne dropan. **[BLch (34/23-6)]**[24]

'Let one drop drip in the eyes.'

[23] Brian Lowrey, The Old English causative verb *hatan* and its dismiss, *Token: A Journal of English Linguistics*, 2 (2013), 23-43 (p. 35).
[24] Thomas Oswald Cockayne, *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England: Volume 2: Being a Collection of Documents Illustrating the History of Science in This Country Before the Norman Conquest* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, and Green, 1865). Further references of remedies in BLch are from this edition. Translations given from BLch are my own.

The imperative *drype* is paralleled with *læt gedreopan*. According to DOE,[25] the definition of *drypan* is 'to cause to fall in drops, to let drop', and *(ge)dreopan* means 'to drop, drip'. Therefore, *drypan* and *dreopan* are a pair of causative and non-causative verbs, and the use of *lætan* with a non-causative verb thus expresses a causative meaning.

The fourth structure of instructional sentence is Modal Verb-Infinitive Verb (13 times in 692 cases, 1.9%). As defined by Cruse, [26] 'modal expressions are those which signal a particular attitude on the part of the speaker to the proposition expressed or the situation described'. In terms of the grammatical meaning of modality, modal verbs are involved. There are two modal verbs used in instructional sentences, *sculan* 'must' (12 times) and *magan* 'can' (1 time), all in the third person singular form.

(14) … Man **sceal niman** VII lytle oflætan swylce man mid ofrað 7 **writtan** þas naman on ælcre oflætan… **[LXXXVI]**

'One must take seven little sacramental wafers such as one makes offertory with, and write these names on each wafer…'

(15) þis ylce galdor **mæg** mon **singan** wið smeogan wyrme. **[XXVII]**

[25] *Dictionary of Old English: A to I online*, ed. by Angus Cameron and others (Toronto: Dictionary of Old English Project, 2018).
[26] Alan Cruse, *Meaning in Language: An Introduction to Semantics and Pragmatics* (Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 286.

‘This same incantation one can sing for penetrating worm.’

The fifth structure of instructional sentence is the use of past participle verbs (5 times in 692 cases, 0.7%). All the five occurrences are quoted below:

(16) … Nim þreo leaf gageles on **gewylledre** mealtre meolce. **[XVI]**

‘Take three leaves of sweet gale in boiled sour milk.’

(17) … 7 gnid swiðe þ hit sy þ smælste **geworht** to duste. **[XLIII]**

‘And rub vigorously so that it is as small as possible, made into powder.’

(18) … ðonne læt standan ane niht **gesweted** mid hunige. **[LXVIII]**

‘Then let it stand for a night, sweetened with honey.’

(19) … Grenes merces leaf **gecnucude** mid æges þ hwite 7 ecedes dræstan. **[LXXXVII]**

‘(take) Leaves of fresh wild celery pounded with the white of an egg and residue of vinegar.’

(20) … Genim heoretes sceafeþan of felle **ascafen** mid pumice. **[XCVI]**

'Take shavings from the skin of a hart, rubbed off with pumice-stone.'

Although this structure is extremely rare in the dataset, it is an important syntactical feature of OE MdQ. As stated by De Vriend:[27]

> The participle group which occurs throughout the Latin Herbarium and MdQ, and which is used in that part of the cure where directions for its preparation are given, is very frequently rendered by a similar construction in the OE MdQ; this is done only sporadically in OEH, in which text the directions are nearly always introduced by the imperative or subjunctive singular of a verb….

The appearance of this structure may imply possible Latin sources. Among the five occurrences, Entry LXXXVII and XCVI are members of the 'twenty-eight remedies' which also appear in BLch, and according to Pettit, five out of thirteen remedies in this group have possible Latin sources (includes Entry XCVI). In the variant versions of these thirteen remedies, past participle construction is also used in BLch (100/14-15) (Entry XCVI) and OEHerb (126/18-19) (Entry

[27] Hubert Jan De Vriend (ed.), *The Old English Herbarium and Medicina de Quadrupedibus* (Oxford University Press, 1984), p. lxxiii. Further references of remedies in OEHerb are from this edition. Translations given from OEHerb are my own.

XCIII). A discussion of this group of remedies and their variants will be conducted later.

1.3 Commentary sentence

A commentary sentence functions as an assurance of the remedy's efficacy. The position of the commentary sentence in a remedy is always somewhere near the end and in most cases it is the ending sentence of a remedy. In the dataset, there are thirty-one entries (21.7%) that have a commentary sentence. Similar to introductory sentences, commentary sentences can be categorised into four types based on their focuses.

The Type A commentary sentences focus on the recovery of a certain symptom or disease, it appears with Type 1 and Type 3 introductory sentences.

(1) Gif eagan forsetene beoð. … **þonne wacað þ eage**. **[VII]**

'If the eyes are stopped up. … then the eyes will open.'

(2) Wið hwostan. … **sona se hwosta blinneð**. **[CXLI]**

'For cough. … soon the cough will cease.'

Type B has its focus on the recovery of the patient, it has a relatively formulaic structure and also appears with Type 1

and Type 3 introductory sentences.

(3) Wið sidwærce. … **him bið sel**. **[L]**

'For side-pain. … he will be better.'

(4) Gif ðeor sy gewunad in anre stowwe. … **sona him bið sel**. **[LXXIII]**

'If *ðeor* is established in one place. … he will soon be better.'

Type C commentary sentence focuses on the efficacy of the remedy's product, it appears with Type 1 and Type 2 introductory sentences.

(5) Þis is seo æðeleste eahsealf wið eahwryce 7 wið miste 7 wið wænne 7 wið weormum 7 wið gicðan 7 wið tyrendum eagan 7 wið ælcum uncuðum geswelle. … **7 ðeos sealf deah wið æghwylcum geswelle to ðicganne 7 to smergenne on swa hwylcum lime swa hit on bið**. **[X]**

'This is the noblest eye-salve for eye-pain, and for dimness, and for a stye, and for 'worms', and for itch, and for watering eyes, and for strange swelling. … and this salve is good for every swelling when consumed and when used as an ointment, whichever limb it is on.'

(6) Wið hreofum lice. … **þ bið god sealf wið hreofum**

lice. … **[XXXVI]**

'For scabby body. … that is a good salve for a scabby body. …'

There are only two instances of Type D commentary sentence, it has no specific focus but comments on the general value of the whole remedy.

(7) Gif se uic weorðe on mannes setle geseten. … **þonne þu þis do hit is afandad læcecræft**. … **[LXXV]**

'If the haemorrhoid is situated on a person's rump. … when you do this, it is proven medical practice. …'

(8) Gif men synd wænnas gewunod on þ heafod foran oðde on ða eagan. … **þis is gewis læcedom**. **[CXII]**

'If wens are established on a person's forehead or on the eyes. … this is a wise remedy.'

Kesling states in her study of Old English remedy variants and their Latin sources, 'It is fairly typical for Old English remedies to skip this unnecessary comment on the effect of a remedy, although this is done in by no means every instance'. [28] Commentary sentences may imply that the thirty-one instances in the dataset are faithful translations of Latin remedies. However, since only a fraction of the historical production of medical texts from this period is still

[28] Kesling, *Medical Texts,* pp. 32-33.

extant, it is hard to say with certainty that only Latin remedy writers have the tradition of using commentary sentences. Therefore, it is also possible for it to be a stylistic tradition of remedy writing either local or learnt from Latin texts.

2. Special and problematic cases of introductory, instructional and commentary sentences

2.1 Special cases of introductory sentence

Apart from the three main types, there are several unique instances of introductory sentences that require attention.

(1) Cardiacus hatte seo adl ðe man swiðe swæteð. On hy man sceal wyrcean utyrnende drænceas 7 him wyrcean cliðan toforan his heafde 7 to his breostan… **[XXI]**

'*Cardiacus* is the name of the illness in which one sweats greatly. For it one must make purgative drinks and make poultices for his forehead and for his chest'

This entry has a detailed introduction followed by its first instruction which serves the function of a Type 2 introductory sentence. In this instance the features of all three main types can be spotted, it has the name of the disease, its symptom and the product this remedy will produce. The peculiarity with this instance is thus the reason for its informativeness. Its obvious feature is the preservation of a Latin disease name *Cardiacus* which is rendered as *heortece* 'heart-pain'

in OEHerb (128/9).[29] Therefore, a possible reason for this detailed introduction is that the author of this remedy is trying to convey the meaning of this medical term from their Latin exemplar but deliberately left the term untranslated, since the preservation of a Latin term might give its audience an intellectual and authoritative impression that could raise the credibility of the remedy. The reason for writing an elaborated introduction can also be merely stylistic. It might be a habit or a formula for this particular author. However, although being informative, it would still be difficult for a reader to figure out what *Cardiacus* is based on the simple description of its symptom. Furthermore, the whole remedy does not mention the heart or pain even once which increases the difficulty for a non-specialist to identify the disease and use this remedy. Therefore, to ensure this remedy is comprehensible and effective, its target audience has to be either an experienced physician who can match this symptom (‘sweats greatly’) and treatment (‘make poultices for forehead and chest’) to his own knowledge of a heart disease, or someone who knows Latin.

Similarly, Entry CXX also has a Latin disease name and a description of symptom in its introductory sentence, but in this case, it will be much easier for its reader to recognise the disease:

(2) Wið ðære miclan siendan fotadle þære ðe læceas hatað podagra, seo adl bið aswollen 7 heo sihð wursine 7

[29] Pettit, *Lacnunga vol. II,* p. 18.

gilstre 7 seonuwa fortogene 7 ða tan scrinceð up…
[CXX]

‘For the great oozing foot disease which doctors call podagra, the disease is swollen and it oozes matter and pus and the sinews are contracted and the toes shrivels up.’

Unlike Entry XXI, Entry CXX’s target audience would be broader and may include laymen. Besides the English disease name and its much more detailed description of symptom, the Latin disease name is introduced by *þære ðe læceas hatað podagra* ‘which doctors call podagra’, compared to Entry XXI *Cardiacus hatte seo adl* ‘the disease is called cardiacus’. The use of the term *læce* may imply that the reader is a layman. However, it is also possible that this term may be used to refer to a Mediterranean physician from the classical Latin and Greek medical texts rather than a local practitioner of early medieval England since it is used to introduce the Latin name of the disease. Its other appearance in the dataset may also support this idea. In the commentary sentence of Entry CXIX, it is used to convey a sense of authority: *Wundorlice hraðe þ sar gelyhteð þæs ðe gelærede læceas secgeað* ‘The pain will ease wonderfully quickly according to what learned doctors say’. However, in different genres of Old English texts, its meaning may vary. For example, in *The Life of St Æðeldryð*[30] it is clearly used to refer to a local practitioner. Since it only appears twice in the current dataset, there lacks enough evidence for its

[30] Walter W. Skeat (ed.), *Ælfric’s Lives of Saints* (London: Trübner, 1881), pp. 432-441.

precise semantic meaning in medical texts. Therefore, a further study with a larger dataset may tell us more about the meaning of the term.

The next example of special introductory sentences has five instances and they are also members of a special genre of medical texts which is traditionally called extra-medical texts.

These five instances can be further divided into two groups, the first group includes Entry XXII, XXV and LXXXI:

(3) Sing ðis wið toðece syððan sunne beo on setle swiðe oft. Caio laio quaque uoaque ofer sæloficia… **[XXII]**

(4) Sing ðis gebed on ða blacan blegene viiii. syþðan ærest pater nr. Tigað… **[XXV]**

(5) Writ ðis ondlang ða earmas wiþ dweorh + t + ω A… **[LXXXI]**

The characteristics of these three instances is that they integrate the introduction into an imperative instructional sentence: 'Sing this for toothache, after the sun has set, very often' (Entry XXII), 'Sing this prayer nine times on the black blains; first of all the Our Father' (Entry XXV), 'Write this along the arms for fever' (Entry LXXXI).

(6) þis ylce galdor mæg mon singan wið smeogan wyrme… **[XXVII]**

(7) þis gebed man sceal singan on ða blacan blegene IX siðum. Tigað… **[LXXXIII]**

The second group also integrates the introduction into an instructional sentence, but uses modal verbs instead to form the instruction: 'This same incantation can be sung for a penetrating worm' (Entry XXVII), 'This prayer must be sung on the black boils nine times' (Entry LXXXIII).

All of these instances can be rewritten as Type 1 introductory sentences and thus draw a clear boundary between the introduction and the instruction:

(3*) Wið toðece. Sing ðis syððan sunne beo on setle swiðe oft…

Therefore, if the scribe/composer of *Lacnunga* wanted to create a stylistically more unified collection of medical texts, s/he could easily reach this goal by rearranging these five texts. The preservation of stylistically different instances may shed light on the interpretation of their sources. Since the five entries all feature extra-medical treatments, their special introductory sentences may imply their distinct origin or a different environment of circulation compared to other wholly herbal remedies. Furthermore, their unique introductions also foreground their extra-medical characteristics. For the first group, by starting a remedy with an instruction of singing or writing which can only be related

to extra-medical practice, the first emphasis of the remedy is thus moved to the practice of some healing ritual rather than the disease. Similarly, for the second group, by starting the remedy with accusative *þis galdor*/*gebed* followed by the subject *man*, the extra-medical element is thus foregrounded. It needs to be noted that Entry XXVII, LXXXI and LXXXIII are not completely extra-medical, their healing purpose is fulfilled by a combination of extra-medical and herbal practice. The emphasis on extra-medical practice at the beginning of the remedies may imply their significance in the process of healing. It is also worth noting that these five instances are not all the remedies with extra-medical elements. More information about these practices will be mentioned later.

2.1.1 Connective introductory sentence

There are instances where remedies for the same purpose are placed together, and to connect these remedies as a cohesive goal-aligned group, connective introductory sentences are used. In the dataset, there are eleven of these groups. The way of writing a connective introductory sentence can be categorised into four types.

The first type is a simplified version of Type 1 introductory sentence, when remedies are put into a group, except the first remedy, the following ones are not given a full introduction. The best example of this type is the so-called 'twenty-eight remedies', its first or the leading remedy is

Entry LXXXVII:

(8) Her syndon læcedomas wið ælces cynnes omum 7 onfeallum bancoþum. eahta 7 twentige… **[LXXXVII]**

It tells the reader the purpose of this group of remedies: 'Here are twenty-eight remedies for every kind of erysipelas and attacks of disease and severe illnesses'.

The following two remedies have their introductions in full, beginning at Entry XC, the next ten remedies have simplified connective introductory sentences, using four of them as examples:

(9) Eft… **[XC]**

(10) Eft wið omena geberste… **[XCI]**

(11) Eft wið þon ylcan… **[XCIV]**

(12) Wið þon ylcan… **[XCVIII]**

Entry XC simply says 'Again' as its introduction. Entry XCI has a slightly more informative introduction which specifies its target disease as a related but different one: 'Again for erysipelatous swelling'. Entry XCIV has a stylistically different one but the same meaning, perhaps to avoid repetition: 'Again for the same'. Similarly, Entry XCVIII: 'For the same'.

The second type omits introductory sentence and expresses the connectiveness in its first instructional sentence:

(13) Wyll wið ðon miclan eorðnafolan 7 leafan 7… **[XLI]**

'Boil for that: great *eorðnafola* and creeping cinquefoil and…'

(14) Nim eac meldon ða wyrt… **[CXXIX]**

'Also take the plant orache…'

The third type omits the introductory sentence completely and its connection to the previous remedy can only be interpreted by its surrounding. Entry LV to LIX is a group of five recipes for a drink for lung-disease:

(15) Drænc wið lungenadle… **[LV]**

(16) Genim betan… **[LVI]**

(17) Eft drænc… **[LVII]**

(18) Genim feldmoran… **[LVIII]**

(19) Eft wið þon… **[LIX]**

Entry LV as the first remedy has a full introductory sentence: 'A drink for lung-disease'. Entry LVII and LIX have simplified

ones: ‘Again a drink’, ‘Again for that’. However, Entry LVI and LVIII start directly with their instructions: ‘Take beet…’, ‘Take *feldmore*…’. Without the surrounding remedies, their purpose as remedies for lung-disease is impossible to find. Interestingly, there is one remedy (Entry XXXIII) in the dataset with no introduction and any connected remedies nearby, thus leaving its purpose ambiguous.

The last type only appears in Type 2 introductory sentences, it uses ordinal numbers to express its connection to the previous entry. Entries LI to LIV are recipes for a *briw* ‘thick soup’ for lung-disease:

(20) Wyrc briw wið lungenadle… **[LI]**

(21) Wyrc oðerne… **[LII]**

(22) Wyrc þriddan briw… **[LIII]**

(23) Feorða briw… **[LIV]**

The ordinal numbers *oðerne* ‘second, other’, *þriddan* ‘third’ and *feorða* ‘fourth’ express the connection among these four remedies.

From these connective sentences, it is plausible to assume that these remedies had come to the scribe’s hands in groups. Although it is possible that the scribe of *Lacnunga* rewrote the introductory sentences of remedies with a common goal

to make them connect to each other in a group, some exceptions and their distinct styles make this possibility quite unlikely. Entry LXVIII to LXXIV are all remedies for an unidentified disease called *þeor*. Among them, Entry LXIX, LXXI to LXXIII all have their variant versions found in LchBk3 with the exact order for Entry LXXI to LXXIII in both manuscripts. Therefore, it is highly possible that at least these three remedies came as a group. The focus and purpose of them are related but different:

(24) Wyrc ðeordrænc godne… **[LXI]**

'Make a good drink for *ðeor*…'

(25) Wið þeore 7 wið sceotendum wenne… **[LXII]**

'For *þeor* and for pain-causing wen…'

(26) Gif ðeor sy gewunad in anre stowwe… **[LXIII]**

'If *ðeor* is established in one place…'

Entry LXI functions as a general recipe for a drink for *þeor*, whereas LXII and LXIII have more specific uses. Entry LXII has a broader function, it works for both *þeor* and pain-causing wen. Entry LXIII has a more specific function that it only works for local *þeor* (perhaps *þeor* normally influences a large body area). Therefore, it is reasonable for them to not be connected by connective sentences in both

manuscripts. However, Entry LXX and LXXIV are also general remedies for *þeor* with no specific usage:

(27) Drænc wið ðeore… **[LXX]**

'A drink for *ðeor*…'

(28) Wið ðeore… **[LXXIV]**

'For *ðeor*…'

Even if the adjective *godne* 'good' truly somehow makes Entry LXI different from LXX, at least a connection can be made between Entry LXX and LXXIV. Such as:

(27) Drænc wið ðeore…

(28*) Eft wið þon…

However, there is no connective sentence in these seven entries which makes them less like a cohesive group. Therefore, what the scribe of *Lacnunga* has done to the remedies in his hands is no more than arranging some of them together based on the disease they are dealing with, but leaving their content unchanged and those remedies came in groups uninterrupted. Apart from this stylistic evidence, the various spellings and dialectal forms in *Lacnunga* can also support this argument linguistically.[31]

[31] Pettit, *Lacnunga vol. I,* pp. 167-207.

The distinct styles of connective sentences can also indicate their sources rather than the result of the scribe's editing. Using the aforementioned lung-disease remedies as an example, Entries LI to LIX are all remedies for lung-disease; based on their different purposes they are divided into two groups as displayed above. Entry LI to LIV aim to make *briw*(s) for lung-disease, and the connective sentences show a clear connection among them with the focus always on *briw* by using ordinal numbers. Entry LV to LIX aim to make drinks for lung-disease, however, their connective sentences display variant focuses. Entry LV and LVII have Type 2 introductory sentences:

(15) Drænc wið lungenadle… **[LV]**

(17) Eft drænc… **[LVII]**

By addressing *drænc* at the start, Entry LV and LVII display their focus on the making of a drink. Unlike them, Entry LIX has a Type 1 introductory sentence and thus switches the focus to the disease:

(19) Eft wið þon… **[LIX]**

To understand the referent of *þon* 'that', readers need to look back at Entry LV and thus contextually connect these two remedies. However, readers can no longer know the final product of this remedy by simply reading its introduction. It

may even be a little difficult to know how to use this remedy without any contextual interpretation:

(29) Eft wið þon: genim gagel 7 marubian 7 acrimonian; wyl in ealað; geswet mid hunige. **[LIX]**

'Again for that: take sweet gale and white horehound and agrimony; boil in ale; sweeten with honey.'

This remedy can hardly be called a user-friendly one, it only gives simple instructions on the making of a herbal medicine, to what extent should the herbs be boiled and how sweet/how much honey should be used? Most importantly, how to use this liquid-form medicine? In the dataset, there is another remedy for lung-disease and its final product is a *lungensealfe* 'lung-salve' (Entry XXXIV). Therefore, to use this remedy properly, readers need the context to know it is 'a drink for lung-disease'.

Furthermore, without introductory sentences, there is no focus for Entry LVI and LVIII, and their purpose can only be understood by the context. Therefore, Entry LV to LIX as a group relies heavily on context to convey their identity as 'remedies about drinks for lung-disease'. Comparing these two groups of remedies, a clear stylistic difference can be seen. Entry LI to LIV have a consistent focus on the making of thick soups, whereas the focuses of Entry LV to LIX are inconsistent and thus readers need more effort to understand them. Therefore, their distinct styles indicate

they are two groups of remedies which came to the scribe's hands from two different sources. Moreover, the next two entries follow Entry LIX can further support this argument:

(30) Wyrc briw… **[LX]**

(31) Briw… **[LXI]**

Both of them lack a specific purpose, but Entry LX seems to be a variant version of Entry LI and Entry LXI is a possible variant of LchBk3 (316/21-7) which is also a remedy for lung-disease, so their purpose would most likely also be *briw wiþ lungenadle*. However, they are neither arranged next to Entry LIV nor have their introductions changed into 'fifth thick soup' and 'sixth thick soup'. Therefore, it further indicates that the scribe of *Lacnunga* preserved his remedies in their original groups and by which it is possible to notice their distinct sources. However, it needs to be noted that this method can only recognise remedy groups when they came to the scribe of *Lacnunga*, it is not to say all remedies in one group must ultimately come from a single source. During their years of circulation remedies must have been transcribed and edited multiple times before *Lacnunga*. Stylistic differences can be observed within a single group, which leaves open more possibilities about their origins, but at least when they came to the scribe of *Lacnunga*, they were most likely already a single cohesive group.

2.2 Problematic and special instructional sentences

As mentioned above, subjunctive verbs in instructional sentences function as third person imperative and have third person referents which refer to non-reader participants. Therefore, the identification of referents is significant to the interpretation of remedies. However, there are some instances in which the referents of subjunctive verbs are inexplicit and ambiguous.

Since in many cases subjunctive verbs do not have expressed subjects, scholars such as Mitchell interpreted these instances as second person subjunctives and stated 'It is tempting to dismiss apparent examples in which the second person subjunctive expresses a wish or exhortation as scribal errors or as genuine forms showing late confusion of endings'.[32] For subjunctive verbs with expressed second person subject, in his study of modality marked forms, Visser[33] stated 'In both cases we have to do with a wish to see an action performed by the person spoken to. It seems a fair assumption that in case b (the imperative) the wish had more the character of a command, whereas in c (the subjunctive) it was more like a mild exhortation, an advice or a suggestion…'. However, the interpretation of second person referent for subjunctive verbs with no expressed subject is not preferred in this study of medical instructions. Firstly, different from Mitchell and Visser's dataset which are mostly religious poetry and prose, remedies have the

[32] Bruce Mitchell, *Old English Syntax vol. 1* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 377.
[33] F. Th. Visser, *An historical syntax of the English language II* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1966), pp. 798-800 (p. 799).

pragmatic function of giving instructions even if they are not syntactically expressed as imperatives. Since both imperative and subjunctive verbs are frequently used in instructions of a single remedy, there is no obvious reason and necessity for the author to have a changing attitude between command and advice, in other words, to use subjunctive verbs to express modality semantically. Secondly, unlike Visser's examples which have expressed second person subject, none of the subjunctive verbs in instructional sentences in the dataset has expressed second person subject, the subject is either third person or unexpressed.

However, there are some instances of instructional sentence with a possible second person subjunctive verb.

(1) … ðu **sing** ofer ðas sealmas: beati immaculati ælcne ðriwa ofer 7 gloria in excelsis deo 7 credo in dm patrem 7 letanias arime ofer þ is ðara haligra naman 7 deus meus et pater 7 In principio 7 þ wyrmgealdor 7 þis gealdor **singe** ofer. Acre arcre arnem nona ærnem beoðor ærnem nidren arcun cunað ele harassan fidine. **Sing** ðis nygon siðan 7 do ðin spatl on. … **[LXIII]**

'Sing these psalms over it: 'Beati Immaculati', each section thrice over it, and 'Gloria in Excelsis Deo', and 'Credo in Deum Patrem', and recite litanies over it, that is, the names of the saints and 'Deus Meus et Pater' and 'In Principio', and the worm-incantation, and sing this incantation over it: Acre arcre arnem nona ærnem beoðor ærnem nidren arcun cunað

ele harassan fidine. Sing this nine times and put your spittle on it. …'

In this instance, there are three occurrences of the verb *singan*, the first and third are imperative and the second one subjunctive. However, based on the meaning of this extract, since *þis gealdor* in *þis gealdor singe ofer* and *ðis* in *sing ðis nygon siðan* both refer to the *Acre* incantation, these two instructions should be given to a single participant. Therefore, the subjunctive *singe* has the same referent as the imperative *sing* which is second person. In Pettit's glossary,[34] this instance of *singe* is glossed as imperative and avoids the interpretation of second person subjunctive. The close context of this instruction also has no clue for a modal use of second person subjunctive. Later in the same entry, there is another occurrence of subjunctive *singe*:

(2) … 7 gehalga hy syððan mæssepreost. **Singe** ðas orationis ofer: Domine mi, rigo te, Pater… [LXIII]

'And afterwards a mass-priest (should) hallow them. [He] (should) sing these prayers over: 'Domine mi, rigo te, Pater…'

This extract is also problematic. Since *gehalga* is the imperative form of *gehalgian* 'to hallow', it seems like an instruction to the reader: 'Hallow them'. However, it is followed by a subject *mæssepreost* 'mass-priest' which makes the imperative verb awkward. Furthermore, there is

[34] Pettit, *Lacnunga vol. I,* pp. 211-272 (p. 255).

a punctuation (a point mark) after *mæssepreost* in the manuscript and the following word *singe* has its initial letter capitalised which suggests *mæssepreost* belongs to the *gehalga* sentence. Therefore, it is more reasonable to interpret *gehalga* as subjunctive, it is either a dialectal subjunctive form of *gehalgian* or a scribal error for *gehalgie* as suggested by Pettit.[35] Following this interpretation, the unexpressed subject of *singe* in the next sentence is most likely the *mæssepreost*. Although Pettit (and GS) follows this interpretation in his translation, he still proposed that 'It is also unclear who is to sing these prayers, the *mæssepreost* referred to in l. 258 or the preparer of the plant ingredients, who, judging from ll. 251-4, is himself familiar with Lat. psalms, litanies, and prayers'.[36] However, comparing how the author introduces Latin texts between (1) and (2), it is noticeable that all the texts are introduced in (1) by their titles, whereas the whole texts are quoted in Latin after (2). It may indicate a gap of knowledge between the target reader and the *mæssepreost*. Psalms and litanies given in their titles may imply that these texts are popular enough that there is no need to quote them in full, so that the required Latin knowledge for singing them may not be high for a religious reader, whereas the full three long prayers may require a higher Latin knowledge to understand and sing.

Nevertheless, Pettit's comment is reasonable and convincing considering the possible imperative *singe* that appears in the same entry and the identification of the prayers as

[35] Pettit, *Lacnunga vol. II,* p. 69.
[36] Ibid, p.69.

'widespread exorcism, existing in slightly variant forms'[37] which also appears in other two medical texts, so they may be familiar to the reader. Moreover, the use of the Latin term *orationis* instead of the common Old English term *gebed* may indicate the reader's Latin knowledge or the special status of the texts. In summary, the two occurrences of *singe* in Entry LXIII may be a different spelling of its imperative form or scribal errors. For the second *singe*, it can also be interpreted as a common third person subjunctive. For the first, it is still possible to be a genuine second person subjunctive, but its function is ambiguous.

Besides Entry LXIII, Entry CIII also has a problematic usage of subjunctive verb:

(3) Wið ælces monnes tydernesse innewearde. Genime wegbrædan. Do on win. Sup þ wos 7 **ete** þa wyrta. þonne deah hit wið æghwylcre innancundre unhælo. **[CIII]**

'For every person's internal infirmity: [One] (should) take greater plantain. Put it in wine. Drink the juice and [One] (should) eat the plants. Then it will be good for every internal infirmity.'

In this instance, the ingredient gathering step has a subjunctive verb *genime*, while the medicine making step has an imperative verb *do*. This distinction indicates there

[37] Christopher Hohler, 'Review of Grant, R. J. S., 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41: the Loricas and the Missal'', *Medium Aevum*, 49 (1980), 275-8.

are two referents responsible for each of the two steps, probably a herb collector and a medicine preparer. However, in the medicine applying step the verb forms make the meaning of instruction ambiguous. In common sense, it would be expected for a single participant to consume or use the medicine. In this instance, the two instructions in the medicine applying step are all about consuming, but two referents are implied because of the inconsistent verb forms, *sup* in imperative and *ete* in subjunctive. Furthermore, based on the overall meaning of this remedy, there is no specific reason for the patient to eat the herb but the reader/preparer to drink the juice (wine with herb juice). To solve this self-contradictory instruction, GS[38] emended *sup* to the subjunctive *supe*, thus make the referent of these two verbs to the patient. In the variant version of this remedy in OEHerb (MS V),[39] it displays another solution:

(4) … Do on win 7 **sup** þæt wos 7 **et** ða wegbrædan. … **[OEHerb (42/10-12)]**

This variant has both verbs in imperative which has a consistent second person referent. However, in another manuscript of OEHerb (MS O) the same inconsistency of verb forms can be observed (*sup* and *ete*).[40] Therefore, similar to *singe* in Entry LXIII, *ete* in this instance may be a different spelling of imperative *et*, a scribal error, or a second person subjunctive.

[38] Gratton and Singer, *Anglo-Saxon magic and medicine,* pp. 166-7.
[39] De Vriend*, The OEH and MdQ,* p. 42.
[40] Ibid, p. 43.

2.3 Special commentary sentences

As displayed above, Type A and B commentary sentences are relatively formulaic compared to Type C. Both of them have a limited range of content and simple sentence structure. However, the commentary sentence of Entry CXIX is an elaborated example of Type A:

(1) Wið fotadle. … Wundorlice hraðe þ sar gelyhteð þæs ðe gelærede læceas secgeað. **[CXIX]**

'For foot-disease. … The pain will ease wonderfully quickly according to what learned doctors say.'

Unlike other sentences that comment on the efficacy of the remedy simply by an adverb *sona* 'soon', this instance uses a degree adverbial phrase *wundorlice hraðe* 'wonderfully quickly' to emphasise the strong efficacy of this remedy. Moreover, it also gives the credit of this assurance to *gelærede læceas* 'learned doctors' which further strengthens the effect of this comment.

Another instance of special commentary sentence is Entry CXXV:

(2) Wið innoðes hefignese. … Sona bið þ mod leahtre. **[CXXV]**

‘For heaviness of the inwards. … Soon the spirit will lighten.’

Since the purpose of this remedy is for some kind of inward disease (indigestion suggested by Pettit[41]), its commentary sentence matches the purpose in an abstract way unlike other instances. It could be interpreted as Type A that the illness may cause a mental burden to the patient as one of its ‘symptoms’. It could also be interpreted as Type B that *mod* ‘spirit’ is used as a metonymy to refer to the patient, thus this instance is a stylistically variant way to say ‘he will soon be well’.

3. Participant roles

A major stylistic difference among the entries is how the roles of participants are displayed. As already mentioned, verb forms and the content of instructional sentences indicate the roles of individuals involved in a remedy. A remedy can have specific roles for its participants, such as a practitioner-patient role in many cases, it can also involve more than two participants in which the completion of the medical practice requires a joint effort of people with different roles. There are also remedies which do not display any specific roles for its participants; anyone can be the person who gathers ingredients, makes and uses medicine. From the ways of displaying participant roles, we are able to see the perspective of early medieval remedy writers towards medical practice and how their remedies may

[41] Pettit, *Lacnunga vol. I,* p. 89.

actually be practised.

Before discussing participant roles in Old English remedies in the dataset, it is helpful to have a look at a modern herbal remedy:

> Elder berry syrup: Pick fresh elder berries and remove as much of the stem as possible. Put berries into a pan, adding just enough water to cover the bottom of the pan. Heat berries on a medium-low burner. As the berries start to steam, mash the berries to release the juice. To increase the amount of juice extracted, puree with an immersion blender. Strain the juice through cheesecloth or a jelly bag. Measure the juice and add an equal amount of honey. Process in pint jars by placing in a boiling water bath for 15-20 minutes (adjusting for altitude). Remove from the jars. They will keep for a year on the shelf, or longer in the refrigerator. Use as pancake syrup or as a tonic for colds, coughs, and viral infections.[42]

As a typical modern English remedy, its instructions use imperative verbs which do not specify the role of its readers. For example, 'pick fresh elder berries' simply gives instruction to an unspecific second person referent which means anyone who reads or hears the instruction can follow it and the remedy writer does not expect people with certain status or knowledge to participate in certain steps. Therefore,

[42] Thomas Easley and Steven Horne, *The Modern Herbal Dispensatory* (Berkeley, California: North Atlantic Books, 2016), p. 133.

as a ‘medicine-making guide’ the author is writing to a broad audience as there is no predefined role for its readers.

Similar to the modern example, there are Old English remedies with no participant roles:

(1) To heafodsealfe 7 to ehsealfe. Aluwan. Gegnid in eced. Smyre þæt heafod mid. 7 in þa eagan do. **[IV]**

‘For a head-salve and for an eye-salve. Aloe. Crush in vinegar. Anoint the head with it and put it in the eyes.’

This remedy only uses imperative verbs and there is no object expressed in the medicine applying step (*Smyre þæt heafod mid. 7 in þa eagan do*). Therefore, it does not differentiate the roles of a medicine preparer and a patient. Its readers can apply it to themselves or to anyone else.

Unlike the modern example and Old English remedies like Entry IV, there are many remedies which display a practitioner-patient distinction in their instructions. One way to display the roles is to use verbs that express interactions between participants:

(2) Spiwdrænc. Ado in beor oððe in win finul. Læt standan ane niht. **Syle** drincan. **[XLVIII]**

‘A drink to induce vomiting: put fennel in beer or in wine. Let it stand for a night. Give to drink.’

In this example, the active power of the practitioner is expressed by the imperative verb *syle* 'give'. It expresses the participant roles by the semantic meaning of *syle* which requires the roles of a giver (practitioner) and a receiver (patient). By keeping the practitioner as the subject, its active power as someone offers medical care is also expressed.

Unlike remedies like Entry LXII which uses the semantic meaning of words to display interactions between the two roles, there is another way to display practitioner and patient role:

(3) Slæpdrænc. rædic hymlic wermod belone. Cnuca ealle þa wyrte. Do in ealað. Læt standan ane niht. **Drince** ðonne. **[LXII]**

'A drink for induce sleep: radish, hemlock, wormwood, henbane. Pound all the plants. Put them in ale. Let them stand for a night. Then [One] (should) drink it.'

In this example, the use of a subjunctive verb *drince* 'drink' indicates a different referent from the previous steps. Therefore, it makes a distinction between the practitioner marked by imperative instructions and the patient marked by subjunctive instruction. Comparing (2) with (3), it can be noticed that they have the same structure except the difference between *syle drincan* and *drince* in the medicine applying step. (2) expresses the roles by the semantic

meaning of *syle* which indicates the action of giving and receiving, while (3) expresses the practitioner-patient distinction by the syntactic change of subject from second person imperative to third person subjunctive.

Apart from expressing participant roles by instructional verbs, it is more straightforward to use a pronoun or noun phrase to refer to a participant:

(4) Feorða briw. Wyl in hunige beton oðde marubian. Syle etan wearme. Wyrc ær drænc of ðære beton anre. Wyll in wine oðde on ealað. **He** drince ær **he** ðone briw ete. **[LIV]**

'A fourth thick soup: boil in honey beet or white horehound. Give to eat warm. Before that make a drink from the beet alone. Boil in wine or in ale. He (should) drink it before he eats the soup.'

In this example, it has a clear distinction between the preparer of the medicine and the person it is applied to. Apart from the use of the *syle* + infinitive construction and the subjunctive verb *drince*, it has an expressed third person subject *he* which refers to the patient in the medicine applying step and its dependent clause.

Practitioner and patient are not the only participant roles Old English remedies display. In many cases, subjunctive verbs are also used in the ingredient gathering and medicine

making step which indicates more than one person is responsible for the preparing of a medicine. Furthermore, instructions with different verb forms usually also display a skill or knowledge difference of their participants, from which it is possible to interpret their roles (perhaps even their real-life jobs) in the process of medicine preparing.

One of the best examples of this kind of remedy is Entry XXXI, it is a lengthy and complicated remedy that requires a large amount of effort and the participation of multiple people. Its long list of thirty-five herbal ingredients at the start and some prayers at the end are quoted partially.

(5) **1** To godre bansealfe þe mæg wið heafodece 7 wið ealra lyma tyddernysse. **2** Sceal rude rædic…. **3** Do on mortere. **4** Cnuca eall tosomne 7 do ðærto ifig croppas 7 nim æscrinde 7 weliges twiga 7 acrinde 7 wirrinde 7 surre apoldrinde 7 seales rinde 7 wudubindan leaf þas ealle sculan beon genumene on neoðoweardan 7 on eastweardan þan treowan. **5** Scearfige ealle ðas rinda togædere 7 wylle on haligwætere oððæt hy wel hnexian. **6** Do þonne to þan wyrtum on mortere. **7** Cnuca eall tosomne. **8** Nim þonne heortes smera 7 hæferes smera 7 eald morod 7 fearres smeru 7 bares smeru 7 rammes smeru. **9** Mylte mon ealle tosomne 7 geote to trindan. **10** Somnige mon þonne ealle þa ban tosomne ðe man gegaderian mæge 7 cnocie man þa ban mid æxse yre 7 seoðe 7 fleote þ smeru. **11** Wyrce to trindan. **12** Nime þonne ealde buteran 7 wylle þa

wyrta 7 þa rinda. **13** Don eall tosomne þonne hit beo æne awylled. **14** Sette þonne. **15** Scearfa þonne eall þ smera on pannan swa micel swa þu sealfe habban wille 7 þu getyrwan mæge. **16** Sete ofer fyr. **17** Læt socian næs to swiðe weallan oððæt hyo genoh sy. **18** Seoh ðurh clað. **19** Sete eft ofer fyr. **20** Nim þonne nygon clufa garleaces gehalgodes. **21** Cnuca on wine. **22** Wring þurh clað. **23** Scaf on myrran þa wyrt 7 fanthalig wex 7 brynestor 7 hwitne rycels. **24** Geot þonne innan ða sealfe swa micel þ sy III ægscylla gewyrðe. **25** Nim þonne ealde sapan 7 ealdes oxsan mearh 7 earnes mearh. **26** Do þonne ða tyrwan ond mæng þonne mid cwicbeamenum sticcan oð heo brun sy. **27** Sing þonne þærofer Benedictus… 7 þ gebed…. **28** Sy þ sar þær hit sy smite mon ða sealfe ærest on þ heafod.

'For a good bone-salve which is good for headache and for infirmity of all the limbs shall serve: rue, radish…. Take an equal amount of all of these plants. Put them into a mortar. Pound them all together and add clusters of ivy berries thereto and take ash-bark and twigs of willow and oak-bark and sweet gale-bark and bark of sour apple and bark of willow and leaves of woodbine, all these must be taken from the lower and eastward-facing part of the trees. Scrape all these barks together and boil them in holy water until they become very soft. Then add them to the plants in the mortar. Pound it all together. Then take hart's fat and goat's fat and old wine flavoured with mulberry juice and bull's fat and boar's fat and ram's fat. One (should) melt them together

and pour into a *trinda*. Then one (should) bring together all the bones one can gather and one (should) pound the bones with the back of an axe and boil and skim the fat off. [One] (should) make into a *trinda*. [One] (should) take old butter and boil the plants and the barks. All having been put together when it has boiled once. Then [one] (should) set it. Then scrape all the fat into a pan as much as you want to have for the salve and you can make into a tar. Set over fire. Let it soak, not boil too much until it is enough. Strain through a cloth. Set again over fire. Then take nine cloves of consecrated garlic. Pound in wine. Strain through a cloth. Scrape on sweet cicely and font-holy wax and brown storax and white frankincense. Then pour into the salve so much that it is three eggshells' worth. Then take old soap and marrow of an old ox and eagle's marrow. Then add the tar and then mix with a stick made of *cwicbeam* until it is brown. Then sing thereover Benedictus… and the prayer…. Wherever the pain may be, one (should) smear the salve on the head first.'

As one of the longest remedies in *Lacnunga*, to examine its instructions in a more straightforward way, I visualised its process of medicine making in the following figures which separate the remedy in three parts.

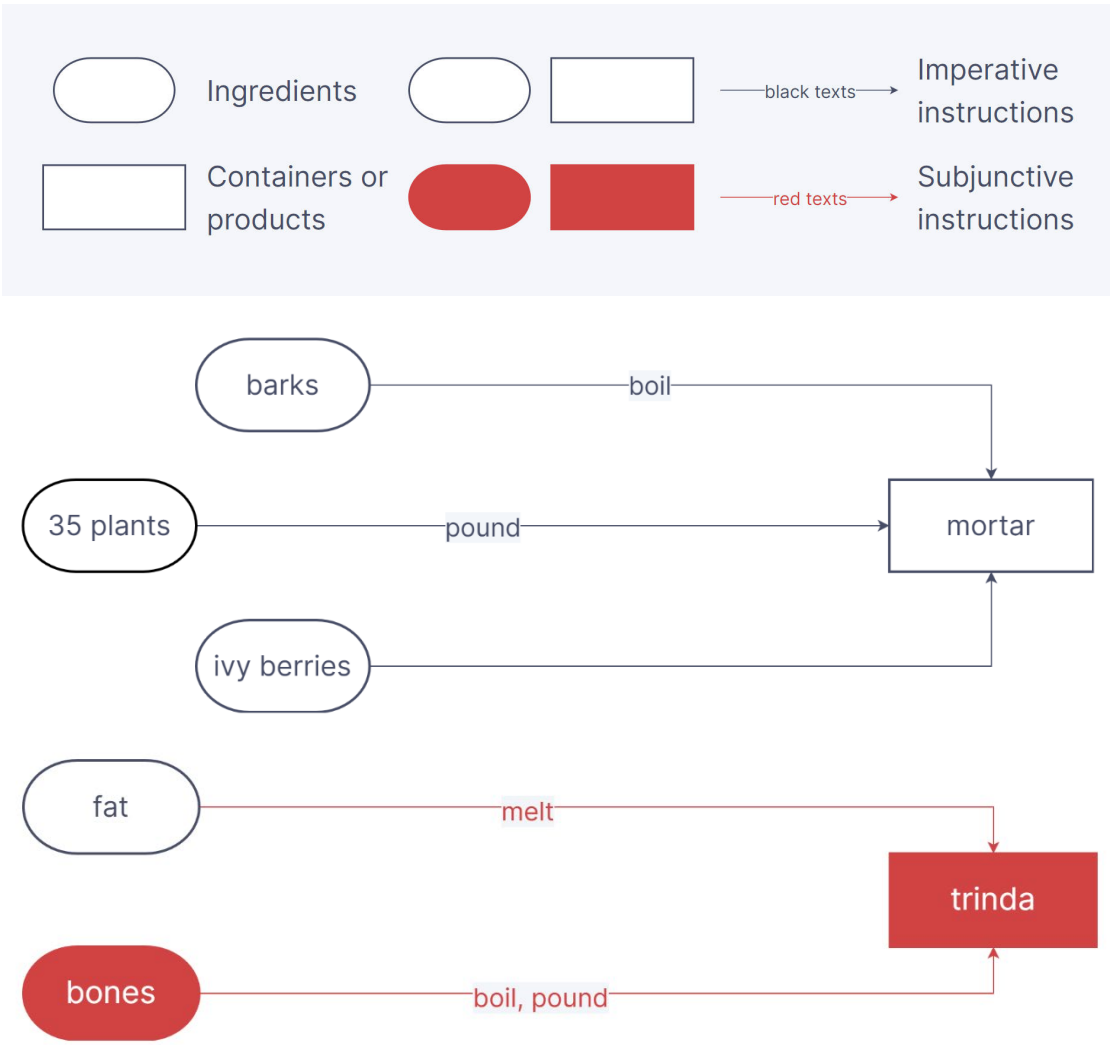


Figure 1: the first part (sentence 2-11)

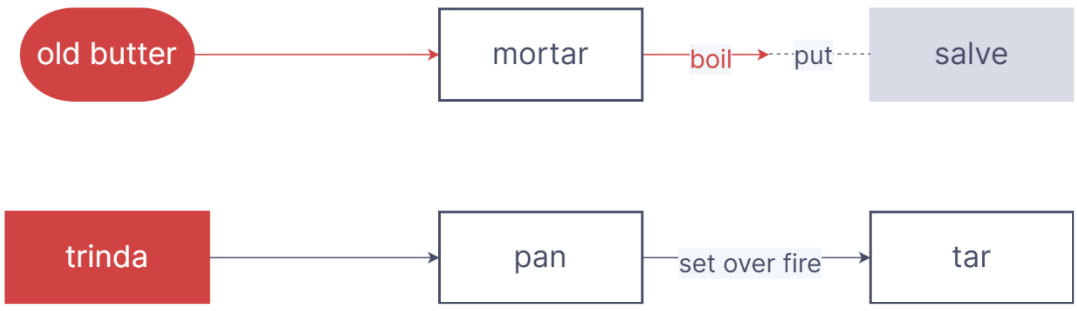


Figure 2: the second part (sentence 12-19)

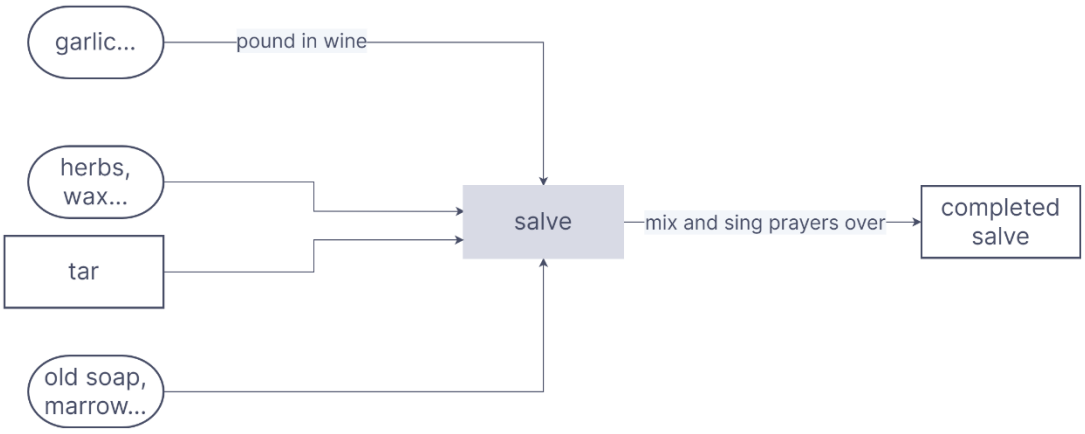


Figure 3: the third part (sentence 20-27)

As can be seen from the figures, the final products of each part become the ingredients of the next part (except part 3). Therefore, the whole process of Entry XXXI is a smooth flow of three major steps. Moreover, in the first and second part, each of them has two parallel processes which do not interfere with each other. As the colour of the texts suggests, each of them has only imperative or subjunctive instructions which indicates there are at least two participants working at the same time with no interference between them. This division of labour doubles the efficiency of the first and second part, and when they are done, their final products (tar and salve) and new ingredients are mixed in the third part and this completes the making of the bone-salve.

Apart from the division of labour between the two participants (at least two, it is possible to have more participants), instructions with different verb forms also display a difference of skill or knowledge between the participants. As can be seen from the figures, imperative instructions include all the gathering and processing of

herbal ingredients, the gathering of most of the animal-related ingredients and the making of essential products (the tar and the completed salve). In comparison, subjunctive instructions include all the processing of animal-related ingredients and the gathering of bones and old butter. Therefore, the second person participant (the remedy's target audience) is likely to be a pharmacist and medical practitioner, and the third person participant is more likely to be their assistant and/or a specialist in animal-related ingredients.[43] The predominant role of the second person participant as the practitioner is also displayed in the fact that s/he decides the amount of the final product bone-salve. While the third person participant is asked to *Somnige mon þonne ealle þa ban tosomne ðe man gegaderian mæge* 'bring together all the bones one can gather' (sentence 10), the practitioner *Scearfa þonne eall þ smera on pannan swa micel swa þu sealfe habban wille 7 þu getyrwan mæge* 'Then scrape all the fat into a pan as much as you want to have for the salve and you can make into a tar' (sentence 15). As it suggests, the tar makes up the majority of the bone-salve, and the practitioner can decide the amount of bone-salve by choosing how much tar s/he wants to make. Since the tar is made from the mixture of fat and bones, the random and unspecific amount of bones gathered by the assistant is eventually controlled by the practitioner.

In addition to the information being discussed above, Entry

[43] The term 'assistant' used in this study refers to a possible participant in the healing process who may be a helper with a lower medical skill/knowledge level than the practitioner, or a specialist in a different field, as can be seen in the detailed analysis of different remedies below.

XXXI still has several ambiguous points that may tell us more about the participant roles. The first ambiguous point is sentence 13 which is marked grey in Figure 2. As suggested by Pettit, 'if *don* is not an error for imp. sg. or 3 sg. pres. subj. *do*, it is presumably the pa. ptc.'.[44] If it is a past participle construction, then there is no subject to indicate its participant. Therefore, I marked it grey to suggest both the practitioner and the assistant might be responsible for this step, although it is surrounded by subjunctive instructions. Another ambiguity is the only two ingredients that are gathered by the assistant, the bones and the old butter. Since most of the animal-related ingredients are gathered by the practitioner, it is uncertain why bones and old butter are the exceptions, perhaps it is easier for an animal specialist to gather them than a pharmacist, considering the remedy may require a large amount of them as the major component. Interestingly, according to Storms' study of extra-medical implications in Entry XXXI, he stated, 'One of the main characteristics of magic is the influence of like upon like, of 'bones upon bones' (marrow used in the final part is also connected to bones), and 'The word salve originally had the same meaning as butter, for it is etymologically connected… Here it must be old, i.e., rank, strong-tasting, 'strong'. Compare Dutch and German, where strong is the usual word for rank'.[45] Therefore, bone and butter may correspond to the bone-salve which suggests the remedy's high demand for them. The last ambiguity is the

[44] Pettit, *Lacnunga vol. II,* p. 46.

[45] G. Storms, 'An Anglo-Saxon prescription from the Lacnunga', *English Studies*, 28 (1947), 33-41 (p. 38).

meaning of the word *trinda* as it is not found elsewhere. Pettit suggests it to be 'something circular or spherical'[46] and Storms interprets it as a 'circle round about the mortar' in order to 'intensif[y] the power of the herbs by the addition to its own power, and at the same time it prevented evil forces from influencing the contents of the mortar, as they were unable to cross the magic circle of fat'.[47] Since the two places where *trinda* is used in the remedy are all in subjunctive and used by the assistant to contain fat and bones, it may be a specific piece of equipment for works related to animal products.

3.1 Participant roles in commentary sentences

As discussed above, commentary sentences function as an assurance of a remedy's efficacy. Although it is not a part of the remedy's instruction and it can be omitted without any practical influence on the remedy, it can also display participant roles.

(1) Wið þon þe mon blode wealle þurh his muð. Genim betonican þreora trymess gwæge 7 cole gate meoloc þreo cuppan fulle. 7 drince þonne. **Bið he sona hal**. **[CII]**

'In the event of blood welling through a person's mouth: take the weight of three drachms of betony and three cupsful of

[46] Pettit, *Lacnunga vol. II,* p. 46.

[47] Storms, *An Anglo-Saxon prescription*, pp. 37-8.

cool goat's milk. And [he] (should) drink it. He will soon be well.'

As Type B commentary sentence comments on the healing of patients, it displays the role of patient.

(2) Gif þin heorte ace. Nim ribban. 7 wyl on meolce. Drinc nygon morgenas. þe bið sona sel. **[LXXXV]**

'If your heart hurts: take *ribbe* and boil in milk. Drink for nine mornings. You will soon be well.'

Entry LXXXV is the only instance that has second person pronoun in the commentary sentence which corresponds to *þin* 'your' in the introduction. It is possible for this entry to be a remedy for self-healing, since it has simple imperative instructions that do not require any medicine-making skill. Except the knowledge of identifying the herb, it can be easily conducted by any random patient. In this case, it displays the role of a patient who is also the preparer of the medicine. It is also possible to interpret it as a remedy with an oral-like and close narration. By using second person pronoun, the narrative distance between the remedy author and the reader becomes close. It helps the remedy to introduce its purpose by depicting a situation where 'your heart hurts'. In contrast, the remedy's efficacy is foregrounded that 'you will soon be well'.

3.2 Case study: remedies with assistant role

As discussed above, the preparation of Entry XXXI involves at least two participants: a medical practitioner/pharmacist who is responsible for the gathering and processing of herbal ingredients and plays the dominant role in the making of medicine, and an assistant who works on the processing of animal-related ingredients. Similar to Entry XXXI, there are twelve remedies in the dataset which may display such distinction of practitioner and assistant in the instruction. In this case study of the twelve instances, similarities and differences among them will be discussed. By doing this, a more realistic picture of early medieval medicine making practice in England can be drawn.

In the following quotations, in order to make a straightforward distinction between participant roles, instructional verbs are marked by colour, in which imperative verbs are red and subjunctive verbs are green.

(1) Sealf wið fleogendum attre 7 færspryngum. **Nim** hamorwyrte handfulle 7 mægeðan handfulle 7 wegbrædan handfulle 7 eadoccan moran. **Sece** ða þe fleotan wille þære ðeah læst 7 clænes huniges ane ægscylle fulle. **Nim** þonne clæne buteran. þrywa **gemylte** ðe þa sealfe midweorcean wile. **Singe** man ane mæssan ofer ðam wyrtum ær man hy tosomne do 7 þa sealfe wyrce. **[XVIII]**

'A salve for flying venom and sudden eruptions: take a

handful of Christmas-rose and a handful of *mægeðe* and a handful of greater plantain and root of water-lily, look for the one that will float, nevertheless least of that, and an eggshell-full of pure honey. Then take pure butter. He who will work with the salve (should) melt it thrice. One (should) sing a mass over the plants before one put them together and make the salve.'

In this instance, it seems to have three participants in the process of medicine making. A second person participant who is responsible for the gathering of ingredients, including herbs, honey and butter. A third person participant who melts the butter and another third person participant who sings mass. It is not clear who actually makes the medicine since the final step is written as a dependent clause with an indefinite pronoun *ær man hy tosomne do 7 þa sealfe wyrce* 'before one put them together and make the salve', although it is most likely to be the reader. This entry is the only one that directly points out the existence of an assistant or co-worker in the clause *ðe þa sealfe midweorcean wile* 'who will work with the salve'. Similar to Entry XXXI, the assistant also has the job of melting butter (boil butter in Entry XXXI) and the practitioner also gathers ingredients and make the salve. The extra role of a mass-singer is specified in Entry LXIII as *mæssepreost* 'mass-priest' as mentioned above.

The assistant's job of melting things is also displayed in Entry XXXVIII:

(2) To eahsealfe. **Nim** aluwan 7 sidewaran lawerberian 7 pipor. **Gescaf** smale 7 cubuteran fersce **lege** on wæter. **Nim** þonne hwetstan bradne 7 **gnid** ða buteran on ðæm hwetstan mid copore þ heo beo wel toh. **Do** þonne sumne dæl þara wyrta þærto. **Clæm** ðonne on arfæt. **Læt** standan nygon niht. **Wende** man ælce dæge. **Mylte** syþþan on ðæm arfæte sylfan. **Aseoh** þurh clað. **Do** syþðan on swylc fætels swylce ðu wille. **Nyttige** þonne þe ðearf sy. Þeos sealf mæg wið ælces cynnes untrumnysse ðe eagan eigliað. **[XXXVIII]**

'For an eye-salve: take aloe and zedoary, laurel-berries and pepper. Shred finely and lay fresh butter made from cow's milk in water. Then take a broad whetstone and rub the butter on the whetstone with copper so that it is very sticky. Then add thereto a certain amount of the plants. Then smear into a brass vessel. Let it stand for nine nights. One (should) turn it each day. Then [one] (should) melt it in the same brass vessel. Strain through a cloth. Then put it in whatever kind of vessel you desire. [One] (should) use it when it is necessary for you. This salve is good for every kind of infirmity that afflicts the eyes.'

This instance also displays an efficient use of time by assigning part of the work to an assistant. When the practitioner leaves the mixture of butter and herbs in a brass vessel for nine days, an assistant is asked to turn it each day and melt it afterwards, so that the practitioner can continue the work of making salve when nine days have passed. It

can be seen that only the simplest work is assigned to the assistant while all the other skill-required works are left to the practitioner. Apart from the gathering of herbs, the processing of ingredients including rubbing, adding and straining can be frequently seen in the remedies as some required skills of a practitioner.

(3) Gif men eglað seo blace blegen. þonne **nime** man great sealt. **Bærne** on linenum claðe swa micel swa an æg. **Grinde** þonne þ sealt swiþe smæl. **Nime** þonne þreora ægra geolcan. **Swinge** hit swiðe togædere. 7 **lege** hit VI niht þærto. **Nim** þonne eorðnafelan 7 grundeswylian 7 cawelleaf 7 eald smera. **Cnuca** þ eal tosomne. 7 **lege** hit þreo niht þærto. **Nim** þonne gearwan 7 grundeswylian 7 bræmbelleaf 7 clæne spic. **Cnuca** togædere. 7 **lege** þærto. Him bið sona sel. Oððæt hit hal sy 7 ne cume þæræt nan wæta butan of þan wyrtan sylfan. **[LXXXIV]**

'If the black boil afflicts a person: Then one (should) take coarse salt. [One] (should) burn as much as an egg in a linen cloth. Then [one] (should) grind the salt very fine. Then [one] (should) take the yolks of three eggs. [One] (should) beat it together vigorously. And apply it thereto for six nights. Then take *eorðnafela* and groundsel and wild cabbage-leaf and old fat. Pound it all together and apply it thereto for three nights. Then take yarrow and groundsel and bramble-leaf and clean lard. Pound together and apply thereto. He will soon be better. Until it is healthy and no liquid (should) touch there, except

from the plants themselves.'

This instance has a similar assignment of herbal and non-herbal work between the practitioner and the assistant. It begins with the steps of making a mixture of fine salt and egg yolk which is the job of an assistant. Then follows the practitioner's job of making two herbal medicines. The practitioner is also responsible for the applying of all three medicines. It is possible for the patient to prepare the mixture as it does not require any specific knowledge or skill. In the contrary, the preparation of two herbal medicines requires the knowledge and skill of identifying and picking herbs. The applying of medicine may also require the practitioner's medical knowledge.

Humans are not the only patients for medieval practitioners, Entry CXXXIII is a remedy for lung disease in cattle:

(4) Wyþ lungenadle hriðerum. … **Weorc** cristemæl of cassuce fifo. **Sete** on feower healfe þæs ceapes 7 an to middes. **Sing** ymb þone ceap Benedicam dominum in omni tempore usque in finem 7 benedicite 7 letanias 7 Pater noster. **Stred** on haligwæter **Bærn** ymb recels 7 godeweb. 7 **geeahtige** mon ðone ceap. **Syle** þone teoþan pænig for Gode. **Læt** syþðan beotigean. **Do** ðus þriwa. **[CXXXIII]**

'For lung disease in cattle: … Make five crosses from *cassuc*. Place them on four sides of the cattle and one in the middle.

Sing around the cattle: 'I will bless the Lord at all times' until the end, and the Benedicite and litanies and the Our Father. Sprinkle holy water on them. Burn frankincense and shot-silk taffeta around them. And one (should) value the cattle. Give the tenth penny to God. Then let them be better. Do thus thrice.'

At the end of this remedy, an assistant is asked to assess the value of the sick cattle. Although the identity of this assistant is not specified, it is reasonable to assume s/he to be the owner of the cattle or a specialist related to the trading of animal, since the assessment of value would require professional knowledge. After it, a tenth of the value is given to God, i.e., the church. As can be seen from the remedy, it involves a lot of religious elements: the using of cross (*cristemæl*, 'Christ's mark') and holy water, the practice of singing prayers. Therefore, the tenth penny to the church can be interpreted as a way of paying for the help of God. Pettit relates it to 'the practice of paying yearly tithes to the Church'.[48] It can also be interpreted as a payment for the medical service, which is probably provided by someone related to the church as the practice of singing prayers requires the practitioner's religious knowledge. The remedy also has a Latin phrase in it: *usque in finem* 'until the end', it may imply the target reader/practitioner's Latin knowledge, or that s/he is familiar with such phrase which might be frequent in religious communication. This phrase also appears in Entry XXIX which is also a heavily religious

[48] Pettit, *Lacnunga vol. II,* p. 265.

remedy.

The assistant role can also appear in the medicine applying step:

(5) Gif se wyrm sy nyþergewend oðde se bledenda fic. **Bedelf** ænne wrid cileþenigan moran. 7 **nim** mid þinum twam handum upweardnes. 7 **sing** þærofer VIIII pater nostra æt þam nigeðan æt libera nos a malo. **Bred** hy þonne up. 7 **nim** of þam ciðe 7 of oþrum þ þær sy an lytel cuppe ful. 7 **drinc(e)** hy þonne. 7 **beðige** hine mon to wearman fyre. Him bið sona sel. **[LXXVII]**

'If the worm is turned downwards or the bleeding haemorrhoid: dig round a bundle of shoots the root of greater celandine and take it with your two hands upwards. And sing thereover nine Our Fathers, at the ninth, at 'deliver us from evil', wrench it up. And take from the shoot and from others so that there is a little cupful. And then [he] (should) drink it. And one (should) warm him in front of a warm fire. He will soon be better.'

The imperative *drinc* in the manuscript raises ambiguity as it contradicts the third person *hine* in the following sentence. In the translation I followed Pettit's interpretation which emends it to subjunctive *drince* and translates *beðige* to 'warm'. GS offers another interpretation which emends it to

imperative *drenc* ‘drench’ and translates *beðige* to ‘foment’.[49] As pointed out by Pettit, it is not proper to pair ‘drench’ with ‘warm’ since it would ‘leave the remedy without any instructions for its use’.[50] Although the intended meaning of these two instructions is unclear, they still display the roles of a patient (*hine*) and an assistant (*mon*). Considering the purpose of this remedy is for a ‘worm’ turning downwards (anal fistula as suggested by GS[51]) and haemorrhoid, it is reasonable for the patient to be taken care of by someone other than the practitioner (perhaps someone close to the patient). This interpretation works better with GS’s translation as fomenting requires more body exposure. Apart from the interpretations above that treat the patient as the referent of *hine*, it is also linguistically possible for it to refer to the *wyrm* ‘worm’ or the *bledenda fic* ‘bleeding haemorrhoid’. In this case, the remedy specifies the area that requires to be warmed or fomented to the afflicted body part, and the translation of the sentence should be: ‘One (should) warm it in front of a warm fire’. Therefore, the participant of this instruction (the referent of *mon*) could very well be the patient rather than an assistant.

3.2.1 Specified assistant role

In most cases, assistant role is expressed in subjunctive verb and indefinite pronoun whose identity is unspecified and can only be inferred from the instructions as in Entry XXXI.

[49] Gratton and Singer, *Anglo-Saxon magic and medicine,* p. 157.
[50] Pettit, *Lacnunga vol. II,* p. 166.
[51] Gratton and Singer, *Anglo-Saxon magic and medicine,* p. 157.

However, there are assistant roles with specified identities which indicate their special and important status in the medical practice.

The role of a mass-singer appears in the following entries:

(6) **Singe** man ane mæssan ofer ðam wyrtum… **[XVIII]**
Læt singan mæssan ofer… **[XXIX]**
…mæssepreost. **Singe** ðas orationis ofer… **[LXIII]**
7 **gesinge** III mæssan ofer. **[LXIX]**
Gesing mæssepreost XII mæssan ofer. **[CXI]**

Entry XXIX implies the role in a *lætan* + infinitive construction which is translated as a passive phrase 'let mass be sung' because it does not express the subject of *singan*. Therefore, it is also possible for the practitioner to take the role of mass-singer. As in Entry CXXXVI which uses imperative *sing ofer feower mæssan* 'sing four masses over', it is the only instance of having a second person participant as the mass-singer.

As discussed above, the mass-priest in Entry LXIII may have an extra job of consecrating water and herbs: *7 wæter gehalga fonthalgunge* 'and [one] (should) consecrate water at the consecration of a font', *7 gehalga hy syððan mæssepreost* 'and then a mass-priest (should) consecrate them (herbs)'.

From these entries that involve the practice of singing mass,

the special status of mass-priest as someone who performs important religious rituals can be seen. Their participation in the medical process may suggest the close relationship between religious and medical service in medieval England.

As a comparison, imperative *sing* is used when the practice of singing prayers, songs, charms and psalms is required:

(7) **Sing** ðis **gebed** on ða blacan blegene viiii syþðan ærest Pater Noster. **[XXV]**
Sing ðis **leoð** in þæt swiðre eare… **[XXVI]**
Sing þ **galdor** on ælcre þara wyrta… **[LXXVI]**
ðu **sing** ofer ðas **sealmas**… **[LXIII]**

This difference of verb form indicates the different status between mass and all other verbal practices. As mass in most cases requires the participation of a specialist, namely the mass-priest, whereas other verbal practices do not require any extra roles and can be performed by the practitioner or an unspecified assistant.

Another specified assistant role is virgin:

(8) 7 **hat** **unmælne mon** gefeccean swigende… **[XXIX]**
7 **ga** þænne an **mædenman** to… **[LXXXVI]**

It is also mentioned in Entry CLXXVI which is out of the scale of current study (*gange mædenman to wylle þe rihte east yrne*… 'a virgin (should) go to a spring which runs directly

east…'). As a significant part of 'magic' practice and religious ritual, virginity is related to the cleanness, purity and sacredness of the performers and objects.[52] This specified role indicates the importance of purity in Entry XXIX and Entry LXXXVI, which are both heavily religious:

(9) Writ on husldisce In principio erat uerbum usque non conprehenderun… Sing ðas gebedsealmas. Miserere mei deus… **[XXIX]**

'Write on a paten: 'In the beginning was the word' as far as 'comprehended it not'… Sing these precatory psalms: 'God have mercy on me'…'

(10) … Man sceal niman VII lytle oflætan swylce man mid ofrað 7 writtan þas naman on ælcre oflætan Maximianus Malchus…. þænne eft þ galdor þ heræfter cweð man sceal singan. … **[LXXXVI]**

'One must take seven little sacramental wafers such as one makes offertory with, and write these names on each wafer: Maximianus, Malchus…. Then afterwards one must sing the incantation that is related hereafter. …'

This idea of purity as a positive factor in medical process can also be spotted in Entry LXIII:

(11) …7 ðus man sceal ða buteran gewyrcean to ðære

[52] G. Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (The Hague, 1948), pp. 92-4.

haligan sealfe æt anes heowe cy þ heo sy eall reod oðde hwit 7 **unmæle**. …**[LXIII]**

'And thus one must make the butter for the holy salve from a cow of one colour, all red or white and unblemished. …'

Similar to the previous entries that require the virginity of participant, this instance asks for the symbolic purity of ingredient: butter from a monochromatic and unblemished cow.

3.2.2 Interchangeability of imperative and subjunctive instructional verbs

Although the idea of participant roles may explain the mixture of verb forms in some of the remedies' instructions, in some instances it cannot be satisfactorily implemented. In this section, I will analyse two remedies that suggest the interchangeability of imperative and subjunctive verbs in instructional sentences with possible but unsatisfactory interpretations using participant roles.

As discussed in section 2.2, Entry CIII has a problematic inconsistency of verb forms in its medicine applying step. It also has a rare subjunctive *genime* 'take' in the ingredient gathering step:

(12) Wið ælces monnes tydernesse innewearde. **Genime** wegbrædan. **Do** on win. **Sup** þ wos 7 **ete** þa wyrta.

þonne deah hit wið æghwylcre innancundre unhælo. **[CIII]**

'For every person's internal infirmity: [One] (should) take greater plantain. Put it in wine. Drink the juice and [one] (should) eat the plant. Then it will be good for every internal infirmity.'

As discussed above, the inconsistency can be solved by emending *sup* to subjunctive *supe* or emending *ete* to imperative *et*. These two solutions will lead to two interpretations of this remedy's participant roles. If the instruction of applying is intended to be imperative, this remedy can be interpreted as self-healing that the reader is the patient and medicine preparer and the referent of the subjunctive *genime* is the assistant. If it is intended to be subjunctive, the remedy seems to have three participants: an assistant that collects plantain, a preparer that puts the herb in wine and a patient. However, it is quite unnecessary for its author to predefine different roles for such a short and simple remedy.

The uncommon subjunctive *genime* in the gathering of a herbal ingredient can be explained by the popularity of the herb. As its name suggests (way-broad/waybread), it is a common plant that can be easily identified and gathered by a non-specialist. It is also a popular and renowned herb because of its strong efficacy against infections and internal

problems among medieval medical texts.[53] In a metrical charm in *Lacnunga* that is known as the Nine Herbs Charm, *wegbrædan* is highly praised: *ond þu wegbrade, wyrta modor, eastan opene, innan mihtigu…* 'And you, way-broad, mother of herbs, open from the east, mighty within…'. Therefore, the popularity of *wegbrædan* may allow it to be gathered by a non-specialist. However, it would still be much easier and reliable for a medical practitioner to gather it since one cannot ensure that everyone in Early-Medieval England would know this herb. Therefore, a more reasonable explanation for the mixture of verb forms in this remedy is the interchangeability of imperative and subjunctive verbs, and the use of both forms in the instruction is not intended to distinguish participant roles.

Another instance that cannot be explained with participant roles with satisfaction is Entry LXXXIII and Entry LXXXIV. They are a pair of variant versions and Entry LXXXIV has been analysed above. Although they have a similar content, the same procedure in Entry LXXXIII was written in imperative:

(13) …7 wyrc þonne godne cliðan. Genim anes æges gewyrðe greates sealtes 7 bærn on anan claðe þ hit si þurhburnen. Gegnid hit þonne to duste 7 nim þonne þreora ægra geolcan 7 gemængc to þam duste þ hit sy

[53] Erin Connelly, 'A case study of Plantago in the treatment of infected wounds in the middle English translation of Bernard of Gordon's Lilium medicinae', in *New Approaches to Disease, Disability and Medicine in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Erin Connelly and Stefanie Künzel (Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing Ltd, 2018), pp. 126-140 (p. 132).

swa stið þ hit wille wel clyfian. 7 geopenige mon þonne þone dott 7 binde þone cliðan to þan swyle ðe þearf sy. … **[LXXXIII]**

'And then make a good poultice: take one egg's worth of coarse salt and burn it in a cloth so that it is completely burnt. Then grind it to a powder and then take the yolks of three eggs and mix into the powder, so that it is so firm that it will stick well. And then one (should) open the head of the boil and bind the poultice to the swelling as is necessary for you.'

Unlike Entry LXXXIV, it does not mention the exact time that the mixture should be applied. On the contrary, it leaves the decision to the practitioner: *swyle ðe þearf sy* 'as is necessary for you'. Although it could be explained that Entry LXXXIV is the improved version with a more accurate instruction and additional participant roles, the possibility of interchangeable verb forms cannot be ignored. Therefore, to better understand the use of imperative and subjunctive verbs in remedy instructions, further study with a broader dataset is required.

3.2.3 Discussion

To sum up the above discussion, instructional verbs for practitioner and assistant are displayed in the following form (verbs for specified assistants are marked red):

	Instructions for	Instructions for

	practitioner	assistant
Entry XVIII	*nim, sece* (take, seek)	*gemylte, singe* (melt, sing)
Entry XXIX	*writ, nim, lege, þweah, geot, ber, sing, bletsa, cweð, bruc* (write, take, place, wash, pour, carry, sing, bless, say, use)	*hat gefeccean, læt singan* (fetch, sing)
Entry XXXI	*nim, do, cnuca, scearfige (scearfa, scaf), wylle, sete, læt socian, seoh, wring, geot, mæng, sing* (take, put/add, pound, scrape, boil, set, soak, strain, pour, mix, sing)	*mylte, geote, somnige, cnocie, seoðe, fleote, wyrce, nime, wylle, sette* (melt, pour, bring, pound, seethe, skim, make, take, boil, set)
Entry XXXVIII	*nim, gescaf, lege, gnid, do, clæm, aseoh* (take, scrape, place, rub, add, smear, strain)	*wende, mylte* (turn, melt)
Entry LXIII	*sceal (niman), sceal don, sceal gewyrcean, awæsc, mængc,*	*aðwere, gehalga, singe* (churn, consecrate, sing)

	gescearfa, do, genim, gewyrc, writ, styre, sing, arime, blaw, lege (must take, must add, must make, wash, mix, scrape, put, take, make, write, stir, sing, recite, blow, place)	
Entry LXIX	*wyrc, nim, ofgeot, syle drincan* (make, take, drench, give to drink)	*gesinge* (sing)
Entry LXXVI	*gewyrc, mængc, genim, wyl, beþe, sing* (make, mix, take, boil, foment, sing)	*singe* (sing)
Entry LXXVII	*bedelf, nim, sing, bred* (dig, take, sing, wrench)	*beðige* (warm)
Entry LXXXIV	*lege, nim, cnuca* (apply, take, pound)	*nime, bærne, grinde, swinge* (take, burn, grind, beat)
Entry LXXXVI	*sceal niman, sceal*	*ga, ho* (go, hang)

	writtan, sceal singan (must take, must write, must sing)	
Entry CIII	*do* (put)	*genime* (take)
Entry CXXXIII	*gecnuca, do, genim, bærn, læt reocan, weorc, sete, sing, stred, syle* (pound, put, take, burn, smoke, make, place, sing, sprinkle, give)	*geeahtige* (value)

Table 1

As can be seen from the form, in the whole medical process, the majority of work is assigned to the practitioner. The three most frequent instructions for practitioner are *nim…* 'take…' (occurs in 11 out of 12 entries), *sing…* 'sing…' (7/12) and *do…* 'put, add…' (6/12). The practitioner's work covers the gathering of both herbal and non-herbal (liquid and animal-related) ingredients, the processing of ingredients, extra-medical practice and the applying of medicine. Although only a relatively small part of work is assigned to the assistant, it also covers all aspects of the medical process. The three most frequent instructions for assistant are *singe*… 'sing…' (5/12), *nime*… 'take…' (3/12) and *mylte*… 'melt…' (3/12). In comparison, the exact number of occurrences of the verbs in

each aspect between the practitioner and the assistant displays significant difference. In the following form, each occurrence of relevant instruction is counted and categorized.

	Practitioner	Assistant
Gathering		
Herb	Approx.15	1
Liquid	2	1
Other	4	4
Making		
Herb	Approx. 35	1
Other	Approx. 12	13
Extra-medical	14	12
Applying		
	13	2

Table 2

As the number displays, differences occur in each aspect of the practitioner's and the assistant's work. In the ingredient gathering step, practitioner has a large proportion of herb gathering work, whereas the most of the assistant's work in this step is gathering non-herbal ingredients which includes water from a running stream, animal bone, butter, salt and egg yolk. In comparison, non-herbal ingredients gathered by the practitioner are solutions for the medicine (wine and honey), butter, animal fat, animal marrow and soap. Therefore, it can be inferred that a practitioner should have an easier access to pharmaceutical materials including herbs and solutions that frequently appear in remedies. The

practitioner can get access to these ingredients by their own hands, as stated in Entry LXXVII, *bedelf ænne wrid cileþenigan moran 7 nim mid þinum twam handum upweardnes* 'dig round a bundle of shoots the root of greater celandine and take it with your two hands upwards', or gathered via trade and plantation. As pointed out by several scholars,[54] there are ingredients that are not local in England but appear in Old English remedies. In Entry XXXVIII, the practitioner gathers aloes, laurel berries, pepper and zedoary which are all foreign ingredients. Aloe has its name borrowed from Arabic *alloeh* through Greek and Latin, zedoary is a 'member of the ginger family from the Far East but were unknown to the Greeks and Romans and were introduced into the West only in medieval times by the Arabs'.[55] Although it is possible for the remedies with exotic ingredients to be merely a part of scribing practice and were never used in real life, it is also possible that the practitioner may have access to the herb traders to obtain these ingredients. For the plantation of herbs, in Ælfric's colloquy for teaching Latin, he mentions a situation of a physician tends to the monastery's garden and a list of plants that grows in it. Although it is an artificial situation that is made up for the teaching purpose, its content may reflect the reality that there was a monastic garden with herb plantation.[56]

Apart from the herbs, occasionally a practitioner would also

[54] See Kesling, *Medical Texts,* pp. 143-4. And Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon medicine,* pp. 100-116.
[55] Cameron, *Anglo-Saxon medicine,* pp. 105-6.
[56] Bolotina, *Medicine and Society,* p. 31.

need to obtain animal-related ingredients. Animal fat appears in six entries (Entry VIII, X, XXXI, XL, LXXXIV and CX) and it is the mostly used animal-related ingredient, the animals required for their fat include fox, hart, goat, bull, boar, ram, cow and sheep, there are also two instances of unsalted fat and old fat that have no specified animal kind. Animal marrow often appears with fat, it is used in four entries (Entry VIII, IX, X, XXXI) and the animals are roe-deer, hart, ox and eagle. From archaeological, literary and place-name evidence, contemporary scholars are able to know the zoology of early medieval England. Based on the studies, the aforementioned animals are all commonly present in early medieval England and they have a close relationship with human life. Goat, bull, ram, cow, sheep and ox are kept as domestic animals and are highly valued as an important part of individual wealth,[57] while fox, hart (male red deer), roe-deer and boar are common in the wild and were hunted or domesticated by early medieval people of England.[58] The eagle as a kind of 'beast of death' is frequently mentioned in poems as a carrion-feeder at battlefields.[59] Therefore, medical practitioners can easily get these ingredients from farmers and hunters.

In some circumstances, the task of gathering some

[57] Debby Banham and Rosamond Faith, *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming* (Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 75-106.
[58] For fox, see Kristopher Poole, 'Foxes and Badgers in Anglo-Saxon Life and Landscape', *Archaeological Journal*, 172.2 (2015), 389-422. For deer, see Naomi Sykes, 'Woods and the Wild' in *The Oxford Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology*, ed. by Helena Hamerow, David A. Hinton and Sally Crawford (Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 327-345. For boar, see *Anglo-Saxon Farms and Farming*, 2014, pp. 97-100.
[59] Ian L. Baxter, 'Eagles in Anglo-Saxon and Norse Poems', *Circaea*, 10.2 (1993), 78-81.

ingredients is given to an assistant. The reason for the need of an assistant varies. For Entry XXIX, a virgin is needed to fetch running water because of their special status as a symbol of cleanness and purity. For Entry XXXI, as already discussed, an assistant is needed to gather a large amount of bones and butter probably because of their identity as an animal specialist (perhaps a practitioner of animal husbandry). For Entry LXXXIV, an assistant is asked to gather salt and egg yolk. Salt as an ingredient for food preservation and flavour is an important commodity for early medieval people in England, its production sites were located at both the coasts and the inland.[60] From the records of the well-developed network of roads for salt transportation (salt-ways),[61] it would be common for people to get salt via trade. Egg as another common commodity and food can be easily obtained from poultry. Therefore, for a community with enough wealth and livestock, it would be easy to get these ingredients without the help of a medical practitioner (the process of making a mixture of salt and egg yolk is also simple enough to be done by a non-specialist). While the mixture is applied for six days (perhaps needing to be changed a few times for a new mixture), the practitioner can gather other ingredients (herbs and fat) and make the medicine. As suggested by Pettit,[62] the 'black blain' Entry LXXXIV deals with may be a symptom of bubonic plague which is known as the Black Death. Therefore, the time-saving strategy of leaving simple works to an assistant might

[60] Sally Crawford, *Daily Life in Anglo-Saxon England* (The Greenwood Press, 2022), pp. 75-6.
[61] Ibid, p. 76.
[62] Pettit, *Lacnunga vol. II,* p. 170.

be vital for the healing process since there might be a large number of patients being infected by the plague. However, backdiagnosis of diseases in the medical texts needs caution since there are multiple diseases with a similar symptom, and descriptions of symptoms in the texts are often simple and vague.

The difference between the role of a practitioner and an assistant is more noticeable in the medicine making step. As the numbers suggest, the practitioner not only has more jobs to do, but also has a larger proportion of work at the processing of herbal ingredients. On the contrary, almost all the assistant's jobs are about non-herbal ingredients. Among the thirteen instances, the most frequent instruction for the assistant is to melt things (fat and butter) and the most processed ingredient by the assistant is butter (in most cases with herbs mixed in it) which is an important ingredient for salves. In general, the assistant's jobs at the medicine making step require less skill and knowledge than the practitioner's. Some of the instructions are also frequently given to the practitioner in other entries. For example, *nime þonne ealde buteran 7 wylle þa wyrta 7 þa rinda* 'then let (one) take old butter and boil the plants and the barks (in it)' (Entry XXXI) and *wyll in buteran þas wyrte* 'boil these plants in butter' (Entry LI) are basically the same step (see also the same steps in Entry LXXXIII and LXXXIV). Therefore, the requirement for an assistant in this part is optional rather than compulsory as a way to increase efficiency and save time or as a relief to the practitioner's heavy work. However,

when extra-medical practice is involved in the process of making medicine, in many cases the requirement for mass-priests as liturgical specialists is compulsory since there is only one exception which gives the instruction of singing mass to the practitioner. Furthermore, extra-medical practice also forms a large proportion of the assistant's works compared to the practitioner's. Nevertheless, even with the help of religious specialists, performing extra-medical practices except mass is still an important part of the professional ability of a medical practitioner. As mentioned above, a medical practitioner would be able to sing Christian prayers in Latin, sing and write 'gibberish' charms such as the *Tigað* charm (Entry XXV and LXXXIII) and Old English charms such as the *Nine Herbs Charm*.

When it comes to the medicine applying step, the practitioner's role is also dominant. As can be seen throughout the dataset, the instructions about medicine application are either given to the practitioners or directly to the patients. There are only two possible instances of assistants' participation in this step. Besides Entry LXXVII, Entry LXXXVI mentions having a virgin hang sacramental wafers on the patient's neck as a part of its healing process. Therefore, it is the disease or the religious purpose that requires the participation of an assistant in the applying step. Apart from Entry LXXVII, there are another three remedies for haemorrhoid and two of them share a common feature:

(14) Wið ðone bledendan fic. Nim murran ða wyrt 7 ceorf of

nygan penegas 7 do on ælcne hunig 7 ðige ða on æfen 7 eft oðre nygan on mergen 7 do swa nygon dagas 7 IX niht butan **ðe** raðor bot cume. **[XIX]**

'For bleeding haemorrhoid: take the plant sweet cicely, and cut off nine pennies and put honey on each, and consume them in the evening, and again another nine in the morning, and do so for nine days and nine nights unless the cure comes to you sooner.'

(15) Gif se uic weorðe on mannes setle geseten. þonne nim **ðu** clatan moran þa greatan III oððe IIII 7 beret hy on hate æmergean 7 ateoh þonne ða ane of ðan heorðe 7 cnuca 7 wyrc swylc an lytel cicel 7 lege to þæm setle swa **ðu** hatost forberan mæge. þonne se cicel colige þonne wyrc **þu** ma 7 lege to 7 beo on stilnesse dæg oððe twegen. þonne **þu** þis do hit is afandad læcecræft. Ne delfe hy nan man þa moran mid isene 7 mid wætere ne þwea. Ac strice hy mid claðe clæne 7 do swiþe þynne clað betweonan þ setl 7 ðone cicel. **[LXXV]**

'If the haemorrhoid is situated on a person's rump: then take roots of *clate*, the greater one, three or four, and smoke them on hot embers, and then draw the one from the hearth and pound it and make it like a little cake, and apply to the rump as hot as you can bear, when the cake cools, then make more and apply to, and be in repose for a day or two. When you do this, it is proven medical practice. No one (should) dig the roots with an iron implement, and do not wash them with

water, but wipe them with a clean cloth. And put a very thin cloth between the rump and the cake.'

As can be noticed from the bold letters, both remedies have second person referent as the practitioner and also the patient. Therefore, similar to Entry LXXXV that has been discussed before, these two remedies can be interpreted as self-healing remedies or remedies with an oral-like writing style. In both cases, although written in imperative, the job of applying the medicine is assigned to the patients themselves. The factor of disease is less relevant in Entry XIX since it only requires oral medication. However, Entry LXXV asks the medicine to be applied onto the haemorrhoid which would be a sensitive situation. Therefore, instead of having a practitioner-patient distinction such as 'apply to the rump as hot as *he can bear', it uses second person pronoun for both the practitioner and the patient.

On the contrary, Entry LXXVIII displays such distinction:

(16) Eft wiþ þon ylcan. Læt niman ænne greatne cwurnstan 7 hætan hine 7 lecgan hine under þone man 7 niman wælwyrt 7 leomucan 7 mugcwyrt 7 lecgan uppan þone stan 7 onunder 7 do þærto ceald wæter 7 læt reocan þone bræð upon þone man swa hat swa **he** hatust forberan mæge. **[LXXVIII]**

'Again for the same (haemorrhoid): let a great mill-stone be taken and let it be heated and placed under the person, and

let *wælwyrt* and brooklime and mugwort be taken and placed upon and beneath the stone. And add cold water thereto, and let the vapour steam upon the person as hot as he can bear.'

Although it has a practitioner-patient distinction, it displays a less strong imperative tone by using a rare group of passive *lætan* constructions (so that the instructional verbs are infinitive) which has an unclear stylistic function. It can probably diminish the importance of the practitioner role as the passive *lætan* constructions do not have expressed subjects for the infinitive instructional verbs.

3.2.3 Conclusion

In this case study, twelve entries which have assistant roles are examined. As the discussion shows, these entries differ in length and complexity and their reasons for having assistant roles vary. In conclusion, assistants are mainly required in remedies which use both herbal and non-herbal ingredients and remedies with extra-medical elements. In the first instance, assistants are responsible for works about the processing of non-herbal ingredients which require less professional medical knowledge and medicine making skill. This division of labour can increase efficiency significantly and also ease the burden on practitioners. In the text, these assistants are mainly mentioned by indefinite pronouns *man/mon* which do not specify their identity. In Entry XVIII, an assistant is mentioned in a clause: *ðe þa sealfe*

midweorcean wile ‘who will work with the salve’. Therefore, we could imagine in practice an early medieval medical practitioner in England may leave some simple and less knowledge/skill-required works to someone that is willing to help. These assistants could be the patients’ relatives, local hunters and farmers, or the practitioners’ apprentices. Apart from these unspecified assistants, in the second instance assistants with certain status are required. Mass-priests as liturgical specialists are mentioned when the practice of mass is required in the medical process, virgins as the symbol of purity are required when spiritual/moral cleanness is regarded as an important factor. Therefore, we could also imagine the cooperation of medical practitioners and clerics in the practice of healing. Although a fully imperative and role-less remedy can express the same medical process, the inclusion of assistant roles makes the twelve instances closer to the real-life situation. It also indicates that they are well-designed in terms of the division of labour which are either for realistic reasons or religious purposes. By a comparison between the practitioner’s works and the assistant’s works, the broad extent of a practitioner’s knowledge and skill can be seen. While only a limited range of simple medical works are assigned to assistants, practitioners are responsible for the gathering and processing of both herbal and non-herbal ingredients and the application of medicine. They are also experts in religious and other extra-medical practices excluding mass.

4. Stylistically similar remedies

As a collection of medical texts without a systematic edit, remedies in *Lacnunga* are preserved in their various styles and uses of language. Nevertheless, there are two remedies with several shared features despite being placed at different positions in the manuscript. In this section, I will examine the similar structure and shared stylistic features between them which may suggest their common origin. Before the analysis, it is worth noting that most of the remedies in the dataset are short and simple which make them less stylistically salient, although some of them have a similar structure and expressions, these similarities are most likely the result of remedy writing formulas rather than a common origin or authorship.[63]

In the dataset of 143 entries, the length and complexity of Entry XXXI and Entry LXIII already make them special even in the first glance. With a closer look, more special stylistic features that they have in common can be found.

4.1 Introductory sentence

(1) To godre bansealfe þe mæg wið heafodece 7 wið ealra lyma tyddernysse. **[XXXI]**

'For a good bone-salve which can work for headache and for infirmity of all the limbs.'

[63] Such as Entry I, II, XI, XII, etc. which have the most frequent Type 1 instructional sentence (*wið…*) and give instructions only in imperative. They are also short and role-less. Although subtle differences do exist among them, such as the use of descriptive adjectives and adverbs.

(2) To haligre sealfe. **[LXIII]**

‘For a holy salve.’

In the introduction, they are the only two entries that use the construction *To* + adj. + product. The use of adjectives expresses the author’s attitude and comment on the products. The obvious difference between them is the lack of purpose in the introduction of Entry LXIII. Although it makes the purpose of the remedy unknown for modern readers and non-specialists, it is most likely that an early medieval practitioner would know the function of a holy salve as a kind of tacit knowledge. Similar occurrences of medical terms that lack description can be seen elsewhere, for instance:

(3) þis is seo grene sealf. **[XV]**

‘This is the green salve.’

And in the instruction of Entry LXIII:

(4) 7 letanias arime ofer þ is ðara haligra naman … 7 **þ wyrmgealdor**.

‘And recite litanies over it that is the names of the saints … and the worm-incantation.’

Therefore, the absence of purpose in the introductory sentence of Entry LXIII is probably a way to avoid

unnecessary explanation.

4.2 Instructional sentence

Both entries have a similar structure in the ingredient gathering instructions:

(5) Sceal **r**ude, **r**ædic 7 **a**mpre, **u**ane, feuerfuge, **æ**scðrote, **e**oforðrote, ciliðenige, **b**ete 7 **b**etonican, **r**ibbe 7 **r**eade hofe, **e**lene, **a**lexandrian moran, **c**lufðung 7 **c**late, **l**iðwyrt 7 **l**ambes cerse, **h**ylwyrt, **h**æsel, cwice, **w**udurofe 7 **w**rættes cið, **s**pringwyrt, **s**perewyrt, **w**egbræde 7 **w**ermod, ealhtran 7 hæferðan, **h**egeclife 7 **h**ymelan, **g**earwan 7 **g**eaces suran, **b**elenan 7 **b**radeleac. Nim ealra ðyssa wyrta efenfela. **[XXXI]**

'Shall (take) rue, radish…. Take an equal amount of all of these plants.'

(6) Sceal **b**etonican 7 **b**enedicte 7 **h**indhæleðe 7 **h**ænep 7 **h**indebrer, isenhearde, **s**alfige 7 **s**afine, **b**isceopwyrt 7 **b**oðen, **f**inul 7 **f**ifleafe, **h**ealswyrt 7 **h**une, **m**ucgwyrt, **m**edewyrt 7 **m**ergelle, **a**grimonia 7 **æ**ðelferðingwyrt, **r**ædic 7 **r**ibbe 7 seo **r**eade gearuwe, dile, oportanie, draganse, **c**assuc 7 **c**awlic, **c**yleðenie, **w**yirrind, **w**eax, **w**udurofe 7 **w**rættes cið, **s**aturege 7 **s**igelhweorfa…. þysra feor wyrta man sceal mæst don to 7 eallra oðra ælcre efenfela. **[LXIII]**

‘Shall (take) betony and *benedicte*…. Of these (last) four plants one must add most and an equal amount of all of the others.’

Apart from the similar length of the herbal ingredient list, both instructions begin with the modal verb *sceal* instead of the common imperative *(ge)nim*. They also have a similar structure of having the instruction about the amount of the herbs after the list, while for other entries the amount of herbs is often not expressed. Furthermore, as marked by bold letters, they share a striking feature that in the list of herbs alliterative words are arranged in pairs or in groups. As proposed by Pettit, this arrangement is a mnemonic feature that is ‘evidence for the oral transmission and memorisation of certain complicated OE herbal lists’.[64]

In terms of the participant roles, both remedies display the distinction between practitioner and assistant, indefinite pronoun *mon* is used to refer to the assistant:

(7) Mylte mon ealle tosomne. **[XXXI]**

‘[One] (should) melt them all together.’

(8) Mon ða buteran aðwere. **[LXIII]**

‘[One] (should) churn the butter.’

[64] Pettit, *Lacnunga vol. II,* p. 63.

Another shared feature of them is the involvement of extra-medical elements. As the name suggests, the completion of the holy salve in Entry LXIII requires several steps of extra-medical performance. For the ingredients, butter used for the holy salve has to be made from the milk of a monochromatic cow, water and herbs need to be consecrated. In the steps of making the salve, a special ritual is performed:

(9) Genim þonne ænne sticcan 7 gewyrc hine feðorbyrste. Writ onforan ðas halgan naman: Matheus, Marcus, Lucas, Iohannes. Styre þonne mid ðy sticcan ða buteran eal þ fæt. **[LXIII]**

'Then take a stick and make it four-pronged. Write on the front these holy names: Matthew, Mark, Luke, John. Then stir the butter with the stick, stir the whole vessel.'

By performing this ritual, extra-medical power is given to the stick. As pointed out by Pettit, similar practice of making four-edged sticks and the inscription of the four names can be found in other OE texts, and 'by the principle of sympathetic magic, the power of the four evangelists' names is thoroughly intermingled with the butter'.[65]

After it, psalms, charms and prayers are asked to be sung over the vessel and the herbs. Together with the Christian texts, a charm with obscure meaning is also used:

[65] Ibid, p. 67.

(10) Acre arcre arnem nona ærnem beoðor ærnem nidren arcun cunað ele harassan fidine. **[LXIII]**

As a recurrent charm, similar text appears three times in *Lacnunga* (Entry XXV, LXIII and LXXXIII), there are at least another four occurrences in other OE texts.[66] The similar charms are also found as runic inscription on three rings from the neighbourhood of Bramham Moor (West Yorkshire), Kingmoor and Linstock Castle (both Cumberland/Cumbria).[67] Therefore, it is a text with some degree of popularity that is used orally in medical practices as a verbal charm and literally on amulets as an inscription.

Although Entry XXXI is a remedy for bone-salve, several corresponding extra-medical elements can be found. Similar to the consecrated ingredients in Entry LXIII, the bone-salve requires *haligwætere* 'holy water', *garleaces gehalgodes* 'consecrated garlic' and *fanthalig wex* 'font-holy wax'. Furthermore, there is also a ritualistic practice involving a special stick in this remedy:

(11) Nim þonne ealde sapan 7 ealdes oxsan mearh 7 earnes mearh. Do þonne ða tyrwan. Ond mæng þonne mid cwicbeamenum sticcan oð heo brun sy. **[XXXI]**

'Then take old soap and marrow of an old ox and eagle's marrow. Then add the tar. And then mix with a stick made

[66] Ibid, pp. 22-8.
[67] R. I. Page, *An Introduction to English Runes*, 2nd ed. (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999), pp. 30-1.

of rowan until it is brown.'

Different from the carved stick in Entry LXIII, in this case the special status of the stick comes from its material. Rowan is a common tree with red berries in Northern Europe, folklore about it was popular throughout several regions including Ireland, Britain and Scandinavia. The common folkloric feature of rowan is its protective power against evil spirits and witchcraft.[68] Therefore, a stick made from rowan can carry its power and bring it to the medicine.

Similar to Entry LXIII, after the steps involving the stick, prayers are sung over the medicine. Although Entry XXXI requires less extra-medical practice than Entry LXIII, similarities can still be found. After the list of four prayers, it asks the practitioner to sing *þ gebed 'Matheus, Marcus, Lucas, Iohannes'* 'the prayer 'Matthew, Mark, Luke, John''. The names of the four evangelists also appear in Entry LXIII in which they are carved on the stick. Furthermore, as pointed out by Pettit, if the practitioner is not supposed to simply recite the four names, the exact prayer it refers to is unclear.[69] As mentioned above, what the author believed as tacit knowledge will probably be left unexplained in the text. Therefore, this wording can be interpreted as a space saving strategy to avoid repeating unnecessary information that is well-known to its target audience, which resembles the *arime þ wyrmgealdor* 'recite the worm-incantation' instruction in Entry LXIII.

[68] Donald Watts, *Dictionary of Plant Lore* (Elsevier, 2007), pp. 327-330.
[69] Pettit, *Lacnunga vol. II,* p. 48.

4.3 Conclusion

As the discussion displays, Entry XXXI and Entry LXIII have several features in common. At the beginning of both remedies, the same structure and writing style is used to introduce the purpose, giving the ingredient list and telling the reader the amount of ingredients. Unlike other remedies in the dataset, they have a unique style of introductory sentence and use the modal verb *sceal* to give the ingredient gathering instruction pragmatically instead of using an imperative verb. Furthermore, they also share a unique feature which is the arrangement of herb names based on alliteration in the ingredient list. Despite having different purposes, both of them require extra-medical practice in the process of medicine making. Similarities between them include the use of a special stick, the practice of singing extra-medical texts as the final step and having abbreviated text names. With these features shared between them which are either unique or rare in the whole dataset, it is plausible to assume that they may come from the same source or tradition. Because of the limited size of the current dataset, although there are other entries with unique stylistic features, only these two entries have enough similarities to be displayed in this section. With a larger dataset of medical texts, more stylistically similar remedies can be found.

5. Variant versions

In the previous sections, to find out related remedies which

may have a common origin, stylistic similarities among them have been examined. Besides this stylistic approach, scholars[70] have studied the whole corpus of OE medical texts in detail to find out remedies with the same content, in other words, variant versions of a single remedy which were recorded in different manuscripts. They are either derived from a common source, or circulated by transcribing one from the other. Although these remedies are similar enough to be called variants, differences in content and style can still be observed. In this section, I will provide a general view of the variant versions of remedies in the dataset based on Pettit's identification,[71] then I will have a close examination on the variants in BLch by comparing them with their corresponding remedies in *Lacnunga*. By doing this, stylistic differences between remedies in *Lacnunga* and BLch can be found and a clearer image of medieval remedy circulation can be drawn.

5.1 The variants

As identified by Pettit,[72] 61 remedies in the current dataset have their variants in other manuscripts or in other places of *Lacnunga*. For the ease of comparison, variants of extra-medical texts such as Entry LXV *Lorica of Laidcenn* are excluded in this study. There are 55 remedies left and for the remedies that have variants in other manuscripts, their

[70] See Audrey L. Meaney, 'Variant versions of Old English medical remedies and the compilation of Bald's "Leechbook"', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 13 (1984), 235-268. And *Pettit, Lacnunga vol. II.*

[71] Pettit, *Lacnunga vol. II.*

[72] Ibid.

distribution in *Lacnunga* is displayed in the figure below.

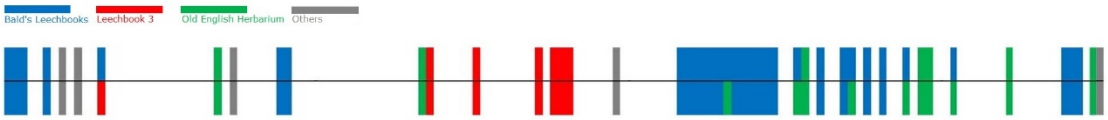


Figure 4: the distribution of remedies with variants

In the figure, the horizontal line stands for the 143 entries in the dataset, each coloured bar stands for a remedy that has variant(s) in other manuscripts and its location in the figure corresponds to the actual location in *Lacnunga*. Bars with two colours stand for the remedies that have two variants in two different manuscripts.

As the figure displays, the most frequent source of variants is *Bald's Leechbook*, followed by the *OE Herbarium* and *Leechbook 3*. There are also five variants that are found in manuscripts with miscellaneous contents. It needs to be noted that the term 'variant' in this study only means different versions of the same remedy, their chronological order is not considered since we can only know the chronological order of the extant manuscripts but not the remedies. In terms of their distribution, remedies that have variants in the same manuscript tend to appear in pairs or groups. In the figure, it is shown as the accumulation of bars with a single colour (bars with two colours can be treated as either colour if necessary). This phenomenon may suggest that some remedies came to the scribe's hands together, either directly from the other collections or from an intermediate source. After the detailed analysis of these

remedies, the latter seems to be more possible.

5.2 Variants in *Bald's Leechbook*

There are thirty remedies that have variants in BLch as displayed in the table below.

Remedies in *Lacnunga*	Variants in BLch
Entry I	BLch (18/19-21)
Entry II	BLch (18/22-5)
Entry III	BLch (18/12-18)
Entry VI	BLch (34/23-6)
Entry XIII	BLch (32/1-34/1)
Entry XXXVI	BLch (78/1-3)
Entry XXXVII	BLch (66/12-14)
Entry LXXXVII	BLch (98/22-5)
Entry LXXXIX	BLch (98/25-7)
Entry XC	BLch (98/27-100/2)
Entry XCI	BLch (100/2-7)
Entry XCII	BLch (100/8-9)
Entry XCIII	BLch (100/9-10)
Entry XCIV	BLch (100/11-12)
Entry XCV	BLch (100/12-13)
Entry XCVI	BLch (100/14-15)
Entry XCVII	BLch (100/15-17)
Entry XCVIII	BLch (100/17-19)
Entry XCIX	BLch (100/20-1)
Entry CII	BLch (52/13-15)
Entry CV	BLch (34/1-2)

Entry CVIII	BLch (44/11-13)
Entry CIX	BLch (64/18-20)
Entry CXI	BLch (156/26-9)
Entry CXIII	BLch (152/19-23)
Entry CXVI	BLch (64/7-10)
Entry CXXII	BLch (240/5-7)
Entry CXXXVIII	BLch (124/9-11)
Entry CXXXIX	BLch (124/11-12)
Entry CXL	BLch (80/22-3)

Table 3

As can be seen in the table, there are three groups of remedies that appear in the same order in both collections, they are Entry I to III (with the order III, I, II in BLch), Entry LXXXVII to XCIX (exclude Entry LXXXVIII which is not found in BLch and seems to be an addition in *Lacnunga*) and Entry CXXXVIII to CXXXIX. Apart from them, other remedies that appear in proximity in BLch are separated in *Lacnunga*: Entry VI and Entry CV as remedies for tearing eyes are neighbouring in BLch, Entry CIX and Entry CXVI are remedies for side pain and they appear together in BLch with a connective sentence *eft* 'again'. This difference of remedy arrangement shows a major distinction between the two collections. As a systematic collection of remedies, BLch has a well-organized structure in that the remedies are arranged based on their purpose. On the contrary, *Lacnunga* lacks any systematic organization so that remedies with a common purpose can appear anywhere in the manuscript. This feature of *Lacnunga* further supports the argument that

grouped remedies in *Lacnunga* were already grouped together when they came to the scribe rather than the result of the scribe's deliberate editing.

5.2.1 Comparison[73]

Entry I and BLch (18/19-21): In *Lacnunga*, an additional herb *efenlaste* (dog's mercury, Mercurialis perennis) is required. When applying the medicine, *Lacnunga* has *þweah mid þy leaðre þæt heafod* 'wash the head with the lather', while BLch uses the verb *beþe* 'foment, bathe in vapour'.

Entry II and BLch (18/22-5): There are no significant differences between them.

Entry III and BLch (18/12-18): They have a different wording in the instruction *Ahoh þæt heafod nyþerweard oððæt seo ex sy gesoht* 'Hang the head downward until the brain is reached (by the herb juice)' in *Lacnunga* and *þæt heafod ho ofdune þæt se seaw mæge þæt heafod geond yrnan* '[One] (should) hang the head down so that the juice can run through the head' in BLch. Both of them use the same Greek theory that nasal cavity links directly to the brain,[74] so that the medicine put in nostrils can reach the brain to cure headache when the patient lies down and have the nostrils upward. This idea is expressed more clearly in *Lacnunga* as it uses the term *ex* 'brain'.[75]

[73] Remedies in this section will not be quoted in full, please find them in Appendix 2.
[74] Gratton and Singer, *Anglo-Saxon magic and medicine,* p. 96.
[75] This word is not found elsewhere, except Latin-OE glossaries. See *Lacnunga*

Entry VI and BLch (34/23-6): The variant has a special introductory sentence *Þus mon sceal eagsealfe wyrcean* 'Thus one must make an eye-salve'. There is one similar example in the dataset, Entry XXI[76] *On hy man sceal wyrcean utyrnende drænceas* 'For it one must make purgative drinks'. When applying the medicine, Lacnunga has *Drype of þan claðe ænne dropan in ægðer eage* 'Drip one drop from the cloth into either eye', while BLch has *Læt gedreopan on þa eagan ænne dropan* 'Let one drop drip on the eyes' which uses an awkward plural form.

Entry XIII and BLch (32/1-34/1): The *Lacnunga* remedy has detailed instructions about soaking and straining the herb to get its juice (mixed in honey), whereas BLch only says *rudan seaw* 'rue juice'. Entry XIII also requires fewer ingredients (goat's bile is not used) and offers an option between bumblebee's honey and mountain-honey.

Entry XXXVI and BLch (78/1-3): The variant uses the term *læcedom* 'remedy' in the introduction which only appears twice in the dataset: in a commentary sentence (Entry CXII) and in the introduction of Entry LXXXVII. The variant does not have instructions for applying, and Entry XXXVI has a commentary sentence.

Entry XXXVII and BLch (66/12-14): There is a problematic difference between them. The variant has *do on ealu* 'put

vol. I and *Dictionary of Old English: A to I*.

[76] It is also a remedy with a special style, see the discussion above.

(the herbs) in ale', while Entry XXXVII has *do mela* 'add meal'. As pointed out by Pettit,[77] *mela* is probably a scribal error for *in eala*, but it cannot explain the following instruction *læt standan nyhternum on þæm wyrtum* 'let it stand for a night in the herbs'. In Entry LI and its variant Entry LX, *beren mela* 'barley meal' is used. If the meal in Entry XXXVII is also barley and it is the effective ingredient here, it may explain the difference since ale is made from barley. In other words, meal and ale are essentially barley in different forms which has the healing power in this remedy, and the variants make use of it in different ways due to practical reasons or simply the preference of the remedy writer. The variant also has additional instructions for applying: *beþe mid 7 lege on* 'foment with it and apply on'.

Entry LXXXVII to XCIX and BLch (98/22-5 to 100/20-1): These twelve remedies belong to a group of twenty-eight remedies for *ælces cynnes omum 7 onfeallum 7 bancoþum* 'every kind of erysipelas and attacks of disease and severe illnesses'. However, in *Lacnunga* there are only thirteen remedies in this group, while in BLch there are thirty-one. In general, most of them are the same in both manuscripts in terms of the content, while some subtle stylistic differences exist. In introductory sentences, *Lacnunga* prefers *Eft* 'Again' to connect remedies (9/12), while BLch prefers *Wiþ þon ilcan* 'For the same' (6/12). In the ingredient gathering step, only five remedies in *Lacnunga* use the verb *(ge)nim* 'take', while eleven remedies in BLch keep the verb. These two

[77] Pettit, *Lacnunga vol. II,* p. 51.

differences make the twelve remedies in *Lacnunga* more concise than their variants by having fewer words without changing the meaning. Similarly, conciseness is also achieved in Entry XCVII: *Genim eofores geallan gif þu næbbe nim oþres swines* 'Take the gall of a boar, if you do not have (a boar), take other pig's' (BLch), but *Genim eofores geallan oððe oþeres swynes* 'Take the gall of a boar or of other pig' (*Lacnunga*).

In terms of the content, there is only one place which shows significant difference. In BLch, the variant of Entry XCIV has an odd instruction *Beþe swiðe mid betan leafum* 'Foment thoroughly with leaves of beet', while *Lacnunga* has a more reasonable one *Besweþe mid betan leafum* 'Wrap up with leaves of beet'. As pointed out by Meaney,[78] their possible Latin source uses the verb *operio* 'to cover' and *Lacnunga* has a correct translation. Since *beþe swiðe* and *besweþe* have a close pronunciation but are different when written down, it is possible that the transcription of this remedy is based on oral transmission.

Entry CII and BLch (52/13-15): Apart from the different wording in their introductions (*hræce* 'cough up, spit out' in BLch, *wealle* 'well' in *Lacnunga*) which is the result of their translation of the Latin source, they also display the complexity of early medieval measurement system. In BLch, *III penegas gewegen* 'three pennyweights' of betony is required, while in *Lacnunga*, the weight is *þreora trymess*

[78] Meaney, *Variant versions,* p. 258.

gewæge 'of three drachms'. According to Zupko,[79] early measurement units often differ in regions and were adjusted to the local community's needs. In the current case, both pennyweight and drachm are based on the weight of coin. In the Middle English period, one pennyweight equals 1/20 troy ounce, one drachm equals 1/8 apothecary ounce and one troy ounce equals one apothecary ounce.[80] Although both BLch and *Lacnunga* are much earlier than this late standard, the distinction of terms still suggests that their translators follow different systems or customs of measuring. It is also possible that they were translated from different sources. According to Pettit,[81] there are two possible Latin sources. The Latin *Herbarium* text uses *dragmas tres* 'three drachms', while the *Physica Plinii Bambergensis* text uses *denarios VIIII* 'nine denarii'. Although the *Lacnunga* remedy seems to correspond to the Latin *Herbarium* source because they both use 'three drachms', the source of the BLch variant is unclear. In terms of translation, BLch has a more faithful translation which keeps the information of drinking the medicine for *þry dagas* 'three days', while in *Lacnunga* (and OEHerb) it is omitted.

Entry CV and BLch (34/1-2): There are no significant differences between them.

[79] Ronald E. Zupko, *Revolution in measurement: Western European weights and measures since the age of science* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1990).
[80] Magdalena Bator and Marta Sylwanowicz, 'Measures in Medieval English Recipes – Culinary Vs. Medical', *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia*, 52.1 (2017), 21–52.
[81] Pettit, *Lacnunga vol. II,* p. 203.

Entry CVIII and BLch (44/11-13): The variant has a more specific introduction: *Wiþ healsgunde þonne ærest onginne se healsgund wesan* 'For a neck pus when the pus first appears', while Entry CVIII simply has *Wið healsomena* 'For erysipelas of the neck'. It also has a different commentary sentence which is a stronger and more specific assurance of efficacy: *þæt is acunnod ymb feawa niht bið hal* 'It is proven, (the patient) will be healthy in a few nights', while Entry CVIII uses the formulaic *him bið sona sel* 'he will soon be well'.

Entry CIX and BLch (64/18-20): The only difference between them is the required amount of the herb betony, in Blch the requirement is *twegen penegas gewegen* 'two pennyweights', in *Lacnunga* it is *X pænega gewæge* 'ten pennyweights'. Another variant in OEHerb has *þreora trymessa wæge* 'three drachms'.[82] As mentioned above, there are several possible reasons for this variation, such as regional or temporal difference, source difference and scribal error or mistranslation.

Entry CXI and BLch (156/26-9): There is an interesting difference between them which displays the distinction between an unspecific assistant role and a specific one: *Gesinge mon XII mæssan ofer* 'One (should) sing seven masses over' (BLch) has an indefinite pronoun for the assistant, while *Gesinge mæssepreost XII mæssan ofer* 'A mass-priest (should) sing seven masses over' (*Lacnunga*)

[82] OEHerb (32/13-15)

specifies the assistant.

Entry CXIII and BLch (152/19-23): The only difference[83] between them is the use of a pronoun. They are both role-less remedies with the common introduction *To monnes stæmne* 'For a person's voice' and only imperative instructions. In other words, they do not distinguish the role of practitioner and the role of patient. Entry CXIII ends in the instruction *þyge mid ðy drænce do swa neogan morgnas ma gif þe þearf sy* 'Consume with the drink, do so for nine mornings, more if there is a need of you', while in BLch an inconsistent use of pronoun appears: *þyge…gif his þearf sie* 'Consume…if it is his need'.

Entry CXVI and BLch (64/7-10): Apart from their different wording of the same process, BLch mentions the required amount of the two ingredients, while *Lacnunga* only mentions one and has an additional ingredient. Similar to the variation of measurement units, BLch asks the patient to drink *þry bollan fulle* 'three bowlfuls' of the medicine, while *Lacnunga* has *godne scenc fulne* 'a good cupful'. Furthermore, Entry CXVI's instruction of asking the patient to *Gereste gode hwile æfter ðæm drence on ða saran sidan* '[The patient] (should) rest for a good while after the drink on the painful side' is not found in the BLch variant (and the OEHerb variant[84] as well).

[83] Another difference spotted by Pettit in Pettit, *Lacnunga vol. II,* p. 207 is an error, he quoted *drence* wrongly as *duste*.
[84] OEHerb (32/10-12)

Entry CXXII and BLch (240/5-7): Both Entry CXXII and the BLch variant seem to be based on a remedy in the Latin *Herbarium*. The BLch variant resembles the *OEHerb* translation[85] closely. For the only herb used in this remedy, BLch uses its native OE name *dweorgedwostle* 'pennyroyal', whereas *Lacnunga* uses *pollegian* which is derived from Latin *puleium*.[86] In the chapter of OEHerb where this remedy belongs, the title *XCIV. Dweorgedwostle pollegion* is used, with the introduction *þeos wyrt þe man polleium 7 oþrum naman dweorgedwosle nemneþ…* 'This herb that one calls *polleium* and by the other name *dweorgedwosle*…'.[87] Furthermore, they have another difference in the applying step. After boiling the herb in water, when the medicine is to be consumed, BLch has *Læt socian on lange oþþæt mon mæge drincan þæt wæter* 'Let it soak for a long time until one can drink the water', in OEHerb it is expressed more directly: *Let þonne colian swa oðþæt hyt man drincan mæge* 'Then let it to cool down until one can drink it'. However, *Lacnunga* has an opposite instruction: *Syle supan swa he hatost mæge aræfnan* 'Give to drink as hot as he can bear'. Entry CXII also ends in a commentary sentence, while the variant does not.[88]

Entry CXXXVIII and BLch (124/9-11): There are no significant differences between them.

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[85] OEherb (138/7-9)

[86] See the entries in *Dictionary of Old English Plant Names* <http://oldenglish-plantnames.org> [accessed 21 August 2022].

[87] De Vriend*, The OEH and MdQ,* p. 136.

[88] The OEHerb variant also has a commentary sentence, but a different type: *ðam men bið sona se gicða læssa* 'that person's itch will soon be less' (*Lacnunga*) focuses on the recovery of the disease, while *hyt geliþegaþ þone gicþan* 'it soothes the itch' (OEHerb) focuses on the efficacy of the medicine.

Entry CXXXIX and BLch (124/11-12): This and the previous remedy are adjacent in both manuscripts. In BLch they have their own introductory sentences because of their different focuses: *Wiþ hondwyrme* 'For hand-worm' and *Weaxsealf wiþ wyrme* 'A wax-salve for worm', while in *Lacnunga* they are connected: *Wiþ hondwyrmmum* 'For hand-worms' and *Eft* 'Again'. Entry CXXXIX has fewer ingredients than the variant, as it does not require butter and pepper. As pointed out by Pettit,[89] 'the lack of pepper should make no difference to the salve's effectiveness' because the chemicals from pepper are not effective in the healing of this infirmity.

Entry CXL and BLch (80/22-3): The variant mentions an additional function of the remedy: *…7 wiþ wearhbrædan* '…and for eruption'. Entry CXL has two additional instructions at the end: *Wyll slahþornrinde þweah mid ðy drænce* 'Boil blackthorn-bark, wash with the liquid'. Since doing this will wash off the previous medicine that is applied on the skin, Pettit[90] thinks they might be instructions of 'a distinct and acephalous remedy, possibly for the same affliction'.

5.2.2 Discussion

As the comparison displays, thirteen out of thirty (43.3%) remedies in *Lacnunga* show close resemblance to their corresponding variants in BLch, that is to say, although minor differences exist, these thirteen remedies have the exact

[89] Pettit, *Lacnunga vol. II,* p. 269.
[90] Ibid, p. 270.

same content (including the ingredients and all the instructions of making and applying) and wording with their variants.[91] However, ten of them are from the group of 'twenty-eight remedies' which is the only group of remedies that is specifically defined in the manuscript for this study. Therefore, if the group is excluded, the rate of close resemblance will drop significantly to 16.6% (3 out of 18). For the remaining fifteen remedies after excluding the group, differences between them and their variants can be categorized into four kinds: expression (different, specific or additional information that may affect readers' understanding of certain sentences), ingredient (additional ingredient that may affect the remedy's making process or efficacy), instruction (different or additional instruction that may affect the remedy's making process or efficacy) and structure (for the current examples the only structural difference is the use of commentary sentence).

The table below displays a general view of each pair of remedies' kind of difference, pair numbers follow the entry number of remedies in *Lacnunga*.

Pair number	Expression	Ingredient	Instruction	Structure
I		■	■	
III	■			
VI	■		■	
XIII		■	■	

[91] Linguistic differences such as spelling and syntax are not in the scope of current study.

XXXVI				
XXXVII				
CII				
CVIII				
CIX				
CXI				
CXIII				
CXVI				
CXXII				
CXXXIX				
CXL				

Table 4

There are eleven pairs that have differences in expression of certain sentences. Among them, the differences do not cause significant influence on readers' understanding in five pairs (XXXVI, CII, CXVI, CXXII and the introduction of VI). All of them have differences in the introduction, in which two pairs (CII and CXXII) are most likely the result of distinct translations of their Latin sources, such as the distinction between *Gif mon blode hræce* 'If a person coughs up blood' and *Wið þon þe mon blode wealle þurh his muð* 'In the event of blood welling through a person's mouth' in CII, while the other three have stylistic differences in their wording of introduction. However, the different expressions in seven pairs may affect readers' understanding. Furthermore, remedies in *Lacnunga* and BLch show different tendency of displaying their content. In four pairs, remedies in *Lacnunga* have a more natural and clearer wording in their instructional

sentences (III, VI, CXI and CXIII), such as the use of a consistent pronoun in Entry CXIII. Whereas in three pairs (CVIII, CXXXIX and CXL), remedies in BLch have a more specific and detailed introduction or commentary sentence, such as the introduction of BLch (44/11-13): *Wiþ healsgunde þonne ærest onginne se healsgund wesan* 'For a neck pus when the pus first appears', which is just *Wið healsomena* 'For a neck pus' in Entry CVIII.

For the difference in ingredient, two remedies in *Lacnunga* (Entry I and CXVI) require more ingredients than their variants, while the other two (Entry XIII and CXXXIX) have fewer ingredients than BLch.

For the difference in instruction, the ten pairs show great variation and complexity which is hard to generalise. There are differences in corresponding instructions such as to wash or foment (I), to drink while the medicine is hot or cold (CXXII) and different amounts of the same ingredient. There are also additional instructions that exist in one manuscript but not in the other. Although it is hard to tell whose exemplar is earlier or later (or two different but contemporary exemplars), in other words, which remedy is the 'updated' one, these differences in instruction indicate that remedies are constantly being changed during their lifespans of circulation and transmission. We could imagine an early medieval remedy writer making changes to a remedy because of its insufficiency, perhaps an unnecessary amount of ingredient or an inadequate step of making or

applying. With the help of modern medical knowledge, we may be able to know which version of a remedy is the more helpful and economical one (or perhaps both of them are ineffective regardless of the changes).

For the difference in structure, all the three remedies that have additional commentary sentences are in *Lacnunga* (Entry XXXVI, CII and CXXII), in which Entry CII and Entry CXXII have their possible Latin sources and variants in OEHerb. For these two remedies, their variants in OEHerb also have commentary sentences, although none of the commentary sentences is exactly the same in both manuscripts (especially Entry CII, see the footnote above). Therefore, it is possible that the scribe of BLch omitted the commentary sentences when copying these two remedies but the scribe of *Lacnunga* kept them. The same could have happened to Entry XXXVI as well, but it is less certain than the other two since there is no known source of it.

Unlike the eighteen pairs that show a large proportion of differences, the comparison of the twelve pairs from the group of 'twenty-eight remedies' show an opposite result, only two of them have significant difference while the remaining ten pairs are fairly identical in terms of the wording and content (which makes the close resemblance rate at 83.3%). Therefore, the difference between the grouped remedies and the others indicates their different situation of circulation since they had undergone fewer changes when came to the scribe of *Lacnunga*. Perhaps

grouped remedies are easier to transcribe and preserve than individual pieces. However, several significant differences of the group can still be spotted between the two manuscripts. The most obvious difference is the number of remedies. As mentioned above, the promised number of twenty-eight remedies is not fulfilled in both manuscripts. As pointed out by Pettit, while *Lacnunga* only has thirteen, BLch has thirty-one.[92] In BLch, the twelve variants are continuous, while in *Lacnunga* there is an additional remedy (Entry LXXXVIII) with the same purpose. However, unlike other remedies in the group, it is not a complete remedy since it lacks any instructions and only has a charm with an introductory sentence. Furthermore, it also interrupts the sequence of connective sentences that is used in all remedies that follow Entry LXXXIX in the group, that is to say, if the sequence is not interrupted, Entry LXXXIX should have a connective sentence instead of an identical introductory sentence with Entry LXXXVIII. Therefore, it is quite likely that this remedy is not an original member of the group but a later addition. In terms of the content, the only two differences are both in *Lacnunga*: Entry LXXXVII has an additional ingredient and Entry XCIV has the correct translation.

5.2.3 Conclusion

This section examines thirty remedies in *Lacnunga* that have variant versions in BLch. After a detailed comparison of each pair of remedies, the discussion displays a complicated

[92] Pettit, *Lacnunga vol. II,* p. 197.

situation of medieval remedy circulation. In terms of expression and wording, remedies in *Lacnunga* have a general tendency of simplification by having less specific introductions and a more concise and clearer language. In terms of structure, remedies in *Lacnunga* are more faithful to their Latin sources by keeping the commentary sentences. In terms of ingredient and instruction, the differences spotted in remedies of both manuscripts indicate that changes had been made to the remedies during the circulation, and it is more likely that the scribe of *Lacnunga* copied these remedies from distinct sources rather than directly from BLch. Judging from the differences in wording, content, translation and measuring system, comparing to their variants in BLch, most remedies in *Lacnunga* have undergone a different path of circulation through time and space either individually or in groups. For the remedies that show close resemblance to their variants,[93] it is either the result of direct copying or a relatively changeless path of circulation.

6. General Conclusion

The analysis and discussion presented in this study aim to answer the question that is brought forward at the start: what was the real-life situation of human-remedy interaction in early medieval England. By focusing on one Old English medical collection *Lacnunga*, the question is approached from several aspects. In the first section, the structure and

[93] None of the remedies is exactly the same as the variant.

typology of 143 remedies in the dataset were examined which provided the foundation for later sections. As displayed in the section, remedies in *Lacnunga* do not have a unified formula. Although they share a general Introduction-Instruction-Comment structure, great variation can be seen in each part and certain part can be missing in some cases. This general idea was further investigated in the second section which examined the special and problematic instances in the dataset. With an analysis of stylistically special introductory and commentary sentences, *Lacnunga*'s diversity in style was showed. The examination of connective introductory sentences proposed the argument that these connective devices may suggest certain remedies came to the scribe as a cohesive group, which could further explain the method of *Lacnunga*'s compilation and the situation of remedy circulation that there were groups of single-purpose remedies circulating in early medieval England and the scribe of *Lacnunga* was working from multiple sources to copy these groups without further editing.

The third section introduces the idea of participant roles. Based on the different function of verb forms and the use of personal pronouns or noun phrases in instruction, it is possible to distinguish participants and their roles. The section showed three participant roles in the remedies which are medical practitioner, patient and assistant. Then a case study of remedies with practitioner-assistant distinction was conducted. In the case study, with a detailed analysis of instructions given to different participants, the remedies

displayed a well-designed division of labour that could increase the efficiency significantly. With the distinction between the works of practitioner and the works of assistant, it is also possible to know the skills and knowledge that an early medieval practitioner in England was expected to have. As discussed in the section, practitioners are not only specialists in the gathering and processing of both herbal and non-herbal ingredients, but also experts in religious and other extra-medical practice. In comparison, unspecified assistants only have a limited range of works which are mostly about the gathering and processing of non-herbal ingredients, which may imply their identities as farmers or hunters. Furthermore, two kinds of assistants with specified status are required for religious purposes, whose identities are clearly stated as the mass-priests and virgins. By presenting the evidence and conducting the case study, this section drew a real-life picture of early medieval medical practice in England which depicts the competent practitioners and their cooperation with people from different fields.

The focus of the last two sections is the early medieval circulation and transmission of remedies. In section four, a stylistic analysis was presented to suggest two remedies that may come from a common source or origin. Although this study only presents one pair of remedies that have such resemblance in style, with a larger scale of dataset, it is possible to find more instances using this approach. Apart from searching for stylistically similar remedies, examining

variant versions can also tell us the stories of their circulation and transmission. In the last section, after providing a general view of the remedies in the dataset that have a variant, a detailed analysis of the variants in BLch was presented. As displayed in the analysis, the differences between remedies in *Lacnunga* and their variants in BLch suggest their different path of circulating. During the lifespan of remedies, not only can their expressions be adjusted, their contents were also facing constant change. For most of the individual remedies, the differences between them and their variants suggest they are unlikely direct copies of BLch. For the group of 'twenty-eight' remedies, the high rate of close resemblance suggests their contents were better preserved during their circulation as a group.

The stylistic analysis presented here provides a glimpse of the English people who were involved in early medieval medical practice. There are still several places that await further study. For instance, a thorough study of all the remedies in *Lacnunga* will help us deepen our understanding. Similar studies of other Old English medical collections will certainly depict a more detailed and complete image of the life and health of early medieval people in England.

Appendix 1: The dataset

[I] Wit(ð) heafodwræce. Genim hamorwyrt 7 efenlastan nyðowearde. Cnuca. Lege on clað. Gnid in wæter. Gnid swiðe þæt heo sy eall geleðred. Þweah mid þy leaðre þæt heafod gelome.

[II] Wið heafodwræce. Hildhæleða 7 grundeswylgean 7 fæncyrsan 7 giðrifan. Wyl in wætere. Læt reocan in þa eagan þa hwile hy hate synd 7 ymb ða eagan gnid mid þam wyrtum swa hatum.

[III] Wið heafodwærce. Betan wyrtruman. Cnuca mid hunige. Awring. Do þæt seaw on þæt neb. Gelicge upweard wið hatre sunnan 7 ahoh þæt heafod nyþerweard oððæt seo ex sy gesoht. Hæbbe him ær on muðe buteran oððe ele. Asitte þonne uplang. Hnige þonne forð. Læte flowan of þæn nebbe þa gilstre. Do þæt gelome oððæt hyt clæne sy.

[IV] To heafodsealfe 7 to ehsealfe. Aluwan. Gegnid in eced. Smyre þæt heafod mid 7 in þa eagan do.

[V] Eahsealf. Win 7 piper. Do in horn 7 in þa eagan þonne Þu ðe restan wille.

[VI] Eahsealf. Gemin streawberian nyþeweardan 7 pipor. Do in clað. Bebind. Lege on gesweted win. Drype of þan claðe ænne dropan in ægðer eage.

[VII] Gif eagan forsetene beoð. Genim hræfnes geallan 7 hwit mæringe wudulehtric 7 leaxes geallan. Do tosomne. Dryp on þ eage þurh linhæwenne clað 7 gehwæde arodes woses. Þonne wacað þ eage.

[VIII] Þiis (þis is) seo seleste eahsealf. Nim doran hunig 7 foxes smero 7 rahdeores mearh. Mæng tosomne.

[IX] Gif poc sy on eagan. Nim mærc sapan 7 hinde meolc. Mæng tosomne. 7 swingc. Læt standan oð hit sy hluttor. Nim þonne þ hluttre. Do on ða eagan. Mid godes fultume he sceal aweg.

[X] Þis is seo æðeleste eahsealf wið eahwryce 7 wið miste 7 wið wænne 7 wið weormum 7 wið gicðan 7 wið tyrendum eagan 7 wið ælcum uncuðum geswelle. Genim feferfugian blosman 7 ðunor clæfran blosman 7 dyles blosman 7 hamorwyrte blosman 7 twegra cynna wyrmod 7 pollegian 7 neoðowearde lilian 7 hæwene h[n]ydelan 7 lufestice 7 dolhrunan. 7 geporta ða wyrta tosomne. 7 awyll on heortes mearge oððe on his smerwe. 7 menge. Do þonne on tela micel in ða eagan. 7 smere utan. 7 wyrm to fyre. 7 ðeos sealf deah wið æghwylcum geswelle to ðicganne 7 to smergenne on swa hwylcum lime swa hit on bið.

[XI] Wið hwostan. Nim huniges tear 7 merces sæd 7 diles sæd. Cnuca þ sæd smale. Mæng ðicce wið ðone tear 7 pipera swiðe. Nim ðry sticcan fulle on nihtnihstig.

[XII] Wið eagena dymnesse. Nim wulfes camb neoðeweardne. 7 lege on hunig ðreo niht. Nim þonne. 7 wipa þ hunig of. Cnuca þonne an sticce ðære wyrte. Wring þonne ðurh linhæwenne clað on þ eage.

[XIII] Gif eagan tyran. Genim grene rudan. Cnuca smale 7 wes mid doran hunige oððe mid dunhunige. Wring þurh linenne clað on þ eage swa lange swa him ðearf sy.

[XIV] Se man se ðe biþ on healsoman. Nime healswyrt 7 wudamerce 7 wudafillan 7 streawbergean wisan 7 eoforþrotan 7 garclifan 7 isenheardan butan ælcan isene genumen 7 æðelferðþincwyrt 7 cneowholen 7 bradbisceopwyrt 7 brunwyrt. Gesomnige ealle þas wyrta togædere þrim nihtan ær sumor on tun ga ælcre efenmicel. 7 gewyrce to drænce on wyliscan ealaþ. 7 þonne on niht þonne sumor on tun gæð on mergen þonne sceal se man wacyan ealle þa niht þe ðone drenc drincan wile. 7 þone coccas crawan forman syðe þonne drince he æne oþre siðe þonne dæg 7 niht scade þriddan siðe þonne sunne upga. 7 reste hine syþþan.

[XV] þis is seo grene sealf. Betonica rude lufestice, finol saluie æðelferþincwyrt, sauine helde galluces moran slarige merce cearfille, hræmnes fot mugwyrt, organa melde, quinquefolium, ualeriane, clate, medewyrt dweorgedwoslan, pipeneale solsequium, biscupwyrt hæsel quice, hegecliue grundeswylie brocminte 7 oþre mintan cicena mete, gagel, hegehymele cost, eorðnafala, hnutbeames leaf, lauberge,

cymen ele, weax.

[XVI] Wið adle. Nim þreo leaf gageles on gewylledre mealtre meolce. Syle þry morhgenas drincan.

[XVII] Wið heafodece. Rude 7 dweorgedwosle 7 betan more 7 wuduroue. Nim ealra euenmicel swa ðu mæge mid þinan scitefingre to þinum ðuman befon. Cnuca hy smale. 7 mylt buteran. 7 do of eall þ fule. 7 do on clæne pannan. 7 awyl ða wyrta þæron wel. 7 wring ðurh clað. Do ele to gif ðu begytan mæge. 7 smyre his heafod mid þær hit acy.

[XVIII] Sealf wið fleogendum attre 7 færspryngum. Nim hamorwyrte handfulle 7 mægeðan handfulle 7 wegbrædan handfulle 7 eadoccan moran. Sece ða þe fleotan wille þære ðeah læst 7 clænes huniges ane ægscylle fulle. Nim þonne clæne buteran. Þrywa gemylte ðe þa sealfe midweorcean wile. Singe man ane mæssan ofer ðam wyrtum ær man hy tosomne do 7 þa sealfe wyrce.

[XIX] Wið ðone bledendan fic. Nim murran ða wyrt. 7 ceorf of nygan penegas. 7 do on ælcne hunig. 7 ðige ða on æfen 7 eft oðre nygan on mergen. 7 do swa nygon dagas 7 IX niht butan ðe raðor bot cume.

[XX] [Latin remedy]

[XXI] Cardiacus hatte seo adl ðe man swiðe swæteð. On hy man sceal wyrcean utyrnende drænceas 7 him wyrcean

cliðan toforan his heafde 7 to his breostan. Genim grene rudan leaf. Scearfa smale 7 cnuca swiðe. 7 beren meala gesyft do ðærto 7 swetedne ece. Wyrc to cliðan. 7 do on þicne clað. 7 bind on þreo niht 7 þry dagas. Do eft niwne to. 7 drince seoca of bræmelberian gewrungene oft.

[XXII] Sing ðis wið toðece syððan sunne beo on setle swiðe oft. Caio laio quaque uoaque ofer sæloficia sleah manna wyrm. Nemne her þone man 7 his fæder. Cweð þonne lilumenne æceð þæt ofer eall þonne alið coliað þonne hit on eorðan hatost byrneð fint amen.

[XXIII] Wið ðone dropan. Iue 7 fifleafe nædderwyrt 7 hlædderwyrt 7 eorðgeallan. Wyrc ðas wyrta on hærfeste 7 scearfa hy smale. 7 drige hy. 7 seald hy ofer winter. 7 nytta hy þonne ðe ðearf sy. Wylle hy on ealað.

[XXIV] Wið geswel. Genim lilian moran 7 ellenes spryttinge 7 porleaces leaf. 7 scearfa swiðe smale 7 cnuca swiðe. 7 do on ðicne clað 7 bind on.

[XXV] Sing ðis gebed on ða blacan blegene viiii. syþðan ærest pater n(oste)r. Tigað tigað tigað calicet aclu cluel reder adelocles acre earcpe arnem nonabıuð ær ærnem niðren arcum cunað arcum arctua fligara uflen binchi cutern nicuparam raf arð egal uflen arta arta arta trauncula trauncula querite et inuenietis adiuro te per patrem et filium et spm scm non amplius crescas red apercar super aspidem et basilliscum ambulabir et conculcabis leonem et draconem

crux matheus crux marcus crux lucas crux iohannes.

[XXVI] Wið ðon þe mon oððe nyten wyrm gedrince. Gyf hyt sy waepned cynnes sing ðis leoð in þæt swiðre eare þe her æfter awriten is. Gif hit sy wifcynnes sing in þ wynstre eare. Gonomil orgomil marbumil marbsai marbsai tofethtengo docuillo biran cuithaer caefmiil fcuiht cuillo scuiht cuib duill marbsiramum. Sing nygon siðan in þ eare þis galdor 7 pater n(oste)r æne.

[XXVII] Þis ylce galdor mæg mon singan wið smeogan wyrme. Sing gelome on ða dolh. 7 mid ðinan spatle smyre. 7 genim grene curmeallan. Cnuca. Lege on þ dolh 7 beðe mid hattre cumicgan.

[XXVIII] Wið ðon ðe mon attor gedrince. Nim marubian sæd. Mængc wið wine. Syle drincan.

[XXIX] Þis is se halga drænc wið ælfsidene 7 wið eallum feondes costungum. Writ on husldisce In principio erat uerbum usque non conprehenderunt et plura et circumibat iesus totam galileam docens usque et secuti sunt eum turbe multe. Deus in nomine tuo usque in finem. Deus misereatur nobis usque in finem, Domine deus in adiutorium usque in finem. Nim cristallan 7 disman 7 sidewaran 7 cassuc 7 finol. 7 nim sester fulne gehalgodes wines. 7 hat unmælne mon gefeccean swigende ongean streame healfne sester yrnendes wæteres. Nim þonne. 7 lege ða wyrta ealle in þ wæter. 7 þweah þ gewrit of ðan husldisce þærin swiðe clæne.

Geot þonne þ gehalgade win ufon on ðæt oþer. Ber þonne to ciricean. Læt singan mæssan ofer ane omnibus, oðre Contra tribulatione þriddan sanctam marian. Sing ðas gebedsealmas. Miserere mei deus. Deus in nomine tuo Deus misereatur nobis. Domine deus, Inclina domine 7 credo 7 Gloria in excelsis deo. 7 letanias. Pater noster. 7 bletsa georne in ælmihtiges drihtnes naman. 7 cweð in nomine patris et filii. et spiritus sancti sit benedictum. Bruc syþþan.

[XXX] To wensealfe. Nim elenan 7 rædic 7 cyrfillan 7 hræmnes fot, ængliscne næp 7 finul 7 saluian 7 suþernewuda. 7 cnuca tosomne. 7 nim garleaces godne dæl. Cnuca. 7 wring þurh clað on gemered hunig. Þonne hit swiðe gesoden sy þonne do ðu pipor 7 sideware, gallengar 7 gingifre 7 rinde 7 lawerbergean 7 pyretran godne dæl ælces be ðære mæðe. 7 syððan hit swa gemænged þara wyrta wos 7 þ hunig þonne seoð ðu hit twa swa swiðe swa hit ær wæs. Þonne hæfs(t) þu gode sealfe wið wennas 7 wið nyrwet.

[XXXI] To godre bansealfe þe mæg wið heafodece 7 wið ealra lyma tyddernysse. Sceal rude rædic 7 ampre uane feuerfuge æscðrote eoforðrote cilðenige bete. 7 betonican ribbe 7 reade hofe elene alexandrian moran clufðung 7 clate liðwyrt 7 lambes cerse. hylwyrt hæsel cwice wudurofe 7 wrættes cið. springwyrt sperewyrt wegbræde 7 wermod ealhtran 7 hæf[e]rðan hegeclife 7 hymelan gearwan 7 geaces suran belenan 7 bradeleac. Nim ealra ðyssa wyrta efenfela. Do on mortere. Cnuca eall tosomne 7 do ðærto ifig croppas. 7 nim æscrinde 7 weliges twiga 7 acrinde 7 wirrinde 7 surre

apoldrinde 7 seales rinde 7 wudubindan leaf þas ealle sculan beon genumene on neoðoweardan 7 on easteweardan þan treowan. Scearfige ealle ðas rinda togædere 7 wylle on haligwætere oððæt hy wel hnexian. Do þonne to þan wyrtum on mortere. Cnuca eall tosomne. Nim þonne heortes smera 7 hæferes smera 7 eald morod 7 fearres smeru 7 bares smeru 7 rammes smeru. Mylte mon ealle tosomne 7 geote to trindan. Somnige mon þonne ealle þa ban tosomne ðe man gegaderian mæge. 7 cnocie man þa ban mid æxse yre. 7 seoðe. 7 fleote þ smeru. Wyrce to trindan. Nime þonne ealde buteran. 7 wylle þa wyrta 7 þa rinda. Don eall tosomne þonne hit beo æne awylled. Sette þonne. Scearfa þonne eall þ smera on pannan swa micel swa þu sealfe habban wille 7 þu getyrwan mæge. Sete ofer fyr. Læt socian næs to swiðe weallan oððæt hyo genoh sy. Seoh ðurh clað. Sete eft ofer fyr. Nim þonne nygon clufa garleaces gehalgodes. Cnuca on wine. Wring þurh clað. Scaf on myrran þa wyrt 7 fanthalig wex 7 brynestor 7 hwitne rycels. Geot þonne innan ða sealfe swa micel þ sy III ægscylla gewyrðe. Nim þonne ealde sapan 7 ealdes oxsan mearh 7 earnes mearh. Do þonne ða tyrwan. Ond mæng þonne mid cwicbeamenū sticcan oð heo brun sy. Sing þonne þærofer Benedictus. dominus deus meus 7 þone oþerne benedictus dominus deus israel 7 mangnificað 7 credo in unum 7 þ gebed matheus marcus lucas iohannes. Sy þ sar þær hit sy smite mon ða sealfe ærest on þ heafod.

[XXXII] Gif poc sy on eagan. Nim arsapan 7 hinde meoluc mæng tosomne 7 swyng. Læt standan oð hit sy hluttor nim þonne þæt hlutre do on ða eagan. Mid godes fultume heo

sceal aweg

[XXXIII] Nim clatan moran. Cnuca swiðe 7 wyl on beore. Syle drincan wel wearm þonne ðu geseo þ hy utslean. Mid godes fultume ne wyrð him nan orne.

[XXXIV] Þas wyrte sculon to lungensealfe. Banwyrt 7 brunwyrt betonican 7 streawberian wise suþernewuda 7 isopo saluie 7 sauine 7 rude garclife 7 hæsel cwice medewyrt dolhrune.

[XXXV] Wið heafodece. Wyl in wætere pollegian 7 leac mintan fenmintan 7 þ bloweð hwite. Þweah þ heafod mid þys wose gelome.

[XXXVI] Wið hreofum lice. Adelf amprom 7 gelodwyrt. Teon ut lange. Cnuca ealle wel. Wyll in buteran. Do hwon sealtes in. þ bið god sealf wið hreofum lice. Þweah þone man mid hate. 7 mid ðare sealfe smyre.

[XXXVII] Wið cneowærce. Genim weode wisan 7 hegerifan. Gecnuca well tosomne 7 do mela. Læt standan nyhternum on þæm wyrtum. Syle drincan.

[XXXVIII] To eahsealfe. Nim aluwan 7 sidewaran lawerberian 7 pipor. Gescaf smale. 7 cubuteran fersce lege on wæter. Nim þonne hwetstan bradne 7 gnid ða buteran on ðæm hwetstan mid copore þ heo beo wel toh. Do þonne sumne dæl þara wyrta þærto. Clæm ðonne on arfæt. Læt standan nygon niht.

Wende man ælce dæge. Mylte syþþan on ðæm arfæte sylfan. Aseoh þurh clað. Do syþðan on swylc fætels swylce ðu wille. Nyttige þonne þe ðearf sy. Þeos sealf mæg wið ælces cynnes untrumnysse ðe eagan eigliað.

[XXXIX] Wið utsihte. Genim hænne æg. Lege twa niht on eced. Gif hit ne tocine tosleah hwon. Lege eft in ðone eced nyhterne. Gesleah þonne in buteran. Lege in ele. Ado þonne hwon ofer fyr. Syle etan.

[XL] Eft wið þonne. Hunig 7 hwætesmedman 7 unsylt smeoru 7 wex. Wyl eall tosomne. Syle etan gelome.

[XLI] Wyll wið ðon miclan eorðnafolan 7 leafan 7 gyðhrofan 7 gearwan 7 eferþon 7 eoforfearn 7 moldcorn 7 medewyrt neoðewearde. Drinc gelome.

[XLII] Scæf efic wið þonne bol in meolc 7 þige wærlice. 7 seoð ealle ða in meolce. 7 hwilum þa meolc geren mid cyslybbe. 7 ðige hy.

[XLIII] Wyrc utyrnendne drænc. Genim fif 7 hundeahtatig lybcorna 7 neogon piporcorn, fiftene sundcorn wel berended. Cnuca smale. Do sealt in 7 wyrmelo. Mæng tosomne 7 gnid swiðe þ hit sy þ smælste. Geworht to duste. Genim scæncbollan fulne leohtes beores oððe hluttor eala wel gesweted oððe gesweted win. Mængc ða wyrta þærwið geornlice. Læt stondan nihterne. Hrer hine eft on mergen þonne he hine drincan scyle swiðe wel. 7 ða wyrte geornlice

wið þone wætan gemengce. Drince þonne. Gif he sy to unswið wyl merce in wætere. Syle drincan. Gif he to swið sy wyl curmeallan.

[XLIV] Oþer utyrnynde drænc. Genim medmicle moran glædenon fædme longe 7 swa greata swa ðin þuma 7 swylc ðu (tu) hamwyrte 7 celðenian moran 7 heleleafes moran 7 ellenrinde neoðewearde. 7 wæsc ða moran ealle swiðe wel. 7 bescæf utan swiðe clæne ða moran 7 ða rinde. Gecnuca ealle ða wyrte swiðe. Ado in hluttor eala. Beren. 7 gegnid feowertig lybcorna. L (7) ado þonne in ðæm wyrtum. Læt standan þreo niht. Syle drincan ær uhton lytelne scænc fulne þ se drænc sy ðe ær geleored.

[XLV] Þridde utyrnende drænc. Wyl secg 7 glædenan neoðewearde in suran ealað. Asih þonne. Lege eft in niwe. Læt ane niht inne beon. Syle drincan.

[XLVI] Wyrc spiwdrænc. Wyl hwerhwettan in wætere. Læt weallan lacnge. Asih þonne healfne bollan. Gegnid hundeahtatig libcorna in þone drænc.

[XLVII] Wyrc oðerne of beore 7 of feowertig lybcorna. Ado seofontene pipercorn gif ðu wille.

[XLVIII] Spiwdrænc. Ado in beor oððe in win finul. Læt standan ane niht. Syle drincan.

[XLIX] Wyrc sealfe wið heafodwærce 7 wið liðwyrce 7 wið

eahwyrce 7 wið wenne 7 wið ðeore. Genim eolonon 7 rædic wermod 7 bisceopwyrt cropleac garleac 7 holleac ealra efenfela. Gecnuca. Wyl in buteran 7 celleðenian 7 reade netelan. Ado in æren fæt. Læt ðærin oþþ (oþþæt) hit hæwen sy. Asih ðurh clað. Smyre mid þ heafod 7 ða leomu þær hit sar sy.

[L] Wið sidwærce. Betonican bisceopwyrt eolonan rædic oppran ða ðe swimman marufian grundeswylie cropleac garleac rude hæleðe ealhtre hune. Seoð in buteran. Smyre mid ða sidan. Him bið sel.

[LI] Wyrc briw wið lungenadle. Wyll in buteran þas wyrte. 7 scearfa smale cropleac ærest. Wyl hwile. Ado ðōn hrædic in 7 eolonan 7 beren mela 7 hwites sealtes fela. Wyl loncge. 7 hatne ete.

[LII] wyrc oðerne. Wyl in buteran giðhrofan attorlaðan betonican. Mænc ealle tosomne. Ado syððan ofer fyr.

[LIII] Wyrc þriddan briw. Wyl in buteran merce eolonan rædic þa clufehton wenwyrt hoc wermod læst. Cnuca ealle swiðe wel. Syle wearm etan 7 on ufan drincon þriwa on dæg ær þonne he ete.

[LIV] Feorða briw. Wyl in hunige beton oððe marubian. Syle etan wearme. Wyrc ær drænc of ðære beton anre. Wyll in wine oððe on ealað. He drince ær he ðone briw ete.

[LV] Drænc wið lungenadle. Wyl marubian in wine oððe in ealað. Geswet hwon mid hunige. Syle drincan wearme on nihtnicstig. 7 þonne licge on ða swiðran sidan gode hwile æfter ðæm drænce. 7 þænne þone swiðran earm swa he swiþast mæge.

[LVI] Genim betan. Seoð on buteran. Syle hate etan mid ðære buteran a bið swa selre swa he fættron mete ete 7 gif he mæge gedrincan hwilum ge ðære buteran.

[LVII] Eft drænc. Genim marubian 7 þa lancge cliton 7 wermod 7 boðen gearwan. betonican godne dæl. Do ealle in eala. Syle drincan on nyhtnicstig.

[LVIII] Genim feldmoran. Gecnuca swiðe. Lege in win oððe in eala. Læt standan ane niht oððe twa. Syle drincan on nihtnicstig.

[LIX] Eft wið þon. Genim gagel 7 marubian 7 acrimonian. Wyl in ealað. Geswet mid hunige.

[LX] Wyrc briw. Wyll ysopon in buteran 7 rædic 7 eolonan 7 beren mela nest wel longe. Syle wearm etan.

[LXI] Briw. Seoð in buteran 7 in hunige beton swiðe oððæt he swa ðicce sy swa briw. Ete on nihtnicstig ðreo sæda (snæda) swa hates.

[LXII] Slæpdrænc. Rædic hymlic wermod belone. Cnuca

ealle þa wyrte. Do in ealað. Læt standan ane niht. Drince ðonne.

[LXIII] To haligre sealfe. Sceal betonican 7 benedicte 7 hindhæleðe. 7 hænep 7 hinde brer isenhearde salfige 7 safine. bisceopwyrt 7 boðen finul 7 fifleafe healswyrt 7 hune mucgwyrt medewyrt 7 mergelle. agrimonia 7 æðelferðingwyrt. rædic 7 ribbe 7 seo reade gearuwe dile oportanie draganse cassuc 7 cawlic. Cyleðenie 7 wyirrind weax. wudurofe 7 wrættes cið. saturege 7 sigelhweorfa brunewyrt 7 rude 7 berbene streawberian wise. 7 blæces snegles dust. ealhtre fanan merce pollegian attorlaðe haran spicel wudufille wermod eoforþrote æncglisc cost hæwen hnydele uica peruinca feferfuge hofe cymen 7 lilige leuastica alehsandrie petresilige grundeswylige. Þysra feor wyrta man sceal mæst don to 7 eallra oðra ælcre efenfela. 7 ðus man sceal ða buteran gewyrcean to ðære haligan sealfe æt anes heowe cy þ heo sy eall reod oððe hwit 7 unmæle. Mon ða buteran aðwere. 7 gif ðu næbbe buteran genoge awæsc swiðe clæne. Mængc oðre wið. 7 ða wyrta ealle gescearfa swiðe smale tosomne 7 wæter gehalga fonthalgunge 7 do ceac innan in ða buteran. Genim þonne ænne sticcan 7 gewyrc hine feðorbyrste. Writ onforan ðas halgan naman Matheus, Marcus, Lucas, Iohannes. Styre þonne mid ðy sticcan ða buteran eal þ fæt. Ðu sing ofer ðas sealmas: beati immaculati ælcne ðriwa ofer 7 gloria in excelsis deo 7 credo in dm patrem 7 letanias arime ofer þ is ðara haligra naman 7 deus meus et pater 7 In principio 7 þ wyrmgealdor 7 þis gealdor singe ofer Acre arcre arnem nona ærnem beoðor

ærnem nidren arcun cunað ele harassan fidine. Sing ðis nygon siðan 7 do ðin spatl on. 7 blaw on. 7 lege ða wyrta be ðæm ceace. 7 gehalga hy syððan mæssepreost. Singe ðas orationis ofer. [Latin prayers]

[LXIV] Þas gebudu þriwa man sceal singan ælc þriwa on þysne drænc 7 þæs mannes oruð eallinga on þone wætan þa hwile þe he hit singe. Gif se mon sy innan forswollen þ he ne mæge þone wætan þicgean sinc him on þone muþ innan.

[LXV] [Lorica of Laidcenn]

[LXVI] Wið færlicre adle. Sie clufehte wenwyrt clate bisceopwyrt finul rædic. Wyl in ealað. Syle drincan.

[LXVII] Wið lænden wyrce. Finol sæd betonican leaf grene acrimonian nyoðewearde. Grid to duste. Wes mid geswettan ealað. Gewlece. Syle hat drincan in stalle. Stonde gode hwile.

[LXVIII] Wið þeore. Genim cwicrinde 7 æscrinde 7 bere halm. Wel in wætere. Genim alomalt mid ðy wætere. Gebreow mid gryt cumb fulne ealað mid ðy wætere. Geclænsa. Ðonne læt standan ane niht gesweted mid hunige. Drince nygon morgenas 7 ete secgleac 7 cropleac 7 cymen tosomne 7 nænigne oþerne wætan ne ðige.

[LXIX] Gif ðeor sy in men. Wyrc drænc. Nim þas wyrte nyoþowearde finul 7 bisceopwyrt æscðrote ealra efenmicel þyssa twiga mæst ufonwearde rudan 7 betonican. Ofgeot

mid III mædrum ealoð 7 gesinge III mæssan ofer. Drince ymbe twa niht þæs ðe hy ofgoten sie. Syle drincan ær his mete 7 æfter.

[LXX] Drænc wið ðeore. Nim ðas wyrte neoðowearde ceasteræsc ontre neoðoweart ðas ufonwearde betonican rude wermod acremonia felterre wudupistel feferfuge æþelferdingcwyrt. Ofgeot mid ealað. Læt stondan ane niht. Drince VIIII morgenas lytle bollan fulle swiðe ær 7 ete sealtne mete 7 nowiht fersces.

[LXXI] Wyrc ðeordrænc godne. Genim wermod 7 boðen acrimonian pollegan ða smalan wenwyrt feltere ægwyrt ðyorwyrt ceasteraxsan twa snada eofolan þreo snada cammuces IIII wuduweaxan. godne dæl 7 curmeallan. Gescearfa ða wyrta in god hluttor eala l (oððe) in god wylisc eala. Læt standan III niht bewrogen. Syle drincan scænc fulne tide ær oþrum mete.

[LXXII] Wið þeore 7 wið sceotendum wenne. Genim boðen 7 gearwan 7 weoduweaxan 7 hræfnes fot. Do in god eala. Syle drincan on dæge III drænceas.

[LXXIII] Gif ðeor sy gewunad in anre stowwe. Wyrc gode beðingce. Genim ifig ðe on stane wyxð on eorþan 7 gearwan 7 wudubindan leaf 7 cuslyppan 7 oxsanslyppan. Gecnuca hy ealle swiðe wel. Lege on hatne stan in troge. Do hwon wæteres in. Læt reocan on þ lic swa him ðearf sy oððæt col sy. Do oþerne hatne stan in. Beþe gelome. Sona him bið sel.

[LXXIV] Wið ðeore. Ealhtre wælwyrt weoduweaxe æscrind in eorþan cneowholen wermod se hara rædic ceaster æsc lytel sauinan.

[LXXV] Gif se uic weorðe on mannes setle geseten. Þonne nim ðu clatan moran þa greatan III oððe IIII. 7 beret hy on hate æmergean. 7 ateoh þonne ða ane of ðan heorðe. 7 cnuca. 7 wyrc swylc an lytel cicel. 7 lege to þæm setle swa ðu hatost forberan mæge. Þonne se cicel colige þonne wyrc þu ma. 7 lege to. 7 beo on stilnesse dæg oððe twegen. Þonne þu þis do hit is afandad læcecræft. Ne delfe hy nan man þa moran mid isene. 7 mid wætere ne þwea ac strice hy mid claðe clæne. 7 do swiþe þynne clað betweonan þ setl 7 ðone cicel.

[LXXVI,76] [Nine Herbs Charm]

Mugcwyrt wegbrade þe eastan open sy lombes cyrse attorlaðan mageðan netelan wudusur æppel fille 7 finul ealde sapan. Gewyrc ða wyrta to duste. Mængc wiþ þa sapan 7 wiþ þæs æpples gor. Wyrc slypan of wætere 7 of axsan. Genim finol. Wyl on þære slyppan 7 beþe mid aagemogc (ðan gemongce) þonne he þa sealfe on de ge ær ge æfter. Sing þ galdor on ælcre þara wyrta III ær he hy wyrce 7 on þone æppel ealswa. Ond singe þon men in þone muð 7 in þa earan buta 7 on ða wunde þ ilce gealdor ær he þa sealfe on de.

[LXXVII] Gif se wyrm sy nyþergewend oðð(e) se bledenda

fic. Bedelf ænne wrid cileþenigan moran 7 nim mid þinum twam handum upweardnes. 7 sing þærofer VIIII pater nostra æt þam nigeðan æt libera nos a malo. Bred hy þonne up 7 nim of þam ciðe 7 of oþrum þ þær sy an lytel cuppe ful. 7 drinc hy þonne. 7 beðige hine mon to wearman fyre. Him bið sona sel.

[LXXVIII] Eft wiþ þon ylcan. Læt niman ænne greatne cwurnstan 7 hætan hine 7 lecgan hine under þone man 7 niman wælwyrt 7 leomucan 7 mugcwyrt 7 lecgan uppan þone stan 7 onunder 7 do þærto ceald wæter 7 læt reocan þone bræð upon þone man swa hat swa he hatust forberan mæge.

[LXXIX] Gif fot oððe cneow scancan swellan. Nim neoðewearde betonican oððe elehtran. Cnuca hy swiþe. Mængc wiþ smale hwætenan meoluwe. Clæme on þ geswel.

[LXXX] Wið micclum lice 7 bringcadle. Wyrce sealfe. Wyll in butera þas wyrta elenan moran 7 hegerifan ufewearde 7 sauinan 7 curmeallan 7 feferfugean 7 dolhrunan 7 brunwyrt. Awringc ðurh clað. Hafa þonne gegniden 7 gebærned sealt 7 an penigweorð swefles.

[LXXXI] Writ ðis ondlang ða earmas wiþ dweorh + t + ω A. 7 gnid cyleðenigean on ealað. S(an)c(tu)s Macutus s(an)c(t)e uictorici. Writ þis ondlang ða earmas wið dweorh + t + p + t + N + ω + t + ui + ω + ω A. 7 gnid cyleþenigean on ealað S(an)c(tu)s Macutus s(an)c(t)e uictorici.

[LXXXII] Wið wennas æt mannes heortan. Nim hwerhwettan 7 rædic 7 smælne tunnæp 7 garleac 7 suþernewuda 7 fifleafan 7 piporon unsodenan hunige. 7 wring ðurh clað 7 pipera þonne. 7 wylle þonne swiðe.

[LXXXIII] Þis gebed man sceal singan on ða blacan blegene IX siðum: Tigað. 7 Wyrc þonne godne cliðan. Genim anes æges gewyrðe greates sealtes. 7 bærn on anan claðe þ hit si þurhburnen. Gegnid hit þonne to duste 7 nim þonne þreora ægra geolcan 7 gemængc to þam duste þ hit sy swa stið þ hit wille wel clyfian. 7 geopenige mon þonne þone dott 7 binde þone cliðan to þan swyle ðe þearf sy. Wyrc him þonne sealfe ðæt hit halige. Genim æðelferðingcwyrt 7 elehtran 7 reade fillan 7 merce. Gecnuca ealle tosomne 7 wyll on ferscre buteran.

[LXXXIV] Gif men eglað seo blace blegen. Þonne nime man great sealt. Bærne on linenum claðe swa micel swa an æg. Grinde þonne þ sealt swiþe smæl. Nime þonne þreora ægra geolcan. Swinge hit swiðe togædere 7 lege hit VI niht þærto. Nim þonne eorðnafelan 7 grundeswylian 7 cawelleaf 7 eald smera. Cnuca þ eal tosomne 7 lege hit þreo niht þærto. Nim þonne gearwan 7 grundeswylian 7 bræmbelleaf 7 clæne spic. Cnuca togædere 7 lege þærto. Him bið sona sel. Oððæt hit hal sy 7 ne cume þæræt nan wæta butan of þan wyrtan sylfan.

[LXXXV] Gif þin heorte ace. Nim ribban. 7 wyl on meolce. Drinc nygon morgenas. Þe bið sona sel.

[LXXXVI] Wið dweorh. Man sceal niman VII lytle oflætan swylce man mid ofrað 7 writtan þas naman on ælcre oflætan Maximian(us), Malchus, Iohannes, Martinianus, Dionisius, Constantinus, Serafion. Þænne eft þ galdor þ heræfter cweð man sceal singan ærest on þ wynstre eare, þænne on þæt swiðre eare þænne hufan (bufan) þæs mannes moldan. 7 ga þænne an mædenman to 7 ho hit on his sweoran. 7 do man swa þry dagas. Him bið sona sel.

[LXXXVII] Her syndon læcedomas wið ælces cynnes omum 7 onfeallum bancoþum eahta 7 twentige. Grenes merces leaf gcnucude mid æges þ hwite 7 ecedes dræstan. Smyre on þa stowe þær þ sar sy.

[LXXXVIII] Wið omum 7 blegum. Cristus natus aaius s(an)c(tu)s a (Cristus) passus aaius a (Cristus) resurrexit a mortuis aaius s(an)c(tu)s aa superare potens.

[LXXXIX] Wið omum 7 ablegnedum. Sur meolc. Wyrce cealre 7 beþe mid cealre.

[XC] Eft. Genim beor dræstan 7 sapan 7 æges þ hwite 7 ealde grut. Lege on wið omena geswelle.

[XCI] Eft wið omena geberste. Sitte on cealdum wætere oððæt hit adeadad sy. Teoh þonne up. Sleah þonne feower scearpan ymb þa poccas utan 7 læt yrnan þa hwile þe he wille. 7 wyrc þa sealfe. Brunewyrt merscmergyllan 7 reade

netlan. Wel on buteran. Smyre mid 7 beþe mid þam wyrtum.

[XCII] Eft. Angeltwæccan. Gegnid swiþe. Do eced to. 7 on bind. 7 smyre mid.

[XCIII] Eft. Safinan. Gegnid to duste. 7 mægc wiþ hunige. 7 smyre mid.

[XCIV] Eft wið þonne ylcan. Genim gebrædde ægru. Meng wið ele. Lege on 7 besweþe mid betan leafum.

[XCV] Eft. Cealfes scearn oðde ealdes hryþeres wearm. 7 lege on.

[XCVI] Eft. Genim heoretes sceafeþan of felle ascafen mid pumice. 7 wese mid eced. 7 smyre mid.

[XCVII] Eft. Genim eofores geallan oðde oþeres swynes. 7 smyre mid þær hit sar si.

[XCVIII] Wið þon ylcan. Genim swolwan nest. 7 gebræc mid ealle. 7 gbærne mid scearne mid ealle. 7 gegnid to duste. 7 mæng wiþ eced. 7 smyre mid.

[XCIX] Eft. Gehæt ceald wæter mid isene. 7 beþe mid gelome.

[C] Wið hwostan 7 neorunyse. Wyl sealuian 7 finol on geswettum ealað. 7 sup hat. Do swa swa oft swa þe þearf

sie.

[CI] Wið morgenplætunga. Wyl on wætre eorþgeallan. Swet mid hunige. Sele him godne bollan fulne on morgenne.

[CII] Wið þon þe mon blode wealle þurh his muð. Genim betonican þreora trymess gwæge 7 cole gate meoloc þreo cuppan fulle. 7 drince þonne. Bið he sona hal.

[CIII] Wið ælces monnes tydernesse innewearde. Genime wegbrædan. Do on win. Sup þ wos 7 ete þa wyrta. Þonne deah hit wið æghwylcre innancundre unhælo.

[CIV] Gif man sceorpe on þone innað. Galluc hatte. Delf þa moran. Do to duste. Do godne cucelere fulne ægscylle fulle wines oððe godes ealað 7 hunig. Syle drican (drincan) ær on mergen.

[CV] Wið eagena teara. Heortes hornes axan. Do on gswet win.

[CVI] Wið earon æþele drænc. Genim hrædic nyþeweardne 7 elenan. þa bradan biscopwyrt 7 cassucleaf rudan 7 rosan safenan feferfuigan. Gebeat ealle tosamne. Ofgat (ofgeat) mid ænne sester fulne ealað ær þu mete þicge.

[CVII] Wið lungen adle breostwræce. Genim merces sæd 7 diles sæd. Gnid. Wyl 7 gemæng wið huniges teare. Do sumne dæl pipores 7 do him þreo snæda on nihtnyhstig.

[CVIII] Wið healsomena. Smyra hy sona mid hryþeres geallan 7 swiþost mid oxan. Him bið sona sel.

[CIX] Wið lændenece. Genim betonican X pænega gwæge. Do þær gswettes wines to twegen bolan fulle. Mæng wið hat wæter. Syle hit nistigum drincan.

[CX] Wið utsihte. Genim lemocan. Wyl hy onmegtlice (ongemetlice) mid smale hwætenan melowe. Do hryþeres smera to oððe sceapes. Syle him etan wearm.

[CXI] Gif hors gescoten sy oððe oþer neat. Nim ompran sæd 7 scyttisc wex. Gesing mæssepreost XII mæssan ofer 7 do haligwæt on. 7 do þonne on þ hors oððe on swa hwylc neat swa hit sie. Hafa þe þa wyrta symle mid.

[CXII] Gif men synd wænnas gewunod on þ heafod foran oððe on ða eagan. Wring neoþewearde cuslyppan 7 holleac in ða næsþyrlo. Læt licgan upweard gode hwile. Þis is gewis læcedom.

[CXIII] To monnes stæmne. Nim cyrfillan 7 wuducyrfillan biscopwyrt ontran grundeswyligean. Wyrc to drænce on hluttrum ealað. Nim þreo snada buteran. Gemængce wið hwæten meola 7 gesylte. Þyge mid ðy drænce. Do swa neogan morgnas ma gif þe þearf sy.

[CXIV] Wið angcbreoste. Wyll holenrinde on gate meolce 7

sup weram (wearm) nyhstig.

[CXV] Wið ðone swiman. Nim rudan 7 finul 7 eorðifig bettonican 7 lilian. Cnuca ealle þas wyrta tosomne. Do on ænne pohchan. Ofgeot mid wætere. Gnid swyðe. Læt sigan ut on sum fæt. Nim þone wætan 7 wyrm. 7 lafa þin heafod mid. Do swa oft swa þe þearf sy.

[CXVI] Wyrc godne drenc wið sidece. Wyl betonican 7 pollegan in aldum wine. Do in XXVII piporcorn gegrundenra. Syle him on nihtnyhtstig godne scenc fulne wearmes. 7 gereste gode hwile æfter ðæm drence on ða saran sidan.

[CXVII] Wið ðon ylcan. Wyll in ealaþ þa haran hunan 7 rudan. Geswet mid hunige. Syle drincan on mergene on nihtnihstig godne bollan fulne 7 oðerne þonne he restan wille. 7 symle reste ærest on ða saran sidan oððæt he hal sy.

[CXVIII] Eft wið sidece. Genim hoclæf grene. Cnuca swiðe. Mængc wið ele þ hit sy swylce clam. Clæm þonne on ða sidan þær se sy mæst. 7 wrið mid claðe. Læt swa gewriðen þreo niht. Þonne bið se man hal.

[CXIX] Wið fotadle. Genim betonican. Wyl in wætere. Bewyll þriddan dæl. Syle þonne drincan. 7 ða wyrt gecnuca. Lege on. Wundorlice hraðe þ sar gelyhteð þæs ðe gelærede læceas secgeað.

[CXX] Wið ðære miclan siendan fotadle þære ðe læceas

hatað podagra seo adl bið aswollen 7 heo sihð wursine 7 gilstre 7 seonuwa fortogene 7 ða tan scrinceð up. Genim grundeswyligean ða ðe on ærenu wexeð 7 þa readan wudufillan bega efenfela. Cnuca wið eldum swines rysle. Wyrc to clame. Do on ða fet. Wrið mid claðe on niht 7 ðweah eft on morgen 7 dryg mid claðe. Smyre mid henne æges þa hwitan. Do eft nyowne clam. Do swa VII niht. Þonne bið ða seonuwa rihte 7 ða fet hale.

[CXXI] Wyrc drænc wiþ þonne ylcan. Genim ða ylcan grundeswyligean 7 hindheoloðan 7 ða smalan cliðwyrt 7 wuduhrofan 7 pollegan ealra efenfela. Do in win oððe on wylisc eala. Syle drincan godne scænc fulne on nihtnihstig. Þes drænc is god wið endwerce 7 wið þeorwerce 7 wið fotswilum.

[CXXII] Wið giccendre wombe. Wyll pollegian on wætere. Syle supan swa he hatost mæge aræfnan. Ðam men bið sona se gicða læssa.

[CXXIII] Wyrc sealfe wið lusun. Wyll in buteran nyoðeweardne hymlic 7 wyrmod oððe boðen. Smyre mid þ heafod. Seo sealf gebeð þ þær bið þara lusa læs.

[CXXIV] Wyrc godne drænc wið lusum. Genim lufestice 7 wyrmod 7 hymlic. Doo in eala. Syle drincan on nhitnihstig godne bollan fulne.

[CXXV] Wið innoðes hefignese. Syle etan rædic mid sealte 7

eced supan. Sona bið þ mod leahtre.

[CXXVI] Wið fleogendan attre. Asleah IIII scearpan on feower healfa mid æcenan brande. Geblodga ðone brand. Weorp on weg. Sing ðis on III.

[CXXVII] Wið færstice. Feferfuige 7 seo reade netele ðe þurh ærn inwyxð 7 wegbræde. Wyll in buteran.

[CXXVIII] Wið lusan sealf. Commuc clofðung rædic wermod ealra efenfela. Gecnuca to duste. Gecned wið ele. Smyre mid ealne ðone lichoman.

[CXXIX] Nim eac meldon ða wyrt. Gewyrc to duste swiðe smale. Do in hat wæter. Syle drincan. Sona ða lys 7 oðre lytle wymas swyltað.

[CXXX] Nim eac wermod 7 marufian. 7 wyl gelice micel ealra. Wyll in wine oððe on geswettum wætere. Gedo þriwa on þone nafolan. Þonne swylteð ða lys 7 oðre lytle wymas.

[CXXXI] Nim eac cylendran wið ðon. Wyll in eala swiðe. Smyre mid þ heafod.

[CXXXII] Gif hryðera steorfan. Do in haligwæter grundeswyligean 7 springcwyrt 7 attorlaðan neoðewearde 7 cliðwyrt. Geot on ðone muð. Sona hy batigeað.

[CXXXIII] Wyþ lungenadle hriðerum. Þa wyrt on wordigum

heo bið gelic hundes micgean ðære wyrte þær wexeð blaco bergean eal swa micelle swa oðre pysbeana. Gecnuca. Do in haligwæter. Do þonne on muð þæm hryþerum. Genim þa ylcan wyrte. Do in glede 7 finol 7 cassuc 7 godeweb 7 recels. Bærn eal to tosomne on ða healfe ðe se wind sy. Læt reocan on ðone ceap. Weorc cristemæl of cassuce fifo. Sete on feower healfe þæs ceapes 7 an to middes. Sing ymb þone ceap. Benedicam dinm in omni tempotr usque in finem 7 benedicste 7 letanias 7 pater noster. Stred on haligwæter. Bærn ymb recels 7 godeweb 7 geeahtige mon ðone ceap. Syle þone teoþan pænig for gode. Læt syþðan beotigean. Do ðus þriwa.

[CXXXIV] Gif sceap sy abrocen 7 wið færsteorfan. Cæsteræsc elehtre wulfes camb finol stancrop. Wyrc to duste. Do in haligwæter. Geot in þæt abrocyne sceap 7 stred on ða oþur þriwa.

[CXXXV] Wið poccum 7 sceapa hreoflan. Elehtre 7 eoforfearn neoðeweard sperewyrt ufanwearde agrundene greate beane. Cnuca ealle tosomne. swiðe smale in hunig 7 in haligwæter. 7 gemengc well tosomne. Do in muð mid cucylere ane snade þreo symle ymb ane niht nigon siðum gif micel þearf sy.

[CXXXVI] Wið swina færsteorfan. Doa in heora mete. Seoð glidan (clitan). Syle etan. Nim eac elehtran bisceopwyrt 7 cassuc ðefeþorn hegerifan haranspicel. Sing ofer feower mæssan. Drif on fald. Hoh ða wyrte on feower healfe 7 on þan dore. Bærn. Do recels to. Læt yrnan ofer þone rec.

[CXXXVII] Wið þeofentum. Luben luben niga efið fel ceid feldelf fel cumer orcggaei ceufor dard giug farig pidig delou delupih.

[CXXXVIII] Wið hondwyrmmum. Scipteron swefl pipor hwit sealt. Mængc tosomne. Smyre mid.

[CXXXIX] Eft. Wex swefl 7 sealt. Mængc. Smyre mid.

[CXL] Gif nægl of honda weorða. Nim hwætene corn. Gecnuca. Mængc wið hunig. Lege on ðone finger. Wyll slahþornrinde. Þweah mid ðy drænce.

[CXLI] Wið hwostan. Wyll curmeallan wyrtruman. Wyrc to duste. Syle him on wine drincan. Sona se hwosta blinneð.

[CXLII] Wið magan wyrce 7 gif he bið toblawen se innoð. Wringc pollegian in ceald wæter oððe in win. Syle drincan. Him bið sel.

[CXLIII] Wið ðon ðe wif færunga adumbige. Genim pollegian. 7 gnid to duste. 7 in wulle bewind. Allege under þæt wif. Hyre bið sona sel.

Appendix 2: Remedies in *Lacnunga* and their variant versions in BLch

[I] Wit(ð) heafodwræce. Genim hamorwyrt 7 efenlastan nyðowearde. Cnuca. Lege on clað. Gnid in wæter. Gnid swiðe þæt heo sy eall geleðred. Þweah mid þy leaðre þæt heafod gelome.

[BLch (18/19-21)] Wið heafodwærce. Genim hamwyrt niþewearde. Gecnuca. Lege on ceald wæter. Gnid swiðe oþþæt eall geleþred sie. Beþe mid þæt heafod.

==========

[II] Wið heafodwræce. Hildhæleða 7 grundeswylgean 7 fæncyrsan 7 giðrifan. Wyl in wætere. Læt reocan in þa eagan þa hwile hy hate synd 7 ymb ða eagan gnid mid þam wyrtum swa hatum.

[BLch (18/22-5)] Wiþ heafodwærce. Genim heahheoloþan 7 grundeswelgean 7 fencersan 7 gitrifan. Wel on wætere. Læt reocan on þa eagan þonne hit hat sie 7 ymb þa eagan gnid mid þæm wyrtum swa hatum.

==========

[III] Wið heafodwærce. Betan wyrtruman. Cnuca mid hunige. Awring. Do þæt seaw on þæt neb. Gelicge upweard wið hatre sunnan 7 ahoh þæt heafod nyþerweard oððæt seo ex sy gesoht. Hæbbe him ær on muðe buteran oððe ele. Asitte þonne uplang. Hnige þonne forð. Læte flowan of þæn nebbe

þa gilstre. Do þæt gelome oððæt hyt clæne sy.

[BLch (18/12-18)] Wið heafodwærce. Betan wyrttruman. Gecnuwa wið hunig. Awring. Do þæt seaw on neb 7 ongean sunnan upweard licge 7 þæt heafod ho ofdune þæt se seaw mæge þæt heafod geond yrnan. Hæbbe him ær on muþe ele oþþe buteran 7 þonne uplang asitte hnigie forð. Læte flowan of þam nebbe þa gillistran. Do swa gelome oþþæt hit clæne sie.

==========

[VI] Eahsealf. Gemin streawberian nyþeweardan 7 pipor. Do in clað. Bebind. Lege on gesweted win. Drype of þan claðe ænne dropan in ægðer eage.

[BLch (34/23-6)] Þus mon sceal eagsealfe wyrcean. Genim streawberian wisan nioþowearde 7 pipor. Gecnuwa wel. Do on claþ. Bebind fæste. Lege on geswet win. Læt gedreopan on þa eagan ænne dropan.

==========

[XIII] Gif eagan tyran. Genim grene rudan. Cnuca smale 7 wes mid doran hunige oððe mid dunhunige. Wring þurh linenne clað on þ eage swa lange swa him ðearf sy.

[BLch (32/1-34/1)] Wiþ þon ðe eagan tyren. Rudan seaw 7 gate geallan 7 doran hunig ealra emfela.

==========

[XXXVI] Wið hreofum lice. Adelf amprom 7 gelodwyrt. Teon ut lange. Cnuca ealle wel. Wyll in buteran. Do hwon sealtes in. þ bið god sealf wið hreofum lice. Þweah þone man mid hate. 7 mid ðare sealfe smyre.

[BLch (78/1-3)] Læcedom wiþ hreofum lice. Adelfe ompran 7 gelodwyrt. Gecnuwa. Wyl þonne on buteran. Do hwon sealtes to.

==========

[XXXVII] Wið cneowærce. Genim weode wisan 7 hegerifan. Gecnuca well tosomne 7 do mela. Læt standan nyhternum on þæm wyrtum. Syle drincan.

[BLch (66/12-14)] Wiþ cneowwærce. Wuduweax 7 hegerife. Gecnuwa þa togædere 7 do on ealu. Læt licgan neahterne. Sele him þæt þonne drincan. Beþe mid 7 lege on.

==========

[LXXXVII] Her syndon læcedomas wið ælces cynnes omum 7 onfeallum bancoþum eahta 7 twentige. Grenes merces leaf gcnucude mid æges þ hwite 7 ecedes dræstan. Smyre on þa stowe þær þ sar sy.

[BLch (98/22-5)] Her sint læcedomas wiþ ælces cynnes omum 7 onfeallum 7 bancoþum eahta 7 twentig. Nim grenes merces leaf. Gegnid oþþe getrifula wið ecedes derstan. Smire mid þy þa saran stowa.

==========

[LXXXIX] Wið omum 7 ablegnedum. Sur meolc. Wyrce cealre 7 beþe mid cealre.

[BLch (98/25-7)] Wið omum utablegnedum. Nim sur molcen. Wyrc to cealre 7 beþ mid þy cealre.

==========

[XC] Eft. Genim beor dræstan 7 sapan 7 æges þ hwite 7 ealde grut. Lege on wið omena geswelle.

[BLch (98/27-100/2)] Uið omum eft. Genim beordræsta 7 sapan 7 æges þæt hwite 7 ealde grut. Lege on wiþ omena geswelle.

==========

[XCI] Eft wið omena geberste. Sitte on cealdum wætere oððæt hit adeadad sy. Teoh þonne up. Sleah þonne feower scearpan ymb þa poccas utan 7 læt yrnan þa hwile þe he wille. 7 wyrc þa sealfe. Brunewyrt merscmergyllan 7 reade netlan. Wel on buteran. Smyre mid 7 beþe mid þam wyrtum.

[BLch (100/2-7)] Wiþ omena geberste. Sitte on cealdum wætere oþþæt hit adeadod sie. Teoh þonne up. Sleah þonne feower scearpan ymb þa poccas utan 7 læt yrnan þæt sticce þe hit wille. Wyrc þe sealfe þus. Nim brunewyrt 7 merscmeargeallan 7 reade netlan. Wyl on buteran 7 smire mid 7 beþe mid þam ilcan wyrtum.

==========

[XCII] Eft. Angeltwæccan. Gegnid swiþe. Do eced to. 7 on bind. 7 smyre mid.

[BLch (100/8-9)] Wiþ þon ilcan. Genim angoltwæccean. Gegnid swiþe. Do eced to 7 on bind 7 smire mid.

==========

[XCIII] Eft. Safinan. Gegnid to duste. 7 mægc wiþ hunige. 7 smyre mid.

[BLch (100/9-10)] Wiþ þon ilcan. Genim safinan. Gnid to duste 7 meng wiþ hunig 7 smire mid.

==========

[XCIV] Eft wið þonne ylcan. Genim gebrædde ægru. Meng wið ele. Lege on 7 besweþe mid betan leafum.

[BLch (100/11-12)] Uið þon ilcan. Genim gebrædde ægru. Meng wið ele. Lege on 7 beþe swiðe mid betan leafum.

==========

[XCV] Eft. Cealfes scearn oðde ealdes hryþeres wearm. 7 lege on.

[BLch (100/12-13)] Eft. Genim cealfes scearn oþþe ealdes hryþeres wearm. 7 lege on.

==========

[XCVI] Eft. Genim heoretes sceafeþan of felle ascafen mid pumice. 7 wese mid eced. 7 smyre mid.

[BLch (100/14-15)] Eft wiþ þon. Genim heortes sceafoþan of felle ascafen mid pumice. 7 wese mid ecede 7 smire mid.

==========

[XCVII] Eft. Genim eofores geallan oððe oþeres swynes. 7 smyre mid þær hit sar si.

[BLch (100/15-17)] Eft. Genim eofores geallan gif þu næbbe nim oþres swines. Gegnid 7 smire mid þy þær hit sar sie.

==========

[XCVIII] Wið þon ylcan. Genim swolwan nest. 7 gebræc mid ealle. 7 gbærne mid scearne mid ealle. 7 gegnid to duste. 7 mæng wiþ eced. 7 smyre mid.

[BLch (100/17-19)] Wiþ þon ilcan. Genim swealwan nest. Brec mid ealle aweg 7 gebærn mid scearne mid ealle 7 gnid to duste. Meng wiþ eced 7 smire mid.

==========

[XCIX] Eft. Gehæt ceald wæter mid isene. 7 beþe mid gelome.

[BLch (100/20-1)] Wiþ þon ilcan. Gehæt ceald wæter mid hatan isene 7 beþe gelome mid þy.

==========

[CII] Wið þon þe mon blode wealle þurh his muð. Genim betonican þreora trymess gwæge 7 cole gate meoloc þreo cuppan fulle. 7 drince þonne. Bið he sona hal.

[BLch (52/13-15)] Gif mon blode hræce. Genim betonican swilce swa III penegas gewegen. Gegnid on gate meolc. Sele þry dagas þry bollan fulle to drincanne.

==========

[CV] Wið eagena teara. Heortes hornes axan. Do on gswet win.

[BLch (34/1-2)] Gif eagan tyren. Heorotes hornes ahsan. Do on geswet win.

==========

[CVIII] Wið healsomena. Smyra hy sona mid hryþeres geallan 7 swiþost mid oxan. Him bið sona sel.

[BLch (44/11-13)] Wiþ healsgunde þonne ærest onginne se healsgund wesan. Smire hine sona mid hryþeres oþþe swiðost mid oxan geallan. Þæt is acunnod ymb feawa niht bið hal.

==========

[CIX] Wið lændenece. Genim betonican X pænega gwæge. Do þær gswettes wines to twegen bolan fulle. Mæng wið hat wæter. Syle hit nistigum drincan.

[BLch (64/18-20)] Wiþ lendenece. Genim betonican swilce twegen penegas gewegen. Do þærto swetes wines twegen bollan fulle. Meng wiþ hat wæter. Sele nihtnesitg drincan.

==========

[CXI] Gif hors gescoten sy oððe oþer neat. Nim ompran sæd 7 scyttisc wex. Gesing mæssepreost XII mæssan ofer 7 do haligwæt on. 7 do þonne on þ hors oððe on swa hwylc neat swa hit sie. Hafa þe þa wyrta symle mid.

[BLch (156/26-9)] Gif hors sie ofscoten oþþe oþer neat. Nim ompran sæd 7 scittisc weax. Gesinge mon XII mæssan ofer 7 do haligwæter on þæt hors oððe on swa hwilc neat swa hit sie. Hafa ðe þa wyrte simle mid.

==========

[CXIII] To monnes stæmne. Nim cyrfillan 7 wuducyrfillan biscopwyrt ontran grundeswyligean. Wyrc to drænce on hluttrum ealað. Nim þreo snada buteran. Gemængce wið hwæten meola 7 gesylte. Þyge mid ðy drænce. Do swa neogan morgnas ma gif þe þearf sy.

[BLch (152/19-23)] To monnes stemne. Nim cerfillan 7 wuducerfillan bisceopwyrt ontran grundeswelgean. Wyrc to drænce on hluttrum ealað. Nim þreo snæda buteran. Gemenge wið hwætan mela 7 gesylte. Þige mid þy drence. Do swa nigon morgenas ma gif his þearf sie.

==========

[CXVI] Wyrc godne drenc wið sidece. Wyl betonican 7 pollegan in aldum wine. Do in XXVII piporcorn gegrundenra. Syle him on nihtnyhtstig godne scenc fulne wearmes. 7 gereste gode hwile æfter ðæm drence on ða saran sidan.

[BLch (64/7-10)] Eft (wiþ sidan sare). Betonican swilc swa þry penegas gewegen 7 pipores seofon 7 XX corna tosomne getrifulad. Geot ealdes wines þry bollan fulle to 7 gewlece sele nihtnestigum drincan.

==========

[CXXII] Wið giccendre wombe. Wyll pollegian on wætere. Syle supan swa he hatost mæge aræfnan. Ðam men bið sona se gicða læssa.

[BLch (240/5-7)] Wiþ wambe gicþan. Dweorgedwostlan weorp on weallende wæter. Læt socian on lange oþþæt mon mæge drincan þæt wæter.

==========

[CXXXVIII] Wið hondwyrmmum. Scipteron swefl pipor hwit sealt. Mængc tosomne. Smyre mid.

[BLch (124/9-11)] Wiþ hondwyrme. Nim sciptearo 7 swefl 7 pipor 7 hwit sealt. Meng tosomne smire mid.

==========

[CXXXIX] Eft. Wex swefl 7 sealt. Mængc. Smyre mid.

[BLch (124/11-12)] Weaxsealf wiþ wyrme. Weax sealf butere pipor hwit sealt. Meng tosomne smire mid.

==========

[CXL] Gif nægl of honda weorða. Nim hwætene corn. Gecnuca. Mængc wið hunig. Lege on ðone finger. Wyll slahþornrinde. Þweah mid ðy drænce.

[BLch (80/22-3)] Gif nægl sie of handa 7 wiþ wearhbrædan. Nim hwæte corn. Meng wið hunig. Lege on þone finger.

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