

A Mirror for Deaf Ears? A Medieval Mystery

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In memoriam Francisci Munari, 9.2.1920–29.3.1995

Pseudo-Ovid is one of the more prolific authors of the high Middle Ages. Put differently, the Roman poet Ovid was liked so much that he was often imitated by authors whose names we do not know, but who were successful enough in their efforts to be judged worthy of being transmitted with the genuine poems of Ovid.¹ In some instances, it was not before the nineteenth or even the twentieth century that a composition was proven to be medieval. The pseudo-Ovidian verses that form the background to the question in the title of this paper circulated as *De medicamine aurium*, ‘Medicine for the ears’, and are linked, as we shall see, with a mirror, a work which, like so many in the Middle Ages, has *speculum* in its title. Here is the text and a translation:²

Ne tibi displiceat quod sic sum corpore paruus.
Ortulus iste breuis mitia poma gerit.
Plurima doctorum. sunt hic experta priorum.
Letior hinc sumas que meliora putas.
5 Materies monstrat quanti medicamina constant.
Teque quod amplecti. quodque cauere decet.
Si fueris diues que sunt pretiosa require.
Si nummis careas elige quod ualeas.
Nec nos contempnas uiles cum uideris herbas.
10 Quod leue compones gratius. esse. solet.
Celestis medicus cuius manus omnia prestat.
Mirandum prodit quod tibi uile fuit.

(O do not scorn me, because of body I am so small: this tiny little garden bears mellow fruit. Here you will find a great many experiences of earlier learned men; from here you will take with greater joy what you consider best. How costly medicines are, drug-lore³ does show, and what it behoves you to embrace and what to shun. If you be rich, look for medicines that are expensive; if your purse is empty, choose what you can afford. And do not spurn us common herbs, when you gaze upon us: a simple composition is usually nicer. The heavenly physician, whose hand provides all these, presents as amazing that which you had believed to be so ordinary.)

¹ Cf. Franco Munari, *Ovid im Mittelalter* (Zürich/Stuttgart, 1960); id., ‘Tradition und Originalität in der lateinischen Dichtung des XII. Jahrhunderts’, *Romanische Forschungen*, lxix (1957–8), pp. 305–331 (= Franco Munari, *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin, 1980), pp. 131–57). To the bibliography in *Ovid im Mittelalter* (p. 60), we may add Carlo Pascal, *Poesia latina medievale. Saggi e note critiche* (Catania, 1907).

² This Latin text is from the oldest manuscript known to me, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson C.235, f. 9r. The Middle English translation was last printed in George R. Keiser, ‘Verse Introductions to Middle English Medical Treatises’, *English Studies*, lxxxiv (2003), pp. 301–17, at p. 306.

³ *Materies*: I assume this is shorthand for *materia medica*.

This is just the first half of the poem of Ps-Ovid. It is in elegiac couplets.⁴ The second half, as printed by the German-Jewish-American scholar Friedrich Walter Lenz some fifty years ago,⁵ continues with hexameters and, unlike the lines just cited, does indeed address the ears:⁶

Hoc medicamentum surdis est auribus aptum:
De semperuiue suco cochlearia bina,
15 Tantundem sumas olei quod prebet oliua.
Hinc oui testa porrorum collige sucum,
Lactentis pueri tantundem sumito lactis.
Hec tribus ad solem uitro suspende diebus,
Noctibus et totidem sub aperto desine celo.
20 Ex hoc auricule studeas infundere surdi,
Et (*conieci*, ut *codd.*) solis radium patiens assumat in aurem.

(This medicine is good for deaf ears: Take two spoonfuls of juice of semperuiua,⁷ and likewise of oil provided by the olive. Next, the juice of leeks collected in an eggshell, and milk the same amount of a woman who suckles a boy. For three days let them be hung up in the sun, and for an equal number of nights, leave them under the open sky. Try to put this into the deaf ear, and the patient should let sunshine into his ear. <Thus, the ear finally becomes completely free from disease.>)

Poetic merit aside,⁸ the poem (i.e. the two parts ‘Ne tibi displiceat’ + ‘Hoc medicamentum’) was fairly popular,⁹ Lenz listed twenty-four manuscripts between the thirteenth (if not the end

⁴ Also found in the Middle English version of the *Speculum* in BL, Add. MS. 34111, ff. 40r-190r, on f. 40r (printed in Keiser, see n. 2 above). Line 5 of the poem is lacking both in the Latin text there and in the English translation, so presumably it was not in the copyist/translator’s exemplar.

⁵ F. W. Lenz, ‘Das pseudo-ovidische Gedicht *De medicamine aurium*’, in *Ovidiana: recherches sur Ovide*, publiée à l’occasion du bimillénaire du poète par Nicolae I. Herescu avec le concours de D. Adamesteanu, Vasile Cristea, E. Lozovan (Paris, 1958), pp. 526-40, text and apparatus criticus on pp. 536-9. The twenty-one verses also precede the *Speculum* in Bruges MS. 471 (13th century), printed by A. de Poorter, ‘Catalogue des manuscrits de médecine médiévale de la bibliothèque de Bruges’, *Revue des Bibliothèques*, xxxiv (1924), pp. 271-306, at p. 295.

⁶ Text as printed by Lenz, p. 537.

⁷ Four different plants are listed under this entry in Jacques André, *Les Noms des plantes dans la Rome antique* (Paris, 1981).

⁸ Lenz, p. 530, affirms that from the point of metre, the verses are basically correct (‘ohne wesentlichen Anstoß gebaut’). There is no overlap with Q. Serenus’s chapter on diseases of the ears (likewise in hexameters), vv. 161-87, or with the *Regimen sanitatis Salernitanum*, as printed in vol. v of De Renzi, *Collectio Salernitana*. (I am grateful to Gerhard Fichtner, Tübingen, who provided me with a concordance for this work many years ago.)

⁹ Thomas Haye, *Das lateinische Lehrgedicht im Mittelalter. Analyse einer Gattung*, *Mittellateinische Studien und Texte*, xx (Leiden, 1997), exaggerates when he calls *De medicamine aurium* ‘a genuine medical didactic poem’ (p. 327). Haye’s claim (p. 49f) that Pliny the Elder reported that Ovid had composed a medical poem on ailments of the ears, which Haye derives from a misunderstanding and, to tell the truth, negligent reading of Lenz p. 526, is wrong. Plin. nat. 30,33 says (and I quote the full Latin text, since Lenz’s citation is not absolutely correct) ‘Anginis felle anserino cum elaterio et melle citissime succurritur, cerebro noctuae, cinere hirundinis ex aqua calida potio; huius medicinae auctor est Ouidius poeta’ (‘In [cases of] quinsy very speedy relief is afforded by goose gall with elaterium and honey, by the brain of an owl, and by the ash of a swallow taken in hot water. The last prescription is on the authority of the poet Ovid.’ Translation by W. H. S. Jones, in vol. viii of the ed. in the Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, MA, and London, 1963).) Haye’s dating of the combined poem (p. 50), end of 12th to beginning of 13th century, cannot be upheld, as we shall see, and has to be brought forward.

of the twelfth century) and the fifteenth century, to which the manuscripts I am about to mention must be added. Lenz saw correctly – following earlier discussions by Kunz and Pascal –¹⁰ that the two parts of the poem do not fit together particularly well; he sees in part 1 the introduction to a larger medical work in verse, of which only what is now part 2¹¹ of the poem has been preserved. He concluded, as we shall see absolutely correctly, that *De speculo medicine* or *medicaminis*, given as the title of the poem in three manuscripts,¹³ relates to the title of the medical compendium of which these verses formed a part. This work, Lenz surmised, might have been called *Speculum medicinale* or *medicine*,¹⁴ similar to the encyclopaedias of Vincent of Beauvais († 1264), which were likewise based on excerpts; or perhaps more to the point and nearer in time, the *Speculum ecclesiae* of Honorius Augustodunensis (who died around 1137).¹⁵

The really relevant *Speculum medicine* is, however, a work of this title by Arnau de Vilanova, completed in 1308.¹⁶ This date excludes any direct relation between our poem and Arnau; in fact, *speculum* as the title of a book was so popular – and remained so well into the early modern period – that there is no need to assume that Arnau knew the *Speculum medicine* we are interested in and borrowed its title.

Our *Speculum medicine* predates Arnau de Vilanova's at least by approximately a century and a half, if we accept the date for Bodleian Library, MS. Rawlinson C.235 'middle of the twelfth century', kindly proposed to me by Rod Thomson; Thomson added that the Bodleian manuscript had undoubtedly been written in England. The first part of the manuscript contains the medical poem of Quintus Serenus; then, on f. 9r, we read 'Incipit comentum in libro qui uocatur specul(us)', followed by the twelve verses I quoted at the beginning. Somebody able to write those verses would undoubtedly have known that *speculum* is a neuter, and therefore Rawlinson C.235 cannot be the author's copy, which will thus predate it.

¹⁰ Carlo Pascal, *Poesia latina medievale*, pp. 101-7.

¹¹ Lenz, p. 531.

¹² Haye does not comment on this.

¹³ Gothanus membr. II 120 (13th century); Vat. Palat. lat. 910 (a. 1467); Florent. Riccardianus 489 (13th century); Lenz did not know Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 4772, ff. 202r-203v; the poem, ending with v. 22, is on f. 202r, and is followed by *De quattuor humoribus hominum* (like Vat. lat. 1602 [14th century], according to Lenz, p. 539f), lacking v. 25. Lenz prints, on p. 539f, his collation of three manuscripts of *De quattuor humoribus hominum* (also called *De quattuor elementis*); the text itself is in Pascal, pp. 107-10. Ironically, the first publication of this poem by Heinrich Stefan Sedlmayer, *Wiener Studien*, vi (1884), p. 149 was based on Florence, Laurentian Library pl. 36,27 (14th century); in the Vienna catalogue, *De medicamine aurium* is not distinguished from *De quattuor humoribus hominum*. Pascal (pp. 107-11) saw correctly that *De quattuor humoribus hominum* is but a versification of Isidore's account, *orig.* book IV, chs 3, 5 and 6.1.

¹⁴ Lenz p. 532. British Library Add. MS. 34111 f. 40r has *Speculum medicorum*, as do Ranzovius's edition, and Brussels, Royal Library 10866-10869 (12th century), f. 1 (-4v), and Vatican, Palat. lat. 1363, f. 230 vb (-233ra); this last manuscript was not described by Ludwig Schuba, *Die medizinischen Handschriften der Codices Palatini Latini in der Vatikanischen Bibliothek, beschrieben von L. Schuba* (Wiesbaden, 1981).

¹⁵ Cf. Fritz Wagner, 'Notizen zur Buchmetaphorik', in *Scrinium Berolinense. Tilo Brandis zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Peter Jörg Becker, Eva Bliembach, Holger Nickel, Renate Schipke, Giuliano Staccioli (Berlin, 2000), vol. ii, pp. 990-8, at pp. 990-1 on *speculum*; Herbert Grabes, s.v. 'Spiegelliteratur', in *Sachwörterbuch der Mediävistik*, ed. P. Dinzelsbacher (Stuttgart, 1992), pp. 769f. Any search will provide numerous further examples, both medical and general.

¹⁶ There is also a *Specchio di medicina* by Aldobrandino da Siena (14th cent.), in Madrid BN 1458 (L 190), 15th cent., according to Kristeller IV 522a, and the *Spiegl der Artzney* by Laurentius Phrisius (Lorenz Fries, † 1530/32), Strassburg 1518 (with a number of printings).

After those verses, the author adds a short preface in prose. In it, he names his work: ‘I wish to collect in an orderly manner those receipts that were scattered in an unbecoming way and appeared somewhat difficult, in this tiny booklet, which I would like to be called *Speculum medicine*, following the authority of somebody by the name of Paul.’

Before we deal with this ‘somebody called Paul’, we return to F. W. Lenz and his edition of Ps-Ovid’s *Medicine for deaf ears*. Lenz suggested that these verses are the fragmentary remains of a ‘compendium’,¹⁷ i.e. a medical work in verses like many, but no longer extant. Lenz’s presumed author had taken verses 1–12 from another work and added a number of metrical receipts, of which only the *Medicine for deaf ears* (= verses 13–21 or 22), survives in our manuscripts. In the medieval transmission of Ovid, our verses 1–21 would then have been combined, at a later date, with Ovid’s fragmentary *Medicamina faciei femineae*, which runs to 100 verses;¹⁸ just half of these refer to the care of the face in the morning (the other part is taken up by the introduction). As it turns out, Lenz’s hypothesis was mistaken and nearly the opposite of what had really happened. The verse preface of the *Speculum medicine* in elegiac couplets (verses 1–12) had been detached from the medical compilation it introduces, was combined with the following lines 13–21 on deaf ears,¹⁹ in hexameters, and both entered the transmission of Ovid’s works from the thirteenth century onwards; as we saw, Lenz lists, and draws on, a total of twenty-four manuscripts from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries.

From Ovid, we return to the Paul alluded to in the preface of the *Speculum medicine*. Who was this elusive author named Paul? The one Paul that is relatively well known in the history of medicine is Paul of Aegina, the author of the last medical handbook of late antiquity and active towards the middle of the seventh century in Alexandria (in 642, when it was taken by the Arabs). His compilation in seven books is justly famous for its surgical part (book 6), known to the Middle Ages via Albucasis, the Muslim doctor from a little place near Córdoba, who heavily relies on him. Paul of Aegina’s Book 3 on internal medicine was translated into Latin perhaps not before the year 1000, but this Latin version does not seem to have enjoyed wide circulation.²⁰ And what is more, none of the sections in our *Speculum medicine* match anything in Paul of Aegina.

Therefore, the Paul in question must have been somebody else. As it turns out, ‘Paul’ is a mistake for Pliny. It would seem unlikely that Paul and the author of the *Naturalis historia* could be confused, but the fact was established first by Alf Önnersfors in his 1963 study of the transmission of the *Medicina Plinii*²¹ and subsequently confirmed by Monica Green when she examined the tradition of gynaecological texts in the early Middle Ages. The alleged name of the author, Pliny, had been written in a very ornamental way, perhaps even in Greek letters, which gave rise to misreading PLINI as PAUU; the latter was in turn interpreted, not unreasonably, as PAULI. Monica Green discovered that gynaecological excerpts attributed to Paulus really came from Pliny; well, not directly, but via the *Medicina Plinii* in one of its later manifestations as *Physica Plinii*. While the three books of the *Medicina Plinii*, dating probably from the early fourth century CE and made up from

¹⁷ Lenz, p. 532.

¹⁸ Lenz, p. 532f.

¹⁹ I have no ready explanation for the fact that these verses occur embedded in the chapter on ears in Brussels MS. 10866–10869, s. 12, f. 3. This manuscript lacks on the other hand the introductory verses and starts on f. 1v with the prologue ‘Cum animi [sic] aduerterem’. For a recent description of this part (ff. 1–4v) of the manuscript see Roger Calcoen, *Inventaire des manuscrits scientifiques de la Bibliothèque royale Albert 1^{er}*, vol. iii (Bruxelles, 1975), no. 307, p. 40f. The full poem features only in one manuscript of the *Speculum* I have seen so far, Prague, University Library, XIV.H.28, f. 27r (13th cent.).

²⁰ Edited by J. L. Heiberg, *Pauli Aeginetae libri tertii interpretatio Latina antiqua, adiuvante Instituto Pusmanniano Lipsiensi ed. J. L. Heiberg* (Lipsiae, 1912).

²¹ *In Medicinam Plinii studia philologica* (Lund, 1963), p. 17 and pp. 26–8.

medical advice contained in the *Naturalis historia*, were printed for the very first time and edited by Valentin Rose in 1875, the five books of the *Physica Plinii* had appeared in print 350 years earlier, in 1528. The very first recipe in the *Physica Plinii* turns out to figure also as the first item in our *Speculum medicine*; it recommends a remedy for headache (Plin. *phys. Bamb.* 1,1).

Because I had spent some time studying the transmission of the *Physica Plinii* myself,²² it was no great feat to make this identification when I enjoyed leafing through the pages of a medical book from the late sixteenth century edited by Henrik or Heinrich Rantzau²³ (Ranzovius in Latin) that interested me because it contained a Latin medical poem, supposedly written by a contemporary of Ovid (as Rantzau believed) by the name of Macer, dealing with the medicinal properties of herbs, for which reason the author and the book were usually referred to as Macer Floridus. It has since been established that the author was medieval and came from Meung in France. His real name was Odo, and in spite of the wide circulation this poem enjoyed in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, the 1832 edition by the German physician Ludwig Choulant has not been replaced.²⁴ In Rantzau's edition of Macer (Hamburgi, 1590; it was reprinted in Leipzig in the same year²⁵), it is followed by a *Speculum medicorum incerti auctoris* (fig. 1). Rantzau printed it from a manuscript in his possession, 'ex bibliotheca sua Bredenbergensis'²⁶ without supplying further details. He characterized it as 'rudi ac inculto quidem stylo conscriptum', a judgement that is perhaps a little harsh, but understandable in an accomplished humanist author like Ranzovius. The printing lacks the introductory poem, but in all other respects and apart from the slight variation in the title it is identical with the *Speculum medicine* in MS. Rawlinson C.235 in the Bodleian Library.

Rantzau's *Speculum medicorum* is divided into two parts. While part 1 consists of material taken from the *Physica Plinii*, the second, different in character by listing compound medicines rather than recipes based on one main ingredient (or simple) like the *Physica Plinii*, draws on the medical treatise of Esculapius. Esculapius is of course the Latin form of Asclepius, the famous if possibly mythological physician who later turned into a god, in fact *the* god of medicine in later ages. This work was printed, for the first time, in a collective volume together with the *Physica S. Hildegardis* in Strassburg in 1533, and again eleven years later, in 1544, as part of the *Experimentarius medicinae*. A critical edition may be found in a 1996 Madrid thesis, alas unpublished.²⁷

²² Cf. 'Quelques réflexions sur la structure et deux nouveaux témoins de la *Physica Plinii*', *Helmantica*, xxxvii (1986), pp. 53-66, and my review of Joachim Winkler, *Physicae quae fertur Plinii Florentino-Pragensis liber primus*, Lateinische Sprache und Literatur des Mittelalters, xvii (Frankfurt a. M./Bern, 1984), *Gnomon*, lviii (1986), pp. 493-6, as well as my article 'Physica Plinii', in *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, vol. vi (München, 1993), p. 2111.

²³ Cf. the articles on 'Rantzau, Heinrich (1526-1598/99)', in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, vol. xxi (Berlin, 2003), by Bernhard Ebner, pp. 146-9; and *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, vol. xxvii, by Handelman, pp. 278-9.

²⁴ The Latin text is easily accessible in Bernhard Schnell, *Der deutsche 'Macer'. Vulgatafassung ... Kritisch herausgegeben von B. S. in Zusammenarbeit mit William Crossgrove* (Tübingen, 2003).

²⁵ See Richard J. Durling, *Catalogue of Sixteenth-Century Books in the National Library of Medicine* (Bethesda, MD, 1967), no. 2896 and now Peter Zeeberg, *Heinrich Rantzau. A Bibliography* (Copenhagen, 2004), pp. 214-17 = Nos 213-16.

²⁶ Breitenberg Castle, where Rantzau was also born. It appears that the copy in the Czech National Library in Prague (Národní knihovna České republiky), XIV.H.28 (13th cent.), although it belonged to an 'eques Henricus Ranzou', in all likelihood to be identified with our Henricus Ranzovius, was not the basis of the printed edition. So far, I have been unable to check another copy of the *Speculum medicorum* in the same library, VII.G.25 (12th-13th cent.).

²⁷ Francisco Manzanero Cano, 'Liber Esculapii (*Anonymus Liber Chroniorum*). Edición crítica y estudio' (Thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 1996), 916 pp.

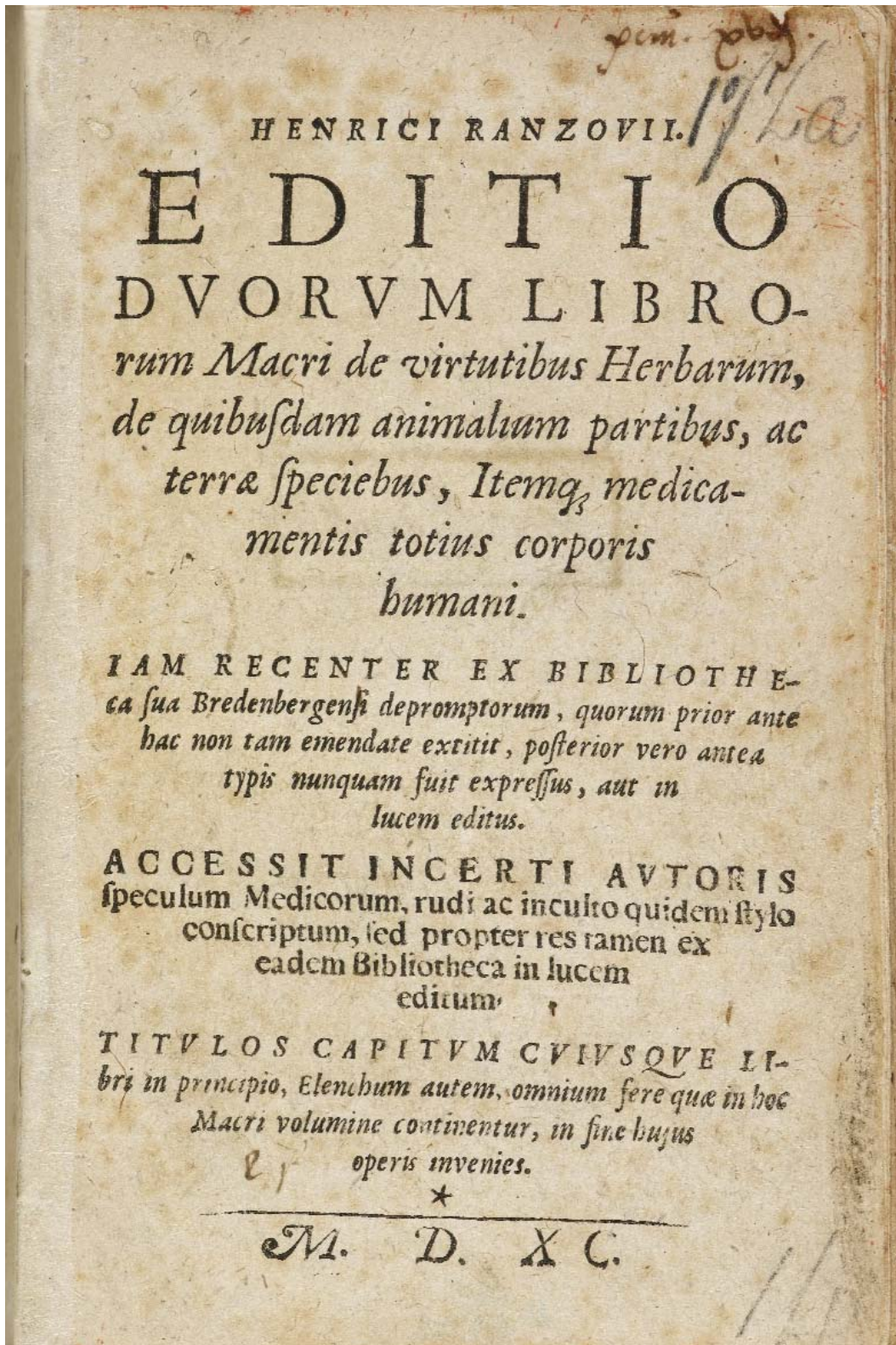


Fig. 1. BL, 957.m.19.

Few among my readers will be familiar with this work, so some remarks about its contents might not be amiss. Esculapius deals with chronic diseases and follows more or less the order in Caelius Aurelianus's *Chronic Diseases*. With Caelius Aurelianus, it shares a common source, i.e. the work on chronic diseases by the Greek methodist physician Soranus of Ephesus (early 2nd century CE). The closeness of both Latin works is such that for a long time it was believed that Esculapius was nothing but a simple abridgement of Caelius Aurelianus. However, over sixty years ago Pierre Schmid demonstrated in his doctoral thesis that this could not be the case.²⁸ Nevertheless, our text of Esculapius does contain extensive quotes from the *Medicinales responsiones* of Caelius Aurelianus, a handbook for beginners in question-and-answer form only partially preserved independently, with roughly half the book on internal diseases solely found in our transmission of Esculapius. The earliest manuscript of Esculapius, from the late eighth century, written in Visigothic Spain or the Visigothic area in Southern France and now part of the Hunterian manuscripts in the library of Glasgow University (T.4.13 = Hunter 96), also happens to transmit the earliest fragment of the *Medicina Plinii* (ch. 1,10) and a number of other medical texts.

From Esculapius, we now return to Rawlinson C.235 and the *Speculum medicine*, part 2. This second part starts with a preface of its own, in which the compiler talks about his bad health interfering with the progress of the work. For this reason, after remedies for the diseases in the head, i.e. headache, ears, eyes, nose, mouth, teeth, uvula, throat and windpipe (chs 1-11), he continues with the kidneys and the bladder, finishing with sciatica and gout (chs 12-30).

Are there other manuscripts where we can find the *Speculum medicine*, or the *Speculum medicorum* for that matter? Thorndike-Kibre (282.4) list, not surprisingly, both the verse preface 'Ne tibi displiceat' and the prose preface 'Cum animaduertentem quam plurimos medicorum';²⁹ moreover, for the text itself, there is a reference to Beccaria's catalogue of medical manuscripts from the ninth to the eleventh century.

Now one of the manuscripts that turn up in Thorndike-Kibre is Oxford, Merton College 324, a fifteenth-century manuscript which, surprisingly, shares a number of not so common texts with only one further manuscript listed in Thorndike-Kibre.³⁰ This manuscript is also in Oxford, but housed in the Bodleian Library (a mere five minutes' walk from Merton College), e Musaeo 219, and was written in England late in the thirteenth century. If you were indeed to walk from Merton College to the Bodleian, you would pass, just before you reach it, the Radcliffe Camera on your left and All Souls College on your right. And if I had not had the good fortune of spending the Hilary term of 2007 as a Visiting Fellow at All Souls College Oxford, I would never have discovered that there was not one *Speculum medicine*, but two; two works that not only share the title, but also the verse and the prose prefaces, and a number of receipts³¹ from the *Physica Plinii* and Esculapius. In other respects, they differ greatly with

²⁸ Pierre Schmid, 'Contributions à la critique du texte de Caelius Aurelianus' (Thèse, Neuchâtel, 1942).

²⁹ Another ten works in Thorndike-Kibre start with 'Cum animaduertentem', one more 'Cum animaduertissent'. Among these, Michael Scot († c. 1235; Th-K 281.8) may be the earliest that can be dated, but the *Speculum medicinae* would be earlier by at least a century. The opening words were borrowed from a work that featured prominently in the basic teaching of Latin, the *Disticha Catonis*; the epistula that serves as preface starts 'Cum animaduertentem quam plurimos grauius in uia morum errare'. For the text of the epistula, possible sources and later borrowings and allusions, see *Disticha Catonis*, recensuit et apparatu critico instruxit Marcus Boas (Amstelodami, 1952), pp. 4-11. Boas cites none of the incipits in Thorndike-Kibre. The epistula also forms part of the translation into Greek by Maximus Planudes, see *Maximus Planudes: Disticha Catonis in Graecum translata, edidit Vincentius Ortoleva* (Roma, 1992), p. 1.

³⁰ And with the Middle-English translation in British Library Add. MS. 34111, as Tony Hunt, *Anglo-Norman Medicine*, vol. ii: *Shorter Treatises* (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 11, pointed out.

³¹ Section 163 (e Musaeo 219, f. 61r), diseases of the penis, Ranzovius ch. 13, Phys. Plin. p. 95 Köpp/ Recept. Laresh. 2,113, and section 164 (e Musaeo 219, f. 61), Ranzovius ch. 13, Recept. Laresh. 2,114; section 164 (f. 61v), Ranzovius ch. 17; section 165 (f. 61v), Ranzovius ch. 25, cf. Esc. 42.1; section 182 (f. 67v), Ranzovius ch. 28, cf. Esc. 45.1/45.3/45.12; and others.

regard to contents and length. No. 1 (*Speculum medicine Pauli*) is the one I have been discussing so far; no. 2 is a Salernitan work that has not yet appeared in print and that consists of excerpts, sometimes attributed to specific authors, of therapeutic material (signs and symptoms, aetiology, treatment) from *practicae* of one sort or another.

This Salernitan *Speculum medicine* (no. 2) had been studied by Tony Hunt, a fact that was brought to my attention by Monica Green, to whom I had turned with my query about this text, and she very kindly put her full notes at my disposal. Hunt had seen, absolutely correctly, that Merton 324 is a copy of Bodleian, e Musaeo 219, something that is suggested by the fact that both manuscripts transmit the same texts in the same order, as may be gathered from the curious arrangement of the texts which follow the *Speculum medicine*, viz. Ps-Cleopatra and Trotula. Nevertheless, recognizing the relationship of these two manuscripts was not as simple as it may appear in retrospect, because the older one, Bodl. e Musaeo 219, is incomplete in its present state. Its first folio bears the number 38,³² which means that folios 1–37 are now missing; as a consequence, the text starting now on top of f. 38r cannot be identified by its incipit.

Hunt's interest was of course in Anglo-Norman medical texts, and he was satisfied to list the other witnesses of the *Speculum medicine* he could identify, remarking that some were extremely abbreviated. I surmise that he drew this conclusion from the respective number of folios. The second *Speculum medicine*, ascribed to Asclepius in Merton 324, and which I will refer to hence as *Speculum medicine Asclepii*, is present in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 466, pp. 233–93, written in the thirteenth century. There, it has no title and neither the verse nor the prose preface, but begins with the first item, the brain: 'Quia de egritudinibus singularum partium corporis tractaturi sumus ideo principium nostre orationis a cerebro faciamus'. On the other hand, the work in British Library, Royal MS. 12. E. XXII from the early fifteenth century, which occupies folios 18r to 103v and whose length seems similar to that of the Oxford Merton and Bodleian manuscripts, is probably the *Speculum medicine Pauli*, although it starts with a section on hair on f. 18v, but has the usual incipit with the section on headache on f. 20r. I owe this information, lacking from the published catalogue, to the kindness of Dr Laura Nuvoloni.

And of course, the medical manuscripts in the Harley collection that have just been catalogued by her also contain two manuscripts with the *Speculum medicine*. Harley 2390, ff. 25–51, is from the fifteenth century. The much older Harley MS. 5228, likewise a composite manuscript, has a short excerpt in its third unit (ff. 68–72v), dating from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, and a longer one in unit 5 (ff. 94v–101v), from the late twelfth century, predating Bodleian MS. e Musaeo 219 by roughly a century.

One of the authors mentioned by name in the *Speculum medicine Asclepii* is none other than the famous Trotula. The recent edition (indeed the first critical edition of the text) by Monica Green³³ allows us to compare a passage that is on f. 66r of Bodl. e Musaeo 219:

Trotula. Ad pustulas quas habet infans in pedibus et manibus ultra modum.
Accipe squillam et iusquiamum ipsam herbam et sambuci frondes equo
pondere tere et coque in aceto non multum et appone.

ad pustulas uel lepram uel prurimum tintimalli cum aceto et oleo coque fortiter
et unge donec scabies sanetur.

Aliquando pustule parue nascuntur in pueris que trito sale saliri debent et
fasciari ut resoluentur. quibus nec dulcia nec unctiosa danda sunt. (Green, p.
112 = *De sinthomatibus mulierum* 128a)

³² Arabic numerals, and for that reason added long after the manuscript was written, perhaps in the sixteenth century.

³³ *The Trotula. A Medieval Compendium of Women's Medicine*, ed. and translated by Monica H. Green (Philadelphia, 2001).

We notice that some text found in the independent transmission of the *Trotula* is missing, which is not all that surprising; it is more startling, however, that at the beginning of the passage marked *Trotula*, there are two additional recipes absent from the *De mulierum sinthomatibus*. Recipes of this kind are so unspecific that nobody could tell whether they are genuine and later on dropped out of the *Trotula*, or are, in this passage, attributed to this work incorrectly. Since the *Trotula* itself was compiled from earlier and multiple sources, there is little point in speculating.

Should we be surprised to find passages from the *Trotula* without an indication of the source? Surely not. While the ones we have just discussed come from the first part, *De sinthomatibus mulierum*, the next passage appears in the *De curis mulierum*, the second treatise in Green's edition, and corresponds to her paragraphs 152–3. The topic is prolapse of the rectum and pain. The next section of the *Speculum medicine Asclepii* (ch. 166, Bodl. e Musaeo 219, f. 62r) deals with tenesmus, that is painful defaecation with slimy blood-stained faeces. While the ultimate source of this passage is Esculapius, its introduction corresponds more or less exactly³⁴ to the beginning of ch. 30 in the *Speculum medicine Pauli*³⁵ and is not found in Esculapius. We must therefore conclude that the author or compiler of the *Speculum medicine Asclepii* drew on the *Speculum medicine Pauli*, and did not borrow from the full text of Esculapius. This explains the strange fact that we had mentioned earlier, namely that both the verse and the prose prefaces of the two *Specula* are almost identical, the main difference being that the *Speculum medicine Asclepii* exchanges Paulus as the source of what follows with Galen, at least in Merton 324, the only manuscript I have been able so far to examine in this respect.

We can now modify the hypothetical relationship between the two *Specula* proposed by Tony Hunt. Rather than an extended version that was abbreviated in the course of transmission, a work of modest extension, the *Speculum medicine Pauli*, correctly called in the preface a 'paruissimus libellus', served as one of the sources of the long version, called by me the *Speculum medicine Asclepii*. The compiler – let us call him Asclepius for simplicity's sake – even copied the style of his predecessor when he introduced the second part of his compilation.³⁶

Now that we are finished with the more difficult diseases and their treatment, beginning from the head and descending then step by step through all lower parts, the organs of breathing and nutrition down to the secrets of nature [this is the term he chooses to refer to the genitals and the fundament], we showed from close up which treatments were more suitable and easier, so we will now devote ourselves to the discussion of the treatment and causes of the diseases both natural and accidental of the lower parts that may be inspected by human eyes and palpated with human hands.

The clumsiness is not just due to my translation, which tries not to pass over incongruencies in the Latin, but to the compiler himself, who forgets in the middle of his convoluted sentence that he, in what follows, is not dealing with the diseases of the nether parts (that was the subject of the preface to the second half of the *Speculum medicine Pauli*), but with those diseases that can be observed on the surface of the body. Thus, the following

³⁴ *Speculum medicine Pauli* replaces 'de renum uitiiis' with 'de ani uitiiis'.

³⁵ Ranzovius, sig. Y4v.

³⁶ F. 64r: 'Expletis igitur de difficilioribus egritudinibus et earundem curis a capite incipiendo et sic gradatim per omnes partes inferiores et per spiritualia et nutritiua usque ad secreta nature descendendo que apciora et abilliora ad curandum fuerint eminus ostendendo nunc ad partes inferiores que uisibus humanis et manibus contemplari et attractari poterint ad curas et causas infirmitatum earundem naturalium quam accidentalium discutiendo attendamus'.

ch. 170 concerns pain in the neck and the shoulders, ch. 171 receipts for the face and the removal of blemishes.

I would like to sum up my findings as follows. The pseudo-Ovidian *De medicamine aurium* is indeed in two parts, and there is absolutely no reason to believe that parts 1 and 2 of the poem, distinguished by metre, were written by the same person and that both originate from a didactic poem listing cures for various ailments. It remains to be seen whether part 2 (the verses detailing a medicine for deaf ears) can be traced and shown to have formed part of a more extensive composition, as Lenz had believed. Rather, part 1, 'Ne tibi displiceat', was conceived as a poetical preface to the *Speculum medicine*. This compilation by an unknown author must predate the first known manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson C.235, written in England around the middle of the twelfth century. Its text is drawn from the *Physica Plinii Bambergensis*, for part 1, and from Esculapius, for part 2; a few passages in the Rawlinson manuscript remain to be identified. This *Speculum medicine* was printed, from a manuscript now presumably lost, but once in the possession of the German humanist Henrik Rantzau, as *Speculum medicorum* in Hamburg in 1590 and again, in the same year, in Leipzig. Both the verse and the prose prefaces of the *Speculum medicine* were used for the beginning of a composite Salernitan therapeutic manual, circulating under the title of *Speculum medicine Asclepii*. While the *Speculum medicine Asclepii* does indeed incorporate not just the prefaces, but also contents from the earlier *Speculum medicine*, the bulk of the material is by various Salernitan authors, Copho, Asclepius, and Trotula among them, whose names appear occasionally at the beginning of sections ascribed to them. A translation into Middle English is preserved in British Library, Add. MS. 34111, from the second quarter of the fifteenth century (fig. 2). While Tony Hunt had seen correctly that the works in Rawlinson C.235 and the much more extensive *Speculum medicorum* are related, it now turns out that the longer text is an amplification of the earlier work, the *Speculum medicine (Pauli)*, and I am very much aware that I am thus robbing, not Peter, but Tony, to pay Paul.

What I have presented here is very much work in progress, and it seems certain that we have not even identified all the pieces in the puzzle, let alone arranged them in a satisfactory manner – the mirror, if I may borrow this metaphor once more, is still in pieces and cannot show the complete picture. But one day the *Speculum medicine* will allow us to see how the Salernitans incorporated in their writings not just fresh or newly translated material, but also many patches recycled from the medical literature in Latin current in the early Middle Ages.³⁷

³⁷ Research for this article was funded in part with a grant given by the Spanish Ministry of Education, HUM2006-13605-C02-01/FILO.

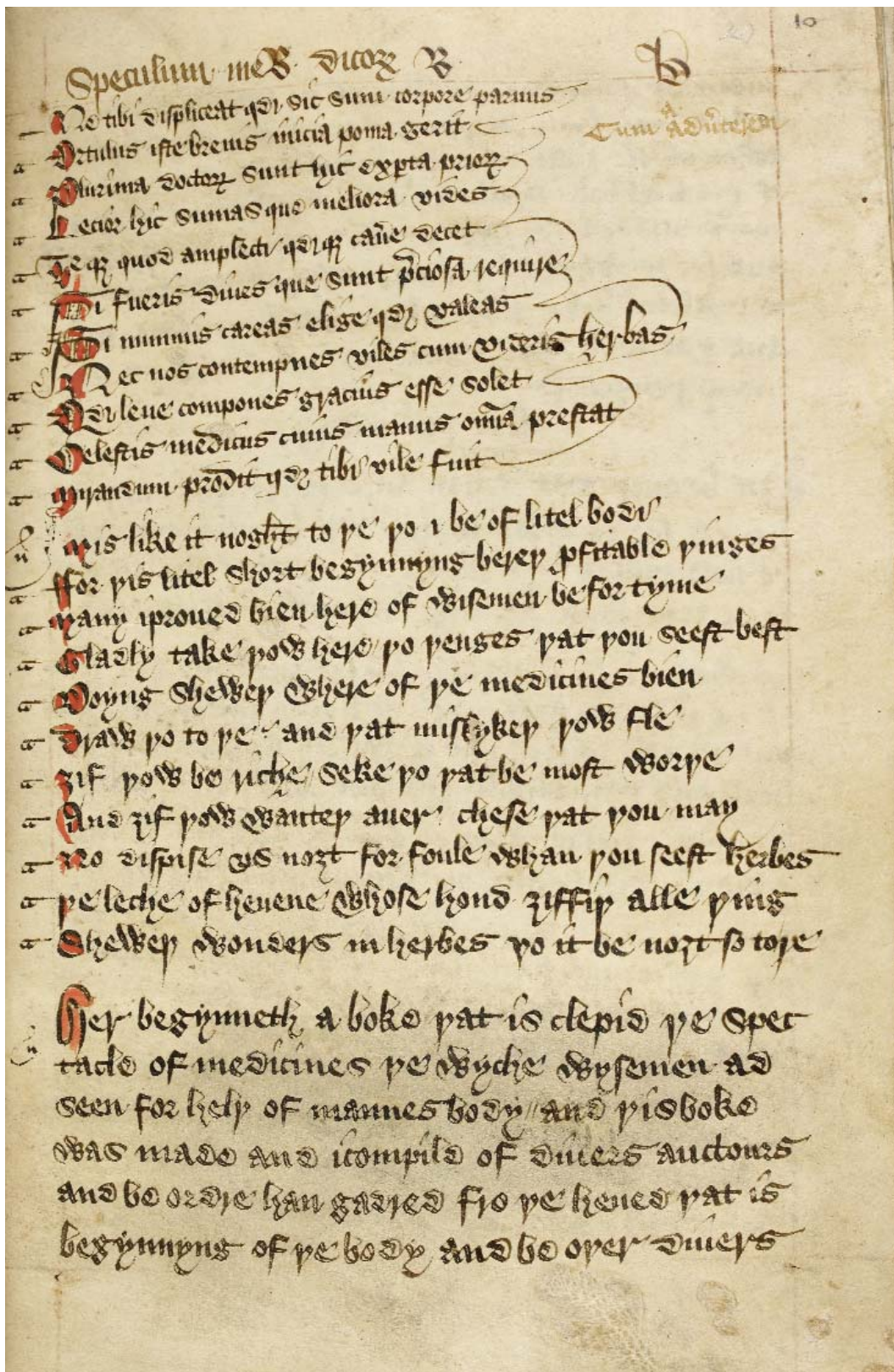


Fig. 2. BL, Add. MS. 34111, f. 40r.

Appendix

Merton College Oxford, MS. 324

Table of Contents for Speculum medicine Asclepii

f. 2r

Incipiunt capitula in librum sequentem qui dicitur speculum medicorum

- 1 De apoplexia
- 2 De 4^{or} humoribus in corpore superflue dominantibus
De capitelis
- 3 Quando corpus sit purgandum
- 4 De signis vniuersis replecionis sanguinis
- 5 De signis vniuersis replecionis colera(!)
- 6 De signis vniuersis replecionis flegmatis
- 7 De signis vniuersis replecionis Melancolie
- 8 De particulari replecione
- 9 De signis replecionis capitis ex sanguine
- 10 De signis replecionis capitis ex colera
- 11 De signis replecionis capitis ex flegmate
- 12 De signis replecionis capitis ex Melancolia
- 13 De epilencia et eiusdem cura
- 14 Qualiter debeat epilencia cognosci
- 15 De soporismis(!)
- 16 De litargia
- 17 De frenesi
- 18 De conferentibus capiti
- 19 De nocentibus capiti
- 20 Experimenta replecionis de litargia
- 21 De melancolica passione
- 22 De maniaca passione
- 23 De inflammatione cerebri
- 24 De vertigine et scotomia
- 25 De emigranea passione
- 26 De tinea
- 27 De purgacione capitis per gargarismata
- 28 Diuerse cure pro dolore capitis secundum diuersorum Magistrorum auctoritates
- 29 Galienus de cephalica passione
- 30 De aucrate(?) in capite uel in corpore nascente
- 31 De fluxu capillorum et earundem restauracione
- 32 De depilatoriis
- 33 De tinctura capillorum et eorundem ornatu
De oculis
- 34 De egritudinibus oculorum et eorundem curis
- 35 De conferentibus et nocentibus oculis
- 36 De clarificantibus visum
- 37 De maculis telis et albugine oculorum
- 38 De lacrimis oculorum stringendis
- 39 De caligine oculorum
De auribus
- 40 De curis aurium

- 41 De conferentibus et nocentibus auribus
 - De naribus
- 42 De morbis narium
- 43 De fluxu sanguinis narium
- 44 De fluxu sanguinis post flebotomiam et inflacione brachii
 - De ore et gingiuis
- 45 De uiciis oris gingiuarum et labiorum et eorundem curis
- 46 De amissione loquele vel memorie
 - De dentibus
- 47 De egritudinibus dencium et eorundem curis
- 48 De conferentibus et nocentibus dentibus
 - De uua et faucibus
- 49 De vua et faucibus et eorum curis
- 50 De squinancia
- 51 De Raucedine vocis
- 52 De dolore ceruicis
- 53 De disma(!) et Asma
- 54 De Emoptoicis
 - De pectore
- 56 De cura pectoris et precordiorum
- 57 De aperitiuis et pectus mundificantibus
- 58 De tussi
 - De corde
- 59 De cardiaca passione
- 60 De confortantibus cor
- 61 De conferentibus et nocentibus cordi
 - De stomacho
- 62 De passionibus stomachi et eiusdem curis
- 63 De confortantibus stomachum
- 64 De cacostomachis
- 65 De signis replecionis stomachi ex flegmate
- 66 De signis replecionis stomachi ex colera
- 67 De signis replecionis stomachi ex Melancolia
- 68 De conferentibus et nocentibus stomacho
- 69 De incisuiis |

f. 2v

- 70 De cibus facile digestiuis
- 71 De cibus difficile digestiuis
- 72 De generantibus bonos humores
- 73 De generantibus malos humores
- 74 De facile corrumpentibus
- 75 De difficile corrumpentibus
- 76 De cito exeuntibus
- 77 De tarde exeuntibus
- 78 De cibus inflantibus
- 79 De parum nutrientibus
- 80 De multum nutrientibus
- 81 De diuersis curis stomachi secundum diuersos auctores
- 82 De auferentibus ventositatem
- 83 Item cophos de diuersis curis stomachi
- 84 De fastidio pocionati superueniente
 - De vomitu

- 85 De purgacione stomachi per vomitum
86 Ad vomitum prouocandum
87 De effectu cacapuciorum(!) et modo sumendi
88 Quare vomitus fuit inuentus
89 De reiectione medicine per vomitum
100 De vomitu post acceptam medicinam
101 De singultu pocionate(!) superueniente
102 De sincopi pocionato superueniente
103 De spasmo pocionato superueniente
104 De siti pocionatorum
 De intestinis
105 De signis replecionis intestinorum ex flegmate
106 De signis replecionis intestinorum ex colera
107 De signis replecionis intestinorum ex Melancolia
108 De laxatiuis
109 De scamonea
110 Qualiter et cum quibus medicine acuuntur
111 De puluere laxatiuo
112 De cibo laxatiuo
113 De potu laxatiuo
114 De pane laxatiuo
115 Qualiter debeat fieri arbor uel uitis laxatiua
 De vomitu
116 De curis ad ventrem laxandum
117 De constrictiuis
118 De curis ad uentrem stringendum
119 De solucione medicine pocionatorum
120 (!) De torcione ventris pocionatorum
121 Si pocionatus parum fuerit solutus
123 (!) De fluxu ventris pocionati
124 De dissenteria diarrria et lienteria
 De vermibus(!)
124 (!) De lumbricis et aliis uermibus in homine et de omni morsu venenoso
125 De repugnantibus veneno
126 De necantibus lumbricos
127 De hominibus toxicatis
 De epate
128 De signis replecionis epatis ex flegmate
129 De signis replecionis epatis ex Melancolia
130 (!) De signis replecionis epatis ex colera
131 De signis replecionis fellis
132 De conferentibus et nocentibus epati
133 De apostematibus spiritualium siue de pleuresi
134 De opilatiuis
135 De aperitiuis
136 De mundificatiuis
 De pulmone
137 De signis replecionis pulmonis ex flegmate
138 De signis replecionis pulmonis ex Melancolia
139 De signis replecionis pulmonis ex colera
140 De conferentibus et nocentibus pulmoni
141 De periplemonia et ei<us>dem cura
 De splene

- 1042 De signis replecionis splenis ex Melancolia
1043 De signis replecionis splenis ex flegmate
1044 De signis replecionis splenis ex colera
1045 De conferentibus et nocentibus spleni
1046 De viciis splenis et eiusdem curis
1047 De yctericia
1048 De ydropisi
 De renibus et lumbis
1049 De signis replecionis renum et lumborum ex flegmate
1050 De signis replecionis lumborum ex Melancolia
1052 (!) De signis replecionis lumborum ex colera
1052 (!) De nefretica passione et eiusdem curis
1053 De diaforeticis
1054 De repercussiuus
1055 De yliaca passione et nefretica
 De vesica
1056 De signis replecionis vesice ex flegmate
1057 De signis replecionis vesice ex melancolia
1058 De signis replecionis vesice ex colera
1059 De purgacione per vrinam
1060 De frangentibus lapidem
1061 De lapidibus in vesica et eiusdem(!) curis
1062 De colica passione
1063 De curis virge virilis
1064 De curis genitalium
1065 De viciis ani
1066 De tenasmon
1067 De emoroidis
1068 De ficu
1069 De fistulis in fundamento
1070 De diuersis medicinis pro morbis excibus(?)
1071 De maculis faciei et eiusdem(!) curis
1072 De glandulis
1073 De morbo regio
1074 De verrucis
1075 De pediculis delendis
1076 De pulicis(!) fugandis
1077 De muscis fugandis
1078 De muribus fu |

f. 3r

 gandis et necandis.
1079 De scabie
1080 De lepra
1081 De paralisi
1082 De arthetica passione
1083 De sciatica passione neruorum et genuum tiliarum et pedum dolore et eorum curis
1084 De podagrica passione
1085 De omnimoda gutta
1086 De gutta fistula
1087 De simplici fistula
1088 De cancro et carbunculo et carne mortua

- 1089 De serpigine et inpetigine et carne mortua
- 1090 De corrosiuus
- 1091 De igne sacro
- 1092 De combustura ex igne vel aqua facta
- 1093 De morsu canis
 - De apostematibus
- 1094 De maturatiuis
- 1095 De mollificatiuis
- 1096 De induratiuis
- 1097 De generantibus bonam carnem
- 1098 De conglutinatiuis
- 1099 De cicatrizantibus
- 100(!) De mitigantibus dolorem
- 101 De aperientibus ora venarum
- 102 De lenificatiuis
- 103 De aperitiuis
- 104 De rarefactiuis
- 105 De repercussiuis
- 106 De Maturacione et cura apostematis
 - De wlneribus
- 107 De wlneribus et eorum curis
- 108 Experimenta vite vel mortis hominis plagati
- 109 De signis mortiferis in omni infirmitate secundum Galienum
- 1016 (!) De secretis pronosticis ypocratis vite vel mortis
- 1012 (!) De diebus uiuendis(?) in incepione omnium egritudinum
- 1012 De Ranculo
- 1013 De ossibus fractis
- 1014 De inpinguantibus extenuatum
- 1015 Ad membrum extenuatum reparandum
- 1016 De extenuatione pinguium corporum
- 1017 De attenuatiuis
- 1018 De incisiuis
- 1019 Qualiter cauteria debeant fieri et in quibus locis et quibus de causis.