

‘ISSI DEVEZ PRONUNCIER LA LUNE’: AN ANGLO-NORMAN  
GUIDE TO THE LUNAR CALENDAR IN LONDON, BRITISH  
LIBRARY, MS COTTON CLAUDIUS D III

London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius D III is a large volume produced between 1200 and 1220 for the use of the nuns at Wintney Priory (Hampshire). Its contents include a martyrology (fols 6<sup>r</sup>–51<sup>v</sup>), a ‘feminized’ version of the Benedictine Rule in both Latin and English (fols 52<sup>r</sup>–140<sup>r</sup>), and an obituary calendar (fols 140<sup>v</sup>–162<sup>v</sup>); while these texts all date from this period, evidence for the manuscript’s continuous use over an extended period is provided by the addition on fol. 3<sup>v</sup> of an inventory for the priory’s refectory that can be dated to 1420. It is the bilingual Rule that has garnered the majority of critical attention paid to this codex, particularly in the context of the recent effervescence of interest in female religious communities and the increasing acknowledgement of the multilingual literacy – in terms of both reading and writing – of women religious.<sup>1</sup> Two other short pieces found within the manuscript, however, serve to remind us that any discussion of literacy in medieval English nunneries and convents, and medieval England more broadly, must as a minimum consider not two languages, but three: in other words, it must take into account the position occupied by French, which through these two pieces attests to the trilingual culture of Wintney Priory in the early thirteenth century. The first of these pieces (found on fol. 3<sup>v</sup>) is written in 12 octosyllabic couplets, and constitutes a request in verse to the abbess at Wintney both that she grant the poem’s author, the ailing ‘frere Symon’ (line 2), inclusion in the priory’s obit calendar, and the request ‘ne me metez en ubliance / Kar en vus ai grant affiance’ (lines 23f.).<sup>2</sup> Simon’s exhortations demonstrate that some sort of connection existed between the priory at Wintney and the nearby Cistercian house at Waverley: ‘Jh[es]u Crist que unc ne menti / Gard le cuent de Winteni / [et] le cuent de Wauerle’. The author of the second piece in Anglo-Norman (fols 5<sup>r-v</sup>), on which this article will focus, is unknown; if, however, Elizabeth Freeman is correct in attributing it too to ‘frere Symon’, it would extend this connection from the realm of the affective to the role of the pastoral and practical.<sup>3</sup> This second text in Anglo-Norman occupies fols 5<sup>r-v</sup> of the Cotton MS; it forms, as Anne Lawrence-Mathers describes it, a ‘user’s manual’ to a specific aspect of the martyrology that follows on fols 6<sup>r</sup>–51<sup>v</sup>. This martyrology is arranged by day

in the solar calendar, and employs the Roman dating system of *kalends*, *ides* and *nones*, with the entry for 3 January recorded (Figure 1) in rustic capitals as ‘Tertio Nonas Ianuarii’.<sup>4</sup> Each day of the martyrology also records, below its corresponding header, a table of 19 letters (A–T) and corresponding numbers (1–30). It is the relationship between these letters and numbers that the French text of fols 5<sup>r-v</sup> seeks to explain, as it elucidates precisely how to ‘pronuncier’ in Latin (line 83) both the date in the solar calendar and the appropriate number that follows the word ‘luna’. The tables to each day, as the Anglo-Norman text explains, illustrate the age of the moon (in days elapsed of the lunar month) on each day of the solar year, across a recurring nineteen-year cycle (elsewhere described throughout the computistical literature as the ‘Metonic Cycle’). In the example above, the moon would be 11 (‘xi’) days old on 3 January in an ‘A’-year (the first year of the cycle), 22 (‘xxii’) days old on 3 January in a ‘B’-year (the second year of the cycle), *et cetera*; the corresponding ages for the following day (4 January) in ‘A’ and ‘B’-years, therefore, would be twelve and twenty-three days respectively. The Metonic cycle illustrated in MS Cotton Claudius D III is identical to that detailed by Bede centuries earlier, and it aims, over its nineteen-year timescale, to synchronize the solar year of 365.25 days (made up of 12 months of between 28 and 31 days each) and the lunar year (made up of 12 months of approximately 29.5 days each). With the lunar year of 354 days approximately 12 days shorter than the solar year of 365.25 days, the Metonic cycle coordinates the two calendars by intercalating (inserting) seven embolismic, or ‘full’, lunar months of 30 days each over a 19-year period, which in turn produced a total of 6940.75 lunar days over the course of 6939.75 solar days. After the extra lunar day had been removed to ensure parity (a process known as the *saltus lunae*), the cycle could begin again, with *pridie kalendas ianuarii* (31 December) in a ‘T’-year being followed by *kalendas ianuarii* (1 January) in an ‘A’-year.<sup>5</sup>

The primary function of such lunisolar calendars throughout the medieval period was to assist in calculating the date for Easter Sunday, the central feast in the Christian year and a moment inseparably linked to the Hebrew lunar calendar. The relationship between the moon and Easter was, in medieval thought, a consequence of the circumstances surrounding the Crucifixion: as Philipp Nothaft has pithily noted, ‘The moon would have played a marginal role in Christian religion, had it not been for the fact that Jesus Christ is reported by the evangelists to have been crucified on a Friday at the time of Passover.’<sup>6</sup> With Passover tied to a date in the lunar calendar – specifically, 14 Nisan – Easter Sunday had, from the early Christian Church onwards, come to be celebrated on the first Sunday after the moon had reached fourteen days of age following the vernal equinox (21 March). Calculating the correct date for Easter Sunday thus required the ability to ‘juggle three different temporal systems’ – the solar calendar, the lunar calendar, and the seven-day week<sup>7</sup> – and it was out of

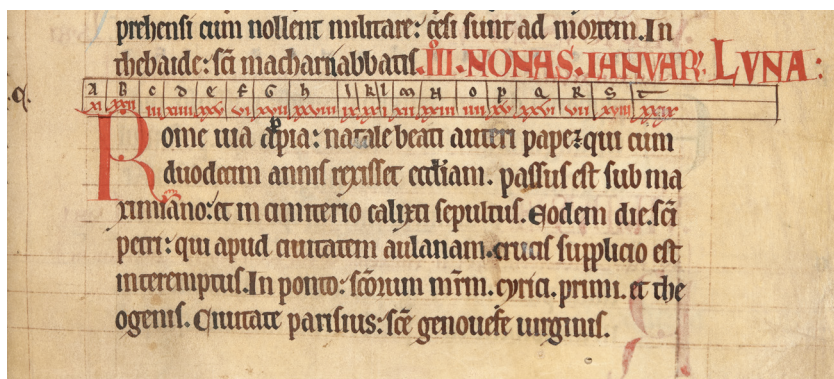


Figure 1. The header, table, and martyrology entry for 3 January. London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius D III, fol. 6<sup>r</sup> (detail). Image © British Library Board. The red numbers are found in the second row of the two-row table, below their corresponding letters; the Latin date and the opening initial in the martyrology entry are also executed in red.

this system that emerged the ‘problem-based science’ known as the *computus*. In its strictest sense, the *computus* referred to these specific calculations and methodologies used in calculating the date of Easter, all of which necessitated the collation and comparison of multiple calendrical systems. The term’s second, broader use – in reference to calendrical thinking more broadly – has, however, left any singular definition of the term open to interpretation. As Faith Wallis has noted,

*Computus* ... is not an observational science, or a physics of time, but a technique of patterning time into repeating cycles according to certain conventions. It is closer to engineering than science, at least in the ancient sense of the term ‘science’, that branch of philosophy which investigates the natural world. *Computus* starts with a problem, not with curiosity or speculation; it ends with a product, not a hypothesis.<sup>8</sup>

#### *Locating French at Wintney Priory*

What little critical attention the Wintney *Lunar Calendar* has received at present has owed largely to its position within the comparatively well-studied Cotton Claudius D III manuscript. Freeman’s valuable description of the text outlines the relationship between the martyrology and the French text preceding it:

Simon wrote some instructions in French for this Latin text ... and here he specifically stated that the martyrology was to be read in chapter (*Sachez uus ke lire devez en capitule*). He also explained how to calculate the lunation and age of

the moon for each day over the nineteen-year Metonic cycle, how to use this to compute the date of Easter, and, in relation to that, how to calculate other feast days that depend on the date of Easter.<sup>9</sup>

Freeman's work correctly positions the French text as an aid to the Latin martyrology that follows, and rightly emphasizes its use in the specific context of the priory's daily chapter meeting. Freeman, however, attributes far more to the text than it actually contains: while the French text does indeed provide a methodology for interpreting the tables for the age of the moon on a given solar day, it does not discuss either the computation of the date of Easter or (as Lawrence-Mathers suggests in her original reading) the *saltus lunae*. It is possible that what Lawrence-Mathers identifies as a comment on the *saltus* is in fact an explanation of how to pronounce days in the lunar calendar during bissextile (leap) years, a process that necessitated pronouncing the name of a solar day (24 February) twice, pronouncing instead a different lunar number on each day that was written in black either above or below the main number.<sup>10</sup> In the strictest sense of the term, then, the *Lunar Calendar* is arguably not a computational text at all, but rather, a guide on how to 'pronuncier la lune el martirloge' (line 83) during chapter meetings, concerned solely with the immediate and practical question of deciphering an arcane dating system and a table of Roman numerals. It is in this context that the text's direct engagement with the martyrology's *mise-en-page* is best understood, as it visually reinforces the layout of the martyrology through its reference to the tables and the red numbers found within them, while also (through 'ausi cum') acknowledging the degree of assumed background knowledge on the part of the nuns that informed their use of it.

While practices varied between individual religious houses, most Cistercian foundations – including Wintney Priory – would probably have reserved reading from the martyrology in chapter meetings for more educated members of the order. A Customary for Wintney Priory does not survive, although that of the influential monastery of St Augustine in Canterbury makes specific reference to *juvenes*, likely a reference to those members of the community who had taken simple vows, reading from the martyrology in the course of a daily chapter meeting.<sup>11</sup> Each 'juvenis' would, at Canterbury, have been a choir monk, an individual from a more aristocratic background who engaged primarily in liturgical duties; by contrast, lay brothers or *conversi*, drawn from the peasantry, would not have performed the solemn duty of reading from the martyrology in chapter-meetings.<sup>12</sup> In the specific context of Wintney Priory, therefore, the provision of a French-language guide for these educated individuals (many of whom might reasonably have been expected to have sufficient Latin) may appear puzzling. One explanation for this use of French has been proposed by M. Dominica Legge, who, in her pioneering study of Anglo-Norman and its use in medieval England's religious houses, describes the first of the manuscript's

two French texts – Simon’s request to the community at Wintney, in which he commands ‘ne me metez en ubliance’ (line 23) – as ‘more interesting in shewing [*sic*] that the everyday tongue of monks and nuns was French than as an example of Anglo-Norman literature’.<sup>13</sup> The influence of Legge’s work more than fifty years later is evident in Anne Lawrence-Mathers’s interpretation of language choice for the *Lunar Calendar*, which she reads as part of a ‘three-part linguistic hierarchy’:

Carefully-chosen texts of the fundamental works, the Rule and the Martyrology, are given in Latin, and at least some capacity to deal with that language is assumed. In the case of the core text, the Rule, each section is given also in English (if rather archaic), presumably in the expectation that the assembled community would have this as a linguistic common denominator. For the Martyrology we have instead a brief ‘user’s manual’ in the more aristocratic language of French, presumably the vernacular of choice for those with higher levels of education.<sup>14</sup>

Both of these readings of the Wintney Priory manuscript associate the French language with a specifically elite *milieu*, spoken by an educated elite of choir nuns within the cloister. David Bell’s influential study of the reading habits of female religious likewise presents French as the preserve and possession of a privileged minority: ‘French was the living language of the Norman aristocracy, and since most nunneries from the eleventh centuries to about the thirteenth were populated by women of the upper or noble classes, it is only natural that they took their language with them.’<sup>15</sup> This reading of the manuscript’s first French text as indicative of a single ‘everyday tongue’ is itself open to debate, particularly given the artificiality of the octosyllabic verse form and Simon’s prolific poetic output in Latin as well as French: also attributed to Simon are verses interspersed throughout the annals of his home monastic house, Waverley.<sup>16</sup> More broadly, however, such a typological reading of the linguistic ecology within convents has begun to be interrogated further: as awareness has increased of the pervasiveness of French across social groups in medieval England, the assumption that it was inherently a ‘more aristocratic language’ or restricted to ‘those with higher levels of education’ has become increasingly untenable. Within a specifically cloistered context, Marilyn Oliva has shown that lay sisters at Campsey Abbey, shown to be from ‘middling social status’ through their diet and backgrounds, nevertheless ‘used French as a business language with English words interspersed, suggesting that, like their manorial, male monastic and merchant contemporaries, the nuns were bilingual.’<sup>17</sup> Oliva’s summary of the work of Power, Bell, and others both acknowledges the reductiveness inherent in associating any given language with a particular social status, and offers a tantalizing proposal for more productive forms of analysis: ‘discussions on the use of French in medieval English convents have often tended to focus less on how nuns used it or for what purpose, and

more on French as a signifier of their social status.<sup>18</sup> In the specific context of Wintney Priory, Legge presents the use of French as a response to a lack of Latin literacy (specifically scribal literacy) on the part of the nuns who needed to pronounce the martyrology in chapter meetings: she suggests the nuns ‘had not even a scribe in the House, and were obliged to seek the help of their sister House of monks at Waverley’.<sup>19</sup> Minimizing assessments such as these draw largely on the work of Eileen Power; albeit writing with reference primarily to the later thirteenth century onwards, Power claims that ‘the more the inquirer studies contemporary records, the more he is driven to conclude that the majority of nuns during this period knew no Latin; they must have sung the office by rote’.<sup>20</sup> Such suggestions of scribal illiteracy have been challenged in recent years by an increasing emphasis on the ability of later medieval English nuns to read and write in French, Latin, and English, as evidenced by the work of both David Bell and others;<sup>21</sup> a closer reading of the Wintney *Lunar Calendar* likewise problematizes Powers’s assessment of English nuns as reliant on rote-learning and wholly ignorant of both the Latin language and its broader computistical tradition.

The *Lunar Calendar* may initially appear to have been written in response to an inability on the part of the nuns to interpret fundamental aspects of the martyrology’s lunar tables, with French serving as a vehicle for understanding this Latinate knowledge. The matrix language throughout this text is that of French, and the manuscript pages themselves are dominated by two large tables, both of which present long-form Latin ordinal numbers and the latter of which presents them alongside their French equivalents. This alone, however, does not provide a satisfactory explanation for other aspects of the text, or for the *Lunar Calendar*’s inclusion in the multilingual Cotton Claudius D III manuscript as a whole. There appears to have been no doubt on the part of the *Lunar Calendar*’s author, for instance, that the choir nuns would have been able to read the (unglossed) Latin martyrology entries that followed each day’s lunar table: indeed, later Latin additions to the martyrology support Freeman’s description of the martyrology as ‘a text for ongoing use, one that reflected past communities and traditions and also perpetuated them’.<sup>22</sup> Instead, the concerns that are raised in the *Lunar Calendar* speak more to a desire for precision than for ensuring comprehension. The author of the treatise does not explain the system of kalends, ides, and nones, but instead discusses at some length the common error of referring to the day before the kalends, ides, and nones of a month as *secundo*, rather than as *pridie* (lines 50–2); this comparatively nuanced point of detail, for which the anonymous thirteenth-century *Computus ecclesiasticus* appears a possible source, implies that the author was confident in his readership’s ability to interpret simpler elements of the *computus* without the same degree of confusion.<sup>23</sup> A thorough grasp of Latinity, or at least of computistical material,

is implied elsewhere in the text, as technical Latinate terms such as *luneisun* (probably derived from medieval Latin *lunatio*, and present on lines 18, 19) are not explained, and the integration of Latin phrases throughout the main body of the text is executed without any attempt to highlight the shift in language used (lines 25, 29f, 50f.). The Anglo-Norman guide also neglects to provide a starting-date for its nineteen-year Metonic cycle, and leaves unexplained the ferial letters (A–G) that are consistently executed in the margins of the martyrology. Paradoxically, the *Lunar Calendar* offers us a glimpse into a community where the French *littera* of the text could be widely understood, but whose lacunae of content could only be filled by a thorough – and probably Latinate – grounding in the *computus*. The emphasis of the Anglo-Norman text appears to be less on filling general lacunae in the nuns' knowledge of Latin (which, had they existed, would most likely have rendered impossible any efficient use of the monolingual martyrology) than with the highly specific skills required to interact with the perpetual lunisolar calendar, and with total accuracy in pronouncing the ordinal numbers that are represented using Roman numerals in the header and table.

If the *Lunar Calendar* does not constitute a comment on the Wintney nuns' poor literacy, then, how can the choice to use French in its composition best be understood, given that Latin would have been equally appropriate? It is the recent rethinking of the linguistic ecology of medieval Britain that can provide tentative answers to this question. In her 2002 overview of 'female reading communities', Jocelyn Wogan-Browne highlights the need to consider the vernacular texts associated with female monastic centres in a new light, noting that the texts produced in these 'principally francophone' communities are increasingly 'seen not as inferior imitations or derivations from Latin, but as the products of a valid vernacular-centred culture in a partly Latin environment'.<sup>24</sup> Viewed from within this framework of language contact, rather than competition, and in the context of a broader reading public for French than minimizing narratives have assumed, the Anglo-Norman *Lunar Calendar* operates alongside the Latin text that follows precisely as part of this 'mutually enriching co-existence'. For a cloistered audience literate in French, Latin, and English, the use of French in the *Lunar Calendar* may reflect an attempt to distinguish the sole meta-instructional work in the manuscript from the Latin text to which it makes reference. Alternatively, it may illustrate a desire on the part of Simon (if authorship of this second text can positively be attributed to him) to draw on the developing technical computational vocabulary in French which had been established through Philippe de Thaon's *Comput*: this early text was copied into the thirteenth century, with monastic houses a key vector in its textual transmission.<sup>25</sup> In her consideration of the literary aspects of the so-called 'Crabhouse Nunnery manuscript' (London, British Library, MS Additional 4733), Rebecca June argues that the language choices evident throughout this monastic codex constitute an 'accretive ... model of

communal memory'. In June's interpretation, a given language may have been chosen at a given moment for a specific reason, such as providing 'a measure of public formality for ... documents, while also constructing distance between the women and their Latin-loving brethren'; nevertheless, the priorities motivating language choices shifted over time. June asserts that the manuscript

asks us to think about languages in the Middle Ages in a symbiotic rather than sequential or hierarchical sense as well: Latin was kept alive by the languages it gave birth to, and as Nicholas Watson notes ... it was native English speakers who preserved the prestige of French in medieval England.<sup>26</sup>

A perspective such as this is valuable in understanding that while French may play a crucial role in medieval English didacticism, it is best understood in relation to Latin and English rather than in opposition to them. The Wintney *Lunar Calendar*, as part of a broader body of Anglo-Norman *computus* texts, reflects both the range of tasks that technical French was able to perform and the broad range of individuals capable of employing it: set alongside, rather than against, the English and Latin with which it shares its codex, the text offers a valuable window into the place, pervasiveness, and purposes of French in medieval England.

*Summary of the 'Lunar Calendar' in London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius D III (Dean § 344)*

In their handlist, Ruth Dean and Maureen Boulton offer a concise – and accurate – summary of the text as 'instructions for understanding the lunar calendar and for pronouncing the Latin dates in the martyrology'.<sup>27</sup> More specifically, the text offers guidance for reading the headers to each day found in the Latin martyrology that follows, and details the correct interpretation of these tables for the age of the moon across the nineteen-year Metonic cycle as well as clarifying the pronouncement of dates in the solar calendar according to the Roman fashion. After first associating the letters across the header row of the table ('A'–'T') with the years 1–19 of the cycle (lines 1–8), the text clarifies that the corresponding number positioned below each letter at the start of each martyrology entry, written in 'vermeilun', illustrates the age of the moon (lines 8–10). There follows an explanation that the letter (and hence the corresponding number) should be changed on 1 January with the start of each new solar year, and that at the end of each nineteen-year cycle the user should return from 'T' to 'A' and begin the cycle anew, except in the month of February during leap years (lines 10–16). In bissextile (leap) years, February's lunation should always be 30 days long (rather than either 29 or 30 days) in order to account for the extra day; to achieve this, the user should disregard the red number from the



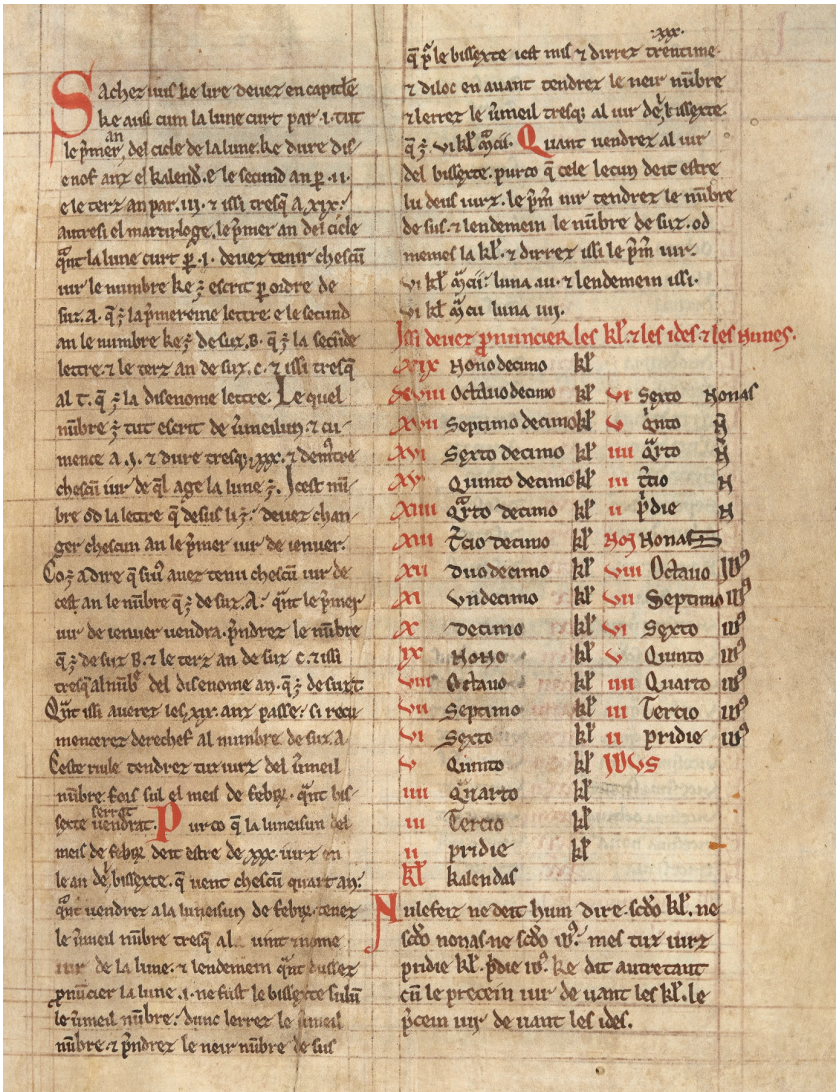


Figure 2. London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius D III, fol. 5'. Image © British Library Board

twenty-ninth day of February's lunation onwards, and follow instead the black numbers immediately below it that are provided for certain periods of the calendar (lines 18–25). The bissextile day itself (24 February, or the 6th kalends of March) should be pronounced twice, first with the number above ('6th kalends

of March, luna 3') and subsequently with the number below ('6th kalends of March, luna 4') (lines 26–9). There then follows a guide on 'how to pronounce kalends, ides and nones', with the Roman numerals for each date in a month accompanied by long-form Latin ordinal numbers (lines 30–49). The author then reminds users of the MS that the terms 'secundo kalendas', 'secundo nonas', and 'secundo idus' are incorrect, and should be replaced by 'pridie' in all cases (lines 50–2). The text concludes with a list of correspondences between Latin ordinal and French cardinal numbers, along with a recapitulation: 'in this way you should pronounce the date of the moon in the martyrology' (lines 53–83).

### *Language of the text*

The text illustrates from the outset the typical Anglo-Norman grapheme of *ke* for continental *que* (*MAN* § 27.1): *ke ausi cum* 1.<sup>28</sup> This is not maintained throughout, however, as the use of a minim abbreviation allows for the more standard *que* grapheme in expansion, as in *Pur ço que* 18. The scribe also frequently conflates *ki* (*qui*) and *ke* (*que*), using the latter throughout and giving rise to, among others, *vus ke lire devez* 1, *ke dure dis e nof anz* 2, *le nombre ke est desuz* 6. This consistent use of *ke* for 'ki' early in the text has informed the systematic expansion of 'q'-with-minim as *que* throughout in this edition. More straightforward phonological features hinted at in the orthography of the text include the raising of /o/ and /ou/ to /u/ (*MAN* § 6.1, 6.8), as in (among others) *curt* 1, *secund* 3, *jur* 5, *nombre* 5, *cumence* 8, *demustre* 9, *luneisun* 18, *leçun* 26, *nunes* 30, and levelling of /eu/ to /u/ (*MAN* § 17.1), seen in *sul* 16. Intervocalic /dz/ is attested in *sedze* 68 (*MAN* § 25.2). Enclisis of *en* and *le* (*MAN* § 19.5) gives rise to *el kalender* 2, *el martirloge* 4, and *el meis de fevrier* 16, dating the text at the latest to the early thirteenth century (*MAN* § 32.4); also present is the result of enclision in *del cicle* 1–2, 4.

The comparative simplicity of this text in relation to longer computistical texts (such as the *Comput* and Rauf de Lenham's *Kalender*) leaves our author with little recourse to more technical lexical items. Those that are used refer largely to calendrical reckoning, and are already recorded in *AND*<sub>2</sub>: *bissexe* 17, *luneisun* 18, and *kalendes, ides, nunes* 30.<sup>29</sup> The text does, however, present three alternative orthographies for existing terms which are as yet unattested in *AND*<sub>2</sub>'s list of variant forms: *vermeilun* 8 (for VERMEILLOUN), *martirloge* 4, 83 (for MARTILOGE), and *disenome* 8, 14 (for DISNOEFISME). Two terms with distinctive senses in Anglo-Norman also call for comment: *pronuncier* 21, 30, 83 (which, following *AND*<sub>2</sub> PRONUNCIER<sup>1</sup>, has the sense of 'to proclaim' rather than 'to pronounce phonetically'), and *curt* 1, 4 (which refers to the moon both 'passing through' and 'being present in' a specific part of the cycle, as reflected in *AND*<sub>2</sub> COURE<sup>1</sup>).

*Script, manuscript layout, and mise-en-page*

The script is of a compact protogothic/transitional form, with an angular aspect and broad strokes. Distinguishing features of individual letter-forms include right-oriented curving to the feet of minims (most clearly visible on *m* and *u*), upward sloping on the 'tongue' stroke to the lower-case *e* letter-form, and mixing of Uncial and Caroline *m* (although with the former not necessarily restricted to the end of lines, as in *marcii* 25). The scribe uses a range of Latinate abbreviations consistently throughout the text, including the uncrossed Tironian nota (used frequently for 'and', with the exception of within numbers); *9* for *-us* (*demustre* 9); a dotted horizontal stroke for *est* (*de quel age la lune est* 9f.); the 'tick' for *-re* and *-er* (*prendrez* 13, *vermeil* 16, and *premer* 27, 28); superscript *a* for *-ua* and *-ar* (*Quant* 14, *marcii* 25); the macron for *-m* and *-n* (*cum* 51, *chescun* 9); and crossed and hooked 'p' for *par-* and *pro-* respectively (*par ordre* 5, *pronuncier* 21). Standard Latin abbreviations for *kalendas* (KL), *idus* (ID<sup>9</sup>) and *nonas* (Ñ) are used throughout. One unusual feature of this text is the confusion of majuscule and minuscule letter-forms, which have been regularized in this edition: while capital *C*, *Q*, *I*, and *L* are easily distinguishable through their ornate decorative strokes, the two forms of *N* are used interchangeably throughout the initial list of ordinal numbers, with *nono* 41 using capitals in both instances and *sexto nonas* 32 using first the capital form, and later the minuscule.

The text extends across two folios, following a two-column layout. Delineation of the text is carried out through a system of rubricated capitals of either one or two lines in height (for *Sachez* 1, *Pur ço* 18, *Quant* 26, and *Nulefeiz* 50), and regular one-line capitals (for *Lequel* 8, *Icest* 10, *Ço* 11, *Quant* 14, and *Ceste* 16). The ruling appears to have been adapted for the two lists of numbers, each of which requires between four and six smaller columns within an individual column; in order to achieve this, additional plummet ruling has been executed where required. As this ruling pattern indicates, the text appears to have been prepared with a significant degree of care, an approach which is also evident in the interlinear insertions of *an* 1, *serrat* 17, and *.xxx.* 23. While these additions display a clear desire for comprehension, evidence of a concern with grammatical accuracy is provided by the interlinear insertion of *l* in *del bissexte* 25.

*Establishment of the text*

I have followed standard conventions for editing Anglo-Norman texts, regularizing *u/v* and *i/j* as well as introducing *ç* and *é* where appropriate (the latter present only in *passé* 15). Abbreviations have been silently expanded, capitals are standardized, and punctuation has been modernized. In representing the lists of cardinal and ordinal numbers, I have sought to retain as far as possible the distinctive tabular layout of the MS.

*Text of the 'Lunar Calendar' (Dean § 344)*

[fol. 5a] Sachez, vus ke lire devez en capitle, ke ausi cum la lune curt par .i. tut le premer an del cicle de la lune, ke dure dis e nof anz el kalender, e le secund an par .ii., e le terz an par .iiij., e issi tresque a .xix.; autresi el martirloge. Le premer an del cicle, quant la lune curt par .i., devez  
 5 tenir chescun jur le nombre ke est escrit par ordre desuz 'A', que est la premereine lettre, e le secund an le nombre ke est desuz 'B', que est la secunde lettre, e le terz an desuz 'C', e issi tresque al 'T', que est la disenome lettre. Lequel nombre est tut escrit de vermeilun, e cumence a .i. e dure tresque .xxx. e demustre chescun jur de quel age la lune  
 10 est. Icest nombre od la lettre que desus li est devez changer chescun an le premer jur de jenver. Ço est a dire que si vus avez tenu chescun jur de cest an le nombre que est desuz 'A', quant le premer jur de jenver vendra, prendrez le nombre que est desuz 'B', et le terz an desuz 'C', e issi tresque al nombre del disenome an, que est desuz 'T'. Quant issi  
 15 averez les .xix. anz passé, si recumencerez derechef al nombre desuz 'A'. Ceste riule tendrez tuz jurz del vermeil nombre, fors sul el meis de fevrier, quant bissexe serrat.

Pur ço que la luneisun del meis de fevrier deit estre de .xxx. jurz en le an del bissexe, que vent chescun quart an; quant vendrez a la luneisun de  
 20 fevrier, tenez le vermeil nombre tresque al vint e nome jur de la lune, e lendemein, quant dussez pronuncier la lune .i., ne fust le bissexe sulun le vermeil nombre, dunc lerrez le vermeil nombre, e prendrez le neir nombre desus [fol. 5b] que pur le bissexe i est mis, e dirrez '.xxx.', e d'iloc en avant tendrez le neir nombre, e lerrez le vermeil tresque al jur  
 25 del bissexe, que est .vi. *kalendas marcii*.

Quant vendrez al jur del bissexe, pur ço que cele leçon deit estre lu deus jurz, le premer jur tendrez le nombre desus, e lendemein le nombre desuz, od memes la kalende, e dirrez issi le premer jur .vi. *kalendas marcii, luna .iii.*; e lendemein issi, .vi. *kalendas marcii, luna .iiij.*.

30 **Issi devez pronuncier les kalendes, e les ides, e les nunes:**

	<b>.xix.</b>	Nono decimo	kalendas			
	<b>.xviii.</b>	Octavo decimo	kalendas	<b>.vi.</b>	Sexto	nonas
	<b>.xvii.</b>	Septimo decimo	kalendas	<b>.v.</b>	Quinto	nonas
	<b>.xvi.</b>	Sexto decimo	kalendas	<b>.iiii.</b>	Quarto	nonas
35	<b>.xv.</b>	Quinto decimo	kalendas	<b>.iii.</b>	Tercio	nonas
	<b>.xiiii.</b>	Quarto decimo	kalendas	<b>.ii.</b>	Pridie	nonas
	<b>.xiii.</b>	Tercio decimo	kalendas	<b>NON</b>		nonas

	<b>.xii.</b>	Duo decimo	kalendas	<b>.viii.</b>	Octavo	idus
	<b>.xi.</b>	Undecimo	kalendas	<b>.vii.</b>	Septimo	idus
40	<b>.x.</b>	Decimo	kalendas	<b>.vi.</b>	Sexto	idus
	<b>.ix.</b>	Nono	kalendas	<b>.v.</b>	Quinto	idus
	<b>.viii.</b>	Octavo	kalendas	<b>.iiii.</b>	Quarto	idus
	<b>.vii.</b>	Septimo	kalendas	<b>.iii.</b>	Tercio	idus
	<b>.vi.</b>	Sexto	kalendas	<b>.ii.</b>	Pridie	idus
45	<b>.v.</b>	Quinto	kalendas	<b>IDUS</b>		
	<b>.iiii.</b>	Quarto	kalendas			
	<b>.iii.</b>	Tercio	kalendas			
	<b>.ii.</b>	Pridie	kalendas			
	<b>KL</b>		kalendas			

50 Nulefeiz ne deit hum dire *secundo kalendas*, ne *secundo nonas*, ne *secundo idus*, mes tuz jurz *pridie kalendas*, *pridie idus*, ke dit autretant cum le precein jur devant les kalendes, le precein jur devant les ides.

	[f.5c] <b>Luna</b>	prima	<b>.j.</b>	un
	<b>Luna</b>	secunda	<b>.ii.</b>	deus
55	<b>Luna</b>	tercia	<b>.iii.</b>	treis
	<b>Luna</b>	quarta	<b>.iiii.</b>	quatre
	<b>Luna</b>	quinta	<b>.v.</b>	cinc
	<b>Luna</b>	sexta	<b>.vi.</b>	sis
	<b>Luna</b>	septima	<b>.vii.</b>	set
60	<b>Luna</b>	octava	<b>.viii.</b>	uit
	<b>Luna</b>	nona	<b>.ix.</b>	nof
	<b>Luna</b>	decima	<b>.x.</b>	dis
	<b>Luna</b>	undecima	<b>.xi.</b>	unze
	<b>Luna</b>	duodecima	<b>.xii.</b>	duze
65	<b>Luna</b>	terciadecima	<b>.xiii.</b>	treze
	<b>Luna</b>	quartadecima	<b>.xiv.</b>	quatorze
	<b>Luna</b>	quintadecima	<b>.xv.</b>	quinze
	<b>Luna</b>	sextadecima	<b>.xvi.</b>	sedze
	<b>Luna</b>	septimadecima	<b>.xvii.</b>	diseset
70	<b>Luna</b>	octavadecima	<b>.xviii.</b>	diseuit
	<b>Luna</b>	novadecima	<b>.xix.</b>	disenof
	<b>Luna</b>	vicesima	<b>.xx.</b>	vint
	<b>Luna</b>	vicesima prima	<b>.xxi.</b>	vint e un
	<b>Luna</b>	vicesima secunda	<b>.xxii.</b>	vint e deus
75	<b>Luna</b>	vicesima tercia	<b>.xxiii.</b>	vint e tres
	<b>Luna</b>	vicesima quarta	<b>.xxiiii.</b>	vint e quatre
	<b>Luna</b>	vicesima quinta	<b>.xxv.</b>	vint e cinc

	<b>Luna</b>	vicesima sexta	<b>.xxvi.</b>	vint e sis
	<b>Luna</b>	vicesima septima	<b>.xxvii.</b>	vint e set
80	<b>Luna</b>	vicesima octava	<b>.xxviii.</b>	vint e uit
	<b>Luna</b>	vicesima nona	<b>.xxix.</b>	vint e nof
	<b>Luna</b>	tricesima	<b>.xxx.</b>	trente

Issi devez pronuncier la lune el martirloge.

*Notes and rejected readings*

*le premer an* (line 2). ‘an’ is an interlinear addition made in the original hand. *quant bissexe serrat* (line 17). ‘Serrat’ is an interlinear correction made in the original hand, and has been chosen over the original ‘vendrat’ (which remains visible).

*febrier* (line 16). The abbreviation for the second month of the year could also allow for *be februario*; it has been expanded to *febrier* on account of the Anglo-Norman *jenver* 9.

*tresque al vint e nome jur* (line 20). Rejected ‘ala vint e nome’, from which the otiose ‘a’ has been partially erased.

*e dirrez .xxx.* (line 23). ‘.xxx.’ is an interlinear addition, also from the original hand and superseding ‘trentime’, possibly to prevent the sisters from reading the French number aloud in the context of the Latin martyrology. A similar practice of supplementing French cardinal ordinal numbers with Roman numerals is evident in one manuscript of Rauf de Lenham’s *Kalender* (Glasgow, University Library, MS Hunter 467), at fols 95<sup>v</sup> (‘.xii.’ added for *dousze*), 96<sup>v</sup> (‘.x.’ for *ditz*), 98<sup>r</sup> (‘.xxviiij.e’ for *vintoetime*, ‘.xxiiij.e’ for *vintedeusime*), 98<sup>v</sup> (‘.xxxij.’ for *trente un*, ‘.xxviiij.’ for *vint e oet*, ‘.xxix.’ for *vint e noefime*), and 99<sup>r</sup> (‘.viiij.’ for *oetime*).

*al jur del bissexe* (line 26). Scribal correction from ‘al jur de bissexe’. The leap day is here 24 February, which is repeated across two consecutive lunar dates, rather than 29 February.

*quarto kalendas* (line 46). Rejected ‘quarto’ (partial erasure of otiose ‘ua’ abbreviation).

*Nulefeiz ne deit hum dire ...* (lines 50–2). The use of *secundo* for *pridie*, which the author here argues against on the grounds that *secundo* does not convey the sense of the ‘preceding day’ evident in *pridie*, is a medieval innovation.<sup>30</sup> A similar concern is evidenced in the early thirteenth-century *Computus ecclesiasticus*, which also stresses that the correct meaning of *secundus* is that of ‘following’: ‘Si autem queratur quare non dicatur secundos kalendas, dicendum quod hec dictio secundus provenit ab hoc verbo sequor, sequeris, unde illa dies deberet sequi si recte diceretur secunda; set ibi bene dicitur pridie kalendas, id est priori die ante kalendas.’<sup>31</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See notably Sara Charles, 'The literacy of English nuns in the early thirteenth century: evidence from London, British Library, Cotton MS Claudius D. III', *The Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies*, 6 (2017), 77–107, Elizabeth Freeman, 'Medieval English nuns and the Benedictine Rule: the evidence and example of Wintney Priory', in *A Not-So Unexciting Life: Essays on Benedictine History and Spirituality in Honor of Michael Casey*, OSCO, ed. Carmel Posa (Collegeville, Minn., 2017), pp. 233–66 (pp. 246f.). Charles dates the MS to between 1200 and 1220, based on the presence of a crossbar on the Tironian *et* (providing a *terminus post quem*) and on the observable practice of writing above the top line (for a *terminus ante quem*; a similar date is offered in A. N. Doane, *Saints' Lives, Martyrologies, and Bilingual "Rule of St. Benedict" in the British Library*, Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile, 19 (Tempe, Ariz., 2010), p. 35.

<sup>2</sup> The piece (Dean § 953) has been edited in Eugen Kölbing, 'Zu der Wintney-Version der *Regula S. Benedicti*', *Englische Studien*, 16 (1892), 152–4; the edition, however, makes several potential errors of transcription, and as such all citations from this text will be based on my own transcription. For Dean, see Ruth Dean and Maureen Boulton, *Anglo-Norman Literature: A Guide to Texts and Manuscripts*, Occasional Publications Series, 3 (Oxford, 1999).

<sup>3</sup> Freeman's assertion that Simon 'copied out a martyrology, added instructions on how to use it (and) included a poem in octosyllabic couplets' (p. 239) is not echoed in the assessment of Sara Charles, who only attributes to Simon the poem found on fol. 3<sup>v</sup> (p. 78). In her *computus*-focused study of the manuscript, Lawrence-Mathers presents the possibility of Simon authoring both pieces as merely a 'suggestion' (para. 11). Lawrence-Mathers's valuable contribution, delivered as a paper at the International Congress on Medieval Studies, has sadly never been published; citations will therefore refer to the paragraph from which the citation is taken, and to Anne E. Lawrence-Mathers, 'Books, religion and literacy in medieval English nunneries' (2004) <<http://palaeographia.org/apices/papers/mathers.htm>> (accessed 23 April 2021).

<sup>4</sup> For an overview of the Roman method for describing days in the solar calendar, see Denis Feeney, *Caesar's Calendar: Ancient Time and the Beginnings of History*, Sather Classical Lectures, 64 (Berkeley, Calif., 2007), pp. 152–4.

<sup>5</sup> For a detailed overview and for further explanation of much of what follows, see Philipp Nothaft, *Dating the Passion: The Life of Jesus and the Emergence of Scientific Chronology (200–1600)*, Time, Astrology and Calendars: Texts and Studies, 1 (Leiden, 2012), pp. 28f. I am very grateful to Dr Nothaft for his support and kindness as I began to delve into the world of medieval computistics.

<sup>6</sup> Philipp Nothaft, 'Between Crucifixion and calendar reform: medieval Christian perceptions of the Jewish lunisolar calendar', in *Living the Lunar Calendar*, ed. Jonathan Ben-Dov, Wayne Horowitz, and John M. Steele (Oxford, 2012), pp. 259–68 (p. 259).

<sup>7</sup> *Byrthferth's Enchiridion*, ed. Michael Lapidge, Supplementary Series, 15 (London, 1995), p. xxxix.

<sup>8</sup> Bede, *The Reckoning of Time*, ed. Faith Wallis (Liverpool, 1999), pp. xx–xxi. For *computus* as a 'problem-based science', see p. xviii.

<sup>9</sup> Freeman, 'Medieval English nuns', p. 243.

<sup>10</sup> Lawrence-Mathers, 'Books, religion and literacy', para. 11. Adjustments for leap years are accounted for in lines 18–29 of the *Lunar Calendar*. In the Wintney calendar, the *saltus lunae* is placed (although not explained) on *pridie kalendas julii* (30 June) in a 'T'-year.

<sup>11</sup> 'Juvenis autem qui martilogium leget inclinabit ante lectrum, priusquam incipiat "Jube, dompne".' 'Consuetudines Monasterii Sancti Augustini Cantuariæ', in *Customary of the Benedictine Monasteries of Saint Augustine, Canterbury, and Saint Peter, Westminster*, ed. Edward Maunde Thompson (2 vols), I (London, 1902), p. 22. I am grateful to Sara Charles, Jamie Downs, and James Clark for their stimulating and informative discussions with me on the subject of medieval monasticism.

<sup>12</sup> The distinction between choir monks and *conversi* was particularly rigid in the context of Cistercian foundations such as Waverley and Wintney. C. H. Lawrence, in his outline of the distinction between choir and lay brothers in monastic houses, notes that 'Cistercian building plans were specially adapted to house the *conversi* and preserve social apartheid between them and the choir monks.' C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages*, 4th edn (London, 2015), p. 162.

<sup>13</sup> M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters: The Influence of the Orders Upon Anglo-Norman Literature* (Edinburgh, 1950), p. 53.

<sup>14</sup> Lawrence-Mathers, 'Books, religion and literacy', para. 12.

<sup>15</sup> David Bell, *What Nuns Read: Books and Libraries in Medieval English Nunneries* (London, 1995), pp. 67f.

<sup>16</sup> 'Annales Monasterii De Waverleia', in *Annales Monastici Volume 2: Annales Monasterii de Wintonia (A.D. 519–1277); Annales Monasterii De Waverlei (A.D. 1–1291)*, ed. Henry Richards Luard (Cambridge, 2012), pp. 253, 285, 304, 309–11, 315, 327. Freeman, 'Medieval English nuns', p. 241 (n. 20).

<sup>17</sup> Marilyn Oliva, 'The French of England in female convents: the French kitcheners' accounts of Campsey Ash Priory', in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain: The French of England, c.1100–c.1500*, ed. Jocelyn Wogan-Browne et al. (York, 2009), pp. 90–102 (pp. 100, 95).

<sup>18</sup> Oliva, 'The French kitcheners' accounts', p. 97.

<sup>19</sup> Legge, *Anglo-Norman in the Cloisters*, pp. 119f.

<sup>20</sup> Eileen Power, *Medieval English Nunneries, c.1275 to 1535* (Cambridge, 1922), p. 246. The influence of Power's conclusions is discussed in Oliva, 'The French kitcheners' accounts', p. 97.

<sup>21</sup> While Bell retains the traditional tripartite division between users of French, English, and Latin, he notes that, specifically within the realm of literary production in French, 'it is ... eminently probable that more was written by women than we know, and that the desire for (or imposition of) anonymity ... has resulted in the names of many female authors being irretrievably lost'. David Bell, 'What nuns read: the state of the question', in *The Culture of Medieval English Monasticism*, ed. James G. Clark (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 113–33 (pp. 120, 123). This should not, of course, be taken as evidence that all nuns were functionally literate in three languages: as Marilyn Oliva notes, 'While at this point few would doubt that most late medieval English nuns at least understood English and French, if not Latin, still at issue is their ability to write.' Marilyn Oliva, 'Rendering accounts: the pragmatic literacy of nuns in late medieval England', in *Nuns' Literacies in*



*Medieval Europe: The Hull Dialogue*, ed. Virginia Blanton, Veronica O’Mara, and Patricia Stoop (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 51–68 (p. 52).

<sup>22</sup> Freeman, ‘Medieval English nuns’, p. 243. The additions to the martyrology (fols 18<sup>r-v</sup>, 31<sup>r</sup>, 33<sup>r</sup>, 37<sup>r</sup>, 40<sup>v</sup>, 45<sup>r</sup>, and 51<sup>r</sup>) range from additional individuals to commemorate to, on fol. 18<sup>r</sup>, a note detailing a request from ‘Christina’, former Prioress of Wintney, that masses be said in the church for the soul of Philip de Barton, Archdeacon of Surrey between 1301 and 1317. *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1300–1541: Volume 4. Monastic Cathedrals (Southern Province)*, ed. B. Jones (London, 1963), pp. 48f. I am grateful to Nick Holder for his assistance in interpreting this later addition. Other additions (including fols 11<sup>v</sup>, 13<sup>v</sup>, 15<sup>v</sup>, 26<sup>v</sup>, 30<sup>r</sup>, 35<sup>r</sup>, 35<sup>v</sup>, and 43<sup>r</sup>) are most likely scribal; one intriguing addition, also probably scribal, is found on fol. 15<sup>r</sup>, which, in a position similar to that of a catchword on a verso folio, preserves the phrase ‘Si de[us] est anim[us] nob[is]’, taken from the opening line to the Latin *Disticha Catonis*.

<sup>23</sup> On two occasions, the term *pridie* is added interlinearly, in the same hand, above ‘II<sup>o</sup>’ in martyrology headings (fols 11<sup>r</sup>, 13<sup>v</sup>). It is written in its full form, replacing ‘II<sup>o</sup>’, on fols 15<sup>r</sup>, 17<sup>v</sup>, 18<sup>r</sup>, 20<sup>v</sup>, 28<sup>r</sup>, 30<sup>r</sup>, 32<sup>v</sup>, and 33<sup>v</sup>. On the role of daily chapter-meetings, see Freeman, ‘Medieval English nuns’, pp. 243f.; for the relevant passage from the *Compotus ecclesiasticus*, see the note to the edition below.

<sup>24</sup> Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, ‘“Reading is good prayer”: recent research on female reading communities’, in *New Medieval Literatures V* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 229–97 (p. 263).

<sup>25</sup> In offering 41 examples of lexical originality in the work of Philippe de Thaon, of which the majority – 29 – can be classified as a hapax, David Trotter argues compellingly against the tendency to dismiss Philippe’s work on aesthetic grounds and suggests instead that his unusual vocabulary and willingness to coin new terms should be attributed, at least in part, to the environment in which he was working. David Trotter, ‘La précocité scientifique de l’Anglo-Normand: le cas de Philippe de Thaon’, in *IV<sup>e</sup> Journée d’études Anglo-Normandes, à la mémoire d’André Crépin. L’Anglo-Normand: spécificités culturelles d’une langue*, ed. Robert Martin and Michel Zink (Paris, 2016), pp. 142–60.

<sup>26</sup> Rebecca June, ‘The languages of memory: the Crabhouse Nunnery Manuscript’, in *Language and Culture in Medieval Britain*, pp. 347–58 (pp. 353–6).

<sup>27</sup> Dean and Boulton, *Anglo-Norman Literature*, p. 190 (§ 344).

<sup>28</sup> *MAN* refers (both here in and in subsequent citations) to Ian Short, *Manual of Anglo-Norman*, 2nd edn (Oxford, 2013).

<sup>29</sup> References to *AND*<sub>2</sub> are to the second edition of the online *Anglo-Norman Dictionary*, available at [www.anglo-norman.net](http://www.anglo-norman.net).

<sup>30</sup> Faith Wallis, ‘Chronology and systems of dating’, in *Medieval Latin: An Introduction and Bibliographical Guide*, ed. F. A. C. Mantello and A. G. Rigg (London, 1996), pp. 383–7 (p. 384).

<sup>31</sup> *Compotus Ecclesiasticus: Edition, Translation and Apparatus Criticus*, ed. Jennifer Moreton, Immo Warntjes, Charles Burnett, and Philipp Nothaft <<https://ordered-universe.com/ordered-universe-compotus-ecclesiasticus/>> (accessed 23 April 2021), p. 26.