The Voynich Manuscript, Dr Johannes Hartlieb, and the Emotions Underpinning Gynaeco-Sexual Encipherment

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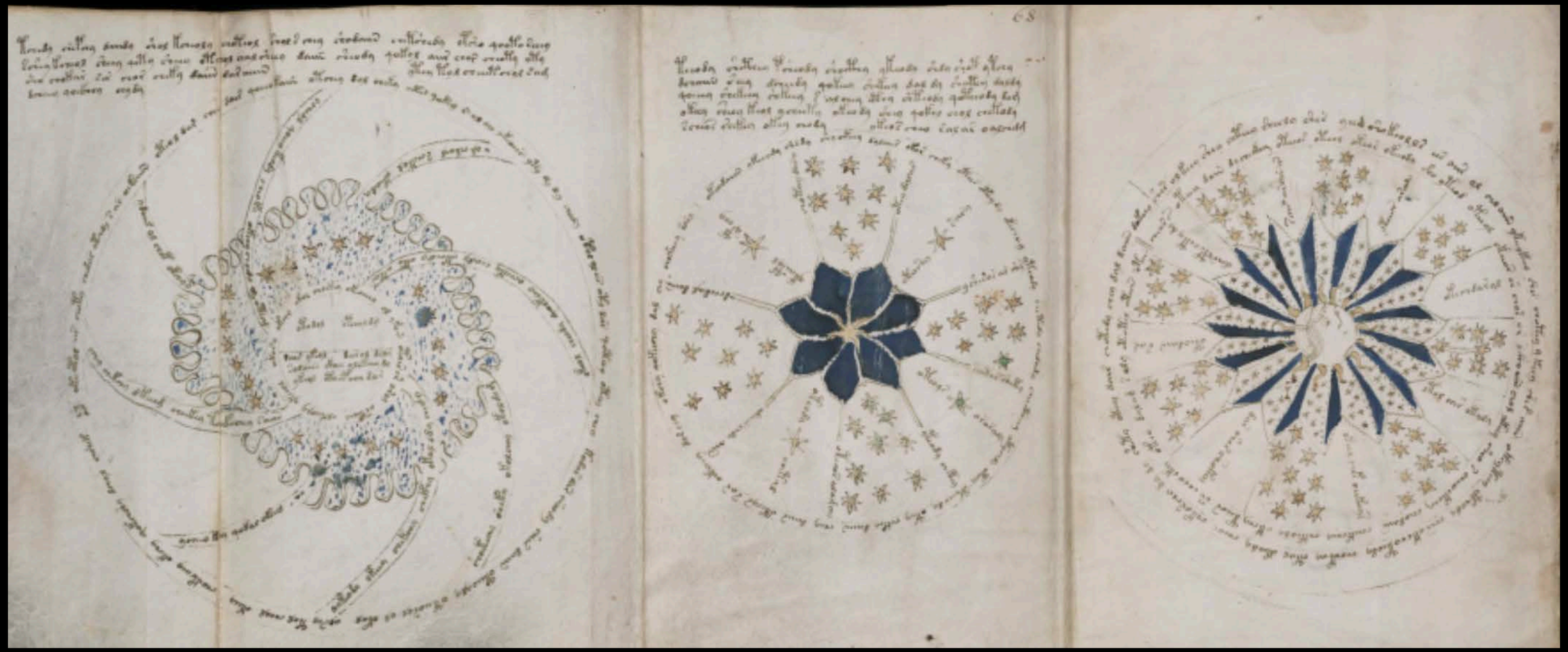
Macquarie University Research Fellow
Fellow of the Royal Historical Society

VMS, fol. 2r

VMS, fol. 88r



VMS, fol. 68v3–68v1

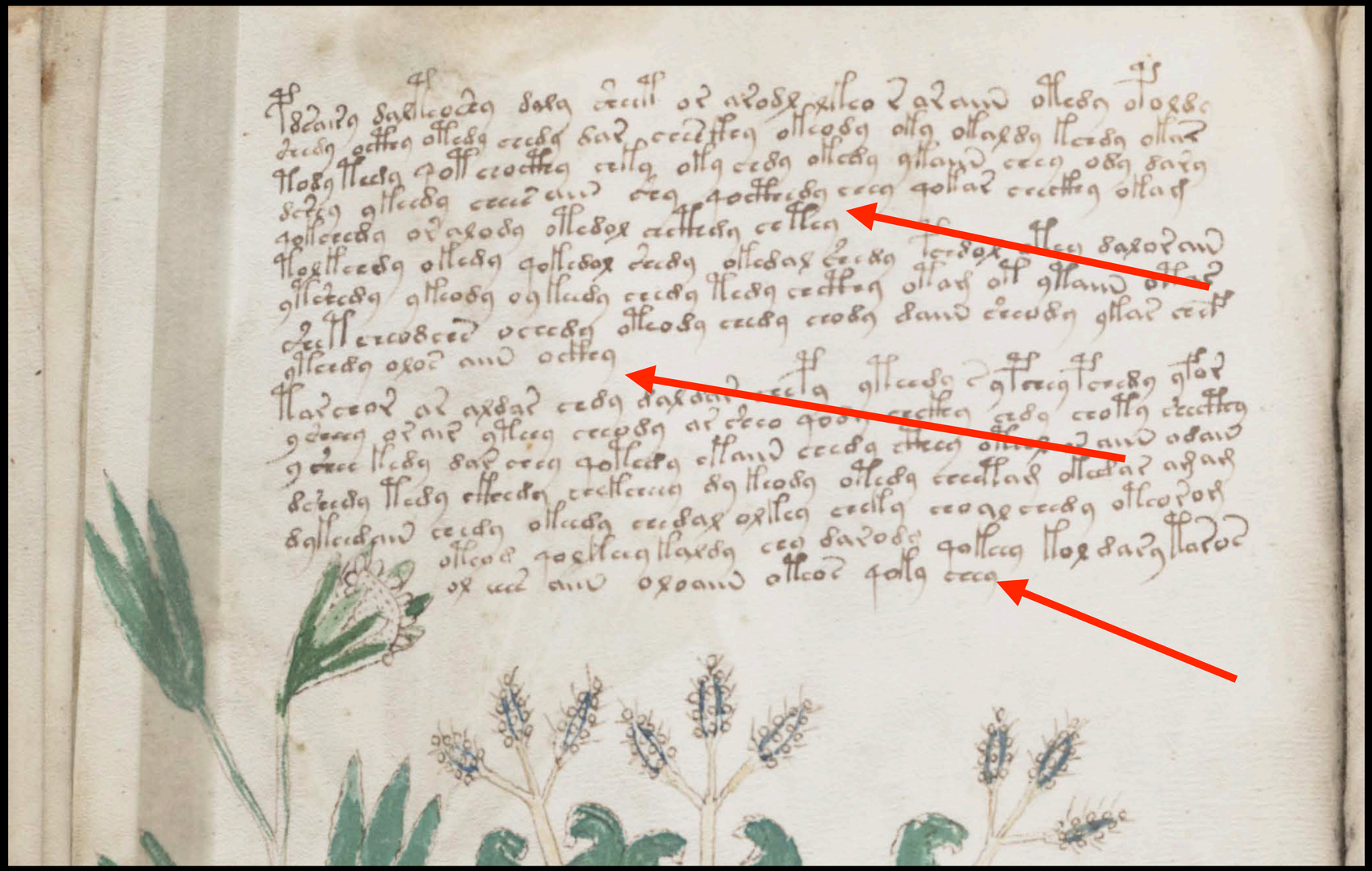
VMS, fol. 77r

VMS, fol. 72v1

Quire	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
Contents																				

Plants
Stars and Planets
Zodiac Signs
Anatomy
Roots
Text Only

Quires 16 and 18 are missing.



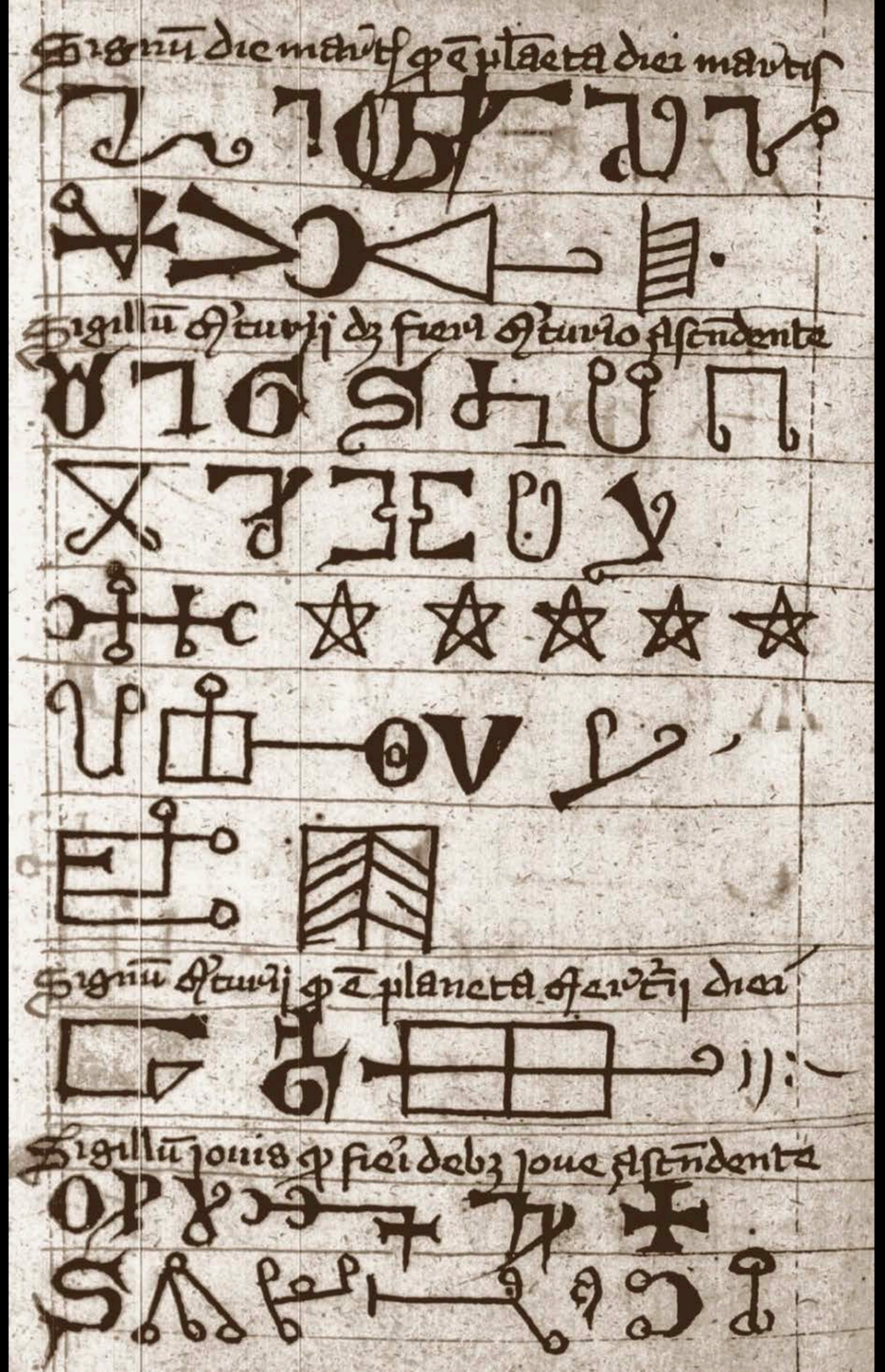
VMS, fol. 43v

fol. 82r

fol. 82r

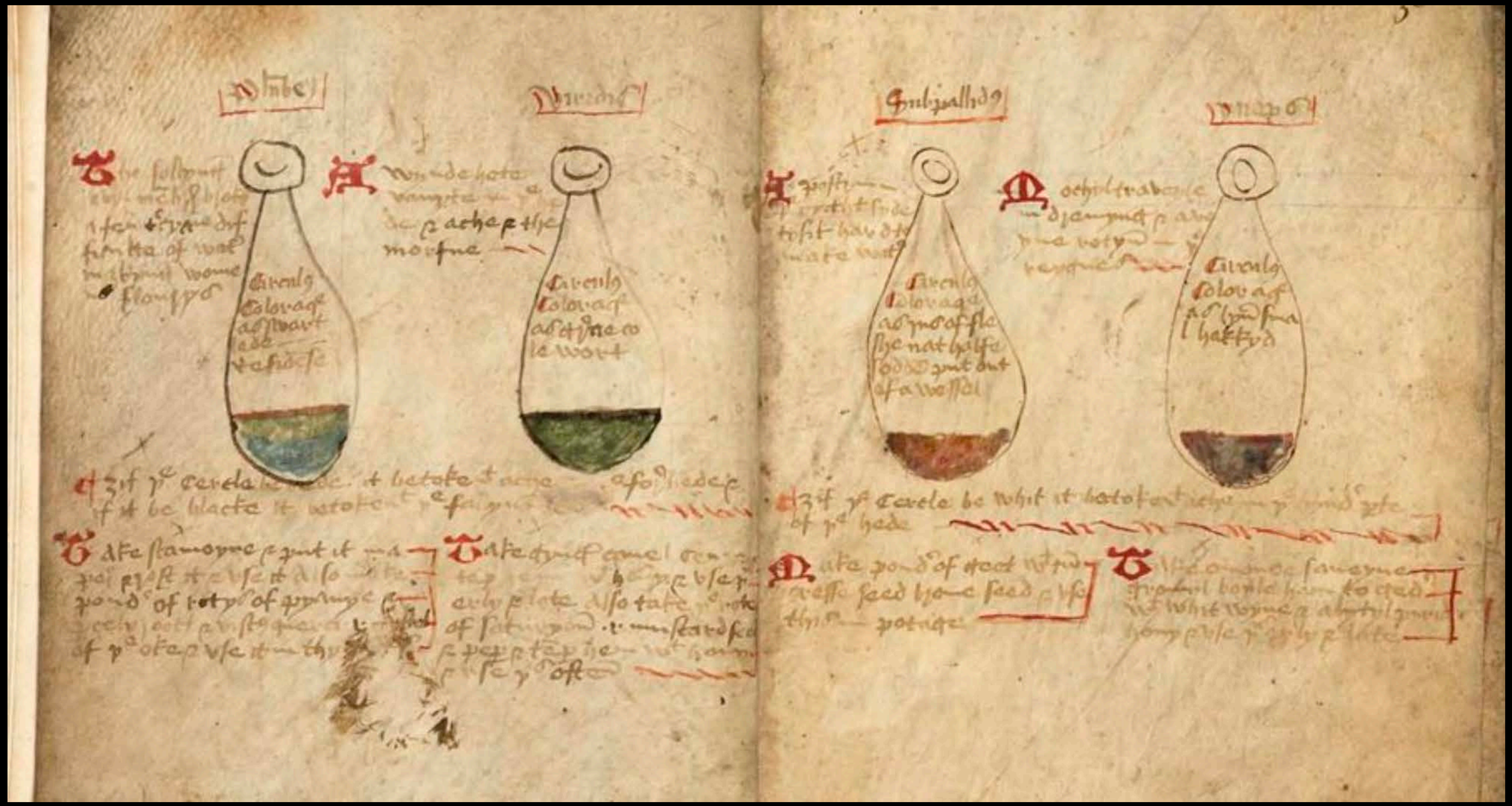
fol. 79v

fol. 80r

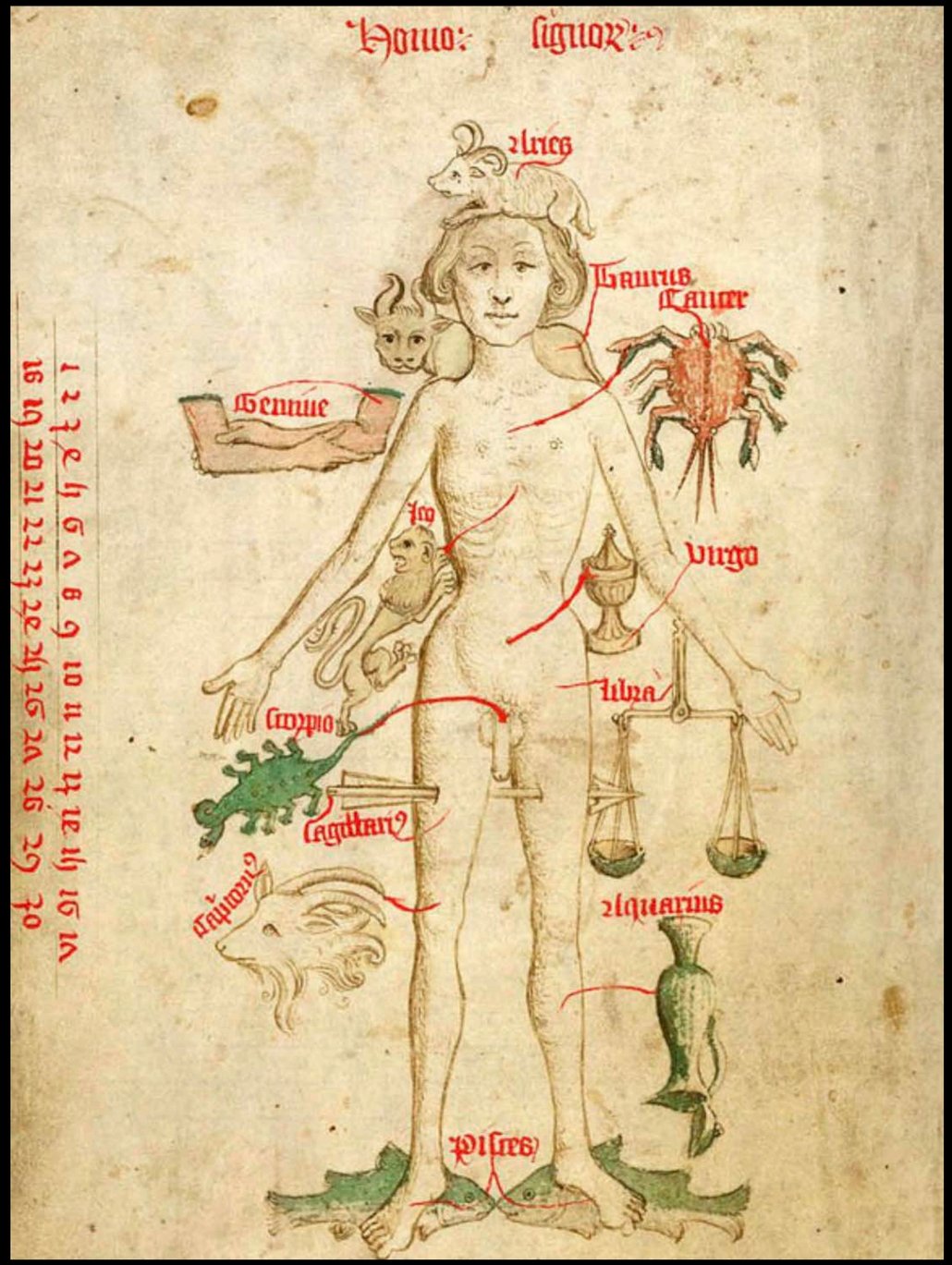


Left: Munich manual of demonic magic, Clm 849, 15C
Top: BL, Cotton MS Tiberius A VII, fol. 70r, 15C.

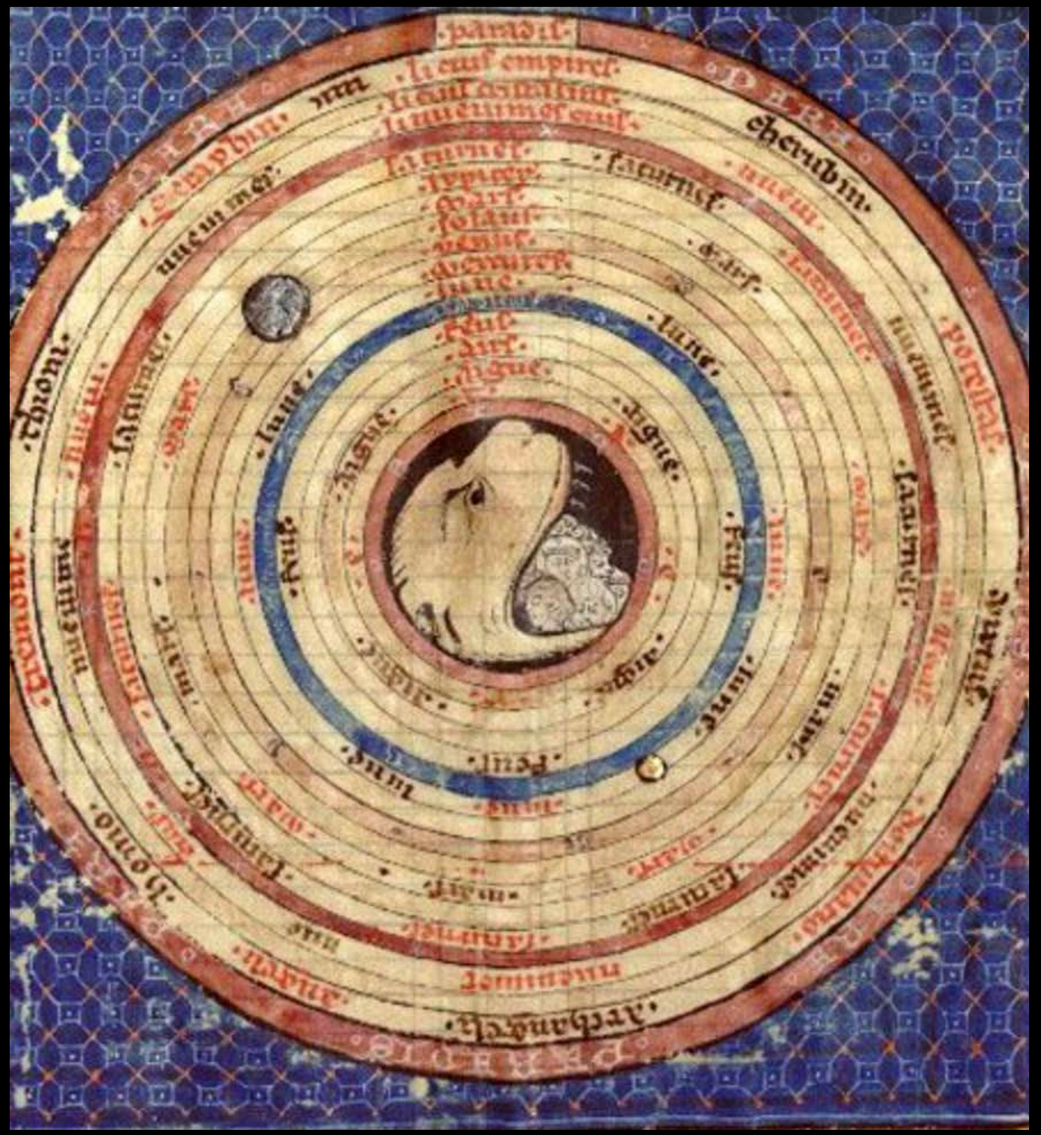
Left: Morgan Library, MS M.945, fol. 107r, 15C;
Right: Morgan Library, MS PML 8, fol. 43v, c. 1470.



BL, Ms Ashmole 1413, 15C: https://medieval.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/catalog/manuscript_247.



Left: BL, MS Egerton 2572, fol. 50v
Top: BL, MS Arundel 251, fol. 46

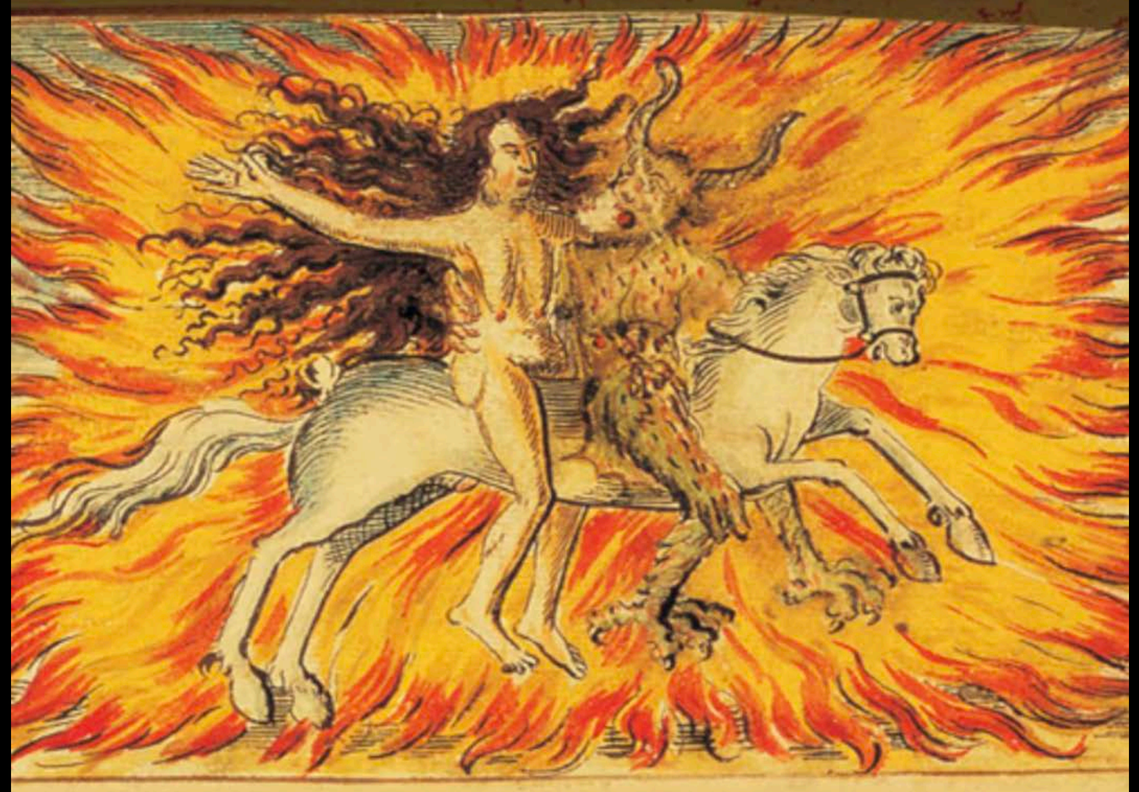


Left: BL, MS Yates Thompson 31, fol. 66, late 14C.
Top: BNF, MS Français 14970, fol. 48, 13C.

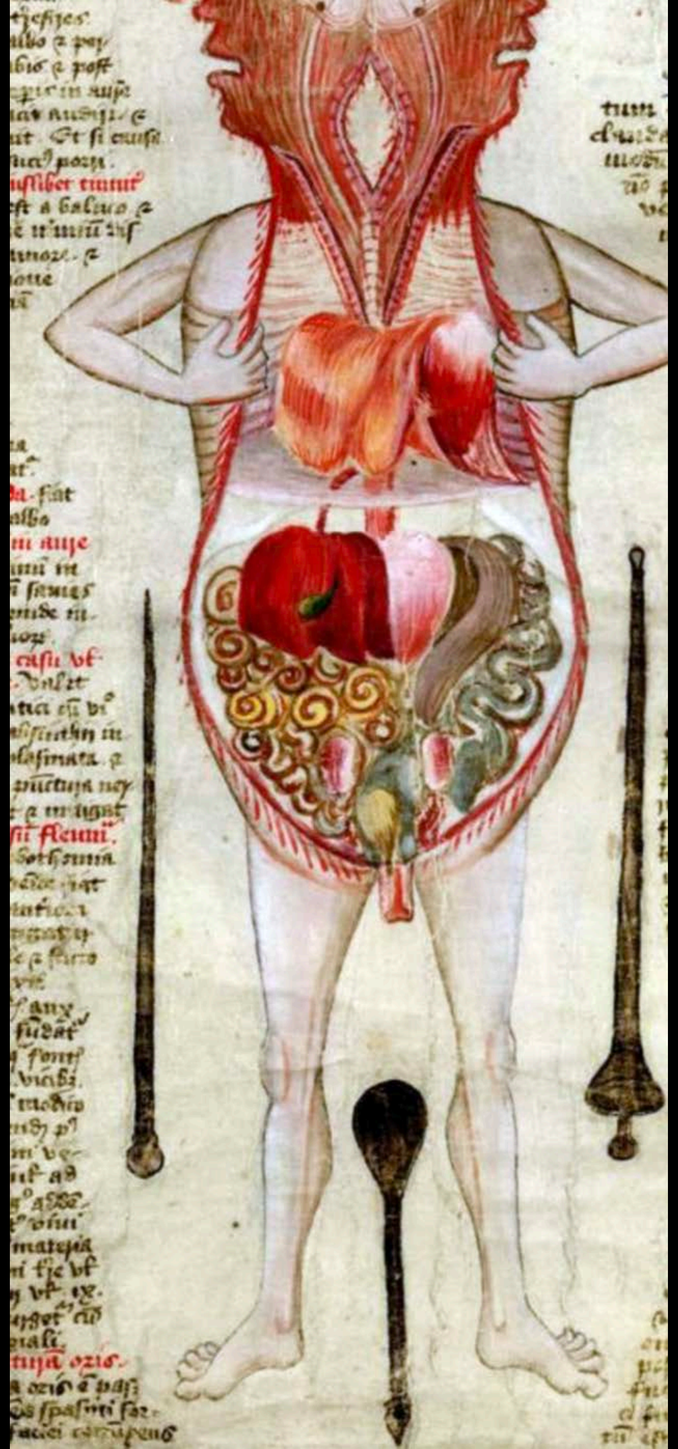
THE APPEARANCE *of* WITCHCRAFT

PRINT AND VISUAL CULTURE IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY EUROPE

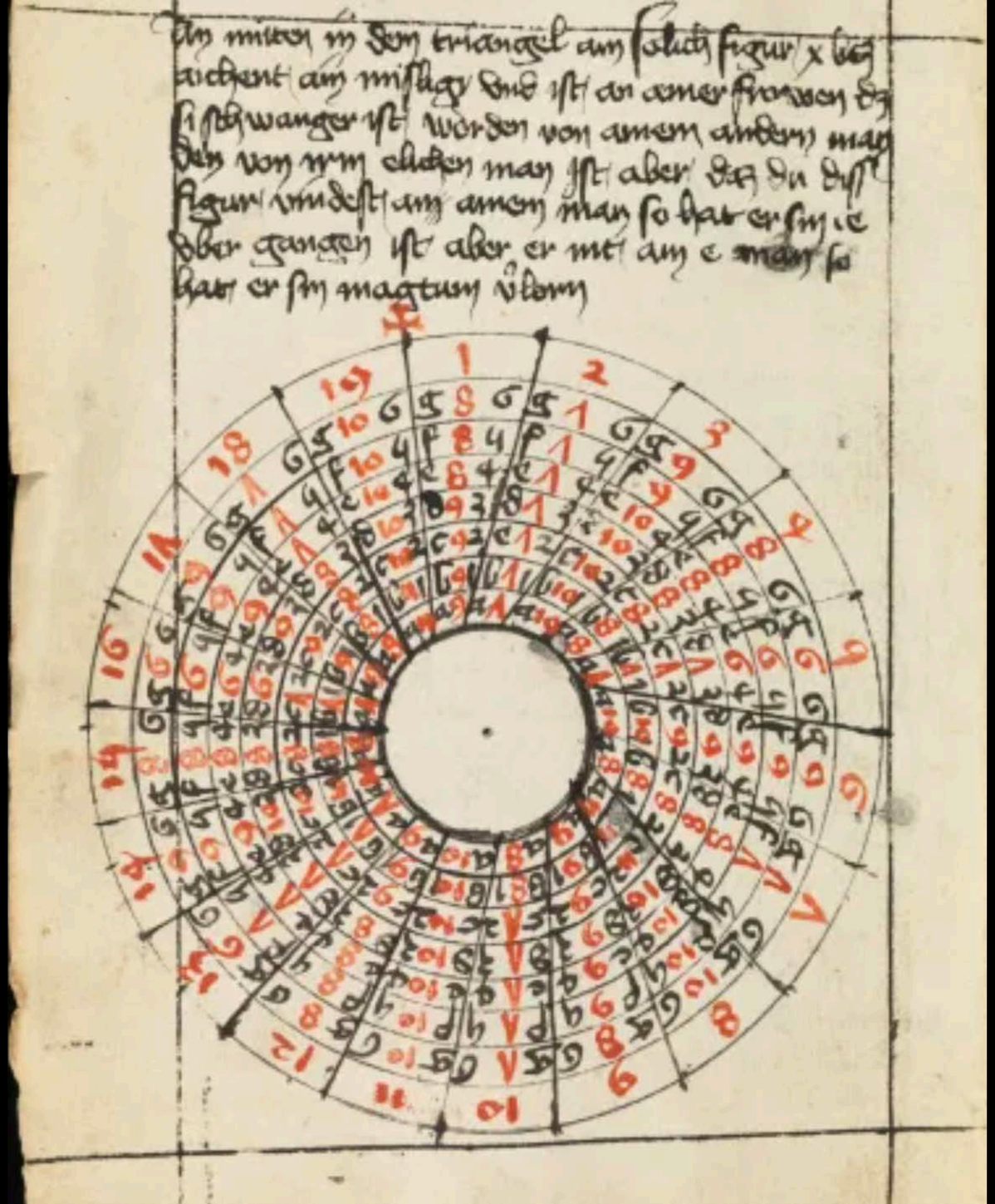
Charles Zika

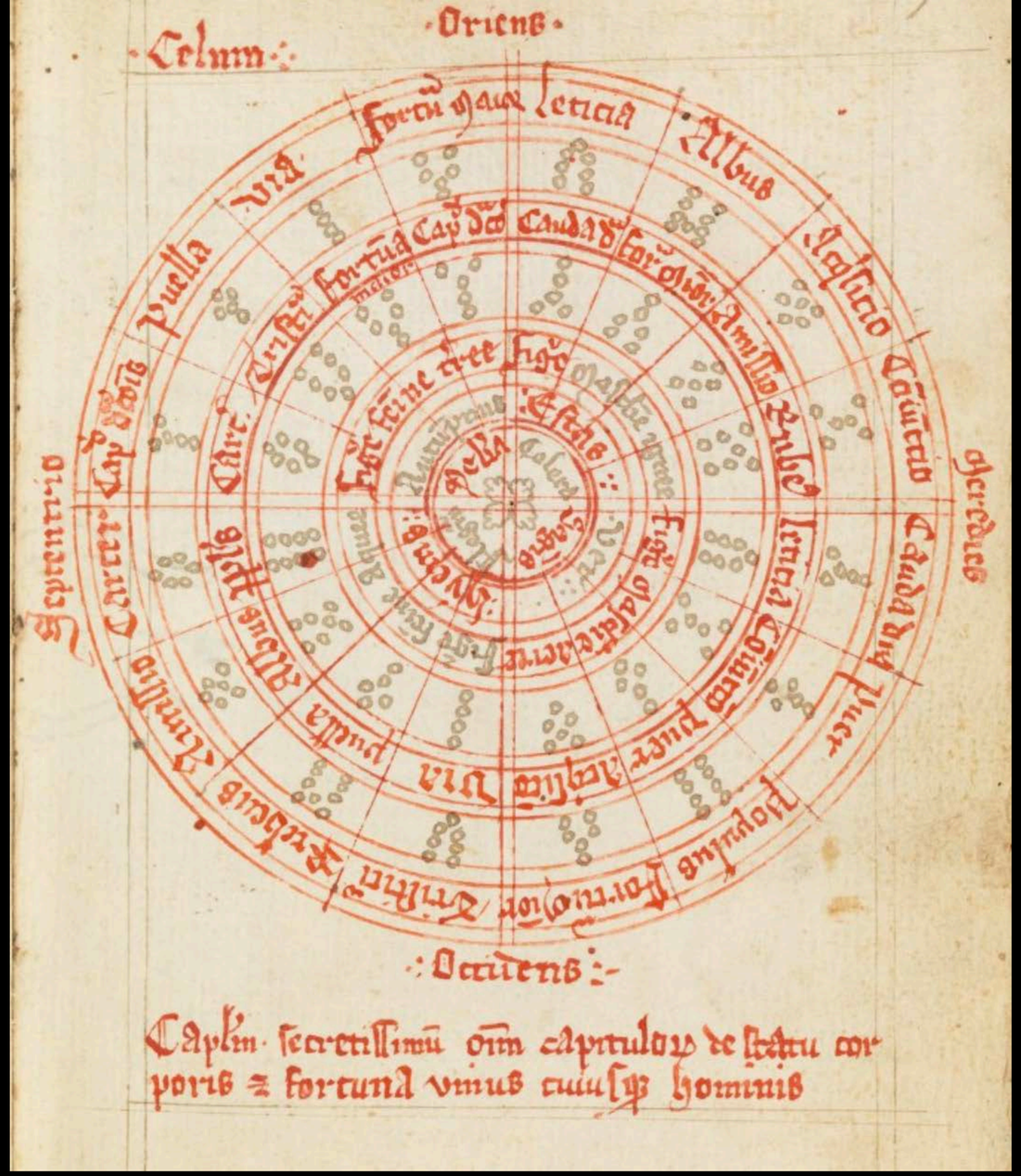


Left: Wellcome Collection, MS 446, fol. 65r, 15C
Top: ÖNB, MS 3069, fol. 2v



Stockholm, MS X. 118. W, c. 1425–1435.





Left: St Gallen Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 756, p. 254.
Above: Ibid., p. 9.

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3. Dr Johannes Hartlieb was possibly involved, or else others who were similar to him in a large number of respects.

Gut Reaction 1: I thought it was just a joke manuscript!

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Response: *That is unlikely because the illustrations point to specific late-medieval scientific contexts.*

Gut Reaction 2: I thought it was a fake for sale!

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Response: *The manuscript would have been expensive and time-consuming to produce.*

Gut Reaction 3: If we can’t read the text, analysis of the illustrations is useless!

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Response: *The entire field of art history would be invalid following that argument.*

Gut Reaction 4: We can’t read it, so it could be about anything!

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Response: *It’s highly likely that the illustrations relate to the text.*

Gut Reaction 5: Everything is just speculation!

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Response: *Yes, but speculation is central to the historical process, and there are good speculations and bad speculations.*

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What sort of people were experts in the subject matters on display in the illustrations?	*Doctors.*

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Siegmund, Duke of Bavaria-Munich (1439–1501, r. 1460–1465).

Carbon Dating	Original Catalogue	Hartlieb
1404–1438 (95%) probability for when the parchment animals were slaughtered	c. 1450–c. 1550	1460–1468

1. The carbon dating is accurate, and Hartlieb is excluded, but the true authors are similar to Hartlieb in a variety of respects.

2. The carbon dating is inaccurate and Hartlieb is the lead author of the manuscript.

3. Hartlieb and his team used old parchment.

be a pity if your elevated mind should be caught up in and led astray by any such operations.

Chapter 32: How the flight through the air takes place

For such flight men and women—that is to say, the witches [*unhulden*][29]—make use of an unguent that is called *unguentum pharelis*. They make it out of seven plants, and they pluck each plant on a day that is proper to that plant. Thus, on Sunday they pluck or dig for *solsequium*, on Monday *lunaria*, on Tuesday *verbena*, on Wednesday *mercurialis*, on Thursday *barba Jovis*, on Friday *capillus Veneris*. With these they make an unguent, mixing some blood of a bird and the fat of animals;[30] but I will not write it out, lest it bring someone into trouble. When they wish, they smear this unguent on benches or chairs, rakes, or oven-forks, and they fly away. That is all true nigramancy, and it is strictly forbidden.

Ingredients

Chapter 33: A noteworthy case of sorcery

Honorable prince, let me tell you about a case that I saw and heard in Rome along with many other people. In the sixth year of the pontifi-

Hartlieb, *Buch aller verpoten kunst*, Richard Kieckhefer (trans.), in *Hazards of the Dark Arts: Advice for Medieval Princes on Witchcraft and Magic* (University Park, 2017), 21–92, here 38.

Chapter 83: How people carry out the art of pyromancy

People exercise the art of pyromancy in many ways and forms. Some masters of the art take a pure child and seat him in their laps, and raise their hand up and have [the child] look at his nail, and they conjure the child and the nail with a great conjuration, then they speak three unknown words in the child's ear. One of them is "Oriel";[78] on the others I remain silent, out of caution. Then they ask the child whatever they want, and they think the child should see it in the nail. All that is pure superstition, and you, O Christian, should be on guard against it.

Chapter 84: Another great error in the faith committed with pyromancy

'Oriel'

Hartlieb, *Buch aller verpoten kunst*, Richard Kieckhefer (trans.), in *Hazards of the Dark Arts: Advice for Medieval Princes on Witchcraft and Magic* (University Park, 2017), 21–92, here 68.

Chapter 31: Flight through the air

In this evil, wretched art of nigramancy there is a form of foolishness that people carry out with their tricks of sorcery. Horses come into an old house, and if one wishes he can mount them and ride many miles in a short time. When he wants to dismount, he holds onto the bridle, and to mount again he shakes the bridle, and the horse returns.[28] The horse is in fact really a devil. For such sorcery one needs the blood of a bat; using it, a person must devote himself to the Devil with secret words such as "debra ebra." This practice is widely known among princes. Your princely grace should shun it, for it would truly be a pity if your elevated mind should be caught up in and led astray by any such operations.

Hartlieb, *Buch aller verpoten kunst*, Richard Kieckhefer (trans.), in *Hazards of the Dark Arts: Advice for Medieval Princes on Witchcraft and Magic* (University Park, 2017), 21–92, here 37–8.

Most gracious lord, I beg your grace to suppress this chapter or else to have it written in secret letters of which I have provided many to your noble grace, for should this passage come into the hands of imprudent people, grave sins would result for which I would not wish you or me to bear responsibility.

(*Aller gnadigster furst Jch pitt dein gnad dz du ditz capittl verhaltest oder aber mit verporgn puchstabn der ich ewrn furstlichen gnadn vil gebn hab schreiben lasst wan soltn die stugk kumen vntter leychtfertig lewt so wurd groß sund dauon geschechn das ich euch vnd mir nit gunnen wolt.*)

Dr Johannes Hartlieb, *Buch Trotula,* Margaret Schleissner (trans.), in 'A Fifteenth-Century Physician's Attitude toward Sexuality: Dr Johannes Hartlieb's *Secreta mulierum* Translation', in *Sex in the Middle Ages*, ed. Joyce E. Salisbury (New York and London: Garland, 1991), 110–126, here 115, trasnscribing Cgm 261, fol. 79v.

Siegmund, Duke of Bavaria-Munich (1439–1501, r. 1460–1465).

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> Sigmund was a lenient, well-mannered, talkative, entertaining and tall person whose company people enjoyed; he liked beautiful women; mass was important to him, he had his own priests and singers who wore red fur gowns; they were appropriate for the status of a prince and they had been confirmed by a letter of indulgence from the pope and had to sing the prayers of the canonical hours for Sigmund on a daily basis; he had more than one small church built, which he had embellished lavishly, and he donated much money every year.[190]

A similar appraisal of Sigmund and the hedonistic but pious court life at Blutenburg Palace was presented by Veit Arnpeck in his chronicle of Bavaria:

> He was a lenient ruler. He fed everyone who asked him for a meal, and provided everyone with letters of prayers. He enjoyed the company of beautiful women and lived with white doves, peacocks, pigs, birds and all kinds of exotic small animals; he liked listening to songs and music played on string instruments; he always engaged good cantors and singers. He was not married but had three children, two boys and a girl with Margaret Pfättendorfer. He was the empress's loyal servant. He loved Menzing[191] very much and had the churches there decorated lavishly and beautifully.[192]

Andreas Dahlem, *The Wittelsbach Court in Munich: History and Authority in the Visual Arts (1460–1508)* (Glasgow: PhD Thesis, 2009), 55.

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Like many members of the Wittelsbach family, Sigismund was weak, sensuous and extravagant. Throughout his life he dressed in the same colour combination of black, red and white. A handsome youth, beloved by women, he never married but had illegitimate children, probably many more than were ever recorded. A contemporary chronicler said of him: 'He felt at home with beautiful women, with white doves, peacocks, guinea pigs, birds and all kinds of strange animals, and also loved string music'.[9] Hartlieb was close to him in spite of the great difference in age, for Hartlieb's wife was, after all, his step-sister. Hence it is no wonder that the doctor was his adviser, not only in general medical but also in sexual matters, in all questions concerning *secreta mulierum*. The repeated exhortations that the information given in the book was only for married people, and should not be misused for licentious purposes, were strangely out of place in a book addressed to a bachelor of Sigismund's character. They rather emphasized the importance

Henry E. Sigerist, 'Johannes Hartlieb's Gynaecological Collection and the Johns Hopkins Manuscript 3 (38066)', in *Science, Medicine, and History: Essays on the Evolution of Scientific Thought and Medical Practice Written in Honour of Charles Singer*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1953), 1:231–46, quoting 233.

VMS, fols 72r1 (angle adjusted), and 79r.

VMS, fol. 73r.

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and mid-1460s, Hartlieb had already translated that famous instruction booklet on courtly love, Andreas Capellanus's *Tractatus amoris*, which may indicate his desire to entertain rather than merely educate his lay patrons.[33] As with his translation of the *Trotula*, Hartlieb's *Secrets* is more a novel interweaving of a variety of sources than a straightforward translation. He drew, of course, upon the original *Secrets*, but also, he says, from Macrobius, 'Trotula', Muscio, Gilbert the Englishman and other natural-philosophical writers to produce a book 'on the nature of women and what is peculiar to them in all matters. Also how a man shall live and deal with women so that true love and friendship may not be destroyed between married people.' Indeed, Hartlieb's pride in his craftsmanship bordered on immodesty: 'I do not think that any book has ever been written in the world that could be more useful and more amusing for all married people.'[34] Hartlieb included repeated warnings that the work not be used 'for lust' (*zupulerey*), apparently implying that this knowledge on women should not be used to seduce women (or as erotica?).[35] In a work addressed to the bachelor Siegmund, these claims seem disingenuous, suggesting that Hartlieb had always had a wider audience in mind.

The *Trotula* forms a suitable complement to the *Secrets* because, Hartlieb informs his reader,

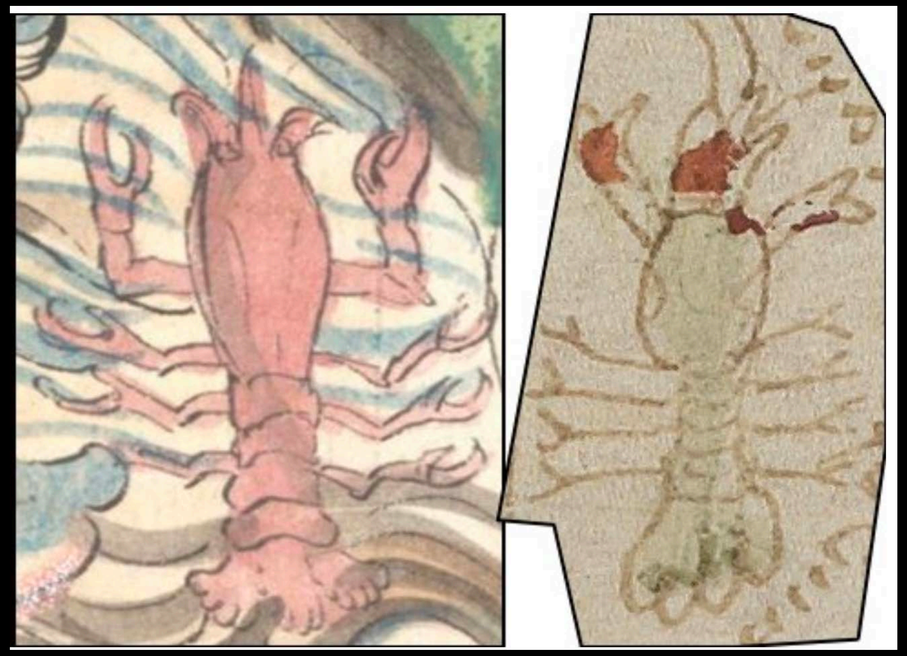
> [it] tells about many secret matters of women, namely, how they may become pregnant and how they shall behave during pregnancy; also how they shall purify themselves in childbed. The book also tells of all infirmities of women which cause displeasure to men, be they infirmities of the vagina, of the hands, mouth, teeth, or skin. It gives such great remedies that it seems a real miracle that a woman can acquire so much beauty.[36]

Monica Green, *Making Women's Medicine Masculine: The Rise of Male Authority in Pre-Modern Gynaecology* (Oxford, 2008), 213.

‘Since now you all-renowned prince, Duke Siegmund, Count Palatine of the Rhine, etc., in your blooming youth, in all the pleasure of the earthly paradise in Upper Bavaria, where the perfection of all physical pleasures is full and abundant, have desired me, Dr Hartlieb, to bring from the Latin tongue to German speech that highly hidden book, the secrets of women, that Albertus Magnus with great effort and work gathered and made, so it is ever a true sign that you have love for art and wisdom and will not let your blooming youth lead and turn [you] to indecent and carnal pleasures, which all your wide lands and people should rightly be happy about’.

(Seyt nv dw aller hochgeloptter fürst, herczog Sigmund, pfalczgraff bey Rein etc., in deiner pluendent iugent, in allem wollust des irdischen paradiß in Obernbayerrn, da volkummenhayt aller leypplichen lust vbergewtt vnd vollen ist, an mich, doctor Hartlieb, begert hast, das hochverborgen buech, die gehaim der frawen, das Albertus Magnus mit grosser mwe vnd arbait gesampt vnd gemacht hat, von lateinischer czung jn teütscher sprach zw pringen, so ist ye das ain war czaichen, das dw kunst vnd weyshayt lieb hast vnd dich dein pluent iugent nicht layten vnd keren last czẅe vnsitten vnd flayschlichen wollusten, des sich billich alle deine weytte landt vnd lewt frewen sollen.)

Johannes Hartlieb, *Secreta mulierum*, ed. Kristian Bosselmann-Cyran, *‘Secreta mulierum’ mit Glosse in der deutschen Bearbeitung von Johannes Hartlieb: Text und Untersuchungen* (Hannover, 1985), 101–3. My translation.



Left: Frankfurt, UB, Ms. Carm. 1 (Ausst. 47) (c. 1440) (a Lauber manuscript of Konrad von Megenburg's *Buch der Natur*), fol. 169v.

Right: VMS, fol. 72r3 (angle adjusted).

Left: Frankfurt, UB, Ms. Carm. 1 (Ausst. 47) (c. 1440) (a Lauber manuscript of Konrad von Megenburg's *Buch der Natur*), fol. 78v.

Right: VMS, fol. 71v (angle adjusted).

gelegten Kraut fördere die Menstruation ebenso wie ein Zäpfchen aus Beifuß und Myrrhe oder ein Trank, der aus dem getrockneten Blütenstand bereitet werde.[44] Diesem antiken empirischen Wissen folgend wird der Beifuß auch in vielen gynäkologischen Rezepten des Mittelalters zur Behandlung von Menstruationsstörungen empfohlen und sogar „Mutter aller Kräuter“ („mater herbarum“) oder „matricaria“ genannt, einer Ableitung der lateinischen Bezeichnung für die Gebärmutter („matrix“). Bis ins 16. Jahrhundert wurde der Name „matricaria“ nicht nur auf die heute noch als „Matricaria chamomilla“ bezeichnete Kamille bezogen, sondern ganz allgemein auf Pflanzen, die sich in der Frauenmedizin bewährt hatten.[45] Der Beifuß zählte zu den Johanniskräutern und galt wie der Knoblauch als Apotropäum zur Abwehr von Zauberkräften.[46] Ein aus Beifuß gewundener Kranz wurde auf den Bauch von Gebärenden gelegt, um Entbindungen zu beschleunigen.[47] Im Gegensatz zu der präzisen Beschreibung der verschiedenen Indikationen des Beifußes in der Arzneimittellehre des Dioskurides heißt es bei Hartlieb, der hier wortgenau dem ‚Buch der Natur‘ Konrads von Megenberg[48] folgt, über die Indikation der Pflanze lediglich lakonisch: „ist den selben gut die vnperhaft sind von ubriger fäucht“[49] – [die Pflanze ist für diejenigen von Vorteil, die aufgrund von zu viel Feuchtigkeit im Körper unfruchtbar sind.]

‘The same [plant] is good [for] those who are sterile from [having] too much moisture [in the body].’

Britta-Juliane Kruse, ‘Heilpflanzen in der Gynäkologie – Darstelling und Indikationen in Johannes Hartliebs “Kräuterbuch”’, in *Arzneien für das ‘schöne Geschlecht’. Geschlechterverhältnisse in Phytotherapie und Pharmazie vom Mittelalter bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, ed. Bettina Wahrig (Stuttgart, 2004), 1–34, at 11.

Heinrich Marzell, "Alraun," in *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (above, n. 10), 1:312–24, at col. 318. Secrecy, for whatever reason, is always an integral part of the ritual if the magic is to work; see Kieckhefer, *Magic in the Middle Ages* (above, n. 8), pp. 140–44. In his *Buch der Natur* Konrad von Megenberg (p. 413, lines 19–23) warns that one should be secretive regarding the magical virtues of mandrake (as well as of betony) and prevent at all cost any such knowledge from reaching commoners ("strazzenlauffaer," lit., "street walkers"). Going a step further, the fifteenth-century physician and writer Johannes Hartlieb, citing Oribasius as his authority, adds: "wer die gehaym erdenckt und die tugent öffent und enplöst, der veldt in gottes zorn" ("whoever is cognizant of its secrets and divulges the virtues of vervain will incur God's wrath"; Franz Speta, ed., *Das Kräuterbuch des Johannes Hartlieb: Eine deutsche Bilderhandschrift aus der Mitte des 15. Jahrhunderts. Mit einer Einführung und Transkription von Heinrich L. Werneck* [Graz. 1980], p. 31, no. 105). See also Klaus Grubmüller, "Hartlieb, Johannes," *Verfasserlexikon* 3 (1981), 480–96.

Francis B. Brévart, 'Between Medicine, Magic, and Religion: Wonder Drugs in German Medico-Pharmaceutical Treatises of the Thirteenth to Sixteenth Centuries', *Speculum* 83 (2008), 1–57, at 12, n. 24.

[Plantago's] other secret and nature is **not appropriate to be written in this open book**.

('Ander sein geheim und natur zimbt nicht zu schreiben in diß offen bůch').

Johannes Hartlieb, *Kräuterbuch*, ed. Gerold Hayer and Bernhard Schnell (Wiesbaden, 2010), 123. My translation.

‘Many desperate and despondent women want [abortifacients], but **the master forbids [us] to write on this** for thoughtless people’s sake and so that no harm will result from it’.

(‘Vnd kunden ettlich verczweyffelt vnd verczagt frawben woll davon, aber davon verbwtt der Maister tzw schreybenn durch der leychtvertigen menschen willen vnd das kain vbel darauß ergee.’)

Johannes Hartlieb, *Secreta mulierum*, ed. Kristian Bosselmann-Cyran, *‘Secreta mulierum’ mit Glosse in der deutschen Bearbeitung von Johannes Hartlieb: Text und Untersuchungen* (Hannover, 1985), 239. My translation.

‘But that same book **should not be revealed** on account of unseemly love and adultery’.

(‘Aber das selb buch sey nit czw offenbaren durch der vnczimlichen lieb vnd buelschafft willen.’)

Johannes Hartlieb, *Secreta mulierum*, ed. Kristian Bosselmann-Cyran, 107. My translation.

‘I ask that the highest God with his **wrathful anger** tighten and direct his power and will, and not let it come to pass.’

(‘Wer aber das puech v̈ben vnd die kunst treyben und nützen well zü vnzimlicher lieb vnd puelschaft auß der ee, so pitt ich, das der hochst got mit seynem grymen zorn sein kunst und willen straff vnd wend vnd nit zu kraft kumen lass. Amen!’)

Hartlieb, *Secreta mulierum*, ed. Bosselmann-Cyran, 108. My translation.

‘I think he left it out because **he was worried that the high secrets and art would be abused** and practiced and utilised for unseemly love and adultery.’

(‘Ich main, er hab es darumb gelassen, das er besorgt hab, die hoch gehaim vnnd Kunst werd myßpraucht vnd zü vntzimlicher lieb vnd puelschaft genützt vnd getryben.’)

Hartlieb, *Secreta mulierum*, ed. Bosselmann-Cyran, 110. My translation.

‘[Ps.-Albert the Great’s] book is only one guide to the **rightly hidden secrets of women**.’

(‘Sein buch nwr ain anweysenn sey czw der gerechten verborgen gehaim der frawen.’)

Hartlieb, *Secreta mulierum*, ed. Bosselmann-Cyran, 109. My translation.

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Hartlieb, *Secreta mulierum*, ed. Bosselmann-Cyran, 109. My translation.

Chapter 20: Another example showing how to avoid sin

Your Grace may take a lesson from all unchaste women and men. Alas, how often one finds men and women who break their marital fidelity with people who are much less attractive in body and in appearance than their proper spouses. No matter how great the disgrace and disrepute they incur, they cannot desist. The cause is that their minds and senses are afflicted and possessed by the evil devils of unchastity. The Devil thus possesses all who are held and hardened in such sin and disgrace. How wonderful it would be if all nobles were free and innocent of such misdeeds, for then the common people would desist from these and other sins.

Hartlieb, *Buch aller verpoten kunst*, trans. Kieckhefer, 31.

insert several additions that, while still emphasizing modesty, clearly reveal his piety and his authorial stance. Thus Hartlieb the moralist manifests himself in the *exemplum* told in Chapter 50 of Book I (*DM* VII, 50) where one monk tells another how the Virgin appeared and repaid long years of devotion with a kiss. The author, who is clearly a very virtuous man, finds it important to clarify that the kiss is given on the cheek, the detail absent from the Latin text, from the edition as well as from the Innsbruck version (fol. 94v): instead of "dedit mihi osculum" we find "sy . . . erpot mir einen kůs an mein wange" (*HDM* I, 50). In another Chapter (*HDM* I, 38; *DM* VII, 38), Hartlieb amplifies and specifies the honours that the protagonist, a knight named Walter of Birbech, pays to the Virgin. Whereas the Latin text only says that he celebrated mass ("honoraverat in missa"), Hartlieb points out the protagonist's double devotion because he

Elena Koroleva, 'The *Dialogus miraculorum* in the Light of its Fifteenth-century German Translation by Johannes Hartlieb', in *The Art of Cistercian Persuasion in the Middle Ages and Beyond: Caesarius of Heisterbach's* Dialogue on Miracles *and its Reception*, ed. Victoria Smirnova, Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu, and Jacques Berlioz (Leiden, 2015), 227–241, at 240.

Thesis 1: The Voynich manuscript is from the southern German-speaking region.

Best matching Zodiac Cycles

A. Heidelberg, ms Cod. Pal. Germ. 298, Bavaria, Germany, first half of the XV Century (70% match)

This manuscript from South Germany was found by Darren Worley, following a post by Ellie Velinska discussing a similar manuscript . Cod. Pal. Germ. 298 comprises a number of different texts from different dates, the zodiac signs appear in the fourth section, written in German. The description of the manuscript calls this section “Tierkreiszeichenlehre”, i.e. “an essay about the Zodiac signs”.

B. Graz MS 286, Seckau, Austria, 1160-1170 (65% match)

A Latin breviary written in Seckau, near Graz. The zodiac medallions are drawn in brown and red ink and are not painted. They illustrate the twelve pages of the calendar in the initial pages. It is noteworthy that many of the elements that occur in the Voynich zodiac were already present in Central Europe cycles during the XII Century.

C. Soissons Stained glass window, France, XII-XIII Century (60% match)

This work has been repeatedly mentioned by Diane O’Donovan with reference to Voynich f73v (for instance here).

The zodiac stained glass window now in Soissons likely comes from the nearby town of Braine. It was moved to Soissons, reassembled and heavily restored in the XIX Century. The main area is occupied by the large figures of four ancestors of Christ. The figures are surrounded by twenty eight medallions, including the twelve signs of the zodiac. More details can be found in this French document.

D. Strasbourg Cathedral reliefs, Alsace, France, 1280 ca (60% match)

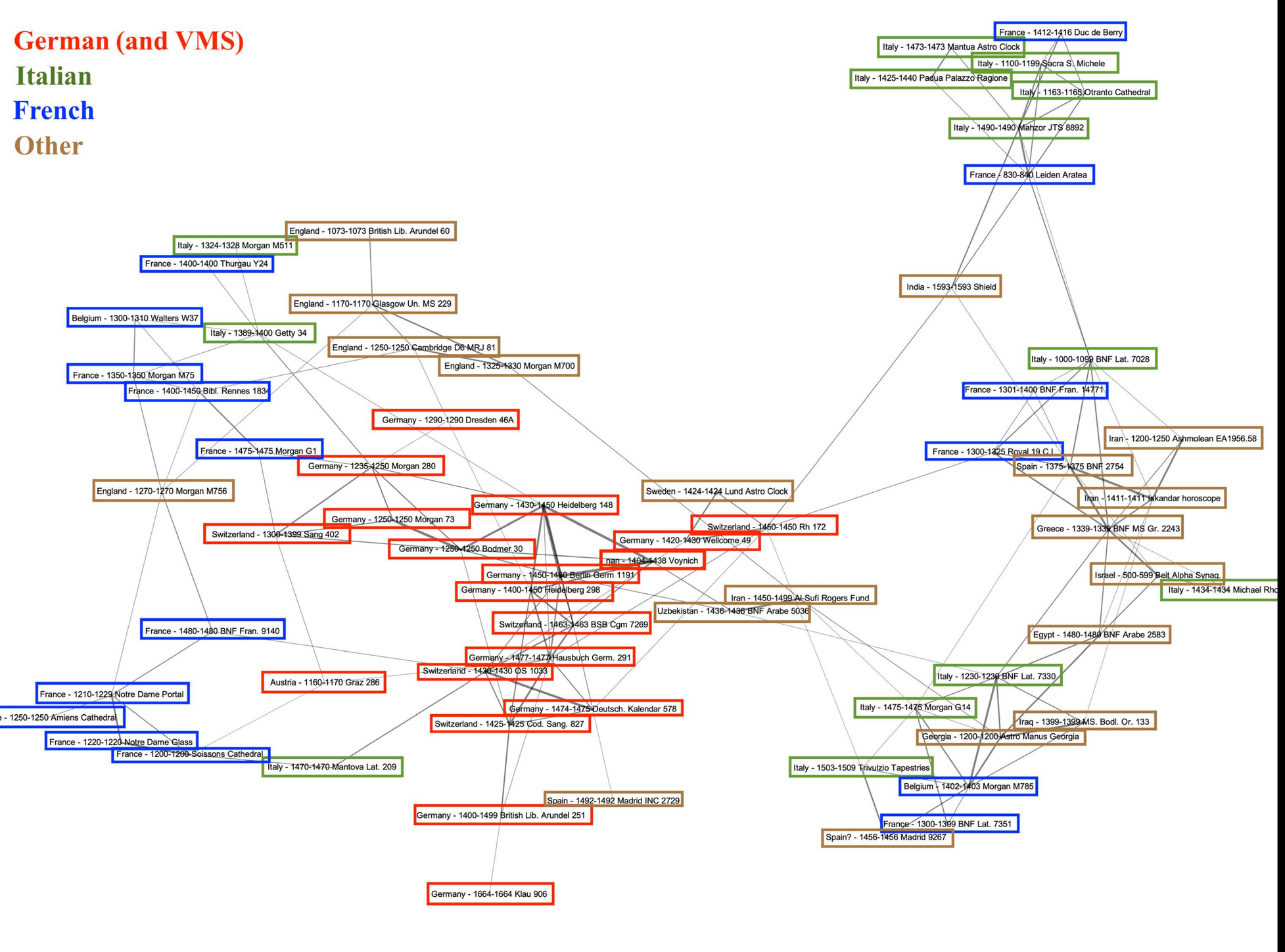
The right portal of the facade of the Strasbourg Cathedral is flanked by twelve statues illustrating the Parable of the Wise and Foolish Virgins. The bases of the statues are decorated with reliefs depicting the signs of the zodiac and the labors of the months. Strasbourg is the capital of Alsace, a historically German-speaking region.

Left: Results of Marco Ponzi’s Zodiac meta-analysis, stephenbax.net/?p=1755; stephenbax.net/?p=1656.

Below: Results of Gioynich’s meta-analysis, https://voynich.ninja/thread-3456.html.

The most (overall) similar zodiacs to the Voynich's are, in order:

1. Berlin Regimen Sanitatis Ms.germ.fol.1191 (1450-1460, Freiburg, Germany)
2. Heidelberg, Cod. Pal. germ. 148, Biblia pauperum (1430-1450, South Germany)
3. Heidelberg, ms Cod. Pal. Germ. 298 (1400-1450, Bavaria, Germany)
4. Cod. Bodmer 30 (1250, South Germany)
5. BNF ms Arabe 5036, Al-Sufi (1450-1499, Iran)



Gioynich Zodiac-Illustration Meta-Analysis, https://voynich.ninja/thread-3456.html.

Colours added by me.

Explanation by Gioynich:
“The visualization below instead shows the graph of similarities between all zodiacs, to give you a sense of the "clusters" that exist out there. It's pretty tricky to explain but basically each node is a zodiac, they are connected by an edge if their similarity score is greater than a given value, and they have been laid out using a force-based graph visualization algorithm. The size of the edges is proportional to their strength (similarity). Note that zodiacs might appear close together even if they are not strongly connected, so make sure you look at the edges.”

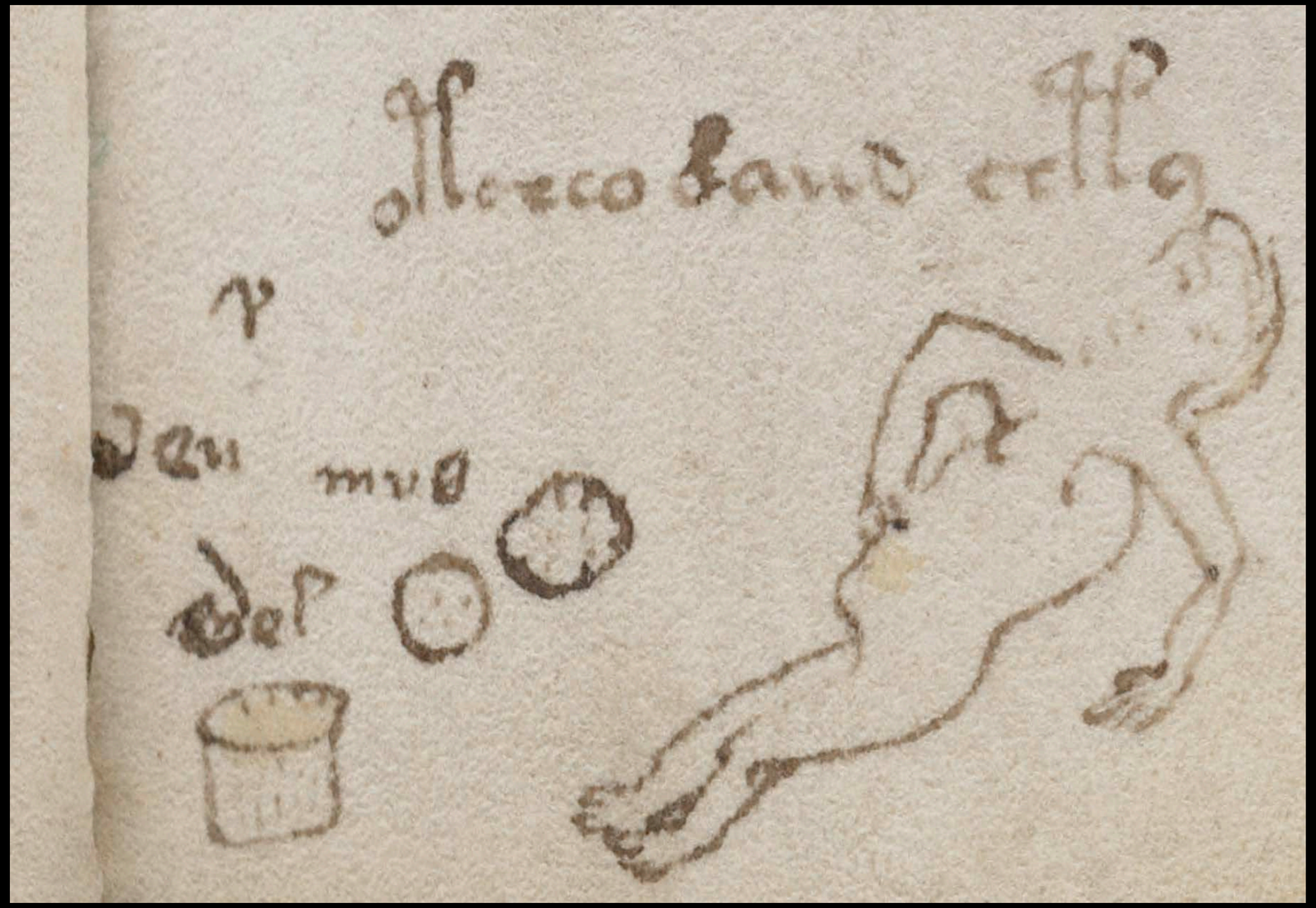
Left: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. Germ. fol. 1191, Alsace (probably Strasbourg), *c*. 1460, p. 9 of 298 (https://www.wdl.org/en/item/7493/view/1/9/).

Right: VMS, fol. 70v2.

Left: Heidelberg, Ms. Pal. Germ. 298, fol. 143r, Bavaria, 15C (first half).

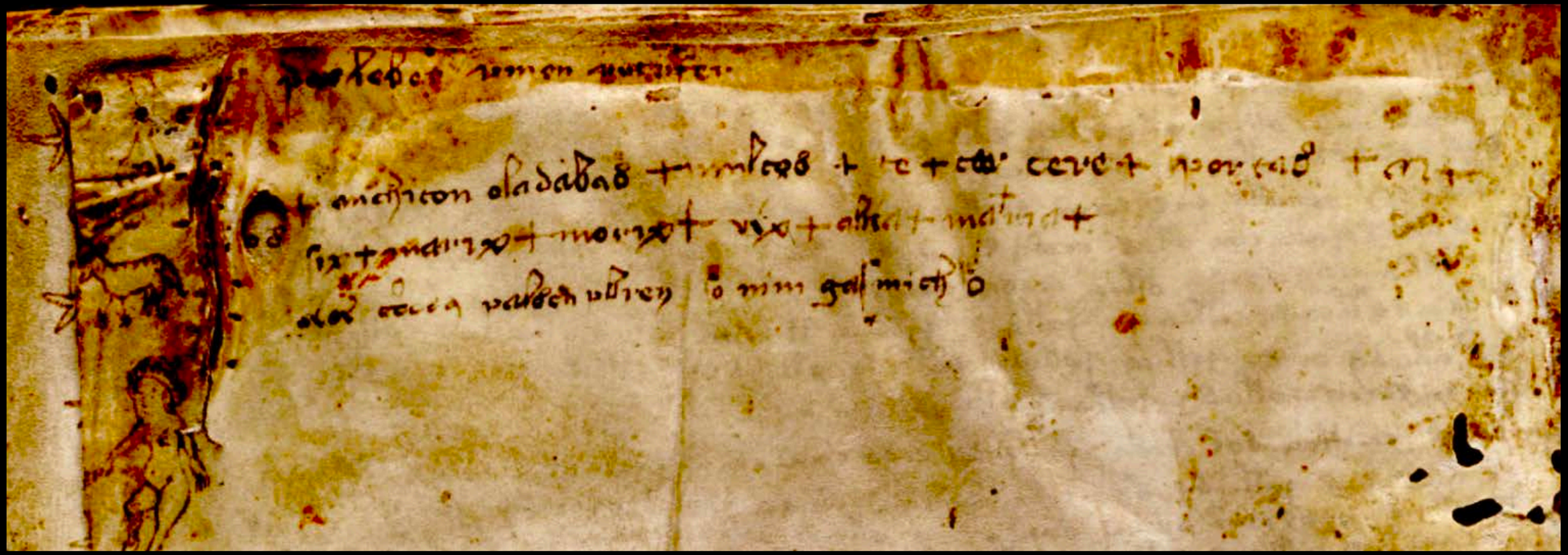
Right: VMS, fol. 71v (angle adjusted).

Left: VMS, fol. 4r, ‘rot’ (red); Right: VMS, fol. 29r, ‘r’.

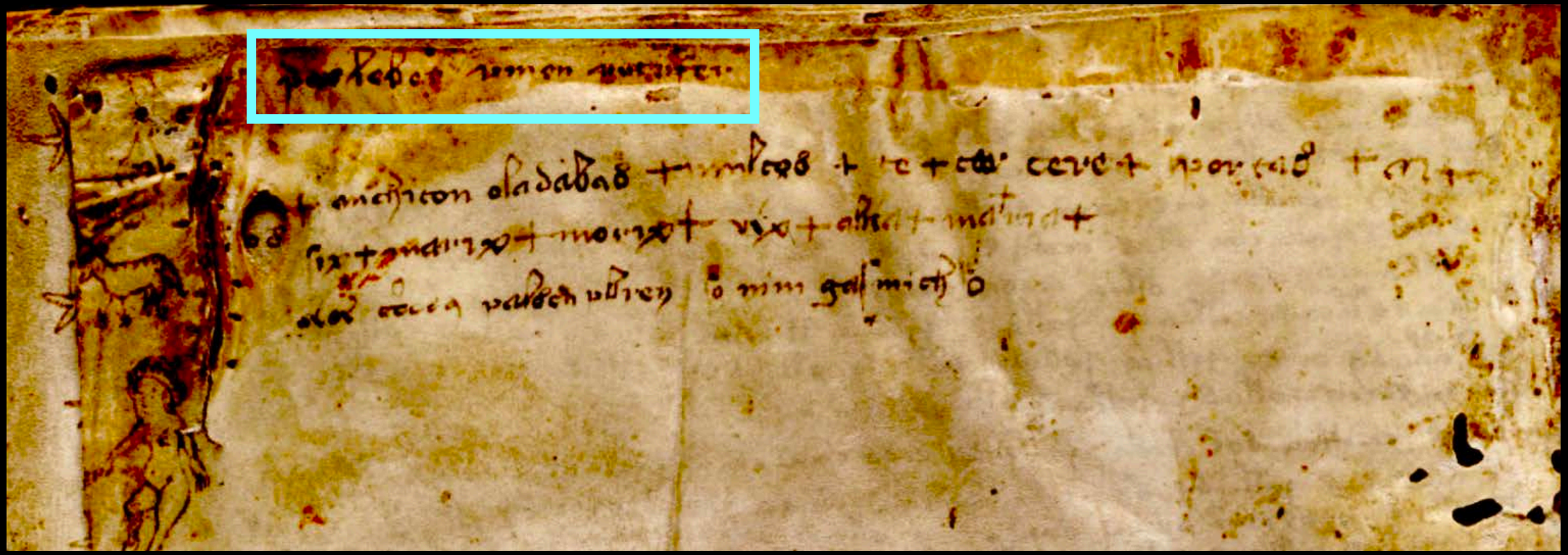


VMS, fol. 66r: ‘der/den mus del’.

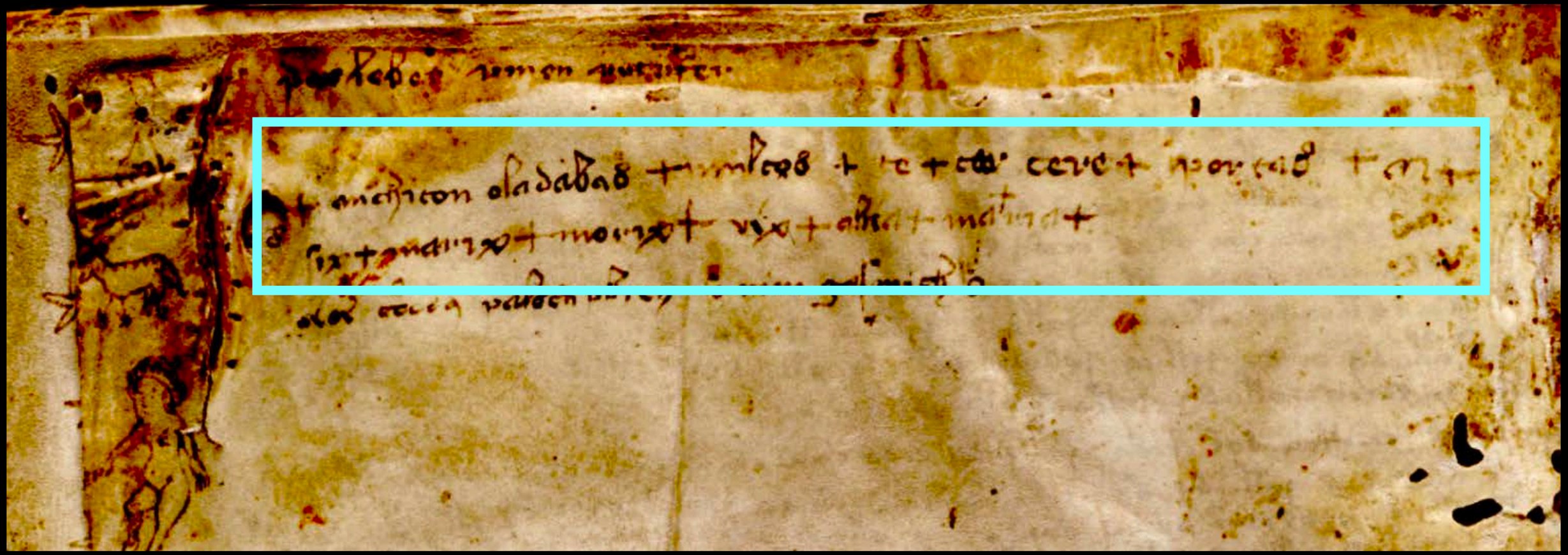
VMS, fol. 17r, detail, contrast increased.



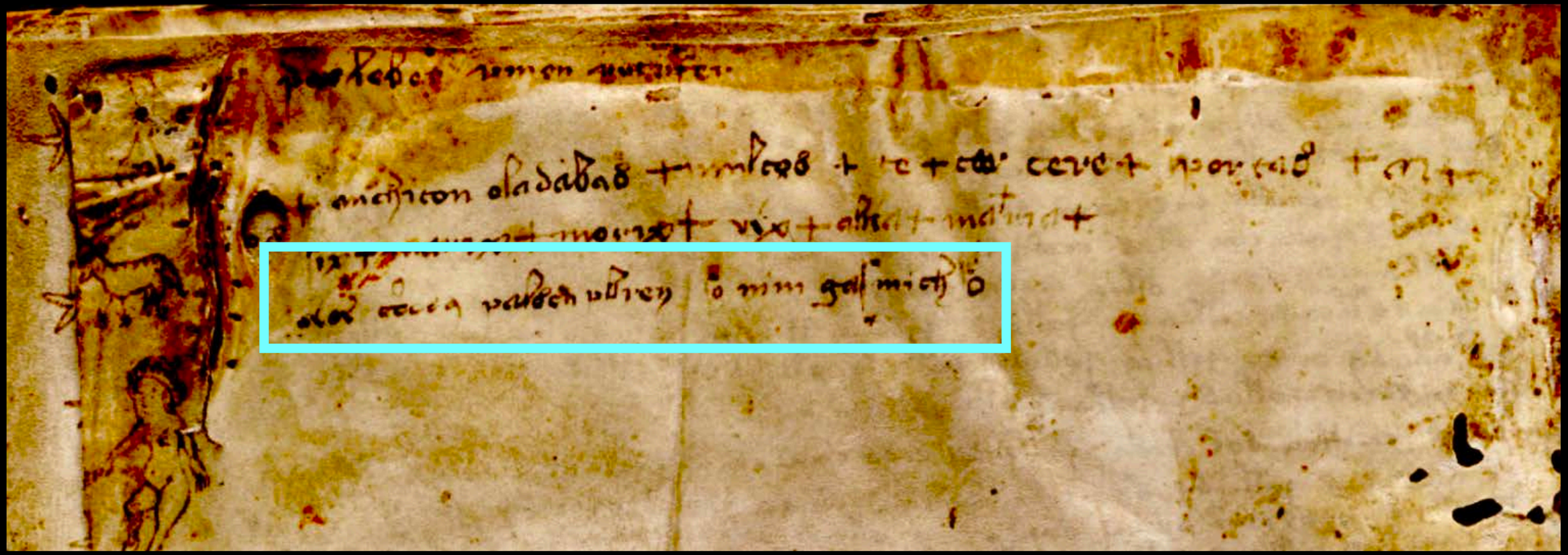
VMS, fol. 116v.



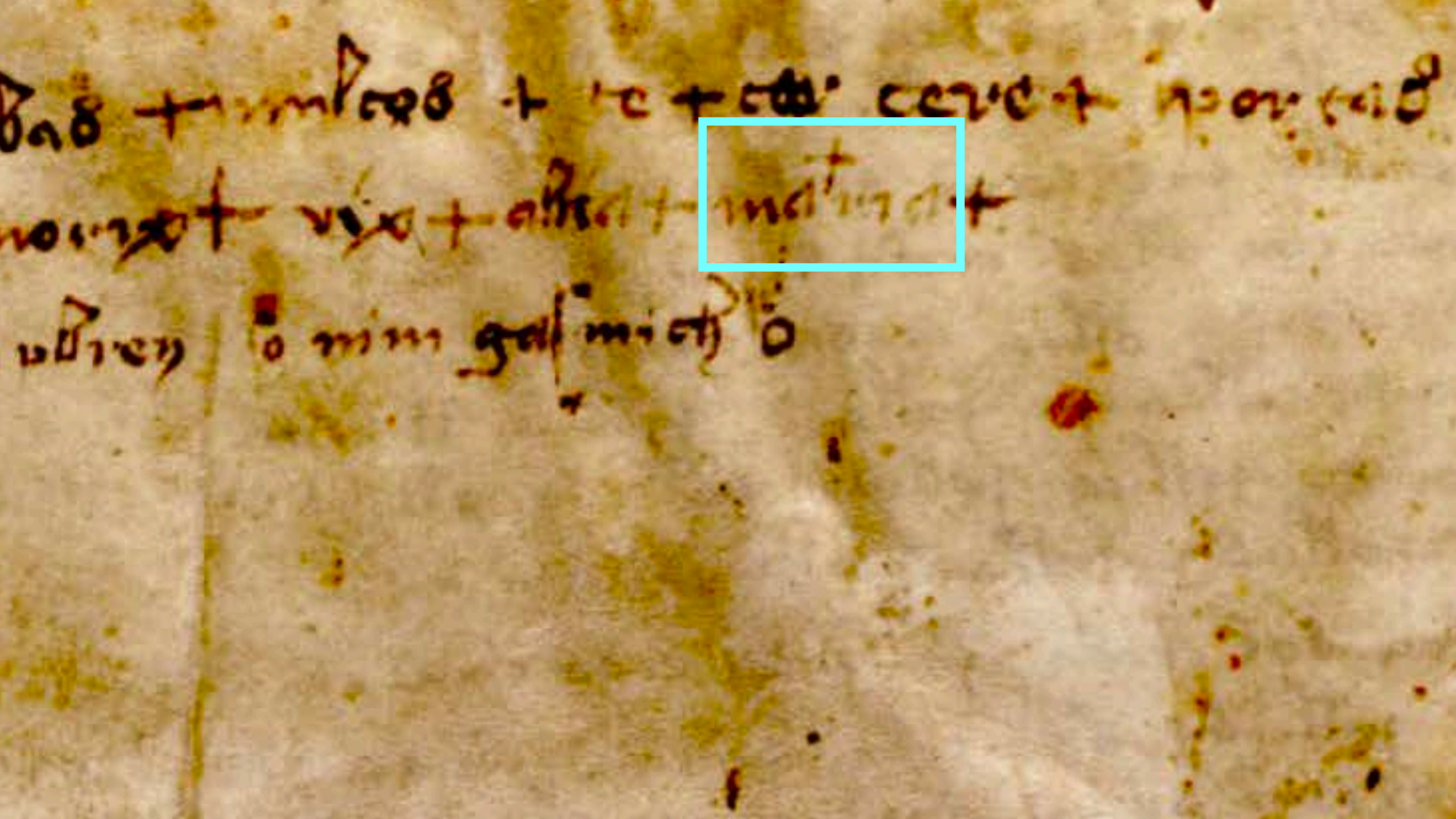
VMS, fol. 116v.

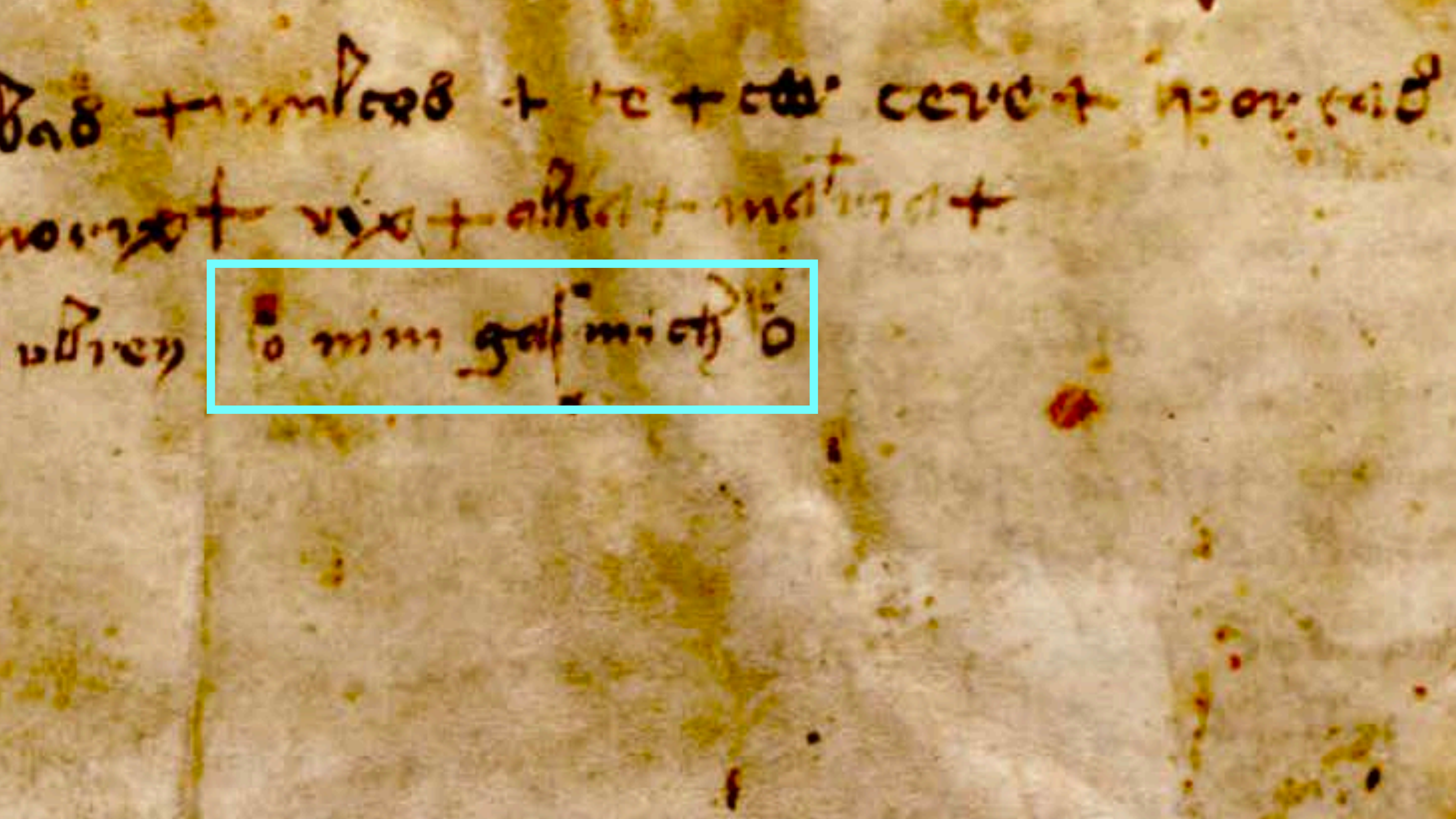


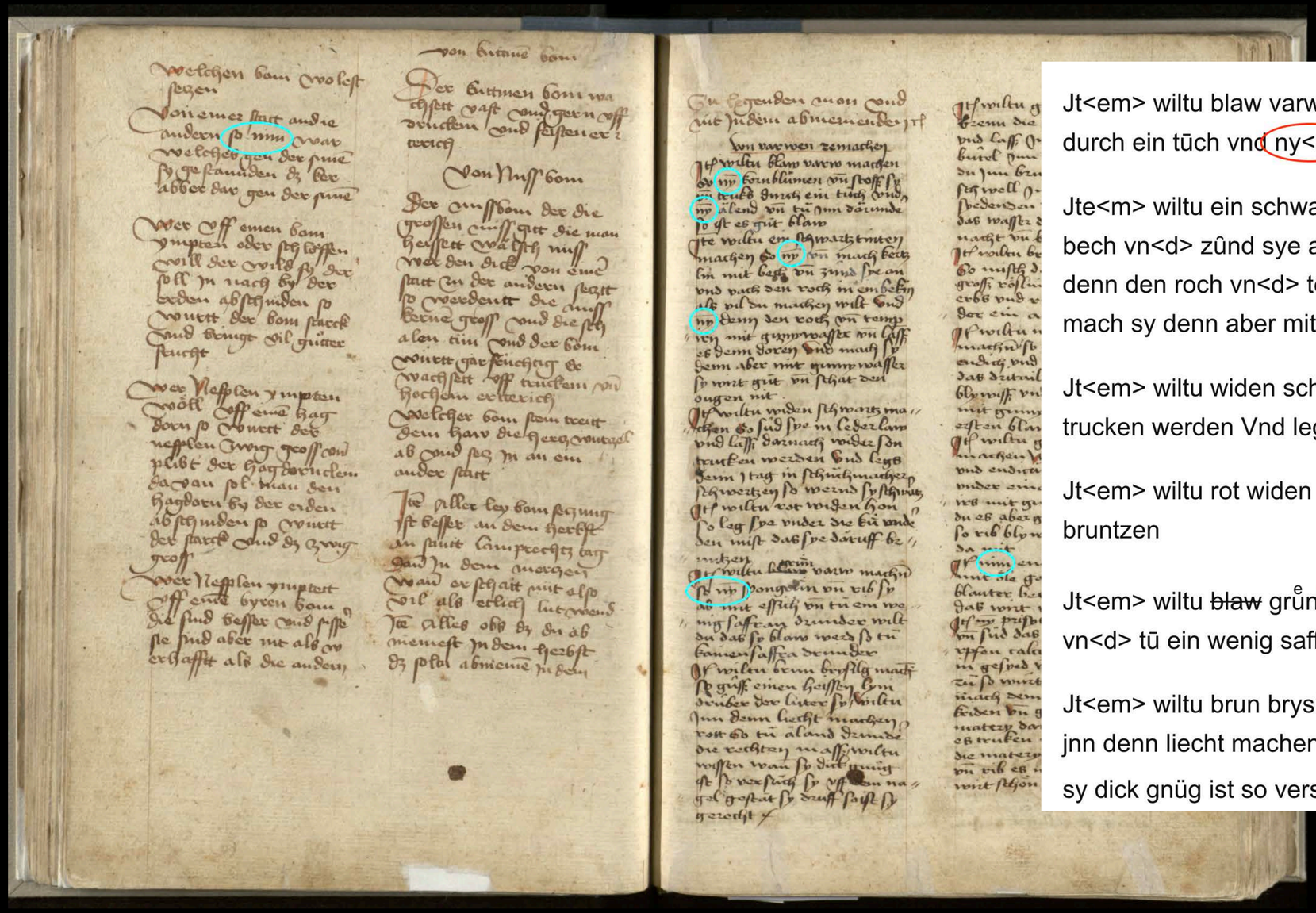
VMS, fol. 116v.



VMS, fol. 116v.







Jt wiltu blaw varw machen So[8] ny<m> kornblümen vn<d> stoß sy vn<d> truks durch ein tūch vnd ny<m> älend vn<d> tü jnn därunde<r> so ist es gūt blaw

Jte<m> wiltu ein schwartz tinten machen So ny<m> [Wort fehlt] vn<d> mach kertzlin mit bech vn<d> zûnd sye an vnd vach den roch in ein bekin als vil du machen wilt Vnd ny<m> denn den roch vn<d> temp<er>irn mit gumywasser vn<d> laß es denn dor<r>en Vnd mach sy denn aber mit gumy wasser sy wirt gūt vn<d> schat den ougen nit.

Jt wiltu widen schwartz machen So sûd sye in lederlaw vnd laßß darnach wider so trucken werden Vnd legs denn j tag in schüchmacher schwertzen so wernd sy schwa<r>

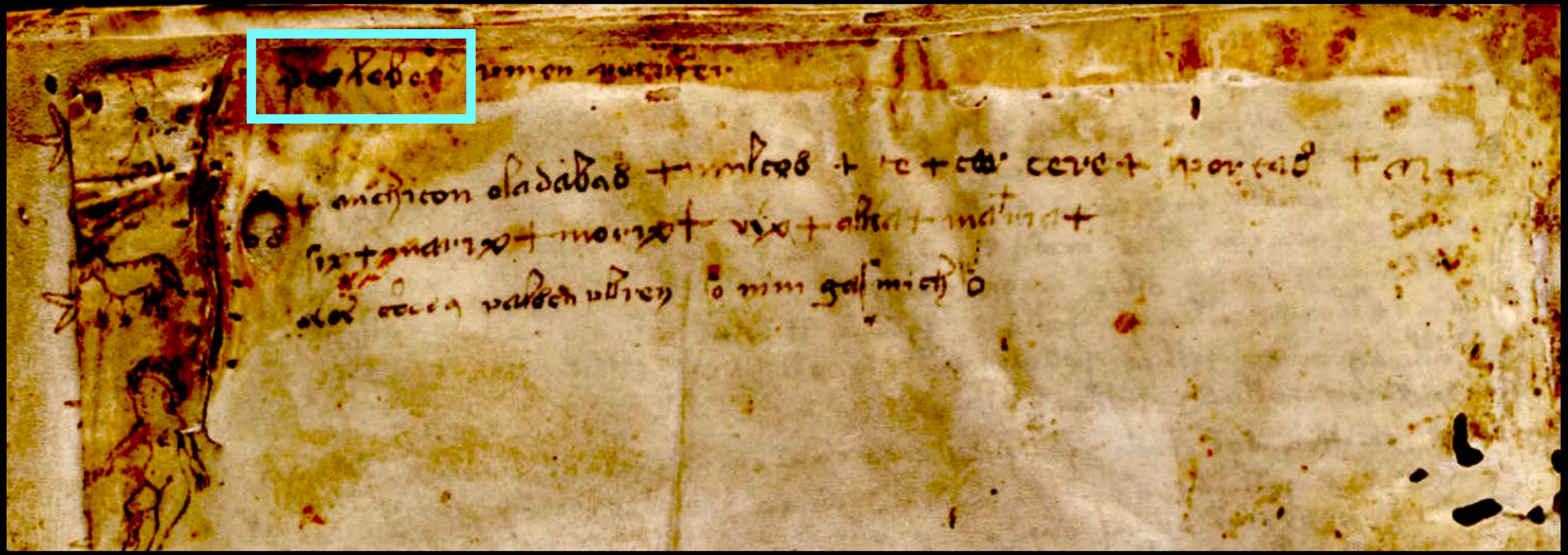
Jt wiltu rot widen hon so leg sye vnder die kū vnde<r> den mist das sye däruff bruntzen

Jt wiltu ~~blaw~~ grūn[9] varw mach<e>n so ny<m> spongrūn vn<d> rib sy ab mit essic vn<d> tū ein wenig saffran drunder wilt du das sy blaw werd so tū kainen saffra drunder

Jt wiltu brun brysilg mache<n> so gûsß einen heissen lym drûber der luter sy/ Wilt jnn denn liecht machen rott So tü āland drunde<r> die rechten masß/ wiltu wissen wan< sy dick gnüg ist so versüch sy vff dem nagel gestāt sy druff so ist sy gerecht / [fol. 71rb][1

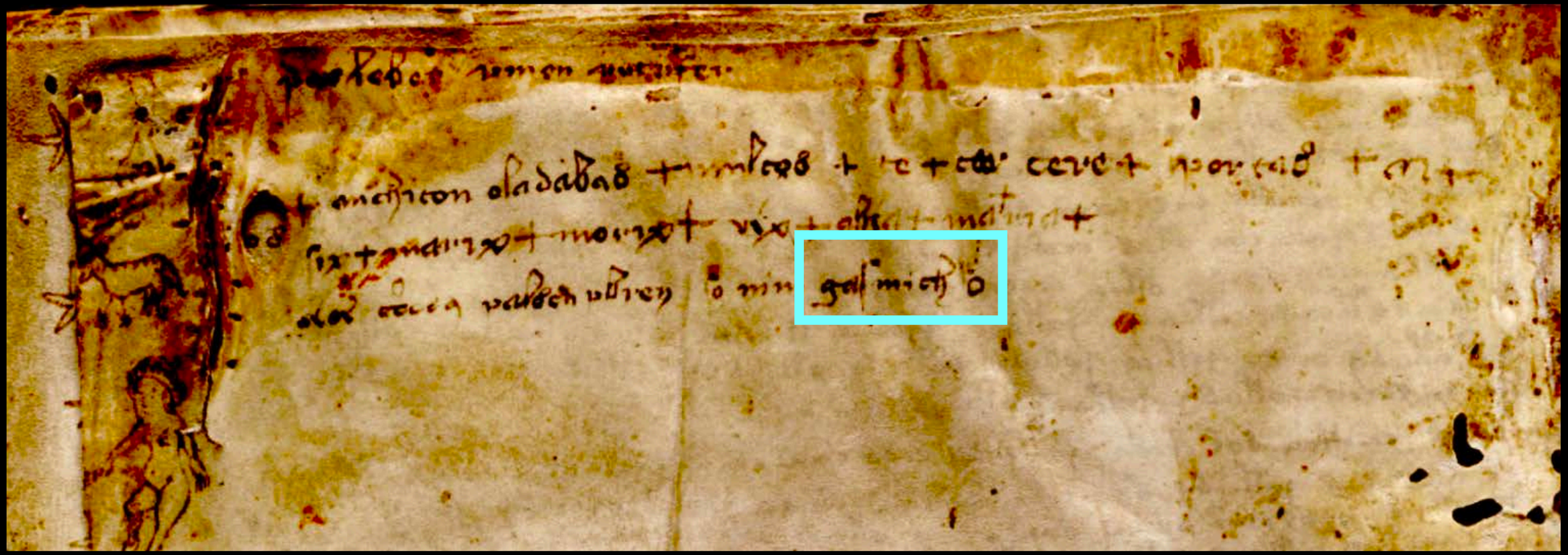
Left: Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek, Cod. germ. 1, fol. 70v-71r, c. 1463.

Right: Diplomatic transcription of fol. 70v by Marco Heiles, from https://mittelalter.hypotheses.org/11576#02.



poxleber = goat’s liver

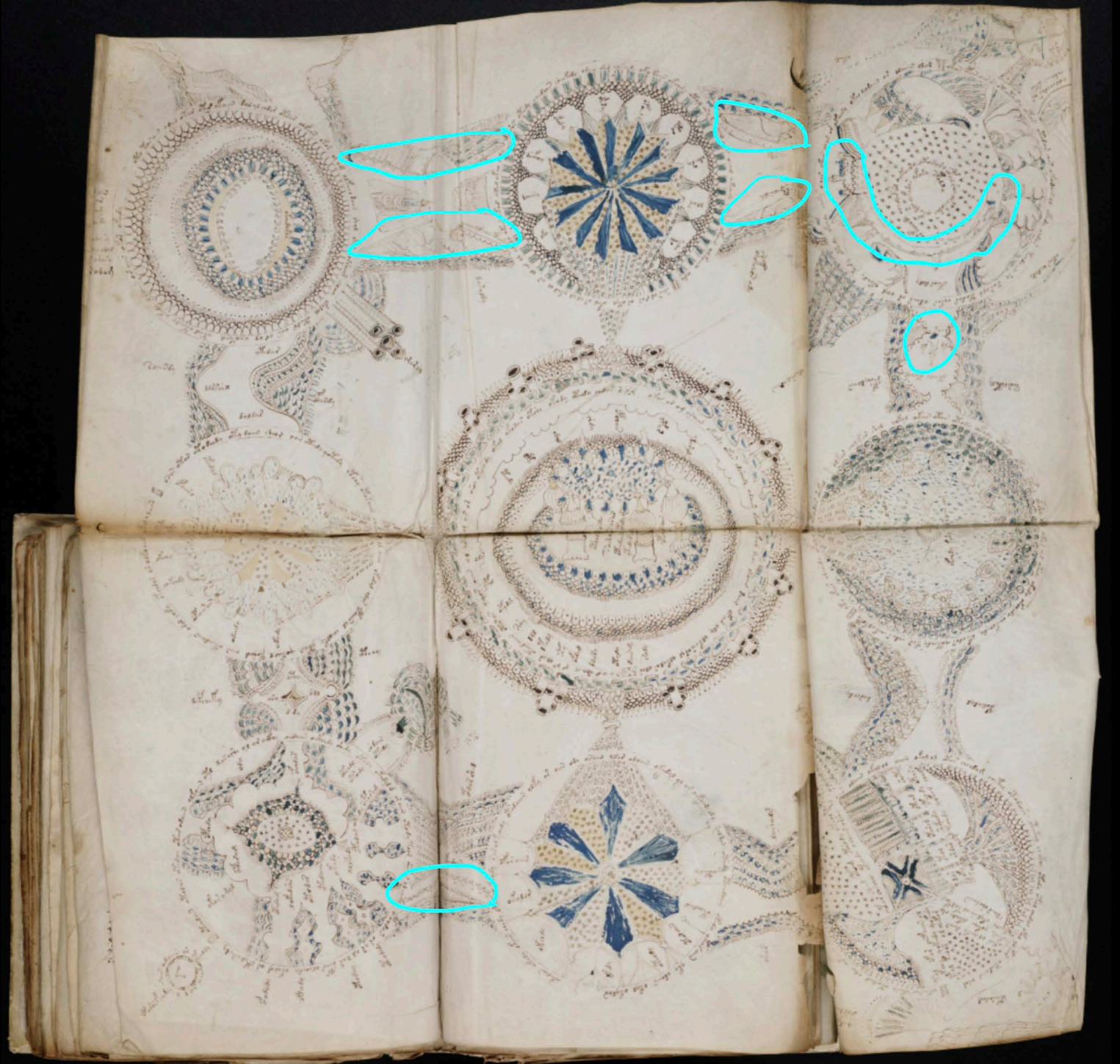
VMS, fol. 116v.



VMS, fol. 116v.

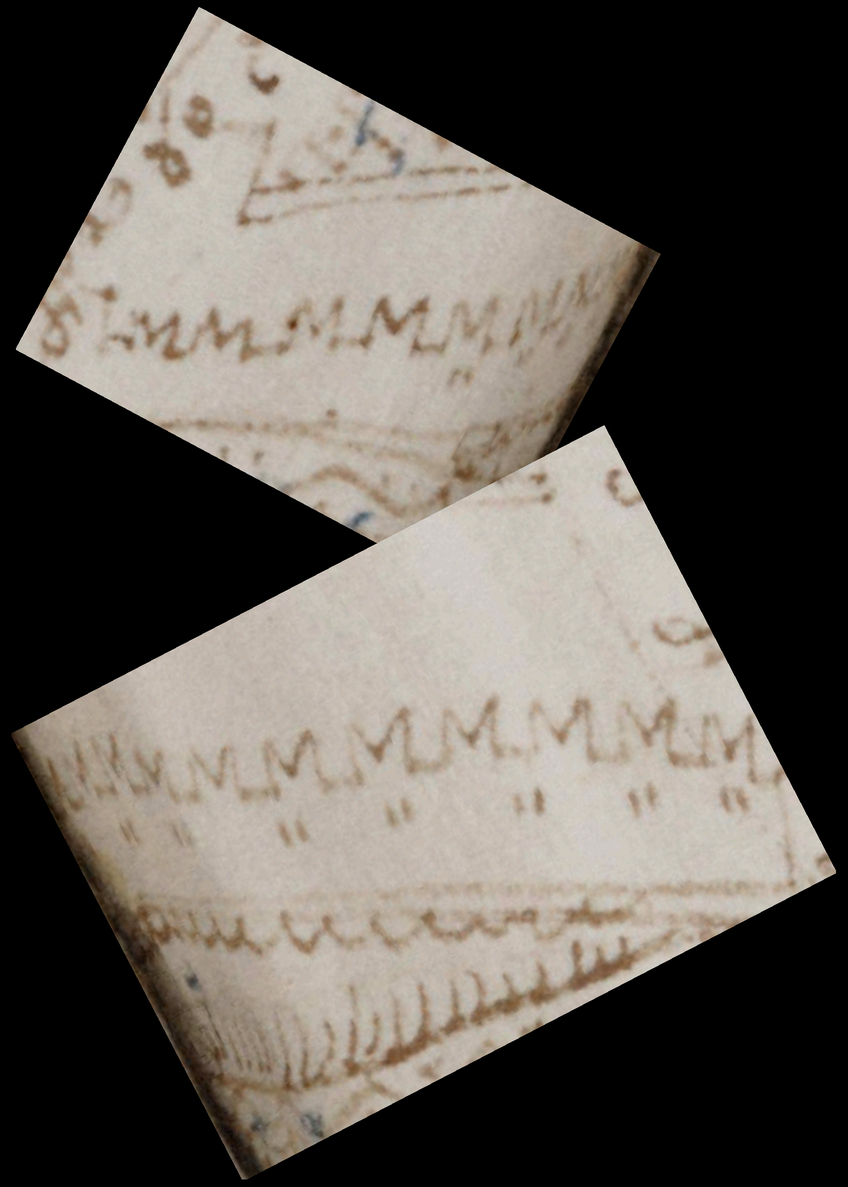
gas mich = gaisz milch (goat’s milk)?

VMS, ‘Rosettes’.

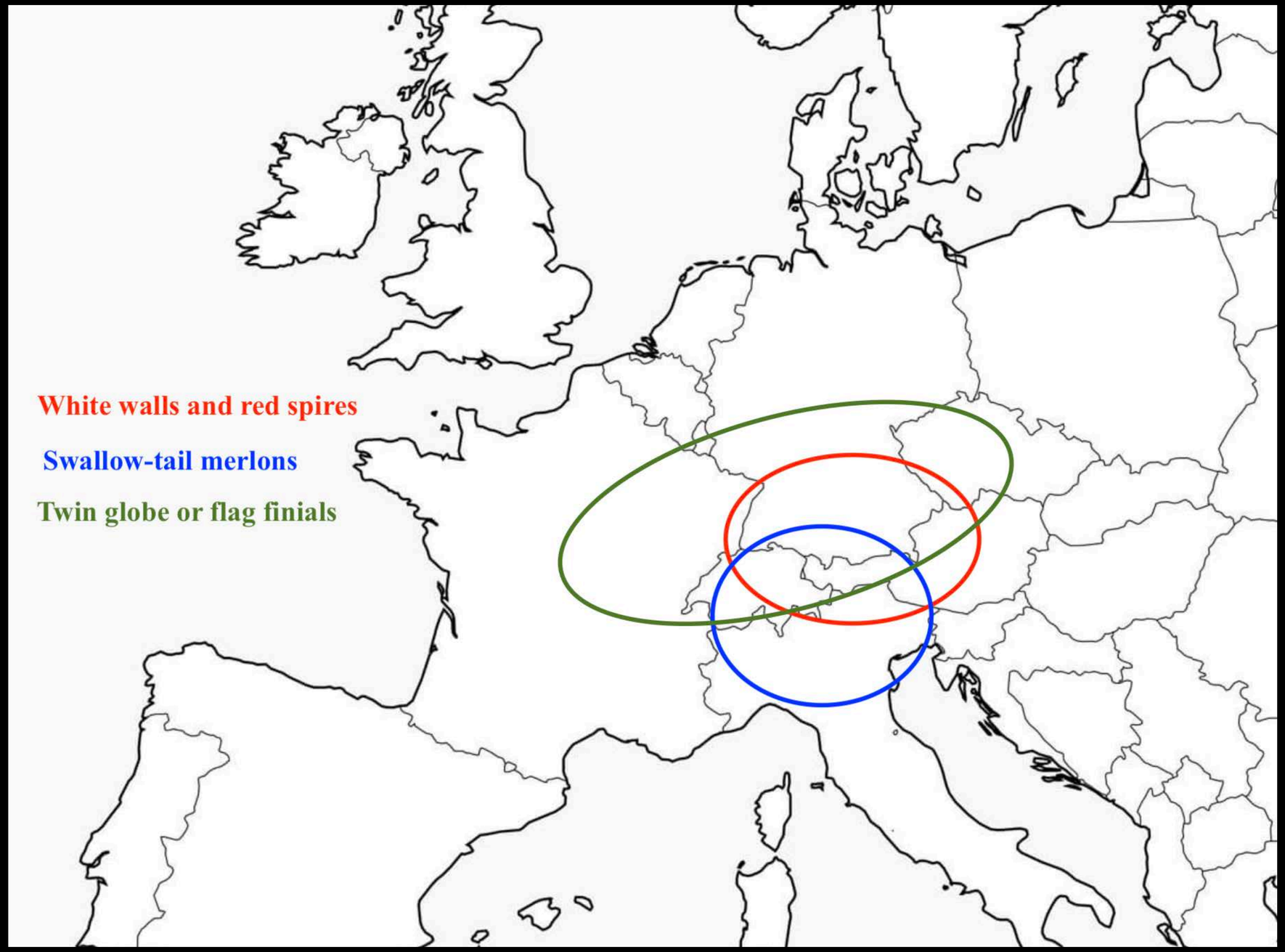


VMS, ‘Rosettes’.

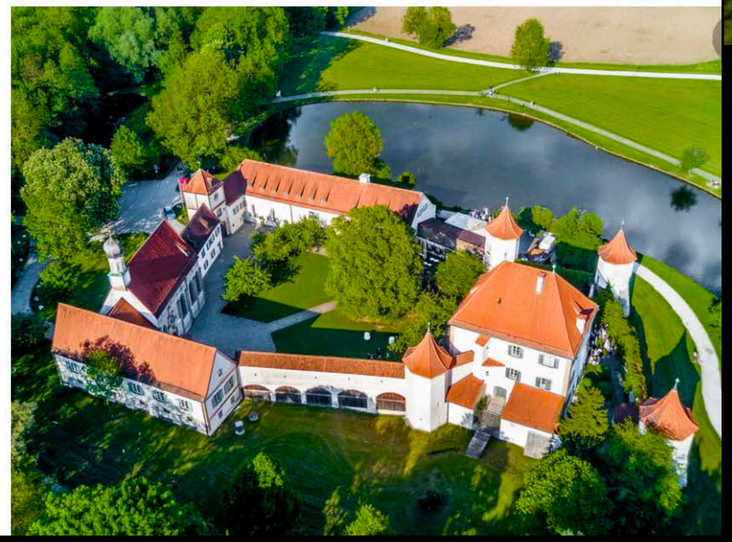
VMS, ‘Rosettes’, detail.



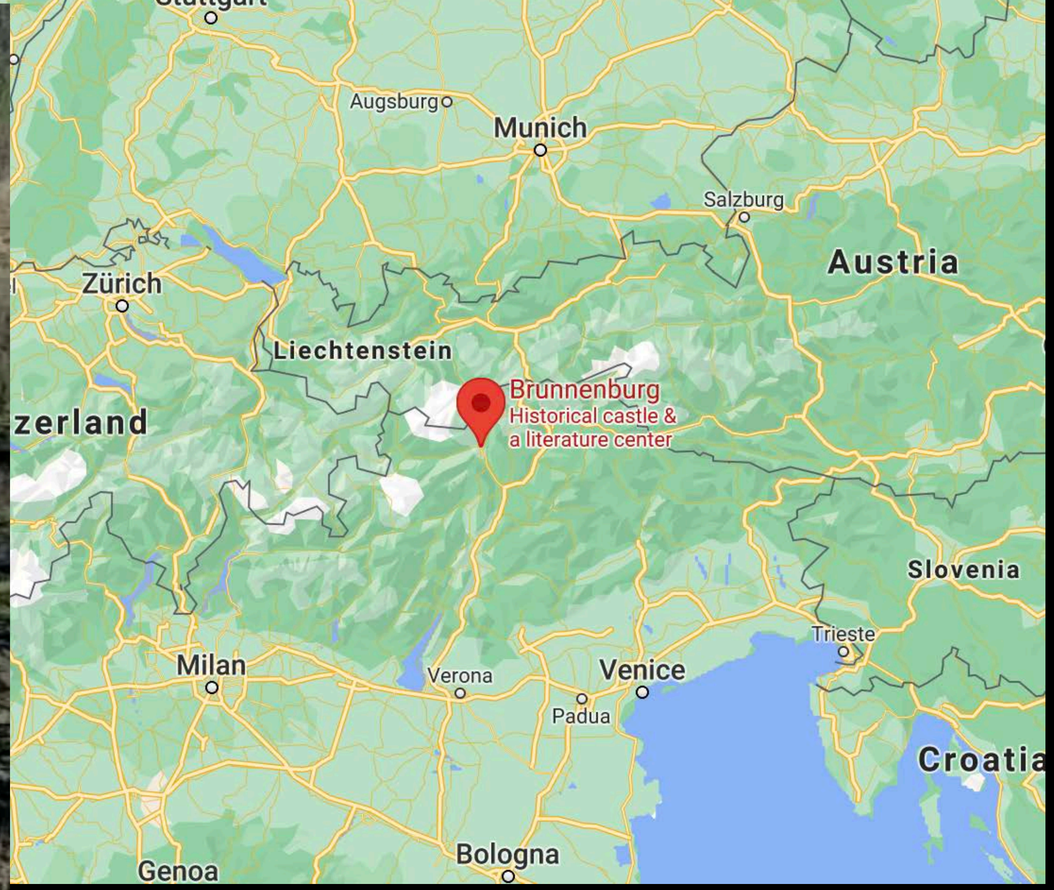
Left: Swallow.
VMS, ‘Rosettes’, detail.

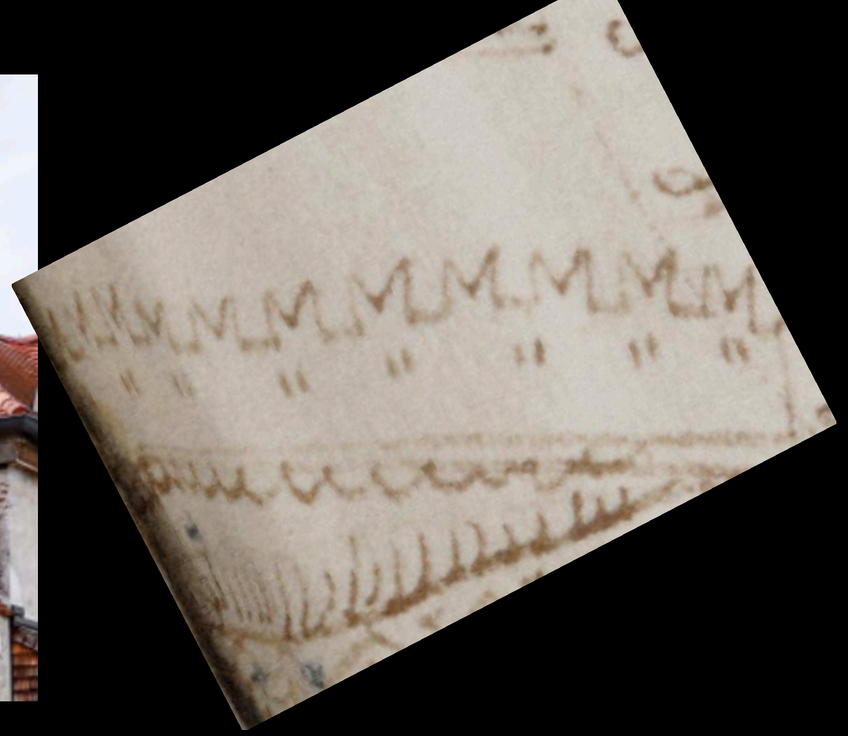


Map of Europe with approximate ranges of the features of the VMS castles and city walls. Note: This diagram is not comprehensive.

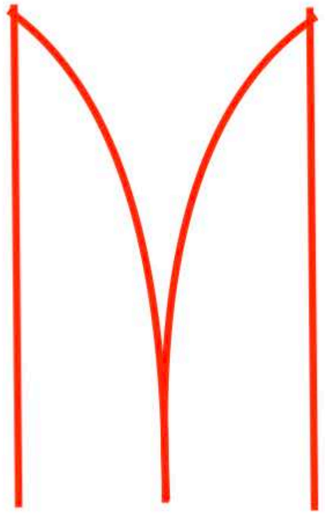


Above: Burghausen Castle.
Left, top-left: Trausnitz Castle.
Left, top-right: Trausnitz Castle.
Left, bottom-left: Blutenberg Castle.
Left, bottom-right: Blutenberg Castle.

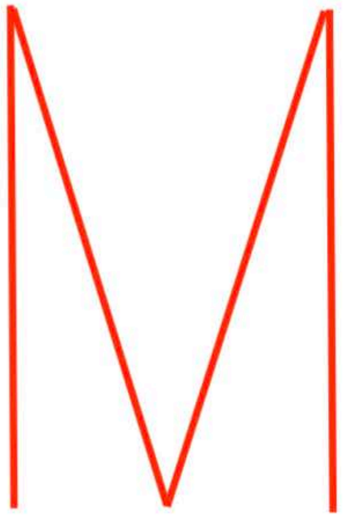

Augsburg
Munich
Salzburg
Austria
Zürich
Liechtenstein
zerland
Brunnenburg
Historical castle &
a literature center
Slovenia
Trieste
Milan
Verona
Venice
Padua
Croatia
Genoa
Bologna



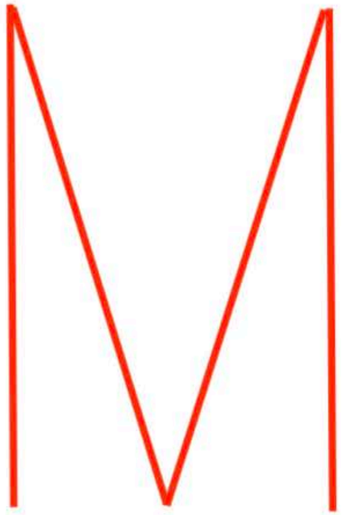
Brunnenberg
(Northern Italy)

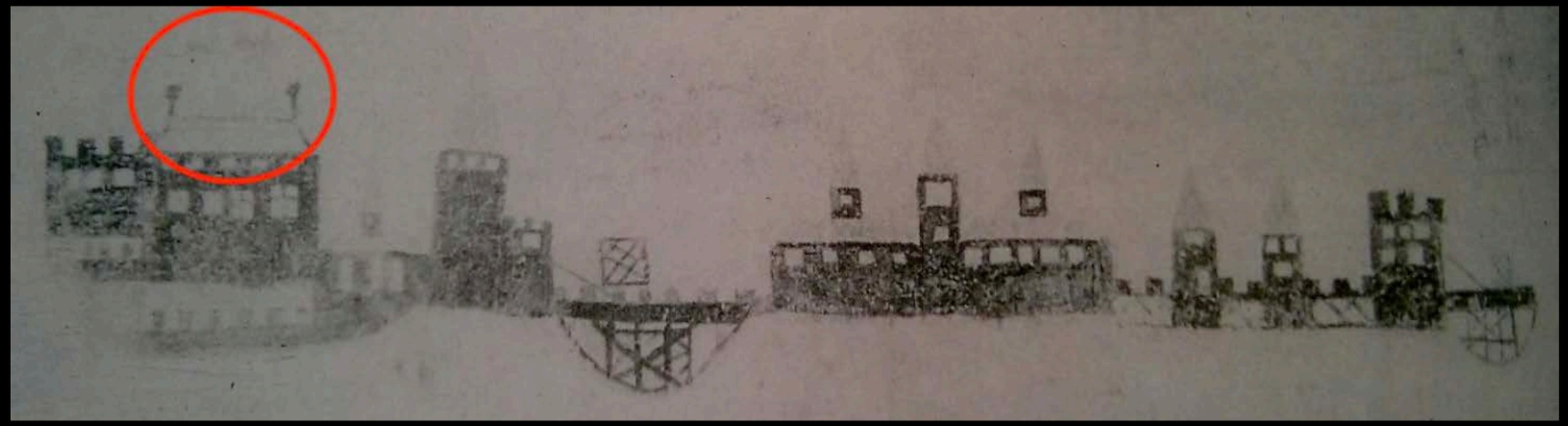


Burghausen
(Bavaria)



Voynich MS

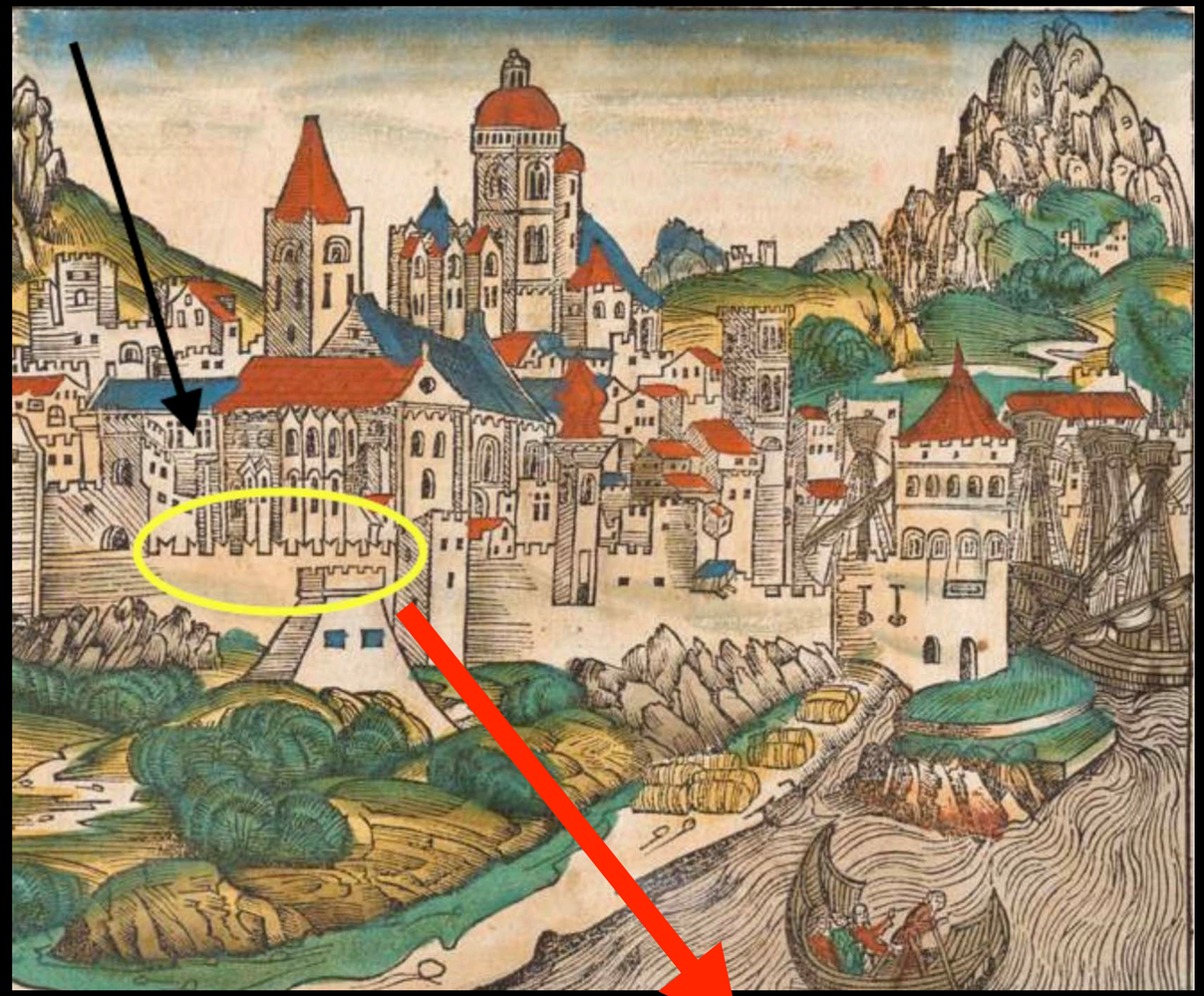


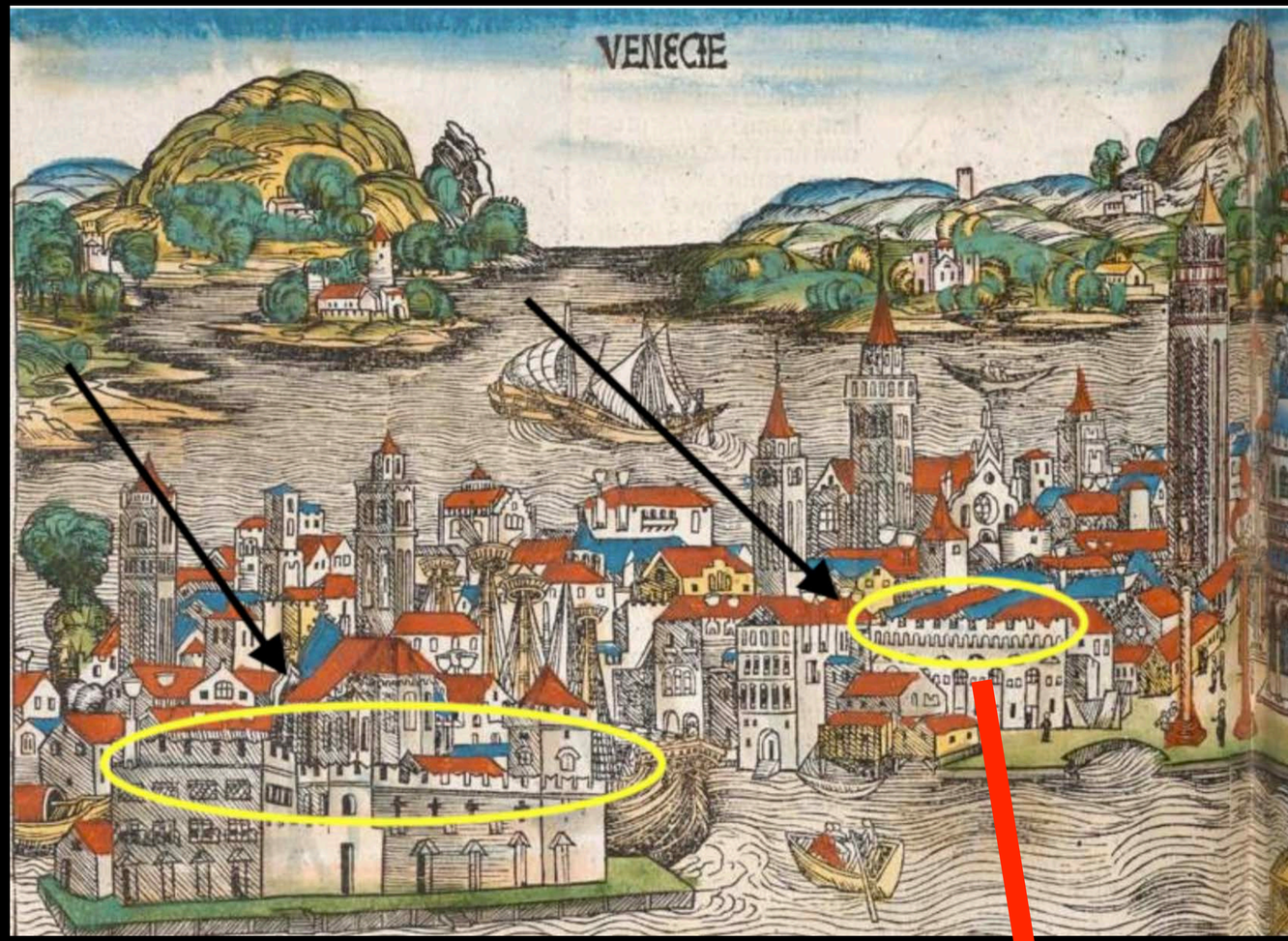


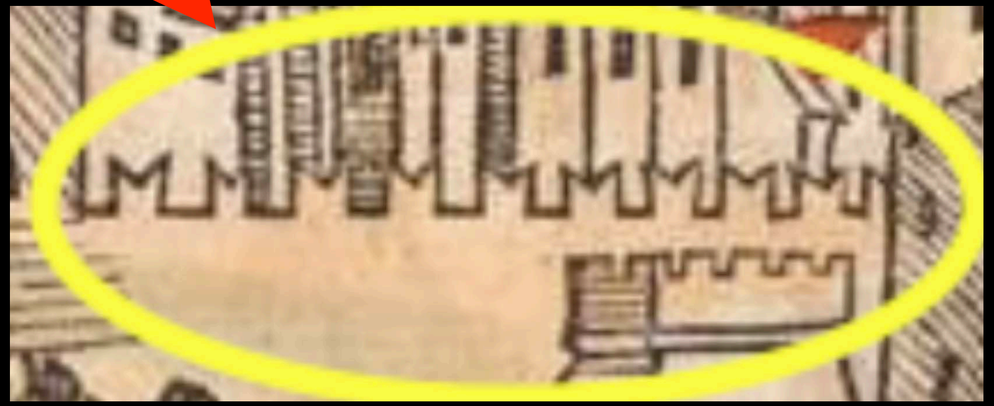
Top Middle: 1477 illustration of Burghausen from Heilig Kreuz, 2km south, image provided by Magdalena März. of Burghausen.

Above: VMS, ‘Rosettes’, detail.
Right: VMS, ‘Rosettes’, detail.

Far Right: Philipp Apian’s 1568 illustration of Burghausen from http://burgenseite.de/html/burghausen.html.





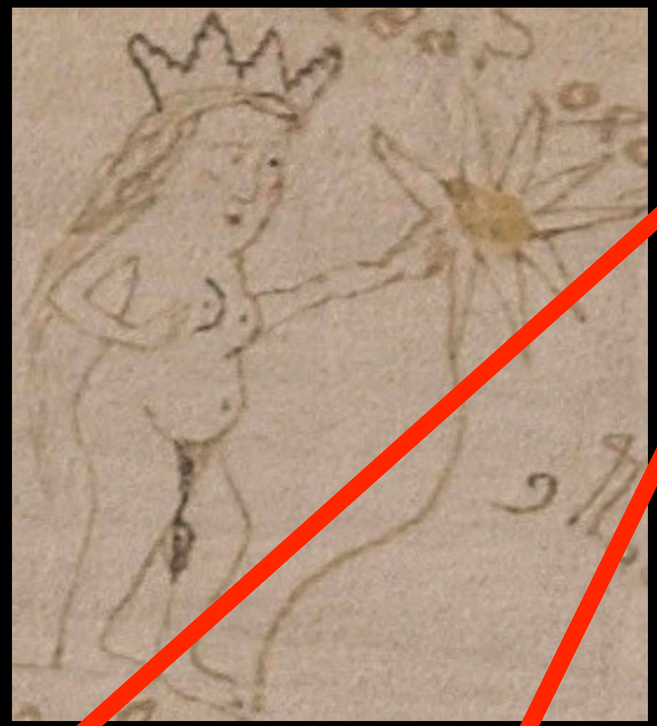


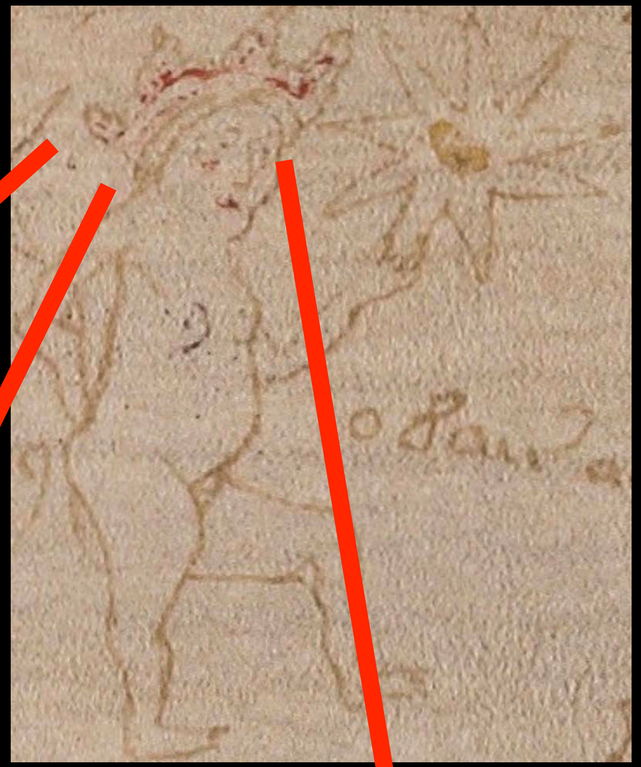
Illustrations from Hartmann Schedel's *Weltchronik*. Completed on 14th July 1493. Illustrated in Nuremberg by Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff.

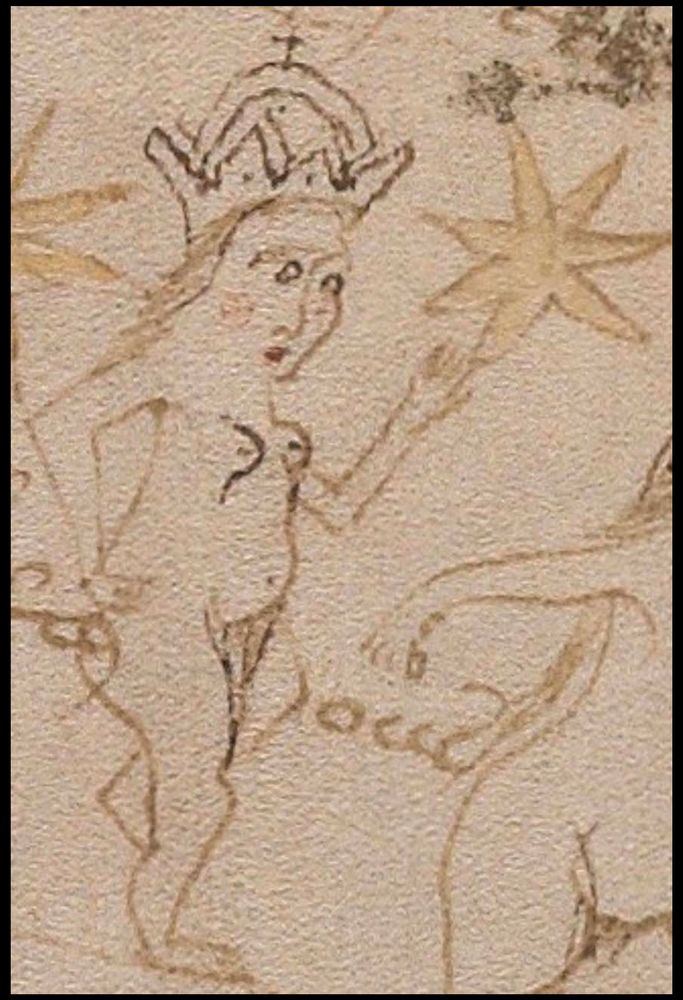
Left: A stock image used for Mainz, Aquileia, Bologna, etc.
Right: Venice

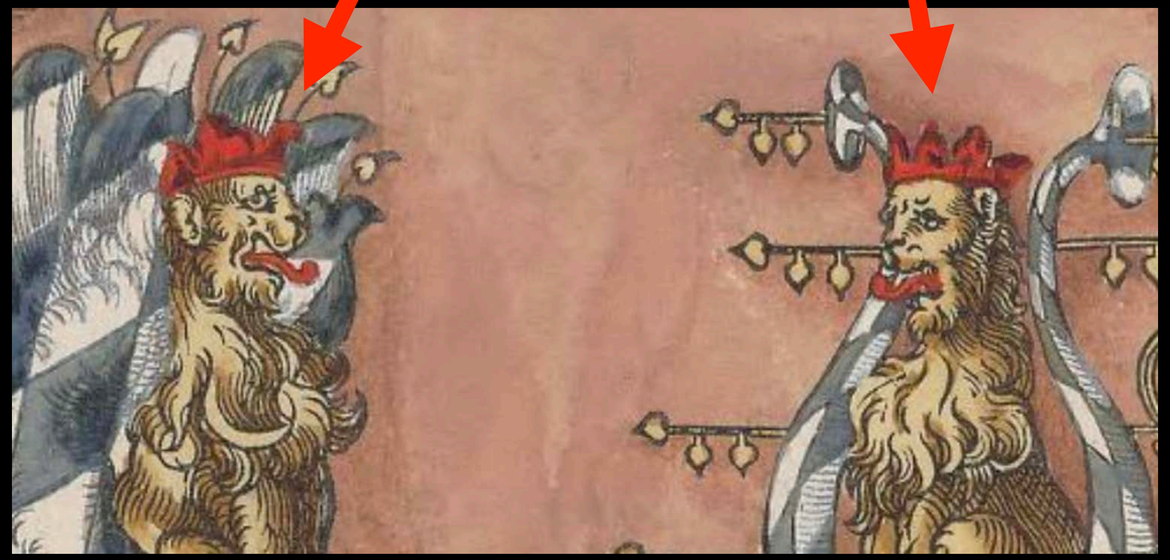
Top Row: VMS, fols 72r3, 72v3, and 72v1 (angles altered).

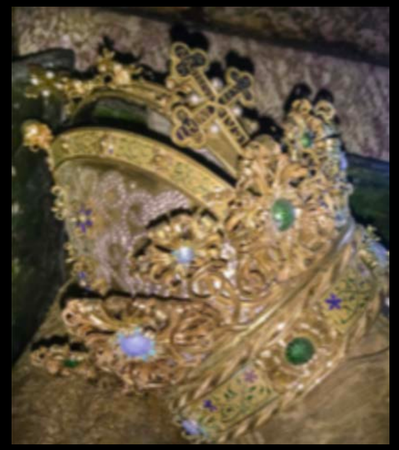
Bottom Row: Philipp Apian's illustrations of the Palatine Lion (*Pfälzer Löwe*) with red crown, dated 1568. A similar crown appears on a black-skinned heraldic figure next to the city of Freising (http://digital.bib-bvb.de/view/bvbmets/viewer.0.6.4.jsp?folder_id=0&dvs=1609720708123~695&pid=233546&locale=en&usePid1=true&usePid2=true).



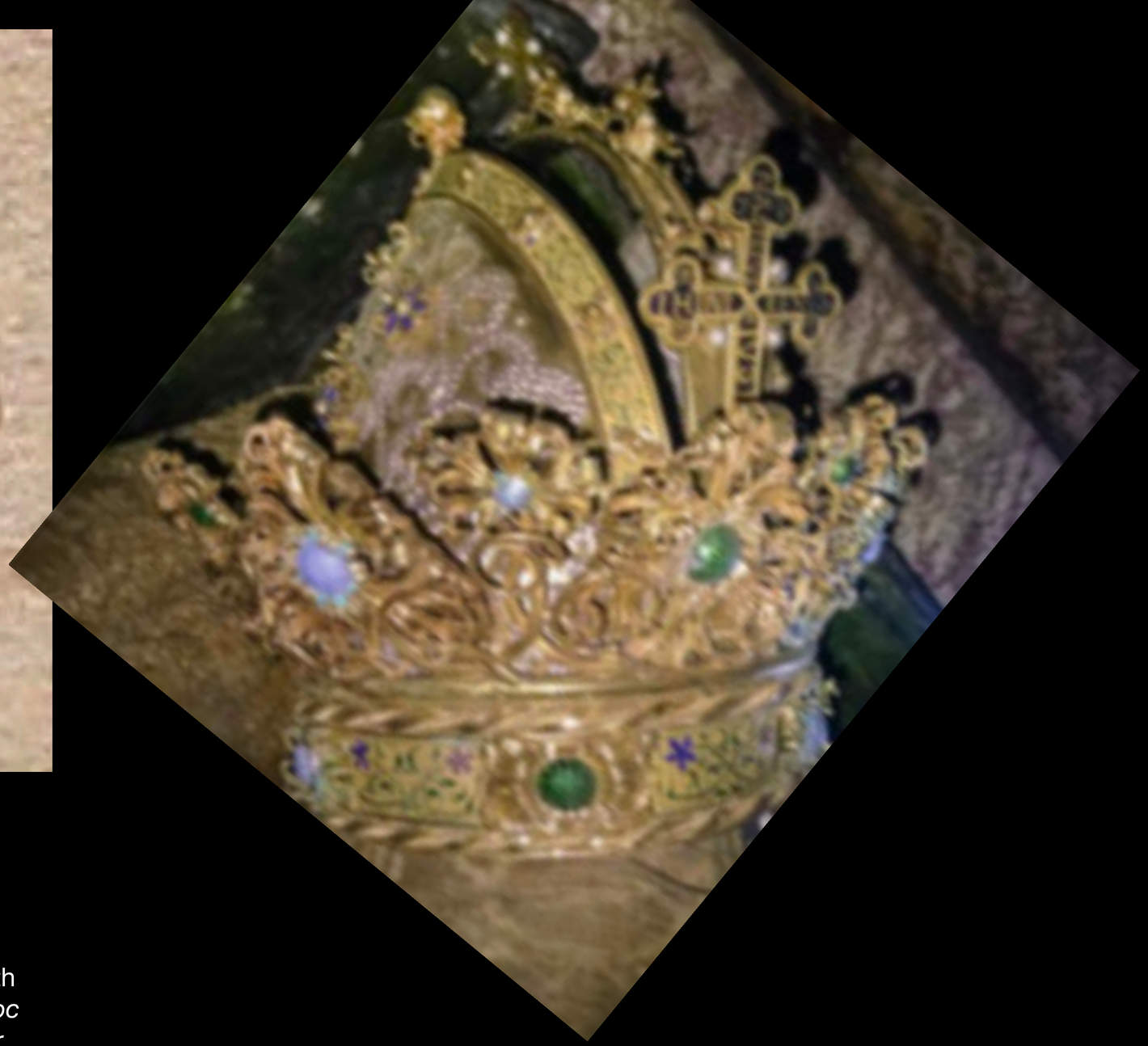








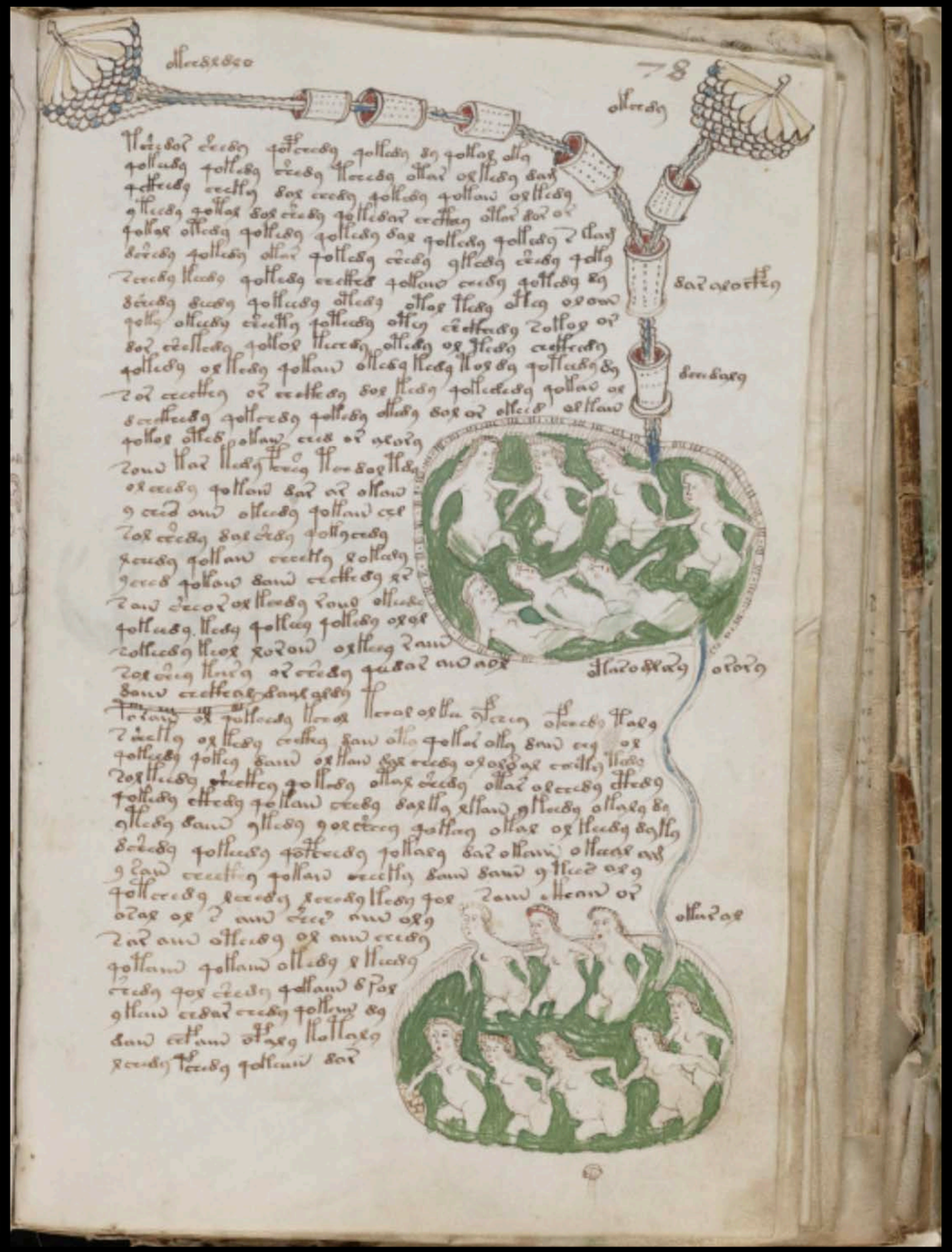
1: VMS, fol. 72v1
2: Hans Baldung, *Madonna Lactans*, 1515, German
3: Frederick Barbarossa, Fulda, Hoschul- und Landesbibliothek, D 11, fol. 14r, *Historia Welforum*, from Weingarten, late 12C
4: BSB, Rar. 287, Hartmann Schedel's *Weltchronik*. Illustrated in Nuremberg by Michael Wolgemut and Wilhelm Pleydenwurff, Completed on 14th July 1493, image 9, http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00034024/image_9
5: (Same as 4), image 73, http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00034024/image_73
6 and 7: BSB, Clm 428, fol. 3r, Nuremberg, 1493, http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/bsb00027555/image_2
8 and 9: Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III's crown, photos taken in his tomb, http://www.thehistoryblog.com/archives/57081, with onward reference to F. Kirchweger et al., *In hoc precioso monomento: Die Bestattung Kaiser Friedrichs III. In Wiener Stephansdom* (Vienna, 2019).
10: Illustration of Frederick III from 'Der Aller durchleuchtigsten und grossmachtigen Kayser… Konigen und Ertzhertzogen… Fursten, wie auch Grafen, Herren von Adel', Innsbruck, 1601.
11: As yet unidentified Madonna Lactans.



Left: VMS, fol. 72v1
Right: Holy Roman Emperor Frederick III's crown, photos taken in his tomb, http://www.thehistoryblog.com/archives/57081, with onward reference to F. Kirchweger et al., *In hoc precioso monomento: Die Bestattung Kaiser Friedrichs III. In Wiener Stephansdom* (Vienna, 2019).

Left: VMS, fol. 72v1
Right: Martin Mutschlechner, ‘Almost a Crown: The Austrian Archducal Coronet’, https://www.habsburger.net/en/chapter/almost-crown-austrian-archducal-coronet

Thesis 2: The manuscript concerns gynaecology and sex.



VMS, fols 75r and 78r

VMS, fol. 80r.

VMS, fol. 80v (colour and contrast altered).

VMS, fol. 75r

VMS, fol. 76v

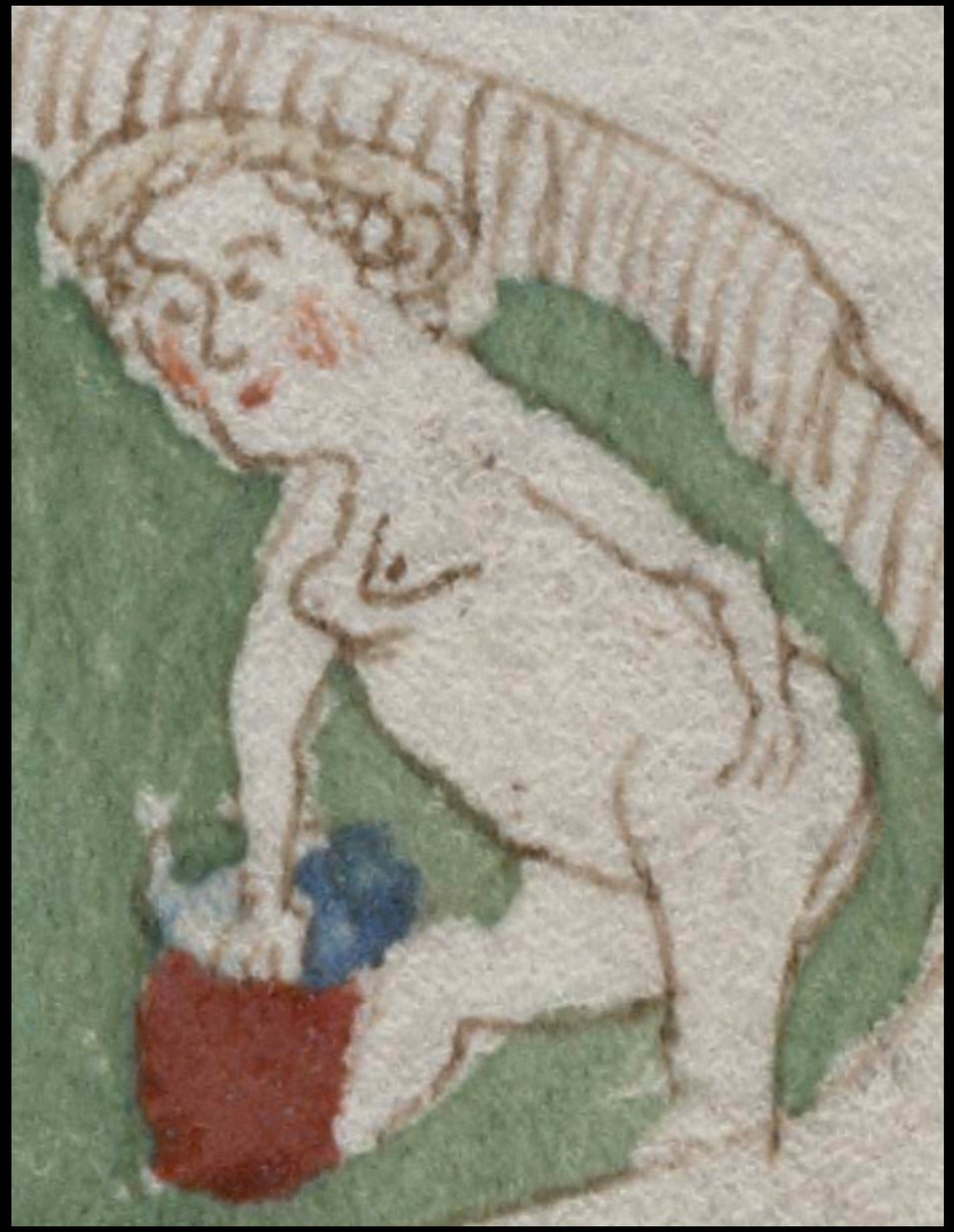
VMS, fol. 76v

VMS, 79v

VMS, fol. 80r

VMS, fol. 80r

VMS, fol. 80r



Left: VMS, fol. 84r
Right: VMS, fol. 79r.

Top-left: VMS, fol. 80v
Top-right: VMS, fol. 82r
Bottom: VMS, fol. 79v

Top-Left: VMS, fol. 80v
Top-Right: VMS, fol. 82r

‘Put the other [half of the potion] into the golden doors [= vagina] with a syringa. A syringa is a thing like **a small clyster bag**’.

(dz ander thue mit aine[m] syringa indy guld[en] port[e]n. Syringa ist ain ding als ain chlainer klistir sack).

Hartlieb, *Buch Trotula*, Cgm 261, fol. 58r.
My translation and edition.

Top-Left: VMS, fol. 80v
Top-Right: VMS, fol. 82r

Bottom: Enema / Clyster, BSB Clm 337, fol. 131r, Dioscorides, 10th century, uncovered of J. K. Petersen.

‘Put the other [half of the potion] into the golden doors [= vagina] with a syringa. A syringa is a thing like **a small clyster bag**’.

(dz ander thue mit aine[m] syringa indy guld[en] port[e]n. Syringa ist ain ding als ain chlainer klistir sack).

Hartlieb, *Buch Trotula*, Cgm 261, fol. 58r. My translation.

VMS, fol. 77v

Tuccia, from The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, inv. no. KB 66 B 13, *c.* 1470.

cures goes beyond the material found in his sources, and indeed it is the most complete treatment of this topic that I have seen among medieval scientific writers.

Directions for the proper method for performing sexual intercourse are more common, and William's instructions, largely drawn from Avicenna, are paralleled in medical and natural-philosophical writings. Like his Arabic source, he includes them in the chapter, "On those things which aid conception";[20] another justification found among Latin writers is that the reproductive act should be performed properly, for, if it is not, birth defects will result.[21] William's instructions begin with a description of the conditions under which the act should take place, and, once again, he is far more detailed than the *Canon*. The two individuals should have contrary complexions; they should have undergone a long period of abstinence beforehand; neither of them should be inebriated, and the woman should have prepared herself. This means that she should have had a hot bath, placed medication in the vulva every day, and should be in the middle of her menstrual cycle.[22] A fourteenth-century

Helen Rodnite Lemay, 'William of Saliceto on Human Sexuality', *Viator* 12 (1981), 165–181, at 169.

VMS, fol. 76v

VMS, fol. 76v

On Those Who Do Not Wish to Conceive

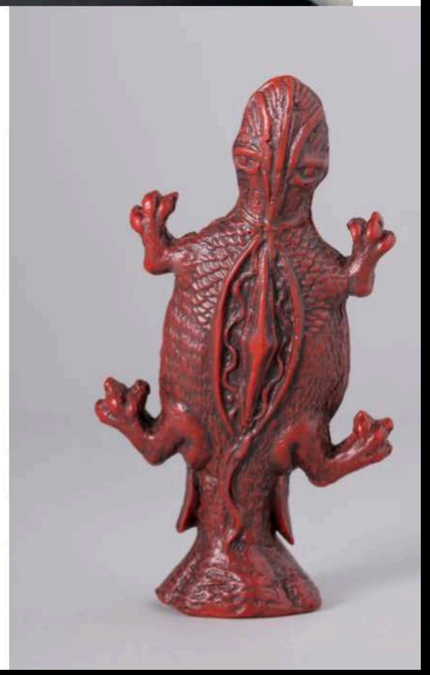
[84] If a woman does not wish to conceive, let her carry against her nude flesh the womb of a goat which has never had offspring.

[85] Or there is found a certain stone, [called] "jet," which if it is held by the woman or even tasted[45] prohibits conception.

[86] In another fashion, take a male weasel and let its testicles be removed and let it be released alive. Let the woman carry these testicles with her in her bosom and let her tie them in goose skin or in another skin, and she will not conceive.

[87] If she has been badly torn in birth and afterward for fear of death does not wish to conceive any more, let her put into the afterbirth as many grains of caper spurge or barley as the number of years she wishes to remain barren. And if she wishes to remain barren forever, let her put in a handful.

Monica Green (ed. and trans.), *Trotula* (Philadelphia, 2001), 78.



Above: VMS, 80v.

Right: Three womb toads (*Gebärmutterkröte* or *Krötevotiv*), all Bavarian of unknown date.

Top Right: red wax, from https://www.srf.ch/kultur/gesellschaft-religion/objekte-und-ihre-geschichte-diese-kroete-soll-zum-wunschkind-verhelfen

Bottom Left: of lead, from https://www.volkskundemuseum.at/onlinesammlungen/oemv14176

Bottom Right: of red wax, from: https://sammlungen.uni-goettingen.de/objekt/record_kuniweb_365403/1/

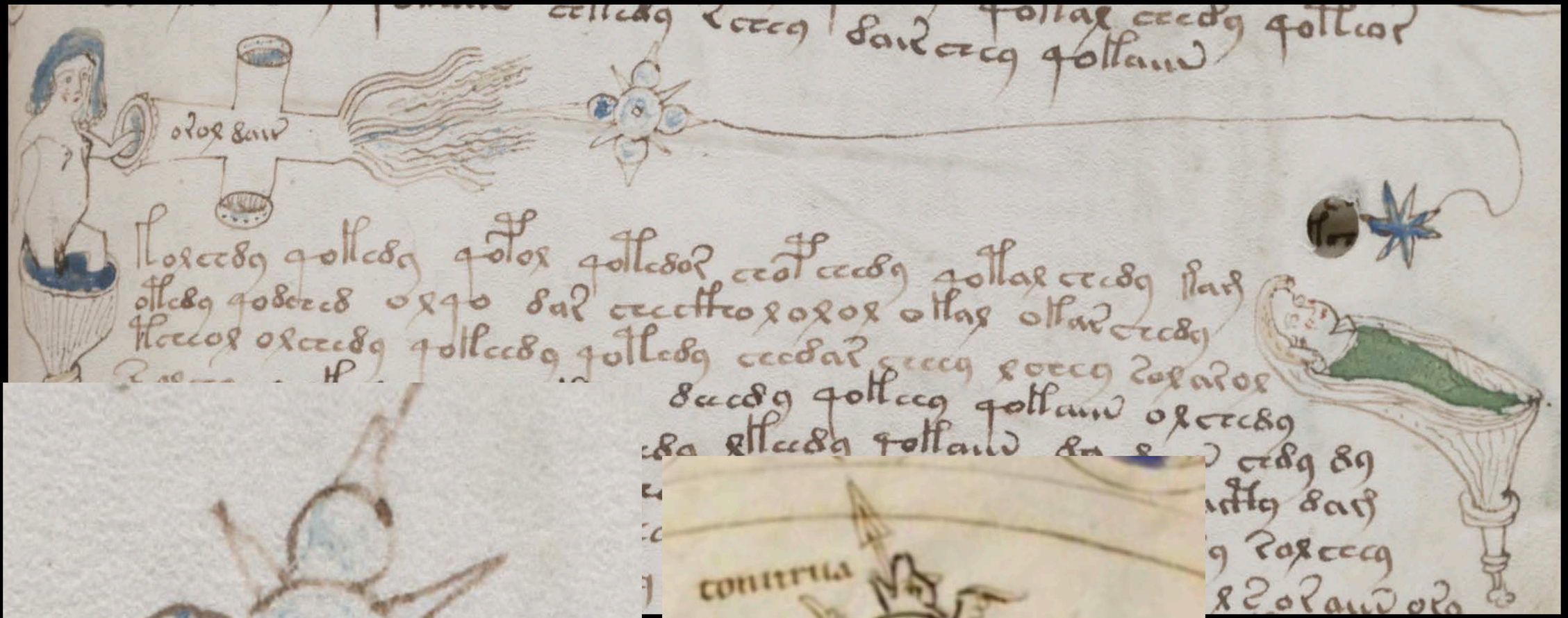
Fur die mueter
„Ich peut dir, permueter, bey der macht vnd bey der heyligen gottes kraft, das du dich legest vnd nit mer regest, dan regest du dich, so stirbt N., so legt man euch pede in ain grab, da müst ir in ligen bis an den jungsten tag".
Du solt der frawen nabel stargk in die hant nemen vnd den segen drey malen daruber sprechen vnd als oft i pater noster.[145]

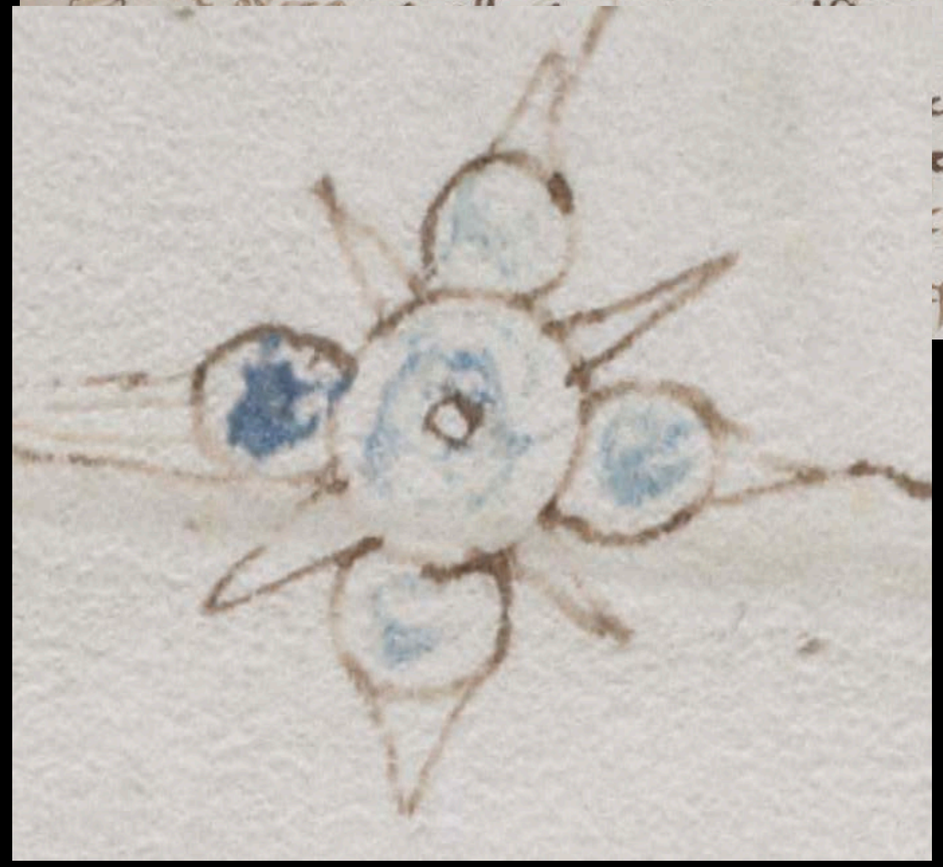
Durch die kräftige Berührung der Außenseite des Körpers an der Stelle, an der sich die Gebärmutter befindet, wird der Beschwörung zusätzlicher Nachdruck verliehen, ebenso wie durch die dreimalige Wiederholung des Segens und des Vaterunsers.

Da die Kröte im Volksglauben als dämonisches Tier mit zauberhafter Kraft angesehen wurde,[146] konnte die Vorstellung von ihrer Existenz im weiblichen Körper als Erklärung für Schmerzen jeglicher Art im Unterleib, beispielsweise auch Koliken, instrumentalisiert werden.[147] In medizinischen Texten des 15. Jahrhunderts wird die Vorstellung erwähnt, eine Gebärmutter könne sowohl bei Frauen als auch bei Männern Schmerzen im Unterleib auslösen. Auch ein vermeintlich eigenständiges männliches Organ, der sogenannte „Bärvater", „ein Seitenstück zur (Ge-)Bärmutter – von welchem die Kolik ausgehen soll",[148] diente als Erklärung für Unterleibsbeschwerden, die aus mangelnden anatomischen Kenntnissen resultierte. So verwundert es nicht, wenn es in einer Handschrift heißt, das Rezept diene zur Behandlung der Gebärmutter bei Frauen und Männern: „Für die můter frawen vnd mannen".[149] Seit dem 16. Jahrhundert sind in den Wallfahrtskirchen von Kärnten, der Steiermark und Nordtirol, Ober-und Niederbayern, Württemberg, der Schweiz und dem Elsaß sogenannte „Bärmutterkröten" aus Holz, Wachs und Metall geopfert worden – und zwar von Frauen und Männern.[150] Daß auch Männer Votivkröten spendeten, läßt sich an Eintragungen in den Mirakelbüchern der Wallfahrtsorte ablesen. Sie wurden bei Unterleibserkrankungen bestimmten Heiligen wie Maria oder dem hl. Leonhard geopfert, um mit ihrer Hilfe die körperlichen Leiden zu heilen. Wie verbreitet die Vorstellung von einem dem Menschen innewohnenden, krankheitsauslösenden Tier war und wie lange diese nachwirkte, belegt eine

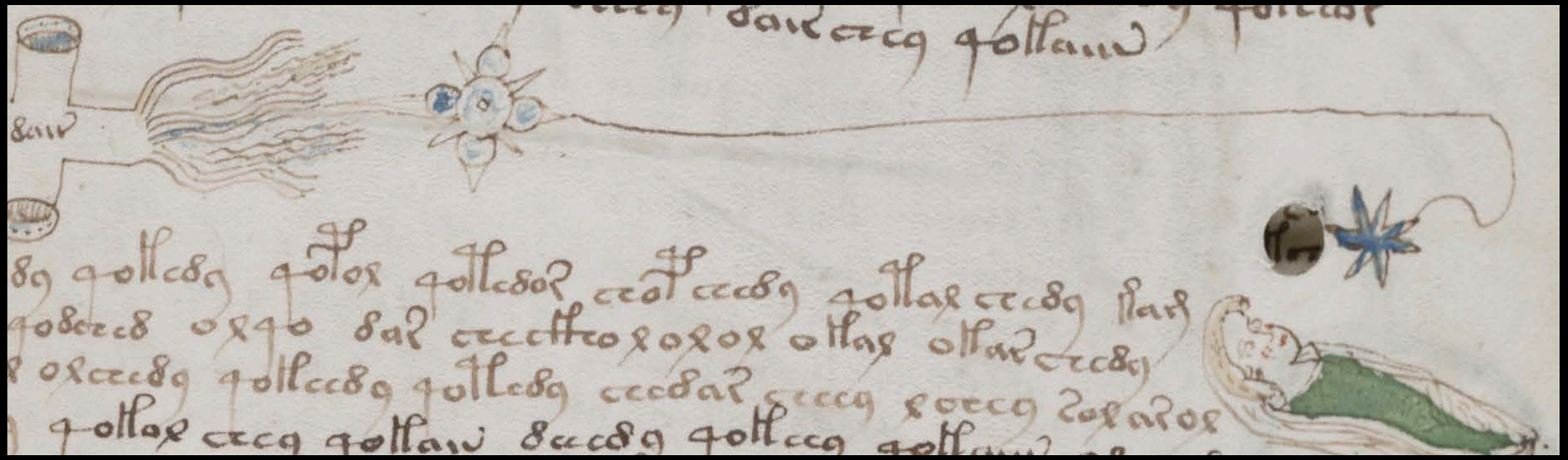
The *Bärvater* 'served as an explanation for anatomical complaints resulting from a lack of anatomical knowledge'.

Britta-Juliane Kruse, *Die Arznei ist Goldes wert: Mittelalterliche Frauenrezepte* (Berlin, 1999), p. 45.





Top and Bottom Left: VMS, fol. 82r;
Bottom Right: Thunder (*tonitrua*) from a copy of Hildegard of Bingen's *Scivias* produced in Zwiefalten and Salem, late 12/ early 13C



VMS, fol. 82r.

‘…the vapours which come from the thunder and lightning permeate through the whole body, and since the fruit [= fetus] is so very delicate and soft, it is harmed very much… The toxic vapour of the thunder consumes the life-giving moisture, from which the person and particularly the delicate fruit should live’.

(…dye tempff, dye von den donern vnd plitzen kommen, dye dringen durch den gantzen leyb, vnd so dye frucht so gar subtil vnd waych ist, so schaden sy gar vast… Der tampff ist so starck, das er alle ding durchtringt… Vnd vil leichter dott er dye frucht in mueterleyb… Der gifftig tampff des doners vertzert dye leblichen feuchtikait, davon der mensch vnd sunderlich dye tzart vnd subtill frucht solt leben.)

Hartlieb, *Secreta mulierum*, ed. Bosselmann-Cyran, 204–5. My translation.

fol. 80r

fol. 81

fol. 82v

fol. 84r

‘Also, the wise, educated doctors give two [pieces of] advice for [avoiding] untimely birth and early delivery: The first is that women who are pregnant should not eat unhealthy and bad foods. The second cause is that pregnant women **should not run very much, jump, and dance a lot; also above all things [they should] guard themselves against sorrow and anger**’.

(Jtem fur das vntzeitig gebern vnd frw niderkommen geben dy weysen, gelerten artzt tzwen ratt: Der erst ist, das dy frawben, so sy schwanger sein, nit sollen essen vngesunt vnd boß speys. Dy ander vrsach ist, das dy schwangern frawen nit sullen vast lauffen, springen vnd vill tantzen, auch vor allen dingen sich bewern vor unmüt vnd czorn.)

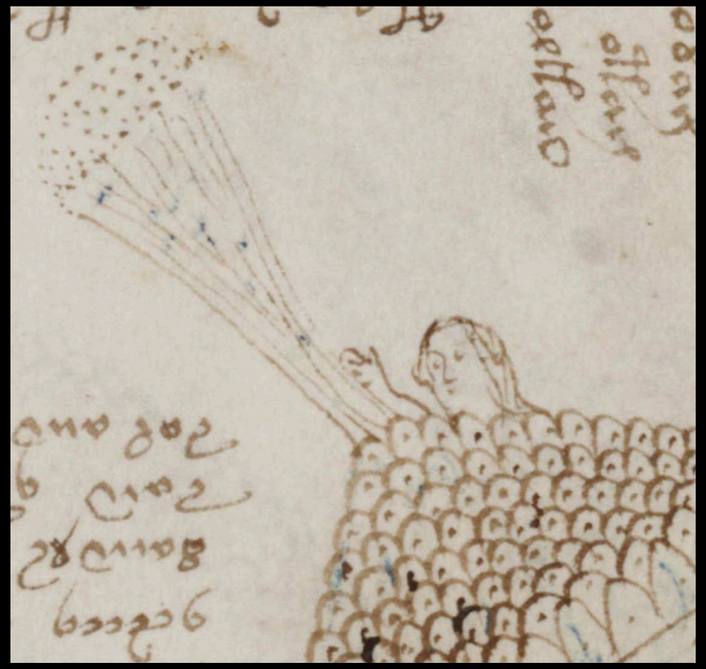
Hartlieb, *Secreta mulierum*, ed. Bosselmann-Cyran, 203. My translation.

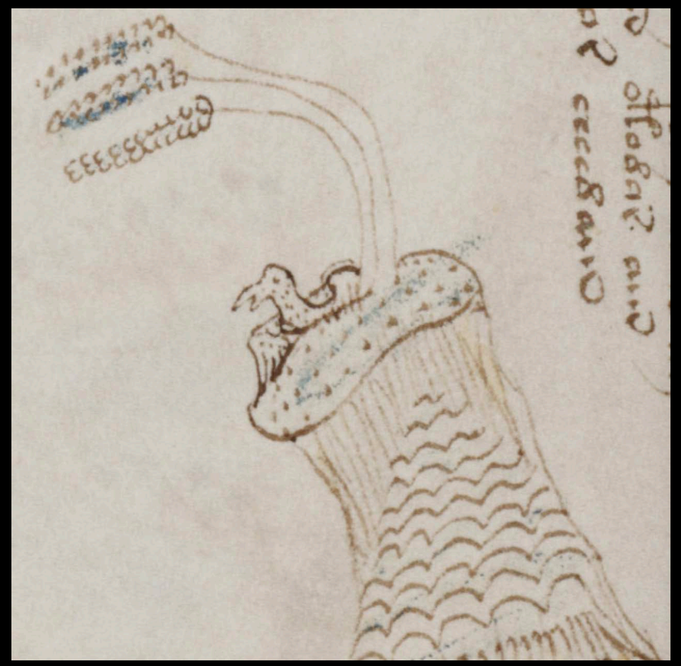
VMS, fol. 80v.

VMS, fol. 85r1

VMS, fols 85r2, 86v4, and 86v6

VMS, fols 86v5 and 86v3



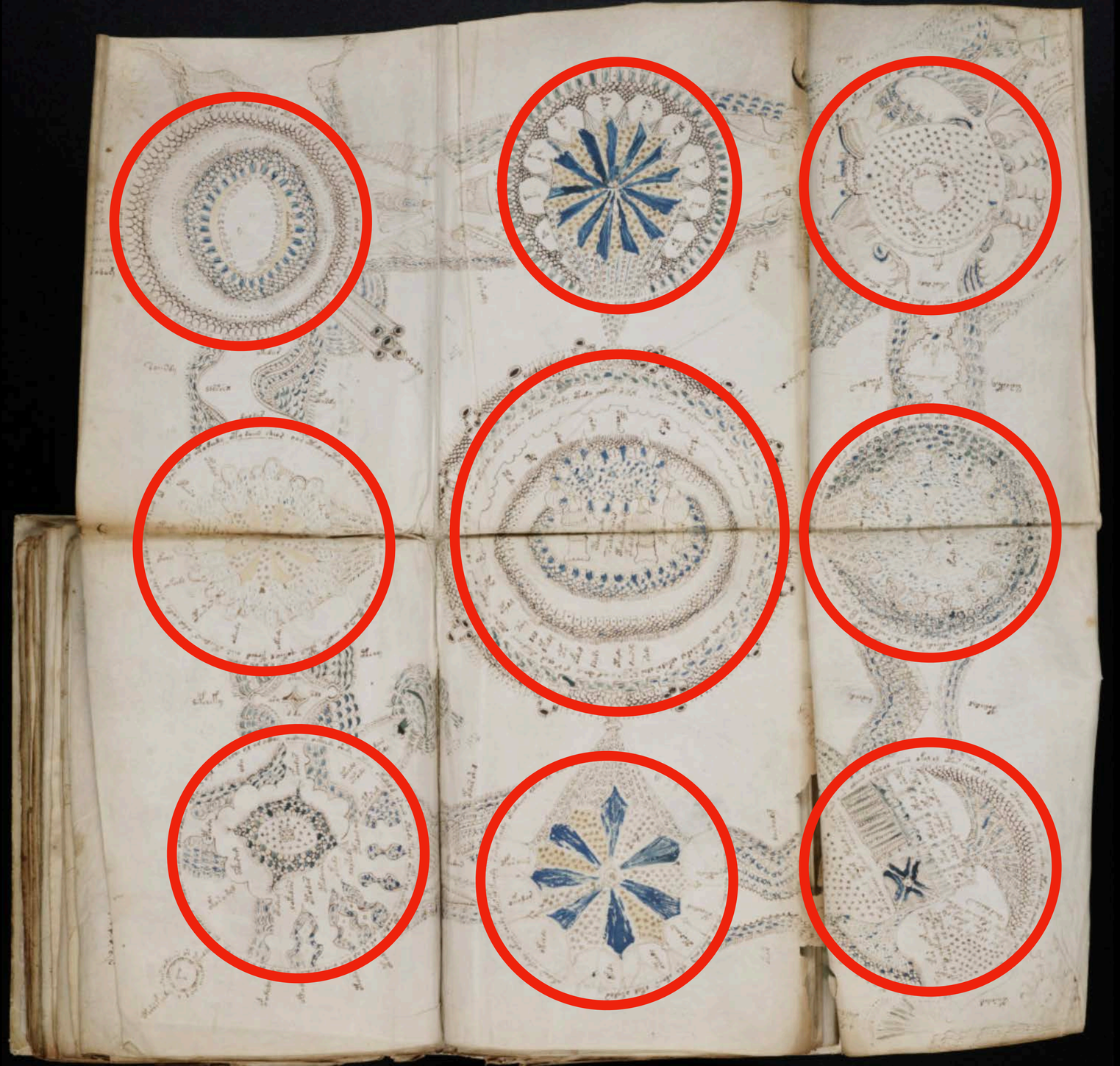


VMS, fol. 86v3

Bird = penis reference:

Brian Cooper, ‘Contribution to the Study of a Euphemism in the Intimate Lexis of Slavonic and Germanic Languages’, *Transactions of the Philological Society* 106:1 (Feb., 2008), 71–91. Cooper mentions German *Hahn*/*Hänchen* (rooster, cock), and that *vögeln* (the verb ‘fuck’) may stem from *Vogel* (the noun ‘bird’).

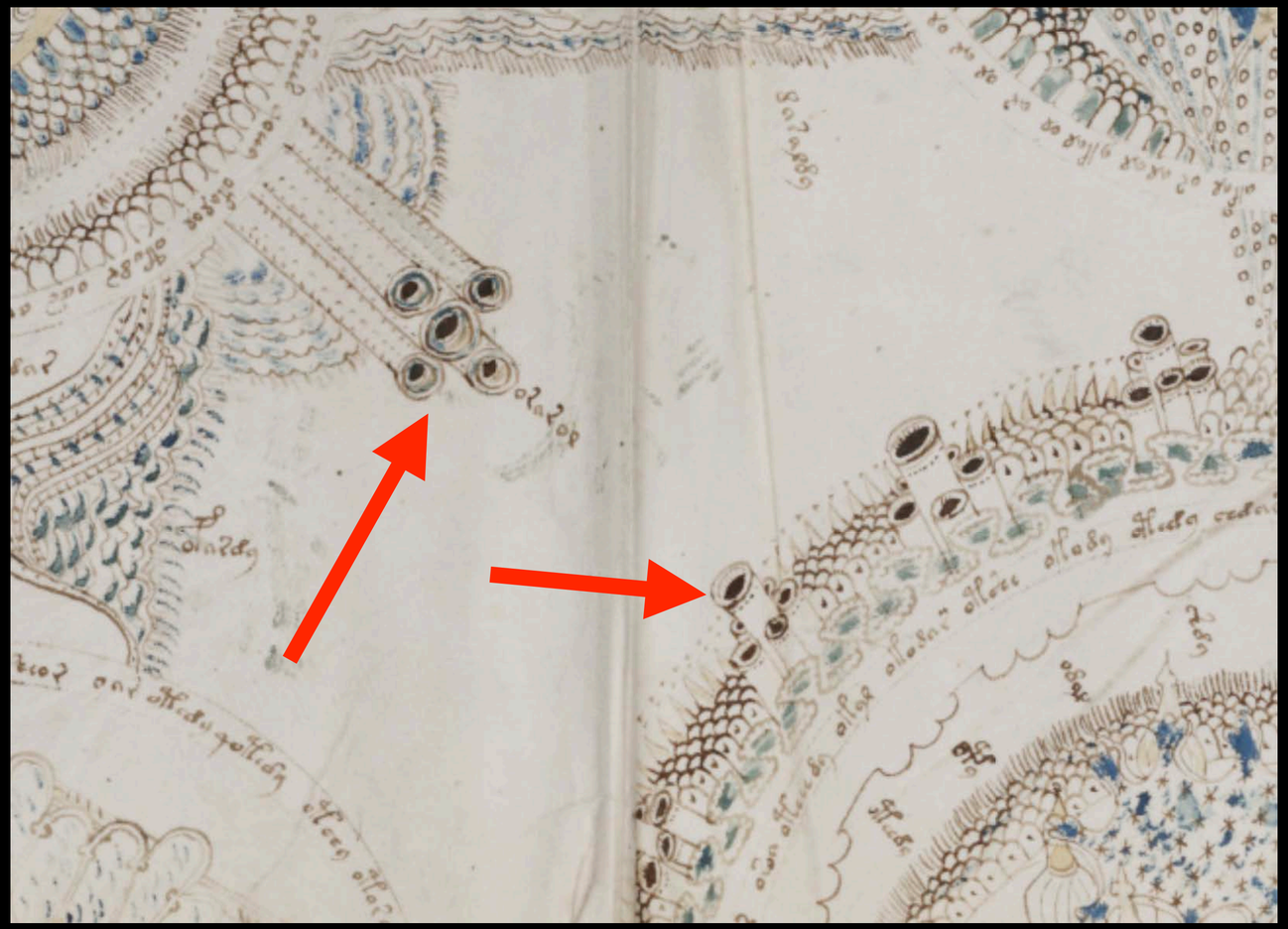
VMS, so-called ‘Rosettes’.



VMS, so-called ‘Rosettes’.

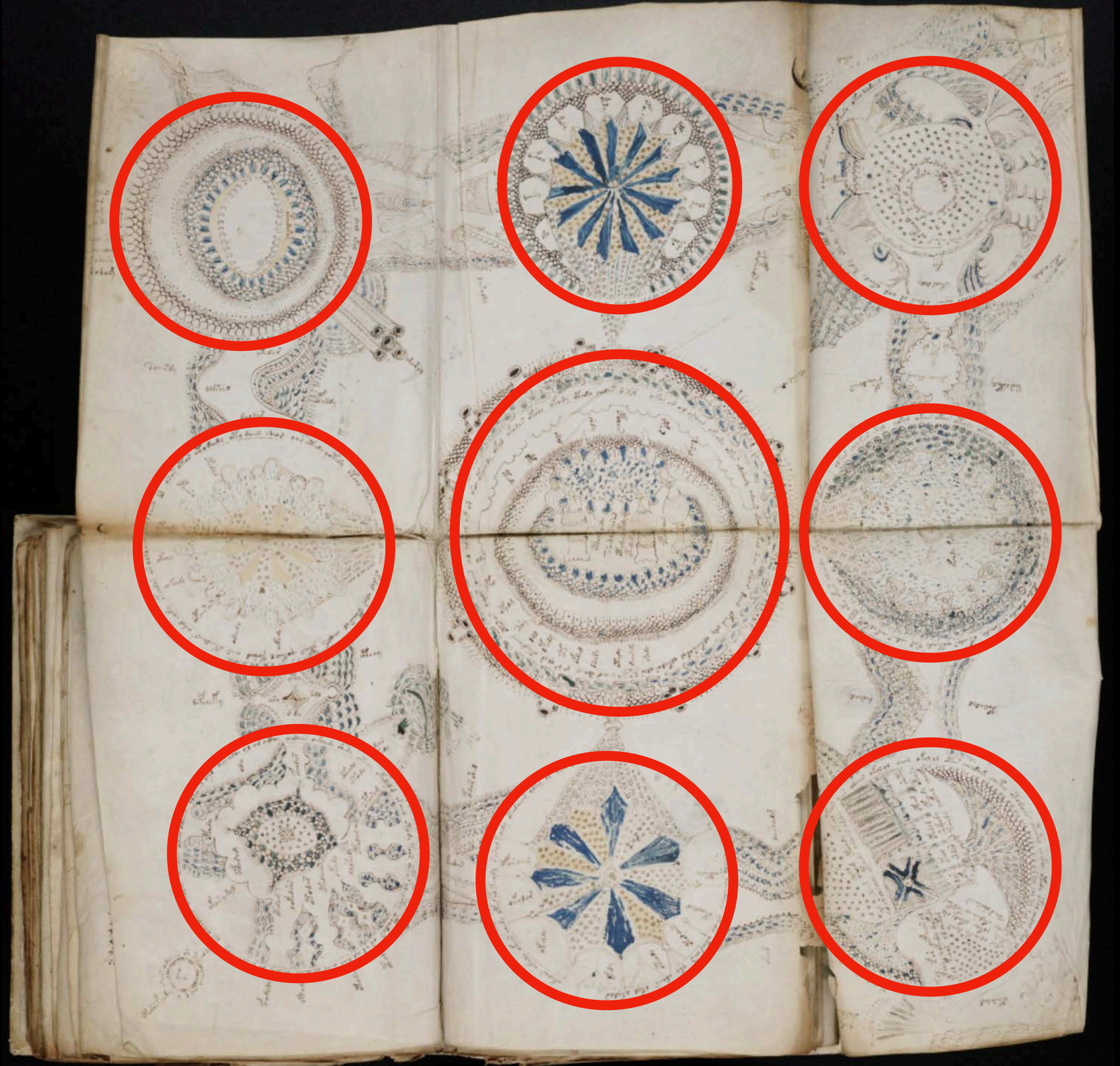
VMS, Rosettes.

VMS, ‘Rosettes’, detail.

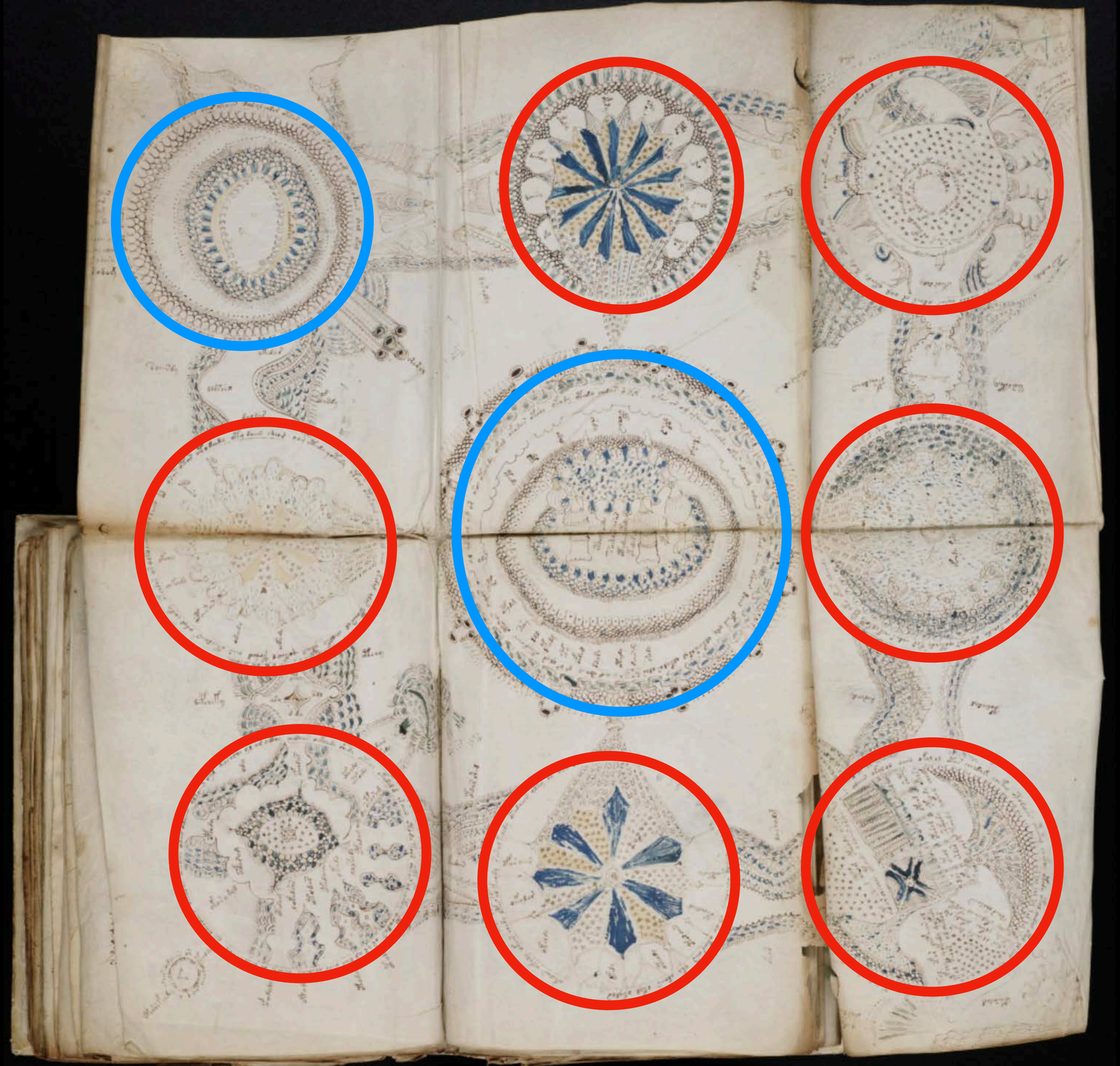


VMS, Rosettes.

VMS, so-called ‘Rosettes’.



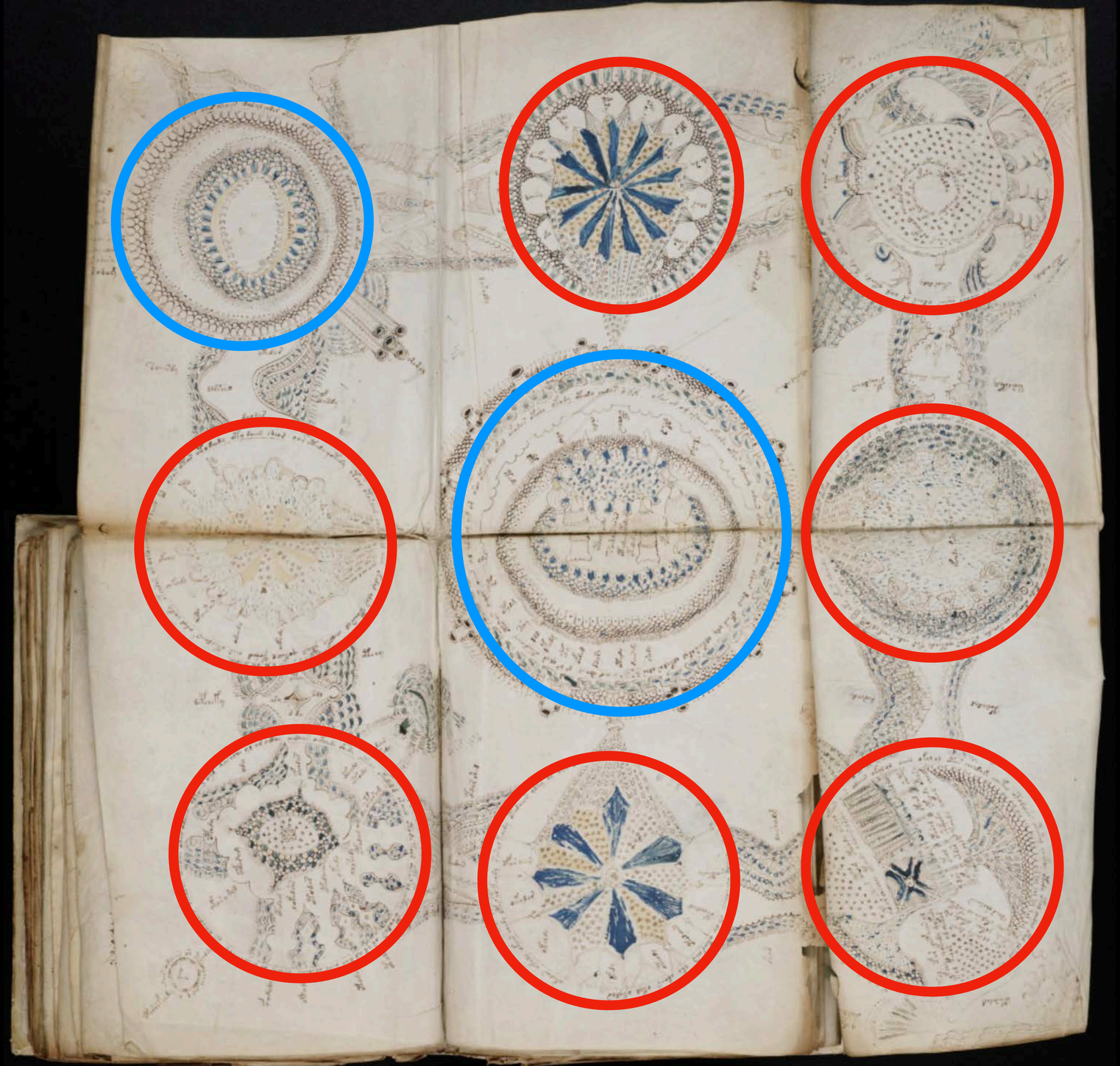
VMS, so-called ‘Rosettes’.



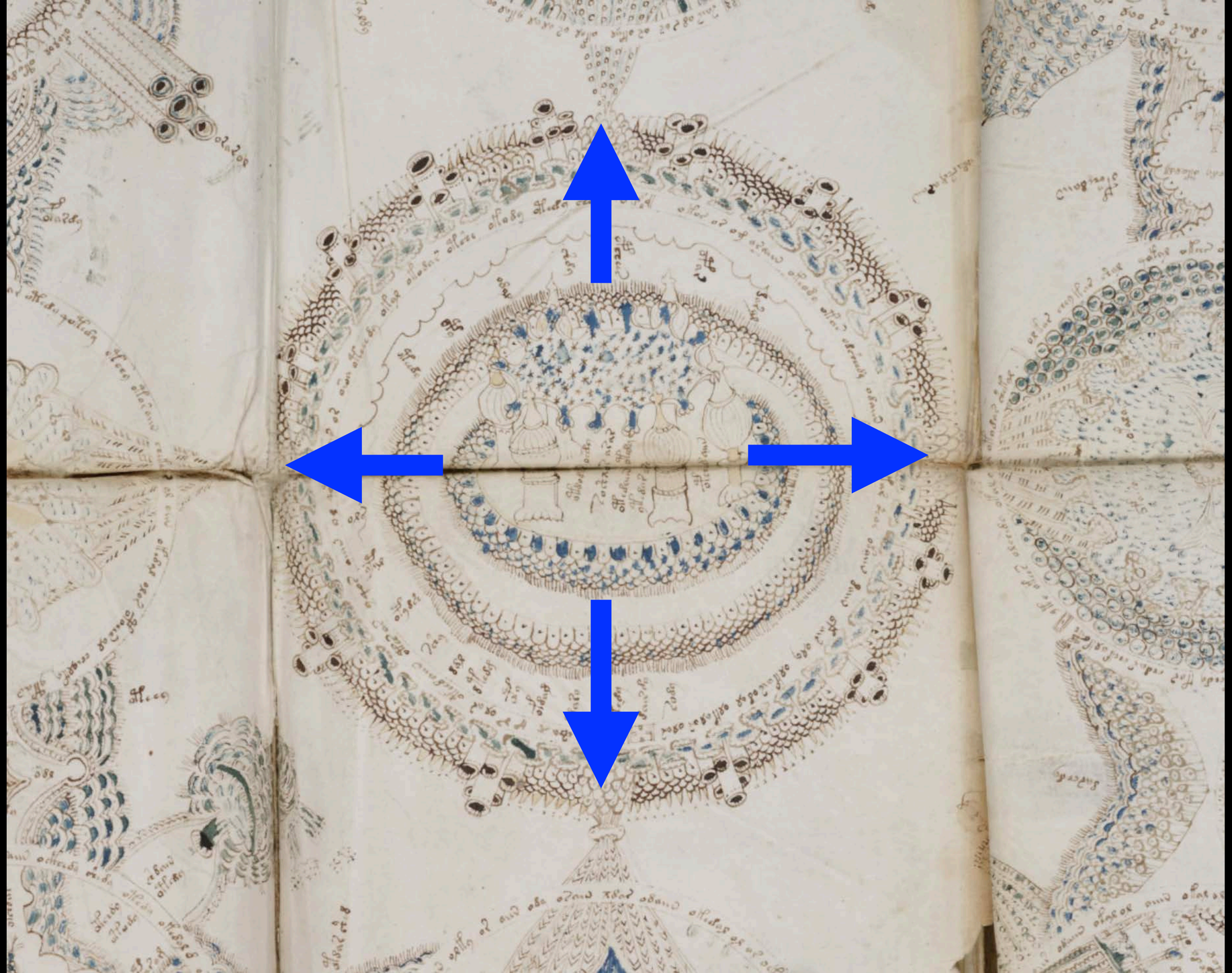
VMS, so-called ‘Rosettes’.

The uterus is cold and dry in complexion, fibrous and dense in composition, oblong and round in form. It is hollow and villous within, smooth outside, divided into seven cells, and has two openings… It is dense and fibrous… It has two orifices, one at the bottom, the other inside.

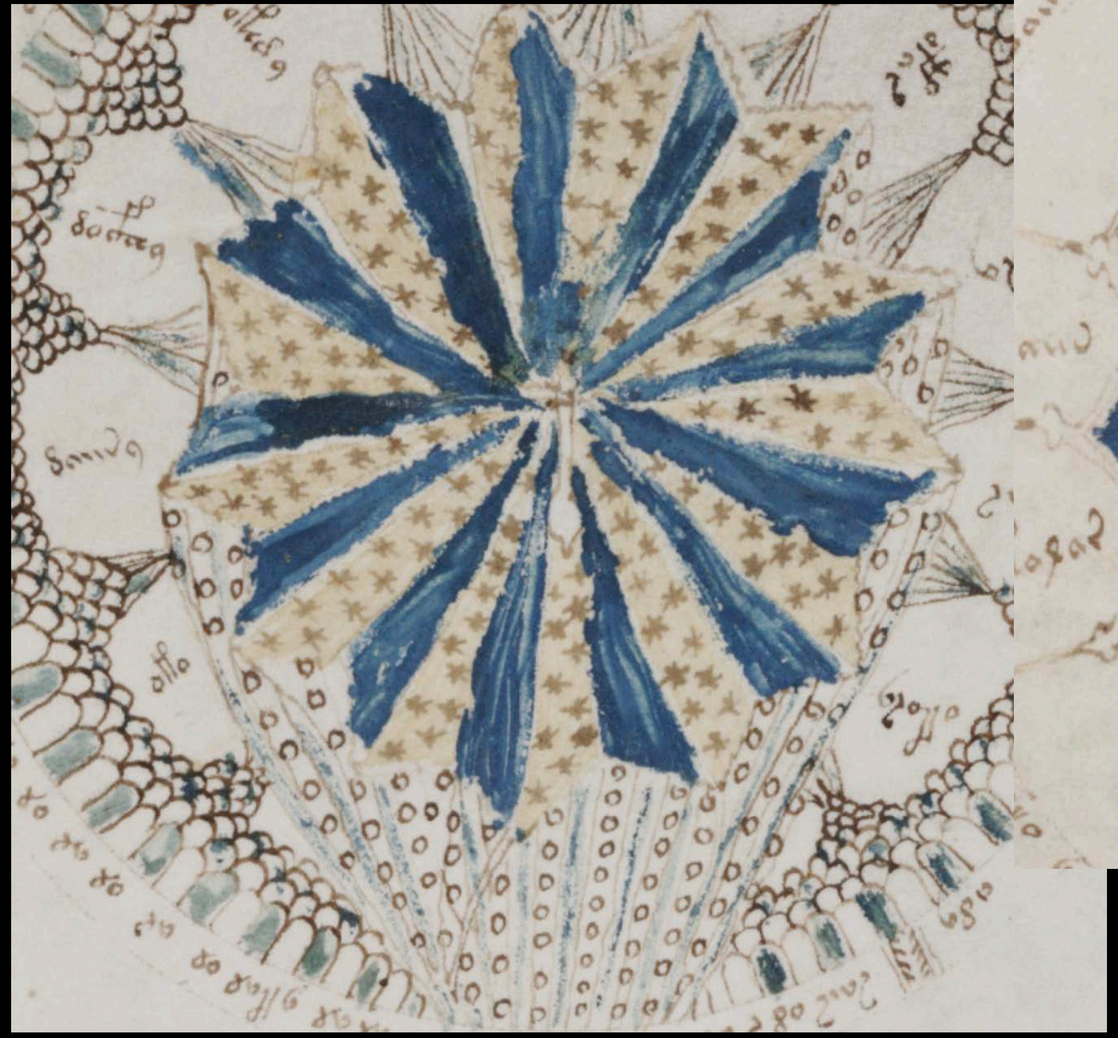
Anatomia Magistri Nicolaï Physici
trans. George W. Corner, Anatomical Texts of the Earlier Middle Ages (Washington, DC, 1927), available at http://web.stanford.edu/class/history13/Readings/corner2.htm.



VMS, so-called ‘Rosettes’.

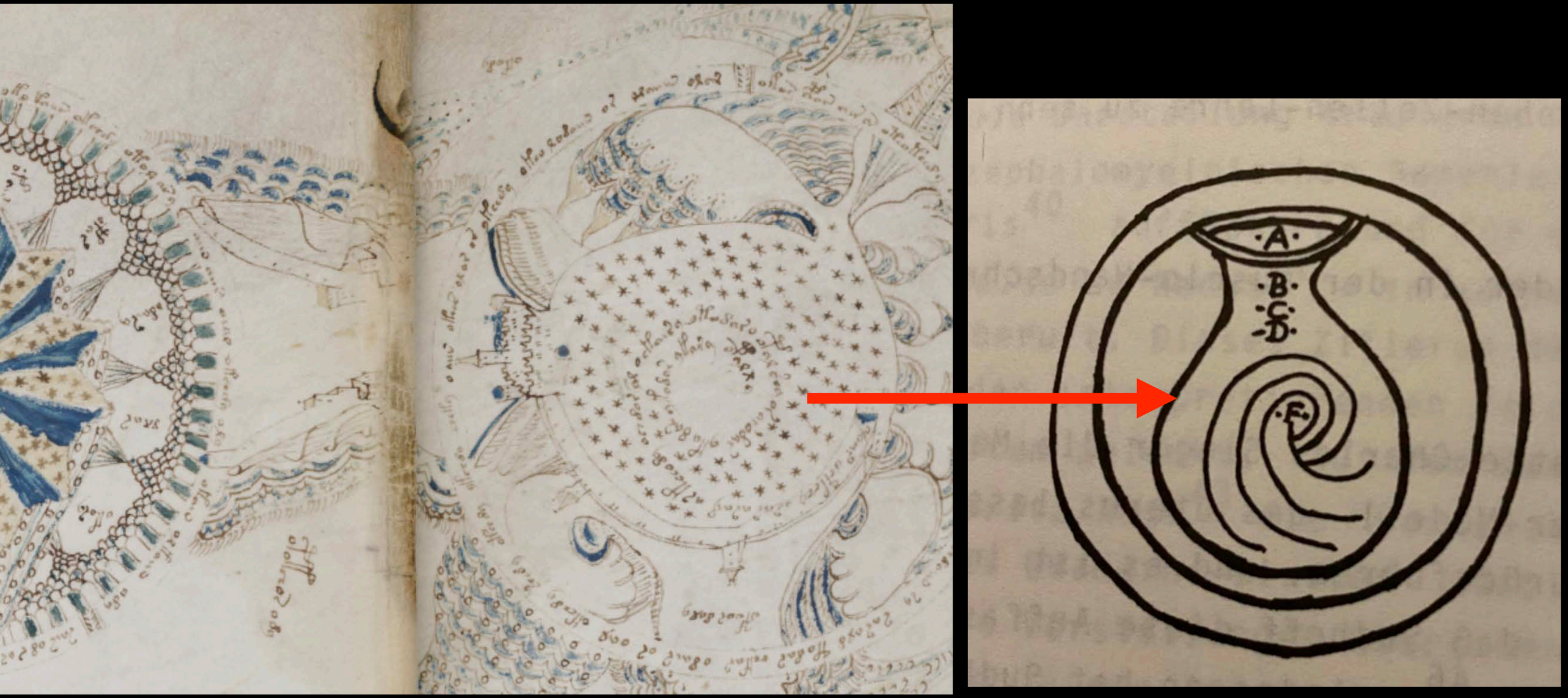


VMS, Rosettes.

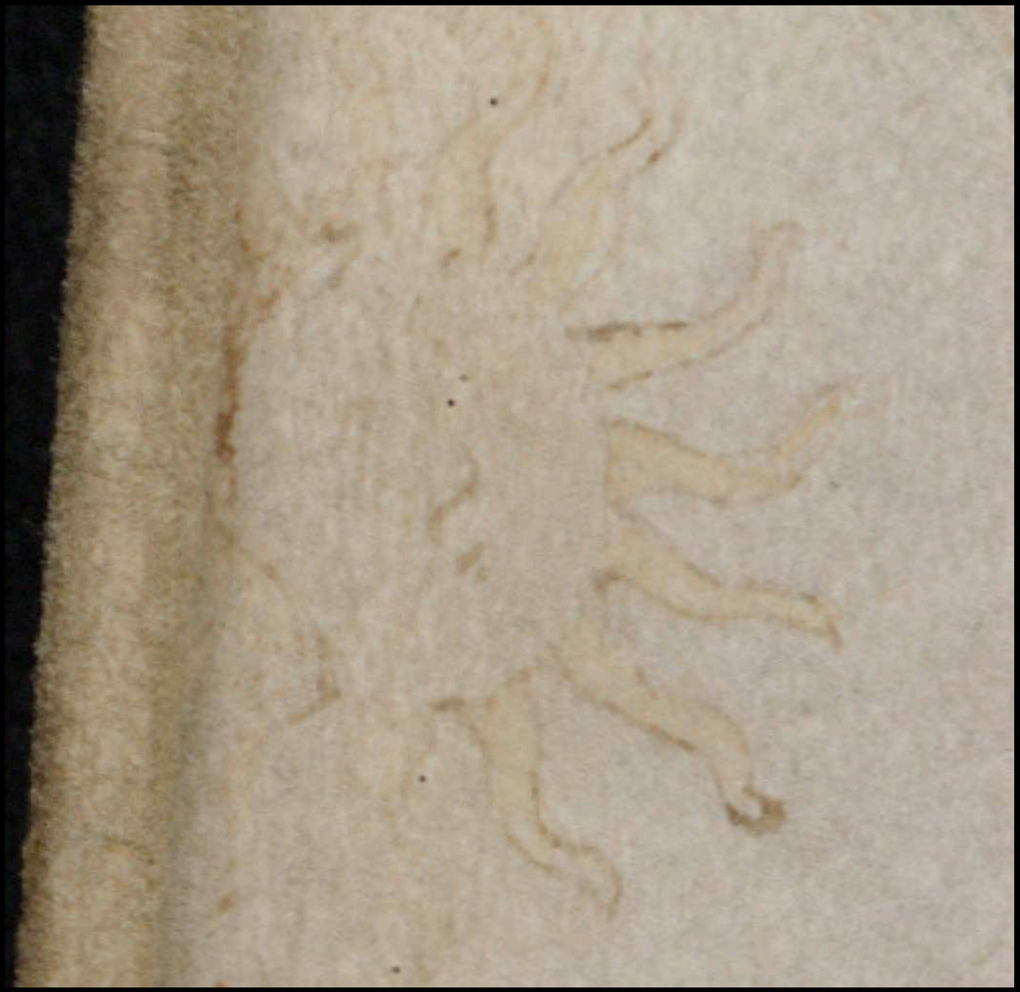


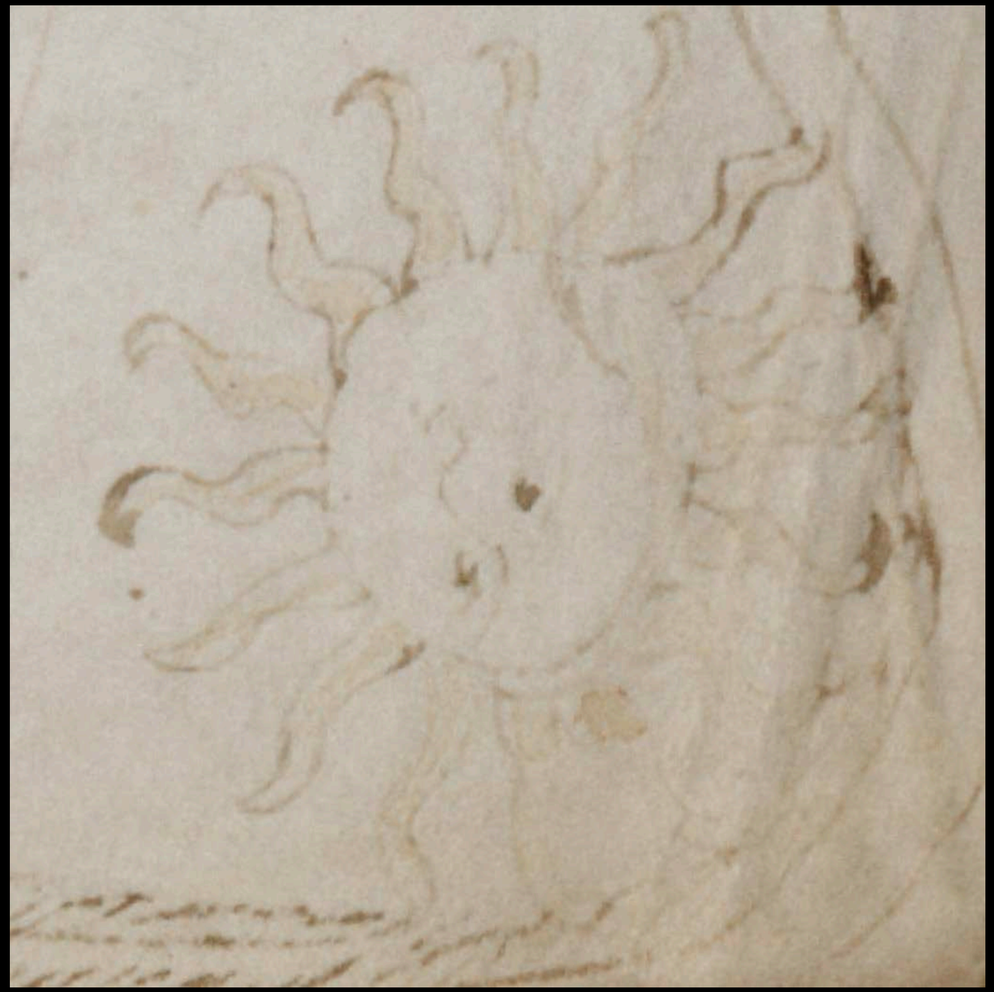
VMS, Rosettes.

VMS, Rosettes.



Left: VMS, Rosettes; Right: Womb, from Robert Reisert, *Der siebenkammerige Uterus* (Hannover, 1986), p. 84, from Vicenza, Biblioteca Bertoliana, Ms 287 (G 24.2.25), fol. 134v, 13C.





VMS, Rosettes.

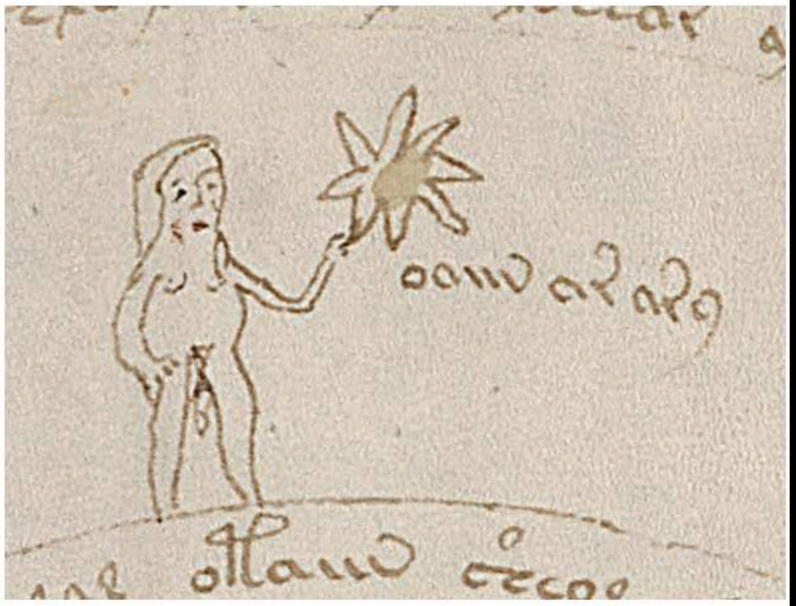
VMS, Rosettes.

‘Avicenna says, when the man’s seed falls into the left side and into the left **horn** of the womb, then a daughter will result from that. If, however, the seed falls into the right side and in the right **corner/ nook/point** of the womb, then a boy will result from that. If, however, the man’s seed comes to rest equally in the middle of the womb and stays there unmoved, then a hermaphrodite will result.’

(*Jtem Auicenna sagt, wann der sam des mans fall in dye lincken seytten vnd in den lincken* ***spytz*** *der mueter, so werdt darauß ain tochter. Ist aber, das der sam felt in dye rechten seytten vnd jn das recht* ***eck*** *der mueter, so wirt darauß ain knab. Ist aber, das des mans sam gleich in der mitt der mueter gefelt vnd da vnverruckt beleybt, so Wirt da ein Hermafrodita.*)

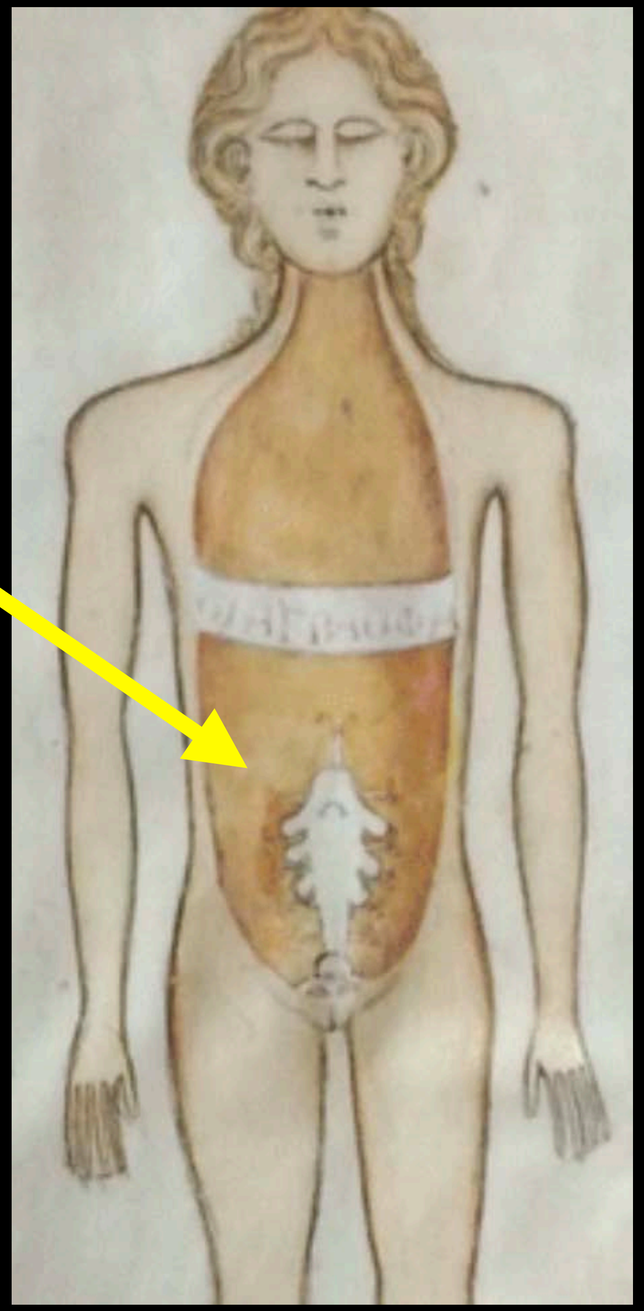
Hartlieb, *Secreta mulierum*, ed. Bosselmann-Cyran, 220. My translation.

VMS, Rosettes.



Top left: bearded lady from VMS fol. 70v2 (angle adjusted)
Top right: Woman menstruating/ aborting/defecating, fol. 72r1
Bottom left: Figure with (erect?) penis, fol. 72r2

One chamber	Two chambers	Five chambers	Seven chambers without left-right polarity	Seven chambers with left-right polarity
???	???	???	???	???

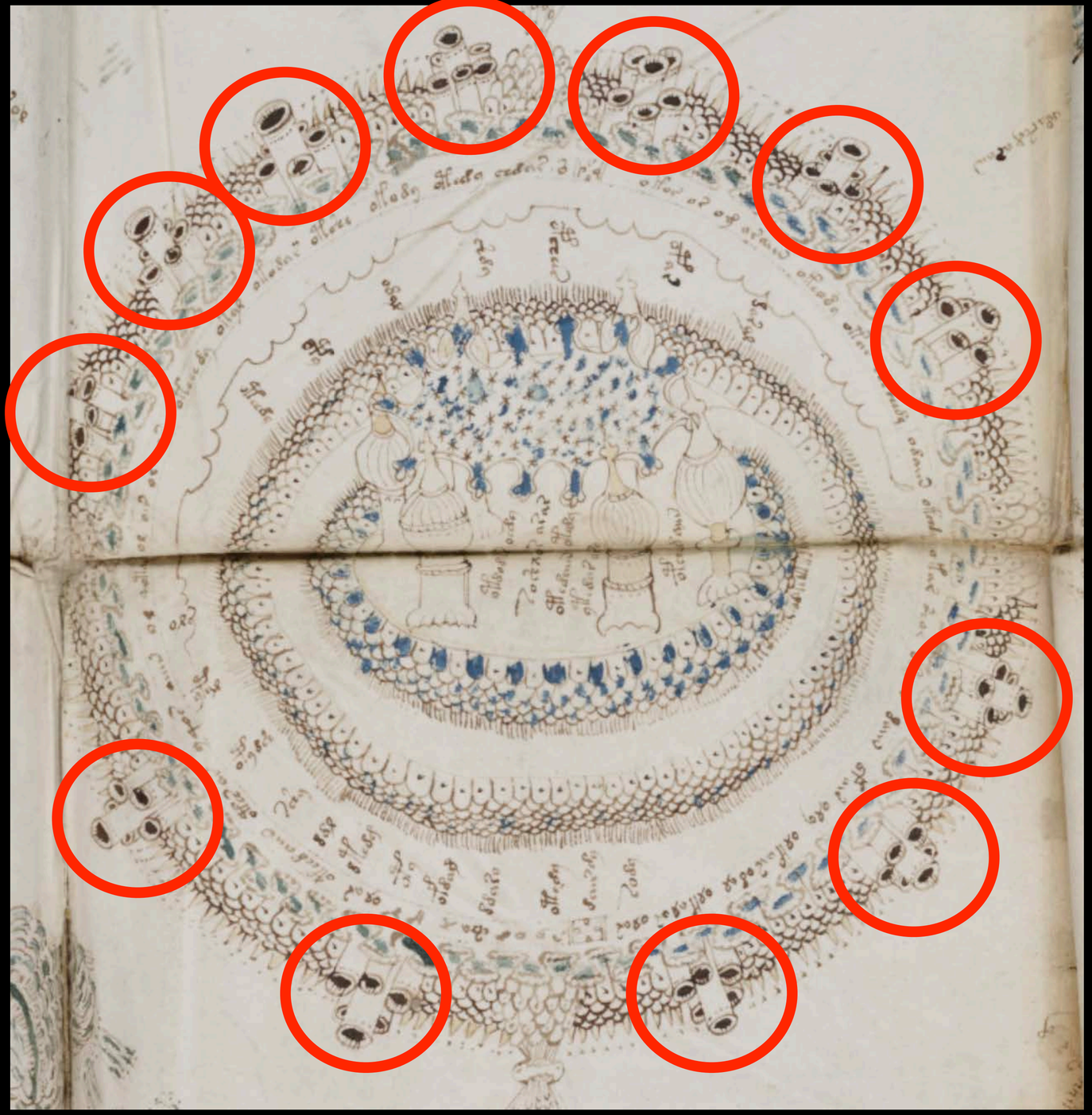


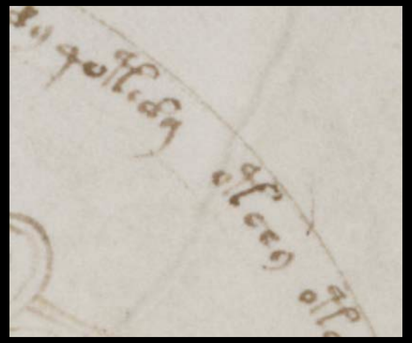
Chantilly, Musée Condé Ms. 334, fol. 281v, 14C.

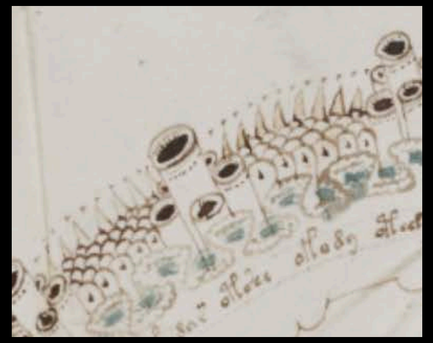
‘The womb is also compelled through the rubbing of the man’s penis and through **the subtle veins in the golden door** [= vagina].’

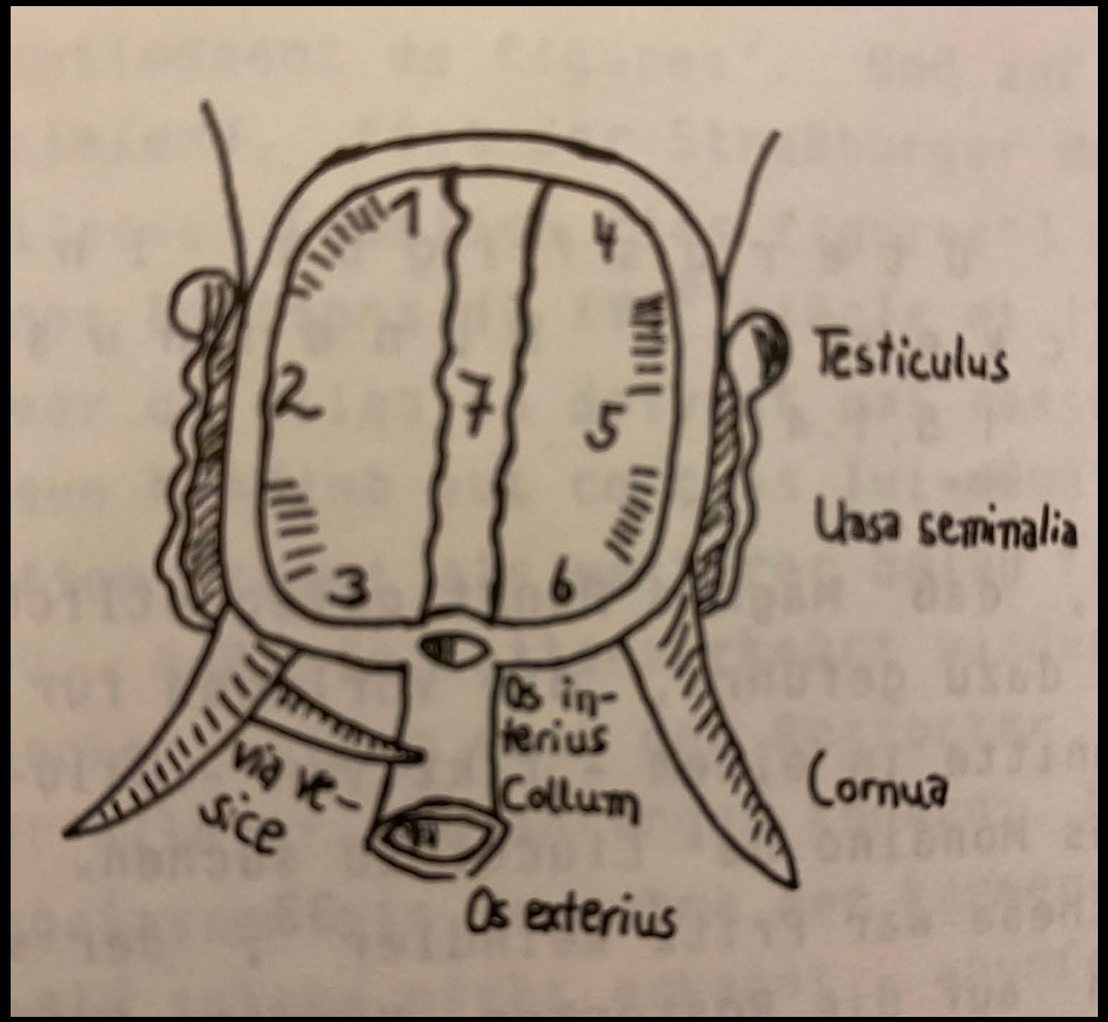
(Item dy mueter wirt auch genott durch das jucken des mans lyd vnd durch dye **subtilen adern** in der gulden Porten).’

Hartlieb, *Secreta mulierum*, ed. Bosselmann-Cyran, 138. My translation.

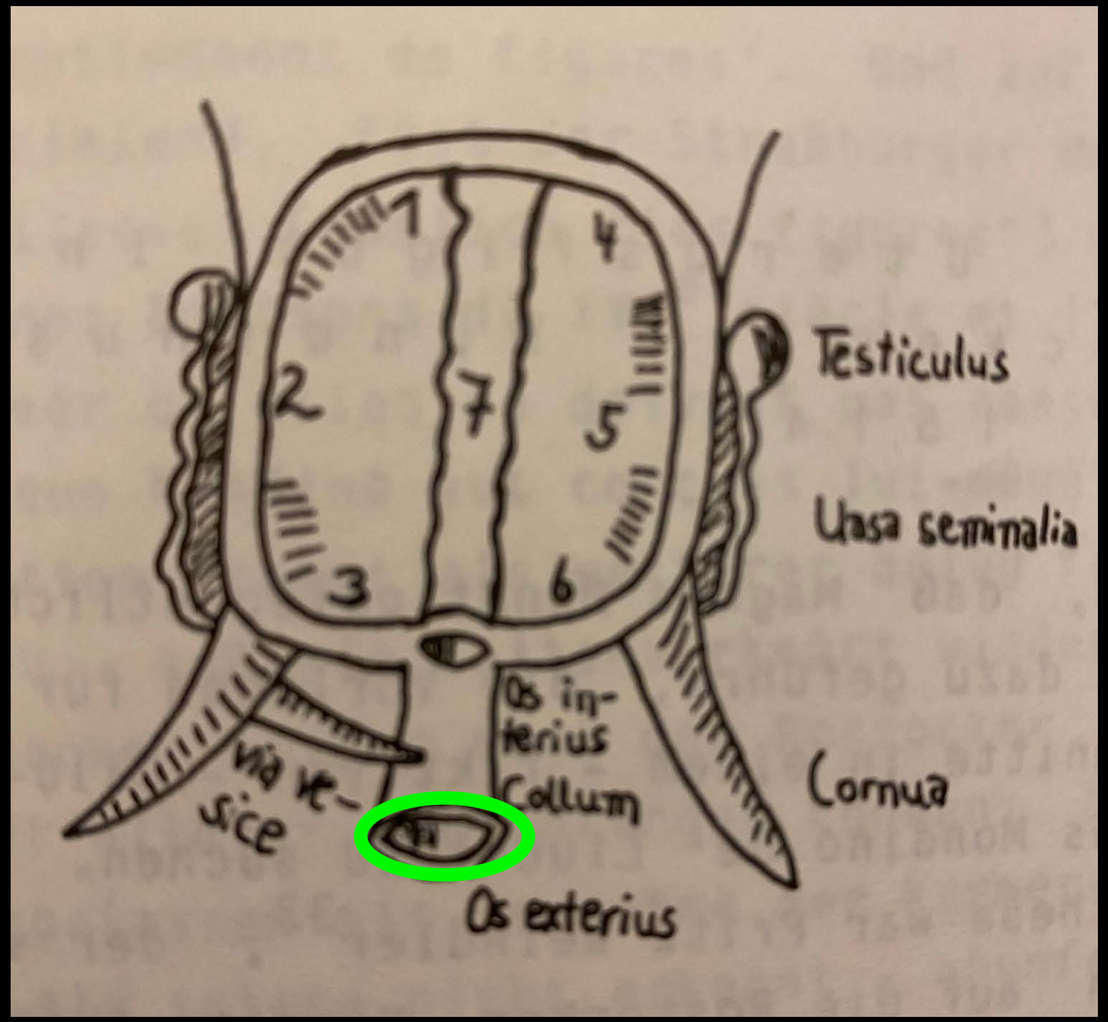








Left: Womb, from Magnus Hundt's *Anthropologium*, from Reisert, *Der siebenkammerige Uterus*, p. 79, dated 1499.
Right: VMS, Rosettes.



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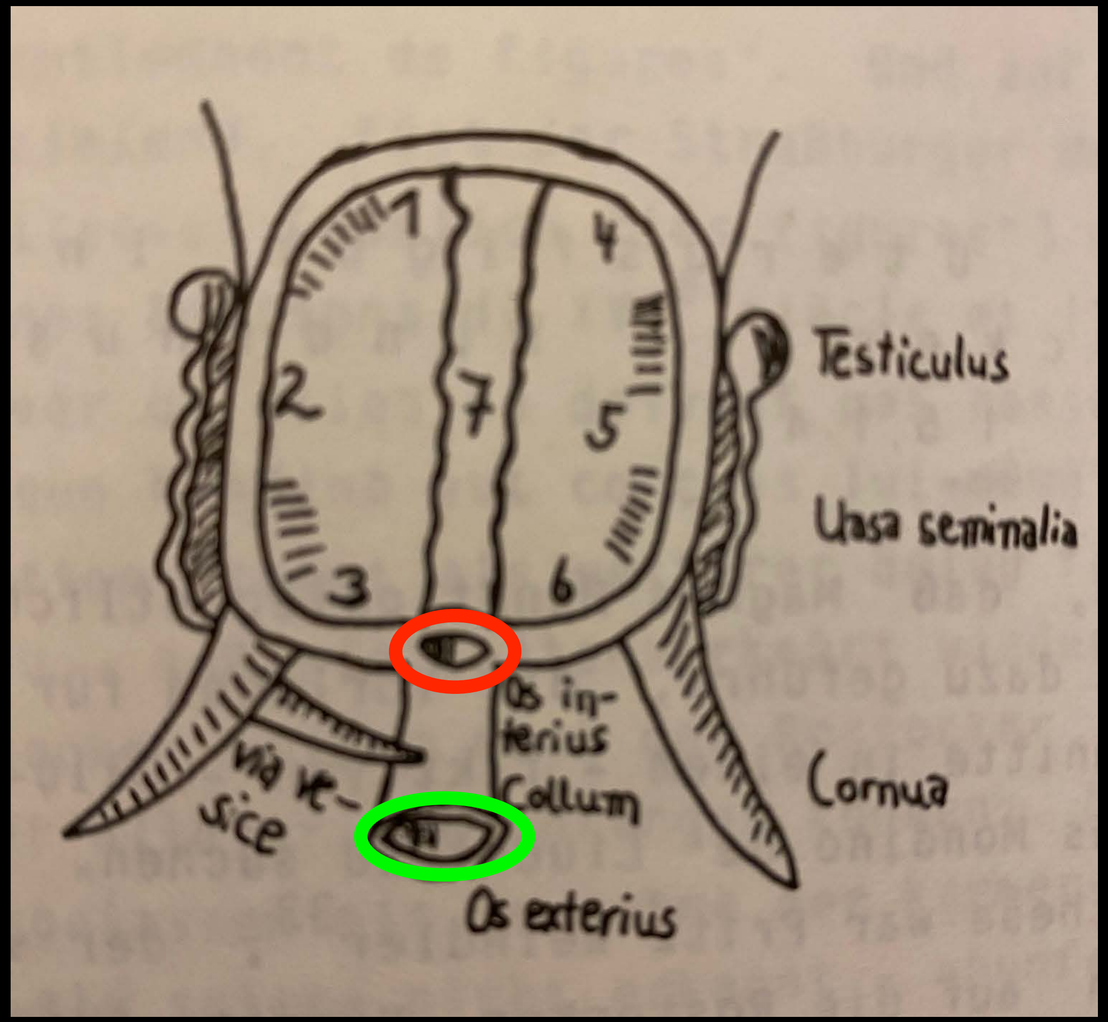

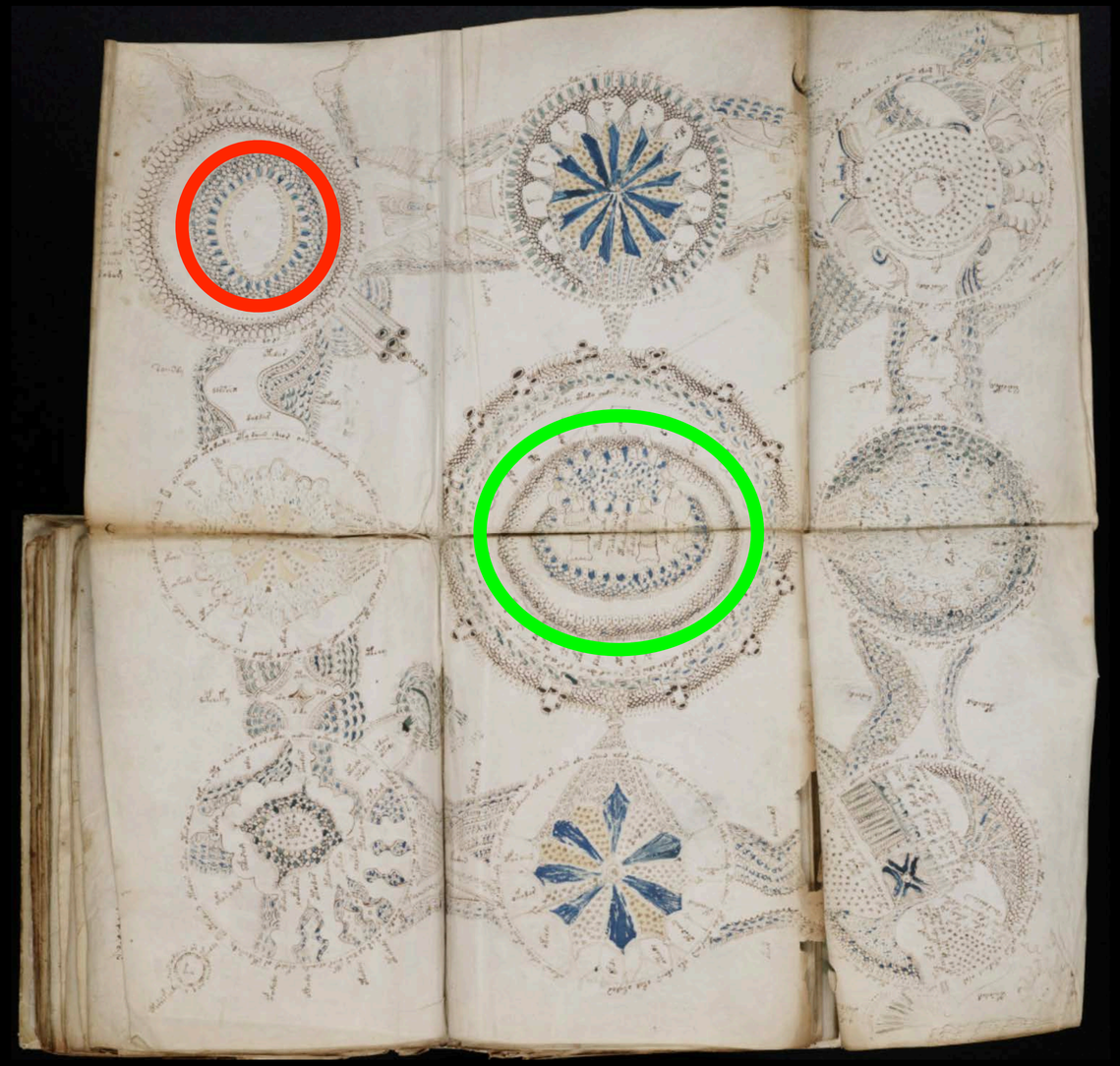

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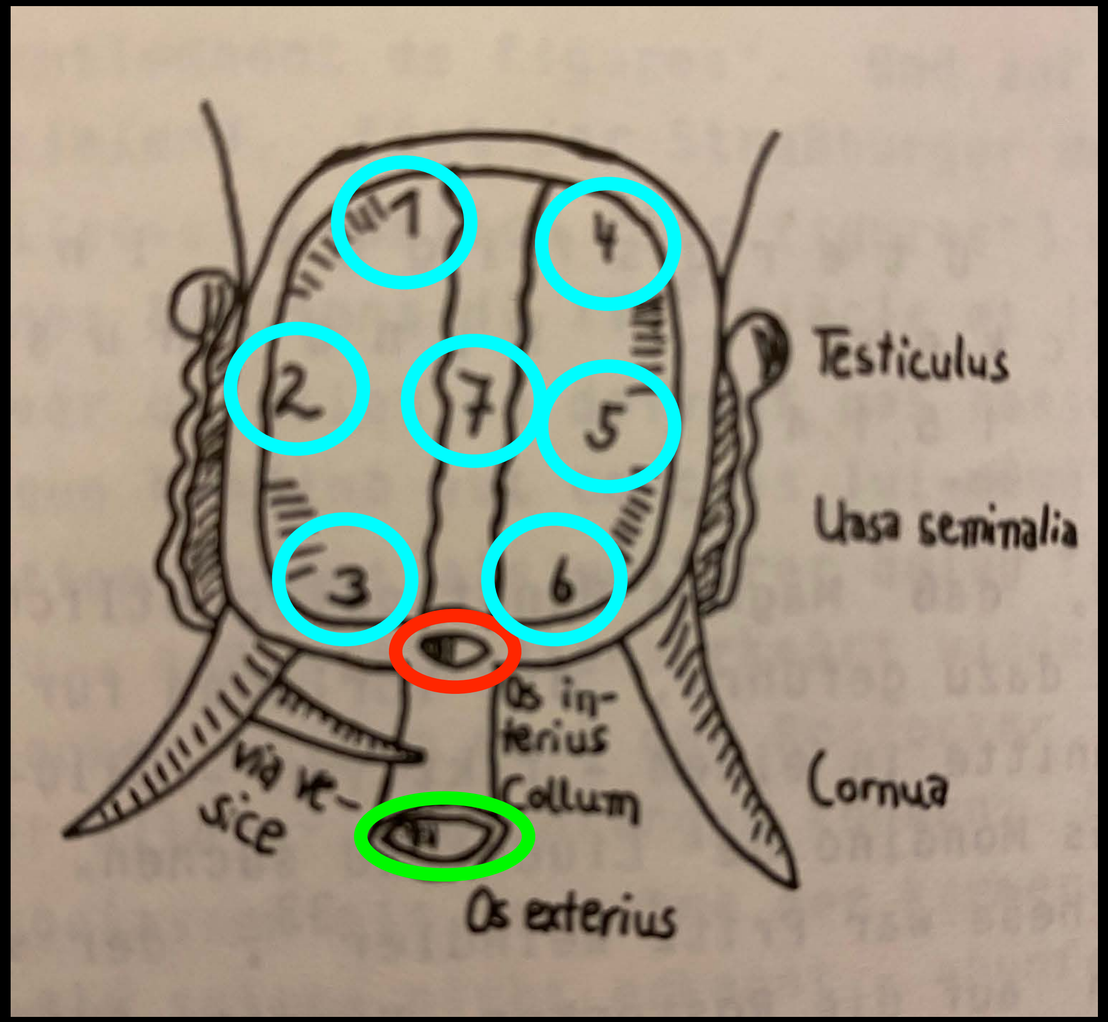
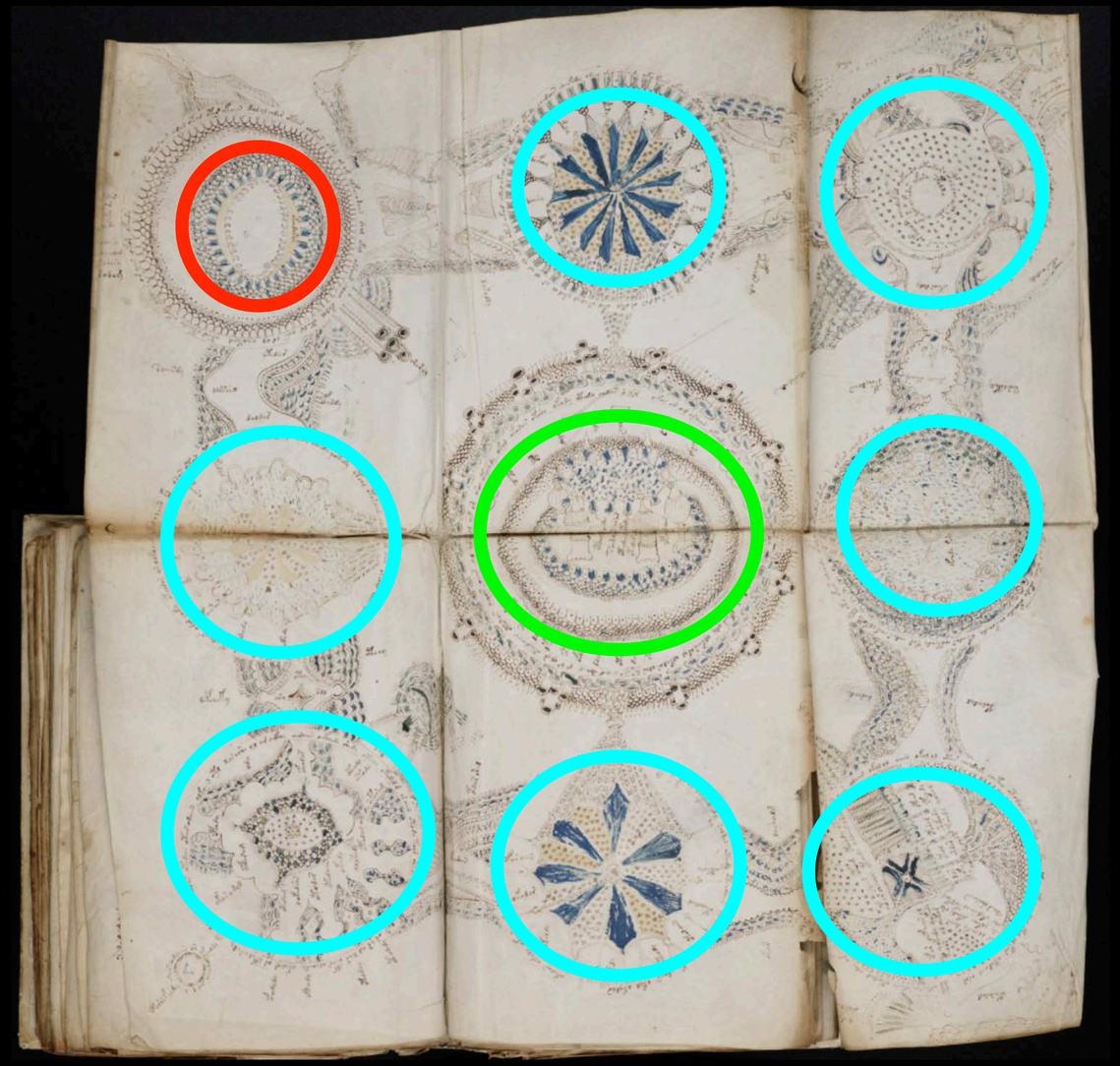
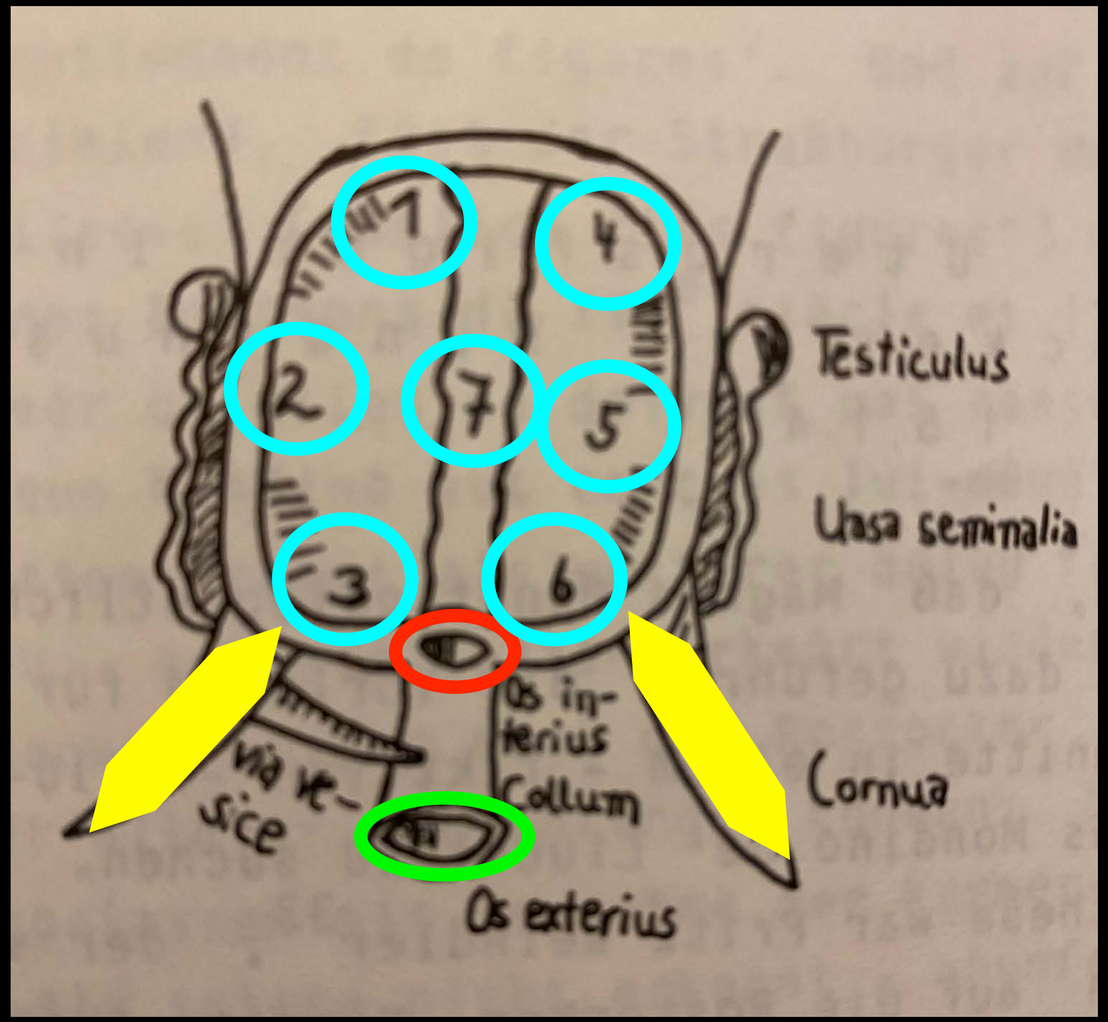
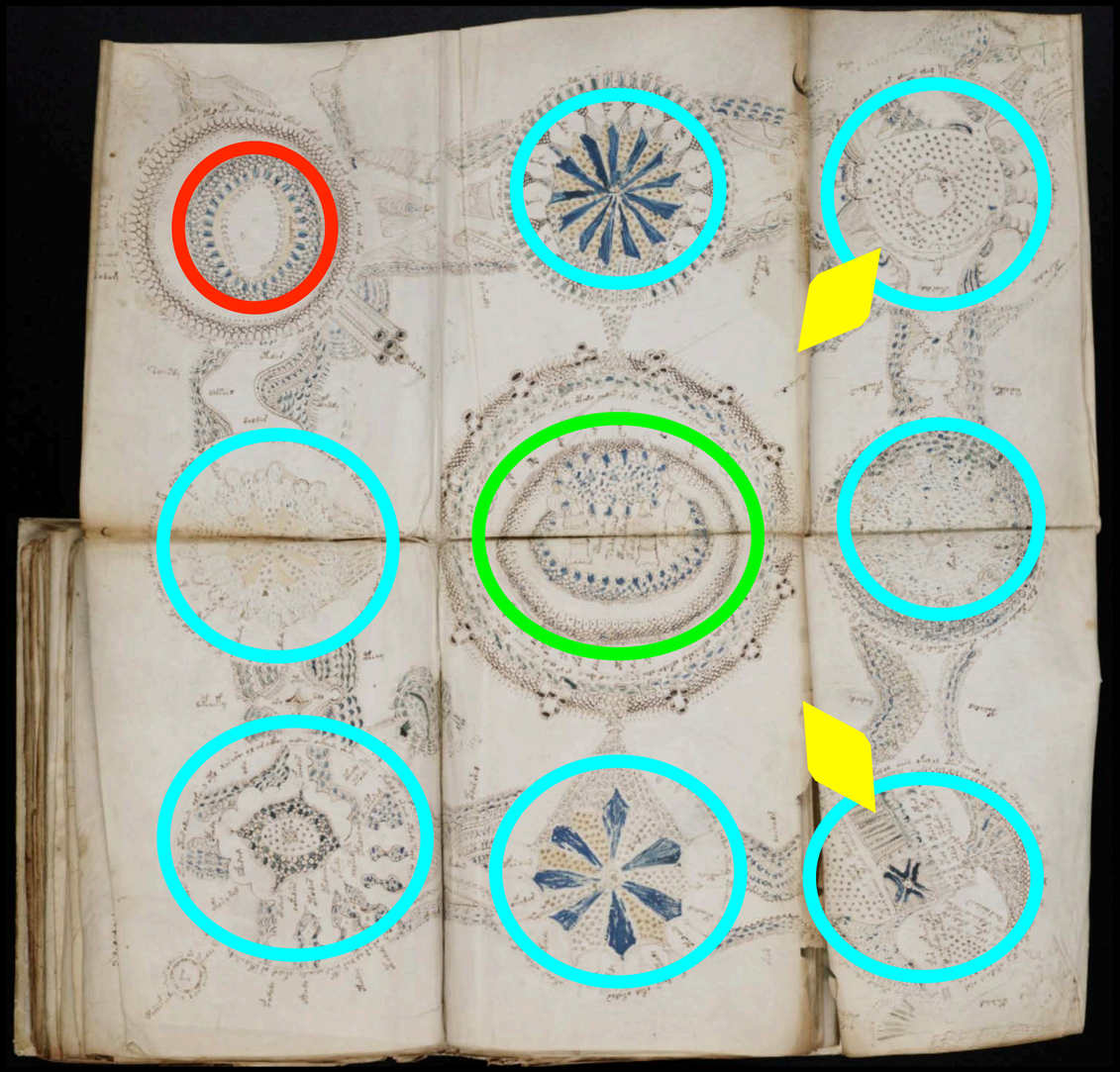




Left: Womb, from Magnus Hundt's *Anthropologium*, from Reisert, *Der siebenkammerige Uterus*, p. 79, dated 1499.
Right: VMS, Rosettes.





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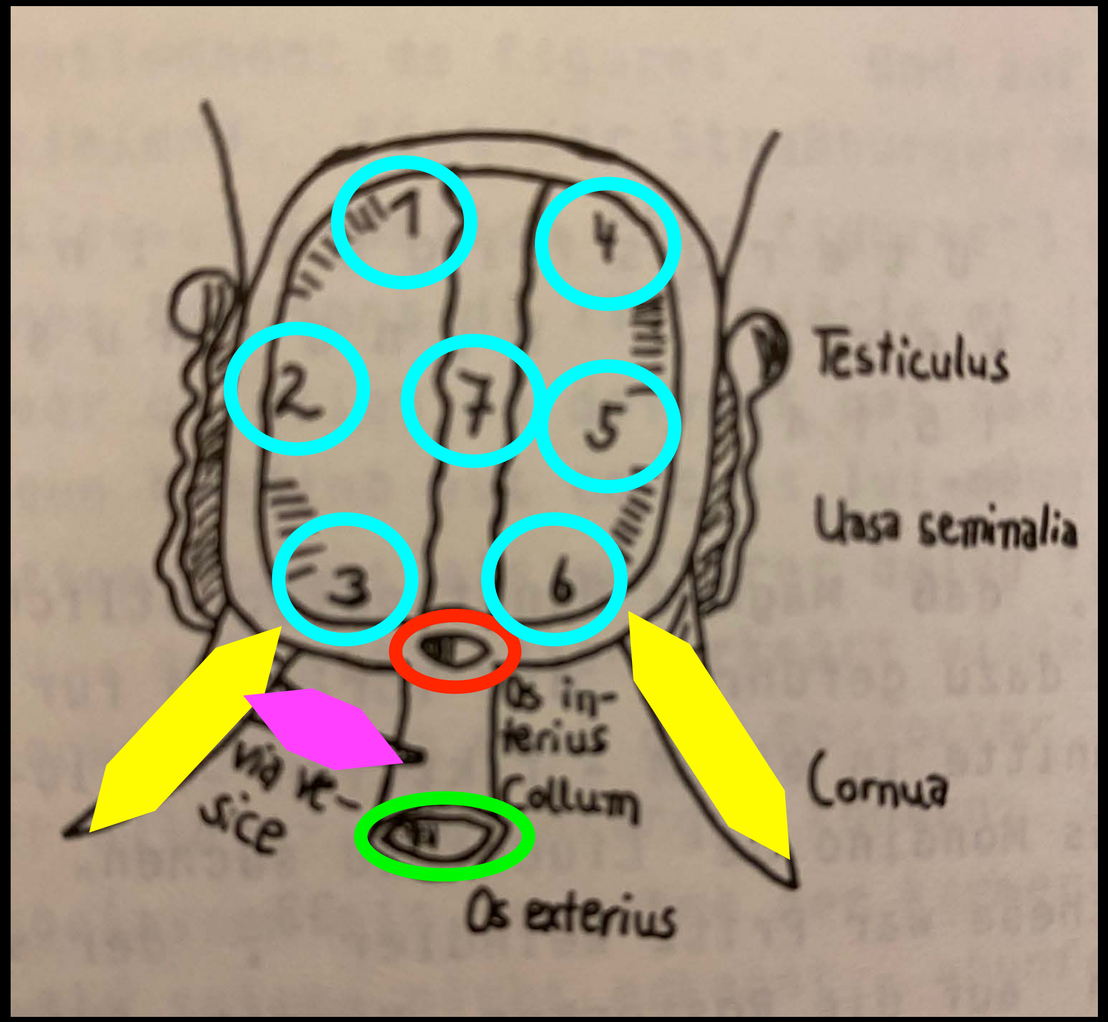
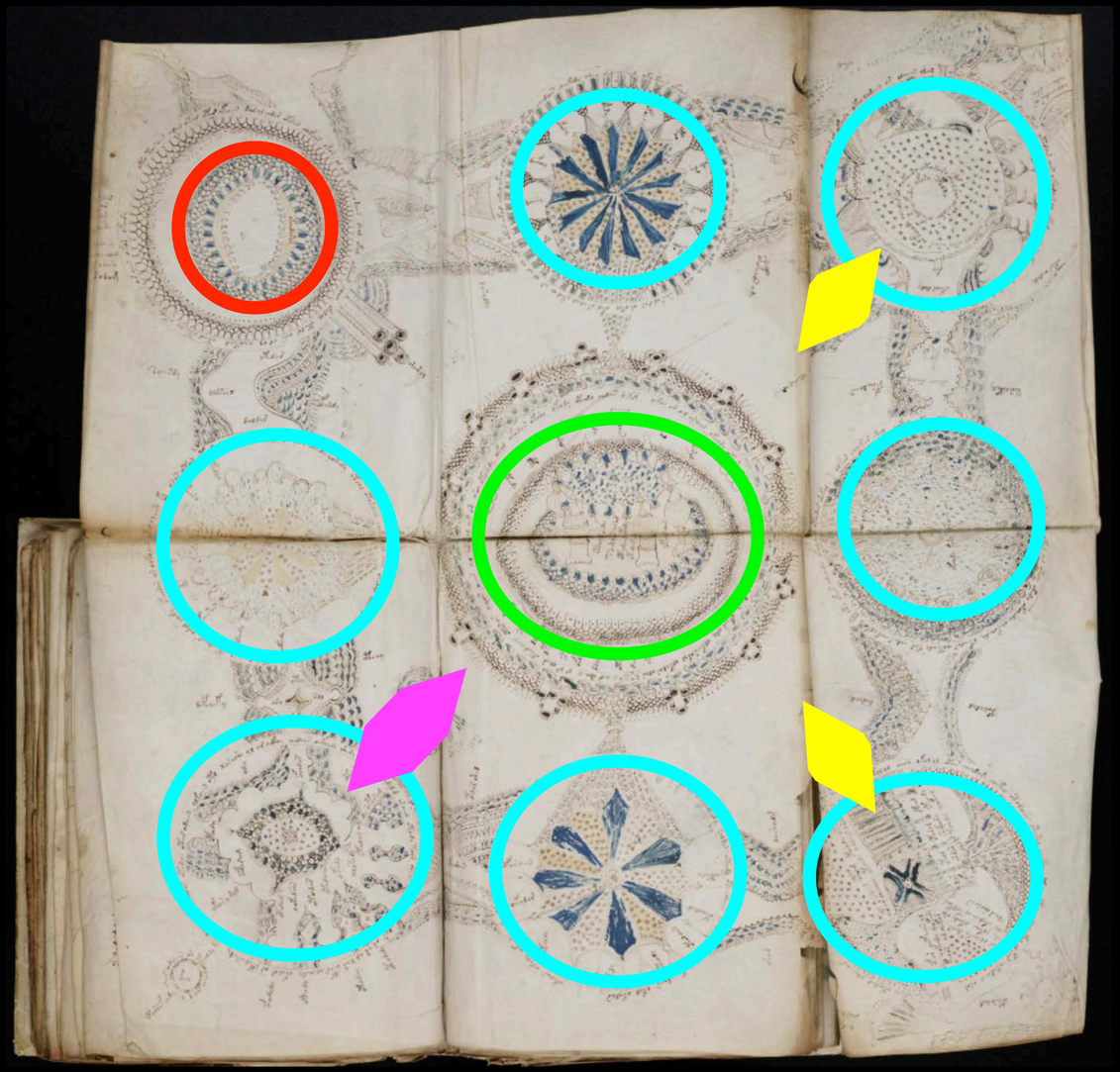
Right: VMS, Rosettes.





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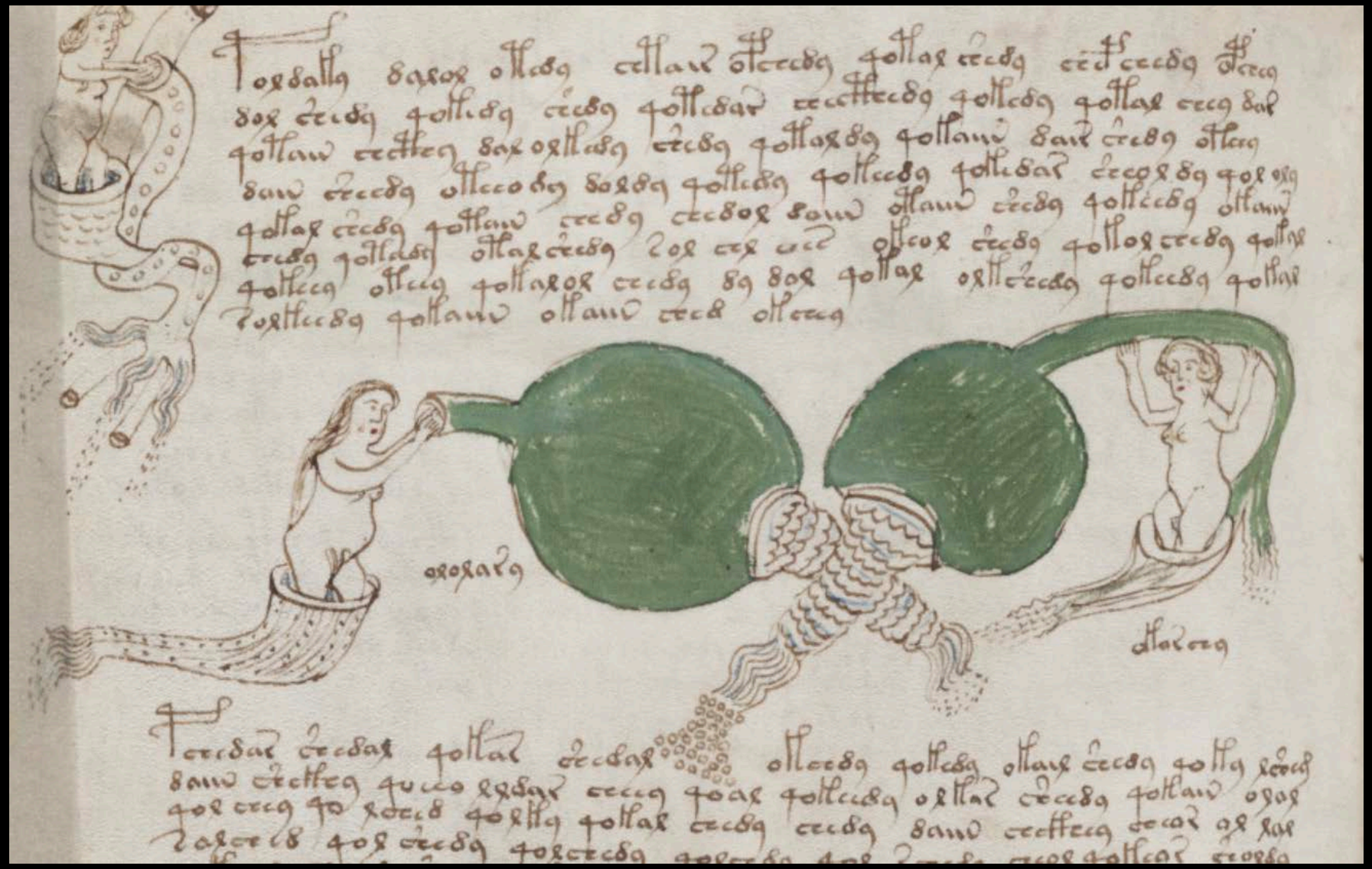
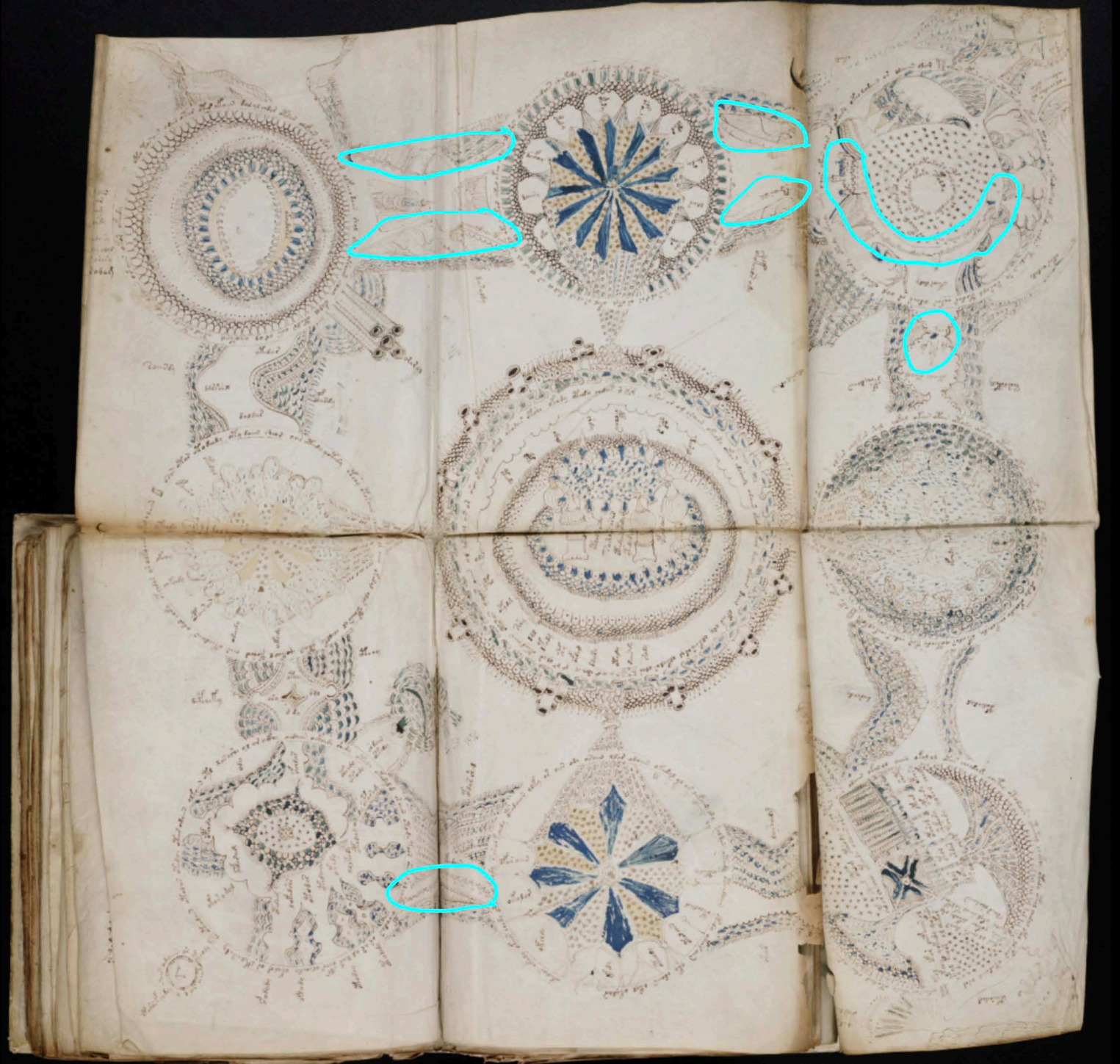


VMS, fol. 83v.



VMS, ‘Rosettes’.

et cum in peius devenerit, singultus eis occurrit et dolor cervicis
1160 et occipicii et oculorum vel maxime radicum. nam et urina
frequencius occurrit et stercora inpediuntur ipsaque loca grandia
fiunt et extenduntur cum acutis febribus et deleratione et
spasmo. quocienscumque orificium eius patitur, digito obsetrix
inmisso inveniet clusuram, et cum clusuram adprehenderit cum
1165 dolore continget, quando et inguina eis nascuntur et supra
pectinem tensionem habent. quociens autem collum matricis est
in causa, post orificium eius tumor cum fervore invenitur ita ut
pes mulieris qui huic tumori proximus est consensum habeat

them and pain of the neck, and of the back of the neck, and of the eyes, and especially of the <eye> bases. Moreover, urine also occurs more frequently and the faeces are impeded, and the parts themselves become big and are stretched, <all this> accompanied by acute fevers and delirium and spasm. Whenever its orifice <alone> suffers <from inflammation>, the *obsetrix* will, with a finger inserted, find a closure, and when she has grasped the closure she will touch it accompanied by pain, at which time the private parts also swell in them, and they have tension above the pubic area. Whenever, however, the neck of the womb is the cause <of the problem>, a swelling behind its orifice is found accompanied by inflammation in such a way that the leg of the woman which is closest to this swelling has a

Above: Lesley Bolton, An Edition, Translation and Commentary on Mustio's *Gynaekia* (Calgary: PhD Thesis, 2015), 276–7.

clusura

Frequency

clusura is unranked (appears fewer than 50 times)

LewisShort DMLBS Gaffiot 2016 DuCang

clusura , enclosure. *Cf. clausura* 5.

704 (9c) possessionem .. hujus terrae .. cum campis sationalibus, pr

LewisShort DMLBS Gaffiot 2016 LaNe

1 clausura v. clausula(2c)

2 clausura

1 a closure (of mouth). **b** closure (clasping), closed hollow (of hand). **c** closing or fastening (of door, room, or sim.). **d** means of fastening, lock, bar, bolt; [illegible] kage, damming (of passage, watercourse, or sim.). **f** (w. *aquae*) right to impound water.

a os magnum et latum ex ~a et aperitione significat hominem audacem . .. os cujus fuerit parva ~a et aperitio significat hominem pacificum .. M. Scot *Phys.* 67. **b** stupet acceptor muneris quod in ~a manus †minus [l. munus] transubstantiatur W. Cant. *Mir. Thom.* V 29; s**1251** addidit fidem dictis suis .. manus sue indissolubilis ~a M. Par. *Maj.* V 247. **c 1305** sequestrum factum .. per ballivum civitatis super aliquem civium Londoniarum per clausturam ostiorum suorum .. pro debito aliquo *MGL* I 120 (cf. (v. claudere 1b)); **1378** sunt diverse domus in .. castro [*Somerton, Lincs*] que habent folia sufficiencia ad ~as ostiorum et fenestrarum set carent stapulis, hokys et ligaminibus *IMisc* 216/2 r. 2; **1399** pro seris factis .. pro ~a hostiorum infra castrum de Edynburgh *ExchScot* 472; **1423** gardiani in tresenciis suis .. curam adhibeant circa ostiorum ~as (*Ordinatio*) Amund. I 109; **1434** in *staples* ferri pro ~a .. ostiorum .. grangie *Fabr. York* 54; **1451** ejus [vicarii provincialis] relinquatur disposicioni de cellarum dormitorii apercionibus et ~is (*Abbr. Stat.*) *Mon. Francisc.* II 88. **d** mox / ut fuerit clausura mei patefacta sepulchri Wulf. *Swith.* I 75; **10..** ~a, *loc WW*; *NLA* II 675 (v. custodia 4f); s**1261** rex .. civitatem Londoniarum, reformatis seris et ~is, mandavit per girum communiri *Flor. Hist.* II 464 (cf. Rish. 8); quidam viri .. omnia victualia ad sustentacionem conventus .. rapuerunt et sub ~a .. obserarunt Birchington *Arch. Cant.* 14; **1405** pro factura fenestrarum dictorum turibulorum cum cathenis et ~is pro fenestris eorundem *Fabr. York* 133; **1456** precium paris [canistrorum] cum ~is et seratura *ExchScot* 243; **1500** una pax de ebore cum ~is argenteis *Invent. Ch. Ch.* 128. **e 1027** locutus sum cum .. imperatore .. et principibus .. de necessitatibus .. populi .. regni mei .., ut eis concederetur lex aequior .. in via Romam adeundi et ne tot ~is per viam artentur et propter thelon injustum fatigentur (*Lit. Cnuti*) *GAS* 276 (cf. Fl. Worc. I 185: multas per viam ~as, ubi thelon a peregrinis extorquebatur, .. dissipavit); quod dictum sub exemplo vivarii proponebat, dicens ~am illius districtioni ordinis monastici assimilari, "quoniam ..", inquit, "sicut pisces decurrente aqua vivarii moriuntur si ~e ipsius minutatim .. crepant .., ita .. religio monastici ordinis .. perit si custodia ejus .. paulatim .. tepescit" Eadmer *V. Anselmi* I 31; ille suffumigationes aperiunt cerebri ~am Bacon IX 130; Deus juvit [Alexaudrum] per terre motum et ~as montium *Id. Maj.* I 365; **1312** (v. claudere 1e); **1384** pro ~a stagni .. pro signis *Ac. Durh.* 593; **1390** in ~a j fenestre cum lapidibus et cemento *Ib.* 266. **f 1314** de claustura aque ad molendinum eorum *ChartR* 101 m. 11 (cf. *CalCh* III 267).

2 closing (of book). **b** fastening, clasp (of book); *cf. clapsura*. **c** locking device (for strike of clock). **d** cuff, fold (of sleeve).

[volumina] nec precipiti festinacione solvantur nec .. sine ~a debita dimittantur R. Bury *Phil.* 17. 217. **b 14..** j portiphorium magnum cum iij ~is argenteis *Invent. Norw.* 20. **c** fiant 24 foramina, quibus aptetur unum springum pro ~a sonitus Wallingf. (*Horol.*) I 482. **d** s**1425** abbas de ~a manice traxit copiam cujusdam .. epistole Amund. I 199.

3 enclosure (of town) w. wall, fortification; [illegible] (Gasc.). **c** obligation to contribute to enclosure or fortification. **d** right to enclose.

[illegible] computatis ballivis Sancti Claudii quod posuerunt in clastura ville *Cl* 234b; **1220** de claustura ville Salopie *Pat* 238 (cf. (v. claudere 5b)); **1226** de l m. concessis ad ~am ville Wintonie *Cl* 54; **1263** mandatum est [burgensibus Norhamt'] quod firmam [ville sue] in emendacione ~e et murorum .. poni faciant *Cl* 241; s**1266** tota claustura quam comes [Glovernie] fecerat inter civitatem et Turrim penitus prostrata est et meremium asportatum *Leg. Ant. Lond.* 92; **1305** ad singulos ingressus suburbii .. clausturas per posternas vel alio modo .. fieri faciatis .. pro securitate .. hominum ville *MunCOx* 8; **1363** quod defectus murorum et alterius ~e ville [Berewici] .. reparari facias *RScot* 871a; s**1363** rex concessit ccl m. pro fossatura et claustura civitatis [Cant'] Thorne 2139. **b 1219** omnibus illis qui turres firmare vel kaios vel ~as facere debent in civitate Burdegale *Pat* 198; **1219** supplicamus .. ut sic [rex] nobis .. ad ville sue ~am subveniat .. ut nos .. sic villain suam de Regula muniamus ut .. (*AncC* VI 41) *RL* I 50; **1315** rex .. faciat primam ~am in dicta bastida, viz. portalia *RGasc* IV 1626 p. 473. **c 1067** concedo .. ecclesiae [de Bello] leugam .. quietam .. ab opere pontium .. et parcorum et ~is *MonA* III 244b; c**1152** concessisse .. Balduino .. suum *toft* quod tenet .. in Pert .. quiete ab omni servitio burgi excepta vigilia infra burgum et claustura burgi *E. Ch. Scot.* 248; a**1176** quod .. tenementa .. teneant .. quieta ab .. operatione pontium et castellorum et parcorum et vivariorum et ~is *CalCh* III 342; **1177** ut .. liberi sint .. ab operibus castellorum, parcorum et pontium ~is *MonA* VI 64a; a**1216** aldermannus .. foraneos mercatores .. hortetur .. ut quisque gratis tantum civitatis clausture apponat quod graciam a civitate recipiat (*Mun. Lond.*) *EHR* XVII 727. **d 1286** salvis mihi et heredibus meis approviamentis nostris et .. claustura de Sunderland ad voluntatem nostram .. quandocunque illud claudere voluerimus (*Altrincham*) *BBC* 82.

4 (enclosing) fence, hedge, wall, ditch or sim.. **b** material (brushwood or sim.) for fencing etc.. **c** (?) wattling (of house). **d** railing (eccl.).

Above: Lesley Bolton, An Edition, Translation and Commentary on Mustio's *Gynaekia* (Calgary: PhD Thesis, 2015), 276–7.

¹DWb **Deutsches Wörterbuch von Jacob Grimm und Wilhelm Grimm** → ↗ Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wisse

A SCHLOSZ
B SCHLOSZABZUG, *m.*
C SCHLOSZÄHNLICH, *ad*
D SCHLOSZARM, *m.*
E SCHLOSZARTIG, *adj.*
F SCHLOSZAUFSEHER, *r*
G SCHLOSZBALKEN, *m.*
H SCHLOSZBAND, *n.*
I SCHLOSZBARBIER, *m.*
J SCHLOSZBAU, *m.*
K SCHLOSZBAUMANN, *r*
L SCHLOSZBEAMTER, *m*
SCHLOSZBEDIENTER,

Bd. 15, Sp. 767 **SCHLOSZ** *bis* **SCHLOSZBAU**, *m.*

SCHLOSZ, *n. formales. westgermanische ablautende l* schlieszen (*s. d.*), *im goth. und altnord. fehlend, erst in neuere nordischen sprachen eingedrungen, dän.* slot, *schwed.* slott, *is angelsächs. fehlt das wort, im engl. kommt es als* slot *und* slo *vergleiche* Skeat *et. dict.* 563[b], *altfries.* slot *und* slet (Richthof *und* sclot (Heyne *kl. altnd. denkm.* 177), *mnd.* slot, sl, sclat, *neben auch* slotte *und* slote (Schiller-Lübben 4, 2 *f.*). *die qu schwanken, wenn man nach der schreibung theilen darf. nr* slöt, *pl.* slote, slöte (ten Doornkaat Koolman 3, 208[b] *f.*), slöte slör, slötter (Mi 81[a]), *ahd. und mh* slôz, sloz (Graff 6, 813 *f*

II. schlosz *burg, castellum; hd. noch nicht vorhanden, obwol die bedeutung ei- nes ges rten raumes bereits sich zeigt:* sloz, *claustra, clausa* Graff 6, 814; *un- mitt bar auf die im mhd.* sloz *ausgebildete bedeutung leitet der begriff der weg- perre durch eine warte oder feste, wie er gelegentlich hervortritt:*

daz sî zu Wilow machtin
eine burg und achtin
dî zu einre warte
und vor ein slôz sô harte,

γ) *weibliches becken bei thier und mensch mit bezug auf die geburt* Tobler 391[a]: schlosz, diejenigen knochen an einem stück wild, welche sich von einander thun, wenn es seine jungen gebähret. Jacobsson 7, 239[b]; die jungen (*bären*) sind ganz klein, die ursache hievon ist, weil sich das schlosz bei einer bärin nicht öffnet. Heppe *jagdlust* (1783) 1, 343; dann wann ... des kindes haupt (*beim gebären*) auf die schultern (*nicht*) umgestürtzt wird, beschieht es, dasz es so stark an den schlossen angehalten wird. Mauriceau *tractat* (1680) 212; *vgl. auch* schloszbein.

δ) *die weibliche scham:* fräwlich schlosz der geburt, *vulva* Schm. 2, 536; unver- ruckt und unversert bliben Mariä schlosz. *ebenda;* und der herr gedachte Rachaelis und erhört sy und tet auf ir weiplich schlosz (*vulvam eius aperuit*). *bibel von* 1483, *1 Mos.* 30, 22. *in anspielungen auf diese bedeutung, vgl. unter* schlöszlein; *im sprichwort:* das schlosz ist übel zu verwahren, dazu jedermann einen schlüssel hat. Wander 4, 244.

Castle

Female pelvis in animals and people with reference to birth

The woman's genitals

The Grimms' German dictionary, from https://woerterbuchnetz.de/?sigle=DWB&mode=Vernetzung&lemid=GP06409#2

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