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Preserving and reinventing traditions of learning in the Middle Ages

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Dream divination in manuscripts and early printed books: patterns of transmission[1]

László Sándor Chardonnens

Introduction

Upon consulting three different forms of medieval dream divination, we learn that to dream of a dragon signifies honour, but to do so on the sixteenth day of the moon will make the dream come true only after a long time, and if one finds the letter *v* on the first line of the left-hand page of a book opened at random after the dream, it means death. The dreamer may eventually achieve honour, therefore, but if out of luck might die before the auspicious outcome of the dream can take effect. Whether medieval people approached dream divination in the same exhaustive way as the example given here is the subject of this chapter. This is not to say that medieval people thought differently about dream divination than we do, because approaches to oneiromancy now are as complex as they were in the past, but modern scholars have many more medieval sources at their disposal than medieval dream diviners did at any one time. Relying on many hundreds of texts, a modern scholar doubling as a dream diviner can select interpretations in which dragons signify honour instead of delusion, in which the sixteenth day of the moon ensures that the dream will take effect instead of not coming true at all, and in which the letter *v* means death instead of a happy life, just to add a touch of foreboding to the prediction. With around fifty medieval and early modern thematic dream books and around 265 alphabetical dream books in existence, a great variety of interpretations of dream topics is available. Add to these texts a further 280 or so lunaries dealing with if and when dreams will come true and ninety-five mantic alphabets that combine oneiromancy with bibliomancy, and the number of possible interpretations is bewildering. A slight snag for modern scholars in approaching this material is that they must be equipped to read a multitude of scripts from the ninth century onwards, to understand Latin and at least eleven other European

languages from various periods and dialect regions, and to have leisure to travel across Europe and the United States to consult these many texts.

The challenges facing modern scholars can be overcome with some effort, but the same cannot be said of those that faced medieval dream diviners. Medieval dream diviners who needed access to written sources of their brand of secular *scientia* were limited by what was available in a certain language in a certain region at a certain point in time. Since written sources dealing with oneiromancy were transmitted piecemeal, a text-based, comprehensive dream interpretation of the kind featured above may have been rare. Not all forms of dream divination, moreover, were available throughout the Middle Ages. Whereas alphabetical dream books and lunaries had already been around since the ninth century, for instance, thematic dream books and mantic alphabets first emerged in the twelfth century. To collect several sources dealing with dream divination, then, cannot have been easy.

Even so, authorities on dream divination such as Alf Önnerfors noted 'dass die mittelalterlichen Somnialien und Lunare als typische prognostische Gattungen intim mit einander zusammenhingen' ('that the medieval prognostic genres of alphabetical dream books and lunaries were closely connected').[2] Lorenzo DiTommaso even goes so far as to argue that 'in approximately one quarter of the extant manuscripts a lunation immediately precedes, follows, or is in some other way intimately related to a copy of the *Somniale Danielis*', and that these two forms of dream divination 'regularly appear as one text in the same manuscript'.[3] This would suggest that medieval scribes saw generic connections between these two forms of dream divination. Sure enough, lunaries and alphabetical dream books are sometimes attested in the same book, sometimes in sequence or even as a single text, but much less frequently than projected. As far as other forms of dream divination are concerned concrete data were lacking altogether. It has not been qualified, by extension, whether the various forms of oneiromancy were considered to belong to the same tradition of learning, even if it would make sense to us that they might have done so. Having examined many hundreds of manuscripts and early printed books that contain dream divination, I argue that a putative close connection between the various forms of dream divination was not widespread before the age of print but existed largely as a result of *ad hoc* decisions made by individual scribes. This chapter introduces the various oneiromantic practices current in medieval times, traces

major developments in the transmission of dream divination in the Middle Ages and early Modernity, and examines the existence of an awareness among scribes and printers of connections between the various forms of dream divination. The findings are based on a corpus of 860 medieval and early modern sources in 489 manuscripts and 89 printed books up to 1550, the most comprehensive survey brought together so far.[4]

Divinatory dreams

Defined as 'a train of thoughts, images, or fancies passing through the mind during sleep', dreams take on various forms.[5] Starting with Sigmund Freud's *Die Traumdeutung*, dreams have been seen to be vents of the unconscious: by interpreting the meaning of dreams, a person's hidden drives and anxieties can be made manifest.[6] Pre-Freudian ideas about dreams and dreaming, however, offer a different perspective. Steven Kruger opined that in the past 'dreams were often thought to foretell the future because they allowed the human soul access to a transcendent, spiritual reality'.[7] This does not mean that all dreams were considered divinatory. By its very nature, dream divination relates only to dreams that can be interpreted meaningfully, and most medieval theories about dreaming include a few kinds of dreams that have mantic qualities.

Immensely popular throughout the medieval period, the theory advanced by the late antique scholar Macrobius in his *Commentarii in somnium Scipionis* constitutes a fivefold division of dreams:

> Omnium quae uidere sibi dormientes uidentur quinque sunt principales et diuersitates et nomina. Aut enim est ὄνειρος secundum Graecos quod Latini *somnium* uocant, aut est ὅραμα quod *uisio* recte appellatur, aut est χρηματισμός quod *oraculum* nuncupatur, aut est ἐνύπνιον quod *insomnium* dicitur, aut est φάντασμα quod Cicero quotiens opus hoc nomine fuit *uisum* uocauit.[8]
> (All dreams may be classified under five main types: there is the enigmatic dream, in Greek *oneiros*, in Latin *somnium*; second, there is the prophetic vision, in Greek *horama*, in Latin *visio*; third, there is the oracular dream, in Greek *chrematismos*, in Latin *oraculum*; fourth, there is the nightmare, in Greek *enypnion*, in Latin *insomnium*; and last, the apparition, in Greek *phantasma*, which Cicero, when he has occasion to use the word, calls *visum*.[9])

The five kinds of dreams described by Macrobius include the *insomnium* and the *uisum*, which arise from internal, mental or physiological processes, and that are thought to have no divinatory

value. Macrobius asserts, however, that 'tribus ceteris in ingenium diuinationis instruimur' ('by means of the other three we are gifted with the powers of divination').[10] These divinatory dreams may be prompted by external agents and are hence close to prophetic visions, such as the *oraculum*. They may also have links to external reality because they predict what will happen in the future (the *uisio* and the *somnium*). Whereas the *oraculum* is generally associated with prophecy and therefore out of bounds to worldly diviners, the *uisio* and *somnium* are the kinds of dreams covered by secular dream divination. The main distinction between the latter two is that the *uisio* comes true in exactly the way that it is dreamt, whereas the *somnium* deals in symbols whose value can only be decoded by interpretation. The *somnium* is the type of divinatory dream that dream books concern themselves with, while other kinds of dream divination may also cover the *uisio*, such as lunaries.

Macrobius's was the principal dream theory throughout the Middle Ages, though other models already existed, and yet others were subsequently advanced by high and late medieval thinkers. As Kruger discusses, antedating or contemporary with Macrobius's dream theory were those of Greek and Roman philosophers like Aristotle, who saw little mantic value in dreams, Synesius, who stressed the revelatory power of dreams, and Calcidius, who ascribed revelatory value only to dreams 'sent by "diuinae potestates"'.[11] Church Fathers, too, occupied themselves with dream theory, and they were deeply concerned with the agency behind revelatory dreams. For patristic writers the problem of dream divination seems to have resided not so much in the act of interpretation, which has ample biblical precedent, but in discerning divine from demonic agency, and true from false dreams.[12]

High medieval thinkers refined existing dream theories by uniting pagan and Christian models, and by adding somatic components drawn from classical and Arabic medicine. In the course of the medieval period, humoral theory was brought to bear on dream theory, as outlined in Rhazes's *Liber ad Almansorem*, for example. This led to more developed models of the somatic causes of dreaming, as in Pascalis Romanus's *Liber thesauri occulti*, which unites somatic dream theory with dream divination.[13] Late medieval thinkers developed their theories of dreaming even further, constructing intricate models that categorised dreams and dream theory in rigidly logical fashion. Late medieval dream theory, however, was increasingly sceptical of the value of mantic dreams, partly through improved access to Greek philosophical

notions about dreaming, notably Aristotle's, and partly through a growing suspicion of dream divination on religious grounds. Religious scepticism lay in the supposition that external inspiration of dreams might arise from deceptive agents, turning dreams that appear meaningful into falsehoods.[14] Such negative responses to divinatory dreams are evidenced mainly in philosophical and religious writings, but they also affected a number of late medieval oneiromantic texts that were crossed out or denounced by later users of the manuscripts (e.g., Oxford, Balliol College, MS 329 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7349).[15] Even so, late medieval dream theory did not rule out the possibility that mantic dreams existed, merely queried under what circumstances dreams came about and what external conditions made a dream be true or false.

To sum up, medieval dream theory relied principally on the work of Macrobius, with alternative models becoming available or being developed over time. Some alternative models hailed from Greek and Roman philosophy and from classical and Arabic medicine. Others were composed by Church Fathers, theologians and medieval thinkers, who fused pagan and Christian approaches to dream theory and speculated on the internal and external causes of dreaming and the agency behind divinatory dreams. The majority of medieval dream theories have in common that they provided for the possibility of divinatory dreams. The Macrobian *somnium* and *uisio* are the meaningful dreams of choice, and it is these types that dream divination pertains to.

Dream divination

There are roughly four kinds of dream divination in written form available to medieval dream diviners: alphabetical dream books, thematic dream books, lunaries and mantic alphabets.[16] These forms of dream divination are here discussed in turn.

Alphabetical dream books are the best known form of medieval dream divination.[17] Thought to have derived from an older Byzantine alphabetical *oneirocriticon* (Gr. ὀνειροκριτικόν, 'dream interpretation'), alphabetical dream books were the only type of oneiromancy that interpreted the contents of dreams for most of the medieval period in the Latin West.[18] While many alphabetical dream books do not explicitly claim to have been authored by any one person in particular, the rubrics and incipits of a fair number of them name Daniel. The attribution is to the Jewish

prophet Daniel, who is reported in the Old Testament to have been carried off to Babylon to be educated as court advisor. When the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar had a dream that his own diviners were unable to interpret, Daniel interpreted the king's dream, which God revealed to Daniel along with the content of the dream itself. Daniel, in other words, had an *oraculum* of the king's *somnium* and its interpretation. Alphabetical dream books are consequently known as *Somniale Danielis*, one of several types of divination among the prophet's apocrypha.[19] The dreams covered by alphabetical dream books are of the *somnium* type.

Alphabetical dream books are inventories of signs that occur in dreams, together with their interpretations. The signs are ordered alphabetically in short entries of the type '*x y* significat' ('*x* signifies *y*'), where *x* stands for the sign manifested in a dream and *y* for the interpretation of the sign, for instance, 'dracones videre dignitatem significat' ('to see dragons signifies honour').[20] The sign (*x*) is usually worded as a verb phrase, with the verb expressing an action or a sensory experience. Most attention is given to the sense of sight, in keeping with the essentially visual nature of dreaming. The interpretation (*y*) is a noun or short noun phrase that promises future profit or loss, health or illness, life or death, happiness or sadness, security or danger, and fortune or misfortune. The verb *significat* joins the sign and its interpretation, testifying to the meaningful link between the sign in the dream and its import in waking life.

Alphabetical dream books vary in length from as many as 716 entries to as few as twenty-three entries on a scrap of paper pasted to the inside back board of a manuscript.[21] Texts that span the entire alphabet typically number between 100 and 450 entries, but many surviving texts are fragmentary from the start, and cover only a few letters of the alphabet. Dream books vary in length because the formulaic structure of the entries made it easy to add or delete entries. Complete alphabetical dream books go from *a* to *z* in twenty-three letters. The entries of vernacular dream books initially followed the underlying alphabetical order of the Latin sources. An entry about water, for instance, would be at the beginning of a vernacular dream book on account of Latin *aqua*. Only towards the close of the medieval period did vernacular dream books adopt vernacular alphabetical order, including the use of newer letter forms, such as *j* and *w*.

Thematic dream books were a marginal phenomenon for most of the medieval period. Despite the fact that a substantial variety

of thematic *oneirocritica* circulated in the Greek East, none of these made it to the Latin West before the later twelfth century, in marked contrast to the early introduction of the *Somniale Danielis*. There are three groups of thematic dream books known in the Latin West: Pascalis Romanus's *Liber thesauri occulti*, and the *Oneirocritica* of Achmet ben Sirin and Artemidorus.

Pascalis Romanus published his Latin *Liber thesauri occulti* in Constantinople in the 1160s.[22] The first part of the *Liber thesauri occulti* concerns dream theory, and the second and third parts form a thematic dream book that is largely but silently based on the Greek *Oneirocritica* of Artemidorus (second century AD) and Achmet ben Sirin (tenth century). Severely limited in circulation, the *Liber thesauri occulti* survives in a handful of manuscripts and never made the transition to print. Hans Lobenzweig made an abbreviated translation into German in the mid-fifteenth century.[23] Relying on a variety of Greek, Byzantine and Arabic sources, the thematic dream book of Achmet ben Sirin was translated from Greek into Latin by Leo Tuscus in Constantinople in the 1170s.[24] The Latin version was subsequently translated into French and German. It is also preserved in Italian in a number of printed books and manuscripts. Some sixteenth-century Italian printers published a thematic dream book attributed to the Old Testament king Solomon that is heavily indebted to the *Oneirocriticon* of Achmet. Although Pascalis Romanus already relied on the *Oneirocriticon* of Artemidorus, it would take until the sixteenth century for the Latin West to be officially introduced to Artemidorus, starting with the *Ὀνειροκριτικῶν βιβλία πέντε* (Venice, 1518).[25] Janus Cornarius published a Latin translation, *De somniorum interpretatione, Libri quinque*, in 1539, which was quickly followed by translations into German (1540), Italian (1542) and French (1546).

Lunaries are among the most widely transmitted forms of medieval divination.[26] Like alphabetical and thematic dream books, lunaries from the Latin West are thought to go back to older Byzantine sources, in this case the *selenodromion* (Gr. σεληνοδρόμιον, 'the course of the moon').[27] Lunaries are attributed to a wide range of authorities, including Adam, Bede, Esdras, Galen, Merlin and Solomon, but the sporadic ascription to the prophet Daniel and the occasional co-occurrence of lunaries and *Somniale Danielis* mean that lunaries, or *Lunationes Danielis*, are now regarded as Daniel apocrypha.[28]

With various ways to measure the course of the moon, lunaries are just one type of lunar divination. Tracing the cycle of

approximately thirty days from new moon to new moon, lunaries are distinct from zodiacal lunaries, which follow the passage of the moon through the twelve signs of the zodiac, and from the mansions of the moon, which track the course of the moon through the twenty-eight lunar mansions. Of the three kinds of lunar divination, lunaries are the only ones that include predictions for dreams, though they may focus on different aspects of life too. A distinction is made between specific (specialised) and collective (general) lunaries. Specific lunaries report the outcomes of only one of the following fields of interest: general actions, birth, bloodletting, dreams or illness. Collective lunaries cover all of these topics in one go, and sometimes also predict the chances of retrieving stolen goods or runaway servants. A prediction such as 'luna .i. quicquid uideris in gaudium erit' ('the first day of the moon: whatever you see [in your dream] will turn to joy'), for instance, is all a dream lunary will say about the first day of the moon, but a collective lunary will also predict the outcome of various other events on this day.[29] Since dream and collective lunaries do not interpret the content of dreams but only predict if and when dreams come true, they may cover dreams of both the *somnium* and *uisio* type.

Mantic alphabets are the final form of dream divination under discussion.[30] It is unclear where and when mantic alphabets originated. Förster suggests a Greek origin, with a translation into Latin in the seventh or eighth century.[31] No Byzantine mantic alphabets have been attested, however, and I think it is more likely that mantic alphabets evolved out of the alphabetical texts and acrostics that circulated in Northwestern Europe in the tenth and eleventh centuries.[32] Many mantic alphabets are attributed to Joseph, the Old Testament patriarch who was sold into slavery and became Pharaoh's advisor after interpreting the latter's dreams. In imitation of the designation *Somniale Danielis* for alphabetical dream books, mantic alphabets are sometimes called *Somniale Ioseph*.

The dreams covered by mantic alphabets are probably of the *somnium* and *uisio* type, though mantic alphabets do not interpret symbols in dreams (which dream books do), nor do they predict if and when a dream will come true (which lunaries do). Instead, mantic alphabets provide a general prediction for the future, based on a form of bibliomancy after having had a dream. Users of mantic alphabets will have to engage in some ritual acts, such as prayer and kneeling in church, after which they open a book at random, usually a psalter. The first letter on the left-hand page of

the book is looked up in the alphabet key, which is a list of letters of the alphabet with predictions. A user who finds the letter *a*, for instance, will learn that 'a significat vitam uel potestatem' ('*a* signifies life or power').[33] The predictions are ordered alphabetically in short entries of the type '*littera* significat *y*' ('*letter* signifies *y*'), where *y* stands for the interpretation of the letter, usually a noun or terse noun phrase that promises future profit or loss, health or illness, life or death, happiness or sadness, security or danger, and fortune or misfortune. The verb form *significat* joins the letter and its interpretation, testifying to the meaningful link between the letter retrieved at random and the dream's import in waking life. Mantic alphabets go from *a* to *z* in twenty-three letters, irrespective of the language of the text. Vernacular texts, in other words, do not adapt the alphabet to local linguistic needs, probably because the book to be consulted at random (mostly the psalter) will have been in Latin.

Major developments in the transmission of dream divination

In order to make sense of developments in dream divination, it is worth tracking textual transmission across time. The following analysis is based on the corpus of oneiromantic texts I have identified with the help of existing surveys and original research. The corpus is split into manuscripts and printed books. Manuscript sources date from the earliest, ninth-century alphabetical dream books and lunaries onwards. No date limit is set for manuscripts, since post-medieval copies invariably reflect medieval practices, a case in point being the texts copied out of antiquarian and scholarly interest between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries.[34] The transmission of dream divination in print starts at around 1475. The cut-off date for printed books is 1550, since the approximately seventy-five-year period leading up to the mid-sixteenth century marks a gradual transition from medieval textual traditions that make their way into print largely unchanged, to recontextualisations of older texts and the subsequent displacement of medieval oneiromancy by newly introduced Byzantine thematic *oneirocritica* in Greek, Latin and the European vernaculars.

The textual transmission of dream divination in manuscripts can be seen in Table 1.1. The analysis of these data follows after Table 1.2 below. Please note that the lower attestation rates in the early and high Middle Ages in comparison to the higher rates in

Table 1.1 Textual transmission of dream divination in manuscripts

		thematic dream books			lunaries			
	SD	LTO	OAch	OArt	CL	DL	non-oneiromantic lunaries	SI
ix	2	–	–	–	2	4	22	–
x	3	–	–	–	1	2	4	–
xi	8	–	–	–	8	13	32	–
xii	9	1	1	–	7	5	16	3
xiii	12	2		–	15	5	5	7
xiv	50	2	9	–	35	12	24	13
xv	82	2	9	–	93	18	55	39
xvi	14		7	1	12	1	7	13
xvii	9		2		5	3	6	1
xviii	2				1			
xix								
xx					1		1	

Abbreviations: SD = *Somniale Danielis*, LTO = *Liber thesauri occulti*, OAch = *oneirocriticon* of Achmet ben Sirin, OArt = *oneirocriticon* of Artemidorus, CL = collective lunary, DL = dream lunary, SI = *Somniale Ioseph*. A dash means that a kind of dream divination is not yet in evidence in the Latin West.

the late Middle Ages may have various external causes, such as the markedly lower production and survival rates of older books in general. That said, the manuscripts under consideration hail from all over Europe and cover all kinds of topics and disciplines, so regional or context-related influences on survival rates are evened out. It is possible, therefore, to study the transmission of the various types of dream divination in relation to each other without having to engage in a discussion on manuscript survival in general. The transmission of dream divination in printed books between around 1475 and 1550 can be seen in Table 1.2.[35]

Extant in 263 copies, alphabetical dream books are one of the oldest forms of oneiromancy in the Latin West. The earliest text witnesses date from the ninth century, and alphabetical dream books have been in circulation ever since, though their popularity dwindled in the course of the sixteenth century, when thematic dream books came in vogue. Even so, alphabetical dream books have become the oneiromantic method of choice from the nineteenth century onwards; so much so, in fact, that even Chinese dream books now occasionally abandon the strictly organised thematic order that characterises them, in favour of alphabetical (pinyin) order.[36] *Somniale Danielis* are attested in Latin and several

Table 1.2 Textual transmission of dream divination in printed books

		thematic dream books			lunaries			
	SD	LTO	OAch	OArt	CL	DL	non-oneiromantic lunaries	SI
xv4/4	42			–	21	2		16
xvi1	30		5	10	7	5	1	3

Abbreviations: SD = *Somniale Danielis*, LTO = *Liber thesauri occulti*, OAch = *oneirocriticon* of Achmet ben Sirin, OArt = *oneirocriticon* of Artemidorus, CL = collective lunary, DL = dream lunary, SI = *Somniale Ioseph*. A dash means that a kind of dream divination is not yet in evidence in the Latin West.

European vernaculars. English translations first appeared in the eleventh century, French in the thirteenth, Irish and Italian in the fourteenth, German, Spanish and Welsh in the fifteenth, and Icelandic in the sixteenth century.[37] With 191 texts, the transmission of alphabetical dream books in manuscripts rises steadily from two in the ninth century to eighty-two in the fifteenth century, with a sharp drop in the sixteenth century. Alphabetical dream books are among the earliest forms of medieval dream divination to make it into print, in around 1475, and there are no less than forty-two oneiromantic incunables in a twenty-five-year period. Decline sets in after 1500, however, with only thirty prints in fifty years, and no publications at all in the second half of the sixteenth century from the German and Italian printers who accounted for most of the incunable and post-incunable *Somniale Danielis*. Alphabetical dream books form the nucleus of printed dream divination manuals. Most oneiromantic incunables also include lunaries or mantic alphabets, but post-incunables, on the other hand, tend to contain alphabetical dream books only, augmented by excerpts from dream theoretical works, perhaps in an attempt to rescue the reputation of alphabetical dream books.[38]

Thematic dream books are first introduced in the twelfth century, starting with Pascalis Romanus's *Liber thesauri occulti*, which survives in five Latin and two fifteenth-century German copies. The low number of text witnesses of the *Liber thesauri occulti* suggests that the work was transmitted in the periphery of dream divination, which is made the more likely because the *Liber thesauri occulti* did not make it into print at all. A close contemporary to Pascalis Romanus's work, the *Oneirocriticon* of Achmet ben Sirin, was slightly more successful. Translated by Leo Tuscus in the twelfth century, the *Oneirocriticon* of Achmet was transmitted

in small numbers in manuscripts between the twelfth and the seventeenth centuries, with a peak of nine copies each in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Latin version was translated into French in the fourteenth century, and into German in the sixteenth century. It is also preserved in the vernacular in a number of books printed in Italy in the sixteenth century, and in three manuscripts dating from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century. In all, the *Oneirocriticon* of Achmet ben Sirin is extant in twenty-eight manuscripts and five early prints. Yet another Byzantine thematic dream book, the *Oneirocriticon* of Artemidorus, proved more popular in the early modern period. The *Oneirocriticon* of Artemidorus appeared late in the Latin West, with prints in Greek in 1518, and in Latin in 1539, and a single manuscript copy in Latin from the sixteenth century. No less than ten prints survive in Latin and the European vernaculars between 1539 and 1550, and about another thirty prints appeared in the second half of the sixteenth century. A comprehensive collection of Byzantine *oneirocritica* with Latin translations first appeared in Paris in 1603 with Nicolas Rigault's bilingual (Greek and Latin) *Artemidori Daldiani & Achmetis Sereimi F. Oneirocritica. Astrampsychi et Nicephori versus etiam Oneirocritici*.[39]

Why thematic dream books were so late to arrive in the Latin West is a moot point, but even after their introduction in Latin in twelfth-century Constantinople by Pascalis Romanus and Leo Tuscus they were unable to compete against the popularity of alphabetical dream books until the sixteenth century. In the course of the sixteenth century, the *Somniale Danielis* came under increased suspicion during the religious reforms as a result of a clampdown on apocrypha and attempts to control the spread of non-biblical prophecies and revelations. This had consequences for the *oraculum* in particular, but also extended to the *uisio* and the *somnium*, and hence to dream divination in general.[40] Around the same time, thematic dream books were on the rise as a result of humanist scholarly interest in specifically Greek *oneirocritica*, witness the success of the *oneirocriticon* of Artemidorus in Greek, Latin and the European vernaculars.[41] The (renewed) introduction of thematic *oneirocritica* in the early sixteenth century, therefore, caught the *Somniale Danielis* at a particularly bad time, which led to marked changes in the transmission of dream books at the cusp of the medieval and early modern periods.

Extant in 451 copies, lunaries are not only one of the most popular forms of divination in the medieval period, but with 278

dream and collective (i.e., oneiromantic) lunaries they are also the most frequently transmitted form of dream divination. All lunaries are included in the present survey, because oneiromantic lunaries may co-occur either with other kinds of dream divination on account of their subject matter, or with other lunaries on account of their structure. The earliest text witnesses date from the ninth century, and though lunaries were out of fashion by the seventeenth century, they are occasionally still found in modern printed fortune tellers. Lunaries are attested in Latin and a range of European vernaculars. English translations first appeared in the eleventh century, French and German in the thirteenth, Dutch in the fourteenth, Italian, Swedish and Welsh in the fifteenth, and Icelandic in the seventeenth century. With 415 texts in manuscripts, 243 of which are oneiromantic, lunaries are significantly more widely distributed in manuscripts than alphabetical dream books. The high rate of attestation in the ninth century (twenty-eight texts), in particular, is testimony to the rapid integration of lunaries in early medieval practical science. As with other forms of dream divination, the transmission of lunaries peaks in the fifteenth century and drops in the sixteenth century, but a striking feature is that the transmission of specific lunaries does not keep pace with that of collective lunaries, that is, collective lunaries are increasingly more frequently transmitted than specific lunaries.

Lunaries appear in print too, always in connection with alphabetical dream books on the continent (but not in England), and never in connection with thematic dream books. All oneiromantic incunables focus on alphabetical dream books, usually followed by mantic alphabets or preceded by lunaries. Three incunables even contain a complete set of a lunary, an alphabetical dream book and a mantic alphabet. The preference for collective lunaries over specific lunaries in late medieval manuscripts is carried over into print: twenty-one out of twenty-three lunaries in incunables are collective and only two are dream lunaries. Most sixteenth-century printed *Somniale Danielis*, on the other hand, only rarely include lunaries or mantic alphabets. The decreased transmission of medieval forms of oneiromancy in the sixteenth century, therefore, applies to lunaries even more so than it does to alphabetical dream books. Sixteenth-century oneiromantic prints show an even distribution of five collective versus five dream lunaries from continental printers. The English were particularly late to print dream books, the first publications being *Here begynneth the Dreames of Daniell*[42] and Thomas Hill's *The moste pleasaunte Arte of the Interpretacion*

of Dreames.[43] Lunaries, however, were already being printed in England in the first half of the sixteenth century, witness *De cursione Lune*[44] and *Here begynneth the Nature, and Dysposycyon of the dayes in the weke*.[45] The lunaries in these publications, it is to be noted, do not occur in specifically oneiromantic contexts, in contrast to the lunaries printed on the continent around this time.

Extant in ninety-five copies, mantic alphabets are a late arrival to medieval oneiromancy. The earliest text witnesses date from the late twelfth century. Mantic alphabets are attested in Latin and several European vernaculars. German translations first appear in the twelfth century, French in the fourteenth, English and Italian in the fifteenth, and Welsh in the sixteenth century. The earliest Italian texts are in incunables, and a single Italian text in manuscript survives in Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, Marc. gr. II. 163. Mantic alphabets in manuscripts follow the rise and fall pattern of all medieval forms of dream divination, going from three texts in the twelfth century to thirty-nine in the fifteenth, thirteen in the sixteenth, and one in the seventeenth century. Mantic alphabets have a history of transmission that is coeval with the first thematic dream books, but in contrast to the latter, the former are included in incunables. The first printed dream divination manuals from around 1475 already include mantic alphabets, to a total of sixteen text witnesses in incunables, particularly from Southern German and Italian printers. It has already been observed that sixteenth-century printed alphabetical dream books rarely include additional items, which holds true for lunaries and for mantic alphabets. There are, in fact, only three sixteenth-century books with mantic alphabets, and the last text to appear in print before the nineteenth century dates from 1537.[46]

The preceding analysis charts the overall transmission of oneiromantic texts in the medieval period. It demonstrates that all forms of dream divination known in manuscript form show a steadily increasing textual transmission up to the fifteenth century and a sharp decline in the sixteenth century. The analysis also shows that older and newer forms of dream divination part ways in the early modern period. Excluding non-oneiromantic lunaries, the 546 oneiromantic texts in manuscripts are distributed as follows: 8 texts in the ninth century, 6 in the tenth, 29 in the eleventh, 26 in the twelfth, 41 in the thirteenth, 121 in the fourteenth, 243 in the fifteenth and 48 texts in the sixteenth century, and a further 24 manuscript copies of medieval sources in the seventeenth century and after. Out of 546 texts, 434 are alphabetical dream books and

oneiromantic lunaries, oneiromantic methods that first emerged in the ninth century. The newer forms of dream divination introduced in the twelfth century, in other words, constitute only a small proportion of oneiromantic texts, even though alphabetical dream books and oneiromantic lunaries are not attested in great numbers before the thirteenth century either. Mantic alphabets are the more successful of the newer forms of dream divination, with seventy-six text witnesses against a mere thirty-six thematic dream books in manuscripts.

Late fifteenth-century printers, particularly German and Italian ones, were quick to tap into a new market by publishing a total of eighty-one oneiromantic texts in a span of twenty-five years. During this time, not a single thematic dream book appeared in print. Printed books from the first half of the sixteenth century herald significant changes, however. In this fifty-year period, sixty oneiromantic texts make it into print, with the number of alphabetical dream books and lunaries halved as compared to their occurrence in incunables, and with only three mantic alphabets. A quarter of all oneiromantic texts printed at this time, in contrast, are thematic dream books, with no less than ten editions of the newly published *oneirocriticon* of Artemidorus in a span of eleven years. These findings would seem to support the notion that the first half of the sixteenth century witnessed major changes in the transmission of dream divination. Despite recontextualisations of older mantic and oneiromantic texts by French and English printers (e.g., the integration of lunaries and dream books in Jean Thibault's *La Phisionomie des songes et visions fantastiques*,[47] and the collective lunary in *Here begynneth the Nature, and Dysposycyon of the dayes in the weke*), the traditional forms of dream divination that had been around for centuries were on their way out, and their place was filled by Byzantine thematic *oneirocritica*.

The existence of oneiric awareness

It has now been established that there are several major developments that influenced the transmission of dream divination going from the Middle Ages to early Modernity, but so far no attempt has been made to discover whether medieval scribes and early printers were aware of the shared oneiric features of texts dealing with dream divination. Modern scholars such as Önnerfors and DiTommaso have hinted at such awareness by positing close connections between alphabetical dream books and

lunaries.[48] Makers of descriptive catalogues likewise observed a close connection between 'Lunationes [lunaries] et Somnia [alphabetical dream books], a pair of treatises on prognostication which appear together in a variety of shapes, both in Latin and in other languages'.[49] Aside from the fact that such claims leave out of consideration the other forms of oneiromancy known in the Latin West, the main problem is that they might say more about our conception of dream divination than about that of the original scribes. I know from personal experience that those who study dream divination tend to overestimate the incidence of connections between the various types of dream divination in manuscripts based on what should probably be regarded as exceptional cases. Contrary to the regularity with which alphabetical dream books and lunaries 'appear as one text in the same manuscript', in the words of DiTommaso,[50] for instance, the actual number of these combined alphabetical dream books and lunaries can be counted on two hands. Similarly, the proportion of manuscripts in which alphabetical dream books are directly followed or preceded by lunaries is much smaller than the 25 per cent posited by DiTommaso:[51] out of 191 manuscripts containing alphabetical dream books, 106 feature no other forms of dream divination or lunary whatsoever, and only twenty-seven feature sequences of alphabetical dream books and oneiromantic lunaries. There are of course more than twenty-seven manuscripts that contain alphabetical dream books and oneiromantic lunaries, but in these books, the dream books and lunaries are separated by other texts. To put matters in perspective: 357 out of 489 manuscripts under discussion contain only one oneiromantic text or a single lunary, eighty-one manuscripts feature more than one form of dream divination, four manuscripts feature one non-lunar form of oneiromancy and one or more non-oneiromantic lunaries, and a further forty-seven manuscripts contain more than one lunary but no (other) forms of dream divination.

Granted that the overall manuscript context may be unrelated (e.g., the *Somniale Danielis* in the juristic manuscript Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, Vitt. Em. 1511),[52] oneiromantic texts can sometimes be related to their immediate contexts according to subject matter, purpose and structure.[53] Some oneiromantic texts are found in the subject-related context of dream theory. The alphabetical dream book in Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Msc. Class. 84, for instance, is preceded by William of Aragon's *Liber de pronosticationibus somniorum*; the

dream lunary in Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, B VII 4 is followed by a treatise on the origins of dreams; and the alphabetical dream book in Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Donaueschingen 793 is preceded by Rhazes's *Liber ad Almansorem*. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1880 contains an alphabetical dream book copied by the physician Ulrich Ellenbog (*c.* 1435–99), who immediately after the *Somniale Danielis* compiled a dream theoretical treatise in which he denied that dreams have any predictive value other than for medical purposes.[54] A final example is Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 4° Cod 180, an early modern composite miscellany entitled *sompniarium*, with manuscript booklets, incunables and post-incunables on dream theory and dream divination. Contrary to expectations, however, dream theory is not a highly productive context for dream divination in manuscripts and incunables, except in post-incunables, as has already been observed.

Oneiromantic texts are also encountered in the purpose-related context of divination at large. The alphabetical dream book in Cambridge, University Library, Gg.1.1, for example, is preceded by a *Revelatio Esdrae*, hemerological texts (such as Egyptian Days and Dog Days) and a brontology. These three types of divination, particularly the *Revelatio Esdrae*, are attested with some frequency in manuscripts containing dream divination and lunaries. In addition to prognostications such as the *Revelatio Esdrae*, hemerologies and brontologies, divination in general is a highly productive textual environment for dream divination.[55] London, BL, Harley 2558, for instance, has a sequence of a *Revelatio Esdrae*, a sunshine prognostic, a collective lunary, two hemerologies, a birth prognostic, a mantic alphabet and an alphabetical dream book. Anglo-Saxon manuscripts such as London, BL, Cotton Tiberius A. iii, Cotton Titus D. xxvi + xxvii, and Oxford, Bodl. Library, Hatton 115 are similarly known for their extensive clusters of mantic texts, including several forms of oneiromancy.

Oneiromantic texts are encountered, finally, in the context of comparable types of divination in terms of structure. Mantic alphabets, for instance, may occur alongside other texts dealing with lot casting. Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 312 contains a collection of lot books by Konrad Bollstatter (1420s–1482/1483) with a mantic alphabet. Augsburg, Staats- und Stadtbibliothek, 2° Cod 25 and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1367 have sequences of dice sortilege and mantic alphabets. Similarly, oneiromantic lunaries may co-occur with non-oneiromantic lunaries, as in

Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Phillipps 1790, Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, AM 194 8vo, Erlangen, Universitätsbibliothek Erlangen-Nürnberg, Ms. 674 and many more manuscripts. Lunaries are also attested together with the mansions of the moon and zodiacal lunaries. The collective lunary in Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, K 2790, for instance, is found alongside the mansions of the moon of Johannes Hartlieb (*c.* 1400–68), and the collective lunary in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. lat. oct. 93 is followed by a zodiacal lunary.

The preceding contextual analysis demonstrates that the various forms of dream divination frequently co-occur with non-oneiromantic texts, yet the tendency for oneiromantic texts to be transmitted together precisely because of their oneiromantic nature is surprisingly low. In fact, single oneiromantic texts tend to cluster significantly more frequently with other mantic texts than with other oneiromantic texts. Of eighty-one manuscripts featuring more than one oneiromantic text, only fifty-nine have these texts in sequence (approximately 12 per cent of the total number of manuscripts under discussion). This modest number of sequential attestations suggests that there was no widespread awareness among medieval scribes that different forms of oneiromancy might fit together; or if there was such awareness, scribes did not usually act on it. This observation may sound gratuitous, but the first printed dream divination manuals (between 1475 and 1500), for instance, rarely included alphabetical dream books only. The alphabetical dream books printed in incunables usually did not quite fill a quire of six, eight or ten folios, and the remaining space was almost invariably used for oneiromantic lunaries at the start of the volume, for mantic alphabets at the end, or for a sequence of all three forms of dream divination. The printers of such volumes must have realised that these texts had an oneiromantic purpose in common, despite the differences in structure and *modus operandi* of the individual types of dream divination. Early printers seem to have been aware, in other words, that all three forms of divination deal with dreams.

The same cannot be said for scribes. The first manuscripts to have sequences of dream divination are the eleventh-century London, BL, Cotton Tiberius A. iii and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 567, which is comparatively late in relation to the early attestation of lunary clusters in the ninth-century manuscripts London, BL, Harley 3017 and St Gallen,

Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 751. The first oneiromantic sequences are of course limited to combinations of oneiromantic lunaries and alphabetical dream books, the only forms of dream divination available at the time. The emergence of mantic alphabets in the twelfth century did not mean, however, that this text type was immediately associated with existing forms of dream divination, witness the twelfth-century London, British Library, Royal 12. C. xii, in which a mantic alphabet is separated from a sequence of a collective lunary and a *Somniale Danielis* by over seventy folios. It would take another century for clusters of alphabetical dream books, oneiromantic lunaries and mantic alphabets to appear, for instance, in the thirteenth-century London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra B. ix, the fourteenth-century London, BL, Additional 15236, and the fifteenth-century Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek, Cod. Guelf. 75.3 Aug. 2°. Manuscript sequences of three forms of dream divination, though, are highly exceptional, and sequences of either alphabetical dream books and oneiromantic lunaries (e.g., Aberystwyth, Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru, Llanstephan 28 and Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Cod. lat. 59) or alphabetical dream books and mantic alphabets are somewhat more common (e.g., Melk, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 728 and Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, M. IV. 11). Oneiromantic lunaries and mantic alphabets, on the other hand, never go together without an alphabetical dream book as an intermediary (which is also the case in early printed books).

Other sequences are first attested with the advent of thematic dream books. London, BL, Harley 4025, for instance, features Pascalis Romanus's *Liber thesauri occulti* alongside the *oneirocriticon* of Achmet ben Sirin. Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ott. lat. 1870 has the *Liber thesauri occulti* and an alphabetical dream book. Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. lat. qu. 70 and Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, T 81 sup., finally, have sequences of alphabetical dream books, collective lunaries and the *Oneirocriticon* of Achmet. The preference for specifically dream books in these manuscripts seems to indicate that the connections between different *Oneirocritica* were clearer than between thematic dream books and other forms of oneiromancy. Yet these sequences of dream books, too, are exceptional, and the four manuscripts cannot be advanced as evidence for widespread awareness of what connects oneiromantic texts. Rather, they demonstrate that such awareness seems to reside in the *ad hoc* decisions of individual scribes.

The exceptions that prove the rule, therefore, must be sought in the practices of individual scribes, not in a broadly carried oneiric awareness. Folios 41r–136v of Oxford, Bodl., Digby 103, for instance, form a booklet composed by a twelfth-century, English scribe, and contain a sequence of the *Liber thesauri occulti*, the *Oneirocriticon* of Achmet ben Sirin, and three dream theoretical works by Aristotle.[56] The booklet brings together some of the newest insights in dream divination and dream theory that had only just become available in the course of the twelfth century. Another noteworthy example is the fifteenth-century Italian manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, Ricc. 859. The sixty-one folios of this manuscript are entirely devoted to dream divination, and to a lesser extent to dream theory. The main contents are the *Oneirocriticon* of Achmet ben Sirin, an alphabetical dream book, two mantic alphabets and two more alphabetical dream books. In between these oneiromantic texts are notes on Macrobius's categories of dreams, excerpts of biblical passages relating to dreams, and excerpts on dream theory from Michael Scotus's *Liber introductorius*, Haly Abenragel's *Libri de iudiciis astrorum* and Gregory the Great's *Dialogi*. The scribes of Digby 103 and Ricc. 859 must have made a conscious effort to collect oneiromantic and dream theoretical materials and copy them together, an effort that is rarely in evidence before the sixteenth-century printed dream divination manuals. The scribe of Ricc. 859 can even be attributed a critical approach to his work, because in copying the second mantic alphabet on the same page as the first one, he commented: 'aliter' ('another one'), and later added 'ista est melior' ('this one is better') (see Figure 1.1).

Another scribe who consciously collected oneiromantic texts is Gallus Kemli (1417–1480/81), monk at St Gallen and sometime friar who copied many theological manuscripts. Kemli wrote a mantic alphabet in St Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 692 and several oneiromantic texts in Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, C. 101. The latter manuscript shows a scribe who was keenly aware of the oneiric contents of his texts. Kemli copied a mantic alphabet on folio 149r, then some non-mantic texts, and then a sequence of an alphabetical dream book and a dream lunary on folios 158v–161v. All three oneiromantic texts are entitled *Sompnile* ('dream interpretations'): the mantic alphabet is a *Sompnile Ioseph*, the alphabetical dream book a *Sompnile Danielis*, and the dream lunary a *Sompnile Lunare*. By calling these texts *Sompnile*, Kemli showed that he was aware that all three texts were oneiromantic,

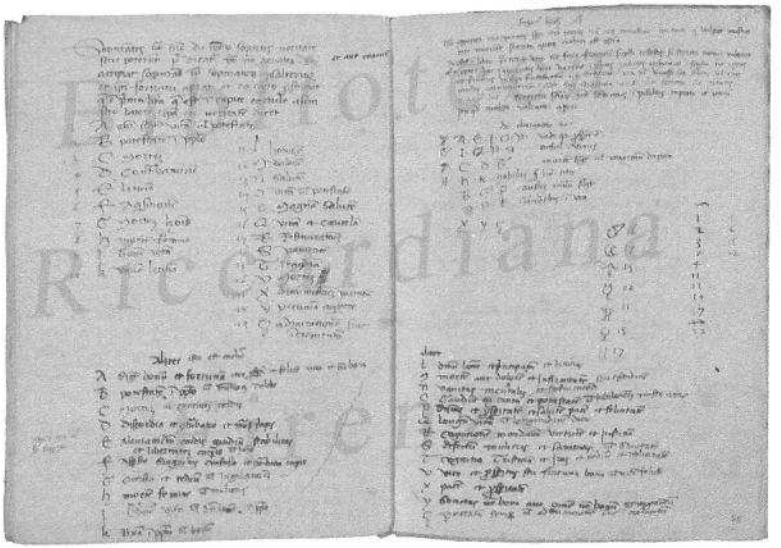

Figure 1.1 Two mantic alphabets, the second an improved version copied by the same scribe

but I found an even clearer indication of his discernment in that he returned to the texts at a later point in time and connected the mantic alphabet to the alphabetical dream book by a set of cross references on folios 149r (see Figure 1.2) and 161r. To the right of the mantic alphabet he wrote: 'item Sompnile Danielis require x° folio post vel numero' ('also look for the *Sompnile Danielis* on the tenth folio hereafter or thereabouts'), and at the end of the alphabetical dream book: 'Sompnile Ioseph require x° folio ante vel numero' ('look for the *Sompnile Ioseph* on the tenth folio before or thereabouts'). If indubitable proof is required of oneiric awareness among medieval scribes, then the cross references by Gallus Kemli may serve as a *locus classicus*. Kemli, however, is an exception, as are the scribes of Digby 103 and Ricc. 859.

Conclusion

Whereas previous research has either limited itself to specific forms of dream divination, such as the oneiromantic Daniel apocrypha, thematic dream books or mantic alphabets, or to medieval or early modern textual transmission, this chapter has charted the development of dream divination comprehensively with the help

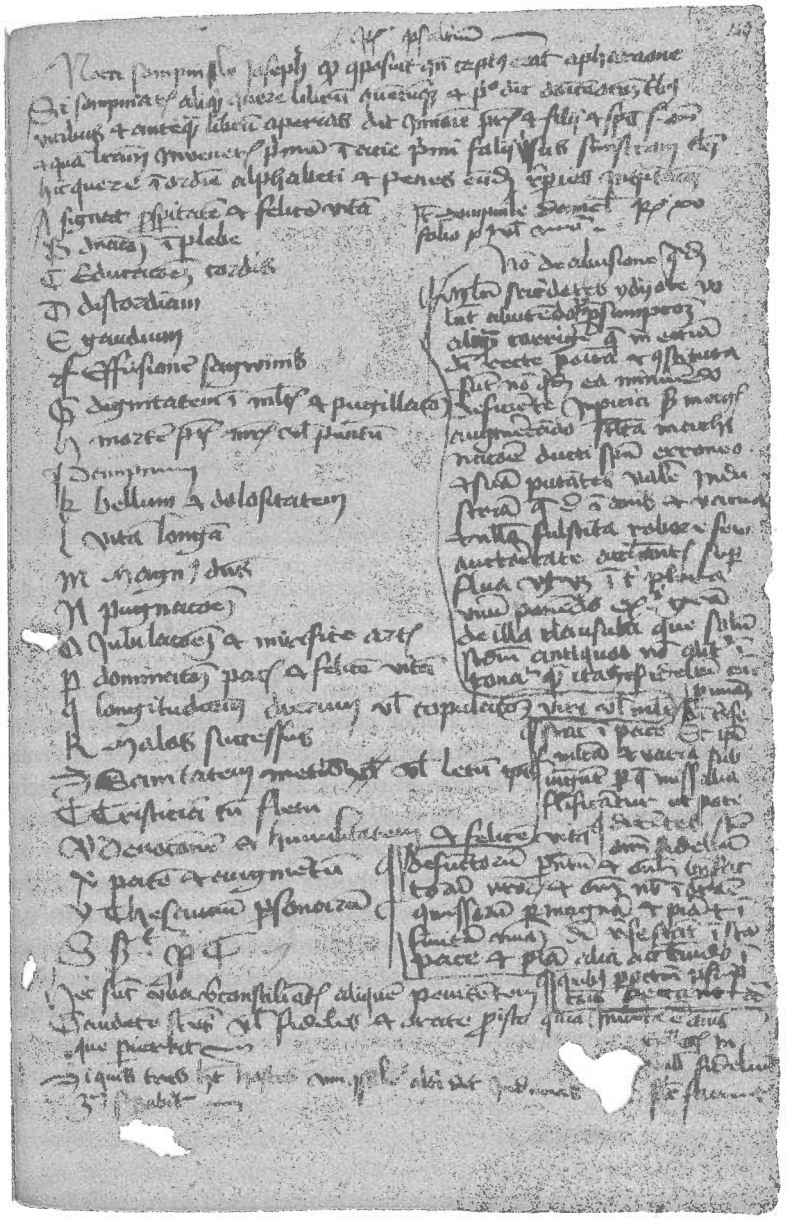

Figure 1.2 Cross reference on a page with a mantic alphabet to an alphabetical dream book further on in the same manuscript

of the most extensive corpus of oneiromantic texts in manuscripts and early printed books to date. This broad approach has brought to light significant changes in the transmission of dream divination and has sought to contextualise some of the claims posited by scholars who based themselves on smaller data sets.

The large numbers of surviving texts from West European sources from the ninth century onwards suggest that dream divination was a major concern in medieval and early modern culture, which is borne out by the steadily rising number of text witnesses towards the late medieval period, and the rapid adoption of dream divination by printers in the late fifteenth century. While new forms of oneiromancy were introduced in the twelfth century, not all proved equally successful from the start: mantic alphabets commanded a reasonable amount of attention, but Pascalis Romanus's *Liber thesauri occulti* and the *Oneirocriticon* of Achmet ben Sirin were overshadowed by alphabetical dream books and oneiromantic lunaries, the traditional forms of dream divination. Textual transmission in post-incunables, however, signals great changes in that the older forms of dream divination were rapidly being pushed out of the market by the newly introduced *oneirocriticon* of Artemidorus and printed editions of the *Oneirocriticon* of Achmet. At the same time, the religious censorship of oneiromantic texts in late medieval manuscripts is testimony to growing discontent with the traditional medieval forms of dream divination. It stands to reason to conclude, therefore, that humanist interest in Greek *oneirocritica* and religious denunciation of revelations and divination converged in the early sixteenth century to displace the older forms of oneiromancy that had proved highly successful before. Medieval oneiromancy, in other words, changed from being a scientific discipline to an idolatrous pseudo-science.

Perceived patterns in the textual transmission of oneiromancy led modern scholars to make claims about the oneiric awareness of medieval scribes. It has been argued, for instance, that a sizeable proportion of oneiromantic texts appear in direct sequence, which would seem to hold for alphabetical dream books and lunaries in particular. Though it is true that alphabetical dream books and lunaries sometimes co-occur or appear as a single text, a detailed examination of the surviving text witnesses does not support the idea that there was any widespread awareness among medieval scribes of the shared properties of the various forms of dream divination. Three quarters of the 489 manuscripts under discussion contain just one oneiromantic text or a single lunary,

and only about 17 per cent feature more than one oneiromantic text. An analysis of these manuscripts illustrates that oneiromantic texts may co-occur with dream theoretical works and other types of divination but that the collocation of oneiromantic texts has been overstated in modern scholarship. The analysis also shows that there is no reason to assume a growing awareness on the part of medieval scribes that oneiromantic texts belong together, in contrast to the clear manifestation of such awareness on the part of early printers. In fact, the evidence that could be advanced, such as the joining of lunaries and alphabetical dream books into single texts, or the clustering of alphabetical dream books, oneiromantic lunaries and mantic alphabets, is attested in very few manuscripts. Much as we might like to find a growing oneiric awareness in the course of the medieval period, there is no increase or development whatsoever until the age of print. That said, there are a few cases in which oneiromantic and dream theoretical texts were collected in single volumes by scribes who has a manifest oneiric agenda. There is also the instance of Gallus Kemli, the scribe who returned to his oneiromantic texts to make sure other readers understood that the texts were all dream divination of some kind even though they did not appear in sequence. Such discernment, however, is the accomplishment of individual scribes, not the result of larger historical developments.

Notes

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2 A. Önnerfors, 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte des sogenannten Somniale Danielis', *Eranos*, 58 (1960), 142–58 (151).

3 L. DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel and the Apocryphal Daniel Literature* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), pp. 232, 270.

4 A complete handlist of the text corpus under discussion is available on my Academia page: www.academia.edu/29720263/Handlist_of_Dream_Divination_and_Lunar_Prognostication_in_Western_Manuscripts_and_Early_Printed_Books_up_to_1550 (accessed 22 November 2017).

5 *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, Oxford University Press, www.oed.com, s.v. 'dream, n2'.

6 S. Freud, *Die Traumdeutung* (Vienna: Franz Deuticke, 1900).

7 S. F. Kruger, *Dreaming in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 2. For the background to medieval dream theory I have relied on Kruger, *Dreaming*. In addition to the many sources referred to in the notes below, key studies on dreams and dream divination are D. Boccassini (ed.), *Sogni e visioni nel mondo indo-mediterraneo* (Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2009); T. Gregory (ed.), *I sogni nel medioevo* (Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1985); D. Harmening, *Superstitio: Überlieferungs- und theoriegeschichtliche Untersuchungen zur kirchlich-theologischen Aberglaubensliteratur des Mittelalters* (Berlin: E. Schmidt 1979), pp. 95–117; T. Ricklin, *Der Traum der Philosophie im 12. Jahrhundert: Traumtheorien zwischen Constantinus Africanus und Aristoteles* (Leiden: Brill, 1998); D. Schulman and G. G. Stroumsa (eds), *Dream Cultures: Explorations in the Comparative History of Dreaming* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); K. Speckenbach, 'Die deutschen Traumbücher des Mittelalters', in N. F. Palmer and K. Speckenbach (eds), *Träume und Kräuter: Studien zur Petroneller 'Circa instans'-Handschrift und zu den deutschen Traumbüchern des Mittelalters* (Cologne: Böhlau, 1990), pp. 121–210; L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, 8 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1923–58), II, pp. 290–302, VI, pp. 475–85; M. E. Wittmer-Butsch, *Zur Bedeutung von Schlaf und Traum im Mittelalter* (Krems: Medium Aevum Quotidianum, 1990).

8 Macrobius, *Commentarii in somnium Scipionis*, I.iii.2, in F. Eyssenhardt (ed.), *Macrobius* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1868), p. 473.

9 Macrobius, *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, trans. W. H. Stahl (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), pp. 87–8.

10 Macrobius, *Commentarii*, I.iii.8, in Eyssenhardt (ed.), *Macrobius*, p. 475; Macrobius, *Commentary*, trans. Stahl, p. 90.

11 Kruger, *Dreaming*, p. 31.

12 Jacques le Goff, 'Le Christianisme et les rêves (IIe–VIIe siècles)', in Gregory (ed.), *I sogni nel medioevo*, pp. 171–218 (pp. 216–18), provides an overview of Old Testament dreams and dreamers.

13 See Kruger, *Dreaming*, pp. 70–3.

14 See Kruger, *Dreaming*, pp. 83–4.

15 For a modern religious denunciation, see the lunary in Metz, Médiathèque du Pontiffroy, MS 221, described in the catalogue as 'nullus christianus ista credat' (*Catalogue général des manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques des départements*, first series, 7 vols (Paris,

1849–85), V, p. 97). For studies of religious censorship of dream divination, see L. S. Chardonnens, 'Mantic alphabets in medieval Western manuscripts and early printed books', *Modern Philology*, 110 (2013), 340–66 (355–8); L. S. Chardonnens, 'Mantic alphabets in late medieval England, early modern Europe, and modern America: the reception and afterlife of a medieval form of dream divination', *Anglia*, 132 (2014), 641–75; Önnerfors, 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte', 151.

16 I exclude minor references to dreams in a small number of lot books and the use of dreams as diagnostic tools in medicine. The former is known mainly from late medieval German sources, such as the *Alfadol*; the latter can be found in Rhazes's *Liber ad Almansorem* and its late medieval vernacularisations. See G. Hoffmeister, 'Rasis' Traumlehre: Traumbücher des Spätmittelalters', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 51 (1969), 137–59; K. Speckenbach, 'Traumbücher', in W. Stammler, K. Langosch, B. Wachinger, G. Keil, K. Ruh, W. Schröder and F. J. Worstbrock (eds), *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters: Verfasserlexikon*, 2nd rev. edn, 14 vols (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1978–2008), IX, pp. 1014–28 (pp. 1025–8); Speckenbach, 'Die deutschen Traumbücher', pp. 169–93; K. Speckenbach 'Traumbücher', in W. E. Gerabek, B. D. Haage, G. Keil and W. Wegner (eds), *Enzyklopädie Medizingeschichte* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2005), pp. 1411–15.

17 Key studies of alphabetical dream books: L. S. Chardonnens, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics, 900–1100: Study and Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 290–329; DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, pp. 236–59; A. Epe, *Wissensliteratur im angelsächsischen England: Das Fachschrifttum der vergessenen* artes mechanicae *und* artes magicae, *mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des* Somniale Danielis (Münster: Tebbert, 1995); S. R. Fischer, *The Complete Medieval Dreambook: A Multilingual, Alphabetical* Somnia Danielis *Collation* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1982); M. Förster, 'Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Volkskunde II, IV, V, IX', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 120 (1908), 296–305, 125 (1910), 39–70, 127 (1911), 31–84, 134 (1916), 264–93; M. Förster, 'Das älteste kymrische Traumbuch (um 1350)', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 13 (1921), 55–92; J. Grub, *Das lateinische Traumbuch im Codex Upsaliensis C 664 (9. Jh.): Eine frühmittelalterliche Fassung der lateinischen Somniale Danielis-Tradition* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1984); L. T. Martin, 'The earliest versions of the Latin *Somniale Danielis*', *Manuscripta*, 23 (1979), 131–41; L. T. Martin, *Somniale Danielis: An Edition of a Medieval Latin Dream Interpretation Handbook* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1981); Önnerfors, 'Zur Überleferungsgeschichte'; Speckenbach, 'Die deutschen Traumbücher', pp. 128–51.

18 On the Byzantine *Oneirocriticon* of Daniel, see S. M. Oberhelman, *Dreambooks in Byzantium: Six Oneirocritica in Translation, with Commentary and Introduction* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 2–5, 59–115.

19 See DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, pp. 231–307.

20 Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, C. 101, fols 158v–161r (159r).

21 Oxford, All Souls College, MS 81 and Bad Windsheim (Historische) Stadtbibliothek, MS 99, respectively.

22 Key studies of the *Liber thesauri occulti*: S. Collin-Roset, 'Le *Liber thesauri occulti* de Pascalis Romanus (un traité d'interprétation des songes du xiie siècle)', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen age*, 30 (1963), 111–98; S. Collin-Roset, 'L'Emploi des clefs des songes dans la littérature médiévale', *Bulletin philologique et historique (jusqu'à 1610)*, 1967 (1969), 851–66; Ricklin, *Der Traum*, pp. 307–9.

23 See W. Schmitt, 'Das Traumbuch des Hans Lobenzweig', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 48 (1966), 181–218.

24 Key studies of the *Oneirocriticon* of Achmet ben Sirin: F. Berriot, *Exposicions et significacions des songes et Les songes Daniel* (Geneva: Droz, 1989), J. C. Lamoreaux, *The Early Muslim Tradition of Dream Interpretation* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2002), pp. 140–54, M. Mavroudi, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation: The* Oneirocriticon of Achmet *and its Arabic Sources* (Leiden: Brill, 2002); S. M. Oberhelman, *The* Oneirocriticon *of Achmet: A Medieval Greek and Arabic Treatise on the Interpretation of Dreams* (Lubbock, TX: Texas Tech University Press, 1991), A. C. Pistoja, 'The Oneirocriticon of Achmet in the West: a contribution towards an edition of Leo Tuscus' translation', *Studi Medievali*, 55 (2014), 720–58.

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26 Key studies of lunaries: Chardonnens, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, pp. 393–465; M. Förster, 'Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Volkskunde VIII', *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, 129 (1912), 16–49; M. Förster, 'Die altenglischen Traumlunare', *Englische Studien*, 60 (1925/1926), 58–93; M. Förster, 'Vom Fortleben antiker Sammellunare im englischen und in anderen Sprachen', *Anglia*, 67/68 (1944), 1–171; L. Means, *Medieval Lunar Astrology: A Collection of Representative Middle English Texts* (Lewiston, NY: E. Mellen, 1993); Speckenbach, 'Die deutschen Traumbücher', pp. 152–8; E. Svenberg, *De latinska lunaria: Text och studier* (Gothenburg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1936); E. Svenberg, *Lunaria et zodiologia latina* (Gothenburg: Elanders Boktryckeri Aktiebolag, 1963); I. Taavitsainen, *Middle English*

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27 Förster, 'Vom Fortleben antiker Sammellunare', 34–5. See, e.g., P. A. Torijano, 'The Selenodromion of David and Solomon', in R. Bauckham, J. R. Davila and A. Panayotov (eds), *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha: More Noncanonical Scriptures I* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2013), pp. 298–304.

28 See DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, pp. 259–79.

29 Einsiedeln, Stiftsbibliothek, Codex 321(647), p. 21.

30 Key studies of mantic alphabets: L. S. Chardonnens, 'Two newly discovered mantic dream alphabets in medieval French', *Medium Ævum*, 80 (2011), 111–16; Chardonnens, 'Mantic alphabets in medieval Western manuscripts and early printed books'; L. S. Chardonnens, '"Thes byne the knoyng off dremys": mantic alphabets in late medieval English', *Anglia*, 132 (2014), 473–505; Chardonnens, 'Mantic alphabets in late medieval England'; M. Förster, 'Zwei kymrische Orakelalphabete für Psalterwahrsagung', *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie*, 20 (1936), 228–43; Speckenbach, 'Die deutschen Traumbücher', pp. 161–9; W. Suchier, 'Altfranzösische Traumbücher', *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, 67 (1957), 129–67.

31 Förster, 'Zwei kymrische Orakelalphabete', 228–9.

32 See Chardonnens, *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics*, pp. 175–80; and L. S. Chardonnens, 'The Old English alphabet prognostic as a prototype for mantic alphabets', in L. S. Chardonnens and B. Carella (eds), *Secular Learning in Anglo-Saxon England: Exploring the Vernacular* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2012), pp. 223–37.

33 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7349, fol. 45va.

34 For example, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Voss. Lat. O. 52; London, Wellcome Library, MS 439; Oxford, Bodl., Junius 43 and 44.

35 For convenience, I include as fifteenth-century printed books all incunables in Gesamtkatalog der Wiegendrucke, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz (www.gesamtkatalogderwiegendrucke.de), even though some of these books are now thought to postdate 1500. On the early print history of dream divination, see also Chardonnens, 'Mantic alphabets in late medieval England', 659–64.

36 See, e.g., Guo Chao 郭超, *Jiemeng shiyong shouce* 解梦使用手册 [*Practical Dream Interpretation Handbook*] (Beijing, 2005). See also J. P. Drège and D. Drettas, 'Oniromancie', in M. Kalinowski (ed.), *Divination et société dans la Chine médiévale: Étude des manuscrits de Dunhuang de la Bibliothèque nationale de France et de la British Library* (Paris: Bibliothèque National de France, 2003), pp. 369–404.

37 A lost, thirteenth-century translation into Dutch is posited by F. van Oostrom, 'Sompniarys: Maerlants dromen geduid?', in H. van Dijk, M. H. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen and J. M. J. Sicking (eds), *In de zevende hemel: Opstellen voor P. E. L. Verkuyl over literatuur en kosmos* (Groningen: Passage, 1993), pp. 63–7.

38 For example, *Eyn newes Traum Büchlein* (Strasbourg: Jakob Cammerlander, [*c.* 1535]), *Interpretationes Somniorum Danielis* (Kraków: Marek Szarfenberg, 1550).

39 Published by C. Morellus, Lutetia (= Paris), 1603.

40 See K. Bulkeley, *Dreaming in the World's Religions: A Comparative History* (New York: New York University Press, 2008), pp. 167–91; Chardonnens, 'Mantic alphabets in late medieval England', 649–58; C. Gantet, *Der Traum in der Frühen Neuzeit: Ansätze zu einer kulturellen Wissenschaftsgeschichte* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2010), pp. 55–107; C. Gantet, 'Dreams, standards of knowledge and "orthodoxy" in Germany in the sixteenth century', in R. C. Head and D. Christensen (eds), *Orthodoxies and Heterodoxies in Early Modern German Culture: Order and Creativity 1500–1750* (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 69–87; P. Holland, '"The interpretation of dreams" in the Renaissance', in P. Brown (ed.), *Reading Dreams: The Interpretation of Dreams from Chaucer to Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 125–46; Speckenbach, 'Die deutschen Traumbücher', pp. 194–210; K. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in Popular Beliefs in Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century England* (London: Penguin, 1971), pp. 25–77.

41 See Chardonnens, 'Mantic alphabets in late medieval England', 659–64.

42 London: Robert Wyer, [1556].

43 London: Thomas Marsh, 1576.

44 London: Richard Faques, [*c.* 1528].

45 London, Robert Wyer, [*c.* 1554].

46 See Chardonnens, 'Mantic alphabets in late medieval England', 664–70.

47 Paris: Nicolas Buffet, 1545.

48 See Önnerfors, 'Zur Überlieferungsgeschichte', 151; DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, p. 270.

49 G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 4 vols (London: British Museum, 1921), II, p. 28 (with regard to the texts in London, BL, Royal 12. C. xii).

50 DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, p. 232.

51 DiTommaso, *The Book of Daniel*, p. 276.

52 See M. Semeraro, *Il "Libro dei sogni di Daniele": Storia di un testo "proibito" nel medioevo* (Rome: Viella, 2002), pp. 31–6.

53 A marginal but not altogether unrelated context is that of dream divination alongside literary works that feature dreams or dream

visions, for instance, poems of Dante and Boccaccio alongside alphabetical dream books in Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Martelli 12 and Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ross. 947, respectively. See V. Cappozzo, 'Libri dei sogni e geomanzia: la loro applicazione letteraria tra Islam, medioevo romanzo e Dante', in Boccassini (ed.), *Sogni e visioni*, pp. 207–26; V. Cappozzo, 'Libri dei sogni e letteratura: l'espediente narrativo di Dante Alighieri', in G. Natali and P. Stoppelli (eds), *Studi di letteratura italiana in memoria di Achille Tartaro* (Rome: Bulzoni, 2009), pp. 99–119; V. Cappozzo, 'Il *Decameron* e il *Libro dei sogni di Daniele* nel cod. Vaticano Rossiano 947', *Studi sul Boccaccio*, 42 (2014), 163–78. See also Collin-Roset, 'L'Emploi des clefs des songes'; S. R. Fischer, *The Dream in the Middle High German Epic: Introduction to the Study of the Dream as a Literary Device to the Younger Contemporaries of Gottfried and Wolfram* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1978); S. R. Fischer, 'Dreambooks and the interpretation of medieval literary dreams', *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, 65 (1983), 1–20; G. Haag, *Traum und Traumdeutung in mittelhochdeutscher Literatur: Theoretische Grundlagen und Fallstudien* (Stuttgart: de Gruyter, 2003).

54 See Martin, *Somniale Danielis*, pp. 48–50.

55 See Means, *Medieval Lunar Astrology*, pp. 56–60; Taavitsainen, *Middle English Lunaries*, pp. 51–8.

56 See Ricklin, *Der Traum*, pp. 307–22, for an analysis of the contents of Digby 103.

2

Knowledge of the weather in the Middle Ages: *Libellus de disposicione totius anni futuri*[1]

Marilina Cesario

In the Middle Ages extreme weather events, such as heavy rain and snowfalls, showers of hail, heat waves, droughts, floods and unseasonably warm or cold temperatures, would have had catastrophic effects on many areas of society, chiefly on farming, seafaring, health and commerce. Environmental knowledge and weather forecasting based on the observation of the behaviour of the current weather and season, and of meteorological phenomena, was of paramount importance to those societies whose economic fortunes were heavily dependent on agriculture and livestock farming. Weather forecasts, which required knowledge of the related topics of astronomy and the reckoning of time, would therefore advise farmers on the most propitious times to plant and on those when it would not be advisable to begin their operations, especially when rains and winds were threatening, which could bring their toils to naught.

References to meteorological prediction and information about the seasons frequently appear in calendars, and more detailed descriptions of disastrous weather events and their harmful impact upon growing crops, houses, animals and people consistently feature in medieval annals and chronicles. A typical example is the following entry in the *Annals of Fulda* where we learn that in 872:

> Omne tempus aestivum grandinibus variisque tempestatibus pernoxium extitit; nam grando plurima loca frugibus devastavit; horrenda etiam tonitrua et fulmina pene cotidie mortalibus interitum minabantur, quorum ictibus praevalidis homines et iumenta in diversis locis exanimata et in cinerem redacta narrantur.
>
> (The whole summer was ruined by hailstorms and other kinds of tempest. The hail destroyed the crops in many places, and terrifying thunder and lightning threatened mortals almost daily with death: it is said that immense bolts killed men and draught animals in various places and reduced them to ashes).[2]