

BACHELOR THESIS ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

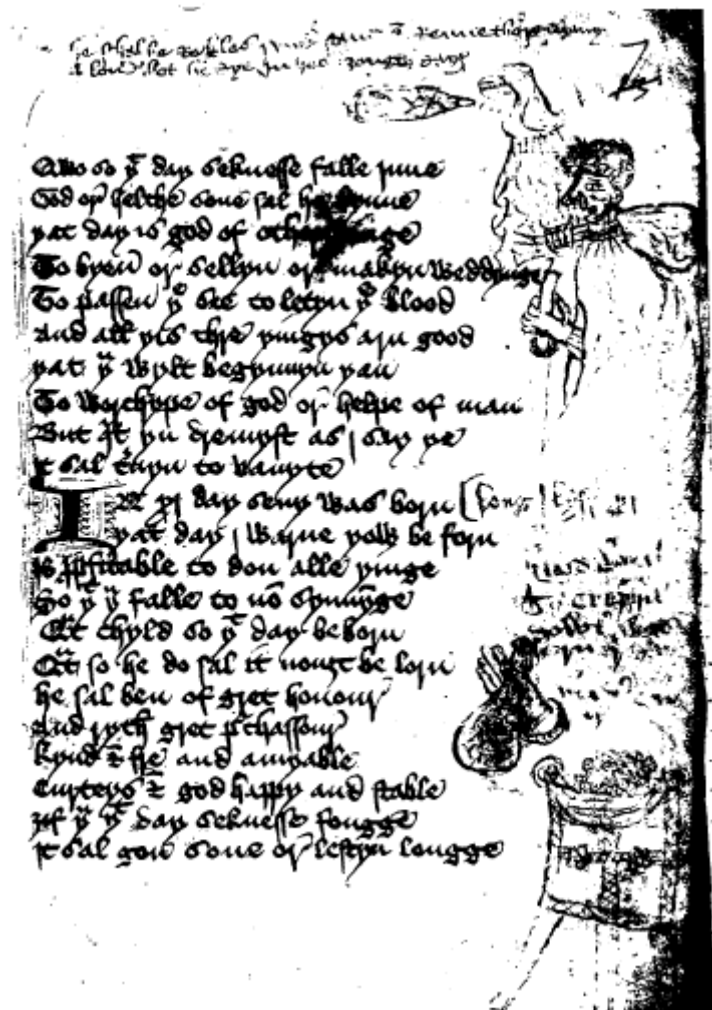
**MEDIEVAL LUNARIES AND THE BIBLE: WHY THE OVERLAP?**

A STUDY ON WHY BIBLICAL REFERENCES OCCUR IN LATE MEDIEVAL LUNARIES

NASTJA MIHALICIUC

RADBOUD UNIVERSITEIT NIJMEGEN

SUPERVISOR: DR. LÁSZLÓ SÁNDOR CHARDONNENS



“Illustrations and notes in the margin of *The Thyrty Days of the Mone*” (Taavitsainen 167).

## Contents

Introduction.....	3
Chapter 1.....	6
Chapter 2.....	17
Conclusion.....	32
Bibliography.....	36

Nastja Mihaliciuc  
s4357817  
BA Thesis  
Chardonnens  
15 June 2016

## **Introduction**

Medieval lunaries are a fascinating topic. In short, a lunary is a text that contains predictions about the future and advice on what to do on certain days, based on the position of the days of the moon, and during the Middle Ages, it was regarded as a life guide. Living conditions were in medieval times, so people searched for certainty, for instance by adhering to the Christian belief, but also through lunaries; the predictions these lunaries contained offered a hold on life, just like the belief that there was an a hereafter did.

What I find striking, however, is the fact that some lunaries contain biblical references- religion and prognostication seem to be two things that do not work well together. At the same time, religion was an important part of daily life during the Middle Ages, so in that sense it is no surprise that it found its way into something so seemingly unrelated or even countered to religion as lunaries. Chardonnens mentions that Ælfric forbade prognostication (128). Although Ælfric lived during the tenth and eleventh century, and this thesis will focus on medieval texts that are dated to the fifteenth century, -the late Middle Ages-, the fact that prognostication was forbidden a few centuries before these lunaries were written does imply a certain attitude towards prognostication. This is reaffirmed by Bailey, who mentions that sorcery “in Christian culture (...) had always been linked, at least in the minds of clerical authorities, to demonic agency” (960-961). Although there is no evidence that consulting lunaries was seen as sorcery, lunar prognostication does hint towards sorcery- therefore, a reason why biblical references occur in lunaries might be to overcast the fact that these texts in fact are not so pious.

However, Bailey also mentions that “throughout the Middle Ages sorcery was

generally regarded as suspicious at best” (961), which seems to contradict his previous claim about sorcery being linked to demons, at least to the average medieval person; the clergy probably had a different opinion on prognostication and sorcery during the Middle Ages. Still, people might have been afraid to trust and consult predictions, as they resembled magic, which the church did not approve of. Bailey also states that the clergy started looking at magic in a more earnest way by the thirteenth century, “one main factor behind this shift was the rise of various types of learned magic, including astronomy”, he argues (964). This provides a link to lunaries; just like astronomy, they were connected to the heavenly bodies. Therefore, if astronomy was regarded as a type of magic, the same reasoning would apply to lunaries, as they based their predictions on the moon. This would mean that lunaries would have been seen as heretical texts. Braswell contradicts this by arguing that “by the latter part of the sixteenth century lunar manuals or lunaries were widely used by laymen and professional astrologers alike. So commonplace was some knowledge at least of lunar astrology that the moon was consulted for guidance in every area of daily life” (187). Her claim hints towards my argument that medieval people looked for reassurance in life through lunaries, and the fact that many people made use of lunar prognostics counters the idea of lunaries being heretical; as medieval people were deeply religious and would not dare to go against God’s will, heretical texts would not have been used by so many.

To find out more on how lunaries were seen, I will first examine some entries from different lunaries. As life was uncertain during the Middle Ages, and lunaries probably served as a medium that offered some security to daily life, and religion served the same purpose, it seems reasonable to compare and contrast these two things; did they amplify their reassuring function when combined, or did they conflict? Before going into religious matter, a background section about lunaries will be provided, to make the subject matter more manageable.

I will first explain the way lunaries work and what types of lunaries exist, after which I will examine the types of biblical references that occur in lunaries. The medieval lunaries that are researched will be presented in Middle English, with a glossary when needed- they are written in a comprehensible way. Ideas from established writers regarding the topic of lunar prognostication, such as Taavitsainen, Braswell-Means, Chardonnens, and Weinstock, to name some, will be used as guidance to explain the workings of lunaries.

The first chapter will deal with the mechanics of lunaries, and an explanation of the three types of lunaries will be given (lunaries proper, zodiacal lunaries and the lunaries of the twenty-eight mansions of the moon). The differences and similarities of these three types will be compared and explicated, regarding both content and method. This is intended as background knowledge, as to render the discussion about the biblical references that occur in lunaries understandable- this discussion will be presented in the second chapter. Three types of biblical references will be discussed in chapter two: references to biblical figures and events, ascriptions to biblical figures and prayers and references to psalms. The texts that will be used as examples are *Storya Lune*, *The XXXTI Daies of the Mone*, some entries from different lunaries taken from Taavitsainen's and Braswell-Means's books, and some prologues and prayers that can be found in *Daniel his Dremys*, *Storya Lune*, and *The XXXTI Daies of the Mone*.

I would like to thank Dr. Chardonnens, my supervisor, for leading the way towards this research, for giving directions without giving away too much about the obscure theme of lunaries, and for being willing to guide my search into the medieval world of lunar prognostication.

## Chapter 1: What Are Lunaries and How Do They Work?

During the Middle Ages, the moon was of great influence on daily life. Some of the reasons the moon was important, according to Chardonnens, were “nature, computus and prognostication” (393). He mentions “the tides and the durability of timber” as examples for the moon’s influence on nature, “the calculation of Easter” as an explanation of what computus means, and prognostication he explains by mentioning the term “future” (393). This shows that, next to tangible things such as wood, calendars and movements of the water, the moon also was of importance to more abstract matters like predicting the future in the late Middle Ages. People turned to the moon for guidance in the form of moonbooks, also called lunations, lunarias or lunaries. Throughout this text, the term *lunary* will be maintained. Three types of lunaries can be distinguished: lunaries proper, zodiacal lunaries and lunaries based on the twenty-eight mansions of the moon. These will be explained in more detail after the general idea of a lunary has been made clear. A lunary, in short, is a text in which predictions based on the moon are described. Taavitsainen claims that lunaries occupied “a central position among practical guides to everyday life in the late Middle Ages” (24). This gives further insight into what lunaries were and how medieval people saw them; lunaries were consulted for everyday actions, like life guides from a higher power- they gave advice regarding future events. According to Taavitsainen, lunaries “predict the effects of heavenly conditions upon man and his actions at any particular point of time” (23). This implies that medieval people thought the moon held a certain power over them, or that it offered some sort of wisdom, which is why they turned to the moon for guidance. It also implies the idea of a higher power, something that was self-evident during the Middle Ages, but perhaps odd to the contemporary reader.

Many different types of lunaries can be found, and scholars subdivided them into different systems. According to Taavitsainen, “the principal difference lies in the definition of

time” regarding the different lunaries (7). This difference in time stems from different measurements of the moon’s path across the sky, to which I will return later on. Taavitsainen has subdivided lunaries into a group of three: lunaries (proper), zodiacal lunaries, and the twenty-eight mansions of the moon.

### 1. Lunaries Proper

The first type, lunaries proper, “take heed of the moon alone, giving perpetual prognostications according to the thirty days of the moon from one new moon to the next” (23). She further explains that “the synodic month of 29.53 days is rounded to the constant of the 30 days of the moon’s age” (47). So, a lunary proper has a set number of days, namely thirty, and thus a set amount of predictions, which can be consulted endlessly- the predictions only depend on the moon phase, not on the calendar. The same predictions and advice thus apply several times per year. The text below is an example of an entry in a lunary proper:

Þe first day of þe mone God made Adam. Whoso þat day ony þing dooþ bigynne, it schal turne him to profiȝt. And þat day is good to *bie and sille* [buy and sell] and þe see to passe. And whoso takiþ hirt or seeknes þat day, he schal it wel ascape. But he þat fleep þat day schal be cauȝt and brouȝt soone aȝain. Þe child þat is boren þat day schal haue longe lijf. Þat day is good a man to lete him veyne blood. (Taavitsainen 45).

The text starts with mentioning the age of the moon- it is the first day. After this, several recommendations are given, all quite specific. The order of counsels is as follows: general advice, advice regarding business and trade, advice on health, advice on fleeing, a mentioning of what kind of life the child that is born on this specific day will lead, and advice on bloodletting. To find out whether or not this is a fixed order in which lunary entries are constructed, more texts need to be examined, which I will do later in this chapter, after the explanation about the two other types of lunaries. For now, it is safe to say the topics

addressed in this entry were important to medieval people. The writer of the entry did not seem to link the content of this text to religion; he only mentioned God at the beginning of the text, without providing links or information as to why he did this, implying that God did not have much to do with the counsels themselves, although the invocation of God does imply that the advice that follows is approved by him.

## **2. Zodiacal Lunaries**

The second type of lunary Taavitsainen mentions, zodiacal lunaries, she describes as “tracts that count the joint influence of the twelve signs of the zodiac and the moon” (23). These lunaries have nothing to do with horoscopes, as one might suspect due to their name- the only reason they are called zodiacal lunaries is because of the moon’s path through the zodiacal constellations, which are called zodiacal signs. Taavitsainen explains that the moon moves through the zodiac in 27.32 days, which is called a sidereal month, and that it stays in every sign of the zodiac for approximately two and a half days (47). According to her, these lunaries are a bit more complicated than the lunaries proper, which she calls simple texts, but one does not need professional astrological knowledge to use them (23). The difficulty of zodiacal lunaries might be ascribed to the somewhat complicated calculation of the sidereal month- it is harder to use numbers to describe the position of the moon than to just look at it, which is what lunaries proper do. The new moon can be directly observed, and so can the changes the moon goes through daily. Taavitsainen describes these changes as “the varying light of the moon” (46); every day the moon sheds a slightly different light; due to its journey through the sky, different parts of the moon can be observed from earth on different days. Just like the lunaries proper, the zodiacal lunaries can be consulted throughout the entire year, but as these lunaries only contain twelve monthly entries, the advice for one month applies the entire month, as the moon will only be located in one of the twelve zodiacal signs per month every year. An example of a zodiacal lunary is found below:



When the mone is in Aries yt ys gude to speke wythe grete lordis of myghty men, as kynges, erlis, barons, knyghtes, popis, princes and such other gret lordis and noble men and myghty, and for to gange to fyght in batell aganys thy foys, and for to take vyages into the estward for this is an esterne signe and in the est he standis. Also yt ys gude for to make marchandysse and to dyell wyth golde, and to wyrke all maner of werkes that ys wroght wyth ffyer for this is a signe that mekyll hath of the ffyer, and for to do all maner of werkes that thowe walde haue hastely done for this is a hasty signe. Bot yt ys yll and perilus to do oght [anything] tyll a manys hede as to wesche or to keme yt, or to schauē or to do ony medicyne therto, or arise ony blode that be any maner of wyse, or to blede at the nesse, or for to be lettyne outte of prisone, and for to warech [recover] of sekenese, and for to receue ony *purgacione* [evacuation of evil humours]. (Taavitsainen 46).

This text starts by mentioning in which sign the moon is located in, and then tells the reader with whom to speak, with whom to fight and in which way to travel- eastward, that is, as Aries is an eastern sign. It continues by giving advice regarding trade and business, working with fire, and doing chores that need to be done quickly. According to Avery, Aries is a fire sign, and one of the characteristics of a fire sign is being hasty (13). This is why this lunar entry mentions the fact that is good to work with fire and to do work that needs to be done quickly- the qualities of the sign the moon is located in are enhanced if put to use properly. What should not be done, however, is anything that has to do with one's head; according to Everett, "Aries controls the head" (79), and therefore it would be bad if anything should happen to this body part. After this advice, some more is given on captivity, health and spirituality. This lunar entry contains more specific advice than the entry in the lunar proper, but the topics that are dealt with are roughly the same.

### 3. Lunaries of the Twenty-Eight Mansions of the Moon

The third and last type of lunary mentioned by Taavistainen is the lunary of the twenty-eight mansions of the moon. This type of lunary is more difficult to describe than the other types, as its origins are somewhat vague. Taavitsainen thought the twenty-eight mansions of the moon stemmed from India, but Weinstock explains that, in fact, this system probably has a Babylonian origin (69). It is a very elaborate system, far more complicated than this thesis allows, so therefore a simplified explanation must suffice: “lunar mansions are twenty-eight constellations or single stars on the route of the Moon during the twenty-eight nights of its visibility” (Weinstock 48). The “mansions”, thus, are actually stars that the moon passes on its way through the sky. Yampolsky further explains that “inasmuch as the moon completes her sidereal revolutions from one star back to the same star in between twenty-seven and twenty-eight days, it is probable that the initial purpose of this system was to indicate (...) the position of the moon on any given day” (62). Lunaries of the twenty-eight mansions, however, do not merely tell us the moon’s position regarding these twenty-eight constellations and/or stars, but also predict something about the future. Yampolsky’s explanation implies that the twenty-eight mansions were seen as a route the moon crossed, just like the zodiac. The lunaries proper did not have this type of route, but the different phases of the moon could be seen as an alternative for a route or path, as they are the same every thirty days, and they keep on returning.

A somewhat more simplified explanation of the way in which these lunaries of the twenty-eight mansions of the moon are divided goes as follows: the moon crosses twenty-eight stars and/or constellations over and over. It does this in a circular motion; a circle always has a periphery of 360 degrees. As there are twelve zodiac signs, but twenty-eight mansions of the moon, these 360 degrees need to be divided by twenty-eight, which makes 12.857 degrees, roughly thirteen degrees per mansion. As there are more mansions than

zodiacal signs, each sign has three mansions in which the moon is located. For example, the first until the third mansion of the moon is in Aries. An example of a lunary of the twenty-eight mansions can be found below:

Aries. prima mansio. The first mansion of the moone is temperate and lastith from the begynnyng of Ram vnto the xiiijti degree of hym. [W]han the moone is in this mansion it is goode to resceyve medecynes, put beestes to her pasture, to begynne a iournay, sauf in the second houre of the day. But wedde not while the moone is in this mansion ne in the signe of the Ram. Bye no seruaunt, for he shall be a shrew, dishobeisant or fugitif. By tame beestes. Ride and make thy journay by watir yf þou wilt, for þou shalt have goode passage. Take none acqueyntance of new feleshipp, for it shall not last. He that is taken shall be soore prisoned. Make thyne armure, plante thy trees. Cutte thy here and thy nayles. Shape thy clothes and were hem. But see in all these thynges that the moone be free fro infortunate aspectis of the wikked planettis. (Braswell-Means 105).

This entry starts with mentioning which mansion the moon is in, and then describes what this phase of the moon will be like and for how long the moon will be in this specific mansion. This entry tells the reader the moon is in the first mansion, and that it starts at the beginning of the sign Ram, until the thirteenth degree of Ram. It then starts giving advice on health, cattle, travelling, weddings, buying servants, more cattle and travelling, meeting new people, imprisonment, making armour, agriculture, personal hygiene, and sewing. It ends with a warning; one should not do these things if the moon is influenced by bad aspects of “wicked planets”. This lunary entry of the twenty-eight mansions of the moon, like the zodiacal entry, is more elaborate and specific than the one of the lunary proper. What is interesting is the fact that this text does not take any of the zodiacal properties into account; whereas the zodiacal entry, also in Aries, mentions that the head should be left alone (including washing it or combing one’s hair), as Aries controls the head, this text tells the reader to cut its hair- quite

an opposition. There are three more entries that are in the sign of Aries (Braswell-Means 105), and none of these mention anything about the head- the fact that Aries is a fire sign, however, is mentioned in two of the three entries on Aries (Braswell-Means 105). This difference between zodiacal lunaries and lunaries of the twenty-eight mansions could stem from the fact that zodiacal lunaries attach more significance to the characteristics of the signs (for instance, hastiness in relation to Aries), whereas the lunaries of the twenty-eight mansions are more global and need to describe the signs in a wider range- each sign has three entries, some of which are shared with another sign.

### **Other Subdivisions**

Although the subdivision of the three types of lunaries provided by Taavitsainen proves useful, Braswell-Means adopted another view on lunaries. She distinguishes between two types, which she has labelled Type I and Type II. “Type I, depends upon the ‘day’ or ‘mansion’ (Arabic manzil, Latin mansion) of the moon, that is, upon the position of the moon and its amount of light within a 28-to 30-day cycle around the earth” (1). Lunaries proper and the twenty-eight mansions of the moon would be called type I, according to this explanation; lunaries proper look at the moon’s position, the twenty-eight mansions at the path of twenty-eight stars and/or constellations the moon crosses. However, these two types of lunaries should not be seen as one and the same, as they do not fully overlap; there are only twenty-eight mansions, whereas it takes approximately thirty days for the moon to complete its journey through the sky and become new again. The second type, type II, “depends upon the moon’s ‘month’: that is, the ascendant zodiacal sign of the moon and its subsequent position as it traverses the twelve zodiacal signs or ‘months’ around the earth” (1). This explanation remains vague, as it does not tell us how many days the moon stays in each sign- she could also mean the actual months of the year, but that cannot be extracted from this explanation. If anything, zodiacal lunaries and lunaries of the twenty-eight mansions of the moon should

rather be seen as belonging to the same type than lunaries proper and the twenty-eight mansions of the moon, as the twenty-eight mansions of the moon are based upon the signs of the zodiac- but it is better to see the three kinds of lunaries as separate types, as none of the types entirely overlap. Braswell-Means claims that lunaries that take the position and the mansions of the moon into account should be seen as one type, but this seems a bit far-fetched, as lunaries proper merely look at the position of the moon in the sky, without taking degrees into account, whereas the twenty-eight mansion do use degrees. Therefore, and to avoid confusion, I will only use Taavitsainen's subdivision.

### **Collective and Specific Lunaries**

As Braswell mentions, lunaries provide “prognostications or predictions about the outcome of certain events. These events may include birth, death, personality, medicine, and agriculture” (1) -this is exactly what the texts from the different lunaries have shown. She further mentions that “the texts may be of a general nature and refer to all of these, or specialized in prognostication upon only one” (1). This is another subdivision that can be made; that of the collective and the specialized lunary. Taavitsainen explains it in the following way: “there are specialized lunaries that concentrate on one kind of prediction only. Collective lunaries contain several kinds of prognostications” (45). In other words, specialized lunaries are more specific, whereas collective lunaries can be consulted for several reasons and questions. This subdivision does not have anything to do with the position of the moon, but is of a literary nature. The three given examples were all collective lunaries, as they addressed several issues, instead of focusing on one aspect. This implies that collective lunaries might be lunaries proper, zodiacal lunaries and those of the twenty-eight mansions. Chardonnens calls these specific lunaries “agenda lunaries”, and explains that their purpose is “to give advice on undertakings which are particularly good or bad on days of the moon” (422). Collective lunaries also include advice on what things are good and bad to do, but

specific lunaries only focus on these actions, whereas collective lunaries have a wider range of topics they address. Chardonnens describes the difference between the two types in the following way: “collective lunaries (...) contain predictions for a variety of occasions, (...) specific lunaries (...) predict the outcome of one topic only” (398). Chardonnens states that Weißer and Taavitsainen came to the conclusion that specific lunaries existed before collective ones- “this is borne out by the Anglo-Saxon evidence: thirty-six specific lunaries against three collective ones” (398). He observes that it is the other way around in Middle English literature; collective lunaries written in Middle English are larger in number than specific lunaries written in Middle English (398). Due to the fact that few specific lunaries in Middle English are in existence, I decided to take an Anglo-Saxon text as an example, to give an idea of what a specific lunary looked like, albeit not in late medieval England, but in Anglo-Saxon times. The following text is a sample of a specific lunary on birth, translated from Latin by Roy Liuzza:

1 Whoever is born on the first day of the month will be full of life.

2 The second day of the month, he will be mediocre.

3 The third day of the month, he will be sickly.

4 The fourth day of the month, he will be a manager of kings.

5 The fifth day of the month, he will be taken young. (Liuzza 159)

What is striking about this text is the fact that it is very straightforward and only tells the reader what kind of life the child that is born on a certain day will lead, without many specifics; it only contains one line per day. As this entry goes up to thirty days, this should be regarded a specific lunary proper.

### **Differences and Similarities between the Three Lunary Entries**

Three types of lunaries now have been examined, but to fully grasp what the differences and similarities regarding content and method are, a short summary will be made. The first type, lunaries proper, look at the position of the moon in the sky, and the amount of light the moon sheds. They divide the moon's path across the sky into thirty days, from new moon to new moon. The entries are short in comparison to the zodiacal and twenty-eight mansion lunaries, and its content is less specific. The entry of the lunary proper mentions God.

The zodiacal lunaries consist of 27.32 days, as Taavitsainen explained, and the moon stays in every sign for approximately two and a half day (Taavitsainen 47). These lunaries look at the zodiac instead of at the light of the moon, and the entries are more elaborate than the entries in lunaries proper. The texts in zodiacal lunaries also contain more specific advice, and take the sign the moon is in into account- for instance, when the moon is in Aries, which is a hasty, eastward fire sign, that rules the head, jobs that need to be done quickly are good to do, it is good to travel to the East and to work with fire, and it is bad to do anything to one's head. Taavitsainen explains this in the following way: "the basic assumption was that the moon had a negative influence on the part of the body that is ruled, so that it was forbidden to give medical treatment, to bleed, or to operate on the part of the body that the sign ruled" (109).

The lunaries of the twenty-eight mansions look at the twenty-eight stars and/or constellations the moon crosses in the sky, using the zodiac as a measurement for these mansions to be divided into degrees. Each zodiacal sign has three mansions, and these lunaries of the twenty-eight mansions consist of twenty-eight entries, as the name implies. The lunaries of the twenty-eight mansions measure the moon's path with degrees. The entries of the twenty-eight mansions of the moon are somewhat shorter than zodiacal entries, but

longer than entries in lunaries proper. The advice is just as specific as the advice in zodiacal lunaries.

The order in which the different entries are structured goes as follows: the text first mentions the day (lunary proper), sign (zodiacal lunary) or mansion the moon is in. From then on, the order is not fully compatible, as, for instance, the zodiacal entry first mentions with whom to speak, whereas the lunary of the twenty-eight mansions of the moon puts health in the front, and the lunary proper a general advice. The texts in isolation may not have a corresponding order of information, but when looking at more entries of all three types of lunaries, some kind of set order can be found. This, however, is not something I will focus any further on, as it is not important for the upcoming discussion in chapter two, about biblical references.

Recurring themes in the three entries are business and trade, health, imprisonment, voyages, bloodletting, birth, marriage, agriculture, cattle and sewing. Not every theme can be found in each entry; only the entry of the lunary and the zodiacal lunary contain information about birth and bloodletting, whereas only the entry of the twenty-eight mansions of the moon mentions something about cattle, sewing, agriculture, and marriage. Both the zodiacal and the twenty-eight mansions mention voyages. All texts contain advice as well as warnings. The fact that there are recurring themes does imply that these themes were the building blocks for lunaries, although not every entry included the same themes.

After having examined a text of each type of lunary, two things have become clear: lunaries contained specific information on what (not) to do, and medieval people craved information like this. When we think of contemporary life guides, advice like “stay positive” and “be in harmony with yourself” come to mind. Medieval people obviously needed more concrete advice, as the belief in a higher power was more prevalent back then- they trusted the guidance of the moon over their own thoughts and feelings is what these lunaries imply.



However, this will always be guesswork, as we cannot know what the extent was to which medieval people adhered to the advice lunaries gave. The fact that many lunaries have survived throughout the years do imply that these texts were important to medieval people; if they would not have attached value to these texts, it would have made no sense to produce many of these kind of texts in the Middle Ages. As Taavitsainen mentions, “expectations were not great: the life span was short, diseases common, epidemics frequent, and medicine ineffective” (29). Life was more uncertain during the Middle Ages than it is now, which is why people looked for assurance, both in the form of lunaries as in religion- lunaries might have served as instruments that made life more understandable. Taavitsainen continues: “the hazards and insecurity of life contributed to the flourishing of popular adaptations of old learned treatises, which made the misfortunes of life more acceptable. By knowing the secrets of science one could become an active participant and master future events” (29). What she means here is the fact that texts that had to do with astrology, such as lunaries, helped medieval people in managing life, which is why they were so popular.

As we have seen, the entry of the lunary proper was the only one in which God was mentioned. However, more entries can be found in which references to religion and the Bible are made. To find out how lunaries were linked to religion, and why biblical references occur in lunaries, the next chapter will focus on different types of references that have to do with religion, that can be found in several lunaries.

## Chapter Two: Biblical References in Lunaries

After the introduction on the different types of lunaries, this chapter will deal with something more specific regarding these lunaries: the biblical references that they contain. As the Middle Ages were a deeply religious period, it is no surprise that many texts, even secular ones like lunaries, contained references to the Bible. Religion ruled daily life and was an important part of medieval society, and lunaries were seen and used as guides and contained advice on what to do on specific days, so the fact that they referred to the Bible makes sense; they could use the religious authority that the Bible granted, as consulting a lunary might have been regarded as a form of divination, due to the prognostic nature of a lunary. According to Taavitsainen, astrology was accepted as a science by the church in the later Middle Ages, in the form of astronomy, but it could not be put to use as divination (28). As lunaries contained prognostications, which could be seen as divination, a reference to the Bible somewhere in the text could fix potential problems- no one would question God's power during the Middle Ages, as fear of God was omnipresent.

Besides power, other reasons might have been taken into consideration when referring to the Bible in lunaries, such education and mnemonics, and an overall sense of wanting to get a better grip on and understanding of life. The main goal of this chapter is to find out why medieval writers felt the need to refer to the Bible in their lunaries. What I expect to find is that several reasons made the writers of these lunaries put references to the Bible in their texts, but that the main reason was the authority that came with Christian religion. The poem *The Thyrty Days of the Mone* contains the following line: "And that ys preued by Hooly Write" (Taavitsainen 86). Taavitsainen claims that the Bible is mentioned in this poem for conviction and status (86), which is in line with my claims; a reference to the Bible could persuade the reader that the lunary he was reading was approved by God, and at the same time the reference granted authority.

Different kinds of biblical references can be found in lunaries, so as to render these references manageable, a division of three types will be made. The first type will be referred to as a reference to events narrated in the Bible, the second as an ascription to a biblical figure, and the third as a prayer or a liturgical quote. All three types will be dealt with separately, starting with the first one: references to the Bible.

### **1. References to Biblical Figures and Events**

Two of the texts that have been dealt with in the previous chapter serve as a good starting point for examining the first type of reference. The lunary proper contains the following line: “Þe first day of þe mone God made Adam” (Taavitsainen 45). We know this should not be mistaken for a Bible quote, as no such information is to be found in the Bible- According to Scripture, Adam is created on the fifth day. The reason that Adam is mentioned as the first person in this lunary is because he was the first human being God created- Eve is mentioned as the second person because she was the second human God made, by using Adam’s rib. The fact that Adam and Eve, the first two human beings created by God, are mentioned on the first two days of the moon could imply that this text was partly educational; the first day of the moon corresponds with the first human being, the second day with the second human being, and so on- this could have been a convenient mnemonic. A link between the moon and religion is clearly implied in this lunary, as it associates certain biblical figures and events with certain days of the month. Another sample from a lunary proper contains the following lines: “God made Adam the fyrst day of þe moone, and the secunde day Eve good dedis to doon. The iij day then was Caym borne- Begynne not on that day tille on þe morne” (Taavitsainen 69). Again, the fact that God made Adam on the first day of the moon is mentioned, but this lunary text goes on to name other biblical figures that are made chronologically. As these lines contain end rhyme, it could well be that they were intended as mnemonic devices, so people would remember important characters from the Bible while

being guided by lunaries- or the other way around; people might have learned the days (and positions) of the moon by remembering the biblical figures that were linked to certain days. “Poetry was conceived as the normal means of transmitting information in the Middle Ages. Rhymes served as a mnemonic device, and poetry was often used for didactic purposes, elementary instruction, and medical information”, Taavitsainen argues. (117). This fortifies my claim that these lunaries could have been used as educational instruments, either for religious purposes or secular ones (which would be remembering the days of the moon), as they contain rhyme, which enabled the reader to remember what was written.

A lunary text that reinforces this statement, *Storya Lune*, (Braswell-Means 114) starts by mentioning the first day of the moon, on which Adam was made by God, and goes on to number the days until the thirtieth day, occasionally referring to some biblical figures that were created on certain days; Eve on the second, Caym on the third, Abel on the fourth, etcetera. What is striking is that on the fifth day no one is mentioned, whereas in the Bible, day five is when Adam was created. -However, would the text have adhered to the biblical order, the first four days would not have any references to persons, as Adam, the first human being, was only created on the fifth day.- Daniel and Susanne were made on the sixth day, but on the seventh day something new happens: “Þe vij day of the mone, Abel fleyde away sone/From his broþer Caym/But that day Abel was sclayn” (Braswell-Means 119). This is the first time in *Storya Lune* that not a biblical figure, but a biblical story is mentioned. It might be confusing to make a division between a reference to a biblical story and a Bible quote, but as this text says that Abel fled from his brother Caym on the seventh day of the moon, which is not true according to the Bible, although the story of Abel and Caym is an actual Bible story, it cannot be taken for a Bible quote. It is tempting to think that this text, which contains all the thirty days of the moon, might have served as a mnemonic device. Christianity became very important during the Middle Ages, but as not everyone could read and/or write, memory

was as important as texts. The fact that this lunary text contains rhyme reinforces the claim that some lunaries might have served as learning devices as well; it is always easier to remember something when it rhymes. This lunary does not only name some of the biblical figures that were thought to be important during the Middle Ages, it even mentions some biblical events that took place- in that sense, it is a very educational lunary. Biblical references mostly occur in lunaries proper, for instance in *Storia Lune* and *XXX Dies Lune*; the entry of the lunary of the twenty-eight mansions that I discussed in chapter one is the only one of that type I came across that mentioned God, and no zodiacal lunaries that I have researched contained biblical references.

A lunary text that has already been covered in the previous chapter also has a reference to the Bible in it, albeit somewhat less comprehensive than the other lunary texts this type of reference has been found in. “Aries. In the name of Godde for the first hous” (Taavitsainen 46) -this line comes from a lunary of the twenty-eight mansions of the moon. This mentioning of God is the only reference to religion that is found in this text of the sign Aries, and as it is clearly no mnemonic device- everyone knew who God was, there was no need to be remembered that he existed-, this reference might serve as a consolidation for the claim that the religion was used as a powerful tool. If a medieval reader might have questioned the credibility or piety of this lunary text, the invocation of God’s name might have served as a reassurance. Another reason why God could have been mentioned in this text is because religion was very important during the Middle Ages, and people needed to be reminded all the time that God knows, sees and hears all. A final reason this mentioning of God appears in this text could be that fact that God was seen as the ruler of the universe, and therefore affected everything, even prognostication that was based on the moon’s power.

When comparing *Storia Lune* to another lunary proper, *The xxxti Daies of the Mone*, the first four days match regarding biblical figures (Adam, Eve, Caym, and Abel

respectively), but from the fifth day onwards the content of the two lunaries is not the same. Whereas *Storia Lune* mentions the tower of Babel on the fifteenth day of the moon, *The xxxti Daies of the Mone* mentions Samuel fighting with his enemies on this day. Many more discrepancies can be found in these two texts, which implies that different writers had different opinions as to which biblical events and figures were important to remember. These discrepancies reinforce my previous claim that lunaries might have been used as educational instruments- however, as the biblical figures and events apparently are variable, the days of the moon might have been what people had to remember from these texts. “At the popular level biblical connections occurred in all things that were difficult to understand”, Taavitsainen claims (28). This could imply that these biblical links were not very important; they could have been used as a tool to explain the actual topic, which in this case would be the days and positions of the moon and the predictions, without adding much to the text. What it could also mean is that medieval people did not have much certainty regarding their lives, and biblical references might have provided some explanation or reassurance.

Although the references to biblical figures vary, at least one figure is referred oftentimes: Daniel. In the next section, ascriptions to biblical figures will be examined, to Daniel in particular.

## 2. Ascriptions to Biblical Figures

According to DiTomasso, Daniel was known in Western Europe as the writer of the *Somniale Danielis* and the *Lunationes Danielis*, both of which are prognostic texts (67). As the previous section already mentioned, the Bible could grant a certain authority that transcended everything. One can image that this authority would range even further when a text would not only mention Scripture, but when it would identify a biblical figure as the actual writer of the text. This is exactly what happened with the *Somniale Danielis* and the *Lunationes Danielis*- the prophet Daniel was mentioned as the writer of these

prognostications. The following sample from the lunary *Danyel His Dremys: Fyrst of þe Dayes* is an example of what such an ascription looks like:

“Here foloyth a prophitable and commodius [useful] treatise compendiusly [briefly] schowyng þe interpretacion or desposicions of the dremys of Danyell the Prophete by the revelacion of þe angyl of God. And fyrst of þe dayes of þe mone...” (Taavitsainen 86).

The reason Daniel was suitable to be seen as the writer of dream books and lunaries is because he was a biblical dream interpreter – a medieval writer would not dare to contradict Scripture, and as dream interpretation came relatively close to prognostication, Daniel was not only an appropriate figure to be the writer of dream books, but also of lunaries. Dream interpretation and prognostication cannot be seen as one and the same, but they both hint towards a higher power. The most obvious reason why such an ascription could have been made, according to me, is because of religious authority- education is not an option, as only one biblical figure is mentioned in an ascription, which is not very encouraging if the goal is to educate. “Christian influence and the medieval way of thinking are reflected in naming biblical persons as authors of lunaries”, Taavitsainen states (89). This Christian influence was everywhere to be found, even in something that seemingly had nothing to do with religion, such as a lunary. The medieval way of thinking she further explains as the desire to link everything to religion (89), including lunaries. She emphasizes that “special talents in clairvoyance were attributed to Daniel” (89), another reason why he is a qualified author of lunaries- clairvoyance and prognostication are almost the same, as they both predict something about the future. DiTomasso even speaks of “the authoritative status of the biblical book of Daniel” (82), which strengthens my claim that biblical figures granted authority to texts. He has researched the lunary *Lunationes Danielis*, which he calls a (collective) lunary proper, which he calls it a “lunation” (260). The reason why Daniel is the only biblical figure this section pays attention to is because the most ascriptions in lunaries refer to him. As

DiTomasso argues: “that there are so many anonymous lunations does not change the fact that if a lunation was attributed to a figure, that figure was almost always Daniel” (266).

Chardonnens mentions Joseph as another biblical figure that medieval texts are ascribed to, but these texts, however they are of a prognostic nature, are not lunaries (175). He also lists a few other biblical figures that collective lunaries are attributed to, which are Abraham, Adam, Daniel, David, Noah and Solomon (399). Although more ascriptions than the ones to Daniel obviously exist, the authoritative function they have does not need more explanation in the form of extra research on other biblical figures that lunaries are ascribed to.

Returning to Daniel, the short prologue on the previous page that served as an example of what an ascription looks like does not provide much information, but it is only one of the many prologues regarding Daniel. DiTomasso claims that the prologue attached to *Lunationes Danielis*, in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France codex gr. 2316, fols. 380 *verso* to 381 *recto*, is “perhaps the most important of these prologues”- “we are told that the text originated from the pen of Daniel” (281-282). The fact that this prologue claims that the original text is actually written by Daniel himself heightens the authority- unlike the prologue that I use, which seems secondary, as it only mentions the fact that it tells the reader about the interpretation and dispositions of Daniel, instead of calling him the author. “Many prognostic genres are attributed to authorities in the form of historical or biblical figures or nations. These ascriptions were current in the Middle Ages, and will have contributed to the credibility and the status of the text. The fact that the attributions are spurious does not negate the idea that the texts may have enjoyed a certain status in the Middle Ages precisely on account of these attributions”, Chardonnens claims (101). Credibility is something I have not yet touched upon, but it makes sense; just like the fact that mentioning God renders a text authoritative, an ascription to a biblical figure offers some kind of certainty that what is written after the ascription must be true- at least to believers.



DiTomasso states that Daniel “sporadically appears” in zodiacal lunaries, and that he is often associated with the sign Leo, due to biblical story of Daniel in the Lion’s Den- but these texts are not attributed to Daniel (278-279).

Taavitsainen She mentions *Danyel Hys Dremys: Fyrst of þe Dayes*-“a collective lunary with biblical motifs, in 28 sections” (76). The fact that there are twenty-eight sections to this lunary must mean it is a lunary of the twenty-eight mansions. Lunaries proper and lunaries of the twenty-eight mansions thus contain actual ascriptions to Daniel, for instance in *Danyel his Dremys*; this lunary has twenty-nine entries, and therefore must be a lunary proper- zodiacal lunaries only have twelve entries, and the twenty-eight mansions have twenty-eight. In every entry of *Danyel his Dremys*, dreams occur, which makes sense, as Daniel was a dream interpreter.

Two types of references now have been dealt with, which leaves one more: prayers. These will be discussed in the next section.

### 3. Prayers

Besides references and ascriptions to biblical figures, bible quotes such as psalms and prayers also occur in lunaries, as do indirect quotes- events that are narrated in the Bible. The latter I have already touched upon lightly in the first section of references, but I will expand on this type in this section. “The implication of the biblical motifs was that the events mentioned in them had happened under similar positions of the skies...parallel consequences could be expected to occur under similar conditions”, Taavitsainen argues (102). She uses the term “biblical motifs” for what I have labelled “references to biblical figures and events”. Her claim aligns with the idea of the position of the moon influencing life on earth; it also implies that a certain position of the sky and moon always relates to certain consequences. However, the fact that not all lunaries contained the same references weakens her argument; one discrepancy between *Storia Lune* and *The XXXTI Daies of the Mone* has already been mentioned –in the former, the Tower of Babel is mentioned on the fifth day, in the latter,

Samuel fighting his enemies. Another dissimilarity can be found on the sixth day: *Storia Lune* here mentions the birth of Daniel (Braswell-Means, 118), while *The XXXTI Daies of the Mone* mentions Nabyr and Effren being born on this day (Braswell-Means 154). The fact that these lunaries mention different biblical figures being born on this day implies that the conditions of the moon and sky cannot be a relation between the condition of the moon and sky and the Bible, unless Daniel was born under the exact same circumstances as Nabyr and Effren were, which would be extremely coincidental, and is not probable. When looking at the advice that *The XXXTI Daies of the Mone* gives on the sixth day, we find that it is a good day for hunting, the child that will be born that day will have a long life and be “hardy”, and it is a bad day for blood-letting (Braswell-Means 155). In *Storia Lune*, however nothing is said about hunting, some similarities can be found; just like in *The XXXTI Daies of the Mone*, the text mentions that the child born on the sixth day of the moon will be “noble and hardy” (Braswell-Means 118), and it also mentions the fact that it is a bad day for bloodletting (Braswell-Means 119). These similarities might imply that the conditions of the moon and sky somehow are the same on the sixth day of the moon in at least two lunaries, and these conditions might have been related to the Bible, albeit not to the same biblical figures.

Taavitsainen further illustrates this relation between similar positions of the sky by analysing some lines of *Storia Lune* that contain both good and bad events and/or figures in the Bible, ranging from the tower of Babel to Moses and Methuselah, who were wealthy and wise (102). “Through the biblical motifs lunaries gained in authority. In popular thought the instructions given in them could be taken as universal truths established at the creation of the world”, she claims (103). Authority seems to be a recurrent reason for Bible references of any kind to occur in lunaries. As for these “universal truths” that were made when the world was created, the same logic applies to that of the fixed consequences when the moon is in a certain position- it implies that everything that will happen is fixed, in a way. This is in accordance

with my claim that medieval people craved certainty about life- as life expectations were bad, it was good to know what would happen and why; lunaries probably granted people some assurance in the Middle Ages.

The reason that psalms are referred to in lunaries has two reasons, according to Taavitsainen: the psalms have to do with dream prognostication and divination, or they serve as protection (104-105). Psalm references can for instance be found in *XXX Dies Lune* (Taavitsainen 104). Prayers occurred at the beginning or at the end of lunaries; *The Thyrtty Days of the Mone* starts off with a prayer, *Storia Lune* ends with one (Taavitsainen 105). Taavitsainen provides no clear explanation as to why prayers are sometimes included in lunaries; she claims that they were “familiar to the readers and listeners as they were in a wide circulation” (105). I think the prayers may have been added to either give authority to the lunaries or to teach the audience these prayers. The following text is an example of a prayer that can be found in lunaries:

And þerfore god, þat alle hath wroʒth,

And alle mankynde dere abowth,

Sende us happe and grace

So to done, whyl we ben here,

þat we might, thruw hys mercy dere,

In heven to haue a place. AMEN. (Braswell-Means 142-143).

This prayer contains end rhyme, and the first pair of lines, as well as the second, start with the same letter (“a” and “s”, respectively)- both stylistic devices make the text easier to rememeber, and therefore this prayer might have been used as a mnemonic device, to learn something about religion during the Middle Ages. The prayer is found in *Storia Lune*, in the

epilogue. The prologue of *The XXXTI Dayes of the Mone* also contains a prayer, that also has end rhyme:

God, that all thys worlde hath wrought,

And all mankynde wiþ his blod bought,

On the crose wiþ payne and wo,

Sende vs grace so to do,

That we, synfull, and all mankynde

To that greet ioie mowe we wynde,

That he bovght us alle to,

Whane he to dede for vs was do. (Braswell-Means 148)

References to psalms are harder to find, therefore I must use a very short example, taken from Svenberg: “tu autem, Domine, susceptor meus es; luna IV” (76), which translates to “but you, God, are my protector”- this is just a snippet from a psalm, but lines like these occurred in lunaries. Prayers and references to psalms can be found in lunaries proper, such as *Storia Lune* and *The XXXTI Daies of the Mone*- ad this is the only type of lunary I have found prayers and references to psalms in.

### **Reasons why Biblical References Occurred in Lunaries**

After having examined three types of biblical references in lunaries, namely references to biblical figures and events, ascriptions to biblical figures and prayers and references to psalms, one reason why these references occur stands out: religious authority. Mnemonics and education also are recurring themes, but whereas all three types of references can use religious

authority, not every type can be seen as a mnemonic device or educational instrument. Ascriptions to biblical figures, for instance, cannot be seen as a mnemonic nor as educational, as the lunaries that have an ascription usually are ascribed to only one biblical figure, Daniel. Prayers could be seen as mnemonics or educational instruments; a psalm could be something that the audience could learn when consulting a lunary, and the same goes for a prayer, especially when it rhymes. The narration of a biblical event also could be regarded educational; some of the content of the Bible is transferred to a lunary, rendering it more manageable to remember. Lunaries proper contain references to biblical figures and events, ascriptions, and prayers. Few zodiacal lunaries contain an ascription to Daniel, and no other references are to be found in them. Of the few texts that were available of the twenty-eight mansions of the moon, only one contained a tiny biblical reference- it mentioned the name of God. One other lunary of the twenty-eight mansions contained an ascription to Daniel. From these facts can be concluded that lunaries proper were the only type of lunary that contained many biblical references, which, in a way, makes sense: there a thirty days to a lunary proper, so at least thirty options to refer to the Bible, opposed to zodiacal lunaries, which would only provide twelve options. The fact that zodiacal lunaries only contained twelve entries –one for each sign and thus month- also meant that people probably did not look at them very often, as they only gave advice per month, which stayed the same during the entire month. Lunaries proper, however, were probably consulted daily, as they contained advice for every day of the moon. This might serve as an indicator as to why lunaries proper did contain many biblical references, whereas zodiacal ones lacked them; it would have been more profitable to put biblical references in lunaries proper, as they probably were consulted more often, if not daily, in contrast to zodiacal lunaries, which were probably consulted only a few times every month.

One could argue that if lunaries proper served as a good medium to put biblical references in due to their length, so would the lunaries of the twenty-eight mansions, as they

are only two days shorter than lunaries proper. However, lunaries of the twenty-eight mansions were less popular and their usage was harder than that of lunaries proper, which only asked the reader to count the days. Therefore it is not odd that the lunaries of the twenty-eight mansions did not contain many biblical references.

Besides the lunaries that are treated in this thesis that contain biblical references, Taavitsainen has mentioned some other lunaries which also contain biblical references: *Nota for the Days of the Moone* (69), *God of Hys Grace* (69), *Days of þe monethys and þe 3er ffor þe leche to knowe and to be ware whiche be good* (70), and *XXX Dies Lune* (71), to name a few. This illustrates that biblical references were common.

The type of reference that occurs most in lunaries proper is are the biblical references to figures and events, and prayers- these could have been meant to be educational instruments or mnemonic devices, or they could have been used to grant authority and credibility to the lunaries. The question as to why lunaries needed this authority remains; as Taavitsainen has previously mentioned, astrology and the church did not go hand in hand in the Middle Ages, so perhaps the biblical references in texts that were on the verge of divination, like lunaries, eased this tension. However, the way some lunaries interweaved biblical events with the days of the moon, seems to suggest otherwise; when looking at for instance at *Storya Lune*, the balance between religion and prognostication seems to be just right, suggestion no such tension- it even implies harmony between the two, as the actions one should undertake rely on the biblical figures and events that are linked to those days. Religion was an important part of daily life during the Middle Ages, and people longed for certainty. Both religion and lunaries granted a bit of this certainty, and that might have been the most important reason why they were intertwined. Christianity was the common belief, and as God created the universe, he therefore also must have created the moon. If you look at it that way, even prognostics that were based on the moon were indirectly linked to God, and then it makes even more sense to

refer to the Bible in so many lunaries.

Another viewpoint to this discussion is presented by Bailey. His article on witchcraft provide an interesting point about the medieval church's attitude towards magic; "the church remained convinced that demonic power lay hidden at the root of even apparently innocent magical practices", he claims (965). If this was true, lunaries were also seen as heretical texts, at least by the clergy. This sheds a different light on the biblical references found in lunaries; they could have been inserted to reassure the church that although the texts were of a predictive nature, they were not dangerous or evil. The references also might have been put in lunaries as some sort of search for approval by the church; the fact that biblical references were linked to the days and positions of the moon shows a willingness to mix popular belief and superstition with Christian religion. It could have also been the other way around; the church might have pushed biblical references into lunaries, as they knew lunaries were popular amongst the people- this could either have been to show the Christian power, or to teach the people about Christianity through texts that were commonly consulted. The latter reason might not seem fully waterproof at first, as the texts that I have been looking at are dated to the late Middle Ages; Christianity was no longer on the rise at this time, it had already conquered and was flourishing. The need to teach people about Christian religion, however, has been around ever since the upswing of Christianity, and is still present nowadays- therefore one might assume that, although no longer upcoming, Christian religion and Scripture still was being spread, also in the form of references in lunaries. This assumption is fortified by Classen, who believes that "the clergy had supremacy in literacy during most of the Middle Ages" (312). If the clergy was the most literate group during the Middle Ages, they probably were responsible for the production of much literature- I base this assumption on Classen's assumption that "textual amulets were most probably produced by them" (312)- these textual amulets are merely an example, which I will pay no further

attention to. What is important is the fact that the church had a say in what texts should look like; now, the biblical references in lunaries start to make more sense. The church probably was not too happy about the fact that people consulted these –from the clergy’s viewpoint- magical books, but since that was the case, they might as well put biblical references in lunaries, so people would come into contact with Christianity, even during their (daily) lunary consultancies.



## Conclusion

In summary, three types of lunaries have been treated: the lunary proper, which looks at the days of the moon, ranges from new moon to new moon, and has thirty entries; the zodiacal lunary, which looks at the position of the moon in relation to the zodiac, ranges from the first month of the year to the last, and thus has twelve entries- one for each month and sign of the zodiac; and the lunary of the twenty-eight mansions of the moon, which looks at the position of the moon in relation to these mansions –which are stars or constellations-, ranges from the first mansion to the twenty-eighth mansion, and thus has twenty-eight entries. After the theory behind the lunaries, three types of biblical references have been identified in these lunaries: references to biblical figures and events, ascriptions to biblical figures, and prayers and references to psalms.

The entries that have been treated come from *Storya Lune*, *The XXXTI Daies of the Mone*, the prologue of *Danyel his Dremys*, and one entry for each type of lunary, two of which are taken from Taavitsainen's book, and one from Braswell-Means's book. The texts themselves do not tell us much about why these biblical references occurred in them. Many possibilities came along: they might have served an educational purpose; the references might have been used as mnemonic devices. The references also might have served as a means to render the lunaries more authoritative and credible. Besides this, the church might have regarded these texts as heretic, as they resembled magical practices; by referring to the Bible, this heretical aspect would have probably been lessened. A contrasting reason to this is that the Church probably had much to say about what texts should look like in the Middle Ages; Christianity always needed to be spread, and therefore biblical references in lunaries might have occurred. A final reason, which is overarching, is the fact that religion and prognostication partly served the same purpose in the Middle Ages: granting some certainty in life. Living conditions were bad during the Middle Ages, and therefore people craved

security. Not only did religion and prognostication partly serve the same purpose, they also were less separated during the Middle Ages than they are now; religion was something overarching, it was related to many things medieval; thus, it is no surprise that even in something seemingly unrelated to religion as a lunary, biblical references are found. Religion ruled daily life, but so did superstition and belief in higher powers from nature, such as the moon- moreover, the majority of medieval people were Christian, and thus believed that God created the universe; implicitly, this means that he also created the moon, and therefore all prognostics based on the moon can be traced back to God, thus implying that lunaries cannot be heretical texts, as they are based on something God created.

No clear answer to the question as to why biblical references occurred in lunaries has been found after researching and close reading several lunary texts- however, the evidence that was found points towards the idea of religion being overarching and the clergy ruling literature. The assumption that the texts needed authority appeared as the most solid reason to me at first sight- however, not enough evidence has been found that lunaries were regarded with suspicion, and Taavitsainen even completely contradicted this assumption by claiming that “by the latter part of the sixteenth century lunar manuals or lunaries were widely used by laymen and professional astrologers alike” (187), so this reason must be rejected as the most important one. The church might have seen lunaries as heretical, but this presumption was not shared by the people- would the church have forbidden the consultancy of lunaries, they would probably not have been used by so many people in the Middle Ages. I must conclude that many causes might have been the reason why biblical references occurred in lunaries, but the fact that religion was such an important part of daily life in the Middle Ages probably is the main factor why these biblical references can be found in lunaries; besides that, the second most important reason probably was the fact that both religion and lunar prognostication

offered some security in life, which is why they strengthened each other when being combined.

Works Cited

- Avery, Jeanne. "The Rising Sign." 21 Apr. 2010. *Google Scholar*. Web. 12 Jun. 2016.
- Bailey, Michael. "From Sorcery to Witchcraft: Clerical Conceptions of Magic in the Later Middle Ages." *Speculum* Oct. 2011: 960-990. *JSTOR*. Web. 15 Jun. 2016.
- Braswell, Laurel. *Popular Lunar Astrology in the Late Middle Ages*. 1978. Print.
- Braswell-Means, Laurel. *Medieval Lunar Astrology*. Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1993. Print.
- Chardonnens, László Sándor. *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics, 900-1100*. Leiden: Brill, 2007. Print.
- Classen, Albrecht. *Mental Health, Spirituality, and Religion in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age*. De Gruyter, 2014: 0-738. *Google Scholar*. Web. 15 Jun. 2016.
- DiTomasso, Lorenzo. "Pseudepigrapha Notes III:4. Old Testament Pseudepigrapha in the Yale University Manuscript Collection." *Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha* 2010: 3-80. Print.
- Gilles, Everett. "Zodiac Wisdom." *Western Folklore* Apr. 1957: 77-89. *JSTOR*. Web. 12 Jun. 2016.
- Liuzza, Roy. *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics: Texts and Translation*. Boydell&Brewer, 2010: 0 294. 14 jun. 2016. Web.  
<http://www.jstor.org.ru.idm.oclc.org/stable/10.7722/j.ctt81xzs>.
- Svenberg, Emanuel. *Nya Kollektivlunaria*. 1939. Print.
- Taavitsainen, Irma. *Middle English Lunaries*. Helsinki: 1988. Print.

Weinstock, Stefan. "Lunar Mansions and Early Calendars." *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*: 1949, 48-69. Print.

Yampolsky, Philip. "The Origin of the Twenty-Eight Lunar Mansions." *Osiris*: 1950, 62-83. Print.

ENGELSE TAAL EN CULTUUR

Teacher who will receive this document: László Sándor Chardonnens

Title of document: Mihaliciuc\_Chardonnens\_BA Thesis

Name of course: BA Werkstuk Engelse Letterkunde

Date of submission: 15 June 2016

The work submitted here is the sole responsibility of the undersigned, who has neither committed plagiarism nor colluded in its production.

Signed

Nastja Mihaliciuc

Name of student: Nastja Mihaliciuc

Student number: s4357817