

TEXAS CHRISTIAN UNIVERSITY

WILLIAM LILLY, CHRISTIAN ASTROLOGER:

A BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL STUDY

by

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PREFACE

The chief purpose of the present paper is to give a brief account of the life and works of William Lilly, the principal English astrologer of the seventeenth century. It is remarkable that there exists no study devoted to this man, who was one of the most famous and influential Englishmen of his century. During the sixteen years from 1644 to the Restoration, Lilly was the mouth-piece for the Independent and anti-monarchist forces in the Long Parliament through the medium of his many almanacs and books. His works, especially his almanacs, were read by practically everyone in England who could read — but these facts appear more fully in the paper itself.

Most of the European and American encyclopedias and works on general biography contain notices of Lilly, but they are not particularly informative except for the Dictionary of National Biography, which gives a memoir that is fairly detailed though not always accurate. He nowhere receives the attention he deserves, but this is evidently due to the decline of interest in astrology since the seventeenth century. Modern writers and readers are largely ignorant of astrology; hence, the great astrologers of the past receive little notice unless a

portion of their fame rests on their achievement in some other field of learning. In the case of Lilly, who was an astrologer and a political propagandist, equally active in both fields, it is curious that historians of the period in which he lived have failed to take his activities into account, though he exercised a very considerable influence upon the political scene.

Despite the fact that almost every civilized person from the dawn of time down to the end of the seventeenth century accepted astrology as an important and valid branch of human knowledge, astrology and astrologers are now given as little attention as scholarly consciences will allow. The situation is worsening from decade to decade, since very few modern scholars can bring themselves to look into an astrological text-book, and, when they find themselves obliged to annotate astrological allusions in the older writers, they are driven to the expedient of plagiarizing the notes of previous generations of scholars; this procedure is not an altogether satisfactory one and often results in the blind leading the blind.

As if ignorance were not bad enough, some scholars have taken it upon themselves to falsify and distort what little information they have seen fit to provide on

matters astrological. Not even content with this, they utilize a substantial portion of their space to hurl insults at astrology and astrologers in general, which, whether such a procedure is justifiable or not, is hardly enlightening to the reader who is attempting to discover pertinent facts about these matters. The reader of the present paper will find in it several instances where such scholarly improprieties have been noted. It would have been a simple matter to point out further instances, but they are perhaps best left in silence.

Since Lilly's works are now quite rare, I have been obliged to work mainly with microfilm copies, and I am well aware that my treatment of the astrologer's activities has been limited by lack of reference to his almanacs. Any study of Lilly should include material from the almanacs, but I was unable to consult them; thus, the reader is warned that there are omissions and perhaps mistaken emphasis on certain points in my account.

It may be wondered by some why I did not devote some space to a discussion of the section of Samuel Butler's Hudibras which satirizes an astrologer "hight Sidrophel." The answer is twofold: in the first place, Lilly does not mention the Hudibras in those works of his that were available to me; and secondly, the section of the

Hudibras in question is lengthy, and to discuss it adequately would require a separate paper.

As for William Lilly himself, I have been much impressed by his sharp intellect as it appears in his works and his occasional bright sallies of wit; his autobiography is particularly rewarding in this respect, and I have quoted his own words more than would ordinarily have been done in a paper of this nature. Also, in order to illustrate in a small way both his style as a writer and the content of his works, I have occasionally quoted him at greater length than is customary, but this liberty may perhaps be excused by the inaccessibility of his books.

In fine, I have attempted to present a faithful account of the life and times of this the most renowned of the seventeenth century English astrologers.

CHAPTER I

THE ADVENT OF FORTUNE

William Lilly was descended from a family of yeoman farmers; his ancestors had formerly owned a considerable amount of property in and around the little village of Diseworth in the north-western corner of Leicestershire. As farmers sometimes do, however, they appear to have lived off the land by selling it rather than by working it. Lilly's father, whose name was also William Lilly, inherited only a fraction of the original holdings.

The elder William married Alice, daughter of Edward Barham of the nearby town of Fiskerton Mills, Nottinghamshire, and had three children (so far as is known), two sons and one daughter. Of these, the younger William was born on May 1, 1602 O.S.¹ in his father's house in Diseworth, which stood near the church.²

¹Not on April 30 as the Dictionary of National Biography (hereinafter cited as DNB) states, led astray by a horoscope so dated in Sloane MS 1707, f. 12b. Very likely the date there given is astronomical, in which the day begins at noon instead of midnight. Many astrol-ogers of the period used the astronomical instead of the civil reckoning. According to John Gadbury (in his Collectio Geniturarum, London, 1662), Lilly was born about two A.M. on May 1 (=14 P.M. April 30).

²William Lilly, Mr. William Lilly's History of his Life and Times, from the year 1602, to 1681 (2nd ed., London, 1715) (hereinafter cited as Lilly), p. 3.

Lilly says that his birthplace was "...an obscure Town³...of great Rudeness, wherein it is not remembered that any of the Farmers thereof did ever educate any of their Sons to Learning, only my Grandfather [Robert Lilly] sent his younger Son to Cambridge, whose Name was Robert Lilly, and died, Vicar of Cambden in Gloucestershire about 1640."⁴

Alice Lilly urged her husband to send young William to a good grammar school to prepare him for entry into Cambridge, so that he might become a minister like his uncle. The elder William finally agreed, and Lilly set out for Ashby-de-la-Zouche on Trinity Tuesday, 1613, to attend the school there, of which John Brinsley⁵ was master.⁶

Lilly attended this school for six years and proved an excellent scholar, being chief of the highest form during his last two years. In addition to Latin, he went through Camden's Greek Grammar, Theognis, and Homer's

³Diseworth is an old town, but a very small one; it is not to be found on most maps of England.

⁴Lilly, pp. 1-2.

⁵John Brinsley, the elder, a Puritan divine and school master who enjoyed a considerable reputation as an educator during the first half of the seventeenth century.

⁶Lilly, p. 4.

Iliad. He began Hebrew, but was obliged to leave school shortly afterward, before he had well entered that tongue. He seems to have had an especial talent for languages, for he tells us that he was able to speak Latin as readily as English and could compose extemporaneous verse in several of the classic metres. He so excelled that he was always called upon to dispute with the visiting ministers who came from time to time to examine the students. To their discomfiture, he would insist that they speak only Latin; usually he came out ahead in these contests, because, he says, "...few of them could well speak [it] without breaking Priscian's Head..." and "In the Derivation of Words I found most of them defective, nor indeed were any of them good Grammarians..."⁷

In 1618 his mother died, and the next year his father called him home, as he was no longer financially able to maintain him at school. He lived in poor circumstances during 1619, teaching school in Diseworth for three months at a very small salary.⁸ This was his last connection with formal education, and thus perished his hopes for entering the ministry.

⁷Ibid., pp. 5-6.

⁸Ibid., p. 6.

Lilly was now almost eighteen; his first ambition had been frustrated and he did not know where to turn. In the spring of 1620, however, was forged the first link in a chain of events that was to lead him in thirteen years from the life of a poor farmer's son to that of a wealthy London gentleman.

His father's attorney, Samuel Smatty, procured for Lilly a position as domestic servant to a retired gentleman living in London, by name Gilbert Wright. Lilly says "...my Father...was very willing to be rid of me, for I could not work, drive the Plough, or endure any Country Labour; my Father oft wou'd say, I was good for nothing." On April 4, 1620, he bade his father farewell at Leices-ter, where he was in debtor's prison, and set out for London, walking all the way in the company of some freight haulers. The trip consumed most of a week; the weather was cold, damp, and stormy. The following Sunday, April 9, he arrived at Smithfield, London in the middle of the afternoon. Mr. Wright made him comfortable and bought him a new cloak the following day. From the first, they were fast friends, and Lilly never speaks of Wright except in the most grateful and affectionate terms.⁹

⁹Ibid., pp. 7-8.

Gilbert Wright was in his middle sixties, a wealthy man and a member of the Company of Salters, of which he was elected master in 1624. He was generous and of an agreeable disposition, but could not read or write (his reason for having engaged Lilly), yet Lilly declares:

...he was a Man of excellent natural Parts, and wou'd speak publickly upon any Occasion very rationally and to the Purpose. I write this, that the World may know he was no Taylor, or myself of that or any other Calling or Profession:¹⁰ My Work was to go before my Master to Church; to attend my Master when he went abroad; to make clean his Shoes; help to drive Bucks when we washed; fetch Water in a Tub from the Thames: I have helped to carry Eighteen Tubs of Water in one Morning, weed the Garden; all manner of Drudgeries I willingly performed; scrape Trenchers, &c. If I had any Profession, it was of this Nature: I should never have denied my being a Taylor, had I been one; for there is no Calling so base, which by God's Mercy may not afford a Livelihood; and had not my Master entertain'd me, I would have been of a very mean Profession 'ere I would have returned into the Country again...¹¹

Mr. Wright's wife was a few years older than her husband, and though Lilly lived in harmony with both of them, they themselves did not agree,¹² but were continu-

¹⁰The astrologer John Heydon had accused Lilly of having been a tailor.

¹¹Lilly, pp. 8-9.

¹²For the causes of their disagreement cf. Ibid., p. 9, where the difficulties are mentioned.

ally quarreling. Mrs. Wright was wont to visit certain persons "...called Cunning or Wise Men [to learn] whether she should bury her Husband."¹³ Lilly's curiosity was aroused, but he lacked money at this time to buy books and take lessons in such matters.

In 1622 Mrs. Wright developed cancer of the breast, and Lilly treated her under the direction of physicians; however, the lady's age was against her, and the cancer spread despite all treatment. She lingered until September 1624, when she finally succumbed.¹⁴

She left Lilly £5 in gold and £100 besides in a chest she kept at a neighbor's house. The latter sum was not to be found, however, as some of her kin arrived first and removed the money, chest and all.

It is probable that Lilly's lifelong interest in medicine began during the two years he helped to treat his mistress, and his experiences and observations during succeeding years when London was rife with pestilence acted to keep his interest alive until later in life, when he found time to take up the serious study of the healing art.

¹³Ibid., p. 9. Probably not astrologers, but what we would call "fortune-tellers."

¹⁴Ibid., p. 10.

Lilly continued in the service of Gilbert Wright, and was left in charge of the house, when, in the spring of 1625, the plague struck London and Wright left for Leicestershire. With his master gone, he found that he had most of his time free; he tells us that he purchased a bass-viol and took lessons, also spending some time in bowling with the men of the neighborhood. He adds that "Sometimes I went to Church and heard Funeral-Sermons, of which there was then great Plenty."¹⁵

Mr. Wright returned from the country in November of 1625 and the following February married for the third time. His new wife's maiden name was Ellen Whitehaire¹⁶ and she was considerably younger than her husband.

In February of 1625-6 Wright settled on Lilly a pension of £20 per annum, which the astrologer says he enjoyed the rest of his life.

On the 22nd of May 1627, Mr. Wright died, leaving a considerable estate and a wealthy widow. Lilly began to think of proposing marriage to her, but hesitated on account of his menial position and also on account of the difference in their respective ages.¹⁷

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 17-18.

¹⁶DNB, XI, 1137.

¹⁷Lilly, p. 19.

But here Destiny took a hand, and, while Lilly wondered what to do, the lady began to ponder the question also:

My Mistress had been twice marry'd to old Men, was now resolved to be couzened no more; she was of a brown ruddy Complexion, corpulent, of but mean Stature, plain, no Education, yet a very provident Person, and of good Condition: She had many Sutors, old Men, whom she declined; some Gentlemen of decay'd Fortunes, whom she liked not, for she was covetous and sparing: By my Fellow-Servant she was observed frequently to say, she cared not if she married a Man that would love her, so that he had never a Penny; and would ordinarily talk of me when she was in Bed: This Servant gave me Encouragement to give the Onset; I was much perplexed hereat, for should I attempt her, and be slighted, she would never care for me afterwards; but again, I considered that if I should attempt and fail, she would never speak of it; or would any believe I durst be so audacious as to propound such a Question, the Disproportion of Years and Fortune being so great betwixt us: However, all her Talk was of Husbands, and in my Presence saying one Day after Dinner, she respected not Wealth, but desired an honest Man; I made Answer, I thought I could fit her with such a Husband; she asked me where? I made no more ado, but presently saluted her, and told her my self was the Man: She reply'd, I was too young; I said nay; what I had not in Wealth, I would supply in Love; and saluted her frequently, which she accepted lovingly; and next Day at Dinner made me sit down at Dinner with my Hat on my Head, and said, she intended to make me her Husband; for which I gave her many Salutes, & c.

I was very careful to keep all Things secret, for I well knew, if she should take Counsel of any Friend, my Hopes would be frustrated, therefore I suddenly procured her Consent to marry, unto which she assented; so that upon the 8th Day of September 1627, at St. George's Church in Southwark, I was marry'd unto her, and for two whole Years we kept it secret. When it was divulged, and some People blamed her for it, she constantly reply'd, that she had no Kindred; if I proved kind, and a good Husband, she

would make me a Man; if I proved otherwise, she only undid herself. In the third and fourth Years after our Marriage, we had strong Suits of Law with her first Husband's Kindred, but overthrew them in the End. During all the Time of her Life, which was until October 1633, we lived very lovingly, I frequenting no Company at all; my Exercises were sometimes Angling, in which I ever delighted: My Companions two aged Men. I then frequented Lectures, two or three in a Week; I heard Mr. Sute in Lombard-street, Mr. Gouge of Black-Fryers, Dr. Micklethwait of the Temple, Dr. Oldsworth, with others, the most learned Men of those Times, and leaned in Judgment to Puritanism. In October 1627, I was made free of the Salters Company in London.¹⁸

In the spring of 1632, a friend remarked that he could introduce him to one Evans, who lived in Gunpowder Alley and was "...an excellent wise Man...[who] study'd the Black Art."¹⁹

¹⁸Lilly, pp. 19-20. Sute is not mentioned in the available reference books. Dr. Micklethwait is perhaps the father of Sir John Micklethwait (see DNB, XIII, 337-338). The others are William Gouge D.D. (1578-1653) and Michael Oldsworth (1591-1654?) sometime M.P., for whom see DNB.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 20-21. The reference is to Rhys Evans (b. 1607), Welsh divine and prophet (cf. DNB). The particulars of his life as given in the DNB seem somewhat at variance with those given by Lilly (see below, p. 11 and note 21). Evans is characterized by the DNB as a "fanatic," seemingly on the grounds that he was a prophet. Now admittedly some prophets have also been fanatics, but since the majority of those who have been connected with the major religions of the world are commonly designated simply as "prophets," it seems only just to do the same with Rhys Evans. In any event, it is difficult to understand how he could have been more fanatical than the majority of the Puritan reformers who were his contemporaries.

Lilly continues:

The same Week after we went to see Mr. Evans; when we came to his House, he having been drunk the Night before, was upon his Bed, if it be lawful to call that a Bed whereon he then lay; he roused up himself, and, after some Complements, he was content to instruct me in Astrology; I attended his best Opportunities for seven or eight Weeks, in which Time I could set a Figure perfectly: Books he had not any, except Haly de judiciis Astrorum, and Origanus his Ephemerides; so that as often as I entred his House, I thought I was in the Wilderness.²⁰

²⁰Ibid., p. 21. The works mentioned are: De Judiciis Astrorum (Basiliae, 1571, etc.), a Latin translation of an Arabic treatise on astrology by the famous Cairene astrologer and physician Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Rīdwan ibn 'Alī ibn Ja'far Al-Miṣrī (c.998-1061 or 1067), for whom see George Sarton, Introduction to the History of Science (Washington, 1927-1947) (hereinafter cited as Sarton), I, 729-730; and Ephemerides novae annorum xxxvi incipientes ab...1595...et desinentes in annum 1630... (Francofurti ad Oderam, 1599, etc.) by David Origanus (1558-1628), professor of mathematics at the University of Frankfurt, for whom see Lynn Thorndike, A History of Magic and Experimental Science (New York, 1923-1941) (hereinafter cited as Thorndike), VI, 60-61.

A practicing astrologer could scarcely have operated with fewer books than these: Haly's treatise is an astrological textbook and Origanus' work is an ephemeris or astronomical almanac (a book which gives the positions of the heavenly bodies, usually for every day of the year). The astrologer would also have required a table of houses, trigonometrical tables, or at least a celestial globe. I observe that Origanus' Ephemerides left off with the year 1630; hence, Evans did not have a current ephemeris and must have been estimating the positions for later years, a troublesome and inaccurate practice and one which argues his extreme poverty.

Note also that Lilly complains of the lack of books, not of Evans' ability as a teacher (which must have been adequate, to judge from his pupil's progress).

He says of his teacher:

He was by Birth a Welchman, a Master of Arts, and in Sacred Orders; he had formerly had a Cure of Souls in Staffordshire, but now was come to try his Fortunes at London, being in a manner enforced to fly for some Offences very scandalous committed by him in these Parts, where he had lately lived; for he gave Judgment upon things lost, the only Shame of Astrology...to give him his Right, he had the most piercing Judgment naturally upon a Figure of Theft, and many other Questions, that I ever met withal; yet for Money he would willingly give contrary Judgments, was much addicted to Debauchery, and then very abusive and quarrelsome, seldom without a black Eye, or one Mischief or other...he understood Latin very well, the Greek Tongue not at all: He had some Arts above, and beyond Astrology, for he was well versed in the Nature of Spirits...²¹

²¹Ibid., pp. 21-22. The DNB article referred to above (note 19, p. 9) makes no mention of Evans' having been an M.A., although the article seems to be based on his autobiography, which would presumably give his educational achievements. Obviously someone is in error. Lilly's memory is sometimes at fault, but the DNB article is severely biased against Evans.

Ellen McCaffery, in her Astrology, Its History and Influence in the Western World (New York, 1942) (hereinafter cited as McCaffery), p. 294, states that "Lilly...found him very chaotic and a very poor mathematician, hence he ceased taking lessons and decided to buy books and study by himself." This statement purports to be taken from the autobiography, but if so it indicates careless reading. Lilly does not mention Evans' mathematical ability at all, and what chaos there is was in his habits not in his mind; nor did Lilly break with Evans because he was a poor teacher (cf. Lilly's own account on p. 12 below and note 24 on that page). I forbear from mentioning other errors in her comments on Lilly; however, she gives an interesting discussion of Butler's Hudibras, where Lilly is satirized under the name Sidrophel.

To supplement his instruction by Evans, Lilly began to build up a library of his own:

It happen'd that after I discovered what Astrology was, I went weekly into Little-Britain, and bought many Books of Astrology, not acquainting Evans therewith. Mr. A. Bedwell²²...was lately dead; and his Library being sold into Little-Britain, I bought amongst them my choicest Books of Astrology. The Occasion of our falling out was thus; a Woman demanded the Resolution of a Question, which when he had done, she went her way; I standing by all the while and observing the Figure, asked him why he gave the Judgment he did, sith the Signification shewed the quite contrary, and gave him my Reasons, which when he had ponder'd, he call'd me Boy²³ and must he be contradicted by such a Novice. But when his Heat was over, he said, had he not so judged to please the Woman, she would have given him nothing, and he had a Wife and Family to provide for; upon this we never came together after.²⁴

²²Lilly means William Bedwell, who died 5 May 1632 O.S., but has confused him with another person of the same surname: cf. DNB, II, 119-120, where the error is noted. This William Bedwell was the first great Arabic in England. His interest in that language may well have been aroused by a desire to read the Arabic astrological writings in their originals, rather than through the oftentimes inaccurate Latin translations and paraphrases made during the late middle ages.

²³If Evans has given the correct year of his own birth, 1607, then he was about five years younger than Lilly. It seems strange that Lilly never mentions this difference, but perhaps it is because he was writing of events thirty-five years and more past.

²⁴Lilly, pp. 23-24. Thus we see that Lilly parted with Evans on account of his disapproval of Evans' having given a false reading for the sake of fee; he nowhere says that he quit Evans because his teaching was unsatisfactory; and note that he began to buy books before he left Evans, not after, as Mrs. McCaffery has it.

After his parting with Evans, Lilly applied himself to the study of the books he had collected. He says that many times he spent from twelve to eighteen hours a day studying. He adds: "I was curious to discover, whether there was any Verity in the Art or not."²⁵

He lived quietly in London the remainder of 1632, pursuing his studies. The next year was an eventful one: he made the acquaintance of the astrologer and mathematician Nicholas Fiske, who assisted him in learning the mathematical and astronomical part of astrology. They became fast friends, and Fiske came to see Lilly almost every day, sometimes bringing a horary chart for him to interpret, for Lilly had already begun to show great proficiency in that branch of the art.²⁶

In October 1633, Lilly's first wife died, leaving him nearly £1,000, including the "corner house in the Strand" where he lived so long. Soon after her death, he acquired a large vellum book which contained prayers

²⁵Ibid., p. 24. Many persons have undertaken the study of astrology for this reason. Two notable examples among Englishmen are Sir Isaac Newton and Dr. Richard Garnett; both of these men later produced significant treatises on astrology.

²⁶Ibid., pp. 29-31. Horary is one of the three principal branches of astrology (see Appendix I below). A horary chart is one erected for the time when a client asks for an astrological opinion on a matter.

to be addressed to various angels, each of which presided over some particular art or science, in order to solicit divine assistance in learning the subject desired. Lilly says he performed the invocations to the angel who was in charge of Astronomy, only substituting the word Astrology wherever the other appeared. He kept this up for several weeks, but whether he later attributed his remarkable success to the help of the angel, he does not say.²⁷

During 1634 he taught Sir George Peckham enough astrology to enable him to give judgment on sickness. He relates that Sir George became very skillful at this, but died of pneumonia the next year, which disease he contracted while saying prayers in a cold, damp well in Wales, a shrine of St. Winifred.²⁸

On November 18th 1634, he married again: his second wife's name was Jane Rowley,²⁹ and he says "she was of the Nature of Mars." She brought him £500, but he

²⁷Ibid., pp. 31-32. This book was Dr. Simon Forman's Ars Notoria on the invocation of spirits.

²⁸Ibid., p. 32.

²⁹Ibid., p. 32; and DNB, XI, 1138, where the lady's name is supplied. Mars is a marriage significator in Lilly's natal horoscope, being near the cusp of the DSC. (For these and other technical terms, see Appendix I.) He means she was quarrelsome and ill-tempered.

says that during the years they lived together, he spent twice that sum on her poor relations.³⁰

In the winter of 1634/1635, he accompanied Davy Ramsay,³¹ the Royal Clock-maker, and some others on a treasure-hunting expedition into Westminster Abbey. One of the group used divining rods to determine the spot at which to dig; laborers dug down to a considerable depth below the pavement of the cloister, uncovering a rusty coffin. A sudden gust of wind howled through the drafty old building, blew out most of their lights, and frightened Lilly's party and a number of spectators who had assembled to watch the proceedings. Lilly says he gave the command to dismiss the demons, whereupon the wind died down as suddenly as it had arisen, to the relief of all those present. But between the wind and the jeers of the spectators, the treasure-seekers became discouraged and went home, not even opening the casket, which Lilly afterwards regretted. One experience with the wind-demons was evidently enough, for he adds: "I could never since be induced to joyn with any in such like Actions."³²

³⁰Lilly, p. 75.

³¹Cf. DNB, XVI, 682-683.

³²Lilly, pp. 32-33.

Sometime prior to the event just mentioned, Lilly, who had studied with Nicholas Fiske and also assisted him in his practice,³³ decided to enter the astrological profession himself. He gives a brief account of a case he handled for a young woman in 1634 or 1635 (probably in 1635). The lady and her lover had fallen out, and she sought Lilly's assistance in effecting a reconciliation. He appointed certain times for her to be present at certain places, so that she might come face to face with the gentleman, who was avoiding her. She followed his instructions, and the meetings took place as Lilly had predicted. He neglects, however, to tell us whether the lady ever succeeded in regaining her lover's favor, but concludes his account by saying:

I grew weary of such Imployments, and since have burned my Books which instructed these Curiosities: For after that I became melancholly, very much afflicted with the Hypocondraik [sic] Melancholly, growing lean and spare, and every Day worse; so that in the Year 1635 my Infirmitie continuing and my Acquaintance increasing, I resolved to live in the Country, and in March and April 1636 removed my Goods unto Hersham, where I now live; and in May my Person, where I continued until 1641, no notice being taken who, or what I was.³⁴

³³See p. 13 above.

³⁴Lilly, pp. 34-35. Hersham is a little town in Surrey, not to be confused with Horsham in Sussex; like Diseworth, Hersham is not on most maps of England.

Hersham being but a few miles from London, Lilly went into town on occasion to visit acquaintances or look after his business affairs. On one of these trips, in the year 1640, he chanced to meet a physician friend on the street. They repaired to a nearby tavern, and Lilly sent for William Poole, an elderly friend who practiced astrology. When Poole arrived, the physician produced a hand-bill advertising the astrological abilities of a master of arts at Cambridge, John Humphreys by name. Lilly inquired of him, and Poole answered that "...he knew the Man, and that he was a silly Fool; I, quoth he, can do more than he..."³⁵

Humphreys entered the tavern a little while later and was introduced to Lilly and the physician. Lilly continues:

Poole had just as we came to him set a Figure, and then shewed it me, desiring my Judgment; which I refused, but desired the Master of Arts to judge first; he denyed, so I gave mine, to the very great liking of Humphreys, who presently enquired, if I would teach him, and for what? I told him I was willing to teach, but would have an £100. I heard Poole, whilst I was judging the Figure, whisper in Humphreys's Ear, and swear I was the best in England. Staying three or four Days in Town, at last we contracted for £40 for I could never be quiet from his Solicitations; he invited me to Supper, and before I had shewed him any thing, paid me £35. As we were at Supper a Client came to

³⁵Ibid., p. 35.

speaking with him, and so up into his Closet he went with his Client; I call'd him in before he set his Figure, or resolved the Question, and instantly acquainted him how he should discover the Moles or Marks of his Client, he set his Figure and presently discovers four Moles the Querent had; and was so overjoy'd therewith, that he came tumbling down the Stairs, crying, Four by G—, Four by G—, I will not take one hundred Pounds for this one Rule: In six Weeks time, and tarrying with him three Days in a Week, he became a most judicious Person.³⁶

Their association did not long continue, however, as Humphreys presently got the notion that Lilly was also a professor of the Black Art, and he offered to pay him £200 to be instructed therein. Lilly refused to teach him anything but astrology. Humphreys then departed, later writing a book against Lilly, who observes: "He was in Person and Condition such another as that Monster of Ingratitude my quondam Taylor, John Gadbury."³⁷

Before Lilly and Humphreys parted, Lilly had expressed a desire to meet John Booker. He says:

I had never seen John Booker at that Time; but telling him one Day I had a Desire to see him, but

³⁶Ibid., pp. 35-36. The rule for discovering marks is given in the second part of Christian Astrology.

³⁷Ibid., p. 36. John Gadbury had been a pupil of Lilly's, but they had fallen out after a quarrel over the virtues of the sign Scorpio, which was Gadbury's ASC. Gadbury then wrote a book against Lilly, which was answered by Dr. John Partridge in the latter's Nebulo Anglicanus or...the Black Life of John Gadbury. These three men were the principal astrologers of their age, and the most famous England has produced.

first, 'ere I would speak with him, I would fit my self with my old Rules, and rub up my Astrology; for at that Time (and this was 1640) I thought John Booker the greatest and most compleat Astrol-
 oger in the World. My Scholar Humphreys presently made answer; "Tutor, you need not pump for any of your former Knowledge, John Booker is no such Pumper; we met, saith he, the other Day, and I was too hard for him my self, upon Judgment of 3 or 4 Questions." If all the Transactions happening unto that my Scholar were in one Volume, they would transcend either Guzman, Don Quixote, Lazarillo de Tormes, or any other of the like Nature I ever did see.³⁸

For some reason, the two men did not meet at that time; it was four years later, when Lilly took the first copy of his almanac to the Stationers' Company, that he finally met John Booker, who was then Licenser of Mathematical Books for the company.

In the following year, Lilly began to grow weary of the country, and he says:

...perceiving there was Money to be got in London, and thinking my self to be as sufficiently enabled in Astrology as any I could meet with, I made it my Business to repair thither; and so in September 1641 I did; where, in the Years 1642 and 1643, I had great Leisure to better my former Knowledge; I then read over all my Books of Astrology, over and over; had very little or no Practice at all: And whereas formerly I could never endure to read Valentine Naibod his Commentary on Alcabitius, now having seriously study'd him, I found him to be the profoundest Author I ever met with; him I traversed over Day and Night, from whom I must acknowledge to have advanced my Judgment and Knowledge unto that height I soon after arrived at, or

³⁸Ibid., pp. 36-37.

unto: A most rational Author, and the sharpest Expositor of Ptolemy that hath yet appeared.³⁹

Lilly next set about to collect notes for a short discussion of the approaching conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn, which he proposed to treat in accordance with the methods he had learned.⁴⁰ He was working at this in his study one day when the Earl of Galloway⁴¹ came to call; the papers caught Galloway's eye, and he read the single sheet Lilly had completed, whereupon he praised it very highly and encouraged Lilly to finish the work.

³⁹Ibid., p. 37. The work mentioned is Enarratio elementorum astrologiae... (Coloniae, 1560) by Valentin Nabod (Naibod) (1527-?), professor of mathematics at the University of Cologne (see Thorndike, VI, 119-123). Nabod's book is a commentary on the Tetrabiblos of Claudius Ptolemy and the Introduction to the Mystery of Judgments from the Stars (Latin title varies) of the famous Muslim astrologer Abū-l-Ṣaqr Abd al-Azīz ibn Uthmān ibn 'Alī al-Qabīṣī (fl. tenth century), translated into Latin by John of Spain in the first half of the twelfth century and frequently printed in the sixteenth century, usually with a commentary (on Alcabitius) by John of Saxony (see Thorndike, II, 77, 97-98, and Sarton, I, 669).

⁴⁰When the longitudes of two or more heavenly bodies have the same values, the bodies are said to be in conjunction; in the case of Jupiter and Saturn, the conjunctions take place about every twenty years and give rise to several cycles from which the astrologers predict the course of world events for long periods of time. The conjunction cycles of certain of the planets underly the "historical cycles" lately noticed by historians (see Appendix I under "conjunction"). See the article "Cycles" in Nicholas de Vore, Encyclopedia of Astrology (New York, 1947).

⁴¹James Stewart, 2nd Earl of Galloway (d. 1671).

The astrologer says that he spent most of his time thereafter in the composition of the treatise; it was printed in 1644 with the title Of the Conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter 1642-3. The year 1644 marked the beginning of publication for Lilly's works: besides the book just mentioned, he published Supernatural Sights and Apparitions, The White King's Prophecy, England's Prophetical Merlin, and Merlinus Anglicus Junior; the latter two of these were almanacs (the Merlinus Anglicus Junior was continued and came out regularly until Lilly's death).⁴²

The private part of Lilly's life had now ended, and henceforth he remained very much in the public eye. England was in the midst of the most serious political turmoil it had experienced for a long while, a turmoil in which there seem to have been no neutrals, but only vigorous partisans of one side or another in the three-cornered struggle between Royalists, Independents, and Puritans. Lilly found himself quickly drawn into the midst of the arguments then raging, and thus began the public part of his life.

⁴²Lilly, pp. 38, 44.

CHAPTER II

CHRISTIAN ASTROLOGY

Had Lilly remained in private practice, he would not have attained the notoriety which is still attached to his name, but, with the publication of his treatises and almanacs, he came to the attention of the leaders of the three chief political parties of the period. In his books he had entered at once into political discussion, making various predictions about the Long Parliament, the future course of the civil war then already in progress, the prospects of Charles I, and other equally inflammatory subjects; thus, he disregarded the express injunction of Firmicus Maternus:

Take care never to give any reply to those who ask about the state of the nation or the fate of the Roman emperor, for it is neither needful nor proper for us to make any reply on the state of the nation [to gratify] an improper curiosity.⁴³

⁴³Julius Firmicus Maternus, Iulii Firmici Materni Matheseos Libri VIII (ed. W. Kroll et F. Skutsch, Leipzig, 1897-1913), II, XXX, 5. It is interesting to note that while Lilly (in company with most other astrologers) ignored Firmicus on this point, he scrupulously observed most of the great Roman astrologer's other injunctions, notably the following: "You [addressed to the prospective astrologer] should have a wife, a home, an abundance of honorable friends..." (*ibid.*, II, XXX, 11).

The thirtieth chapter of the second book of the Mathesis, from which I have taken the two excerpts given above, bears the title "Qualis vita et quale institutum esse debeat mathematicis," and it occupies the same place in astrology as Hippocrates' Oath in medicine.

Lilly, like his contemporary John Dryden, remained continually embroiled in controversy, and maintained a peculiar position which exposed him to fire from both of the major political groups: he declared that his sympathies lay with the Parliament and with Puritanism in general, but he also expressed a great affection for Charles I, though he seems to have disapproved of the latter's policies. Indeed, Lilly says that he favored monarchy above all other forms of government, despite his siding with the Puritans against the king.⁴⁴

The apparent reason for this seeming inconsistency lay in the bitter attacks made upon Lilly by many of the Presbyterian clergy; he says they preached against him from their pulpits, and more than once he was called up to be examined for his statements. He observes that the leaders of the Presbyterian movement were, or at least desired to be, tyrants and dictators of all thought and expression, and it was his resentment of an attempt by any group to exercise thought-control over the general public (and especially over astrologers) that provoked his own virulent rejoinders to the attacks of the Presbyterians.⁴⁵

⁴⁴Lilly, pp. 45-46.

⁴⁵Ibid., pp. 47-49, 55.

These and other factors combined to hasten a decision by Lilly on a project he already had under consideration:

In this Year 1646, after a great Consideration, and many Importunities, I began to fix upon Thoughts of an Introduction unto Astrology, which was very much wanting, and as earnestly long'd for by many Persons of Quality; something also much occasioned and hastened the Impression, viz. the malevolent barking of Presbyterian Ministers in their weekly Sermons, reviling the Professors thereof, and my self particularly by Name.

Secondly, I thought it a Duty incumbent upon me, to satisfy the whole Kingdom of the Lawfulness thereof,⁴⁶ by framing a plain and easy Method for any Person but of indifferent Capacity to learn the Art, and instruct himself therein, without any other Master than my Introduction; by which means, when many understood it, I should have more Partners and Assistants to contradict all and every Antagonist.

Thirdly, I found it best as unto Point of Time, because many of the Soldiers were wholly for it, and many of the Independent Party; and I had abundance of worthy Men in the House of Commons, my assured Friends, no lovers of Presbytery, which then were in great Esteem, and able to protect the Art; for should the Presbyterian Party have prevailed, as they thought of nothing less than to be Lords of all, I knew well they would have silenced my Pen annually, and committed the Introduction unto everlasting Silence.

Fourthly, I had something of Conscience touch'd my Spirit, and much elevated my Conceptions, believing God had not bestowed those Abilities upon me, to bury them under a Bushel; for tho' my Education was very mean, yet, by my continual Industry, and God's great Mercy, I found my self capable to go forward with the Work, and to commit the Issue thereof unto Divine Providence.⁴⁷

⁴⁶Many persons confounded astrology with witchcraft.

⁴⁷Lilly, pp. 54-55.

The task of writing the first and second parts of the "Introduction" occupied him during most of 1646; the third part was completed under trying circumstances in August of 1647, and the finished work was published in November of that year. Lilly gave it the title Christian Astrology Modestly treated of in three Books.⁴⁸

The book begins with an "Epistle Dedicatory" addressed to Bolstrod Whitlock, Esq.⁴⁹ in appreciation of his patronage. Lilly praises the honorable behavior which characterized Whitlock's intercourse with his friends and the determination with which he remained firm in his political convictions during the early, trying days of the Long Parliament in 1644. He apologizes for having been so bold as to dedicate his book to Whitlock, but concludes:

SIR, I hope you shall have no dishonour to Patronize the Ensuing Worke, wherein I lay downe the whol naturall grounds of the Art, in a fit Method: that thereby I may undeceive those, who misled by some

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 56. Lilly evidently used the title Christian Astrology to signify that Christianity and Astrology are not incompatible (a thesis he continually advanced); Mrs. McCaffery, however, says "Lilly uses the term 'Christian' to show that his book was based more on Christian writers than on Arabic and Moorish writers." (McCaffery, p. 305.) Her view does not seem to me to be well founded on this point.

⁴⁹Bulstrode Whitelocke (1605-1675), Keeper of the Great Seal and sometime M.P. (for whom see DNB).

Pedling Divines, have upon no better credit then their bare words, conceived Astrology to consist upon Diabolicall Principles: a most scandalous untruth, foysted into both the Nobility and Gentries apprehensions, to deter them from this Study, and to reserve it intyre unto their owne selves.⁵⁰

The dedication to Whitlock is followed by a preface "To the Reader." In this preface, Lilly gives instructions to students on the use of the three sections of the book, as well as giving a short account of his life up to the year of publication and lists of the astrological authorities whose works he had consulted; he takes

⁵⁰William Lilly, Christian Astrology Modestly treated of in three Books (London, 1647) (hereinafter cited as Christ. Ast.), "The Epistle Dedicatory" [pp. 3-4] (page numbers in brackets are those of the indicated sections, which are unnumbered in the book itself).

I use a microfilm of the copy of Christ. Ast. in The Library of Congress, which copy was once in the possession of one Capt. James Stuart, 90th Regiment of Foot (what army not stated). In the extreme, upper-right-hand corner of the title-page of this copy there is a faint notation which reads "bind in three portraits at end." The three portraits now stand at the beginning of the book; they are of Dr. John Partridge (together with his horoscope), Roger Bacon, and Dr. John Dee. That of Dr. Partridge owes its inclusion to a curious error: at the foot of the title-page we find "Printed by Thomas Brudnell, for John Partridge and Humphrey Blunden...." Apparently someone found a portrait of Dr. John Partridge (the astrologer) and rather carelessly assumed him to be John Partridge (the publisher): carelessly, I say, because Dr. Partridge was not yet five years of age in 1647, as his horoscope plainly indicates. As originally published, Christ. Ast. had a portrait of Lilly prefixed to it, and perhaps the portrait of Dr. Partridge now stands where Lilly's belongs; whether the portraits of Bacon and Dr. Dee were part of the book as published, I cannot say with any certainty.

pains, however, to affirm that "...verily the Method is my owne, it's no translation..."⁵¹ and he adds, quite justifiably, "...I have omitted nothing which I could devise to be helpfull..."⁵²

He goes into some detail in explaining the difficulties he encountered in writing the first and second parts of the book; these parts were largely of his own composition, for he had found by experience in his practice that many of the rules and methods of his predecessors were faulty. He says that after he had completed the first draft of the second part, he discovered that it contained many errors, whereupon he discarded it and rewrote that part entirely. The third part, which treats of nativities, is a reworking of an earlier treatise by Cyprianus Leovitius, "...who was the first that method-

⁵¹Christ. Ast., "To the Reader" [p. 3]. There had been printed several astrological treatises in the English language previous to Lilly's time, but most or all of them seem to have been translations and not independent works. For a list of the authors cited by Lilly, see Appendix IV below.

⁵²Ibid., "To the Reader" [p. 4]. Christ. Ast. is indeed well organized: much of the material is arranged in tabular form, and there are numerous mathematical tables which obviate the need for any but the most elementary knowledge of arithmetic on the part of the student. It would be difficult to find another astrological text of its size which displays evidence of more careful planning towards the end of making a difficult subject readily comprehensible to the average reader.

ized the Art of Nativities, before his time extreamly defective in that point...."⁵³ Lilly claims, however, to have reduced the method to a simpler and more readily comprehensible form and to have supplied some further exposition on those points which Leovitius had slighted.

He adds:

Perhaps some will accuse me for dissenting from Ptolemy; I confesse I have done so, and that I am not the first, or shall I that have done so, be the last; for I am more led by reason and experience, then by the single authority of any one man, &c. I have inserted many judgments of my owne, I could have added many more: but who am I? being all error, that should contradict the sayings of so many wise men, whose learnings and paines I so much esteem and reverence.⁵⁴

Lilly apologizes for not having treated the minor branches of astrology, such as conjunctions, eclipses, comets, meteorological prediction (in which he says John

⁵⁴Ibid., "To the Reader" [pp. 4-5]. Claudius Ptolemy long enjoyed in astronomy and astrology a similar position to that of Aristotle in philosophy and natural science. To disagree with Ptolemy's astrological dicta was considered by many persons to be as great a sin as to disagree with the scientific theories of Aristotle. Unfortunately for the development of astrology, it appears that Ptolemy was a rather indifferent astrologer, more inclined to the theoretical than to the practical side. Had his famed Tetrabiblos been attributed to another, less famous writer, it is doubtful whether it would have acquired the place of authority it so long held in astrological literature. At any rate, its pre-eminence acted to stifle the investigative instincts in many astrologers; however, we see from Lilly's statement above that he pursued what is now known as "the scientific method."

Booker holds the first place), ingresses, etc., but refers the reader to his other printed works for information on most of these matters.⁵⁵

Finally, he gives a brief resume of his life up to 1647, including the circumstances of his meeting with Whitlock, and closes with the statement:

All the Curtesies which either the Authors precedent to this Age, or at present living, have afforded me, I verily beleeeve I have mentioned: I am heartily sorry if I have committed any errorrs, or omitted any corrections.⁵⁶

After the preface "To the Reader," there follow five poems, severally by John Booker, Will. Roe, R. L., W. W., and I. P. I quote that of Will. Roe:

Upon the learned Worke of the
Author.

Behold Urania with a Lilly deckt,
Presents her selfe to Englands gracious view.
Let Envyes square, or opposite aspect
Not dare at her a frowning looke to shew;
Lest it be said, for such ungratefull scornes
A Lilly late hath sprung among the thornes.⁵⁷

Next appear twelve pages of contents (still unnumbered), followed by "An Epistle to the Student in Astrologie."

⁵⁵Ibid., "To the Reader" [pp. 5-6].

⁵⁶Ibid., "To the Reader" [pp. 6-8].

⁵⁷Ibid., [Poems, p. 2]. The remaining four poems will be found in Appendix III below.

Although the "epistle" runs to a considerable length, it is important as a statement of Lilly's opinion on the proper attitude of mind and mode of conduct for astrologers, and, in addition, it will be interesting to compare it with a similar but older apostrophe to the reader. I quote the full text of Lilly's Epistle:

My Friend, whoever thou art, that with so much ease shalt receive the benefit of my hard Studies, and doest intend to proceed in this heavenly knowledge of the Starres. In the first place consider and admire thy Creator, be thankfull unto him; be thou humble, and let no naturall knowledge, how profound or transcendent soever it be, elate thy mind to neglect that Divine Providence, by whose al-seeing order and appointment all things heavenly and earthly have their constant motion; the more thy knowledge is enlarged, the more doe thou magnifie the power and wisdom of Almighty God: strive to preserve thy self in his favour, for the more holy thou art, and more neer to God, the purer judgment thou shalt give. Beware of pride and self-conceit; remember how that long agoe, no irrationall Creature durst offend man the Macrocosine, but did faithfully serve and obey him, so long as he was master of his own Reason and Passions, or until he subjected his will to the unreasonable part. But alas, when iniquity abounded, and man gave the reins to his own affection, and deserted reason, then every Beast, Creature and outward harmfull thing became rebellious to his command: Stand fast (oh man) to thy God, then consider thy own noblesse, how all created things, both present and to come, were for thy sake created, nay, for thy sake God became Man: Thou art that creature, who being conversant with Christ, livest and reignest above the Heavens, and sits above all power and authority. How many pre-eminences, priviledges, advantages, hath God bestowed on thee: thou rangest above the Heavens by Contemplation, conceivest the motion and magnitude of the Stars; thou talkest with Angels, yea, with God himself; thou hast all Creatures within thy dominion, and keepest the Devils in sub-

jection: Doe not then for shame deface thy Nature, or make thy self unworthy of such gifts, or deprive thy selfe of that great power, glory and blessednesse God hath allotted thee, by casting from thee his feat, for possession of a few imperfect pleasures. Having considered thy God, and what thy selfe art, during thy being God's servant; now receive instruction how in thy practice I would have thee carry thy self. As thou daily conversest with the heavens, so instruct and forme thy mind according to the image of Divinity; learn all the ornaments of vertue, be sufficiently instructed therein; be humane, curtius, familiar to all, easie of access; afflict not the miserable with terrour of a harsh judgment, direct such to call on God to divert his judgment impending over them; be civill, sober, covet not an estate; give freely to the poor both money and judgment: let no worldly Wealth procure an erroneous judgment from thee, or such as may dishonour the Art. Be sparing in delivering judgment against the Common-wealth thou livest in; avoyd law and controversie: In thy study be totus[?] in illis, that thou mayest be singulus in arte. Be not extravagant, or desirous to learn every Science; be not aliquid in omnibus: be faithfull, tenacious, betray no ones secrets. Instruct all men to live well, be a good example thy selfe: love thy owne native Country: be not dismaid if ill spoken of, conscientia mille testes, God suffers no sin unpunished, no lye unrevenge. Pray for the Nobility, honour the Gentry and Yeomanry of England; stand firme to the commands of this Parliament; have a reverent opinion of our worthy Lawyers, for without their learned paines, and the mutuall assistance of some true spirited Gentlemen, we might yet be made slaves, but we will not; we now see light as well as many of the Clergy. Pray, if it stand with God's will, that Monarchy in this Kingdome may continue, his Majesty and Posterity reigne: forget not the Scottish Nation their mutuall assistance in our necessity, their honourable departure: God preserve the illustrious Fairfax and his whole Army, &c. let the famous City of London be ever blessed, and all her worthy Citizens.⁵⁸

⁵⁸Ibid., [unnumbered page immediately following the table of contents].

In keeping with the title of his book — Christian Astrology — the first part of the "Epistle" is devoted to an exhortation to the prospective astrologer to stand firm in his Christianity and be always mindful of God and of Man's proper place in the world. Lilly is evidently expressing not only his own strong religious convictions, but also his purpose of demonstrating that Astrology and astrologers had no quarrel with Christianity, but in fact a good astrologer could also be a good Christian. It cannot be alleged, however, that the latter reason was the sole or even principal one, for it must be remembered that Lilly's early ambition was to be a minister, and in all his printed works that I have had the opportunity to examine he displays a strong religious faith.

Following this expression of religion, he gives advice to the prospective astrologer as to how he ought to conduct himself in his practice of the art. Some of Lilly's words on this subject have a familiar ring, and on close examination we find that he has paraphrased several statements of Julius Firmicus Maternus, which appear in the latter's "Qualis Vita" already mentioned (see page 22 above and note 43). In fact, it seems probable that Lilly got the idea of an apostrophe to the student

from Firmicus and merely enlarged upon it, the while altering the fourth century document to bring it up to his own date and make it suit the needs of the moment. He succeeded rather well in his effort, but, by so doing, he destroyed the tone of the original, which was largely universal, and produced a version which contains too many references to events and personages current in his own time to hold much claim to be regarded as a fit code for later generations of astrologers to abide by; but then Lilly seems ever to have been concerned with the present and the near future, while Firmicus strikes the reader as having written for all time.

To illustrate the similarities between the two apostrophes, I shall quote a few of Lilly's phrases (from pages 30 and 31 above) and give the parallels from Firmicus in parentheses.⁵⁹ For convenience in the comparison, I quote Firmicus in English translation.

Lilly begins: "My Friend, whoever thou art..." ("You now, whoever you are..."); he instructs the student: "As thou daily conversest with the heavens, so instruct and forme thy mind according to the image of Divinity..." ("For he, who daily speaks from and with the Gods, ought

⁵⁹Firmicus Maternus, op. cit., II, XXX "What sort of life and customs astrologers ought to have."

so to form and instruct his mind, that he may ever approach the likeness of divinity"); "...learn all the ornaments of vertue, be sufficiently instructed therein; be humane, curtiſus, familiar to all, eaſie of access; afflict not the miserable with terrouſe of a harſh judgment..." ("Wherefore learn, and perſevere in, all the ornaments of virtue, and, when you have instructed yourſelf in them, be eaſy of access, ſo that if anyone wiſhes to learn anything, he may come to you without fear."); "...be civill, ſober, covet not an eſtate..." ("Be an example of prudence and propriety, content with a mo-deſt living and with moderate wealth..."); "...let no worldly Wealth procure an erroneous judgment from thee, or ſuch as may diſhonour the Art." ("...leſt the love of money defame the reputation of [your otherwiſe] divine judgment."). I have previously noted (page 22 above, note 43) another of Firmicus' recommendations and Lilly's compliance therewith; it now remains to note that Lilly charged his ſtudent to refrain from delivering frequent judgment on the ſtate of the nation, wherein he again echoes Firmicus (who, however, forbade the proſpective aſtrologer to ſay even a word on the ſubject); Lilly, already deep in political controversy, advises his ſtudent to "...be ſparing...." It was Lilly's failure to obey

his own advice that laid him open to the violent denunciation to which he was subjected during the whole of his public career; however, his personal lapse does not deprive the "Epistle" of its significance: it remains a singular and important testimony to the attitude of the greatest of the English astrologers towards the ethics of his profession.

To continue with the survey of the contents of Christian Astrology: the book proper begins with two specimen pages from an almanac for the year 1646, one of which is an ephemeris for January of that year and the other an aspectarian for the same month; next comes a table of houses for the latitude of London (52°N.), after which the expository text belatedly commences with the incipit "In the first place you must know that there are seven Planets...."⁶⁰

⁶⁰Christ. Ast., p. 25. The pagination of this book is most peculiar: ignoring the portrait of Dr. Partridge, there are fifty-one unnumbered pages preceding p. 25. Further, the table of contents informs us that the book consists of pages numbered 25-742, but in fact p. 742 is nowhere near the end, for the numbered pages extend to p. 832, which is followed by twenty-two additional, unnumbered pages, so that the last page of the book is actually the 854th (though not so numbered). Thus, the copy I use has 881 pages and may be designated as xxvii+832+xxii, or more precisely li+808+xxii (808 pp. numbered 25-832). Apparently the book was partly set up when additional matter was added, thus upsetting the original pagination (which is retained in the table of contents).

The first part of the book properly comprises the introduction to astrology: it explains the various symbols employed by astrologers, the use of the ephemeris and the tables of houses, and the fundamental significations of the planets, the horoscopal houses, and the signs of the zodiac.⁶¹ These matters must be thoroughly understood before the student can proceed to the study of the second and third sections of the book. To give some examples of Lilly's presentation of the astrological fundamentals, I quote the following:

The Ninth House

By this House we give judgment of Voyages or long journies beyond Seas [,] of Religious men, or Clergy of any kinde, whether Bishops or inferiour Ministers; Dreames, Visions, foraigne Countries, of Books, Learning, Church Livings, or Benefices, Advow-sions; of the kindred of ones Wife, & sic è contrario.

Of colours it hath the Greene and White.
Of mans body it ruleth the Fundament, the Hip-pes and Thighes, ♄ and ♃ are cosignificators of this House; for if ♃ be herein placed, it naturally signifies a devout man in his Religion, or one modestly given; I have oft observed when the Dragons tayle, or ♄ or ♃ have been infortunately placed in this House; the Querent hath either been little better than an Athe-ist or a desparate Sectarist: the ☉ rejoyceth to be in this House, which is Masculine, and Cadent.⁶²

Of Mercury, and his signification, nature and property.

He is called Hermes, Stilbon, Cyllenius, Archas.

⁶¹Ibid., pp. 25-181.

⁶²Ibid., p. 55. For the symbols, see Appendix I.

Mercury is the least of al the Planets, never distant from the Sun above 27. degrees; by which reason he is seldome visible to our sight: He is of a duskie silver colour; his mean motion is 59. min. and 8. seconds; but he is sometimes so swift that he moveth one degree and 40. min. in a day, never more;⁶³ so that you are not to marvaile if you finde him sometimes goe 66 68 70 80 86 or 100 in a day: he is stationary one day, and retrogrades 24. dayes.

...He hath ♀ and ♂ for his Houses, and is exalted in the [sign] of ♊: he receives detriment in ♏ and ♐, his fall is in ♏.

He ruleth the aery triplicity by night, viz. ♏♑♒. ...We may not call him either Masculine or Feminine, for he is either the one or other as joyned to any planet...but of his owne nature he is cold and dry, and therefore Melancholly; with the good he is good, with the evill Planets ill: in the Elements the Water; amongst the humours, the mixt, he rules the animall spirit: he is author of subtilty, tricks, devices, perjury, &c.

Being well dignified, he represents a man of a subtile and politick braine, intellect, and cogitation; an excellent disputant or Logician, arguing with learning and discretion, and using much eloquence in his speech, a searcher into all kinds of Mysteries and Learning, sharp and witty, learning almost any thing without a Teacher; ambitious of being exquisite in every Science, desirous naturally of travell and seeing foraign parts: a man of an unwearied fancie, curious in the search of any occult knowledge; able by his owne Genius to produce wonders; given to Divination and the more secret knowledge; if he turne Merchant no man exceeds him in way of Trade or invention of new wayes whereby to obtain wealth.

[When ill dignified] A troublesome wit, a kinde of Phrenetick man, his tongue and Pen against every man, wholly bent to foole his estate and time in prating and trying nice conclusions to no purpose; a great lyar, boaster, pratler, busibody, false, a tale-carrier, given to wicked Arts, as Necromancy,

⁶³Not so: Mercury not infrequently moves more than two degrees per day, but his motion was not so well calculated in Lilly's day as at present; perhaps in the ephemerides of his time his figure was correct.

and such like ungodly knowledges; easie of beleef, an asse or very ideot, constant in no place or opinion, cheating and theeving every where; a newes-monger, pretending all manner of knowledge, but guilty [sic] of no true or solid learning; a trifler; a meer frantick fellow; if he prove a Divine, then a meer verball fellow, frothy, of no judgement, easily perverted, constant in nothing but idle words and bragging.

Vulgarly he denotes one of an high stature and straight thin spare body, an high forehead and somewhat narrow long face, longnose, fair eyes, neither perfectly black or gray, thin lips and nose; little haire on the chin, but much on his head, and it a sad browne inclining to blacknesse; long armes, fingers, and hands; his complexion like an Olive or Chesnut colour.

...He generally signifies all literated men, Philosophers, Mathematicians, Astrologians, Merchants, Secretaries, Scriveners, Diviners, Sculptors, Poets, Orators, Advocates, School-masters, Stationers, Printers, Exchangers of Money, Attorneys, Emperours Ambassadors, Commissioners, Clerks, Artificers, generally Accomptants, Solicitors, sometimes Theeves, pratling muddy Ministers, busie Sectaries, and they unlearned; Gramarians, Taylors, Carriers, Messengers, Foot-men, Userers.

...[He rules] Beanes, three leaved grasse, the Walnut and Walnut-tree; the Filbert-tree and Nut; the Elder-tree, Adders-tongue, Dragons-wort, Twopenny-grasse, Lungwort, Anniseeds, Cubebs, Marioran....

The Hyaena, Ape, Fox, Squirrel, Weasel, the Spider, the Grayhound, the Hermaphrodite, being partaker of both sexes; all cunning creatures.

The Lynnet, the Parrot, the Popinian, the Swallow, the Pye, the Beetle, Pismires, Locusts, Bees, Serpent, the Crane.

The Forke-fish, Mullet.

Tradesmens-shops, Markets, Fayres, Schooles, Common-Hals, Bowling-Allyes, Ordinaries, Tennis-Courts:

Quicksilver.

The Milstone, Marchasite or fire-stone, the Achates, Topaz, Vitriol, all stones of divers colours.

He delights in Windy, Stormy and Violent, Boistrous Weather, and stirs up that Wind which the Planet signifies to which he applyes; sometimes

Raine, at other times Haile, Lightning, Thunder and Tempests, in hot Countries Earthquakes....

...He hath Grecia, Flanders, Aegypt, Paris.

His Angel is named Raphael.

He governeth Wednesday....⁶⁴

[Signification of the Sign Leo]

♌ Is the onely house of the Sun, by nature, Fiery, Hot, Dry, Cholerick, Diurnal, Commanding, Bestial, Barren, of the East, and Fiery Triplicity, Masculine.

All sicknesses in the ribs and sides, as Plurisies, Convulsions, paines in the backe, trembling or passion of the heart, sore eyes, the Plague, the Pestilence, the yellow-Jaundies.

A place where wilde Beasts frequent, Woods, Forrests, Desert places, steep rocky places, unaccessible places, Kings Palaces, Castles, Forts, Parks, in houses where fire is kept, neer a Chimney.

Great round Head, big Eyes starting or staring out, or goggle-eyes, quick-sighted, a full and large body and it more then of middle stature, broad Shoulders, narrow Sides, yellow or darke flaxen haire and it much curling or turning up, a fierce countenance, but ruddy, high sanguine complexion, strong, valiant and active.

[It rules] Italy, Bohemia, the Alpes, Turkie, Sicilia, Apulia, Rome, Syracusa, Cremona, Ravenna, Damasco, Prague, Lintz, Confluentia, Bristol.⁶⁵

The preceding will give some idea of the contents of the first part of Christian Astrology; the significations of the houses, signs, and planets are the fundamentals of astrological theory: when they have been thoroughly mastered, and when the necessary mathematics has been learned, the student is ready to apply this intricate

⁶⁴Christ. Ast., pp. 76-80. (Condensed about 50%.)

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 95-96. The physiognomy applies to those persons who are signified by Leo in horary charts or to those in whose horoscopes it is the rising sign.

knowledge to the several branches of astrology. Of these divisions of the science, Lilly expounds horary astrology in the second part of his book and nativities or genethliological astrology in the third and final part. He follows a logical procedure in taking up horary first, since it is more easily mastered than the natal astrology.

To give an adequate explanation of horary astrology would require considerable space, but in general it is based on the rulerships or significations of the planets, signs, and houses and on the disposition of the planets in the signs and houses of a chart erected for the time when a question is put to the astrologer or for the time certain of an event (e.g., the time an ill person took to bed). In considering horary charts, certain planets are chosen according to the rules to serve as significators: there will be one or more significators for the person who asks the question, and the other significators will represent the thing, person, or matter with which he is concerned; by examining the mutual relationships of the two sets of significators and their relative aspects and motions, the astrologer is enabled to ascertain the past and present conditions involved in the question or event and the future course of the matter.

The first step the astrologer takes in analyzing a horary question is to determine to which house of the figure the question belongs: the first house is consulted in questions concerning the life of the querent; the second rules matters of his money and finances; the third, brothers, relatives in general, neighbors, letters, short journeys; the fourth, the father of the querent, lands, houses, hidden treasure, and the conclusion of any question; the fifth, children and entertainments; the sixth, servants, small animals, and sickness; the seventh house rules marriage, law-suits, open enemies, and thieves; the eighth presides over questions of death, inheritances, and dowries; the ninth, religion, long journeys, serious writings, knowledge, dreams; the tenth, the mother of the querent, his profession or office, kings, nobles, and persons of high position; the eleventh, friends, hopes and wishes; finally, the twelfth house of the horary chart signifies secret enemies, imprisonment, self-undoing, misfortune, and large animals.

These primary rulerships of the houses are extended to cover any particular question by using what is known as derivative rulership: any house may be taken as the first or starting point of a secondary set of houses; thus the fifth house, in addition to ruling children, etc.,

also signifies the money of the father, being the second house from the fourth (which rules the father). This process may be continued indefinitely. The late English astrologer Vivian Robson gives an example in one of his books:

To take a ridiculously extreme case, the fifth house would furnish any details that might be required about a cat owned by the daughter of a charwoman employed by the wife's sister-in-law. This is arrived at as follows:— The seventh house is the wife; the ninth (third from seventh) is her brother; the third (seventh from third from seventh) is his wife or her sister-in-law; the eighth (sixth from seventh from third from seventh) is the sister-in-law's charwoman; the twelfth (fifth from sixth from seventh from third from seventh) is the charwoman's daughter; and finally the fifth (sixth from fifth from sixth from seventh from third from seventh) is the required cat.⁶⁶

Once it has been determined to which house of the horary chart the question properly belongs, the astrologer elects one or more planets to serve as significators of the subject of the question and of the querent: these significators are then analyzed and the question resolved thereby.

Lilly treats each house separately and gives several example charts and his steps in analyzing them for each. The questions propounded are of every sort; some examples are: "If he [viz. the querent] were like to live long,

⁶⁶Vivian E. Robson, Astrology and Sex (Philadelphia, 1941), pp. 143-144.

yea or not."(Christ. Ast., p. 135); "If he should be rich, or subsist of himselfe without Marriage?"(p. 177); "A Report that Cambridge was taken by the King's Forces; if true?"(p. 200); "A sick Doctor, what was his Disease? If curable?"(p. 286); "A Lady, if marry the Gentleman desired?"(p. 385); "A Dogge missing, where?"(p. 392); "If Presbytery shall stand?"(p. 439).

The question, if Presbytery shall stand, is resolved from a chart set for 4:45 P.M. on 11 March 1646-7 O.S.; Lilly observes that:

The posture of ♀ in the ninth who is naturally of a severe, surly, rigid and harsh temper, may argue, the Presbytery shall be too strict, sullen and dogged for the English Constitutions, little gentle or compliant with the natures of the generality, and that there shall spring up amongst themselves many strange and fearfull opinions and distractions even concerning this very Presbytery now mentioned, that they shall grow excessive covetous, contentious, and desirous of more then belongs unto them, worldly, envious and malicious one against another; that amongst them some Juniors represented by ♀, shall be but of light judgment, wave and decline the strictnesse of this Discipline; that the Elder, represented by ♂, shall not be respected by reason of their too much rigidnesse, or shall their Orthodox opinions be consented unto....

[marginal summation on p. 440] The Gentry of England will oppose it...the generality or whole Kingdome will distaste it. The Presbytery will struggle hard, and wrangle stoutly. [end of marginal note]

Three whole yeers from hence shall not passe, ere Authority it selfe, or some divince [sic] Providence informe our understanding with a way in Discipline or Government, either more neer to the former purity of the primitive times, or more beloved of the whole Kingdome of England, or Authority shall in this space of time moderate many things now stifly

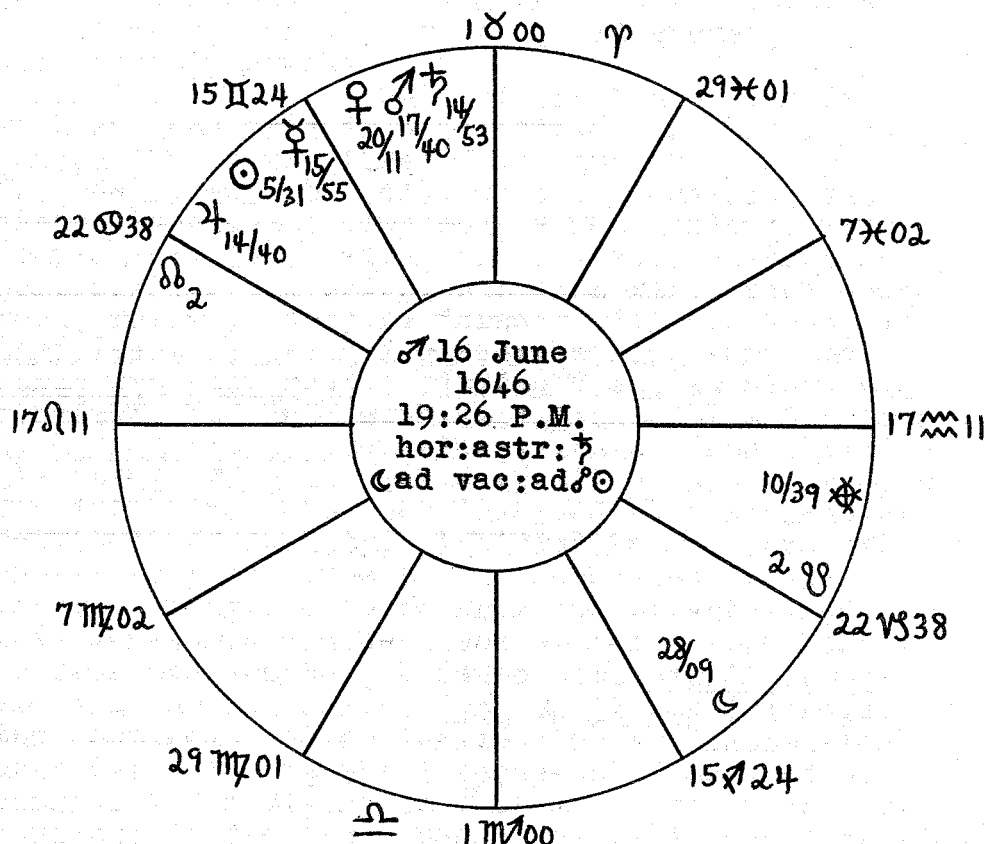
desired: For some time we shall not discover what shall be established, but all shall be even as when there was no King in Israel, a confusion among us shall yet a while remaine: the Soldiery then, or some men of fiery Spirits will arise, and keep back their Contribution from the Clergy, and will deny obedience or submission to this thing we call Presbytery; it will then come to be handled by the Magistrate, and taken into consideration by the grand Authority of the Kingdome; yea, and by the plurality of the Clegy-men [sic] of England, or men of very sound judgments, it will be contradicted, disputed against, disapproved; and these shall make it manifest, this very Presbytery now maintained, is not the same the Common-wealth of England will entertaine, as a standing rule, for it ~~will~~ to live under, or be governed by.

From what I doe find by this Figure, I conclude, that Presbytery shall not stand here in England (statu quo) without refining and amending, and demolishing many scrupulous matters urged at present by the Clergy; for if we consider ♃ as Lord of the fourth, we find the ♄, in plaine language, (after a little being voyd of course) run hastily to the ♀ of ♈ and ♃; intimating, the Commonalty will defraud the expectation of the Clergy, and so strongly oppose them, that the end hereof shall wholly delude the expectation of the Clergy.⁶⁷

The foregoing will give some illustration of the use of horary astrology as applied to the resolution of questions of a political nature. To illustrate the methods by which the astrologer arrives at his judgments on personal questions, I quote in full the following case:

⁶⁷Christ. Ast., pp. 439-442. I chose this question for an example as being one the conclusion of which and the validity of the judgment thereupon could be compared with the actual course of events as recorded by the historians of the period. In the excerpts above, I have given only the judgment and have omitted the technical explanation of the horary chart.

A Lady, if marry the Gentleman desired?



Judgment upon the Figure above-said.

The true state of this Ladies cause stood thus: A Gentleman had been a long time an earnest Suitor un-to her for Marriage, but she could never master her affection so much as to incline to Marriage-thoughts with him, but slighted him continually; and at last, to the great discontent of the Gentleman, she gave him an absolute deniall: After which deniall so given, she became passionately affectionate of him, and did sorely repent of her folly, and so churlish a carriage, wishing she might againe have former opportunities. This was her condition at what time she propounded the Question unto me.

The ascendant and ⊙ are for the querent; ♄ Lord of the seventh, is for the man quesited after. The querent was moderately tall, of round visage, san-

guine complexion, of a cheerfull, modest countenance, gray eyed, her haire a light browne, occasioned, as I conceive, by ☉ Lord of the ascendant, in the Termes of ♄, she was well spoken, and sufficiently comely.

Finding ♄ in the angle of the South, and in ♎ with ♄, and both in ♎, a fixed, earthly Signe, I judged the corporature of the quesited party to be but meane, and not tall, or very handsome, his visage long and incompounded, a wan, pale or meagre complexion, dark haire, or of a sad, chesnut colour, curling and crisp, his eyes fixt, ever downward, musing, stooping forward with his head, some impediment in his going, as treading awry, &c. (this was confessed.) Finding ♄ so, as abovesaid, elevated, and in ♎ with ♄, I judged the Gentleman to be sad, angry, much discontented, and scorning his former flights, (as ever all Saturnine people doe;) I judged him much incensed by a Kinsman or Gentleman of quality, signified by ♄, Lord of the third, in part, from the seventh, and of the fourth, being the tenth from the seventh; and that this Gentleman and he lived either in one house, or neer one another, because both significators are angular and fixed, (and so it was.) I said, the Gentleman had no inclination or disposition unto her, finding the ☾ separated from voyd of course, and applying to ♄ of ☉, Lord of the ascendant, it did argue there was small hopes of effecting her desire, because she her selfe, by her owne perversnesse, had done her selfe so grand a mischief. Whereupon she told me the truth of all, and not before, and implored my directions, which way, without scandall to her honour, it might be brought on againe, if possible: and indeed she was lamentably perplexed, and full of heavinesse. Hereupon, with much compassion, I began to consider what hopes we had in the Figure: I found ☉ applying to a * of ♄; this argued the womans desire, and the strength of her affections towards the quesited, because she is signified by the lighter Planet; but there was no Reception betwixt the significators, therefore that application gave little hopes: but finding Reception betwixt ♄ and the ☾, and betwixt ☉ and ☾, she in his Triplicity, ☉ in her House; observing also, that the ☾ did dispose of ♄ in her Exaltation, and of ♄ in her House, and that ♄ was very neer a * dexter of ♄,

still applying, and not separated; as also, that ♃ was in his Exaltation, and a fortunate Planet ever assisting nature and the afflicted, and that he was able by his strength to qualifie and take off the malice of ♄: besides, the neernesse of ♃ to the ♀ of ♄, made me confident that the quesited was intimately acquainted with a person of quality and worth, such as ♃ represented, whom I exactly described, and the Lady very well knew: Unto him I directed to addresse her Complaints, and acquaint him fully with her unhappy folly: I positively affirmed, in the Gentleman described she should find all honour and secrecy, and I doubted not but, by God's blessing, he would againe revive the businesse (now despaired of) and bring her to her hearts content: But finding that ♄ and ☉ came to ✽ aspect the 27th of the same moneth, I advised to hasten all things before the aspect was over; and also gave direction, that the nineteenth of June neer upon noon, the Gentleman should first move the quesited in the businesse: and my reason was, because that day ♄ and ♃ were in a perfect ✽ aspect.

My counsell was followed, and the issue was thus: By the Gentlemans meanes and procurement the matter was brought on againe, the Match effected, and all within twenty dayes following, to the content of the sorrowfull (but as to me unthankfull) Lady, &c. In Astrologie, the true reason of this performance is no more then, first an application of the two Significators to a ✽, viz. the Lord of the seventh and first: Next, the application of the ☾ to the Lord of the ascendant, though by ☿, yet with Reception, was another small argument; but the maine occasion, without which in this Figure it could not have been, the application of ♃ to ✽ of ♄ Lord of the seventh, receiving his vertue which ♄ did render unto him, and he again transferred to the ☉ Lord of the ascendant, he, viz. ♃, meeting with no manner of prohibition, abscission or frustration untill his perfect ☿ with the ☉, which was the 29th of June, so that no difficulty did afterwards intervene. I did acquaint this Lady, that very lately before the erection of this Figure, her Sweet-heart had been offered a Match, and that the Gentlewoman propounded, was such a one as is signified by ♀, one not onely of a good fortune, but excellently well descended: I bad her follow my directions, with hope and expectation of a good end, and told

her she should not fear his marrying of ♀ : Which judgment I gave, by reason ♂ was neerer ♀ then ♀, and so interposed his influence, or kept off ♀. I judged ♂ to be some Souldier, or Gentleman that had been in Armes: this I did the more to enlighten her fancy, which I found apprehensive enough. She well knew both the Gentlewoman and man, and confessed such matters were then in action.

Had the Quere been, Who should have lived longest? Certainly I should have judged the woman, because ☉ is going to ☌ of ♄, and ♂ afflicts ♀ by his presence.

Had she demanded, Whether the Quesited had been rich? I must have considered ♄ Lord of his second house, whom I find in his Exaltation, Direct, Swift, &c. only under the Sun-beames; I should have adjudged his Estate good.

For Agreement, because ☉ and ♀ are applying to ✕, I should have conceived they would well accord; yet doubtlesse ♀ will look for much observancy, for as he is ill by nature, so is he vitiated by ♂, and made thereby chollerick as well as melancholly, so will he be naturally jealous without cause; yet the gentle ✕ of ♄ to both ♂ and ♀, seems by education, to repress that frowardnesse naturally he may be subject unto.

If it be demanded, Will the Querent be honest? [i.e. faithful] I answer, her significatrix, viz. ☉, is no way afflicted by ♂: her Signe ascending being ♏, and Reception betwixt ♄ and ☾, are arguments of a vertuous woman.

In this nature may you examine any Figure for discovery of what is necessary, &c. 68

⁶⁸Ibid., pp. 385-388. This resolution of a typical horary chart, drawn for a question concerning human relations, will give the reader some idea of the considerations involved in analyzing the chart and the nature and degree of precision with which the persons, parties to the question, and circumstances involved therein can be delineated. Lilly's London practice largely consisted of horary astrology, for the reason that a person has one nativity, but many questions. Then too, in order to erect the natal horoscope, it is necessary to have the time of birth fairly precisely known, which knowledge was not, in Lilly's time, often to be had.

Having given special rules and examples of their application in judging questions pertaining to each of the twelve houses, Lilly concludes the second part of his book with a table for finding the planetary hours and a brief discussion of their utility in horary astrology.⁶⁹

The third part of Christian Astrology, that which treats of genethliacal astrology, now begins; it has a separate title-page and was perhaps sold separately.⁷⁰ Lilly begins his treatise on this branch of the science with a discussion of various methods of rectifying the natal horoscope and with some mathematical tables useful for that operation.⁷¹ The purpose of rectifying the horoscope is to provide the astrologer with a more accurate chart. This was more important in Lilly's time than at present owing to the inaccuracies of the clocks then in use and to their lesser prevalence. It is obvious that the astrologer

⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 474-486. For the nature and use of the planetary hours, see Appendix I.

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 487. The title is An Easie and plaine Method Teaching How to judge upon Nativities.

⁷¹Ibid., pp. 489-508. He cites three methods of rectifying a horoscope, viz. the so-called Trutine of Hermes, the Animodar of Ptolemy, and the method of "Accidents." See under "Rectification" in Appendix I.

must have the birth time as accurately as possible, for a change of even one degree in the longitude of the ASC or MC might shift one or both of those points from one sub-division of the zodiac into another, thus altering the delineation of the horoscope in greater or lesser degree, depending on the exact circumstances.⁷² Furthermore, when the astrologer comes to a consideration of the future course of the native's life, some of the methods employed in determining the times of future events or "accidents" demand the greatest accuracy in the time of birth, since an error of as little as two minutes therein may suffice to throw the time of a predicted event off by as much as one year.

⁷²The degree to which small changes in the birth time may alter the readings is best illustrated by a consideration of the similarities and dissimilarities of twins. The astrologers assert that it is readily discernible from the two horoscopes (if the birth times are accurate) whether the twins are identical or fraternal (see Evangeline Adams, Astrology For Everyone, New York 1931, pp. 251-259). In present-day practice, the minor sub-divisions of the zodiac are commonly ignored, and the readings are not so sensitive to slight changes in the birth time as in Lilly's day: identical readings might be derived by the modern astrologer for charts set an hour or more apart (in some cases). It is remarkable that the ancient astrologers, who divided the zodiac into minute sections, sometimes even as small as a minute of arc (very nearly), had no decent timepieces and lacked accurate astronomical tables, while the modern astrologers, who have both, pay little or no attention to such refinements and are content to reckon in whole signs.

Lilly states that he prefers the method of "accidents," which he then explains in detail and illustrates by rectifying the horoscope of a former client. He later uses this same nativity to illustrate some of the ways of directing a horoscope.

Next follow some preliminary remarks on natal astrology, after which Lilly begins his exposition of the principles of genethliology. The method of reading the horoscope is somewhat similar to that employed in judging the horary chart: as there, the affairs of the native are parceled out amongst the twelve houses, but in natal astrology all the houses are read and their influences blended to interpret the complete chart.

Lilly commences, as most astrologers since the time of Ptolemy have done, by explaining how to judge the native's chances of survival to adulthood and his physical appearance at maturity (assuming he does attain that period of life).⁷³ Thus, if the horoscope is drawn for an infant or a young child, the astrologer

⁷³See Ptolemy Tetrabiblos Edited and Translated Into English by F. E. Robbins (London, 1940), pp. 235 ff. Ptolemy, however, divides his inquiry into two categories, viz. events precedent to or coeval with the birth of the native (parentage, brothers and sisters, etc.) and events subsequent to his birth; it is to the latter that he prefixes his inquiry into the question of whether the new born will survive infancy.

must first consider whether the native will reach maturity, for, as Ptolemy observed, it would be useless to delineate a horoscope and make predictions therefrom if the native had no chance of attaining an age sufficient for the readings to manifest themselves. Needless to say, if the horoscope is that of an adult, the consideration of infant mortality is superfluous, and the astrologer begins by describing the physical appearance and mentality of the native, deferring the question of length of life until later.

Having explained how to handle these matters, Lilly passes to the second house, which gives prognostics on the financial affairs of the native. The third house has to do with brothers and sisters, the fourth with the father and with lands, the fifth children, the sixth illness, etc. Most of the topics considered under the several houses are the same as those mentioned in connection with horary astrology.⁷⁴

Perhaps the most interesting set of prognostics is that pertaining to the tenth house, which shows the profession of the native and the degree of success he will attain in it. This matter is judged by electing certain

⁷⁴See p. 41 above.

of the planets as significators and considering them together with the sign on the cusp of the tenth house, etc. Lilly provides lists of occupations and the planets to which they are assigned: the astrologer is to take the significators he has elected and determine from these lists which occupations they denote. All the testimonies are joined, and whatever occupation has the most or the strongest testimonies is finally chosen. The strength of the significators and the luminaries (i.e. the sun and moon) is then observed, and the judgment of the relative eminence or success of the native in his profession derived therefrom.

The instructions for reading the several houses of the horoscope close with a consideration of the manner of death the native will suffer. Lilly then takes up the effects of directions, and the remainder of Christian Astrology is given over to an explanation of the various types and methods of direction in use in his day.

Lilly favored two methods of directing the natal horoscope: these are respectively Primary Directions (in which four minutes of time are added to the birth time for each year of the life, and the resulting "progressed" horoscope compared with the natal one) and the Solar Return or "revolution" (in which a chart is erected for the exact moment in each year subsequent to birth when

the true longitude of the sun attains the precise value it had at the birth of the native; this chart is read partially as an independent horoscope and partially by comparing it with the natal figure). Lilly evidently prefers the latter method, although he uses both. He also explains a third method, that of "Profections," which was used by the classical astrologers of antiquity, and gives passing mention to a few minor methods of directing the horoscope. Finally, he illustrates "Primary Directions," "Revolutions," and "Profections" by directing the nativity of a certain client of his in each of these three ways.

The practice of astrologers in directing the natal horoscope is exceedingly complex, and it is not possible to explain it here in any detail: Lilly devotes over a hundred and fifty pages to the subject (with no pretension of covering it thoroughly) and directs his readers at the outset to refer to the works of those astrologers who have written more fully on the matter.⁷⁵ The whole subject of directions is beset with confusion and a mul-

⁷⁵Christ. Ast., p. 651. Lilly says Argolus, Leovitius, Maginus, Manginus, Regiomontanus, and Zöbolus have written at length on directions (especially on the mathematical and astronomical considerations involved). He recommends Argolus' Primum Mobile as the best work on directions. For these writers, see Appendix IV.

tiplicity of methods which is very perplexing. This confusion is of long standing, having existed from classical times to the present day; directional methods have always ranked with house division as one of the two chief unsettled problems in astrological theory. Every method has its proponents and opponents, while some modern writers have attacked directions in general.

Christian Astrology contains a bibliography of astrological works, consisting of a catalogue of books of that nature in Lilly's personal library in 1647.⁷⁶ These and subsequent additions to the library were purchased by Sir Elias Ashmole after Lilly's death and are now in

⁷⁶Ibid., [833-843], and facsimile in McCaffery, pp. 385-395. This useful bibliography of astrological literature prior to 1647 lists approximately two hundred and twenty-five works by some one hundred and ninety writers, of whom four (Savonarola, Hemminga, Chambers, and perhaps Pleirus) are authors of treatises against astrology. About ten of the works listed are devoted in the main to subjects other than astrology; the remainder being strictly astrological. With the exception of works by Lilly and Booker, there are seven English titles (the others are Latin). A tabulation of two hundred and five of the works by dates of publication reveals the following distribution of the number printed in each decade from 1480 to 1647:

1480-1489	6	1540-1549	15	1600-1609	19
1490-1499	4	1550-1559	26	1610-1619	27
1500-1509	5	1560-1569	13	1620-1629	15
1510-1519	1	1570-1579	14	1630-1639	15
1520-1529	3	1580-1589	17	1640-1647	9
1530-1539	10	1590-1599	6		

the Ashmolean Museum of the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

At the end of the bibliography, Lilly takes his leave of the reader with the following statement:

...In a word, some may blame me that I write in the English tongue; yet I trust I have offended no man, sith I write in my owne Language; and to such as speak as I speak; nor doe I know that it is forbid unto man to write in his owne Language, or is any man bound to read or heare that contenteth him not: If this Book doe generally please, I shall account him good, and think him worthy to live; but if he displease, I then beleeeve the memory of it shall soon perish, and my selfe shall count it ill: If notwithstanding this, mine Accusers will not be satisfied with this common judgment, let them content themselves with the judgment of the time, which at length discovereth the privy faults of every thing: which because it is the father of truth, it gives judgment without passion, and accustometh evermore to pronounce true sentence of the life or death of Writings. Finis; Deo gloria. Octob.1. 1647.⁷⁷

Christian Astrology did "generally please," and it may even have pleased a general, for soon after its publication Lilly and Booker were summoned to Windsor for an audience with Gen. Fairfax, who said in effect:

...he hoped it [astrology] was lawful and agreeable to God's Word: He understood it not; but doubted not but we both feared God; and therefore had a good Opinion of us both.⁷⁸

Henceforth, Lilly was a prominent figure in England.

⁷⁷Ibid., [pp. 843-844], and facsimile in McCaffery, pp. 395-396.

⁷⁸Lilly, p. 57. Sir Sidney Lee, in his memoir of Lilly in the DNB, says "...Fairfax entreated them to discontinue their practices unless they could convince themselves that they were lawful..." Cf. this with the above.

CHAPTER III

MONARCHY OR NO MONARCHY

While Lilly was working on the Jupiter-Saturn conjunction mentioned previously,⁷⁹ he decided to try his hand at writing an almanac for the year 1644. He tells us:

I had given one Day the Copy thereof unto the then Mr. Whitlocke, who by Accident was reading thereof in the House of Commons; 'ere the Speaker took the Chair, one look'd upon it, and so did many, and got Copies thereof; which when I heard, I applied my self to John Booker to license it, for then he was Licenser of all Mathematical Books; I had, to my Knowledge, never seen him before; he wonder'd at the Book, made many impertinent Obliterations, framed many Objections, swore it was not possible to distinguish betwixt King and Parliament; at last licensed it according to his own Fancy; I delivered it unto the Printer, who being an Arch Presbyterian, had Five of the Ministry to inspect it, who could make nothing of it, but said it might be printed, for in that I meddled not with their Dagon. The first Impression was sold in less than one Week; when I presented some to the Members of Parliament, I complained of John Booker the Licenser, who had defaced my Book; they gave me Order forthwith to re-print it as I would, and let them know if any durst resist me in the re-printing, or adding what I thought fit; so the second time it came forth as I would have it.⁸⁰

Thus, almost by accident Lilly became an almanac-maker; he had been impelled to publish the first issue by the interest of his friends, but he was to continue the al-

⁷⁹See pp. 20-21 above.

⁸⁰Lilly, p. 44.

manac on account of its criticism by an opponent.

The publication of the almanac had brought Lilly into acquaintance with the astrologer John Booker,⁸¹ whom he had long desired to meet. Their first meeting, as we have just seen, was not particularly friendly, but they soon developed a strong friendship. Lilly says:

I must confess, I now found my Scholar Humphreys's Words to be true concerning John Booker, whom at that time I found but moderately versed in Astrol-ogy; nor could he take the Circles of Position of the Planets, until in that Year [1644] I instructed him; after my Introduction in 1647 became publick, he amended beyond measure, by Study partly, and partly upon Emulation to keep up his Fame and Reputation.... When the Printer presented him with an Introduction of mine, as soon as they were forth of the Press; I wish, saith he, there was never another but this in England, conditionally I gave One hundred Pounds for this; after that time we were very great Friends to his dying Day.⁸²

Lilly and Booker soon joined forces and often collaborated in the ensuing years, though Booker did not share Lilly's growing enthusiasm for political controversy.

Although his almanac had met with an excellent re-

⁸¹John Booker (1601-1667), for whom see DNB. The DNB gives the year of his birth as 1603 and the date as 23 March, but in fact he was born (at Manchester) on 24 March 1600-1 O.S. at 8:10 A.M. according to his own statement. Why the DNB gives the year of his birth as 1603, I do not know; however, the error of one day in his birthdate is another example of the confusion that arises owing to astrologers' use of astronomical time (see note 1 on page 1 above).

⁸²Lilly, pp. 44-45.

ception, Lilly says he had not intended to continue it as a regular publication. He had already published several other works in addition to the almanac,⁸³ and they had all been well received, but he states:

I had then no farther Intention to trouble the Press any more, but Sir Richard Napper⁸⁴ having received one of Capt. Wharton's Almanacks for 1645, under the Name of Naworth, he came unto me: Now Lilly, you are met withal, see here what Naworth writes; the Words were, he called me an impudent senseless Fellow, and by Name William Lilly.⁸⁵

Wharton may have hoped to silence Lilly with his criticism, but he produced just the opposite result, for Lilly adds:

Before that Time, I was more Cavalier than Round-head, and so taken notice of; but after that I engaged Body and Soul in the Cause of Parliament, but still with much Affection to his Majesty's Person and unto Monarchy, which I ever loved and approved beyond any Government whatsoever...

To vindicate my Reputation, and to cry Quittance with Naworth, against whom I was highly incensed, to work I went again for Anglicus 1645; which as soon as finish'd I got to the Press, thinking every Day one Month till it was publick: I therein made use of the King's Nativity, and finding that his Ascendant was approaching to the Quadrature of Mars, about June 1645, I gave this unlucky Judg-

⁸³See p. 21 above.

⁸⁴Sir Richard Napier (or Napper) (1607-1676), M.A., M.D. He was a kinsman of John, Lord Napier (1550-1617), the mathematician, the two being second half-cousins once removed. See Lilly, pp. 52-53, and DNB.

⁸⁵Lilly, p. 45. For Capt., later Sir George Wharton, Bart. (1617-1681), see DNB. He was an ardent Royalist.

ment; If now we fight, a Victory stealeth upon us;
and so it did in June 1645, at Naseby, the most fa-
tal Overthrow he ever had.⁸⁶

Lilly and Wharton remained at odds thereafter and frequently attacked each other in their publications,⁸⁷ but their antagonism seems to have arisen chiefly from their divergent political beliefs, and both were members of the astrologers' society in London.⁸⁸ Lilly later did Wharton a good turn, as we shall presently see.

Wharton had spent some time at Oxford, where he had made the acquaintance of Elias Ashmole.⁸⁹ Ashmole was interested in astrology, and when he returned to London in 1646, he effected an introduction to Lilly, through whom he met the other London astrologers.⁹⁰ He was readily accepted into the society, and in the summer of 1650 he was elected Steward of the group for the following

⁸⁶Ibid., pp. 45-46.

⁸⁷See McCaffery, p. 292.

⁸⁸The society met once a month in London, the meetings being generally called "Astrologers' Feasts" or "Mathematical Feasts." I have been unable to discover the name of the society or the dates of its organization and dissolution, but it was evidently in existence during most of the second half of the seventeenth century. See McCaffery, Chapt. 20 "Astrology in Stuart Times."

⁸⁹Sir Elias Ashmole (1617-1692), M.D., the famous antiquarian, for whom see DNB.

⁹⁰McCaffery, pp. 297-298.

year.⁹¹ Ashmole managed to remain on good terms with both Wharton and Lilly, though he preferred Lilly's company in later years, he and his wife often visiting with the Lillys at Hersham for several months at a time.⁹²

In addition to being attacked by Wharton, Lilly was denounced from the pulpit and in hand-bills and pamphlets, mostly originating with dissident Presbyterians. The great popularity of his almanacs inspired several publishers to produce plagiarized versions, in which the original author was ridiculed and abused.⁹³

In 1645, he published Starry Messengers, in which he continued his consideration of the horoscope of Charles I; this book came to the attention of the Presbyterian group in Parliament, and Lilly was called up for examination before Miles Corbet,⁹⁴ who was at that time Chairman of the Committee of Examinations. Lilly, however, had several friends on the committee, and they managed to place one of their number in the chair when the astrologer appeared.

⁹¹Ibid., p. 292.

⁹²Ibid., p. 298.

⁹³Lilly, p. 58.

⁹⁴Miles Corbet (d. 1662), the regicide, for whom see DNB.

When the session had begun, Corbet read certain passages from the Starry Messengers which he interpreted to be attacks directed against the Commissioners of the Excise, but Lilly and his friends denied the charge, asserting that the passages in question had reference only to the misconduct of some of the minor excise officials. The astrologer records an amusing blunder made by Corbet during the proceedings:

Then Corbet found out another dangerous Place, as he thought, and the Words were thus in the printed Book — In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, will not the Excise pay the Soldiers?
Corbet very ignorantly read, will not the Eclipse pay Soldiers? at which the Committee fell heartily to laugh at him, and so he became silent.⁹⁵

The chair then inquired whether there were any further charges to be brought against Lilly, whereupon the Solicitor of Excise arose and charged that since the publication of the Starry Messengers a house (the Excise house?) had been burned and the commissioners had been abused in the street. One of Lilly's friends asked when these unfortunate occurrences had taken place. It then developed that the incidents had occurred twelve days before Lilly's book had gone on sale. No sound basis for complaint having been offered, Lilly was dismissed. The next week, he was again called up, but won out as pre-

⁹⁵Lilly, pp. 47-48.

viously.⁹⁶

In 1646, he printed the nativities of Archbishop Laud and the Earl of Strafford, together with a speech written by Laud; he also brought out some Collections of Prophecies, in which he commented on the White King's Prophecy.⁹⁷ His Anglicus or Ephemeris for 1646 contained an appendix treating of the horoscope of Prince Rupert, who, said Lilly, was not born to be fortunate and was likely to die in his twenty-eighth year.⁹⁸

That same year, he prevented, through the agency of Whitelocke and other of his friends in Parliament, the sequestration of William Oughtred, the noted mathematician.⁹⁹ Oughtred held a profitable parsonage at the time, and the Committee for Plundered Ministers evidently decided to do a little plundering on its own. Lilly apostrophizes to Ashmole:

Had you seen (O noble Esquire) what pitiful Ideots
were preferred into sequestered Church-Benefices,

⁹⁶Ibid., pp. 48-49.

⁹⁷Ibid., p. 54. The White King's Prophecy was a favorite of Lilly's: he printed it in 1644, 1646, 1647, and 1651.

⁹⁸DNB, XI, 1138. Prince Rupert, Count Palatine of the Rhine, in fact lived to be nearly sixty-three.

⁹⁹William Oughtred (1575-1660), for whom see DNB.

you would have been grieved in your Soul; but when they came before the Classis [sic] of Divines, could those Simpletons but only say, they were converted by hearing such a Sermon, such a Lecture, of that Godly Man Hugh Peters, Stephen Marshall, or any of that Gang, he was presently admitted.¹⁰⁰

In 1647, he published the Worlds Catastrophe, consisting of three prophecies, a diatribe against Wharton (sent to Lilly by an admirer), and a discourse on a peculiar atmospheric phenomenon seen by two persons on 3 April 1647. The book took its title from the first of the three prophetic works, which were severally by Spineus, Merlin, and Trithemius. Spineus and Merlin were translated from the Latin by Ashmole and Trithemius by Lilly himself.

The first of these, the World's Catastrophe, is a purely astrological treatise, in which the writer uses conjunctions, eclipses, novae, and comets to predict the trend of events in Europe for a period of about thirty-five years (1625-1660); it is a beautiful piece of work, with frequent citations of the principal astrological authorities and references to previous events and their astrological causes. The general tone of the predictions is to the effect that there will be many and serious alterations in the ruling houses of Europe, plagues, vari-

¹⁰⁰Lilly, p. 59.

ous natural catastrophes, the downfall of the Turks, and the birth of a great world figure.¹⁰¹

The famous Prophecy of the White King begins as follows:

Vortiger (king of the Britains) sitting on the brink of an emptied Pool, there issued thence 2. Dragons one of which was white but the other red. And when the one came near the other, they began a terrible fight & by (the vehemency of) their breath, begot fire. But the White Dragon prevailed, and chased the Red Dragon to the end of the Lake. But the Red Dragon, after he had bemoaned himselfe (thus) expulsed, made a suddaine assault upon the White Dragon, and forced him to give back. The Dragons thus contending, the King commanded Ambrose Merline to tell him what that Combat of the Dragons meant. Then he gushing out with tears assumeth the Spirit of Prophecy: (and saith) Wo unto the Red Dragon...¹⁰²

It transpired that the Red Dragon symbolized the Celts

¹⁰¹Lilly says in the introduction to the Worlds Catastrophe that Dr. Spineus was physician to the Duke of Mantua (probably Vincenzo II Gonzaga); his book, Catastrophe Mundi, was printed in 1625 (Lilly does not say where), and the astrologer says that he sent letters all over Europe in an effort to locate another work by Spineus (on the great conjunctions), but to no avail. I have been unable to find any notice of Dr. Spineus in the available reference books.

¹⁰²William Lilly, Worlds Catastrophe (London, 1647), p. 35. This prophecy is ascribed to Ambrose Merlin, the bard and wizard of Arthurian legend, and was translated from the Cymric into Latin by Geoffrey of Monmouth about A.D. 1136 (see DNB, XIII, 285-288, and Sarton, II, 256-257). A commentary was added by Alanus de Insulis (1114-1203) (see DNB), and both prophecy and commentary were first printed at Frankfurt in 1603. The 2nd ed. had the title Prophetia Anglicana et Romana, hoc est Merlini Ambrosii Britannii (Francofurti, 1608).

and the White Dragon the Saxon invaders. The prophecy continues with allegorical accounts of the rulers and times to come, partly in the form of a beast-fable, but closing with a sort of astrological apocalypse. Lilly made some explanation of the latter part of the prophecy in his preface to the Worlds Catastrophe, but he reserved his commentary on the main body of the piece until later. The prophecy gives the impression of being quite meaningful if only the symbolism could be understood.

The third of the prophecies scarcely deserves the name: it is rather a rehearsal of notable events of times past superimposed on a scheme of planetary periods; these periods are each of three hundred fifty-four years and four months duration, and are counted from the creation of the world (about 5206 B.C. in this scheme). The author, Trithemius, assigns an angel (and a planet) to each of seven periods which succeed each other in sequence; the general trend of world affairs during each period is supposed to correspond to the nature of the governing planet. However, the sequence breaks off with the year 1524, and only a few hints are given of events to happen after that time. Lilly had given some thought to continuing Trithemius, but had decided it would be too time-consuming; in lieu of this, he promises to com-

pose a commentary on the already existing work.¹⁰³

Following these three prophecies is the "Whip for Wharton," another blow in the battle then raging between the two almanac-makers. The book closes with a short discourse on the three suns seen by divers persons on 3 April 1647. Lilly erects a figure for the time of appearance of the phenomenon and makes a few predictions therefrom, assuring the inhabitants of the counties where the apparition was seen that it foreshadowed no harm to them.

In the summer of 1647, Lilly was visited by a lady seeking to discover a secure place where Charles I might hide from the Parliamentary forces; Lilly advised her to direct the king to Essex, where the astrologer thought he would be safe from capture. However, Charles had already taken flight before this plan could be put into effect; he travelled by night to the west and surrendered to Hammond on the Isle of Wight.

The next year, Lilly procured a hack-saw and some

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 56. Johannes Trithemius (1462-1516), Abbot of Spanheim, was the author of the book De septem secunda deis... (1st ed. Nurnberg, 1522). See Thorndike, IV, 524-528, VI, 441 (who says that the 3rd ed. printed in 1600 contains prophecies extending from 1525 to 1879). Thorndike says further that the 354 years are Arabic (or lunar) and equivalent to 343 solar years, but this does not seem to be the case in the version given by Lilly.

acid, which were sent to Carisbrook Castle where Charles was imprisoned; these articles were smuggled in to the king, and he succeeded in opening the bars to his cell window, but lacked the strength to hoist himself through the opening he had made. Having been discovered in this escape attempt, Charles was closely watched thereafter.

When negotiations were in progress between the king and the Parliament, Lilly sent him advice concerning the propositions which Parliament was about to submit to him. Lilly advised Charles to receive the Commissioners on a certain day and to sign the propositions as soon as he had read them, after which he was to come immediately to London; one of the Commissioners, however, advised Charles not to sign, on the grounds that better propositions would soon be forthcoming. The king took this latter opinion in preference to Lilly's.¹⁰⁴

Also in 1648, the astrologer procured some intelligence from France on state matters, receiving for this service a reward of £50 and a pension of £100 per annum, which he drew for two years.¹⁰⁵

During this and the following year, he read the

¹⁰⁴Lilly, pp. 60-62.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., p. 63.

first part of Christian Astrology publicly, "...to encourage young Students in Astrology....," the first part being more difficult to understand than the later sections.¹⁰⁶

In Lilly's almanac for 1649, the Observations for January began thus:

I am serious, I beg and expect Justice; either Fear or Shame begins to question Offenders.

The lofty Cedars begin to divine a thundering Hurricane is at Hand; God elevates Men contemptible. Our Demigods are sensible we begin to dislike their Actions very much in London, more in the Country.

Blessed be God, who encourages his Servants, makes them valiant, and of undaunted Spirits, to go on with his Decrees: upon a sudden great Expectations arise, and Men generally believe a quiet and calm Time draws nigh.¹⁰⁷

The astrologer was summoned to the residence of Hugh Peters during the Christmas holidays with instructions to bring copies of the almanac; when he arrived, Peters and Lord Gray read the portion of the almanac quoted above. Peters remarked to his companion: "If we are not Fools and Knaves...we shall do Justice...."¹⁰⁸ Lilly did not then understand their meaning, but it came out later that they had interpreted the Observations as applying to the trial of Charles I. This unfounded assumption

¹⁰⁷Ibid., p. 64.

¹⁰⁸Ibid., p. 64.

was entirely contrary to Lilly's intention in writing the piece, for he plainly implied therein that the nation was growing weary of the actions of the leaders of Parliament, which was undoubtedly the case.

Lilly says he knew nothing of the trial (which soon followed his meeting with Peters), but going to Whitehall on a Saturday as was his custom, he met Peters and was invited inside to hear the opening day's proceedings. He tells us how shocked he was to hear the king reprimanded by Bradshaw, the presiding officer of the court, as if he were a common person. Here again Lilly affirms that he was no enemy of Charles, but against the leaders of the Parliament he directs this charge:

After that his Majesty was beheaded, the Parliament for some Years affected nothing either for the publick Peace or Tranquillity of the Nation, or settling Religion as they had formerly promised. The Interval of Time betwixt his Majesty's Death and Oliver Cromwell's displacing them, was wholly consumed in Voting for themselves, and bringing their own Relations to be Members of Parliament, thinking to make a Trade thereof.¹⁰⁹

It would appear that Lilly was a true moderate who detested the excesses and injustices of the extremists then in control of the several contending political factions. The only party he constantly denounces is the Pur-

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 65.

itan group, and this seems mainly to have been owing to their attacks upon him and his profession.

In 1650, Lilly, at the instigation of Ashmole, procured the release from prison of Wharton, who was about to be executed. He and his patron Whitelocke spoke to the Committee in behalf of Wharton, and the captain was released over the protests of Bradshaw (who was then President of the Council of State). He says "...upon my humble Request, my long continued Antagonist was enlarged and had his Liberty."¹¹⁰

The next year, the astrologer purchased some farm-rents for £1,030 which returned £110 per annum; there was evidently some cloud on the title to the land, for Lilly says he lost it in 1660, when it was returned to the rightful owner. He apparently did not suffer much loss, since nine years at £110 per annum would have very nearly restored his original investment.

Lilly and Booker were summoned about this time to attend the Parliamentary forces at the siege of Colchester; they exhorted the troops to be steadfast, as victory was near at hand. Inside the city were Sir Charles Lucas and Lilly's "scholar" Humphreys; the astrologer says he

¹¹⁰Ibid., p. 67. See also McCaffery, pp. 292-293, where Ashmole's account is quoted.

vainly sought permission to go into the city for a parley with Sir Charles, who was being deluded into a false hope of relief for his embattled forces.

Lilly adds:

...[Humphreys] many times deluded the Governor with Expectation of Relief; but failing very many times with his Lyes, at last he had the Bastinado, was put in Prison, and inforced to become a Soldier; and well it was he escaped so.¹¹¹

Lilly and Booker had a close call one afternoon when they were watching the siege from an observation post: a gunner who was with them noticed in his glass that a cannon was being aimed in their direction from the city; he directed Lilly and Booker to take cover, which they did. The enemy cannoneer did not then have the range, his first shot flying considerably overhead, but Lilly and Booker prudently withdrew to safer ground. Some time later, however, a salvo fired against the observation post hit the mark, killing the gunner and another man.

The two astrologers remained outside Colchester two days, after which they returned to London, doubtless well pleased to be back from the wars and in the safety of the capitol.

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 67. This exploit of the astrologer Humphreys is perhaps one of those which prompted Lilly's statement concerning him (quoted on p. 19 above).

In the summer of 1651, Lilly published his Monarchy or no Monarchy in England, in which he commented in great detail on various prophecies then thought to have reference to the political events of the day. The treatise was inspired, so the astrologer says in his preface, by the publication of some prophecies in 1648 by one Paul Grebner. These latter were false copies according to Lilly, and the public was further abused by the publication of a book of prophecies entitled The Future History of Europe which appeared in 1650. Lilly felt that these works were so exceedingly false that he finally was impelled to write a rejoinder to them.

In Monarchy or no Monarchy, he discusses three subjects: whether monarchy should continue in England, whether the Commonwealth should be established, and the character of Charles I. Of Charles, he says some have made his character worse and some better than truth: it is now his wish to correct these false impressions.¹¹²

Grebner was in England in 1582 and presented Queen Elizabeth with a fine MS in Latin upon his departure for the Continent. This book contained prophecies pertaining to future events in Europe, some of them illustrated in water-color paintings; it was kept in the library of

¹¹²William Lilly, Monarchy or no Monarchy in England (London, 1651), "Epistle to the Reader," passim.

Trinity College at Cambridge, but Lilly says some of the pages were cut out and the MS otherwise defaced by certain royalists who found its predictions not to their liking.¹¹³

The counterfeit version of which Lilly complains runs as follows (in part):

About that time a Northern King should Reign, CHARLES by Name, who shall take to wife MARIE of the Popish Religion, whereupon He shall be a most unfortunate Prince. Then the People of his Dominion shall chuse to themselves another Commander (or Governor) viz. an Earle; whose Government shall last three years, or thereabout. And afterwards the same People shall chuse another Commander (or Governor) viz. a Knight, not of the same Family nor Dignity, who shall trample all things under his feet: he shall endure somewhat longer time: And after him they shall chuse none at all.

After him shall appear one CHARLES, descended from Charles, with a mighty Navie on the Shore of His Fathers Kingdom, and with Aye from Denmarke, Swedeland, Holland, France shall overthrow His Adversaries, and shall govern His Kingdom wonderfull happily, and shall bear Rule far and near; and shall be greater then CHARLES the Great.¹¹⁴

In this forged version, the two kings named Charles are Charles I and Charles II, the Earl is Essex, and the Knight is Fairfax; Lilly notes the error of the prophecy in its contention that there will be no third commander chosen by the people (since Cromwell followed Fairfax), and he presents the authentic version of the piece:

¹¹³Ibid., p. 1.

¹¹⁴Ibid., p. 2.

...And then from a Charles a great Charles shall obtaine the Scepter, who with a great successes and prosperity shall reigne over the Northerne parts of the World; yea, the same Charles shall much breake the power and tyranny of the Spaniard, and obtaine a signall Victory over his Navie and Armadoe. And after the conjunction of his Forces with the States of Christendome He shall win a difficult, cruell Battle. After this, God shall remove his Popish wife, to the great terror of the Bishop of Rome, who being incensed and stirred thereby, King Charles shall professe hastily against Antichrist, and Joyning Forces with the German and other Allies shall become Enemy to Him, and the Crown of Spain both.¹¹⁵

Lilly interprets this version as pertaining to a pair of kings not yet born, and they likely to be Swedish (the preceding portion of the prophecy spoke of Swedish kings). He observes that the prophecy was originally made in the year 1574, and that since that time no pair of Charleses has arisen to fulfill the prophecy.¹¹⁶

After Grebner, he takes up various prophecies, some of them only two or three lines in length; all can be construed as having reference to the downfall of a monarch. He presently takes up the subject of prophecy in general and the criticisms that have been leveled against it, principally the charge that prophecies are ordinarily so obscure that they can only be understood after the occurrences to which they point. He mentions the numerous

¹¹⁵Ibid., pp. 22-23.

¹¹⁶Ibid., pp. 28-29.

Biblical prophecies, and, apparently replying to assertions that only those of the Jewish race (and they only in ancient times) had the gift of prophecy, he cites the example of the prophet Balaam (a gentile seer mentioned in the book of Numbers) whose prophecies are "confirmed" in scripture. Again, in reply to those who affirm that non-Biblical prophets prophesied only for gain, he says of Balaam (who was not properly of the chosen race of prophets) that if he were actually tainted with that

...continued infirmity of the Clergy and Priesthood, viz. Covetousnesse let us lament and pitty human kind, that so excellent a man as hee in many things, should blemish all his rare parts, with those filthy but pleasing Mineralis Gold and Silver.¹¹⁷

Lilly also wonders why, in the present pure state of the Christian religion, God should have less interest (or less authority) in the affairs of the followers of Jesus. He mentions some prophetic utterances of Homer and Seneca as further examples that prophecy is not confined to one race or one period of the world's history.

After this discourse, there follow more short prophecies, of which the following is the most notable:

The putting to death of the late King was Prophesied, of above 80 yeares before it was done by Nostradam, the booke it selfe was printed about

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 35.

1578. as I remember in Century 9th, these are the words: Senat de Londres mettront a mort leur Roy, viz. The Senate or Parliament of London, shall put to death their King.118

Lilly next takes up a part of Merlin's Prophecy of the White King, and comments upon it in great detail; his interpretations seem reasonable enough until he comes to the final portion (which he believes to be unfulfilled at the time of his writing):

After the Chicken of the Eagle shall nestle in the highest Rooch (I conceive mistaken for Rock) of all Brittain: nay, he shall nought be slain young: nay, he nought come old, for then the Gentile Worthinesse shall nought suffer wrong be done to him, but when the Reame [Realme ?] is in peace, then shall he dye, and two yeares after shall come a new Rule from Heaven, and settle holy Kirk, as hit shall ever more stand, and bring three Countrys into one, England, Scotland and Wales, unto the day of Doom, and the holy Crosse be brought into Christian mens hands, and there shall be made a Temple that never was made, such none.119

The astrologer interprets the foregoing to mean that

118Ibid., p. 37. Dr. Michel de Nôtre dame (1503-1566), French astrologer-physician and the most remarkable prophet of all time. His prophecies were chiefly in the form of rhymed quatrains grouped into hundreds, whence the name "centuries." He printed the complete version of the Centuries in 1558. Lilly's quotation is from Century IX, Quatrain 49, which stands as follows in the modern editions:

Gand et Bruceles marcheront contre Anvers,
 Senat de Londres mettront à mort leur Roy;
 Le sel et vin luy seront à l'envers,
 Pour eux avoir le regne en desarroy.
 (quoted from André Lamont, Nostradamus Sees All (Philadelphia, 1943), p. 113.)

119Ibid., p. 52.

there shall be no more kings in England, nor shall the government of his day long continue, but honest men will arise to purify the corruption of Church and Parliament. Needless to say, Lilly's interpretation soon proved false: he perhaps spoke more from desire than from belief (though he evidently was convinced that monarchy was dead in England). The prophecy itself does not seem to indicate what Lilly understood it to mean: in fact, it can be made to fit rather well with events following the Restoration. Charles II (Chicken of the Eagle) did roost in the lofty place of England (figuratively speaking), and he was fifty-four at his death — neither young nor old. The new rule from heaven might refer to the Declaration of Liberty of Conscience (1687) or to the Declaration of Rights (1689). England, Scotland, and Wales were in fact reunited (though not officially until 1707). The Temple might refer to the rebuilding of St. Paul's. All this is beside the point, but still it is plain that Lilly did not choose what seems to be the simplest and most obvious interpretation of the prophecy, but instead he let his anti-monarchist sentiments run away with his otherwise sharp reason.

He continues with more short prophecies, all of which indicated that monarchy was approaching its end; one of these reads "Carolus Anglorum, ultimus Brittanno-

rum Rex,"¹²⁰ which is to say that the last king of England will be named Charles (in our own time, we might apply this prophecy to the young Prince Charles).

Having rehearsed a great number of oracles large and small, Lilly passes to a consideration of Charles I. These recollections occupy the remainder of Monarchy or no Monarchy, and have the title "Severall Observations upon the Life and Death of Charles late King of England."

The astrologer says that Charles was a sharp student from childhood, but was always wilfull and stubborn; he had a good education and profited from it, so that his naturally good intellectual powers were even more improved. He was equally good at sports, music, and art; moreover, he had a truly legal mind, able to sum up a lengthy case in a few well chosen words, etc. Patience was another virtue with which he was endowed. To his wife, mother-in-law, and children he was most affectionate; his wife was his confidant in all matters (though she suspected him of dissembling, for what reason Lilly could not discover). He was devoted to his friends and to the clergy (to which Lilly attributes his downfall), but had no love for the nobility in general or for those

¹²⁰Ibid., p. 55. Lilly says this particular oracle was more than two hundred years old in his time.

in the legal profession, nor did he care for the commons, especially disliking the citizens of London (though they proved more true to him than others). He privately remarked that he would pull down half of London if the opportunity ever presented itself. Several persons of his close acquaintance declared after his death that in their opinions he would have proved a great tyrant had he won out over Parliament.

He had at times a defect in his speech, but ordinarily spoke with vigour and courage. He was naturally covetous and miserly, and when he did unloose his purse-strings it was frequently to unworthy persons, for he had no respect for those who were civil and modest in their behavior; yet, he was a man of good conduct himself and used proper speech (Lilly can cite but two improper words the king used, viz. rebels, as applied to the Parliament, and brutish, which epithet he applied to Fairfax). The astrologer says:

He did not greatly Court the Ladyes, nor had he a lavish affection unto many; he was manly and well fitted for Venerious sports, yet rarely frequented illicite Beds; I do not heare of above one or two naturall Children he had, or left behind him.¹²¹

His reputation was not of the best among foreign

¹²¹Ibid., p. 79. By contrast, Charles II had more than a dozen illegitimate children.

heads of state, owing to his failure to adhere to agreements in some cases. He never appeared disturbed by the many dead, slain in the wars, whether they were of his own forces or those of the opposition.

In his diet and dress he was equally moderate, but was given to heavy exercise and would rather go at a trot than walk.

He had a chapel built for his wife (who was Catholic) and maintained Roman churchmen, but remained true to his own faith. He once sent a letter to the Pope, which caused a considerable stir, but Lilly says: "Why he might not as well in a civil way write unto the Pope, as write and send his Ambassador to the great Turk, I know not...."¹²²

Lilly asserts that James I was poisoned by a plaster applied to his stomach by the mother of the Duke of Buckingham, but he says he could never determine for certain whether Buckingham and Charles had anything to do with the murder, though Charles refused to allow the Parliament to question his favorite about the matter.¹²³

His great affection for Buckingham was further demonstrated in 1626, when he dissolved Parliament to pre-

¹²²Ibid., p. 83.

¹²³Ibid., pp. 84-85.

vent inquiries being made into the duke's affairs; thus, says Lilly, he lost the love of millions for the love of one. Trouble also arose between Charles and his uncle, Frederick IV of Denmark, who was reported to have said he would gladly separate Charles from the throne of England if he could do so.

When Charles heard of the great loss suffered by the English forces at the Isle of Ré, he expressed no regret for anyone but Buckingham (to whom he sent a letter saying that such losses were a matter of chance). Lilly says Charles himself was solely responsible for the loss of La Rochelle: the king had lent Louis of France eight or ten warships, and these were used by France to attack La Rochelle by sea.¹²⁴

Lilly notes that the affairs of state which proceeded from the king's directives showed no improvement after the murder of Buckingham; hence it was presumed by many that the duke had not been so influential in the king's policies as had been supposed. The astrologer also says that Charles was in church when the news of his favorite's death was brought to him: the king showed no emotion and remained to hear the sermon through, after which he sent messengers to seize Buckingham's papers. Lilly

¹²⁴Ibid., p. 88.

further relates how the duke's death was foretold by an old retainer of his father: the man was visited by the ghost of the elder Villiers, who bade him warn the son. The duke, however, paid no attention to the warning.¹²⁵

Lilly records the time of birth of Charles II: "The 29th of May 1630. being Saturday, neare unto one in the after noon, the present King of Scotland was borne..."¹²⁶ A bright star having been perceived at the time, some persons thought it a nova, but the astrologer says it was only the planet Venus.¹²⁷

In 1634, Charles levied a new tax on the public, saying it was for the support of the navy; many strongly opposed this tax, but Lilly observes that he paid twenty shillings per annum on his estate (he served as collector in his district) in 1634, but in 1651 was paying £20.

In 1637, the new Book of Common Prayer was ordered to be read in the churches of Scotland; a great disturbance promptly arose in that nation, begun (says Lilly) in Edinburgh where an old woman threw a stool at a priest

¹²⁵Ibid., pp. 89-91.

¹²⁶Ibid., p. 91.

¹²⁷Ibid., p. 92. At the time of Charles' birth, Venus was approaching her greatest elongation west, being some thirty-nine degrees behind the sun in the zodiac.

as he read from the book. The trouble was smoothed over temporarily, but broke out again the following spring.

The astrologer adds:

...truly I may almost say, that that corrupt Common-prayer Book was the sole and whole occasion of all the miseries and Wars that since that time have happened in both Nations: Had his Majesty first in-deavored the imposition of that lame Booke upon the English, most men did beleewe we had swallowed it, and then the Scots must have done it afterward, for the Clergy at that time generally were such idle and lazy Lubbers, and so pampered with Court per-ferment, and places temporall in every Shire of England, and such flattering Sycophants, that doubtlesse the great hand of God was in it, that those rude Scots first broake the Ice, and taught us the way to expell an insulting Priesthood, and to resist the King, he indeavoring by unwarrant-able meanes to intrude things contrary to the Di-vine Law of allmighty God upon our Consciences.¹²⁸

In November of 1638, the Scottish Parliament was ordered dissolved, but the Scots refused to disperse and instead began to raise an army. This made the king and the high clergy very wroth, and indeed Lilly says they then hated the Scots worse than the Turks. Charles assembled his own forces and set out for Scotland in the spring of 1639; the nobility and the soldiers alike thought the expedition senseless and brought on solely by the clergy. When the two forces faced each other, no shots were fired, and the astrologer says "...I never heard of so much

¹²⁸Ibid., p. 93.

as one lowse killed by either Army...."¹²⁹ Shortly afterward, in June, a peace was concluded (though it had not yet been broken). A meeting took place between the nobility of the Scots and the English for the purpose of arranging certain articles of agreement; the Earl of Arundell began expostulating against the Scots for their rebellion, only to be rudely interrupted by Charles, who strode into the room, glanced over the articles, and signed them without further ado (when he returned to England, he caused them to be publicly burnt, which Lilly says got him as little credit in the latter case as in the former). This action of the king, taken without consulting the nobles, so incensed them that they immediately departed, leaving behind Charles, who

...for his dayly exercise, played at a scurvy game called Pigeon Holes, or Nine pinnes; his fellow gamsters also were equall to the Game, viz. Lackyes, Pages, and such others ejusdem generis.¹³⁰

On 22 May 1639 O.S., the sun was eclipsed: Lilly gives the figure for mid-eclipse (4:52 P.M. at London), from which he observes that it showed forthcoming disaster to the clergy, danger to Charles, and misfortune in war to the King of Spain (Philip IV), since the degree

¹²⁹Ibid., p. 95.

¹³⁰Ibid., p. 96.

of the eclipse fell exactly on the cusp of the seventh house (the house of war, etc.) in that ruler's horoscope, so that a large Spanish fleet was sunk by the Dutch the following October.¹³¹ Charles remarked on the occasion of this naval engagement that he wished he were rid of both fleets.

In 1640, the troubles with the Scots began anew: the bishops having been driven out of Caledonia, Charles summoned Parliament into session with the intention of raising funds to equip another army. Parliament, however, refused to provide even a farthing for the enterprise; whereupon the king dissolved the session and sought financial aid from the clergy. The Scots, meanwhile, had invaded the northern shires; the two armies faced each other some time later, but only one engagement of any size took place (in which the Royalists were defeated). Peace was made a second time (October, 1640), and Charles called Parliament into session again (to his own disadvantage as it proved, for the members later refused to disband and remained in session until 1660 — the "Long Parliament").

Lilly blames the king for the execution of the Earl of Strafford, for, says the astrologer, the king well

¹³¹Ibid., pp. 97-98.

knew that Strafford had been guilty of no serious offence. In the matter of the Irish Rebellion, Charles, who had been charged by some of his contemporaries with complicity in the uprising, is defended by Lilly, who says he could not bring himself to believe the king would thus have turned against his own people in such a villainous fashion.¹³²

In January of 1641-2, Charles appeared in the House of Commons and demanded that certain members of that body be handed over to him; this action marked the beginning of the serious disaffection which thereafter existed between king and Parliament and eventually culminated in Charles' execution.

Lilly mentions some further events of political importance that happened in 1642 and gives a chart erected for the time when Charles I set up his standard at Nottingham (22 August 1642 O.S., at 6:15 P.M.).¹³³

Next follows a list of his relations with foreign powers, all to the effect that he stood on good terms

¹³²Ibid., pp. 104-105.

¹³³Ibid., p. 113. Lilly gives no interpretation of this chart, but it plainly shows the futurity of the king's cause, all the principal signifiers being retrograde, etc. The astrologer assumed this figure to be that of the actual beginning of the Civil War in the larger sense of the phrase.

with none of them.

Finally, the astrologer exhibits a chart set for the exact moment of the king's death on the scaffold (30 January 1648-9 O.S., at 2:04 P.M.), and Monarchy or no Monarchy closes with these words:

Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus, Anno Libertatis Angliae restitutae primo, Anno Dom. 1648. Jan. 30.

[Exit a Tyrant, the last of the kings, in the first year of the restoration of Liberty in England, A.D. 1648, January 30.]

For my part I doe beleieve he was not the Worst, but the most unfortunate of Kings.¹³⁴

Having given Lilly's opinion of Charles I, it seems proper to give Charles' opinion of Lilly, which the astrologer reports as follows:

Whilst the King was at Windsor-Castle, one Day walking upon the Leads there, he looked upon Captain Wharton's Almanack; my Book, saith he, speaks well as to the Weather: One William Allen standing by; what, saith he, saith his Antagonist, Mr. Lilly? I do not care for Lilly, said his Majesty, he hath been always against me, and became a little bitter in his Expressions; Sir, said Allen, the Man is an honest Man, and writes but what his Art informs him; I believe it, said his Majesty, and that Lilly understands Astrology as well as any Man in Europe.¹³⁵

¹³⁴Ibid., pp. 118-119. The Latin words were caused by Parliament to be inscribed in a public place where the king's likeness had formerly been. Lilly adds a note to the effect that those who wish to read a justification of the execution of the king should consult a treatise written by a certain Master Goodwin.

¹³⁵Lilly, p. 63.

At the end of his book, Lilly added nineteen pages (he says sixteen, but he is mistaken) of "hieroglyphics," which represent symbolically the fate of England and other of the European nations for centuries to come. They are of various sorts, the most remarkable being one which depicts a large city standing on both sides of a broad river; the city is blazing, and people are swimming in the river to escape the fire. This was Lilly's prediction of the Great Fire of London, which happened fifteen years after the publication of the prophetic "hieroglyphic." A second cut refers to the same calamity: it shows a pair of twins falling head-downward into a fire which some people are trying to extinguish; in the left background is a blank astrological figure. As Mrs. McCaffery observes,¹³⁶ the twins symbolize the city of London (astrologers traditionally assigned Gemini as the ascending sign of the city).

Other of the cuts show dragons and rats (symbolizing the great plague of 1665), four royal crowns lying in disarray beneath a lowering sky, four lean cattle, etc. Scenes of prosperity are mingled with scenes of dire calamity, much as the quatrains of Nostradamus

¹³⁶McCaffery, p. 307. The ASC of London was probably derived from observation of the effects of transits.

stand in apparent disorder in the Centuries.

My impression of Lilly's account of Charles I is that it is largely the honest opinion of a person who had many sources of information not now available. He was in fact an eye-witness to many of the scenes he relates. True, he expresses satisfaction at the dissolution of the monarchy, but I do not think it can honestly be said that he was distinctly biased against the king: what bias there is is directed against the clergy, but his charges against that group are borne out in the judgment of historians of the period.¹³⁷

I would prefer to compare Lilly's account of Charles I with Suetonius' Lives of the Twelve Caesars: in both works the writers appear as reporters of events and facts; good and bad traits and deeds of the subject are given equal mention, and the resultant effect is one of verisimilitude instead of that all-too-common type of biographical presentation which represents its subject as either a paragon of virtue or a villain pure.

¹³⁷Sir Sidney Lee, the author of the memoir of Lilly in the DNB, states that the astrologer was biased against Charles I, but this statement is to be considered in light of the very obvious fact that Sir Sidney was biased against Lilly. He alters the astrologer's birthday, twists his statements around, searches continuously for knavery and dishonesty (and invents it when he finds none), and ends by complaining of Lilly's "bias."

CHAPTER IV

FROM POLITICS TO MEDICINE

The year following the publication of Monarchy or no Monarchy, Lilly purchased the country-place at Her-sham to which he later retired.¹³⁸ He seems to have been well liked by the people who lived in that vicinity, and he evidently enjoyed living there away from the clamor and dirt of London; however, it was not until a decade later that he made Hersham his permanent residence.

About this same time, the astrologer was called up before the Committee again; some remarks in his latest almanac had proved offensive to the Presbyterians, and they were determined to silence him permanently. Having been advised by his friends in Parliament of the particular passages objected to, Lilly had his printer run off a few altered copies in which these passages did not appear. When he came into the Committee chamber, he passed these copies around to those present and declared the (true) copies already in their possession to be forgeries. This stratagem notwithstanding, Lilly was ordered

¹³⁸Lilly, p. 68. Sir Sidney says (DNB, XI, 1139) he bought property at Horsham, but he is wrong. It is possible that Sir Sidney didn't know where Hersham was (although it is only fifteen miles or so from London). I hope his Life of William Shakespeare is more trustworthy.

into custody. As he was being led away, Oliver Cromwell chanced to see him, who, when he had learned the particulars, went that same evening to a friend of Lilly to see what steps were being taken in his behalf; it turned out that nothing had been done, but the friend was seeking some means of effecting Lilly's release. Cromwell was upset by this information and is reported to have said: "What never a Man to take Lilly's Cause in hand but your self? None to take his Part but you? He shall not long be there."¹³⁹ Hugh Peters spoke in Lilly's defense the following day, but to no avail: the astrologer spent thirteen days in custody before his friends were able to get him released.

After the accession of Cromwell to the Lord Protectorship in 1653, Lilly suffered no more inquisitions until the Restoration.

In the early part of 1654, he was relieved of another source of discomfort and annoyance:

The 16th of February 1653-4, my second wife died; for whose Death I shed no Tears. I had £500 with her as a Portion, but she and her poor Relations spent me £1,000.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁹Ibid., p. 72.

¹⁴⁰Ibid., p. 73. This was his ill-tempered wife, Jane Rowley, mentioned above (p. 14 and note 29).

In October of 1654, Lilly married for the third time; the lady's name was Ruth Needham,¹⁴¹ and he says she is signified in his horoscope by his Jupiter in Libra (a position indicative of a sweet and pleasant disposition). His life with her seems to have been very happy.

That same year, Lilly predicted the death of Rev. Thomas Gataker, with whom he had been engaged in controversy for two years. The astrologer's amusing account runs as follows:

I had in 1652 and 1653; and 1654 much Contention with Mr. Gatacre of Redriffe, a Man endued with all kind of Learning, and the ablest Man of the whole Synod of Divines in the Oriental Tongues.

The Synod had concluded to make an Exposition upon the Bible; some undertook one Book, some another. Gatacre fell upon Jeremy, upon making his Exposition on the 2d Verse of the 10th Chapter.

Learn not the Way of the Heathen, and be not dismay'd at the Signs of Heaven, for the Heathen are dismay'd at them.

In his Annotations thereupon, he makes a scandalous Exposition; and in express Terms, hints at me, repeating verbatim, ten or twelve Times, an Epistle of mine in one of my Former Anglicus.

The Substance of my Epistle was, That I did conceive the good Angels of God, did first reveal Astrology unto Mankind, &c. but he in his Annotations calls me blind Buzzard, &c.

Having now Liberty of the Press, and hearing the old Man was very cholerick, I thought fit to raise it up — and only wrote — I referred my Discourse then in Hand to the Discussion and Judgment of so-

¹⁴¹Lilly, p. 75, and DNB, XI, 1139 (where the lady's name is given).

ber Persons, but not unto Thomas Wiseacre, for Senes bis pueri [Old men are twice children]: These very Words begot the writing of forty-two Sheets¹⁴² against my self and Astrology. The next Year I quibled again in three or four Lines against him, then he printed twenty-two Sheets against me. I was perswaded by Dr. Gauden, late Bishop of Exeter, to let him alone; but in my next Year's Anglicus, in August Observations, I wrote, Hoc in tumba jacet Presbyter & Nebulo [Here in the tomb lies a Presbyterian and a Scoundrel], in which very Month he died.¹⁴³

Some other persons, among them the Dutch Ambassador, attacked or complained against him, but he says that he then stood on good terms with the leaders of the Commonwealth and was not molested. His almanac for 1653 had been translated into both Dutch and Danish, and it perhaps contained some remark offensive to the Dutch government.

In 1655, some ministers produced a young woman who made complaint against Lilly for having rendered an astrological judgment on a question of theft (which they alleged was in violation of an old statute of James I). When the case was heard in court, Lilly admitted having resolved the horary question for a half-crown, but insisted that horary astrology was perfectly legal and had

¹⁴²This or perhaps the work of twenty-two sheets seems to have been the Discours Apologeticall, wherein Lillies lewd and loud Lies are clearly laid open (1654).

¹⁴³Lilly, pp. 82-83.

no connection with sorcery or enchantment, producing a copy of Christian Astrology for the court's inspection. The woman then claimed that after she had consulted with Lilly she "...could not rest a Nights, but was troubled with Bears, Lions, and Tygers, &c."¹⁴⁴ Lilly's counsel asked the woman what color these nocturnal apparitions had assumed, but she replied that she never saw any. It turned out that the ministers had made up the story of the animals and taught it to her (for she was seen to be simple-minded), and so the case was dismissed.

In 1659, Lilly was attacked in a book, the Pseudo-astrologos or the spurious Prognosticator, by one "G.J., a lover of art and honesty." Sir Sidney Lee thinks the writer was John Gadbury, who had now become an enemy of Lilly and had taken up with Lilly's long-standing opponent Wharton.¹⁴⁵

The next year, the astrologer received a valuable gift from the King of Sweden in the form of a gold medal and chain; this present was in appreciation of some favorable remarks made by Lilly in his almanacs for 1657 and 1658 (which latter was translated into German and sold in Hamburg) with regard to Charles X Gustavus.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴⁴Ibid., p. 72.

¹⁴⁵DNB, XI, 1139.

¹⁴⁶Lilly, p. 75.

No whit daunted by the Restoration, Lilly takes up The White King's Prophecy and the other oracles he had previously handled, now declaring that they plainly indicated the eventual accession of Charles II. He demonstrates his new interpretations in some detail, making a much better showing than he had nine years previously in his Monarchy or no Monarchy: all of which seems rather useless if he intended to make it appear that he had foreseen the Restoration, but perhaps he is only trying to vindicate the prophecies themselves (when properly interpreted).¹⁴⁷ He goes on to predict that something of importance will occur in the life of the new king in 1672, 1674, or 1676, which prediction apparently missed the mark.

He records his testimony as to the actual executioner of Charles I (he said the man was Cornet Joyce), and he tells of the difficulties he encountered with various court-costs, fines, detentions, etc. In January of 1661-2, he was arrested and sent to the Gate-House, where he was detained for a short while. He says:

I was had into the Guard-Room, which I thought to be Hell; some therein were sleeping, others swearing, others smoaking Tobacco. In the Chimney of the Room I believe there was two Bushels of broken Tobacco-Pipes, almost half one Load of Ashes....

¹⁴⁷Ibid., pp. 85-88.

Amongst the miserable Crew of People, with a whole Company of Soldiers, I marched to Prison, and there for three Hours was in the open Air upon the Ground, where the common House of Office came down. After three Hours, I was advanced from this stinking Place up the Stairs, where there was on one Side a Company of rude swearing Persons; on the other Side many Quakers, who lovingly entertained me....¹⁴⁸

He was soon released, however, on payment of 37s. He had sued out a pardon for some £13 the previous year.

The next few years were taken up with the regular routine of his life, interrupted here and there by law-suits, and he also found time to set the affairs of his home parish of Walton-on-Thames in order, being Church-Warden there in 1663 and 1664.¹⁴⁹

When the plague struck London in 1665, he quit the city for good and took up permanent residence at Hersham. He was summoned the following year to testify at the investigation that was being made by Parliament into the Great Fire of London, it having been remembered by some of the investigators that his "hieroglyphics" of 1651 contained a cut showing a city burning. Lilly told the investigators that he had in fact foreseen the holocaust, but not the precise year nor the origin; he said he had been unable to discover any particular cause of the

¹⁴⁸Ibid., p. 91.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., p. 94.

fire; he believed it to be an act of God rather than deliberate arson.¹⁵⁰

Upon his retirement to Hersham, Lilly had taken up the study and practice of medicine, and in 1670 (through the agency of Ashmole) he received from the Archbishop of Canterbury a license to practice the healing art. He practised more openly thereafter and was used to ride every Saturday to Kingston, where he dispensed medical advice to the poor. He never asked for any compensation, but now and then received some small payment. Ashmole says that he gained a considerable reputation in this way.¹⁵¹

His old friend John Booker had died in 1667, but Ashmole came frequently to visit Lilly at Hersham, and he met Henry Coley sometime in 1676 or earlier; Coley was an astrologer and a mathematician (he later published several works on arithmetic, etc.) of some note, and Lilly employed him as a secretary from 1676 until 1681.

¹⁵⁰Ibid., pp. 95-98. For further particulars of Lilly's relation to the Fire, see Diary and Correspondence of Samuel Pepys, F.R.S. (London, 1900), III, 28-29, note 1. At this point, Lilly's autobiography leaves off; it was continued to the astrologer's death by Ashmole (at whose request it was begun by Lilly). For the Fire, see also Lamont, op. cit., pp. 116-117, where Nostradamus' Quatrain 51, Century II is given.

¹⁵¹Ibid., pp. 106-109.

Lilly's eyes had grown dim after an attack of illness he suffered in 1675, and thereafter he dictated his almanac to Coley every summer, the latter remaining at Hersham until the copy was ready for the printer. Lilly later adopted Coley and the younger man continued the Merlinus Anglicus Junior after his foster-father's death. Coley is reported to have been a better mathematician and astronomer than astrologer.¹⁵² In 1676, they brought out Anima Astrologiae, a translation of Guido Bonatti's treatise on astrology and some of Cardan's aphorisms.¹⁵³

Lilly's health slowly declined, and on 30 May 1681 O.S. he suffered an attack of paralysis; he rallied somewhat from the paralysis, but his strength rapidly deteriorated thereafter, until, in the early morning of 9 June 1681, he passed away. He was buried in the Chancel of Walton-on-Thames the following day, and his old friend Ashmole had a stone erected to his memory as well as having two elegies composed for him.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵²McCaffery, p. 314, and Lilly, pp. 109-110.

¹⁵³DNB, XI, 1141. The writers mentioned are Guido Bonatti (thirteenth century), for whom see Thorndike, II, Chapter LXVII, and Girolamo Cardano (1501-1576), the famous Italian astrologer, mathematician, and physician.

¹⁵⁴Lilly, pp. 110-111. The tombstone inscription, which I give on p. 100 below, is quoted from ibid., p. 111.

On the stone which he had erected to his friend's memory,
Ashmole caused the following inscription to be placed

Ne Oblivione conteretur Urna

G U L I E L M I L I L L I I

ASTROLOGI PERITISSIMI,
QUI FATIS CESSIT

Quinto Idus Junii Anno Christi Juliano

MDCLXXXI

Hoc Illi posuit amoris Monumentum

E L I A S A S H M O L E

A R M I G E R

* * *

APPENDIX I

GLOSSARY OF ASTROLOGICAL TERMS

Abscission. v. Frustration.

Accident. An event of importance in the life of a person. An obsolete term.

Affliction. Afflicted. A planet or point in the zodiac is said to be afflicted when it receives an unfavorable aspect (q.v.) from another planet, the Moon's nodes, or a fixed star.

Almanac. Essentially a calendar to which is added a table or tables showing the positions of the planets and other astronomical data. An astrological almanac also contains interpretations of these data as they apply to mundane events, the weather, etc. v. Ephemeris.

Angle. Angular. The first, fourth, seventh, and tenth houses of the astrological chart are called angles or angular houses. Their influence (q.v.) is considered to be stronger than that of the other houses. v. Houses.

Animodar. A method of rectifying the natal horoscope (q.v.) given by Ptolemy in his Tetrabiblos, III, 2. It is no longer used and was practically obsolete in Lilly's time. v. Rectification.

Application. Applying to. The motion of a planet towards another planet or towards a point in the zodiac, or the motion of a planet towards a perfect aspect (q.v.) with another planet or point in the zodiac.

Ascendant. ASC. The first house of the astrological chart and especially the rising degree (i.e. the degree of the ecliptic which is on the eastern horizon) of the chart. v. Rising Sign.

Aspect. Certain distances between two points in the zodiac which are considered to join the influences (q.v.) of the points and of whatever planets, fixed stars, etc. are placed on or near the two points. The measurement is normally made in longitude (q.v.), and the principal or classical aspects are the conjunction (zero separation), the sextile (sixty degrees separation), the square (ninety degrees separation), the trine (one hundred twenty de-

degrees separation), and the opposition (one hundred eighty degrees separation). When the separation is the exact value given, the aspect is said to be "partile" or perfect.

Aspectarian. A table (usually to be found in the almanac or ephemeris) showing in the order of their occurrence all the aspects formed between the several planets and the times when these aspects are perfect. v. Aspect.

Astrology. The art and science of determining the correspondence between celestial and terrestrial phenomena.

Astronomy. The art and science of determining the positions and motions of the celestial bodies.

Cadent. Said of the houses of the astrological chart which "fall" away from the angles (q.v.) or of a planet posited in one of the cadent houses (which are the third, sixth, ninth, and twelfth). v. Houses.

Chart. Figure. The diagram of the heavens used by astrologers to show the positions of the planets in the zodiac and the relative positions of planets, zodiac, and horizon at the time and place for which the chart was erected. It is usually in the shape of a wheel with twelve spokes, but a square form was used during the middle ages and renaissance. v. Houses.

Choleric. Said of the signs (q.v.) of the Fiery Tri-
plicity, viz. Aries, Leo, and Sagittarius. v. Elements,
Triplicities.

Circle of Position. A great circle passing through a planet or point on the celestial sphere. Used by astrologers in the calculation of primary directions (q.v.). An obsolete term.

Combust. Combustion. Said of a planet when it is within eight and one half degrees of the Sun. The planet so placed is considered to be severely afflicted (q.v.).

Comet. A celestial body of small mass (as compared to a planet) and consisting of a promiscuous mixture of dust, gases, and particles of various sizes — a sort of celestial scrap heap. Comets appear at irregular intervals and develop luminous appendages now called "tails" (but called "beards" in ancient times or "long-haired

stars") when they approach the Sun. Some of the older astrologers considered comets to be astrologically significant, usually as heralds of some great event.

Conjunction. Conjunct. One of the aspects (q.v.). When used with the definite article and without any specification of the planets involved (e.g. "the Conjunction of 1642-3"), a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn is usually implied.

Cusp. A line dividing two adjacent houses of the astrological chart, i.e. one of the spokes of the "wheel." v. Chart.

Delineation. To delineate. The statement of information derived from an astrological chart or the process of deriving the information.

Descendant. DSC. The seventh house of the astrological chart and especially the setting degree (i.e. the degree of the ecliptic which is on the western horizon) of the chart.

Detriment. The sign opposite to that ruled by a planet. The planet's influence (q.v.) is weak when the planet is in the sign of its detriment. v. Rulership.

Dexter. Said of an aspect (q.v.) when the planet which is applying is to the right of the planet to which it applies. An obsolete distinction. v. Application.

Dignity. Dignified. A position in which a planet's influence (q.v.) is increased. A planet is "essentially" dignified when it is in the sign it rules, in its exaltation, etc.; it is "accidentally" dignified when it is posited in the angular houses (or certain other houses to a lesser degree), in conjunction with both Jupiter and Venus, in conjunction with certain of the bright fixed stars, etc.

Direct. Said of a planet when it moves forward in the zodiac.

Directions. Methods of varying the time for which a horoscope (q.v.) was originally set to produce a "progressed" chart which is supposed to indicate the pattern of events subsequent to the time for which the horoscope was drawn. There are many systems or methods of direc-

ting the horoscope; one of the oldest systems is that of Primary Directions (q.v.) — Lilly's method of Accidents. v. Accident, Profections.

Dragon's Tail. The south or descending node of the Moon's orbit on the ecliptic. It is thought to have an infortunate influence in astrology. v. Infortunes.

Earthly. Said of the signs of the Earth Triplicity, viz. Taurus, Virgo, and Capricorn. v. Triplicity.

Eclipse. Eclipses were commonly thought to portend disaster; by erecting a chart for the time of an eclipse, the astrologer could determine on what classes of persons and in what regions of the earth its ill effects would be visited. If the degree of an eclipse fell upon an important point in a person's horoscope (q.v.), it was considered to be a severe affliction. v. Affliction.

Elements. The four elements or principles in astrology are Fire, Earth, Air, and Water. v. Triplicity.

Ephemeris. An astronomical almanac (q.v.) containing tables of the positions and motions of the celestial bodies, but no astrological interpretations.

Exaltation. A sign in which a planet has extra force or influence (q.v.). v. Strength.

Fall. A sign opposite to that which is the exaltation (q.v.) of a planet. The planet's influence (q.v.) is weak when the planet is in its fall.

Feminine. The signs Taurus, Cancer, Virgo, Scorpio, Capricorn, and Pisces, and the planets Moon and Venus are said to be feminine.

Figure. v. Chart.

Fixed. Said of the signs of the Fixed Quadruplicity, viz. Taurus, Leo, Scorpio, and Aquarius.

Fortunes. Said of Venus and Jupiter, since they have a generally harmonious influence in astrology. v. Influence.

Frustration. Said of the situation in horary astrology (q.v.) where one planet applies to another, but before

the application is completed a third planet completes an aspect (q.v.) to the planet to which the first one was applying. The signification of this is that the matter signified by the original application will be interfered with (i.e. "frustrated") or completely disrupted by the interposition or interference of a third party or circumstance. v. Application.

Genethliology. The branch of astrology which deals with the interpretation of the natal horoscope (q.v.). Now more commonly called Natal Astrology.

Horary. The branch of astrology which deals with the resolution of questions. v. Question.

Horoscope. Properly, an astrological chart (q.v.) drawn for the moment of birth of a living creature, but often extended to mean simply "chart."

Hours. v. Planetary Hours.

Houses. The twelve segments into which the celestial sphere is divided by the astrological chart. In the works of the older astrologers, the signs ruled by a planet were said to be its houses. v. Chart.

House Division. The mathematical and astronomical method of computing the division of the celestial sphere into houses. Several methods have been proposed during the last two millennia; in Lilly's time, the so-called Rational Method of Regiomontanus was favored, but most nineteenth and twentieth century western astrologers have used the Placidian System (named for its originator, Placidus de Titus). The different systems yield different values for the cusps. v. Cusp.

Influence. The force that a planet exerts on mundane events — evidently a physical force like gravity. Astrologers do not understand the basic nature of the astrological force, but neither do physicists understand the basic nature of gravity; however, in both cases the effects of the forces are observable, and their modes of operation can be reduced to theoretical systems. Astrology and Physics are both empirical sciences, since both deal with forces of nature which are not understood by man; it is only the manner of working of these natural forces that is encompassed by the sciences which deal with them. The physicist can no more explain why the

magnet attracts iron than could the rude Magnesian shepherd who first discovered the phenomenon; in their knowledge of the basic explanation of magnetism, one is as ignorant as the other. The modern astrologer no more understands why the planet Mars has to do with fire, physical violence, etc. than did the ancient astrologers of Chaldea and Alexandria. All sciences are based upon observation, not upon comprehension; the unanswerable Why looms as large in one science as it does in another.

Astrological influence seems to be a selective force, since the several planets, etc. have observably different effects. The intensity or efficacy of the influence is dependant upon the position of the planet in the zodiac and in the astrological chart. v. Strength.

Infortunes. Said of Mars and Saturn (and the Dragon's Tail), since they have a generally inharmonious influence in astrology. v. Influence.

Ingress. Properly, the entrance of a planet into a sign of the zodiac. Frequently used as an abbreviation for the phrase "Solar Ingress," which ordinarily refers to the entrance of the Sun into the sign Aries. A chart erected for that moment when the Sun enters Aries is a sort of horoscope (q.v.) of the year and shows the general trend of events for the forthcoming year.

Latitude. Celestial latitude is the distance of a point on the celestial sphere from the ecliptic measured perpendicularly from the ecliptic.

Longitude. The distance of a point on the celestial sphere from the vernal equinox measured in the plane of the ecliptic is its celestial longitude.

Luminary. Said of the Sun and Moon to distinguish them from the planets, since, in astrology, "planet" refers indifferently to the Sun, Moon, and the several planets.

Masculine. The signs Aries, Gemini, Leo, Libra, Sagittarius, and Aquarius, and the planets Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn are said to be masculine. Mercury is sometimes said to be masculine, but is ordinarily accounted androgyne.

MC. Midheaven. The seventh house of the astrological chart and especially the degree on the vertical meridian.

Melancholy. Said of the signs (q.v.) of the Earth Tri-
plicity, viz. Taurus, Virgo, and Capricorn. v. Triplicity.

Meteorological Astrology. The branch of astrology which
deals with the prediction of the weather. More practiced
in earlier times, when there were no weather bureaus, but
still in use to some extent.

Natal. Pertaining to natal or genethliacal astrology.
v. Genethliology.

Native. The person for whom a horoscope or nativity is
drawn. v. Horoscope.

Nativity. v. Horoscope.

Nova. A "new" star, i.e. one which suddenly becomes
visible or more conspicuous through an increase in its
brilliancy. The older astrologers considered novae to be
possessed of intensified astrological influence during
the period of their transient brilliancy. v. Influence.

Opposition. One of the aspects (q.v.).

Planet. Originally an adjective from the Greek signify-
ing "wandering" and applied to those stars which moved
about in the sky. In modern astronomical usage, the word
planet means a massive body which revolves about a star.
In astrological usage, planet refers to planets, Sun, and
Moon (all of which move about in the sky).

Planetary Hours. A division of the day into hours or
periods ruled by the several planets in sequence — part
of the early system of planetary rulerships of which our
days of the week are a survival. The planetary hours are
ignored by many astrologers, but are used by others, es-
pecially in horary (q.v.) and electional astrology (that
branch of the science which deals with choosing times to
do things or begin projects).

Profections. A system of directions (q.v.) used by the
classical astrologers and to some extent by later prac-
titioners. Seldom used by modern astrologers, who have
invented a bastard method known as the "Radix System"
which is a mixture of Primary Directions (q.v.) and Pro-
fections.

Prognostic. Prognostication. Prognosis. An astrological

prediction made from a consideration of the pertinent data or inherent in the data.

Prohibition. v. Frustration.

Querent. In Horary Astrology (q.v.), the person who asks the question of the astrologer. v. Question.

Primary Directions. A system of directions (q.v.) in which a one degree rotation of the celestial sphere after the time for which a horoscope is set is equivalent to one year of time subsequent to the time of the horoscope.

Quesited. In Horary Astrology (q.v.), the person about whom the question is asked, especially in love-questions. v. Question.

Question. In Horary Astrology (q.v.), any matter proposed to the astrologer for his opinion. The horary chart is set for the moment when the question is asked of the astrologer, or for the time when the question or problem first arose in the querent's mind. If the question pertains to an event that has already occurred, the chart is sometimes set for the time of the event.

Reception. Received by. A planet posited in a sign it does not rule is said to be received by the planet which rules the sign. If each of two planets is in a sign ruled by the other, they are said to be in "mutual reception." Reception is a very important consideration in Horary Astrology.

Rectification. The correction of the birth-time by astrological considerations. The rectification may be accomplished by independent methods such as Ptolemy's so-called Animodar or Hermes' Trutime or by directional methods. In the directional method, certain events or accidents are chosen and directions selected which mature at the approximate times of the events; the birth-time is then slightly altered (thus altering the maturity dates of the directions) to make the directions coincide exactly with the times of the events. This directional rectification is more favored than the independent methods.

Retrograde. Said of a planet when it appears to move backwards in the zodiac. If a horary significator is retrograde, it denotes delay and uncertainty in the matter it signifies. v. Significator.

Revolution. A chart set for the moment in a year subsequent to birth when the true longitude of the Sun attains the precise value it had in the natal horoscope. The chart so set is read to determine the events of the forthcoming year of the life of the native (q.v.). This term is now obsolete, the method being presently called the "Solar Return."

Rising Sign. The sign of the zodiac that is on the eastern horizon at the moment when an astrological chart is set. It largely determines the physical appearance and instinctive actions of the native if the chart is a nativity.

Rulership. In astrology, each of the twelve signs of the zodiac is said to be ruled by a planet, as if the planet were the master of a house. This matter of rulership is one of the fundamental principles upon which astrological theory is based.

Sanguine. Said of the signs (q.v.) of the Air TriPLICITY, viz. Gemini, Libra, and Aquarius. v. TriPLICITY.

Separation. Separating from. The motion of a planet away from another planet or away from a point in the zodiac, or the motion of a planet away from a perfect aspect with another planet or point in the zodiac. The contrary of Application (q.v.).

Signs. The twelve sections of thirty degrees each into which the ecliptic is divided. In standard western practice, the signs are measured from the vernal equinox, but the Hindus measure them from a fixed point in the constellations. Each sign has a specific nature and is ruled by a planet. There are many classifications of the signs, e.g. TriPLICITIES, Quadruplicities, Masculine, Feminine, etc. v. Rulership.

Significator. Significatrix. In Horary Astrology, a planet which represents a person, matter, or thing under consideration.

Square. Quadrature. Quartile. One of the aspects (q.v.).

Stationary. Said of a planet when it appears to stand still in its motion through the signs of the zodiac.

Strength. Strong. A planet is said to be strengthened

when it is dignified. v. Dignity.

Swift. Said of a planet when its actual daily motion at a particular time is greater than its average daily motion.

Symbols. For convenience, astrologers use certain symbols to designate the aspects, planets, and signs. The most common of these are given below.

♌ conjunction	◻ square	♐ opposition
* sextile	Δ trine	
☉ Sun	♀ Venus	♄ Saturn
☾ Moon	♂ Mars	♈ Dragon's Head
☿ Mercury	♃ Jupiter	♉ Dragon's Tail
♈ Aries	♌ Leo	♐ Sagittarius
♉ Taurus	♍ Virgo	♑ Capricorn
♊ Gemini	♎ Libra	♒ Aquarius
♋ Cancer	♏ Scorpio	* Pisces

Table of Houses. A mathematical table showing the division of the celestial sphere into the twelve houses of the astrological chart (q.v.). v. Houses.

Terms. Minor sub-divisions of the signs; each term is ruled by one of the five planets. Seldom used in modern astrological practice, but commonly used in Lilly's time.

Triplicity. A group of three signs of the zodiac which belong to the same element. v. Elements.

Trutine. A method of rectifying the natal horoscope (q.v.) ascribed in antiquity to the god Hermes or Thoth. It is still used in a modified form. v. Rectification.

Under the Sunbeams. Said of a planet less than seventeen degrees of longitude from the Sun, but more than eight and one half degrees distant. A sort of mild combustion. v. Combust.

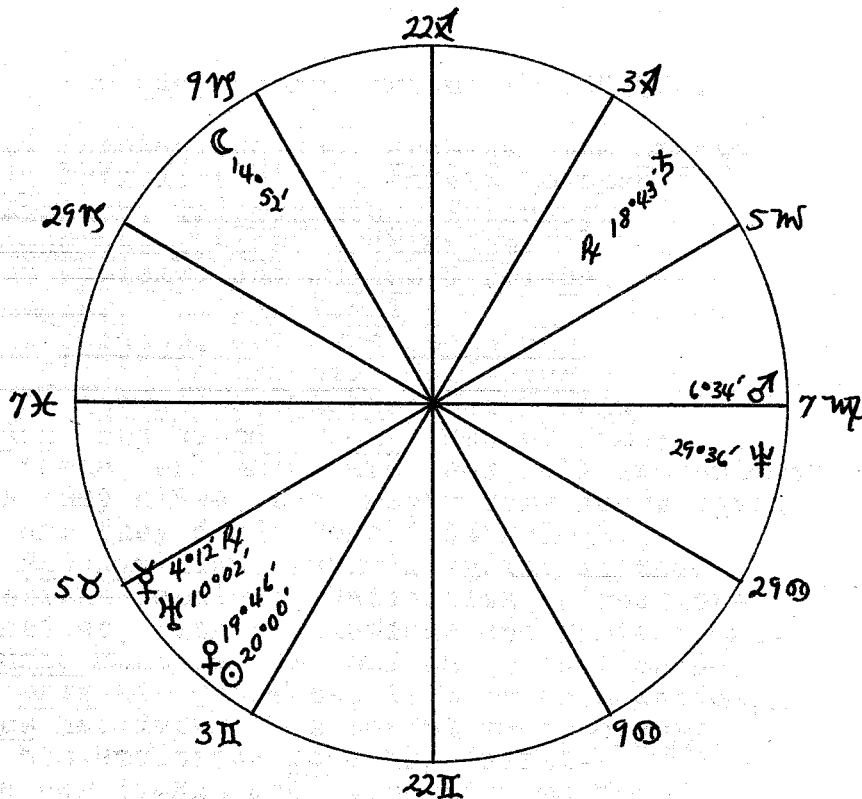
Vitiated. Said of a planet when it is in conjunction with an infortune. v. Infortunes.

Void of Course. Said of a planet when it completes no more aspects (q.v.) before it leaves the sign it is in.

Zodiac. The twelve signs into which the ecliptic is divided.

APPENDIX II

WILLIAM LILLY'S HOROSCOPE



The above figure is that of the natal horoscope of William Lilly. It is drawn for 2:13 A.M. G.C.T. on 1 May 1602 O.S. and for Diseworth, Leicestershire, England; the coordinates of Diseworth are 1 W 20 and 52 N 49.

The positions of the planets have been calculated from the tables of Newcomb and Hill in the Astronomical Papers of the American Ephemeris (Washington, 1898), vols. 6 & 7; the position of the Moon has been calculated from MS Tables of the Moon by the present writer.

APPENDIX III

THE DEDICATORY POEMS PREFIXED TO CHRISTIAN ASTROLOGY AND THE LATIN AND ENGLISH ELEGIES ON THE DEATH OF WILLIAM LILLY

To his honored Friend the AUTHOR.

What! Persian, Caldee, Arabick, the Greeke,
Latin Astrologers, all taught to speake
In English! Trismegistus, Hercules,
Pythagoras, Thales, Archimedes,
Great Ptolemy, and Julius Firmicus,
Albumazar, and Albategnius,
Hali, Bonatus, our owne Eschuidus,
And John de Regiomonte, Ganivetus,
Riffe, Leovitius, Michael Nostradame,
Cardan, and Nabod, Ticho, men of fame;
All these, and more, are dead, all learned Men;
Were they alive, they might come learn again.
But are they dead? Behold Astrologie,
Now Phoenix like, reviv'd againe in thee!
Questions resolv'd, Nativities, Directions,
Transites, with Revolutions and Profections.
Saturne must lay his sullen pranks aside,
And Mars his madnesse, lest he be descride;
Venus her lusts; his thefts must Mercury;
Sol his ambition; Jove his jollity:
Luna her fickle and unconstant motion,
Is now notorious to each vulgar notion.
Aske what you will, Would you resolved be?
Observe your time, learne your Nativitie:
Were Picus, Chambers, Perkins, Melton, Geree,
Vicars, to write againe, all men would jeer yee.
You durst not let us know when you were borne,
Your ignorance is brought to publick scorn:
Our Latin Lilly is for Boyes are young;
Our English Lilly is for Men more strong.
The Sybils Books were burnt, they are all gone;
I will preserve my choyce, This is that one:
Be you for or against, or will ye, nill ye;
I'm for the Art, and th'Author William Lilly.

John Booker.

To the Reader of Christian
Astrology.

W onder you may. the volumes of the Skye
I n our owne Characters you here descry.
L una and Hermes, Venus and the great
L ight of the World, and Mars in English treat
I ove and old Saturne; they their influence send;
A nd their Conjunctions in our Tongue are penn'd.
M ay not Apollo then, the sacred Bayes
L et fall upon his head, who casts their Rayes
I nto the language of our Albion quill?
L oe. he hath taught great Ptolom's secret skill.
L earning, that once in brazen piles did stand,
Y ou now may see is Printed in our Land.

R. L. in Med. Studens &
Philo-Mathemat.

On this unparaelled peece of Art.

Not to commend the Author, 'tis the least
Of all my thoughts, this Work will doe it best;
Nor yet to vex the prying Readers sence
with bumbast words instead of Eloquence,
Doe I crowd in these rude unpolisht lines:
But rather to informe the giddy times
How much they are his Debtors; what they owe
To him, whose Labours freely doth bestow
On them his Art, his paines, his piercing sight,
His lampe of life, to give their darknesse light.
Tis now a crime, and quite grown out of fashion,
T'incourage Art amongst the English Nation.
Tell them of it, or Natures mysteries,
Tush, cry they: Ignorance they idolize.
The glorious Stars, they think God doth not use them
To doe his will: Lord. how doe men abuse them?
Nor will allow the Planets to fulfill
(As instruments) Gods high decree or will.
Nay, some there are, though letter wise, they can
Not yet beleieve that all was made for Man.
Barke black-mouth'd Envie; carpe at what's well done,
This Booke shall be my choyce companion.

W. W.

Upon this Worke.

The Author's God, Composer and the Setter
 Of all his works, and therein every letter.
 Heaven is his Book; the Stars both great & final
 Are letters Nonperill and Capitall
 Disperst throughout; therein our learnings dull,
 In this thy Work it is compleat and full:
 Could man compose or set Heavens letters right
 he would, like Printing, bring to publick sight
 All what was done, nay what was thought upō;
 For by this way, I see it may be done.

I. P.

An Elegy upon the Death of William
Lilly the Astrologer.

Our Prophet's gone; no longer may our Ears
 Be charm'd with Musick of th' harmonious Spheres.
 Let Sun and Moon withdraw, leave gloomy Night
 To shew their Nuncio's Fate, who gave more Light
 To th' erring World, than all the feeble Rays
 Of Sun or Moon; taught us to know those Days
 Bright Titan makes, followed the hasty Sun
 Through all his Circuits, knew th' unconstant Moon,
 And more unconstant Ebbings of the Flood;
 And what is most uncertain, th' factious Brood,
 Flowing in civil Broils, by the Heavens could date
 The Flux and Reflux of our dubious State.
 He saw the Eclipse of Sun, and Change of Moon
 He saw, but seeing would not shun his own:
 Eclips'd he was, that he might shine more bright,
 And only chang'd to give a fuller Light.
 He having view'd the Sky, and glorious Train
 Of gilded Stars, scorn'd longer to remain
 In Earthly Prisons, could he a Village love,
 Whom the Twelve Houses waited for above?
 The grateful Stars a heavenly Mansion gave
 T' his heavenly Soul, nor could he live a Slave
 To Mortal Passions, whose Immortal Mind,
 Whilst here on Earth, was not to Earth confin'd.
 He must be gone, the Stars had so decreed;
 As he of them, so they of him, had need.
 This Message 'twas the Blazing Comet brought;
 I saw the pale-fac'd Star, and seeing thought

(For we could guess, but only LILLY knew)
 It did some glorious Hero's Fall foreshew:
 A Hero's fall'n, whose Death, more than a War,
 Or Fire, deserv'd a Comet, th' obsequious Star,
 Could do no less than his sad Fate unfold,
 Who had their risings, and their Settings told.
 Some thought a Plague, and some a Famine near;
 Some Wars from France, some Fires at Home did fear:
 Nor did they fear too much, scarce kinder Fate,
 But Plague of Plagues befell th' unhappy State
 When LILLY died. Now Swords may safely come
 From France or Rome, Fanaticks plot at home.
 Now an unseen, and unexpected Hand,
 By Guidance of ill Stars, may hurt our Land;
 Unsafe, because secure, there's none to show
 How England may avert the fatal Blow.
 He's dead, whose Death the weeping Clouds deplore;
 I wish we did not owe to him that Show'r.
 Which long expected was, and might have still
 Expected been, had not our Nations Ill
 Drawn from the Heavens a Sympathetick Fear,
England hath cause a second Drought to fear.
 We have no second LILLY, who may die,
 And by his Death may make the Heavens cry,
 Then let your Annals, Coley, want this Day,
 Think every Year Leap-Year; or if't must stay,
 Cloath it in Black, let a sad Note stand by,
 And stigmatize it to Posterity.

In Mortem Viri Doctissimi Domini GULIELMI
LILLY, Astrologi, nuper defuncti.

Occidit atque suis annalibus addidit atram
 Astrologus, qui non tristior ulla, diem
 Pone triumphales, lugubris Luna, quadrigas;
 Sol maestum piccâ nube reconde caput.
 Illum, qui Phoebi scripsit, Phoebesq; labores
 Eclipsin docuit Stella maligna pati.
 Invidia Astrorum cecidit, qui Sidera rexit
 Tanta erat in notas scandere cura domos.
 Quod vidit, visum cupiit, potiturq; cupito
 Coelo, & Sidereo fulget in orbe decus.
 Scilicet hoc nobis praedixit ab ane Cometa,
 Et fati emicuit nuncia Stella tui
 Fallentem vidi faciem gemuiq; videndo
 Illa fuit vati mortis imago suo,

Civilis timuere alii primordia belli
 Jejuna metuit plebs stupefata famem
 Non tantos tulerat bellumve famesve dolores:
 Auspiciis essent haec relevanda tuis.
 In cautam subitus plebem nunc opprimat ensis,
 Securos fati mors violenta trahat.
 Nemo est qui videat moneatq; avertere fatum,
 Ars jacet in Domini funera mersa sui
 Solus naturae reservare arcana solebat,
 Solus & ambigui solvere jura poti.
 Lustrâsti erantes benè finâ mente Planetas
 Conspectum latuit stellata nulla tuum
 Defessos oculos pensarunt lumina mentis
 Firesias oculis, mentibus Argus eras.
 Cernere, Firesia, poteras ventura, sed, Arge,
 In fatum haud poteras sat vigil esse tuum
 Sed vivit nomen semper cum sole vigebit,
 Immemor Astrologi non erit ulla dies
 Saecula canent laudes, quas si percurrere cones,
 Arte opus est, Stellâ qua numerare soles
 Haereat hoc carmen cinerum custodibus urnis,
 Hospes quod spargens marmora rore legat.
 " Hic situs est, dignus nunquam cecidisse Propheta;
 " Fatorum interpretes fata inopina subit.
 " Versari aetherco dum vixit in orbe solebat:
 " Nunc humilem jactat Terra superba virum.
 " Sed Coelum metitur adhuc resupinus in urnâ
 " Vertitur in solitos palpebra clausa polos.
 " Huic busto invigilans solemni lampade Musae,
 " Perpetuo nubes imbre sepulchra rigant.
 " Ille oculis movit distantia Sidera nostris,
 " Illam amota oculis traxit ad astra Deus.

The authors of the dedicatory poems have proved un-
 identifiable with the exception of John Booker and I. P.
 It seems reasonably certain that I. P. is John Partridge,
 the publisher of Christian Astrology.

The elegies were written by George Smalridge (1663-
 1719), a protégé of Sir Elias Ashmole, afterwards Bishop
 of Bristol. See DNB.

APPENDIX IV

A LIST OF THE WRITERS CITED AS ASTROLOGICAL

AUTHORITIES IN CHRISTIAN ASTROLOGY

Aben Ezra. Abraham ben Meïr ibn Ezra (c.1090-1167).
See Sarton, II, 187-189.

Abraham Judaeus. [Probably not Aben Ezra.]
See Thorndike, II, 929 and note 2.

Agrippa. Henry Cornelius Agrippa of Nettesheim (1486-1535). See Thorndike, V, 127-138.

Alubater. Abū Bakr al-Ḥasan ibn al-Khaṣīd (ninth century). See Sarton, I, 603.

Alkindi. Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb ibn Ishāq ibn al-Ṣabbāh al-Kindī (d.c.873). See Sarton, I, 559-560.

Argolus. Andrea Argoli (1570-1653?). See Biographie Universelle (Michaud) (Paris, 2nd ed., no date).

Bonatus. Guido Bonatti (thirteenth century). See Thorndike, II, 825-838.

Cardan. Girolamo Cardano (1501-1576). See Thorndike, V, 563-579.

Dariot. Claude Dariot (1530 or 1533-1594). See Thorndike, VI, 105-106.

Dietericus. Helvicus Dietericus (seventeenth century?).

Duret. Natalis Duret (seventeenth century).

Etzler. Augustus Etzlerus (seventeenth century?).

Ferrier. Auger Ferrier (1513-1588). See Thorndike, VI, 478-480.

Firmicus. Julius Firmicus Maternus (fourth century).
See Thorndike, I, 525-538.

Garcaeus. Johannes Garcaeus Junior (1530-1575). See Thorndike, VI, 102-105.

Haly. Abū-l-Ḥasan 'Alī ibn Riḍwan ibn 'Alī ibn Ja'far al-Miṣrī (c.998-1061 or 1067). See Sarton, I, 729-730.

Hasfurtus. Johann Virdung von Hassfurt (fl. 1510). See Thorndike, IV, 456-457, V, 203-204.

Junctinus. Francesco Giuntini (1523-1590). See Thorndike, VI, 129-133.

Leovitius. Cyprian Leowitz (1524-1574). See Thorndike, VI, 111-112, 115-118.

Leopoldus. Leopoldus de Austria (thirteenth century). See Sarton, II, 996.

Lindholt. Henricus à Lindhout (fl. 1600). See Thorndike, VI, 140-141.

Maginus. Giovanni Antonio Magini (d. 1617). See Thorndike, V, 250-251.

Manginus. Antonius Mangini (seventeenth century?).

Montulmo. Antonio de Monte Ulmi (fourteenth century). See Thorndike, III, 603-610.

Nabod. Valentin Nabod (1527-?). See Thorndike, VI, 119-123.

Origanus. David Origanus (1558-1628). See Thorndike, VI, 60-61.

Pezelius. Christopherus Pezelius.

Pontanus. Jovianus Pontanus or Giovanni Pontano (1426-1503). See Encyclopaedia Britannica (Chicago, 1948).

Ptolemy. Claudius Ptolemaeus (second century). See Sarton, I, 272-278.

Regiomontanus. Johann Muller (1436-1476). See Encyclopaedia Britannica.

Schonerus. Johann Schöner (1477-1547). See Thorndike, V, 354ff.

Tanstetter. Georg Tanstetter (1482-1535). See Thorndike, V, 348-349.

Zael. Abū'Uthmān Sahl ibn Bishr ibn Ḥabīb ibn Hānī (ninth century). See Sarton, I, 569, and Thorndike, II, 390.

Zobolus. Alfonso Zoboli (d.c.1640). See Biographie Universelle.

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