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EDITORIAL

Welcome back to *The Tradition*. Although six months can be a long time for periodicals, we hope that you have found *The Tradition* NEWS of interest between times.

Our authors have produced some fine work for this issue; some in-depth, some less so, but all interesting and very well-researched. We hope that you will agree that this is a comprehensive issue which appeals to most readers in different ways, and, as always, very good value for money. We thank you for your donation to animal welfare and rescue. Please note that A.P.A.A. now has its web site up: <http://www.apaaportugal.com/> and has some very interesting items there showing how hard they are working.

The Tradition Library - www.traditionlibrary.com

In our attempts to provide more information and less personal opinion, we have decided to embark on this new project. The shelves of the *Library* will gradually be filled with transcriptions of original texts, abstracts of previously untranslated works, historical charts and data drawn from manuscript sources, factual presentations based on these, commentaries, and other items to encourage the flow of saliva in astrologers' mouths!

Its purpose is to provide a central point to which astrologers can resort for their resources. Those resources will be reliable and properly referenced and researched, saving you a lot of time and trouble, but providing security of scholarship. As always, this project will continue as your editors' time allows, but we are helped enormously by Peter Stockinger, who, we are pleased to say, has agreed to join us.

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Peter Stockinger & Sue Ward

The main theme of this paper is the infamous contention between William Lilly and John Gadbury. Detailed research shows that it has been misconstrued and misrepresented by modern historians and commentators. This study attempts to address the largely unsubstantiated opinions most commonly presented, and using source material has led to alternative, and often very different, conclusions.



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Monster of Ingratitude

Following the facsimile reprint of William Lilly's magnum opus, *Christian Astrology* in 19851, there has been an increasing interest in Lilly. Since this republication the numbers of astrologers and non-astrologers commenting on Lilly's work, politics and personal life has increased proportionately. The majority of those commentators rely for their information on a limited number of sources: a single biography, subsidiary biographies based upon it, and occasionally on the 18th and 19th century published versions of Lilly's autobiography. This autobiography², first published in 1715 after the autograph (now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford), continues to be the main source of information regarding Lilly's life. The biographers, Derek Parker³ and Patrick Curry⁴, use these published editions as a main source. Curry states that he used the second edition from 1715, while Parker's choice was the edition of 1822, for its ease of accessibility⁵. It is instructive to note that Professor Josten says, "[Lilly's autobiography] has been printed in several editions, none of which is wholly reliable"⁶ (excluding Curry's article which was published much later).

The sources found in Curry's article, published nearly thirty years after *Familiar to All*, include Parker's own book and most of the sources Parker used, for example, Elias Ashmole's *Autobiographical Notes*⁷ and Keith Thomas's *Religion and the Decline of Magic*⁸. Unfortunately neither Curry nor Parker provides the interested historian or astrologer with the exact sources of their quotations and from which they draw their conclusions. While this is standard practise for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB) where often only a bibliography is provided, the many pamphlets and almanacs written by Lilly and his colleagues are essential for a deeper understanding of William Lilly, but such information as they contain is often buried within. This might be one of the reasons why succeeding commentators using the above-mentioned biographies as their sources, have never delved more deeply into the subject to learn about the complexities of Lilly's life and his relationships with his contemporaries. A close look at remarks from those commentators, whose articles can be found aplenty on the internet, reveals that none of them has looked

much beyond Parker or the *ODNB*. Where they have availed themselves of other source material, all seem to have repeated Parker's conclusions. The result of this has been a perpetuation of misunderstandings and inaccuracies.

In order to demonstrate how a more wide-ranging selection of sources can reveal surprising information and lead to alternative conclusions, we shall draw attention to the turbulent relationship between William Lilly and John Gadbury which hitherto has been treated largely as a protracted exchange between professional and political rivals. We shall show that the enmity which developed had a much different cause than has been supposed. To explore this relationship properly a thorough examination of Lilly's life and work is required, but we shall limit ourselves to that biographical information required for a fuller understanding of this particular aspect of Lilly's life. Information found in modern commentaries on this subject is sparse, thus their authors' opinions are unreliable. We have investigated, as far as possible, all extant published texts of the period which refer to the relationship between Lilly and Gadbury.

William Lilly (1602-1681)

William Lilly was born on April 30th, 1602 (OS) in Diseworth, Leicestershire, where he spent the first eighteen years of his life. He and his family were of yeoman stock but, because of his father's falling into poverty, he had to return home from grammar school in Ashby-de-la-Zouch. It was here that he had been taught grammar, rhetoric, Latin and Greek by the Puritan schoolmaster, John Brinsley⁹. Realising that he would be unable to enter university, he took an offer made to him by his family's solicitor and moved to London to make his fortune there. In his pamphlet, *Anglicus, peace or no peace*¹⁰, he writes about his relocation:

I was native of Diseworth, Leicester shire, and so a Bean-belly. I have cause to bless God, and so I do, that I ever came to the City of London, which I did the 9th of April 1620. with a hundred pence in my purse and no more.

Lilly would spend the next sixteen years there, as the servant of Gilbert Wright, a member of the Company of Salters, and Lilly's own description of his duties leaves us in no doubt about his lowly status. However, being able to read and write, he became indispensable and impressed his illiterate master with his hard work and honesty. His good fortune really began in 1627 after Gilbert Wright died after which he successfully courted his master's widow, Ellen Whitehaire, whom he eventually married. She died only six years later, and in 1636 Lilly left London. In the letter to the reader in *Prophecy of the White King*, Lilly explains about his departure:

In the latter part of the year 1635, I was afflicted with much sicknesse, and enforced to betake my selfe in the Countrey to avoid the multiplicity of my acquaintance more than the infirmnesse itself. In April 1636 (I bade adieu to London) it was said by some and believed by many, that I did it to avoid the plague which that yeare ensued.¹¹

It is interesting to note that Lilly had already achieved considerable renown for his abilities as astrologer and occultist, and that it was this renown which played such a large part in his decision to leave London. But, once recovered, the rural life began to pall and in 1640 Lilly moved back to London and there began to practice as a professional astrologer. He writes about it in 1644:

Like an Hermit fourteen miles from London I lived neere Oatlands: But the heavens appearing cloudy, and foretelling mee a storme was coming, I left my Country habitation 1640, and came to London, where now I am,¹²

Two years later, in 1642, the Civil War broke out and the following years would shape the lives of the English beyond recognition for centuries to come. By this time, Lilly had become an established astrologer and had developed a good reputation. In 1644 he published his first almanac, *Anglicus Merlinus Junior*, wherein he states:

The discourse hath already found some friends, it must now expect as many enemies; I care not, I have avoided almost the termes of Art, that it might appear plaine and easie to the meanest; some things in my Copy the Licenser expunged, its thereby lesse significant: I am contended, it might have appeared in better termes four moneth sooner, had I intended to print.¹³

The second edition of the almanac for 1644, published only weeks later because of high demand, contained the unexpurgated text and the comment referring to the licenser had disappeared. Lilly would continue to produce his almanacs on an annual basis until his death in 1681. Although the publication and wide distribution of his *Anglici Merlini* brought him fame, this did not come without a price in that political pressure was applied commensurate with his popularity. The nation was embroiled in a civil war and anybody who could contribute to the 'war effort' was pressed into service. This is not to say that Lilly was unwilling, but there is little doubt that political considerations had to be accounted for. In his *Anglicus* of 1673 he writes:

The Wars still continuing in those years betwixt his Majesty of England and the Dutch; we were desired by some worthy Persons to explain that Prophecy; which in a Manuscript we did, with some other Astrological Observations, upon the present and future estate of the Hollanders, it was ready for the Press; but by some prudent persons it was thought not fit to be made publick; there being then some overtures for Peace.

Shortly before his death Lilly wrote about these pressures in his *Anglicus* of 1677:

We desire to give no Offence, but such is the peevishness of Men and the Times, That we have been silent in some material Affairs; for We let the Nation know, that since We wrote first, We have been Nine times under Restraint to Our great Cost and Charge.¹⁴

William Lilly was first and foremost a professional astrologer and predicted what his art dictated to him. It was unfortunate that he was put under such political pressures and which led to many of the difficulties he experienced in his public life. In 1656 Lilly writes:

[We are] intending therefore (if God spare our life) to retire and end those few years we have yet remaining in quietnesse, piece and tranquillity, we were more sparing; we have had a full experience of the vanity and inconsistency of the Creature; we have known both good and evil fortune: we have been sensible of Liberty and Imprisonment: we have been a Servant to the unthankfull; we have shared in honour and dishonour, notwithstanding all which, we have had all along since 1644.¹⁵

There are other passages from his later almanacs in which he refuses to be drawn into political or religious debates for the same reason of desiring peace and quiet for his last years. His frankness in discussing the peaks and troughs of his career is disarming, as is his wanting to avoid further trouble with the authorities.

In the same year of 1644, Lilly published *A Prophecy of the White King*, predicting that Charles I, without naming him directly, would be defeated by the forces of Parliament. As a result, Captain George Wharton¹⁶, an astrologer and devoted Royalist, attacked Lilly in his own Almanac for 1645¹⁷. In the autobiography, Lilly writes:

I had then no further intention to trouble the press any more, but Sir Richard Napper 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.¹⁸

This seems to have been the turning point, where political pressure, focused through the accusations of George Wharton, appears to have moulded William Lilly into a Parliamentary astrologer. To defend his reputation Lilly had little choice but to take sides, as he goes on to explain:

Before that Time I was more Cavalier than Roundhead, 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; and you will find in this Story many passages of Civility which I did and endeavoured to do, with the Hazard of my Life for his Majesty: But God has ordered all his affairs and Councils to have no Successes, as in the Sequel will appear.¹⁹

There is no reason to suggest that this sentiment is insincere; it was not a particularly uncommon political expression. For example, it was very soon after that Ashmole²⁰, hitherto a Royalist officer, was introduced to Lilly by a Roman Catholic. There is more contemporary evidence to support these statements than there is to refute them, and biographers might avail themselves of that evidence rather than modern opinions often based upon slight research.

Lilly was a deeply religious man and his astrology was based upon the fact that every action undertaken must be first and foremost to serve God. This quotation from his almanac of 1651²¹ gives us an insight into his beliefs and morality:

I feare not their bellowing or thundering against me or Astrology, I seek God in his own words, wherein I find no Envy, Malice, self-ends, domineering, rebellion against Superiors, or Lording it over tender Consciences commanded, or checking the spirit of any upon whom his holy spirit breaths: In the Gospel of Jesus Christ, I find sweet perswasions, most heavenly directions, that all our Actions be performed with love, charity, meekness, submission and obedience to powers and Authority, sith they are ordained by God.²²

We are not attempting to portray Lilly as other than an imperfect man, but we do want to demonstrate that there are other perspectives than cynical ones. We should not confuse our modern disaffection from religion and moral standards such as personal honour, with a code of conduct that was commonly expected of the educated classes. Furthermore, we will point out that this was the precise difference between Lilly and Gadbury and with which Gadbury was repeatedly criticised by his contemporaries.

On June 12th 1645, the King was defeated at Naseby, vindicating Lilly's astrological prediction²³. His fame as an astrologer was growing and he was making influential friends who would be of great help to him in the future. As previously mentioned, in 1646 Elias Ashmole was introduced to Lilly by the Royalist Jonas Moore²⁴. This is significant because Ashmole, as a Royalist officer, was forbidden to enter London, thus his activities required some caution. It is known that Ashmole assisted Lilly with the production of *Christian Astrology* in terms of the diagrams and charts and Lilly presumably paid him for that work²⁵. The beginning of their acquaintanceship was not without difficulty, but Lilly and Ashmole would become lifelong friends, and the latter would help Lilly out of some dangerous predicaments after the Restoration of 1660. But the most influential friend of William

Lilly was without doubt Bulstrode Whitelocke, the Keeper of the Great Seal. In 1643, Lilly diagnosed Whitelocke's illness from a urine sample brought to him and from which he correctly predicted recovery. After this event the two men became firm friends and Lilly had found a patron in Whitelocke who would act in his favour and protect him in times of political turmoil and personal crisis. Lilly showed his gratitude by dedicating his *Christian Astrology* to him and by bequeathing his entire estate to Whitelocke's son, Carlton, following Ruth Lilly's death. (It was Whitelocke who had lent the money to Lilly to secure the purchase of houses to which the horary "If I should purchase Master B. his houses" refers in *Christian Astrology*.)

From about 1649 onwards, Lilly's fame and reputation were unrivalled by any other British astrologer. He was best known for his annual almanac *Anglicus Merlin* – the most widely-read at the time – and for his successful predictions, like the victory of the Parliamentary forces at Colchester. On a personal level he was introduced to Lord Fairfax²⁶, was acquainted with the famous mathematician William Oughtred²⁷ and the astrologer and herbalist Nicholas Culpeper²⁸. Scientists like the astronomers Vincent Wing²⁹ and Jeremy Shakerley³⁰ wrote letters to Lilly seeking his advice. But there were of course critics of William Lilly as well. In 1653, the cleric Thomas Gataker³¹ published his *Vindication*³² in which he criticises Lilly in very strong terms. In his autobiography, Lilly writes:

In his [Gataker's] annotations thereuppon, hee makes a scandalous exposition, and in express termes, hints at mee, repeating verbatim 10 or 12 lines of an Epistle of mine in one of my former *Anglicus*. The substance of my Epistle was that I did conceive the good Angells of God, did first reveale Astrology unto mankind, etc. but hee in his Annotations calls mee blind Bussard, etc.

Having now Liberty of the Press, and hearing the old man was very Cholerick, I thought fitt to raise it upp and onely wrote I referred my discourse then in hand to the discussion and judgment of sober persons, but not unto Thomas Wiseacre, for Senes bis pueri: these very words begott the writing of 42 sheets against my selfe and Astrology. The next year I quibbled again in 3 or 4 lines against him, then hee printed 22 sheets against me. I was persuaded by Doctor Gawdy, late Bishop of Excester, to let him alone, but in my next yeares *Anglicus*, in August observations, I wrote, Hoc in tumbo jacet Presbiter et Nebulo; in which very month hee died.³³

However, of greater interest to us is what Lilly wrote in commenting upon Gataker's death:

We will henceforth meditate Heaven, and are resolved never hereafter to meddle in point of Controversie, or to take notice in print, either of the person or failings of any particular man.³⁴

Indeed, as far as can be ascertained, Lilly never did engage his critics in print again. It is true that there are comments made by him from time to time regarding Gadbury, but these are always in response to a particularly violent attack by the latter. Some examples will clarify the matter, but Lilly's words should be borne in mind as we proceed.

Lilly's network of friends, assistants and supporters was wide and reached far beyond London. From the available evidence it is clear that he attempted to help whenever he could; simply put, those who knew him, generally liked him. He appears to have been affable, good-humoured, sociable, generous and compassionate. These characteristics are clearly shown in his letters to Ashmole³⁵ and in the fact that the later years of his life were given to treating the sick of his local area. He asked no payment for this, and his generosity

to the Parish of Walton on Thames whilst a Warden of the Church is recorded by Ashmole.³⁶ There is enough evidence to contradict opinions such as those recorded in Parker that Lilly “was fond of money”³⁷. So far as it is possible to tell, there is no evidence to support this view, quite the contrary.

Lilly was at the centre of a large group of intelligent men respected in their own fields: mathematicians, physicians, astronomers, astrologers, politicians, gentlemen and nobles. This deserves more attention than it has been given, as the evidence suggests that his influence was based upon a superior position within that group and there is little doubt about the esteem in which he was held by members of that group. Professor Josten also speculates on the matter³⁸ and we find our own research over many years has led us to a similar conclusion. For now it is enough to say that to fall out with William Lilly was, potentially, to fall out with many others.

John Gadbury (1627-1704)

Biographical information about Gadbury is fairly easily found, but as with that of Lilly, finding reliable information is more difficult. There is evidence to suggest that there were at least two versions of John Gadbury’s beginnings: the version he himself preferred and that heard from those who knew him. The story that persisted throughout his life is summed up by Aubrey:

Mr. Gadbury the astrologer’s father, a taylor, takes the measure of a young lady for a gowne and clappes up a match.³⁹

The editor’s note appended to this entry shows that Wood provided a less insulting account:

Anthony Wood in the *Ath. Oxon.* gives a more correct version of this story. William Gadbury, a farmer, of Wheatley, co. Oxon, made a stolen marriage with a daughter of Sir John Curson

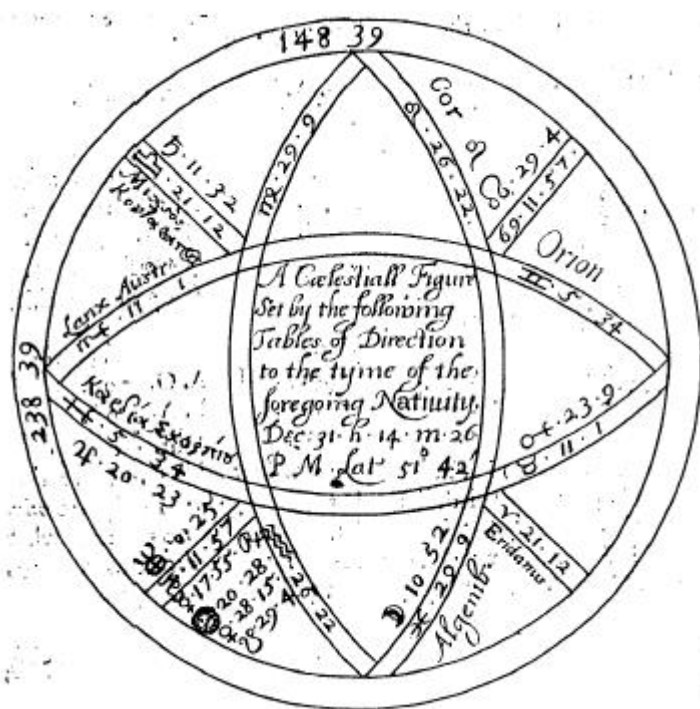
of Waterperry. Their son, John Gadbury, was apprentice to an Oxford tailor, before he set up as an astrologer.

Even so, Gadbury was offended by the remarks and threatened to write publicly about the matter⁴⁰, implying yet another of his broadsides or pamphlets which, as we will show, had been a fairly frequent activity. In his reply to Aubrey’s letter informing him of this, Wood expresses surprise that Gadbury should be upset that it would now be known that he was not Oxford educated, but that his education was “mechanical” and thus would be admired. John Partridge plays on this in one of his pamphlet responses to Gadbury’s attacks:

...and away they sent him to St. Nichols’s Colledge, where with the help of a good Tutor, and a whetting Diet, this little thief grew as sharp as a Needle, to the admiration of all the Fellows of that House, and the circumadjacent Colledges, who spent their time in that kind of Study; so that it was generally agreed on as a Gratitude to his Merit, and for the Reputation of his Parts, to confer on him that Honourable Title of Lousy Jack; and under this Reputation he was for some time mad Runner General for the whole Society, where he spent a few years to make him fit to take his Degrees at London; to which place he came at a good suitable Age,...⁴¹

Gadbury had been apprenticed to a tailor named Nichols in Oxford and it is to this that the author is referring. Partridge then mentions obliquely Gadbury’s poverty once settled in London whilst working for a merchant adventurer named Taylor. During this period Gadbury married for the first time and lived near Strand Bridge⁴² according to Partridge. In *Doctrine of Nativities*⁴³, he presents a table of directions for the ‘client’s’ nativity, on this Gadbury writes that in 1633 (or 1634) the native “Went to a Lawyer”, to which Lilly adds, “then to a Taylor.”. For 1636, the note for that direction is “An Apprentice”, to which Lilly adds, “to a Taylor in

Oxford called Nicholls.” Since Gadbury was born in 1627, this would bring him to 7 and 9 years of age. Although this seems very young, it was not uncommon for a child in poverty to be apprenticed at an early age. Indeed, one of Lilly’s comments in his copy of *Doctrine* indicates that the parish had paid for Gadbury’s apprenticeship: this might happen in cases of illegitimacy as well as poverty. The same table reports that Gadbury, the ‘client’, married in 1651 and had a child in 1653.



Gadbury’s nativity from *Doctrine*

Gadbury’s writing career began with a pamphlet, when in 1652 he wrote a reply to “Philastrogus”⁴⁴ wherein he defended Nicholas Culpeper against the latter’s criticisms and demonstrated support for William Lilly and others. He published a book as co-author with his uncle, Timothy Gadbury, in 1656⁴⁵ which was a recalculation of *Hartgill’s Tables*. Followed in 1658 by his first book as sole author⁴⁶; it is within those pages that we discover more about the man himself. As part of this book, Gadbury demonstrates the preceding theory by way of the delineation of a nativity. As previously

noted, he presents this nativity as that of a client, but it is his own, and from this we can read his own view of his character and the events of his life up to that date. He also includes a retrospective for the year 1654 as his ‘directions’ refer to it, and then he predicts upon the nativity for the year 1658. As we will show, these years are of the greatest import both for Gadbury and for our examination here.⁴⁷ He began his annual almanacs in 1655 which continued until his death, but his career as an author was varied and prolific. For the moment, this will suffice, but we will refer to others of Gadbury’s publications as the need arises.

It is widely reported⁴⁸ that Gadbury left London to learn astrology from Nicholas Fiske. The *ODNB* states that this was in 1644 and 1652 and that it took place in Oxford⁴⁹, but this is difficult to accept when, in a separate article from the *ODNB*, it is stated that Fiske was resident in London from 1633 until his death in 1659⁵⁰. Notable, too, is Gadbury’s own statement that he did not have his nativity in 1654⁵¹, if he had been studying astrology from 1644 or 1652 he would have calculated his own natal chart. It is striking too that Gadbury did not begin to make claims about Fiske being his tutor in astrology until *after* Fiske had died and thus could not object. Also of note is that some scholars⁵² accept Gadbury’s date of birth for Fiske, assuming it to be more accurate because they accept that Fiske was his tutor. Gadbury states⁵³ that Fiske was 84 years old when he died which places his birth in 1575. Lilly notes⁵⁴ that Fiske was 78 years of age when he died – bearing in mind that he and Fiske had been friends for over 25 years – producing a birth year of 1580 or 1581. Fiske himself says that in 1650 he was “more than seventy”⁵⁵, while this may mean that he was somewhere between 70 and 80 years of age, it is more likely that he meant between 70 and 71 years of age, which places his birth in 1580. This is supported by context because he was complaining about the great delay in publishing this work because of political interference; had he been 75

years old, as Gadbury's date of death implies, he would have said so. Some commentators report that when Gadbury left London to return to his grandfather, he took up his studies at Oxford University, this, too, is inaccurate according to contemporary records⁵⁶.

Gadbury's political and religious allegiances appear to have been mutable according to contemporary critics, and, to a certain extent, to Gadbury himself in his delineation of his own nativity in *Doctrine*, "...which very well portends prejudice by religious tenets, or at least, those that are presumed to be so, although they have nothing of true religion in them". A fairly detailed account of this can be found in Partridge⁵⁷ (and elsewhere), albeit in the terms of a critic. However, the point of emphasis is that to change one's religion was a drastic act. It pointed to hypocrisy, inconstancy, unreliability, superficiality and – in a time when one's religion often spoke of more than one's spiritual affiliations – treason. This is particularly notable with Gadbury, because he appears to have changed his political allegiances concurrently with those of his religion. This is clearly apparent in his pamphlets printed after the Restoration⁵⁸. Of course, the greatest of caution was exercised by all noted supporters of the Commonwealth, Lilly included, but Gadbury's words are extremist by any standard, and intended to put clear distance between him and his former associates. Descriptions of Gadbury's inconstant and impulsive nature are found frequently, as are those of a socially uncouth man lacking in intelligence and discrimination. Such descriptions dogged Gadbury for most of his life.

Ingratitude

In our time it is difficult to appreciate how serious an accusation of ingratitude was. We live in a capitalist or commercial age when we buy the things we need and suppliers sell them to us for profit; thus gratitude is hardly necessary. We

earn our livings with certain safeguards and rights, and the thought of being grateful to an employer is anathema. In the UK the opportunity for destitution is limited and for starvation even more so. In earlier times all but the most wealthy and powerful needed assistance and support, and patronage put food on the table. To be ungrateful for this patronage, no matter how well-earned, was considered to be unforgivable. Gratitude was a debt, an obligation, a responsibility on which one's honour and reputation depended. It may seem strange to modern minds used to individual 'rights' of one kind or another, but we should not confuse the principle of gratitude with servility. There are many letters written to Lilly asking for favours of various sorts, the writer *always* proffered their thanks and service.

The epithet of "monster of ingratitude" was not, in fact, original to Lilly, but is a well-known line from Shakespeare's *King Lear* where Lear refers to his daughters' duplicity in pretending love for him. The phrase implies ingratitude of vast and inhuman (monstrous) proportions, a sin that goes against nature. Shakespeare returns to this theme in his writings a number of times highlighting the importance of the principle, particularly to parents. Ingratitude is synonymous with treason in social and political terms and this is brought to light again in a commentary on Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*:

Ingratitude, the theme (or sub-theme) that I will examine, is itself a violation of Order, for it is the failing to render what is due to him to whom it is due. Shakespeare has woven the idea of ingratitude into the play, with the effect of once more underscoring the grand theme of Order. The accusation of ingratitude reverberates throughout the play. In *Coriolanus*, "ingratitude" is a word in the mouths of many. It is an idea in the minds of all. And it is a fault or sin which contributes greatly to the death of the hero and the near catastrophe that befalls Rome itself.⁵⁹

One of the mainstays of society in ancient Rome was the principle of patronage and the grateful client, and so Seneca's words are clear:

He is ungrateful who denies that he has received a kindness which has been bestowed upon him; he is ungrateful who conceals it; he is ungrateful who makes no return for it; most ungrateful of all is he who forgets it.⁶⁰

Ingratitude potentially undermined the very fabric of society, especially one such as that of the mid-17th century which depended on friendship, assistance and support. In astrological terms, the 11th house is presently associated with friendship, but it had a much broader meaning in earlier ages, including just those qualities mentioned above, or in modern terms: sponsorship. The mention of parents is understandable because it was they who 'bred' ingrates. On this note, we might remember that William Lilly, who had no children, referred to Thomas Agar as his son⁶¹ which may be speculated as a close relationship of another order. Elias Ashmole notes that William Backhouse⁶² bestowed upon him the honour of calling him "son", Ashmole calling Backhouse "father". This was at a time when Backhouse thought he may be dying and, a short time later, gave Ashmole the secret of the Philosopher's Stone⁶³. It may be that Lilly took a similar view of Gadbury, thus the reference, if it was to King Lear particularly, would have had a double significance.

So, we might draw from this that Lilly's accusation was of great seriousness, the substance of which would have been clearly understood by his contemporaries. Gadbury's pretence of friendship to Lilly and the subsequent betrayal of his trust were summed up in the word "ingratitude", in the word "monster" we understand an aberration of nature, a miscreation. But this 'sin' was never forgotten or forgiven even beyond Lilly's death; the accusation survived him in the hands of at least one other⁶⁴ demonstrating the gravity of such a charge.

In Gadbury's address "To the Reader" in *Doctrine*, he himself writes the following:

Onely give me leave to signifie to the World, the Assistance I have received in the Compilement of this Treatise, and from whom: which, if I should bury in silence, I might expect the black brand of Ingratitude to be annexed unto my Name for ever.

And so it was.

We can find no other specific reference to the cause of Lilly's dismay, although we will present some of the more notable comments. In fact, even though much was written about the matter over the years, largely by Gadbury, no specific cause was ever mentioned. The charge of ingratitude suggests that the problem arose from patronage – although Lilly never uses this word – or a situation resonant with it. Gadbury had accepted favours and kindnesses from Lilly and, not only did he fail to repay him, but also betrayed him and everything that Lilly represented.

The Cause

It was at around the time of Gadbury's *Philastrogus Knavery* in 1652 that he met Elias Ashmole, according to his own account : "He was also my most Honour'd FRIEND and PATRON, and I had the Happiness of an Intimate Acquaintance with him near Fourty Years;"⁶⁵. Ashmole died in 1692 implying that this "Intimate Acquaintance" began in 1652 or thereabouts, although how intimate this relationship was is open to question judging by how Gadbury addresses Ashmole when writing to him in later years.⁶⁶ Indeed, Gadbury is seldom mentioned by Ashmole at all.

Accepting that Gadbury became acquainted with Ashmole in 1652, it is very likely that this was also true of Lilly, too. In fact, it is more likely that Lilly introduced Gadbury and his uncle to Ashmole,

pointed out by the quotation below. Ashmole and Lilly had been reconciled and their friendship placed on a firm footing, Lilly having assisted with the release of Ashmole's friend, George Wharton, in 1649. This was during the period of the Interregnum⁶⁷, when it was a dangerous time to be a Royalist, therefore both Ashmole and Wharton would have been in need of friends such as Lilly. And Lilly had been a friend to many who, because of the Civil War, were in lesser circumstances than himself; Ashmole was one such. The strength of these friendships should not be underestimated; as Wharton discovered, they often meant the difference between life and death.

Gadbury, with his uncle, Timothy, published an edition of Hartgill's astronomical tables⁶⁸ (corrected tables of the positions of the fixed stars), in 1656, approximately four years after meeting Ashmole. The book is dedicated to Ashmole, and Lilly writes a foreword for the book dated February 1654/5, (laudatory poems are included from, among others, John Booker and George Wharton – better credentials could not have been wished for) . It is unsurprising to see such encouragement and support when correct tables were so rare and so necessary for an astrologer's work. It would be easy to imagine that astrologers leapt at the opportunity to support such an enterprise.

In this work the authors acknowledge Lilly's assistance:

In order to its Redaction, we applied our selves unto the most Learned and truly Noble Artist Mr. William Lilly, who no sooner hearing our intentions were to reduce *Hartgils* Tables, but very Nobly and Generously offered us the use of his *Studies*, toward the accomplishment of this so necessary a Work; which was (not only an encouragement, but) a great advantage to us, in this our troublesome Taske.

Note that they sought out Lilly ("applied ourselves

unto") and that they had not yet begun work on the tables. It is from this that we deduce that Gadbury's acquaintance with Ashmole followed. It is clear that Lilly was enthusiastic about the project and that other astrologers of his standing followed suit. Although the Gadburys acknowledge that Lilly had handed over his work on the matter at the very beginning of their project, no mention is made of his being John's tutor. We might think that this is evidence of Lilly's word being untrue. However, they also mention the assistance of Nicholas Fiske who Gadbury later maintained *was* in fact his tutor:

And let us not be unmindfull of the many civilities of that most eminently Learned Mathematician Doctor *Nicholas Fiske*, who in many parts of the *Worke* did abundantly assist us, and (to say the truth) had not his encouragements prevailed on us, we had left it off, when we had done a third part of it.

It is quite clear that Fiske had assisted with the mathematics of the project, but again there is no mention of his having taught astrology to Gadbury. It is of course possible that there had been conversations between them about astrology, indeed it would be strange if that had not happened, but there is no mention of any prolonged association along those lines. Partridge notes⁶⁹:

He went to Dr. Fisk, to know what the meaning of Jupiter in the 6th House was, and this in the year 1650. Of whom he says, he learnt that little of Astrology that he hath. Utterly disowning his best Master, Mr. Lilly, by whose Assistance (he says in the Epistle to his Doctrine of Nativities) and Favours, he was enabled to compleat that Book, which was printed in the Year 1657. Now do you think that Mr. Lilly's Acquaintance had done him no Service, beside the use of Books in that Seven years? Or do you believe his asking Dr. Fisk that one question, had set him in a Station

above the want of other Instructions? If so, he was the adeptest Scholar to one, and the most ungreatful to the other of any man living. But I shall forbear any further Aggravation of that Ingratitude, because the whole Nation is so well acquainted with the thing.

This would have been the place for those acknowledgements, at the beginning of Gadbury's career when good fortune abounded and he hoped to prosper. A biographer might accept the word of their subject about such matters, but this was also challenged by Gadbury's contemporaries. Whilst it is not unknown of course to use any means possible to win a battle of words, the context of these challenges and of those who made them appears never to have been examined.

The Gadburys go on to describe the difficulties they had encountered in completing the work, how tedious and laborious it was. They speculate that Hartgill himself may have taken as much as seven years to complete the original tables. They had Ashmole's patronage, Lilly's work to get them started and Fiske's help along the way. Therefore, we might assume that the Gadburys would not have completed the work in under three years, particularly if we take into account the number of times they almost gave up on it⁷⁰. We might assume that Lilly would have written his foreword after having had sight of the final proof of the manuscript. So accepting the date of Lilly's foreword of 1655, work would have begun after Lilly donated his "studies" to them in about 1652 – the year in which Gadbury says that he met Ashmole. It seems obvious, based on this evidence, that John Gadbury introduced himself to Lilly who then introduced him to Ashmole.

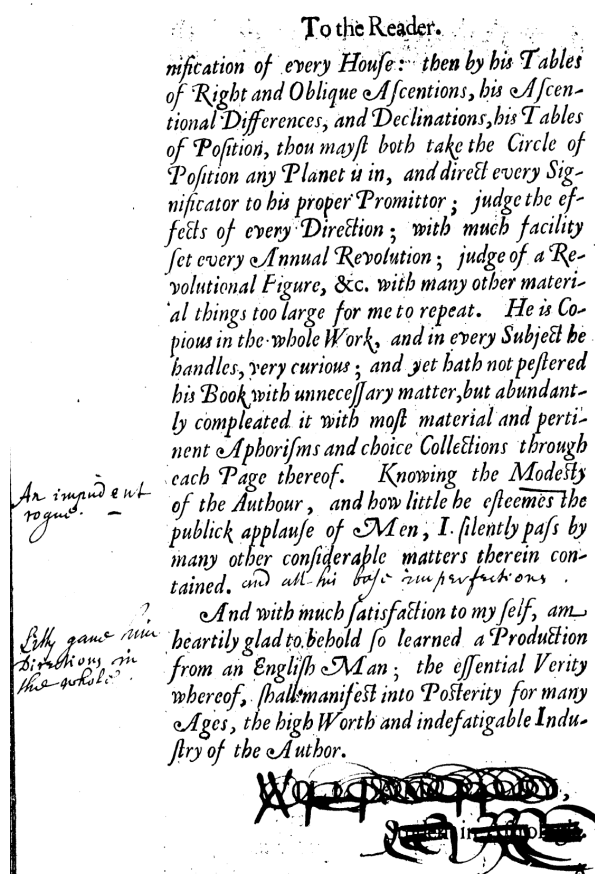
It is interesting that Gadbury chose 1654 and 1658 as examples of predicting upon his own nativity; for him the opportunity of paid employment and astrological tuition were enormously important. He was associated with the most famous astrologer in the country (perhaps equalled only by John

Booker) with international renown; he was indeed fortunate. In 1658 his *Doctrine* was published with a recommendation from Lilly and Booker, which in anyone's estimation was extraordinarily fortunate. It is this book which brings us primary source information about the rift between Lilly and Gadbury.

William Lilly's own copy of *Doctrine* is extant⁷¹ and in it we find extensive marginalia which provide a fascinating insight into what had happened. These notes provide a commentary on Gadbury's text and on the man himself, and give us a wider view of the contention. It is from these notes that we find that Gadbury was in London in 1646 as a "covenant servant" to one John Thorn, a tailor, located "over against the Talbot in the Strand". It is clear from these notes that Lilly's knowledge of Gadbury was far different from that usually published in biographies. It is much in accord with that of Partridge⁷² who was close to Gadbury for much longer than Lilly had been.

In these marginalia the phrase "monster of ingratitude" is found a number of times, the first being on the frontispiece where Lilly has struck through the title of "Philomath" on the by-line and replaced it with "Taylor, & monster of ingratitude". The second occurrence is in Gadbury's address "To the Reader" where he writes:

When I first of all adventured upon this Task, I made my intention known unto my truly-honoured Friend, Mr. William Lilly, who, upon the hearing thereof, very nobly, and like a true and faithful Propagator of Art and Learning, gave me many encouragements to perfect the thing I intended; and that I might not want the Sight or Assistance of the best Authours, both Arabian and Latine, he most civilly and freely offered me the use of his Studie towards the Accomplishment hereof; without which signal Favour and Respect, it had been impossible for me to have framed it so perfect as thou now seest it. And I hereby



Marginalia from *Doctrine*

return him my hearty thanks, as the only Testimony of a Grateful Heart, where a Richer Requitul is wanting.

Here we see sincere thanks – gratitude – for the great generosity shown to Gadbury by Lilly, to which the latter responds:

Just see how this villain requited Lilly in 1659 & 1660 in writing 3 or 4 Libelling pamphlets against him.

We will provide further quotations as evidence that this is the essence of the whole matter: Gadbury published pamphlets against Lilly almost immediately following the publication of *Doctrine* in 1658. Before delving into those, we must look at the other notes which show why Lilly was so offended by Gadbury's betrayal. Having obliterated his own 'signature' at the end of his recommendation of Gadbury to the reader,

Lilly notes that he "gave him Directions in the whole". Later, Gadbury writes "These verses have I borrowed from the works of that worthy Poet, Mr. Tho. May.", to which Lilly notes, "tis very true, and all the whole book from Lilly, Origanus, Argol, and Sconer, nothing is this pimping fooles but the Tautology." Further pertinent remarks are: "... witness his several pamphlets against Lilly who was his maker, he is a monster of ingratitude", "The Rascall was a meer poor Taylor till Lilly taught him Astrology in 1654", and, "hee wrought 4 yeares to Lilly, made him new clothes, & mended his old."

This provides further support that the falling out between Lilly and Gadbury was truly brought about by the latter's demonstration of gross ingratitude. There is no reason for Lilly to mention the year of 1654 and that he began to teach Gadbury then if it were not true. Lilly's anger is plain, as was his generosity in providing Gadbury with as much as he did, but we can find no reason to disbelieve Lilly's comment that Gadbury was closely associated with him between 1654 and 1658. As he did for Ashmole, Lilly gave Gadbury work, and paid him⁷³, whilst also teaching him astrology. It is clear from Gadbury's preface to his *Doctrine*, that he had relied on Lilly to a considerable degree in its preparation.

So, supported by William Lilly in both work and study, Gadbury was encouraged to pursue a career in astrology. As he himself notes in his natal delineation, he was introduced to people of eminence and influence in various fields of knowledge, religion and politics; Lilly's circle was of men of education, influence and power. It is obvious from the retrospective delineation of his nativity for 1654, that Gadbury himself recognised this. It is also obvious that he was very pleased and excited at the possibilities that this presented. Lilly befriended Gadbury and employed him as his tailor and taught him between 1654 and 1658, even though this was disputed by Gadbury.

It may be, as has been suggested⁷⁴, that Gadbury declined from Lilly because of the latter's more 'magical' attitude towards astrology, or perhaps because of his politics, but it seems more likely that Gadbury was persuaded by his own desire to be on the winning side at all times. Richard Cromwell resigned as Lord Protector on 25th May 1659, (an interesting date in Gadbury's pamphleteering, as we will show) and Charles Stuart, soon to be Charles II, arrived at Dover exactly one year later. Clearly, Gadbury had convinced Lilly of his sincerity; Lilly was keen to find supporters of astrology with whom it might survive and flourish. But at a time when friends were often all that stood between a person and destitution, when patronage was actively sought, why did Gadbury discard the very things he had desired from Lilly in the first place? He could have maintained his subterfuge and thus maintained Lilly's support. There can be only one reason and that is that he had found a replacement for Lilly, someone Gadbury considered to be more powerful and influential, and the source of greater patronage and one who may have been in better standing with the Royalists. It would seem that Lilly was of no further use.

The Development

There are three distinct phases in the Gadbury affair: from 1652 to 1658; from 1659 to 1664; from 1673 to 1677. The first relates to the period of Lilly's support for Gadbury, the second to Gadbury's first period of attacks which began with widespread insults regarding Lilly's abilities leading to accusations of plagiarism, and the third which relates to the comment made by Lilly regarding the sign of Scorpio. We will handle these periods separately and chronologically as they appear in print.

1659-1664

Gadbury's *Doctrine* was published in 1658, the foreword is dated 21st April 1658, so we might assume that this work was being sold towards the

end of that year. We have already demonstrated that Lilly's active support had been obtained and thanks given to him in the foreword. The first attack appears to be within the pages of *Merlinus Gallicus*; the imprint is for 1660, but a handwritten date of 10th October 1659 is found on the frontispiece and implies that the former date was that of a second edition. Likewise, Gadbury's delineation of the King of Sweden's nativity has an imprint of 1659 with a handwritten date of 2nd May. It is clear from this pamphlet that it was written before Gadbury had decided that he no longer needed Lilly. Within the text is a fair quotation from Lilly's work, the only criticisms being within the epistle and on the cover. In its second edition it was bound with *The Spurious Prognosticator Unmasked*⁷⁵ which was printed in 1660. His delineation of the nativity of King Charles I was also printed twice, but the one to hand is that of 1659 with a handwritten date of August on the cover.

So within a few months of *Doctrine* being published, Gadbury was busy writing against Lilly and he appears to do this at every opportunity both in separate pamphlets and within his almanacs. The accusations became increasingly extreme and, in some cases, dangerous to Lilly where Gadbury draws attention to Lilly's writings relating to the death of Charles I. But initially, Gadbury's primary purpose is to undermine Lilly's credibility and standing as an astrologer. Keeping in mind that Gadbury had probably begun his study of astrology only in 1654 this would seem to have been an unwise enterprise. A common criticism made by Gadbury is that Lilly had little or no knowledge of astronomy and was lacking in his calculations, so it is interesting to note Lilly's handwritten comments in *Doctrine* on this subject. Where Gadbury presents sexagenary tables, Lilly notes:

These tables hee never understood, see the Nativity which is his owne about the proportional part of the 12. houses their Cuspes.

It is interesting that Gadbury accuses Lilly of shortcomings which were later proved to be his own. We estimate that Gadbury printed at least nine attacks on Lilly between 1659 and 1661. This was the period of political turmoil which occurred at the end of the Protectorship and the beginning of the Restoration, when Gadbury might have hoped for greater rewards. However, we can find no direct reference or reply to these attacks in Lilly's writings, and we should remember that Gadbury was not the only one who criticised him in savage terms, so there is no reason that we should find a direct reference to Gadbury. Neither can we find any replies from Lilly's supporters. We have found that Lilly responds to the political accusations in general terms, but we have no reason to think that this was because of Gadbury alone.

The attack is increased when, in 1662, Gadbury's *Collectio Geniturarum* was published. In this is a barely concealed accusation against Lilly of plagiarism. The accusation was that Lilly had used the unpublished work of Edward Gresham⁷⁶ in his first publication *Prophetical Merline* of 1644. There is no clear reason for Gadbury's waiting to make this accusation; according to him⁷⁷ he had known about this since his association with Nicholas Fiske who had died in early 1659. We might speculate that having had no response from Lilly and having baited him for long enough, Gadbury felt that desperate measures were required. Certainly, he appears to have hit the mark, because Lilly breaks his silence and replies and we should understand that Lilly may well have considered this to be a far more serious accusation than that of treason which had preceded it.

This particular example is important because it clearly shows the difference between Lilly and Gadbury in their respective positions in this contention and the moral code of each. Lilly writes⁷⁸:

..., we complain unto all Students in Astrology, of that slanderous aspersion cast upon us by J.G. in a late thing of his published, who being my Taylor from 1654 unto 1658 is not ashamed to commit to the press, this most egregious untruth, viz. That Richard Gresham was Author of the *Prophetical merline*, which was a Treatise of the effects of the last Conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter 1642 or 1643 and wrote by us in 1641. 1642. 1643. and published 1644. The truth is thus ----

Richard Gresham died about the year 1616 left nothing to posterity in print but some Almanacks; if he wrote any thing of the *Prophetical Merlin*, he was the greatest Prophet ever lived. For we quote several books printed after his death, viz. *Keplers Epitome*, printed 1623. *Campanella* his Astrology printed 1630. *Aestedius* printed after that year: and relate unto the page in every book; we mention W. Laud Archbishop of Canterbury, The Lord Chief-Justice Finch, the Earl of Strafford, these men had no honour in Greshams time, we mention the death of King James not dead in Greshams time; we mention the Comet of 1618 which appeared not till Gresham was dead; we mention Dr. Bainbrig who wrote of it, and of its declination every day: we mention Longomontanus, the Death of Queen Ann, who died 2 years or more after Gresham, also several other persons; we take notice of the then present breach betwixt King and parliament, which was 25 or 26 years after Gresham's death: *Oportet mendacem esse memorem*, but we are not disposed to quarrel with our Quondam Taylor, the most Ingrateful person living.

This is a brief and straightforward reply, that is addressed not to Gadbury, but to his readers. Lilly has been compelled to make a statement because a point of honour has to be made. Plagiarism is an expression of ingratitude and this, for Lilly, was far more important than any political points that Gadbury raised, even it seems when it apparently put him in danger of his life.

Gadbury replies⁷⁹ in, what are for him, restrained terms:

For Defending my self against the Sarcasms of that abusive person W.L. I suppose all Rational men will excuse me; he having fallen foul on me after a Truce was procured betwixt my self and him, by Captain G.W. which I kept inviolable, (I speak it in the presence of God, who is the onely Heart-Judger and Heart-Searcher) even in very words, for the very time I first thereunto consented: and not onely so, but have reprov'd others that (in hopes to please me) have reproachfully spoken of him; and of this, I have many Witnesses.

The epistle in this pamphlet, of which the above quotation forms a part, is dated 13th January 1664, which date is confusing. The pamphlet was licensed on 19th December 1663 and published in 1664, thus the date given by Gadbury should read, in Old Style, 13th January 1663/4. The point of these dates is that he speaks of a “truce” brokered by Wharton which he had “kept inviolable”. The only hiatus in Gadbury’s attacks that we can find follows the publication of *Collectio Geniturarum* in 1662; his epistle there is dated 8th August 1662. It is in this book that he accuses Lilly of plagiarism who replies in his almanac of 1664, which was completed in the autumn of 1663. This is Lilly’s earliest opportunity to reply without recourse to a separate pamphlet. As far as we know, the last time Gadbury attacked Lilly was in *Britains Royal Star* of 1661 (a date of 22nd November is written on the cover) and presumably the author was busy with his next book between times. So, Gadbury apparently published no further attacks between 1661 and 1662. If this is the period to which he refers as a “truce”, then it was he who broke it with the plagiarism accusation. However, Gadbury also writes immediately afterwards, “And the matter concerning Mr. Gresham was written long before that time.” If this is true, then the truce could have been in place only after that charge of 1662 and before Lilly’s reply of August 1663, imprinted 1664.

Trying to make sense of Gadbury’s versions of events is always difficult, but it is possible that Wharton approached Gadbury shortly before *Collectio* was published. They were on somewhat friendly terms (according to Gadbury), so this might have been an informal warning. Given what we know of Lilly, his status, reputation and circle of friends and supporters, it is highly unlikely that he would have made any kind of deal with Gadbury; in fact, it is incredible. Gadbury returns to his usual manner of expression at the end of *Dies Novissimus*⁸⁰ where he enters into eight pages of invective against Lilly. Since this is apparently the first time Lilly has responded to one of Gadbury’s attacks and in reasonably measured terms, it is illuminating to see that the latter interprets this as Lilly spitting venom at him.

This chapter of insults is plainly an attempt to rid himself of the charge of ingratitude by aiming it at Lilly. He repeats that Fiske was his “honoured Friend and Tutor” which has been shown to be an exaggeration at the least, and given that his version of the so-called “truce” is faulty at best, is likely to be untrue. Gadbury is infuriated at the lack of attention his complaints and charges have received from Lilly:

Well, but let Mr. L. play the Plagiarië still, and pilfer from whom he can; lisp and jabber, say and unsay as fast as oft as he please; he judges it wisdom it seems and honour enough to himself to raile upon my Person and Education, and that he thinks is satisfaction sufficient from him.

He goes on to accuse Lilly of ingratitude, lies, theft, of having been a tailor, a botcher, a “venomous... Sycophant”, an impostor and then goes on to repeat some of the troubles between Lilly and Gataker, and Lilly and Wharton. It is a catalogue of insults, but there is one point he makes that is of interest:

Mr. L. should have done well to have told me for what: for four years since he exhibited this charge against me, for which I questioned him before Mr. E. Carrent (now Adjutant-General of the honourable City of London) before whom he did not onely deny the Expression [of ingratitude], and called a Learned Minister False Scot, for telling me of it, but pronounced me to him, The most Grateful Person living.

Thus, Gadbury casts back to 1660, or perhaps 1659, when Lilly is first supposed to have charged him with ingratitude. Gadbury says that he has brought the matter up before Carrent – presumably a lawyer of whom we have been unable to find any record – where Lilly denied saying it and has called the minister who repeated the charge, a liar. We have not found this matter to be raised anywhere else in any form, so must conclude that Gadbury is being somewhat creative with the truth. Furthermore, other evidence suggests that Lilly himself was preparing a legal suit against Gadbury for his accusations of plagiarism.

Unusually, Lilly dedicates his *Anglicus* of 1664:

Unto Elias Ashmole Esq; who in all changes and every Revolution of Time, since first acquaintance 1646. hath continued (Semper idem [always the same] this Annual Astrological discourse is dedicated, by W. Lilly Student in Astrology.

We suggest that the reason that Lilly does this here is that Ashmole was working on his behalf at this time in the matter of Gadbury. In Ashmole's *Notes*⁸¹ for the 30th January 1663/4, which is a little over two weeks after Gadbury completed *Dies Novissimus*, he writes as follows:

Mr. Gadbury in his *Collectio Genituarum* pag: 179 and 180 saith that Mr: Edward Gresham wrote this discourse of the conjunction of Jupiter & Saturn which Mr. Lilly hath printed under the Tile of Englands propheticall Merlyn.

The discourse he here meanes, was written after the year 1618 for it gives an account of the Comet in that yeare: I having the originall in my hand, shewed it to Mr. Gadbury 30: Jan: 1663/4 who acknowledged to me that it was the very Booke Mr: Fiske shewed him for Mr: Greshams, & upon compairing it with this booke, found Mr: Lilly had made some, (but no Astrologicall) use of it, but very little. Beside it appears not to be the worke of Edw: Gresham, since it appears by the foll' Certificate he dyed many yeares before the yeare 1618.

By the Register of the Parish of Allhallows the less London I doe finde that Edward Gresham Gent: was buried the fourteenth day of January In the yeare one Thousand six hundred & twelve.

Examinatum per William Salusbury Notary Publick.

The certificate issued by Salusbury is preserved within Ashmole's papers and is another demonstration of how serious matters had become. We deduce from this that preparations were in hand to deal with Gadbury's accusations more formally with Ashmole acting as Lilly's attorney. However the matter was handled, and as far as we can ascertain, Gadbury's attacks and accusations ceased for about ten years.

1673-1677

In this last phase of Gadbury's battle against Lilly, the latter's health was deteriorating, to which he refers a number of times in his almanacs. During this period, Lilly writes little more than formerly, but on this occasion, others wrote on his behalf and we shall present parts of those responses.

Apparently, Gadbury was spurred into action by a short comment made by Lilly in his *Anglicus* of 1673 in which he is referring to the Spring Ingress of that year:

The sign ascending in this figure is Scorpio, a sign Stigmatized by all antient and

modern practisers in Astrology to be of evil signification, whether it concern the manners of the Native in a Nativity, or is the ascendant in any horary question, or in the revolution of the World: it is *signam falsitatis*, a sign of falsity, denoting the person to be arrogant, ambitious, ingrateful, a great boaster, Lier, letcherous, perjured, given to all manner of vice and lewdness, revengeful, the worst sign of all the Zodiack;...

Most biographers and commentators, following Parker⁸², take this as a deliberate insult to Gadbury, in whose nativity Scorpio ascends. We will not attempt to prove a negative and thus accept that this is possible; however, it was not the first time that Lilly writes so, "...Saturn in Scorpio, a most malapert and malicious sign,..."⁸³. There are, of course, other examples of the same because what Lilly writes is a standard astrological principle. Gadbury had already complained about such remarks relating to Lilly's *Anglicus* of 1660. He printed these under the rather obvious pseudonym of "G.J. or J.G, which Lilly the Parasite pleaseth." In *The Novice Astrologer Instructed*⁸⁴, published just after that *Anglicus*. It is here that we see one of the earliest uses of the term "Scorpionist":

But why, I intreat you, Sir, is Scorpio grown so odious in your eyes? Is it because Saturn is therein, in your Nativity,... Or is it because you have an ignorant (undeserved) hatred to any, that have it Horoscopical at Birth? If so, were I a Scorpionist, I should tell you, You have foamed out your filth in scandalizing and abusing a noble, fixed, immovable Signe of the Zodiack as violent, &c.

In Lilly's copy of *Doctrine*, he uses the term, too, "...a bold impudent Scorpionist." It is not possible to tell who used the term first, but if it was Gadbury, we might then be able to place some of Lilly's marginalia at around 1660. However, Gadbury was not one to relinquish his grip on a subject of insult and he took up the matter again.

Aside from his almanacs, Gadbury responded with a long pamphlet⁸⁵ that, even by Gadbury's standards, was vitriolic. In it he attempts to prove that Lilly's comments were directed at himself particularly, and that they were unfounded in all ancient authorities. He produces twenty nativities of those who had Scorpio rising, but who could not be accused of the qualities Lilly cites. He revisits all the old battlegrounds and makes numerous accusations, using what he knew of Lilly's nativity to support them. But Gadbury had done this on previous occasions, although perhaps not to this degree or at this length, and which begs the question as to why he chose this particular time.

The political situation in England had quietened to some degree following King Charles II's accession, and the threat to Parliamentary supporters of the Interregnum had abated. The Third Dutch War had begun in the previous year (1672) and the King needed money to fight it which put him somewhat at the mercy of Parliament. In the same year he had introduced the Royal Declaration of Indulgence which required greater religious tolerance. Parliament took this as tolerance of, and thus danger from, Roman Catholics of which the King's brother, James the Duke of York, was one. In the following year the King was forced to withdraw it and it was replaced by the Test Act in which all those in or seeking public office had to receive the Communion of the Church of England. Thus, the Duke of York, as Lord High Admiral, had to resign. This demonstrates the increasing power of Parliament and the corresponding decrease in monarchical power.

With the threat of "Popery" on the rise and with open opposition to the King through his brother, James, Gadbury and his associates may well have felt uncertain about the future. When this last phase had reached its conclusion in 1677, only twelve years would pass before Charles II had died and his brother, James, had abdicated and a Protestant

king and queen would take the throne in the form of Mary Stuart and William of Orange. But besides this broader political context, and after Gadbury's ten years' silence in respect of Lilly, the former may have wondered why Lilly's reputation and status remained intact.

Whatever the cause for the renewal of hostilities, Gadbury was to be engaged in this battle and, it would seem, lose the war. A reply of sorts from Lilly to *Obsequium Rationabile* was printed in his *Anglicus* of 1676:

For the advertisement following, it is against our present health, & fully against any desire of ours to Contention, we were even inforced to say something in vindication of what we wrote in 1673 of the sign Scorpio, an illuminated conceited Scorpionist having contradicted all Antiquity about the signification of that sign, and abused with ignominious Epithets, all the younger sort of Astrologers, nay many of those who in the true fundamentalls of Art might be his Masters, viz. Mr. Saunders, Mr. Coley, Mr. Edlin, and many others, whose present names we remember not. ----- But we let pass all his invectives, and scandals, scorning to answer such an impertinent person, of whose ingratitude unto us, all studious persons in Art are well satisfied.

ADVERTISEMENT

Whereas there was lately published to the World a Pamphlet in Vindication of the Sign Scorpio, by an ungrateful Scorpionist J.G. a Pretender to Astrology, wherein he hath most unjustly and very unworthily abused our Person and Reputation; This is to signifie to the World, that we are altogether innocent of this impertinent Authors Egregious Calumniation, and look upon him far below us to respond to his malicious, vain, and ridiculous Forgeries, which is all the Answer he may expect from his Quondam Master.

This rather sparse reply, especially when compared to the 140 pages written by Gadbury, is still more than Lilly wants to say. His oath of over twenty years before still held sway, yet he felt compelled to defend himself. Gadbury had complained bitterly in the past when Lilly refused to be drawn into the fight, so we should expect nothing less from him this time.

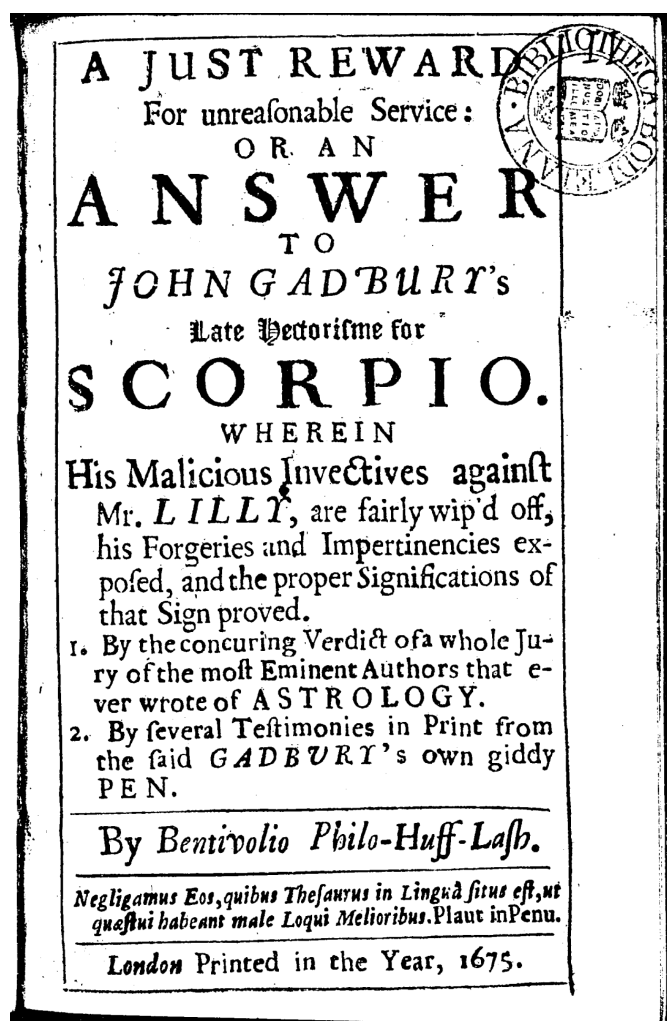
A Just Reward for Unreasonable Service

Before Gadbury had time to respond there was published another pamphlet, *A Just Reward for Unreasonable Service...*, under the pseudonym of Bentivolio Philo-Huff-Lash⁸⁶.

It is usually said that Lilly himself was the author, but this is very unlikely given the style, vocabulary and phrasing. It is printed following *Anglicus* of 1676, but its imprint of 1675 suggests that it was printed at the very end of that year, which would have been the earliest that the almanac was available. The stated reason for writing is thus:

And therefore finding by an Advertisement in *Anglicus* for 1676. that Mr. Lilly in a Generous scorn, would not condescend to any particular answer of it, lest the vain man from thence boast hereafter, that his Trifle is unanswerable, I have bestowed these few sudden remarks thereupon,...

We see from the title that the charge of ingratitude still echoes, and by means of ridicule, sarcasm and scholarship, the author dismantles each of Gadbury's claims with obvious relish. Yet within all of this are serious points which must have caused Gadbury some discomfort, particularly those relating to his new religious practices of Roman Catholicism. There are many points of interest within these pages, but too many to include here. However, of note is that the author quotes many ancient authorities, indeed the very same that Gadbury had quoted, to prove his arguments.



The structure of the pamphlet is logical and cuts a swathe through the tangle of words in *Obsequium Rationabile*. Particular points from the latter, in a numbered list, are chosen for attention. He mentions “the Gardiner’s Daughter” which we will return to a little later, Gadbury’s accusation of plagiarism “to which J.G. would never yet return any answer.” That Gadbury did work for Lilly as his tailor is proved by “one or two of his Bills which I have accidentally by me under his own hand,...”, he then reproduces the latter which he says are from Gadbury to Lilly.

This is provided to answer Gadbury’s denial that he had worked for Lilly or was ever taught by him. In some of his attacks he states that he wrote four books for Lilly and calculated numerous

nativities and was never paid for this work; clearly a response was necessary. As the image shows, there is much detail and the dates of 1654 and 1656 correspond with those given by Lilly. Philo-Huff-Lash also repeats the story of Gadbury’s private life where his lover became pregnant and he threw her out, but the author then threatens to produce more evidence:

...and was so hardhearted at last as to expose the poor Fool and avoid the keeping of his own natural Bantling by a Trick in Law, though I have by me a rare Copy of Verses Written by him to this Dulcina whiles he was yet battering the feeble Fortress of her Chastity,... which being a rarity and exquisitely written, is very fit to be Published for the benefit of young Inamourato’s next Edition of Westminster Drollery.

After pointing out some major contradictions in Gadbury’s writings which clearly demonstrate weaknesses in his astrological and wider education, Philo-Huff-Lash takes the opportunity to write:

Et Phillida solus habebit. He shall have his whole Reversion in the Gardiners Daughter for his pains.⁸⁷

The pamphlet reveals the author to be a well-educated person who used satire to reveal John Gadbury’s true nature. The reader of the pamphlet needed to be well-versed in literature and theatre in order to have understood fully the implications of these lines. Phillida is a shepherdess, mentioned in Shakespeare’s *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*:

Oberon:
Am I not thy lord?

Titania:
Then I must be thy lady; but I know
When thou has stol’n away from fairyland
And in the shape of Corin sat all day,
Playing on pipes of corn, and versing love
To amorous Phillida.

(18) Mr. Lillies Bill Decemb. 4. 1654.

Making your Coat	0	6	0
Silk	0	1	10
Drawing	0	1	10
1. Neck-Button with head and Runner	0	1	4
Making Mrs. Lillies Petticote	0	2	0
Two Ounces and a half of Silver Lace at 4 s. 4 d.	0	9	6
per Ounce	0	1	0
Ribbin and Silk	0	1	0
Dressing	0	1	2
Making your Cloth Suit	0	8	0
Stifnings and Coller and Bellpieces	0	3	0
Fustian to line the Dublet	0	3	4
Silk	0	1	8
1. Piece of Ribbin for Poynts at 8 d.	1	6	0
Tabby to face the Suit	0	3	4
Cottens	0	2	6
Pockets	0	1	4
4 Dozen of Buttons at 10 d.	0	3	4
1. Waist-Button and Loop-lace	0	0	7
Hooks and Eys	0	0	3
Gollome to bynd	0	1	2
2 Oyl Skins	0	3	6
Ribbin to bynd Lynings	0	1	0
Sum total	4	3	8

Received 5*l*. in full of this & another Bill, and all other Debts and Demands whatsoever. I say rec. } 5*l*.

per me John Gadbury

Stifnings

Oberon's wife, Titania, accuses her husband, (who is in the guise of the shepherd Corin), of being false to his marriage vows. The pastoral theme and the characters of Corin and Phillida used here by Shakespeare can be found as well in the tale of the *Gardiner's Daughter* mentioned by Philo-Huff-Lash. A printed version of this tale was published as a novel with the title *The Triumph of Love over Fortune*⁸⁸. In this novel Antonine is a foreign prince, disguised as a poor shepherd, who falls in love with Dorothy, the gardener's daughter.

In true satirical fashion, Philo-Huff-Lash compares Antonine's life with that of John Gadbury. The point being made here is, of course, the fact of a complete role reversal. Diametrically opposed to Antonine, Gadbury came from a poor background and pretended to high status, education and gentlemanly manners. Both men pretended to be of incorruptible moral standards, but both

(19) Another Bill.

Stifnings	0	3	0
Fustian to Lyne the Dublet	0	2	10
4. Dozen Buttons at 1 s.	0	4	0
Cottens for the Hose	0	2	4
Pockets	0	1	2
Facing for the Suit	0	2	6
2. Oyl Skins	0	3	4
Ribbin for the drawers	0	1	6
Hooks, Eys, and Loop-lace and }	0	0	8
a Waist Button	0	1	2
Gollome for your Suit	0	13	6
18. Yards of Ribbin at 9 d.	0	8	0
Making your Suit	0	8	0
Sumis	2	4	0

December 6. 1656.
Received in full of this Bill 4 4*s*.
by me John Gadbury

Thus you see Mr. Lilly was a good Master to him and paid him honestly (however he Reckon'd) to a Penny. And this fitly brings us to the next particular, Ingratitude; For if J. G. look back on his Epistle before his Doctrine of Nativities, where he acknowledges Mr. Lillies extraordinary Civilities and that he could never have brought the same to that perfection, without the use of his Books and assistance,
B 4

proved to be untrustworthy. The Marchioness recognises Antonine for what he truly is because of his manner of speech, refinement and education; this suggests that a reversal of this fact might have given away Gadbury's true status. With this in mind, it becomes clear what Philo-Huff-Lash meant when he wrote that Gadbury should "have the whole reversion in the *Gardiner's Daughter* for his pains". As much as Antonine is discovered to be a prince, Philo-Huff-Lash reveals that Gadbury is revealed to be the opposite - a knave.

The main theme found in *The Gardiner's Daughter* is that of love and betrayal and was certainly chosen to remind us of the Scorpionic theme, and of Gadbury's amorous adventures. To appreciate the wit and satirical sense of humour of the person behind the pseudonym Philo-Huff-Lash, a closer look is needed at the choice of his first name, "Bentivolio". This forename was

commonly used in Italy (*ben ti voglio*) and can be translated as “I love you”, “I desire you” or, as “good will” which paraphrases the main theme of the pamphlet perfectly and implies the possibility of an interpretation on many levels.

But this is not the only reason that the author used this name. Between 1660 and 1664 Nathaniel Ingelo published his *Bentivolio and Urania*⁸⁹, a best-selling piece of religious and moral instruction in the form of a fictional narrative. Ingelo was an author and fellow of Queen’s College in Cambridge; he accompanied Bulstrode Whitelocke on the Swedish embassy of 1653-4 as one of his chaplains. The philosophy underlying Ingelo’s work stems from the Cambridge Platonists who subscribed to a tolerant Protestantism, according to which humanity is capable of self-improvement through the exercise of reason and freewill. *Bentivolio and Urania* contains an outline of these views.

The Cambridge Platonists, whose ideas are the basis of *Bentivolio and Urania*, were Protestants; Ingelo was a friend of Bulstrode Whitelocke, the friend and patron of William Lilly, both facts pointing out how antagonistic Philo-Huff-Lash would be towards Gadbury. Furthermore, having established the level of ‘love’ Gadbury was able to give, the name “Bentivolio” suggests that Philo-Huff-Lash’s moral integrity, his views and his status were diametrically opposed to Gadbury’s. A quotation from *Bentivolio and Urania* reveals the full depth of the satirical use of the name “Bentivolio”:

....when Bentivolio appear’d to the astonishment of the degenerate world, which could not remember to have seen any Gentleman equall to him in Complexion or Stature. He was so perfectly made up, that one might easily perceive Wisdom, Goodness and Courage have done their utmost in his composure. The esteem of his Perfection did not rise by the measure of those disproportions in which the corrupt Age fell below him, but

by such degrees as the exact rules of Vertue set up for an infallible standard.⁹⁰

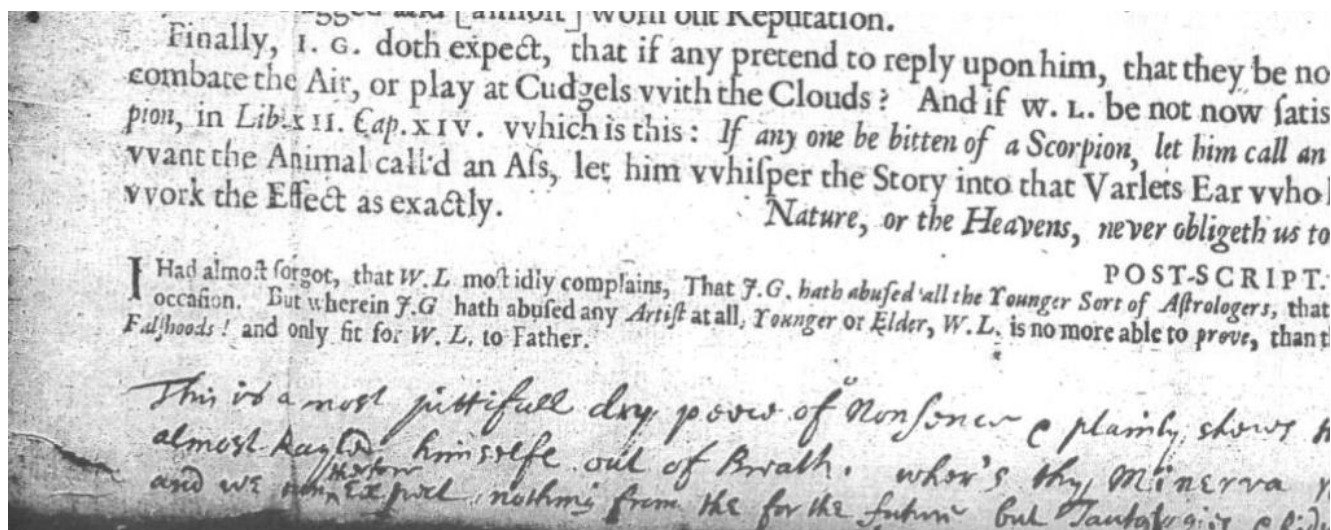
In so few words, the pseudonymous author brings the full weight of the intelligentsia to bear on Gadbury. Culture, education, moral standards, good manners, sophistication are clearly demonstrated, in fact, all the qualities to which Gadbury is said to have pretended – as well as a circle of influential literati to which Lilly belonged, but which was closed to him. In so doing, the author brought into sharp contrast the differences between Lilly and Gadbury, and with that, the latter’s ‘career’ as Lilly’s rival was ended. Lilly indeed had never perceived Gadbury as a rival which contributes to Lilly’s previous lack of response.

The Scurrilous Scribler

Gadbury replied within a few months at most with a single broadsheet and repeated yet again some of the accusations made against Lilly by Wharton and Gataker some twenty years before. However, amidst the insults and repetitions, one comment stands out from the others and would have done so for the astrologers who read it:

What if some Astrologers have called Scorpio a Sign of Falsity, &c. and others that have otherwise abused that glorious Sign, and together therewith contradicted themselves, as Bonatus, &c. as I.G. [J.G.] hath remembred the world of, and distinguish’d fairly upon such objections, tells them plainly, in p.11 of his Defence of Scorpio, that there have been Rebels against Heaven before W.L.’s days, and he doubts there will be so, when W.L. shall be no more. But I.G. denies that any of those Rebels against Heaven have proved ought of ill against Scorpio, ...

He goes on to criticise “Philo-Huff-Lash” calling him “W.L.’s lying Advocate” and so on. However, the most interesting point about this reply is that Lilly’s own copy is extant and on that copy Lilly



Part of Scurrilous Scribler

had made some notes, and was to be passed on to others – the phrasing makes this clear. *The Scurrilous Scribler Dissected*⁹¹ is a large, single sheet with very narrow margins in which Lilly's comments are written. (Photocopying and damage to the edges makes some words illegible.)

Across the top:

This Paper was presented to me by one of Tory's Agents who pretended in Love to see me viz. on[e] Everand who has been in yr. [illegible] a long time, a sadd fellow indeed; An Apothecary gave him 3 of them he told me, & one was at my service; but I'm sure he had them of Tory with Directions to whom to del. [deliver] them, they were printed at Westm^r. [Westminster] at Gad: charg to present to his friends etc.

This note implies that Gadbury had no patronage in this instance, and raises the rather interesting question of whether or not others were behind Gadbury's previous pamphlets. It also shows that very few of these sheets were printed.

Along the right-hand edge and referring to a repeat of George Wharton's attack on Lilly in 1648:

But in his Homeroscopionis he recanted and gives him the Highest Charracter imaginable.

Lower down on that same border and referring to the "Gardiner's Daughter" which Gadbury denies:

[a name] that all Westm^r. will witness.

On the left-hand border referring to a remark concerning Ashmole having possession of the manuscript which Gadbury believes proves Lilly to be a plagiarist:

I hear Jack is displeased with E.Ash. but I know not for what & intends to visett him at Lambeth.

This is why Josten gives a date of not before 1675 because Ashmole moved to Lambeth in that year.

Further along that border is the notation:

La: Wh:

This is in relation to Gadbury's comment in response to the "Gardiner's Daughter" allegation. He says:

For the Story of the Gardiners Daughter, which W.L's lying Advocate makes a scandalous noise withal, I.G. desires him to speak plainly, and not in Riddles: for he knoweth nothing that can countenance any such bold falshoods. Nor doth he remember that ever he had difference with any more than two women in all his life; the one was a Lady (so called) that having been Ruinous to many Families where she had lodged, he justly denied to entertain her into his House: ...

This seems to refer to Lady Jane Whorwood, the same who had approached Lilly on behalf of Charles I a number of times, and who continued to consult Lilly for many years⁹². She had risked her life for the king on numerous occasions and was herself imprisoned in 1651. A violent, adulterous husband eventually led to their separating officially, and to her impoverishment. She died with an estate valued at £40. It is this woman whom Gadbury, the Royalist, turned away.

At the bottom of the sheet, Lilly summarises thus:

This is a most pittiful dry peece of nonsense & plainly shows that Tory's stock of Malice & Railery is neerly spent, or that he has almost Rayled himselfe out of Breath. wher's thy Minerva now Jack, certainly the world will Judge, tis strangely benighted and we can therefore expect nothing from the[e] for the future but Tautologies & Ridiculous Hodg-Podge.

And this indeed seems to have been true. We have not examined all of Gadbury's almanacs, but assume that he continued 'huffing' for a little longer. However, Henry Coley – by this time Lilly's amanuensis – had been adding to the weight of criticism against Gadbury and he makes a few comments in his almanacs relating to the 'Scorpio' contention.

Some Further Remarks

The third phase nears its conclusion with another pamphlet, *Some Further Remarks Upon Mr. Gadbury's Defence of Scorpio* printed under the pseudonym of "the Man in the Moon"⁹³. The subtitle helps us towards the content: "By way of addition, to a just Reward for unreasonable service."; clearly a sequel to the pamphlet by Philo-Huff-Lash. It begins:

To the Worshipful Mr. John Gadbury, Quondam Taylor in Ordinary to Mr. William Lilly; now Extraordinary Physician to Her majesty, and a Secretis to the Peerless Dulcinea, otherwise called the Gardiner's Daughter.

In just two pages and very few lines, the author repeats the charges against Gadbury, highlighting the worst of them. His stated purpose is to deal with the omissions in *A Just Reward* and addresses Gadbury's pamphlet in the same way, point by point, as did Philo-Huff-Lash. However, this author gives more attention to Gadbury's pretensions to knowledge of Latin and Greek and thus exposes Gadbury as a poseur and a fraud. With the demolition of Gadbury's astrological arguments, the latter is left exposed and discredited through his own affectations. This would haunt Gadbury later in his contentions with John Partridge.

This pamphlet has much to recommend it, as does the previous one, but there are too many considerations to be included here; the author confronts most of Gadbury's contradictions and they are many. However, one point stands out among the others: this author confirms that Gadbury was Fiske's pupil in apparent contradiction to Lilly's account of the matter. In fact, this is simply another way of reflecting upon Gadbury's character:

I have nothing to say against Doctor Fisk, only Mr. Gadbury was his Pupil; and as he himself observes, *Qualis Dominus talis Servis*, Like Master like Man.

Obviously, the author did not have a high opinion of Fiske either, which echoes Lilly's words regarding Fiske's Ascendant in Scorpio.⁹⁴

Both pamphleteers deal with every one of Gadbury's accusations against Lilly going back to his first attack. They add their own analysis of Gadbury's character and make it known to an educated and influential readership. The tone is intellectual and patrician, dealing with Gadbury in unequivocal terms.

The Advocates

It is of some interest to this examination to try to discover who the authors of these pamphlets were, because it is recorded that Lilly himself wrote them⁹⁵. Having knowledge of Lilly's writing style, his vocabulary and his phrasing, it is clear that Lilly wrote neither of these pamphlets. Another important factor is that at the time of their publishing, Lilly's health and eyesight were deteriorating and all existing contemporary records are unanimous in this. We have no definitive answer to who wrote them, but we will present our suggestions according to the available evidence.

In *Scurrilous Scribler*, Gadbury refers to Lilly's "advocate" and it would seem that this was a careful choice of word. The use of this term does not necessarily mean that 'Philo-Huff-Lash' was an advocate by profession, but it is possible. However, in his almanac for 1677⁹⁶, under his observations for March, Lilly adds:

I hope now the Huffing Scorpionist is satisfied with those two smart Answers lately emitted unto the world to his Railing vindication of the Sign Scorpio; written by two Learned and Ingenious persons (who ever they were ----)

...

Using the word "learned" likewise does not necessarily mean that the authors were of the legal

profession, but a closer scrutiny of the pamphlets, particularly the first, suggests the style of a case being prepared for the courts. Each point is laid down in the manner in which a barrister might as he presents a defence to the plaintiff's case. He uses phrases which would lead his readers to the same conclusion. On the cover (our emphases):

1. By the concurring **Verdict of a whole jury** of the most Eminent Authors that ever wrote of ASTROLOGY.
2. By several **Testimonies** in Print from the said GADBURY's own giddy PEN.

From the preface:

If in other places the Language seem harsh (which I have Studied to avoid) tis only *Lex Talionis*, ...

Later:

...for doubtless Mars is as good a Gentleman as Scorpio, and as ready to bring a *scandalum Magnatum*, or an **Action of Defamation**, and therefore let John look to his hits. *Incidit in Scyllam, cupiens vitare Charibdim*.

The threat of legal action is underscored by the quotation from Homer's *Odyssey* which is rendered as "to be destroyed by falling into one evil while trying to avoid another". Then there is the quotation in Latin on the front cover:

Negliamus Eos, quibus Thesaurus in Lingua situs est, ut quaestui habeant male Loqui Melioribus.

It is drawn from Plautus's comedy *Poenulus*, and, in the original, is translated as:

That is a treasure hoarded in the tongues of fools, to deem it gainful to speak amiss to their superiors.

It is slightly altered for the author's purposes, but the character whose line this is was an advocate.

Having gone to such lengths to demonstrate the line of thought in this examination, the next piece of evidence is compelling: the copy of *Obsequium Rationabile* belonged at some point to Elias Ashmole himself as his signature is written on the front page. Throughout this copy are numerous underscores of words and passages among Gadbury's complaints. There are also two comments, but we cannot say whether or not they are in Ashmole's hand; one comment may be in Lilly's hand, but the second, longer note is not. These underscorings relate closely to the points raised by Philo-Huff-Lash, and far too often to be coincidental. Based on all of this, we suggest that Philo-Huff-Lash was Elias Ashmole, the lawyer.

Returning to the marginalia in Lilly's copy of *The Doctrine of Nativities*, we find that the points made have a striking resemblance to those in *Some Further Remarks*. Again, the writing style of 'The Man in the Moon' is very different from Lilly's and thus the evidence points towards another, but there is no evidence at the moment to suggest who this might have been. This is further supported by Lilly's comments on his copy of *The Scurrilous Scribler Dissected*, to repeat:

I hear Jack is displeased with E: Ash: but I know not for what & intends to visit him at Lambeth.

The final note summarises the situation: Gadbury's attacks were nearly over – he was a spent force.

The Preface.

so ascertain them of such Truths that their Divinity will never be able to reach unto. And, if it chance at any time to be put to the Question, (as who knows what Question may arise?) Whether any Man, &c. born under Scorpio may be in hopes of Salvation? -- Let them but go by Mr Lilly his black Character of such a Person, and it will most assuredly be carried in the Negative.

Now, what Astrologer, nay, what Christian man is there, that can with patience be contented to connive at Mr. Lilly's boldness herein, albeit he had not Scorpio ascending at his Nativity? Must this Man be thus suffered to Rant and Rave at his pleasure? in Heaven and Earth as guilty? and confidently pronounce the sentence of Evil, upon that which God himself hath been pleased to own eminently as Good? And, shall any Man hat hath a veneration for the Truths of God and Nature, be either afraid or ashamed to unmask him, and lay open those his notorious Untruths, Scandals and Recriminations, thus charged upon a most eminent part of Mankind? Not to take notice of this his dealing by Heaven, and by Men born under a glorious part thereof, and reprove him for it, is not only to be guilty of that his black charge (either in part or in the whole) but a partake deeply of the Error he is tainted with in the forging it to a wicked, if not to a murderious end. A crime, that not only a Scorpionist, but a sober Rationalist (though of a different Horoscope) ought zealously to abhor.

Plato (as quoted by Plutarch) maketh Providence superiour to Necessity, or Destiny. Mr. Lilly, if he

The Preface.

be allow of Providence at all, placeth it below them. If Necessity in Mr. Lilly's sense be thus powerful, and bear such sway in our Actions, &c. As that Men born under Scorpio must be such, (by virtue of their Horoscope) may we not bid a farewell to Industry, Ingenuity, Reason, Order, Laws, &c. There is then no use of these things; For Men are no other then a brass Candlestick, or Joyned stool; predestinated to such and such particular uses for such a time: Conduit pipes, to convey some trifling Message or other, to the World, whether they will or not, and Exit. And according to this Doctrine Mr. Lilly hath not out of any wicked design, (may he say) -- but meerly by a compulsive necessity (a Law he could not avoid complying with) railed against Scorpio, and blasphemed God and Heaven.

And, here by the way, I would fain know of what use is Mr. Lilly's Astrology; if this his Doctrine of Necessity be true? as this rate, he that encreaseth in knowledge, encreaseth sorrow in earnest. And Solomons Simpletons in their foolish condition, are more happy then Mr. Lilly with all his impertinent and useless Science. Many things are necessary that are not of necessity. And thus was it necessary, that Mr. Lilly, for the undeceiving the World, should contradict himself in his railing against Scorpio, as the following discourse will plainly prove; but there was no necessity of it at all. It was in Mr. L's power to have prevented it. And this freedom of will, Mr. L. acknowledgeth in an Epistle to a thing of his called an Introduction, to Astrology. And indeed, if my reason did not

be p

The pamphlet campaign had ended and it had ended in Lilly's favour. It seems clear that Lilly, Ashmole and at least one other, working together, concluded Gadbury's war of words.

Annexed unto my Name for ever

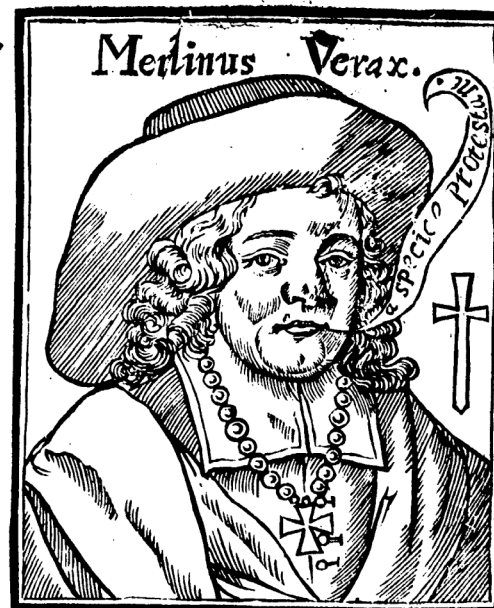
In 1693, the astrologer John Partridge published *Nebulo Anglicanus*⁹⁷. The frontispiece clearly shows John Gadbury, but has the name "Merlinus Verax"⁹⁸ (the "Truthful Merlin") written above Gadbury's head. Partridge is reminding the reader of the pseudonym Gadbury used in 1659 in his pamphlet *Nativity of that most Illustrious King of Sweden*,⁹⁹ in which he first attacked Lilly. ("Nebulo Anglicanus" is a pun referring to the title of Lilly's *Merlinus Anglicus* and to Gadbury's *Merlinus Verax*; "nebulo anglicanus" means "the Anglican scoundrel". And so we come back to where it all began.)

In Gadbury's pamphlet regarding the King of Sweden's nativity, the subtitle immediately informs us of its nature and the reason it was published, "particularly for the better Information of Mr. William Lilly"¹⁰⁰. Partridge, reminds the reader that this was the first publication wherein Gadbury turned against his master, and leaves no doubt that even twelve years after Lilly's death the crime of ingratitude is far from forgotten. In the "Epistle Dedicatory" of *Nebulo Anglicanus* he writes:

To the Most Exquisitly Acomplish'd in Plotting, Tricking, and Ingratitude, My Honoured Friend, Mr John Thimble, of Brick-Court.¹⁰¹

In the following he gives a summary of Gadbury's behaviour towards Lilly and as well towards Partridge himself later on:

I humbly desire you to remember how grateful you were to Mr Lilly, your Kind and Generous Master, that rescued you from the Thimble-Dispensation, and taught you how to get meat to your Bread, that being (you



Good People pity me, for I'm half mad,
Both Fool and Knave, and every thing that's bad:
Begot by Chance, my Stars with Loves soft arm
(No Priest concern'd) gave Figure to the Sperme,
My Furious Form thus laid, her sullen Womb,
Prefer'd the wonder of the Age to come;
I've liv'd in Vice and Tricking all my days,
And I'll be any thing to live in Ease;
I'll be a Heathen, Protestant, or Jew,
A Turk, a Papist, any thing that's new;
Let but the Priests of my Religion say it,
Go Swear, or Kill, I'll certainly obey it;
My Crimes (Pox take my Fate) I can't disown,
There's nothing vexeth me, but that they're known;
Nay, many Vices more infect my Will;
But my Discretion keeps them secret still;
Well, pray for me (Romes Saints) 'tis that I crave,
A poor fall'n Brother, but all over Slave;
And in my good old Shape too, I'll appear,
Your Thimble Prophet, and your Bodkin Seer.

From *Merlinus Verax*

know) the First and Second Course, when you lived within less than a Mile of Strand-Bridge; and after this abundance more of Kindness, which you have acknowledged in Print, the worst Word in your Budget was too good for him; and you have abused him who was your Master, as much as you have done Me, that You say was your Pupil Hah Jack, Gratitude, Gratitude! Master and Pupil both suffer alike, no Mercy in Brick-Court.¹⁰²

In 1693 John Partridge published *Opus Reformatum*¹⁰³, wherein he, in his own words, tried to expose and reject the common errors of the art.¹⁰⁴ In the second part of this book Partridge delivers a detailed criticism of Gadbury's *Cardines Coeli*¹⁰⁵. He reminds the reader how the latter created his "100 Choice Aphorisms" and of the source of the inspiration for his book:

For in the year of our Lord, 1660 and 1661, he made a Collection of Nativities, and most of them false ones, as shall ere long appear. From these Nativities thus made, he form'd a hundred Aphorisms, and most of them as false as his Nativities. I say from these false Nativities, he form'd those choice Aphorisms, a quarter of which, I am confident, to this day he never prov'd to be true. And from two of these Nativities (and I am certain they are both false for I have made one appear so already, and will do so by the other before I conclude this Treatise) namely *Charles Gustavus*, King of *Sweden*, and *Oliver Cromwell*, he formed the Eighteenth Aphorism, which was this, *Cardinal Signs possessing the Angles of a Nativity, makes the Native [of any Condition or Capacity] most Eminent and Famous in his Generation, and to do such Acts as After –ages shall admire him*. And from this Aphorism made in the Year 1661. he writes a Book in the Year 1684. to justify and promote the thing which he calls *Cardines Coeli*, which is my present business to inquire into.¹⁰⁶

Partridge continues to point out Gadbury's errors, dealing with each paragraph of *Cardines Coeli*, until he arrives at paragraph 28:

...in which he hath really out-done himself, and not only shewed the World the Authority of his groundless Foundation, but his unskilfulness in Grammar and his confidence (I had like to have say something else) in affirming a thing without the least pretence and shew of Authority in the very Aphorism itself.

He quotes only four words of the Aphorism, i.e. *Cometae in Cardinibus, Regum mortes, &c. Comets* (says he) *whenever they appear in Cardinal Signs, they betoken the Death of Emperors, Princes, Potentates, &c. Cardinal Signs you see, do still carry a Signal of Wonder and Amazement in them*. By which you may see he renders the stress of the whole Aphorism on the word *Cardinibus*, which he renders for Cardinal Signs, and therefore pray take the

whole Aphorism together, that you may see the Impertinence and Ignorance of the man.¹⁰⁷

Partridge then gives the original passage from Cardan, the basis of Gadbury's quote:

Man.Seg.3Aph.117.Cardan. Comet immobiles Seditiones, mobiles autem Bella indicant ab Externis. In Cardinibus Regum Mortes in nono loco Religionis Jacturam, in Octavo vel Duodecimo loco Pestilentiam, aus Jacturam segetum, in undecimo Nobilium Mortes. Which is thus in English: Immovable Comets give Seditions; but movable Comets shew Wars between Nations, in the Angles, Death of Kings; in the Ninth House, injury to Religion; in the Eight and Twelfth Houses, pestilence and damage to the standing Corn; in the Eleventh House, the Death of Noblemen. And now where, and by what word of all these shall we get power and room enough to lug in Cardinal Signs, I vow it seems to me impossible, unless we were animated with such Souls as honest J.G. was, when he wrote it. Oh my dear Joy! That ever thou shouldst translate *Cardinibus* for Cardinal Signs, and mistake *Cardinibus* for *Cardinalibus*.

Now, if John can but tell us, by what rule in Grammar, by what Figure in Writing, or Construction, this word is to be thus understood in favour of his new-invented Principle, alias, whim of Cardinal Signs or Angles, I shall be ready to recant what I have written,....¹⁰⁸

We can see from these quotations that Gadbury's education, contrary to his own claims, was not of a high standard and this lack of understanding led him to make a serious mistake. He mistranslated, and therefore misunderstood, Cardan's aphorism concerning comets and this error formed the basis not only of one of his own aphorisms, but also, many years later, a whole book, *Cardines Coeli*. Reading Cardan's original quotation it become obvious that "*Cardinibus*" has to be translated as "*Angle*", because it is mentioned in context with the 8th, 9th,

11th and 12th houses, the other four houses above the Earth, as Partridge recognised correctly¹⁰⁹. This mistake had far-reaching consequences as Partridge demonstrates mercilessly:

Why then perhaps upon the Presumption you undertook this mighty work, to unhinge the principles of Astrology with your *Cardines Coeli*, and throw Heaven out at Windows, by help of a New Invention from Brick-Court; or perhaps he hath got the *Circulatum majus Paracelsi*, which they say dissolves all Metals, and may, being used and improved by so great a *Virtuoso* as this is, easily dissolve the *Angles* of a Figure into their *first Matter*; and from thence to make *Cardinal Signs* at pleasure.¹¹⁰

To understand this accusation we have to look at Partridge's criticism of the 29th Paragraph in *Cardines Coeli*, wherein Gadbury quotes Cardan for a second time, claiming to prove the validity of his theory through this aphorism, postulating that:

he, who is born at Noon, when the Sun enters the Vernal Equinox, will be great and famous, without other Testimonies. Nor need we fear to believe him, since at such a time all the Angles of the Celestial Figure will be adorned with a Cardinal Sign. This is the most convincing Proof that can be of the *Truth* of the matter in Question.¹¹¹

Partridge makes it absolutely clear that, even if such an aphorism of Cardan ever existed, this rule would account for a latitude of 54 degrees only, ruling out Scotland, Denmark, Sweden and so forth because:

this is plain, because in the Latitude of 55 degr. when the first Scruple of Aries is on the Cusp of the 10th House, the first degree of Leo ascends on the Ascendant, which puts the Aphorism quite out of doors, to all them People in that Latitude.¹¹²

The accusations made against Gadbury in earlier years, such as those presented in this article, are not only repeated by Partridge, but also supported in fact. Partridge adds substance to the handwritten comments by Lilly in his copy of *Doctrine*, made over thirty years earlier, that Gadbury's grasp of mathematics, Latin and astrology fell far below his own claims. That, in fact, Gadbury was a charlatan.

Conclusion

We have gone to great lengths to demonstrate how necessary detailed research is and how a very different result can be obtained. We hope that by offering our sources, others will be inclined to follow up this line of investigation, because there is still a great deal to be discovered. Certainly, this article could quite easily have doubled in length.

The backgrounds of the two men have been shown to be fairly similar; neither had the benefit of wealthy parents and the education that would have followed, but it is in their characters that the dissimilarities are found. Lilly made a large number of friends and close associates and this he appears to have done largely through merit. He gained the respect of very clever and influential men. Gadbury, on the other hand, and on a number of occasions, seems to have alienated the very people who might have helped him. Lilly worked hard and broadened his knowledge and education, Gadbury did only what needed to be done and pretended to the rest.

Gadbury wanted the very qualities in Lilly that he attacked the most violently. He wanted Lilly's social and professional status, he wanted Lilly's knowledge, and wanted Lilly's astrological adeptness; in short, he wanted to be Lilly. However, he did not have Lilly's ability to make astrological thinking the main focus of his life. Lilly's astrology was the mundane expression of his beliefs and the

practical application of the hermetic arts he had studied, the core of his being. This ability enabled him to put astrology first and to overcome the political and religious differences between himself and his friends. John Gadbury, who only used astrology as a mechanical tool for material ends, never approached Lilly's depth of knowledge.

Our research demonstrates very clearly that there was no rivalry between Lilly and Gadbury; Lilly was almost completely unaffected by Gadbury's attacks. Except in the instances we have pointed out, Lilly ignored him, and when he stopped ignoring him, Gadbury was defeated utterly by intelligence, education, sophistication and a morality that was alien to him. Gadbury was of no consequence to Lilly or to any of Lilly's friends and associates and the more Lilly ignored him, the more belligerent and insulting Gadbury became.

Had he been of a quieter, less antagonistic disposition, Gadbury may well have escaped ridicule. However, he demanded to be taken seriously; he demanded respect as an astrologer, but he was largely ignored by his better qualified contemporaries. It was only in his later life, having again attacked a man who had been his friend, that the final blow was struck. John Partridge made his thoughts on Gadbury's astrological abilities public¹¹³ and completely destroyed his reputation as a 'scientific' astrologer. Gadbury would not recover from this devastating blow. Apart from his almanacs, he would not publish any more pamphlets on astrology.

Historians repeatedly state that the contention between Lilly and Gadbury was one of professional and political rivalry. While these matters certainly entered into it, its source lay in Gadbury's ingratitude, his betrayal of Lilly's friendship and trust.



Endnotes

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27. William Oughtred (bap.1575, d.1660)
28. Nicholas Culpeper (1616-1654)
29. Vincent Wing (1619-1668)
30. Jeremy Shakerley (1626-1653?)
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95. Plant, David: *John Gadbury, Politics and the Decline of Astrology*, The Traditional Astrologer Magazine, issue 11, Winter 1996

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Merlinus Verax before 1668 and there does not seem to be any publication of his after 1672.

In 1687 an almanac with the title *Merlinus Verax* was published. The author called himself 'A Lover of Loyalty, and an abhorrer of all wicked Plots and Conspiracies'. It mentions John Gadbury frequently in the text and there is an advert for *Cardines Coeli* included, mentioning the 'Refutation of the Idle and Ridiculous Story of Pope Joan against the Author of Cometomantia and his unjust Recrimination against J.G. ...'

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The Firing Squad Technique

Many years ago, when I was beginning to systematize my astrological studies, I asked a well-known astrologer how he dealt with predictive techniques. By then, my personal strategy was to pick a given event in someone's life and then try to find out what planetary configuration could have 'caused' it. It was rather primitive, but like so many other students at that time, I had a limited knowledge of the techniques – only transits and secondary progressions – nothing else. It was therefore with considerable expectation that I posed the question to this astrologer, who appeared to my inexperienced eyes as a sophisticated and accomplished practitioner; his knowledge extended far beyond transits and progressions into the mysterious realm of the 'ancient' techniques (of which by then I knew nothing, except their names). His reply however, was very disappointing, "Well," he said, "I just apply all the techniques to the event and see which one works." "So," I replied, "that is like an execution squad: just shoot at it, and something will eventually hit the target!" If looks could kill, I would have been the one facing the firing squad at that moment!

By now, so many years later, it should be obvious that the 'firing squad' technique does not work. It fails to explain past events, and, more so, fails to predict the future. In fact, it is futile to attempt to guess what will happen just by looking at a list of directions, or even worse, transits. But still too many astrologers try to predict by 'firing' every known technique at the chart, in the hope that one of them will eventually hit the target. And afterwards, when they verify that the firing squad didn't work yet again (because events maliciously insist on contradicting their predictions!), they just find an innovative technique – one which they forgot to apply beforehand – which would have revealed it all. It just does not work that way.

So, instead of asking another contemporary astrologer, I decided to go directly to the source: the ancient astrologers who left written work for posterity. I admit it was not easy at first, not only because of the ancient language, but especially because, in their explanations of prediction, they always assume that the reader already has a firm grasp of all the basics of astrology; the

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basics being the entire set of rules for traditional delineation, including temperament, life span and general types of events to be expected. This is always difficult at first, and soon the reader becomes entangled in a dense web of alien words and concepts. It is perhaps helpful to keep in mind that most ancient books were written with an intention which differs from writings of much later periods. They were meant to be both repositories of knowledge and complements to the teaching itself. That is why they compile the views of several authors, even if contradictory, and only then do they present their own points of view, based on practical experience, an understanding of the universe and the existing body of knowledge. As to the rules and aphorisms which always seem so restrictive to beginners, they should be seen as guidelines, general rules to orientate the student, not as immutable laws. However, the information provided by them should be studied carefully, for it provides precious insights, which will be confirmed through practical experience. But the books, no matter how good, cannot reflect the actual practice of the Art, unless they present examples; unfortunately, very few source books provide them. *Christian Astrology* by William Lilly is one of the few. It will be, therefore, our main source for this article.

Understanding prediction

The first step is to **understand** what prediction really means. There is no point in exploring prediction techniques if we don't come to terms with our own concept of prediction. So, the first step is to decide is our attitude towards this subject. Can we predict? If so, **what** can we predict? And what **is** a prediction: a definitive situation or a possibility? And perhaps the most important question of all: **why** do we make predictions? With what purpose? What do we expect to achieve from this anticipated knowledge? Are we capable of putting it positive use?



There is not one simple answer to these questions; every student has to find their own position. The consideration of these matters is no easy task, as it requires time, deep thought, and astrological maturity – and that would be a completely new article. For the matter under scrutiny it might help to keep in mind that the art of prediction is not only a **technique** (or better said, the systematic application of a group of techniques), but also an **attitude**. In order to present accurate predictions we have to master both the technique and the attitude. Let us start with the latter.

PREDICTION AS AN ATTITUDE

Talking about attitude in an article dedicated to predictive techniques might seem a bit odd, but in fact it couldn't be more appropriate. Attitude is in itself part of prediction – and not the least part. It is therefore crucial for the astrologer to keep in mind that the appropriate attitude –

that is, the capacity to deal with future events, whether pleasant or difficult, in a mature and responsible way – should be the guideline of *any* predictive technique. Far from being a modern concept, this concern about the right attitude is as old as astrology itself; many testimonies can be found in the work of the ancient authors.

There is, of course, the compelling letter “To the Student of Astrology” in the beginning of *Christian Astrology*, in which William Lilly presents his ‘code of ethics’. It is too long to transcribe and too relevant to segment – it should be read integrally. His words resonate with those of other ancient authors, who throughout the centuries emphasised this crucial topic. For instance, around the year 334 the astrologer Julius Firmicus Maternus wrote, “When you have equipped your mind with the characteristics and protections of virtue, approach with confident boldness of mind this book as well as the following books which we have written on forecasting from the stars. But if your mind has strayed in any way from these principles which we have laid down about human character, see that you do not approach the mysteries of this doctrine with a perverse instinct of curiosity or sacrilegious rashness.”¹

Also Ali ben Ragel (late 10th – early 11th century) stresses the importance of the right attitude in the study and practice of astrology, “The science of the stars is so grand and elevated that cannot be totally understood...; the wise man – knowledgeable, subtle and acute – draws his own conclusions by the subtlety and acuteness of his nature; the fool goes through it fast, trips over it, and loses it, by its foolishness and hastiness.”²

But apart from this awareness of the importance of ethics, there are also other, more specific hints about their attitude to prediction in practice, which while not explicitly stated can be easily deduced. In *Christian Astrology*, William Lilly presents an

extensive example of a natal delineation and prediction (pp743-829), thus offering the reader the opportunity to discover how he actually works.

One of the first things to notice is that he works with **possibilities**, and integrates several techniques (which we will see further in more detail). On page 804, for instance, when talking about a trine from the Sun in a primary direction to natal Mars, he says, “and if it so happen that Marriage was not confirmed the precedent yeer, this doth most confidently perform it, by reason Mars is in the *Radix* a principall *Significator* of a Wife”. He is therefore predicting a marriage as a possibility in the previous year. And in fact, he refers twice to the prediction for the previous year, on page 801 (the following emphases are mine), “...Honour, Wealth and Estimation by meanes of a second marriage, **if he now want a Wife**”; and on page 802, “...**in my judgment** seems to be either the very time, or neer the consummation of marriage, **if a Wife be wanting**”.

Also notable is his cautious, preventative posture, especially when talking about difficult times to come. For instance, on page 787, when explaining the predictions of the native’s 31st year, Lilly says: “...I may from hence derive this judgment, That **without great circumspection** the Native shall very much suffer in his Wealth, and Estate moveable, &c. ...”. The reference to circumspection is revealing: he is obviously dealing with a difficult prediction, one which portends problems and losses, but he is also dealing with the possibility of choice from the native. He is saying that problems will arise if circumspection is not employed; if it is, the problems can be avoided, or at least reduced. Further in the same page, he warns the native not to “meddle” with his brothers or blood relatives in matters of money – again, there is the possibility of diminishing the damage, should the native act in a wise and responsible manner.



In the judgement of the solar revolution for the same year (p789), he says, "In effect, the Directions, Revolutions, &c. doe all unanimously demonstrate, that **unlesse** the native doe **heedfully the precedent** yeere direct his affaires, he will sustaine much losse in his Estate, as is above specified; for the cause of the trouble his yeer may be occasioned by actions of the precedent yeer ...". In other words, knowing in advance allows preventative actions, even in a difficult situation. Lilly seems always to

be especially careful when predicting potentially difficult events. For instance, when talking about a debilitated Saturn afflicting the return (p798), Lilly says, "...may unjustly excite many Lawsuits, and many difficulties against the Native, and may shew much sicknesse to his Wife; but forasmuch as Saturn was friend in the *Radix*, I doubt not he will assist to overcome; **yet the influence of Saturn being ever somewhat formidable, I thought good to give the more caution of it.**" Due to the difficult essential nature of Saturn, he chooses to make a clear warning to the native, thus allowing him to prepare – better to be safe than sorry.

Throughout *Christian Astrology*, we can find many of these hints, not only in abstract terms, but also in practical, down-to-earth, even prosaic advice. For example, on page 782 when talking about the opposition of the Moon in a direction to natal Jupiter, he warns the native to "be carefull those times, and clense the blood by a gentle purge a week before the *Significator* and the *Promittor* meet...". Further on the same page, and still referring to the same direction, he advises the native that "until the direction is over, it is not good to be late in Taverns, etc."; on page 811 he states, "...it's good to avoyd Horsmanship all *January*, least a fall doe endanger the right Eye...".

From all these examples, we can deduce that Lilly *predicts in order to prevent*. He uses prediction to inform the native, therefore giving him the opportunity to deal with these future events in **the best way possible – maximizing the situation if it is desirable, diminishing it if not**. From this perspective, prediction does not limit the native's choice, on the contrary, it expands it because it allows better, more informed choices. It also does not diminish the native's personal responsibility for the consequences of their choices, rather it **augments it**.

As inside, so outside

Lilly is constantly aware of the correlation between 'internal' and 'external' events. For him, a given planet, for instance Mars, can signify a lot of things: choler, heat, the colour red, war, soldiers, courage and aggression. All these things co-exist both within the native and in the external events, for they all express the nature of Mars. In the section "To the reader", in the beginning of *Christian Astrology*, he presents seven "cautions to the young student", the fourth being particularly relevant in this matter, "...be well versed in discovering the Nature of the Significator, what he signifies naturally, what accidentally, and how to vary his signification, as necessity shall require."

On page 787 he warns the native to be ware of "a man of *Martial disposition or description*". This offers a wide array of meanings, as it can refer to a man with a bold, affirmative, impatient and perhaps aggressive character, or a man with a martial physical appearance, such as, strong, well built, ruddy, possibly with red hair, and it might also describe a soldier, a sportsman, a hunter, and so on. But this correlation goes even further, as it not only describes the nature of the events, but it also refers to the state of the native. That is also the case on page 792: "...the Moon in *October* [entering] in the terms of Mars, and the ascendant the same time to the semiquadrate of the Sun, may admonish our Native to be carefull of his health, and to **take notice that choler increaseth**...: the later aspect doth also afford **dissention** betwixt some **solar Merchant** and the Native, concerning a thing called Money...". First of all, it is important to note that the term "solar Merchant" provides, by itself, a rich source of information, combining physical and 'psychological' descriptions: it portrays a man with a "large and strong corporature", and "yellowish hair" (if not prematurely bald), with "great majesty" and "full of Thought", yet "affable", but sometimes "arrogant and proud,

restless, troublesome and domineering"³. And there is more: besides this "dissention" with the merchant: an external event, there are also to be expected some physical (internal) alterations, namely the increase of the choleric humour. As Mars is Hot and Dry, therefore choleric, its effect on the human body naturally raises choler, for it augments heat and the dryness. Thus, the predictions foretell of events and characters, which are accurately described by the planets; they tell not only of the physical aspect, but also of their disposition and intent. These external events are very often, if not always, accompanied by internal changes in the physical condition of the native, due to the increase or decrease of the four humours.

The reference to the humours is interesting, because Lilly sees the balance of the humours – the temperament – as the main factor with which to ascertain the changes in health and disposition. For him, the alterations in the humours are related not only to external events, but also to physical and psychological changes within a given period of time. Another example of this correlation between external and internal effects of the humours can be found in page 795, "... in *July* the ascendant comes to the Terms of Mars, which may stirre up some cholerick Humour, or prenuntiate some small detriment in His Estate by *Martiall* men; but these passions continue not, for Saturn to the Terms of Venus... reduceth to a perfect temper...", and further in the same section he adds, "...the Sun to the Terms of Saturn seems to augment with melancholy thoughts for some few dayes, until Mars in *September* comes to the Terms of Venus, whereby the Native is perfectly cured of some melancholy distemper."

The careful study of the internal-external dynamics, supported by a solid knowledge of the significations of the planets, allows the student to understand the many possibilities signified by each planetary movement, therefore producing better and clearer predictions.

PREDICTION AS A TECHNIQUE

The primacy of the radix

Let us start with the obvious: the first step to predicting in natal astrology is **the nativity itself**, as it defines the **kind** of events the native is to expect during his or her life. Understanding the chart is therefore the first step of prediction. “The generall judgement upon any Nativity informs us, by the consideration of the twelve houses, what the generall fortune of the Native may be in the whole course of his life”, he states on page 651. Lilly starts by rectifying the chart, through the verification of the degree of the Ascendant – a step he considers “the most difficult learning of all *Astrologie*”⁴. Then he delineates the chart, another crucial operation, which will allow the correlation of the information provided by the predictive techniques with the natal chart⁵. From the predictive point of view, special importance should be given to the delineations of temperament and manners, general fortune or misfortune, health, wealth, marriage, children and travel. It is crucial to prediction to determine if these matters are, or are not, within the possibilities of the nativity, and if they are, how they will come to be. It would be unfortunate for an astrologer to predict, for instance, marriage and children, by the direct application of predictive techniques, to a native who shows no inclination to marry, nor indications of fertility in the natal chart.

All this is found through the correct delineation of the nativity, and should be kept in mind during prediction, because it helps to detect any difficult phases which would otherwise be less conspicuous. For instance, if the predictions show a period of weak health, a careful study of the nativity will determine whether they will be life-threatening (if the natal significators are weak), or just mildly disturbing (if the natal significators are strong). Likewise, a period of increased wealth portended by the predictions must be related to

the natal significators to see if this wealth will be substantial and enduring, or just a temporary phase of lucky gain. For instance, on page 805, Lilly says, “I do in the **whole course of your life** dehort from suretiship, as a thing most pestilentially ill for the Native, but in 1653 & 1654 especially”. He considers that the native should not become a (financial) guarantor at any time of his life, but most especially in the mentioned years.

Another example can be found on page 826, “... Mars had exaltation in the Signe ascending **at the Birth**, and that **in this year’s Revolution** he is in Scorpio his owne house, Venus is in Libra, Jupiter in the fourth, blessing the degree almost arising at birth with his presence...: from all which we will derive this judgment, that our Native shall have some honourable Military Preferment in the Commonwealth...”. And another on page 792: “... Mars Lord of the [natal] **tenth** hastening to a trine of the Moon in Libra; in *November* some opportune proffer of partnership by men of great account, or principall Magistrates...”.

We can therefore conclude that **the radix literally roots the predictions into reality**; without it, there is no context, just general aphorisms.

Applying the technique

After this thorough preparation, Lilly predicts the native’s future, year by year, from his current age of 29 years until his 50th birthday – a difficult task, which not many present-day astrologers would dare to do!

This brings us to the second step of predictions: the organised application of reliable predictive techniques. In his work, William Lilly uses primary directions, profections, solar returns and, occasionally, transits; let us take a closer look at these techniques, and how he applies them.

Primary directions

Again on page 651, he correlates the nativity with primary directions, “The generall judgement upon any Nativity informs us, by the consideration of the twelve houses, what the generall fortune of the Native may be in the whole course of his life, but the Art of *Direction* measures out the time into Yeers, Moneths, Weeks and Dayes, informing us beforehand when we may expect in particular, what is generally promised us in the Root of the Nativity”.

In each annual prediction he begins by determining the primary directions of the hylegiacal points (Sun, Moon, Ascendant, Part of Fortune and MC) and, secondarily, of the other planets to all the significant points in the nativity. In this particular situation he uses the minor aspects⁶; he does not use these aspects in delineation, neither in nativities nor in horary charts, just in primary directions (he also includes antiscions and contrantiscions). The primary directions are the major framework into which everything else fits. They determine the main tendencies of a given period; all the other techniques relate to this framework. The correlation between primary directions and other techniques, namely annual profections, is quite complex. Lilly explains on pages 718 and 719 that “we make use of Annual Profections to distinguish and know particular times, viz. the Moneths and Dayes of that Yeer, in which a successful or unhappy Direction doth fall: For when it is required at what time, or what Moneth, or neer unto what day the Event of a Direction shall appear; we then repaire to our Profectionall figures. Considering what manner of direction is then in force, and whether it be good or bad; who is the *Significator* and the *Promittor*; for *Profections* of themselves without Directions are not of much validity, or effect little; so also Directions are lesse powerfull and valid, when they are contradicted by *Profections* and *Transits* of a contrary influence.” In other words, although the



directions set the general tone for the period, the profections – which work within a shorter time-frame – can trigger the events if they agree with the directions, or they can delay or diminish them if they don’t. In Lilly’s own words (pages 719 and 720), “where Anuall Profections agree not with the Directions of that yeere, the effects then of that Direction shall be either more remisse or obscure, or shall de deferred until another yeer...”.

It is worth noting the difference between the general explanation of the effects of the directions presented by Lilly in *Christian Astrology* (pp651-708), and its practical application (pp781-892). In the former, he states the kind of events to be expected without any further explanation; in the latter, he provides more detail, adapting his predictions to the natal chart, and presenting them as possibilities.

On page 664, he explains the square of the directed ascendant to the natal Moon in these terms, “Controversie and strife with his Mother or Wife, or Women, Jealousies raised and suggested, Discord with Country Clownes or very rude People, with very meane Women, disgrace and affronts from them”. A rather worrying prospect. Then on page 802, when applying this direction, he goes into much more detail, stating that the native “shall

have some jarring with his Wife, and some other Women also; and it also threatens danger in Estate by Women, and by entrusting *Lunar* men, perhaps some small disaster at Sea"; then he refers to the nativity, saying that the native "may endanger his health, and get a fever by surfet on crude raw fruits, or a surfet of cold, as the ascendant to the square of the Moon [the ascendant being] in **Pisces**; the **Moon in Gemini**, being the *Promittor*, and posited in the fift of the *Radix*; this Sicknesse may therefore come from drinking Healths, or overcharging the stomack...".

Profections

On page 715, Lilly explains profections as "a regular or orderly change of the *Significators* according to the succession of the Signes", in these few words he summarises their cyclical nature and their function. "We make use of Annuall Profections to distinguish and know particular times, viz. the Moneths and Dayes of that Yeer, in which a succesfull or unhappy Direction doth fall", he says. In other words, having determined the directions, he studies the profectional figure in order to better know the date of the events within the period of one year⁷. He then explains that primary directions and profections can mutually reinforce their effects when they agree, or weaken each other, when they disagree. "...*Profections* of themselves without Directions are not of much validity...", as quoted before. This concept of carefully weighing the testimonies is, by the way, largely applied by Lilly in all his predictions, most especially when it comes to the difficult ones. On page 788, for example, after presenting some unpleasant primary directions, he optimistically adds with this closing sentence, "But we will see if any of these things are lessened by revolution or profection." He presents the 'bad' predictions carefully and judiciously, therefore avoiding afflicting the native "with the terror of harsh judgments"⁸, as he warns in his "Letter to the Student".

Besides their relation to the directions, profections can also provide additional information by themselves. Lilly explains how on pages 715 and 721 for the determination of the ruler of the year, and gives more details on pages 726 to 734 about the technique itself. He determines the Lord of the Year, that is, the planet ruling the prolected ascendant, and he refers back to the nativity to ascertain what that planet promises. For instance, on page 784, in his study for the first year of the predictive study, he states that the prolected ascendant is at 6°37' of Taurus, therefore the Divisor or Lord of the Year⁹ is Venus until 29th June; then the prolected ascendant moves into Gemini, the Divisor thus changing to Mercury; he assesses the condition of both. He then suggests considering five points (p726), which he states "by experience" to be "very true": the sign of the profection, the term unto which the horoscope¹⁰ comes, the termes in which the Apheta¹¹ is at that time, the position of the Moon and finally "the Ascendant of the Figure in the Annuall revolution of the Sun"¹².

It is important to notice that these points include several techniques, not only profections – he is already combining them:

- the sign of the profection (profections);
- the term to which the horoscope comes (primary directions);
- the terms in which the Apheta is at that time (primary directions);
- the position of the Moon (most likely used in all);
- the ascendant of the solar return (solar return).

After this he states, "By consideration whereof you may exactly know the state, condition and temperature of the body; how it varies, and what humour is most in excess, &c."

Solar Return

A concise explanation of the calculation and judgement of the solar return (or Revolution) is offered on pages 734 to 741. Lilly deliberately avoids going into much detail, but he offers what he considers enough to “benefit the Learner, and whereby to better his judgement”.

In the judgement of the Solar Return chart, the nativity again provides the root from which all else derives, “Compare the Figure of the Revolution, and observe how the cusps of the houses, and their Lords, and the principall *Significators* doe agree or are disposed; for upon a right understanding thereof, the strength of judgement in a Revolution depends.” But in spite of its subjection to the nativity, the solar return chart can sometimes overcome the tendencies predicted by the primary directions and profections, whether for good or for bad. This latter is the case of the revolution presented on page 797 regarding the native’s 35th year. Judging this chart, Lilly states that it is to be feared that “a very dangerous sickness; which although the *Hylegicall* Directions do not pertinently discover, yet the multiplicity of Planets in the sixth house, doth apertly demonstrate it”. But not all changes caused by the return are for the worse; on page 791 he states that a ‘strong’ revolution can soften the difficulties portended by weak directions: “...but because these directions are not very strong, it behoveth to consider the Revolution; for if the judgment precedent which we have given have no

confirmation from the Revolution, its probable the effects of the directions will be lessened”.

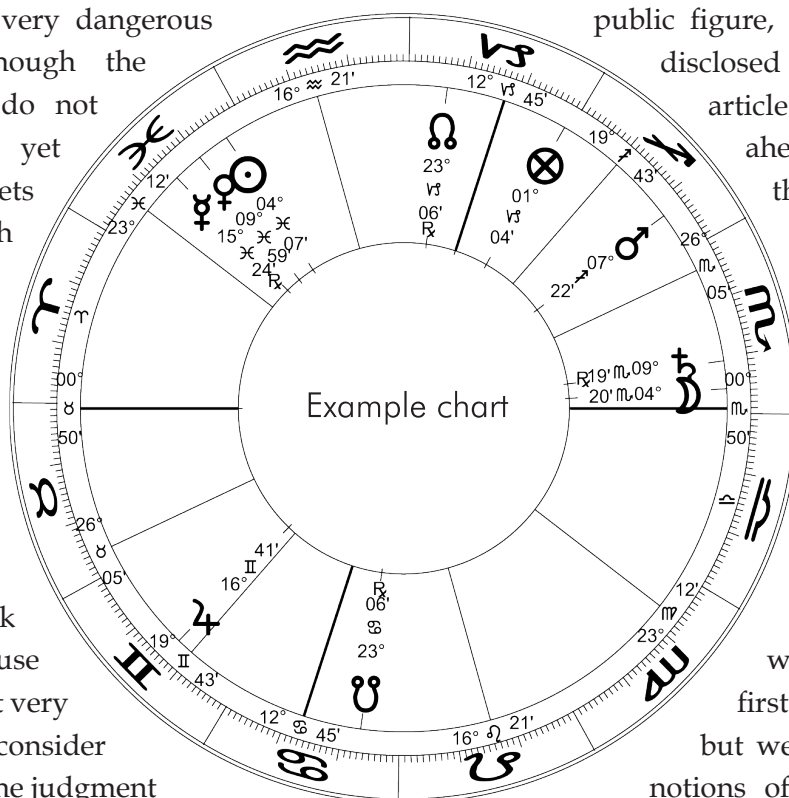
As we can see, Lilly has a method – and it is not the firing squad technique. He uses the primary directions as the main framework; profections and solar revolutions are the instruments with which to ‘fine tune’ that information; he also uses transits as secondary tools for more detail. All these techniques are inter-related, as seen before. Yet encompassing the whole process is awareness of the predispositions of the native as revealed by the natal chart.

BACK TO THE FIRING SQUAD

So, let us see how it works in practice. If we were asked to predict the future for a period of one year, for the chart here displayed, what kind of concrete and useful information could we provide? What could we actually say?

This is our example chart; it belongs to a man, a public figure, whose identity will be disclosed near the end of this article (no point in reading ahead). We will be studying the predictives for the period of one year – from the native’s 50th to his 51st birthday which occurs around February, as we can deduce from the Sun’s zodiacal position.

For practical reasons, we will omit the essential first step of delineation, but we will incorporate some notions of delineation whenever required for the proper understanding of



the predictive techniques. We will start by applying the primary directions, followed by the profections and the solar return; transits will be added within the context of the solar revolution, as they act as triggers for the events indicated by the other techniques.

Primary directions

We have two main primary directions for this period of time: the Part of Fortune trine natal Jupiter in September of the year in question, and Venus square natal Sun, in November.¹³ For the first direction, William Lilly explains in *Christian Astrology*, page 704, “It’s an argument of receiving Gifts, Rewards or Benefits, as also, an ample augmentation of Fortune by the assistance and Patronage of some *Joviall* great Person, or else by a profitable Office, bringing encrease of meanes with it: it what concernes worldly Wealth, it shewes the Native very successful, and it doth invite every Native upon this Direction to follow his Vocation seriously, and to expect a good returne, &c.” In short: it seems excellent!

But before we light the fireworks, we must make sure that this optimism is confirmed by the conditions of the natal chart. The significator, the Part of Fortune, is weak in Capricorn, and disposed by weak Saturn in Scorpio, thus producing only modest benefits. The only favourable factor is that it moved by primary direction to the 11th house, thus increasing friends and allies (as stated on page 707), but this is not enough to compensate for all the difficulties. As to Jupiter, the promissor, it is detrimented and peregrine in Gemini, and afflicted by the square of Mercury, its dispositor. Jupiter rules the 9th house, wherein the natal Part of Fortune is posited, a place of knowledge and religion, but unfortunately it also rules the 12th, a place of restraint, self-undoing and secret enmities. The square of Mercury to Jupiter implies financial losses due to sickness (Mercury rules the 6th), rumours (it also rules the 3rd) and bad advice from friends (it is posited in

the 11th). Under these adverse circumstances, how should we advise the native? With moderate optimism, we should say that in this weakened state Jupiter is still able to produce some of the promised benefits, but always in limited amounts, and perhaps involving some kind of problem or treachery. Caution is therefore advisable.

As to the second direction, there is no direct reference in *Christian Astrology* because Lilly only details the directions of the five hylegiacal points, and Venus is not one of them¹⁴. Nevertheless, its signification can be deduced by the general interpretation of the squares of the significators to Sun. In general terms, the square of any directed point to the natal Sun is a difficult aspect; first because it is a square, and second because it increases choler (as the Sun is Hot and Dry) and may stir up conflict with powerful men (as the Sun signifies important male figures). Observing the chart we see that the significator, Venus, rules the Ascendant, its directions being therefore extremely important for the native; furthermore, Venus co-rules the 6th house, as Libra is intercepted in this house.

The problems are represented by the promissor, the Sun. It is posited in the natal 11th and rules the natal 5th: the difficulties should therefore occur within the native’s group of friends and associates, and originate from embassies (in the wider sense), leisure, and so on. Finally, it is worth noting that directed Venus is now in the 2nd house, which suggests that economic interests could also be involved in this conflict. In practical terms, it would be wise to advise the native to avoid all excesses related to the 5th house, socialising and partying, whether for pleasure or for business, because they could originate conflicts (square) with powerful people (Sun), among their friends (11th house), which can be damaging for him (Venus, ruler of the Ascendant) and for his health (co-ruler of the 6th). Summarising: the native can receive some

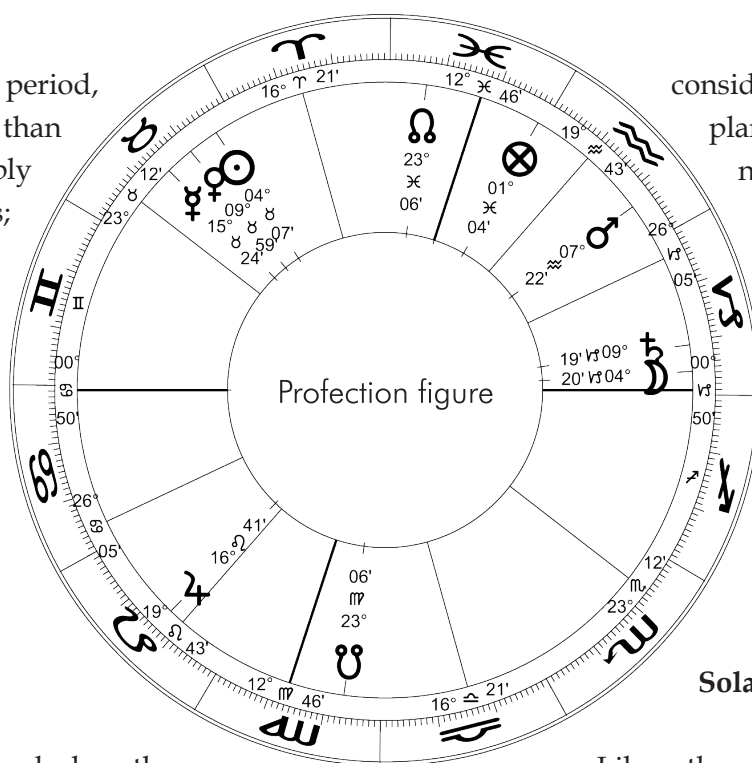
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benefits during this period, although perhaps less than he expected and probably carrying many problems; he must be aware of excesses of choler, especially at parties, banquets, and so on, as they may damage his position and his health; he should also expect some opposition from powerful men.

Profections

Whatever is determined by the directions must be confirmed by the profections and this is the profected figure for his 50th birthday. As all the points of the profected figure move 2°30' per month, it is easy to calculate the moments when they activate the natal planets or angles.

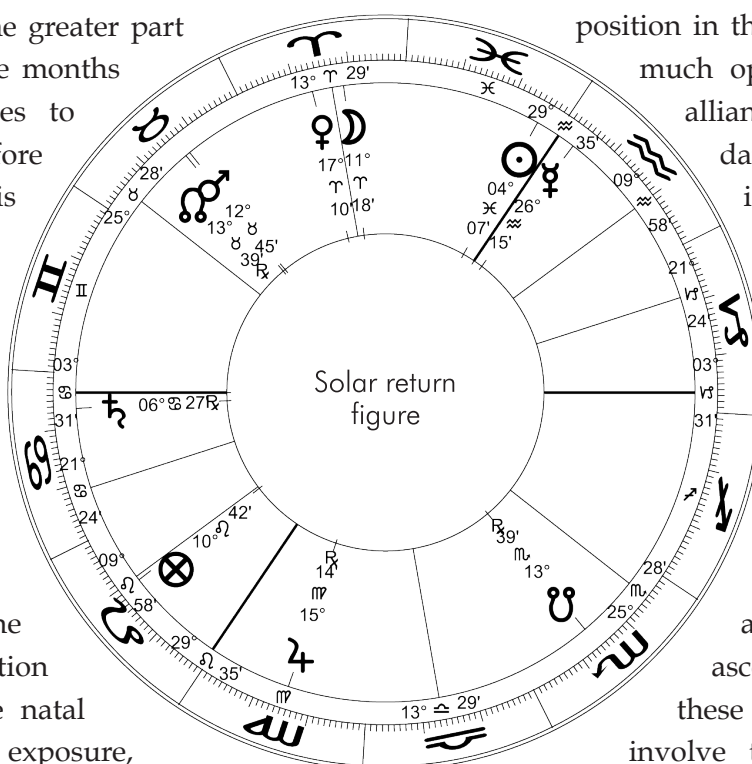
Cancer is rising, so the Moon becomes the Lady of the Year, for the greater part of this period of twelve months (the Ascendant changes to Leo only a few days before the next birthday). It is not very promising, as the Moon is in bad condition: it is in fall in the natal chart, detrimented in the profected figure, and afflicted by a square of Saturn in the solar return (see chart below). The passage of the Moon-Saturn conjunction by profection over the natal MC, suggests public exposure, but not necessarily of the best kind



considering the nature of the planets involved. But again, not everything is bad: the stellium of Sun-Venus-Mercury is now activating the 1st and 2nd houses, again bringing forth issues related to financial gain. In spite of possible difficulties, the native can augment his personal fortune during this period.

Solar return

Like the profections, the solar return for the native's 50th year has some difficult traits as well and therefore reinforces the difficulties previously mentioned. First of all, there is the conjunction of detrimented and retrograde Saturn to the return's ascendant – so obvious that it almost speaks for itself. As Saturn rules the 7th, 8th and 9th houses of the return, its detrimented position in the ascendant brings forth much opposition and unreliable alliances (7th), fear, loss and danger (8th), as well as issues related to beliefs, knowledge and travel (9th). Saturn squares Venus and the Moon in the return – another difficult configuration because Venus rules the natal ascendant and it is Lady of the Year for that period, and the Moon rules the ascendant in the return. All these difficult configurations involve the ascendant (whether natal, profected or in the return), or its



ruler, therefore suggesting damage to the native in one way or another.

In the solar return we also find a square between the Part of Fortune and Mars, showing the possibility of sudden loss of wealth (square of Mars); this loss can originate from the native's friends (Mars rules the 11th in the return) or his health (also rules the 6th in the return). But not all is bad in this return: the Sun conjunct the MC is by itself a strong indicator of promotion; furthermore, Saturn is also the ruler of the natal 10th house, and so its placement in the return's ascendant, although bringing difficulties, also suggests some kind of promotion.

Transits

Considering the planetary positions in the solar return for the native's 50th birthday, we can see that the two benefic planets, Venus and Jupiter, are both detrimented, suggesting that they cannot be of much assistance during that year. On the other hand, the malefics, Mars and Saturn, are also detrimented, which worsens their maleficent nature; for that reason their transits must be carefully studied. Note that during the period of twelve months, these planets (except Saturn) move on, and eventually gain some essential dignity; however, the general tone of debility is taken from their 'starting positions' in the return chart.

It is important to note the transits of Mars through the natal 2nd, 5th and 8th houses. Mars in those places forms difficult aspects to the natal planets in the 11th and in the 8th houses. This happens in April when Mars transits Gemini in the 2nd, in August/September when it ingresses Virgo in the 5th, and in January of the following year when it enters Sagittarius in the 8th house.¹⁵ Saturn will remain in Cancer, detrimented, transiting the natal 3rd and 4th houses, thus bringing difficulties and delays to the native's family and private life. As Cancer is also the sign of the ascendant of the profected figure, it emphasises the aforementioned problems.

The test of reality

All this is very interesting, but let us test this in reality. This is the natal chart of Viktor Yushchenko, the controversial president of Ukraine, born on the 23rd February 1954, at 9:30 am, in Khoruzhivka, Ukraine (50°N53', 33°E45')¹⁶. The period we have been studying extends between February 2004 and February 2005, that is, his 50th year of life. It encompasses the elections for the presidency, as well as the time when he suffered an almost fatal chemical poisoning, which is suspected to have been deliberate¹⁷. There is some degree of controversy regarding this situation, about the motives and methods used, but in any case the fact remains that he had a health problem that was almost fatal.

It happened in September 2004, during the campaign for the presidency, most probably during a banquet with other Ukrainian politicians (note the involvement of the 5th and 11th houses). Yushchenko felt terribly indisposed and was rushed to the hospital where he was first diagnosed with acute pancreatitis, and later with dioxin poisoning. It almost killed him and left him with permanent scars: his face was completely disfigured (as a result of the afflictions to Venus, ruler of the ascendant) and his health damaged (Venus co-rules of the 6th). His reaction to the poison was no doubt choleric, as it resulted in a "jaundiced, bloated, and pockmarked" face¹⁸. Interestingly enough, the Moon-Saturn conjunction in Scorpio in the 7th house in his nativity, suggests poisonous enemies, because Scorpio is a Water sign, or indeed the possibility of poisoning – so the predictives were fulfilling a possibility latent in the nativity. Nevertheless, the career promotion suggested by the predictives was also achieved, and he reached his goal, the presidency of his country, in spite of his health problems. In fact, this life-threatening condition also bestowed upon him great popularity and public sympathy, which ultimately contributed to his achieving the presidency¹⁹.

We now understand how the predictives can simultaneously point to problems and benefits, and deliver both integrally.

Now that we know what happened, we can go back to the predictives and discover many other significant configurations, for it is always easier to 'shoot' accurately when we already know the outcome. But now we have the satisfaction of knowing that we are now able to predict – truly predict – future events, with a good amount of accuracy and detail.

This will allow us to quit the firing squad technique once and for all. There is no longer a need for heavy artillery, because we now have a practical and accurate method, able to produce relevant and concrete information.



Endnotes

1. Firmicus Maternus, *Matheosos Libri VIII (The Mathesis)* c.334 AD, trans. Jean Rhys Bram, Noyes Press, New Jersey 1975; it is worth reading the whole section; the complete text can be found in Sue Ward's weblog: <http://sue-ward.blogspot.com/2009/07/something-to-think-about.html>.
2. Ragel, Ali ben, *El Libro Conplido de los Iudicios de las Estrellas*, Barcelona, Ediciones Indigo,
3. A complete description of the significations of the planets can be found in *Christian Astrology*, pages 57 to 86.
4. Page 652: "...for indeed it is the most difficult learning of all Astrologie, to verify the ascendant, as I have found by my frequent experience; for if we faile two or three degrees in the ascendant (as we may well do) through humane frailty, then, I say, the Accidents signified thereby must come so many years sooner or later, &c.."
5. Before he ventures into the predictions for his example chart, he dedicates a large part of the book (from pages 742 to 764) to the organised study of the natal chart.
6. The minor aspects are: the semi-sextile, 30°; the semi-quintile, 36°; the semi-quadrant, 45°; the quintile, 72°; the sesquiquintile, 108°; the sesquiquadrant, 135° and the biquintile, 144°. They are mentioned on page 32, as the creation of "one Kepler, a learned man", and again on page 512, with the respective symbols. Lilly's use of these aspects is sparse, occurring only in primary directions; on page 32 he remarks: "I only acquaint you with these, that finding them anywhere you may apprehend their meaning".

7. That is, from one birthday to the next.
8. Although the judgements he refers to are possibly for the nativity, the recommendation can be also applied to prediction, because it maintains the same spirit; the complete text can be found in the section "To the Student of Astrology" in the opening pages of *Christian Astrology*.
9. On page 784 he attributes the name "divisor" to the Lord of the Year, thus using a term commonly applied to the planet ruling the term of the directed ascendant, which can be confusing.
10. That is, the Ascendant.
11. That is, "the Hyleg or the Prorogator of Life", as stated in page 527, chapter CIV (104).
12. That is, the Ascendant of the solar return chart.
13. For practical reasons, we will not take into account the minor aspects, as they are not especially relevant for our purpose. Also, the directions to the angles were not included in this study, because they will require the rectification of the chart, which goes far beyond the scope of this article.
14. The five hylegiacal points are the Sun, the Moon, the Ascendant, the Part of Fortune and the Syzygy which preceded the birth; in primary directions, this last point is often replaced by the MC.
15. Obviously, the advice about the transiting malefics is always useful, but in this particular year it is especially relevant because of all the extra emphasis induced by these configurations, as revealed by the primary directions, profections and solar return. In a less difficult period, the malefics in transit would still be damaging, but their effects would be much easier to bear.
16. From Astrodatbank: "On November 30, 2004 an e-mail was forwarded to PT that came from an astrology forum quoting Boris [izraitel@myu.ru] citing "Our Ukrainian colleagues pass along the following data...." PT confirmed the date through Yushchenko's personal website in English <http://hotline.net.ua/eng/content/view/1349/108/>." (this site is no longer online).
17. For a general overview of this president's personality and work, as well as for the dioxin poisoning controversy, please refer to: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yuschenko>.
18. Quoted from the aforementioned article in Wikipedia.
19. His inauguration as president occurred at the 23rd of January 2005, still within the period here presented.



Jérôme Libon



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He is interested in the development of mediaeval sciences and philosophy – in which astrology played a major role – and their transmission from the Arabic world to Christian Europe from the 10th century onwards. Because of this he is learning Arabic.

Currently, he practises natal and horary astrology in Brussels, in addition to being a teacher of history.

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Astrology in Roger Bacon's Work

Translated from the French

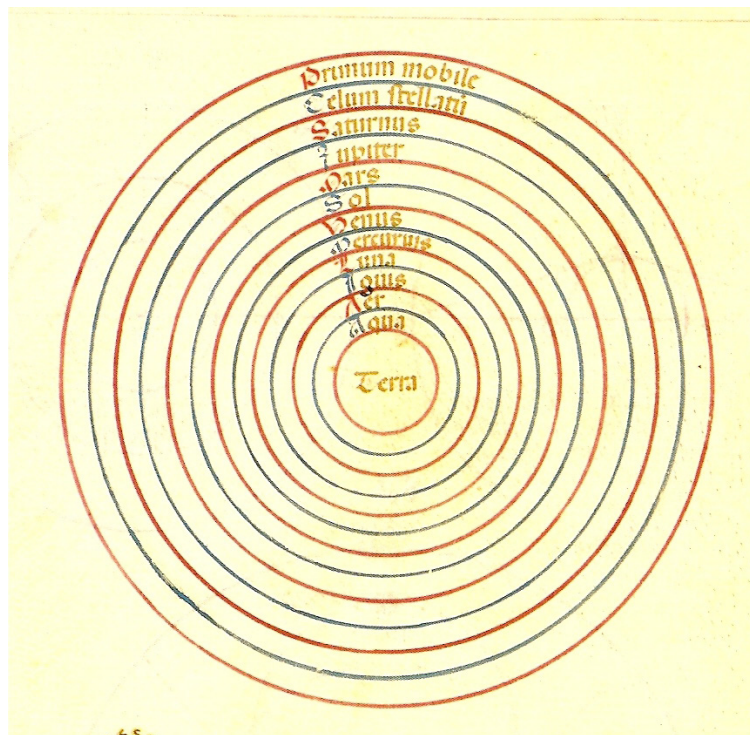
by Azaria Wassyihun

I. INTRODUCTION

Aristotle's cosmos, as described in *De Caelo*, *Meteorologics*, *De Generatione et Corruptione* and *Metaphysics*¹, is composed of eight concentric spheres whose centre is ascribed to the Earth, itself spherical and motionless². Each one of these spheres supports a wandering star (planet) up to the last one, the sphere of the fixed stars. Consequently, we have, in ascending order and starting from the Earth, the spheres of the Moon, of Mercury, of Venus, of the Sun, of Mars, of Jupiter and of Saturn, all of which are encompassed by the eighth sphere of the fixed stars. This beautiful machinery is moved by the 'Primum Mobile', the Prime Mover, impressing a constant impulse on the sphere directly adjacent – the eighth, whose movement is called diurnal and is responsible for the succession of days and nights – that itself impresses it on the sphere of Saturn, which carries it on to the sphere of Jupiter, etc. to the sphere of the Moon which in turn impresses its movement on the sublunary spheres of the four elements, producing in this way every generation and corruption. On the sublunary level, the sphere of fire is located just beneath that of the Moon and followed in order by the spheres of air, water and earth. According to this arrangement, the centre of the universe is situated at the very centre of the Earth and is coated successively by elementary and planetary layers.

This cosmos is the result of observation and of a certain type of reasoning. Aristotle recognises the fact that there are seven planets and a firmament (Uranus, Neptune and Pluto being yet undiscovered). He also notices that the sky does not change, stays unalterable, contrasted by the sublunary world which is submitted to endless becoming.

In addition, it is axiomatic to him that there exist two kinds of natural movements: the rectilinear movement, itself divided into the upward movement (from the centre to the periphery), the downward movement (from the periphery to the centre),



and the circular movement. It seems obvious to him to allot a type of simple body (element) to each of these movements.³

Sublunary elements are characterized by the rectilinear movement, allowing them to reach their proper places, their spheres, and to actuate their forms by standing still. In line with the order of the spheres that we know, fire and air receive the upward movement (they rise), and water and earth the downward movement (they fall). In addition, Aristotle is forced to introduce not only the notions of heaviness or density (earth and water) and of lightness or rarity (fire and air), but also of absolute and relative density or rarity, as the sphere of fire (absolute rarity), the proper place it tries to reach, is situated above the sphere of air (relative rarity), itself covering the spheres of water (relative density) and earth (absolute density).⁴

The elements are moreover characterized by the sensible qualities of hotness, coldness, dryness, and wetness. Fire is hot and dry, air hot and wet, water cold and wet and earth cold and dry.⁵ As the elements are moved by movements of contrary nature (upward and downward), it is normal that

they combine together to give birth to realities of different natures.⁶ Contrasts of movements are reflected by contrasts of elementary qualities (hot-cold and dry-wet), allowing every generation and corruption in our everlastingly changing sublunary world. The elements are the primary building blocks of each and every thing, in which they are usually found as combinations forming specific realities. In them, one element is always dominant and the other permits the conversion of things in one another through their common sensible qualities.⁷ Change is then cyclical here on Earth and every generation of a thing is the corruption of another in this universe where nothing comes from nothing but is brought to life from the blending of elements.⁸

The circular movement, around the centre, is given to the celestial spheres as it is obvious, according to Aristotle, that they revolve around the Earth. Furthermore, as this movement has neither contrary nor beginning nor end, it can be allowed no sublunary element. A fifth element must be posited, ether, which has no density, rarity or sensible qualities, these notions being only meaningful here below. Celestial movement is eternal, uniform and steady; bodies submitted to it, the stars and planets, are incorruptible and immutable.⁹

The reader will have noticed that in such a cosmos, even though Aristotle never mentions it, it is not difficult to include astrology, or the study of the supposed influences of stars on the terrestrial realities according to a precise rhetoric which will be explained in detail in this work. Actually, for the Stagirite, all the celestial mechanics, this whole system of spheres moving one another from the Primum Mobile to the spheres of the elements, has only one end: the generation and corruption of the substantial forms, the perpetual passing from potentiality to actuation of all sensible things in becoming in our sublunary world.¹⁰

Moreover, Aristotle clearly and explicitly recognises the Sun as having a generating role of the first order, responsible for all life. In fact, he asserts that the Sun's slanting movement along the ecliptic is the cause for the changing seasons, meaning the generation when it approaches (spring-summer) and the corruption when it moves away (autumn-winter).¹¹ The day star is of capital importance concerning the generation of human life, since the book II of the *Physics* states this famous phrase often used in the Middle Ages in justification of astrology: *Homo generat hominem et sol*, the Sun and man generate man.

Astrologers such as the Alexandrian Ptolemy (2nd century AD) or the Persian Abu Ma'shar (787-886) did not wait for the Middle Ages to adapt Aristotle's system to astrological rhetoric, but inevitably had to twist the doctrinal purity.

Thus Ptolemy, in *Tetrabiblos* (*Quadripartitum* in Latin), his astrological treatise, deals with all of the elemental and ethereal spheres' mechanics, and attributes, just like Aristotle, an importance of the first order to the Sun concerning the natural generation, but also to the Moon¹² (which the Philosopher does not do). However, since his purpose is to write an astrological thesis, he sees himself obligated to include in his intellectual construction, certain absurdities. The planets are not only attributed elementary natures, which is normally exclusive to the sublunary world (Saturn is cold and dry, Jupiter is hot and wet, Mars is hot and dry like the Sun but in a destructive way...)¹³ but also qualifications in accordance with their effects. Some planets are therefore beneficial (favourable to generation) and some are malevolent (unfavourable to generation). We also see them divided according to their masculine or feminine polarities, as well as diurnal or nocturnal.¹⁴

All this terminology of classification is a mistake according to Aristotle's reasoning. In fact, the

planets being composed of a fifth element, ether, they can in no way have all these characteristics since the supra-lunar world comes from a completely opposite order than the nature of the sublunary world.

Yet, as Ptolemy is confronted with the task to demonstrate the sensible experience of all the generation and all the corruption in nature, but also in man's behaviour, in a practical way, he probably did not have any other way but to rearrange the Master's thoughts, if he wanted to conserve them. In other words, Aristotle stayed on the abstract and conceptual level, whereas Ptolemy wanted to be concrete. In this view he marries Aristotle to the astrological conventions to give us an integrated system of the world, which he transmits to ulterior Arabic and Christian scientists.

To describe an Aristotelian astrology is also Abu Ma'shar's purpose, whose influence in the domain of natural philosophy in occidental Christianity since the XIIth century no longer needs approval since the book *Abu Ma'shar and Latin Aristotelianism in the XIIth Century* by Professor Richard Lemay.¹⁵

His astrological treatises, and notably the *Liber Introductorii Maioris ad Scientiam Iudiciorum Astrorum*,¹⁶ translated twice in Latin during the XIIth century, present – just like Ptolemy, but in a much more researched and complex way – a justification of the astrological precepts according to the Stagirite. Therefore, on the basis of the affirmation made by the latter that the Sun's journey along the ecliptic, responsible for its forward and backward movement, is the cause of generation and corruption as well as of the four seasons, Abu Ma'shar reconstructs the whole zodiacal system, which was originally a strip composed of the twelve constellations (the signs) along the ecliptic, around which all the planets revolve and which all have an influence in our sublunary world,¹⁷ in analogy with the Sun's influence.



In fact, in *Liber Introductorii* a great deal of Aristotle's natural philosophy is reviewed, Abu Ma'shar not wanting to concentrate solely on the Sun's actions, again exposes the entire theory of elements and mixtures as well as their mutual generations.¹⁸ Of course there is a parallel drawn between this theory and the traditional astrological system which is not only composed of the influence of the planets and their natures (hot, cold, dry or wet), but also the influence of the zodiacal signs, each of them attributed to one of the four elements, thus receiving sensible qualities.¹⁹ It is crucial to note that Abu Ma'shar is well aware of this being an infidelity towards Aristotle and details, by criticising Ptolemy, that the sensible qualities are not found in the ether, but correspond to the effect of its constituents in the sublunary world.²⁰

In another one of his treatises, *De Magnis Coniunctionibus*,²¹ Abu Ma'shar links the three sorts of Aristotelian movement (upwards, downwards,

around the centre) to the seven planets. The three superior planets, Saturn, Jupiter and Mars correspond to the circular movement because they are further away from Earth, closer to the First Mobile and thus slower. Therefore they can give us indications of long periods of time (especially in respect of religions and dynasties), Saturn representing their beginning, Jupiter their perfections and Mars their decline. The Sun, being at the centre of the seven planets corresponds to the movement coming from the centre, which is the upward movement. The Sun gives us information concerning the kings and the rulers.

At last, the three inferior planets remain, Venus, Mercury and the Moon. They receive the downward movement because they are the fastest, the closest to Earth and the furthest away from the Primum Mobile. They thus represent all things having a shorter life span, all the while reflecting the circular movement of the three superior planets. Therefore Venus which reflects Saturn, represents marriage and clothes; Mercury which reflects Jupiter, represents writing and calculation and finally the Moon which reflects Mars, represents movement, migration and trips.²²



This introduction is not meant to be an exhaustive résumé of the Aristotelian doctrines used by Abu Ma'shar in his astrology. The significant examples previously given suffice to prove that for this astrologer, Aristotle's precepts and astrology are in the same coherent reality.

It is no longer necessary to show that the XIIth century was, in the west, the period of the rediscovering of Greek and Arabic sciences, thanks to translators and men of science such as Adelard of Bath, Gerard of Cremona, William of Conches, Hugh of Santalla, Hermann of Carinthia, John of Sevilla, Plato of Tivoli and many others working in most cases from Spain. However what needs to



be said is that it was astrology more than anything which attracted these brilliant minds, which is proven in the many translations carried out by them in this domain.²³ Abu Ma'shar's *Liber introductorii* was first translated in Latin by John of Sevilla in 1133 and again in 1140 by Herman of Carinthia.²⁴ The same John de Sevilla also translated *De Magnis Coniunctionibus*, as well as the *Centiloquium*, a collection of 100 astrological aphorisms, falsely attributed to Ptolemy and whose real author is a certain Abu Ja'far ibn Yusuf ibn Ibrahim al Daya, physician from the IXth century.²⁵ Hugh of Santalla and Adelard of Bath also translated *Centiloquium*,²⁶ and the latter also produced Abu Ma'shar's *Ysagoge Minor*, a summary of *Introductorium Maius*.²⁷

Many more astrological works were translated, such as *Introductorius* of Al Qabisi (Alcabitius)²⁸, and the Christian intellectual world was quickly overwhelmed. Yet of all these works, Abu Ma'shar and Ptolemy (translated in 1138 by Plato of Tivoli)

both had a fundamental impact, probably because of their great qualities; it is through them that Aristotle was rediscovered, and this many years before the appearance of his works in Latin during the first years of the XIIIth century. It was without doubt a very "astrologised" Aristotle. At that time astrology was studied as the repository of nature's secrets and workings, allowing us to trace back all the way up to the cause of things. This is a profound change when compared to the previous centuries known for their symbolic mentality, as described in bestiaries and lapidaries. God was of course still omnipotent and omnipresent, but instead of Him being an explanation for everything as in the past by His direct intervention, the learned started to study nature's mechanisms, which He had implemented according to definite laws: Aristotle, the astrologer's laws. In other words, we can say that God was moved to another level: certainly nature was still subject to God's Will, but it was now given its own coherence, this coherence was grasped by the means of astrological doctrine, considered as a real physical science in which the celestial bodies are His favoured instruments.²⁹

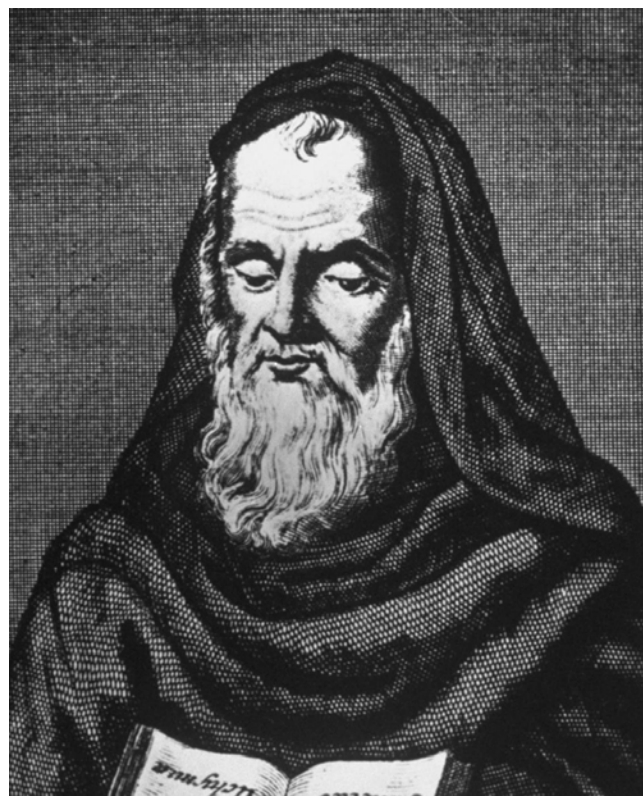
This astrological movement or trend lasted during the XIIIth century, Aristotle was still in part studied as an astrologer – especially in that a number of pseudo-Aristotelian treatises more or less astrological in nature like *Secretum Secretorum* were circulating in learned circles – and Abu Ma'shar retained his primary place, to the point that he had to dispute it with Aristotle himself, at least among certain authors including Bacon who cites him constantly.

Aristotle's image gradually and extremely slowly liberated itself from its astrological constraints, not only upon the arrival of new translations of his works and commentaries by Averroes³⁰ in the 1230s, mostly due to the work of men like Michael Scot, who was paradoxically Frederic II's astrologer, but also due to works by theologians

such as Thomas Aquinas or members of the Faculty of Arts like Siger of Brabant, Boetius of Dacia and others, who dissected and analysed the cosmos of the Stagirite through all imaginable and possible aspects.³¹ It is interesting to note that even though astrology did not occupy the first place in their works, all have admitted the reality of celestial influence, which, let us remember, goes all too well with Aristotle's world.³²

However, we must insist upon the fact that the XIIIth century, despite the progressive rediscovery of a purer Aristotle, is still the golden age of Arabic astrology, which loses its prestige only at the end of the XIIIth and during the XIVth centuries, immediately following the condemnations of 1277 by Etienne Tempier, Bishop of Paris, which it became – in view of its fatalistic nature which was unacceptable to Christian morality – a favourite target.³³ Before this, it was studied and read by everyone³⁴ and is integral to the debate – sometimes even to be criticised, notably because of the problems it poses to the concept of human free will, to which theologians are very attached – as well as the reality of the learned man, to the point where we can absolutely agree with Hillary M. Casey when she says: “Looking for non-believers in celestial influences in the Middle Ages is about as productive as looking for medieval atheists”.³⁵ In fact, even the most conservative Christian thinkers never questioned the celestial influence concerning all things natural composed of the four elements including the human body; the non-material soul remaining free and undetermined (at least directly) by the stars..³⁶

The English philosopher Roger Bacon lived in this context. We have very little information concerning his life, all of which is deduced from his works. He is never cited by his contemporaries, which suggests that he was famous posthumously, particularly in the Renaissance as a wizard, a necromancer and an occultist.³⁷



First of all, Bacon's date of birth is controversial, the totality of the problem resting in the interpretation of this extract from *Opus Tertium*, written around 1267.

I have worked a great deal in the domain of languages and sciences, and 40 years have gone by since I learnt the alphabet; I was always studious; and, except two of these 40 years, I was always *in studio* and I had many expenses like others around me; and besides, I am sure I can teach from my mouth to a confident and motivated man, in a half or a quarter of a year, what I know of the force of languages and sciences, provided I can first compose a work under the form of a compendium³⁸. And it is well known that no one worked as much, in so many languages and sciences, because men marvelled, in the other state that I survived to the mass of work.³⁹

This extract seems clear, but it all depends on how it is interpreted. A.G. Little⁴⁰ thinks that the expression *in studio* means *at the university* and the term *alphabetum* must be understood as relative to the start of university formation which at that time was between ages 13 and 14, through an obligatory

passage in the Arts Faculty. The maths is therefore simple: since Bacon was writing in 1267, he would have entered university around 1227, and would be born in 1213 or 1214. Although it is an old opinion, it is still accepted by many historians as highly probable.⁴¹

Yet, some think it convenient to raise his birth date to 1219-1220. The first of these trouble-makers, Theodore Crowley, thinks the term *alphabetum* must be understood literally and refers to the period of education going back to Bacon's childhood because it seems he came from a rich family since he mentions his brother as being a rich man.⁴² David C. Linberg follows Crowley in his opinion.⁴³

While reading the aforementioned extract, this second opinion is difficult to accept. Actually, Bacon praises his own merits to the Pope, in hopes of making him aware of his vision of science and the reform of teaching. In such a context, it is hard to see why Bacon would speak of his reading lessons. On the other hand, it is easier to imagine him attracting attention to his higher studies and skills as well as his hard work and an entire life spent in the field of science. It is more reasonable to place his birth date around 1213-1214.

Of course there is no point in giving a complete biography of Bacon's life: to describe to the reader the numerous disagreements it creates due to the lack of information would be long and tedious. In fact it has already been done and this work's ambition is not one of repetition. Bacon's biography, written by Stewart Easton, and now considered a standard, is quite old but still remains interesting.⁴⁴ Moreover, there are other works and articles on the subject which will help enlighten the intrigued reader.⁴⁵ I propose to present here a brief synthesis of this philosopher's life, taken from the previously cited works, while reminding that throughout the work, important points of his life will be dealt with in detail.

It is commonly admitted that Bacon entered Oxford University's Arts Faculty around 1227-1226, and that he got his Master's degree between 1235 and 1240.⁴⁶ Later, he was most probably teaching at Oxford for a short period of time,⁴⁷ before leaving for Paris during the first half of the 1240s to teach. There he became one of the very first teachers to expose Aristotle's natural philosophy⁴⁸ after its successive condemnations in 1210 and 1215 by the papal legate Robert of Courson, condemnations which probably remained in effect until about the time of his arrival.⁴⁹ There are even written testimonies of this teaching period in the form of commentaries of Aristotle's *Physics* and *Metaphysics*, for example.⁵⁰ He left his post as teacher at the University of Paris around 1247-1250, in all likelihood to deepen his research and to go further with it than classic Aristotelian philosophy. He thus stayed in Paris, where it is probable that he went to Richard of Fournival's library and used certain works like the cosmological poem *De Vetula*, which we will deal with later. The library, being extremely rich, gave him access to a large number of manuscripts on science, philosophy, magic, alchemy, optics, astrology, etc. This would explain his vast knowledge of these subjects in his more mature works like the famous *Opus Maius*.⁵¹

This period was without a doubt a transitional time in Bacon's life, during which his intellectual interests changed completely. The astrological theories studied in this work constitute the key to understanding the "new" Roger Bacon.

During the years 1256-1257, Bacon became a Franciscan friar, although we do not know in which province of the order.⁵² The reasons so drastic a change are not known to us; nevertheless we might suppose that they were related to the pursuit of his scientific investigations as the two new orders, the Franciscan and the Dominican, welcomed a real scientific effervescence among them.⁵³ Unfortunately he was not entirely free

and was obliged, to his great dislike, to do a monk's daily chores (prayers, service to the poor, etc.).⁵⁴ Furthermore, he joined the order at the time when it was going through a terrible crisis – having divided themselves between Spirituals and Conventuals on the poverty issue which, at the Council of Narbonne in 1260 presided over by Saint Bonaventura, led to a ban, applicable to all the friars, against publishing anything without the authorisation of a superior. This atmosphere in which intellectual work was severely restrained did not help Bacon,.

In spite of all these problems and imposed restrictions, Friar Roger Bacon did not remain completely inactive, and did his best to become known in higher circles. Around 1263-64, Bacon contacted Cardinal Guy of Foulques, a papal legate, through one of the clerks of his house, Raymond of Laon. They discussed the numerous teaching reform projects and the knowledge Bacon had, following the renewal of his interests. There are strong reasons to believe that the Cardinal was interested because, once he became Pope Clement IV at the start of Spring 1265, Bacon contacted him again via the English ambassador at the Curia, William Bonecour, and the Pope responded very favourably.⁵⁵ In fact, in July of 1266, Bacon received a mandate from the Pope ordering him to write in the utmost secrecy and regardless of the statutes of his order, on the subjects they had previously discussed.⁵⁶ The result of this missive was *Opus Maius*,⁵⁷ considered his greatest work, supplemented by *Opus Minus*⁵⁸ and *Opus Tertium*, which he uses as a summary and introduction, in case the Pope did not have time to read it since it is long.

Bacon sent in 1267 or 1268 both *Opus Maius* and *Minus*, but unfortunately for him he was too late because the Pope had died on the 26th November 1268. Therefore, even if he had had the chance of reading Bacon's works, which we don't know, he

never put them to the test, plus, *Opus Tertium* was never sent.⁵⁹

It must be noted that Bacon seems to have written these works – approximately 1500 pages in a modern printed edition – in a record time, about a year or a year and a half. This made his biographers say, apparently with great accuracy, that he was not completely caught off-guard by the Pope's mandate of 1266. Actually, even though we do not have it, Bacon had received, following their first discussion, a first mandate⁶⁰ from Clement IV while he was still Cardinal, a mandate that did not result in any subsequent reply. However, it is possible that Bacon had began work before July 1266 after the first mandate and even before it, by writing parts of his *opera*. Having received the Pope's second order, he should have simply assembled what he had already written, and link it all, probably by adding other parts, so as to make his works into the definitive forms we now have, to send them to their holy patron.⁶¹

After this papal failure, Bacon continued to write, research⁶² and probably returned to Oxford.⁶³ Some think, on the basis of a chronicle from the 1370s, the *Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum*,⁶⁴ that he was imprisoned between 1277-79 by the command of Jerome of Ascoli, the Franciscan General Minister, for "certain suspect new things". It is traditional in Bacon historiography to attribute the cause of this conviction to the astrological theories defended by him, in relation to the 1277 Paris condemnations. I do not intend dealing with this issue in the introduction and I leave it for the last chapter. For the moment, it is simply important we note that according to me Bacon's prosecution is highly unlikely – if he ever was prosecuted – to have been because of his astrological views, considering that they were widespread during his time, and no one was concerned about them, as Thorndike's work *A History of Magic and Experimental Sciences* demonstrates perfectly.⁶⁵

Bacon's last work, the *Compendium Studii Theologiae*⁶⁶ is dated from 1292, a year traditionally considered as the last of Friar Roger Bacon's long life.⁶⁷

Roger Bacon's *Opus Maius*, his main work, the one for which he is best known is composed of seven distinct parts integrated into the context of a project for the reform of teaching and knowledge, and meant for the attention of Pope Clement IV.

The seven parts deal with the following subjects:

1. The causes of philosophers' and established professors' errors. It is a savage criticism of the knowledge of his time.⁶⁸

2. The revelation of a knowledge and a unique wisdom, given by God to the first Patriarchs. Bacon exposes in this context the chronology of the transmission of this knowledge, which went through, among many others, Salomon and Aristotle before reaching the Christians in an imperfect manner. It is thus time to reinstate its antique perfection.⁶⁹

3. The study of languages. Bacon thinks it is very important to master, apart from Latin, Greek, Arabic and Hebrew, because of the poor standard of the Christian translations then available in the west.⁷⁰

4. The defence of mathematics.⁷¹ Our work will essentially deal with this part, because in it, Bacon develops, in a much more researched way than in the rest of his work, his defence and theorisation of astrology – assimilated with mathematics – as much in the domain of natural philosophy as in the domain of religion, of theology and of the management of human community, under all of its aspects.

5. *Perspectiva*, which means optical science. Bacon deals with the eye's structure and the mechanisms of sight. One of the domains of this science is in relation to astrology, but Bacon uses it in the previous part.⁷²

6. *Scientia experimentalis*.⁷³ For him this is constituted, just how we will see while studying its relations to astrology, of a science of observation of nature as well as of the concrete action on the basis of these observations. It is responsible, with optics and mathematics – in which certain scholars saw only the term, without giving importance to the significance it had in its context – for Bacon's immense popularity among historians of science from the XIXth and XXth centuries, considering him, in reference to his prosecution, as a martyr of science stuck in a time of ignorance populated by brutes and religious fanatics.⁷⁴ It is obvious that this unjustified opinion does not work, even though it still finds its adherents, especially in popular literature.⁷⁵ If these historians had read Bacon more carefully, they would have realised that a Bacon passionate about astrology had no place in their Christian scientist pantheon.

7. Moral philosophy. It is the culmination of all the other parts of *Opus Maius*, and so, theoretically, of all knowledge. In fact, this one, in its totality, is aimed at a good and Christian life, to the praises of the Creator and of its unique religion revealed and superior to the others: Christianity.⁷⁶



Thus, this work will be based particularly on the analysis of *pars quarta* of *Opus Maius*, but also and secondarily, on *Opus Minus* and *Tertium*, which bring, on the subject of astrology, and in their quality of unstructured summaries, nothing new. Nevertheless, I will cite these works and will use them when necessary. Moreover, Bacon's other works will not be forgotten within the scope of certain particular reports.

Firstly, we will expose the relations between astrology and optics, such as how they were defined by Bacon for the purpose of accounting for all generation and corruption in the sublunary world. Within this framework, the authors having

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influenced him, such as Robert Grosseteste, Al Kindi, Alhazen, etc., will be studied as well as the links between astrology and experimental science.

Further on we will proceed to the application of astrological doctrines as they will have been defined before, to theology, and religion in the broader sense. We will then see in which way the theologian cannot do without astrology for the analysis of chronology and biblical geography, especially as Bacon will have succeeded in showing a little time before, that the study of celestial influence as a branch of its own and vital to the revealed knowledge, is completely favoured by the Patriarchs and by the Fathers, among which he puts in first place Saint Augustine!!!

After this, we will deal with the defence of judicial astrology, the art of making horoscopes, Bacon offers to the Pope, as well as with the opinions he presents which argue that astrology is in accord with the doctrine of free will, bitterly defended by the theologians of the time, whom Bacon does not like at all.

Further on we will see how Bacon uses astrology, meant as a true ontological doctrine, to demonstrate Christianity's superiority when compared with other religions, and how this knowledge can be used to advantage, notably to accomplish the Church of Rome's apostolic mission. This part will let us touch upon medieval geography.

Later, we will study a résumé written by Bacon of the principal constituents of the astrological world of his time (zodiac, signs, houses, aspects, etc.) perfectly reflecting any astrological treatise, although synthesised, circulating in the XIIIth century.

Finally, we will approach a subject dear to Bacon: talismanic astrology. How does he theorise this highly slippery topic to make it legal and even



crucial to the community of the believers, in an environment troubled by an end-of-time fear of the imminent coming of the Antichrist, following from Joachim of Fiore's predictions? We will try and answer this interesting question, before arriving to the last chapter showing that Bacon's doctrines held nothing illicit, and thus most probably did not result in imprisonment.

It is well known in current historiography that Roger Bacon was a great defender of astrology, all of his historians mention it a little, but without a detailed study, although there is a good, if short, article by David Juste⁷⁷ which deals specifically with this subject. Even Georges Sarton, in his founding work, *Introduction to the History of Science*,⁷⁸ in which he dedicates a whole chapter to Bacon, gives to this *scientia* only the status of "implicit belief", preferring the analysis of astronomy. Coming from this realisation of the actual state of research, this work's ambition, its primary motivation, and leaving aside my personal conceptions of astrology, is to restore the science of the stars to its rightful place in Bacon's philosophy, meaning a central place without which it can be neither understood nor apprehended in a coherent manner.



Endnotes

- 1, 2. *De caelo*, II, 14
3. *Ibidem*, I, 2-4 and III, 2
4. *Ibidem*, IV, 1-4
5. *De generatione et corruptione*, II, 2-3
6. *Ibidem*, II, 4-5
7. *Ibidem*, II, 8
8. *De caelo*, III, 6
9. *Ibidem*, I, 10-12
10. *Meteorologica*, I, 2
11. *De generatione et corruptione*, II, 10-11
12. PTOLEMY, *Tetrabiblos*, edited and translated by F.E. ROBBINS, London, 1940 - Loeb Classical Library; 350, I, 2
13. *Ibidem*., I, 4
14. *Ibidem*, I, 5-7
15. R. LEMAY, *Abu Ma'shar and Latin Aristotelianism in the XIIth Century. The Recovery of Aristotle's Natural Philosophy through Arabic Astrology*, Beirut, 1962
16. ABU MA'SHAR AL-BAHLI, *Liber introductorii maioris ad scientiam judiciorum astrorum. Texte latin de Jean de Séville avec la révision de Gerard de Crémone*, édité par R. LEMAY, Napoli, Instituto Universitario Orientale, 1996
17. *Ibidem*., I, 3 et II, 2
18. *Ibidem*, I, 3
19. *Ibidem*, II, 3-5
20. *Ibidem*., IV, 1-5
21. ABU MA'SHAR, *De magnis coniunctionibus*, edited and translated by K.YAMAMOTO and CH. BURNETT, Leiden, Brill, 2000
22. For the complete theory of Abu Ma'shar, see *De magnis coniunctionibus*, *op.cit.*, I, 1
23. CH. BURNETT, "Adverstising the New Science of the Stars" in *Le XIIe siècle. Mutations et renouveau en France dans la première moitié du XIIe siècle*, edited by F. GASPARI, Paris, 1994, pp. 147-157, and IDEM, « The Strategy of Revision in the Arabic-Latin Translations from Toledo : the Case of Abu Ma'shar's *On the Great Conjunctions* » in *Les traducteurs au travail: leurs manuscrits et leurs méthodes*, edited by J. HAMESSE, Turnhout, 2002, pp. 51-113, and R. LEMAY, « Acquis de la tradition scientifique grecque confrontés aux réalités des civilisations médiévales : cas particulier de l'astrologie-cosmologie », in *Perspectives arabes et médiévales sur la tradition scientifique et philosophique grecque. Actes du Colloque de la Société Internationale d'Histoire des sciences et de la Philosophie Arabe et Islamique* (Paris, 31 mars-3 avril 1993), édité par M. AOUD, 1993, pp. 1-11

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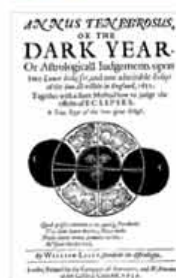
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By the Book

A collection of interesting quotations from ancient authors, with comments.

By Helena Avelar

Ali ben Ragel talks about sex

(he hides nothing)

Parental warning – explicit content

For those who deem the Middle Ages to be a time of religious fear, obscurantism and rigid morality, it might come as a surprise that sex was a very prominent topic in the horary chapters: Will she love me? Is my wife or girlfriend cheating on me? Will I have sexual intercourse this evening, and if so, will it be pleasant? But the more surprising are not the questions themselves – sex has been among the major concerns of humanity since the dawn of time – but the openness and detail of the answers. Medieval astrologers were not withholding information, and they weren't prudes either!

In *The Complete Book of the Judgments of the Stars*, Ali ben Ragel compiles some of the more common horary questions presented; unsurprisingly, his chapter about marriage and sexuality is quite long.

In Chapter 20, Book 2, he presents the question so many suspicious partners would like to ask: **"If a man or a woman 'did it' or not"**. Here is the answer:

When asked about a man and a woman suspected of fornication, and if they copulate

or not, give the Ascendant to the one that asks, the 7th House to the one who is asked about, the planet that the Moon separates from to the woman, and the planet to whom the Moon applies to the one suspected of doing it with her; and then observe if in the 7th House exist peregrine and occidental planets and if the planet to whom the Moon applies is there, and these will be the significators.

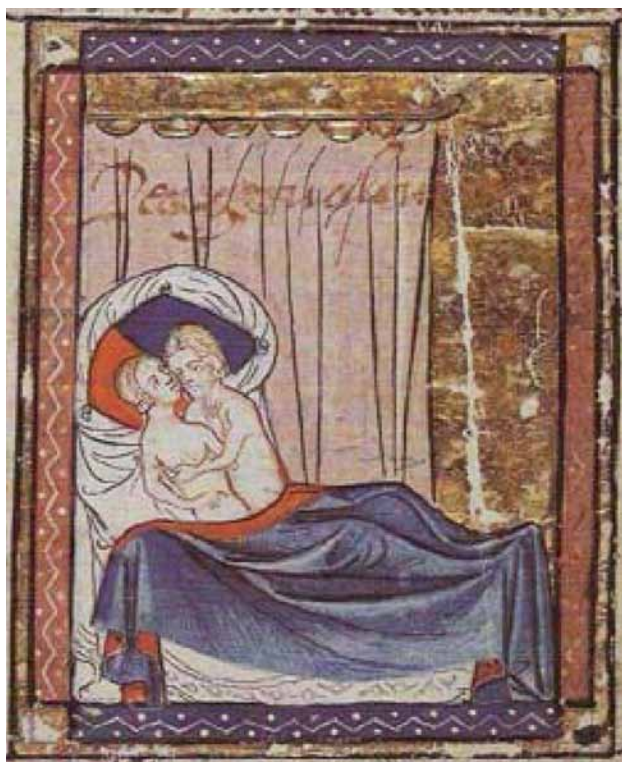
Therefore if you find the ruler of the Ascendant applying to the ruler of the 7th House, to a planet in the 7th or to the one to whom the Moon applies and the infortunes forming any kind of aspect to these planets, it means that the suspicions are true and that they copulated either by fornication or matrimony.

If instead you have the fortunes forming any kind of aspect to these planets, it means the suspicion is true, but it was done within matrimony. When you have both fortunes and infortunes aspecting, deduce it was by fornication and by matrimony.

It is interesting to note the distinction between approved and legitimate intercourse within the context of marriage, signified by the benefics, and "fornication", that is, sexual intercourse between two single people, signified by the malefics (for married people having a sexual affairs outside of wedlock he uses the term "adultery").

In Chapter 23, Book 2, we find the question **"If he will 'do it' with a woman or not, that night"**, and the corresponding answer is:

If someone asks if he will manage to lay with a woman that night, observe: if you find in the question Venus forming an aspect to the Ascendant, say that his wish will be fulfilled that night. When the question regards if he did it last night or not, judge in the same manner, no more, no less. But if Venus forms no aspect with the Ascendant, say that he will not copulate that night with a woman or that he did not do it last night.



When Venus from the 7th forms an aspect:

- to Saturn, assure him that he will copulate with a servant or a plebeian woman;
- to Jupiter, say he will have carnal relationships with women of good bodies [elegant, voluptuous woman];
- to the Sun, he will copulate with women of a nobleman or of the king;
- to the Moon, say he will copulate with women of lineage, clean, of good odour and dress with white underwear, and perhaps he did it, or will do it, with the wife of his father or with that of his son;
- if Venus is conjunct Mercury or aspecting him from the 7th house say he will copulate with a young virgin.

And finally, if Venus is in the 7th House of the Ascendant forming an aspect to one of the planets according to what I mentioned, it means that the question about copulation either has happened or will happen according to the fashion above said. But if Venus is in a house cadent from the Ascendant, confirm that he did not copulate nor he will.

When the Ascendant is in a fortunate sign and the fortunes aspect it from good places,

or are in it [the 1st house], and the ruler of the exaltation of that sign aspects him, say that that which was asked will be immediate and in that day.

This question from Chapter 24, Book 2, is a bit puzzling: **“If he copulated with a woman last night or if we will copulate in the next”**. Note that the querent is asking about himself, not about someone else; while we can understand the question about the possibility of sexual encounters in the near future, it seems strange that someone asks if he had sex the night before, because it is something that generally does not go unnoticed (unless, of course, a huge amount of alcohol is involved). Here is the answer:

If someone asks for his cohabitation in the night before or in the one coming, and what has happened or what will happen, in what place it happened or where it will occur, or if he copulated with a woman last night or if he will copulate, observe Venus; if you find it ascending in the domicile of Saturn or of Mars, say he copulated or will do it with a woman other than his own, and that he did or will do it in a house other than his own. And if Venus is in the domicile of Mercury or of Saturn, say he cohabitated or will do it with a woman in a dark house and with no light.

Being Venus and the Moon conjunct:

- in the 7th, if the question was asked in the night, say he did it or will do it in a clean bed with an honourable woman and not with a whore; however if this house is a domicile of Mars, either if they (Moon and Venus) form an aspect with it or not, say that he did it or will do it with a whore;

- in the Ascendant it assures that this man has female friends and he had or will have relationships with women that night;
- and the same if both planets are found in the domicile of the Moon.

So far, so good, the answer seems quite clear, but then he goes on and adds more (perhaps too much) information:

If Mars is in Libra and the 7th House aspects the cusp of the Ascendant, specify that the man will copulate with males because he is a sodomite [note that Mars in Libra in the 7th would most probably place the Ascendant in Aries; the ruler of the Ascendant, Mars, would be therefore detrimented in the 7th; the masculine nature of Mars suggests a male partner]. And also, if it is Mercury that forms the aspect from this house, you will say that this man copulates anally with the women and makes fun of them [that is, he disrespects and humiliates them], and also that one of them has transmitted to him a venereal disease [some ancient astrologers associated Mercury with 'unorthodox sexual practices'; the reference to venereal diseases could be associated with the combination of Mercury with Mars, a hot and dry planet].

When Mercury forms an aspect to Venus from the 7th House, or Venus is in the 7th, being the 7th ruled by Saturn, confirm that the man copulates with women that do not belong to him, like prostitutes. If Venus is in the 7th House, in its domicile or in that of Jupiter, assure that that man will copulate with his wife and that he did it or will do it in his own house [in other words, everything according to 'law'].



If we find the Ascendant in a mutable sign and Venus aspecting it from the 7th House, say he will copulate with a woman and he will sleep at his side. If the Ascendant aspects the Moon, and the Moon is in a quadruped sign (Aries, Taurus, Leo, Sagittarius and Capricorn) and in house of Saturn or in his Adurugen¹, assure that that man copulates with four legged beasts like donkeys, cows or similar. Saturn forming aspect to the Ascendant from the 7th House and being in its domicile, say that the male copulates with the woman of a man that profanes tombs to steal cerecloths, or the woman of a gravedigger, or of those who do the cleaning of a house after a death; that he does it with a dead woman or did it in a dirty and bad smelling place [this is obviously due to the association of Saturn to old, dirty and dead things].

When the aspect to the Ascendant is made by Jupiter from the 7th House, say he copulated (or will) with a pregnant woman [Jupiter is the natural significator of fertility and pregnancy]. And if you find Mars and Venus, together in the 7th House, aspecting the Ascendant, specify that he did or will do it with a woman that does not belong to him, and did it with speed, fear and in great danger [because this configuration mixes love and pleasure, signified by Venus, with hastiness and aggression, signified by Mars].

Haly not only addresses sexuality through horary questions, he also presents some electional charts, especially made with the intent of optimising sexual encounters. In Chapter 65, Book 7, **"About sleeping with women"**, he recommends:

When you want to 'do it' with a woman, observe the signs that are favourable to this matter (these are Aries, Capricorn, Leo and Libra) for they signify great potency in this matter and that it will not cease. And if the Moon is applying to Venus and Mars it will be better, for Venus signifies much pleasure that both shall have and agreeable conversations, and Mars signifies much sperm. Beware

that the Moon is not applying to Saturn, for it means frigidity in this matter. In the same manner if the Moon applies to the Sun and is received by him, it signifies great pleasure and convenience of both in the matter.

Make it so that the Moon is not in Pisces for it means that infirmities will ensue. But if the Moon is in Gemini, Libra or Aquarius it will be good for this matter for it means pleasure and joy [because these human signs are sociable, cultured and educated]. And if the Moon is applying to Jupiter it means she will defend herself in this matter using logic [that is, the woman will refuse to have intercourse, and she will explain her refusal in intellectual terms – Jupiter signifies temperance and honour].

He extends his advice to the consequences of sexuality, that is, the possibility of conception. He presents ‘contraceptive tips’, which were, no doubt, very useful.

In the same way, if you wish to do it with a woman so that she does not conceive, place the Moon in Gemini, Leo or Virgo, applying to Venus and with no aspect to Jupiter [this way, the Moon will be in barren signs, and applying to the significator of pleasure, Venus, not to the one of fertility, Jupiter]. Also make sure that the Moon is not in Cancer, Scorpio or Pisces, for these are signs of many children. Procreation can also be impeded if the Moon aspects Mars. Even so when Venus is in the Ascendant in Libra or Pisces, you will reach great pleasure and delight. But if Saturn is in the 7th House, there will be discord among both.

As we can see, Ali ben Ragel was quite open when he talked about sex. It was his duty as an astrologer to offer clear, precise information, and that’s exactly what he did. No metaphors, no innuendo, nothing: just direct, straightforward information about sex – and everything is called by their proper names (and sometimes also by their improper names, as he can be a bit loose in

his speech). Interestingly enough, this openness also implies a great responsibility, because this was just the kind of information which could destroy reputations and ruin lives – women’s lives in most cases, as astrology was commonly used by male astrologer for male clients. Therefore, a horary question about a woman’s sexuality, generally made by a suspicious husband or a possessive father, would always have serious consequences.



Abû l-Hasan ‘Alî ibn Abî l-Rijâl (also known as Haly, Hali, Albohazen Haly filii Abenragel or Haly Abenragel) was an Arab astrologer of the late 10th and early 11th century. He lived in the court of Tunisian prince al-Mu’izz ibn Bâdis; died after 1037 in Kairouan (present-day Tunisia). His best-known work is the book *Kitâb al-bâri’ fi ahkâm annujûm* (The complete book on the judgment of the stars). Written in Arabic, the book was translated into Old Castilian in 1254 by Yehudâ ben Moshe, by order of King Alfonso X of Castile, under the title *El libro conplido en los iudizios de las estrellas*. A comprehensive repository of astrological knowledge, this book encompasses all branches of astrology and offers a vivid testimony of its usage in the medieval period. Besides its astrological value, it is also symbolic of the inter-religious and inter-cultural exchange during the Middle Ages: it was written by an Arab astrologer and translated by a Jewish scholar for the instruction of a Christian king.

Bibliographical reference: Ragel, Ali ben, *El Libro Conplido de los Iudizios de las Estrellas*, Barcelona, Ediciones Indigo.



Endnotes

1. Adurugen: a method of dividing the Ascendant into three parts, similar to the faces, but inspired by the Hindu decanates.

João Ventura



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His academic background includes a Bachelor's and a Master's degree in Computer Science and he is currently a Doctorate student of artificial intelligence in Portugal. Currently, he is working on the area of Automatic Knowledge Extraction where he has published some of his work.

One of his current interests is to apply the computational power of modern machines to the investigation of traditional astrology techniques.

Besides astrology, his interests also include music (as a player, arranger, teacher and conductor), sports (currently paragliding) and a curiosity for almost everything.

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The Animodar Effect

ABSTRACT

The Animodar is an ancient technique for the rectification of natal charts based on the syzygy, or lunation, previous to birth. Although referred to by known authors such as Claudius Ptolemy and William Lilly, among others, it appears that for some people this technique gives good results while for others it does not. By using real birth datasets, this article seeks to address the validity of this ancient technique, and it will show that, although the technique seems to work in most cases, it has possibly to do with a statistical effect – the Animodar Effect.

1. INTRODUCTION

The Animodar is an ancient chart rectification technique based on the syzygy, or lunation (new or full moon) previous to birth. Similar to other astrological techniques, the oldest reference to Animodar is Ptolemy's in *Tetrabiblos* ^[1]. In his third book, section 2, Ptolemy states that because astronomical instruments such as solar, water and sand clocks are sometimes inaccurate due to various effects or simply mere chance, there is a possibility of error in the birth time, causing in its turn an error to the degree of the Ascendant. As a solution, Ptolemy explains very briefly what is known today as the Animodar technique, although he never uses that name. In *Christian Astrology*, William Lilly also makes a brief reference to the Animodar technique ^[2], referencing Ptolemy's work, and giving an example of a case study, although stating that the Animodar technique is not as safe as rectification based on accidents and primary directions.

2. THE TECHNIQUE

Although there are several interpretations of Ptolemy's and Lilly's work concerning this technique, the initial sequence of steps to compute the Animodar is as follows:

1. Find the syzygy prior to birth;
2. If it was a New Moon, find the ruler and the Almutem of the lunation degree;

3. If it was a Full Moon, there are two possible positions, so:
 - a) If the lunation occurred during the day, find the ruler and Almutem of the Sun's position;
 - b) If the lunation occurred during the night, find the ruler and Almutem of the Moon's position;
4. Finally, in the birth chart, check the degrees of the syzygy's ruler and Almutem.

From here, there are various possible interpretations, which will be explained in the next sub-sections.

2.1 The consensual interpretation

The most consensual and usual interpretation, and the one which follows more closely the example given by William Lilly in his *Christian Astrology*, is that after checking the degree number of the syzygy's ruler and Almutem, one must find which one is closer numerically to that of the Ascendant or MC. To understand why it required the numerical degree instead of simply degree, for instance, 17° of Taurus is 2° away from the numeric degree of 19° Taurus and also 2° from the numeric degree of 19° Pisces. In other words, 17° of Taurus is 2° distant from the numeric degree of 19° whatever the sign. After finding which of the two rulers (the natural ruler or the Almutem) is numerically closer to the degree of the Ascendant or MC, one must set that cusp the same numerical degree as the ruler's position and compute the time based on that change. So the next algorithmic step is:

5. Find which ruler has its numeric degree closer to the numeric degree of the Ascendant or MC;
 - a) If it is closer to the Ascendant's numeric degree, set the Ascendant's numeric degree to the same numeric degree as the ruler's, disregarding the sign;
 - b) If it is closer to the MC's numeric degree,

set the MC's numeric degree to the same numeric degree as the ruler's, disregarding the sign.

As can be seen, finding how close a ruler is to the Ascendant or MC has nothing to do with which sign either the rulers or the cusps are in. For example, consider Figure 1. It represents the birth chart of Sebastião da Gama, a Portuguese poet born on the 10th of April 1924, at 12h30, Azeitão, Portugal. In his chart, the previous lunation was a New Moon which occurred on the 4th of April 1924 at 07h17, being conjunct the Sun at 14°15 of Aries above the horizon, so a New Moon.

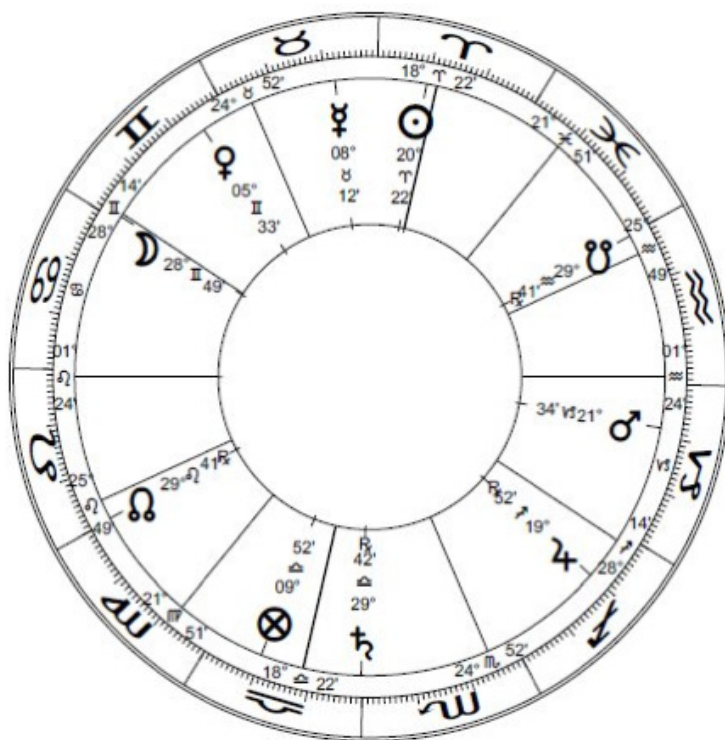


Figure 1. Birth chart of Sebastião da Gama.

Considering the previously mentioned steps, at 14°15 Aries, Mars is the sign ruler and the Sun is the Almutem of that degree. Mars in this chart is at 21°34 Capricorn, and Sun is at 20°22 Aries. Taking account of the Ascendant being at 01°24 of Leo and the M.C. at 18°22 of Aries, the following table represents the numerical distances of both planets to both angles:

Table 1. Ruler's distances to each house cusp.

Planet	Distance to Ascendant	Distance to M.C.
Sun	11°02	02°00
Mars	09°50	03°12

So, according to the Animodar technique, the least distance is that of the Sun to the M.C., thus one would rectify the map giving the M.C. the numerical degree of the Sun (in this case 20°22') in the sign of the M.C. (in this case, Aries). The result is that the M.C. would be placed at 20°22' of Aries, and the rest of the house cusps and planetary positions would then be adjusted to agree with the corresponding time.

2.2 Variation #1 – Approximation to Ascendant and M.C. cusps

Because of the ambiguity of words used in *Christian Astrology* and other references, there are other variations of the Animodar technique. The first one tries to apply the syzygy rulers to the degree and sign of the Ascendant and M.C. cusps. Using this method, we could re-write the previous sequence of steps like this:

5. Check which of the syzygy rulers is positioned in a degree and sign close to the Ascendant or M.C. cusps;
6. If it is closer to the Ascendant cusp, match the Ascendant cusp degree with the ruler's numerical degree;
7. If it is closer to the M.C. cusp, match the M.C. cusp degree with the ruler's numerical degree.

In the case of Sebastião da Gama's chart, as the Sun is closer to the M.C. by sign and degree, one would set the M.C. degree to the Sun's numerical degree (maintaining the M.C. sign) and rectify the rest of the chart accordingly.

2.3 Variation #2 – Approximation to the angular cusps

Another variation due to misinterpretations tries to apply the syzygy rulers to the degree and sign of the angular house cusps, namely the Ascendant, M.C., the 4th and 7th house cusps. In that way, we should re-write the sequence of steps like this:

5. Check which of the syzygy rulers is positioned in a degree and sign closer to the cusps of the angular houses (houses I, IV, VII and X);
6. If it is closer to the Ascendant or IV house cusp, match the Ascendant cusp degree with the ruler numerical degree;
7. If it is closer to the M.C. or VII house cusp, match the M.C. cusp degree with the ruler's numerical degree.

Again, in the case of Sebastião da Gama's chart, as the Sun is closer to the M.C. than Mars is to the 7th house cusp, one would set the M.C. degree to the Sun's numerical degree (maintaining the M.C. sign) and rectify the rest of the chart accordingly. If it was Mars, one should alter the Ascendant to 21°34 possibly of Cancer because it would be a shorter distance to recede the Ascendant 9°50', than to progress it about 20°.

3. RESULTS

This section analyzes the results of the several interpretations of the Animodar technique. The results were computed using the *skyPlux* astrological framework while the data analysis was done using *OpenOffice Calc's* statistical tools and *RapidMiner*, a data mining tool.

3.1 The Research Project Site

It was created an on-line PHP website that included a form to gather real birth information.

The requested data were essentially the date/time, location, certainty about the submitted information and other fields associated with another aspect of this work such as if the birth was premature or induced to see if it could affect the technique. A data set was gathered consisting of 276 birth records from participants in 44 different countries, from which 237 of the birth records were considered relatively accurate by the participants.

The screenshot shows the Animodar project website. At the top, there is a logo for 'animodar project' and a header for 'ACADEMY OF ASTROLOGY' and 'theTradition'. Below the header, there is a 'Back' link and a message: 'To contribute to the Animodar Project just fill the following data as accurately as possible. Suggestion: Using the "star" key, just write your data in the fields...'. The form contains several input fields: 'Birthdate (dd/mm/yyyy)' with a date picker, 'Gender' with a dropdown menu, 'Time (24-Hour Format)' with a time picker, 'Time Zone' with a dropdown menu, 'Check' button, 'Hour Certainty' with a dropdown menu, 'Daylight Saving Time' with a dropdown menu, 'Birth Town' with a text input, 'Country' with a dropdown menu, 'Location (Lat. - Lon.)' with a text input, 'Not Sure? Check here' link, 'Did the birth date and time occur naturally?' with a dropdown menu, 'More details, see here' link, 'Was the birth premature?' with a dropdown menu, 'Gestation (Weeks)' with a text input, and 'Don't know' button. At the bottom, there is an 'Observations' text area and a 'Submit' button.

Figure 2. The Animodar project website .

Although we aimed to break the 1000 record barrier, we consider the gathered dataset to be statistically relevant and probably one of the biggest birth datasets with this kind of information (i.e., premature/induced birth, gestation).

3.2 Data sets

Other datasets were also used in this research project. Besides the dataset gathered from the website submissions, another real birth dataset was used consisting of 103 accurate birth records

from a maternity hospital located in Lisbon and spanning the 5th to 17th of January, 2009. Random datasets were also used in order to check for biased results. The following table describes the datasets used:

Table 2. Datasets.

Dataset	Description
A	On-line relatively accurate data, about 237 records.
B	Maternity hospital accurate data, about 103 records.
C	About 20,000 records worldwide, randomly generated.
D	About 1440 records, simulating a birth per minute on day 21/03/2008 at 0° latitude.
E	About 1440 records, simulating a birth per minute on day 21/03/2008 at 40° latitude.
F	About 1440 records, simulating a birth per minute on day 21/12/2008 at 40° latitude.

3.3 Results – Variation #1

In this subsection, we present the results of the first variation of the Animodar technique presented in sub-section 2.2. Accordingly to that variation, one must rectify a chart based on the approximation of the syzygy ruler position to the cusps of the Ascendant or M.C. (instead of the cusps' angular values). The following figure shows the distribution of occurrences for dataset A (website dataset) in which a ruler or Almutem is in a certain distance range considering the application of the technique.

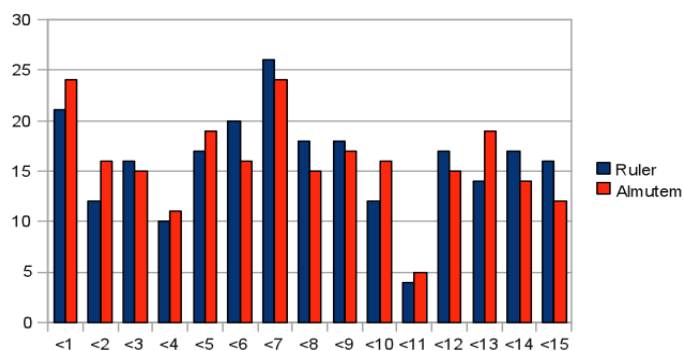


Figure 3. Distribution of the number of charts by distance range (Dataset A)

Interpreting Figure 3, there are about 21 charts in which the syzygy ruler is less than 1° away from the Ascendant or M.C. (in degrees, but according to the variation), and about 24 charts in which the syzygy almutem is less than 1° degree far. In the same manner, there are about 12 charts in which the syzygy ruler is less than 2° away (but more than 1°) from the Ascendant or M.C. angles, and about 16 charts in which the Almutem is between 1° and 2° away, and so on. One can see that the distribution of distances is pretty uniform.

Figure 4 shows the distributions of occurrences for dataset B (maternity hospital records).

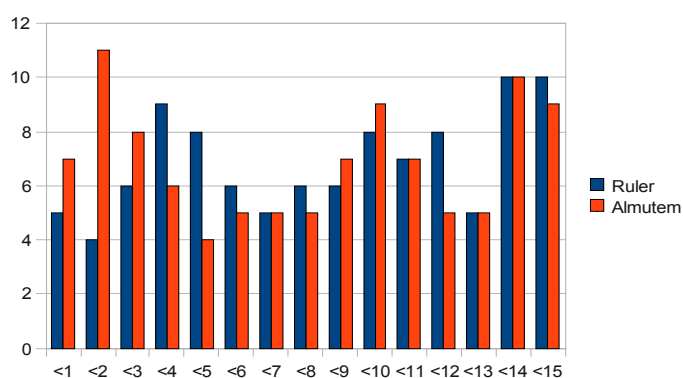


Figure 4. Distribution of the number of charts by distance range (Dataset B).

Despite minor changes, the distribution above is also fairly uniform, and does not appear to represent a non-random pattern. Although the datasets A and B are relatively accurate, one

might expect some errors, but the expected correct distribution for accurate results would be like a descent curve, that is, more charts where the distances were close to 1° , followed by charts where the distance was close to 2° , etc, and fewer charts 15° away. We must not forget that datasets A and B are relatively accurate datasets.

Comparing figures 3 and 4 with the next figure, which shows the results for the randomly generated dataset (dataset C), we can see that with this variation the results appear to be random. In this case, the randomness is the uniformity of results spanning distances from 0° to 15° .

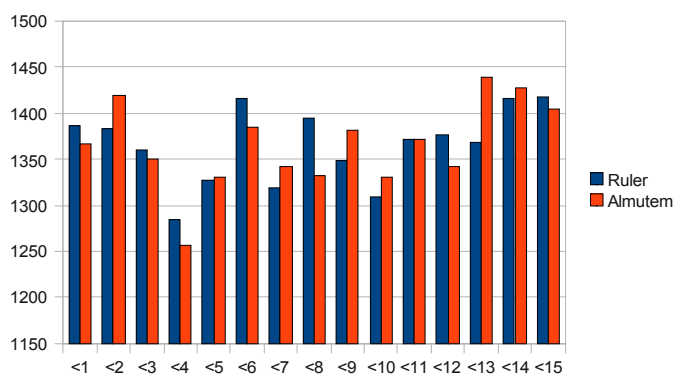


Figure 5. Distribution of the number of charts by distance range (Dataset C).

We cannot conclude that this variation is valid because we cannot verify a pattern different from randomness in the real birth datasets.

3.4 Results - Variation #2

The other Animodar variation, as described in subsection 2.3, is similar to the previous one, but adds house IV and house VII cusps. Figure 6 represents the distribution of distances for the A (above) and B (below) datasets.

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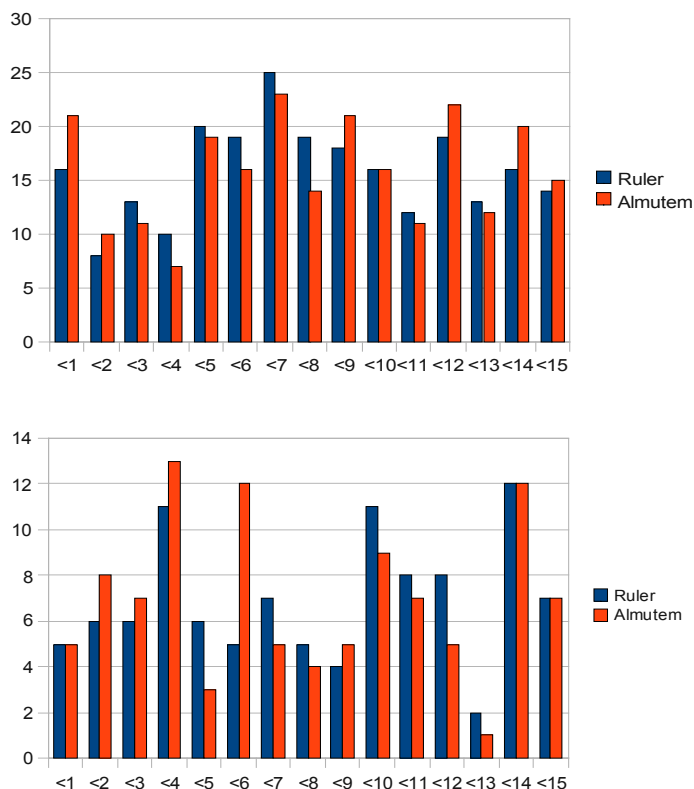


Figure 6. Distribution of the number of charts by distance range (A and B Datasets).

Again, in Figure 7, which represents the randomly generated dataset, we can see randomness, which is expected for a random dataset.

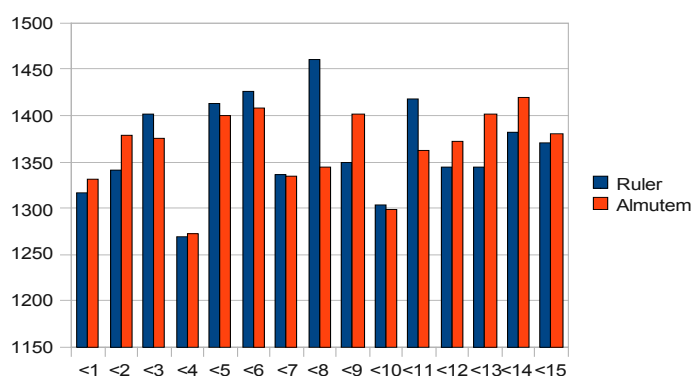


Figure 7. Distribution of the number of charts by distance range (Dataset C).

Again, the similarities of results between the real birth datasets and the random dataset forces us to conclude that this variation, too, does not present any statistical meaning, and, as such, does not appear to be valid as a rectification tool.

3.5 Results - Original interpretation

Figure 8 represents the distribution of distances for the A (above) and B (below) datasets using the Animodar technique as described by William Lilly.

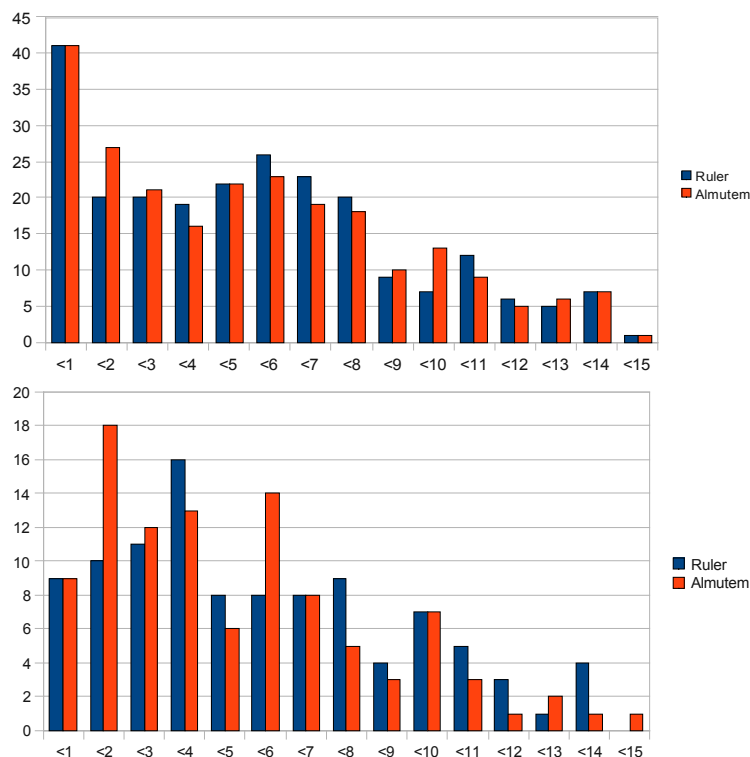


Figure 8. Distribution of the number of charts by distance range (A and B Datasets).

It can be verified that both distributions are more in agreement with what was expected from the original data. Because the A and B datasets are relatively accurate (despite possible time discrepancies, such as few minutes) it was expected that most distances from the syzygy rulers to the Ascendant or M.C. degrees would be less than 1° , followed by distances below 2° , and so on, until arriving at those few charts in which the distances are greater, corresponding to possible errors in the submitted data. Although the results from the B dataset (the one below) are not exactly what we expected, one can see the general trend of the results.

Figure 9 represents the distribution of distances for C dataset, the random one with 20,000 records.

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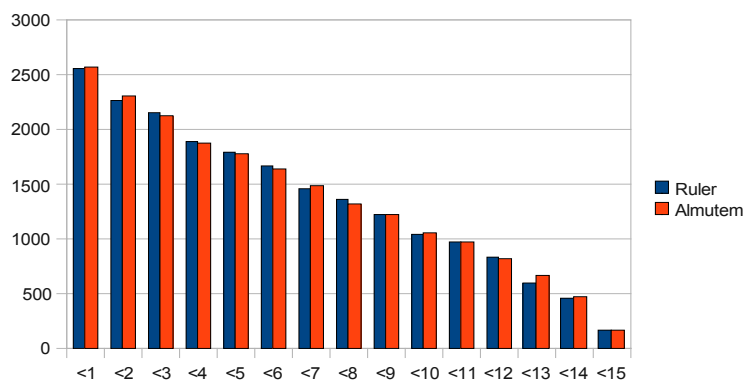


Figure 9. Distribution of the number of charts by distance range (Dataset C).

Contrary to what one would expect, the random data has a behaviour almost identical to the general trend of the real birth datasets. There are more cases where the distance of the syzygy rulers to the Ascendant or M.C. cusps are less than 1° , followed by those cases where the distance is less than 2° , etc. In any case, the similarities between the real data and the random data are enormous, and the random data have a trend that we had expected to belong to real birth data.

To explain this effect, which we have called the Animodar effect, the rest of the datasets (D, E and F) which simulate a birth per minute in different dates and latitudes were created. Figure 10 represents the variation of distances that the syzygy ruler has from the various Ascendant degrees during the day of the 21st of March, 2008 at 0° latitude.

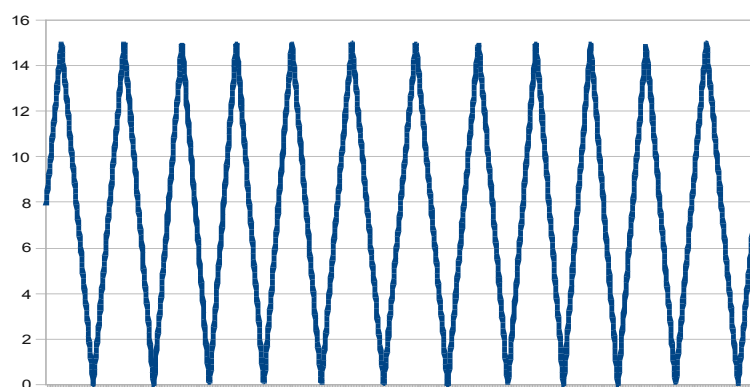


Figure 10. Distances from the syzygy ruler to the Ascendant degree during a day.

Figure 10 is simple to understand. Assuming that the syzygy ruler is relatively static during a day (as almost all planets are, except the Moon), the distance of the ruler to the Ascendant degree follows the same pattern because of the Ascendant degree displacement. For instance, let us assume that at a certain point in time the Ascendant is in 15° of a certain sign and the syzygy ruler is also at 15° of another sign (or same, it does not matter). During the passing of time, eventually the Ascendant rises and reaches 16° , and now the distance between the Ascendant degree and the syzygy ruler degree is 1° . Next, the Ascendant rises to 17° , and now the distance is 2° . Eventually, the Ascendant reaches 30° (being the maximum of 15° distance between the Ascendant degree and the syzygy ruler), where it changes sign, and reaches 1° . Now the distance is only 14° , and will continue to drop until the Ascendant reaches again 15° , and will repeat the same pattern over and over again. Obviously, the syzygy ruler also has a movement, but, aside from the Moon, it can almost be ignored for this explanation.

The same “chainsaw” pattern can be observed with the M.C., because it also moves in the same proportion (or close) as the Ascendant. However, the Ascendant and M.C. degrees during the day are not necessarily the same. If they matched, the distances from the ruler to each of the Ascendant and M.C. would be same. Figure 11 represents, for the course of the same day, the distances from the syzygy ruler to the Ascendant and M.C. degrees.

As one can see, during a normal day, the Ascendant and M.C. degrees are relatively offset from each other. However, in this example, this offset is not exaggerated because we are considering 0° latitude on a day close to the spring equinox. However, the offset exists, and, remembering that the Animodar technique searches for the axis in which the numerical angular distance is the minimum, Figure 12 represents the minimum distances that the Animodar technique would adopt during this day.

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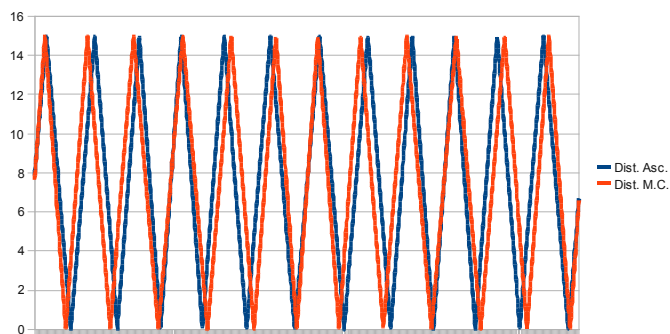


Figure 11. Distances from the syzygy ruler to the Ascendant and M.C. degrees during a day.

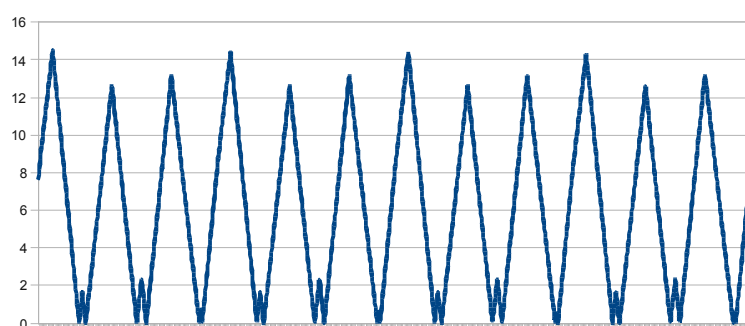


Figure 12. Minimum distances from the syzygy ruler to the Ascendant and M.C. degrees during a day.

It can be verified that there are zones where irregularities can be noted. These irregularities are associated to zones where the exchange of axis takes place, for example, imagine that the ruler is at 20° , the Ascendant at 10° and M.C. at 25° . The minimum distance is 5° (to the M.C.). As time goes by, the Ascendant reaches 11° and M.C. reaches 26° , but the minimum distance is still 6° to the M.C. When the Ascendant reaches 13° , the M.C. reaches 28° , and now the minimum distance is to the Ascendant (7° versus 8° to the M.C.). An exchange of axis has taken place. Eventually, a new exchange will take place when the distances to the M.C. are the minimum ones again. What happens is that the minimum distances cross the 0° of distance more often than 15° . Figure 13 shows the practical results of this situation when considering the distribution of distances during that same day.

Figure 13 tells us that during a normal day, there are more possibilities of distances inferior to 1°

occurring than others. What is at stake here is the offset between the Ascendant and M.C. degrees. If there was no offset, the distribution of Figure 13 would be completely uniform.

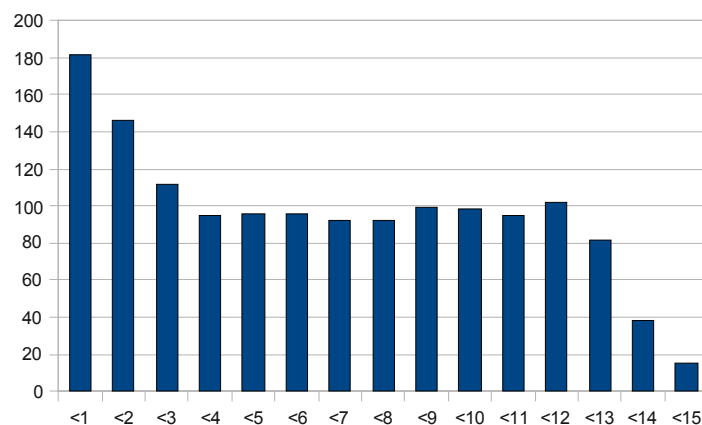
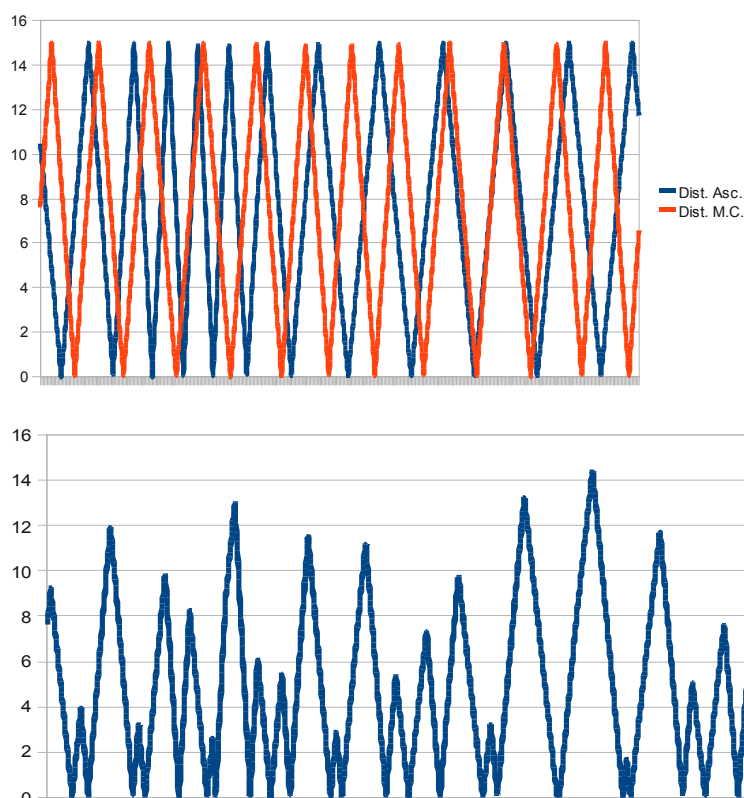


Figure 13. Distribution of distances during the day.

The next figure represents the numerical distance of the syzygy ruler to each of the axes, the corresponding minimum values, and the distribution of distances that the Animodar technique would take during the spring equinox of 2009 for latitudes 40° .



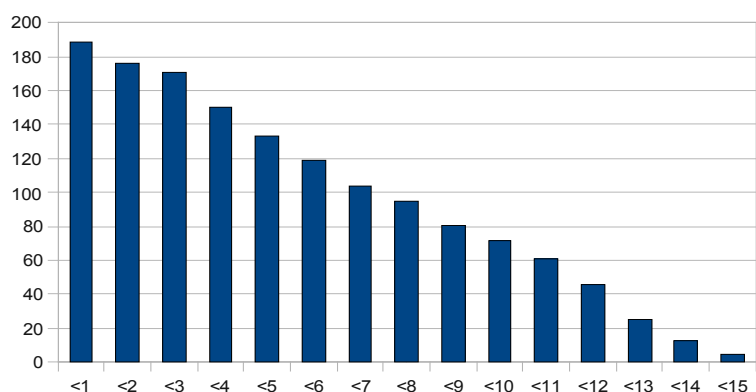


Figure 14. Results for the E dataset.

So, during a day there are more probabilities that the minimum distance of a planet (being the syzygy's ruler or almutem) to the Ascendant or M.C. degree is below 1° than any other. These probabilities change with the offset between the Ascendant and M.C. degrees (compare Figures 11, 12 and 13 with Figure 14). In this way, taking the C dataset (the 20,000 random records, see Figure 9), one can compute the average probabilities for the entire globe concerning the Animodar distances. Table 3 represents the probability that a certain birth, being real or fake, has of having its syzygy rulers at a certain distance from the Asc. or M.C.

Table 3. Animodar distance probabilities.

Distance	Probability	Accumulated Probability
0..1	13%	13%
1..2	11%	24%
2..3	10%	34%
3..4	09%	43%
4..5	09%	52%
5..6	08%	60%
6..7	07%	67%
7..8	06%	74%
8..9	06%	80%
9..10	05%	85%
10..12	05%	90%
11..12	04%	94%
12..13	03%	97%
13..14	02%	99%
14..15	01%	100%

By Table 3, it can be seen that there is about a 25% (one quarter) probability of a certain chart (real or fake) having the syzygy ruler or almutem less than 2° distant from the Ascendant or M.C. degrees. Also, there is a 50% chance that a chart has the syzygy ruler/almutem less than 5° degrees from the Ascendant or M.C. cusp. These probabilities are indeed very high. But it is only being considering in the previous table the generalized effect of the Animodar. The greater the latitude, the bigger the offset between Ascendant and M.C., and the greater the probability of a ruler being less than 1° from the stated cusp degrees.

Finally, one point must still be considered. Empirically, some people have reported that the Animodar works well except when the ruler or almutem of the syzygy is Mercury. What happens is that sometimes a person considers the syzygy ruler and sometimes considers the syzygy almutem. This question also appears in William Lilly's *Christian Astrology* where, in an example, he considers the almutem, Saturn, but then sees that the ruler, Venus, is more close to his intentions (as it is closer to the Ascendant degree), and discards Saturn. Simply stated, what one generally does is if the ruler is further away from the Asc. or M.C. cusps than the Almutem, then one uses the Almutem, and vice-versa. Back to Mercury: the problem with this planet is that it is the only planet that is both the ruler and almutem in his signs. Given this, no-one can apply that 'excellent' technique of choosing between the ruler and the almutem, and so, has to face poor results sometimes.

4. CONCLUSION

It is now obvious that the probability that the minimum distance of a planet (being the syzygy's ruler or almutem) to the Ascendant or M.C. degree being below 1° is high. This effect, as seen, can be explained by the lag between the Ascendant and

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M.C. degrees, and is greater the greater the latitude displacement (north or south). If this situation occurs on a daily basis, it also occurs on a weekly, monthly, annual, etc., basis. As such, there is a probabilistic effect due to natural circumstances and so, in this way, it cannot be concluded that the Animodar technique is valid as a rectification tool for the same reasons that the other variations were not considered valid: the results appear to be random results. Simply stated, although the pattern obtained from the real datasets 'feels' right, and empirically people verify this all the time, there is at the start a probabilistic trend for the distances to be the smallest possible, independently of the veracity of the input data.

5. REFERENCES

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Signatures – As Above so Below Mars

Everything in this sublunary world is governed and given form by the energies of the planets. In this series of articles we will look at how this planetary influence can be seen in the concrete environment, astrology is not theoretical knowledge you find in books, it is alive and it is everywhere around you.

In herbs, metals, precious stones and natural substances the diverse aspects of a planetary energy can often be observed very clearly and when we have recognized the planet we can use this knowledge, for example, for medical purposes, to strengthen weak points in the natal chart or even to enhance spirituality. The consciousness of the fact that the planets are so close to us and that our entire world, also its material side, receives its form from astrological factors is very healthy. It shows the supremacy of the astrological model over the materialistic, scientific world view which has affected us moderns so deeply that we really have to make an effort to learn to think in the right way again. You cannot do astrology if you think like a scientist.

In this article we will look at Mars.

Red and yellow sulphur

The signature of Mars is one of the easiest to recognize in nature. The Lesser Malefic is connected to fire, burning, violence, stinging and sharpness in all their possible manifestations. It is the energy of the attack and therefore it will make itself clearly known. One of the substances obviously connected to fire and burning is sulphur. It is a substance found in volcanoes, the malefic fires of the earth itself, and it was one of the main ingredients of the first explosive that changed warfare and the world: gunpowder (saltpetre was another important ingredient, which is Mercury, but that is another story). Even crystallized sulphur smells of smoke, the connection of sulphur with fire and Mars is so obvious that it hardly has to be “proven”. This is so despite its yellow colour which as a signature would rather seem to point to the Sun.

The action of Mars fire is cleansing like a war for a good cause, it wipes out the harmful elements and this cleansing power is



very present in sulphur. Sulphur has been used for ages to disinfect, purify and conserve. The medical effects of sulphur are very martial too, but we also see a strong connection here with the other malefic, Saturn. Astrologically this connection was always formulated as 'sympathy by exaltation'. It means that a planet helps the ruler of the sign in which it is exalted. So the Sun helps Mars, the Moon helps Venus, Jupiter helps the Moon, Saturn helps Venus, Mars helps Saturn and Venus helps Jupiter.

This intimate relationship between the malefics is shown in the medical use of sulphur, in homoeopathic and in anthroposophic medicine sulphur is one of the most important remedies for skin problems mainly in case of inflammations. It is the astrology that provides the explanation, Mars is in sympathy by exaltation with Saturn. So sulphur will support and heal the skin which is a Saturn organ, and with its martial fire sulphur will extinguish the martial inflammation, also by sympathy. Sulphur furthermore works on the joints (Saturn), it stimulates the digestive fires and it improves a weak reaction capacity, all effects which fit the martial signature of sulphur.

The connection between the two malefics manifests moreover in the hardening power of Mars fires,

which create new concrete fixed forms (Saturn). Sulphur for example is used to harden latex into rubber. This hardening effect which produces the rigid forms of Saturn applies on a much bigger scale too. It is the volcanic heat in the earth, with which sulphur is so intimately connected, which keeps the earth crust stable. Without this inner drying and heating power of Mars, the crust would soon be dissolved and cease to exist as a hard form. So even geology has its astrological symbolism.

A very interesting variety of sulphur is realgar also known as red sulphur. The signature of the colour shows that this is an extreme variety of sulphur as red is a more radical colour than yellow. In terms of modern chemistry realgar is formed out of arsenic and sulphur which does not really sound like a harmless connection. Indeed realgar is very poisonous and curiously enough it disintegrates under the influence of direct light into a yellow arsenic sulphide. This instability shows that there is an excessive fire force concentrated in this red sulphur, that is why it is poisonous. If it is used medically however it is very energizing, it gives a fighting spirit and it supports the immune system strongly (Mars helps Saturn = immune system). One of its more interesting effects is that it takes away sexual inhibitions, it is very aphrodisiac which of course fits in with its extreme martial nature, the sexual fires fall under Mars. In Chinese alchemy it was an important remedy taken in alchemically processed form, indeed the only form in which this poisonous substance should be taken.

Garnet, hematite, peridot

One of the other minerals of Mars is a crystal which has always been very much appreciated: garnet. There are many colour varieties although a lot of garnets are red or dark red. The medieval name for garnet was "carbuncle", *buncle* is in Dutch *vonkel* and in German *Funke* which refers to 'flashing' or 'sparkling'. The garnet or carbuncle was always

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seen as the flame in the dark which gave the courage and the power to fight back in difficult situations. It was the stone of the knights who had it set in their shields and swords to protect them against wounding.

Garnets are a first aid under extreme circumstances and it seems the stone always gained popularity in times of crisis. It clearly contains the flame of Mars, which enables you to draw your sword and fight your way out. Diverse varieties of the garnet give will-power, courage, enthusiasm, zest for living and dynamism. More physically, garnet stimulates the take-up of iron in the intestines (iron is also Mars), it can be used to heal wounds (Mars), it strengthens the vertebral column (Saturn, exaltation sympathy), it works against rheumatic complaints (Saturn), impotency and sexual problems.

It is striking that signature can be taken a step further here, it is for example the black (Saturn) variety melanite which works especially against rheumatic complaints and gives stamina, which both fall under Saturn. It is the red almandin which stimulates the healing of wounds and the take-up of iron. So nature shows the way and this can even be taken down to the non-astrological level of specific organs, for example achates which look like an eye, do have a healing effect on the eye.



Another interesting Mars stone is hematite. Hematite is a very pure martial stone. It has traditionally been known for its ability to boost the 'power' of the blood and to check bleeding from wounds. Wounds are of course Mars, Mars represents blood outside the body and the 'power' of the blood is increased by iron (the Mars metal), the take-up of which hematite strongly stimulates. Hematite gives all the martial qualities: fighting power, vitality and dynamism. The stone is one the important iron ores and it is so extremely martial that it cannot be used in case of inflammations which it will worsen.

Stones do not always fall so clearly under one planet as hematite, there are stones in which two planets are strong. A good example is peridot, also called olivine or chrysolith. Peridot is a green stone which is the colour of Venus and this could indicate that it is not a pure Mars stone like garnet or hematite. It is actually somewhere in the middle between Venus and Mars, creating a kind of balance between the two energies. On the one hand it has a stimulating quality, promoting action and it also releases bottled-up feelings of anger and irritation. Peridot can furthermore support healing as it drives fever, which is an important healing mechanism. What it does is a kind of cleansing of the emotional and physical system, excess fire is pulled out and a new balance is created. Peridot is also the stone



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of renewed connections and of forgiving others and yourself, which is Venus-like. It also works strongly on the liver (Venus in exaltation sympathy with Jupiter, the liver) promoting detoxification and stimulating the digestive system. It combines action with harmony.

Stinging nettles



Obviously, Mars has to do with everything that burns and stings and stinging nettle could therefore be called the archetypical Mars plant. As we experience as children its poison causes painful burning sensations, the plant really attacks you if you touch it. The spear-like form of its leaves already shows this martial tendencies. Stinging nettle is almost like garnet in plant form, because of its fiery martial nature it is one of the most widely used herbal remedies to bring back some power into the system. Especially its seeds work against palsies, anemia and impotence. In his famous *Complete Herbal* Nicholas Culpeper recommends nettles against bites of mad dogs (sympathy with Mars) and against lethargy “to rub the forehead or temples with in that disease.”

Nettle is hot and dry and on the level of the elements or humours it therefore works very well against an excess of slime (water) in the organism. Its fires drives cold and moisture out off the body, and it is effective against slime in the lungs, it opens the urinary passages and it “will provoke the courses” as Culpeper writes. Menstruation is the monthly rebalancing of the female body which throws out excess moisture, if this process gets stuck it may lead to serious imbalances in the body, dry and hot herbs are needed then to restart it. It is like lighting a fire in a wet place, the heat will drive out the cold moisture.

Talking about Mars we can expect his big malefic brother Saturn to turn up sooner or later. And indeed in the dominantly martial signature of the plant, there are some signs of Saturn too. Nettle looks ‘reduced’ and sober and these are the characteristics of Saturn, like its tough fibres. So nature points us into a direction here of some special effects on the energy of Saturn in the organism. Indeed stinging nettle is also one the great traditional herbs for the skin, one of the main Saturn organs. A lot of skin problems are caused by an excess of water in the system which in its turn causes an imbalance of the Mars energy. It is this fiery Mars imbalance which leads to the red and dry phenomena in the skin. Due to the excess water, fire cannot be processed through the system in the normal way and it is thrown out through the skin as an emergency measure. This kind of skin disease will typically turn up in the medical chart as Mars in water signs. Nettle is ideal in this case because it will harmonize the unbalanced Mars and with its heat and dryness drive out the excess moisture and cold that caused the disease in the first place. So horary medical astrology connected with the elemental and planetary nature of herbs and other remedies is invaluable. We can choose the right remedy mainly on astrological grounds.



Blessed thistle

Thistles with their thorns obviously fall also under Mars although some thistle varieties have very strong signatures of Saturn too. The blessed thistle is used by Culpeper in his *Complete Herbal* to show how sympathy and antipathy work on the level of the planets. The herb is qualified not only as martial but also “under Aries”. The main function of the sign attribution seems to be to point out on which body part the herb works. Unfortunately he does not mention a sign for every herb and there are also contradictions with other authors who mention sign attributions for herbs. The advantage of the sign attributions is that the herbs get a more specific astrological description.

Culpeper writes about blessed thistle: it helps “the swimming of the head” or vertigo because Aries is the house of Mars and Aries refers to the head. Blessed thistle is good against the jaundice and all diseases of the gall, because Mars rules gall. It also

helps in case of “red faces, tetters and ringworms because Mars causes them” and it works against the biting of mad dogs, sores, boils and itch for the same reason. So this is the principle of cosmic sympathy or homoeopathy, like heals like, Mars remedies are good for Mars diseases. Of course this is only one part of the whole story, the level of the elements or humours is not discussed here.

Culpeper says furthermore that blessed thistle cures the French Pox, or syphilis by antipathy because French Pox is a Venus disease, a venerian disease. He then states it also cures deafness because the ears fall under Saturn, and Saturn is in fall in Aries, the sign of Mars, which rules the head. Here several astrological indications are combined. First there is Aries which as a sign points to the head. Second there is the sympathy by exaltation between Mars and Saturn. And third there is also the antipathy between Mars and Saturn as Saturn is in fall in the sign of Mars (which means that it is exalted in the sign opposing Aries). So the reason for the specific effect on the ears is found in these astrological relationships.

Another interesting Mars plant is hawthorn, its thorns and red berries are clear signatures of the Lesser Malefic. It is known in our days as a remedy for the heart which would point to a solar symbolism, as the Sun is the heart. Culpeper however mentions it only as a remedy against dropsy. This is the key as many heart problems are caused by excess of moisture. Hawthorn has strong drying and astringent properties, so the effect on the heart is only secondary. This shows that not all Mars herbs are necessarily heating and drying on the humoral (elemental) level, the planet and element levels should be distinguished clearly. This causes a lot of confusion, but the fact is that a Mars herb may have a cooling effect on the organism in the end, but this is always effected through its martial energy! Elements/signs and planets are very different things.

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Iron and its brothers

It is not too difficult to see which metal belongs to Mars. What could it be other than iron? Iron is so clearly connected to weapons, sharpness and battles, you can't miss it. In a medical sense iron is also clearly Mars, it gives energy and a fighting spirit, a lack of iron makes you tired and weak. A good example is pregnancy when the watery planets Venus and the Moon, the watery counter-forces of fiery Mars, are very active. Their dominance may become so strong that the Mars energy is flooded, in which case iron pills or nettle tea is needed to keep up the energy level.

That Mars is the lower, earthly and 'dirty' fire is shown by the fact that weapons and other tools to give form to an act in concrete reality are preferably made of iron. This same function we can see in the role iron has in the blood, which is the fixation of the gas oxygen. It is the Mars metal iron in the haemoglobin that catches the gas and makes it 'solid'. After its fixation it can be used for energy production (Mars!). Iron also binds carbon dioxide and brings this waste product back to the lungs where it can be exhaled, so that energy production can proceed without interruption. Breathing is drawing vital energy (Sun) into the body, but this vital energy can only be used and made concrete by the action of martial iron.

This process has an exact parallel on another level, that of ideas and action. It is the idea, the first impulse of the heart (the Sun, the essence) which is given form through muscle power (Mars) and so is fixated in a concrete product (Saturn). So Mars is midway between the idea and its final realisation. The earthliness of Mars can also be seen in the concrete fact that the earth's crust contains 5-6 % iron. This is 500 times as much as the quantity of all the other metals together, it is by far the most dominant metal. So we see this fixating and forming quality of Mars on all levels of breathing,



of the development and realisation of ideas, and even in the composition of the earth crust itself.

And of course there is the real planet Mars. It is often said, also by astronomers, that Mars of all the planets is most like the earth and that the earth and Mars are kinds of brother planets. Mars is in astrology the natural significator of brothers. In the fantasies about life on other planets, Mars always was the favourite scene of the action and we are still looking for life very actively there. The little green men – why are they green in heaven's name? – may have taken on another more 'scientific' form as little green algae, it is basically the same idea of looking for our brothers in the cosmos, although this whole thing has become much more expensive. Mars is also the Red Planet because its crust contains 15 % iron and red is the colour of Mars and of iron.

In steel, the role of Mars and iron as the lower earthbound fire becomes very outspoken. Traditionally weapons and tools were always made of iron, but in our days the basic material is steel. Steel is iron made more earthly by mixing in a few percent of carbon, in this way the iron becomes much harder, really a kind of super-iron, very suitable for the production of all kinds of weaponry. Steel is iron brought closer to earthly rigidity, carbon falls under Saturn. This is real

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astrological metallurgy, not based on scientific research, but on insights into the astrological signatures of metals and substances.

There is another planet too with which Mars has very intense relations, this is his eternal opposite Venus. Many things on earth are set in motion by the dance of these two energies. This is not an abstract play with astrological concepts, it shows itself as usual very concretely. For example copper ore – copper is the metal of Venus – is almost always found together with iron. Also in the energy production in the body, in which iron plays the active role of fixating oxygen, copper cannot be missed, it supports this iron process. If Mars is present, Venus is mostly not far away and this applies on many levels.

With the view to the brother symbolism of Mars it is not very surprising that the German anthroposophist, Rudolf Hauschka, sees iron as a metal with many brothers: cobalt, nickel and manganese. Cobalt and nickel seem to have a bit of sinister association which would fit the Lesser Malefic, with its hot and earthly nature. Cobalt comes from “cobold”, a somewhat dark earth and mine spirit, and nickel comes from “old Nick”. It seems however that we could better conceive of iron and its brother metals not simply as brothers but more as a family of metals on a Mars-Venus axis, so with brothers and sisters. On this axis of which Mars/iron and Venus/copper are the extreme poles, cobalt is still very close to Mars and iron. It promotes the take-up of iron in the intestines and the formation of red blood cells. It further stimulates a free joy of life, taking initiatives and a tendency to wild capricious jokes, this surely fits the cobold. Nickle is somewhat further away from the iron pole, it promotes the take-up of iron but it also gives a feeling of emotional security and it stimulates creativity, which is more Venus-like. Manganese is much further on the axis, it is connected with cordiality and peacefulness and it

decreases feelings of revenge and militancy. Clearly manganese has more affinity with sister Venus than with brother Mars. Other metals like chrome for example, also find their place on this axis.

It is striking that these metals with a mixed Venus/Mars signature are in our times intensively used for the production of energy, which mirrors the function of iron and copper in the combustion process in the body. This also points to a deeper meaning of the erotic and of love, it is the outspoken polarity of Mars and Venus which generates energy. This is again mirrored very concretely on the technical level. In a dynamo, iron and copper moving together in a magnetic field generate electricity which can be used in many different ways, so the dynamo gives the image of a well-functioning marriage.



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The alchemy in the Mars symbol

Finally it is interesting to have a short look at the composition of the symbol of the planet, which also reveals a lot. The seven traditional planetary symbols are composed of three parts: the cross of matter, the lunar crescent and the solar circle. In alchemy – astrology's more earthly sister – the cross points to Salt, the lunar crescent to Mercury and the solar circle to Sulphur. The Salt is material form, Mercury is the connecting faculty (the psyche, consciousness or the 'spirit of nature') and Sulphur is the spiritual impulse that provides the essential identity and impulse. This essential sulphuric impulse is received and passed on by Mercury and then appears as concrete form in Salt. Mercury is as it were a passive layer in-between, 'the spirit of nature', which is traditionally represented in many ways, one of its most famous symbols is the unicorn.

Now the planets are constructed from these three basic alchemical ingredients, so they represent phases in the cosmic building process and relationships between the three alchemical principles. The five planets – not the two Lights which are purer – are seen as specific imbalances in the relation between the three alchemical principles which can be read in the planetary symbol. In the Saturn symbol we had the lunar crescent of consciousness under the cross of matter, in the Jupiter symbol consciousness had hopefully risen from this lowest point to the horizontal bar of the cross.

The symbol of Mars does not contain the semicircle any more, instead it is a combination of the circle of Sulphur and the cross of Salt. So the correct symbol for Mars is and has always been the cross above the circle, the exact opposite of the Venus symbol which just as exactly mirrors the reality of their energies. This silly Mars with this oblique arrow – what the hell is this arrow up to? – to which we are all so accustomed was invented by a particularly



unholy mind as it has no connection at all any more with the real Mars energy. It reflects the tendency of our modern times to reduce meaningful symbols to conventional signs.

What can be seen in the Mars symbol is the circle of the fiery Sulphur of the spirit, which has sunk deep down into matter. So the spark of the spirit is dominated by the concrete opposites and divergent tendencies of the cross. This means that the fiery impulse will work out as a battle, its need to act will be split up because of the dominating cross. So even a good Mars with strong essential dignity will fight and go to battle, it will remain Mars. The only difference is that a strong Mars will fight to re-establish unity and peace, symbolised by the circle of the spirit. A debilitated Mars however is totally dominated by the cross and its battles will go astray in the tensions of the cross. The higher cause which has to lead the course of the war, is lost in the multiplicity of material rigidity and earthly concerns.

Luis Ribeiro, AMA



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Facing Eclipses

In his work *Annus Tenebrosus* of 1652, William Lilly presents a method for eclipse delineation, which includes an interpretation of the effects of the solar and lunar eclipses occurring in each face (or decanate) of the Zodiac. Practise shows that these aphorisms work quite well and can be very useful mundane studies. The purpose of this brief study is to draw attention to the functionality of these aphorisms, and to offer students a logical structure from which to expand on their meaning. The list is too long to reproduce in this article; a reproduction can be found at *The Tradition Library*: www.traditionlibrary.com

When laying down instructions regarding the interpretation of the effects of eclipses, William Lilly provides the student with a list of outcomes of the eclipse according to the face in which it occurs. He presents two groups of aphorisms: one for solar eclipses and one for lunar eclipses. This is the first differentiation for interpreting their effects. Solar eclipses are described as having stronger effects and affecting, above all, offices and government; they are also associated with disease and destructive natural phenomena (earthquakes, floods, etc). Lunar eclipses are more often related to social upheaval, and sometimes problems for a leader; they have, in common with solar eclipses, signification over disease and natural phenomena. In any case, as the effects are diverse, we should not turn this into a strict rule, as it will only limit our understanding of the matter.

At first sight the significations given by the aphorisms appear to be very specific and sometimes strange. For instance, a solar eclipse in the first face of Sagittarius is said to signify “most dangerous seditions amongst men, and renders men’s minds adverse to all manner of accommodation, or treaties”. But in spite of this specificity, which might be seen as too deterministic for the modern mind, these aphorisms offer excellent hints for the possible effects of eclipses. Let us now look at them more closely.

To understand the nature of these significations we must first take into account the planet which rules the face where the

eclipse occurs; this planet's nature gives the basic tone for the effects of the eclipse. It can be taken as a general rule that the eclipse will affect negatively the matters and people naturally ruled by the planet, and will bring disturbance and destruction in the matters represented by it. Thus, an eclipse occurring in the first face of Sagittarius, which is ruled by Mercury, will affect communications, paperwork, teachers, accountants, as well as other mercurial matters and people; also, things will be destroyed by 'mercurial' means, that is, slander, arguments and ill thoughts. Thus, the aphorism for the first face of Sagittarius makes sense as it "renders **men's minds** averse to all manner of accommodation, or treaties".

Let us go through the planets as face rulers, and see what kind of hints they provide.

Faces of:	Represent mainly events related to:	Example:
♄	Famine, scarcity and sickness	"it signifies both Plague and Famine: mortality in and amongst Oxen, Cows and Horses"
♅	Kings, nobility, churchman, religions and matters of injustice	"stir up dissensions, strives, seditions amongst those we call Priests, and all manner of Merchants and Mechanics (...) contempt of Lawes, neglect of piety and holy duties, doth also follow, so also breach of Covenant"
♆	Contention, wars, acts of violence or burglary, turbulence	"uprores very frequent in the Souldiery, oft incursions into neighbour-Countries, Captivities, Plunderings"
♇	Kings and governors (mostly) and also sickness of men and plants	"it argues the lamentable death, or pitiful end of some certain Prince or Nobleman, and a general ruine or slaughter of man, scarcity of corn and all manner of sustenance fit for man"
♈	Treachery, deception, sedition; problems to women	"it imports many abortive births, many discommodities and dangers unto that Sex, viz. women; as also the death of many great Ladyes (...)"
♉	Variable as it includes a number of things; damage to mercurial persons or activities	"it powres down vengeance on poor Poets, Painters, or Limners, and man Mercuriall, who flourish with excellent understandings, nothing thrives with them, nor are their Purses full (...)"
♊	Sickness to man and animals, bad weather; problems with birth	"it corrupts the ayr, begets the Plague, inclines youth to much wantonnesse, yet straitens provisions, and makes them dear"

Of all the significations, Venus is, at least at first glance, the strangest. Most of the eclipses occurring in the faces of Venus have a more violent and negative tone than one would expect for a benefic planet. For instance "... inclines man to Arms, and to violate National Leagues, deceitfully under species of Religion". In comparison, if we observe the aphorisms for the faces ruled by Jupiter, the other benefic, the signification is clearly in accordance with the nature of the planet as the events signified relate to nobleman, rulers, religion and priests, law, and so on.

These odd warlike significations for Venus appear to come as a denial of peace and harmony, the main attributes of this planet; there is also frequent mention of sorrow opposed to happiness and joy, also attributes of Venus. However, a careful study reveals that three of the total five faces ruled by Venus, fall in signs where this planet is debilitated

– Aries and Scorpio (detriment), and Virgo (fall); these faces signify harsh matters like deaths of great ladies and destruction of cattle (Aries), treachery and tyranny (Scorpio), and sedition and famine (Virgo). The face ruled by Venus in Cancer (0° to 10°) is oddly representative of war and treason; this is possibly due to the presence of the term of Mars, which is superimposed for the most part over the face (from 0° to 7°). The face in Aquarius (0° to 10°) is comparatively less harsh in its significations, although it still holds a negative tone, as it signifies sorrow and adverse health, clearly a contribution from the sign ruler, Saturn.

From this we might deduce some degree of interaction between the faces and other sign rulers. For example, the aphorisms of Mars despite their differences show a definite undertone of war, conflict and division, but mixed with significations of the sign ruler:

Face:	Aphorism:	Sign Ruler:
1st face of Aries	"it portends the frequent Motions of Armies, and rumours of Warrs, continuall expeditions, assaults, and batteries, yea and Wars, with much noyse and tumult; Seditions, Controversies, an intemperacy of the ayr, verging principally unto driness"	Mars: wars and conflicts in general
2nd face of Gemini	"much Piracy at Sea, and Murder, many fruitless treaties, many turbulent Petitions presented by the people to their Superiors"	Mercury: piracy (as in theft), petitions
3rd face of Leo	"it presages Captivity, besieging of Towns, Plunderings, Profanation of holy places, a scarcity of Horses, or a destructive Murrain amongst them"	Sun: "profanations of holy places"
1st face of Scorpio	"it moves and raises warlick tumults, murders, dissensions, captivities, and cherishes underhand practices, or plots of Treasons"	Mars: wars and conflicts in general
2nd face of Capricorn	"it stirs up the fury and the spirits of sworn Soldiers against their Commanders in Chief or against their Emperor, King or Prince, it renders all their endeavours fruitless, and the events thereof unprosperous; it is the forerunner of scarcity of Corn, and that many will dy of want thereof"	Saturn: "endeavours fruitless", "unprosperous"; "scarcity of Corn"
3rd face of Pisces	"it presages section, cruelty, bitterness of spirits, and the inhumanity of souldiers, as also much Controversy amongst Divines and Lawyers"	Jupiter: "Controversy amongst Divines and Lawyers"

By element:

The sign's element plays a central role in the outcome and its implications. The element appears to specify what kind of actions and subjects will be brought forward within the significations of the face ruler. For example, let's take a look at the significations of Mercury as face ruler in signs of different elements:

Element:	Aphorism:	Significations:
Fire	"doth manifest most dangerous seditions amongst men, and renders men's minds averse to all manner of accommodations, or Treaties: each man fearing deceit in the man he deals with, or one Prince fearing another will delude him"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Conflict, sedition - Lack of peace - Warlike predisposition
Earth	"afflicts such as are Negotiators, Solicitors, Agents, or are generally employed in man's affairs, or in the publick; it compells men to undertake unnecessary business, it brings to nought, and confounds all factions undertaken by the former sort of men, and is sufficiently hurtfull to corn"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Offices affected - Bad result of activities - Bad crops
Air	"Thefts publicly countenanced, Robberies, Rapines, Earthquakes, Famine, Monopolies, pilling and polling people"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - People and public affected by ill activities
Water	"it dryes up Rivers and fountaines and intends much incontinency in man and women, and petulency, or ill offices amongst mortal man, viz. one cunningly thrusting another out of his place"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Water related events - Distrust - Emotional reactions (petulancy, incontinency)

Now let's take into account some of Mars' aphorisms already presented above, and keeping in mind the fact that they all relate to war, let us take into account the elemental specifics:

Element:	Aphorism:	Significations:
Fire	"it portends the frequent Motions of Armies, and rumours of Warrs, continuall expeditions, assaults, and batteries, yea and Wars, with much noyse and tumult; Seditions, Controversies, an intemperacy of the ayr, verging principally unto driness"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Motion, action - Conflict, sedition
Earth	"it stirs up the fury and the spirits of sworn Soldiers against their Commanders in Chief or against their Emperor, King or Prince, it renders all their endeavours fruitless, and the events thereof unprosperous; it is the forerunner of scarcity of Corn, and that many will dy of want thereof"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Fruitless endeavours - Bad crops - Offices: commanders and rulers
Air	"much Piracy at Sea, and Murder, many fruitless treaties, many turbulent Petitions presented by the people to their Superiors"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lack of communication and understanding - Turbulent petitions of the people
Water	"it presages section, cruelty, bitterness of spirits, and the inhumanity of souldiers, as also much Controversy amongst Divines and Lawyers"	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Cruelty, inhumanity, bitterness

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An overall analysis of the remaining aphorisms according to element leads to the following conclusions:

Fire: implies actions (war, movement, travels, etc.), affects leaders and governors

Earth: professions, occupations, crops and goods

Air: social matters, treachery, public affairs, people's behaviour

Water: oppression, rebellion, scheming, emotional states or bad actions driven by feelings; also sickness and natural phenomena

From another perspective, we can also say that Human signs clearly relate to the people's behaviour and customs, while Bestial signs refer to actions in general and affect the animals associated with the signs (e.g. Taurus, oxen; Sagittarius, horses, etc.).

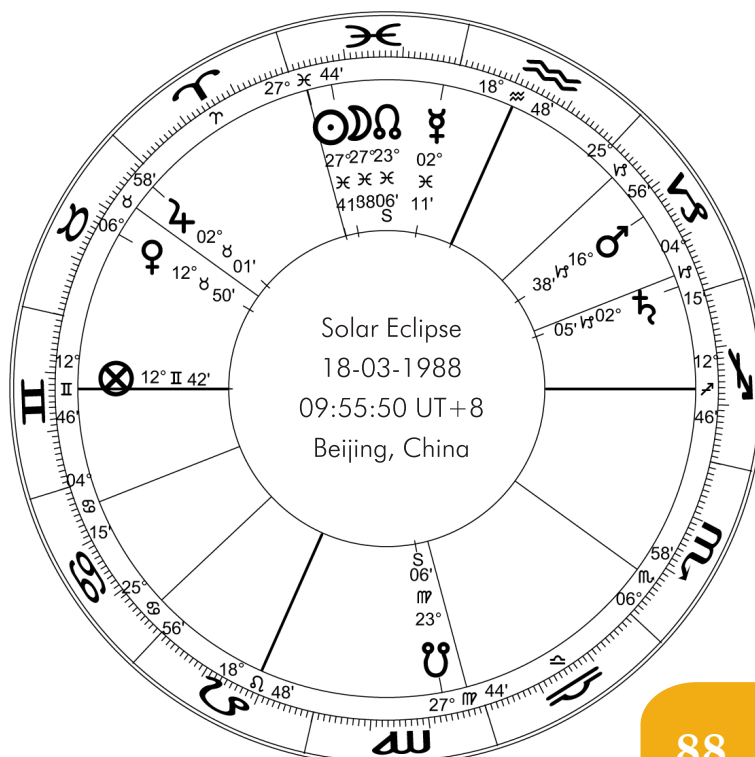
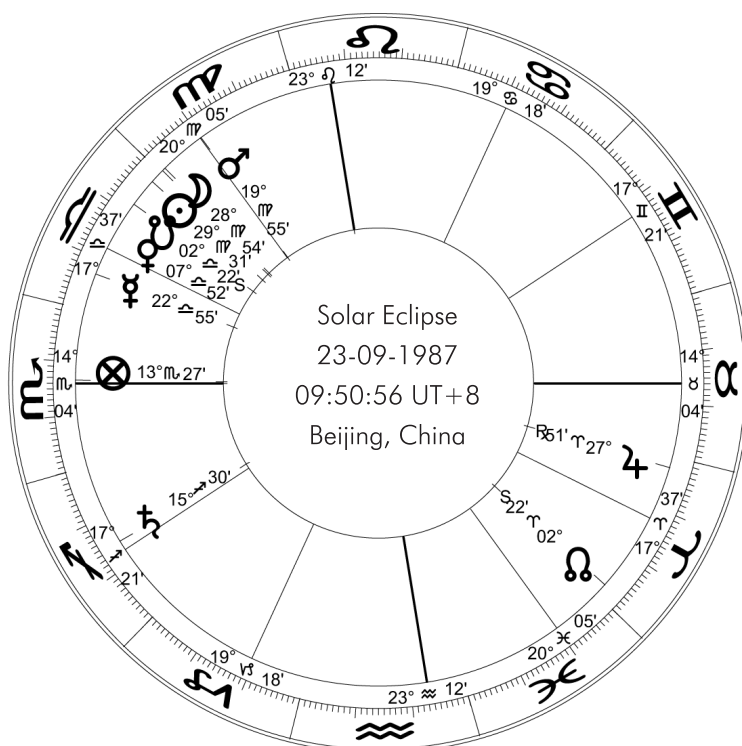
Thus we can summarize that the significations of each face results from its interaction with:

- the planet that rules it;
- the sign's element/temperament (and its nature in general);
- the sign's ruler (which gives a general undertone which can overcome the face ruler – note Scorpio and Aries)

Example charts:

The Tiananmen protests

On the 4th of July 1989, the Tiananmen protests, involving students and intellectuals, led to the massacre of several protesters by the Chinese military. This dreadful event was preceded by two

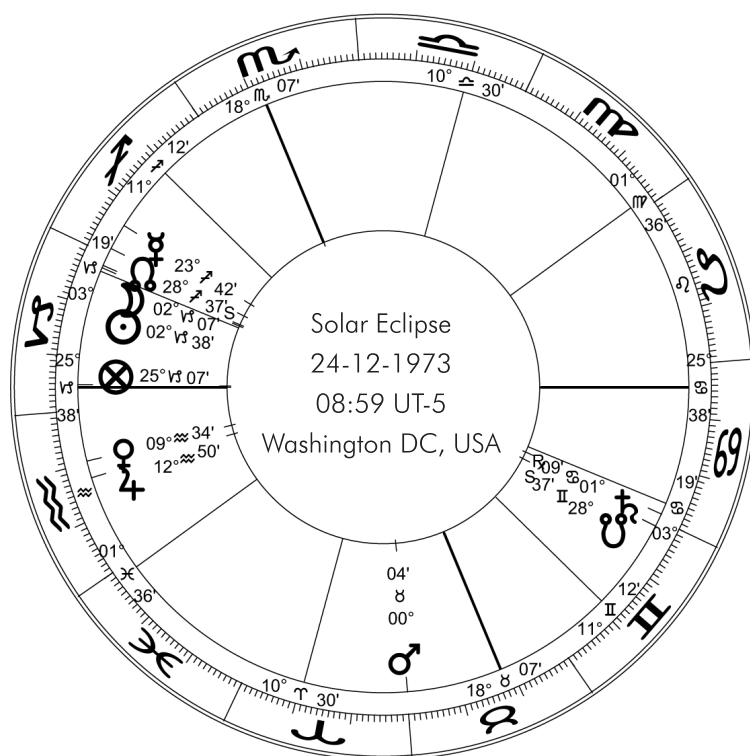
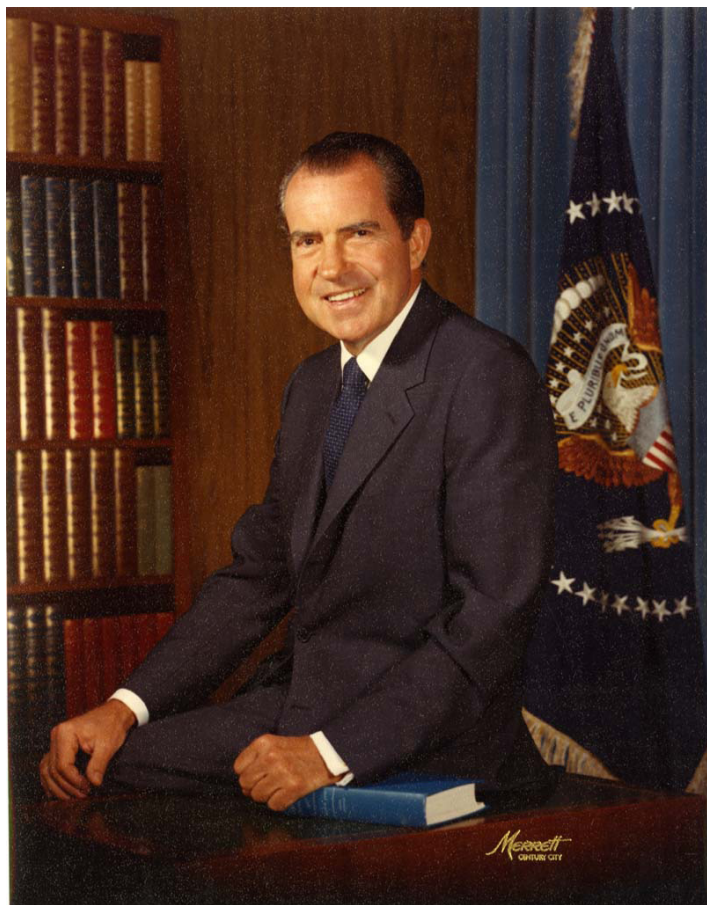


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partial solar eclipses visible in Beijing: a partial eclipse on the 23rd September 1987 at 29° Virgo, followed by a second of smaller magnitude on the 18th March 1988 at 27° Pisces. The duration of influence of both eclipses is large enough to encompass the event.

The first eclipse fell in the 3rd face of Virgo which corresponds to a face of Mercury with the following significations: “it powres down vengeance on poor Poets, Painters, or Limners, and man Mercuriall, who flourish with excellent understandings, nothing thrives with them, nor are their Purses full, it produces Murthers, Banishment, &c....”. Indeed the larger part of the victims of the protests were students and intellectuals, “man Mercuriall”. The second eclipse, much closer to the actual event is in in the 3rd face of Pisces, ruled by Mars “it presages sedition, cruelty, bitterness of spirits, and the inhumanity of souldiers...”. Once more a very clear description of the event.

The fall of Nixon



On the 9th of August 1974, the President of the United States of America, Richard Nixon, resigned from office due to the implications of the well-known Watergate scandal. On the 24th December 1973 there was a solar eclipse visible in the United States at 2° Capricorn. The first face of Capricorn is ruled by Jupiter and it has the following meaning, “it imports the unhappy chances attending Great men, and strange causalities unto such; the transmigration, or oft shifting of places of some King, Prince or Person of eminent Rank and quality...”. Again the event is well described by the aphorism. It is also interesting to note that in Nixon’s nativity the eclipse falls right on the Mars-Mercury-Jupiter conjunction, in the beginning of Capricorn; Mercury rules both the Ascendant and the MC.

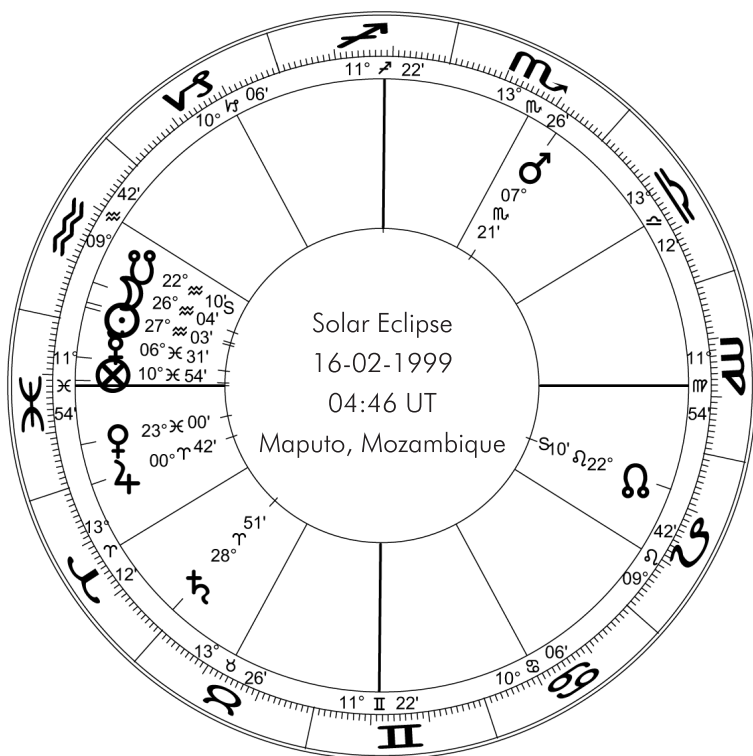
The Portuguese Democratic Revolution

The same eclipse that heralded the fall of Nixon was visible in Portugal, a country traditionally associated with Capricorn. In fact on the 25th of April 1974, the Portuguese military carried out a coup, removing from office a dictatorial regime and installing a democratic government. The

remainder of the aphorism states, "... and it implies the Revolt or Rebellion of Nobles, and others of meaner quality, viz. of the common people; it imports a covetous Prince or Magistrate, by reason of his oppression, shall cause insurrections". In this case the eclipse previous to this one should also be accounted for, as it was visible in Portugal and its duration falls within the event of the revolution. This eclipse occurred on the 30th of June 1773, in the first face of Cancer. The aphorism for this face states, "...inclines man to Arms, and to violate National Leagues...". In this case both eclipses support the event.

The Mozambique floods

On February and March of 2000, the African country of Mozambique suffered a catastrophic flooding caused by heavy rainfall; this lasted for five weeks, made many homeless, destroyed crops and killed numerous cattle.



This terrible natural event was preceded by a solar eclipse year earlier, on the 16th February 1999 and visible in the south of Africa. The eclipse was at



27° Aquarius, 3rd Face, ruled by the Moon, whose aphorism is, "it tells of the death of field Cattell and such like creatures, it shows great inundations to succeed the Eclips".

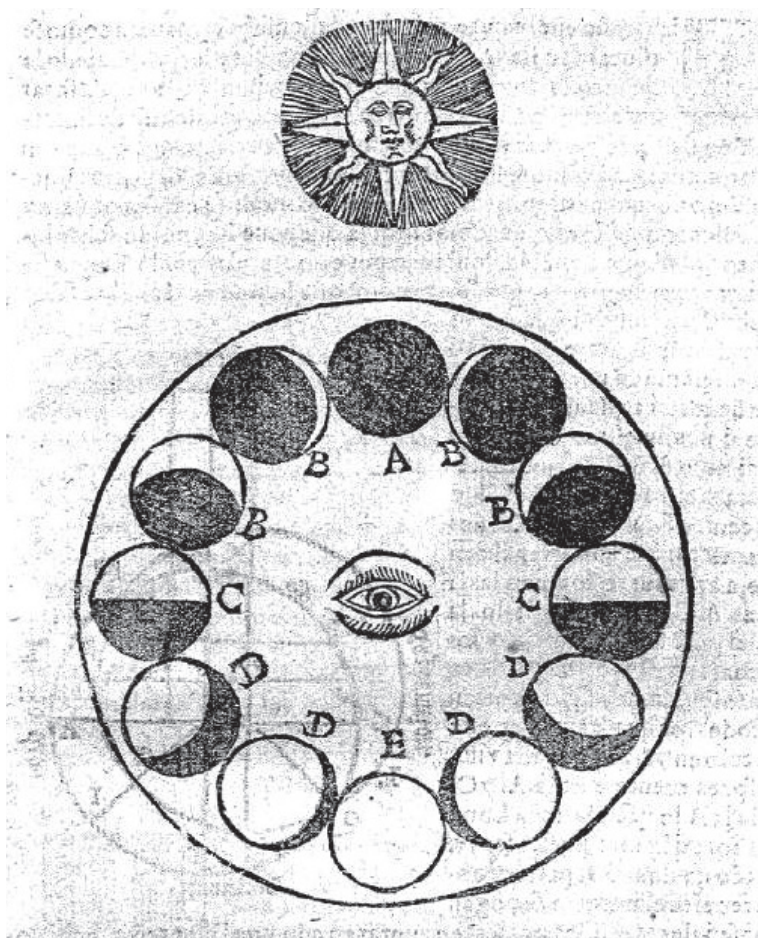
In some of these examples the eclipse timing (which is also discussed by Lilly in the same work) is not so accurate, but all events occur within the time of influence of the eclipse. Even if the specific timing is not perfect (and a full discussion of the timing calculation is outside of the scope of this article) all these eclipses were visible and thus effective over the regions where the events took place.

It must be taken into account that the symbolism of the face of the eclipse is only one among several points to take into consideration when interpreting such an event; therefore, it should not be seen as the only signifier of the event. Some eclipses produce events which do not fall within the aphorism; and they do not have to. There are other factors, such as the chart of the eclipse itself and the eclipse ruler, which are very important. These aphorisms are only a guide to the interpretation.

In conclusion, the face ruler seems to have some determination on the type of events signified by the eclipse. These events will be of the nature of the planet, and/or will relate to things, persons

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or activities represented by the planet. This signification will then be adjusted according to the element and ruler of the sign. With this understanding, a broader range of possibilities can be ascertained from the face, but at the same time keeping the symbolism and the astrology sound.



For Posterity:

Peter Creutzer

by Peter Stockinger

This regular feature will present little-known or unpublished source material in an attempt to augment our understanding of the periods to which the Western Astrological Tradition is referred.

In 1528 the astrologer Peter Creutzer published a book with the title:

*"Auslegung Peter Creutzers / etwan des weitberümpfte Astrologi M Jo Liechtenbergers disciples vber den erschrocklichen Cometen /so im Westrich vn[d] umliegenden grenzen erschienen /am xi. tag Weinmonats /des M.D.xxvii jars / zu eeren den wolgepornen Herrn / herr Johan vn[d] Philips Franzen beide / Will und Reingrauen"*¹

(Interpretation Peter Creutzer's, who is the disciple of the famous astrologer Joseph Liechtenberger, of the frightening comet that appeared in Westrich and the surrounding Borders on the xi. day of the Winemonth M.D.xxvii to the honour of the masters Johan and Philips Franzen esq. both Will and Reingraven.)

We do not know much about the author Peter Creutzer, apart from the fact that he was the disciple of the famous German astrologer Johannes Lichtenberger (?1440 -1503). Lichtenberger's most important work is the *Prognosticatio in latino*, which was first published in 1488 and was still in print in a German edition in 1923.² He was drawing heavily on Ptolemy and Abu Ma'shar; as were the astrologers Paul of Middelburg and Conrad Heingartner, who influenced Lichtenberger. He again seems to have passed this knowledge on



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to his disciples; Joseph Grünpeck, Johannes de Indagine and Peter Creutzer.

In his work Creutzer refers to the famous Arab astrologers Masha'allah and al-Kindi and mentions two books by Abu Ma'shar, one called "Revolutionii annorii" and another one called "conclusionii".

We know that Abu Mas'har was the author of *Kitab al-nukat* or *Book of revolutions of the World-years*, which was translated into Latin by John of Seville under the title *Flores*. David Pingree states that this is identical with the *De revolutionibus annorum mundi seu liber experimentorum*, which was also translated by John of Seville.³ This could be the first of the two books mentioned; concerning the second one, at the present time, I can not find any reference pointing to a title similar to "conclusionii" by Abu Ma'shar.

Transcription and translation notes:

- Numbers are given in roman style, as in the original text
- Suggestions for unclear words, abbreviations or missing letters are marked thus: [xxx?]
- If translation or meaning is unclear the word in question is given in German and is marked thus: [ger.xxx?]
- The end of transcribed portions of the text is marked thus: [...]
- To make this translation more understandable for English readers I have taken the liberty to add a few words which are marked thus: {xxx} and added some punctuation to increase fluency.



In the introduction of his book Creutzer writes that he sees it as his duty as a Christian and that, after many people of high and low rank had asked him about the meaning of this appearance, he will try to describe the effects the appearance of this, in his own words, "dreadful and evil comet" would have on the world.

To make it all more understandable and to present it in an orderly manner he will divide his booklet into 8 chapters.

Chapter one: Of the shape of this comet, its appearance and disappearance.

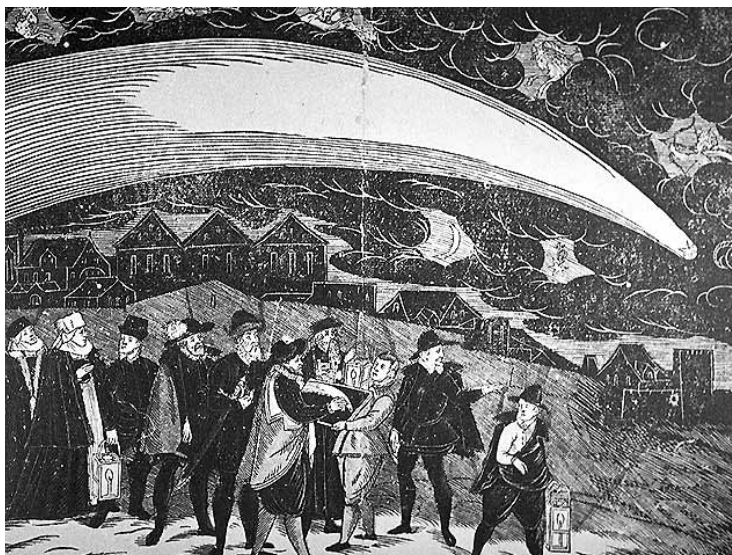
This cruel comet has been seen by many people on the xi day in October or Month of Wine in the year M.D.xxvii at iiiii o'clock in the morning. It has been visible for one and quarter hours. After that its glow disappeared. The rise of this comet was from an eastern direction and it rose at about midday and the setting of the sun, but it has been seen in the middle of the night with an immeasurably long body with the colour of mixed blood or pale red-yellow as the colours will be shown in the following description. Its head or beginning has been a bent arm & had in his hand a very big sword in the way as if it would hit something. On the tip and the three sides of the sword {were} three big stars whereby the one at the tip appeared to be the biggest. From these stars came a big, broad, [ger. streymechter?] cloud coloured tail which superseded everything else in length. To the sides one saw many stripes in the form of long pikes, between them many smaller swords mixed in, which could be compared to pale red colour. Between all of that one saw many big flames which appeared pale and fiery. Mixed in between were every now and then many faces, hairy on head and beard, of cloud colour. This was all mixing (as if it would lie in blood streaming water) together [ger. zwitzern?]. It was cruel to look upon so that some, who saw it, were scared and nearly died of fright.

This mighty and noticeable sign of the comet became fully visible (as mentioned above) in the year M.D.xxvii on the xi day of October in the morning at iii. lviii. mi (which is nearly iiiii) in the rising of the sign Leo in its XVIII degree IIII mi of the upper horizon in the evil, poisonous hour Saturn and in disobedient grim face of Mars which was a nearly evil sight.

As well, {it} has to be noticed, that after great conjunction[s] of the planets, a while after generally for some time, dreadful comets will be seen. And so as well, here have the upper planets of the great conjunction (because they were all wandering and came together in the sign Pisces in the past year mdxxiii) awakened this comet without doubt; which will pass onto the mentioned conjunction, its long lasting future evil and will cause a stronger, sharper influence and this will cause harder and stronger bad luck. Further on Albumasar tells us in his book revolutionii annorii {that} you should observe regarding comets in which place, sign and aspect, in the face of good or evil planets, of what complexion or nature it may be. We are following now Albumasar in his book conclusionii in i ca. [chapter 1?] after the teaching of Alkindi we can say that the name of this comet is Verulacus and it is of the complex of Cauda Draconis, of the nature of Saturn; cold {and} moist, it pulls towards it dryness and fast, poisonous heat and in its rise it turned towards midday. At the same time, the Moon was in the middle of the sky in the house of the sign of the ox, wherein it owns royal honours.

Chapter two: What this comet means to the mighty kings, princes and knights.

After what Albumasar says in his book of the great conjunction, this comet will bring unto the mighty kings, princes and masters unspeakably cruel and frightening things. This will happen in the future through great errors and discord which will wake up in itself. Thereafter a mighty one will stand up against another mighty one, as it says in Jere.



li. ca. [chapter 51?]. They will live their lives in great hatred, strife and quarrel and will be full of sorrow and fear. [...]

He continues to describe the destruction of the world until in the end all people will be united under the cloak of Christianity and will live in peace for many years to come.

Chapter three: Of the rank and future of a prophet and his disciples.

Many miraculous signs and apparitions have been noticed and seen in the air for a long time, from one conjunction to the next, until the appearance of glow of this present, cruel comet, which show us (as is told by all people knowledgeable in astrology and about the triplicities) the future of a prophet in a few years. Messahalla and Albumasar describe as well that this prophet with his teaching will arrive in a country where the sun rises and is partially subjugated to the signs of Leo and Sagittarius and the fiery triplicity. He will share pros and cons with his disciples and rise against the midheaven with them. In these countries he will preach strange sermons with his disciples and show many signs and will produce many writings, not only in one place but in many. He will appear in front of the people with great and salutary teaching, as if he was told by God or sent by him, as Jere. xiiii points out, saying: They prophesise in a deceitful way in my name but I have not sent them. He will have the understanding

and responsibility to decide many and great things which will appear cruel and frightful to many people. He will explore all layers of laws out of a deceitful, cunning heart. With great holiness and salutary teachings he will betray princes and masters and the common folk and will bring them into great errors and many great, wise men will be led into deceit and made completely insane. [...]

He continues to predict that the prophet will have such an impact on the high ranking members of the church that, metaphorically speaking, "the upper part will crush down on the church that in the end only the walls will remain standing". After this event the prophet and his followers will be murdered in a fourfold way, by sword, fire, air and water. Thereafter many learned people will be ashamed of what they did and the Christian church will, after complete destruction, be renewed again.

Chapter four:

In this chapter Creutzer describes what will happen to some of the clergy and the members of the congregation. Through the influence of the comet the clergy will suffer persecution. Some false Christians will cause a great amount of trouble that will spread to all the faithful and will cause the destruction of many areas. False prophets will cause chaos and drive people into madness. A division of faith into many splinter groups will follow and some of the prophets will deny their true believe or deceive people by changing their signs of rank or clothes. This will lead into a civil war.

This all is caused by the cruel aspect that Mars and Saturn have to Jupiter from the iiii and vii house. A lot of malady will come over the monasteries which are called religious, both women and men will have lots of arguments between themselves. Cleanliness, mild justness and continence to which virtue and all good things are fixed will depart when Saturn is running behind itself [ger. hinter sich laufft?] in the 9th house; this is because of the cruel aspect of Mars to Saturn and

Venus both of which are trying to push each other out of their houses and Mars is still in the highest position. Therefore under Mars there will grow strife, anger, envy and hate. They will show many bad habits too soon, as Jeremia says [...]

The following quotation repeats what has been said before and is followed by a quotation of "Jesaias" about deceit, destruction and the poverty of many people which is to come. Creutzer continues that, after all these punishments sent by God will be overcome, new prophets will arise and the Christian church will rise again. People will live in beatitude and eternal love forever more.

Chapter five: About the common people, men and women.

Creutzer continues to describe the effect the comet will have on people. There will be violence, bloodshed and betrayal.

He continues:

The noticeable sharpness of the cruel wickedness of the present comet is because of the Venus' fifth house and it is staining the manifold luck and in some ways the despicable, evil greediness which stems from pure lust in the mind. [...]

He describes now what effect this will have on the population and mentions lustfulness, abomination, impurity and the comet's effects on the birth rate, which will decline dramatically.

Chapter six: Of warriors, strife and quarrel.

After the description by Ptolemy, Albumasar, Alkindi and many other highly famous of experience with the stars, we find that this comet (because of Saturn's nature and the dragons tail, through co-ruler ship of the Moon, which strengthens the quality of grim Mars with Saturn) will cause an unheard of foreign war, as the Lord says in Lu. xxi [...]

Now follows the description of all sorts of atrocities of war, etc. He further predicts that the Turkish will stand up and wage war against Christendom.

Chapter seven: Of all the growing fruits as there are herbs, seeds and trees.

While this cruel comet attracted and took with him (as mentioned) the boundless poison of the nature of Saturn and the tail of the dragon, the Moon floated above with its rulership. One has to be worried that through the rising and the fastness of the Moon, the harmful poison in the tail of the comet will be poured out over many places in the world and this will cause the air to be dark and a poisonous tempering of the elements will take place. First there will be fast movement with heat, then dryness and afterwards cold and wetness with a vehement fickle temperance at times and later on too early, after that too slow, then an unwholesome thunderstorm; this causes the fruits of the earth to grow ill and weakly which will be to the great loss and a future detriment for humans and animals. Then Albumasar, Messahalla and Alkindus testify that, because of said reasons, there will be a cruel destruction of trees, vines, herbs and fruits because of which they will suffer breakage and this in the beginning in the seeds, growth and flowering, through which they will be prevented from ripening [ger. vo?] which will prevent them followed by sharp, cold, moist air, strong winds and pebbles which will fall on the ground, the corn on the ear, the fruits fallen off the trees, and many tips scorched by thunder and lightning as well as drowned by waters that are too big and in many cases not brought in because of massive storms. [...]

Creutzer continues with biblical quotes (Jes. vii and Jere. xii) to further describe the destruction of plants and trees.

Chapter eight: Of many deadly illnesses.

From the art of the approved astronomers we learn, because the beginning of the glow of this comet was in the moist-poisonous hour of Saturn and the grim face of Mars, therefore Mars will, with its highest rulership, stretch its sword with power over many deadly diseases; this is what this comet shows us in the vi. House of Capricorn, wherein poisonous, [ger. heffig?] Saturn is pleased to look at the incredibly grim malice of Mars who is in his highest honour and elevation above Saturn with a angry, defiant face of opposition, which he gives Saturn in the sign of Aries in the house of Mars by following behind. All of this is showing us dreadful changes of the natures in many ways, with many foreign, strange diseases, as well as fast days of illness, with which humans and animals will be heavily burdened. It has to be reported especially the death of a mighty one, which will not mean little to common Christendom but might nearly be harmful. [...]

He continues to describe the diseases people will suffer, lists symptoms and backs it up with biblical quotations. The few people who survive will be called saints and God will make a pact of peace with them for eternity.

The book ends with the conclusion that, although Peter Creutzer has given this warning as he sees it, God might change the severity of the influence of this comet and he prays that the Almighty might prevent the evil to happen.



Endnotes

1. A digitised version of the original can be found at: www.digital-sammlungen.de/~db/0002/bsb00029064/images/
2. Kurze, D.: *Prophecy and History: Lichtenberger's Forecast of events to Come*, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, Vol.21, No.1/2, Jan.-Jun. 1958, p.63f.
3. Pingree, David: Abu Ma'shar in *Complete Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol.1, Detroit 2008, p.36f

Peter Stockinger



Peter Stockinger was born in Austria in 1964. He began to study astrology and related topics at an early age. From 1989 he practised Modern astrology and Cosmobiology in Vienna. In 1998 he moved to North Wales in the United Kingdom where he discovered Traditional astrology. Today he practises natal, horary and electional astrology in a purely Traditional way and specialises in work with planetary gemstones. His readings are available in English and German.

He is particularly interested in the history of astrology and the integration of astrology into the magical arts. At the moment he is working on a book on the astrological use of planetary gemstones.

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Nicolaus Rensberger's Judgement of Temperament

Shortly after the first part of Luís Ribeiro's highly interesting paper on temperament was published in *The Tradition*, I discovered an astrological textbook published by a 16th century German astrologer which does not seem to be commonly known amongst British astrologers. The title of this book is *Astronomia Teutsch*, or *German Astronomy*, and it was first published in Augsburg in the year 1568 by Nicolaus Rensberger. It seems to have been a fairly successful book, having been reprinted each year between 1569 and 1572. Examples of all these editions are preserved in different German libraries. I had access to the 1569 and 1570 edition, which are virtually identical and my translation is based on the 1570 edition.¹ We do not know much about Rensberger, whose Latinised name was Nicolai Rensbergensis, apart from the fact that he was a mathematician and an astrologer who lived in Germany. I have only been able to find four more books by this author; two about geometry, one with a clerical theme and one astrological almanac.

His main work, the *Astronomia Teutsch*, is an 800 page textbook that is split into four books. Book One teaches the student the calculation of the positions of the planets and the erecting of a birth chart. In Book Two he explains the meaning and effects of lunar and solar eclipses and revolutions. The third book teaches the interpretation of nativities and Book Four deals with directions and profections. It is in the third book, where I discovered a chapter called "Of the Complexions". Here we find a method and an example of judging the temperament of a nativity.

Rensberger does not lose any time with an introduction and immediately lists the factors one needs to take into account to judge the complexion or temperament of a person.

1. The rising sign
2. Its Lord
3. The sign the Moon is in
4. Sun's quarter of the year
5. The sign the Sun is in
6. Its Lord
7. Its Lord

8. The phase of the Moon
9. The Lord of birth
10. Look at the heavenly pictures rising with the rising sign

Next he introduces the qualities of the Planets:

Saturn, cold & dry, melancholic
Jupiter, warm & moist, sanguine
Mars, hot & dry, choleric
Venus, cold & moist, phlegmatic

Mercury by himself is hot and dry. But when he is with other Planets who are hot and dry or warm and moist he will help to increase their qualities. He is doing this as well with other Planets being cold and dry or cold and moist. He is as well changing his nature according to the quality of the 12 heavenly signs. In cold: cold; in warm or hot: hot; in moist: moist. This is what Mercury does, and he transforms his nature according to the Planet or sign he comes to, as he is a helper and therefore he helps to be evil with the evil and to be good with the good. The Dragon's Head acts in the same way, which increases the good with the good and the evil with the evil. But the Dragon's Tail decreases evil in the evil and decreases good in the good. Everyone who would try to achieve something in this art should notice this difference.

Rensberger does not differentiate between oriental or occidental placements of the planets; and here we notice some differences from other authors, namely Venus being cold, moist and phlegmatic. William Lilly on the contrary claims Venus to be hot and moist when dealing with complexions.² Lilly does not assign temperament to each of the planets, but from his statement at the beginning of the chapter about temperament in *Christian Astrology*, we can deduce that Venus, being hot and moist, is classed as being sanguine.³

If we look at the sources both authors might have drawn on, we can trace the origins of both

claims back to Greek and Arab roots. Ptolemy's assignment of qualities shows us that he assigned hot and wet to Venus⁴, whilst Abu Mashar⁵ and Al Biruni⁶ consider her to be cold and wet. It seems that Lilly took on Ptolemy's approach, at least for oriental placing, although one has to be aware that he ascribes Venus with a cold and moist nature⁷. Rensberger seems to have adopted the Arab astrologers' approach without the change in the oriental placing.

If we look at Lilly's table, we can see for oriental placing (I do not count Mercury here at the moment, as Rensberger gives detailed instructions about how to determine the changing quality of Mercury): two planets being hot and moist, one planet hot and dry and one planet cold and moist. The cold and dry combination is completely missing. In the occidental placing we see: two planets hot and moist, one planet hot and dry and one planet cold and dry. The cold and moist placement is missing. In both cases we have three planets being hot and either moist or dry and only one planet being cold and moist or dry. In Rensberger's case we have a perfect balance between two planets being hot with dry or moist and two planets being cold with either dry or moist.

Rensberger lists the quality of the Sun in the twelve signs next:

When the Sun is in Aries, Taurus or Gemini, like in spring, he is seen as hot and moist. But when the Sun is in Cancer, Leo or Virgo, like in summer, he is hot and dry. But when the Sun is in Libra, Scorpio or Sagittarius, like in the autumn, he is cold and dry. But when the Sun is in Capricorn, Aquarius or Pisces, like in winter, he is cold and moist.

Next he attributes the qualities of the twelve signs:

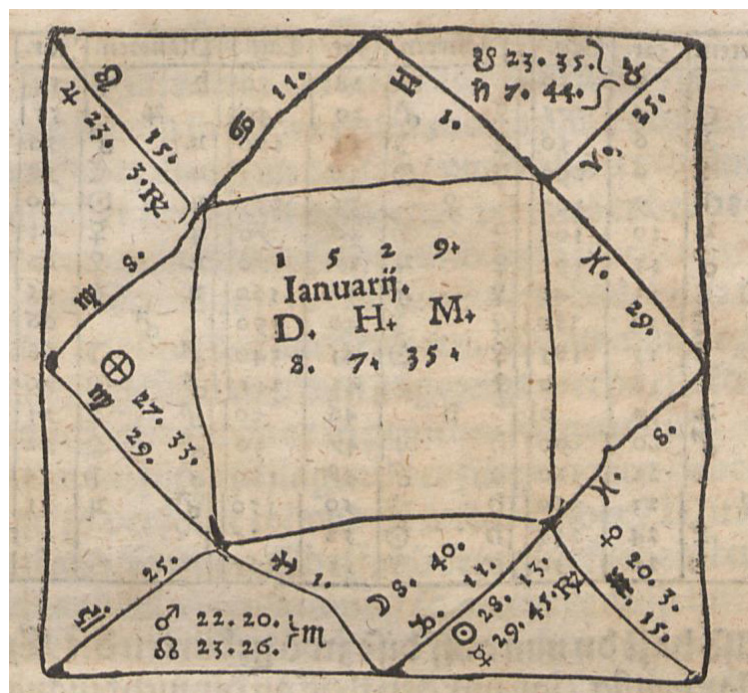
Aries, Leo, Sagittarius are hot and dry, choleric;

Taurus, Virgo, Capricorn are cold and dry, melancholic;
 Gemini, Libra, Aquarius are warm and moist, sanguine;
 Cancer, Scorpio, Pisces are cold and moist, phlegmatic.

Finally Rensberger writes down the qualities of the quarters of the Moon:

From new Moon to first quarter is warm and moist;
 From first quarter to full is hot and dry;
 From full to last quarter is cold and dry;
 From last quarter to new Moon is cold and moist.

Because of these reasons one can find, as shown, the complexion of any person. The quality with the highest score is preferred, as the following example shows.



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Virgo ascendant	cold/dry	1
Mercury, his Lord	warm/dry	1
Moon in Capricorn	cold/dry	2
Saturn, its Lord	cold/dry	3
Sun in Capricorn	cold/dry	4

Saturn, its Lord	cold/dry	5
Mercury in Aquarius	warm/dry	2
Saturn, its Lord	cold/dry	6
Saturn, Almutem Figuris	cold/dry	7
Moon moving towards new	cold/moist	1
Sun in the winter quarter	cold/moist	2

You see in this example which quality of the 4 moists one is overcoming the other. This is melancholia, has seven indicators while choleric and phlegm have only two. Therefore you can show that melancholia is ruling this nativity. We say that this person is a melancholic. Therefore warm and moist food will be good for this person to stay in his quality. As well you are able to tell what is good for each complexion. For the sanguine, this is warm and moist, should have cold and dry food. The choleric, that is hot and dry, should have cold and moist food. The phlegmatic again, that is cold and moist, should have hot and dry food. The same goes for the blood letting, which I will tell you in the last one of my books.

You shall know as well that Saturn and Mars create evil complexions if they are conjunct or in an evil aspect to the rising sign, the Sun or the Moon.

Rensberger gives an example of how to judge temperament according to the points listed at the beginning of the chapter. He lists them in the order of 1,2,3,4,7,8,9,5,6. Number 10, the heavenly pictures rising with the rising sign, must therefore be situated between numbers 8 and 9. Here he states that Mercury would be in Aquarius, which seems to be a printer's error, as a look at the chart will tell us, and lists his Lord, Saturn. To explain this, we have to look at the chapter with the title:

Of the heavenly pictures and its nature and as well the bright stars which are in them, of first or second magnitude, what they mean if they rise with the rising sign and especially of those in the *Zodiaco* which are in the *linea Ecliptica*.

When the star of the Virgin rises, which happens in the last ten degrees of Virgo, the native will be just, reasonable, shy, wise, understanding, fearful of God and a lover of the arts. But its bright star called *spica Virginis* will incline the native to farming and he will feed himself from the fruit of the earth. It shows as well that he will learn 'high arts' and will have deep thoughts, especially if Mercury is well placed and in good aspect to this star.⁸

Looking at the example it seems to me that Rensberger uses the Lord of the rising sign and the Lord of the sign this planet is located in to determine the temperament of the heavenly pictures.

Another factor taken into consideration is the Lord of birth. Rensberger explains how this, the Almutem Figuris, can be found.

For the fifth, look at the figures of the elements which is the Lord of birth. It is taken from 5 places namely Sun, Moon, Ascendant, Part of Fortune and the degree of the conjunction or prevention which has taken place before birth.

We know now how Rensberger determined temperament, but how did he apply it? He already mentioned dietary requirements according to the temperament of the native and refers us to the chapter about bloodletting.

The first point concerning the bloodletting, which everybody should know, it has to be done in the opposite complexion; which means, if somebody would be choleric, he should let blood when the Moon is in a phlegmatic sign. You should as well know that the Moon, the Sun and the Ascendant should not be afflicted by harmful Planets. Here is an example. On the days when the Moon, the Sun and the ascendant are in Scorpio, Aquarius, Taurus or Leo, the native should neither take medicine nor should he let blood, or do anything else. As well it is dangerous if the Moon is in Pisces.

Unfortunately this is the only reference of significance I could find in the whole of *Astronomia Teutsch*.



Endnotes

1. Digitalised by SLUB Dresden: <http://digital.slub-dresden.de/sammlungen/werkansicht/275466752/1/>
2. Lilly, William: *Christian Astrology*, p533, Regulus, 1985
3. *ibid.* p532
4. Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, Book 1, Chapter 5
5. Abu Mashar, trans. Burnett, *The Abbreviation of the Introduction to Astrology* (Reston, Va.: ARHAT, 1997), Ch.1, pp.2-3, quoted in: Greenbaum, D. G. *Temperament, Astrology's Forgotten Key*, The Wessex Astrologer, 2005, p24
6. Al Biruni, trans. Ramsay Wright, *The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology*, London, 1934, p32
7. Lilly, William: *Christian Astrology*, p73, Regulus, 1985
8. This is the relevant portion of the chapter on Heavenly Pictures





