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READING BIRTH HOROSCOPES IN THE MIDDLE AGES:
LATIN JUDGEMENTS ON NATIVITIES 1100-1450

Astrological practices in medieval Europe

Despite spectacular progress achieved over the past 30 years in our knowledge and understanding of medieval European astrology¹, the astrological practices themselves remain for a good part unexplored. What do astrologers do? What kind of services do they offer? How do they interpret horoscopes? These questions are rarely answered. This is not entirely surprising considering the scarcity not only of doctrinal studies, but also of critical editions of texts dealing with the four traditional techniques of Arabic-Latin astrology, i.e., nativities, revolutions, elections and interrogations. These texts can be divided into two groups. We have, on the one side, the theoretical treatises, which provide the rules for interpreting horoscopes and explain how to work these rules out, and, on the other, the practical texts, which provide the actual interpretations of horoscopes, conventionally called «judgements» (*iudicia*) by medieval scholars. There are relatively few astrological judgements preserved in Latin for the entire period down to the end of the fifteenth century. In the domain of mundane or general astrology, dealing with natural disasters, epidemics, wars, political upheavals, meteorology, harvest etc., we

1. For all aspects of medieval astrology and its place within science, culture and society, the starting point is now H Darrel Rutkin's magisterial *Sapientia Astrologica: Astrology, Magic and Natural Knowledge, ca. 1250-1800*, vol. I: *Medieval Structures (1250-1500): Conceptual, Institutional, Socio-Political, Theological-Religious and Cultural*, New York 2019.

have about 110 annual prognostications² and about 80 judgements on the great conjunctions, eclipses and comets up to 1484³. The situation is different when it comes to individual astrology. If we put aside the exceptional case of Gerard of Sabbioneta, who is alone responsible for virtually all judgements on interrogations and elections that have come down to us from the Middle Ages⁴, the main source are the judgements on nativities

2. These have been the subject of an important study by Alexandre Tur, *Hora introitus solis in Arietem. Les prédictions astrologiques annuelles latines dans l'Europe du XV^e siècle (1405-1484)*, PhD dissertation, University of Orléans, 2018. This work addresses all questions that one might want to ask about annual prognostications, including their content, structure, sources and influence, on the basis of an exhaustive catalogue of prognostications extant in manuscripts up to 1484.

3. There are no general studies of these. Samples have been edited by H. Pruckner, *Studien zu den astrologischen Schriften des Heinrich von Langenstein*, Leipzig-Berlin 1933, esp. 207-26; L. Thorndike, *Latin Treatises on Comets between 1238 and 1368 A.D.*, Chicago 1950, esp. 199-259; A. Lhotsky, K. Ferrari d'Occhieppo, «Zwei Gutachten Georgs von Puerbach über Kometen (1456 und 1457)», *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, 68 (1960), 266-90; B. R. Goldstein, D. Pingree, «Levi ben Gerson's Prognostication for the Conjunction of 1345», *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 80 (1990), 1-60; J.-P. Boudet, «La papauté d'Avignon et l'astrologie», in *Fin du monde et signes du temps. Visionnaires et prophètes en France méridionale (fin XIII^e-début XV^e siècle)*. *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 27 (1992), 257-93 (reprinted in J.-P. Boudet, *Astrologie et politique entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance*, Firenze 2020, art. III); J.-P. Boudet, «Giovanni da Legnano et la genèse de son interprétation astrologique du Grand Schisme d'Occident», in *Église et État, Église ou État? Les clercs et la genèse de l'État moderne. Actes de la conférence organisée à Bourges en 2011 par SAS et l'université d'Orléans en l'honneur d'Hélène Millet*, eds C. Barralis, J.-P. Boudet, F. Delivré, J.-P. Genet, Paris-Rome 2014, 347-65 (reprinted in Boudet, *Astrologie et politique*, art. VII); C. Schabel, F. S. Pedersen, «Miraculous, Natural, or Jewish Conspiracy? Pierre of Ceffons' Question on the Black Death, with Astrological Predictions by Gersonides and Jean de Murs / Firmin de Beauval», *Recherches de Théologie et Philosophie Médiévales*, 81 (2014), 137-79; J.-P. Boudet, «Jean des Murs, Astrologer», *Erudition and the Republic of Letters*, 4 (2019), 123-45; S. Heilen, *Konjunktionsprognostik in der Frühen Neuzeit, I: Die Antichrist-Prognose des Johannes von Lübeck (1474) zur Saturn-Jupiter-Konjunktion von 1504 und ihre frühneuzeitliche Rezeption*, Baden-Baden 2020.

4. Gerard of Sabbioneta's collection of judgements is discussed under no. 4 below. Very few judgements on interrogations are otherwise known to exist. A stunning case has been studied and edited by J.-P. Boudet, «The Archbishop and the Astrologers: A Robert de Mauvoisin's *questio* in 1316», in *Astrologers and Their Clients in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, eds W.

(birth horoscopes), of which I am aware of 34 medieval specimens. It is the aim of this article to survey these 34 documents.

Judgements on nativities

By examining a nativity, an astrologer is expected to be able to answer virtually any question about the character, life and facts of the native. This makes the science of nativities one of the most powerful tools of analysis of human beings before the emergence of modern psychology. Judgements on nativities can vary greatly in length, structure and content, but they usually include one or more of the three following elements⁵:

1. Horoscope and introductory matters. In addition to the nativity horoscope, whose diagram is given in most cases, other horoscopes can be cast, especially for the syzygy preceding birth and for the conception, as well as one or several revolutions of the nativity. The introductory matters typically include discussions about the rectification of the nativity (*animodar* and/or *trutina Hermetis*) and the determination of the «significators» of the nativity (*hyleg*, *alcochoden*, *almuten*). Further elements, such as the details of the calculations of the horoscope (positions of the planets and houses), tables of directions, parts etc., are sometimes given.

2. Interpretation. This is the essential part of the judgement, usually done by reviewing the topics corresponding to the 12 houses, that is, the native's (1) body and soul, (2) wealth, (3) siblings, (4) parents, (5) children, (6) health, (7) spouse and marriage, (8) death, (9) journeys and religion, (10) honours and career, (11)

Deimann, D. Juste, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2015, 43-61; and further examples are given in C. P. E. Nothaft, «A Fourteenth-Century Scholastic Dispute on Astrological Interrogations», *Vivarium*, 59 (2021), 241-85. Besides Gerard of Sabbioneta's collection, I do not know a single medieval judgement of election.

5. For a step-by-step analysis of a typical judgement on a nativity, see D. Juste, «A Sixteenth-Century Astrological Consultation», in *Astrologers and Their Clients* [note 4 above], 151-204. Technical analyses to varying degrees of detail are also provided for judgements nos. 2, 5, 7, 10, 26 and 29 below (see bibliography).

friends, and (12) enemies. Topics are sometimes examined in a different order and death, the topic of the eighth house, is often treated last. Some judgements, however, make little or no use of the houses, especially when the astrologer mainly relies on Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum*.

3. Predictive techniques. The predictive techniques allow the astrologer to examine events and accidents throughout the life of the native («directions», «profections»), and specific periods of the life of the native, most commonly periods of one year from one anniversary to the next («revolutions»), but also the *firdarie* and other planetary periods.

Treatises on nativities

Most or all of these elements are explained in treatises on nativities. There are dozens of medieval Latin texts dealing with nativities (*De nativitatibus*, *Liber nativatum*, *Liber de nativitatibus* etc.) or with some aspect thereof. Like the rest of the astrological literature, most of them derive, directly or indirectly, from the Arabic texts that were translated into Latin in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Ten treatises were especially influential (over 20 extant manuscripts) and are the best representatives of the way the science of nativities was received in medieval Europe. All of them were translated or originally composed in Latin between c. 1130 and c. 1300⁶. First come the translations from Arabic, three of which are entirely dedicated to the subject, the *De nativitatibus* by Aomar⁷, Albohali⁸

6. Bestsellers (texts extant in over 25 MSS) are referred to in D. Juste, «The Impact of Arabic Sources on European Astrology: Some Facts and Numbers», *Micrologus* 24 (2016), 173–94 (see Appendix, nos. 8, 9, 14, 19, 21, 22, 29, 32, 37), where additional information and bibliography can be found. This concerns all ten texts with the exception of Alubater's *De nativitatibus* (20 known MSS), for which see note 9 below. In the following notes, I will provide reference to early printed editions of the Latin texts, most of which are now widely available online.

7. At least four early printed editions, including Venice, Johannes Baptista Sessa, 1503 [EDIT 16: CNCE 29558], sig. 2r–18v.

8. Two early printed editions, including Nürnberg, Johannes Montanus and Ulricus Neuber, 1546 [VD16 A 57], sig. b1r–q3v

and Alubater⁹. Another Arabic text is Haly Abenragel's *De iudiciis astrorum*, a massive compendium covering all branches of astrology, whose Books IV-VI deal with nativities and the revolutions of nativities¹⁰. Then we have three Latin compilations based essentially on Arabic sources: Pseudo-John of Seville's *Epitome totius astrologie* (Book II on nativities)¹¹, Leopold of Austria's *De astrorum scientia* (Book VII)¹² and Guido Bonatti's *Liber introductorius ad iudicia stellarum* (Book IX)¹³. To these, one must add Abraham Ibn Ezra's teaching, originally in Hebrew, but also reflecting Arabic doctrines for the most part¹⁴. Finally, a different category is represented by two works composed in Antiquity and therefore free of Arabic influences: Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* (*Quadripartitum*), whose Books III-IV are devoted to individual astrology, essentially nativities¹⁵, and Julius Firmicus Maternus's *Mathesis*, the major part of which is also concerned with individual astrology¹⁶.

9. F. J. Carmody, *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation. A Critical Bibliography*, Berkeley-Los Angeles 1956, 136-37. Three early printed editions, including Nürnberg, Johannes Petreius, 1540 [VD16 A 59]. English translation by B. N. Dykes, *Persian Nativities*, II: 'Umar al-Tabarī and Abū Bakr, Minneapolis 2010, 79-333.

10. At least six early printed editions, including Venice, Erhard Ratdolt, 1485 [GW 12117].

11. Ed. Nürnberg, Johannes Montanus and Ulricus Neuber, 1548 [VD16 J 766].

12. Ed. Augsburg, Erhardus Ratdolt, 1489 [GW M17974].

13. Three early printed editions, including Augsburg, Erhard Ratdolt, 1491 [GW 04643].

14. There are several Latin versions of Ibn Ezra's teaching on nativities, two of which are especially important: the *Liber nativitatum et revolutionum earum* translated by Peter of Abano (ed. Venice, Petrus Liechtenstein, 1507 [EDIT16: CNCE 35576], sig. XLIIIv-LXv) and the *Liber de nativitatibus* (ed. and trans. S. Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra Latinus on Nativities. A Parallel Latin-English Critical Edition of Liber Nativitatum and Liber Abraham Iudei de Nativitatibus*, Leiden-Boston 2019). For the Hebrew original (*Sefer hamoladot*), see S. Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra on Nativities and Continuous Horoscopy. A Parallel Hebrew-English Critical Edition of the Book of Nativities and the Book of Revolution*, Leiden-Boston 2013.

15. Among the six medieval Latin translations, two were particularly influential, that of Plato of Tivoli (seven early printed editions, including Venice, Erhardus Ratdolt, 1484 [GW M36411], sig. a_r-[f₄]r) and that of Aegidius de Tebaldis (two early printed editions, including Venice, Octavianus Scotus, 1519 [EDIT 16: CNCE 53618], sig. [aa₄]r-96v).

16. Authoritative critical edition by W. Kroll, F. Skutsch, K. Ziegler, *Firmicus Maternus: Matheseos libri VIII*, Leipzig 1897-1913, 3 vols.

These are the texts that dominated the field of nativities throughout the Middle Ages. Somewhat surprisingly, original Latin treatises written before 1500 never really caught on and only a handful of them can claim some popularity (five to ten manuscripts), namely Antonius de Monte Ulmi's *De iudiciis nativitatium* (1394)¹⁷, Book V of Nicolaus de Dacia's *Liber anaglypharum astronomie* (1456)¹⁸, a *Tractatus de scientia nativitatium* attributed to Martin Bylica of Olkusz in one manuscript¹⁹, and two texts by Johannes de Glogovia (c. 1445-1507), namely his *Tractatus de nativitatibus* (1488)²⁰ and Book III of his *Summa astrologie*²¹. Finally, if we want to be complete with texts surviving in more than five manuscripts, we can add those dealing specifically with the revolutions of nativities and directions, namely Albumasar's *De revolutionibus nativitatium* (translated in the twelfth century)²², Mattheus Guarimbertus of Parma's *De directione et proiectione radiorum et aspectuum* (second half the fourteenth century)²³, and Lorenzo Bonincontri's *De revolutionibus nativitatium* (1491)²⁴.

17. Heilen, *Konjunktionsprognostik* [note 3 above], 302 n. 1178. Ed. Nürnberg, Johannes Petreius, 1540 [VD16 G 558 or VD16 M 6275].

18. L. Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, IV, New York 1934, 247-50 and 679-81.

19. G. Rosińska, *Scientific Writings and Astronomical Tables in Cracow. A Census of Manuscript Sources (XIVth-XVIth Centuries)*, Wrocław-Warszawa 1984, 28 (no. 62) and 372-73 (no. 1910); M. Markowski, *Astronomica et astrologica Cracoviensia ante annum 1550*, Firenze 1990, 117 (nos. 12-14) and 189 (nos. 1-2).

20. Rosińska, *Scientific Writings* [note 19 above], 320 (no. 1638); Markowski, *Astronomica et astrologica* [note 19 above], 68-69; J. Kaliszuk, A. Pieniądz, P. Węcowski, K. Skwierczyński, *Clavis scriptorum et operum Medii Aevi Poloniae*, Kraków 2019, 348 (no. 282/68).

21. Rosińska, *Scientific Writings* [note 19 above], 428-429 (no. 2237); Markowski, *Astronomica et astrologica* [note 19 above], 65-66; Kaliszuk/Pieniądz, *Clavis scriptorium* [note 20 above], 346 (no. 282/60).

22. Carmody, *Arabic Astronomical* [note 9 above], 94. Ed. Basel, ex officina Petriana, 1559, sig. 211-79 (attr. Hermes). English translation by B. Dykes, *Persian Nativities, III: On Solar Revolutions. Abū Ma'shar's On the Revolutions of the Years of Nativities*, Minneapolis 2010.

23. Thorndike, *A History of Magic* [note 18 above], III, New York 1934, 598-600 and 768-70. Ed. Nürnberg, Johannes Petreius, 1535 [VD16 P 5248], sig. 44r-71v.

24. Thorndike, *A History of Magic* [note 18 above], IV, 409. For Bonincontri, see also item no. 24 below.

About this survey

The present survey includes Latin judgements on natiuities of people born before 1450. The entries are arranged chronologically by date of birth rather than by date of composition, as the latter is often unknown. For each entry, the reader will find the following information:

1. A brief description of the context and, as far as possible, the identification of the protagonists.
2. *Content*: a summary of the content, with indication of the horoscope(s) provided and the authorities named in the text.
3. *Inc.*: the incipit, sometimes extended to the explicit and to other revealing passages of the text.
4. *MS(S)*: the manuscript(s) in which the judgement is found.
5. *Lit.*: the secondary literature.
6. *Ed.*: the modern edition(s).

Two types of potentially relevant documents have been excluded from this survey. First, the «natiuities» which offer calculations only and no interpretation. These calculations can be substantial and include one or several of the «introductory matters» detailed above, i.e., rectification methods, *hyleg*, *alcochoden*, *almuten*, positions of planets and houses, directions, profections, revolutions, *firdarie* etc. Excellent examples of this are the so-called *Natiuitas* by Richard of Fournival (before 1239)²⁵ and by William of Saint-Cloud (1285)²⁶; or the detailed study of rectification of natiuities based on the example of someone born on 10

25. See J.-P. Boudet, C. Lucken, «In Search of an Astrological Identity Chart: Richard of Fournival's *Natiuitas*», in *Richard de Fournival et les sciences au XIII^e siècle*, eds J. Ducos, C. Lucken, Firenze 2018, 283-322. A critical edition and full study of this text, together with Peter of Limoges's thorough commentary on it (c. 1270), is in preparation by these authors.

26. C. Steel, S. Vanden Broecke, D. Juste, S. Sela, *The Astrological Autobiography of a Medieval Philosopher. Henry Bate's Natiuitas (1280-81)*, Leuven 2018, 77-80.

March 1333, probably by John of Saxony²⁷. The second type of rejected documents are the horoscopes accompanied by a few words or a few lines discussing one or several selected configurations, as is commonly found in astrologers' handbooks and collections of horoscopes. To give but one example, Luca Gaurico's *Tractatus astrologicus* (1552) consists of a collection of horoscopes accompanied by a few lines of interpretation. Some of these horoscopes concern people born before 1450, like popes Paul II and Julius II, Francesco Petrarca, George of Trebizond, Regiomontanus and others, but these have not been taken into consideration here.

From this survey

Date and place. Most judgements are for people born between 1400 and 1450 and only nine concern people born before 1400. The earliest judgements (esp. nos. 1 and 3) show that full maturity and a good level of sophistication were already achieved by the twelfth century. As to the geographical origin, the texts come from Germany (nos. 9, 11-12, 15, 21-23, 31), Italy (3², 4, 7, 13, 17, 24-25, 29), France (2, 5, 10, 14, 18-19, 26²), Poland (27, 28², 30, 32², 34) and England (8, 16, 20). Nos. 1, 6 and 33 are of unknown origin.

Natives. 13 natives are rulers or upper-class officials: Oberto Pallavicino (4), Henry V (8), Charles VII (10), Ludovico III Gonzaga (13), Jean de La Goutte (14), Henry VI (16), Jean II of Bourbon (18-19), Eleanor of Portugal (23), Matthias Corvinus (27), Galeazzo Maria Sforza (29), Albrecht IV of Bavaria (31) and Henry I of Münsterberg-Oels (32). Four judgements concern an

27. Oxford, BL, Digby 97, s. XV, f. 286v-290v, and Oxford, Hertford Coll., 4, s. XV, f. 126r-130v. See Thorndike, *A History of Magic* [note 18 above], III, 267 n. 51-52; E. Poulle, «Les astronomes parisiens au XIV^e siècle et l'astronomie alphonisine», in *Histoire littéraire de la France*, t. 43, Paris 2005, 1-54: 53 and n. 121. This item was extracted from or incorporated into a fuller treatise on rectification (also probably by John of Saxony) found in MS Erfurt, UFB, Amplon. Q. 349, s. XIV, f. 133r-143r. For further examples, wrongly described as «judgements» but containing calculations only, see Markowski, *Astronomica et astrologica* [note 19 above], 238 (nos. 41-42 and 44).

unnamed knight (17); a philosopher and astrologer, Henry Bate of Mechelen (5); and two doctors of medicine named Johannes Swulber (9) and Johannes Fraweschuch (22). The other natives are unidentified or anonymous.

Astrologers. About half of the judgements have been prepared by astrologers who are otherwise known, including Abraham Ibn Ezra (nos. 1 and perhaps 2), Gerard of Sabbionetta (4), Henry Bate of Mechelen (5), Simon de Boesmare (10), Nicholaus Karolo of Venice (13), Conrad Heingarter (14 and probably 18), Richard Trewythian (20), Lorenzo Bonincontri (24), Johannes de Glogovia (27), Albertus de Brudzewo (30), Marcus Schinnagel (31), and perhaps Jean Fusoris, Matthias of Kemnat, Roger Marchall and Regiomontanus who might be the authors of nos. 8, 12, 16 and 23. Five judgements are by astrologers who are named but not otherwise known to me: Bertoldus Holste (9), Petrus de Holandia Brielis (11, 15), Antonio Chiapucini (19) and Raffaele Vimercati (29). The remaining judgements are anonymous (3, 6-8, 17, 21-23, 25-26, 28, 32-34).

Length, structure and content. Among the 34 judgements, five are very long, running over 50 pages (5-6, 11, 29, 31), six amount to 25-49 pages (3, 14-16, 18-19), 18 to 6-24 pages (1, 4, 7-10, 12-13, 17, 21-26, 28, 30, 34) and five are very short, comprising five pages or less (nos. 2, 20, 27, 32-33). Most judgements more or less conform in structure and content to what has been detailed above. Unusual cases with peculiar content are nos. 4, 6, 12, 16, 22. Two items consist of revolutions of nativities only (18, 27).

Authorities quoted. Authorities are named in most cases (exceptions are nos. 1-2 and 32-33). The first and foremost authority is Ptolemy, who is referred to in virtually all judgements (3-11, 13-23, 25-26, 29-30, 34). Other authorities quoted in at least three judgements are Haly Abenragel (6, 8-9, 14, 16-19, 22, 31; and perhaps 4, 12, 15 and 28 quoting «Haly» alone), Alcabitius (3, 5-10, 16-17, 31), Hermes (4-6, 9, 23, 28-29), Albohali (3-5, 10, 19, 29), Aomar (3-5, 8, 17), Abraham Ibn Ezra (5-6, 8, 19), Alkindi (4-6, 19), Dorotheus (3-5, 29), Almansor (5, 9, 29), Firmicus Maternus (5-6, 24) and Messahallah (3, 5, 9).

Context of preservation. Four or five judgements are presentation copies prepared for high-profile patrons (nos. 14, 18–19, 29 and perhaps 31), which presumably survived because they became part of the archives of the patron in question. Several judgements are autographs (10, 13, 20, 27, and possibly 6, 9, 12, 17, 25–26), which may have been meant for the astrologer's private use, or as drafts or duplicates of a presentation copy kept for their records. But most judgements have been preserved because they were collected and copied by later astrologers, no doubt because they could serve as models or examples of interpretation. This is evidently the case for no. 1, explicitly presented as an example for making other judgements, and for nos. 6 and 30, transmitted in the form of a theoretical treatise and a teaching manual respectively. This is also clear for the judgements extant in more than one copy (1, 3–5, 8, 23, 30, 32, 34). Among these, the most remarkable case is no. 5, which survives in nine manuscripts. Johannes Schöner (1477–1547), one of the leading astrologers of the first half of the sixteenth century, played a non-negligible role in the preservation of medieval judgements. He copied MS Vienna, ÖNB, 5002, an astronomical and astrological compendium of 189 folia, which contains three of our items (11, 15, 24), among a collection of judgements on nativities of people born after 1450. If this manuscript had disappeared, we would perhaps know nothing about the astrologer «Petrus de Hollandia Brielis», who authored two of the most sophisticated judgements of this survey (11, 15), and we would have no clue about Lorenzo Bonincontri's astrological practices (24). Schöner also copied MS Vienna, ÖNB, 4997, one of the two extant manuscripts of Gerard of Sabbioneta's collection of judgements (which includes our no. 4), and acquired MS Vienna, ÖNB, 10534, another astrologer's handbook which preserves our no. 33. Other astrologers' handbooks contain two or three of our judgements: MSS Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 398 (7, 26); Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 65 Aug. 2° (2637) (13, 25); and Cracow, BJ, 3225 (28, 30, 32).

1. Anonymous born on 23 August 1135, by Abraham Ibn Ezra

This judgement is attributed to «Abraham» and occurs among the works of Abraham Ibn Ezra in the two known manuscripts. It is also attributed to Abraham Ibn Ezra by Henry Bate, who refers to it in his *Nativitas* (no. 5 below). As most of Ibn Ezra's texts, this one appears to have been translated from Hebrew via a French intermediary, as suggested by the French words «en maison ceste» (Vienna MS, f. 222ra, in a passage omitted in the Erfurt MS). No date is provided but the planetary positions in the horoscope are correct for 23 August 1135. The author consistently uses the future tense, which suggests that the native was still a child or a young man at the time of the judgement. As stated in the incipit, this text was meant to serve as an example to make other judgements.

Content: standard judgement in 12 chapters following the 12 houses, without introduction. The horoscope is given at the beginning. The *alcochoden* is used f. 73v and the directions are often referred to. The 31th revolution is mentioned (f. 76r). No authorities quoted.

Inc.: «Hec est nativitas quedam ad instruendum te in aliis nativitatibus et est de iudiciis Abraham. Domus prima. Quia vero Mercurius est in domo sua...».

MSS: Erfurt, UFB, Amplon. O. 89, s. XIV, f. 72v-76r; Vienna, ÖNB, 5442, s. XV, f. 220vb-223va.

Lit.: Steel/Vanden Broecke [note 26 above], 65 and 80 (no. 1).

Ed.: ---

2. Boy born on 29 October 1135, by «Abraham Iudeus» of Béziers (Abraham Ibn Ezra?)

According to the explicit, this is a judgement by «Abraham Iudeus Biterris», i.e. by Abraham the Jew of Béziers (or in Béziers), which makes the attribution to Abraham Ibn Ezra, who is attested in Béziers in 1148 and sometimes referred to as «Abraham Iudeus», very tempting. At the same time, this judgement is very different from no. 1 above and its crudeness casts doubt on Ibn Ezra's authorship. The native was still a child («puer») at the

time of the judgement. The horoscope is dated 1136 by mistake («Nativitas cuiusdam pueri anno domini MCXXXVI, XXIX die Octobris, die Martis, hora secunda»), but the planetary positions are correct for 29 October 1135. The only known MS was copied at the end of the twelfth century and belonged to the French astrologer Roger of Fournival and to his son Richard of Fournival.

Content: horoscope with a very short judgement consisting of an interpretation of selected configurations. No authorities quoted.

Inc.: «Aspexi hanc nativitatem et inveni quod pre omnibus parentibus – hanc nativitatem iudicavit Abraham Iudeus Biterris».

MS: Paris, BnF, lat. 16208, s. XII, f. 1v.

Lit.: J. D. Lipton, *The Rational Evaluation of Astrology in the Period of Arabo-Latin Translation ca. 1126-1187 AD*, PhD dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles 1978, 221-22; H. C. F. Avelar de Carvalho, «The Interpretation of a Horoscope Cast by Abraham the Jew in Béziers for a Child Born on 29 November 1135: An Essay in Understanding a Medieval Astrologer», *Culture and Cosmos*, 18.2 (2014), 19-40; C. Burnett, «Béziers as an Astronomical Center for Jews and Christians in the Mid-Twelfth Century», *Aleph*, 17 (2017), 197-219; 198-204. Ed.: Lipton; Burnett, 198-201 (with English translation, 201-3).

3. Boy born on 30 December 1160

A judgement for an unidentified child («puer») by an anonymous astrologer. If this is any indication, the Rome MS (which is not the author's copy) was copied in Sicily, perhaps in Messina.

Content: introduction (rectification by *trutina*; *hyleg*, *alcochoden* and life expectancy) and two parts dealing with the predictive methods (*firdarie* and directions) and the topics related to the 12 houses. The author says that he will rely on Ptolemy, Mes-sahallah, Aomar, Alboali, Alcabitius and Dorotheus («Iudices huius nativitatis erunt Tholomeus, Messalla, Aomar, Abuol, Acubicus et Dorocius», f. 29v). Albumasar and Gergis are also quoted, and Albohali appears to be the main guide in the

treatment of the 12 houses. Two horoscopes: syzygy preceding birth (f. 28v) and nativity (f. 29r: «Nativitas pueri anno domini 1160... 30 die mensis Decembris»).

Inc.: «Omnes philosophi concordati sunt quod locus Lune in nativitate fuit ascendens in conceptione...».

MSS: Rome, Bibl. Vallicelliana, F 86, s. XIII, f. 28v-39r and 42v-47v (end of the text gone due to a missing page); Dijon, BM, 1045, s. XV, f. 107v-119r.

Lit.: J.-P. Boudet, «Les horoscopes princiers dans l'Occident médiéval (XII^e-XV^e siècle)», in Boudet, *Astrologie et politique* [note 3 above], art. I, 9 n. 14.

Ed.: ---

4. Oberto Pallavicino, ruler of Cremona and other Italian cities (?1197-1269), by Gerard of Sabbioneta

This judgement occurs in one of the most remarkable manuscripts of astrological practices that has come down to us from the Middle Ages. Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 4083 contains (f. 3r-37r) a collection of over 100 judgements collected or written by Gerard of Sabbioneta between c. 1255 and 1261, at the request mainly of Oberto Pallavicino, but also of other northern Italian rulers, such as Ezzelino III da Romano and Buoso da Duera. The collection bears the title «Iudicia super multis questionibus et ceteris nativitatibus ac annorum mundi revolutionibus» and it is indeed made essentially of interrogations, with a few elections, one prognostication for 1236 (f. 31r-33r) and the nativity discussed here²⁸. This nativity is a special case, for it appears that Oberto Pallavicino's date of birth was unknown, to the extent that no attempt at rectifying the nativity was even possible. As an alternative, Gerard of Sabbioneta examined the nativities of three of his children and

28. This collection seems to be unknown to modern scholarship, despite the fact that it had been briefly described by B. Boncompagni, *Della vita e delle opere di Gherardo Cremonese, traduttore del secolo duodecimo, e di Gherardo da Sabbioneta, astronomo del secolo decimoterzo*, Roma 1851, 72-76, and alluded to by O. Pedersen, «The Origins of the "Theorica Planetarum"», *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, 12 (1981), 113-23: 118, who also noted the existence of the Vienna MS.

exploited the resources offered by the astrological literature to reconstruct their father's life and facts (cf. the recurrent sentence «Volens itaque per nativitatem ipsam scire de vita patris et esse eius...», f. 4r, 5v and 9r). One of these resources was to examine the condition of the part of the father (*pars patris*) using an otherwise unknown *Book of the Judgements of the Parts in Nativities* by Tebith, i.e. probably Thabit Ibn Qurra («Tebith philosophus... in libro iudiciorum partium in nativitatibus», f. 4v and 5r). Other authorities quoted include Alkindi, Albumasar, Ptolemy, Aomar, Dorotheus, Albohali, Hermes, Haly Embrani and «Iosep Saracenus», i.e. the commentator of Pseudo-Ptolemy's *Centiloquium*, Abū Ja'far Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf. Oberto's three children are: [I] E. Pallavicino («E. marchionis Pellavecini», the initial is «C.» in the Vienna MS, f. 14v), born on 10 August 1259, [II] unnamed, born on 7 January 1261, and [III] Johanina («Iohanine filie domini Uberti»), born on 22 October 1254, all three born in Cremona. Two of them are treated in two distinct chapters (Ia-Ib and IIa-IIb below), each of which offers planetary positions that are slightly different (by a few minutes) from the other, as if the corresponding horoscopes had been cast by two astrologers. These planetary positions are provided in the form of lists and no horoscope is given, except for Johanina on f. 6r. While the focus of these investigations was the father, Gerard of Sabbioneta nevertheless examined the nativities for themselves, in particular that of E. Pallavicino (f. 9v-11r, inc. «Postquam determinavi de esse patris, volui scire de vita nati...»), to whom he devotes several chapters roughly following the order of the 12 houses, as follows: «de vita... de prosperitate nati in substantia... de valitudine et honore... de coniugo... de filiis... de infirmitatibus... de amicis... de inimicis...». Likewise, for the unnamed child, we find three chapters on «de vita... de substantia... de valitudine et honore...» (f. 4v-5v).

Content: as above.

Inc.: «[Ia] (4r-4v) Nativitas quedam cuius ascendens fuit Virgo 14...; [IIa] (4v-5v) Nativitas filii cuiusdam nobilis viri, cuius ascendens fuit primus gradus Aquarii...; [IIb] (5v-6r) Nativitas illustris domini [followed by a blank space] fuit die Veneris 7 Ianuarii currente anno Christi 1261...; [III] (6r-8v) Nativitas

Iohanine filie domini Uberti fuit die Iovis 22 Octubris...
 Dixit Ptolomeus: Aspice Solem cum nativitas fuerit in die...;
 [Ib] (9r-11r) Nativitas illustris domini E. marchionis Pellave-
 cini fuit die domino 10 Augusti curenre anno Christi 1259...».
 MSS: Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 4083, s. XIII-XIV, f. 4r-11r; Vienna,
 ÖNB, 4997, s. XVI, f. 4r-18v (Johannes Schöner's copy).

Lit.: ---

Ed.: ---

5. Henry Bate of Mechelen (24 March 1246), by Henry Bate of Mechelen

This is Henry Bate's expert and thorough analysis on his own nativity written in 1280. Bate used all relevant sources available in his time, which are carefully named whenever relevant. These sources amount to over 40 distinct texts by some 20 identified authors: Abraham Ibn Ezra, Abraham bar Hiyya, Albohali, Albu-masar, Alcabitius, Aomar, Firmicus Maternus, Gergis, Guillelmus Anglicus, Haly Embrani, Hermann of Carinthia, Hermes, Johannes Hispalensis (Pseudo-), Messahallah, Ptolemy (and Pseudo-Ptolemy), Sadan and Zael.

Content: introduction (investigation of the date and time of birth, rectification by *trutina*, establishment of the horoscopes, *hyleg*, *alcochoden*, life expectancy), interpretation following the 12 houses, death, interpretation of the 35th and 36th revolutions. Four horoscopes: nativity, syzygy preceding birth, 35th and 36th revolutions.

Inc.: «Quoniam, ut testatur Philosophus Politicorum 3^o, fere quidem plurimi sunt iudices...».

MSS: Paris, BnF, lat. 7324, s. XIV, f. 24va-47ra; Paris, BnF, lat. 10270, s. XV, f. 139v-177v; Segovia, Archivo y Biblioteca de la Catedral, B 349 (84), s. XV, f. 1r-28v; Seville, BCC, 5-1-38, f. 1r-50r; Venice, BNMs, lat. VI.108 (2555), s. XV, f. 113r-141v; to which should be added four copies containing fragments only: Munich, BSB, Clm 3857, s. XIII, f. 47r; Oxford, BL, Digby 210, s. XVI, f. 87v-91r; Vatican, BAV, Vat. lat. 12732, s. XV, f. 232r-237r; Vienna, ÖNB, 10583, s. XVI, f. 90r-98v.

Lit.: Steel/Vanden Broecke, *The Astrological Autobiography* [note 26 above].

Ed.: Steel/Vanden Broecke, 127–267.

6. Anonymous born on 12 March 1255

This judgement is a special case as it is the subject of an elaborate treatise consisting of at least five books or *divisiones* under the title *Compendium iudiciale mirabile*. The treatise is unfortunately truncated in the only known manuscript. The beginning and the end are missing, and the remaining folia have undergone damage (probably by fire), making parts of the text illegible on almost every page. In its present state, the manuscript contains most of Book III and the first three chapters of Book IV, dealing respectively with the judgement on the nativity itself and with its revolutions. Cross-references allow us to guess that Books I and II were devoted to the establishment of the horoscope, including the determination of the significators. We cannot say how many books the work contained in total, but in Book III, the author alludes to the following books in the plural («in libris posterioribus», f. 186r, line 2), so making it at least five. No information is given about the native, whose date of birth has been inferred from the planetary positions in the horoscope. As the astrologer informs us in the beginning of Book III (see incipit below), his main guide for interpreting the nativity is Firmicus Maternus's *Mathesis*, a text which he claims to have recently discovered and for which he is full of admiration. The general method of the author seems to be quoting what Firmicus says about the various configurations of the nativity without change, except that Firmicus's present tense is turned into the future tense. The use of Firmicus as the main source is exceptional for the Middle Ages and explains the unusual structure, technical features and terminology of the judgement (see below). Other authorities are quoted, including Hermes (*Centiloquium*), Ptolemy, Abraham Ibn Ezra, Albumasar, Alcabitius, Alkindi, Albategni and Haly Abenragel («Antiochus» and «Dorotheus Sidonius» are also quoted, but these are taken from Firmicus). The author also borrows several sentences – this time without naming his source – from Henry Bate's (no. 5 above) *De diebus*

creticis periodorumque causis (after 1281, perhaps 1292)²⁹, and, generally speaking, one has the impression that he was inspired by Bate, who is also distinctive for making good use of Firmicus Maternus, even though Bate's favourite author was Abraham Ibn Ezra. The only known manuscript dates from the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth century and may be the author's copy, in which case some parts at least were left unfinished, e.g. III.10 (see below). This text would deserve a full study.

Content: Book III (f. 185-194 and 182-182^{bis}) is in eleven chapters (index f. 185r), dealing with (1) the position of the luminaries, (2) the position of the planets in the signs, (3) the position of the planets in the houses, (4) the planetary aspects, (5) the ruler of the horoscope, (6) «de duodenaria et nonagenaria divisione», (7) the ruler of the deeds («de domino actuum») and the part of fortune, (8) the antiscia, (9) «de domino temporum ad eventus nati in tempore declarando», (10) «de domino temporis (?) quicumque fuerit planetarum», and (11) novenaries and septenaries. The scribe copied the title of c. 10 and left the rest of the folio blank (f. 194r-v), while c. 11 was copied on what are now f. 182 and 182^{bis}. Book IV (f. 196 and 195) contains 20 chapters (index f. 196r) covering all aspects of the interpretation of revolutions. F. 195-196 are more severely damaged and even the index chapter cannot be fully appreciated. The horoscope is given on f. 184v (the positions of the Dragon's Head and Tail have been inverted). The nativity is likely to have been rectified by *animodar*, as suggested by the position of the ascendant located at the same degree as Venus (7° Pisces) and Venus is said to be the «domina geniture» (f. 189r, line 4).

Inc.: «Divisio tertia. Compendium iudiciale mirabile in accidentibus nati prosperis et adversis. Multifarie multisque modis nativitatis huius stellaram figuram secundum rationes astrologorum philosophice investigatam scientificè ordinavi. Deinde

29. F. 186r, lines 7-12, and f. 188r, lines 5-26, correspond to two passages from c. 3 of *De diebus*, ed. G. Dell'Anna, *Dies critici. La teoria della ciclicità delle patologie nel XIV secolo*, Galatina 1999, vol. II, 102 (lines 6-12) and 102 (line 12)-103 (line 14).

ratione approbavi multiplici, sicut ex diversis philosophorum dictis decerpere potui, que quidem in duabus precedentibus huius libri particulis mente sollicita et indefexo labore collegi, quorum aliqua sepe claruerunt ex multis aliquando effectibus subsecutis. Quia vero nova seu noviter adinuenta delectant et magis placere solet prelectio repetita, ideo aliqua de novo reperta in quodam antiquo libro Iulii Firmici in scientia matheseos ad Mavortium Urbis proconsulem omnibus illis que premissa fuerunt cum omni diligentia et sollerti studio agregavi... (196r) <Divisio quarta. De re>volutionibus annorum nati cum divisione mensium et dierum propter cotidianos eventus...».

MS: Paris, BnF, lat. 5055, s. XIII-XIV, f. 182r-196v (to be read in the order 184-194, 182-182^{bis}, 196, 195; f. 183 is blank).

Lit.: ---

Ed.: ---

7. Hubertus born on 9 October 1260 in Florence

This judgement, written at an unknown date by an anonymous astrologer, is preserved in the personal handbook of «S. Belle», probably the late-fifteenth century French physician Simon Belle. Information about the native appears in the title of the horoscope: «Sequitur loca planetarum et figura nativitatis Huberti nati in civitate Florentie in quinto climate, anno domini 1259 perfecto, cum 7 mensibus a Martio et 8 diebus Octobris, 14 horis, 9 minutis diei et fuit nativitas nocturna ante diem Sabbati». The astrologer uses the future tense («natus erit»), which suggests that Hubertus was still young at the time of the judgement.

Content: introduction (rectification by both *animodar* and *trutina*, *hyleg* and *alcochoden*), topics related to the 12 houses, directions and additional notes on rectification and directions. The horoscope is given on f. 79va. Ptolemy and Alcabitius are quoted.

Inc.: «In nomine domini, amen. Incipit iudicium cuiusdam nativitatis cuius ascendens concordavi per instructionem Ptholomei...».

MS: Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 398, s. XV, f. 76vb-80ra.

Lit.: H. C. F. Avelar de Carvalho, *An Astrologer at Work in Late Medieval France: The Notebooks of S. Belle* (forthcoming, Leiden 2021).

Ed.: ---

8. Henry V, king of England (16 September 1386)

The date of birth is problematic. The incipit (see below) states that Henry V was born in 1369, which the scribe corrected into 1376, which also corresponds to the date given in the central panel of the horoscope on the same page. However, the planetary positions displayed in the horoscope are correct for 16 September 1386, so that we must assume that the date was somehow illegible or corrupt in the model of MS Ashmole 393 (see also Carey, 129 and 253-254). The judgement was clearly written in Henry's lifetime, that is before 1422 (see also Carey, 129) and probably «when he had reached full manhood» (Carey, 131). Carey (132-137) argues very plausibly that the author might be either Jean Fusoris, the French instrument maker, or Richard Courtenay, the bishop of Norwich (1413-1415) and chancellor of the University of Oxford in 1407 and 1411-1412, who was a close friend of Henry V.

Content: a standard judgement in 14 numbered chapters, dealing with (1) the «essential signifiers», (2) the «accidental signifiers», i.e., *hyleg*, *alcochoden* and *almuten*, (3) the soul of the native, (4) his body and health, (5) his life expectancy, (6) his life, fortune and misfortune, (7) wealth, (8) honours and offices, (9) travels, (10) friends, (11) enemies, (12) spouse, (13) children and (14) death. There are minor discrepancies between the chapters listed in the introduction (f. 109r) and in the body of the text. Horoscope f. 109r. Authorities include Ptolemy, Aristotle (*Secretum secretorum*), Albumasar, Haly Abenragel, Aomar, Abraham Ibn Ezra, Alcabitius.

Inc.: «Nativitas nocturna. In nomine sancte et individue trinitatis, patris et filii et spiritus sancti, incipit iudicium nativitatis cuiuspiam nobilissimi regis Anglie, scilicet H<enrici> Quinti, qui natus est anno domini millesimo CCCmo LXIX^o [*corr. in LXXVI^o*] completo, 16 die Septembris, 22 minutis post 11 horam completam. Omnes astrologi qui libros scripserunt de nativitatibus...».

MSS: Oxford, BL, Ashmole 393-I, s. XV, f. 109r-111r; Oxford, BL, Ashmole 192-III, s. XVII, f. 26r-36r (copied on the former).

Lit.: H. M. Carey, *Courting Disaster. Astrology at the English Court and University in the Later Middle Ages*, London 1992, 129-37 and 253-54.

Ed.: ---

9. Johannes Swulber, doctor of medicine (22 July 1399), by Bertoldus Holste

Johannes Swulber (or Johannes de Swulber) was doctor of medicine and a canon of the church St Blasius in Braunschweig, as we learn from the judgement (f. 331vb: «... incipiam conscribere constellationem cuiusdam peritissimi viri, in medicinae doctoris domini ac magistri, Iohannis de Swulber, canonici ecclesie Sancti Blasii honore digni...»); see also the incipit below and f. 332r, above the horoscope: «Figura et dispositio celi tempore nativitatis magistri Iohannis Swulber medicine doctoris»). The name of the astrologer, otherwise unknown to me, occurs below the horoscope: «Practicata est ista nativitas per me Bertoldum Holste, astronomorum ...um (?) sub benivola correctione aliorum melius intelligentium».

Content: rectification by *animodar*, *hyleg* and *alcochoden*, standard judgement following the 12 houses. The horoscope (f. 332r) is twofold, including the nativity and, in the central panel, the horoscope of the syzygy preceding birth. Authorities: Haly Abenragel, Ptolemy, Almansor, Albumasar, Alcabitius, Messahallah, Hermes, Leopold of Austria.

Inc.: «Sequitur constellatio tempore nativitatis magistri Iohannis Swulber medicine doctoris. Dixit Hali filius Abenragel: Gracias ago uni Deo victorioso...».

MS: Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 83.7 Aug. 2° (2841), s. XV, f. 331va-341vb.

Lit.: ---

Ed.: ---

10. Charles VII, king of France (23 February 1403), by Simon de Boesmare

The only known manuscript is Simon de Boesmare's autograph, which can be safely dated to 1437. The same manuscript includes three more horoscopes concerning Charles VII: the revolution of his nativity for 1437 (84v), his coronation on 17 July 1429 (f. 86v) and the revolution of this coronation for 1437 (f. 83v, empty). This whole section of the manuscript (f. 73v-86v, all in Simon de Boesmare's hand) deals with the political situation in France in 1437, that is at a critical moment of the Hundred Years' War, and includes horoscopes for other high-profile protagonists (Henry VI, John II of Alençon and Philip the Good), even though only Charles VII was the focus of a proper judgement. The horoscope of Charles VII's coronation is also found in Simon Belle's manuscript, Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 398, f. 90v (see no. 7 above). Another judgement on the nativity of Charles VII, written in French and addressed to Charles VII's wife, Mary of Anjou, is preserved in MS Paris, BnF, lat. 6967, s. XV, f. 88r-114r (ed. Boudet, «Les jugements»).

Content: judgement written in the form of 18 *conclusiones* dealing with (1) the *hyleg*, (2) *alcochoden*, (3) life expectancy and (4-18) various aspects of the character and life of the native without recognisable order. Two horoscopes: nativity (f. 79r) and syzygy preceding birth (f. 79v). The main authorities are Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum* and Haly Abenrudian's commentary on the *Quadripartitum*. Albohali and Alcabitius are also quoted.

Inc.: «Prima conclusio: Luna est hileg dicti principis...».

MS: Paris, BnF, lat. 7443, s. XV, f. 73v-79v.

Lit.: J.-P. Boudet, *Lire dans le ciel. La bibliothèque de Simon de Phares, astrologue du XV^e siècle*, Bruxelles 1994, 131-36; J.-P. Boudet and E. Poulle, «Les jugements astrologiques sur la naissance de Charles VII», in *Saint-Denis et la royauté. Études offertes à Bernard Guenée*, eds F. Autrand and J.-M. Moeglin, Paris 1999, 170-78 (reprinted in Boudet, *Astrologie et politique* [note 3 above], art. XI); J.-P. Boudet, «Les jugements astrologiques sur la naissance de Charles VII» (in preparation).

Ed.: Boudet, «Les jugements».

11. Anonymous born on 2 May 1408 in Cologne, by Petrus de Holandia Brielis

This very sophisticated and substantial judgement is found in an astrological manuscript copied by Johannes Schöner. The astrologer, whose name suggests an origin in the Low Countries, perhaps in Brielle, is otherwise unknown to me. The judgement was probably written c. 1473 (cf. revolutions). Another judgement by this astrologer is preserved in the same manuscript (no. 15 below).

Content: five parts. Part I (f. 1r-12v), in 32 numbered chapters, deals with the rectification by both *animodar* and *trutina* (c. 1-4); the calculation of the horoscope (5-7); the *hyleg*, *alcochoden* and life expectancy (8); the «Forma et figura nati» (9); the interpretation of the 12 houses (10-24); and the profections and directions (25-32). Parts II-IV (f. 12v-22v) offer various astrological advice («consilia») and Part V (f. 23r-28v) examines the 65th and 66th revolutions of the native, which correspond to the years 1473-1474. Horoscopes: nativity (f. 2r), 65th revolution (f. 23r), 66th revolution (f. 25v), 15 June 1473 (f. 27r). No authorities quoted, except Ptolemy in connection with the rectification.

Inc.: «Oblata est michi Petro de Holandia Brielis cuiusdam nati nativitas que fertur fuisse concurrente anno Christi 1408...».

MS: Vienna, ÖNB, 5002, s. XVI, f. 1r-28v.

Lit.: ---

Ed.: ---

12. Martinus born on 23 August 1410, by Matthias of Kemnat (?)

This document is in two parts in the only known manuscript. The earlier part (f. 174r-174v) was copied by the astrologer Matthias of Kemnat (d. 1476), who was also the owner of the manuscript. It contains the horoscope, together with some calculations and interpretations. The later part (f. 170r-171v and 175r-175v), in a different hand, includes a copy of the horoscope (f. 171v) and more interpretations. There are small differences

between the two horoscopes, especially in the positions of the houses, the ascendant being at 10° Aries f. 174r and at 27° Pisces f. 171v. The second hand also corrected the position of the Moon (from 3° Cancer into 23° Gemini) in both horoscopes. The exact relationship between the two parts is unclear and it is difficult to say whether Matthias of Kemnat is the author or simply the scribe of the earlier part.

Content: this is not a systematic judgement, but a series of brief interpretations of configurations found in the horoscope, including the position of the planets in the signs and in the houses. Authorities: «Hali» is quoted twice (f. 170r and 174v). Inc.: «Martinus. Nativitas ista diurna. Primos X annos istius nati Sol gubernat...» (f. 170r) and «Figura nativitatis cuiusdam nescio cuius que facta est anno Christi 1410, die Sabati, que erat XXIII Augusti post meridiem infra septimam et octavam horas. Putative...» (f. 174r). MS: Vatican, BAV, Pal. lat. 1438, s. XV, f. 170r-171v and 174r-175v. Lit.: --- Ed.: ---

13. Ludovico III Gonzaga, ruler of Mantua (5 June 1412), by Nicholas Karolo of Venice

This judgement was written before 1444, since the native is described as the son of the ruler of Mantua. It is likely to be the autograph copy; it is signed «Nicholaus Karolo de Venetiis» (f. 121v) and this section of the manuscript is in an Italian hand, unlike most of the rest of the manuscript, which is of German origin. This Nicholas Karolo (or Carlo) is also known as the author of a prognostication for 1445 copied in a volume of astrological incunabula now Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, A.V.KK. VIII.29, f. 147r-150r.

Content: introduction (rectification by *animodar*, *hyleg*, *alcochoden* and life expectancy, *almuten*) and examination of 15 topics, whose titles are as follows: «De generalitate significationis nativitatis... De specialitate. Et primo de statu parentum post ipsius nativitatem... De esse fratrum... De figura corporis et forma et complexione ipsius... De pestilentis et infirmitatibus

corporis... In moribus anime... In pestilentiiis anime... De fortuna nati in divitiis... De fortuna quam habebit in honore... De officio ad quod magis erit inclinabilis... De coniungio... De filiis... De amicis et inimicis et eius conversatione... In peregrinationibus... De morte et fine vite...». The horoscope is given f. 116v. Authorities: Ptolemy (*Quadripartitum*).

Inc.: «In nomine Dei pii et misericordiosi qui me ex sui gratia ad rectitudinis iudicium dirigere dignetur. In his que colligere prepono circa nativitatem illustris domini Lo<dovici> filii illustrissimi et potentissimi domini Marchionis Mantue. Et quia in omnibus bene agere...».

MS: Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 65 Aug. 2° (2637), s. XV, f. 116r-121v.

Lit.: ---

Ed.: ---

14. Jean de La Goutte (12 August 1418), by Conrad Heingarter

Jean de La Goutte was the finance governor of Duke Jean II of Bourbon, about whom see nos. 18-19 below. This is the presentation copy, beautifully illustrated and decorated, with a sumptuous painted horoscope. It is dated 1469 in the explicit. In the conclusion of the judgement, Conrad Heingarter promises that he will also draw up revolutions in the future («Specialia autem tibi patebunt ex annorum revolutionibus singulis annis quas tibi parabo Deo favente», f. 14r). No such revolutions seem to be extant, but at a later stage, Conrad Heingarter prepared for Jean de La Goutte various astrological and medical advice, together with a personal calendar giving astrological information for every year of his life from 1418 to 1537 (!). These form a distinct booklet preserved in the same manuscript (f. 151r-33v).

Content: judgement in two parts. The first part contains 15 chapters as follows: «I. De dispositione celi; II. De duratione tue vite; III. De statu parentum; IV. De statu fratrum; V. De statu corporis; VI. De statu anime; VII. De tua fortuna; VIII. De tuis honoribus et dignitatibus; IX. De magisterio in opere tuo; X. De coniugio; XI. De pueris tuis; XII. De amicis et inimicis;

XIII. De servis tuis; XIV. De peregrinationibus. XV. De morte». The second part, in seven chapters mainly in the form of tables, provides all the necessary data to work out the predictive techniques (seven planetary periods, directions, profec-tions and *firdarie*). Horoscope f. 2r. Authorities: Ptolemy and Haly Abenragel.

Inc.: «Nativitas N. anno M^oCCCC^oXVIII currente XII Augusti. Cum nuper ab officio quod in curia illustrissimi nostri principis Borbonii ducis prestare soleo vacarem – Per tuum Conradum Heingarter ex Parisius anno M^oCCCC^oLXIX currente XV Februarii».

MS: Paris, BnF, lat. 7446, s. XV, f. 1r-14r.

Lit.: Thorndike, *A History of Magic* [note 18 above], IV, 358 n. 9, 369 n. 51 and 694-95; M. Préaud, «Les méthodes de travail d'un astrologue du XV^e siècle, Conrad Heingarter», *Positions des Thèses de l'École des Chartes* (1969), 143-49; M. Préaud, *Les astrologues à la fin du Moyen Age*, Paris 1984, 73-94.

Ed.: ---

15. Anonymous born on 23 August 1421, by Petrus de Holandia Brielis

The name of the astrologer is not given, but this judgement is very similar in structure, content and incipit to no. 11 above, which immediately precedes in the same manuscript.

Content: rectification by both *animodar* and *trutina*, calculation of the horoscope, interpretation in 20 numbered chapters corresponding to the 12 houses and additional astrological *consilia*. Two horoscopes f. 29r and 29v, the first one giving the position of the houses only at the estimated time of birth. Ptolemy is named several times.

Inc.: «Cuiusdam viri ingenio oblata est michi nativitas que fertur fuisse anno Christi currente 1421 die 23 Augusti...».

MS: Vienna, ÖNB, 5002, s. XVI, f. 29r-41r.

Lit.: ---

Ed.: ---

16. Henry VI, king of England (6 December 1421), by Roger Marchall (?)

This is not a judgement proper, but an elaborate treatise in three parts discussing Henry VI's nativity. The text was completed on 18 July 1441 by an anonymous astrologer commissioned by Henry VI's advisers, the physician John Somerset and the lawyer John Langton, to determine the correct horoscope of the king and evaluate a judgement on his nativity that had been written by Roger Bolingbroke and Thomas Southwell, and in which the imminent death of the king had been predicted. The treatise was but a piece of the trial of the Duchess of Gloucester, Eleanor Cobham, who was accused, together with Bolingbroke and Southwell, of conspiring against the king. The author uses all available tools to answer the questions, including horoscopes cast by predecessors, astronomical calculations, as well as directions, profections and revolutions focusing on Henry's 20th year (1440–1441). Among several possible candidates for authorship of this text, Carey, 145–146, considers Roger Marchall, fellow at Peterhouse (Cambridge) since 1437, especially suited. I would see confirmation of this hypothesis in the fact that John Somerset offered a medical compendium to Peterhouse explicitly for the lifetime use of Roger Marchall (MS London, BL, Sloane 59, see L. E. Voigts, «A Doctor and His Books: The Manuscripts of Roger Marchall (d. 1477)», in *New Science out of Old Books. Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, eds R. Beadle and A. J. Piper, Aldershot 1995, 249–314: 250 and 281). Other horoscopes for Henry VI occur in MSS London, BL, Egerton 889, s. XV, f. 5r; Oxford, BL, Ashmole 369, s. XV, f. 182v; and Paris, BnF, lat. 7443, s. XV, f. 80r–80v.

Content: as above. Four horoscopes are included: nativity rectified by *animodar* (f. 160r), another nativity rectified by *animodar*, by John Holbroke (f. 161v), profection for the 20th year (f. 164r), and 20th revolution (f. 166r). Authorities: John of Ligneris, Alfraganus, William Rede, Roger Bolingbroke, Thomas Southwell, John of Eschenden, John Holbroke, Haly, Ptolemy, Alcabitius, Haly Abenragel.

Inc.: «Cum rerum motu ac varietate sideree virtutis intelligentiam — Completum est hoc opusculum anno domini MCCCCXLI^o,

XVIII^o die mensis Iulii, magistris meis specialibus, magistro Iohanni Somersett et magistro Iohanni Langton, in vigilia assumptionis Beate Marie eodem anno mense Augusti in familia regis apud Shene, per manus meas liberatum».

MSS: Cambridge, UL, Ee 3.61 (1017), s. XV, f. 159r-175v; Princeton, UL, Garrett 95, s. XV, f. 127v-130v (incomplete, preface and chapter 1 of the first part only).

Lit.: J. D. North, *Horoscopes and History*, London 1986, 142-49; Carey, *Courting Disaster* [no. 8 above], 138-53 and 255-56. North and Carey discuss astrology at the court of Henry VI and the various horoscopes cast for him more generally.

Ed.: ---

17. A knight born on 13 September 1423

This judgement, dated Rome 9 May 1483 in the explicit, is found in an astrologer's handbook among other similar documents, including a judgement on the 32nd revolution (1482) of someone born on 20 June 1450 (f. 148v-149r), and two judgements of interrogation (154r-154v). According to the central panel of the horoscope, it is «the nativity of the well-born knight, lord N. d. n. (?)» («Nativitas generosi militis domini N. d. n.»).

Content: a judgement in six numbered chapters, dealing with (1) the rectification by both *trutina* and *animodar*, (2) the quality of the native's soul; (3) his honours; (4) his friends, (5) his enemies, and (6) the date and type of his death. Horoscope f. 149v. Authorities: Ptolemy, Alcabitius, Aomar, Haly Abenragel.

Inc.: «Quoniam magna natura vestra generosissime miles — Amen. Rome 1483 9a Maii».

MS: Rome, Bibl. Vallicelliana, F 37, s. XV-XVI, f. 149v-152v.

Lit.: ---

Ed.: ---

18. Jean II, duke of Bourbon (30 August 1426), by Conrad Heingarter (?)

This a judgement on the 46th revolution of Jean II (1481), whose only known manuscript is probably the presentation copy.

The text is anonymous, but Conrad Heingarter was the astrologer of Jean II and also of his finance governor, Jean de La Goutte, as we have seen (no. 14 above). For Jean II he prepared a deluxe astrological compendium which was begun by 1468 and not yet finished in 1485 (MS Paris, BnF, lat. 7432, 275 fols.), as well as a booklet of astrological and medical advice dated 1477 (MS Paris, BnF, lat. 11232, 55 fols.). He also prepared a similar booklet of astrological and medical advice for Duchess Jeanne of Bourbon (MS Zurich, Zentralbibl., C.131/27, 49 fols.). Another reason for attributing the present judgement to Conrad Heingarter is that Haly Abenragel and Ptolemy are, according to Maxime Préaud («Les méthodes de travail» [no. 14 above], 147), «the two essential sources» used in his astrological texts, and this is exactly what we see here. Conrad Heingarter was however not the only supplier of astrological advice to Jean II, as witnessed by the following entry. The nativity horoscope of Jean II is extant in Simon Belle's manuscript, Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 398, f. 93v (see no. 7 above).

Content: preface and 14 chapters (*particelle*), dealing with the topics of the 12 houses in regular order (1-12) and with the planetary positions and aspects relative to the radix positions (13-14). No horoscope. The author closely follows Haly Abenragel on the revolutions of nativities and also quotes Ptolemy.
Inc.: «Serenissimo ac virtuoso principi et domino domino Iohanni Borbonii et Arvenie duci, pronostici revolutionis pro anno etatis vestre quinquagesimo sexto. Prephatio. Quamquam arduum et difficilimum existat omnibus peritis atque scientificis viris...».

MS: Paris, BnF, lat. 7447, s. XV, f. 1r-19v.

Lit.: Préaud, «Les méthodes de travail» [no. 14 above], 145.

Ed.: ---

19. Jean II, duke of Bourbon (30 August 1426), by Antonio Chiapucini

The Lyon MS is probably the presentation copy (painted initials f. 1r and 2v), even though the scribe appears less and less careful as he proceeds. The text was probably prepared in 1483 (see below). On Jean II of Bourbon, see also no. 18 above.

Content: a judgement in three parts. The first part (f. 11r-19r) is the judgement on the nativity proper: preface; rectification by both *animodar* and *trutina* (in great detail); directions and profections covering the entire life of the native up to the 84th year, with instructions; *hyleg*, *alcochoden* and life expectancy; and interpretation of topics related to the 12 houses. The second part (f. 19r-21v) is a judgement on the 58th revolution corresponding to the year 1483. The third part (f. 22r-24v) is a judgement on the duke's enthronement on 4 December 1456 and the revolution of this enthronement for the year 1483. Four circular horoscopes: nativity (f. 5v), revolution for 1483 (f. 20r), enthronement (f. 22r) and revolution of the enthronement for 1483 (f. 23v). Authorities: Ptolemy, Alkindi, Haly Abenragel, Albumasar, Abraham Ibn Ezra, Albohali, Guido Bonatti.

Inc.: «Ad illustrissimum et excellentissimum dominum Ioannem Bourboni et Alvernie ducem semper invictum Antonius Chiapucini prenosticationes et calculationes super nativitate et intronicatione. Nihil est, illustrissime princeps, mortalibus nobis tam fructiferum... (2v) ... accipe quo tuus humilis ac fidelis semper servitor Antonius Chiapucinus tibi edidit...».

MS: Lyon, BM, 233, s. XV, f. 11-24v.

Lit.: Thorndike, *A History of Magic* [note 18 above], IV, 362 and n. 30; J.-P. Boudet, «Les horoscopes princiers dans l'Occident médiéval (XII^e-XV^e siècle)», *Micrologus* 16 (2008), 373-95: 388 (reprinted in Boudet, *Astrologie et politique* [note 3 above], art. I, 26-27).

Ed.: ---

20. Boy born on 8 March 1431, by Richard Trewythian

This judgement is found in one of the very few astrologers' handbooks from the Middle Ages, that of Richard Trewythian, who was active in London towards the middle of the fifteenth century. This handbook contains planetary ephemerides, a dozen of annual prognostications for various years between 1429 and 1458, the judgement under consideration, and many horoscopes – mainly of interrogations – accompanied by astronomical and

astrological comments, which reveal a very diverse clientele of London middle-class citizens. This manuscript has been known since Page's important article in 2001, but it would deserve a full study and an edition of all its astrological parts.

Content: a brief judgement in 14 chapters as follows: «1. De vita parentum; 2. De fratribus; 3. De vita nati et divisione; 4. De forma et figura nati; 5. De infirmitatibus que contingunt nato in vita; 6. De moribus et statu anime et sensuum; 7. De fortuna et honore; 8. Cuiusmodi honor erit; 9. De aptibus et magisteriis; 10. De coniugio si uni vel pluribus; 11. De filiis si habebit; 12. De amicis et inimicis cognoscendis; 13. De itineribus et quid accidit in eis; 14. De statu mortis et ubi erit». The interpretation seems to be based exclusively on Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum* (with Haly Abenrudian's commentary) and *Centiloquium*. The horoscope was rectified by *animodar*. The *hyleg* and the directions are used. Two horoscopes are given f. 118v, the nativity of the boy and the nativity of his mother «extracta ex figura filii sui». The coexistence of these two charts is unclear to me, but both are very incomplete and also problematic. For example, in the son's horoscope, while the Sun is correctly located at 26° Pisces, Mars is shown at 25° Aries in the sixth house, a configuration which is used to explain a number of illnesses in c. 5, but on 8 March 1431, Mars was actually at 6° Scorpio, that is, in the twelfth house.

Inc.: «Sequitur figura nativitatibus filii accepta per animodar et concordat cum tempore estimato in anno Christi 1431... Anno Christi 1431 mense Martii die 8, hora 9, minuto 52, die Mercurii et hora Saturni...».

MS: London, BL, Sloane 428, s. XV, f. 118va-120r.

Lit.: S. Page, «Richard Trewythian and the Uses of Astrology in Late Medieval England», *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 64 (2001), 193-228: 209.

Ed.: Page, 222-28.

21. Anonymous born on 2 May 1432 in Zittau

No information is provided about either the astrologer or the native, besides the birth data. The date of birth, fully detailed in the

text (see below), is wrongly reported as being in March (instead of May) in the central panel of the nativity horoscope. The planetary positions confirm that the correct date is 2 May 1432.

Content: introduction (rectification by both *animodar* and *trutina*; *hyleg* («helig»), *alcochoden* and *almuten*), profections and directions, and review of the topics related to the 12 houses. Three horoscopes f. 111v-112r: syzygy preceding birth, conception and nativity. No authorities, except Ptolemy quoted twice in the beginning.

Inc.: «Rogatus a quodam michi faventi ut aliqua scriberem iudicia de ipsius nativitate, ego autem ipsius acquiescens precibus ex mei intellectus... in tempore nativitatis que facta est anno 1342^o, prima die Magii, horis 22, minutis 45 post meridiem diebus non equatis, horis 23, minutis 6, hoc est secundum horologium in die sancti Sigismundi horis 15, minutis 10, et hoc in loco cuius longitudo est 30 graduum et 30 minutorum, latitudo vero 51 graduum et 20 minutorum, sic quoque Zittavia est situata...».

MS: Leipzig, UB, 1476, f. 111r-122r.

Lit.: ---

Ed.: ---

22. Johannes Fraweschuch, doctor of medicine, born on 17 April 1435

This judgement is highly unusual in structure and content. The native's name and the date 1481 (probably the date of the judgement) are given on f. 62v (see below), where the text properly begins. On f. 62r, we find the horoscope preceded by notes giving the planetary positions. The central panel of the horoscope bears the mention «Doctor Mellerstat», an unmistakable reference to Martin Pollich (1455-1513), physician to Frederick III of Saxony and author of several annual prognostications in the 1480s. Of course, this does not make Martin Pollich the author of the judgement, but perhaps its commentator, for the central panel also bears the mention «This figure <is> completely false» («Hec figura omnino falsa»). From what I can see, two planets are significantly off, Jupiter at 3° Virgo (true: 12°

Virgo) and the Moon at 13° Scorpio (true: 4° Capricorn). Immediately after the judgement (f. 70r-73v), the same hand copied another judgement in German on the nativity of one Hartung Erhart, born on 28 March 1434.

Content: judgement consisting of (1) a description of the native from the rising decan of birth (said to be the first decan of Sagittarius, whereas the ascendant is at 6° Aquarius in the horoscope); (2) a review of the seven planetary periods of the life of the native, whose last chapter is entitled «Anno 1500 usque ad ultimum diem vite qui soli Deo notus est»; (3) a review of 12 periods of the calendar year favourable and unfavourable to the native; (4) a description of the native's friends and enemies; (5) a *zodiologium*, i.e. a text giving prognostics from the position of the Moon in the 12 signs. Horoscope f. 62r. Authorities: Ptolemy, Albumasar, Haly Abenragel.

Inc.: «Loca planetarum secundum (?) unum (?) minutum (?), horam 5 post meridiem, die 17 Aprilis anno 1435: Saturnus 8 Piscium retrogradus, Iupiter 3 Virginis, Mars 19 Capricorni, ... Sol 6 Arietis, Venus 24 Arietis, Mercurius 6 Arietis, Luna 13 Scorpionis... (62v) In nomine pii et misericordis Dei. Cumque stellarum opus sit opus intelligentie... ex nativitate egregii viri magistrum (?) Ioannis Fraweschuch, medicine doctoris, extrahere atque elicere potui ex vigilanti astorum... ad annum 1481, fuitque eius nativitas anno 1435, 17 die mensis Aprilis...».

MS: Vienna, ÖNB, 4773, s. XV, f. 62r-69v.

Lit.: ---

Ed.: ---

23. Eleanor of Portugal (16 Septembre 1436)

Eleanor of Portugal, daughter of King Edward of Portugal, married King Frederick IV of Germany in Rome on 16 March 1452 and both were crowned Holy Roman Emperor (Frederick III) and Empress by Pope Nicholas V on that day. As is clear in the incipit (below), the judgement was commissioned by a «magnificus vir», perhaps Frederick himself. The text is anonymous, but it is attributed to Regiomontanus by Hartmann Schedel (1440-1514), who owned MS Clm 453 (cf. table of contents in

his hand f. 2r: «Iudicium Io<hannis> de Monte Regio super nativitate illustrissimae imperatricis Leonorae uxore imperatoris Friderici tertii»), a manuscript which also turns out to be in Regiomontanus's hand, as Zinner already recognised. This attribution of the judgement to Regiomontanus, however, has been doubted (see Schmeidler and Grössing/Stuhlhofer) on the ground that it was written before the wedding (Eleanor is called «princess» in the incipit), that is, when Regiomontanus was only 15, and one may justifiably wonder whether a «magnificus vir», Frederick or someone else, would have commissioned a 15-year old astrologer to prepare a judgement on the nativity of the soon-to-be empress. An alternative explanation would be that the judgement was authored by another astrologer and copied by Regiomontanus in what is now Clm 453. At any rate, this judgement leaves the impression of being a mature and expert piece of work.

Content: rectification by *trutina*; tables: planetary latitudes, *almuten* of the five hylegiacal places, of the planets and of the cusps, *duodenaria* and parts; review of the condition of the planets and cardines; *hyleg*, *alcochoden* and life expectancy; review of the topics of the 12 houses. Two horoscopes are given f. 78v: syzygy preceding birth and nativity. No authorities are quoted, except Hermes in connection with the *trutina* and Ptolemy as the author of the *Cosmographia*.

Inc.: «Optabas sedulo, magnifice vir, ut super nativitate cuiusdam illustrissime principis iudicium ex siderum dispositione scriberem... (85v = Schmeidler, 33) Habes itaque, magnifice vir, quod tantopere sollicitabas, meum super hac nativitate iudicium...».

MSS: Munich, BSB, Clm 453, s. XV, f. 78r-85v; Munich, BSB, Clm 960, s. XV, f. 11r-20v (Hartmann Schedel's copy of Clm 453 in 1481).

Lit.: F. Schmeidler, *Joannis Regiomontani opera collectanea. Faksimiledrucke von neun Schriften Regiomontans und einer von ihm gedruckten Schrift seines Lehrers Purbach*, Osnabrück 1972, XI-XIII; H. Grössing and F. Stuhlhofer, «Versuch einer Deutung der Rolle der Astrologie in den persönlichen und politischen Entscheidungen einiger Habsburger des Spätmittelalters»,

Anzeiger der Philosophisch-Historischen Klasse der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 117 (1980), 267-83: 268-75; H. Grössing, *Humanistische Naturwissenschaft. Zur Geschichte der Wiener mathematischen Schulen des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts*, Baden-Baden 1983, 89-90; E. Zinner, *Regiomontanus: His Life and Work*, Amsterdam-New York-Oxford-Tokyo 1990 (trans. with supplements of *Leben und Wirken des Joh. Müller von Königsberg, genannt Regiomontanus*, Osnabrück 1968), 31-33, 201 (no. 22), 300 and 320; M. Shank, «Academic Consulting in Fifteenth-Century Vienna: The Case of Astrology», in *Texts and Contexts in Ancient and Medieval Science. Studies on the Occasion of John E. Murdoch's Seventieth Birthday*, eds E. Sylla and M. McVaugh, Leiden 1997, 245-70: 262 n. 57; Boudet, «Les horoscopes princiers» [no. 19 above], 389 and n. 49 (reprinted in Boudet, *Astrologie et politique* [no. 3 above], art. I, 29-30); D. Hayton, *The Crown and the Cosmos. Astrology and the Politics of Maximilian I*, Pittsburgh 2015, 14-15.
Ed.: Schmeidler, 2-33 (from Munich, BSB, Clm 453, together with a facsimile of the manuscript).

24. Anonymous born on 24 March 1440, by Lorenzo Bonincontri

This seems to be the only extant astrological judgement by Lorenzo Bonincontri (1410-after 1491), well known for his commentaries on Ptolemy (*Quadripartitum* and *Centiloquium*) and Manilius, for several astrological treatises (including the already mentioned *De revolutionibus nativitatum* of 1491) and for his long poem *De rebus naturalibus et divinis*. Judging from the revolutions included here, Bonincontri composed this judgement c. 1491, when he was 81 and living in Rome. Johannes Schöner, who copied this judgement, also reproduced the nativity horoscope, with a few notes, in MS Vienna, ÖNB, 10650, f. 46r.

Content: brief interpretation of selected configurations of the nativity (significators, four cardines and position of the planets in the houses), list of directions surrounding the time of the judgement, and 52nd-54th revolutions corresponding to the years 1491-1493. No authorities, except Firmicus Maternus

and Manilius quoted in the first sentence. Horoscopes: nativity (f. 100v) and three revolutions as just noted (f. 101v, 102v and 103r).

Inc.: «Figura natalis 1440, die Mercurii, 23 Martii post meridiem, horis 17, minutis 22 equatis Laurentii Bonincontrii processus. Vite significator est Sol quia in angulo orientis discurrit et est dator annorum, quia ut dicit Iulius Firmicus et C. Manilius — Hec sunt que michi Laurentio Bonincontrio videntur tam ex tuo natali quam ex istis revolutionibus, neque quibus si quid offendiculi (?) est, oro ne voluntati mee ascribas sed astris. Vale».

MS: Vienna, ÖNB, 5002, s. XVI, f. 100v-103v.

Lit.: ---

Ed.: ---

25. Anonymous born on 15 October 1442 in Mantua

No information is given about either the astrologer or the native. The latter is called «nobilis natus» and his exact date of birth has been inferred from the planetary positions in the nativity horoscope, whose central panel only specifies that he was born in October. Mantua was not only the place of birth, but also the place of conception, as we learn from the central panel of both horoscopes. In the only known manuscript, the text is preceded by another judgement on the nativity of someone born on 30 October 1466 (f. 103v-106r, incomplete with f. 106v-108r left blank). This judgement is of a similar structure and probably by the same astrologer.

Content: two horoscopes, conception (f. 108v) and birth (f. 109r), followed by a short introduction discussing the *hyleg*, *alochoden* and life expectancy, and a standard judgement in 12 chapters following the 12 houses. Authorities: Ptolemy is quoted twice and Leopold of Austria once.

Inc.: «Bravem revera elaborando genituram omni immensas vero salvatori gratiarum actiones...».

MS: Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 65 Aug. 2° (2637), s. XV, f. 108v-113r.

Lit.: ---

Ed.: ---

26. Jo. Dap. born on 4 November 1442

This anonymous judgement is found in Simon Belle's hand-book (see no. 7 above). The name of the native is given twice in the same abbreviated form «Io. Dap.» (f. 85ra and 85rb, see below). The astrologer knew his client well (cf. «Tu michi dixisti...» f. 86rb, «ut pluries michi dixisti...» f. 87ra). The horoscope (f. 85va) has been left empty, but the date and time of birth are fully detailed f. 85rb (see below).

Content: a judgement in two parts (chapter index f. 85rb). The first part (f. 85ra-87vb), in 14 chapters, deals with introductory matters, life expectancy and the topics of the 12 houses in the standard order, except that the topic of the tenth house («suos honores, suasque dignitates atque officia sua et magisteria sua») is treated last. At the same time, the author essentially relies on Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum* and refers to the houses only occasionally. The second part (f. 87vb-89vb), in seven chapters, mainly deals with the directions, but also includes tables of profections, *firdarie* and revolutions. The nativity was verified by *animodar* (f. 85rb).

Inc.: «Quamquam variis multisque arduarum rerum occupationibus circumventi simus ita ut fere nullum tempus... Tue tamen Io. Dap. preces meis auribus... (85rb) Natus fuit Io. Dap. anno millesimo quadringentesimo quadragésimo secundo curren-
te tertio Novembris completo cum hora una et 20 minutis et hoc verificatione facta per animodar. Erat autem hec nativitas coniunctionalis, diurna, in die dominica, hora autem diei artificialis octava quam Sol regit, G littera dominicalis, aureus autem numerus 18...».

MS: Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 398, s. XV, f. 85ra-89vb.

Lit.: Avelar de Carvalho, *An Astrologer at Work* [no. 7 above].

Ed.: ---

27. Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary and Bohemia (23 February 1443), by Johannes de Glogovia

This is reported to be a judgement on the revolution of the nativity of Matthias Corvinus for the year 1485 in an autograph

copy of Johannes de Glogovia, but having not seen this manuscript, I cannot comment on it. Matthias Corvinus's nativity horoscope (without interpretation) is commonly found in late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century collections of horoscopes, including MSS Cracow, BJ, 3225, p. 8 (autograph of Martin Bylica of Olkusz, Matthias Corvinus's astrologer; Martin Bylica also left the horoscope of Matthias's coronation in 1464, p. 9); Gotha, Forschungsbibl., Chart. B 388, f. 61r; Hamburg, Bibl. des Christianeums, R Ab 3 h/31.3, f. 35r; Leipzig, UB, Rep. IV 87, f. 22r; Munich, BSB, Clm 10667, pp. 4 and 25; New York, Columbia University, Rare Book and Manuscript Lib., Plimpton 226, f. 6r; Vatican, BAV, Pat. lat. 1423, f. 39v; Vatican, BAV, Reg. lat. 1208, f. 46r; Wrocław, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich (Ossolineum), 764, f. 439r and 439v; and Johannes Garcaeus, *Astrologiae methodus*, Basel, ex officina Henricipetrina, 1576, sig. 243. Scattered notes dealing at least partly with Matthias's nativity also occur in MS Jena, TULB, El. f. 70, s. XVI, f. 26v-28v («Mathias rex Ungarie habens Capricornum in ascendente sue nativitatís, in quo signo...»).

Content: ?

Inc.: «Revolutio geniture Mathie regis Hungarie et Bohemie anno 1485 in Februario, tempore equato 22^d 19^h 45^m 10^s. (297v). Iudicium revolutionis semper fit per respectum ad figuram radicalem nativitatís. Iudicium revolutionis. Quoniam (?) Capricorni, quod hora geniture oriebatur...» (Markowski).

MS: Cracow, BJ, 1840, s. XV, f. 297r-298r.

Lit.: Rosińska, *Scientific Writings* [note 19 above], 50 (no. 190) and 213 (no. 1050); Markowski, *Astronomica et astrologica* [note 19 above], 56 (no. 29); Kaliszuk/Pieniędz, *Clavis scriptorium* [note 20 above], 341 (no. 282/47).

Ed.: ---

28. Anonymous born on 13 April 1443

This judgement is preserved in one of the richest collections of astrological judgements on nativities which have come down to us. MS Cracow, BJ, 3225, written for the most part at the University of Cracow between 1498 and 1516, contains over 30

judgements, most of which concern people born after 1450, except the present one and nos. 30 and 32 below.

Content: a brief judgement consisting of an introduction and six chapters entitled «De corporis qualitate», «Moris et animi qualitates», «Fortuna nati», «Nati mutationes», «Magisterium nati ac ceteri effectus» and «Egritudines cum periodo». The horoscope (p. 81) bears the mention «Figura rectificata Nyedzycła (?)», which does apparently not denote a female name, as the native is referred to as «natus» in the text. Authorities: «Hali» and Hermes are quoted once each (pp. 81 and 85 respectively).

Inc.: «Statuit Deus omnipotens a superioribus corporibus posse inferiorum accidentia deprehendi... Vita huius nati...».

MS: Cracow, BJ, 3225, s. XV-XVI, pp. 81-87.

Lit.: Rosińska, *Scientific Writings* [note 19 above], 414 (no. 2168) and 213 (no. 1050); Markowski, *Astronomica et astrologica* [note 19 above], 238 (no. 43).

Ed.: ---

29. Galeazzo Maria Sforza (15 January 1444), by Raffaele Vimercati

The Milan MS is the presentation copy to Galeazzo dated 1461 (explicit), that is before he became Duke of Milan in 1466. It is a richly decorated manuscript (illumination f. 1r, painted initials f. 20r, 35v and 44v). Vimercati addresses Galeazzo in the second person singular and I see no indications that the judgement was presented to his father (cf. Azzolini, 104). The horoscope data (especially the ascendant at 21° Scorpio and the Moon at 6° Sagittarius) show that Galeazzo was born on 15 January around 2am (see also Azzolini, 105). Raffaele Vimercati seems otherwise unknown.

Content: extensive introduction (f. 2r-20r), chapter index (f. 20r-20v) and horoscope (f. 21r), followed by the judgement, which consists of three *tractatus*. The first *tractatus*, in eight chapters, deals with the *almuten*, *alcochoden* and life expectancy, and things pertaining to the body and its illnesses, including the

directions for illnesses. The second *tractatus*, in five chapters, is about the soul and its illnesses, faith, religion and office («magisterium»). The third *tractatus*, in 14 chapters, deals with the parents, siblings, spouse, children, servants, fellows, friends, enemies, animals, travels, wealth, reign and prosperity. The nativity is said to have been rectified by *animodar* (f. 21r). Authorities: Ptolemy is quoted a couple of times; Albumasar, Ptolemy, Dorotheus, Albohali, Almansor, and Hermes are named in the introduction.

Inc.: «Non merito vellem senerissime comes ad operis tanti quod ego — Explicit liber iudiciorum in nativitate comitis Galeaz Marie Vicecomitis Lugurum futuri ducis dignanter ellecti, quem Raphael de Vicomercato composuit. Finis 1461 die Martis, secundo mensis Iunii, hora octava precise».

MS: Milan, Bibl. Trivulziana, 1329, s. XV, f. 2r-63r.

Lit.: M. Azzolini, *The Duke and the Stars. Astrology and Politics in Renaissance Milan*, Cambridge (Mass.)-London 2013, 103-14 (with reprod. of f. 21r, p. 106).

Ed.: ---

30. Anonymous born on 6 April 1445, by Albertus de Brudzewo

This judgement was authored by Albertus de Brudzewo (see explicit) and evidence suggests that it was part of his teaching of astrology at the University of Cracow. The earliest manuscript (Vatican, BAV, Pal. lat. 1439) is the personal handbook of Johannes Virdung of Hassfurt, copied for the most part in 1487 and 1488, when he was student at Cracow. The copy of the present text was completed on 18 August 1487 (explicit) and the text that follows (f. 50r-66r), entitled *Canons Concerning the Nativity of the Native* («Canones concernentes nativitatem nati»), is none other than a treatise on the establishment of nativities taking as an example the very same nativity of 6 April 1445. Yet, in a note on f. 39r, Johannes Virdung explains that from 5 July to 26 August 1487, he worked on the «nativities of the native» («nativitates nati») with master Albertus de Brudzewo, for whose work he paid four Hungarian gold pieces («Item anno 1487, tertia feria

post Visitationis Marie, incepti resumere nativitates nati cum magistro Alberto de Bruszevo et finivit feria secunda post Bartholomey, cui pro laboribus suis exposui quatuor aureos ungaricales»). We have here a beautiful testimony of the teaching of horoscopes, both casting and interpretation, in a university. And Johannes Virdung seems to have struggled over the calculations if we trust another note (f. 50r), in which he explains that he was then still a novice in astronomy, lacking proper understanding of these *canones*, and that he erred a lot, especially with the directions: «Non adhiberis omnimodam veritatem his canonibus quoniam eas collegi cum rudis in astronomia et novicius eram necdum bene intellexi canones et in multis erravi tum precipue in directionibus». Poulle suggests, perhaps rightly, that the nativity might be that of Albertus de Brudzewo. Another extant judgement by him concerns someone born on 22 December 1466 in MS Vienna, ÖNB, 10534, f. 191r-194v, a manuscript that we will encounter in no. 33 below.

Content (Vatican, BAV, Pal. lat. 1439): introduction and 13 numbered chapters following the topics of the 12 houses, with the first two chapters devoted to the first house. The directions are used throughout. The horoscope is given at the end (f. 49v): «Circulus geniture que fuit anno Christi 1445 currente in diebus Aprilis 5, horis 19, minutis 56». Authorities: Ptolemy (*Quadripartitum*). Plato is quoted in the introduction. The text of MS Cracow, BJ, 3225, differs considerably in wording, even though the structure and content are basically the same, reflecting presumably variation in Albertus's teaching. In any case, there are reasons to think that the version in Cracow, BJ, 3225 dates from 1488 (not 1487), for it is preceded (pp. 166-175) by a judgement on the 44th revolution of the nativity of 6 April 1445, that is, for the year 1488.

Inc. (Vatican, BAV, Pal. lat. 1439): «Cum res huius mundi inferioris a celestium permutentur motibus et influxu – finitus est tractatus super pronosticon figure sequentis per me baccalarium Johannes de Hasfurt, compositusque per magistrum de Brudzewo anno 1487 sabbatho ante festum Bartholomey in alma universitate Cracoviensi».

- MSS: Vatican, BAV, Pal. lat. 1439, s. XV, f. 41r-49v; Katowice, Bibl. Śląska, R 57.II, s. XV, f. 35r-44r; Cracow, BJ, 3225, s. XV-XVI, pp. 177-192; Cracow, BJ, 1856, s. XVI, pp. 321-33; Jena, TULB, El. f. 70, s. XVI, f. 4r-14r; Jena, TULB, El. f. 72, s. XVI, f. 87v-88r (beginning only); Paris, BnF, lat. 7350, s. XVI, f. 98r-108v.
- Lit.: E. Poulle, «Activité astronomique à Cracovie au XV^e siècle», in *Actes du XI^e congrès international d'histoire des sciences (Varsovie-Cracovie, 1965)*, Wrocław 1968, vol. III (reprinted in E. Poulle *Astronomie planétaire au Moyen Âge latin*, Aldershot 1996, art. XIV), 45-50: 47-48 and n. 6; Rosińska, *Scientific Writings* [note 19 above], 106 (no. 487); Markowski, *Astronomica et astrologica* [note 19 above], 10-11 (nos. 26-30); Kaliszuk/Pieniędz, *Clavis scriptorium* [note 20 above], 954-955 (no. 965/15).
- Ed.: ---

31. Albrecht IV, duke of Baviaria (15 December 1447), by Marcus Schinnagel

The only known manuscript, entirely copied by Marcus Schinnagel, contains in fact two judgements on the nativity of Albrecht IV, one on f. 57r-66v (with a German translation, f. 177r-197v) and the other on f. 67v-78v, both in 12 chapters following the 12 houses and both attributed to Schinnagel (see text below). These judgements are preceded by an account of the seven planetary periods and the *firdarie* (f. 35r-54r) and followed by many tables of «profections» (in fact, directions) for Albrecht IV from December 1494 to November 1498 (f. 82v-134r; f. 134v-176v are blank). The manuscript also includes 12 revolution horoscopes for Albrecht IV for the years 1494-1505 (f. 31v-32r) and astronomical material relevant to the nativity of the duke, such as an astronomical calendar for 1494-1513 (f. 1v-14r), tables of equation of houses for the latitude 45° (f. 15r-20v) and other astronomical tables (f. 21v-32r). In other words, we are dealing with a comprehensive astronomical and astrological compendium revolving around the nativity of Albrecht IV, which was probably prepared c. 1494. The fact that the manuscript has been copied with care, together with the presence of material in German, may suggest that it was given, or meant to be given, to Albrecht

IV. The manuscript is unfortunately too fragile to be photographed and the account given here stems from my notes taken in Wolfenbüttel in April 2017. Also possibly by Marcus Schinnagel is a judgement on the nativity of Cardinal Frederick Jagiellończyk (1468–1503), written in 1500 and preserved in MS Cracow, BJ, 8, pp. 28–46 (presentation copy)³⁰.

Content: as above. Several authorities are quoted, including Haly Abenragel, Zael, Alcabitius and probably others. Horoscope of nativity (f. 69v) and 12 revolution horoscopes (as above).

Inc.: «(35r) Capitulum in appodeamento cuiuslibet 7 planetarum in temporibus nati. Convenit in hac re nobis incipere a primis annis nati...; (57r) Observationes sive electiones dierum et horarum per 12 menses anni... super genituram serenissimi principis Alperto Dei gratia duci Bavarie etc., calculate per accutissimum astronomum magistrum Marcum Schinagel...; (67v) Ista dicebat Hali olim filius Habenragel in libro revolutionum nativitatum: Laudatus sit Deus qui est dominus... Ego Marcus Schinagel, atrium magister, diligens investigator et persecutor astrorum cursorum necnon dispositionum figurarum celestium super hec inferior... Redeo igitur ad exordium nativitatis cuiusdam nati...».

MS: Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 22.1 Aug. 4^o (3255), s. XV, 197 fols.

Lit.: Markowski, *Astronomica et astrologica* [note 19 above], 112–13 (nos. 10 and 13–14). On Marcus Schinnagel, see also R. L. Kremer, «Marcus Schinnagel's Winged Polyptych of 1489: Astronomical Computation in a Liturgical Format», *Journal for the History of Astronomy*, 43 (2012), 321–45 (and 342 n. 6 briefly on this manuscript); H. Franz, *Das Hauptwerk des Astrologen Marcus Schinnagel von 1489*, Hamburg 2014.

Ed.: ---

30. On this judgement, see Rosińska, *Scientific Writings* [note 19 above], 241 (no. 1208), and E. Śnieżyńska-Stolot, «*Almanach pro reverendissimo domino cardinali* for Fryderyk Jagiellończyk: The Historical Evidence of an Astrologer's Workshop», *The Jagiellonian Library Bulletin*, Special Issue 2020, 65–136.

32. Henry I the Elder, Duke of Münsterberg-Oels (16 May 1448)

Rosińska and Markowski did not identify this «duke Henry» born on 16 May 1448 (cf. central panel of the horoscope, MS Cracow, BJ, 1839: «Hora nativitatis illustris principis domini Henrici ducis etc. erat in Maii anno 1448 d<ie> 16, h<ora> 3, m<inuto> 2, s<ecundo> 0»), but he must be Henry I the Elder, Duke of Münsterberg-Oels and son of the king of Bohemia George of Poděbrady, whose date of birth is generally given as 15 May 1448. The extant manuscripts, both copied at the University of Cracow c. 1500, support this identification. The judgement must have been written before 1498 (the date of Henry's death), even though the directions mention four dates between 1503 and 1527.

Content: horoscope (f. 172v), followed by a brief analysis of some directions for 1503, 1527, 1528 and 1515, and of the condition of each planet. No authorities quoted.

Inc.: «Sol in hac genitura erat dator vite, qui si dirigitur per tabulam...».

MSS: Cracow, BJ, 1839, s. XVI, f. 172v-173v; Cracow, BJ, 3225, s. XV-XVI, pp. 405-407.

Lit.: Rosińska, *Scientific Writings* [note 19 above], 412 (no. 2155); Markowski, *Astronomica et astrologica* [note 19 above], 238-39 (nos. 45-46).

Ed.: ---

33. Anonymus, born on 15 June 1448

The central panel of the horoscope bears the mention «Thema nativitatis d. Nicolai Zeppell Cracovien<sis>», but this mention was crossed out and it is indeed a mistake for Nicolaus Czepel of Poznań (born on 6 December 1452), whose judgement happens to be found in the same manuscript, on f. 172r-180v. The judgement under consideration is anonymous and occurs in an astrologer's handbook which appears to have been copied mainly in 1519 and 1520, perhaps in Nürnberg, by someone who left notes and calculations about his own nativity of 6 April 1464 (f.

287r-293r), but this someone may be different from our astrologer. The manuscript belonged to Johannes Schöner.

Content: a brief judgement containing an introduction, a review of the four cardines, 15 numbered chapters corresponding to the 12 houses or, more precisely, to the parts of the 12 houses (*pars vite*, *pars substantie*, *pars fratrum* etc.), and a discussion about the years 46-64 of the native (i.e., 1493-1511), as well as the profections, directions and the revolution for 1495. Two horoscopes: nativity (f. 143r) and revolution for 1495 (f. 144r). No authorities are quoted.

Inc.: «In Dei nomine et sal... (?)».

MS: Vienna, ÖNB, 10534, s. XVI, f. 143r-144v.

Lit.: ---

Ed.: ---

34. Anonymous born on 20 December 1448 in Prague

There are no clues about the identity of the native or the astrologer. Both manuscripts essentially preserve astronomical and astrological teaching delivered at the University of Cracow and the Vatican MS was copied by Johannes Virdung of Hassfurt (see no. 30 above). The judgement was probably written c. 1479.

Content: rectification by both *animodar* and *trutina*; *hyleg*, *alcochoden* and *almuten*; profections, revolution for 1479, directions, *firdarie*; topics related to the 12 houses, but only the first two houses are treated. Four horoscopes: conception and syzygy preceding birth (f. 260r), nativity (f. 260v) and revolution for 1479 (f. 262r). Authorities: Ptolemy.

Inc.: «Vir doctissime, amice singularis, voluntati tue acquievi...».

MSS: Vatican, BAV, Pal. lat. 1439, s. XV, f. 260r-265r; Paris, BnF, lat. 7350, s. XVI, f. 184v-193r.

Lit.: Poulle, «Activité astronomique» [no. 30 above], 50 n. 68; Rosińska, *Scientific Writings* [note 19 above], 453 (no. 2360).

Ed.: ---

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ABSTRACT

David Juste, *Reading Birth Horoscopes in the Middle Ages: Latin Judgements on Nativities 1100-1450*

Despite spectacular progress achieved over the past 30 years in our knowledge and understanding of medieval European astrology, the astrological practices themselves remain for a good part unexplored. What do astrologers do? What kind of services do they offer? How do they interpret horoscopes? These questions are rarely answered. This article surveys all known interpretations of birth horoscopes (nativities) that have come down to us from the Latin Middle Ages.

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