In a period when our evidence for the use of astrology comes largely from the court and universities, the notebook of Richard Trewythian (b. 1393) in the British Library (MS Sloane 428) presents important evidence for the practice of astrology among London citizens, artisans, merchants and members of religious orders. Trewythian’s astrological practice suggests that astrology was not just a scientific and theoretical interest of university men, or a tool of high politics, which might be the impression gained from study of its better-known practitioners. Rather, the men and women who came to him for astrological advice asked questions similar to those found in the sources of ancient astrological practice. The surprise is that in fifteenth-century London they should have consulted a sophisticated practitioner of astrology rather than humbler diviners, or the various forms of ‘ready-made’ popular divination available in manuscripts throughout the medieval period. Given the appetite for astrological writings of a basic kind (lunaries and the like) and for divinatory texts in general, together with the uncertainties of the times, we might expect that a crude astrology would flourish; but Trewythian’s notebook makes it clear that there was room for advanced techniques too. Many of the figures he drew up were for his own purposes, or those of his family, suggesting that he did not distinguish between his personal use of astrology and his use of it to help others. While Trewythian is perhaps the first English astrologer for whose practice evidence survives, he may well have been one of many such enthusiasts for astrology in fifteenth-century London.

Although it is difficult to measure the popularity of astrology in fifteenth-century England, the evidence of contemporary manuscripts is revealing. Numerous lunar almanacs and physicians’ calendars which incorporated simplified astrological theories are extant, particularly from the second half of the century. In fact, an extensive range of astrological literature was in circulation in manuscript, and the number of such texts that


have survived suggests a considerable readership for them, not confined to university or clerical circles.⁴ They include works in English as well as Latin – or even a macaronic blend of the two, with tracts in both languages often found bound together in one manuscript. The boundaries between a learned Latin culture and a popular English one, once thought to be delimited by written language, were actually permeable and unstable, at least so far as astrology and other practical sciences are concerned.⁵ What was involved was not just the blurring of linguistic codes but also the sharing of intellectual assumptions. The legitimisation of learned astrology tended to be based on physical explanations which were a matter of general opinion, such as the popular recognition of the influence of the stars on plants and minerals, the weather and the tides, and the widespread belief in the necessity of astrology for understanding bodily changes.⁶

A general interest in divination, which extended beyond astrological beliefs to other techniques like geomancy, oneirocriticism or scapulomancy, for example, was not just a matter of fifteenth-century Londoners dabbling in the occult.⁷ In a broader perspective there was an appetite for any science, or body of learning, which could yield practical results. Theoretical information was valued for its usefulness rather than for its doctrinal interest.⁸ The appetite for such information predated the arrival of printing and, so far as the divinatory sciences are concerned, seems to have been satisfied by the resources of fifteenth-century English manuscript culture. Perhaps surprisingly, there seems to have been little effort on the part of the first English printers to respond to this demand. They did not produce almanacs and prognostications as their continental equivalents did, and the import of such books did not take off until the sixteenth century.⁹ The circulation of

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⁶ I am not using ‘popular’ here to signify a culture opposed to ‘elitist’ culture; rather, I follow L. M. Matheson, preface to Popular and Practical Science of Medieval England, ed. idem, East Lansing 1994, p. xii: ‘In the present context, the semantically charged, but slippery term “popular” is not intended to carry any political or derogatory connotations. Many of the texts are representative of the kind of general scientific and medical knowledge available to a reasonably educated but non-specialist audience. Some contain popularizations of academic or “high” science for the use of non-university professionals. Others, by the fact of their translation into English, were intended to reach a wider readership than their Latin originals: if the survival of manuscripts and the choice of texts for early printing are guides, then a number succeeded in this sense of “popular” also.’
⁷ C. S. F. Burnett, Magic and Divination in the Middle Ages, Aldershot 1996, provides a perspective on the earlier medieval history of several of these techniques.
more learned astrological literature also depended almost entirely on manuscripts, at least in the fifteenth century. Yet this does not seem to have inhibited a developing interest in astrology.10

In arguing for the existence of a wider culture of astrology, I am not suggesting that large numbers of people would have understood or been interested in the complex calculations and theories which lay behind the kind of astrology studied and practised at the court and in the universities.11 There is no apparent link between Trewythian’s astrological practice and the theoretical study of astrological texts by Greek and Arabic authorities which took place in university circles, although he was certainly well read in standard astrological sources and a very competent calculator. Instead, the genres of astrology which Trewythian practised corresponded to various forms of ‘ready-made’ popular divination commonly found in manuscripts throughout the medieval period.12 It is possible that Trewythian’s clients progressed from the use of these relatively simple techniques to an interest in the more personally tailored and scientifically framed judgements offered by an astrologer. The growing availability of astrological texts may have been fuelled by the emerging social groups who made up his clientele.

The origins of regular astrological practice in England remain frustratingly obscure. Keith Thomas has suggested that in the late Middle Ages there were doctors who occasionally gave astrological advice on non-medical matters, local healers who specialised in dealing with peasants ‘taken under an ill planet’ and scholars or intellectuals who cast horoscopes for themselves and their friends; but he sees Richard Trewythian’s notebook as ‘the first unambiguous testimony to the existence of private astrological practice in England’.13 Perhaps the only comparable surviving manuscripts are the fifteenth-century notebooks of physicians such as John Crophill14 and Thomas Fayreford,15 which are concerned in part with the use of astrology in relation to medicine.16 Trewythian’s notebook therefore provides an important early English record of the practical application of astrological techniques.

For the most part Trewythian’s practice, which was rather small, seems to have been directed towards personal ends. This calls for caution in describing him as a professional astrologer. Indeed, what we learn about his finances does not suggest that astrology played much part in bringing him income. In the following investigation of his status, learning

12. See n. 3.
and activities, the various genres of astrology which he practised and the clients who came to him for astrological advice, I hope to illuminate some of the roles which the astrologer might assume in fifteenth-century society.

I. TREWYTHIAN AND HIS ASTROLOGICAL SOURCES

Trewythian’s surviving astrological notebook is sparing on the details of his life, although it does contain two probable self-portraits: a small head on folio 126v (Fig. 144) and an illustration of a servant bringing a urine flask to a master seated on a cathedra on folio 56v. His main professional activity was medicine, although astrology was a long-lasting and most likely related interest. Horoscopes in the notebook in the British Library and others in his hand in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 189 attest to an astrological practice beginning in 1425 at the latest and still flourishing over thirty years later. Although MS Sloane 428 was primarily a workbook for his astrological practice, Trewythian also used it to record transactions relating to other activities—medical practice, money-lending and book-dealing. This was no doubt because the astrological ephemerides he used for the computation of horoscopes also provided a convenient calendrical scheme for recording business transactions, contemporary political events and personal memoranda.

On folios 117r and 91r of the notebook are nativity charts for Thomas Trewythian and Richard Trewythian Minor, drawn up c. 1432 and 1455 respectively; and in most years covered by the ephemerides he also drew up a horoscope for the revolution of his own nativity on 28 October (‘revolutio nativitatis ad annum [X]’). One complete judgement

17. Trewythian’s notebook, now designated British Library MS Sloane 428, was acquired by Sir Hans Sloane in c. 1690–98 and listed as MS 493 in his original catalogue. It bears Sloane’s markings in addition to signs of previous ownership (prayers added in a 16th-century hand on fols 134v and 138v). The manuscript was rebound in the 1970s, and unfortunately no description of the earlier binding structure survives. The present sewing of the leaves is modern and may not reflect their original order. Judging from the extensive signs of wear on fols 1–50v (esp. fols 1–2v) and fols 152v–55v, the notebook might not have had a substantial binding in the 15th century, or indeed later. The leaves are on average 222 × 147 mm, and are of paper. The first part of the manuscript has prick marks at top and bottom of each leaf, and apparently on the outer edge of each leaf too, though most of these last holes have disappeared (presumably ploughed in binding). The ephemerides of the first part of the manuscript (see n. 21) are carefully ruled in ink, probably by Trewythian himself, who wrote out all but one of the sets of annual ephemerides and was probably also responsible for calculating them. An analysis of the construction and use of the notebook is given below in Appendix I.

18. The head is drawn in the central square of a horoscope constructed for Trewythian’s birthday on 28 October 1434, which makes it almost certainly a self-portrait, although a rather flattering one for his 51 years.

19. This drawing accompanies a horoscope drawn up on Trewythian’s birthday in 1450 and the judgement that in the coming year the disposition of his body will be quite good because of the position of the ascendant.

20. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 189, part IV, is a miscellany of 15th-century manuscript fragments which includes two folios (201r–202v) in Trewythian’s hand. The nine horoscopes by Trewythian in this manuscript date from 1425 to 1432; those in his notebook date from 1429 to 1438.

21. Ephemerides are tables listing the daily positions of the planets and nodal points. Trewythian’s ephemerides are for the years 1442–58. The one for July 1450 (fol. 55v) is reproduced here as Fig. 147 (below, p. 219; the notes on this page are discussed on pp. 217–18).

22. Nativity charts were cast for the moment of birth in order to predict the course of the life of the newborn child or native (natus).

23. The revolutio nativitatis was a figure cast for the time when the Sun returned to its original position in the natal horoscope, analysed in relation to the original nativity chart.
for a such a revolution survives, an optimistic prediction for 1445, the year following Trewythian’s sixty-second birthday (folio 25v, 1445):

Jupiter and the Sun in this revolution signify an improvement of the body and of business, and he will have a son from whom he will get much joy. Because Venus comes to the place of Mercury in the natal horoscope, it signifies that he will have power and fame in speaking and reasoning, particularly because they are in conjunction in the fourth [house].

Trewythian typically signed personal horoscopes with his initials and the designation ‘m’ for magister. This ambiguous title could indicate an academic status, or simply a citizen of a certain standing in London society. By using it, he was making a claim about his intellectual and social standing, which may be confirmed by the high status of some of his clients, the amounts of money he lent and the fees he charged for medical consultations. Although Trewythian’s name is not found in the university lists for Oxford or Cambridge, some kind of personal training in the use of the ephemerides would almost certainly have been necessary; and he may well have had contacts with a university environment where such skills were taught. A possible connection with Oxford University is suggested by a manuscript owned by Trewythian: Oxford, All Souls College MS 70, containing the Aggregator sive Liber servitoris of Pseudo-Serapion in the Latin translation of Simone Cordo of Genoa and Abraham of Tortosa. According to John North’s analysis, Trewythian’s knowledge of astrology was relatively sophisticated. His horoscopes were calculated accurately according to the standard system and the ephemerides give daily planetary positions to degrees and minutes of arc. He also practised an innovative technique for the more convenient comparison of linked horoscopes (such as the different stages of an eclipse) by constructing them around one another to form double and triple figures.

24. The astrological ‘judgement’ of a horoscope is the interpretation made of the various kinds of information it provides (including the relative properties and positions, as well as strengths and weaknesses, of the planets) with regard to the specific genre of astrology being undertaken.

25. Fol. 25v: ‘Jupiter et Sol in hac revolutione significat melioracionem corporis et negotiacionis et filium habebit de quo letatur. Quia venus venit ad locum mercurii in radice significat quod habebit potestatem et gloria in loquendo et racionando et magis quia sunt coniuncti in quarto.’ The judgement concerning the influence of Venus is similar to that provided in Hieronymus Wolf’s Latin translation of a work by Albumasar (but attributed by Wolf to Hermes Trismegistus): De revolutionibus nati vitatuum, Basel 1559, fol. 276r, col. 1, ‘de ingressu Veneris’: ‘si ingredietur in locum Mercurii significat posse sermonis et eloquentiam et doctrinam’.

26. These aspects are discussed below.

27. The manuscript was written in Italy by a hand of the second half of the 14th century. Its first known owner was a 15th-century Italian; its next was Trewythian, who recorded his ownership on fol. 95r (his annotations and sketches in the manuscript will be discussed below). It was bought by John Racour (d. 1487), a doctor of medicine and Fellow of All Souls, whose executor Nicholas Halswell (another MD and Fellow) gave the book to All Souls. Although a ‘James Trevethin’ was admitted a Fellow of All Souls in 1492, the etymology of this name is not necessarily linked to ‘Trewythian’. See A. G. Watson, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of All Souls College Oxford, Oxford 1997, pp. 142-44.

28. Pseudo-Serapion, Liber servitoris was first printed in Milan in 1473. For other editions and transmission of the text see El Libro agregado de Serapion vulgarizamiento de Frater Jacobus Philippus de Padua, ed. G. Ineichen, 2 vols, Rome 1962, ii, pp. 3-5 and references.


30. One of Trewythian’s triple compound horoscopes is analysed by North (as in n. 29), pp. 150-53.
Apart from the above-mentioned All Souls manuscript, we have several statements in the notebook alluding to Trewything’s ownership of books and his lending and book-dealing activities. Indeed, Trewything’s medical library may have been quite extensive. The loan of his copy of Cardinalis’s commentary on the Hippocratic aphorisms to a John Bale, who had already kept Trewything’s copy of Pseudo-Mesue for a whole year, is recorded on folio 112r.31 In May and July 1446 he records a commission given to one ‘laverans’ (Lawrence), a scrivener of the parish of St Simon and St Jude, Norwich. In relation to this commission Trewything borrowed a brevairy from the wife of B. Gemel of Bury St Edmund’s in May (folio 29r), and seven quaternions were copied at Norwich. He notes that he is missing one quaternion of the temporal, the incipit in his own copy reading ‘ergo cei enarrant’, and in July he pays Lawrence 11d for eight quaternions of an antiphonal.

Trewything’s astrological sources are revealed in the brief notes and lists he makes in the margins and spaces of his notebook. They can also be determined from the quotations – silent and attributed – given in the course of judgements and predictions. His main authorities were Ptolemy’s Tetrabiblos (in Latin, the Quadrripartitum) along with a commentary by ‘Ali ibn Ridwân (whom Trewything refers to wrongly as Haly ‘Abenragel’) and works by Albumasar, Messehalla and the De iudiciis astrorum actually by Haly Abenragel. Among the astrological and astronomical items he records are lists of the dispositions and climates ruled over by particular planets, the effects of planetary conjunctions on the weather and tables on the retrogression and combustion of planets.32 Although many of these brief references are impossible to trace, sometimes sources are mentioned, such as the commentary on the Centiloquium, falsely attributed to Ptolemy, with a commentary also misattributed to ‘Haly’ (the commentator was in reality Ahmad ibn Yüsuf), on the importance of the fixed stars in interpretation33 and the position of the Pleiades (folio 117v). Albumasar is quoted in the context of predictions of the weather deriving from the horoscope of a conjunction34 of the Sun, Moon, Venus and Mercury before the entry of the Sun into Aries in 1438 (folio 129v).35 The same prognostication also sees Trewything using unattributed judgements from a popular list of planets in the signs of the zodiac and in relation to the Sun, with their effects on the weather and health.36

31. Pseudo-Mesue (probably an Italian author who sought the prestige of an Arabian name) wrote the most popular handbook on drugs in medieval Europe. The commentary of Cardinalis, regent master in the University of Montpellier, on the Aphorisms of Hippocrates (1240) was a fundamental text on medicine in the Middle Ages. See E. Wickersheimer, Dictionnaire biographique des médecins en France au moyen-âge, 2 vols, Paris 1936, i, pp. 94–95; and M. McVaugh, ‘The “Humidum radicale” in Thirteenth-Century Medicine’, Traditio, xxx. 1974, pp. 259–83.
32. Retrogression was the apparent backward movement of a planet in the zodiac. A planet was combust when it was situated within 9½° of the Sun.
33. See the commentary on proposition 46 of Pseudo-Ptolemy, Centiloquium, Venice 1484 (no folio nos): ‘Maior fortuna in nativitate est ex stellis fixis’; and on proposition 29: ‘stelle fixe dona granda modum excedentia sed multociens finitur in malum’.
34. See n. 44.
II. Mundane Astrology

A large proportion of Trewythian’s notebook is concerned with mundane astrology – that is, astral influences on natural phenomena such as the weather and the prediction of general human events. In all but three of the thirty years covered by the notebook he constructed horoscopes for the Sun’s entry into the sign of Aries (the vernal ingress), which provided general predictions for the year ahead. Between the years 1430 and 1458 he recorded twelve annual prognostications accompanying such figures; these range from a few lines to a few pages long and from the very informal to the most formally expressed astrological judgements in the notebook.

Some of the longer annual prognostications may have been designed for Trewythian’s clients or even for publication. The prognostication for the year 1452 on folio 60v, for example, is written neatly and has an explanatory air: ‘And first on fertility’.37 The elaborately formal style of the incipit, ‘Since the highest part of the science of astronomy is to predict future events, as the translator of Ptolemy’s Quadripartitum asserts . . .’, followed by a definition of the purpose of astronomy borrowed from the preface to the translation by Aegidius de Tebaldis of Parma,38 suggests that this prognostication may have been aimed at a public readership. The reference to Ptolemy demonstrates the authority of the interpretation which Trewythian offers.39 After dealing with the prospects for fertility (of the land), he goes on to consider prognostications for war, fraud and the political and mercantile condition of the realm in 1452. While many of his general predictions follow Haly’s De judiciis astrorum, he is specific about the likelihood of war beginning on 3 or 19 March, when Mars is in the degree of his exaltation.40 He states that politically the fortunes of the king’s steward (Lord Sudeley) are likely to be helped by the movements of Jupiter. The 1453 prognostication also has an authoritative opening: ‘All inferior things, both the elements and things composed of the elements are ruled by superior things as Messehalla testifies’.41 The similar structure of this prognostication, although it is slightly less formal and explanatory in tone, may indicate that it was a second commission from the 1452 client.42

It is probable, however, that most of the mundane horoscopes were drawn up for Trewythian’s own use. An example of a comparatively short series of predictions from a vernal ingress will give an indication of the sort of general picture of the world which these mundane horoscopes offered, and how the interpretation was derived from the positions and aspects of the planets.

37. ‘Et primo de fertilitate’. For an edition of this prognostication see Appendix II.
38. ‘Cum scientia astronomie sit altissima atque contingencia futura predicere ac providere, ut asserit translator quadripartiti phtholome ...’ See below, n. 131.
39. See Barton (as in n. 2), pp. 139–41, on the agonistic character of much astrological practice, which favoured self-advertisement and claims to authority.
40. A planet is in its exaltation when it is in a particular zodiac sign which increases the power of its influence. This prognostication was not borne out by events, though the arming of Lancastrian and Yorkist parties in February 1452, which led to the surrender of the Duke of York in March, came very close to bringing war to pass.
41. Fol. 79v: ‘Quam omnia inferiora tam elementa quam elementata a superioribus reguntur ut testatur Messahalla.’ I have been unable to trace this reference.
42. It is interesting to compare these later prognostications with the one for 1429 on fol. 12r, which begins with a religious invocation rather than a reference to an astrological authority: ‘In nomine trinitatis incipit judicium revolutionis anni chriistis 1429’. 
Jupiter is lord of the year 1455 since he is in his term in the sixth house and lord of the term of the ascendant.\textsuperscript{43}

Pregnant women and boys will incur harm and severe dangers. This conclusion is drawn from the trine aspect between Saturn and Venus\textsuperscript{44} on the day of the ingress.

There will be many acts of fornication and much love between men and women in secret and against the law. This conclusion is drawn from the quartile aspect between Mars and Venus on the day of the ingress. But it is somewhat mitigated by the sextile aspect of Jupiter and Venus.

Concerning the wars of this year: they will be caused by the aspect of opposition of two heavy planets, which will occur on 27 March. And the time of the beginning of the war will be on the first day of May. This conclusion is drawn by the application\textsuperscript{45} of the greater luminary [i.e. the Sun] to Saturn. Merchants will be well disposed this year.

Much blood will flow. The Western part will fare better than the East. Evil people will dominate the good. These conclusions are from Saturn in Scorpio.\textsuperscript{46}

It is hard to see how most of these very vague predictions provided any kind of information which could be useful in the practical sense of forewarning an event. Rather, the astrologer seems to present a kind of god’s-eye view – an insider’s knowledge of the hidden checks and balances at play in the world at any moment. As the planets moved ever onwards, a particular group or area of the world which was afflicted in one horoscope would probably be thriving in the next. It is possible, however, that the continuous vicisitudes of fortune were taken into account by Trewythian when he answered a specific question which fell under the domain of a general subject dealt with in the annual prediction such as health, trade, litigation or marriage.

The only specific prediction given here is concerned with dates for the occurrence of war, a subject which features prominently in virtually all Trewythian’s mundane predictions. He was writing during a period of continual crisis and unease – due to the long minority of Henry VI and his intermittent bouts of insanity during adulthood. Great losses were incurred in France and popular unrest was expressed in Jack Cade’s rebellion. Moreover, during the 1450s conflicts between factions trying to fill the vacuum at the

\textsuperscript{43} The houses were the 12-fold division of the local sky represented in the horoscope; terms were a further subdivision of the houses, also assigned ruling planets. The ascendant is the degree of the zodiac rising over the horizon at the instant of birth representing the cusp of the first house.

\textsuperscript{44} Aspects are angular relationships between planets. The most important of these are conjunction (0°), opposition (180°), quartile/square (90°), sextile (60°) and trine (120°).

\textsuperscript{45} A planet is said to be applying to another when it is about to form an aspect with it.

\textsuperscript{46} Fol. 80v: ‘Jupiter dominus anni scilicet 1455, quia est in termino in sexto et est dominus termini ascendentis.

– Mulieres pregnantes et prii habeunt damnae et fortia pericula. Hec conclusio habetur ex trino aspectu saturni et veneris in die introitus.


– De guerris istius anni erunt per aspectum oppositionis duorum ponderosorum que erit 27 die martii. Et tempus inceptioris guerre erit in primo die mavi. Hec conclusio habetur per applicationem maioris luminaris ad saturnum. Mercatores erunt bene dispositi isto anno.

– Multa sanguinis effusio. Pars occidentalis melior erit orientali. Mali super bonos dominabuntur. Iste conclusiones a saturno in scorpione.’
centre of power began to take the form of armed confrontations. In the margins of his notebook Trewythian made notes on important political events such as the murder of the Duke of Suffolk\(^{47}\) and Cade’s rebellion.\(^{48}\) Some of his astrological prognostications and figures clearly reflect a desire for security, together with a natural interest in contemporary politics.

The subject of war is most fully treated in the prognostication for 1453, a year in which it was particularly pertinent because of the rising in 1452 and Richard of York’s attempted coup. Trewythian predicted ‘wars and the shedding of blood, a multitude of battles and insurrections against the king’\(^{49}\) – likely occurrences in England in the 1450s. He also forecasts ‘wars in parts of the Roman Empire and the West’, together with the judgement that ‘the side seeking battle will conquer’.\(^{50}\) On 14 April 1455, concern at the situation in England led him to address a more direct question to the Heavens, asking about a war in the countryside.\(^{51}\) Above this horary chart\(^{52}\) the annual prognostication for 1455 warns of the requisition of horses during the coming year. The pertinence of Trewythian’s question in April is demonstrated by the fact that within a few weeks, the first battle of St Albans was won by York. The looming threat of war is apparent from the proximity of this horoscope to another asking a similar question – whether there will be war in the countryside in this month – asked in August 1456 (folio 98v).

Trewythian made several predictions of misfortune for the king in the years covered by the notebook. In the course of a general prediction for 1433, he notes: ‘it seems that the king will be sick this year because Saturn is lord of the tenth house’;\(^{53}\) and a conjunction of 1455 is accompanied by the prediction that it signifies the death of the king from an epidemic (folio 84v). In 1440 he drew up a horary asking whether society was well governed (folio 118v). The potential riskiness of such sensitive astrological questioning and judgement was illuminated by the scandal of July 1441 in which the Duchess of Gloucester, Eleanor Cobham, was accused of conspiring with two clerks skilled in astrology, Roger Bolingbroke and the physician Thomas Southwell, to bring about the death of Henry VI. An anonymous treatise which gave a more positive reading of their horoscope of Henry VI seems to suggest that the astrologers had merely warned of a dangerous illness or event. Their choice of patronage, however, had been unfortunate: by the end of the year they were dead, and Eleanor Cobham had been committed to life imprisonment.\(^{54}\)

There is a further indication that Trewythian was interested in using his astrological learning to discover the future of contemporary political struggles. Between February

\(^{47}\) Fol. 54r (1 May 1450): ‘hic dux suthfolche decapitatus in mare qui regebat regem et regnum per multos annos ante’.

\(^{48}\) A brief description of the time and length of the battle on London Bridge which was precipitated by Cade’s rebellion is followed by a marginal note to the entry of 12 May, that ‘hic capitatus cantie fuit interfexus et duxus longonis et decapitatis’.

\(^{49}\) Fol. 73r: ‘guerras et effusionem sanguinis et multitudinem bellorum et insurrectiones contra regem’.

\(^{50}\) Fol. 73v: ‘Bella erunt in partibus romanorum et in occidente ... Et pars queres bella vincet’.

\(^{51}\) Fol. 88v: ‘questio de bello compano utrum erit in anglia isto anno vel non’.

\(^{52}\) Horary charts (also called interrogations) were used to determine the outcome of specific questions in terms of a figure drawn up for the moment when the question was formulated.

\(^{53}\) Fol. 125r: ‘videritur quod rex haberet infirmitatem isto anno quia saturnus [est] dominus in domus’.

\(^{54}\) See Carey (as in n. 1), ch. 8, and North (as in n. 29), pp. 142–49, for an analysis of the horoscopes involved in this scandal.
1452 and October 1453 he noted four highly significant dates and times: firstly, the hour and date on which the king rode with his army to meet the Duke of York in February 1452 (folio 67v); secondly, the date of the coronation of Henry IV (folio 71v), who had inaugurated the Lancastrian line; thirdly, the exact hour when Henry VI became ill in August 1453 (folio 77v); and fourthly, the hour and date of Prince Edward’s birth on 13 October (folio 78v). The exactitude of three of the times noted strongly suggests that they were recorded specifically for the purpose of constructing a horoscope. Information relating to the key issues of the king’s health, heir and inherited right to the throne would have put Trewythian in possession of what was perceived as dangerous knowledge in the 1450s. Unlike Bolingbroke and Southwell, however, he did not, as far as we know, move in the kind of social circles which would have either secured him patronage or exposed him to retaliation of the various factions at court.

Trewythian’s prognostications often warn about impending diseases, predicting who will fall ill, which illness will occur most frequently or which parts of the body will be most likely to be affected. In 1452, for instance, he warns that ‘in this year there will be chronic sicknesses composed of coldness and dryness, such as madness, epilepsy and leprosy. This conclusion is reached from Saturn in the sixth house.’55 Perhaps Trewythian combined his omenistic predictions with advice of what precautions to take, and the sale of medicaments and pills, or even used the prognostications as part of his methods of diagnosis. In some places, the predictions seem to reflect the concerns of his wealthier clients – the merchants and alderman – such as law, business and trade. The knowledge that ‘lawsuits in general will progress, and they will be lawful and beneficial … Likewise, there will be few pleadings and words among men’, would have been comforting in a period notorious for its litigiousness.56 A merchant might have been interested in the prediction that ‘provisions will be good’57 or that there will be ‘profit from a journey’.58 On folio 51v the astrological lots indicated on a horoscope include not only those of common occurrence, such as love, war and poverty, but also those of various goods – corn, honey, wine and flour.59 This mercantile emphasis parallels the use of astrological systems in commercial speculation by Cristof Kurz from Nuremburg. He claimed in reports to his trading company of 1543 and 1544 to have discovered an astrological method for predicting spice prices fourteen days ahead.60

The imminent arrival of natural disasters was a standard subject for mundane prognostications. Trewythian predicts ‘a tremor and an earthquake, the destruction of cities and towns and houses’ in the annual prognostication for 1449;61 and fire and plague in the one for 1454 (folio 82v). In the early sixteenth century widespread panic was caused

56. Fol. 73v: ‘ommino litae movebuntur et erunt pro iure et proficiuo ... Item erunt inter homines placita et verba paucia.’
57. Fol. 73v: ‘victualia erunt bone [sic].’
58. Fol. 88v: ‘proficiuum ex viaggio’.
59. These astrological lots are included in a list found at the end of chapter 5 of the Bagage of Alcabitius (d. Saragossa 907), a work first printed in Venice in 1521. The place of lots was calculated by adding the degrees between planets (or other significant points) to the ascendant.
61. Fol. 80v: ‘tremore et terremotu et destructio civitatum et villorum ac domorum’.
in Italy and elsewhere in Europe by astrological predictions of floods in 1524, as a result of an unusual number of planetary conjunctions in the sign of Pisces.\textsuperscript{62} Like Trewythian’s predictions of battles and plague in mid-fifteenth-century England, this forecast of floods reflected familiar hardships in the Italian countryside.\textsuperscript{63}

III. Judicial Astrology

In the course of constructing annual prognostications the astrologer directed his attention across vast and impersonal arenas: the rise and fall of nations, the sweeping path of plague and bloodshed, the fertility of the land and the prosperity and sickness of different social strata. By contrast, the genres of judicial astrology – the horary, nativity and election – focused with microcosmic attention on the individual and his or her fears and desires. Intimate problems were revealed to a practitioner who was thought to have to access to information not available to the client – whether a husband was alive, a wife was pregnant or where the treasure was buried. Before the eyes of such petitioners their expressed hopes and anxieties were reconstructed in the form of a representation of the heavens from which the astrologer drew his reply, and in less than a quarter of an hour, perhaps, the whole process would be over. In this short period the successful astrologer needed to inspire trust in both his person and the authority of his craft.

The largest proportion of the horaries which Trewythian drew up are concerned with domestic issues – pregnancy, marriage and quarrels between husband and wife. There are eight horaries asking whether a woman is pregnant and three asking whether a woman will have a son. Fear of an unwanted pregnancy may have caused some women to come to Trewythian, but it is likely that more were concerned about childlessness. Fertility levels were low in the period when Trewythian was practicing astrology. The population as a whole did not begin to recover until the 1470s, although the ‘male replacement ratios’ of the London elite increased sharply from 1450 onward.\textsuperscript{64} It is therefore not surprising that pregnancy and the gender of the child were important issues – reflected in such questions as ‘whether a man will have boys by his wife or not’\textsuperscript{65} and ‘whether a woman will have a boy this year or not’.\textsuperscript{66} This is also reflected in Trewythian’s annual prognostications and in such predictions as ‘a multiplication of daughters’.\textsuperscript{67} Clients may have been reassured by his advice because he also practiced medicine, and they may even have been treated by him. Just as doctors were expected to have some knowledge of medical astrology, it was often assumed that an astrologer would possess medical knowledge. Leopold of Austria’s

\textsuperscript{63} Niccoli (as in n. 62), p. 143.
\textsuperscript{65} Fol. 131r: ‘questio utrum vir habeit puerus per uxorem vel non’. No judgement is given for this horoscope.
\textsuperscript{66} Fol. 136r: ‘questio utrum mulier habeit puerum isto anno vel non’. According to Trewythian’s judgement of this horoscope she will not have a boy.
\textsuperscript{67} Fol. 102r: ‘erit multiplicatio filiarum’. Inheritance is one of the main subjects of this short prediction from an annual prognostication for 1457. The requisition of the inheritances of the dead is predicted, as well as profit from inheritances, deaths and the destruction of patrimony, hatred and legal actions between brothers.
thirteenth-century astrological handbook, for example, lists biological signs of pregnancy—changes in the breast, eyes and body tone.\textsuperscript{68}

The late average age for the marriage of both men and women in the fifteenth century—usually after the age of twenty-five—was compensated for in this period of demographic decline by the high number of marriages. Londoners were very vulnerable to epidemic disease, because of population density, and Robert Gottfried has estimated that well over ninety per cent of the greater London merchants who could marry, did. Marriage was often a political and financial necessity and astrology may have been considered a useful method for ensuring success in marriage. The London diocesan courts record a case in the 1480s of a poor widow, Margaret Gelway, who gave two goblets to a man in the hope of securing an advantageous marriage through sorcery. When this good fortune failed to materialise, she took him to court and received the judgement that he would have to return the value of the goblets, while she did public penance.\textsuperscript{59} Trewythian drew up horary charts for the questions ‘Whether the man will have a certain woman’,\textsuperscript{70} ‘Whether the man will have the woman whom he loves or not’\textsuperscript{71} and ‘Whether the woman will have Johannes de W. in marriage.’\textsuperscript{72}

Clients turned to Trewythian for help with intimate domestic crises. James Herkyng wanted to know where his wife was (folio 1\textsuperscript{r}). A woman asked whether a person who had left the house in anger would come back or not.\textsuperscript{73} Trewythian was able to reassure this woman and his judgement also provided advice: the person will return because ‘Venus in the ascendant means that the woman will be agreeable’.\textsuperscript{74} With poor communications and conditions of political uncertainty, missing people were likely to be a cause of great anxiety, and the astrologer was perhaps the only source of information available. After drawing a figure for the life of a man (folio 130\textsuperscript{r}), Trewythian answered the question ‘whether K is alive or not’.\textsuperscript{75} Other clients sought missing people who may have been deliberately hiding: ‘Where is the servant?’;\textsuperscript{76} and ‘looking for John Knight, merchant of Bristol, on behalf of Robert Bailey’.\textsuperscript{77}

There is a long history of men and women coming to astrologers with questions about theft. Trewythian assisted in tracing goods or the thieves who had stolen them. In one or possibly two cases he asked the question on his own behalf. In January 1454 (folio 82\textsuperscript{r}) he asked whether he would recover the book stolen from him on Easter eve (of the preceding year). The answer is not given. On another occasion (folio 117\textsuperscript{r}) he asked who now had the stolen book of astronomy—very likely his own and maybe the same book, although no date is given for this figure. Most of the horary charts in his notebook are not accompanied


\textsuperscript{70} Fol. 118\textsuperscript{r}: ‘questio utrum viri habebat talem mulierem’.

\textsuperscript{71} Fol. 129\textsuperscript{r}: ‘questio pro viro an habebat mulierem quam diligent an non’.

\textsuperscript{72} Fol. 128\textsuperscript{r}: ‘questio utrum mulier habebat Johannes de W. in maritum’.

\textsuperscript{73} Fol. 129\textsuperscript{r}: ‘questio … pro muliere, que regressit per iram a domo an revertetur vel non’.

\textsuperscript{74} Ibid.: ‘quia venus est in ascendente significat quod mulier erit conveniens’.

\textsuperscript{75} Fol. 23\textsuperscript{r}: ‘questio utrum K est vivus vel non’.

\textsuperscript{76} Fol. 130\textsuperscript{r}: ‘ubi serviens est’.

\textsuperscript{77} Fol. 117\textsuperscript{r}: ‘ad explorandum pro Johanne knyet marchant de Brystoll pro Robert Bailey’.
by judgements; but a few figures dealing with different aspects of thefts illustrate some of the rules of judgement used by Trewythian. In the judgement for a horoscope (folio 133v) which asks who committed a certain theft, he notes that the thief will be found because there are two planets in the seventh house; he also reveals that the stolen items included ‘women’s ornaments’ (‘ornamenta mulierum’) and that all will be returned because the planet which is lord of the eighth house is in a strong place and the lord of the seventh is in the midheaven. He concludes that the theft was committed by women, because the Moon was in an angle and a bicorporeal sign (Pisces). 78

Trewythian describes a thief for a client (the abbot of Bayham, see below) on folio 134r: ‘He is of a ruddy complexion with greasy brown hair and often has red pimples on his face. He has a scanty beard and small eyes; his body is coarse and crooked. He is a sower of weeds and discord between men.’ 79 This method allowed the client to focus his suspicions, which would perhaps already have been formed, as two other horaries suggest: on folio 117v, one horary chart asks ‘whether the things which were stolen are in Fulham’; another, ‘whether Agnes Haseley knows about the theft’. 80 Keith Thomas relates the story of a carrier who was robbed at an inn in St Ives in 1505 and, subsequently had the innkeeper’s son arrested on the basis of an astrologer’s description. When it was revealed that the youth did not have the discoloured teeth which the astrologer had described, a counter-action was undertaken for unlawful arrest. 81

Sometimes the ambitions of Trewythian’s clients embroiled them in difficulties which may have made recourse to an astrologer seem particularly tempting. A number of questions put by Trewythian dealt with the affairs of the abbot of Bayham, who governed a Premonstratensian house of some six or seven canons in Sussex. 82 It is not clear how Trewythian came into contact with this abbot – probably the abbot Thomas, who brought charges of extortion and oppression against Richard Redman, abbot of Shap, and a rival, in 1458–59. 83 On folio 122r the question is asked whether or not ‘the abbot of B’ is an alchemist. That the query was justified is suggested by a distilling apparatus found at Bayham abbey. 84 There is no indication as to how Trewythian answered this question, though he did tell us that Venus signifies the alchemist. Then on folio 134r (Fig. 145) there is a heading ‘pro abbate’ above two figures concerned with a theft, accompanied by the statement that if he wishes to know whether he will be able to find out who has stolen his gold cup (sketched inside one of the figures), the answer is no. Finally, there is a

78. Bicorporeal signs are zodiacal signs with images consisting of two forms, i.e. Gemini, Sagittarius and Pisces.
79. Fol. 134r: ‘Est homo rubecum habens colorem mixtum bruneo et sepe habet in facie grana rubea et paucos pilos habet in barba et oculos parvos, corpus grossum et curvum et est seminarior zannie et discordie inter homines’; This description is taken directly from Pseudo-Ptolemy, Judicata, 1.9 (14th-century); see London, British Library MS Harley 5402, fol. 2r: ‘De figuris planetarum’, on a man with characteristics deriving from the influence of Mars.
80. Fol. 117v: ‘questio utrum res furate apud fullam’; ‘... questio utrum agnes hasleye novit de furto’.
81. Thomas (as in n. 13), p. 301.
83. Victoria History of the County of Sussex (as in n. 82), ii, p. 88.
London, British Library MS Sloane 428, fol. 134r: horary figures concerning the theft of a gold cup
question on folio 136v concerning whether the abbot of Bayham will succeed or fail in his lawsuit against the prior. The judgement for the abbot was encouraging: ‘He will take courage from a spiritual lord and from a judge; and so there will not be a settlement for now.’

Astrological aid was sought not only for the recovery of missing goods but also to locate buried treasure. One of Trewythian’s clients wanted to know ‘whether there is treasure in the meadow next to Calkwyl Hill and next to the spring which is called Calkwyl well’. John Lee suspected a certain Patrick and ‘Thomas the tinker’ in the matter of goods that were in a buried chest in Fulham (folio 123v). A solar eclipse may have been used to answer Lee’s question because of its suggestion of lost gold. Astrology was seen as a suitable method for recovering hidden treasure, since the planets were associated with particular gems and metals. On folio 107v Trewythian notes a list of things signified by the planets. Alongside an abundance of oil and honey, Jupiter is said to signify gold and silver, ruby, jasper and other stones, while Saturn signifies iron and lead as well as marshes and black cloth.

Men and women who sought to control and influence future events came to the astrologer. A client of Trewythian wished to find out the hour in which someone, presumably an enemy, would be released from jail (folio 14r). John Pittmyster and his wife Johanna sought to discover whether or not the oaths which they had sworn would hurt J. Maser (folio 136v). It seems that the astrologer was sometimes required simply to give his clients the confidence to make up their own minds and lessen their anxiety. With questions such as ‘whether it is better to go or stay’; or ‘whether he will gain the upper hand in the lawsuit for his property’, he could perhaps be largely guided by common sense. In the last resort, the answer given was the decision of the practitioner, and sometimes it would appear that flexibility was advisable. When John Evans, tutor to the seventeenth-century astrologer William Lilly, gave a client a prognostication that was the reverse of what the horoscope indicated, he defended himself by saying: ‘Had he not so judged to please the woman, she would have given him nothing; and he had a wife and family to provide for.’

The genre of nativities formed a significant part of Trewythian’s astrological practice, and many of those he calculated were for the children of clients, rather than for clients themselves. He often uses the margins of the ephemerides to note the birth times of named individuals, such as Gerustan, Nicholas’s daughter (folio 21v); Agnes, daughter of Julian Bishop (folio 72v); and the son of Richard Coney (folio 134v). For parents to note the exact time of their child’s birth, they presumably had a prior interest in astrology; and perhaps families of higher social status like ‘magister’ W. Danet (folio 41v) were

85. Fol. 136v: ‘habebit fortitudinem a domino spirituali et a iudice. Et sic non erit concordantia pro nunc.’
86. Fol. 136v: ‘utrum est thezaurus in prato iuxta clakwil hille et iuxta fontem que dicitur calkwil wyll’. See also fol. 116v: ‘utrum est thezaurus in loco danende et qua parte’.
87. See North (as in n. 29), pp. 150–53, for an analysis of the horoscopes drawn up for this question.
88. Fol. 130v: ‘questio utrum melius est removere vel remanere’.
89. Fol. 103v: ‘questio utrum habet melius de placito pro tenemento suo’.
more able to make an accurate record of the time of birth. Trewythian, however, knew the astrological technique for reconstructing a date of birth by looking at the relationship between the accidents or notable events in someone’s life and the state of the heavens at the time. This is a service he performed for Maria Bell of Salisbury (folio 77v).

An analysis of two linked nativity figures of a mother and son, on folio 118v (below, Fig. 148), provides one of the most extensive examples of Trewythian’s use of astrological techniques deriving from a particular authority. Accompanying the pair of figures are a series of rules for nativities, and a long explanatory judgement with references to Ptolemy’s Tetrabiblos and the commentary of ‘Ali ibn Riḍwān. There are fourteen different headings under which the son’s nativity can be interpreted; the most important of these is the prediction of the length of his life and well being, and its six periods, derived from astrological events by the theory of atazir or prorogations. Trewythian hastens to add the commonplace theological proviso that, of course, the prediction is not meant to take away God’s freedom to dispose of human life as he sees fit. Each of the periods of the son’s life will be characterised by susceptibility to particular ailments – an interpretation which does not derive from Ptolemy but reflects Trewythian’s particular interests as a physician. After the son reaches the age of twenty-three, he will be in great danger from an ailment on the right side of his body, that is, the liver. If he survives this, he will make it to fifty-five years of age. The seventh division of the interpretation indicates that he will acquire wealth by sea and from iron. He can also expect to inherit great wealth from women. From the ninth division, it would seem that he will be a merchant and that he will be interested in books. We learn that he will have four wives, whose different characters are indicated and who will bear him two sons and two daughters. Most of the judgements made in the course of this nativity are supported by reference to the appropriate chapter of Ptolemy.

The horoscopes for the mother and son were drawn up in 1431 – an early date in terms of the chronology of the notebook. This suggests that Trewythian’s astrological practice was already quite sophisticated at this stage; but he may not have felt the need to write at such length for all his clients, or, perhaps, to adhere so closely to an authority in the later years of his practice. A nativity drawn up more than twenty years later for a Thomas C, born on 24 October 1454 (folio 81v), has a judgement based solely on the lordship of a particular planet in a particular place or house. For example, the Sun in the second place signifies beauty and love. The use of nativity charts to determine the time and manner of an individual’s death is poignantly illustrated on folio 202v of Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 189 (Fig. 146). Here Trewythian constructed two nativities which were very close in date, beside one another: that of Agnes Crulle (20 April 1432), and

91. Illustrated below, p. 223.
92. See below, Appendix II for an edition and translation of these two nativities and their accompanying judgements.
93. For Ptolemy’s Tetrabiblos, in Latin Quadrpartitum, with the commentary of ‘Ali ibn Riḍwān (translated by Aegidius de Tehaldis of Parma in the second half of the 13th century in the version used by Trewythian) I have used a copy of the Venice 1519 printed edition in the Royal College of Physicians (48e D118/8) as well as Cambridge, University Library MS Kk.4.7 (13th-century). The manuscript in Cambridge was at one time owned by Roger Marshall, a contemporary of Trewythian’s, a fellow Londoner and an avid collector of astrological texts. See L. E. Voigt, ‘A Doctor and his Books: the Manuscripts of Roger Marshall (d. 1477)’, in New Science out of Old Books, ed. A. Piper and R. Beadle. Aldershot 1995, pp. 249–314.
94. On prorogation see North (as in n. 29), pp. 220–28.
146. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 189, fol. 202v: nativities for Agnes Crulle and Lucy, daughter of Johanna
that of Lucy, daughter of Johanna (19 April 1432). In the central squares of these horoscopes, he drew pictures relating to the contrasting fates he had predicted: a prone, dead child in the case of Agnes and an upright, living child for Lucy.

Few figures in Trewythian’s notebook can be identified as elections—horoscopes drawn up in order to determine the best time for beginning an activity. This is surprising in view of the fact that on folio 115v there is a ‘Table on the following figures for making elections’, which was apparently designed to assist him in drawing them up. A figure which is probably an election is dated 1 March 1452; it is entitled ‘question for the departure from town to the war’, which suggests that he was trying to predict an optimum time for this action. We cannot be certain whether the figure was cast for Trewythian himself or for another, although it is perhaps unlikely that he had any intention of going into battle. More probably, a would-be combatant wanted to consult him before leaving the comparative safety of London and committing himself to one side or the other. As we have seen in connection with mundane astrology, Londoners were very much preoccupied in the 1450s with the likelihood of warfare.

As a medical practitioner Trewythian might have been expected to have been particularly interested in the use of elections for diagnosis and choosing appropriate times for treatment; but there is only one such figure, on folio 19r, which is entitled ‘for the hour of sickness’. The judgement on this figure does not survive. It falls into the category of ‘decumbitures’—horary figures which were cast for the moment when the patient fell ill and which, sometimes in conjunction with an examination of the patient’s urine, enabled the practitioner to diagnose the disease, choose a course of treatment, foretell when the sickness would reach its crisis and prognosticate its eventual outcome.

IV. Trewythian as Medical Practitioner

A number of entries in Trewythian’s notebook testify to his medical activities. These notes, all in the form of private memoranda, bring us closer to the realities of medical practice in the fifteenth century than most other sources. He names several of his patients: Nicholas of Ely, pelterer; John of Stockbury, canon of Leeds; W. Boterows; John Curtes; Roger Wylkyn of Bromley parish; Thomas London of Aldersgate Street; and Peter, a shepherd. In the case of W. Boterows, in April 1447 Trewythian appears to have travelled some distance to visit him during the course of his illness (folio 34v). Boterows is identified as a ‘dominus’ or master, and Trewythian records heavy expenses: 7 shillings for his own travel, four weeks worth of horse feed at 2d per day, six weeks hire (‘conduccio’) at 4d per day—a grand total of 30s 8d. This is in addition to the 12d for confections of meat, 16d for Rasis pills, and 3 shillings for London medicines. It would appear that the cost of bringing Trewythian to his patient, some distance from London, was far greater than

95. She may be related to Thomas Crulle, whose nativity appears on fol. 87v (November 1455). 96. On fol. 122v there is a figure entitled an election, although its purpose is not stated. A figure for finding the place of the Moon on fol. 117v may also be an election. 97. Fol. 68r: ‘questio pro exitu a villa ad bellum’. 98. I am very grateful for the assistance of Peter Jones in this section. A similar kind of record can be seen in his ‘Thomas Mayreford’ (as in n. 15). 99. These are most likely to be ‘pillule cochic’, referred to by Guy de Chauliac and Arnau de Vilanova as ‘pillule cochic rasis’. See Guigonis de Caulhiaco, Inuentarium sive chirurgia magna, ed. M. R. McVaugh, 2
that of the medicines he administered. We can assume that Trewythian’s time was given over wholly to the welfare of his patient during the course of treatment. Presumably, the other named patients were Londoners whom he could visit at no great distance.

It is not always clear what kind of ailments Trewythian treated. There is an entry for Roger Wylkyn which ends ‘est in cura pro fistula’ (folio 49r) – the word is probably fistula, an abnormal passage leading from an abscess, which is a common problem with ulcerated wounds. The Austin canon John of Stockbury was given a regimen against dropsy and gout (‘ydropsim et guttam’, folio 31v). An unnamed woman was treated for epilepsy with a variety of remedies, including roots, powders, electuaries and suffumigation (folio 72r). These records, fragmentary though they are, suggest that Trewythian treated a wide range of infirmities, both internal and external. Perhaps the most interesting record of all, because it is the most complete, is that for his treatment of Nicholas of Ely, the pelterer, for leprosy (folio 18v). The diagnosis of leprosy (Hansen’s disease) in the late Middle Ages, when it is assumed that the incidence of this illness had declined sharply from its early medieval peak, is notoriously difficult. Physicians and surgeons were sometimes required by municipal authorities to determine whether suspected sufferers were leprous or not. The symptoms of leprosy set out in medical texts were sufficiently numerous to leave room for considerable doubt as to whether the individuals concerned were afflicted with Hansen’s disease or any of a variety of skin complaints, including those caused by venereal disease.100 The memorandum of 1444 in Nicholas of Ely’s case runs as follows:

Memorandum that in this month I received 20 shillings from Nicholas of Ely, the pelterer, in part payment of 5 marks for the cure of his leprosy; and of the remainder I am to receive 2 nobles on the Feast of St Michael and the rest when he can decently walk among people again.101

There follows a long list of the medicines that Trewythian used, with their prices.102 The staging of the payments for treatment indicates that Nicholas’s case was a protracted one, with purchases of medicines and the costs of attendance spread out over a period of months. It is particularly interesting that Trewythian’s final payment was dependent on Nicholas recovering to the extent that he could ‘decently walk among people again’.


101. ‘Memorandum quod in huius mensis recipi xx s. a Nicholas eleisi pellisario in paratem solucionis v marcarum pro cura lepere et residuum recipiam ii nobilia in festo michealis, et residuum quando honeste potest ambulare inter homines.’ A mark was worth ½ of £1 (134 4d) and a noble ½ of £1 (6s 8d).

Lepers once diagnosed were expected to remove themselves from the community for fear of contagion, and we must assume that Nicholas of Ely was confined while his leprosy was visible.\textsuperscript{103} We cannot know whether Trewythian’s treatment was successful, but Nicholas was evidently able to invest a considerable sum of money in his treatment. The pattern of the medicines listed suggests that the treatment proceeded in stages, with repeated use of cumin, syrups, ‘gargarismus’ (gargles), plasters and purges.\textsuperscript{104}

The total cost of the medicines which Trewythian bought on behalf of Nicholas came to 27s 7d, which of course had to be offset against the payment he received. Assuming that he spent no more than this, and that he received the balance of his payment which was dependent on his success, Trewythian’s net reward for his labour would have been 39s 1d. Payment of almost £2 for a single case compares rather well with the rates being charged by prominent London surgeons of the period. In the mid-fifteenth century, for instance, Matthew Rellesford could expect 40s for treating the stone; and another London surgeon, Nicholas Sax, was paid 32s 8d for curing a fistula.\textsuperscript{105} We do not know what they may have had to spend on medicines. Although Trewythian was not qualified as either a physician or a surgeon, so far as is known, he seems to have been sufficiently respected to charge fees to his patients comparable to the professionals.

We may assume that Trewythian obtained his patients’ medicines from an apothecary.\textsuperscript{106} In prescribing these medicines and those used for his other patients, it seems likely that he made use of his manuscript of Pseudo-Serapion (Oxford, All Soul’s College MS 70).\textsuperscript{107} He supplied a table in his own hand at the beginning of the manuscript, which gives alphabetical access to the medicines in the text. Each medicine is given a numerical reference, which is repeated at the appropriate place in the text. Another table at the end, also in Trewythian’s hand, includes measurements of quantity for listed medicines, giving Latin equivalents for Arabic terms. He annotated the manuscript throughout and drew a series of illustrative sketches, for instance of a bezoar\textsuperscript{108} set in a ring (folio 79r), a clyster bag (folio 60v) and distilling apparatus (folio 96v) which, when used on human excrement, is said to provide a cure for leprosy. After the explicit of the text and his ownership inscription, he added three recipes making medicinal use of toads, in one case to be placed in a purse hung round the neck of a horse sick with ‘fasyr’.\textsuperscript{109} Like other

\textit{aquis: xij d. Item in sirupas: xx d, in purgacio.’ The list seems to continue in the line below, but this part of the page is torn.}

103. On confinement of lepers see Richards (as in n. 100), pp. 48-61.

104. It is worth noting that in his list of medicines Trewythian does not for the most part specify simples or compounds (as in the Westminster infirmarer’s rolls) but rather indicates broad types of medicine costed at each separate visit. See E. A. Hammond, ‘The Westminster Abbey Infirmarer’s Rolls as a Source of Medical History’, \textit{Bulletin of the History of Medicine, \textit{XXXIX, 1965}}, pp. 261-76.


106. Institutional accounts for medicines prescribed by physicians and bought from apothecaries by the infirmarer of Westminster Abbey are dealt with in Hammond (as in n. 104). The role of the infirmarer in the context of the medical services at Westminster Abbey is discussed by B. Harvey in \textit{Living and Dying in England, \textit{1100–1340: The Monastic Experience, \textit{Oxford 1993}}, pp. 72-111.}

107. See above, nn. 27, 28.

108. Bezoars are concretions of high-phosphate stones found in certain ruminant animals such as goats and often used as medicines and amulets.

109. Farsin or farseyr (modern: farcy) is a disease of horses and other animals characterised by swollen
fifteenth-century English medical practitioners who were well acquainted with the learned medical tradition, Trewythian was evidently prepared to make use of ‘experimenta’ with or without the example of an ancient authority.\(^{110}\) His Pseudo-Serapion manuscript was a sourcebook of remedies for his medical practice, though not the only one to which he had access. References in the notebook indicate that he also consulted copies of Cardinalis on the Hippocratic aphorisms and Pseudo-Mesue on medicaments.\(^{111}\)

Finally, we should note that Trewythian’s medical interests led him to copy two plague tracts into his notebook. The risk of plague in London at the time was a very real one, and his concern was shared by many others, both medical practitioners and laymen.

V. **TREWYTHIAN AS MONEYLENDER**

Trewythian made notes among his ephemerides regarding loans to various individuals, ranging in amount from 1d to £4. In October 1443 he lent Godwyne Catesby £3 on security of a measure of cloth (‘1 pannum’). At the same place he records that afterwards he lent Catesby another 20 shillings and has one casket in his keeping as security.\(^{112}\) The sums involved suggest that Trewythian had quite significant resources at his command, sufficient to finance some transaction on the part of Catesby, who was probably a merchant. There is no mention of the term of the loan, of interest or of eventual repayment. We must assume that borrowers were charged something like the standard rate of 10% interest, which would be concealed in a lump repayment.\(^{113}\) The term of the loans was nearly always short, never extending to more than six months, and usually only a matter of weeks. In February 1457 Trewythian records another loan, to an unidentified borrower, of 18d for one month against security of a ring (folio 101v). The shortage of cash in the late medieval economy made it necessary for borrowers to finance their business dealings with small loans against security, while it was also profitable for those with extra cash available to put it to good use in this way.

Trewythian’s notes in his ephemerides may have been the only record of his lendings. Frequently such transactions were conducted orally in the presence of witnesses, so he was probably making a memorandum to himself rather than a formal record. This is certainly what the notes themselves suggest, since there is no attempt to use legal language. In April 1452 (folio 68v) he recorded that he had lent a woman from Southwark 11 shillings, and before that 2 nobles. The following month (folio 69f) he made another memorandum that the Southwark woman first borrowed 2 nobles, against which he had received 20d from her. On a second occasion he lent her 11 shillings, of which he received 3 shillings back on 1 May. A third loan of 12 shillings is recorded at the same place, with a note that she now owes him 20s 20d.

lymphatics, small tumours and sores. In the notebook there is also a memorandum to make horse medicine (fol. 41v, January 1441).\(^{110}\)

10. See Jones, ‘Thomas Fayreford’ (as in n. 15), pp. 175-77, for comparable use of such ‘experimenta’.

11. See above, p. 199 and n. 31.

12. Fol. 12v: ‘die istius mensis pretiti godwyno catesby £3 ... Postea pretstiti sibi XX shillings et habeo pigidem in custodia.’

113. See M. K. McIntosh, ‘Money Lending on the Periphery of London 1300-1600’, Albion, xx, 1988, pp. 557-71, where this practice is described as the normal pattern of such small-scale moneylending (the prohibition of usury necessitated the concealment of interest charges). In two cases where Trewythian did record the terms of the loan (one month and nine days), the records are crossed through, probably to indicate repayment, though without any indication of interest added.
In 1457 Trewythian records an intricate series of loan transactions with a widow by the name of Isabel Dalby (folio 101f). As many as twenty-three loans are included in this one memorandum, to which notes seem to have been added as further sums were lent. The amounts ranged from 1d to 21s 10d. Trewythian sometimes records the place of the transactions; and his notes suggest, rather than casual lending to a friend or acquaintance, a pattern of business conducted at various markets (the Minories, St Katherine’s and Lombard Street) as well as at his own home (‘domo mea’). It would probably be a mistake to exaggerate the extent to which he depended on money-lending to make a living. As with other individual lenders, it was the availability of surplus cash at a given time that motivated the transaction. Nevertheless, the fact that he could lend pounds as well as pence does indicate that at times, towards the end of his life at least, he was affluent by the standards of the day.114

VI. THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF TREWYTHIAN’S PRACTICE

It would not be surprising if there were some overlap between Trewythian’s various roles, so that his medical patients, for example, also requested astrological advice or borrowed money from him. His notebook provides elusive glimpses of the social milieu from which he drew his clientele, in the notation of various names, and occasionally occupations and places of origin. About a quarter of those who sought his services were women, although the proportion appears to be slightly larger for the horary charts.115 The evidence for the identity of his clients does not reveal any pattern, but instead indicates diversity, both of social position and place of origin.

I have been unable to identify any of the individuals mentioned in Trewythian’s notebook in other records; but many names noted by him appear on a list of London owners of property with an annual rentable value assessed at £5 and over in 1496. Some of these are names of alderman families.116 It is likely that many of his clients belonged to the relatively wealthy urban group of ‘worshipful merchants and rich artificers’ of whom his contemporary John Russell said that they should be given a parallel rank at banquets to gentlemen and women and ‘good squires’.117

A wide range of occupations figure in Trewythian’s notebook, from tradesmen and others with a high social standing (a merchant, scrivener, draper and controller of the petty customs), to clerics (a canon, an abbot, and a the friary to which he lent money), to those whose livelihoods indicate a lower status (a pewterer, pelterer, tinker, sherman and alehouse-keeper). In London social mobility was relatively fluid.118 So, rather than making names, all mentioned by Trewythian: Bokeland, Cok, Cooke, Crulle, Godwyn, Halle, Knight, Kyngeston, Lyndesey, Nicholl, Pycard, Sutton and Wodehouse. The Cooks (fol. 44f), Picards (fol. 34f), Suttons (fol. 28f) and Wodehouses (fol. 10f) were all alderman families in the 15th century.

114. E. Clark, ‘Debt Litigation in a Late Medieval English Vill’, in Pathways to Medieval Peasants, ed. J. A. Raffis, Toronto 1981, pp. 247-79, estimates that in Writtle in Essex over half of loans made were for 5s or less. The creditors were not professional money-lenders but local people with cash to spare.

115. Women are often named in relation to men, for instance, ‘the wife of Palter’ (fol. 85f) and ‘Isobel Dalby widow of N. Dalby’ (fol. 101f).

116. S. Thrupp, The Merchant Class of Medieval London, Chicago 1948, pp. 321-77, includes the following


clear distinctions between a merchant and a tinker, we should think of Trewythian’s clientele as belonging to a ‘middle stratum’, which included the families of wealthy aldermen but was not exclusive in a fixed sense. His astrological customers probably included men and women whose eagerness for social mobility led them to embrace opportunities for personal contact with an elite culture—which had always, on a wider scale, interacted with their own.

We do not know whether Trewythian generally saw clients at his house in London, or how many of them he travelled outside London to visit, as in the case of W. Boterows which was examined above. Most of his clients whose origins are recorded seem to have come from London or nearby. Various other persons and activities are mentioned in the notebook in relation to specific localities in and around London. Trewythian does not, however, refer to a sufficient number of specific places to enable a clear pattern to emerge of the location of his practice. It is likely that those clients not connected with a particular place-name were well known to him, or perhaps members of his own parish. The woman from Southwark (folio 68v) and Roger Wylkyn from the parish of Bromley (folio 49v) were presumably thus indicated in the notebook because they did not come from Trewythian’s own locality. Two of the people he mentions live on Candlewick Street, a major thoroughfare within the City of London, running parallel to Lombard Street, which is one of the locations of his money-lending transactions: Robert Colvil, a draper (folio 97v); and a sherman to whom he owes money for labour (folio 121v). Trewythian also refers to the Red Cock in the neighbourhood of the Thames, from which a woman came to him for medicine (folio 135v). This might have been a boarding house in Southwark (mentioned on folio 68v), a prosperous waterfront town with an unruly and transient population, which had a large number of inns for travellers.

As we have seen, Trewythian also attracted clients from other parts of England. He had medical patients in Norwich (folio 29v) and Leeds (folio 31v), astrological customers from Salisbury (folio 77v), Ware (folio 126v) and Bayham (136v); and in his book-dealing activities he had transactions with a scrivener from Norwich (folio 30v) and the wife of B. Gemel of Bury St Edmunds (folio 29v).

The fact that Trewythian was a medical practitioner and a moneylender as well as an astrologer shows how individuals in London of his middle station might earn income from a variety of sources, and how misleading modern ideas about occupation and status may

Lobel and W. H. Johns, Oxford 1989, pp. 42–56 (56). Italian visitors were astounded that the fixed caste system which they experienced in cities such as Florence did not exist in 15th-century London.

In many cases, however, we cannot be certain whether the place attached to a person’s name is indicative of their native town or is simply a family name.

For example, the buried chest and stolen goods to be found in Fulham (see above, pp. 206, 208); two magistrates, Johannes Cade and Petre Wyl, are described as exploring Westminster on a mission for Trewythian (fol. 50v); and a lightning strike on the belfry of St Paul’s is recorded (fol. 21v, February 1445).

121. This street, the home of candlemakers since the late 12th century, ran from Ludgate into Eastcheap, which was ‘clamorous with the crowd of dealers crying their names’: C. L. Kingsford, Prejudice and Promise in Fifteenth-Century England, Oxford 1925, p. 134.

122. The memorandum concerning the medicines required by this woman is accompanied by a small drawing of a cockeler.

be in assessing fifteenth-century society. We cannot be sure how to label a man like Trewythian, nor can we be certain whether his astrological interests were a major source of income or an enthusiast’s hobby. The number of his clients, as well as the diversity of their social standing and places of origin, nevertheless indicate that there was widespread popular awareness of, and interest in, the possibilities of astrological advice. His notebook provides important evidence about the use and social context of astrology in late medieval England. Although a rare survival from this period, it records a range of activities which prefigure the profusion of astrological practice in the next two centuries.

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Appendix I

The Structure of the Notebook

Trewythian’s notebook can be divided into two sections: the first contains the ephemerides of 1442–58, on folios 1–114; the second, a sequence of astrological figures (more or less in order) for the years 1429–54 on folios 115–38. The ephemerides were written out in booklets of six leaves, each corresponding to a year’s data. Sometimes these booklets were enclosed within a further conjugate pair of leaves, which seem to have been made from scrap or re-used paper. Thus, on folios 7v and 14v we see an earlier diagram of a quadrant circle, probably drawn by Trewythian himself; on folios 51v and 81v we find scraps of accounts in Latin and French, in another hand. The annual booklets of ephemerides would have been prepared in advance: in five of the original pamphlets the extra leaf at the end of the annual ephemeris is used to record the prognostication for the following year.

In the spaces below the ephemerides Trewythian constructed figures relating to the positions of the planets in the tables above. Horoscopes for the entry of the Sun into Aries are usually accompanied by others for the major planetary aspects which occurred around the time of the Sun’s entry. They were constructed in order to build up a wider picture of what was happening in the heavens at this significant moment in the astrological year. Predictions deriving from these and other mundane horoscopes tend to be noted on the page opposite the figures—a convenient placing for the comparison of astronomical data, horoscopes and contemporary events recorded in the margins. An example of the kind of relationship which could be constructed between celestial and terrestrial events occurs in notes relating to the ephemeris for July 1450 (Fig. 147). Below this table Trewythian drew up a horoscope for an eclipse which occurred on 24 July 1450. Above it a judgement predicts war on 1 July ‘because of the square aspect between two heavy planets [Jupiter and Saturn].’ In the left-hand margin he noted a terrestrial event on 4 July corresponding to this prediction: ‘on this

124. This section is followed on folios 39v–41v by a work on solar eclipses in a different hand: De eclipis solis, inc. Cum secundum astronomos anno domini 1433 17 die Iunii ... (L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, A Catalogue of Incipits of Medieval Scientific Writings in Latin, London 1963 [hereafter TK], 338, this MS). Then come two well-known treatises on the plague copied by Trewythian himself: folios 141v–44v contain Geoffrey of Meaux, On the Causes of the Black Death, inc. Rogatus a quibusdam amicis meis ut de causa huius generalis pestilencie ... (TK 1564: Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin, v, 1912, p. 42); and on folios 145v–53v is Blasius Barcicionensis (Barcelonensis), medicus regis Aragoniae, De pestilentia (incomplete), inc. Benevolentiam arguit opificis communicare que novit ... (TK 176: Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin, xvii, 1924, pp. 103–19).

125. The ephemerides for 1452 (folios 61v–66v) are written out in another hand, though we find annotations added by Trewythian.

126. Fol. 31r: ‘Hic in primo huius mensis erit bellum per quadraturam duorum pond[er]osorum.’
night the people of Kent fought a battle on London bridge—a reference to an event in Jack Cade’s rebellion.  

Folios 115–38 contain figures for mundane astrology, nativities and horaries which run more or less in sequence from 1429 to 1455, with the largest number dating to before 1442 (the first year of the ephemeris). Many would not have easily fitted into the earlier section, being either double or triple figures, or presented as a series of related figures, for instance, those concerned with various aspects of a theft or the mundane figures for a particular year. The larger scale of most horary figures in this section may be due to the fact that they were constructed in the presence of a client and hence were intended to be visually impressive. Trewythian probably put together this section of the notebook from loose pages on which individual or linked horoscopes had been copied. Figures dating to 1440 (on folios 116–31v) are numbered sequentially (76–151) according to their position in the notebook, suggesting that this was the date at which he gathered separate folios together. New folios containing horoscopes were added continuously, but Trewythian also filled in gaps in earlier pages: on folio 135v, for example, an astrological figure dated 1452 has been constructed below another dated 1439.

All the horoscopes in the second part of the manuscript were copied onto the same distinctive stock of thick paper tinged with red as were the nine figures in Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 189. The Oxford horoscopes, like the material in the notebook, are concerned with eclipses, thefts and nativities; but they were separated before the construction of the notebook and do not represent missing folios. The existence of the two Oxford folios and the fact that the numbering of one group of horoscopes in the notebook begins at 76 provide evidence that Trewythian’s astrological practice was much larger than the 200-odd figures found in the notebook. Peculiar lacunae in MS Sloane 428 also suggest that this is the case, since there are examples of both questions without figures (such as that on folio 117v for whether a woman is pregnant or not) and judgements without figures (such as the predictions written over Trewythian’s incomplete revolution horoscope for October 1450).

Some of the gaps may indicate horoscopes which have not survived: for example, the absence of any nativity revolutions between 1435 and 1443; and the paucity of figures for nativities and elections, given the interest expressed in these genres in his astrological notes. It is possible that horoscopes belonging to the latter two genres were given to the friends or clients who had solicited them.

The notebook represents the consolidation over time of a small but regular astrological practice which covered most of the known astrological genres. The figures may have been collected together in one binding to enable Trewythian to cross-refer to previous interpretations he had made of the same subject or of a similar planetary alignment. In a few cases new data concerning the position of the planets was superimposed on an old horoscope, so that a new configuration of planets could be considered in relation to the first one. Two examples, both horaries, indicate the potential advantages of this unusual technique for the astrologer. A horoscope which asks whether society is well governed in 1440 has another (undated) question accompanied by another set of planetary positions superimposed on it, asking about the war in the countryside. A horary figure concerned with the life of a man (folio 130v) has been used again—presumably in relation to the same client—to ask whether a woman is pregnant. Occasionally it is possible to see where Trewythian has returned to a particular horoscope and corrected his interpretation. This is apparent with the double horoscope for a vernal ingress on folio 123v, where he has corrected some of his previous judgements (noted at the comparatively early date of 1430). For example, where the Sun is said to have no fortune in a particular house, this has been corrected to indicate that it is in its triplicity. The notebook was clearly a

128. Fol. 118v. The judgement accompanying this horoscope states that this society is good and profitable.  
129. Each sign was assigned its own element and a ‘triplicity’ refers to a group of signs belonging to the same element. When a planet was in its own triplicity its influence was said to be stronger.
147. London, British Library MS Sloane 428, fol. 55r: the ephemeris for July 1450
working space in which interpretations were made and could be overturned. The horoscopes are neither neat copies of originals, nor entirely transparent witnesses of the astrologer’s technique. The absence of the many rough jottings which calculations from the ephemerides would have required means that the book maintains a certain formality in its presentation. It seems that Trewythin’s representations of the heavens were too precious to discard, even long after the usefulness of their predictions had passed.

Appendix II

Two Examples of Richard Trewythin’s Astrological Practice
from British Library MS Sloane 428

Editorial Notes

I am very grateful to Charles Burnett and David Juste for their helpful comments on these editions.

Spelling and Punctuation. The punctuation and capitalisation have been modernised. Non-standard but clearly intentional spelling in the original text has been retained.

Emendation of the Text. Necessary emendations have been made in angular brackets <<>. Words or letters to be deleted are indicated by square brackets [ ]. [...] refers to an unreadable part of the text. Editorial commentary has been set in italics within square brackets, e.g. [sic].

1. An Annual Prognostication for 1452: folio 60r-v

Cum scientia astronomie sit altissima atque contingens futura predicere ac previdere faciens, ut assis translator Quadrupartitii Ptolomei, inquiens scire et intelligere gloriosissimi est, quia omnis sapiencia a deo, ideo aliquid dicere de anno futuro secundum astra propono, de anno vitalictet imperfecto. Et primo de fertilitate.

Anni fertilitas erit bona pro prima parte. Hec conclusio habetur a Luna et sua applicatione. Veneri, post oppositionem ante introitum Solis in Arietem. Et confirmatur per partem fortune que est in septima <domo> et respicit ascendens per oppositionem. Et similiter duo infortune sunt cadentes. Et Iupiter est in quarta <domo>. Que omnia significant fertilitatem. Sed pro secunda parte non videtur ita, quia Luna primo applicat Saturno post coniunctionem ante introitum Libere.

De guerris. Isto anno erunt guerre. Hec conclusio habetur per Martem, quia in hora revolutionis anni Mars est in ascendentis et significat guerras. Et pars que non vult guerras vincet. Hec conclusio habetur per applicationem Martis ad partem evasionis, quia cadit a quarta domo.

130. The ephemerides gave daily positions of the planets. It was usually necessary to calculate the position of a planet between two of these given times when constructing a horoscope.

131. The incipit of this prognostication is a paraphrase of Aegidius de Tebaldis of Parma’s preface to his translation of Ptolemy’s Tetrabiblos (see above, n. 93). See the edition of P. Lucentini, ‘Il Liber de accidentibus ermetico e il commento de Haly Abenrudianus al Tetrabiblos di Tolomeo’, in Ob regatum merorum sociorum: Scritti in memoria di Lorenzo Pazzi, ed. S. Caroti and R. Pinzani, Milan 2000. In Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Herford 4, fol. 160r, a similar paraphrase is used as the incipit for a prognostication for the year 1420 by Johannes de Rubeis, which is, however, unrelated to Trewythin’s. I am grateful to the anonymous reader who directed me to the Oxford manuscript.

132. In this prognostication Trewythin’s choice of topics – fertility, wars and the state of the people – follows Haly Abenragel, De judiciis astrarum, Basel 1551, part 8 (on annual prognostications), chapters 2, 3, 6.

133. MS: suo.

134. MS: conformatur.

135. MS: Saturno.

Item guerre erunt, ut vult Haly Abenragel, dicens: quando Mars fuerit in aliquo angulorum in revolucione anni, movebuntur lites secundum potenciam quam habuerit, et ian et potecass in ascendente.137 Et similiter faciet quando est in quadratura Saturni et lovis. Et scies quod omnes lites et interfecciones que accident in mundo perveniunt a Marte, quia quando intrat sub aliquo angulo138 et maxime angulo terre significat lites et guerras. Et accident multe interfecciones et fluxus sanguinis et litigabant et interficiunt se homines invicem.

Et guerre incipiunt 3 die [...] vel 19 die Martii. Hec conclusio est per Martem, quia tunc erit in gradu exaltacionis sue. Sed forte mitigatur quia in omnibus partibus Capricorni, ut vult Haly Abenragel, diligent Ioiculatores, ludere et inebriare, onestatem cavere, res formas, vicia et societatem.139

Item quando Mars fuerit dominus anni, aspice signum in quo fuerit et judica quod in terra illius signi erunt pluviae. Et quando Mars in ascendente fuerit, significat multum effusionis sanguinis in illo anno.140

Saturnus in oppositione Mercurii significat quod homines extrahent falcitates [sic] et mendacia et mores scienarium et falsificabuntur libri.141 Hec causantur a Saturno et Mercurio. Item 26 die Marci erit oppositio Saturni et Solis et significat rixas et interfecciones inter illos de oriente et occidente et lites in diversis locis. Item Saturnus in nona domo significat dampnum in nunciis et in rebus142 quas mittit. Mercurius in omnibus partibus Arietis est interfactor, rixator, contrariator et vociferator.143

[julio 60v] De statu populi. Populii erit bene dispositus pro prima parte. Hec conclusio sequitur per Lunam, quia Luna primo applicat Veneri post oppositionem cum Sole et in succedente. Et populi habebit hilaritates144 et habundancias, quietes et victia. Et innovabuntur coniugia.145 Sed quia planete non sunt in dignitatis, minoratur significacio.

Hominis habebunt gaudia, divitia, utilitates et lucra et gaudebunt cum mulieribus. Hec conclusio habetur quia Venus est in termino suo; in revolucione etiam significat hec omnia.146

Populi faciunt longa itineria. Hoc erit per nonam domum <et> partem futurorum.

Erit multe mercadantic147 isto anno. Hoc habitur per Martem et Mercurium quia miscent radios suos.

Mercurius in oppositione Saturni et in quadratura Martis significat hominis; pene et angustie, invasio, et eorum <domini> faciunt eis malum occasione collax et vicarii [et] populi faciunt documenta; boni mores et lucra. Et accident mendacia. Et erunt fortes venti et damnables ac terrores. Et quia Luna est salva homines salvabuntur ab occasionibus et infirmitatibus. Erunt pluviae temperate. Et annus erit bonus et fertilis.148

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137. Cf. ibid., 8.3, p. 355, col. 1: ‘si fuerit Mars in aliquo angulorum ... significat pugnas et lites in eodem anno’.
138. MS: anculo.
139. Reference not found.
142. MS: rebis.
143. These same attributes are among those listed by Haly Abenragel (as in n. 132), 1.4, p. 13, col. 2.
144. MS: illeritates.
145. Cf. Haly Abenragel (as in n. 132), 8.6, p. 365, col. 2: ‘Etiam si illa fortuna cui applicat Luna fuerit Venus, habebit abundancias et hilaritates, vitia et quietes, et innovabuntur coniugia.’
146. Cf. ibid., 8.6, p. 366, col. 2: ‘Ad haec si quando Venus in revolucione fuerit firma et corroborata et fortunata, habebunt homines gaudia, vitia, divitia, utilitates et lucra, et gaudebunt cum mulieribus.’
147. MS: mercadantic.
148. MS: missent.
149. Cf. Haly Abenragel (as in n. 132), 8.6, p. 367, col. 1: ‘At si Mercurius fuerit maleficus et debilis et infortunatus, accidet hominiibus molestiae et angustia et diminutio, et eorum domini facient eis malum ex occasione tributorum et vicarii populi similiter facient, et minuentur documenta, boni mores et lucra et accident et labuntur fortes venti et nocivi ac terrores.

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Negocia populi erunt debiliaquia Luna non habet aliquam fortitudinem. Et quia Mars est dominus anni potens et fortis, et in bono statu et loco, significat quod ille annus erit bonus alcydis et multibibis et quod erunt amati, honorati et preciati et Vincent inimicos eorum. Et illi qui custodient frontiam vincent inimicos suos. Et erunt multe pluvie in temporibus pluviarum. Et prospicunt iunt et gaudebunt in eis homines ex victoriis quas habebant.

Et quia Mars est in domo Saturni in ascendente, significat gentes illius climatis habebunt profectum in illo anno de litibus et interfeccionibus et appoderabunt se super inimicos et lucrabuntur villas. Item Jupiter in secunda in triplicitate suo significat quod populi habundant lucra et bonam vitam, sed quia est in domo sui inimici minoratur significatio. Et erit collectio per decepcionem. Et quia in oppositione ante introitum fuit in quarta domo, in domo inimici sui, [et] significat quod erunt placita et discordie pro hereditatibus suis et perturbacio.

Et qua Jupiter est dominus gradus ascendentis in secunda domo et triplicitate sua et orientalis significat quod senescallus regis erit in bono statu et augmentabitur in opere suo. Et Jupiter est auxiliator iusticorum isto anno.

II. Nativities of a Mother and Son: folios 118v–20f

[folio 118v (see Fig. 148), first column]

Sequitur figura nativitis filii accepta per animodar et concordat cum tempore estimato in anno christi 1431.

[figure]

Anno christi 1431 mense Marcii die 8, hora 9, minuto 52, die Mercurii et hora Saturni. Nativitas h. c. Et accepta est per animodar et concordat cum tempore estimato, secundum viam Ptolomei naturalem.

In judicio nativatum est ordo <1>4 divisionum:

1. prima est de vita parentum
2. secunda est de fratribus
3. est vita nati
4. de forma et figura nati
5. de infirmitatibus que contingunt nato in vita
6. de moribus et statu et sensibus
7. de fortuna et honor
8. cuiusmodi honor erit
9. de artibus et magisteriis

Item si Luna in revolutione anni fuerit firma et salva, homines ab occasionibus et infirmitatibus praeveniantur, et erunt aquae pluviae temperatae et profectibles, et annus erit bonus et fortunatus ac fertillus. Cf. ibid., 8.6, p. 365, col. 2: ‘At si Luna fuerit debilis ... significat populo malum statum et casum, depressionem et debilatatem in suis negotiis.’

150. Cf. ibid., 8.6, p. 365, col. 2: ‘At si Luna fuerit debilis ... significat populo malum statum et casum, depressionem et debilatatem in suis negotiis.’

151. MS: fortites.


153. Cf. ibid., 8.7, p. 371, col. 1: ‘Si fuerit <Mars> in ascendente ... significat quod gens illius climatis habebit profectum illo anno ex litibus et interfeccionibus, et animabunt se super inimicos suos, et lucrabuntur villas.’

154. Cf. ibid., p. 370, col. 1: ‘Si quando Jupiter fuerit in secunda domo ... significat quod polupus habebit multa lucra, bonam vitam.’

155. MS: sensuum.
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
vide in sequenti folio

[Second column]

figura matris extracta ex figura filii sui pro nativitate matris

[figure]

Ptolomeus parte 3, capitolo <4>, propositione 18 dixit illud quod oportet perquirere in parentum negcio de particularibus.156 Est ponere locum patris et matris ad aliydez157 et secundum ascendens. Et Haly commentator super ipsa propositione dixit quod ascendens valiturn tantum cuilibet parentum quantum si esset suimet nativitas, ut sciatur per ipsum totum esse ipsorum generale et particulare.156

Sic igitur predicta figura extracta est per quam fiunt direcciones temporum vite matris que secuntur.

Primo dirigendo eso Lunam que est yleg ad [retro]<gra<d>um Solis 26 Geminorum. Pervenit illic in uno anno duabus mensibus 18 diebus et tune debebit discrasura causa matris.

Secundo dirigendo ipsam ad oppositum Saturni in 2 gradu Leonis pervenit illic in anno 10, mense 1, diebus 24.

Tertio dirigendo ipsam ad retrogradationem sui ipsius pervenit illic in 10annis, 10 mensibus, 24 diebus.

Quarto dirigendo ipsam ad oppositum Martis et oppositum Solis et pervenit illic circa idem tempus, id est, 28annis, 6 mensibus et [...].

Et sunt tempora divisionis sue [...] post nativitatem istius ultimi filii.

De coniugio adhuc erunt plura: Ptolomeus de coniugio multierum propositione 17.159

Divicii [sic] promittuntur magne, quod testatur Ptolomeus in Centiloquio propositione 29 dicens: stelle fixe sunt dona sed aliena.160

Ad propositionem stella alramech fuit cum parte fortunate in 27 gradu Libre que dat dona grandia, sed aliqualdeo sunt male.

[folio 119e]

1) Ad primam divisionem, id est de vita patris, si fuerit brevis vel longa notum est. Si vita[m] patris in nativitate f<i>i>lii debet esse longa vel brevis omnibus innomut erat. Et quod debet esse brevis ipsa constellacionis hora huius nativitatis ostendet. Dicit Ptolomeus tertia parte Quadripartitii, commentario 5, propositione 10: si Iupiter vel Venus participationem habent cum Sole, significat

156. Ptolemy, Quadrupartitum (as in n. 93), III.4.18, fol. 53b, col. 1: ‘quod nos opporpet perquirere in parentum negcio de particularibus’. All Trewthian’s chapter numbers are one behind the number of the printed edition.
158. See the commentary of ‘Ali ibn Rıdıwán (as in n. 93), fol. 53b, col. 1. 159. Ptolemy, Quadrupartitum (as in n. 93), IV.4.17, fol. 82r, col. 2.
160. Pseudo-Ptolemy, Centiloquium (as in n. 33), proposition 29: ‘Stelle fixe: dant dona grandia modum exceedentia.’
vitam patris, plurime [vel] Saturno in figura, et participatio Saturni cum Sole fuerit concors in tertio\textsuperscript{161} vel sextili\textsuperscript{162} et ambo potentes: intelligas per hoc quod vita pat<ir>ris erit longa. Et si hoc erat de quarto,\textsuperscript{163} tunc vita erit brevis etcetera ...\textsuperscript{164}

De vita matris: significatii causit longa et temporis longi, nam Iuppiter et Luna erant coniuncti in dignitatisibus ipsius\textsuperscript{165} Ioivis, id est in triplicitate et termino, cum aspectu Veneris tertio et erat circundatio corporis Ioivis et radii Venetris trini maxime dilectabilis et Iove post Lunam ascendente.

Quare omnibus modis sequitur quod vita matris huius nati debet esse longa, patet in loco predicto.

2) De secunda divisione, id est de fratribus ex parte patris: cessat sententia, quia mortuus et si vivisset, vel duos habuisset non vivos.

3) De tertia divisione, id est de vita ipsius nati: hanc dico quod ex certa scientia humana non intendo divin<ar>e de certitudine temporis, cum deus et vite et mortis in suis manibus habens gubernat, sed quantum sua bonitate dedit homini per naturam scire, quod Aristotiles in libro De generacione et corrupcione dixit duos circulos, quorum unus est equinocialis qui facit continuare et durare omnem generationem, et alius est circulus zodiaci qui facit generationem et corrupcionem.\textsuperscript{166}

Et ideo Ptolomeus cum hoc scivit quod philosophi precedentes hoc ostenderit circa demonstrationem perquesivit vi[1]am qua concordant cum eis in scientia generationis rei generate et ipsius corrupcionem et quando veniet.\textsuperscript{167} Et sic pro directione yleg notandum est firme sibi nato quod ipse erit maxima causa suarum egritudinum. Hoc testatur Ptolomeus in Centiloquio propositione 37, dicens: vix fiet umquam ille cius ascendens fuerit Scorpio, erat causa suimet egritudinis.\textsuperscript{168}

Primo dirigendo yleg ad dominum octavam, id est 14 G<eminorum> perveniet illuc in tribus\textsuperscript{169} annis et paucis fraccionibus et tunc pacietur ex reu<i>matismo ascendente ad pectus.

Secundo dirigendo ipsum ad oppositionem domini octave domus quod est 13 Libre perveniet illic in 7 annis, 9 mensibus et 6 diebus et tunc iterum pacietur ex re<i>matismo.

Tertio dirigendo ipsum yleg ad oppositum Solis 26 Virginis [et] perveniet illic in 8 annis, 7 mensibus et iterum tertio pacietur ex humoribus a cerebro descendenteribus.

Quarto dirigendo ipsum ad oppositum Martis 24 Libre perveniet illic in 18 annis et tunc habebit febres fortes.

Quinto dirigendo ipsum yleg ad quadrantem Solis in 26 Geminorum perveniet illic in 22 annis et pacietur circa cor et stomachum.

Sexto dirigendo yleg ad gradum septime domus in 8 Tauri perveniet illic in 23 annis et tunc pacietur in dextro latere, id est epate, et erit in magno periculo. Et si evaserit, poterit provenire ad 55 annos.

\textsuperscript{161} The aspect of 120° between two planets called trine.

\textsuperscript{162} The aspect of 60° between two planets called sextile.

\textsuperscript{163} The aspect of 90° between two planets called quartile or square.

\textsuperscript{164} Ptolemy, \textit{Quadrupartitum} (as in n. 93), n.4,8, fol. 52r, col. 1: `Si Iuppiter vel Venus cum Sole participationem habuerit vel Saturno in qua[is] figura, aut si Iuppiter participationem habuerit cum Venere, et participatio Saturni cum Sole fuerit concors, ita quod sit in tertia eius vel in sextili aut sint coniuncti et ambo potentess intelligemus per hoc quod vita parentum longa erit.'

\textsuperscript{165} Ibid., n.4,12, fol. 52v, col. 1: `Et quando Iuppiter habuerit participationem cum Luna et Venere in figura quavis modo, vel concors fuerit Venus cum Luna de sextili vel tertio aut coniunctione et ambo potentess fuerint vitam elongabunt matris.'


\textsuperscript{167} Reference not found.

\textsuperscript{168} Pseudo-Ptolemy, \textit{Centiloquium} (as in n. 33), proposition 37: `vix fiet umquam quando ille idem: cui fuerit ascendens ... et Scorpio vel Taurus causa egritudinis'.

\textsuperscript{169} MS: tribis.

[folio 119v]


5) Ad 5 divisionem de infirmitatibus que contingunt nato: ad hanc dicit Phtholomeus capitulo 13, propositione prima, quia duo orizonta hora nativitatis ab infortunis erant libera, natus erit liber et sanus ab infirmitatibus azemesis, id est talibus que pertinent Saturno ut sunt clausis, surditas et similia. Sed quia Mars fuit in 6 doimo, significat quod habebit diversas infirmitates secundum diversis<em> contemplatio signi ipsius domus ac secundum naturam Martis et secundum naturam domus. Quantum de natura signi, quod est Aries, patitur in sinistro capitis vel in aure sinistra, ac secundum naturam Martis et hoc in renibus, venis et vesica et membris urinalibus. Et secundum complezionem dominus domini patitur febres colerica. Hec propositione quinta: et alie infirmitates Martis, sputo sanguinis et scabies, fistula, emoros propter etcetera.

6) Ad 6 divisionem de moribus et statu anime, scilicet suorum sensuum: pro qua scendum est per Phtholomeus capitulo 14, propositione prima, quod status anime qui sunt in parte rationali semper scrii possunt a statu in quo Mercurium videmus. Et propositione secunda quod de ea erit sapiens, cautel[l]osus. Et de racione signi sui existentis etcetera.

Et quantum de pestilencia dicit Phtholomeus in capitulo 15, quando Mercurius et Luna fuerunt concordi et aspectus boni et bene esse, tum mens [sic, as mase.] erit salvius et sanus ab omni peste, id est pestilencia; furious [sic] et alia vicia sive absintencia. Item duo gubernatores morum et racionis ambo erant in signis obedientiibus: Phtholomeus quarto capitulo. Item Phtholomeus in propositione 38 Centiloqui: quod Mercuriuri fuerit in signo Martis etcetera.

7) Ad 7 divisionem in fortuna in divinis huius nati: ad hoc scito quod gubernatores partis fortune fuerunt Mars et Saturnus qui si mutuo recipiunt, ex parte Saturni habebit divicias per mare et ex
parte Martis habebit lucrum multum per ferreum. Item notandum quod in ipsa constellacione triplex erat aspectus: primus Iovis in signo bicorporio super terram et in angulo, secundus aspectus erat Martis ad ipsam partem fortune in exaltacione Martis et termino Veneris et domo Saturni, tertius aspectus erat Solis ad ipsam partem, et significant ampliores divitie [sic], ex parte mulierum hereditabit multa bona. Hec Ptoleomeus, quarta parte, capitulo 2, propositione quarta, sexta, nona.  

8) Ad 8 divisionem de honore et vita: in hoc oportet aspiere constellacionem luminarium et planetarum ea circumstancia, quia planete qui erant circa luminaria non erant in angulis. Hic natus erit honoratus de magno modo, qui erit status religious civitatis aut ville etcetera.  

[folio 120v]


11) Ad 11 divisionem de filiis, si habebit: Ptoleomeus capitulo 6, propositione prima: accipe in zenith et aspice ad domum et ad ipsum ascendentis et ad loca participacione cum illis
secundum tenorem huius capituli,\textsuperscript{202} Duos filios habebit et duas filias. Ista poterunt manere, phures poterit habere sed non manere. Et ratio diversitatis quia planete dantes filios, qui sunt Jupiter et Luna, dabunt permanentes. Planete auferentes filios sunt Sol, Saturnus et Mars,\textsuperscript{203} Et quia Mercurius qui dat filios quando est orientalis tunc fuit occidentalis, ideo non dabit filios permanentes, presertim quia est cum Sole in una domo, et si dederit, erunt paciente\textsuperscript{204} azemena.\textsuperscript{204}

12) Ad 12 divisionem\textsuperscript{m} de amicis et inimicis cognoscendis: ad hanc dicit P\textsuperscript{tholomeus} in septimo capitulo, propositione 2\textsuperscript{205} in hoc convenit inspicere loca luminarium in duabus nativitibus, id est sua propria et alterius cuius amiciciam querit, ut dicitur in Centiloquio, propositione 33.\textsuperscript{206}

13) Ad 13 divisionem de itineribus, si faciet ea, dicit P\textsuperscript{tholomeus}, quarta parte, propositione prima: scitur a statu duorum luminarium in comparacione angulorum, et maxime de Luna et eius statu,\textsuperscript{207} ut quando Luna fuerit in octavo vel inclinaverit ab angulo\textsuperscript{208} maximo in itinera etcetera: P\textsuperscript{tholomeus}, propositione quarta.

14) Ad 14 divisionem de statu mortis: de hac dicit P\textsuperscript{tholomeus}, parte quarta, capitulo nono, propositione prima. Dicens primo: sciamus si mors erit per obviacionem radiorum vel quia gubernator applicabit ad gradum occidentis, et dicit propositione 3 quia secundum planetas antequam ad alia applicare\textsuperscript{n}, presertim ponit 5 regulas quarum secunda est de planeta stante in illo gradu aut circa.\textsuperscript{209}

\textsuperscript{201} MS: renich.
\textsuperscript{202} Ptolemy, \textit{Quadripartitum} (as in n. 95), iv. 5.1, fol. 84\textsuperscript{r}, col. 2: ‘inspiciamus ad planetas existentes in loco zenith capitum nostrorum et ad locum qui sequitur illum, et est locus fortune: aut ad locum participantem cum illis in figura’.
\textsuperscript{203} Ibid., iv.5.2–3, fol. 85\textsuperscript{v}, col. 1: ‘Lunam, Venerem et Ioem judicabimus in dando filios, Solem et Martem et Saturnum in auferendo’.
\textsuperscript{204} Ibid., iv.5.4, fol. 84\textsuperscript{v}, col. 2: ‘Si fuerit [Mercurius] orientalis dabit filios et si occidentalis significat filios non habere.’
\textsuperscript{205} Ibid., iv.6.2, fol. 85\textsuperscript{r}, col. 2.
\textsuperscript{206} Pseudo-Ptolemy, \textit{Centiloquium} (as in n. 33), proposition 33: ‘accipiant ex permutacione duorum locorum luminarium in duabus nativitibus.’
\textsuperscript{207} Ptolemy, \textit{Quadripartitum} (as in n. 93), iv.7.1, fol. 87\textsuperscript{r}, col. 1: ‘Factum peregrinationis et itinerum potest scrii a statu duorum luminarium in cooperatione angulorum, ex maxime a statu Lune.’
\textsuperscript{208} MS: anculo.
\textsuperscript{209} Here Trewythian follows the commentary of ‘Ali ibn Ri\u00e8wan, which mentions the five rules and refers to the second as being concerned with ‘planete stantis circa illum gradu’: see Ptolemy, \textit{Quadripartitum} (as in n. 93), iv.9.1, fol. 90\textsuperscript{r}.v.