

There is, however, another intermediary to be considered: Hans Burgkmair of Augsburg,⁴ whose planetary series of woodcuts (fig. 118) not only formed the common source for all these Northern German images but also served, by virtue of Augsburg's geographical position, to disseminate the ancient gods, as revived in Italy, right across the Eastern parts of Germany—as is proved by the facade of the Bunnies Haus at Eggenburg in Lower Austria (1547). It is likely, in fact, that Burgkmair personally painted similar planetary figures on the facade of a house on the marketplace of Augsburg itself. This would explain the influence of these particular figures, and also their presence on housefronts. Burgkmair's planetary deities, in turn, might well have derived from a lost monumental decorative scheme in Italy—of which the two planetary figures in the Northern Italian tarot would thus be mere offshoots.⁵ Although modifications of detail may become necessary on closer study, the clear conclusion, from the viewpoint of bibliophilic scholarship, is this: the 1519 almanac, which looks like a merely naive piece of popular literature, is in fact an artistic production of great evolutionary significance, with a cultural importance that far transcends any mere local interest. It enables us to trace the lost route traveled by certain images, which, liberated and made mobile by the art of printing, inaugurated and fostered a whole new epoch of artistic and cultural interchange between North and South.

Notes

1. See Loga, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (1895): 236 ff.
2. See H. O. Lange, "Les plus anciens imprimés à Pérouse," *Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selsk. Forhandl.* (1907). Lange's conjecture is supported by the information, kindly supplied by the Staatsarchiv, Hamburg, that the Arnides family bore an eagle in its coat of arms. So far, however, no direct kinship has been proven between Steffen and Theodor Arnides.
3. The speaker gave a detailed account of this print at a meeting in 1910. See figs. 119, 120; copy in Ulm, page size approximately 27 × 19 cm.
4. In this connection, the speaker's attention was drawn to Burgkmair by Mr. Hübner, a doctoral student.
5. The speaker discussed these relations in some detail at the International Art Historical Congress of 1909 in Munich.

Pagan-Antique Prophecy in Words and Images in the Age of Luther (1920)

Preface

The author, who fell gravely ill at the end of October 1918, has consented to the publication of this fragment at the instance of his friend Franz Boll, although he has been unable to carry out necessary emendations, not to speak of the important additions that he had intended to make from a wealth of hitherto unknown material already worked through and prepared. He has nevertheless allowed this fragment to appear, partly in the expectation that this initial attempt will be of use to a later researcher, and partly because, however good or bad the present weaver, the opportunity of threading in new strands from abroad will long be denied to German scholarship. He therefore asks those friends and colleagues who have so tirelessly aided him in the past—Franz Boll foremost among them—to take his consent to this far-from-adequate publication as a mark of his gratitude to them.

Without the extensive help of librarians and archives over many years—and the author is not now in a position to name them all: let us mention only Berlin, Dresden, Göttingen, Hamburg, Königsberg, Leipzig, Munich, Wolfenbüttel, Zwickau; and also Oxford, Madrid, Paris, and Rome—his studies could never have been carried out. The following individuals have assisted him far beyond the immediate call of duty: his late friend Robert Münzel; Professor Paul Flemming, of Pforta; Professor Ernst Kroker, of Leipzig; Dr. Georg Leidinger, of Munich; Father Franz Ehrle, formerly of Rome; Professor Richard Salomon, of Hamburg; and the late Professor Gustav Milchsack, of Wolfenbüttel. Wilhelm Printz and Fritz Saxl, who have remained at his side over the years, deserve his heartfelt thanks. He was unfortunately unable to deliver the paper in person, and in the promised form, to the members of the Religionswissenschaftliche Vereinigung (Association for the study of religion) in Berlin. He hopes that they will nevertheless accept the present publication as a token of his sincere and lasting gratitude for the meeting of 23 April 1918.

I dedicate this study to my dear wife, in memory of the winter of 1888 in Florence.

Hamburg, 26 January 1920

I. *Reformation, Magic, and Astrology*

Es ist ein altes Buch zu blättern:

Vom Harz bis Hellas immer Vettern.

—Goethe, *Faust*, Part 2

There's an old book for browsing in:
From Harz to Hellas all are kin.

The standard work on "The Bondage of Superstitious Modern Man" remains to be written. It would have to be preceded by a study—also as yet unwritten—of "The Renaissance of the Spirit World of Antiquity in the Age of the German Reformation." A lecture delivered by the present writer at the Religionswissenschaftliche Vereinigung in Berlin, on "Pagan-Antique Prophecy in the Age of Luther in Words and Images,"¹ was intended as a highly provisional contribution to this question. That lecture forms the basis of the present essay.

The images that it examines fall within the scope of the history of art in the widest sense (insofar as that term covers image-making in all its forms). However, with the single exception of the portrait of Johann Carion (fig. 121),² they stem from prints or printed books; they lack aesthetic appeal; and without the texts that relate to them (whether printed with them or not), they are unpromising material for the purely formal concerns of present-day art history, in that their strange illustrative quality stems from their content. The idea of examining a mere "curiosity" for its relevance to the history of human thought is one that comes more naturally to historians of religion than to historians of art. And yet it is one of the prime duties of art history to bring such forms out of the twilight of ideological polemic and to subject them to close historical scrutiny. For there is one crucial issue in the history of style and civilization—the influence of antiquity on the culture of Renaissance Europe as a whole—that cannot otherwise be fully understood and resolved.

Only when we bring ourselves to consider the figures of the pagan gods—as resurrected in early Renaissance Europe, North and South—not merely as artistic phenomena but as religious entities, do we begin to sense the power of the determinism of the Hellenistic cosmology, even in Germany, even in the age of the Reformation. The pagan augur who assumed the mantle of scientific learning was a hard adversary to contend with, let alone to defeat.

A classically rarefied version of the ancient gods has been so successfully imposed on us, ever since Winckelmann, as the central symbol of antiquity, that we are apt to forget that it was entirely the creation of humanist scholars: this "Olympian" aspect of antiquity had first to be wrested from its entrenched, traditional, "daemonic" aspect. Ever since the passing of antiquity, the ancient gods had lived on in Christian Europe as cosmic spirits, religious forces with a strong influence in practical affairs: indeed, the cosmology of the ancient world—notably in the form of astrology—undeniably survived as a parallel system, tacitly tolerated by the Christian Church.

The astral deities were faithfully transmitted through a long migration from the Hellenistic world by way of Arabia, Spain, and Italy to Germany (where after 1470 they enjoyed a peripatetic Renaissance, in words and pictures, thanks to the new printing houses of Augsburg, Nuremberg, and Leipzig). They lived on as time gods, mathematically defining and mythically ruling every chronological unit in the annual round: the year, the month, the week, the day, the hour, the minute, and the second. These were beings of sinister, ambivalent, and indeed contradictory powers: as star signs they expanded space, marking the way for the soul's flight through the universe; as constellations they were also idols, with whom, as befitted the childlike nature of man, the mere creature might aspire to mystic union through devotional practices.

The astrologer in the age of the Reformation accepted these opposite poles of mathematical abstraction and devout self-association—irreconcilable though they seem to a modern scientist—as the pivots of one vibrant, primordial psychic state. Logic sets a mental space between man and object by applying a conceptual label; magic destroys that space by creating a supernatural—theoretical or practical—association between man and object. In the divinatory workings of the astrologer's mind, these two processes act as a single, primitive tool that he can use both to make measurements and to work magic. That age when logic and magic blossomed, like trope and metaphor, in Jean Paul's words, "grafted to a single stem,"³ is inherently timeless: by showing such a polarity in action, the historian of civilization furnishes new grounds for a more profoundly positive critique of a historiography that rests on a purely chronological theory of development.

Medieval astrologers brought the Hellenistic inheritance to Northern Europe from Baghdad by way of Toledo and Padua. And so the writings of the Arab and Italian astrologers were among the very first illustrated books to be printed in Augsburg.

In Germany at the turn of the fifteenth century, as in Italy, two attitudes to antiquity confronted each other: one ancient, practical, and religious; the other modern, artistic, and aesthetic. In Italy the latter seemed at first to have gained the upper hand; it also had its adherents in Germany. But it was in Germany that the astrology of antiquity underwent a distinctive (and hitherto insufficiently noticed) Renaissance of its own. Those astral symbols that had survived in the literature of divination—the seven personified planets, above all—gained a new lease on life from the social and political upheavals of the day and became, as it were, the presiding deities of contemporary politics.

Alongside these anthropomorphic rulers of destiny—the astral symbols that are the basis for the systematic, interpretative method of "artificial" (or scientific) divination—we must also consider those terrestrial monstrosities and other portents that formed the subject of "miraculous" divination. We must keep this distinction between "artificial" and "miraculous" divination clearly before us:⁴ as will be shown, it marked the parting of minds between

Martin Luther and Philipp Melancthon. We shall take as our point of departure a hitherto unnoticed letter from Melancthon to the astrologer and historian Johann Carion of Bietigheim, who held an influential position at the court of the elector of Brandenburg.

II. *Elements of Pagan Antiquity in the Cosmological and Political Worldview of the Reformation Period: Astrology and Teratology in Luther's Circle*

II.1. Melancthon's Letter to Carion on the Comet of 1531

In my search for the letters of Carion, the volume of correspondence published by Johannes Voigt¹ directed me to the Staatsarchiv in Königsberg, and I am grateful to that institution for making it possible for me to work in the Stadtbibliothek in Hamburg on a batch of his letters. Inserted into the sequence I found a letter in Latin, sent to him by Melancthon on 17 August 1531. Thanks to the kindness of Professor Flemming, of Pforta, I was able to profit from the textual emendations made by the late Nikolaus Müller and thus to establish the correct reading of the Latin text (see appendix A.1). I shall give a free translation of the entire contents of this document, because every detail is a vivid revelation of Melancthon's character and of the conflict to which he bears witness — a fateful one for Germany — between humanistic intellectualism and the theological and political desire for Reformation.

Addressed to the most learned Master Johann Carion, philosopher, his friend and dear countryman, "to be placed in his own hands."

... I have tried to adorn <the texts> with the most authoritative quotations. It is for others to judge what I have achieved.

The Dictum of Elijah is not to be found in the Bible but in the rabbinical literature, and it is extremely famous. Burgensis² quotes it, and bases himself upon it in arguing against the Jews that the Messiah has already appeared. It is a saying that is widely current among the Hebrews, and I have placed it at the beginning of your history <Carion's *Chronica*>, both to make it better known and to lend credence to your work. I shall add many more such quotations later. But you see how the prophetic voice points to the future: so aptly <conclama: harmoniously?> does the division of the ages fall.

I hope that we shall finish the History this winter; for hitherto I have been prevented by the revision of my *Apologia*, some parts of which I have improved. You will hardly believe how delicate my health is, for I am consumed with cares and toil. My wife, by God's grace, has been delivered of a daughter, whose nativity <Thomas> I send you, but not in order to put you to any trouble. I can see that she will be a nun.³

We have had sight of a comet for more than a week now. What do you make of it? It seems to be stationary above Cancr, as it sets directly after the sun and rises shortly before dawn. If it were red, it would cause me greater alarm. Without a

doubt, it signifies the death of princes; yet it seems to turn its tail toward Poland. But I shall await your verdict. I shall be most grateful if you will tell me what you make of it.

Now I come to today's tidings. If I knew anything of our adversaries' doings, I would write it all to you, whatever it might be. For we have no need to conceal the plans of our adversaries; rather, it is in our interest to expose them.

So I have long had no certain news of any preparations — apart, that is, from the misgivings harbored by our own people concerning the <not?> inconsiderable force of infantry now in Frisia. It may be that on the pretext of war with Denmark they intend to attack us, too. But the electors of the Palatinate and of Mainz are already treating for an end to hostilities; though I hold out no hope of peace, in view of the astrological predictions and the prophecies alike. Hassfurt predicted that King Christian would enjoy an honorable return. Schepperus says he will not return at all. But Schepperus does not trouble me. He is often wrong. Hassfurt also predicted great victories to the landgrave.

A certain citizen of Schmalkalden, known to me, had a wonderful vision concerning all these upheavals, in which I place great credence. It predicts a fairly uneventful outcome, but it does intimate that our terrified adversaries will yield to that Lion <the landgrave of Hesse>. A woman of Kitzingen has foretold terrible things of Ferdinand, how he will wage war against us, but that it will go against him. In Belgium a maiden has even given a prophecy to the emperor, but I have yet to inform myself in detail. All in all, I think there will be some commotion, and I pray to God that he may direct it to a good end, useful to church and state alike.

I was laboring a year ago, to the end that they might make peace with us. If they had done so, there would now be less unrest in Swabia, which has now largely embraced the Swiss theology and effrontery <licentia>. Camppeggio wants to involve and ensnare the emperor in a German war, to drain away his strength, and there are some who approve Camppeggio's counsels out of personal hatred for us. But God's eye is just. We have certainly taught nothing that was evil, and have freed many good minds from many pernicious errors. Sabinus is sending you my preface in praise of astronomy and astrology, on which I await your verdict. Farewell. On the Thursday following the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 1531, I return the letters to you... Φ/ΑΥΤΟΙΣ.

This letter allows us to look over Melancthon's shoulder at a critical moment in his life. We find him engaged in literary work in three capacities: as a humanist, as a theologian, and as an astrological journalist. First, by introducing the so-called Tradition of the House of Elijah, according to which the course of universal history is divided into three periods, each of approximately two thousand years, he defined the structure of the earliest German history of the world, Carion's *Chronica*, which owed its great influence on German historiography entirely to Melancthon's involvement with it.⁸

Melancthon was required to do this at a time when he also bore the massive responsibility of revising the Confession of Augsburg: for the emperor's ultimatum to the Protestants had expired on 30 April, and there was

an imminent threat of armed conflict between the emperor and the Schmalkaldic League—the very eventuality that Melancthon was striving with all his might to avert. Clearly, Carion, who was a diplomatic agent in the service of Brandenburg, had asked for more precise information on this, and Melancthon treated him—it is worth noting—entirely as a partisan of the Schmalkaldic cause.

However, Melancthon here is no dry political chronicler; for in his desperate desire to keep the peace he has suffered an acute attack of cosmic susceptibility to omens and portents. In this connection he no longer addressed his correspondent from a position of superiority, as a learned dispenser of good advice: he approached the artless Carion⁹ in the guise of a patient in need of comfort, and consulted him as a magus skilled in all matters prophetic and astrological. He sent Carion the natal chart of his own newborn daughter, surely not without hoping for an interpretation of it, and expressly solicited a verdict on his (Melancthon's) own astronomical and astrological views—as lately published, for example, in his preface to Johannes de Sacro Bosco.¹⁰ Above all, however, he wanted Carion to set his mind at rest concerning the comet—it was Halley's—that had appeared in August and had frightened all Germany, not least Melancthon himself: it was the first he had ever seen.

In return, he retailed to Carion the current prophecies of other noted astrologers of the day. The warnings of Johann Virdung of Hassfurt had pursued Melancthon ever since birth: for Virdung, at his father's request, had cast Melancthon's own natal horoscope. This included a warning against travel to the North and to the Baltic, which—as Melancthon himself was to admit in 1560—deterred him from ever visiting Denmark.¹¹

As he was at pains to stress, however, it was not these "scientific" predictions that troubled him most, but the *vaticinia*, the directly inspired, "un-Kitzingen." He had first mentioned these considerably earlier, at the end of March, writing to tell both Cordatus and Baumgärtner that the Kitzingen woman was prophesying a great war against the Protestant party, launched with French support, within six months.¹² Her tidings were less bad for the emperor than for King Ferdinand. Again, as early as 11 April, Melancthon had mentioned the Schmalkalden man's horrendous vision in a letter to Camerarius.¹³

And so, at a moment when his sole salvation lay in an unshakable inner detachment from the age and from its agonies of conscience, the spiritual leader of Protestant Germany stood bereft of all his zest and his resolution—like some pagan augur—by celestial signs and human voices. At least his prophetic voices left him some room for hopes of victory, which he pinned on "Leo," the Lion of Hesse.

Nevertheless, if Melancthon's own keen critical and philological sense of fact ever gave him pause, he had an answer ready: astrological method, for him, represented a practical survival of the harmonizing worldview of the

ancients, which was the very foundation of his own cosmologically oriented humanism.¹⁴

II.2. Astral Divination: Luther's and Melancthon's Opposing Views of Ancient Astrology

In North and South alike, the Italian civilization of the Renaissance had preserved and revived types of ancient pagan divination composed of so potent and heterogeneous a mixture of elements—rationalism and myth, the mathematician and the augur—that they engaged the attention even of the Wittenberg community, the main bastion of a Christian Germany that was fighting against Rome for its spiritual freedom. Even here, where feelings ran so high against the Christian paganism of Rome, both the Babylonian-Hellenistic astrologer and the Roman augur gained a hearing and—with certain curious reservations—assent. The reasons for this involvement with the arcane survivals of paganism—a paradox in terms of any rectilinear view of history—emerge from the very different responses of Luther and Melancthon to the superstitious belief in signs and prophecies.

Luther accepted only the mystic and transcendent nucleus of the idea: the miraculous cosmic event, sent by the Christian God in all his inscrutable omnipotence as a prophetic intimation of the future. Melancthon, for his part, adopted the astrology of the ancient world as an intellectual defense against a cosmically predetermined earthly fate. So strong, indeed, was his faith in the stars that in this matter he constantly risked—as elsewhere he avoided—a confrontation with his more powerful friend. For even when an Italian astrologer, Lucas Gauricus, challenged the great Reformer on the most intimate level by arbitrarily "rectifying" his horoscope to show an entirely false date and time of birth, Melancthon—together with Carion and other Wittenberg astrological experts—sided with Gauricus, despite the latter's undoubted hostile intent, and despite Luther's own vehement refusal to accept the entirely mythical, astrological birthdate of 22 October 1484.

Luther versus the Astropoliticians, Italian and German—Melancthon's

Attitude to Lucas Gauricus

From Italy, and from Padua in particular—where, to this day, the immensities of the Salone are sacred ground for astrologers—the theory and practice of astrology flowed ever northward into the learned world of Germany; and from time to time Italian practitioners crossed the Alps in person. In 1531, the very year of Melancthon's letter to Carion, the celebrated Southern Italian astrologer Lucas Gauricus was invited to Berlin by Elector Joachim I of Brandenburg;¹⁵ from Berlin, Gauricus went on to Wittenberg, where he stayed four days and was cordially and respectfully received by Melancthon, as we know from the latter's letters to Camerarius. This will have been in April 1532. In May of that year, after Gauricus's departure, Melancthon composed a letter of introduction for him to his friend Camerarius in Nuremberg.¹⁶

At the beginning of March 1532, Melancthon sent the *Norica* of Camerarius (a treatise on the significance of portents)¹⁷ to Gauricus, with a fulsome dedicatory epistle in which he hailed him as the “Prince of All Philosophy” and thanked him, in particular, for letters enclosing horoscopes that had been of vital importance to him, Melancthon, in the furtherance of his own studies.¹⁸ The true political significance of those horoscopes emerges in a letter that Melancthon wrote to Camerarius later in the same year, on 29 June 1532, sending him at his request the nativities of Emperor Charles V and King Ferdinand.¹⁹ This makes it clear that Melancthon had made a comparative study of Gauricus’s collection of horoscopes and of those of Carion and de Schepper.

Surviving collections of this kind include one in Munich and another in Leipzig;²⁰ and, on close scrutiny, both turn out to be based on horoscopes by Gauricus, only some of which were printed in the 1552 Venice edition of his work. This is significant, since the Leipzig manuscript, compiled—as Ernst Kroker has convincingly shown—in the 1540s by Erasmus Reinhold, professor of mathematics at the university of Wittenberg,²¹ leads us straight to the Reformers and specifically to Luther himself. The horoscope of Luther given by Reinhold²² (see fig. 122) is based not on his true birthdate of 10 November 1483 but on Gauricus’s date of 22 October 1484. The pagan and astrological birthday is thus allowed, in the full knowledge of its conjectural nature—as Reinhold’s note, “*Coniecturalis*,” makes quite clear—to usurp the place of the true, calendaric date.

In the 1552 edition of Gauricus (fig. 123), Luther’s horoscope is captioned with a stream of vicious Counter-Reformation abuse.²³ Of course, we can assume that when Gauricus visited Wittenberg in 1532 he did not adopt any such tone of sectarian fanaticism, let alone the spiteful reference to Luther’s death; but there can hardly be any doubt that even then he interpreted Luther’s astrologically, as a malignant force. In 1525—as has not hitherto been sufficiently noticed—Gauricus had sent Pope Clement VII a prediction of Luther’s downfall as a heretic;²⁴ and, as early as 23 March 1524, Luther had surely had him in mind in sending the facts of his own nativity to Georg Spalatin:

*Genesis istam meam iam ante videram ex Italia huc missam, sed cum sic sint hoc anno hallucinanti astrologi <a reference to fears of a deluge; see below>, nihil mirum, si sit, qui et hoc hungari ausus sit.*²⁵

I had already seen that horoscope of mine—it had been sent here from Italy. But since the astrologers have been having such bizarre visions this year <a reference to fears of a deluge; see below>, it is no wonder that there is someone who has dared to produce this nonsense.

Hence, also, no doubt, the mention of him in Luther’s letter to Veit Dietrich on 27 February 1532:

Pagan-Antique Prophecy in Words and Images

*Sed...astr...quam ominoso Mathematico> quem toties falsum comici, convincam adhuc saepius falsum.*²⁶

But...astr...than that portentous mathematician, to whom I have often given the lie in the past and shall often give the lie in the future.

Luther’s attitude to Gauricus springs from the aversion to all astrology that was deeply rooted in his religious faith—an aversion that inevitably led him into forthright disagreement with his friend Melancthon. In August 1540, Luther said:

*Nemo mihi persuadebit nec Paulus nec Angelus de coelo necum Philippus, ut credam astrologiae divinationibus, quae toties fallunt, ut nihil sit incertius. Nam si etiam his aut ter recte divinant, ea notant; si fallunt, ea dissimulant.*²⁷

No one will ever persuade me—neither Paul, nor an angel from heaven, nor even Philipp—to believe in the predictions of astrology, which are so often mistaken that nothing is more uncertain. For if they forecast correctly even two or three times, they mark it; if they are wrong, they conceal it.

In the same year he claimed that Melancthon had admitted to him that there was no certain art of astrological divination; for which reason, said Luther, he left him to trifle with it as he pleased: “*Es ist ein dreck mit vier kunst.*” (That art of theirs is so much manure.)²⁸ And when Master Philipp again ventured—as he did in 1537, when traveling at New Moon seemed too dangerous—to give Doctor Martinus the benefit of his astrological advice, Luther recalled the incident with some annoyance, as an uncalled-for intrusion on the part of “*der heillosen und schelbichten astrologia*” (the unholy devil of astrology).²⁹

In these circumstances, how was it possible for Luther’s friends to tolerate, let alone advocate, Gauricus’s entirely arbitrary displacement of his date of birth? We have it from Luther’s own lips, as reported by Heydenreich, that Melancthon himself subscribed to the mythical birthdate; the same source reveals how the astrological believers were enabled to do so with a clear conscience. Heydenreich records the following exchange:

“Domine Doctor, multi astrologi in vestra gentura consentiunt, constellationes vestrae nativitatibus ostendere, vos mutationem magnam allatum.”

*Tum Doctor: “Nullus est certus de nativitatibus tempore, dum Philippus et ego sein der sachen umb ein jar nicht eins. Pro secundo, putatis hanc causam et meum negotium positum esse sub vestra arte incerta? O nein, es ist ein ander ding! Das ist allem gottes werck. Dazu solt ir mich niemer mer bereden!”*³⁰

“Doctor, many astrologers agree concerning your birth that the constellations of your horoscope show that you will bring about a great change.”

The Doctor: “Nobody is certain of the time of my birth, for Philipp and I differ

by a year on the matter. What is more, do you believe that our cause and my whole enterprise are subject to your uncertain art? No, this is something quite else! This is God's work alone. You will never persuade me of that!"

The astrologers were thus seeking to make Luther's reforming mission contingent on a date on which Luther and Melancthon could not agree even within a year; and this Luther emphatically refused to accept. The disagreement "by a year" clearly refers to Melancthon's preference—following Gaucicus—for 1484 as against 1483. For 1484 was the year of a great conjunction of planets, calculated generations in advance, and expected to herald a new epoch in Occidental religion.³¹

The natal chart given by Reinhold relates closely—a fact that has escaped previous researchers—to an attempt at astrological compromise, made by Melancthon at the precise period when, according to Heydenreich, he was still arguing with Luther about the latter's year of birth. Melancthon was later to acknowledge 1483 as the official year of Luther's birth, both in his biography and in the *Dekansbuch* of the University of Wittenberg,³² but even as late as 1539 we find him still uncertain. As he wrote to Oslander:

Über Luthers Geburtszeit sind wir in Zweifel. Der Tag ist zwar sicher, auch beinahe die Stunde, Mitternacht, wie ich selbst aus dem Munde seiner Mutter gehört habe. 1484 meine ich, war das Jahr. Aber wir haben mehrere Horoskope gestellt. Gaucicus billigte das Thema von 1484.³³

On Luther's nativity we remain in doubt. The day is certain, and almost so the hour: midnight, as I myself have heard from his mother's lips. I believe 1484 was the year. But we have cast a number of horoscopes. Gaucicus supported the 1484 nativity.

So Melancthon had consulted Luther's mother in person. He now knew the day, and the hour—midnight, albeit with the qualification "almost"—but he was still in favor of the year 1484, and thus still under the influence of Gaucicus.

In the Munich manuscript horoscope collection (Cod. lat. 27003; see fig. 124), there is a copy of a fragment of a previously unknown letter from Melancthon to Schoner, probably written around the time of Gaucicus's visit to Wittenberg. This shows Melancthon even more inclined toward drastic astrological intervention in the birthdate controversy, influenced in this case by Carton. The fragment reads as follows:³⁴

Philippus ad Schonerrum *Genesism Lutheri quam Philo³⁵ inquisiuit transiit Carton in horam 9. Mater enim dicit Lutherum natum esse ante dimidium noctis (sed puo eam fefelli scis). Ego alteram figuram praefero et praefert ipse Carton. Esi tonem> in domos scis> 5° quae habet coniunctionem magnam cum ascendente*

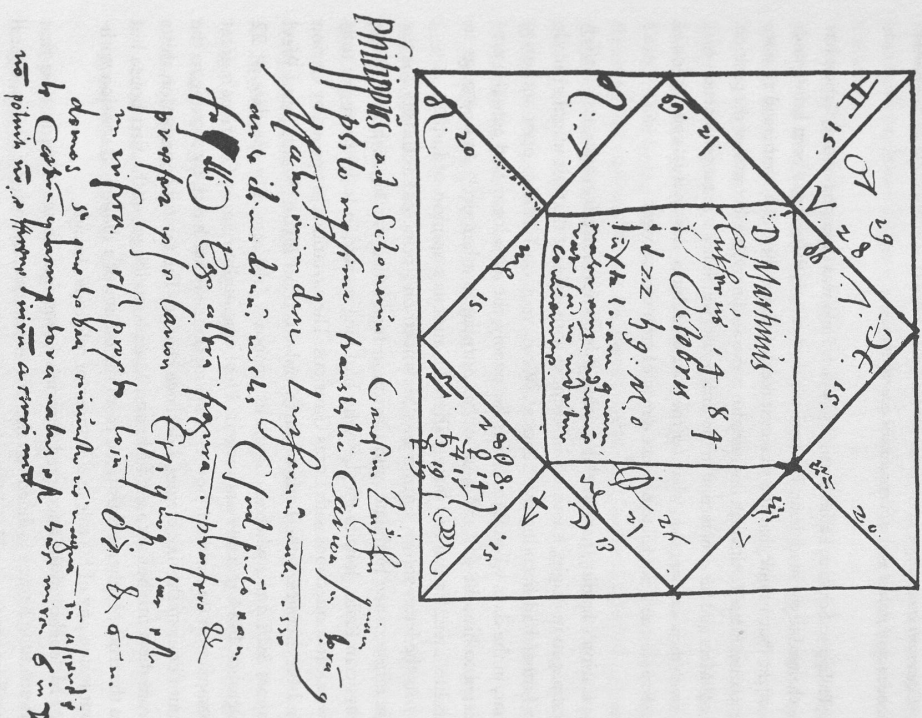


Fig. 124. Horoscope of Luther
Munich, Cod. lat. Monac. 27003, fol. 16 (see p. 608)

Cartarum quacunque hora natus est hac <sic> mira ♂ <coniunctio> in ♏ <scorpio> one > non potuit non efficere vitrum acerrimum.

Philipp to Schoner, Luther's nativity, which Philo was inquiring about, Carion has changed to the ninth hour. For Luther's mother says that he was born before midnight (but I think that she was mistaken). I prefer the other chart, and so does Carion himself. Although this one also is extraordinary, it is because of the position of Mars and the conjunction in the fifth house, which has a great conjunction [sic] with the ascendant. But, whatever the hour of his birth, this unusual conjunction in Scorpio could not fail to produce a man of great mental vigor.

Carion's leading part in elaborating this compromise formula, still Italian and pagan in origin, is entirely in keeping with the fact that his initial attitude to Luther had been highly skeptical. We have it on Luther's own authority that, in the days when Carion was his enemy, the astrologer had actually predicted to him the day and hour of his burning as a heretic.³⁶ At one stage in his life, then, Carion had largely shared Gauricus's opinion of Luther.

As the letter shows, Carion was Melancthon's principal authority for the alteration of the birthdate; and Carion in turn relied on the authority of the physician Philo, Johann Pfeyl,³⁷ who had long resided in Italy: there are thus two clear connections with Lucas Gauricus. The variations proposed by Carion and Pfeyl concern the hour of birth only: Carion favors 9 a.m., and Pfeyl favors 3:22 a.m., whereas Gauricus proposes 1:10 a.m. But the date of 22 October 1484 remains untouched. Pfeyl essentially retains Gauricus's great conjunction (in the ninth house). Carion, on the other hand, by moving to the ninth hour of the day, creates a decisive change. The fateful conjunction shifts from the ninth house to the fifth; and Mars is no longer in the first house but out losing any of his role as a bringer of religious change.

Melancthon thus accepted Carion's horoscope; so we must assume that at one time he was inclined to take this alternative, hypothetical, astrological birthdate seriously. He ultimately came to reject it, presumably as a result of Wittenberg mathematician, reveals to us the stubborn persistence of the false Gauricus dating in Carion's horoscope, which—as a close comparison with here—Reinhold took in every detail from the revision by Carion and Pfeyl (fig. 122).³⁸ As the inscription "*Coniecturalis*" proves, Reinhold was well aware that the horoscope was based on a mere conjecture, but he included it because it placed the great conjunction, in which he believed, in a more favorable light than Gauricus did. Here, Jupiter and Saturn are so conjoined in Scorpio as to produce "heroic men", and the unsuspected Mars in Gemini, in the auspicious eleventh house, has no malefic effect but gives rise to eloquence.³⁹

The most striking proof of the decided stamina of this Italian-devised horoscope is that even Garcaeus,⁴⁰ who at long last gives the true date of

Luther's birth, 10 November 1483, persists in exactly reproducing the planetary positions of the Gauricus horoscope, as redrawn by Reinhold and Carion.⁴¹

At the time of Gauricus's visit to Wittenberg and thereafter, a milder version of the Gauricus horoscope was in circulation, whether cast by Gauricus himself or, more likely, in the reformed Carion-Reinhold version given here. This is corroborated by the commentary written to accompany the horoscope of Luther cast by the Italian astrologer Hieronymus Cardanus (Giralamo Cardano), who changed the natal year to 1483 instead of Gauricus's 1484, while going out of his way to complain of the lack of due Counter-Reformation asperity in the 1484 horoscope then in circulation.⁴² Cardano disperses the planetary conjunction from Scorpio into other signs, including that of Virgo, which presides over religion. At all events, we can take it that, in the 1552 edition of Gauricus, the vituperative commentary, at least, was a late addition inserted under Counter-Reformation pressure.

In all its sectarian hostility, the Cardano horoscope was well known to Luther, who of course dismissed it out of hand. In 1543 one of his table companions showed him a version of his natal chart printed in Nuremberg, together with those of Cicero and others (see appendix III.3; this must have been the Cardano horoscope).⁴³

Ich halte nichts davon, eigene ihnen gar nichts zu, aber gerne wolt ich, dass sie mit diess Argument solvireten: Esau und Jacob sind von einem Vater und einer Mutter, auf eine Zeit, und unter gleichem Gestirn geboren, und doch gar widerwärtiger Natur, Art und Sinn. Summa, was von Gott geschieht, und sein Werk ist, das soll man dem Gestirn nicht zuschreiben. Ah, der Himmel faget nach dem nicht, wie auch unser Herr Gott nach dem Himmel nicht faget. Die rechte christliche Religion confutirt und widerlegt solche Mährlin und Fabelwerk allzumal.

I think nothing of them, and set no store by them; but I would be glad if they would solve this problem for me: Esau and Jacob were born of one father and one mother, at the same time, and under the same stars, and yet they were completely contrary in nature, demeanor, and mind. In short, what comes from God and is his handiwork is not to be ascribed to the stars. The sky pays no heed to this, just as Our Lord pays no heed to the sky. The true Christian religion altogether confutes and repudiates such tales and fables.

The fact is, therefore, that the Italian astrologers Gauricus and Cardano arbitrarily altered Luther's date of birth in order to make more or less hostile political capital out of it; and that two distinct birthdates were therefore current in Luther's own lifetime. His biographers had, as it were, two calendrical "truths" to deal with—one historical and one mythical—and at the same time two very different kinds of natal patron: on the one hand a German Christian saint, Saint Martin, and on the other a pair of pagan planetary spirits, Saturn and Jupiter.⁴⁴

Almost more remarkable still is the fact that—for a time—even Melancthon and his friends argued in favor of reassigning Luther's birth to 1484, the year of the great conjunction: the date so firmly rejected by Luther himself.

The stubborn survival of pagan astrology among those closest to the astrology-hating Reformer himself begins to seem somewhat less baffling in the light of the evidence, supplied above, that the Carion-Reinhold horoscope was an attempt at astrological compromise on behalf of the Reforming party. It was a serious effort, on the part of Luther's friends, to disable the hostile planetary configuration—as manipulated by the Italians and introduced by them into Wittenberg itself—by means of a further arbitrary alteration of the hour of birth, and thus to lessen the force of the cosmic decree that German astrologers, too, believed to reside in a great conjunction. The continued potency of a pagan culture is demonstrated by the arbitrary manner in which these Wittenberg astrologers—entirely rooted as they were in Gaucicus's world of late medieval belief—were prepared to commit a falsification of their own by variously altering the hour of birth, thus disabling the objectivity of history and subordinating it to a mythic pattern of causation.

So cosmically defined, and thus so authentically Hellenistic, was the late medieval theory of historical epochs that it crucially depended on the appearance of certain planetary conjunctions at specific intervals.⁴⁵ A new prophet required the cosmic sanction of a conjunction of superior planets, and of Saturn and Jupiter in particular. How vivid and immediate such a native affinity with Saturn was felt to be, and how vigorously Luther resisted attempts to foist Saturn on him even as a single patron deity, is shown by a remark he made between 26 and 31 May 1532: that is, a few days after Gaucicus's visit to Wittenberg. Luther said:

Ego Martinus Luther suum infelicissimis astris natus, fortassis sub Saturno. Was man mir thun und machen soll, kan nimmermehr fertig werden; schneider, schuster, buchpinder, mein weib verziehen mich auff's lengste.⁴⁶

I, Martin Luther, was born with the most inauspicious stars, perhaps under Saturn. The things I need done and made for me will never be completed; the tailor, the shoemaker, the bookbinder, and my wife keep me waiting forever.

This mockery of the supposed Saturnian influences in his natal planetary configuration illustrates how stubbornly—if often good-humoredly—Luther had to defend his own passionately held principles against constant efforts to define him as a "child" of his planet. To understand what it meant to reject the prevalent belief in planetary influences, and the fear of Saturn in particular, it will be necessary to attempt with the aid of pictorial examples to understand the commanding position occupied by the planetary deities in the late medieval cosmos. It was a position that made it possible—even in the age of the Reformation—to maintain two parallel chronologies, with historical

scruple and the pursuit of truth on one side and the "as if" of an astrological fiction on the other.

The Theory of Planetary Conjunctions, Prime Factor in Astrological Divination, as Reflected in German Illustrative Art—Fear of Saturn in Words and Images—Parallel with Italy

It is an incontrovertible fact that in astrology two entirely antithetical mental forces, which might logically have been expected to be in conflict, combine to form a single "method" (see fig. 129). On one side is mathematics, the subtlest operation of the abstract intellect; on the other is the fear of demons, the most primitive causative force in religion. The astrologer, who comprehends the universe through a clear and harmonious system of linear coordinates, and can precisely compute and predict the relationships of the fixed stars and planets to the earth and to each other, is gripped, as he pores over his mathematical tables, by an atavistic and superstitious awe of those very star names that he wields like algebraic formulas: to him, they are demons, of which he lives in fear.

Illustrations will be necessary if we are to gain a clear idea of these linear-mathematical and mythical-imaginative entities as they appear to the mind of a medieval astrologer. By what system do they rule the world; and what do they look like? Planets can exercise their rule either singly or jointly. As single rulers, in accordance with an ingenious system worked out by the astrologers of antiquity, they are patrons of the individual months in turn, together with the zodiacal signs that appear therein. All the planets, with the exception of the Sun and Moon, hold sway over two months each. Saturn, for example, rules December with the sign of Capricorn, and January with that of Aquarius; we shall take Saturn as our guiding star through this astral labyrinth, because in the age of the Reformation the fear and awe of Saturn stood at the very center of astrological belief.

In accordance with a further set of tables, every planet also rules over particular days and hours. The days of the week still wear the badges of this ancient servitude; thus, as the name indicates, Saturday stands under the influence of Saturn. This nonmathematical, mythic, iconic identity of the planets, which so perturbed the astrologers, is clearly exemplified in the illustrated planetary almanacs of medieval times.

In his book on the "children" of the planets, our lamented friend Hauber excellently described the survival and evolution of antique calendrical imagery, both verbal and pictorial, through the Middle Ages.⁴⁷ One page from a German manuscript in Tübingen (fig. 125) shows Saturn as the ruler of his month. The Greek god of time, and the Roman seedtime spirit, have here amalgamated into a rustic oaf wielding a mattock, a shovel, and a sickle; in keeping with his earthy nature, his mortal subjects labor on the land, plowing, hoeing, digging, and working grain into bread.

At first sight, this rough-looking Swabian peasant family seems to have nothing to do with classical antiquity or with its spirit world. However,



Fig. 125. *Children of Saturn*
Tübingen, Cod. M. d. 2, fol. 266^v (see p. 613 f.)

Saturn is revealed as a planetary ruler, in authentic antique style, by the presence of his two zodiacal signs, Capricorn and Aquarius. The Goat is clearly visible on the right; the Water Bearer partly conceals his allegorical nature by doing the baker the practical service of pouring the necessary water into his tub. In his left hand, however, he holds three dice: a surprising detail. For this figure, in however corrupt and derivative a form, is none other than the dicer who was part of the ancient Roman festival of Saturnalia.

Proof of this is supplied by the real Saturnalian dicer who happens to survive as the symbol of December on an antique almanac, the *Calendar of 354* (fig. 126); he stands before a table with the dice on it. This detail affords a vivid instance of the persistence of antique traditions even in so iconographically "naive" a work as a medieval popular almanac.

In another almanac, produced by the Hamburg-born printer Steffen Arndes in Lübeck in 1519—which is to say during the early part of Luther's active career—the outward aspect of the figure of Saturn (fig. 127) has already begun to look more authentic. On one arm he holds the dragon-serpent of Time, in remembrance of his identity as the Greek Chronos; furthermore, as the mythical ancestor of the pagan gods, he is engaged in swallowing his own offspring. The Low German verse below summarizes the joyless life and horrid disposition that are to be expected of those born in December and January.

This Saturn owes his more antique air to Italy: for one set of Northern Italian engravings (fig. 128) was the source that greatly influenced (by way of Burgkmaier in Augsburg) not only this Low German almanac but also the monumental art of the German Renaissance. Thus we find the same Italian planetary deities, life-size, on the walls of the Rathausalle in Lüneburg (1529), on the Brusttuch-Haus in Goslar (1526), in Hildesheim, in Brunswick, and on the Junkerhaus in Göttingen.⁴⁸

Nor must we allow the German or Italian bias in the appearance of the figure to obscure the truth that it retains all the essential attributes of this weird and ancient spirit, reinforced by the transference of his name to the remotest, the dimmest, the slowest-moving, and hence apparently the most mysterious of the planets. From that heavenly body, Saturn received an added measure of ponderous inertia; and so the Christian mortal sin of *acedia* (sloth) became associated with him. Hamlet, too, is a Child of Saturn.⁴⁹ Such is the background of "popularized" Hellenistic antiquity that lies behind one sarcastic remark made by Luther in 1532.

Strong as was the influence of the planets in the course of their shared rule of the annual cycle—their rotation of the chairmanship, as it were—they became gods of the moment, world rulers in an entirely "topical" sense, whenever they could be observed or calculated to be operating jointly and simultaneously; that is, when they were in conjunction. Only at long intervals, known as revolutions, were such conjunctions to be expected. Great and greater conjunctions were systematically distinguished: the latter, *stellia* of all three superior planets, Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars, were the most perilous of all, but were very infrequent.



Fig. 126. Chronographer of A.D. 354
December: Saturnalian Dicer (see p. 615)

Fig. 128. Saturn
From Zarochi, Series E. Northern Italian engraving
(see pp. 593, 615)

Fig. 127. Saturn
From Nyge Kalender (Lübeck, 1519)
(see pp. 593, 615)

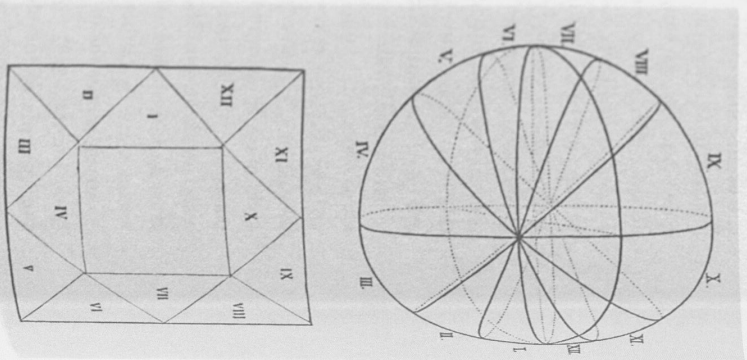


Fig. 129. Astrological cosmos and horoscope chart
After A. Drechsler, *Astrologische Vorträge* (Dresden, 1855)
(see pp. 613, 617)

The more planets there were in the conjunction, the more alarming it was, although those known as benefics might exert a moderating influence on the malefics. Such an influence might, for example, be exerted by Jupiter—who tended to be pictured as a benign and studious elderly cleric—on Saturn.

The other decisive factor governing the effect of the conjunction was its location in the sky. The entire celestial globe was divided mathematically into twelve segments, known as houses, each of which was represented on the conventional horoscope “map” by a triangle.⁵⁰ (See fig. 129.) Leonhard Reyman’s almanac of natal astrology (1515; fig. 130)⁵¹ clearly shows how these houses are assigned to the various departments of human life: thus, the first house pertains to Life, the second to Business, the third to Brothers, the others, respectively, to Parents, Children, Health, Marriage, Death, Religion, Government, Beneficence, and Imprisonment.⁵² The division of the cosmos among the members of the astral hierarchy is thus made plain.

In an essay on the astrological interpretation of history in the Middle Ages,⁵³ Friedrich von Bezold has shown us, with exemplary scholarship, how seriously—and with what encouragement from the Christian Church—the belief in the power of such planetary configurations influenced historical thinking all over medieval Europe. A generation earlier, Johann Friedrich, in his work on astrology and Reformation,⁵⁴ was the first to make the arduous but meritorious attempt to work through the vast, scattered, and obscure corpus of prophetic literature, both in Latin and in German, in which he believed that he had found the causes of the social and ecclesiastical unrest that led to the Reformation and the Peasants’ War. A welcome complement to these studies is supplied by G. Hellmann, who in his essay “Aus der Blütezeit der Astro-meteorologie”⁵⁵ affords a penetrating and accurate view of the mass literature that evoked the flood panic of 1524.

That panic was itself rooted in the fear of planetary influences. For many years past, it had been believed that in the month of February 1524 twenty planetary conjunctions—sixteen of them in the watery sign of Pisces—would inevitably bring in their train a catastrophic, universal deluge. All of the most learned astrological scientists of the day either eloquently confirmed this idea or found themselves enlisted by the spiritual and temporal authorities to deny it with equal emphasis, publishing semiofficial messages of reassurance to still the panic.

The same Reyman who composed the 1515 natal almanac was one of those who foretold the worst for 1524.⁵⁶ The illustration for his *Practica* for that year (fig. 131) shows a gigantic fish, from its star-studded belly (the planets in conjunction) a devastating flood descends on a city represented by a few buildings. Under the impact of this cataclysm, the emperor and the pope confer on the right; from the left come the peasants, including *Hans mit der Karst* (Jack with the mattock); their one-legged standard-bearer wields a scythe, for the ancient god of seedtime was the natural emblem of his rebellious children.

The contrasting literature of official reassurance is typified by the refutation published by the imperial astrologer, Georg Tannstetter, with a dedication to Archduke Ferdinand.⁵⁷ Here the seven planets look down from a raincloud on the peasants beneath, rather like spectators in a box at the theater; they are held in check by the hand of God, which emerges from the clouds above (fig. 133).

Also in 1521 Johann Carion, whom we have already encountered as the mathematician to the court of Brandenburg, brought out his own message of reassurance, *Prognosticatio und erklerung der grossen wessening*—in which, however, he simultaneously prophesied all manner of other calamities.⁵⁸ On the title page of the first edition of this work,⁵⁹ now among the treasures of the Berlin library, there is a woodcut showing three separate scenes (fig. 132). On the left we see the threatened storm; on the right a comet, shining on a city; with the date 1521; and below five figures in contemporary costume, engaged in what looks like armed conflict. A pope, down on his knees, is threatened by a knight with drawn sword whose companion, a bare-headed man, also raises his sword. A cardinal throws up his arms in lamentation; the emperor, with crown and scepter, covers his face in horror.

Were it not for the text of the book itself, this might be taken for a premonition of the Sack of Rome by the German lansquenets. On closer scrutiny, however, the emperor turns out to be accompanied by the planetary symbol for the Sun; the pope's mantle bears the sign of Jupiter; and behind the knight is the symbol of Mars. These figures, as emerges from the allegorical verses printed within ("Reymen der Planeten"), illustrate the planetary configuration that accompanied the comet of 1521. For purposes of political prophecy, the planetary figures are identified with conflicting forces within contemporary politics. Sol is the emperor, Jupiter the pope, Mars the nobility; and the man with the sword is an ill-characterized Saturn, the peasant.

Carion's book casts significant light on the history of the press in the period. He denounces a number of sensational illustrated publications as attempts to manipulate the Diet of Worms through the deluge scare propaganda of Seytz⁶⁰ and his like. We sense the impact of woodcut illustration as a powerful new means of working on an uneducated public.

Did not irrefutable evidence compel the historian to take such banal costume groups seriously as part of the history of religion, he would very soon block the deep wellspring of insight into collective psychology that such mere "curiosities" have to offer. The planetary spirits were perceived as real forces: which was why they took on a human shape.

It seems—but is not—paradoxical to say that this group of gods possessed greater immediate numinous power than did the Olympians whom Raphael depicted at much the same time on the ceiling of the Villa Farnesina. So serene and straightforward is the beauty in which the Italian Renaissance clothes the gods of its ancient world that any art historian would reject—as mere antiquarian and philological wrongheadedness—the attempt to discern a trace of

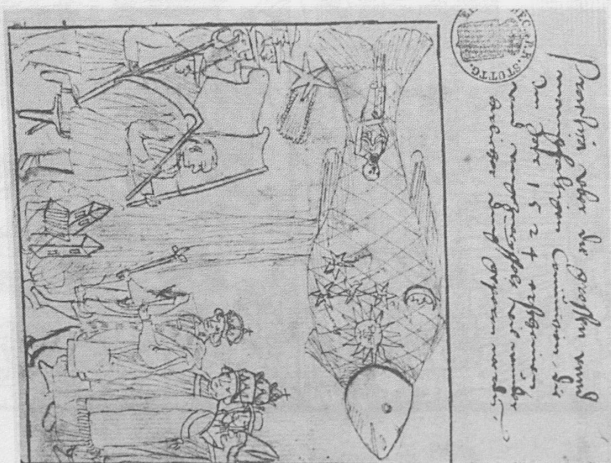
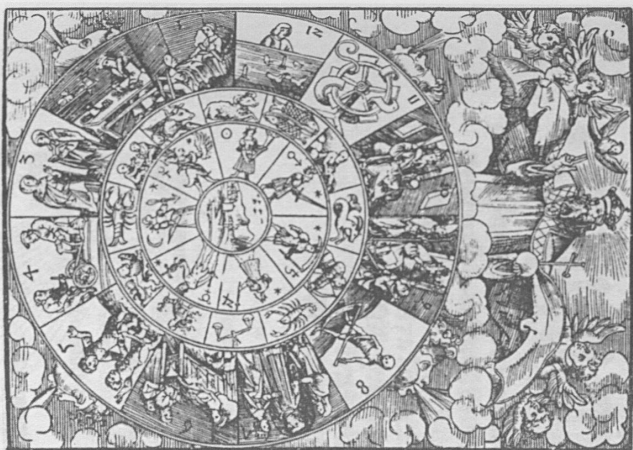


Fig. 130. Ehard Schön
Frontispiece to Leonhard Reymann, *Natvitat-Kalender*
(Nuremberg, 1515)
(see p. 617)

Fig. 131. Title leaf of Leonhard Reymann, *Practica for 1524*
Stuttgart, L.B., Hs. Math. Q. 3 (see p. 617)

Prognostication und Pr-

Flerung der greiffen weffnung / Auch anderer erfbrechtlichern
 würetungen. So sieh Begeben nach Chiffi vnfers lieben hern
 gebur/ Sunffschen hundert vñ vñüff. Jar. Durch mich
 Magister Johannem Carion vñ Zueitaym/Chue
 fünfflicher gnaden zu Zandenburg Aftron
 mü/mit fleysfiger arbeit gusame gebacht.
 Was erbermlich gulefen/in mus vñ
 warnung aller Chuffiglaubis
 gen menschen zc.



Fig. 132. Title page of Johann Carion, *Prognostication* (Leipzig, 1521) (see p. 618)

true pagan divinity in Raphael's figures. Even so, he should remember that only a step away, in an adjoining room of the Farnesina, Agostino Chigi simultaneously commissioned Peruzzi to fill the ceiling with pagan astral deities—planets and fixed stars alike—in a set of relationships that are not artistically defined but represent the positions of the stars on the day of Chigi's own birth. For Chigi chose to spend his hours of rural leisure beneath the protection of his own auspicious horoscope, which—deceptively—promised him a long life.

Even in death, Agostino Chigi remained a patron of astrological art. His tomb in S. Maria del Popolo is surmounted by an openwork dome, designed by Raphael, from which the seven planetary deities of antiquity look down, their pagan temperament held in check by an escort of Christian angels commanded by God the Father. The formal beauty of these figures of the gods, and the exquisite taste with which the artist reconciles pagan and Christian belief, must not be allowed to obscure the truth that even in Italy, around 1520, at the time of greatest artistic freedom and creativity, the antique was—as it were—reverted in the form of a Janus-faced herm. One face wore a demonic scowl, exacting superstitious awe; the other face was Olympian and serene, inviting aesthetic veneration.

Luther and the Theory of Planetary Conjunctions: The Deluge Panic of 1524—Luther's View of Johann Lichtenberger's Prophecy That a "Minor Propbet" Would Be Born of the 1484 Conjunction

This panic terror of a deluge was part of Luther's own psychic experience. His response to it, as to all manifestations of systematic astrology, was unequivocally hostile. We possess a humorous and highly dismissive comment that he made some years later:

D. M. L. sagte von der Nartheit der Mathematicorum und Astrologorum, der Sternkützer, die von einer Sündfluth oder grossen Gewässer hätten gesagt, so Anno 1524 kommen sollte, das doch nicht geschach, sondern das folgende 25. Jahr stunden die Bauren auf, und wunden auführerisch. Davon sagte kein Astrologus nicht ein Wort. Er redete aber vom Bürgermeister Hohndorf: derselbe liess ihm ein viertel Bier in sein Haus hinauf ziehen, wollte da warten auf die Sündfluth, gleich als würde er nicht zu trinken haben, wenn sie käme. Aber zur Zeit des Zorns war ein Coniunctio, die hiess Sünde und Gottes Zorn, das war ein ander Coniunctio, denn die im 24. Jahre.⁶¹

D. M. L. spoke of the folly of the mathematicians and astrologers, the stargazers, who had talked of a deluge or great flood, which was to come in the year 1524, but which did not come to pass; however, in the following year, '25, the peasants rose up in arms. Of which not one astrologer had a single word to say. He went on to speak of Burgomaster Hohndorf, who had a quarter of beer hauled up inside his house to wait there for the Deluge, as if he would not have had plenty to drink when it came. But at the hour of wrath there was a conjunction, which was

that of sin and God's wrath; and that was a very different conjunction from that of the year '24.

At the time of the panic itself, Luther was thus not at all disposed to believe in a deluge occasioned by astrological influences; he did, however, express the view that the conjunction of so many heavenly bodies might well signal the approach of the Last Judgment. For although Luther never accepted that astrology was an exact science, his objections of principle were directed against its intellectual and not against its mystical aspect:

Den die Heiden waren nicht so nützlich, dass sie sich vor Sonn und Monden gefürcht hatten, sondern für den Wunderzeichen und ungeheuren Gesichten, Portenten und Monstris, dafür fürchten sie sich, und ehreten sie. Zudem, so ist Astrologia keine Kunst,⁶² denn sie hat keine principia und demonstrationes, darauf man gewisss, ununkend fassen und gründen könnte...⁶³

For the heathen were not such fools as to live in fear of the Sun and the Moon, but of signs and wonders, monstrous sights, portents and omens: those they feared and worshipped. Furthermore, astrology is not an art, for it has no *principia* and *demonstrations* on which to take a sure and certain footing.

The fear of natural signs and wonders, in the heavens and on the earth, was shared by all Europe; and the press of the day exploited it for ends of learned thought; and now the art of pictorial printing enabled images—their darts from North to South and back again, and every party sought to enlist in its own cause the “pictorial slogans” (as they might now be called) of cosmic sensationalism.

On the Protestant side, it seems that Spalatin, a trusted ally both of Luther and of Elector Frederick the Wise, employed astrological and teratological images of impending disaster as part of a press campaign based on both “artificial” and “miraculous” prophecy. As early as 1519, he commissioned an expert opinion on the great conjunction of 1484,⁶⁴ and it was he who asked Luther for clarification of his Italian horoscope.⁶⁵ These two facts alone show that Spalatin was at home in the intellectual context of the prophecies of Johann Lichtenberger, which Luther issued as a pamphlet with a foreword of his own. Translated from the Latin by Stephan Roth, and with woodcuts by Lemberger, this was published in Wittenberg by Hans Luft in 1527.⁶⁶

In his foreword,⁶⁷ Luther played down the strongly astrological character of the text, presenting the forty-three images in isolation as warnings for delinquent Christians, with the express intention of shaking up the clergy, who, having emerged unscathed from the Peasants' War of 1525, were no longer intimidated by threats of chastisement. The clergy and the princes—all the “bigwigs”—had every reason to fear this book, which presented the ideas

of the Reformation of church and state through a strange blend of obscure pictorial riddles and plainspoken threats and demands. Originally published in Latin, the text was reissued countless times in a variety of languages from around 1490 onward, and was seriously consulted as an oracle in difficult times. It was still being consulted after the battle of Jena in 1806.⁶⁸

Lichtenberger's prophecy had its roots deep in astrological soil. In a spirit of superstitious fanaticism, it connected a specific conjunction of planets, foretold for 23 November 1484, with the expected emergence of a cleric who would bring about a revolution in the Church. In fifteenth-century Italy, as we know from Pico della Mirandola,⁶⁹ this same prophecy had caused distress and agitation for decades on end, very much as the deluge prophecy of 1524 was later to do.

In 1484, when the expected spiritual prophet—like the later deluge—failed to materialize, the first response, Pico tells us, was one of relief. But astrologers are incorrigible. There emerged in Padua a professor of astrology, one Paulus van Middelburg (fig. 134), a Dutch-born cleric, who simply “stretched” the influence of the 1484 conjunction over a period of twenty years and extended its application from the anticipated advent of a monk to embrace every department of human life.⁷⁰ Middelburg firmly predicted the coming of this revolutionary “minor prophet” while making, at times, slavish use of the writings of the Arab astrologer Abū Ma'sār (died 886).⁷¹ The prophet would be born nineteen years after 1484, i.e., in 1503; he would remain active for nineteen years; and he would be forced to leave his native land—because the Bible says that a prophet is not without honor, save in his own country.

For the historian of prophetic literature, it is both philologically and psychologically instructive that—as no one has yet remarked—Lichtenberger's prophecy is lifted, word for word, from Paulus van Middelburg. His mystic edifice thus rests upon a stolen foundation. In 1492 Middelburg himself indignantly drew attention to this in his *Inuetia*,⁷² which must be one of the earliest printed denunciations of plagiarism. Lichtenberger, of whose personality very little is known,⁷³ does not seem to have replied.

The terror of the great conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter (fig. 135), and the figure of the “minor prophet,” were thus old-established images, dating from the pre-Reformation period. For various reasons, even so, they inevitably took a new lease on life in Luther's day. At a time of conflict between rulers and peasants, any scene showing Saturn and Jupiter together was bound to look like a topical episode from the Peasants' War; and the astrological text itself acquired curious overtones of humanity when it spoke of the motions of heavenly bodies as if they had been human beings in conflict. Uncannily and spontaneously, the spirit world of antiquity derived new life from the passionate and vibrant age of the Reformation—and so, at a time of true ecclesiastical revolution, did Lichtenberger's image of the prophet monk (fig. 136).

Despite discrepancies in the account of the prophet's birth and exile from



Fig. 133. Title page of Georg Tannstetter, *Libellus consolatorius* (Vienna, 1523) (see p. 618)



Fig. 134. Title page and last page of Paulus van Middelburg, *Prognostica* (Antwerp, 1484) (see p. 623)

... et quibus pauli be mider thargo parnoctia ab equis amas durata...
 ... et quibus pauli be mider thargo parnoctia ab equis amas durata...
 ... et quibus pauli be mider thargo parnoctia ab equis amas durata...

Edmunda...
 ... et quibus pauli be mider thargo parnoctia ab equis amas durata...

his native land—and in that of the birthmarks and signs on various parts of his body that had already been listed by Abū Maš'ar—the gist of the prophecy fitted the emergence of Luther: for a monk had indeed arisen and assailed the clergy. Luther himself was fully aware of the danger that the illustrations in this book of prophecies might be taken to apply to him; and he took steps to avert it, in one place at least, by supplying Lichtenberger's image of a false prophet with a caption saying, "*Dieser Prophet sithet dem Thomas Minter gleich*."⁷⁴ (This prophet looks like Thomas Minter.) This did nothing to dissuade either friends or foes from applying Lichtenberger's image of two monks to Luther and Melanchthon.⁷⁵

In the Stadtbibliothek in Hamburg there is a copy of the early Latin edition of 1492, published in Mainz (fig. 137). Above the two figures—a tall monk with a hood that reaches to the ground and a devil on his shoulder,⁷⁶ and a smaller monk in a frontal pose—an early hand, probably in the sixteenth century, has written in Low German: "*Dyth is Martinus Luther*" (This is Martin Luther) and "*Philippus Melanton*." Given that this is an image that appears to show a monk in a state of diabolical possession, such an inscription might—in the absence of a contextual science of culture—seem to reveal nothing but the malice of a declared enemy of Luther. This is not necessarily so: friends as well as foes were able to apply the image to Luther, using a favorable interpretation based on his own words.⁷⁷

As is well known, however, Luther's papist adversaries strove ad nauseam to associate Luther as closely as possible with the devil, who was even said to have begotten him in the guise of an incubus. The fiercest anti-Lutheran of all, Cochlaeus, has left us a vicious attempt to identify Luther with Lichtenberger's prophet monk. In his book *Von neuen Schwermereyen*, of 1534, Cochlaeus cursed Luther as follows:

*Hoff auch I er sols auf XXX. Jahr nicht bringen / Sonder in XIX. iar (wie Lichtenberger von jm schreybt) sol er zu boden gehen / der unselig Münch / der den Tauffel auff der achseln tregt / in Lichtenbergers Practica*⁷⁸

I hope, too, that he never reaches the twentieth year. But (as Lichtenberger writes of him) may he meet his downfall in the nineteenth: the unholy monk who bears the devil on his shoulders, in Lichtenberger's *Practica*.

Cochlaeus thus applies both the image and its content to Luther as if it were an entirely familiar allusion; it sounds, in fact, as if he were trying to counter some other interpretation more favorable to Luther.

One year later Cardinal Vergerio visited the feared and excommunicated monk in Wittenberg and described his impressions as follows, in a letter to Ambrogio Riccalcati dated 13 November 1535:

... et veramente che quanto più penso a quel che ho veduto et sentito in quel monstro et alla gran forza delle sue maladate operationi, et coningendo quello che io



Fig. 135. *Jupiter and Saturn*
From Johann Lichtenberger, *Weissagungen*
(Wittenberg, 1527)
(see p. 623)

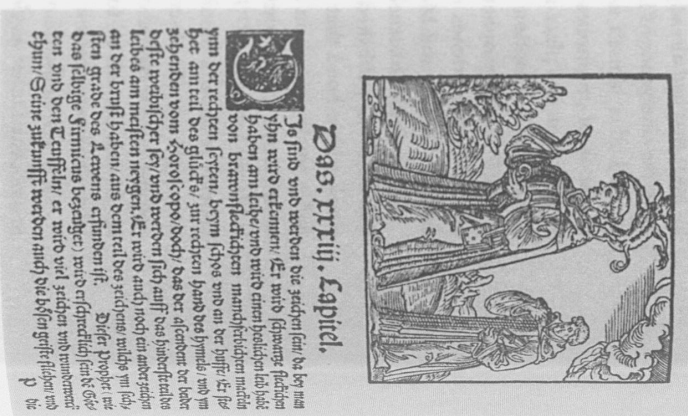


Fig. 136. *The Two Monks*
Ibid. (see p. 623)

Fig. 137. *The Two Monks*
From the Mainz, 1492, edition of Lichtenberger. Copy in
Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek
(see p. 625)

Pagan-Antique Prophecy in Words and Images

*so della sua nativita et di tutta la passata vita da persone che li erano intimi amici
sino a quel tempo che se fece frate, tanto piu mi lascio vincere a credere che egli
habbia qualche demonio adosso!*⁷⁹

... and, truly, the more I reflect on what I have seen and heard both of that monster, and of the great power of its accursed operations, and adding what I myself know of his nativity and past life, from persons who were his close friends before he became a monk, the more I am inclined to suppose he has a devil on his back.

Even the wording of Vergerio's description reads like a startlingly apt caption to Lichtenberger's image of the prophet monk; and Vergerio proves that he also has Lichtenberger's actual text in mind by claiming to have heard all manner of suspicious things about Luther's "nativita." I do not think that this word should here be translated by "birth"; in this context, Luther's "nativity" is his natal horoscope.

When Vergerio wrote his letter, an Italian astrologer in Wittenberg had recently traced a link between Luther's nativity and Lichtenberger's prophecies: for these may very well have suggested to Lucas Gauricus, on his visit to Wittenberg in 1532, the choice of 22 October 1484 as the birthdate (see pp. 606 ff., fig. 123). Vergerio is all the more likely to have heard of this, on inquiry, because the use of that date had all along been motivated by political animus against the Reformers—the same animus that eventually inspired Gauricus, in publishing his horoscope of Luther in 1552, to supplement it with a vicious denunciation.

The connection between Lichtenberger and Gauricus can be traced through matters of detail. Closely scrutinized, in ways that can only be touched on here, the Gauricus horoscope reveals an indubitable affinity with Lichtenberger's predictions. This agreement may possibly be explained by supposing a common source, itself Northern in origin. For Paulus van Middelburg, who was Lichtenberger's unwavering source, lived in Italy and was in close personal contact with Gauricus: both men were among those commissioned by Pope Leo X to undertake the reform of the Julian calendar.⁸⁰ We know that Gauricus knew and esteemed Middelburg's work, because he cited him in his *Encomion astrologiae* as one of the leading lights of astral science.⁸¹

Gauricus has simply twisted around the basic idea of the prophecy in order to use it against Luther, so that not merely two planets—as in Lichtenberger—but all the planets, with the single exception of Mars, meet in the sign of Scorpio. Other features of Lichtenberger's prophet-making conjunction are retained by Gauricus: Jupiter and Saturn conjoin in the ninth house—that of religion—and the malefic, Mars, stands in his own sign of Aries, as Lichtenberger explicitly requires. Gauricus adds to this the grouping of the remaining planets in the ninth house. Whether the need to coincide with this event, or some other specific astronomical calculation, underlies his rejection of Lichtenberger's date of 25 (or 20) November, which he replaces by 22 October, is a matter for further examination.⁸²



Fig. 138. Scorpio
 Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana,
 Cod. Vat. Reg. lat. 1283, fol. 7^v (see p. 625)

Luther on Johann Lichtenberger's Prophecies of the "Foul Fiend"

In his foreword, Luther goes to some lengths to stress the shortcomings of astrology; and he would certainly have given short shrift to any attempt to identify him with Lichtenberger's prophet monk on astrological grounds—if for nothing else, because of the imp of hell on the monk's neck (figs. 136, 140). Even so, however, a story first recorded by Herberger in the early seventeenth century, but attributed to reliable sources, goes some way to suggest the contrary:

Von S. Martini und D. Martini Feinden

S. Martino haben die bösen Geister viel schalckheit angelegt / wenn sie ihm in, mancherley form und gestalt sind erschienen. Vornemlich hat er geklagt / dass Mercurius unter dem hauffen der schlimmeste sey. Jedermann hat seine plage / wie es Christus selbst muss erfahren / Math. 4. Zur zeit kam S. Martino der Teufel entgegen / da er wolte sein Ampt verrichten / und sprach: Alle Welt wird dir gram werden: Da antwoertet Martinus eben wie Ritter Gordius: Dominus mecum, non timebo mala, ist Gott mit uns, wer wil wider uns: Also hat der Teufel auch D. Martino viel schalckheit durch seine Werkzeug angelaget / Vornemlich die Mercurialischen geschwinden Köpffe und Sophisten haben ihn greulich geplaget.

Hier muss ich etwas denckwürdiges erzehlen. Herr Johan Lichtenberger hat geuissagt / es würde ein Münch kommen / der würde die religion scheeren und püntzerfegen / demselben Münch hat er einen teufel auff den nacken gemalt / nu mach sich Lutherns ein mal uber Lichtenbergers Buch / und wil es verdeutschchen / D. Iustus Ionas kömpt dazu und fragt was er vor habe: D. Luther saget. Da spricht D. Ionas: Warum wolt ihr ihn deuschen / ist er doch wider euch. Lutherns fraget ursach. D. Ionas sagt: Lichtenberger sagt / ihr habt den Teufel / nu habt ihr ia keinen Teufel. Da lachelt der Herr Lutherns, und spricht: Ey Herr Doctor / sehet nur das Bild ein wenig besser an / wo sitzt der Teuffel? Er sitzt nicht dem Münche im hertzen / sondern auff dem nacken / ey wie fein hat ers troffen / Im hertzen da woohnet mein Herr JESVS / da sol mir der Teufel nu und nimmermehr hinein kommen / aber ich meyne er sitzt mir auff dem nacken / durch Bapst / Keyser und grosse Potentaten / und alles wus in der Welt wil klag seyn. Kan er nicht mehr / so macht er mir im Kopff ein abschaulichs sansen. Wie Got wil / er mag mich aussertlich plagen / es ist / Gott lob und danck / nur ein aussgestossener aussgeworfener Teuffel / wie Christus redet / der Fürst dieser Welt werde jetzt aussgeworfener Teuffel / Diese wort hat D. Iusti Ionae Diener / welcher hernach ein berühmter Prediger worden / ad notam genommen und offtz erzehlet. Es ist war / der Teuffel gehet herum von aussen / 1 Per. 5. Lass ihn prillen wie er wil / im hertzen gleichger Christen hat er nichts zu schaffen / unser Hertz ist Christi Königlich eigen Sitz / da wil er Regent und Platzmeister bleiben.⁸³

On the Foes of Saint Martin and of Dr. Martin

Saint Martin was much plagued with the mischief of evil spirits, which appeared to him in many forms and guises. He complained that Mercury was the worst of them all. Everyone is tormented in his own way, as Christ himself had to learn: Matthew 4. On one occasion, the devil came to Saint Martin as he was about to say his Office

and said: "The whole world will be wroth with thee." Martin gave the same answer as Sir Gordius: *Dominus mecum, non timebo mala*; if God be with us, who shall stand against us. Likewise, through his henchmen, the devil made much mischief for Dr. Martin; and it was the mercurial quick-brains and sophists who tormented him worst of all.

Here I must recount a memorable fact. Master Johann Lichtenberger prophesied that a monk would come who would cleanse religion and sweep it clean; and he portrayed that monk with a devil on his back. One day, Luther was studying Lichtenberger's book and making ready to translate it into German. Dr. Justus Jonas came along and asked what he was intending to do; Dr. Luther told him. Jonas said: "Why translate him? He is against you." Luther asked him why. Jonas said: "Lichtenberger says you have the devil; and you have no devil."

Then Master Luther smiled and said: "Now, Doctor, look more closely at the picture. Where does the devil sit? Not in the monk's heart but on his back. That is quite right! In my heart dwells my Lord Jesus, and there the devil shall never enter, now or hereafter. And yet I think he does sit on my back, through the agency of the pope, the emperor, and the great potentates, and all those in the world who claim to be wise. If he can do no more, he makes a fearful roaring in my ears. As God will: he may torment me outwardly, but God be praised and thanked, this is no more than an outcast devil; as Christ says, now shall the prince of this world be cast out, John 12."

These words were noted down and often recounted by Dr. Justus Jonas's servant, who later became a celebrated preacher. It is true: the devil walketh about, I Peter 5. Let him roar as he will, he has no power over the hearts of faithful Christians. Our hearts are the royal throne of Christ himself, and there he is sure to remain as ruler and governor.

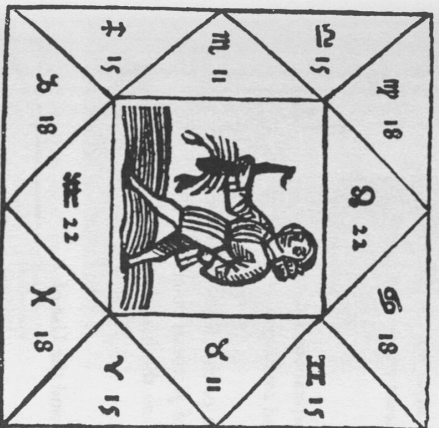
This tradition rings true. We possess very similar remarks from Luther about his battle with the headache demon, which for him was a highly personal being.⁸⁴ Herberger's humorous telling of the tale cannot conceal this; for however firmly Luther may have rejected the anthropomorphic planetary spirits, the foul fiend himself remained a vivid and indubitable presence. He went so far as to concede, in his foreword to Lichtenberger,⁸⁵ that on occasion the fiend might speak true prophecy, if only concerning the affairs of this world. We are fortunate enough to have another remark of Luther's, on Lichtenberger's own relationship to the devil. On being asked whether Lichtenberger communed with a good or an evil spirit, Luther replied:

*Fuit spiritus fanaticus et tamen multa praedixit; dem das kan der Teufel woll thun, quod novit corda eorum quos possidet. Praeterea novit conditionem mundi, et siebet wie es gehe.*⁸⁶

It was a fanatical spirit, and yet he foretold many things; for this the devil can certainly do, because he knows the hearts of those whom he possesses. He also knows the condition of the world; he sees how it goes.

Utriquepionē tenēs cū collo.

Utridomo inuidus erit.



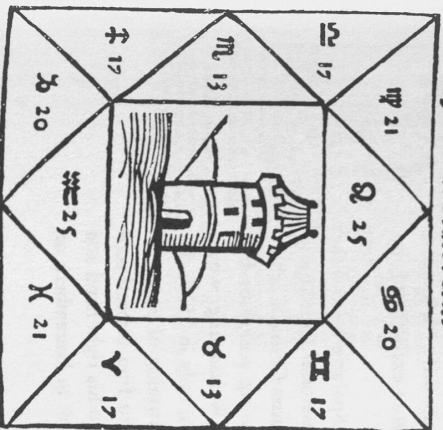
Serpentē magnū mulce pugentes.

Utridomo pudēs erit sed malus.



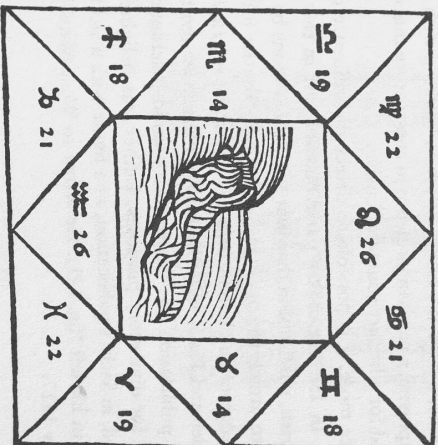
Utrius pulchra ac fortis.

Utridomo laborator erit.



Utrius er quo manat aqua.

Utridomo infabilis erit femin.



Scorpio
11-14

Fig. 139. Degrees 11-14 of Scorpio
From *Astrolobium Magnum*, ed. Engel (Augsburg, 1483)
(see p. 625)

Luther thus considered demoniacal possession to be entirely compatible with a gift of accurate prophecy in earthly matters. And he accordingly wrote in his foreword:

Denn Gotts zeichen und der Engel warnunge / sind gemengt mit des Satans eingeben und zeichen / wie die welt denn werd ist / das es wust untereinander gehe und nichts unterschiedlich erkennen kan.

For God's signs and the angels' warnings mingle with the inspirations and signs of Satan; for the world deserves no better than to sink into blind confusion.

And so Luther's own friends were able to use the image of the devil-ridden monk in their woodcut press campaign; for, in that age of pictorial polemics, Luther himself gave credence to Liechtenberger—if only as the harbinger of natural signs and wonders.

II.3. The Prophetic Interpretation of Portents: Antiquity and the Use of Prodiges in Luther's Press Campaign

Luther's Portrait in the "Wunderliche Weissagung" of Joachin, by Hans Sachs, and the Leonine Oracle—Luther's and Melancthon's Political Monsters: Pope Donkey and Monk Calf

In this area, Luther and his friends were working with quite different images, and employing a partisan virulence in controversy that can be excused only by the need for a literary counteroffensive.

Once more, it is possible to detect the influence of Spalatin behind the scenes. In 1521 he took a particular interest in the *Passional Christi und Antichristi*, published in that year with illustrations by Lucas Cranaach, which dared to attack the pope as Antichrist.⁸⁷ By the following year,⁸⁸ he had knowledge of the Italian original of the *Wunderliche Weissagung*, which Osiander and Hans Sachs were to publish in Nuremberg only in 1527; this Italian publication was based on a pseudo-Joachimite catalog of popes invented for divinatory purposes. Luther was delighted to find himself represented, in Sachs's publication, as a figure with a sickle in his right hand and a rose in his left (fig. 141). He wrote to Wenceslaus Link in Nuremberg on 19 May 1527:

... *libellus vester imaginarius de Papatu, in quo imaginem meam cum falce valde probo, ut qui mordax et acerbus tot amicus ante praedictus sum futurus, sed rosam pro meo signo interpretari dubito, magis ad officium etiam pertinere putarim.*⁸⁹

... your little book of emblems concerning the papacy, in which I very much like the image of myself with a sickle—as one who, for so many years previously called cutting and pitiless, am about to be so—but I hesitate to interpret the rose as my own sign: I should rather have thought that it, too, pertains to the office.

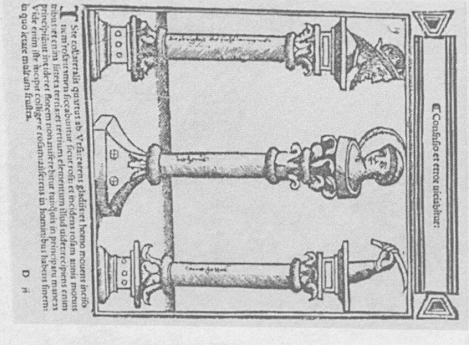
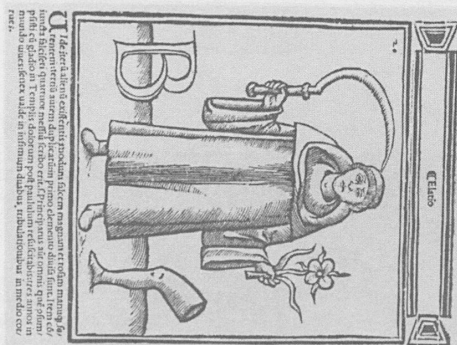


Fig. 140. The Two Monks

From *Prophezeien und Weissagen ... Doctoris Paracelsi, Joh. Liechtenbergers, M. Joseph Grünpeck, Joan. Carionis, Der Sibyllen und anderer* (Augsburg, 1549) (see p. 629)

Fig. 141. Luther with Sickle and Rose

From Osiander and Hans Sachs, *Wunderliche Weissagung* (Nuremberg, 1527) (see p. 632)

Fig. 142. Corresponding Image from *Vaticinia Joachimi* (Bologna, 1515)

Copy in Wolfenbüttel; Bibliothek (see p. 635)

Fig. 143. Jupiter, Saturn, Sol (?)

Ibid. (see p. 635)

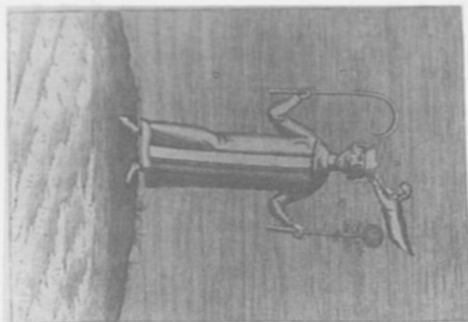
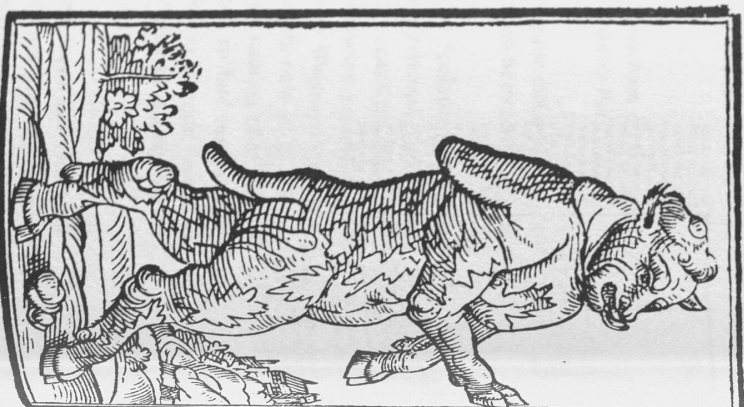


Fig. 144. *Oraculum V*
From Leonis Oracula, ed. Lambecius (Paris, 1555)
(see p. 635)



Figs. 145a, b. *Pope Donkey and Monk Calf*
From Johann Wolf, *Lectiones memorabiles* (Lauffen, 1688)
(see p. 635)

The Italian book, illustrated with woodcuts (Bologna, 1515), that served as Sachs's source (fig. 142) is still to be found, with his verses copied in Oslander's hand, in the library at Wolfenbüttel.⁹⁰ It is unfortunately impossible to go into detail. The severed human leg demands mention, however, as it also appears in connection with Luther. It survives in the historical list of popes as the canting arms of Pope John XXIII (*Coscia: thigh*).

As has not previously been noticed, the figure itself derives from an effigy of a Byzantine emperor in the celebrated twelfth-century Leonine Oracles (fig. 144).⁹¹ Given the astrological character of those predictions, it is conceivable that somewhere behind all this there lurks an image of Saturn.⁹²

In 1523 Luther's and Melancthon's political use of prophecy found joint expression, as is well known, in two celebrated broadsheets: Melancthon's *Papstesel* (pope donkey) and Luther's *Mönchskalb* (monk calf). In these, the report of the discovery of a hideous freak said to have been cast up on the banks of the Tiber in 1495 (fig. 145a), and of the monstrous progeny born to a German cow in Saxony in 1523 (fig. 145b), were given a political interpretation that made them into weapons of raw aggression.⁹³

III. Prophecy Based on Applied Hellenistic Cosmology in the Age of Luther, in the Context of the Revival of Antiquity in German Humanism: Oriental Intermediaries and Sources

Luther and the Teratological and Astrological Ideas of Scholars and Artists in the Circle of Maximilian I: Signs and Wonders, from Sebastian Brant to Albrecht Dürer—Babylonian Practices

Such broadsheets or flysheets on prodigies of various kinds are like detached leaves from the vast—and in spirit entirely antique—annalistic compilation of prodigies⁹⁴ made in the sixteenth century by Conrad Lycosthenes,⁹⁵ who was also the editor of the illustrated Julius Obsequens.⁹⁶ Here, both the pope donkey and the monk calf⁹⁷ reappear; but alongside the pope donkey—and this casts considerable light on the question of sources—there are other monstrosities of Maximilian's reign, as recorded in contemporary depictions and descriptions by such members of the emperor's own immediate circle as Sebastian Brant, Jakob Memmel,⁹⁸ Joseph Grünpeck, and Albrecht Dürer.

Luther saw these monstrosities with the eyes of a classical augur, in keeping with the German early Renaissance revival of the ancient spirit world; but at the same time, he reinterpreted them in Christian and eschatological terms by reference to the Tradition of the House of Elijah, mentioned above. This is made startlingly clear by a passage from his *Chronica deudsch*, in which he says, of the period 1500–1510 (i.e., the years 5460–5470 “von anfang der welt,” from the beginning of the world):

Eine neue krankheit / die Frantzosen / von etlichen dert / die Hispanische sende genant / kommet auff / Vnd wie man sagt / sie ist aus den neugefundenen / Inslen in Occidente / in Europam gebracht. Ist eins von den grossen Zeichen vor dem

Jüngstem tage. Vnd unter diesem Maximiliano sind im himel wunderbarliche zeichen / vnd derselben viel / geschehen / dazu auch auff erden / vnd in wassern / von weichen Christus sagt / Es werden grosse zeichen sein etc. Also / das von keiner zeit gesehen wird / darin mehr vnd grössere zugleich geschehen weren / Die uns gewisse hoffnung geben / das der selige tag hart fur der thur sey.⁹⁹

A new sickness now arises, the French, or—as some call it—the Spanish plague. And it is said that it came to Europe from the newfound islands in the West. This is one of the great signs of the Last Day. And under the reign of this Maximilian there were wondrous signs in the heavens, and many of them; also on earth and in the waters; of which Christ speaks: “There shall be great signs,” etc. So much so, that we read of no age in which there have been more or greater signs. And these give us a certain hope that the blessed day is close upon us.

An image like that in which Grünpheck shows a collection of freaks from the reign of Maximilian I (who, in a portrait likeness, stands by as a spectator),¹⁰⁰ might well have lain before Luther as he wrote these words.

The divinatory arts of men, directed as they are toward the things of this world, remained for Luther no more than a subordinate instrument by comparison with the highest form of divination, the inner vocation and religious gift of prophecy, which he himself assumed when confronting his enemies at moments of greatest danger:

... weil ich der Deutschen Prophet bin (Denn solchen hofffertigen namen mus ich mir hinfurt selbs zu messen, meinen Papisten und Eseln zur lust und gefallen).

... for I am the Prophet of the Germans (for such is the high-flown title that I must henceforth assume, to divert and please my papists and donkeys).

These were his words in 1531, in his *Warnung an seine lieben Deutschen*, when it fell to him to inspire the waverers in his ranks with courage to resist the bullying excesses of the Imperial camp. So steeped in a pagan reverence for portents was the later Protestant historiography of Johannes Wolf's *Lectiones memorabiles*¹⁰¹ that its cosmic history runs, as it were, on railroad tracks, with cosmic portents for block stations.

In the Germany of the humanistic age, this prophetic vein of imagery—toying with images but unconnected with art—found its way, against all the odds, into the work of a great artist: Albrecht Dürer. So deeply rooted is one part of his work in archetypal, pagan cosmological belief that without some knowledge of this we have no access, for example, to the engraving *Melancholia I*, that ripest and most mysterious fruit of the cosmological culture of the age of Maximilian I.

The prodigies of Maximilian's reign, later used historically by Luther, thus also lead us to Dürer's early works, which testify to his knowledge of the

“modern”—or rather the revived ancient—practice of divination. Dürer's woodcut of a man suffering from the “French sickness,” drawn to illustrate a medical prophecy made by Ulsenius in 1496, at once transports us to the world of teratology and of terrifying astrological prophecy: the world of Lichtenberger's great conjunction of 1484 (fig. 146). The upper third of the image is occupied by a celestial globe, in which we see the number 1484. A closer look at the zodiacal sign of Scorpio reveals the menacing planets, all assembled. This is the awesome great conjunction of 1484, as astrologically interpreted by Paulus van Middelburg in his *Prognostica*; for the book is identical in content—and here I refer to Sudhoff,¹⁰² who was the first to establish this—with the chapter of the *Prognostica* that describes the medical consequences of the great conjunction.

In the same year Dürer's engraving of a monstrous sow—at first sight hardly very ominous, politically or otherwise (fig. 147)—shows how much at home he was in the world of prophetic freaks. The engraving shows the prodigious sow of Landser, littered in the Sundgau district in 1496,¹⁰³ with only one head but two bodies and eight trotters. It has been shown that Dürer's source was a broadsheet of 1496 (fig. 148), published in Latin and German by the learned early humanist Sebastian Brant.¹⁰⁴ Like other, similar sheets, this bears a dedication to Emperor Maximilian I, and its prophecies support his policies. In the text—significantly for the present argument—Brant is at pains to present himself in the guise of an antique augur: he relates his own political predictions to the omen of a sow that appeared to Virgil's Aeneas:

*Was wil diss sau uns bringen doch
Gadcht in mir eygentlich das noch
Das man durch Sau in der geschicht
Lisst / kunffziger ding syn bericht
Als die Su die Aeneas fandt
Mit jungen an des Tybers sandt...*

What does this sow betide for us?
It puts me in mind of what we read
In history of prophetic news
Given by sows of things to come;
As with the sow Aeneas found,
With young, upon the Tiber's sand...

This is really a “Natural Horror Sensation Late Extra,” written to serve immediate political ends. Brant had every right to point to even more ancient and venerable antecedents: for this up-to-the-minute sensation of his was already there, in cuneiform script, on the clay tablets of Assyria. We know that in the mid-seventh century B.C. the augur Nergal-ētir informed Prince Asarhaddon of the birth of a pig with eight legs and two tails; on the strength

11. Die sechs Welttheile in der Weltkugel, die vier Welttheile in der Weltkarte.

Die sechs Welttheile in der Weltkugel, die vier Welttheile in der Weltkarte. Die Weltkugel zeigt die sechs Welttheile: Europa, Asien, Afrika, Amerika, Antipodien und die Welt. Die Weltkarte zeigt die vier Welttheile: Europa, Asien, Afrika und Amerika.



Die sechs Welttheile in der Weltkugel, die vier Welttheile in der Weltkarte. Die Weltkugel zeigt die sechs Welttheile: Europa, Asien, Afrika, Amerika, Antipodien und die Welt. Die Weltkarte zeigt die vier Welttheile: Europa, Asien, Afrika und Amerika.

Die sechs Welttheile in der Weltkugel, die vier Welttheile in der Weltkarte. Die Weltkugel zeigt die sechs Welttheile: Europa, Asien, Afrika, Amerika, Antipodien und die Welt. Die Weltkarte zeigt die vier Welttheile: Europa, Asien, Afrika und Amerika.

Fig. 146. Prophecy of Ulsenius, with woodcut by Dürer. Broadsheet, Nuremberg, 1496 (see p. 637)

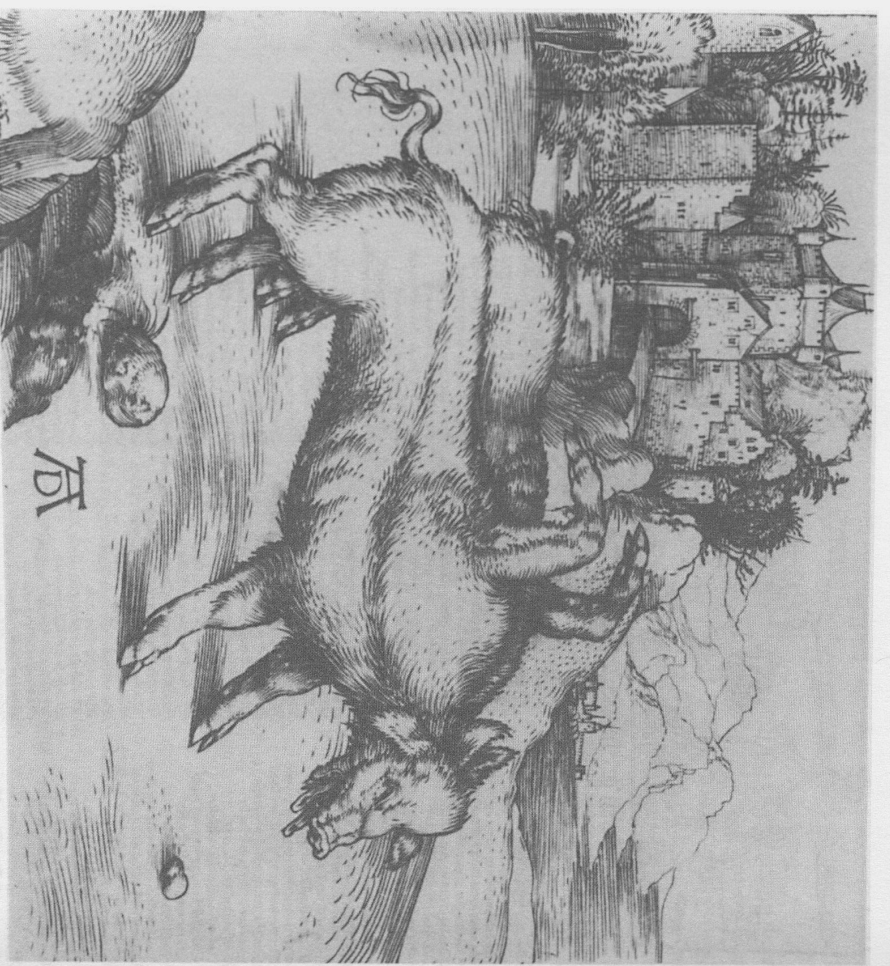


Fig. 147. Albrecht Dürer. The Sow of Landser. Engraving, B. 95 (see p. 637)

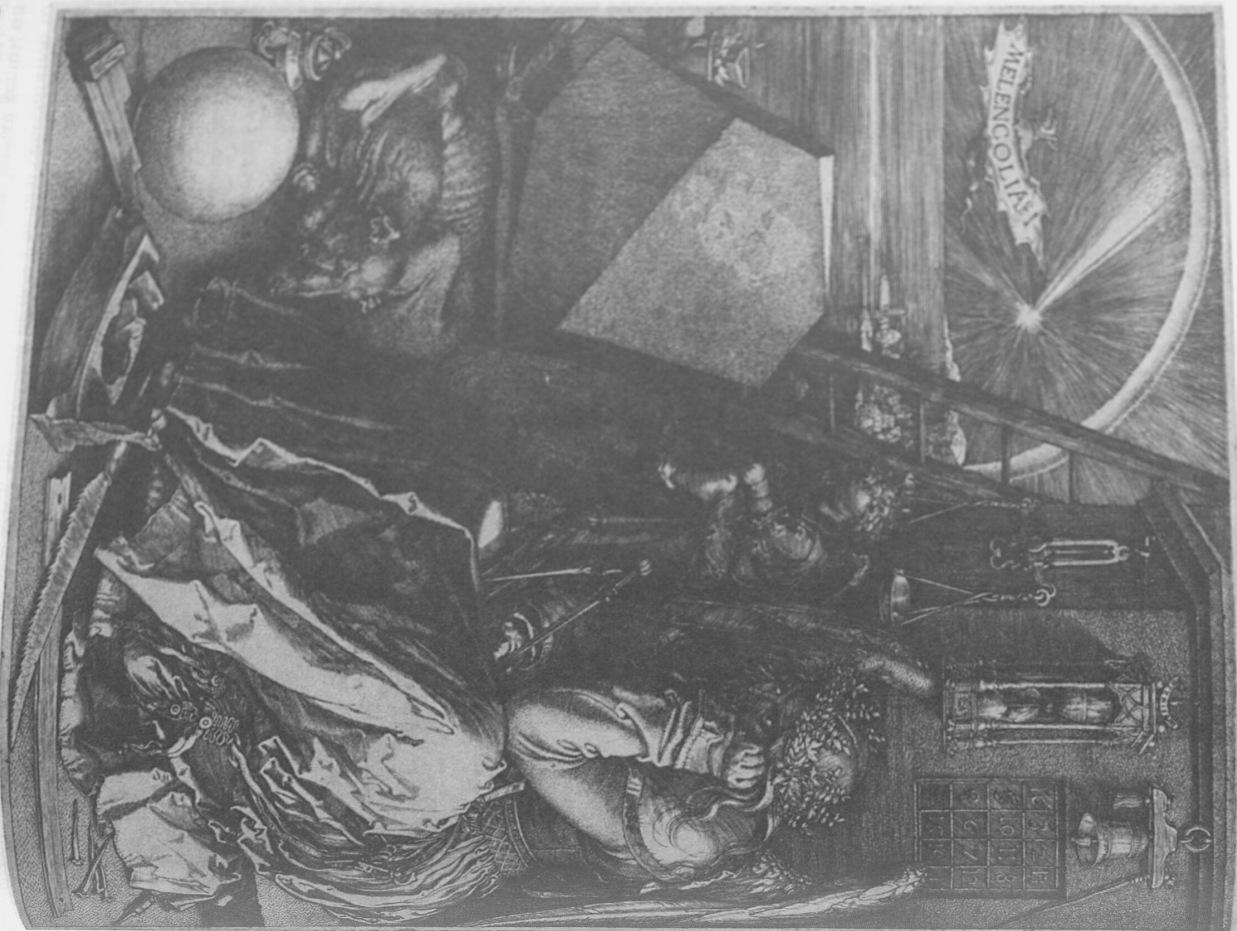


Fig. 149. Albrecht Dürer
Melencolia I
Engraving, B. 74 (see pp. 641, 644, 645 f.)

the favorable aspect could be borrowed by using a magical image of Jupiter; and this, in turn, might be replaced, according to the doctrines of Cornelius Agrippa, by the magic square of the planetary god. And so the magic square of Jupiter (of which more shortly) can be seen built into the wall in Dürer's engraving.

Giehlow, who so acutely and clearly expounded the use of planetary aspects in the treatment of melancholy by the Western occultists of the Renaissance, nevertheless shrank from taking his discovery to its conclusion. He sought to interpret Dürer's magic square of Jupiter, in defiance of Ficino and Agrippa, not "primarily" as an amulet against Saturn but as a symbol of the inventive genius of the saturnine individual. Giehlow failed to carry his discovery through to its ultimate, and most enlightening, conclusion because he was unaware of one crucial factor in the prehistory of the ideas involved: the vast importance for the occult sciences—as practiced by Ficino, Agrippa, and others throughout Europe—of the book known as *Picatrix*, a typical representative of the Arab transmission of late antique astrological and magical practices.

With the assistance of Wilhelm Prinz, of the late Erich Gräfe, and of Fritz Saxl,¹¹¹ the present writer has been able to supplement Giehlow's researches and can demonstrate that this Latin work, a prime text of late medieval cosmological occultism, is a translation of a text written by an Arab in Spain in the tenth century and known only by a pseudonymic title (itself a misinterpretation of Hippocrates): it is the *Ghazyat al-hakim* of Abu al-Qāsim Maslama ibn Ahmad al-Mairifī.¹¹² The library of Maximilian I contained two manuscripts of the *Picatrix*; one of them a magnificent illuminated copy, of which we can gain some idea from a manuscript now in Cracow.¹¹³ Ficino himself, in his chapter on magical images, wrote of the Arab intermediaries, whose lapidaries had preserved through the Middle Ages, as an essential component of iatro-astrology, the Hellenistic and Hermetic therapeutic magic of astrological amulets. The *Picatrix*, the most important of these intermediary arts,¹¹⁴ furnished Ficino himself with his descriptions of the health-bringing icons of planetary deities. In a manuscript in Rome, supplemented by others in Vienna, Wolfenbüttel, and Cracow,¹¹⁵ all of which derive from the *Picatrix*, these degenerate but fundamentally authentic antique figurative icons are accompanied by magic numerical tables, complete with precise instructions as to their use. Ficino's own magical use of images, and the magic squares of Agrippa, thus essentially belong together as offshoots of very ancient, pagan practices; for both have their roots in Hermetic therapeutic magic, as transmitted by the Arabs.

Giehlow's interpretative caution lays him open to a further objection: if the Saturnine individual was meant to display this magic square, with its unique mathematical rhythms, simply as a symbol of his own inventive genius, then surely he ought to have adopted the square of Saturn and not that of Jupiter. Only the tradition of iatro-astrology gives the square of Jupiter its true meaning here.

The truly creative act—that which gives Dürer's *Melencolia I* its consoling, humanistic message of liberation from the fear of Saturn—can be understood only if we recognize that the artist has taken a magical and mythical logic and made it spiritual and intellectual. The malignant, child-devouring planetary god, whose cosmic contest with another planetary ruler seals the subject's fate, is humanized and metamorphosed by Dürer into the image of the thinking, working human being.

That such an analysis of *Melencolia I* is entirely in the spirit of Dürer's age has since been confirmed for the present writer by the discovery of a passage in Melanchthon, who regarded Dürer's own genius as the highest type of true melancholy, spiritualized by a favorable planetary configuration. Melanchthon wrote:

De Melancholicis ante dictum est, horum est mitifica varietas. Primum illa heroica Scipionis, vel Augusti, vel Pompeij Attici, aut Dureri generosissima est, et virtutibus excellit omnis generis, regitur enim crasi temperata, et oritur a fausto positu siderum. 116

Of melancholy types, as aforesaid, there is a wonderful variety. First, the heroic [melancholy] of Scipio, of Augustus, of Pompeius Atticus, or of Dürer is the noblest type, and excels in virtues of every kind; for it is governed by a tempered mixture and arises from a favorable position of the planets.

This assessment of Dürer's artistic genius is caption enough in itself for *Melencolia I*, for elsewhere we learn the nature of the astral influences loftier melancholy of Augustus from the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in Libra:

Multo generosior est melancholia, si coniunctione Saturni et Iouis in libra temperatur, qualis videtur Augusti melancholia fuisse. 117

Melancholy is far nobler if it is tempered by the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter in Libra, as would seem to have been the case with the melancholy of Augustus.

We are now looking into the very heart of the process of renewal that we call the Renaissance. The classical version of antiquity had emerged to compete with the Hellenistic-Arabic version. Access to the ancient writers had breathed new life into the mummified *acedia* of the Middle Ages. For, to Ficino and Melanchthon alike, the train of thought had its source in Aristotle and his *Problemata*.

The history of the influence of antiquity, as observed through the transmission, disappearance, and rediscovery of its gods, has some unexplored insights to

contribute to a history of the meaning of anthropomorphic thought. In the transitional age of the early Renaissance, pagan-cosmological causality was defined in classicizing terms through the symbols of the gods; and these were approached in due proportion to their degree of saturation with human quality: from a religious daemon-worship at one extreme to a purely artistic and intellectual reinterpretation at the other.

Lichtenberger, Dürer, and Luther show us the German soul in three phases of its struggle to cast off pagan cosmological fatalism. Lichtenberger (fig. 150) shows us a pair of debased, repellent planetary spirits contending for the control of human destiny; the object of their struggle, man himself, is absent. Dürer reshapes them; they are reborn into a classical language of form;¹¹⁸ and yet their Hellenistic-Arabic travels have left them bearing the marks of subjection to fate.

Here, the cosmic conflict is echoed in a process that takes place within man himself. The daemonic grotesques have disappeared; and saturnine gloom has been spiritualized into human, humanistic contemplation. Deep in thought, the winged figure of Melancholy props her head on her left hand and holds a pair of compasses in her right; she is surrounded by technical and mathematical instruments and symbols, and before her lies a sphere. According to Ficino, in the old German version, the compasses and circle (and thus also the sphere) are emblems of melancholy:

Aber die natürlich ursach ist, das zu erfolung und erlangung der weisheit und der lere, besunder der schweren Kunst, ist not das das gemitt gezogen werd von dem äussern dingen zu dem innern zu gleicher weiss als von dem umblauff des zirkels hinzu zu dem mittelpuncten, centrum genannt, und sich selbs dar zu fügen und schicken. 119

But the natural cause is that to attain and achieve wisdom and learning, especially of the difficult Art, the soul must be drawn inward, away from outward things, as it might be from the circumference of the circle to the center, and adapt itself accordingly.

Is Melancholy pondering how to avert the disaster threatened by the comet that looms over the waters in the background?¹²⁰ Or is the fear of the impending deluge already making itself felt?

Dürer shows the spirit of Saturn neutralized by the individual mental efforts of the thinking creature against whom its rays are directed. Menaced by the "most ignoble complex,"¹²¹ the Child of Saturn seeks to elude the baneful planetary influence through contemplative activity. Melancholy holds in her hand, not a base shovel (see the Children of Saturn, fig. 125), but the compass of genius. Magically invoked, Jupiter comes to her aid through his benign and moderating influence on Saturn. In a sense, the salvation of the human being through the countervailing influence of Jupiter has already taken place; the duel between the planets, as visualized by Lichtenberger, is



Fig. 150. *Jupiter and Saturn*
 From the same edition of Lichtenberger as fig. 140
 (see p. 645)

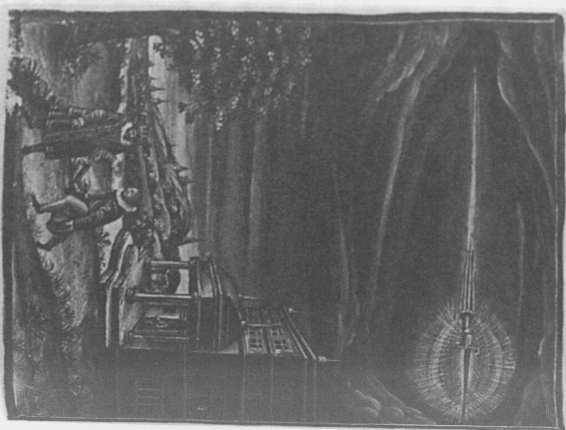


Fig. 151. *Enslaved Comet*
 From a French manuscript of ca. 1587
 Hamburg, Kulturwissenschaftliche Bibliothek Warburg
 (see p. 650)

over; and the magic square hangs on the wall like a votive offering of thanks to the benign and victorious planetary spirit.

By contrast, Luther was as much a liberator in his rejection of all this mythological fatalism as he was in his vigorous onslaught on the hostile casters of horoscopes. Any attempt to ascribe daemonic, superhuman identities to the planets was dismissed by him as sinful, heathen idolatry.

Luther and Dürer thus coincided to some extent in their resistance to the myth of the great conjunction. With them, we find ourselves embarked on the struggle for the mental and religious liberation of modern humanity—though as yet only at an early stage. Just as Luther still went in fear of cosmic portents and omens (not to speak of the antique *lamiae*), Dürer's Melancholy has yet to break quite free of the superstitious terrors of antiquity. Her head is garlanded not with bay but with *teukrion*, the classic herbal remedy for melancholy;¹²² and she follows Ficino's instructions by protecting herself against Saturn's malefic influence with her numerological magic square.

This authentically antique astrological conception has the air of a latter-day pictorial scholium on Horace's ode to Maecenas:

... *te Jovis impio*
tutela Saturno refulgens
eripuit volucrisque Fati
*tardavit alas...*¹²³

... The glorious protection of Jupiter
 Snatched you from malign Saturn
 And stayed the wings
 Of swift Fate...

Carion and Zebel—Melanchthon and Alkindi

In attempting to retrace the forgotten migratory path of the ancient planetary gods, we have turned up a further chapter from those manuals of applied cosmology whose encyclopedic source is to be found in Hellenistic culture. Just as the *Picatrix* leads us to Maximilian I and to Dürer, the divinatory manual of Zebel the Arab leads us to Carion and to Elector Joachim I. A German translation has been preserved in a magnificent illuminated manuscript. In 1914, in true appreciation of its rare and precious nature, the Society of Friends of the Berlin Library published a page from it in color reproduction.¹²⁴

This is a book of portents composed by Abū 'Uhmān Sahl ibn Bišr ibn Habīb ibn Hānī,¹²⁵ who lived in Baghdad about the middle of the ninth century; Zebel the Arab is his Latinized name. The pictures (fig. 152) are illustrations to forty-two omens, each of which is interpreted differently for each month of the year. Thus: "When a cock crows, this signifies no good news, revolt among the people, and fear"; or, "When the eye twitches and flickers, then expect good and pleasing news."

Heraldic evidence reveals that the manuscript was copied and illuminated on the orders of Joachim I, elector of Brandenburg, who seems to be depicted on one page. Though robed as an elector, the figure has no portrait likeness (fig. 153). The book was printed, with engravings, several times at the end of the sixteenth century. One edition (Prague, 1592) contains an explicit statement that Carion made one copy for the elector in his own hand, and that this was later given away as a present. This is entirely likely, given that from 1521 at the latest—as can be seen from his *Prognosticatio*—Carion was Joachim's court magician and astrologer.

Johann Carion has yet to receive the attention that is his due. Even his portrait by a painter of the school of Cranach long remained unrecorded, although it is in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek (fig. 121).¹²⁶ It was brought to the present writer's attention long ago by Professor Emil Jacobs (now of Freiburg im Breisgau), who also told him of the Zebel manuscript. This, then, was that sober Swabian whose corpulent person Luther humorously described in a letter as "an overload for Charon's bark." Professor Otto Tschirch speculated in 1906 that the name Carion was a greecized version of that of one Johann Nägelein,¹²⁷ who matriculated at the university of Tübingen in 1514; and this conjecture is confirmed beyond doubt by Carion's canting arms, which show three carnations (German *Nelken*: *Nälgelein*, nails, *Caryophyllon*). There is a shrewd gift of observation in Carion's masculine features, and especially in his eye; and it is easy to understand why both the Hohenzollerns and the Reformers valued him as a diplomatic intermediary.

After Carion's death, Luther described him as a magician;¹²⁸ and Reinhold,¹²⁹ too, expressly called him "*insignis necromanticus*" (a well-known necromancer). But this suspicion of magic never deterred Melancthon—we know from his letter to Camerarius,¹³⁰ already mentioned—from consulting him on astrological matters; any more than Camerarius hesitated to ask although both Luther and Melancthon in Wittenberg had denounced Faustus as a necromancer and a charlatan. Camerarius even found himself casting a horoscope in competition with Faustus for the Welser family, on the occasion of their expedition to Venezuela—a contest that Faustus appears to have won.¹³¹ In the present context a remark made by Faustus in 1528, and recorded by Kilian Leib,¹³² takes on a particular importance: he said that a particular planetary conjunction (that of the Sun and Jupiter) was closely connected with the emergence of prophets.

Melancthon, Carion, Camerarius, Gauricus, Faustus, and Brant would all have been eligible for membership of a clandestine "Nergal-er Society" of augurs. For in the theory of comets, as elsewhere, there was much in the Arab-mediated inheritance of Hellenism that stemmed ultimately from Babylon. Anxiously, Melancthon inquired of his friend Camerarius whether the comet of 1531 was not perhaps one of the sword-shaped or ensiform intermediaries between the ancient world and the later West that, as late



Fig. 152. Aries

From Zebelis *liber de interpretatione diversorum eventuum secundum lunam in 12 signis zodiaci*. Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 4o 322 (see p. 647)

Fig. 153. Elector
Ibid. (see p. 648)

as 1587, the caption to a French illustration of an ensiform comet after Pliny (fig. 151) expressly cites an Arab writer, Alkindi, as the source.

Melanchthon wrote to Camerarius on 18 August 1531, one day after the letter to Carion; and on the same day Luther wrote to inform Wenceslaus Link of the appearance of the comet. He gave details of the direction of the tail, and was in no doubt that it was an evil omen.¹³⁴

Melanchthon sought to humanize this celestial prodigy in two ways. The sheer size of it suggested a human artifact with menacing associations, a sword; and he described it as aimed at the earthly heartland of his own party. And so it came to pass that Melanchthon, in his mythopoetic anxiety, lived in fear of the sword in the sky; just when his trust ought to have been placed in the Sword of the Reformation, the landgrave.

It was at around the same time that the astronomer Apian robbed the comet's tail of its terrors by relating it to the Sun. But it was Edmund Halley who, by establishing the laws governing the recurrence of this same comet, was to free it forever from the narrow confines of anthropocentric thought.

Conclusion

This exegetical grand tour thus leads us back to its starting point, in Melanchthon's letter on the comet, and thereby to a curiosity of ancient pagan superstition, and what it can teach us of the history of the age of the Reformation. Celestial bodies were visualized in human form in order to limit their daemonic power by analogy; conversely, so daemonic a man as Luther was set among the stars in his own lifetime (through a near-totemic connection between his birth and a pair of planets), in order to ascribe his otherwise unaccountable, even superhuman powers to a higher, cosmic cause, dignified by the name of a god.

And so, as we have seen, the spirit world of antiquity was brought back to life by a kind of polar functioning of the empathetic pictorial memory. This was the age of Faust, in which the modern scientist—caught between magic of rationality and cosmic mathematics—was trying to insert the *conceptual space* won back again from Alexandria.

Thus understood, the images and words here discussed—a mere fraction unread records of the tragic history of freedom of thought in modern Europe. At the same time the intention has been to show, by the example of a positive investigation, how the method of the study of civilization can be strengthened by an alliance between the history of art and the study of religion.

The shortcomings of this tentative experiment have been all too evident to the writer himself. But he has come to the conclusion that the memory orders from the problem in hand (in the present writer's case, that of the influence of antiquity), even when it sends us forth into virgin territory. May the history of art and the study of religion—between which lies nothing at present

Pagan-Antique Prophecy in Words and Images

but wasteland overgrown with verbiage—meet together one day in learned and lucid minds (minds destined, let us hope, to achieve more than the present writer); and may they share a workbench in the laboratory of the *iconological science of civilization*.

Ein grosser Teil dessen, was man gewöhnlich Aberglauben nennt, ist aus einer falschen Anwendung der Mathematik entstanden; deswegen ist auch der Name des Mathematikers mit dem eines Wahnkünstlers und Astrologen gleich gilt. Man erinnere sich der Signatur der Dinge, der Chironomie, der Punktierkunst, selbst des Höllenzuangs; alle dieses Unwissen nimmt seinen wüsten Schein von der klarsten aller Wissenschaften, seine Verworrenheit von der exaktesten. Man hat daher nichts für verderblicher zu halten, als dass man, wie in der neuern Zeit abermals geschieht, die Mathematik aus der Vernunft- und Verstandesregion, wo ihr Sitz ist, in die Region der Phantasie und Sinnlichkeit freventlich herüberzieht.

Dunklen Zeiten sind solche Missgriffe nachzusehen; sie gehören mit zum Charakter. Denn eigentlich ergreift der Aberglaube nur falsche Mittel, um ein wahres Bedürfnis zu befriedigen, und ist deswegen weder so scheltenswert, als er gehalten wird, noch so selten in den sogenannten aufgeklärten Jahrhunderten und bei aufgeklärten Menschen.

Denn wer kann sagen, dass er seine unerlässlichen Bedürfnisse immer auf eine reine, richtige, wahre, untadelhafte und vollständige Weise befriedigt; dass er sich nicht neben dem ernstesten Tun und Leisten, wie mit Glauben und Hoffnung, so auch mit Aberglauben und Wahn, Leichtsinne und Vornurteil hinhalte.

—J. W. von Goethe, "Materialien zur Geschichte der Farbenlehre: Roger Bacon," in *Werke*, Cotta'sche Jubiläums-Ausgabe, 40:165

A great part of what is commonly known as superstition springs from a misapplication of mathematics; for which reason the name of a mathematician was formerly equated with that of a charlatan or an astrologer. Think of the doctrine of signatures, chromancy, geomancy, even conjuration; all these aberrations derive their pale and delusive light from the clearest of all sciences; their confusion from the most exact. Nothing, therefore, is more pernicious than to transport mathematics—as is once more being done in our day—from its natural home in the realm of reason and intelligence into that of fantasy and the senses.

Such abuses are forgivable in dark ages, when they are entirely in character. Superstition is simply the use of false means to a true end, and is therefore neither so reprehensible as it is believed to be, nor so rare in so-called enlightened centuries and among enlightened people.

For who can claim that his manner of satisfying his own inescapable needs is invariably pure, correct, true, irreprouchable, and complete—or deny that, even at times of the most earnest work and achievement, his mind is occupied not only with faith and hope but also with superstition and delusion, frivolity and prejudice?

Appendix A: Melancthon and Astrology

A.1. Melancthon's Letter to Carion on the Comet of 1531

[Address on the outside, fol. 2^v.]

Viro doctissimo D. / Johanni Carioni / philosopho, amico / et conterraneo suo / Carissimo. / Zu eigen handen /

...^a ornare honestissimis laudibus conatus sum. Quid / assecutus sim aliorum si iudicium. / fol. 1^r

Dictam Heliae extat non in Biblijs. sed apud / Rabinos, et est celeberrimum. Burgensis¹³⁵ allegat, et disputat ex eo contra Iudeos / quod Messias apparuerit. Receptissima apud / Ebreos sententia est, et a me posita / in principio tuae historiae, ubi omnibus / feret notissima et afferret commendationem / tuo operi. Tales locos multos^e dein / ceptis admiscebo. vides autem prorsus esse / propheticae vocem. Tam concinna temporum / distributio est. / Historiam, ut spero, hac byeme absoluemus / Nam hactenus fui impeditus recognitione / meae Apologiae,¹³⁶ quam in certis locis / feci meliorem. Sed vix credas quam / tenui valitudine ritae, consumor enim / caris, et laboribus. /

Mea uxor, dei beneficium filiam exixa est, / cuius Thema tibi mitto, non ut faciam / tibi negocium, video enim monacham fore /

...^a Cometen vidimus diebus plus octo.^d Tu / quid iudicas. videtur supra cancrum / constitisse occidit enim statim post solem, / et paulo ante solem exoritur^e / Quod si ruberet, magis / me terreret. Haud dubie principum / mortem significat. Sed videtur / candam vertere versus^e poloniam. / Sed expecto tuum iudicium. Amabo te / significa mihi quid sentias. /

Nunc venio ad hodiernas literas. Si / scirem aliquid de nostrorum aduersariorum / conatibus,^h totum tibi scriberem, / quidquid illud esset. Nihil enim opus / est nos celare aduersariorum¹³⁷ consilia, / magis prodest nobis ea traducere. /

Nihil itaque certi audiri diu iam de / illo apparatu, praeter suspiciones quas / concipiunt nostri propter illum exiguum numerum / pedium qui sunt in Frisia. Fortasse / pretexta belli Danici, nos quoque adoriri / k cogitant. At Palatinus et Mogunius / iam agunt de pacificatione cum nostris, etsi / ego ibus sed etiam vaticinijs.^m / Hasfurd predicti Regi christianno¹³⁸ reditum bone / stum, Scheppers negat reditum esse. Sed me non mouet Scheppers. Sepe enim fallitur. / predicti item Hasfurd Landgrauio maximas vi / ctorias. Et quidam cuius Smaldensis / mihi notus habuit mirabile visum, den / Sed tamen significat percussos terrore / aduersarios nostros illi Leoni cedere. Quaedam / mulier in Kirzingen de Ferdinando / horribilia predicti^o quodam modo bellum / contra nos moturus sit, sed ipsi infelix / In Belgico quaedam virgo Casari / etiam vaticinata est, quae tamen non satis / habeo explorata. Omnino puto motum / aliquem fore. Et demum oro, ut ipse guber net, et dei bonum exitum vtilem Ecclesiae / et reipublicae. Ego ante annum

652

laboram / diligenter ut nobiscum pacem facerent. Quod / si fecissent, minus esset turbatum in Sue / uia, quae magna ex parte iam amplectitur / Helueticam theologiam et licentiam. Ses Campegius / capiti innouere et implicare Caesarem germanico / bello, ut vires eius labefaceret, et Campegi / consilium probant nonnulli odio nostri priuato. / Sed deus habet iustum oculum. Nos enim certe / nihil mali docuimus, et libera / unius multas bonas mentes a multis / perniciosis erroribus. Sabinus mitti tibi praefaci / onem¹³⁹ meam de laudibus astronomiae et Astro / logiae. de qua expecto quid sentias. Bene vale / donerstag post Assumptionem b. Mariæ 1531 / Remitto tibi literas <two or three deleted words>. Φιλάρτος. /

Textual Notes

The superior letters in the text above refer to the following notes. Words and letters marked with an asterisk are those deleted from the text by Melancthon's own hand. ^aUpper margin cropped, hence some text lost. ^{ba}* ^{sa}* ^{plus octo caught by trim, so reading not quite certain.} ^cInitials: Hoc / mihi*, then Na* ^{fin}* ^{borien}* ^{plan} ^{ces}* ^{hno}* ^{hostr}* ^mAdded by another hand: tuis ⁿvictoria* ^osed* ^{pros} ^{gmul}* ^rmultos per* ^sThese words may have been intended to refer to Sabinus, as another hand has added, almost directly beneath: Sabinus uas.

Original: two folio sheets with trace of seal.¹⁴⁰ The upper part of the first sheet is missing, with four or five lines of text on either side.

Königsberg, Herzogliches Briefarchiv, A.Z. 3. 35. 125 (II).

[This letter is translated in full in the text, pages 600–601.]

A.2. Melancthon to Camerarius, on Gauricus and Carion

Melancthon, *Opera* 2, col. 600–602

No. 1064. Ioach. Camerario. Epist. ad Camerar. 190. 29. Iun. 1532

Viro optimo Ioachimo Camerario Bambergeni, amico suo summo, S. D. Thas literas accepi hodie, in quibus Genesis Regiam petis. Quod autem de Gaurico significas, quale sis, non plane potui intelligere. Aberat enim epistola illa, nescio cuius amici tui, quam te mittere ais de illius sermonibus.¹⁴¹ Id eo scribo, ut scias eam perisse, nisi consilio retinuisti. Quicquid autem erga non valde moror, nouimus enim totius illius gentis ingenia et voluntates erga nos...

Mitto tibi geneses eorum, quorum petisti, ac alterius quidem¹⁴² et altera circumfertur, sed Gauricus affirmabat hanc veram esse, si recte memini. Mars erat in fovea, in eo catalogo, quem Cornelius Scheppers habebat. Neque hic multo aliter se habet.

Carion habet τοῦ χρονονόμος,¹⁴³ quae paululum ab hac differt, in qua Saturnus et Mars sunt in Quinta, sed exemplum non habeo; misissem enim aliqui. Postremo, ut etiam laeti aliquid scribam, vidi carmen cuiusdam Itali, quem Gauricus dicebat fuisse Pontani praeceptorem,¹⁴⁴ in quo planetarum motus mirifice describuntur. In fine addit vaticinium de coniunctione quadam

magna, in qua de his ecclesiasticis discordiis satis clementer vaticinatur, caetera quo pertinent, μωντυης εργων...

Pontani praecceptor Laurentius Miniatiensis.

Ast quoque quae nostris iam iam ventura sub annis

Est melior, nostrae legis vix pauca refringet.

Aspera quae nimium sacris et dura ferendis,

Et genus omne mali tollet, pompasque sacrorum,

Ac regem dabit innocuum, qui terminet orbem.

Hic regat Imperio populos, gentemque rebellem

Imperio subdat, toti et dominabitur orbi.

Philippus.

To the excellent Joachim Camerarius of Bamberg, best of friends: greetings. I received your letter today, in which you request the royal horoscope. I could not, however, fully understand what it is that you intimate about Gaucicus. For the letter which you said you were sending, from some friend of yours, about his conversations, was missing. I write this so you will know that it has been lost, unless you deliberately kept it. Whatever it is, I am not seriously set back, for we know the ways of thinking of that whole tribe and their inclinations toward us...

I am sending you the horoscopes you requested, and also another's: a second one is being circulated, but Gaucicus asserts that this is the true one, if I remember correctly. Mars was in a pit in the list that Cornelius Sceperrus had. And he is not much differently placed here.

Carion has that of the "Son of Saturn," which is slightly different from this one, in which Saturn and Mars are in the fifth house; but I have no copy, otherwise I would have sent it. Finally (so that I may also write some happy news), I have seen a poem by a certain Italian, who Gaucicus said was the tutor of Pontanus, in which the movements of the planets are admirably described. At the end he adds a prediction about a certain great conjunction, in which he sees a fairly mild prophecy concerning these discords in the Church, but what the rest pertains to is work for the diviner's art...

Lorenzo Miniario, tutor of Pontanus.

But also that which soon, soon to come in our time

Is better, will take away scarcely anything of our law.

And will remove all that is too harsh and severe from the rites to be conducted,

And will produce a blameless king to mark the boundaries of the world,

This man will rule the peoples for the Empire, and will subjugate

The rebellious people to the Empire, and will have dominion over the entire world.

Philipp.

Appendix B: Luther and Artificial and Natural Divination

B.1. Luther Rejects the Notion of Astrology as a "Science"

Dr. Martin Luthers sämtliche Werke, Erlangen ed., 62:322

Da einer D. M. L. eine Naturität (wie mans nennet), zeigte, sprach er: "Es ist eine feine lustige Phantasei, und gefällt der Vernunft wohl, denn man geht immer fein ordentlich von einer Linie zu andern. Darumb ist die Art und Weise, Naturitäten zu machen und auszurechnen und dergleichen, dem Papstthum gleich, da die äusserlichen Ceremonien, Gebränge und Ordnung, der Vernunft wohl gefällt, als, das geweihte Wasser, Kerzen, Orgeln, Zimbehn, Singen, Lüten und Deuten. Es ist aber gar keine rechte Wissenschaft und gewisse Erkenntnis, und diejenigen irren gar sehr, dis aus diesem Dinge eine gewisse Kunst¹⁴ und Erkenntnis machen wollen, da doch keine nicht ist; denn es gehet nicht aus der Natur der Astronomie, die eine Kunst ist; dieweil ist Menschenatzung."

When someone showed Dr. M. L. a nativity (as they are called), he said: "This is a fine and amusing fancy, and highly gratifying to the reason; for always there is an orderly progression from one line to the next. In this, the practice of casting nativities and the like resembles popecraft; for the external ceremonies, the splendor and the order of the service, entirely gratify the reason; namely, the holy water, candles, organs, cymbals, singing, bell ringings, and gesturing. But this is no true science or sure knowledge, and those who seek to make these things into a certain art and knowledge are much mistaken; for it is nothing of the kind; it does not follow from the nature of astronomy, which is an art; for this is a human device."

Luthers Tischreden in der Mathesischen Sammlung, ed. Ernst Kroker (Leipzig, 1903), 164, no. 259

2-7 August 1540

Ut sint in signa.

"Deus intelligit certa signa, ut sunt eclipses solis et lunae, non illa incerta.

Praeterea, signa beist nicht, ut ex iis divinemus. Hoc est humanum inventum."

Let them be for signs.

"God recognizes certain signs, such as the eclipses of the sun and the moon; and there is nothing uncertain about them. At the same time, 'signs' does not mean that we are to divine from them. This is a human invention."

B.2. Luther Opposes Melanchthon's Belief in Astrology

Luthers Tischreden in der Mathesischen Sammlung, ed. Ernst Kroker (Leipzig, 1903), 164, no. 258

2-7 August 1540

De astrologia

"Nemo mihi persuadebit nec Paulus nec Angelus de caelo nedam Philippus, ut credam astrologia divinationibus quae toties fallunt, ut nihil sit incertius. Nam si etiam bis aut ter recte divinant, ea notant; si fallunt, ea dissimulant." *Tum quidam*: "Domine Doctor, quo modo est solvendum hoc argumentum: Divinatio est in medicina, ergo etiam est in astrologia?" "Medici," inquit, "habent certa signa ex elementis et experientia et saepe tangunt rem, etiamsi aliquando fallunt; sed astrologi saepissime fallunt, raro veri sunt."

On Astrology

"No one will ever persuade me—neither Paul, nor an angel from heaven, nor even Philipp—to believe in the predictions of astrology, which are so often mistaken that nothing is more uncertain. For if they forecast correctly even two or three times, they mark it; if they are wrong, they conceal it."

Then someone said: "Doctor, how is this argument to be resolved: There is divination in medicine, therefore it also exists in astrology?"

"Physicians," he said, "have certain signs, from the elements and from experience, and they often hit the target, even if they are sometimes wrong; but astrologers most often err, and rarely are they correct."

Ibid., 124, no. 156

21 May–11 June 1540

Ego dixi: "Fortis nihil habent argumenti pro astrologia nisi auctoritatem Philippi." — *Tum Doctor*: "Ego saepe confutavi Philippum ita evidenter, ut diceret: 'Haec quidem vis est! Et confessis, esse scientiam, sed quam ipsi non tenent. Quare ego sum contentus, si non tenent eam artem; so lass ich in nun experientiam incertissimam. Saltem observant, quae consentiunt; quae fallunt, praeterant. Es mag einer so lang werffen, er wirfft auch ein Venenam, sed casu fit. Es ist ein dreck mit irer kunst. Seine¹⁴⁷ kinder habent alle

I said: "They have no argument in favor of astrology beyond the authority of Philipp." — The doctor answered: "I have often confuted Philipp so manifestly as to make him admit: 'That is a strong argument!' And he has confessed that it is a science, but one that they themselves do not possess. I am content with that, so long as they do not consider it an art; and so I leave him to play with it. Nobody will ever persuade me, for I can easily overturn their flimsy evidence. They take note of everything that supports their case; whatever does

not, they pass over in silence. If a man throws dice for long enough, he will throw a Venus, but that happens by chance. That art of theirs is so much manure. His children all have the Moon combust!"

Ibid., 177, no. 292

7–24 August 1540

Astrologia

"Dominus Philippus," inquit Doctor, "der hielt mich zu Schmalkalden,¹⁴⁹ ein tag auf mit seiner heillosen und scheibichten astrologia, quia erat novilunium.¹⁵⁰ Sic etiam vult er ein mal nicht aber die Elb faren in novilunio. Et tamen nos sumus domini stellarum."

Astrology

"Master Philipp," said the doctor, "once detained me at Schmalkalden for a whole day with his unholy drivel of astrology, because it was New Moon. And what is more, once he even refused to cross the Elbe at New Moon. And yet we are the masters of the stars."

B.3. Luther's Horoscope

B.3.1. His Natal Planets

Sol

Luthers Tischreden in der Mathesischen Sammlung, ed. Ernst Kroker (Leipzig, 1903), 303, Mathesis no. 599

Winter 1542–1543

Magna molestia regere

"Im haus ist nur ein knecht der herr... So hats das ansehen mit den regenten auch. Es scheint, als wer es was köstlich; wenn man aber anseheth, so sibet man, was es ist. Ich regire nicht gern. Es giebs meine natur nicht."

Tum Dominus Philippus: "Ir habt <solem in nativitate>."¹⁵¹ Doctor: "Ei, ich frag nicht nach euer astrologial! Ich kenne mein natur und erfar es. Staupitzius solebat hanc sententiam cant. 8 'Vinea mea coram me est, sic interpretari: 'Gott hats regiment zu sich genommen, das nicht iderman stolzirn möcht.'"

To Rule Is a Great Hardship

"The master of the house is but a servant... And it appears to be the same with rulers. It seems like something of great price; but look more closely and you will see what it truly is. I do not like to rule. It does not suit my nature."

Then Master Philipp said: "You have [the Sun in your horoscope]. The doctor: 'I care not for your astrology! I know my nature and learn it. Staupitz used to interpret the saying in the Song of Solomon, chapter 8: 'My vineyard, which is mine, is before me,' as follows: 'God has taken the rule unto himself, lest everyone become overproud.'"

Saturn
D. Martin Luthers Werke, Weimar ed., *Tischreden* 3:193
No. 3148

26–31 May 1532

Ego Martinus Luther sum infelicissimus astris natus, fortassis sub Saturno. Was man mir thun und machen soll, kan nimmermehr fertig werden; schneiders schuster, buchpinder, mein weib verzihen mich auff's lengste.

I, Martin Luther, was born with the most inauspicious stars, perhaps under Saturn. The things I need done and made for me will never be completed; the tailor, the shoemaker, the bookbinder, and my wife keep me waiting forever.

B.3.2. *Luther and the Astrological Politics of Johann Lichtenberger's Prophecy*

Luthers Tischreden in der Mathesischen Sammlung, ed. Ernst Kroker (Leipzig, 1903), 320, no. 625

Heydenreich, Spring 1543

Tum quidam: "Domine Doctor, multi astrologi in vestra genitura consentiunt, constellationes vestrae nativitatis ostendere, vos mutationem magnam allaturum." Tum Doctor: "Nullus est certus de nativitatis tempore, denn Philippus et ego sein der sachen umb ein iar nicht eins. Pro secundo, putatis hanc causam et meum negotium positum esse sub vestra arte incerta? O nein, es ist ein ander ding! Das ist allein Gottes werck. Dazu soll ir mich niemmer bereden!"

Then someone said: "Doctor, many astrologers agree concerning your birth that the constellations of your horoscope show that you will bring about a great change." The doctor: "Nobody is certain of the time of my birth, for Philipp and I differ by a year on the matter. What is more, do you believe that our cause, and my whole enterprise, are subject to your uncertain art? No, this is something else! This is God's work alone. You will never talk me into that!"

Valerius Herberger, *Gloria Lutheri* (Leipzig, 1612), 94.

Vmb's Jahr Christi 1483. hat Johan Hilden zu seinen Mönchen gesaget: welcher ihr habt unrecht gethan / wird rechnen. Eben umb dieselbe zeit hat Klein Männlein hinter ihm / welchs ihm zu seinem vorhaben sehr dienstlich concione prima gedacht worden.

In the Year of Our Lord 1483, Johann Hilten said to his monks: "Mark well the year 1516. For then a man will come who will avenge me and all those you

have wronged." At the same time lived Johann Lichtenberger, who depicted Master Luther with a little man behind him who was to be of great service to him in his undertaking (this was Philipp Melanchthon), as mentioned above in the first discourse.

B.3.3. *Luther and Cardano*

Cardano's Commentary on His Horoscope of Luther
Hieronymus Cardanus, *Libelli duo . . . item geniturae LXVII* (Nuremberg, 1543), fol. N IV^v.

Hanc heram genituram Lutheri, non eam quae sub anno 1484 publice circumfertur, 152 esse scito. Nec tanto negotio minor genitura debetur, aut tali geniturae minor euentus. Existimo autem non intelligentes huius artis fundamenta, eam corrumpisse: nam nec illa robore huic aequalis est, nec si damnare velis, deest hic quod possis accusare. Nam Mars, Venus, Iupiterque, iuxta virginis spicam coeunt ad coeli immum ad unguem, ut ex horum conspiratione regia quaedam potestas decernatur, sine sceptro: sunt enim erraticae sub terra. Porro quod ad religionem pertineat, iam saepius adeo dictum est, propter spicam virginis, 153 ut repetere pigeat. Incredible igitur quantum amenti brevi tempore habuerit hoc dogma: nam Germaniae maximam partem adegit, Angliam totam, multaque alias regiones, cum adhuc uiuaret, nec ulla est prouincia ab huius sectoribus immunis, praeter Hispanias. Fernet minus huius schismate, quod, quia Martem admixtum habet & caudam, soluitur in seipso, infinitaque reddit capita, ut si nihil aliud errorem commiscat, multitudo ipsa opinioem ostendere tum possit, cum ueritas una tantum sit, plurimos necessario aberrare. Porro firmiorem dogmatis Sol & Saturnus, cum lance meridionali, 154 in loco futurae coniunctionis magna ostendunt, cum diu trigonus ille iam dominaretur. At Luna iuxta ascendens, longitudo nem decernit uitae: uerum cum Soli Saturnus adiungatur, pro tanto rerum motu, nullam dignitatem decernit.

Know that this is the true nativity of Luther, not the one that is generally circulated under the year 1484. So great a matter deserves no lesser horoscope, nor such a horoscope a lesser outcome; I think, however, that those who do not understand the principles of this art have corrupted it: for it is not equal in strength to this present one — nor, should you wish to condemn, is matter for reproach lacking.

Mars, Venus, and Jupiter are conjunct Spica Virginis at the Immum Coeli in Libra, so that from their concord a certain royal power may be discerned, but without a scepter: for they are erratic below Earth. Further, as regards religion, this has already been said so often, on account of Spica Virginis, that it would be tedious to repeat. It is therefore incredible how much that belief has grown in a short time: for it has bound most of Germany, all of England, and many other regions, while he still lives, and no province is free of his followers except Spain. The world is in ferment with this man's schism, which, because he has Mars and the Dragon's Tail mixed in, fragments itself of its own accord

and grows countless heads; even if there were nothing else to refute the error, the very multitude of opinions suffices to show that (since there is only one truth) a great many are inevitably going astray. Further, firmness of dogma is shown by the Sun and Saturn with Lanx Meridionalis in the position of the future great conjunction, since for a long time that triplicity was dominant. The Moon on the Ascendant confers length of life: but when Saturn is conjunct the Sun, in view of so great an upheaval, it confers no great dignity.

Luther against Cardano

Dr. Martin Luthers sämtliche Werke (1543), Erlangen ed., 62:321

D. M. L. ward seine Naturität, Ciceronis und vieler Anderen zu Nürnberg gedruckt bracht;⁵⁵ da sagt er: "Ich halte nichts davon, eigene ihnen gar nichts zu, aber gerne wollt ich, dass sie mir diess Argument solvireten: Esau und Jacob sind von einem Vater und einer Mutter, auf eine Zeit, und unter gleichem Gestirn geboren, und doch gar widerwärtiger Natur, Art und Sinn. Summa, was von Gott geschieht, und sein Werk ist, das soll man dem Gestirn nicht zuschreiben. Ah, der Himmel fraget nach dem nicht, wie auch unser Herr Gott nach dem Himmel nicht fraget. Die rechte christliche Religion confirt und widerlegt solche Mährlein und Fabelwerk allzumal."

Dr. M. L. was shown his horoscope, that of Cicero, and many others, printed at Nuremberg. He said: "I think nothing of them, and set no store by them; but I would be glad if they would solve this problem for me: Esau and Jacob were born of one father and one mother, at one time, and under the same stars, and yet completely contrary in nature, demeanor, and mind. In short, what comes from God, and is his handiwork, is not to be ascribed to the stars. The sky pays no heed to this, just as Our Lord pays no heed to the sky. The true Christian religion altogether confutes and repudiates such tales and fables."

B.4. The Deluge Panic of 1524

Dr. Martin Luthers sämtliche Werke, Erlangen ed., 62:327f.

D. M. L. sagte von der Narrheit der Mathematicorum und Astrologorum, der Sternkicker, "die von einer Sündfluth oder grossem Gewässer hätten gesagt, 25. Jahr stunden die Baren auf, und wurden nicht geschach; sondern das folgende Astrologus nicht ein Wort." Er redete aber vom Bürgermeister Hohndorf: "derselbe liess ihm ein viertel Bier in sein Haus hinauf ziehen, wollte da warten auf die Sündfluth, gleich als würde er nicht zu trinken haben, wenn sie käme. Aber zur Zeit des Zorns war ein Coniunctio, die hiess Sünde und Gottes Zorn, das war ein ander Coniunctio, denn die im 24. Jahre."

Dr. M. L. spoke of the folly of the mathematicians and astrologers, the star-gazers, "who had talked of a deluge or great flood, which was to come in the year 1524, but which did not come to pass. In the following year, however, '25, the peasants rose up in arms—of which not one astrologer had a single

word to say." He went on to speak of Burgomaster Hohndorf, "who had a quarter of beer hauled up inside his house to wait there for the Deluge, as if he would not have had plenty to drink when it came. But at the hour of wrath there was a conjunction, which was that of sin and God's wrath; and that was a very different conjunction from that of the year of '24."

B.5. Luther on Divination from Natural Portents

Dr. Martin Luthers sämtliche Werke, Erlangen ed., 62:327

... denn Gott hat sie geschaffen und an das Firmament gesetzet und gehet, dass sie das Erreich erlachen, das ist, fröhlich sollen machen, und gute Zeichen sein der Jahre und Zeiten... Sie aber, die Sternkicker, und die aus dem Gestirn wollen wahrsagen und verkündigen, wie es einem gehen soll, erlichten, dass sie die Erde verfinstern und betriiben und schädlich sein. Denn alle Creaturen Gottes sind gut, und von Gott geschaffen, nur zum guten Brauch. Aber der Mensch machet sie böse mit seinem Missbrauchen. Und es sind Zeichen, nicht Monstra, Ungeheuer. Die Finsternisse sind Ungeheuer und Monstra, gleichwie Missgeburten.

... For God created them and set them and fixed them in the firmament to give light upon the earth; that is, to make it joyful, and to be fair signs for the years and for the seasons... They, on the other hand, the star-gazers, and those who seek to prophesy and foretell from the stars what the future holds, imagine that these things darken the earth, and trouble it, and are harmful. For all God's creations are good, and created by God only to be put to good use; but man makes them evil by his ill use of them. These are signs, but not portents or evil omens. Eclipses are evil omens and portents, as are monstrous births.

Dr. Martin Luthers sämtliche Werke, Erlangen ed., 62:319f.

Am 8. Decembris 1542 hatte einer von Minkwitz eine Deklaration öffentlich in der Schule, darinnen er lobete die Astronomiam und Sternkunst. Da nun Doctor Martin Luthern solches angezeigt ward, wie er diesen Spruch Jeremia am zehnten widerlegt hätte: Ihr sollt euch nicht fürchten für den Zeichen des Himmels usw., gleich als wäre dieser Spruch nicht wider die Astrologiam, sondern redte nur von den Bildern der Heiden; sprach der D.: "Sprüche kann man wohl confutiren, widerlegen, aber nicht erlegen und niederlegen. Dieser Spruch redet von allen Zeichen am Himmel, auf Erden und im Meer, wie auch Moses thut. Denn die Heiden waren nicht so nährisch, dass sie sich vor Sonne und Monden gefurcht hätten, sondern für den Wunderzeichen und ungeheuren Gesichtern, Portenten und Monstris, dafür fürchten sie sich, und ehreten sie. Zudem, so ist Astrologia keine Kunst, denn sie hat keine principia und demonstrationes, darauf man gewiss unwankend fassen und gründen könnte..."

On 8 December 1542 a man from Minkwitz gave a public address at the School in which he praised astronomy and the art of the stars. When

Dr. Martin Luther was apprised of this, and how the man had denied the saying of Jeremiah in the tenth chapter: "Be not dismayed at the signs of heaven . . ." saying that this was not directed against astrology but only against the images of the heathen, the Doctor said: "Sayings can be contradicted and refuted, but not confuted and denied. This saying concerns all signs in the heavens, on earth, and in the sea; as Moses also does. For the heathen were not such fools as to live in fear of the Sun and the Moon, but of signs and wonders, monstrous sights, portents and omens: those they feared and worshiped. Furthermore, astrology is not an art, for it has no *principia* and *demonstrationes* on which to take a sure and certain footing."

Appendix C: Prefaces and Extracts from the Prophecies of Johann Lichtenberger

Die Weissagung Johannis Lichtenbergers / densch / zugericht mit vleys. Sampt einer nutzlichen vorrede und unterricht D. Martini Luthers / Wie man die selbige und der gleichen weissagung vernemen sol. Wittenberg. M.D.xxvii.
Colophon: Verdeutschet durch Stephanum Rodt. Getruckt zu Wittenberg durch Hans Lufft. M.D.xxvii. —

Vorbede Martini Luthers. Auff die Weissagung des Johannis Lichtenbergers
Weil dis buch des Johannis Lichtenbergers mit seinen weissagungen / nicht alleine ist weit askomen / beyde ym latinischer und dendscher sprache / sondern auch bey vielen gros gehalten / bey etlichen auch veracht ist / Sonderlich diesem buch ein fast gemeine rede ist entstanden gewest / Es wurde ein mal uber die paffen gehen / und darnach wider gut werden / Vnd meinen / es sey nur und des Luthers lere sey von diesem Lichtenberger gemeinet. Vmb des alles willen bin ich bewogen / mit dieser vorbede den selbigen Lichtenberger das begreyn / Ausgenommen die geistlichen / welchen sey verboten / sampt yhem anhang / das sie mir ia nichts glauben / Denn die mir glauben sollen / werden sich doch on sie wol finden.

Erstlich sind etliche Propheten / welche alleine aus dem heiligen geiste weissagen / wie Zacharia. 7. spricht. die wort die der HERR Zebaoth durch seinen geist sandte ym den Propheten / Wie auch Petrus zenger. 2. Pet. 1. Die weissagung der schrift / kumpt nicht aus eigener anlegung / denn es ist noch nie keine weissagung aus menschen willen erfahrbracht / Sondern / die heiligen menschen Gottes haben gerecht / getrieben von heiligen geist. Diese weissagung ist gericht und gehet daruff / das die gottlosen gestrafft / die frumen erlosset werden / und <A ii> treibt ymer dar / auff den glauben an Gott und die gewissen zu sichern und auffzurichten / Vnd wem not und tribsal da ist odder komen sol / troestet sie die frumen / Vnd gebet auch die frumen alleine an / mit den gottlosen hat sie nichts zu thun / denn das sie yhn dreuet

und sie straffet / Nicht aber troestet noch verheist. Wider diese weissagung hat der Satan auch seine weissagung / das sind die falschen Propheten / rotten / secten und ketzer / durch welche er den glauben an Gott verderbet / die gewissen zusteret und verfuert mit lügen troestet / mit falscheit dreuet / Vnd ficht also on unterlas wider die reyne weissagung und lere Gottes.

Dieser art ist der Lichtenberger keiner / denn er bemüht noch berufft sich nicht auff den heiligen geist / wie die rechten und falschen Propheten thun / sondern grundet seine weissagung ym des hymels lauff und natürliche kunst der gestirne mit yhren einflussen und wirkunge. Auch so nympt er sich wider das glaubens noch der gewissen an / wider leret noch verfuert / wider troestet noch straffet / Redet aber schlecht daher von zukunfftigen dingen / es treffe gottlosen odder frumen / wie es yhm seine kunst ym gestirne gib. Er redet wol auch von der Christlichen kirchen / aber nicht anders / denn wie sie aussertlich stebet ym laiblichen geberden und gütern und hirschaften / Gar nichts / wie sie ym glauben und trost des heiligen geistes stebet / Das ist / er redet nichts von der rechten Christlichen kirchen / Sondern gleich wie die selbige Sternkunst von allen andern heidnischen hirschaften und königreichen pflegt zu reden. Darumb er auch der Hassien / als feinde der kirchen gedencet / Vnd des geschlechts Dan / daraus der Entechrist komen solle. Vnd stebet seine reformation dar ym / das man die langen har verschneyte / die schnebel an den schnuchen abtut und brespiel verbrennet / das sind seine Christen / Also das gar eine laibliche weissagung ist / von ettel laiblichen dingen.

Summa / seine weissagung ist nicht eine geistliche offnba- <A ii> runge denn die selbige geschicht on die sternkunst / und ist auch der sternkunst nicht unterworfen / Sondern es ist eine heidnische alte kunst / die bey den Römern und auch zuvor bey den Chaldeern fast berlich und gemein war / Aber sie kundten dem könige zu Babylon seine traume nicht sagen noch deuten / Daniel muste es thun durch den geist / So fehlten die Römer auch gar offte. Darumb ist zu sehen / ob die selbige kunst auch etwus vernüge und kömme zutreffen / denn ich selbs diesen Lichtenberger nicht weis an allen orten zurechten / Hat auch etliche ding eben troffen / sonderlich mit den bilden und figuren nahe hin zu geschossen / schier mehr denn mit den worten.

Hie ist zu merken / das Gott der alleine alles gemacht hat / auch selbs alles regiret / auch alleine zukunfftiges weis und sagen kan / Hat er doch zu sich genomen / beyde seine Engel und uns menschen / durch welche er wil regiren / das wir mit yhm / und er mit uns wircke / Denn wie wol er kundte / weib und kind haus und hof / on uns regiren / neeren und beschirmen / so wil ers doch durch uns thun / und setzet ein den vater odder hausherrn und erspricht / Sey vater und mutter gehorsam. Vnd zum vater / Zeuch und lere deine kinder. Jem also kundt er auch wol on könige / fursten / herrn und richter / weltlich regiren / fride halten und die bösen straffen / Er wil aber nicht / sondern teilet das schuwerd aus und spricht / straffe die bösen / schutze nicht / sondern teilet das schuwerd aus und spricht / straffe die bösen / schutze nicht / die frumen und handthabe den friden. Wie wol ers doch selbs durch uns thut / und wir nur seine larnen sind / unter welcher er sich verbringt und alles ym

allen wirckt / wie wir Christen das wol wissen. Gleich wie er auch ym geistlichen regiment seiner Christen / selbs alles thut / leret / trostet / strafet / und doch den Aposteln das wort / ampt und dienst essentlich befolhet das sie es thun sollen. Also brauchet er uns menschen / beyde ym leiblichem und geistlichen regiment / die welt und alles was drynnen ist / zu regiren.

Eben so brauchet er auch der Engel / wie wol wir nicht wissen <A iii> wie dasselbige zugehet / denn er befolhet yhn nicht das schuend / wie der weltlichen obrigkeit noch das esserliche wort / wie den predigern / noch das brod und kleid / ihte und haus / wie den haushaltern und eltern. Denn wir sehen noch hören der keines von den Engeln / wie wirts von den menschen sehen und hören. Dennoch sagt die schrift an viel orten / das er die welt durch die Engel regire / Eym yghlichen keyser / köninge / fursten / hern / ia eym yghlichen menschen seinen Engel zuerordent / der sein bestes bey yhm thu / und fodder yhn ym sein regiment und hirschafft / Wie Daniels .x. der Juden Engel klagt / das der Persen engel yhm widerstanden habe / Aber der Kriechen Engel / kome yhm zu hulffe. Wie aber die lieben Engel hirtuber eyns bleyben fur Gott / und doch widerander sind fur den menschen / gleich wie die konige yhn befohlen / widerander sind / las ich hie dis mal anstehen umb der satmen geister willen / welche ym einem augenblick können lernen / alles was Christus und alle nötige artikel des glaubens foddern / und darnach auff fragen fallen / sich bekümmern / was Gott fur der welt gemacht habe / und der gleichen / auff das sie hie auch yhren furwitz zu bussen haben mit den lieben Engeln / Sondern wollen das fur nemen / das aller leichteste / wilchs sie auch so bald sie es hören / kostlich wol verstehen.

Nemlich das / Weil Gott die gottlosen ym weltlicher örtikeit durch sich und seine Engel regirt (wie gesagt ist) allermeist umb seines worts willen / das es muge gepredigt werden / wilchs nicht kondte geschehen / wo nicht fride zu yndem were / So nympt er sich auch desselbigen mit ernst an / Vnd lest sie derberlich dem ungluck entgehen / wie denn alle Heiden selbs bekennen / das streit und sieg stehet schlechts nicht ym menschen kraft noch wirtze / sondern ym gluck / Wilchs also zu gehet / das die lieben Engel da sind und durch ymwendige anregen plotzlich einen rad odder synn eingeben / odder essermet <A iii> lich ein zeichen und anstos ym weg legen / damit der mensch gewarnt odder gewendet wird dieses zu thun / das zu lassen / diesen weg zu zihen / diesen zu meyden / auch offft wider den ersten fursatz. Denn / weil sie mit worten nicht reden zu uns / thun sie das mit synn eingeben / odder esserliche ursache plotzlichen furlegen / gleich wie wir pferde und oxsen anschreyen / esserliche zeichen odder ursache / das sie nicht ym graben fallen. Soche anzeigung odder warnunge / Davon yhr bucher wol sind / denn sie sehen wol / das es geschicht / sie wissen aber nicht / wer es thut / Davon were wol viel zu schreiben und exempel anzuzeygen.

Solchs thun die Engel auff erden / Vber das thut Gott ym hymel auch seine zeichen / wenn sie ein ungluck treffen sol / und lest schwantzsterne entstehen /

odder Sonn und Mond schein verlieren / odder sonst ein ungewöhnliche gestalt erscheinen. Item auff erden greuliche wunder geborn werden / beyde an menschen und thieren / Wilchs alles die Engel nicht machen / sondern Gott selbs alleine / Mit solchen zeichen dreuet er den gottlosen / und zeigt an zukunfftig unfal uber herrn und lande / sie zu warnen. Umb der frumen willen geschicht solchs nichts / denn sie darfens nicht / drumb wird yhn auch gesagt. Sie sollen sich fur das bymels zeichen nicht furchten / als Jeremias spricht / denn es gllt yhn nicht / sondern den gottlosen.

Hinaus ist nu komen die sternkunst / und warsager kunst / denn weil es war ist / das solchs geschicht / und die erfahrung beweiset / das ungluck odder gluck bedeut / Sind sie zu gefaren / und habens wollen fassen und ein gewisse kunst draus machen / da sind sie gen bymel gefaren und habens ym die sterne geschriben / Vnd weil sie feine gedanken gehabt / das sichs mit der sternenn art reymet / mussens nu die sterne und natur thun / das Gott und die Engel thun / Gleich wie die ketzer zu <A iv> erst yhre gedanken finden / darnach die selbigen ym die schrift tragen / und mus dem schrift heissen / was yhn treuemet. Da ist denn der teufel zu geschlagen / hat sich drein gemengt / und wie er ein herr der welt ist wider Gottes herrschafft / hat er auch das gleichen zeichen viel angericht auff erden / die sie Omnia heissen / Vnd hat an manchen orten warsager erweckt / als zu Delphis und Hammon / die solche zeichen gedent / und kunfftige ding haben gesagt. Nu er denn der welt furst ist und aller gottlosen köning und herrn sampt yhren lendern / synn und wesen fur yhm hat / dazu alle erfahrung von anfang der welt gesehen / hat er leichtlich können sehen / wo er mit yhn hinaus wolle. Aber weil er nicht gewis ist (denn Gott bricht yhm offft die schantz und lest yhn nicht ymer treffen) gllt er seine weissagunge mit solchen wanckenden worten eraus das / so es geschehe odder nicht / er dennoch war habe / Als da der kong Pyrrhus fragt / ob er die Römer schlagen wurde / Antwort er / Dico Pyrrhum Romanos uncere posse / als wenn ich auf dendsch spreche / Ich sage Hansen Petern schlagen muge / Ess schlahen nu Hans odder Peter / so isst beydes durch die wort verstanden / Vnd der gleichen hat er viel gehan durch Gottes verhengnis und thuts auch noch / Vnd trifft oft / das geschicht / aber Gott lessts nicht allewege treffen / darnumb ist die kunst ungewis / und behelfen sich damit / feyltens an einem ort / so trifft doch an andern / Widerferets nicht diesem / so widerferets doch yhemem.

Was sagen wir denn zum Lichtenberger und das gleichen? das sage ich. Erstlich / Den grund seiner sternkunst halt ich fur recht / aber die kunst ungewis / das ist / Die zeichen am hymel und auff erden feylen gewislich nicht / Es sind Gottes und der Engel werck / warnen und dreuen den gottlosen herrn und lendern / bedeuten auch ettuwas / Aber kunst daruff zu machen ist nichts / und ym die sterne solchs zu fassen. Zum andern / es mag dennoch wol daneben sein / das yhn Gott odder sein En- <A v> gel bewegt habe / viel stücke / welche gleich zutreffen / zu schreiben / wie wol yhn dunckt / die sterne gebens yhm / Aber nichts dasie weniger / auff das Gott sehen lässe / das die kunst ungewisse sey / hatt er yhn lassen feylen mal.

Vnd ist das summa summam davon / Christen sollen nichts nach solcher

weissagung fragen / denn sie haben sich Gott ergeben / durffen solchs dreuens und warnens nicht. Weil aber der Lichtenberger die zeichen des hymels anzeucht / so sollen auch die gottlosen herren und lender fur allen solchen weissagungen furchten / und nicht anders denken / denn es gelte yhn / Nicht umb yhrer kunst willen / die oft feylen kan und mus / sondern umb der zeichen und warnunge willen / so von Gott und Engeln geschicht / darauff sie yhre kunst wöllen grunden / denn die selbigen feylen nicht / des sollen sie geuis sein / Als zu unsern zeien haben wir viel sonnen / regenhogen und der gleichen am hymel gesch. Hie ist kein sterkundiger / der gewis hette können odder noch können sagen / es gelte diesem odder jenem konige / denn noch sehen wir / was dem konige zu Franckreich / Denemarck / Hungern gewislich widerfahren ist / Und wird noch andern konigen und fursten auch gehen gewislich.

Derhalben schencke ich den Lichtenberger und des gleichen / den grossen hansen und lendern / das sie wissen sollen / es gelte yhn / und wo er trifft / das solchs geschicht aus den zeichen und warnunge Gotts / darauff er sich grundet / als die da gewislich den grossen hansen gelien / odder durch verhengnis Gottes aus des Satans eingeben. Wo er aber feylet / das solchs aus seiner kunst und anfechtung des Satans geschicht / Dem Gotts zeichen und der Engel wurnunge / sind gemengt mit des Satans eingeben und zeichen / wie die welt denn werd ist / das es unust untereinander gehe und nichts unterschiedlich erkennen kan. Das sey mein urteil und unterricht / die Christen verstehen wol / das so recht ist / Was die ander glauben / da liegt mir nichts an / Denn sie massens erfahren / wie man den narren die kolben laasset.

Das nu meine ungedige herrn die geistlichen sich freuen / als seyen sie hinüber / und solle yhn nu hinfort wol gehen / da wüdsch ich yhn glück zu / denn auch stercken und mehrren / wil ich auch geweihsagt haben / das / wo es gar freundlich bitten / sie wolten mein gedanken / und bekennen / das der Luther hab es besser getroffen / denn beide der Lichtenberger und yhre selbs es bekennen müssen on yhren danck / und all unglück dazu haben / da für sie doch Gott behuete / so ferne sie sich bekeren / Da gebe Got seine gnade zu / AMEN.

<Lichtenberger> Vorrede vber das folgend Buchlin
Wie wol Gott der Herr zeit und stunde yhm allein ym seiner gewalt furbehalten hat / Wie Christus die ewige warheit selbs bezeuget / Er auch alleine zukunfftige ding weis / Und niemand ist ym dieser welt / der den morgenden das weniger / hat der selbige güte Gott / aus seiner milden überflüssigen güte und barmherzikeit / mancherley gaben ym seine Creaturen gegossen / und zu wissen vernümet hat / doch nicht gantz klar / sondern aus

ethischen gleichnissen / umstenden / zeichen und abnennung der geschehen ding / gegen die / so noch zukunfftig ergehen sollen. Also verkündigen die Vögel ym gesange und mit yhrem fliegen / des gleichen auch andere thiere / ym mancherley weise / die zeit und verenderung odder geschicklichkeit der zeit / auch der gleichen mehr dings / wie es damit zukunfftig sol erghen. Also bedeut abendröte / das der zukunfftige morgen werde schön werden / und morgenröte bedeut / das es auff den abend regenen werde. Solche ding sehen wir alle so natürlich geschehen / durch schickung und ordnung der natur / yhr von Gott eingegeben / Wie solchs die natürlichen meister die man Philosophos / Mathematicos und Astrologos nennet / volköniglich beschrieben haben.

Es lasse sich hierymne niemand yren / diesen spruch Aristoteles da er also sagt / Von den zukunfftigen / zufelligen dingen / hat man keine gewisse warheit. Denn der selbige Aristoteles spricht auch / Alles was da zukunfftig ergehen sol / das mus von not wegen komen / Kompt es nu not haben odder sonst anderswo her / so mus es ybe eine vorgehende ursache haben / wie Plato gesagt hat / Solche vorgehende sache / eigentlich und volköniglich / weis alleine Gott / der schepffer aller dinge. Er hat aber dem menschen gegeben / vernunft / verstantnis und krafft allerley byn und wider zu betrachtten / damit er aus den vortangnen dingen zukunfftige abnemen und ernessen künnde / Der selbige Gott hat dem menschen auch verheben kunst und erkenntnis der sterne am hymel / daraus man mancherley geschicht / dazu einen das gestirn zeucht / zukunfftig vorhyn sagen mag.

Auff das man aber den grund dieser dinge eigentlich abnemen möge / ist zu merken / das Gott ym dreyerley weise dem menschen geben hat zukunfftige ding zu wissen / die ein ighlicher der viels ankeren wil / alle / odder ybe ethiche erforschen und begreifen mag. Zum ersten (wilchs auch unter allen die ii) gemeinste weise ist) So der mensch lange zeit lebet / mag er durch lange erfahrung sehen und hören / und also viel dinge durch gleichnis und vernünftliche prüfung zukunfftig sagen / wie denn alle laute das zungen und beweisen.

Die ander weise ist aus den sterren und aus der kunst der Astronomy / wie Ptolemus spricht / Wer die ursachen der yrdischen dinge erfahren wil / der mus erstlich und vor allen dingen acht haben auff die hymelischen körper / Denn / als Aristoteles sagt / so rüret und hengt diese unterste welt an der obersten / so genau und eben / das auch alle yhre krafft von den hymelischen und obersten corporen regit werde. Auch spricht Ptolemus / das die menschen ym sitten und tugenden durch die sterne unterweiset und geendert werden / Denn die sterne geben ethich neygung den menschlichen corporen / aber sie nötigen doch gantz und gar niemand.

Zum dritten / wird dem menschen gegeben / zukunfftige ding zu wissen / durch offenbarung / Denn / wie wol der Vater ym ewigkeit yhm alleine ym seine gewalt gesetzt hat / zukunfftige ding zu wissen / hat er doch ethichen sonderlichen menschen solche ding offenbaret / entweder ym geiste / odder ym einem gesichte / und als in einem tanckeln und verborgenem rezelein / odder auch durch öffentliche gesandte Engel / und vortmittelst mehr andern

heimlichen weisen / das sie können zukunfftige ding warhafftiglich sagen / und zuvor / ehe sie geschehen / verkündigen / Wie wir das eigentlich und klerlich bey den Heiden von der Sibylla lesen / wilche den Römern viel zukunfftiges dinges / on lügen und betrug / warhafftig geweihsaget und verkündigt hat. Vnd gleich die selbige Sibylla / hat auch den Römern / langest zuvor ehe es geschach / gesagt / Das der Tempel der ewigkeit / nicht ehe zerfallen solt / bis das eine iungfrau einen son geühre. Vnd viel ander ding mehr / hat sie yhnen gesagt / das sich mit der zeit alles hat begeben / Wilchs sie doch nicht hette thun können / wenn sie nicht ein geist / yhr von Got <B iii> gegeben / gehabt hette. Also haben auch die Propheten ym alten Testament zukunfftig ding geweihsaget / Des sind nu viel exempel. Vnd zu letzt auch zu unsern zeiten / ym neuen Testament sind dem heiligen Johanne / da er dem Herrn auff der brust lag / die heimlichkeiten Gottes / so am ende der welt erfur kommen solten / offenbart worden. Der andern wil ich schweigen / alleine der einigen werden unterweilen zum marcke komen. Zu der selbigen wollen wir auch einen rechnen / der heist Reinhard Lobhard / wie es sich alles hernach finden wird an seinen orten.

Die tzt ertzelen drey wege und weise / zukunfftige dinge zu wissen / wird der Meister dis büchleins / der sich wil ingenant haben / fur sich nemen / und gen ursachen und bewegnissen anzeigen / wartlich nicht freuelich und unbesonnen / auch nicht mit einem stolzen und auffgeblasenem mut / sondern als eine treueliche warnung und vernamung / damit er warnet und ermanet höchlich und mit ernst alle menschen / und sonderlich Fursten und Oberket / das sie hüffe und rad suchen wolten / damit man dem zukunfftigen unglück begegnen / und viel arges verhüten künde. Denn versehen geschütz thut wenigern schaden. Derhalben mügen sie sich huten und fursehen / so viel sie treu ist nu zur zeit ein seltzamer vogel ym der welt. Wo aber nu kein glaub noch treu ist / da kan kein guter rad sein / und wir keinen rad auff erden finden können / so ist keine andere zufucht / denn das wir bey / Gott dem aller höchsten / rad hüffe und beystand suchen.

Derwegen so last uns alle anruffen und andechtiglich bitten / den selbigen gütigen und barmherzigen Gott / und unsern Herrn Ihesum Christum / das er uns durch seine gnade <B iii> wolle verzeihen unsere missethat / wolle uns bekehren zum guten / und ym einem tugigem fride erhalten / und seinen zorn von uns abwenden / Er wolle fur uns stehen / so wird uns niemand können schaden. Jtz wollen wir nu zu diesem büchlein greiffen / und höret mit vles zu.

<Das erste Capitel>

<D> Hie steht ein alter gebuckter bericht / binckender man / der helt sich an einen stab mit der lincken hand / und hat eine siebel in der rechten / und ligt auff einem manne der hat einen oxsen bey den hörnern ym der rechten

hand / gleich als er yhn erwürgen wolt / Vnd zwischen den zweyen stehet das zeichen Scorpion.

<Dv: woodcut, see our fig. 135. 156>

Das ist eine namhafftige Constellation fast wol zu merken und zu betrachten / der schuertiichtigen grossen Planeten des Saturni und Jupiters / wilcher Coniunction und zusammen lauffung / erschrecklich ding dreuet / und verkündiget uns viel zukunfftigs unglücke / Vnd ist volkomen gewesen / nach Christi geburt ym iare / M.cccc.lxxxiii. am funff und zwentzigsten tage Nouembris / des Weinmonds / umb die sechste stunde / vier Mint nach mittage / wie wol der krebs eins grads hoch auffsteige über den Horizontem.

Der selbige zweyen planeten Coniunction und zusammen lauffung geschicht seer selten / und nicht ehe / denn nach verlauffung einer langen zeit / und wenn viel gestirn herum komen sind / und derhalben bringet sie auch einen sterckern ein- <D ii> flus. Zu wilcher erschrecklichen Coniunction / ist das gressliche und schensliche haus des aller unglückhfftigen zeichens des Scorpion / geeigent und verordnet / ym dem .23. grad und .43. minut / darynne sich feuert der stern des falschen Martis / Vnd das am aller ergsten ist / und ein ursach werden wird alles unglücks / der störrige und boshaftiger Saturnus hat mit seiner erhöhung gegen mitternacht den gütigen und freuntlichen Jupiter untergedruckt / Auch ist Mars ein herr dieser Coniunction / und der mittlen vom hymel gresslich und vol dreuwens herunter sibet / ym seinem eigen königlichen haus auch königlichen zeichen sitzend und erhaben / Derhalben er yhm auch alle ordnung und regierung dieser Coniunction zuschreibet und zweiget. Vnd darumb die viel der fremdliche Jupiter also von Saturno und Marte gefasset / und von yhrem bösen glentzen untergedruckt ist / kan er yhrer macht und gewalt nicht widerstehen / mag auch derhalben seine heilsame und gewöliche hüffe durch seine freuntlichkeit den menschen nicht mit teilen.

Dieuel aber solcher grausamer / wie wol langsamer Coniunction bedienung sich auff viel iare erstreckt / drincket nich nicht unnütze sein / etliche andere Constellation so zwischen dieser zeit mit einfallen / allhie auch mit anzeigen / auff das man von den selbigen / so sie allenhalben wol bewegen und billliche ursachen yhrer vereinigung fugebracht wurdn / aus allen / wie wol ungleichen ursachen / doch eine gleiche form und werck herausser ziehe.

Es hat sich auch begeben ym iare / M.cccc.lxxxv. ein erschreckliche und fast ein gresslich Eclipsis und finsternis der Sonne / wilchs wird der grossen Coniunction obgemelt / yhre bedeutung / yhre krafft und böse werckel / die sie pflegt zu bringen / noch viel böser machen / des gleichen auch die Coniunction der zweyer bösen stern Saturni und Martis / die da gewesen ist / am letzten tage Nouembris / ym neunnden grad des Scorpions / zu der unvolkomenen <sic> stunde / der verbrennung des <D ii> Mondes.¹⁵⁷ / In wilcher coniunction / der boshaftige Saturnus / mit seiner erhebung den Martem ym seinem eigen hause unterdrückt / und viel zeugnis zukunfftiges unglücks bringet /

auch mechtiglich seer die grausamkeit obverzelten Constellation mehrer und bestiget. Aber die andere freuntliche Coniunction des gütigen Jupiters und des grausamen odder zornigen Martis / welche newlich ym .18. grad des Scorpions / zusammen gelauffen sind / mit Jupiters glück / ym dem das er sich über den Martem erhaben hat / wird ein wenig messigen das unglück / obenangeregter böser Constellationen. Drumh drucket michts auch gut sein / alhie zu erzeien / etliche grosse Coniunctiones / und zusammen lauffung der Planeten / so sich ym vergangener zeit begehen haben / welcher bedeutung nach etlicher meinung / bis auff diese zeit sol wehren.

Der grosse umblauff des hymels / der den namen hat von der Coniunction die fur der sindflut war / ist von grad zu grad / und fass fur fass zu dem .15. grad des leuens des .12. minuts / langsam und feulichen komen / Des selbigen umblaufts Regiment und gubernation ist von recht zuerteilt dem Mond und hat sehe macht angenommen / und der grad der direction ist gefurt und komen zu dem funfften teil der Wage / und besitzer die selbige / und der selbigen teil zeucht yhm der Monde zu. Aber umb die grossen Coniunctiones / die da bedent haben / als man sagt / die zukunfft unseres heilandes und seligmachers Christi / ist es also gethan gewesen / das der fortgang odder folgung des aufsteigenden zeichens das selbigen iares gekommen sey / bis zu dem .13. grad der Wage / Aber die folgung des orts / da die Coniunction yme gewesen ist / ist gebracht ym den .19. grad des Widlers / und wird alda aufgenommen / Und der grad der direction ist von dem Ascendente bis zu dem .12. grad / das Scorpions gekomen / welchen Venus zurteilet.

<O iii> Bald hernach odder schier umb die selbige zeit / wird ein ander Prophet erstehen / nemlich / als ein geistlich man / der grosse wunderliche heitlichkeit wird furgen. <Followed by a woodcut: prophet with rosary.>

Das ein und dreissigste Capitel

Diese wunderliche Constellation und zusammenlauffung der sterne zeigt an / das da sol geporn werden noch ein ander kleiner Prophet / der sol trefflich geben mit einem grossen ansehen der gottheit / und sol auch antwort von sich schen / so zur erden gefallen sind / seinem gepiet und herrschaft unterwerffen. Denn die Sternseher pflegen kleine Propheten die zu nennen / die da yrgend auff / die auch die Göttlichen kinste und / oder bringen neue Ceremonien und lere / annehmen / Aber es geschicht / die leute als fur Göttliche urteil sind / als der Mahomet / Etliche reden auch war / als da sind gewesen der heilige Franciscus und der heilige Dominicus. Was aber das wird fur einer beschlus halte fur warhafftig zu bekennen von allen Sternsehern / und die dieser kunst erfahren sind / Doch das es müge deste klerer angesehen werden /

so wil ich zu einer erhaltung und warnmachung des selbigen ein wenig ein auslauff machen / und erzeien etliche namhafftige Coniunctiones und zusammenlauffung der verwandelten tripliziert / so ym langen und viel iaren daher sind geschehen. Vnter welchen eine ym der wesserichten tripliziert / ym iare M.ccc.lxxv. ym achten grad des Scorpions / ist vollkommen worden / Aber die zuo so vor der sind geschehen / und aber zuo die der selbigen nachfolgen ym der lauffigen tripliziert / sind ym den Zwillingen und ym Wasserman geschehen. Die dritte aber nach der selbigen / welche ist gewesen ym iare M.cccc.xxv. ist widerumb komen zu der wesserichten tripliziert ym. xij. grad des Scorpions / und ist bis auff den heutigen tag ym der selbigen tripliziert geblieben. Also halt ichs nu da fur / das es offenbar genug sey / das man warten sol / auff eine geburt eines neuen Propheten.

<Fol. O iv> Die geburt eines neuen Propheten. <Followed by a woodcut showing the birth.>

Das zwey und dreissigste Capitel

Ich sage / das ym lande dem Scorpion unterworfen / ein Prophet wird geporn werden / so das man zuvor etliche wunderzeichen und seltsame ding wird am hymel sehen / Aber an welchem ende der welt / ob es gegen Mitternacht odder Mittag geschehen sol / sind so viel und mancherley meinung der gelarten leute / und so widerymische urteil und anzeigungen / das sie gerad widereinander stimmen. Albumazar helts dafür / das die wasserichten zeichen / die landart gegen Mittag beduten. Doch der gemeine hauff der Sternseher wil / das sie die landart gen Mitternacht anzeigen. Es sei gleichwol was es wolle / so sagt Messabala / das er sol geporn werden ym ein lande / das da mittelmessig ist / der hitze und feuchtigkeit halben / ym welchem lande die <O iv> subtile mittelmas der lauff / mit vermischer temperaturung der hitze und kelde / alle einwooner mit heilsamer zunemung entbelt. Der selbige Prophet wird aus seinem eigen vaterlande gehen / und wird zeichen thun ym den landen / so dem Lewen und Wasserman sind unterworfen. Denn wie Albumazar sagt / so wird er seine wunderzeichen offenbaren ym den landen / die durch den vierden Aspect bedautet sind / Wilchs auch mit aller Stern seher bewilligung ist bestiget. Das bezaget auch diser spruch unsers Seligmachers / Kein Prophet is angeneh ym seinem vaterlande. Aber die welt diese Coniunction ym ascendent des iares / und ym ein stetten festen zeichen erst wird vollkommen sein / so wird man auff diese namhaffige geburt nicht ewarten darffen / denn nach erfüllung der reuolution der einigen projection. Darumb so sage ich / das umb das neunzehende ier von der Coniunction / dieser Prophet erstlich wird auff diese welt komen. Aber die zeit seines predigens wird wehren neunzehen iar / nach den kleinen iaren der Sonne. Wollen wir aber seiner kleidung und tracht halben dem Albumazar folgen / so werden sie röthlich sein und glintzern / so das man das eine anzeigung neme von dem Marte ym zehenden / und von der Sonne seines herrns. Aber denen nach zu folgen / die da wollen haben / man sol die gestalt und figur der Coniunction

ansehen / so das man die anzeigung berneue von dem Jupiter / Mond / und vom heubte des Drachens / so werden seine kleder weisferbicht sein / wie der Mönche Kleidung / und er wird eine neue geistlichkeit arrichten.

Da stehet ein Mönch ym einer weissen kappen / und der Teuffel sitzt yhm auff sein achseln / hat ein langer zepplier bis auff die erden / mit wetten ermeln / und hat ein jungen Mönchen bey yhm stehend.

<Followed by fol. P with the woodcut just described, see our fig. 136.>

Das XXXIII Capitel

DJs sind und werden die zeichen sein / da bey man yhn wird erkennen / Er wird schwarzte fleckichen haben am leibe / und wird einen hestlichen leib haben von braunfleckichten mancherbichten mackeln ym der rechten seiten / beyms schos und an der huffe / Er stehet am teil des glücks / zur rechten hand des bymels / und ym zehenden vom Horosopo doch / das der ascendent der beider deste weibischer sey / und werden sich auff das hinterste teil des liches am meisten neygen. Er wird auch noch ein ander zeichen an der brust haben / aus dem teil des zeichens / wilchs ym sechsten grade des Leuens erfunden ist. Dieser Propbet (wie das selbige Firmicus¹⁵⁸ bezeiget) wird wunderwerc thun / Seine zukunfft werden auch die bösen geiste fliehen / und <P> die menschen / so mit dem Teuffel besessen sind / wird er nicht aus krafft der worter / sondern allein das er sich sehen leest erretten. Aber aus dem teil des reichs ym dem dufften dieser Coniunction / wie da sagt Antonius de monte Vmo¹⁵⁹ / wird er nicht allzeit thun was er andern zu thun wird radten. Dem er wird ein trefflichen verstand haben / und vieler dinge kunst / und eine seer gebrand gewissen haben / Und wie ein Scorpion / der des Martis haus ist ym dieser Coniunction und finsternis / wird er die gifft / so er ym schwantz hat / oft aussgessen. Und er wird auch ein ursach sein grossen blatuergessens. Und die weil Mars sein anzeiger ist / so leest sichs ansehen / das wolle der Chaldeer glauben besteygen / wie es Messahala bezeiget.

Wiewol nu dieser Propbet viel zeichen und wunderwerc geben wird / doch nach der heilsamen lere Christi / sol man yhm mit nichte anhangen / Ja er wird fur der einer angesehen werden / von wilchen Christus verkundiget / das sie zukunfftig sein wunden / wie man das findet ym der heiligen schrift von Christo unserm seligmacher selbs angezeiget Matthei .xxiiij. da er also sagt / So dem yemant zu euch wird sagen / Sibe / hie ist Christus / odder da / so solt yhrs nicht glauben / Denn es werden falsche Christi / odder da / Propheten aufstehen / und grosse zeichen und wunder thun / das verfuert werden ym der yrhum / und grosse zeichen und wunder thun / das verfuert ich habz euch zuvor gesagt. Darumb wenn sie euch sagen werden / Sibe / er ist ym der wusten / so gehet nicht bymaus / Sibe / er ist ym der kamer / so glaubet nicht. Das ist unser Herr Jhesus Christus.

The prophecies of Johann Lichtenberger, diligently translated into German. With a valuable preface and instruction by Master Martin Luther, as to how these and similar prophecies are to be interpreted. Wittenberg, 1527.

<Final colophon:> Done into German by Stephanus Rodt. Printed at Wittenberg by Hans Lufft, 1527.

Preface by Martin Luther to the Prophecy of Johann Lichtenberger

Because this book by Johann Lichtenberger, with his prophecies, has not only traveled far, in both the Latin and German tongues, but is highly esteemed by many—though by some also despised—the clergy in particular now derive great comfort and joy from it. For this book gave rise to an almost universal opinion that the priests would suffer, but that their sufferings would come to an end. And they suppose that this has now come to pass, and that the worst is over; and that this Lichtenberger prophesied the sufferings that came upon them through the peasant uprising and the teaching of Luther. For which reason I am moved to set the same Lichtenberger loose once more, together with this foreword, in which I give my own view of the matter for the instruction of all those who may wish to hear—with the exception of the clergy and their followers, whom I forbid ever to believe a thing that I say. Even without them, I shall find such as will believe me.

First, there are some prophets whose words spring solely from the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Zechariah, 7[12], speaks of “the words which the LORD of hosts hath sent in his spirit by the former prophets”; and Peter, 2 Peter 1{20–21}, also says: “No prophecy of the scripture is of any private interpretation. For the prophecy came not in old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost.” Such prophecy is just, and its outcome is always that the reprobate are punished and the godly delivered; it always tends to reaffirm and to establish conscience and faith in God. And when hardship and affliction come, such prophecy comforts the godly. It is addressed to none but the godly; with the reprobrates it has nothing to do, except insofar as it admonishes and chastens them. It neither consoles them nor promises them anything. In opposition to such prophecy, Satan has prophecies of his own; such are the false prophets, gangsects, and heretics through whom he corrupts faith in God, destroys and depraves consciences, gives lying comfort, utters false threats, and wages unceasing war against the pure prophecy and teaching of God.

Lichtenberger is not one of these, for he makes no claim to speak from the Holy Ghost; as both true and false prophets do, he founds his prophecy on the movements of the heavens and the natural art of the stars, their influences, and their workings. And so he addresses neither faith nor conscience; he neither instructs nor seduces, neither comforts nor chastens; but speaks straightforwardly of things to come, both for the ungodly and for the godly, as his art of astrology instructs him. He speaks, it is true, of the Christian Church; but only of its outer condition, in its bodily presence and goods and dominions, and not of its standing in the faith and comfort of the Holy Ghost. That is to

say, he says nothing of the true Christian Church, but only speaks as the art of astrology is wont to speak of all other, heathen, dominions and realms. And so he looks upon the Hussites as enemies of the Church, and as the Tribe of Dan from which, he says, the Antichrist is to come. His idea of Reformation is cropping long hair short, removing the long points from shoes, and consigning board games to the fire: such are his Christians. And so this is a purely material prophecy of vain, material things.

In short, his prophecy is not a spiritual revelation: for that is accomplished without need of astrology, and is not subject to astrology. For astrology is an ancient, heathen art that prevailed among the Romans, as it did among the Chaldeans before them. But they could not tell or interpret the king of Babylon's dreams; only Daniel could do so, through the agency of the Spirit. The Romans very often failed in the same way. And so it remains to be seen whether any skill still resides in that art, and whether it can strike true. For I cannot bring myself to despise this Liechtenberger in every respect. He hit upon some truths, and in his pictures and figures, in particular, he came very close to the mark; far more so than in words.

It must be observed in this connection that God, who is the sole maker of all things, who governs all things, and who alone knows all things to come, has nevertheless appointed the angels and our own humankind, through whom he means to govern, so that we may act with him and he through us. For, although he has no need of any help from us in governing, feeding, and protecting our wives and children, our houses and lands, he still chooses to do so through us; and he sets up the father or the head of the family and says, "Honor thy father and thy mother." And, to the father, he says: "Beget and instruct thy children." Likewise, he might govern the world, maintain the peace, and chastise evildoers without the aid of kings, princes, lords, and judges. He will not do so; he passes on the sword and says, "Punish the evildoers, protect the godly, and keep the peace." And yet it is he who acts through us, and we are only his masks, behind which he conceals himself and does all that is done: as we Christians well know. Likewise, in the spiritual governance of his Christians, it is he who acts in everything, whether teaching, comforting, or chastening; and yet he seems to vest the word, the office, in temporal and in spiritual governance, whom he commands to act for him. And so, both and all that is in it.

He employs the angels in a similar way, we know not how; for he entrusts them with no sword, such as he gives to the temporal power; nor with any word, in a bodily sense, such as he gives to the preacher; nor with bread and clothing, livestock and dwelling, such as he gives to householders and parents. For we never see and hear the angels, as we do human beings. However, in many places the scriptures say that he governs the world through the angels, and that he sends to every emperor, king, prince, and lord, as indeed to every single human being, an angel who acts in his interest and stands by his side in all the rule and authority that he bears. In Daniel 10:13, 20-21, the angel of

the Jews says that the angel of the Persians has withstood him, but that the angel of Greece will come to his aid. How the blessed angels can unite for God and yet disagree for man; this I set aside for the present, leaving it for those self-conceited spirits who can tell in an instant all that Christ and the necessary articles of faith demand, and who then light upon such questions as what God made before he made the world, and the like, until they must satisfy their curiosity as to the angels. Instead, let us address the easiest question of all, which they, of course, understand so wonderfully well as soon as they hear it.

Namely, this: as has been said, God governs the ungodly in their temporal rule through himself and his angels; this is principally for the sake of his Word, that it may be preached—which it never could be, if the lands were not at peace. He makes this a serious concern; sometimes he has his angels lead them into good fortune, and sometimes he allows them to escape misfortune by miraculous means; for the heathens themselves all confess that war and victory depend on no human strength or wit but on fortune. This befalls as follows: the angels attend, and impart counsel or understanding through some sudden inner motion; or they send some outer sign and impulse, to warn or deter the person, telling him to do this and not to do that, to travel this way and to shun that way—often even against his initial intention. For because the angels never speak to us in words, they do so by planting thoughts in our minds, or by facing us with causes external to ourselves; just as we call out to our horses and oxen, or else lay sticks and stones in their path to keep them from falling into the ditch. Such external signs or causes are what the heathen call omens, that is, premonitions or warnings of evil, of which their books are full. For they can very well see that this occurs, but not who does it. Of this much might be written, and many instances produced.

So much for what the angels do on earth; above the earth, God gives his signs in the heavens, when some disaster impends: he sends comets, or causes the Sun and Moon to lose their light, or some other uncommon figure to appear. Likewise, on earth, monstrous prodigies are born, both human and animal; and this is not done by the angels but by God himself. Through such signs, he threatens the ungodly and displays the future ills that will smite the rulers and the land, as a warning to them. Such things are not sent for the godly; they have no need of them. For which reason, as Jeremiah says, let them not be dismayed at the signs of heaven: these are not meant for them but for the ungodly.

From this has arisen the art of astrology and divination; for, because it is true that such things occur, and because experience proves that this means to good or evil fortune, they come along and lay hold of all this and seek to make it into a certain art. And so they have ascended into the heavens and written it in the stars. And because they have subtly reasoned that all this talies with the motions of the stars, the stars and nature must now needs do the work of God and his angels: just as heretics first have thoughts of their own and then insert them into the scriptures, so that their dreams are to be taken

for scripture. Then the devil took a hand; and, as he is a lord of this world in opposition to God's rule, he has likewise sent many earthly signs of his own, which they call omens; and in many places, such as Delphi and Ammon, he has raised up soothsayers who have interpreted such signs and foretold the future. And being the prince of this world, and knowing as he does the minds and the characters of all ungodly kings and lords, and of their domains, and having seen everything from the beginning of the world, he knows full well what his intentions are for them. But because he never can be certain (for God often crosses him and thwarts his purposes), he gives his predictions in such veiled words that he will always be in the right, whatever the event may be. And so, when King Pyrrhus asked whether he would defeat the Romans, he answered *Dico Pyrrhum Romanos sincere posse*: which is as much as if I were to say: "Jack, say I, Peter may vanquish." Whether Jack or Peter wins, both answers are implicit in my words. And by God's permission he has done the like on many occasions, and still does so. And often he hits upon a thing that truly comes to pass; but God does not always suffer it to be so; and so this art is an uncertain one, and they make shift to say that, if it fails at one place, it will come to pass elsewhere; if it does not befall one person, it will befall another.

What are we to say to Lichtenberger and his like? I say this. Firstly, I consider the foundation of his astrological art to be sound, but the art itself to be err; for they are the work of God and of his angels; on the earth surely never the ungodly lords and lands; they signify something. But there is no building an art upon them, or putting such a thing into the stars. And yet it may well be that God or his angel has moved him to write many things that prove to be true, although he believes that the stars give it to him. Nonetheless, to show that this is an uncertain art, God has often permitted him to err.

And the gist of it all is that Christians should never trouble themselves with such prophecies; for they have dedicated themselves to God, and have no need of such threats and warnings. But, since Lichtenberger marks the signs that appear in the heavens, all godless rulers and their lands should surely stand in fear of such prophecies, and be sure that they are meant for *them*—not in any deference to their art, which can and must often prove a delusion, but in deference to the signs and warnings sent by God and his angels, on which they seek to base their art; for these do not fail: of that they may be sure. In our own times, we have seen many suns, rainbows, and the like in the sky. No astrologer could have said, or can say, with any certainty that these signs were meant for this or that king; but we see what has become of the kings of France, Denmark, and Hungary, and what will yet become of the kings and princes.

For this reason I make a gift of Lichtenberger and his like to great men and to their lands; they should know that this is addressed to them. Where Lichtenberger is right, this springs either from the signs and warnings of God, on which he takes his stand, and which certainly are meant for those same

great men; or, by God's permission, from the inspiration of Satan. Wherever he is wrong, this springs from his own unaided art and from Satanic temptation. For God's signs and the angels' warnings are commingled with Satan's inspirations and signs; for the world deserves no better than to sink into blind confusion. Such is my judgment and my teaching. Christians know full well that this is so; what others believe is no concern of mine. They will see how they get their just deserts.

If their dishonorable lordships of the clergy now rejoice, supposing that for them the worst is past and all will now be well, I wish them all good fortune; they will need it. But so long as they fail to amend their godless teaching and manner of life, but rather go from bad to worse, I have a prophecy of my own to make. If their joy shortly turns to shame, I beg them to think of me, and to confess that Luther told the truth better than either Lichtenberger or their own minds; and if not, I earnestly admonish them that they will be made to confess it, willy-nilly, and then suffer all the concomitant ills; from which may God preserve them, insofar as they repent. For which I implore the grace of God. AMEN.

[Lichtenberger:] Preface to This Little Book

Although the Lord God has kept the time and the hour in his own hands alone, and Christ himself bears witness to the eternal truth that he alone knows all future things; and no one in this world can foretell the day that is to come, or what will occur; nonetheless God himself, in his infinite goodness and mercy, has given sundry gifts to his creatures, whereby he grants that they may understand and know certain things that are still far off in the future; and this he does not clearly, but through analogies, circumstances, and signs, and through inference from things past to things yet to come. And so, in their song and flight, the birds foretell times and their changes, and moments of opportunity, and more beside; as other creatures also do. And so a red sky at night means that the morning will be fine; and a red sky in the morning means rain by nightfall. We witness such things naturally, through the decree and order of nature, as established by God. Such things have been fully described by those masters of natural lore who are called philosophers, mathematicians, and astrologers.

Let no one be misled by what Aristotle says, that there is no certain knowledge of future things. For the same Aristotle also says: "All that will occur in the future must occur of necessity." Whether by necessity or otherwise, everything must have an antecedent cause, as Plato says; and such antecedent causes are truly and wholly known only to God, the creator of all things. But he has given man reason, understanding, and the power of reflection, to extract and deduce future events from the past. The same God has also endowed man with the art and knowledge of the stars in the heavens, on the testimony of which many future events may be predicted.

To find the ground on which these things rest, it is to be observed that God has endowed man with three ways of knowing the future, which anyone who

will apply himself with some diligence may examine and understand, either in conjunction or in part. As for the first (which is also the most common way of all), a person who lives a long life may see and hear, through long experience, and foretell many future things by analogy and rational scrutiny: as old persons will bear witness.

The second way is from the stars and from the art of astronomy, as Ptolemy maintains: he who seeks to know the causes of earthly things must first of all take note of the heavenly bodies. For this nether world, says Aristotle, so moves and depends upon the higher world that all its powers are governed by celestial and supernal bodies. Ptolemy also says that the stars instruct men and convert them to morality and virtue. For the stars lend inclinations to the human body, but they compel no one.

Thirdly, man is enabled to know the future through revelation. The Father has reserved to himself, for all eternity, the power of knowing the future; but he has nevertheless revealed such things to certain exceptional persons, either in the spirit or in a vision, in the guise of a dark and mystic riddle; or through angels, openly sent; or in other mysterious ways: so that they can truly foretell future things and announce them before they happen. Among the heathen, we find the clear example of the Sibyl, who gave the Romans a true prophecy of many future events, without any lie or deception. And the same Sibyl also told the Romans, long beforehand, that the Temple of Eternity would never fall until a virgin should bear a son. She told them much else beside, all of which came true in due time; which she never could have done, had she not had a spirit given to her from God. The prophets of the Old Testament likewise foretold the future; and of this there are many examples. Finally, in our own age of the world, in the New Testament, the mysteries of God, which will appear at the end of the world, were revealed to Saint John as he lay in the bosom of the Lord. I will not speak of the rest, except to remember Brigid, whose revelation will be made public in various parts of this book. To her we will add one more, whose name is Reinhard Lothard, as will become apparent in due course.

The three ways and means of knowing the future, just described, are adopted by the Master of this book, who chooses to remain nameless, and who will tell of many things that must befall in years to come, with authentic causes and motives, not effeminately and thoughtlessly, nor with a proud and puffed-up spirit, but as an earnest warning and admonition, whereby in all seriousness he gives due notice and warning to all men, and to princes and rulers in particular, to seek help and counsel to meet the coming affliction and to avert much evil. Fewer are hurt by a bolt that is foreseen. For which reason, let them beware and look to the future as best they may, and not believe every spirit that comes along. For faith and truth are rare in this present world. And without faith and truth there can be no good counsel; we can find no counsel on earth. Nothing remains but to seek help and succor from God, the all-highest.

Let us all therefore turn and devoutly pray to God in his goodness and

mercy, and to our Lord Jesus Christ, that in his mercy he may pardon us our misdeeds, maintain us in peace and tranquillity, and turn away his wrath from us. If he be with us, none can stand against us. Now let us take up this book; mark well what it contains.

<Chapter 1>

Here stands an old, bent, bearded, lame man, who holds a staff in his left hand and a sickle in the right, and looks upon a man who has taken an ox by the horns with his right hand, as if to slay him. And between the two stands the sign of Scorpio.

<Woodcut, see our fig. 135.>

This is a most noteworthy conjunction of the great and ponderable planets, Saturn and Jupiter, an encounter that carries a fearful threat and forebodes many future afflictions. It occurred in the year of Christ 1484, on the 25th day of November, the Wine Month, at the sixth hour, at four minutes after noon, when Cancer was ascending one degree above the horizon.

Conjunctions and encounters between these two planets are infrequent; a long period elapses between one and the next; and, when many heavenly bodies assemble around them, their influence is reinforced. To which fearful conjunction the horrid and abominable house of the most baneful of all signs, Scorpio, is assigned and proclaimed. In its 23d degree and 43d minute the star of the treacherous Mars is in his joy. Worst of all, and a cause of future calamities, the stubborn and malicious Saturn, in his elevation toward the North, has afflicted the kind and benefic Jupiter. Mars is also a lord of this conjunction, and at Midheaven he looks down fiercely and full of menace, seated and culminating in his own royal house and sign. For which reason he ascribes and assigns all the ordering and governance of this conjunction to him. And because kind Jupiter is thus besieged by Saturn and Mars, and afflicted by their evil beams, he is unable to resist their force by showing his customary kindness to men.

The import of so cruel, but slow, a conjunction endures for many years; and it seems not inapposite to refer to a number of other conjunctions that fall within this same period; so that with these, once well considered, and appropriate causes for their union once produced, the same form and operation may be deduced from many dissimilar causes.

In the year 1485 there was a most fearful and tremendous eclipse of the Sun, which will greatly exacerbate the significance, the power, and the evil influence of the great conjunction described above; as will the conjunction of the two malefic stars, Saturn and Mars, which then took place, on the last day of November, in the ninth degree of Scorpio, at the exact hour of the combustion of the Moon. In which conjunction the malefic Saturn, in his culmination, afflicts Mars in his own house and testifies to much future misfortune, also mightily increasing the dread effect of the conjunction described above.

But the other, favorable conjunction of the benefic Jupiter and the cruel or wrathful Mars, who recently came together in the 18th degree of Scorpio, to the advantage of Jupiter, in that he elevated himself above Mars, will mitigate the ill consequences of the conjunction indicated above. For which reason I think it right to tell, in this place, of certain past great conjunctions and planetary encounters, whose significance some believe to endure to the present day.

The great cycle of the heavens, named for the conjunction that came before the Deluge, has advanced, slowly and sluggishly, degree by degree and step by step, to the 12th minute of the 15th degree of Leo. The rule and governance of this cycle is rightly assigned to the Moon, and has assumed its power, and the degree of the direction has moved to the fifth degree of Libra and possesses that sign, and part of that sign is assigned to it by the Moon. But with the great conjunctions that heralded, so we are told, the advent of our Savior and Redeemer, Christ, it happened that the advance of the rising sign of that year came to the 13th degree of Libra. But the point occupied by the conjunction has progressed to the 19th degree of Aries, and is in reception there, and the degree of the direction has moved from the ascendant to the 12th degree of Scorpio, as bestowed by Venus.

<Fol. Oiii.> Soon after this, or at much the same time, another prophet will arise, and he will be a cleric, who will profess great and miraculous powers of sanctity.

<Followed by a woodcut: prophet with rosary.>

Chapter 31

This wondrous conjunction of the stars signifies that another, minor Prophet will be born at that time, who will excel in interpreting scripture, and will give answers with a great appearance of divinity. He will wield authority and will gather the souls of fallen men. The astrologers are accustomed to give the name of minor prophets to those who make some change in the laws, or who introduce new ceremonies, or who labor to interpret the arts and maxims of the Divine; men whose opinions and words the people accept as God's judgment and teaching. But it so happens that some of these are false: one such was Mohammed. Some speak the truth: such as Saint Francis and Saint Dominic. It will soon be apparent what manner of prophet this will be. And although I believe that all astrologers, and those who are learned in this art, must readily confess the truth of this, nevertheless, to make it more clearly apparent, I will undertake a brief digression to substantiate and confirm it, and tell of a number of celebrated conjunctions in changing triplicities that have taken place these many long years past. One of which occurred in the watery triplicity in the year 1365, in the 8th degree of Scorpio. But the two that preceded this, and another two that followed it, were in the airy triplicity, in Gemini and Aquarius. On the third, subsequent occasion, which was in the year 1425, the

conjunction once more fell within the watery triplicity, in the 13th degree of Scorpio; and in that triplicity it has since remained. And so I maintain that it is manifest enough that we are to expect the birth of a new prophet.

The birth of a new prophet.

<Woodcut showing the birth, then commentary as follows.>

Chapter 32

I say that in the country subject to Scorpio a prophet will be born; before which, sundry omens and strange sights will be seen in the heavens. But at which extremity of the world this will be, whether to the North or to the South, the opinions of the learned are so many and so various, and there are so many conflicting opinions and testimonies, that they flatly contradict each other. Albumasar considers that the watery signs signify Southern lands. But the common body of astrologers believe that they signify lands to the North. Be this as it may, Messahala says that he will be born in a temperate country, both in heat and in moisture. In which country the subtle moderation of the air, with a temperate mixture of heat and cold, supports all the inhabitants and gives them healthy increase. This same prophet will go forth from his own country and perform signs and wonders in the countries that are subject to Leo and Aquarius. For, as Albumasar says, he will display his wondrous signs in those countries that are signified by the fourth aspect. Which is confirmed by the concurrence of all astrologers. This is confirmed also by the saying of our Redeemer: "A prophet is not without honor, save in his own country." But as this conjunction will be complete only in an ascendant and fixed sign, this notable birth is not to be expected until one projected revolution has elapsed. For this reason, I say that in the nineteenth year from the conjunction this prophet will first come into the world. The time of his preaching will last nineteen years, according to the little years of the Sun. If we follow Albumasar, his costume will be reddish and glittering, to give an indication of Mars in the tenth house, and of his ruler the Sun. But those who consider that the form and figure should be taken from the conjunction, as indicated by Jupiter, the Moon, and the Dragon's Head, say that his garments will be white, like the habit of the monks, and that he will institute a new clergy.

Here stands a monk in a white hood, and the devil sits on his shoulders; he has a long point hanging down to the ground, and a young monk standing next to him.

<The woodcut just described, see our fig. 136.>

Chapter 33

These are, and will be, the signs by which he will be known. He will have black marks on his body, and he will have an ugly body, with brown and many-colored specks on his right side, in his groin, and on his hip. He stands in the Part of Fortune, on the right-hand side of the heavens, and in the tenth house of the horoscope; the ascendant of both is more effeminate, and will incline more to the hinder part of the body. He will also have another sign on his breast, from the part of the sign that is found in the sixth degree of Leo. This prophet, as Firmicus himself testifies, will be a terror to gods and devils; he will perform many signs and wonders. Evil spirits will take flight at his approach, and he will deliver those who are possessed by the devil, not by the power of words but merely by letting himself be seen. But from the Part of Inheritance in the eleventh house of this conjunction (as Antonius de Monte Ulmo says), he will not always do as he counsels others to do. For he will have a fine intellect and skill with many things, and very great wisdom, but in his hypocrisy he will often tell lies, and he will suffer the pangs of conscience. And like a scorpion, which is the house of Mars in this conjunction and eclipse, he will often pour out the venom that he has in his tail. And he will be the cause of great bloodshed. As Mars is his ruler, this clearly tends to confirm the belief of the Chaldeans, as stated by Messahala.

This prophet will perform many signs and wonders; nevertheless, in obedience to Christ's teachings, he is not to be followed. He will be regarded as very words of our Redeemer, Matthew 24:23–26: "Then if any man shall say unto you, lo, here is Christ, or there; believe it not. For there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders; inasmuch that, if it were possible, they would deceive the very elect. Behold, I have told you before. Wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold, he is in the desert; go not forth: behold, he is in the secret chambers; believe it not." That is our Lord Jesus Christ.

Notes

1. See Professor Paul Hildebrandt in *Vossische Zeitung*, no. 306 (18 June 1918).
2. See below, note 126.
3. "The Bifurcation of Figurative Wit":

Figurative wit can either spiritualize the body or corporealize the spirit. Originally, when man and the world still bloomed grafted to a single stem, this double trope was not a trope at all; man did not compare dissimilar things but proclaimed their identity. As with children, metaphors were simply forced synonyms of body and mind. In writing, pictographs came before letters; and so in speech, metaphor—insofar as it refers to relationships and not to objects—came first, and only gradually faded into the mere expression itself. Ensoulment and embodiment in the trope remained one and the same, because Self and World still coalesced. For this

Pagan-Antique Prophecy in Words and Images
reason, every language, in its terms for things of the mind, is still a dictionary of withered metaphors.

—*Vorschule der Ästhetik*, section 50

4. The crucial question of the extent to which the humanist Reformers knew or consciously adapted the ancient Stoic theory of two varieties of divination—*artificialis* and *naturalis*, *τεχνητή* and *κρητική*—cannot be addressed in any detail here. On this, see Melancthon's son-in-law, Caspar Peucer, *Commentarium de praecipuis generibus divinationum* (Wittenberg, 1580), fol. 6.

5. *Briefwechsel der berühmtesten Gelehrten des Zeitalters der Reformation mit Herzog Albrecht von Preussen* (Königsberg, 1841).

6. *Scrutinium scripturarum*; see appendix A.1, n. 135.

7. Melancthon to Camerarius, 26 July 1531, *Corpus reformatorum* (hereafter CR), 2:516. Caspar Peucer was to make nonsense of this prophecy by marrying the daughter in question, whose name was Margarethe.

8. See appendix A.1, n. 135.

9. CR 2:505, 24(?) June 1531: "*candidus et Svecicae simplicitatis plurimum refferens*" (sincere and conveying a great deal of Swabian openness).

10. CR 2:530 ff., written August 1531.

11. To Johann Marthesius, 30 July 1557, CR 9:189; see also "Brevi narratio," ed. Nikolaus Müller, in *Philipp Melancthon's letzte Lebensstage*... (Leipzig, 1910), 2.

12. CR 2:490, 2:491.

13. CR 2:495.

14. See, e.g., CR 11:263, and Karl Hartfelder, "Der Aberglaube Ph. Melancthon's," *Historisches Taschenbuch*, 6th ser., 8 (1888): 237f.

15. On this see Georg Schuster and Friedrich Wagner, *Die Jugend und Erziehung der Kurfürsten von Brandenburg und Könige von Preussen*, Monumenta Germanica Paedagogica, no. 34 (Berlin, 1906), 1:496. His autograph horoscopes of members of the ruling family of Brandenburg are still preserved in the Preussisches Staatsarchiv. After Gauricus's visit to Luther, Joachim I sent for him to consult him as an exorcist. See Luther, *Tischreden*, Weimar ed., 3:515 and note.

16. CR 2:585 (2 May) and 2:587f. (18 May).

17. Regrettably, no monograph has yet appeared on this leading figure among early German philologists.

18. CR 2:570 (early March 1532): "*Extat enim carmen quoddam tuum, in quo insunt vaticinia de futuris Europae moribus, quae ita comprobant eventus, ut non solum prophetarum, sed etiam historiarum harum rerum multo ante scriptisse videtur... quodque lientis addidisti thema, quorum mihi cognitio pernecessaria est...*" (There is a certain poem of yours that contains predictions about future disturbances in Europe, which the outcome has so confirmed that you seem to have written not only the prognostication but also the history of these events long before they happened... and because you appended horoscopes to your letter, the knowledge of which I very much need...)

19. See appendix A.2.

20. *Cm.* 27003 and Leipzig, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. DCCCCXXXV.

21. Ernst Kroker, "Naturaten und Konstellationen aus der Reformzeit," in *Schriften des Vereins für die Geschichte Leipzigs* 6 (Leipzig, 1900).
22. Leipzig, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. DCCCCXXV, fol. 158. See Kroker (note 21), 31.
23. Gaureus, *Tractatus astrologicus* (Venice, 1552), fol. B. 69^v.

Martinus fuit imprimis Monachus per multos annos, demum expoliavit habitum monialium, duxitque in uxorem Abbatissam altae staturae Vitimbensem, et ab illa suscepit duos liberos. Haec mira satisque horrenda. 5. Planetarum coitio sub Scorpii aeternismo in nova coeli statione quam Arabes religioni deputant, effectus ipsam sacrilegum hereticum, Christianae religionis hostem acerrimum, atque prophannum. Ex horoscopi directione ad Martis coelum irreligiosissimus obiit. Eius Anima sceleratissima ad Inferos nauigauit, ab Alecto, Tesiphone, et Megera flagellis igneis cruciata perenniter.

(Martin was initially a monk for many years; then he shed the monastic habit and married a Wittenberg abbess, a tall woman, and by her had two children. That in itself is strange and appalling enough. The conjunction of five planets in the sign of Scorpio in the ninth house of heaven, which the Arabs assigned to religion, made him a sacrilegious heretic, a profane and bitter enemy to the Christian religion. From the direction of the ascendent to coition with Mars, he died an utterly irreligious death. His villainous soul set sail for hell, harried for all eternity with whips of fire by Alecto, Tesiphone, and Megera.)

24. See Carlo Pancastelli, *Pronostici ed almanacchi* (Rome, 1913), 43. Gaureus to Pope Clement VII: "*Lutheri perfidiam pressumadabis.*" (You will annihilate Luther's treason.)

25. Luther, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Enders, 4:309.

26. *Ibid.*, 9:155. The lacuna in the Latin represents something like the following: "*sed non admodum mihi terrorem mouet ista coniunctio astrorum.*"

27. Luther, *Tischreden*, Weimar ed., 4:668.

28. *Ibid.*, 4:613.

29. *Luthers Tischreden in der Mathesischen Sammlung*, ed. Ernst Kroker (Leipzig, 1903), 177, no. 292.

30. *Ibid.*, 320; Heydenreich 1543, no. 625.

31. More on this in the following section.

32. On this see J. K. F. Knaake, "Stoffsichtung zur kritischen Behandlung des Lebens Luthers. I. Luthers Geburtsjahr," *Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche* 33 (1872): 96 ff.

33. CR 4:1053.

34. Fol. 16.

35. Philo was the physician Johann Peyerl (1496–1541); for confirmation of this I am indebted to the unfailing generosity of Professor Flemming.

36. Luther, *Tischreden*, Weimar ed., 2:445, early January 1532.

37. Peyerl's horoscope for Luther (Cm. 27003, fol. 17) is identical with Gaureus's

except for the time, 3:22 a.m. instead of 1:10 a.m.

38. Fol. 158 of the Leipzig manuscript.

39. "Ἄ et ἦ facti hericos Vros. et bonum est Ὁ. non esse coniunctum. Ὁ. in II. Jude est illa Eloquentia." (Jupiter and Saturn makes heroic men, and it is good that Mars is not conjunct. Mars in Gemini: hence his eloquence.)

40. Johannes Garcaeus, *Astrologiae methodus* (Basel, 1574).

41. On the occasion of the first centennial celebrations in 1617, the matter was finally settled, from the Protestant side, in an academic paper by a Strasbourg professor, Isaac Malleolus. Deploying the whole apparatus of astrological erudition, Malleolus disposed of the false Italian date once and for all. His work was reprinted by E. S. Cyprian in the bicentennial commemorative volume, *Hilaria Evangelica* (Gotha, 1719), 932–36. (The controversy was thus very much alive and topical, even then; see also Bayle, *Dictionnaire critique*, s.v. "Luther.") A highly informative account of the whole matter is given by J. K. F. Knaake (see note 32). The author had prepared a synoptic table of Luther horoscopes.

42. Hieronymus Cardanus, *Liber de exemplis geniturarum*, in Hieronymi Cardani *medici Mediolanensis libelli duo. Vrius, de supplemento almanach. Alter, de restitutione temporum et motuum coelestium. Item geniturae LXVII. insignes casibus et fortuna, cum expositione* (Nuremberg, 1543). Cardano's commentary on his horoscope of Luther is reprinted in appendix B.3.3.

43. The nativity that Luther was shown must have been from Cardano's collection of 67 *geniturae* (see note 42), as this was published in Nuremberg in the very year, 1543, in which the conversation took place, and actually shows Cicero's chart on the page (fol. N III^v) facing that of Luther (fol. N IV^v).

44. Illness has prevented the author from enlarging on the Janus-faced historic sense, the strain of tragic dualism, that runs—and is strangely taken for granted—throughout the evolution of modern *Homo non-sapiens*. The "rectification" of Luther's birthdate is only one unassailable instance of this; it marks the triumph of the primitive, totemistic obsession with correspondences (as embodied in the pagan nativity cult) among the very leaders of the struggle for historical objectivity—and this at the very place and time that saw the outbreak and the fierce continuance of the decisive battle for German freedom of thought and conscience.

45. See below, pp. 615 ff.

46. Luther, *Tischreden*, Weimar ed., 3:193.

47. A. Hauber (died 9 June 1917), *Planetenkinder und Sternbilder: Zur Geschichte des menschlichen Glaubens und Irrtums*, Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, no. 194 (Strasbourg, 1916). On this see Fritz Saxl, "Probleme der Planetenkindbilder," *Kunstchronik* 54 (n.s., 30) (1919): 1013–21.

48. See *Jahresbericht der Gesellschaft der Bücherfreunde zu Hamburg 1908–1909* (Hamburg, 1910), 48 [our p. 593].

49. See Rochus von Liliencron, *Die siebente Todsünde* (1903), 158.

50. For an accurate account of the basic theory and nature of astrology, the reader cannot do better than turn to the little book by Franz Boll, *Sternlaube und Sterndeutung*, Aus Natur und Geisteswelt, no. 638, 2d ed. (1919) [3d and 4th eds. by Gundel, Leipzig, 1926 and 1930].

51. Leonhard Reymann, *Naturiter-Kalender* (Nuremberg: Friedrich Reypus, 1515).

- CI 52. "Vita lucrum fratres genitor nati valetudo / Uxor mors pietas regnum benefactaque carcer." (Life, wealth, brothers, father, children, health, / Wife, death, piety, government, benefactions, prison.)
- TF 53. [Friedrich von Bezold, "Astrologische Geschichtskonstruktion im Mittelalter," *Zeitschrift für Geisteswissenschaft* 8 (1892):1] Now reprinted in Bezold, *Aus Mittelalter und Renaissance: Kulturgeschichtliche Studien* (Munich, 1918), 165 ff.
- he 54. Johann Friedrich, *Astrologie und Reformation; oder, Die Astrologen als Prediger der Reformation und Urheber des Bauernkrieges* (Munich, 1864).
- Th 55. G. Hellmann, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Meteorologie*, nos. 1–5, Veröffentlichungen des Königlich Preussischen Meteorologischen Instituts, no. 273 (Berlin, 1914). After a brief but excellent survey of the Greek and Arabic origins of the planetary philosophy of history, he gives a list of the numerous illustrated printed works known to him (133 titles by 56 authors) that followed Stoeffler's almanac, from the beginning of the sixteenth century onward, and carried the terror of a deluge throughout Europe.
- Uli 56. See Georg Stuhlaub, "Neues zum Werke des Pseudo-Beham (Erhard Schön?)," *Antliche Berichte aus den Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 40, no. 11 (August, 1919), col. 251–60, fig. 131.
- a f 57. *Libellus consolatorius* (Vienna, 1523). See Hellmann (note 55), 55 f.
- by) 58. Rain and water "urrt... doch langsam sich begeben" (will slowly pass). How this is to be reconciled with the note in Häfritz and Gronau (see Hellmann (note 55), 20), to the effect that in 1525 he persuaded Elector Joachim I to take refuge on Tempelhof Hill, is still not clear to me.
- die 59. Leipzig: Wolfgang Stoeckl (?). This first edition was rediscovered by Professor Hoecker among the duplicates in the Preussische Staatsbibliothek.
- on 60. "Alexander Seytz von Marpach der loblichen Fürsten von Beyrn Physic." In the more recent biographies of this versatile physician—Pagel and Bolte, in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 33:653–55, and G. Linder, *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Geschichte*, 1886: 224–32—there is a hiatus between 1516 and 1525 that is bridged to some extent by Carion's hitherto overlooked reference to him.
- the 61. [Luther, *Tischreden*, in *Werke*,] Erlangen ed., 62:327.
- the 62. Or, as we would say nowadays, "not a reliable technique." On this see Georg Rudolph Widmann, *Wahrhaftige Historien... So D. Johannes Faustus... hat getrieben* (Hamburg, 1599), in which there is a dispute between Henricus Moller and Johannes Gartz (Caracas) as to whether astrology is *ars* or *scientia*: a certain art, or a mere science. Melancthon's comment: "Sive sit ars, sive scientia, est certe pulchra Phantasia." (Whether it is an art or a science, it certainly is a beautiful fancy.) 128, 222 f.)
- ecl 63. Luther, *Tischreden* (see note 61), 62:320. See appendixes B.1 and B.5. This remark must be borne in mind if we are to understand Luther's attitude to cosmic portents.
- the 64. Johann Erhard Kapp, *Kleine Nachlese einiger... zur Erläuterung der Reformation-Geschichte nützlicher Urkunden* (Leipzig, 1727), 2:511.
- the 65. See p. 606 and note 67.
- the 66. *Die Weissagung Johannis Lichtenbergers deutsch / zugericht mit vleys. Sampt einer nützlichen vorrede und unterricht D. Martini Luthers / wie man die selbige und der gleichen weissagunge vernehmen sol* (Wittenberg: Hans Lufft, 1527).

67. Full text in appendix C; Weimar ed., 23:1–12.
68. Ebert, *Allgemeines bibliographisches Lexikon* 1, note to no. 11972 (a Durch edition of Lichtenberger published in 1810).
69. Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, *De astrologia disputationum liber* 5.1, in *Opera omnia* (Basel, 1572), 1:551.
70. Paulus van Middelburg, *Prognostica ad viginti annos duratura* (Hain 11141 f.), Ferrara, *ibid.*, 77 [our pp. 569 ff.]. See Albuenaar (Abū Ma'sār), *De magnis communicationibus* (Augsburg: Ratdole, 1489). Tractatus 1, and this in particular: "Differentia tertia in scientia coniunctionum significantium naturales prophetarum... et signa prophetie eorum et quando apparebunt et ubi et quantitates annorum eorum..." (Third differentia in the science of significant conjunctions: the natures of prophets... and the signs of their prophecy, and when and where they will appear, and their length of life...) and Differentia IV.
72. *Inuetia in superstitiosum quendam asrologum* (Antwerp and Lübeck, 1492).
73. J. Franck, in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 18:338–42.
74. Woodcut to ch. 29.
75. Woodcut to ch. 33.
76. I have no doubt that the monk with the devil on his shoulders and the snake-like, floor-length hood is a reminiscence of two constellation images, Asclepius-Ophiuchus bearing a snake and Scorpius, both of which, in the system of *paranatellonta*, belong to September–October. Luther's fictitious date of birth thus falls within the period in which the fixed stars are perfectly aligned for a planetary configuration connected with a savior or redeemer. The extent of the influence of Hellenistic and Arabic tradition remains to be investigated; *Picatrix* (see Saxl, "Beiträge...," *Islam* 3 (1912): 172, n. 1), for instance, instructs the votary of Jupiter to wear a white monastic habit with a hood. To illustrate the direct, authentic, ancient tradition concerning the fixed stars, suffice it to recall what Lichtenberger says of the coming Prophet: "Und wie ein Scorpion / der des Martis haus ist ym dieser Coniunction und fastemus / wird er die giff / so er ym schwantz hat / oft aussgessen" (And like a scorpion, which is the house of Mars in this conjunction and eclipse, he will often pour out the venom that he has in his tail). *Weissagung* (Wittenberg, 1527), fol. p^r (see appendix C). In the Modena edition (Modena: Maurer, 1492; Berlin, Staatsbibliothek), the hood has a noticeably sharp, pointed end.
- An illuminated astrological manuscript from the circle of King Alfonso the Wise, which—thanks to the constant and generous assistance of Father Ehle and of Bartolomeo Nogara—the present writer discovered in the Vatican in Rome in 1911 (Ms. Reg. lat. 1283), bridges the gap between late medieval Germany and the scholars of the Toledo court, with their strong leaning towards matters antique and Arabian. Among other things, it contains a divinatory almanac in which each month is shown as a radial arrangement of thirty figures accompanied by divinatory texts (see fig. 138). Though well-nigh unrecognizable beneath layers of medieval realist accretions, these figures derive from the *Sphaera* of Teucer, and thus from authentic, antique astrological or religious polytheism.

To take one example directly relevant to the Asclepius-Luther figure: fol. 7 shows the thirty degrees of Scorpio. Its individual compartments contain unconscious but readily identifiable survivals of the Asclepius cult: the Snake, the Cakes, the Spring, Incubation, and the head of Asclepius himself. These hieroglyphs of fate for every day in the month lead back by way of Pietro d'Abano, who supplied the inspiration for the Salone in Padua, to Johann Engel's *Astrolobium planum*, published first in Augsburg in 1488 and later in Venice (Johannes Angelus, *Astrolobium planum in tabulis ascendens*, Augsburg: Erhard Ratdolt, 1488; Venice: Johann Emerich de Spira, 1494; cf. the illuminated manuscript made by Leovitus for Ortheinrich, in the Heidelberg library, Palat. germ. 833, fol. 65^v). For example, the man with the scorpion in his hand (cf. fig. 139) is to be found at the 11th degree, and the man with the snake at the 13th, just as they are in the *Astrolobium planum* at the 11th and 12th, respectively.

The migratory route followed by these pagan, cosmological, oracular images can thus be regarded as firmly established for the future inquirer, who will one day elucidate "the migration of daemonic imagery, from East to West and from South to North" — a topic of which the present writer can here offer no more than a cursory sketch.

77. See below, pp. 629 ff.

78. Johann Coeleus [Cochlaeus], *Von neuen Schwestern sechß Capitel* (Leipzig: Michael Blum, 1534), fol. dii^r.

79. *Nuntiatoren des Vergerio 1533–1536*, ed. Walter Friedensburg, in *Nuntiatorenberichte aus Deutschland... herausgegeben durch das Königlich Preussische Kulturinstitut in Rom*, part 1, 1 (Gotha, 1892): 541.

80. B. Soldati, *La poesia astrologica nel Quattrocento*, Biblioteca storica del Rinascimento 3 (Florence, 1906), 115.

81. E. Percopo, *Pomponio Gaucico*, *Atti dell'Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti di Napoli* (Naples, 1894), 136.

82. In the German edition of 1527, with a preface by Luther, Lichtenberger assigns the conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Scorpio to the 25th day "Novemberis, des to two months at once, as the Wine Month, in the year 1484; this, however, points the 1549 edition, fol. 28, where 25 November is October. Another discrepancy arises in was basing himself on Lichtenberger and not on Paulus van Middelburg; he surely did not use a German text — unless perhaps with the assistance of his German friends — but one in Italian or Latin. And in all of these, or in such of them as I have been able to examine, the date given is 25 November. It is unlikely, therefore, that the revised date of 22 October, furnished by Gaucicus, can be explained by reference to Lichtenberger — unless there exist an edition unknown to me in which this date is given.

83. Valerius Herberger, *Gloria Lutheri* (Leipzig, 1612), 41–45.

84. Goethe, in his history of color theory, gives us a curious explanation of Luther's fear of the devil in terms of psychological polarities:

Wie viel falsche Formeln zur Erklärung wahrer und unlegbarer Phänomene finden sich nicht durch alle Jahrhunderte bis zu uns herauf. Die Schriften Luthers enthalten <Bacon>. Wie bequem macht sich's nicht Luther durch seinen Teufel, den er über

all bei der Hand hat, die wichtigsten Phänomene der allgemeinen und besonders der menschlichen Natur auf eine oberflächliche und barbarische Weise zu erklären und zu beseitigen; und doch ist und bleibt er, der er war, ausserordentlich für seine und für künftige Zeiten. Bei ihm kam es auf Tat an; er führte den Konflikt, in dem er sich befand, nur allzu lastig; und indem er sich das ihm Widerstrebende recht hässlich, mit Hörnern, Schwanz und Klauen dachte, so wurde sein heroisches Gemüt nur desto lebhafter aufgeregt, dem Feindseligen zu begegnen und das Gebastete zu vertilgen.

(How many false formulas, by way of explanations of true and indubitable phenomena, may we not find in every century and down to the present. The writings of Luther, if you will, contain far more superstition than those of our English friar <Bacon>. How convenient it is for Luther to have his devil always at hand, to explain away the salient phenomena of nature in general, and of human nature in particular, in shallow and barbarous fashion. Even so, just as he was, Luther remains an extraordinary man, for his own age and for ages yet to come. He was a man of action, all too painfully aware of the conflict in which he was engaged; and because he pictured his adversary in the most hideous light, with horns, tail, and talons, his heroic temperament was all the more vehemently aroused to face and destroy the hated foe.

[—Goethe, "Materialien zur Geschichte der Farbenlehre: Roger Bacon," in] *Werke*, Cotta'sche Jubiläums-Ausgabe, 40:165–66

85. See below, p. 666.

86. Georg Loesche, *Analecta Lutherana et Melanthoniana* (Gotha, 1892), 301, no. 493.

87. Luther, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Enders, 3:107, letter from Luther to Spalatin, 7 March 1521.

88. See Melancthon to Spalatin, 4 March 1522, and to Michael Hummelberger, 12 March 1522, CR 1:565.

89. Luther, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Enders, 6:52.

90. Sign. 127–19 Th. 4. See Rudolf Gené, *Hans Sachs und seine Zeit* (Leipzig, 1894), 485.

91. Ed. Lambecius in *Georgii Codini... excerpta de antiquitatibus Constantino-politans* (Paris, 1655), 251; see Krumpholtz, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*, 2d ed., 628. The Bologna edition also uses the other oracular images.

92. Might not the idol with a sickle blade, which someone has inscribed with the name "Lutherus" (fig. 143), be Saturn (between Jupiter and Sol)?

93. See Julius Köstlin, *Martin Luther*, 5th ed., ed. Gustav Kawerau (Berlin, 1903), 1:646.

94. This was also Luther's interpretation of the discovery of a beached whale at Harlem, in his letter to Speratus of 13 June 1522 (Luther, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Enders, 3:397); "*Hoc monstrum habent ex antiquis exemplis pro certo trae signo*" (they take this monster, from ancient instances, as a certain sign of wrath). Note the direct appeal to the authority of antiquity (see Grisar, *Luther* 2:120). See also the letter of 23 May 1525 to Johann Rühel (*Werke*, Erlangen ed., 53:304; *Briefwechsel*, ed. Enders, 5:178),

- where he says of Elector Frederick the Wise: "Das Zeichen seines Todes war ein Regenbogen, den wir, Philips und ich, sahen... und ein Kind allhie zu Wittenberg ohne Haupt geboren, und noch eins mit umgekehrten Füßen." (The sign of his death was a rainbow, which Philipp and I both saw..., and a child born here in Wittenberg without a head, and another with its feet reversed.)
95. Conrad Lycosthenes (i.e., Conrad Wolffhard of Rufbach, Upper Alsace, 1518–61), *Prodigiorum ac ostensiorum chronicon* (Basel, 1557).
96. Julius Obsequens, *Prodigiorum liber, nunc demum per Conradum Lycosthenem restitutus* (Basel, 1552).
97. *Ibid.*, pages cccclx and cccclxxiii, respectively.
98. As early as 1503, the emperor's court historian Jakob Mennel (see Cod. Vind. Palat. 4417*) was compiling for his master a collection of such prodigies, viewed in relation to universal history. This ultimately led to Wolf's *Lectiones memorabiles* (see note 101).
99. Quoted from the edition printed in Wittenberg by Hans Luft in 1559.
100. In a codex of 1502, in the Universitätsbibliothek in Innsbruck: Hermann Julius Hermann, *Die illuminierten Handschriften in Tirol*, Beschreibendes Verzeichnis der illustrierten Handschriften in Österreich, ed. F. Wickhoff, 1 (Leipzig, 1905), no. 314. *Illus. ibid.*, 194.
101. *Lectiones memorabiles* (Launing, 1600), vol. 1, 1012 pp., vol. 2 (covering the sixteenth century), 1074 pp. This is the most extensive and, from the standpoint of ecclesiastical history, the most valuable universal chronicle of its kind.
102. *Studien zur Geschichte der Medizin*, no. 9 (Leipzig, 1912), and *Graphische und typographische Erstlinge: Alte Meister der Medizin und Naturkunde*, no. 4 (Munich, 1912).
103. E. Major, "Dürers Kupferstich 'Die wunderbare Sau von Landser' im Elsass," *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* 6 (1913): 327–30, pl. 81. It is also to be seen in Grunpeck's collective illustration. See above, p. 636.
104. *Flugblätter des Sebastian Brant*, ed. Paul Heitz, Jahrgaben der Gesellschaft für elassische Literatur, no. 3 (Straßbourg, 1915), pls. 10, 11.
105. Bruno Meissner, "Babylonische Prodigienbücher," in *Festschrift zur Jahrbuchfeier der Universität zu Breslau*, ed. T. Siebs, Mitteilungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde 13/14 (Breslau, 1911): 256. Morris Jastrow Jr., *Babylonianische und Vorarbeiten, 14.5* (Gießen, 1914): 10; *ibid.*, 73 ff., on Lycosthenes.
106. "Dürers Stich 'Melencolia. I' und der maximalianische Humanistenkreis," *Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für vortiefähigende Kunst* (1903): 29–41, (1904): 6–18, sky and Fritz Saxl, *Dürers Melencolia I* (Leipzig, 1923).]
107. From 1518 at the latest. See Edmund Weiss, "Albrecht Dürer's geographische, astronomische und astrologische Tafeln," *Jahrbuch der Kunstsammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* 7 (1888): 220. Also on this, Gielow [see note 106], 5:59.
108. On the male operation of Saturn in Maximilian I's horoscope, see Melancthon's letter to Camerarius, 13 January 1532 (CR 2:563): "Meus frater amisti stum filium, puerum elegantissimum... Habet pater in quinto loco Saturnum, quem

- codem loco habuit Maximilianus, cuius quae fuerit domestica fortuna, non ignoras.*" (My brother has lost his son, a very fine boy... The father has Saturn in the fifth locus — just like Maximilian, and you know what his domestic fate was.)
109. See Gielow [see note 106], 5:59, n. 5.
110. Summarized by Ficino in *De vita triphica* (Florence, 1489) and elsewhere.
111. See Fritz Saxl, "Beiträge zu einer Geschichte der Planetendarstellungen im Orient und im Okzident," *Der Islam* 3 (1912): 151–77, and *idem*, "Verzeichnis astrologischer Handschriften [Rom]," *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse* 1915, nos. 6–7 (Heidelberg, 1915): xiii f.
112. Of Córdoba; died A.H. 398 (A.D. 1007–8). See Heinrich Suter, *Die Mathematiker und Astronomen der Araber und ihre Werke*, Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der mathematischen Wissenschaften, no. 10 (Leipzig, 1900), 76.
113. Cod. 793 DD III. 36. An illustration from this in Saxl, "Verzeichnis" (note 111), xii [edition in preparation; see pp. 734 ff., 753, 775; figs. 160, 161].
114. In the *Libro de los ymagenes* (Ms. Reg. lat. 1283), mentioned above (note 76), and in the *Lapidario*, Alfonso expressly cites as his authorities Picatrix and the so-called 'Ufaria'. See Raska, *Griechische Planetendarstellungen in arabischen Steinsbüchern*, 24 f.; Steinschneider, "Arabische Lapidarien," *Zeitschrift der DMG* 49:267 f.; *idem*, *Zur pseudopythagorischen Literatur*, Wissenschaftliche Blätter aus der Verein Heine Ephraimischen Lehranstalt 1, no. 3 (Berlin, 1862): 31, 47, 83.
115. Ms. Reg. lat. 1283; Codex Vind. 5239; Codex Guelferbr. 17. 8. Aug. 4^o. On the magic square of Jupiter, the text of Vind. 5239 (fol. 147^v) reads as follows: "Et si quis portauerit eam qui sit infortunatus fortunabitur de bono in melius Efficiet." (Whoever wears it, even if he is unlucky, he will have good fortune; it will make good [luck] better.)
116. *De anima* (Wittenberg, 1548), fol. 82^r. This passage is to be found only in editions prior to 1553; in later editions — or in such of them as the writer has been able to examine — it is omitted.
117. *Ibid.*, fol. 76^v.
118. It is worth emphasizing that *Melencolia I* also contains a number of purely "formal" echoes of the traditions of antiquity. This is exemplified by one of the decan figures in the lapidary of Alfonso the Wise (*Lapidario del rey Alfonso X*, Madrid, 1883, fol. 99^v). In form and content, this is a transposition of a reclining river god, with head supported on the one hand; he is identified as Eridanos, described as a star rising in company with the watery Pisces, ruled by Saturn; see Abū Maš'ar in Franz Boll, *Sphaera* (1903), 537. A similar posture is adopted by the antique male spandrel figure whom Dürer depicts, with a female counterpart, on the arch of a gateway in an early woodcut (*The Holy Family*, B. 100, illustrated by V. Scherer, *Dürer*, Klassiker der Kunst 4:189 [4th ed., 1928, 238]).
- It is thus possible to regard *Melencolia I*, both in form and in substance, as a symbol of the humanistic Renaissance. It reanimates the pose of a river god of antiquity in the Hellenistic spirit, but behind it all is the new ideal of the liberating, conscious energy of the modern individual: man the worker.
119. The old German translation of Ficino by Mülich is reprinted by Gielow (see note 106), 1903], 36.

120. A comet seen at the birth of Maximilian I, and otherwise unrecorded, is here—exceptionally—interpreted as propitious. See Giehlow [see note 106], 5:60.
121. Thus described in the *Regimen sanitatis*, Cod. Vind. 5486. See Giehlow [see note 106], 1:33.
122. Woody nightshade or bitterweert (*Solanum dulcamara*). See Paul Weber, *Beiträge zu Dürers Weltanschauung*, Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, no. 23 (Strasbourg, 1900), 83; and Ferdinand Cohn, "Die Pflanzen in der bildenden Kunst," *Deutsche Rundschau* 25, no. 1 (1898): 64.
123. *Gemma* 2:17,22 ff. Most recently discussed by Franz Boll, "Sternenfreundschaft Ein Horatianum," *Sokratés* 5 (1917): 1–10, 458.
124. Berlin, Preussische Staatsbibliothek, Lat. 4^o. 322; *Jahresgabe für den Verein der Freunde der Königlichen Bibliothek* (1914). The foliage and figures that border the text are probably the work of Hans Schaufelein.
125. Suter [see note 112], 15 [see our p. 737].
126. For another portrait of Carion, see now Max Friedberg, "Das Bildnis des Philosophen Johannes Carion von Crispin Herranth, Hofmaler des Herzogs Albrecht von Preussen," *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 54, no. 12 (September, 1919): 309–16.
127. "Johannes Carion, Kurbrandenburgischer Hofastrolog," *Jahresbericht des historischen Vereins zu Brandenburg a. d. Havel* 36/37 (1906): 54–62.
128. Letter to Jonas and others, 26 February 1540, in Luther, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Enders, 13:4.
129. On fol. 109 of the Leipzig manuscript cited in note 20.
130. See appendix A.2.
131. Friedrich Kluge, *Bunte Blätter* (Freiburg, 1908), 7–10.
132. See Karl Schottenloher, in *Rietzel-Festschrift* (Gotha, 1913), 92f., and Kilian Leyb, *Gründliche Anzeigung* (1557), fol. 140, which contains significant information on Lichtenberger's personality and on his astrological worldview.
133. Melancthon to Camerarius, 18 August 1531 (CR 2:518f.):
- Vidimus cometem, qui per dies amplius decem iam se ostendit in occasu Solstitiali... Mihi quidem videtur minari his nostris regionibus... Quidam affirmant esse ex illo genere, quos vocat Plinius $\chi\eta\lambda\alpha\varsigma$... Quæro te ut mihi scribas, an apud vos Schonerus, significato.*
- We have seen a comet, which for more than ten days now has appeared at the point where the sun sets at the summer solstice... It seems to me to threaten our own territories... Some say that it is of the type that Pliny calls sword-shaped... I pray you, let me know what Schonner thinks of it.
134. Luther, *Briefwechsel*, ed. Enders, 9:61: "Apud nos cometa ad occidentem in cauda pertingit ad medium usque inter tropicum et coluri æquinoctiorum, cuius ita—between the tropic of Cancer and the equinoctial colure; its tail stretches as far as the midpoint between the tropic and the Pole Star. It portends no good.)

Even more explicitly, in a letter to Spalatin on 10 October 1531 (*ibid.*, 9:108): "Cometa mihi cogitationes facit, tam Caesari, quam Ferdinando impendere mala, eo quod primo caudam torsit ad aquilonem, deinde ad meridiem mutavit, quasi utrinque fratrem <?> significans." (The comet sets me thinking that troubles are in store, both for the emperor and for Ferdinand, because it first turned its tail toward the North and then changed toward the South, as if signifying one brother <?> in each direction.)

135. The passage is to be found in Paulus de Sancta Maria, alias Burgensis, *Scrutinium scripturarum*, completed in 1434 (Han 10762 ff.). *Distinctio* 3, ch. 4. The part heading reads as follows: "Distinctio tertia de scrutinio scripturarum circa tempus aduentus christi an sit praeteritum vel futurum et continet quatuor capitula" (Third distinction, concerning scrutiny of the Scriptures regarding the time of Christ's advent, whether it has passed or is yet to come; and it contains four chapters); and the chapter heading: "Capitulum .iiij. in quo ostenditur quod secundum omnes magistros seu doctores et expositores famosiores iudeorum qui de tempore primi aduentus Christi determinando locuti sunt idem aduentus iam transiit in praeteritum" (Chapter 4, in which it is shown that, according to all those teachers or doctors, and the better-known commentators of the Jews, who have spoken of determining the time of the first coming of Christ, that coming already lies in the past).

The passage itself:

Fuit alius ut ibidem habetur qui dicitur de domo huius prophete qui posuit ibidem expresse scilicet in libro de ordine mundi quod per sex milia annorum debebat mundus durare. quiquidem anni erant per tres partes dividendi isto modo. quia per duo milia annorum prima mundus erat quasi sub vacuo. per hoc designans tempus ante legislationem quod vocat vacuum. quia non erat aliquis populus sub lege divina. duo milia vero annorum sequentia vocat tempus legis. asserens quod hoc tempus debebat fluere a datione legis usque ad messiam. duo vero milia tertia seu ultima asserit esse sub messia. quia secundum eum ab aduentu messie usque ad finem mundi debebant fluere duo milia annorum. Constat autem quod iuxta computationem hebreorum que in his regionibus hyspanie et ubique terrarum communiter tenetur a creatione mundi usque ad presentem annum domini. M.cccc.xxxij. fluxerunt quinque milia et centum et nonaginta et duo anni. Vnde secundum predictum doctorem tempus aduentus Christi a mille .c.xcii. annis transit in praeteritum. Et sic habes tres principales de numero eorum qui dicuntur thansyn.

(There was another, as maintained in the text known as "Concerning the House of the Prophet Elijah," who expressly declared in the same place, that is in the book "Concerning the System of the World," that the world was to last for six thousand years. Which years were to be divided into three parts in the following way. That for the first two thousand years the world was almost a void, by which is meant the time before the giving of the law, which they call a void, because no nation was under divine law. The following two thousand years he calls the time of the Law, asserting that this period was to run from the giving of the law to the coming of the Messiah. The third and last period of two thousand years he asserts is under the Messiah, because, according to him, from the coming of the Messiah to the end of the world two thousand years must elapse. But it is clear that, according to the

computation of the Hebrews, which is commonly accepted here in Spain and all over the world, from the creation of the world to the present year of our Lord 1432, five thousand one hundred and ninety-two years have passed. Therefore, according to the aforesaid authority, the coming of Christ took place 1,192 years ago. And there you have three of the most important of those who are called *tanā'im* [masters.]

Cartion accordingly writes in his *Chronica* (Wittenberg: Georg Rhaw), fol. Bv f.:

Der spruch des hauſes Eliā. Sechs tauſent iar ist die welt / und darnach wird sie zurechen. Zuey tauſent oed. Zuey tauſent / das gesetz. Zuey tauſent / die zeit Christi. Vnd so die zeit nicht ganz erfilltet wird / wird es feilen vmb unser sinde willen / welche gros sind.

Das ist / zuey tauſent iar sol die welt stehen oed / das ist one ein gefasset regiment durch Gottes wort / Dar nach sol die beschneidung und das gesetz komen / und ein regiment und Gottes dienst / durch Gottes wort von neu geordnet werden / das sol auch zuey tauſent iar weren / Darnach sol Christus komen / und die zeit des Euangeli sol auch bey zuey tauſent iaren haben / doch werden etliche iar daran abgehen / Denn Gott wird ellen zum ende / wie Christus spricht / Mathei .xxiiiij. Wo diese zeit nicht verkurtzet wird / wird niemands selig.

(The Dictum of the House of Elijah. The world is to subsist for six thousand years, and then it will collapse. Two thousand void. Two thousand the law. Two thousand the time of Christ. And if the time is not fulfilled, it will be on account of our sins, which are great.

That is: the world is to remain void for two thousand years; that is, without any settled rule by God's word. Then come circumcision and the law, and a rule and worship determined afresh by God's word: this, again, is to endure for two thousand years. Then Christ is to come, and the time of the Gospel shall also be some two thousand years; but some years will be lacking to make up this total. For God will hasten to the end, as Christ says, Matthew 24. [122]: "except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved.")

In the Latin edition of the *Chronica*, prepared by Melancthon (see below), the matter is discussed at greater length:

TRADITIO DOMVS ELIAE. Sex millia annorum mundus, et deinde conflagratio. Duo millia inane. Duo millia Lex. Duo millia dies Messie. Et propter peccata mutationes distinxit. Duos primos millenarios nominat Inane, quod simplicissime Babylonem. Alij dicunt, nominari Inane, quia nondum certa polita Ecclesie constituta fuit, et nondum segregata fuit Ecclesia a caeteris gentibus. Nondum etiam erant Imperia, qualia postea in Monarchiis fuerunt. Sed quacunque causa est, quare sic dixerat Elias, hoc non dubium est, primam aetatem fuisse florentissimam, excellens decus, quod sapientissimi Senes, pleni diuinae lucis, simul uixerunt, et de

Deo, de creatione, de edia promissione testes fuerunt, et multi artes inueniunt et illustrarunt. Secundum tempus a Circumcisione numeratur, usque ad natum Messiam ex uirgine, quod non multo minus duobus millenariis continet. De tertio tempore significat fore, ut non compleantur duo millenarij, quia nimium crescet impietas, propter quam citius delibitur totum genus humanum: et Christus se palam ostendet in iudicio, ut inquit: Propter electos dies illi breuiores erunt.

Distribuemus igitur Historiam in tres libros, iuxta dictam Eliae.
—*Chronicon absolutissimum . . . In quo non Cartionis solum opus continetur, uerum etiam alia multa. . . Philippo Melancthone Aurore* (n.p., 1560), 24f.

(**TRADITION OF THE HOUSE OF ELIJAH.** The world: six thousand years, and then a conflagration. Two thousand a void. Two thousand the Law. Two thousand the days of the Messiah. And because of our sins, which are many and great, the years that will be lacking, will be lacking.

Thus Elijah prophesied concerning the duration of the human race, and he distinguished the chief changes. The first two thousand years he called the void, which I interpret most simply thus: that before the founding of Babylon men had not yet occupied remote and distant regions. Others say that it is called a void because there was as yet no definite institution of the Church, and the Church had not yet been separated from the other peoples. Neither did empires yet exist, of the sort that later existed in monarchies. But whatever the reason why Elijah spoke thus, there is no doubt of this: that the first age was the most flourishing, because men's nature was less sluggish, as their longevity proved. And its grace was exceptional, because very wise elders, full of divine light, lived at the same time, and were witnesses concerning God, concerning creation, concerning the promise given, and many men discovered and explained the arts. The second period is counted from (the institution of) circumcision to the birth of the Messiah from a virgin; it contains not much less than two thousand years. Concerning the third period, he indicates that the two thousand years will not be completed, because impiety will increase excessively. On this account the entire human race will be swiftly destroyed: and Christ will reveal himself openly in judgment, as he says: for the sake of the elect those days shall be shortened.

Therefore we shall divide this History into three books, according to the dictum of Elijah.)

On the Talmudic source for Elijah's pronouncement, and its crucial influence on eschatological doctrines, including those of Luther himself (in the *Supputatio annorum mundi*, where he expressly cites Burgensis), see Köstlin and Kawerau, *Martin Luther* 2:589, 2:690; also J. Köstlin, "Ein Beitrag zur Eschatologie der Reformationen," *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 51 (1878): 125–35.

O. Albrecht, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken* 80 (1907): 567 ff., discovered that Melancthon personally copied out his Hebrew source for this text. The same author, *ibid.*, 70 (1897): 797 f., showed how, by linking the dictum of Elijah with the prophecy of the monk Johannes Hilten, Melancthon directly associated the latter with the attempt to present the new age of the Reformation as a prophesied epoch.

On the general and significant issue of Melancthon's contribution to Carion's *Chronica*, which he republished in Latin as *Chronica Carionis* (see above), see H. Brecheneider, *Melancthon als Historiker* (Progr. Insterburg, 1880), 12 ff., and also E. Menke-Gluckert, *Die Geschichtsschreibung der Reformation und Gegenreformation* (Leipzig, 1912), 23 ff.

136. CR 28:39.

137. Carion is here included in the Reforming party.

138. According to Günther (in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie* 40:9), Virdung of Hassfurt was sent for by King Christian.

139. To Johannes de Sacrobosco? See CR 2:530; written in August 1531.

140. The seal itself has not survived.

141. Conversations in Nuremberg; where Gauricus then was?

142. Ferdinand C. W. Thanks to a kind communication from Professor Flemming, I learn that the passage in the original letter (as collated by Nikolaus Müller) reads as follows: "*Mitto tibi geneses Caroli et Fernandi ac Fernandi quidem et altera circumferam, sed...*" (I am sending you the horoscopes of Charles and Ferdinand; of Ferdinand, indeed, a second one is also in circulation, but...).

143. "rhy Caroli" (Flemming).

144. Bonincontri, *De rebus coelestibus*, ed. Lucas Gauricus (Venice, 1526).

145. See above, p. 622, and appendix B.5.

146. Venus, the luckiest throw, in which all the dice show different numbers.

147. Melancthon's children.

148. "*Combusus dicitur planeta, cum a sole plus minutis 16. distat, minus vero medietate sui orbis.*" (A planet is called combust when it is more than 16 minutes, but less than half of its own orb, from the sun.) Johannes Garcaeus, *Astrologiae methodus* (Basel, 1574), 399.

149. In 1537, when Luther wanted to leave because he was seriously ill.

150. Is Luther mistaken here? It was probably a different astrological configuration that aroused Melancthon's misgivings. Luther left Schmalkalden on 26 February 1537; New Moon was on 14 February. However, both Bugenhagen and Myconius seem to have spoken of 25 February as the date of New Moon. See Keil, *Luthers merkwürdige Lebens-Umstände* (Leipzig, 1764), 3:101.

151. Here the text has "*solemniatem*" (Mathesius, Nuremberg; "*solemniatem*"). Loesche (see note 86) emends this to "*solemniun*," which I do not understand; F. B. gives "*solem inie*." Kroker: "The text as transmitted seems to me to suggest that the original reading was '*solem in nativitate*.'" This conjectural reading of Kroker's is amply confirmed by the theory of planetary subjects or "children," according to which the Sun presides over those in authority; Hauber [see note 47], 131 ff.

152. Gauricus's horoscope of Luther, then circulating in manuscript; his *Tractatus astrologicus* was not printed until 1552.

153. According to Abu Ma'sar.

154. The constellation Laniæ Meridionalis, or Corona Austrina (called by the Arabs the Begging Bowl), adjacent to Scorpius.

155. See note 43.

156. See the illustration given by Paulus van Middelburg (fig. 134).

157. See note 148.

158. The Latin editions have "Formico." This is unlikely to be a reference to Firmicus Maternus (the index references in the new edition s.v. "*propheta*" yield nothing); perhaps it is Firminus Bellovalensis. See Cod. Amplon. fol. 386, fol. 59^v-60^r: "Pronosticatio Firmini super magna conjunctione Saturni et Jovis (et Martis, a. 1345 facta)" (The prognostication of Firminus concerning the great conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter [and Mars, in 1345]). According to Houzeau and Lancaster, *Bibliographie générale de l'astronomie* (Brussels, 1887), no. 4180, there is a manuscript of the same work in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

159. He was a professor at Bologna in 1384-90, according to Serafino Mazzeri, *Repertorio di tutti i professori... [dell'] università di Bologna* (Bologna, 1847), 185. One of Antonius's works, *Libellus de astrologia iudiciaria*, was printed as an appendix to Lucas Gauricus, *Tractatus astrologiae iudiciariae de nativitatibus virorum et mulierum* (Nuremberg, 1540).

Aby Warburg The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity

Aby Warburg
The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity:
Contributions to the Cultural History
of the European Renaissance
Introduction by Kurt W. Forster
Translation by David Britt

Published by the Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities

Texts & Documents

Contents

The Getty Research Institute Publications Programs

Texts & Documents

Julia Bloomfield, Kurt W. Forster, Harry F. Mallgrave, Michael S. Roth, Salvatore Settis, *Editors*

The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity: Contributions to the Cultural History of the European Renaissance

Steven Lindberg, *Manuscript Editor*

Published by the Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities, Los Angeles, CA 90049-1688

© 1999 by the Getty Research Institute for the History of Art and the Humanities
All rights reserved. Published 1999

Printed in the United States of America
Third printing

Published by arrangement with the Warburg Institute, London

The publication of this work was supported by grants from Inter Nationes, Bonn, and the Istituto Italiano di Cultura, Los Angeles

Inter Nationes
in



Translated from Aby Warburg, *Die Erneuerung der heidnischen Antike: Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Geschichte der europäischen Renaissance*, ed. Gertrud Bing, in association with Fritz Rougemont (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner Verlag, 1932)

Translations from the Italian by Caroline Beamish and from the Latin by Carol Lanham
Kurt W. Forster's introduction was translated by David Britt
Frontispiece: Albrecht Dürer, *Melencolia I* (detail, see fig. 149)

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Warburg, Aby, 1866–1929.

[*Erneuerung der heidnischen Antike*. English]
The renewal of pagan antiquity : contributions to the cultural history of the European Renaissance / Aby Warburg ; introduction by Kurt W. Forster ; p. cm. - (Texts & documents)
Originally published in 1932 as the first two volumes of a planned set of complete works.

Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN 978-0-89236-537-1

I. Art, Renaissance. I. Title. II. Title: Collected writings. III. Series. 709'.024 - dc21

1	Introduction by Kurt W. Forster	
76	Acknowledgments	
77	Note on the Text	
81	Editorial Foreword by Gertrud Bing	
	VOLUME ONE	
	<i>Antiquity in Florentine Bourgeois Culture</i>	<i>Addenda</i>
89	Sandro Botticelli's <i>Birth of Venus</i> and <i>Spring</i> (1893)	405
157	Sandro Botticelli (1898)	431
165	The Picture Chronicle of a Florentine Goldsmith (1899)	431
169	On <i>Imprese Amoroze</i> in the Earliest Florentine Engravings (1905)	431
185	The Art of Portraiture and the Florentine Bourgeoisie (1902)	435
223	Francesco Sassetti's Last Injunctions to His Sons (1907)	451
263	Matteo degli Strozzi (1893)	466
265	The Commencement of Building Work at the Palazzo Medici (1908)	466
269	An Astronomical Map in the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo in Florence (1911)	467
271	The Emergence of the Antique as a Stylistic Ideal in Early Renaissance Painting (1914)	468

	<i>Exchanges between Florentine and Flemish Culture</i>		
275	Artistic Exchanges between North and South in the Fifteenth Century (1905)	468	
281	Flemish Art and the Florentine Early Renaissance (1902)	470	
305	Flemish and Florentine Art in Lorenzo de' Medici's Circle around 1480 (1901)	483	
309	Rogier van der Weyden's <i>Entombment</i> in the Uffizi (1903)	483	
311	On a Florentine Painting That Ought to Be in the Exhibition of French Primitives (1904)	484	
315	Peasants at Work in Burgundian Tapestries (1907)	484	
	<i>Antiquity and Modern Life in Renaissance Pageantry</i>		
325	Two Scenes from King Maximilian's Captivity in Bruges on a Sheet of Sketches by the So-Called Master of the Housebook (1911)	485	
333	Airship and Submarine in the Medieval Imagination (1913)	487	
339	Piero della Francesca's <i>Battle of Constantine</i> in the Watercolor Copy by Johann Anton Ramboux (1912)	490	
343	Medicean Pageantry at the Valois Court in the Flemish Tapestries of the Galleria degli Uffizi (1927)	493	
349	The Theatrical Costumes for the Intermedi of 1589 (1895)	495	
403	Contributions to the Cultural History of the Florentine Quattrocento (1929)	517	
	VOLUME TWO		
	<i>Italian Antiquity in Germany</i>		
553	Dürer and Italian Antiquity (1905)	719	
559	The Gods of Antiquity and the Early Renaissance in Southern and Northern Europe (1908)	731	
561	Church and Court Art at Landshut (1909)	732	

	<i>The Olympian Gods as Astral Daemons</i>		
563	Italian Art and International Astrology in the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara (1912)	732	
593	On Images of Planetary Deities in the Low German Almanac of 1519 (1908)	758	
597	Pagan-Antique Prophecy in Words and Images in the Age of Luther (1920)	760	
699	Astrology under Oriental Influence (1926)	775	
	<i>Occasional Writings on Public Cultural Issues</i>		
703	American Chapbooks (1897)	776	
711	The Mural Paintings in Hamburg City Hall (1910)	776	
717	Art Exhibitions at the Volksheim (1907)	776	
719	A Specialized Heraldic Library (1913)	776	
721	A Newly Discovered Fresco by Andrea del Castagno (1899)	776	
723	Speech on the Opening of the Kunsthistorisches Institut at the Palazzo Guadagni, Florence, 15 October 1927 (1927)	776	
725	In Memory of Robert Münzel (1918)	776	
727	The Problem In Between (1918)	777	
779	List of Illustrations		
789	Bibliography		
815	Index		