The Royal Image and Diplomacy: Henry VII’s Book of Astrology (British Library, Arundel MS. 66)

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O now let Richmond and Elizabeth,
The true succeeders of each royall house,
By Gods faire ordinance conioine together,
And let their heires (God if thy will be so)
Enrich the time to come with smooth-faste peace,

Let them not liue to tast this lands increase,
That would with treason wound this faire lands peace,
Now ciuill wounds are stopt, peace liues againe,
That she may long liue heare, God saie Amen.


Shakespeare’s Richard III ends with a speech of the victorious Henry of Richmond which is in praise of the peace that will characterize his reign. Henry VII’s image as a peace-maker was created by court historians and poets as part of the eloquent propaganda that supported Henry’s accession to the throne and continued to legitimize his power throughout his reign.1 Henry was portrayed as a hero overthrowing the tyrant, Richard III, and a ‘rex pacificus’ restoring internal peace to a war-torn country. His marriage to Elizabeth of York became a symbol of a political reconciliation between the two rival factions after what would come to be known as the War of the Roses. Proclaiming the alliance with the house of York also helped strengthen Henry’s own image as the rightful Lancastrian heir, for reinventing his dynastic past was another major preoccupation of the new king’s propaganda. The concept of a peaceful ruler also persisted in the language of Henry’s foreign policy. The King was praised for his preference for peaceful solutions over war and for resorting to force only in order to restore peace. This opinion, propagated by the early Tudor historians and firmly established by Francis Bacon in his influential history of Henry’s reign, shaped the record of English international relations and heavily influenced historians of the Tudor age.2

The research on this manuscript was conducted in the margin of the Royal Manuscripts Project at the British Library (2008-2011), funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council. I would like to thank Linda Ehrsam Voigts for bringing this manuscript to my attention and her assistance with identification of its scribe-editor. I am also grateful for important comments and suggestions of the anonymous peer reviewer of this essay. Since this paper was first presented in December 2011, a new study of Arundel 66 has been published by Hilary M. Carey, ‘Henry VII’s Book of Astrology and the Tudor Renaissance’, Renaissance Quarterly, lxv (2012), pp. 661-710. It presents an alternative interpretation of some aspects of this manuscript, to which I will refer in the relevant section of this essay.

This paper examines a document that sheds more light on the construction of Henry VII’s image as monarch and international player. This document, a collection of astrological and prophetic texts, is the large illuminated manuscript, British Library, Arundel 66. The codex can be associated with Henry VII as its patron or recipient on the basis of the royal portrait and arms included in the miniature on f. 201 and several badges incorporated in borders, initials and miniatures throughout the text. Its early provenance is, however, untraceable. Unrecorded in early Royal catalogues, the book subsequently belonged to Henry Howard, Duke of Norfolk, who donated it in 1667 to the Royal Society.

Whether it was ever presented to the King or not, the book’s content is highly programmatic. Completed on 30 June 1490, in the fourth year of Henry’s reign, the manuscript not only mirrors Henry’s early aspirations and preoccupations, but also provides a quite unusual commentary on the Anglo-French diplomatic interchange of the years 1489-1491 that preceded the English intervention in Brittany in 1492.

In many respects Arundel 66 is not a typical scientific miscellany. It exceeds by far the size of an average compilation of this type. Neatly written, decorated with gold and colours, and illustrated with numerous miniatures, the volume appears to have been designed more for display than study. The main text in the manuscript is the Decem tractatus astronomiae (or Liber Astronomiae), a popular guidebook to a wide range of types of astrological calculation written by the renowned Italian astrologer Guido Bonatti (1207-1296)

Finitur hic liber Guydonis Bonacti de Forlivio anno Christi 1490 30 die junij hora 12 minuta 24a per me Johannem Wellys compositus et renovatus et anno H. r. 7. 4to pontificatus sanctissim in Christo patri nostri Innocenti pape 4to [sic for 8to] 5to (f. 249).

[This book by Guido Bonatti of Forli was finished in the year of Christ 1490,]


If the manuscript was presented to Henry VII, it must have left the royal collection at an early date. There is no trace of it in either the Richmond library or Henry VIII’s library at Westminster. In 1667 the manuscript was among the books donated by Henry Howard (1628-1684), 6th Duke of Norfolk, to the Royal Society and stored in Gresham College. It bears on a front page (f. 1) the Society’s stamp ‘Soc. Reg. Lond / ex dono HENR. HOWARD / Norfolciensis’. Henry Howard probably inherited the manuscript from his grandfather and renowned collector Thomas Howard (1585-1646), 14th Earl of Arundel. It is tempting to suggest that the book might have remained in the family for several generations having been initially a royal gift to one of Arundel’s ancestors, for example Thomas Howard (1443-1524), 2nd Duke of Norfolk, who served in Henry VII’s diplomacy, or Thomas Howard, 3rd Duke of Norfolk (1473-1554), a servant to Henry VIII. Perhaps two partially erased inscriptions in an early 16th-century hand (ff. 1, 202v) that appear to read “Thomas Norll” (or Thomas Norff?) refer to one of the Dukes?

on the 30th day of June, 12 hours and 24 minutes, compiled and brought up-to-date by me John Wellys in the 4th year of King Henry VII and in the 5th year of the pontificate of our most holy father in Christ pope Innocent IV.]

Wellys’s inscription appears more as an informal note than a scribe’s colophon, but it should not be dismissed on the grounds of inaccuracy. What is striking is the precise language of the note. Wellys does not use the verb ‘scribere’ (to write), but ‘componere’ (to put together or arrange) implying that his task was an active work of compilation. He also stresses the fact that he brought the text up to date (‘renovatus’). Indeed, a closer look at Wellys’s rendering of Bonatti’s Liber Astronomiae shows a great deal of editorial work. The scribe introduced his own division of the text into not six but seven parts and therefore had to alter the prefaces to both the table of contents and the Liber itself (see Appendix 1). There are also some divergences between the table of contents and the rubrics opening each of the ten treatises. They seem to have arisen from confusion between the numbering of individual treatises and their parts (e.g. the third part of the Tractatus secundus became the Tractatus tertius), which resulted in an increase in their number from ten to twelve. The order of the treatises and, in the case of the Tractatus de electionibus the order of chapters, is also different from the one that informed the first printed editions of Bonatti’s work. The individual parts of the Liber Astronomiae often circulated as independent works. It is possible that John Wellys either compiled his book from several different sources, or collated his exemplar with an additional manuscript in order to amend his copy. That Wellys’s exemplar was imperfect is clear. The Tractatus de electionibus (ff. 129-147v) contains several lacunae in its text and lacks a full list of rubrics in the table of contents. It begins and ends imperfectly in the same places as the Tractatus de electionibus in the fifteenth-century incomplete Liber Astronomiae at the Peterhouse library, Cambridge (MS. 86), suggesting that this or a similar manuscript might have been used as a source for this portion of Arundel 66. On ff. 143v-147v, Wellys replaced Bonatti’s missing text on elections with an extract from Haly ibn Ragel’s De iudiciis astrorum, covering the same subject matter. This choice, if it was his own initiative, shows his comfortable knowledge of astrological literature. The interpolation was copied by Wellys, partly in an added quire (see Appendix 1), in a different colour of ink. Similarly, the last two rubrics of the Tractatus de ymbribus et aeris were also supplied in a lighter ink (f. 248), perhaps in the space deliberately left blank by the scribe (the two following folios, 249 and 249*, of this irregular quire of 10 leaves are blank). In both cases the intervention must have taken place after the main work on the manuscript had been finished. The added texts are not included in the table of contents and their folios remain unnumbered. Their initials are carelessly executed and lack pen-flourishing. Doubtless, it is this intervention that John Wellys had in mind when he claimed to have brought Bonatti’s work up-to-date.

Wellys may or may not have been also responsible for selecting other texts in the manuscript and supervising its production. Although composed of four codicological parts that match the

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6 Contrary to Carey’s opinion (‘Henry VII’s Book of Astrology’, pp. 670-71), the note does not confuse the regnal dates of either Henry VII or Innocent VIII. Both the king and the pope acceded to their thrones, respectively on 22 August 1485 and 29 August 1484. The manuscript was finished in June, therefore still in Henry’s fourth and Innocent’s fifth year of reign/pontificate.

7 The textual evidence in Arundel 66 challenges Carey’s suggestion (p. 671) that Bonatti’s text in this manuscript was copied from its first printed edition by Johannes Angeli, printed in Augsburg by Ratdolt in 1491. Further analysis of the Liber Astronomiae in Arundel 66 awaits a new critical edition of this text from manuscript sources.

8 For example, out of the three copies preserved at Cambridge, Peterhouse 86 includes eight tractatus, Trinity O.9.6 includes four and Pembroke 227 only one: see Montague Rhodes James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Peterhouse (Cambridge, 1899), pp. 102-3; Montague Rhodes James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 201-3; and Montague Rhodes James, The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1902), vol. iii, pp. 444-5.

divisions of texts and therefore resemble booklet compilations so frequent amongst medieval scientific collections,\(^\text{10}\) the volume presents a striking homogeneity and was doubtless designed in one campaign (see Appendix 1). The same scribe appears to have been in charge of transcribing all texts and even including marginal annotations. In each part, the same page layout was implemented, and the same pen-flourisher of a very distinctive style decorated the initials throughout the book. Two or perhaps three English artists painted the miniatures and historiated and decorated initials. They either formed one workshop or followed patterns designed by an individual who supervised their work. The fairly unusual, ‘indentured’ shapes of letters in historiated, decorated and champ initials are strikingly similar (fig. 1). Only one scene was painted by a foreign artist (fig. 2), but even in this case his intervention harmonized with the overall design and the remaining parts of decoration on the page were completed by the above-mentioned English team.

The texts in the volume fall into three categories: astrology, divination (represented here by geomancy), and political prophecy. All are concerned with forecasting the future. The first two works, the astronomical tables of John Killingworth of Merton College, Oxford, accompanied by canons\(^\text{11}\) and the illustrated ‘Catalogue of Stars’ extracted from Gerard of Cremona’s Latin translation of Ptolemy’s *Almagest* (books VI and VII)\(^\text{12}\) were doubtless intended as introductory material to Bonatti’s *Liber Astronomiae*. They provide a necessary reference tool for astrologer’s practice and were up-dated for English use. Both texts have clear Oxford connections. Thomas Pray’s canons to Killingworth’s tables, completed in or after 1445, state that they were composed to facilitate the production of almanacs (which listed daily positions of planets) ‘in the manner of the University of Oxford’. The colophon of the ‘Catalogue of Stars’ informs that its astronomical tables were verified in 1449 by the astrologers of King Alfonso of Spain, and in Oxford by the astrologers of Humfrey, Duke of Gloucester (d. 1447). The date is clearly wrong and the information provided by the colophon puzzling. The Duke was already dead by 1449 and so was Alfonso X of Castile (d. 1284). The date ‘1449’ may be a mistaken reading for ‘1445’ (a fifteenth-century cursive ‘4’ resembles a ‘9’ and could have been misread by the scribe of the Arundel manuscript from his exemplar), or even 1440, the year for which the longitude values were provided in the table. The table does not, however, include the calculations for Alfonso’s epoch (1252) and the invocation of the King’s name may only suggest an intermediary use of the *Alfonsine Tables* alongside the Latin *Almagest* by Humfrey’s astrologers.\(^\text{13}\)


\(^{13}\) Ptolemy’s star catalogue was adapted for the *Alfonsine Tables* with new values for longitudes, which increased for precession of 17 8 \(^\circ\), calculated for the so-called Alfonsine epoch, 1252, see Paul Kunitzsch, ‘The Star Catalogue Commonly Appended to the Alfonsine Tables’ in *Journal of the History of Astronomy*, xvii (1986), pp. 91-8 (p. 91). The Catalogue of Stars in Arundel 66 (see Appendix 1) shares the descriptions of stars with both the Latin Almagest and the catalogue in the *Alfonsine Tables*. Its astronomical table unusually includes four columns: two under the rubric ‘Longitudo tempore ptholemi’ (the second column includes the data from the *Almagest*; I was unable to identify the source of the first column), the values for the year 1440 and the latitude. I previously thought that the reference to King Alfonso might allude to Alfonso V, King of Aragon and Naples (d. 1458) with whom Humfrey exchanged letters and books (see McKendrick and others, op. cit, p. 304). However, there is no evidence for Alfonso V’s patronage of any important astronomical works, and the identification of the king of Spain mentioned in the colophon with Alfonso el Sabio, the highest royal authority in the ‘science of the stars’, is more plausible.
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**Fig. 1a.** Initials, British Library Arundel 66, f. 201.

**Fig. 1b.** Detail of initial, f. 89.

**Fig. 1c.** Detail of initial, f. 187.
Fig. 2. Henry VII receiving a French Ambassador. Guido Bonatti, *Decem tractatus astronomiae*, British Library, Arundel 66, f. 201.
There is another title associated with Humfrey in Arundel 66, the Tabulae Humfridi Ducis Gloucestrie in judiciis artis geomansie, a set of geomantic tables appended to Plato of Tivoli’s translation of the Liber Arenalis, the Arabic geomancy of Alpharinus. The Duke’s reappearing name suggests that the source of both above-mentioned texts may have been a manuscript (or manuscripts), produced probably c. 1440-45 for Humfrey of Gloucester, possibly at Oxford. Humfrey’s astrologer John Randolf and his physician Gilbert Kymer were both Oxford educated (Kymer was university chancellor in 1431-34 and 1447-53), and the Duke’s long term involvement with Oxford University that resulted in three generous donations of books to the university library is well known. Astrological and astronomical books were mainly amongst manuscripts of Humfrey’s first donation of 1439, therefore this hypothetical manuscript was less likely to have formed part of the Duke’s gift to the university. It is more plausible that the book was amongst the manuscripts seized in 1447 by the Crown after Gloucester’s arrest and death, and given to King’s College, Cambridge. King’s College catalogue of 1452 lists a book of tabulæ astronomiae in annis Christi (f. 63v) and a Liber geomancie that may or may not correspond to the exemplars of Arundel 66.

Another Cambridge lead in this enquiry is provided by the scribe of the volume, John Wellys, who, as we have seen, may have used a Cambridge copy of the Fractatus de electionibus to collate his exemplar of Bonatti’s Liber Astronomiae. Although research into his identity has not been conclusive, Linda Voigts has plausibly suggested his identification with John Willis, Doctor of Medicine, who was noted in the Cambridge University Grace Book between 1456 and 1480, first as student, then master, and finally as doctor, and whose recipes were quoted by the royal physician and provost of King’s College John Argentine (d. 1508). Yet no other connections between Willis/Wellys and the royal court have been found.

Arundel 66 is neither the only witness to interest in astrology at Henry VII’s court, nor the only source to provide links between the court and the Cambridge University astrological milieu. Several Cambridge-trained physicians provided medical service to the monarchs in the second half of the fifteen century, including Thomas Deynman (d. 1501), fellow of Peterhouse, and Lewis Caerleon (d. 1494), both physicians to Lady Margaret Beaufort, Henry VII’s mother, and to the King. Caerleon compiled for himself similar collections of earlier astrological texts, including works of Killingworth and astrological tables attributed to Humfrey of Gloucester’s astrologer John Randolf. Graduate of Cambridge, Caerleon provides a link between Oxford and Cambridge astrological and astronomical traditions and the royal court; at Cambridge he would also have been a younger colleague of John Willis, the suggested scribe and reviser of the Book of Astronomy in the Arundel volume.

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14 See Alfonso Sammut, Umfredo duca di Gloucester e gli umanisti Italiani (Padova, 1980), nos 100-110; and Alessandra Petrina, Cultural Politics in Fifteenth-Century England (Leiden, 2004), p. 247. Similar in scope is a set of tables with a Prologo in tabulas in the British Library, Sloane 407 (ff. 223-26) attributed to frater Randulfus or Randolfe, identified with John Randolf (d. 1429), Franciscan friar and Oxford educated astrologer in the service of Humfrey of Gloucester (see Hilary M. Carey, Courting Disaster: Astrology at the English Court and University in the Later Middle Ages (New York, 1992), pp. 120-1).


18 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Savile 38.

19 Cambridge, University Library Ee.3.6, ff. 108v–116 (canons) and 108v–120 (tables).
Henry himself seems to have been somewhat receptive to astrological predictions. He regularly used the services of two Italian physician-astrologers, William Parron of Piacenza (between 1490 and 1503) and John Baptist Boerio (Boarius) (fl. 1494-1514). The former presented the monarch with three illuminated horoscopes. The English humanist Johannes Michael Nagonius c. 1490-1500, also dedicated to the King a copy of his Prognosticum. Arundel 66 does not include a dedication, therefore it is uncertain whether it was commissioned as a gift or at the King’s own instigation.

The texts on astrology and divination in Arundel 66 are supplemented in the last section of the manuscript by a collection of prophecies (ff. 267-268v, 288-291v, see Appendix 2). This careful selection of verses, poems and excerpts from prophetic texts that originated from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries is rearranged here in a new political discourse. As Lesley Coote has pointed out, these texts are meant to emphasize two aspects of Henry VII’s royal power and identity as the King of England. The first theme groups four texts related to Britain’s mythical past: the Prophecies of Merlin by Geoffrey of Monmouth, the two twelfth-century prophecies, Arbor fertilis and Sicut Rubeum Draconem, known as parts of the Prophecy of the Eagle and attributed to Merlin Silvestris, and the short poem ‘Brutus finitur’. If decoded according to a new Tudor reading, they stress the King’s role as a saviour liberating the country, the new Brutus or awaited heir of Cadwaladr, who will reunite the island and restore peace. The second group is made of several fourteenth-century texts which originated in the reign of Edward III, such as the Prophecy of Bridlington, the vision of St Brigitta of Sweden concerning the peace between England and France, and a selection of shorter prophecies including ‘Anglia transmittet’, ‘Lilium regnans’, and ‘Cesaris imperium’. They provide pertinent commentary on the political situation of the year 1490, stressing the renewal of the Plantagenet and Lancastrian claims to the French throne and the recovery of France as the only mean of establishing peace between the two kingdoms.

Without providing any specific illustration of a prophetic narrative, the visual content of Arundel 66 also engages in this political discourse. The repertoire of images is less ostentatious than those in others of Henry’s manuscripts or in his architectonic commissions where the overwhelming presence of the King’s heraldry and badges became a distinctive feature. In 1490 we may be at an early stage of the process of formalization of this new Tudor heraldic and symbolic language. The image of the red rose coupled with the white rose which was introduced to emphasize Henry’s Lancastrian descent and symbolize his matrimonial union with the house of York is present in many initials and borders (fig. 2). At the beginning of the Liber Astronomiae, an eagle in the rose border displays a scroll with the royal acclamation: ‘Vyve le roi’.

21 These manuscripts are Oxford, Bodleian Selden supra 77, British Library, Royal 12 B. VI, and Paris, BnF, lat. 6276.
23 Hilary Carey (‘Henry VII’s Book of Astrology’, p. 685) has tentatively suggested bishop Richard Fitzjames, Warden of Merton College, Oxford, as a donor on the basis of the ‘heraldic’ rendering of images of the constellations Aquila and Delphinus (f. 37) as a possible allusion to the arms of Fitzjames and Draycot. The hypothesis is attractive but remains elusive.
24 For a full list of texts with transcriptions of selected items, see Appendix 2.
26 See for example Royal MSS. 20 E. I-VI.
The most exploited image in the manuscript, however, is that of the dragon. A red dragon depicted against the Tudor livery colours of green and white illustrates the constellation Draconis in the ‘Catalogue of Stars’ and echoes Henry’s standard at the battle of Bosworth (fig. 3). The red Dragon was soon adopted aside the Lancastrian white greyhound as the supporter of the Tudor arms. Another dragon forms the letter ‘S’ that opens Geoffrey of Monmouth’s Prophetie Merlini (f. 267, fig. 4). Geoffrey’s text proved indeed the most influential in shaping Henry’s dynastic identity as the heir of old British kings. Merlin’s prophecy to Vortigern featuring the red dragon overturning the white dragon as the symbol of the future victory of the Britons over the Saxon invaders was associated with another prophecy from Geoffrey’s chronicle which an angelic voice had given to Cadwaladr, the exiled last king of the Britons. It promised that one of his descendents would return, expel the Saxons and be crowned with the diadem of Brutus to rule over a united Britain. In a straightforward interpretation, Bernard André, Henry’s official historian, emphasized the king’s descent from Cadwaladr, associated the wars of the fifteenth century with the Saxon wars, and reinterpreted Henry’s role in history in terms of the fulfilment of ancient prophecies.

Yet another image in Arundel 66 may have originated from a prophecy. The letter ‘R’ (adiex), at the beginning of the chapter 3 that opens the imperfect Tractatus de electionibus of Guido Bonattis’s Liber Astronomiae is traced in the shape of a dragon. The animal’s fiery breath pierces the trunk of a crowned tree with prominent roots visible at the bottom (fig. 5). A tree surmounted by a crown, often with flowers or round fruit, appears as Henry VII’s badge in stained glass windows of the royal foundations at the Westminster Abbey (c. 1513) and King’s College Chapel, Cambridge (c. 1526), and in manuscripts. In the Mirroir des dames (Royal 19 B. XVI), a mid-fifteenth century second-hand book that was later embellished with Henry’s arms, the tree is represented clearly as a hawthorn (fig. 6). Sir William Seger, Garter King of Arms, writing in the early seventeenth century, described the badge as a record of Henry’s coronation on Bosworth Field with Richard III’s crown that had been found in a hawthorn bush. Because there is no mention of the bush in the contemporary sources relating this event, the story was assumed to be a later invention.
Fig. 3. Constellation Draco, the ‘Catalogue of Stars’ extracted from Ptolemy, Almagest, British Library, Arundel 66, f. 33v.
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Fig. 4. Initial ‘S’, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Propheta Merlini, British Library, Arundel 66, f. 267.
Fig. 5. Initial ‘R’, Guido Bonatti, Decem tractatus astronomiae, British Library, Arundel 66, f. 129.
Fig. 6. The Royal arms of Henry VII, *Mirroir des dames*, British Library, Royal 19 B. XVI, f. 1v.
Perhaps the idea behind the badge derived from texts rather than historical events. A prominent image of a tree features in the short prophecy known as the ‘Arbor fertilis’ that circulated as a part of the Prophecy of the Eagle. The version included in Arundel 66 reads:

A fertile tree cut down in its trunk, separated by a space from its roots, and restored, without any intervention of a human hand or any prompting power, to its trunk will receive in its old roots a restored juice and will flower again and bear fruit; then something shall be hoped in this time of sorrow.35

This text is based on a passage from the Vita Edwardi Regis in William of Malmesbury’s Gesta Regum in which Edward the Confessor receives the prophecy from two Norman monks. For Aelred of Rievaulx, this tree represented the English royal genealogical line of the Anglo-Saxons and the Normans. The two lines were joined by Ethelred II and Emma, broken by the Norman Conquest, but restored by Henry I’s marriage to Matilda, granddaughter of Edmund Ironside, and by the ascendance of Henry II (1154), who united the blood of the Norman dukes and the Anglo-Saxon kings. The theme of unification was one of the dominant motifs of Henry VII’s propaganda and may have prompted a new interpretation of the old prophecy. The restoration of the tree trunk to its old roots may have been employed in a new Tudor reading to illustrate the restoration of the old line of Brutus and its unification with the Lancastrian branch.

While dragons, trees and roses refer to Henry’s dynastic identity and descent, the majestic image of the King surrounded by his courtiers receiving a French embassy can be read as a gloss on contemporary events. The image is not a usual presentation scene, but the book, perhaps the Arundel manuscript itself, containing astrological and prophetical works, plays a central role in the miniature. This frontispiece-type image is inserted on f. 201, at the beginning of the Tractatus de revolutionibus (On the revolutions of the year of the world) of the Liber Astronomiae, rather than at the beginning of the volume itself, where it might have been expected (fig. 2). Such a location of the image was not, however, accidental. In astrology, the revolution of the year of the world, which begins with the Sun’s ingress in the first minute of Aries (20 March), makes it possible to cast a chart predicting the fate of a whole nation, region or kingdom for the entire year. In this illumination Henry, enthroned under a canopy displaying the English royal arms, is assisted by members of his court. They include an archbishop, perhaps an intended portrait of the Lord Chancellor John Morton (d. 1500), a bearer of the Sword of State wearing the collar of ‘esses’, perhaps Thomas Stanley (d. 1504), Earl of Derby and Constable of England, who is known to have held the Sword of State at Henry’s coronation,36 or Thomas Lovell (d. 1524), knight of the king’s body, and a courtier distinguished by a royal almoner badge of a crown.37 There is also a small jester with his hand on a Lancastrian white greyhound, and a group of soldiers at the back.38 The king and a man dressed as a scholar, perhaps John Wellys,39

35 The text in the Arundel manuscript (see Appendix 2 for transcription) differs slightly from the most common version of this prophecy; cf. Coote, Prophecy, op. cit., p. 60. The emphasis on the unification of the trunk with its roots is striking.
37 Similar badges are worn by almoners in the manuscript of the Quadripartite Indenture for Henry VII’s Chapel, Harley 1498, f. 59.
38 There is also another dog depicted in the foreground of the image. It is distinctive for its large rectangular patch of shaved hair at the back. A similar dog features in two late 15th-century panels of the Presentation of Mary in the Temple, in the Cathedral Treasury, Aachen and by the Master of the Life of the Virgin (also known as the Master of Wilten), in the Alte Pinakothek, Munich. The meaning of the dog and the shaved patch are not clear. I am grateful to Susan L’Engle for showing me the analogues for this image.
39 Carey (‘Henry VII’s Book of Astrology’, p. 682) has suggested an identification of the scholar with the Italian astrologer William Parron, who is known for having presented and dedicated annual almanacs to the King between 1499 and 1503, and implied Parron’s involvement in the production of the manuscript (p. 690). Such a hypothesis is tempting, but difficult to prove, as there is no evidence that Parron worked for the King before 1499, the date of the first payment for him recorded in the privy purse accounts.
hold an open book in a way that makes its content visible to a French ambassador, who kneels at the throne and presents an escutcheon bearing the royal arms of France as a sign of his mission. The scholar and archbishop raise their fingers and point to the celestial bodies, the sun, the moon and two stars, visible through the open window as if they were referring to the astrological text in the opened manuscript in order to explain to the ambassador their configuration and meaning.

Contrary to what has been assumed in earlier literature, the image does not seem to depict the presentation of the book to the king. Instead, it is the king who appears more as the active party – showing the passage in his own volume to the ambassador – rather than the passive recipient of the gift. Images of the presentation of open books are relatively rare. It is usually a closed volume that is handed over. Some examples come from the iconography designed in the circle of Charles V of France. The most significant image is that of the King receiving the book from Jean de Vaudetar in the Bible historiale painted by Jean de Bondol in 1372. An image roughly contemporary with the Arundel manuscript in Antoine Vérand’s edition of L’Art de bien mourir of 1492 shows a patron-recipient of the book approaching a saintly figure sitting at a desk, probably the imaginary author of this anonymous work, who presents the book opened to him. In a copy of this text at the Huntington Library, San Marino (RB 38182), the recipient is Charles VII of France. The same woodcut was also adapted in Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini Eurialus et Lucrece, printed by Vérand in 1493 (British Library, IB.41145) in order to show the presentation of the book by a translator to a prince.

In Arundel 66, as in Vérand’s editions and in Jean de Vaudetar’s Bible, the text in the book is directed to the ‘recipient’. It is meant to be read by him. One may ask then: What would a French ambassador learn from this English book completed in June 1490? To answer this question we need to take a broader look at the international political scene that surrounded this imaginary event. On 17 January 1490, the Anglo-French three-year truce was set to expire. On 10 February 1489, Henry VII signed the Treaty of Redon in which he committed himself to protect Anne, heir of the deceased Duke Francis II of Brittany (in December 1490 she would marry by proxy the English ally Maximilian, King of the Romans), and to defend the independence of the Duchy against the French (a dispatch of English troops to Brittany was a result of this commitment). In the same year Charles VIII (at that time represented by Anne de Beaujeu, Duchess of Bourbon, his elder sister and regent in 1483-1491) initiated negotiations of a perpetual peace with England by dispatching two embassies to Henry VII’s court. The envos, Waléran de Sains, seigneur de Marigny, and the humanist Robert Gaguin, first arrived in England in August (and remained there until September). They subsequently returned in November, accompanied by François de Luxembourg, the King’s Chambellan (November-February 1490). This second embassy is particularly well known for the literary exchange between Gaguin and Henry’s propagandist poets. The English response to the French peace offer given by Chancellor Morton was

40 Carey (op. cit., p. 681) has argued that the arms depicted in the miniature are those of Louis II, Duke of Orleans, the future Louis XII of France. The arms of Orleans, however, are France modern differenced by a label argent of three points. The arms in Arundel 66 are not differenced by any label visible with the naked eye. Further examination of the painting under a microscope did not detect any remains of white paint or silver on the surface of the escutcheon.


42 The Hague, Meermanno-Westreenianum Museum, 10 B 23, f. 2r [http://collecties.meermanno.nl/handschriften/showillu?id=5928]. See also the image of Simon de Hesdin presenting Les faits et les dits des Romains to Charles V in the late 15th-century Burgundian manuscript, Harley 4430 (f. 33). In this case, however, the image does not show clearly to whom the text is directed.

reported by Bernard André. According to Morton, the King, following the example of Christ, was always devoted to peace, but, as the Chancellor explained 'peace is not possible unless violence and quarrelling have ceased [...] Therefore, the King of the Gauls ought first to return to our King the things that are his, and then petition for peace.' 46 In other words, through the mouth of his Chancellor, Henry demanded the recognition of English rights in France. 47 The French diplomatic negotiations failed. The mission of peace, however, was continued in April and May by the papal envoys Leonello Chieregato, Bishop of Concordia, and Antonio Flores, Canon of Seville. Innocent VIII aimed for peace and for English and French support for a crusade against the Turks.

Production of Arundel 66 must have been under way during the French ambassadors’ stay in London, further peace negotiations in France, and Chieregato’s visit. The date, 30 June 1490, recorded by John Wellys as the terminus of his revisions of the Liber Astronomiae coincides with the intended date of the Anglo-French peace conference over which Chieregato was set to preside at a hospice near Marquise in Picardy during the feasts of St Peter and the commemoration of St Paul (29-30 June). 48 Marquise, between Boulogne and Calais, was chosen as a convenient location for envoys of both parties. The mediation eventually failed in autumn. The truce was not extended, and Henry insisted on the French annual tribute to be paid in recognition of his rights to the French crown. In the meantime, Henry set to negotiate at Woking an offensive pact against France with the Habsburg Maximilian, King of the Romans (12 September 1490), which was perceived by the French as a restoration of the former Anglo-Burgundian alliance. On 20 September Henry ratified the treaty of Medina del Campo with Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain. The communal goal of the rulers of the three kingdoms, which transpires from these documents, was the proclamation of war against France and the restoration of the allies’ disputed territories, including the lost Plantagenet domain.

Several prophecies included in the last section of Arundel 66 may well have been included as a commentary on these political events. They regard England’s relationship with France during the reign of Edward III, after the King had advanced his claim to the French throne through his mother Isabella, sister of Charles IV, as superior to that of Philip VI de Valois. This final section starts with the prophecy of ‘Bridlington’. 49 'The first part of the poem that refers to the beginning of Edward’s reign and the deposition of his father – the rex inutilis – could have resonated during Henry VII’s reign as a reminder of Henry’s own victory over Richard III. The rest of the poem tells the story of the Scottish and French wars in a

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46 ‘Regiam sublimitatem exemplo Salvatoris nostri pacis semper fuisse studiosissimam; verum pacem haberi non posse nisi propulsata injuria et contumelia; bellaque eo moveri solita, ut sine injuria in pace vivantur. Quare Gallorum regem prius reddere debere quae sua sunt regi nostro, postea pacem petere’, Historia Regis Henrici Septimi, op. cit., p. 56; Bernard André, The Life of Henry VII, op. cit., p. 50.

47 Francis Bacon’s later version summarized the English claims in a more straightforward way: ‘If therefore the French King shall consent that the King our master’s title to France (or at least tribute for the same) be handled in the treaty, the King is content to go on with the rest, otherwise he refuses to treat’, The History of the Reign of King Henry VII and Selected Works, ed. Brian Vickers (Cambridge, 1998), p. 12. John M. Currin refers to several English documents of 1491 in which the reasons for war are justified as ‘a matter of honour and peace, for the recovery of “our kingdom of France”, including the lands of Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, and Aquitaine’: see John M. Currin, ‘“To Traffic with War”? Henry VII and the French Campaign of 1492’, in David Grummitt (ed.), The English Experience in France c. 1450-1558 (Aldershot, 2002), pp. 106-31 (pp. 108-9).

48 The conference was delayed and actually began on 15 July, see Currin, To Play at Peace, p. 227.

49 The anonymous prophecy traditionally attributed to John of Bridlington (d. 1379) is a series of twenty-nine poems that retrospectively refer to events concerning France and Scotland during the reign of Edward III, in and around the years 1347-9, and presents them as the future: see Coote, Prophecy, pp. 121-8, and A. G. Rigg, ‘John of Bridlington’s Prophecy: A New Look’, Speculum, lxiii (1988), pp. 596-613. Here the poem appended with five short prophecies is attributed to Robert ‘the Scribe’, Prior of Bridlington (f. 290v), see Appendix 2.
figurative way and presents a powerful image of the Bull, a figure for the king of England, taking the name of the Cock – the king of France:

Ad gallum nomen tauri transibit et omen

Even more relevant regarding the peace negotiations of 1490 is the volume’s inclusion of the part of Book IV of the fourteenth-century *Revelations* of St Brigitta of Sweden. Peace between the two kingdoms had become the main concern of the Swedish saint, and, as in arguments of the English negotiators of 1489-90, it was recognition of the English superior rights to the French crown that was perceived as its guarantee. In the original version of her vision, Brigitta urged Philip VI to adopt Edward III as his son and successor. The later editor Alphonse of Pecha changed the text so the reconciliation was to happen through the Anglo-French marriage that would give a rightful heir to rule France. Both ideas proved influential in the construction of the Lancastrian dual monarchy, and as such Brigitta’s visions must have had a double importance for Henry VII, who presented himself as the rightful Lancastrian heir.

Two other shorter prophecies, ‘Anglia transmittet’ and ‘Lilium regnans’, refer directly to Edward III’s victorious wars with France, but their re-interpretation seems to fit remarkably well in the new political situation. The first text uses heraldic imagery. The Leopard – the king of England – is sent to receive the Lilies of Gaul – the crown of France. He reconquers Gascony and allies himself with Flanders (which in 1490 could have been understood as the alliance with Maximilian). The poem continues:

The Lilies will decay; but England will bloom,
Under him the initial freedom of the church will return,
Babylon will fear him, for he will grind all enemies of the cross,
Acre and Jerusalem, saved by Leopard’s power
Will rejoice at their return to the cult of the faith
The hermit will receive the empire of the world.

This last section could have been read as the fulfilment of Pope Innocent VIII’s plans for a crusade. Similarly, in the second prophecy, the king of England, this time called the ‘Son of Man’, allies himself with the Eagle, the emperor or the king of the Romans (who in 1490 could only stand for Maximilian) and enters ‘the land of the Lion lacking aid’ (i.e. Flanders), that had previously been attacked by the Lily – the king of France (the episode that could have been understood as a reference to the French help granted to the Flemish revolt against Habsburg rule in 1489). Then ‘there will be a war between many kings, that day the blood will flow and the Lily will lose his crown with which the Son of Man will be crowned.’ The prophecy ends with the image of peace ‘in the whole world’ and the passage of the Son of Man to the Holy Land. That this text was read with Henry VII in mind is proved by its English adaptation in the prognostication attributed to a certain Alfonse Frysauce, ‘a clerk to the astrologer of the Ottoman Sultan’, which was composed and circulated in England just before the declaration of war against France, and which predicted the Son of Man’s victory over the ‘Floure de Lice’ in 1492.

Returning to the image in Bonatti’s treatise in Arundel 66 of Henry VII’s solemn reception of the French ambassador, the consultation of the book illustrated there may be seen as a depiction of a political argument in the making (fig. 1). Although Bonatti’s work does not

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52 The translation is based on Coote, *Prophecy*, pp. 112-15.
include specific prognostications, it contains extensive details on interrogations and on elections of time that provide instruction in judicial astrology, on how to pose relevant questions regarding royal behaviour and warfare and how to calculate the answers. The treatise on revolutions that immediately follows the image, in particular, teaches how to make general predictions for the whole year such as ‘whether there are going to be battles or not’ and ‘likewise concerning peace. And what the standing of kings or princes, the wealthy or great men, is going to be.’ Therefore the image which illustrates this text shows the very moment when the astrologer (mimicked by the archbishop–chancellor) points at the stars and makes a prediction about the king and the kingdom for the forthcoming year. (It is worth noting that the date of the calculation of revolutions of the year, 20 March, coincided with 25 March, the beginning of the year in medieval England). As William Parron’s new year gifts of almanacs made for Henry VII suggest, such annual predictions may have taken the form of solemn courtly events. In the context of the entire contents of the Arundel manuscript, and the collection of prophecies in particular, this courtly scene receives a more political meaning. It may be read as the prediction for the future of Anglo–French relations revealed to the French ambassador during a diplomatic interchange.

One final suggestion can be made concerning the origin and possible circumstances in which Arundel 66 was produced. The miniature of the King receiving the French embassy is the only one in the volume painted by the foreign artist trained in Bruges in the style of the so-called Bruges Master of 1482. Whether the Arundel artist was also based in Bruges is difficult to say. His distinctive style, however, was recognized by Scot McKendrick in the first volume of the Grandes Chroniques de France which Thomas Thwaytes, treasurer of Calais, perhaps intended as a gift for Henry VII (fig. 7). The set of Thwaytes’s Chroniques has a complicated history. Completed in or just after 1487 by Hugues de Lembourg, Thwaytes’s ‘serviteur domestique’, the volume presumably remained with Thwaytes in Calais until 1490, the end of his time in office. The manuscript illustrations remained unfinished, probably because of Thwaytes’s arrest in 1494 for participation in the Perkin Warbeck conspiracy. Several other miniatures scattered throughout the six volumes of the Grandes Chroniques de France are painted by a group of English artists emulating the Flemish style. As in Arundel 66, f. 201, the contribution of the follower of the Master of 1482 stands out. It could suggest its completion during Thwaytes’s Calais period, when commissioning a work in a Bruges workshop or relocating the artist was much easier, and such a conclusion is attractive. The association of the work of the follower of Master of 1482 with Calais is also tempting given

54 For some relevant passages, see Robert Zoller, Bonatti on War (Zoller, 2000).
55 ‘The Book of Astrology’, p. 815
56 The name ‘Master of 1482’ is slightly misleading. It derives from an opening miniature of the second volume of the Livre de propriétés des choses (Royal 15 E. III, f. 11) copied by the Bruges scribe Jean du Ries in 1482. The miniature, however, is painted on a separate leaf with a text by a different scribe, which was added to the volume probably as a replacement for a previously removed frontispiece, and therefore possibly postdates the rest of the manuscript. The Livre may have been acquired by Edward IV, although the royal arms in the first volume do not have Edward’s usual supporters.
57 Scot McKendrick, Flemish Illuminated Manuscripts 1400–1550 (London, 2003), p. 106. Thomas Thwaytes owned other manuscripts produced in Flanders (Royal 17 E. V and London, Lambeth Palace, MS. 6), and appears to have shared the taste for them with Edward IV whom he previously served as the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and later as the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Thwaytes is associated with a group of book owners, such as Lord Hastings, Sir John Donne and Sir James Tryrell, who became known as the ‘Calais group’ because of their ties to the city. They all maintained connections at the Burgundian court and owned manuscripts produced in the Low Countries: see Anne F. Sutton and Livia Visser-Fuchs, ‘Choosing a Book in Late Fifteenth-Century England and Burgundy’, in Caroline Barron and Nigel Saul (eds.), England and the Low Countries in the Late Middle Ages (Stroud, 1995), pp. 61–98 (p. 82).
58 See Hugues de Lembourg’s colophon at the end of what was previously the end of the first volume of the set, and now is bound as the third volume, Royal 20 E. III, f. 94v.
Fig. 7. The Grandes Chroniques de France, British Library Royal 20 E. I, f. 47.
the political context surrounding the production of Arundel 66 that coincided with the peace congress at Marquise near Calais. The early history of the manuscript, however, does not contribute to the advancement of this hypothesis.

Whether Henry genuinely intended to revive the Plantagenet claim to the French throne, recover the lost English territories in France, and restore the dual monarchy of his Lancastrian namesake, or simply threatened his French counterpart with war in order to receive monetary compensation for a peace settlement is a subject of historical debate. What is clear from the textual and visual evidence in Arundel 66 is the persistent effort to create an image of the king who pursues the policy and sustains the dynastic territorial claims of his predecessors, who consults the teaching of the stars, and who restores peace and unity foretold in the old prophecies. This manuscript is consequently well placed amongst the King’s other artistic and literary commissions designed to enhance or even manipulate historical memory in order to define his royal status and underline his legitimacy to the English throne. Whether or not the elaborate image of Henry’s diplomatic audience mirrors an actual event, it suggests in a self-referential way an intended use of the manuscript as a sumptuous showpiece for public display or for political demonstration. Compiled from clearly defined royal sources that recall the names of Alfonso el Sabio and Humfrey of Gloucester, and supplemented with a series of flattering political prophecies, Henry’s Book of Astrology was an appropriate book for the King to read and perhaps to display to the French ambassador.
Appendix 1

Arundel 66: Codicology and Contents

The manuscript is composed of four booklets.

Booklet I (ff. 1-32):


Collation:
i⁸ (ff. 1-8); ii⁸ (ff. 1-16); iii¹⁰ (ff. 17-26: irregular quire formed of a binion (ff. 19-22) and a bifolium (ff. 23-24) inserted in a binion (ff. 17-18; 25-26)); iv⁶ (ff. 27-32).

Irregular quire iii:

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17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26
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Booklet II (ff. 33-47):


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60 For editions see Peters and Knobel, op. cit.; and Kunitzsch, Der Sternkatalog. The catalogue in Arundel 66 does not include Alfonsine values.

61 There are several incunable editions of the Alfonsine Tables, for the earliest one see Tabulae astronomice illustrissimi Alfonsi regis castelli (Venice: Erhardt Ratold, 1483); the catalogue is not included in E. Poulle (ed.), Les Tables alfonsines avec les canons de Jean de Saxe (Paris, 1984).
Collation:
v8 (ff. 33-40); vi8r (ff. 41-47; 1 leaf excised).

Booklet III (ff. 48-249 + 1 unfoliated leaf after f. 249):


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The order and divisions of the text differ from those in the first three printed editions: Guidonis Bonati de Forlivio, *Decem tractatus astronomiae*, ed. Johannes Angeli (Augsburg: Ratdolt, 1491); Guido Bonatus, *Decem tractatus astronomiae* (Venice: Giacomo Penzio, 1506); Guidonis Bonati Foroliviensis Mathematici, *De Astronomia Tractatus X* (Basel, 1550). There are also several inconsistencies between the table of contents and the text. The order of treatises is as follows:

ff. 53-57:
[rubric] ‘Incipit tractatus primus ad ostendendum utilitatem quam possimus sequi de astronomia et de iudicijs […]’
[incipit] ‘Anima est nobilius quo reperitur in homine.’
Table of contents: ‘Tractatus primus ad ostendendum utilitatem quam possimus sequi de astronomia et de iudicijs.’
Ratdolt 1491: ‘Tractatus primus ad ostendendum utilitatem quam possimus sequi de astronomia qua est in iudicijs.’

ff. 57-65:
[rubric] ‘Tractatus secundus de divisione orbis signorum […]’
[incipit] ‘Scias hec quoniam circulus signorum.’
Table of contents: ‘Tractatus secundus de divisione orbis signorum […]’
Ratdolt 1491: ‘Tractatus secundus de divisione orbis signorum.’

ff. 65-73v:
[rubric] ‘Hic incipit pars tertia secundii tractatus de esse circuli accidentalii.’
[incipit] ‘Accidit circulo signorum.’
Table of contents: ‘Tertius tractatus de esse circuli.’
Ratdolt 1491: ‘Tercia pars secundi tractatus.’

ff. 73v–80:
[rubric] ‘Finitur hic tractatus secundus de divisione circuli celorum et signorum 12 circumferen. Et incipit hic tractatus tertius [corrected: ‘4us’] de naturis septem planetarum […]’
[incipit] ‘Postquam perventum.’
[rubricated explicit] ‘Hic finitur prima pars tercii tractatus.’
Table of contents: ‘Tractatus quartus de naturis planetarum.’
Ratdolt 1491: ‘Tractatus tertius de naturis septem planetarum’

62 Available on-line from Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich [http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/0002/bsb00025600/image_1]


64 References to both the table of contents in Arundel 66 and the 1491 edition by Ratdolt are provided below the rubric and incipit of each *tractatus*. 
ff. 80v–85v: [rubric] 'Hic incipit secunda pars tertii tractatus [corrected in the margin: 'tractatus quintus'] de hiis que accidit septem planetis [...].'
[incipit] 'Quinque in isto tractatu.'
[rubricated explicit] 'Finitur tractatus [cross-out: 'tercia seu quarta pars']; over erasure: 'quintus'] de hiis qui accident planetis [...].'
Table of contents: 'Tractatus quintus de hiis qui accidunt 7 planetis.'
Ratdolt 1491: 'Secunda pars tertii tractatus.'

ff. 85v–88: [rubric] 'Incipit tractatus 6 de consideratione quarundam coniunctionem et quarundam aliorum que oportet astrologum scire et considerare.'
[incipit] 'Tractatus iste'.
Table of contents: 'Tractatus sextus de consideratione quarundam coniunctionum et quarundam aliorum que oportet astrologum scire et considerare.'
Ratdolt 1491: 'Tractatus quartus.'

ff. 89–128v: [rubric] 'Incipit huius liber sive tractatus quintus libri Guidonis Bonacti de Forlivio super iudiciis principis asteroidum secundum intentionem antiquorum.'
[incipit] 'Cum astronomie iudicia intenderis pervenire.'
Table of contents: 'Tractatus libri Guidonis bonacti de forlivio super iudiciis asteroidum secundum intentionem antiquorum.'
Ratdolt 1491: 'Tractatus sextius'.

ff. 129–147v: [title] 'Tractatus de electionibus'.
[incipit] 'Radix omnium electionum'; imperfect: the text begins in Part 1, chapter 3, 65 several chapters are omitted in Part 2, 'Tractatus secundus de electionibus particulariter duodecim domorum'. The omissions include: De prima domo: ch. 5; De secunda domo: ch. 3; De tertia domo: ch. 3; De quarta domo: ch. 1-3, 5-6, 8-13; De quinta domo: ch. 1, 3, parts of ch. 4; De sexta domo: ch. 13-16; De septima domo: chapters are arranged in a different order, which is as follows: 1, 2, 6, 3, 4 (5 omitted), 7, 8, 9 (10-12 omitted), 13, 14, 17, 15, 16; De octava domo: only ch. 3 (without a rubric); the text corresponding to the table of contents ends on f. 143v [explicit] 'cave ab infortunis in 8 exeunte in itinere et non secundo redeunti'; four leaves (ff. 145–147+147*) were supplied to accommodate an added portion of the text (ff. 143v–147v), which was written by the same scribe but in a lighter colour of ink. The addition (ff. 143v–147v) is an extract from Haly ibn Ragel ['Ali ibn abi 'r-Rijal], De iudiciis astrorum, 66 part 7, ch. 67–100, covering the subject matter of Bonatti's missing chapters (elections, houses 8–12), [incipit] 'Convenit pro eo qui vult suum facere testamentum'; [Explicit] 'Hora martis est abhorenda in omni re et in omni initio et facto.'
Table of contents: 'Tractatus de electionibus primus universaliter.' The table of contents does not include chapter rubrics.
Ratdolt 1491: 'Tractatus [septimus] de electionibus: 'Capitulum tercium de radice electionum.'

ff. 148–186v: [rubric] 'Incipit tractatus super nativitatibus [...].'
[incipit] 'Cum fere tota intencio.'
Table of contents: 'Tractatus super nativitatibus.'
Ratdolt 1491: 'Tractatus [nonus] de nativitatibus.'

65 The Tractatus de electionibus begins and ends in the same place in Cambridge, Peterhouse 86 (ff. 253–274), which contains an imperfect copy of Bonatti's Decem tractatus astronomiae.
ff. 187–200v: [rubric] ‘Incipit tractatus de considerationibus que cadunt super iudiciis secundum motuum et figura stellinarum [...]’.
Incipit: ‘Cum in his quae ad iudicia spectant.’
Table of contents: ‘Incipit tractatus de considerationibus.’
Ratdolt 1491: ‘Tractatus quintus [in considerationibus].’

ff. 201–243v: [incipit] ‘Revolution autem anni est circularis cursus solis ab uno minuto cuiuslibet gradus’ (imperfect: omits the opening portion of the prologue)
Table of contents: ‘Tractatus de revolutionibus annorum.’

ff. 243v–248: [rubric]: Incipit tractatus de ymbribus et aeris mutacionibus et circumcirca illa que versantur Guido bonacti de Forlivio
Incipit: ‘Cum michi videatur.’ The last two rubrics (f. 248r) are written by the same scribe but in a lighter colour of ink and are not included in the table of contents.
Table of contents: ‘Tractatus de ymbribus et aeris mutacionibus et que circumcirca illa que versantur Guido bonacti de Forlivio.’

[Colophon/note]: f. 249, ‘Finitur hic liber Guidonis Bonacti de Forliuio anno Christi 1490, 30 dic Junii, hora 12, minuta 24, per me Johannem Wellys compositus et renovatus et anno H. r. 7. 4to. pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris nostri Innocenti pape 4to [sic for 8to] 5to.’

Collation:
vi“(ff. 48–52, including 1 unfoliated leaf after f. 52); viii–xviii“ (ff. 53–140); xix–xx“ (ff. 141–147, including 1 unfoliated leaf after f. 147); xxi–xxiv“ (ff. 148–179); xxxv“ (ff. 180–185); xxvi“ (ff. 186–192, including 1 unfoliated leaf after f. 186); xxvii–xxix“ (ff. 193–240); xxxiv“ (ff. 241–249, including 1 unfoliated leaf after f. 249).

Booklet IV (ff. 250–291):


7. A table of cities with their longitudes and latitudes (f. 268v).

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67 See Tabule astronomicse.
10. Table of planets correlated with geomantic figures and their significations (ff. 287–287v).


Collation:
xxxiv$^a$ (ff. 250–257); xxxv$^a$ (ff. 258–265); xxxvi$^a$ (ff. 266–269); xxxvii$^a$ (ff. 270–275); xxxviii–xxxix$^a$ (ff. 275–291).

Appendix 2

Political prophecies

The following prophecies are appended to the ‘Prophecy of Bridlington’ (ff. 288r–290v) and are followed by a rubricated colophon (see Appendix 1) which attributes them together with the preceding text to Robert, Prior of Bridlington, also known as Robert the Scribe (fl.1147–1160).

f. 290v:

a) Lilia terna dies libre eli celum dabat apro
   Qui piscem trudens: portabit cornua tanta
   Aucarum pennis: amittet Flandria florem
   Et caput cleri Romam veniens habitabit
   Fratres in cineres: vertentur carmina Bruti
   Et quidam nupti: reliqui ponentur in unum
   Hoc infra lustrum: primum michi crede futurum
   Mors rapit una duos: mors altera sed mala partem.72

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71 On this attribution, see Paul Meyvaert, ‘John Erghome and the Vaticinium Roberti Bridlington’, Speculum, xli (1966), pp. 656–64 (pp. 659–60).
72 This prophecy has not been traced in any other manuscript.
b) H. parte submercet post regit J. G (H? over an erasure) relictio
   Et post H. rex fit E post E postea mira.\textsuperscript{72}

c) Mens cur cor cupiunt: lex Christi vera iocunda
   Prima cunctorun: tibi dabit feriem sue (?)
   Draco dracemon: Rubens album superabit
   Anglorum nomen: tollet Bruti renovabit
   Solis in occasu: leopardi viscera fringent
   Verticis et cerebrum: Cumbria tollet ei
   Quo duce sublato: trinovancia regna peribunt
   Saxonie soboli: lilia frena dabunt.\textsuperscript{73}

d) Ter tria lustra tenet cum semi tempore Sexti
   En vagus in primo: perdet sub fine resumet
   Orbem submittet: reliquo clerumque reducit
   Ad primum statum: post hec removet loca sancta
   Plus dabit hic orbi: quam dedit orbis ei.\textsuperscript{74}

e) Anglia transmitte: leopardum lilia galli,
   Cum pede calcabit: cancerum cum fratro superbo
   Ungues diripi: leopardus gallica regna
   Catulus exunctus: circumdabit unde peribunt
   Anglia regnabit: Vasconia porta redibit
   Ad iuga consueta: leopardi flandria magna.
   Lillia marcessent: sed Anglia posse vigebit.
   Ecclesia sub quo: libertas sancta redibit.
   Hunc Ba[lli]lon metuet: crucis hostes vi teret omnes
   Acon Jeruzalem: Leopardi posse redempto
   Ad cultum fidei: gaudebunt se redivantes
   Imperium mundi: suscipiet heremita.\textsuperscript{75}


f. 291v

f) Hec prophesia Merlini Silvestris anglorum Edwardo regi sancto nomine huius tercio
   revelata fuit per spm [spiritum?] sub testatio duorum sanctorum.\textsuperscript{76}

\textsuperscript{72} These verses are quoted in a slightly different wording by the author of the \textit{Gesta Edwardi de Caerarvon}, written in the 1340s (see W. Stubbs (ed.), \textit{Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I and Edward II}, Rolls Series, vol. ii, pp. 93-4); also see Coote, p. 119, as ‘H parte submercet post R reget J que relictio / E post H rex fit, E post E postea mira’.

\textsuperscript{73} This is an extract from the prophecy known as ‘Regnum Scotorum’, where this passage is ascribed to the 6th-century historian Gildas; edited from Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS. lat. 4126, f. 9v by John Pinkerton, \textit{An Enquiry into the History of Scotland}, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1814), p. 502. In Arundel 66, these verses were removed from the Scottish context.

\textsuperscript{74} A slightly different recension of this prophecy is edited by Coote from Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, MS. 249/277, f. 182 (see Coote, \textit{Prophecy}, p. 32). In Arundel 66, the third verse ‘Multa rapit medio voluntas sub fine seculli’ is omitted and the last two verses are different. The last verse is similar to the last verse of the prophecy known as ‘Illius imperium’, see Coote \textit{Prophecy}, p. 115.

\textsuperscript{75} On this prophecy and for its partial edition (from British Library, Cotton Claudius B VII), see Coote, \textit{Prophecy}, pp. 112-15.

\textsuperscript{76} Merlin Silvestris was dissociated from Merlin Ambrosius of Geoffrey of Monmouth by Gerald of Wales. Silvestris probably embodied an older Welsh prophetic tradition. The Welsh origin of these prophecies, if recognized, would have provided an additional point of interest for Henry VII and his advisors.
Arbor fertilis a proprio trunclo decisa ad spacinum in/tegrim a radice propria separatur
que cum nullo / hominis manu cogente nulla urgente necessitas/tis ad suum truncum
reversa in antiquam radicem sese re/ceperit sumptum quo succo rursum floruerit et
fructum fece/rit tunc sperandum est aliquod in hac tribulatione.78

g) Sicut rubeum draconem albus expellet sic igne/um eiciet tenebrosus: draco teterminus
et terribilis advolabit, qui oris sui flatu igne flami/gero insulam totam inficiendo con-
crenabit. Ex lumbis / eius deliciati velleris aries exhibit, qui in orientem cornuum / ictus
exercibat. Exi/bit et regulus venenati aspectus / ad cuius intuitus fides et religio con-
trencet. Exibit et leo fulminato succedens regulo, sub cuius regimine / justicie rigor
adequabitur. Cancer marinus succedet leo/ni, sub quo legionibus in lanceas conversus
libertate / libertas evanesescat. Dentatus aper cancro succedet, qui / densis in fructectis
cubilia ponens in regem robore den/tes exacet. Ex apri libidine catuli nascentur, qui
can/ins in patrem morsibus convertetur [large passage referring to Scotland etc., and
included in other variants was omitted here]. Veniet ab / aurora turbo validus qui in
occidentem irruens Hiber/nie robora cuncta subvertet. Coram ipso procedent / princi-
pes et fucato su sub pacis amorem consequen/tur. Dolor in gaudium convertetur.
Tum matris in / utero patrem trucidabunt. Descendens leonis ex / femine linx succedet
cuius acumen ferrea simil et / saxea robora transpenetrabit huius aggressu utramque
/ insulam relinquet Neustria et miro mutacionis modo / gladius a sceptro separabit.
Propter fratrum discor/diam regnabit ex transverso veniens. Quinti qua/driga volvetur
in quadrum et bis binariis sublatis / biga superstes regna calcabit. In ultimis diebus albi
/ draconis semen eius triphariam spargetur, pars in / Apulia undens, orientali gaza lo-
cupletabantur; / pars in Hiberniam descendens occidua tempore delect/abitur; pars vero
tertia in patria permanens vilis / et vacua reperietur [reputabitur].79

h) Aliud Hermarice de Alemania

Lilium in meliore parte mundi annis multis re/manebit et veniet in terram leonis et
stabit / in agro inter spinas regni sue. Super primo (?) veni/et filius hominis ferens tres
feras in brachis suis cuius / regnum est terra lune tremendus ac timendus per univers/
um mundum cum exercitu magno et ingredietur in terram / leonis auxilio carentis.
Hoc autem anno / destruentur castra in qualibet parte leonis bellum erit / inter plures reges illo die erit sanguis dilumin. et par/det [sic]
lilium coronam suam cum qua coronabitur filius hominis per quatuor annos sequentes
fient in mundo pre/lia multa in fidem sectantes maior pars mundi desstru/etur. Caput
mundi erit ad terram prostratus et filius ho/minis et aquila prevalebit. Et tunc erit pax in
toto / orbe terrarum et copia. Et filius hominis accepiet signum / mirabile et transibit in
terram promissionis.80

78 The two prophecies ‘Arbor fertilis’ and ‘Sicut rubeum draconem’ are known as ‘The Prophecy of the Eagle’. They
were composed during the second half of the 12th century. ‘Arbor fertilis’ is based on a passage from Vita Edwari Regis
in William of Malmesbury’s Gesta Regum, see F. Barlow (ed.), Vita Edwari Regis: The Life of King Edward
(London, 1962), and Coote, Prophecy, p. 60.
79 The text was edited and published in A. Schultz (ed.), Gottfrieds von Monmouth, Historia regum Britanniae
(Halle, 1854), pp. 464–5.
80 A slightly different variant of this prophecy, beginning: ‘Lilium regnans in nobile parte mundi’ is transcribed
from Royal 12 C. XII by Coote, Prophecy, p. 97.
i) Unde versus.
Bullescamp ecce dies quo tinctus sanguine fies
Planget facta reus: dum proximus est iubileus.

j) Aliud
Cesaris imperium: per tempora longa latebit
Et binum gladium: longevum papa tenebit
Inprobitas Galli: confines subpeditabit
Asperitas apri: per Galli strepa meabit
Per duo bis centum: nonaginta iungasque mille
Fraude sue gentis: gallus trimerabitur ense
Aquila consurget: Aprum sibi consociabit
Hii duo cum vulpe: quartum regem cruciabant
Gallo devicto: cunctos reges superabunt
Albion Albaniam: sibi iunget Arrogoniam
Unanimes ibunt: quibus sua iura redibunt
Tunc erit in terra: dolor in gens et mala guerra
Stragem terra dabit: fratrem vix frater amabit
Gens contra gentem: faciam troiam via dura
Clerus taxatus: minimos dabi et monachatus
Pro dolor hoc minimus: non spernet episcopus unus
Ut placeant regi: facient contraria legi.\(^{\text{81}}\)

k) Aliud
Brutus finitur: per eum nullus reperitur
Tempus nescitur: redimiti quod stabilitur
Tempus transibit: taurus mucrone peribit
Merlinus scribit: quod Bruti turba redibit.\(^{\text{82}}\)

l) Gens Normanorum: consensu fulca priorum
Intrans Anglorum: terras dominentur eorum
Pax erit eorum: brevis his longa suorum
Cornet amborum gens et gens eius priorum
Anno milleno: tricenteno medioque
Centum cum deno: populo primatur utroque.

\(^{\text{81}}\) For this prophecy, which originated in the last two decades of the 14th century, see Coote, \textit{Prophecy}, pp. 148-9.

\(^{\text{82}}\) The verses were probably composed during the reign of Henry IV (1399-1413); see the transcription from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 1787, by John Webb, ‘Translation of the First Metrical History of the Deposition of King Richard the Second’, \textit{Archaeologia}, xx (1824), pp. 1-423 (p. 258).