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Translations of Kepler's Astrological Writings

Part I, Section 1.2. David Fabricius and Kepler on Kepler's Personal Astrology, 1602

Translated by Cornelia Linde and Dorian Greenbaum; annotated by Dorian Greenbaum

Kepler had a large and varied correspondence. Among his astrological correspondents was David Fabricius (9 March 1564 – 7 May 1617), a Lutheran pastor in northwest Germany who was an accomplished astrologer and astronomer (known for discovering the first variable star, and a treatise written, with his son, on sunspots).

Kepler's correspondence on astrology with Fabricius is interesting for a number of reasons. First, he discusses the both the philosophical and the physical components of astrology. Fabricius is clearly more wedded to a traditional astrology, one which Kepler is seeking to modify. Thus he acts as a foil for Kepler. Secondly, Fabricius and Kepler discuss personal horoscopy, in which Fabricius interprets Kepler's chart and Kepler, in turn, gives Fabricius astrological advice. So we see both theory and practice in this correspondence. As an added bonus, Kepler's list of his achievements (which he sent to Fabricius as part of the chart interpretation) allow us to date precisely certain events in Kepler's life, such as his meeting with Tycho Brahe, his promotions and how he was affected by the counter-reformation (e.g., when all Protestants were expelled from Graz, Kepler among them). It may be partially because of the expulsion that Kepler developed his friendship with Tycho, which had momentous implications for the development of astronomy.

In this volume, the correspondence with Fabricius is divided into three sections: one dealing with Kepler's personal horoscopy (I.1.2), one with Fabricius's personal horoscopy (III.3) and one with astrological theory

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(III.2). What follows here is Fabricius' and Kepler's discussion of Kepler's life events as reflected in his birthchart.

Fabricius on Kepler's Birthchart, and Kepler's Response

The letter in which Kepler sent Fabricius his birthchart has been lost. The follow-up letter to it would also have been lost had Kepler not had a copy made of it. At the end of the copy Kepler said: 'I think [I wrote this] on 1 October 1602. I wrote the previous one on 18 July 1602.'

The correspondence is given in Volume 1 of the Opera Omnia, pp. 310-312, with the questions in Fabricius's letters interspersed with Kepler's responses to provide a coherent narrative. This was the arrangement of Christian Frisch, editor of the Opera Omnia. We will follow that same format. Fabricius's queries to Kepler are excerpted from a letter of 1-5 August 1602, written at Resterhaave; and letters of 4 and 8 November 1602 O.S. written at Esens. Kepler's replies are excerpted from his response of 1 October 1602. The same letters appear in GW 14, pp. 243-44, 306, 308-309 (Fabricius) and pp. 275-277 (Kepler).

In this translation, additions not appearing in OO, but occurring in GW, are placed between forward slashes (/).

[*OO* 1, p. 310; *GW* 14, p. 243]

FABRICIUS (letter of 1-5 August 1602): [*Pulkovo X, 12r*] I am most grateful for the /examples of/ nativities you sent. If only /elevations were also added to each of them, although the names are suppressed, and/ they were more carefully marked out /and they were confirmed and illustrated with many events, which I've always greatly desired. For such examples are good for nothing or very insufficient unless they are illustrated with events./ Only careful observation of events can re-establish astrology, which is now almost disreputable, to its splendour, /just as in astronomy the method for the restoration of motions is given only through exact observations./ I also wish you had, in your nativity – not an unlucky one, I think – communicated to me all the events on specific days. The greatest part has been marked out extensively, but I² cannot make out

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¹ This account is taken from E. Rosen, 'Kepler's attitude toward astrology and mysticism', in B. Vickers, ed., *Occult and Scientific Mentalities in the Renaissance* (Cambridge/London/New York, 1984), pp. 253-272, here p. 269, n. 1

² 'possum' in GW, 'possumus' in OO.

whether you are using the old or the new style.³ So please explain yourself better as to which of the two, especially, on what day of [15]91 (I think, since you didn't expressly spell it out) the transit of Mars [over Saturn], <and> Saturn⁴ in turn⁵ over the Ascendant weakened you a lot, but how? On which day did the Hungarian fever attack you in Graz? /On which day in [15]90 did the fever attack you in the Bacchanals?/ On which day in [15]90 did the Hungarian fever, slower-moving because of Saturn over the Ascendant, strike you?⁶ Is the final quartan fever of 8 October in the Old or New Style? On which day did the nose

³ The reason for Fabricius's confusion is that the New Style of dating, the Gregorian calendar, had been accepted in the Catholic parts of Europe (beginning in October 1582) much sooner than in the Protestant parts. Graz, for example, where Kepler lived in 1602, was on New Style; but Württemberg, where he was born and raised, was on the Julian calendar, Old Style. The difference between Old Style and New Style in this period was 10 days.

⁴ Reading 'Saturn' for the Jupiter glyph in GW, and emending the text to have the transits make sense astrologically. (I have found other instances in GW where a Saturn glyph has been transcribed as a Jupiter glyph: see Part I.1.3, p. 56, n. 4, in this volume.) Both the transcriptions in OO 1, p. 310 and GW 14, p. 243 are problematic. OO has: 'quo die 91 Martis transitus per ascendentem te valde afflixerit, et quomodo' ('on what day in 1591 did the transit of Mars over the Ascendant afflict you greatly, and how?'. GW has: 'praesertim, quo die anni 91 ... o' transitus y vis vice per ascend. te valdè afflixerit et quomodo' ('especially, on what day in 1591 ... did the transit of Mars < and > of Jupiter, in turn, over the Ascendant afflict you greatly, and how?') Each of these has astrological inconsistencies. First of all, Mars did not transit over Kepler's ascendant in 1591. Secondly, Jupiter made no transit over the Ascendant in 1591 either. But if we read 5 (Saturn) for the Jupiter glyph in GW 14, p. 243, and emend the text to '... o' transitus '5 [et 5] [in]vice[m] per ascendentem...', this will be consistent with the astrological positions at that time: in 1591 Mars transited over Kepler's natal Saturn in Scorpio, and transiting Saturn in Gemini went over his natal Ascendant (for the third time; it had twice previously transited the Ascendant in August and December of 1590). Transiting Jupiter was also in Scorpio, and thus both transiting Mars and Jupiter were moving over Kepler's natal Saturn. Thanks to Cornelia Linde for additional advice about this reconstruction.

⁵ Reading 'invicem' for 'vice'.

⁶ The fever would last longer when Saturn was on the Ascendant because its motion is the slowest of the visible planets.

⁷ The quartan fever is so called because it was said to recur every fourth day.

injury happen, /and the advancement/? /You will advance the cause of astrology greatly if you gave all these on specific days, old or new style. Certainly/ if you /also/ have the nativity of Maestlin, I would like it if you would share it with me /and the nativities of other famous men with their names/. Where did you get the nativity of Paradeiser? /8 /I would also like to know whether the nativity of Paradeiser is accurate, and where he was born and where you got it? For often many false [nativities] are circulated. As you know, I do not have the nativity of the present Spanish king. When you have transmitted [it] with events accurately in years and days, you will, after that, have your nativity established sufficiently from me through [GW 14, p. 244] profections and other things, I hope. Nor, accordingly, will you deride profections./

[OO 1, p. 310; GW 14, p. 275, line 461ff.]

KEPLER (letter of 1 October 1602): [*Pulkovo X*, 25v] I sent you cursory (*mutila*) examples of the nativities. Forgive me for that. Since, as you see, I attribute little to the certainty of the art in single things, I am accustomed to being quite careless, and I cannot help you much in this. But as you seem to be desperately in love with the art, see to it that she does not deceive you into seeking certainty from that source, where none can exist, for there seem to me to be greater things than human powers, as you yourself are witness, who grant that the uniting of all causes is in accordance with the sky. I would like you to consider thoroughly what follows from that, for it does not appear straight away to the thoughtless.

In my nativity, the Old Style is valid up to the year [15]94, in which year, on 11 April, I arrived at Graz, when Jupiter was on the Midheaven; 14 days later in the same month, [when there was] a conjunction of Mars and the Moon $[\sigma \sigma']$] in 23° Gemini $[\Pi]$, I came down with the Hungarian fever, which lasted another 14 days.

⁸ The Paradeisers were a noble family in Carinthia in the 16^{th} century. I am not sure to which Paradeiser Fabricius refers here, but Kepler gives his birthdate, 15 June 1573, later in this correspondence (see below, p. 52). No Paradeiser birthcharts appear in GW 21, 2.2, the volume containing Kepler's horoscopes.

⁹ This appears to be a reference to astrology in terms of universal vs. particular prediction. See **Part I.1.1**, the letter from Röslin, pp. 37-38 in this volume.

¹⁰ Deperire in OO; deperdere in GW; but deperire seems more plausible in this context.

In the year [15]90, when Saturn [†] was at 24° 40' Gemini [Π] (look up the day yourself), 11 I started to be seriously ill with a headache and disorder of the limbs. When Saturn [5] was there again, scabies took hold of me. 12

In the year [15]91, on the Friday after Ash Wednesday, 13 the headache gave rise to an extremely sharp fever, which lasted for 8 days and almost killed me. [Pulkovo X, 26r] If I remember correctly, it was the square of the Sun and Mars $[\Box \bigcirc \circlearrowleft]^{14}$

After the preceding Christmas holidays [in 1590], when I came out of church from the sermon, I sweated¹⁵ very heavily in the strong cold. There were thus remnants of a disease /of the previous autumn/, which broke out during the Bacchanals, although the scabies had ceased a little before, 16 and an agitation of body and mind had befallen [me] due to practicing for a play (comoedia) in which I played Mariamne.

Understand that [when I mention] the quartan fever, it is New Style. At the same time understand what the doctors say: the tertian fever is not

¹¹ See note 4 for the transits of Saturn over 24°40' Gemini, Kepler's natal Ascendant.

¹² Scabies is a disease caused by the bite of a mite which causes intense itching. William Lilly, Christian Astrology (London, 1647, repr. Exeter, 1985), p. 246, gives Saturn as significator of 'Scab'. Richard Saunders, The Astrological Judgement and Practice of Physick (London, 1677, repr. London, 2001), p. 50, ascribes 'the Itch, the Scab' to Capricorn, the 'House of Saturn'.

¹³ Ash Wednesday in 1591 was on 27 February, so the Friday following would be 1 March. E. Rosen, 'Kepler's attitude', p. 253, found these dates.

¹⁴ The Sun is the traditional ruler of the head, and Mars, as a hot planet, rules fevers. Kepler must mean directed (i.e. progressed) Mars coming to square his natal Sun, as transiting Mars was not squaring Kepler's Sun in that year.

¹⁵ Rosen, 'Kepler's attitude', p. 269, n. 3, suggests 'sufferebam', 'suffered', instead of the 'sudavi', 'sweated' in OO. GW shows only the letter 's'.

¹⁶ Transiting Saturn crossed over 24°40' Gemini twice in 1590: at the beginning of August and again near the end of December. So apparently the scabies had gone away after the first transit of Saturn over Kepler's Ascendant.

¹⁷ See Rosen, 'Kepler's attitude', pp. 253-4 for a description of this play, in which 'male students of slender build, like Kepler' would play the women's roles.

cleansed by the quartan. Once again, when I was still in Graz, I felt a paroxysm before Michaelmas. I was troubled by worries and work while I was preparing for my journey; on the way, my quick temper was brought out by events, the eating of uncooked grain (*gerberi crudi*), ¹⁸ indeed the disorganised provisions, and on the night preceding the journey it was [*OO* 1, p. 311] very cloudy. Here almost nothing will be left for the sky. /Doubtless [the same] on the 5th, 6th and 7th of October ... when I lost my appetite for food./ The nose injury happened on 3 February 1600 New Style.

These are [the dates of] my advancements:

1584. 17 May. Youthful promotion.

1584. 16 October. I was taken from Württemberg to the Adelberg monastery. ¹⁹

1586. January and February. I suffered hardships and was entirely weakened by worries. The reason [for this] was the slander and hatred of my classmates (*aequales*) whom, impelled by fear, I had reported. Saturn in square to the Sun [$^{\flat}\Box$], Mars [$^{\sigma}$] in the Midheaven with the Sun [$^{\odot}$].

June and July. I was troubled by the most terrible sores. I had a worm in the middle finger of my right hand, on my left hand I had a huge sore, on my left leg I had a rotten hole. There was an examination, and I passed with flying colours (*laudem merui*). Jupiter and Mars were rising.

6 October. I was promoted to Maulbronn. ²⁰ Jupiter in conjunction with the Sun.

1587. 4 April. Fever struck me while I was making progress, and therefore I suffered for a long time because of the anger of my classmates, with one of whom I had a fistfight in the preceding March. Mars $[\sigma]$ was stationary, squaring $[\Box]$ the Ascendant.

[GW 14, p. 276] 4 October. I abandoned the poems (*carmina*). 1588. 30 August. I completed my degree (*nomen professus sum*).²¹

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¹⁸ I think 'gerberi' may be 'grain': see, s.v. 'gerba (2) spicarum manipulus ... vide garba' (= sheaf) in C. duCange, Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis (Niort, 1883-1887). In J. F. Niermeyer, Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon Minus (Leiden, 2002), vol. 1, p. 461, a garberius is a granary. Thanks to Cornelia Linde for suggesting this explanation.

¹⁹ I.e., the seminary school at Adelberg.

²⁰ Maulbronn was a preparatory school for the University of Tübingen.

- 1589. 17 September. I came to Tübingen; I had been promoted some days earlier.²
- 1591. 10 August. A good, new position because of my obtaining the Master of Arts; I was second out of 14.
- 11 August. Official granting of Master of Arts. At this time I was praying in various ways.
- **1593. 17 February.** Headache (*kephalgia*).
- November. I was called to Mömpelgard, to Fundio (vocabar Mompelgartum ad Fundionem).²³
- 1594. January. Another promotion in Württemberg was finally discussed on the 18th of January, and after the 28th of January the mathematics position in Graz was offered to me. [Pulkovo X, 26v] They had written orders to Tübingen about sending someone. I was chosen in February. I visited my family and the Prince.
 - **5 March.** I obtained official dismissal from the Prince.
 - 13 March. Journey [to Graz] begun.
 - **21 April.** Travelling money bestowed on me.
- 24 May. First lecture (oratio). At the same time I brought a letter to Oria, 24 through which a wife was determined for me. Truly I had brought love with me. I rested for a short while.
- 1595. 17 July. My Mysterium Cosmographicum came to me. 25 Manifold changes in [my] love [life].
- **17 December, /3 o'clock/.**²⁶ Vulcan said the first word to me about Venus having to be joined with me.²⁷

²¹ I think this refers to Kepler's passing his baccalaureate, which happened in September of 1588.

²² Though Kepler had received a scholarship to the Stift (the seminary for scholarship students) at the University of Tübingen, it was full, so he had to remain at Maulbronn until 1589, when he was admitted to the Stift.

²³ Mömpelgard is now in Franche-Comté and was a Protestant town. I am uncertain about 'Fundio' – is it a person?

²⁴ Oria (Latin *Uria*) is in Apulia.

²⁵ According to Max Caspar's biography (Kepler, tr. and ed. Doris Hellman [New York, 1993]), p. 62, Kepler had a vision of inscribing regular polygons on the orbits of the planets on 19 July 1595: 'I believe it was by divine ordinance that I obtained by chance that which previously I could not reach by any pains; I believe that so much the more readily because I had always prayed to God to let my plan succeed, if Copernicus had told the truth.'

22 December, /**4 o'clock**/. Again, mentioning affairs of the heart. Sun, Venus, Mercury [\bigcirc r $\ ^{2}$] were in the 7th house. Upiter in square to the Ascendant [y in \square Asc.] and to the 7th gave great turmoil and more for the whole year. For [transiting] Saturn [†] was rising in my wife's [nativity] and squaring my Moon [\square].

Figure 2. Transits for 22 December 1595 surrounding Kepler's birthchart (modern calculations from Solar Fire Gold)

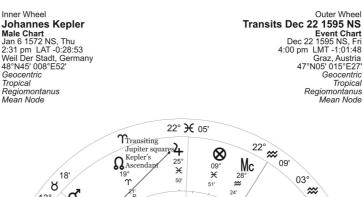
²⁶ 'h. 3'.

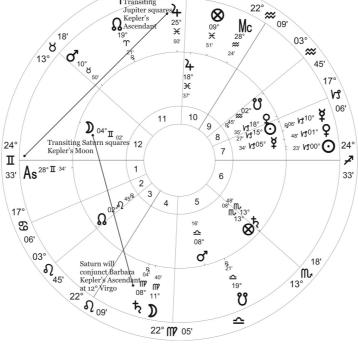
²⁷ Kepler was introduced to Barbara Müller, the woman who would become his first wife, in December of 1595.

²⁸ 'h. 4'.

²⁹ Traditional house of marriage.

³⁰ *OO* has 'Nam 5 in ortu erat uxoris meae et in \Box meo', implying that Saturn was also squaring Kepler's Ascendant; but *GW* has 'Nam 5 in ortu erat uxoris meae et in \Box \bigcirc meo', which is astrologically accurate for this date (see **Figure 2**).



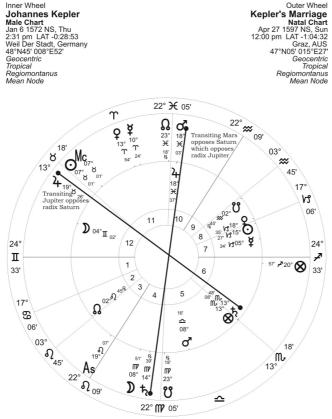


1597. 9 February. Betrothal.

27 **April.** I celebrated my wedding under an unfortunate sky (*calamitoso coelo*). [Transiting] Mars was in opposition to [transiting] Saturn and [transiting] Saturn in opposition to radix Jupiter [of in Storm et al., and it is storm in the storm opposition to radix Saturn [y in Storm radicalis]. The radicalis opposition is storm in the storm opposition to radix Saturn [y in Storm radicalis].

³¹ OO 1, p. 311 has, incorrectly: 'Erat σ ' in Sy radicalis; contra y in S[†] radicalis.' *GW*'s transcription (*GW* 14, p. 276) is correct astrologically: 'Erat σ ' in S[†] et [†] in Sy radicalis: contra y in S[†] radicalis.' On the interpretation of the marriage transits, standard practice in medieval and Renaissance astrology

Figure 3. Transits for Kepler's marriage surrounding Kepler's birthchart (calculations from Solar Fire Gold)



1598. 30 September. In Hungary, due to general misfortune (the expulsion of the Lutherans). I was shortly reinstated.

1599. October. I decided definitely to leave Styria (Steiermark), go to Tycho [Brahe] and solicit a salary from Caesar,³² though no hope was dawning.

would consider an opposition of the two malefics, Mars and Saturn, to be unfortunate in a marriage chart; also unfortunate would be transiting Saturn in opposition to Kepler's natal Jupiter, which is lord of his 7th house representing spouse and marriage. In addition, Kepler has noticed that transiting Jupiter in Taurus is opposed to his natal Saturn in Scorpio.

³² Emperor Rudolf II.

[00 1, p. 312] 1600. 6 January. I began my journey.

3 February. I came to Tycho [Brahe].

5 February. He granted me everything I wished for and more.

April. He announced my name to Corraduc;³³ that one agreed.

June. I returned to Graz, having laid aside [Tycho's] proposal.

July. When Jupiter was passing through the I.C. [Imum Coeli, the fourth house],³⁴ Caesar agreed with Tycho about calling on me. In the meantime, I got money from Styria, 200 Thaler, for the Mystery [Mysterium Cosmographicum]. Both of these had started in the preceding December and January, when Jupiter was standing very near the I.C. 35

7 August. I was expelled from Styria in the general misfortune.³⁶

30 September. I began my journey to Prague.

1601. 26 October. Two days after the death of Tycho I was ordered to await Caesar's salary.37 This has not yet been confirmed on 1 October 1602, the day I am writing this.

Now you have what you asked for: Maestlin was born under a Sun-Mars conjunction in 17° Libra, Moon in 2° Gemini, Jupiter in Cancer, Saturn in 4° Aquarius [$\sigma \bigcirc \sigma'$ in 17z, \mathbb{D} in $2 \mathbb{I}$, y in \hat{f} , $\hat{\tau}$ in 4b]; I think the first parts of Leo [g] are rising.³⁸ He is not absolutely sure about the time. [GW 14, p. 277] Paradeiser was born in Carinthia.³⁹ He

³³ Imperial Vice-Chancellor Rudolph Corraducius.

³⁴ OO, has, incorrectly, 'I' ('1st [house]').

³⁵ Again, OO, has, incorrectly, 'I' ('1st [house]'). Jupiter was in Leo from July of 1599 to the middle of August, 1600, placing it around and in Kepler's natal 4th

³⁶ The Protestants were finally expelled from Catholic Styria at this time.

³⁷ After Tycho's death, Kepler was appointed by the Emperor Rudolf II to Tycho's job, Imperial Mathematician.

³⁸ Here Frisch has inserted '1 September 1551', in error. In fact, Maestlin was born on 30 Sept 1550, not 1 September 1551. The planetary positions for 30 September 1550 match those given by Kepler here for Maestlin's birthchart. See Part I.1.4, p. 70 in this volume, for his drawing of Maestlin's chart. (Pulk. XVIII, 223r, top right corner, shows the chart in Kepler's hand; this page is reproduced in this volume in the **Appendix**, Figure 10.)

³⁹ Kärnten. *OO* has 'Corinthia'.

gave me his nativity himself /in <15>98 ... But hey, if you've forgotten the man, he was born in 1573, 15 June.... 40

Here is translated part of the (Latin) commentary by Christian Frisch⁴¹ on Kepler's correspondence with Fabricius:

[00 1, p. 312] 'Before this letter of Kepler's was received Fabricius, writing tirelessly, wrote five times between 11 August and 18 November (15 and 26 August, 4 and 8 October, 14 November), asking for a reply and asking new questions. [Fabricius in Esens to Kepler in Prague, 4 November 1602 O.S.; GW 14, p. 306.19-24 (Pulkovo X, 33r)] "I entreat you," he wrote on 14 November [N.S.], "to give me the answers to all my questions; in the future, you will see me as an active defender of astrology. I expect astronomical discoveries from you, for I see you were ordered by divine providence to improve (excolendam)⁴² astronomy. You have a mathematical genius, apt and devoted to considerations (contemplatio). Therefore, what you have begun successfully, finish with [equal] success." 'By this, Fabricius had in mind Kepler's attempts to examine the movements of the planets, which he had mentioned in the earlier letter regarding the Commentary on the movements of Mars, for which [commentary] we withhold the parts of the letters of both [Fabricius and Kepler] regarding this topic. [Fabricius] then goes on: [GW 14, p. 306.24-26] "I am expecting the cosmographic dissertation" (he means the *Prodromus*)" "[and] I will disclose my opinion to you about it as soon as I have read it; and if you have published anything in addition to the Prodromus afterwards, [I expect that as well], so I might thus disclose my thoughts about your works more easily. [GW 14, p. **306.11-13** (*Pulkovo X, 33r*)] Given in Esens, 1 mile away from the former place (Aurich),44 from which I departed because of the war in Friesland.45

⁴⁰ See n. 8.

⁴¹ Editor of the *Opera Omnia*.

 $^{^{42}}$ OO has 'excolendam', GW 'excitandam'; we follow OO here. (Excolo can also mean 'ennoble'.)

⁴³ Mysterium Cosmographicum.

⁴⁴ Parenthetical note added by Frisch.

[GW 14, p. 308.81-82 (Pulkovo X, 34r)] D. Fabricius, fugitive and nothing for the time being."

'Then, having received Kepler's letter, on 18 November he sends his greatest thanks and continues thus: [Fabricius in Esens to Kepler in Prague, 8 November 1602 O.S.; GW 14, p. 308.12-15 (Pulkovo X, 35r)] "If only /the capacity and vigour of my feeble intellect were such/ that I could follow your mind and the subtlety of your observations everywhere, particularly in the imagination of the aspects which, as it is so new and recently thought up by you, is thus obvious and evident to few." ...

[GW 14, p. 309.26-39] "The description of the events of your nativity, more accurate than the earlier one, will not be without use. For such observations are apt to show the truth of astrology and are most necessary. Do not imagine, /my Kepler,/ that I want to inquire about and demonstrate the truth of astrology as if events could always be predicted from the beginning as always /and directly/ certain to follow, which is impossible because the gathering of related causes is most particularly /also/ required; (Pulkovo X, 35v) but I will show that of all things, nothing comes into being or happens to us, if not indeed not actually arising from astrological causes, but incited, if a suitable disposition of lesser causes has been introduced which, as they are closer to us, thus are almost always stronger. ... Astrology can offer us this usefulness, that we may have knowledge of the times when something good or bad can happen, by reason of the sky as a stimulating and helping cause."

'He ends the letter thus: 46 "Fabricius. /I am now/ for the time being courtly public speaker of the prince; I have a free table in the castle, which is why I have to go to court twice a day, and so the profitable hours of the day melt away without any further usefulness. Therefore forgive me; now I am not my own master as I was before, but am subjected to courtly miseries."

⁴⁵ This sentence does not follow the previous sentence, but actually appears earlier in the letter.

⁴⁶ In fact, this was not quite the end of the letter: see GW 14, pp. 309-311, where the letter continues.