

THE TIMES AND STARS FOR RULING A KINGDOM:
THE *TRACTAT DE LES ELECCIONS* BY
BARTOMEU DE TRESBENS.
A STUDY AND EDITION*

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THE *Tractat de les eleccions* is a short text written in Catalan and dedicated to Pere the Ceremonious, King of Aragon, on the branch of astrology focused on determining the moments best suited to performing an action. It is the only one of three brief astrological treatises by Bartomeu de Tresbens that is fully preserved in Ripoll, Biblioteca Lambert Mata MS 21. The *Tractat de les interrogacions*, the *Tractat de les eleccions*, and the *Libel d'investigació de tresors* appear with another work by the same author, the substantial *Llibre de les nativitats* (Book of nativities), which is incomplete in this codex but has been preserved in its entirety in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (BnF) MS esp. 411. Three of these four works are on the main branches of judiciary astrology, elections, nativities (chart casts for the moment of birth), and interrogations (inquiries about individual matters), a threefold approach well rooted in the Arabic astrological tradition, in which these three branches were often developed in specific parts of comprehensive introductions into astrology or in monographic treatises. The fourth, the *Libel*

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d'investigació de tresors (Booklet on treasure hunting), discusses a particular application of astrology that was also included in general compendia translated from Arabic into Latin but rarely elaborated by a Latin or vernacular author in a specific treatise. With such a wide collection Tresbens showed greater ambition than any other medieval astrological author in a European vernacular language.¹ While the *Llibre de les nativitats* was first edited about sixty years ago by Joan Vernet and David Romano,² the three short treatises remained unpublished and almost completely neglected until the study and edition has been embarked upon recently, starting with the *Libel d'investigació de tresors*,³ followed with the *Tractat de les eleccions* here, and with the *Tractat de les interrogacions* soon to come.⁴

THE MANUSCRIPT

The Ripoll manuscript contains almost exclusively astronomical-astrological writings related to Pere the Ceremonious, the four by Tresbens and the *Tables of King Pere*.⁵ Ripoll, Biblioteca Lambert Mata

¹ Sebastià Giralt, “Astrology in the Service of the Crown: Bartomeu de Tresbens, Physician and Astrologer to King Pere the Ceremonious of Aragon,” *Journal of Medieval History* 44/1 (2018): 104–29.

² Bartomeu de Tresbens, *Tractat d'astrologia*, ed. J. Vernet and D. Romano (Barcelona, 1957–58).

³ Sebastià Giralt, “Astrologia per a la recerca de tresors: el *Libel d'investigació de tresors* de Bartomeu de Tresbens,” *eHumanista/IVITRA* 14 (2018): 761–93.

⁴ Sebastià Giralt, “El *Tractat de les interrogacions* de Bartomeu de Tresbens. Estudi i edició” (forthcoming). Although incompletely preserved, this treatise seems to have been originally longer than the *Tractat de les eleccions*—since the table of contents lists thirty-six chapters belonging to the former and thirty-five to the latter—but considerably shorter than the *Llibre de les nativitats*.

⁵ The manuscript was first described by Vernet and Romano in the introduction to Bartomeu de Tresbens, *Tractat d'astrologia*, 25–34. More recent and fuller descriptions are found in Gemma Avenoza, Lourdes Soriano, and Vicenç Beltran, dir., *BITECA. Bibliografia de textos catalans antics*, 1989–2020, < http://bancroft.berkeley.edu/philobiblon/biteca_ca.html >, manid 2114 (accessed 8 April 2020), and in Lluís Cifuentes, coord., *Sciència.cat DB*, Barcelona, 2012–2020, < <http://www.sciencia.cat/db/scienciadat-db.htm> >, ms459 (accessed 8 April 2020). *R* was used for the edition of the Catalan text of the *Tables of King Pere*:

MS 21 (hereafter *R*) has 173 paper folios (291 × 215 mm). Fols. 1 and 23–30 underwent mutilation with the resulting loss of text on fols. 1r and 29r–30v, and after fol. 173 some remains of the marginalia have been preserved on a folio that was cut out and apparently belongs to the incomplete *Libel d'investigacions de tresors*. Blank folios 69v, 121r–122v, 128v, 148v, 149v, and 164v–165v occur between different works and between parts or copies of the same work, but the longest series of blank folios, 98v–111v, is likely due to the incompleteness of the *Tractat de les interrogacions*: it seems to have been copied from a defective anti-graph, but the leaves necessary to finish the transcription were left empty to allow its possible completion.⁶ The blank fols. 23r–28v, which are mutilated, are more difficult to explain, because they occur in the middle of the *Llibre de les nativitats*.

The codex has been dated by BITECA to the third quarter of the fifteenth century on the basis of the handwriting and the watermarks. It was written by two different hands. The first copied nearly the entire manuscript, with only fols. 123–149 showing the handwriting of a second scribe. Most of the codex consists of the works of Tresbens; the exceptions are the *Taules del rei En Pere* (The Tables of King Pere), with their canons copied twice (112r–120v, 123r–149r), and two brief consecutive formulas for finding the ascendant at the time of birth, the first of which is in Latin (fol. 163r–v) and the other in Catalan (fols. 163v–164r). *R* transmits all the works of Tresbens that have been preserved: the *Llibre de les nativitats*, fols. 1r–85v (with fols. 1r–v and 23r–30v mutilated);⁷ the *Tractat de les interrogacions*, fols. 86r–98r; the *Tractat de les eleccions*, fols. 150r–162v; and the *Libel d'investigació de tresors*, fols. 166r–173v. Only the first and the last of the series have been clearly

Josep Maria Millàs Vallicrosa, *Las Tablas astronómicas del Rey Don Pedro el Ceremonioso* (Madrid and Barcelona, 1962), 121–238. My description is based on the records of BITECA and Sciencia.cat, which agree essentially. I checked their data by examining the manuscript both directly and via a digital copy.

⁶ Giralt, “El *Tractat de les interrogacions*.”

⁷ As a consequence, excluding the general table of contents, which is placed between the preface and chapter 1 (fols. 1r–2v), long fragments of the *Llibre de les nativitats* copied in *R* are missing in fols. 1r (preface), 29r–v, and 30r–v (chapter 14), while the mutilated fols. 23–28 were blank. Hence, the text in the Ripoll manuscript has two and a half leaves severely damaged and seventy-four remaining in their entirety, including fol. 21, which has been cut out only to add a table.

attributed to Tresbens: the *Llibre de les nativitats*, just as it is in the Paris manuscript, and the *Libel d'investigació de tresors*.

Therefore, the *Tractat de les eleccions* remains anonymous in the only known copy, but its placement within the manuscript and several references made to it in the *Llibre de les nativitats*, in which the author is named, and one reference in the *Tractat de les interrogacions* demonstrate that the entire collection is by the same writer, Bartomeu de Tresbens. Other evidence strengthens the attribution to Tresbens: all are dedicated to the king (though the *Tractat de les interrogacions* does not refer to Pere), as well as the coherence of doctrine, style, language and sources. Other common features are the way the author uses his sources—sometimes critical or nuanced—and the inclusion of a few cases from his own practice as an astrologer. The four works form a set well defined by cross-references and by the desire to provide an overview of astrology. Indeed, in three of his writings Tresbens offers the fundamentals of astrological doctrine in Catalan in three key areas: naticities, interrogations, and elections. Nevertheless, his contribution focuses on those aspects that may interest his audience, kings and nobles, especially in the last two treatises. He does not, however, limit himself to the basics of astrology but also discusses more specialized areas in the *Libel d'investigació de tresors* and other writings mentioned as past or future projects.

A table of the contents is inserted in the preface of the *Llibre de les nativitats* (*R*, fols. 1r–2v). It has been immensely valuable in helping us to understand the conception and origin of the texts collected in the manuscript, because, as noted by Cifuentes,⁸ it lists subjects for each of the writings by Tresbens included in this codex. On one hand, its presence suggests that most of *R* consists of a collection of works on astrology by Tresbens and that it was probably conceived by the author himself, according to Cifuentes. On the other hand, this table supplies us with valuable information about the lost content of the works of Tresbens. It gives us a list of chapters or subjects from the *Tractat de les interrogacions*. In total there are thirty-six, of which only two have remained, the second including a long section on general rules. Additionally, a preface, in which technical instructions are displayed for the astrologer, has also been preserved. The table, however, clearly shows

⁸ Cifuentes, *Sciència.cat*, ms459.

that most of the book has been lost.⁹ Finally, the table also informs us that there is an opuscle that has not survived, the *Mirall de Plató* (Plato's Mirror), which is also mentioned in the final lines of the *Tractat de les eleccions* (§90). It was located at the end of the manuscript but was lost with the disappearance of the final folios.

The table of contents has been very useful for the edition of the *Tractat de les eleccions* by providing titles for the chapters. The text of the treatise has come down to us with indications of where the division into chapters should be. There are empty spaces with guide letters for initials but no titles except in the second chapter. This is also the case for the other works of Tresbens present in *R*, with the exception of the first and second chapters of the *Llibre de les nativitats*. The canons of the *Taules del rei En Pere*, by contrast, have initials and chapter titles written in red. For the *Tractat de les eleccions*, the contents of the chapters marked by the guide letters almost always correspond to the items in the table of contents. Therefore, I am able to use them as chapter titles, even though there is no way to be sure that they coincide with the original titles. In fact, in the case of the *Libel d'investigacions de tresors*, the items in the table do not match the chapters listed at the beginning of the treatise.¹⁰ For the *Llibre de les nativitats*, the items do not match the titles present in the Paris manuscript, except for the first. If we compare the chapter titles in the Paris codex with the two corresponding ones preserved in *R*, we can see that they are not exactly the same but are close enough to lead us to believe that the titles in the Parisian codex are reasonably faithful to the original ones.¹¹ Such divergences between the titles which are

⁹ Giralt, "El *Tractat de les interrogacions*."

¹⁰ The text was divided in eight chapters, the last two of which are lost: I. "Si és lo loch estimat la substància amagada," II. "Si és cosa preciosa de valor o vil," III. "Si és vell o antich," IV. "Si molt o poch o gran o petit," V: "Si-s porà trobar," VI. "Lo loch e la part punctual on és," VII. "Si és sobre terra o dejús." VIII. "Si és fort pregon o alt." See the text edited in Giralt, "Astrologia per a la recerca de tresors." Instead, the table of contents (*R*, fol. 2v) only gives three different items: "Encercar maneres de tresors. Encomanar tresors. Encercar e desterrar tresors amagats."

¹¹ First chapter: *R*, fol. 3r, "Capítol de la nativitat del nat e de la perfecció o imperfectió si vendrà a perfet temps o edat de nodriment lo nat"; Paris, BnF esp. 411, fol. 1v, "Capítol primer, qui parle de la nativitat del nat e de la perfecció o imperfectió si vindrà a perfet temps o edat de nodriment lo nat"; Table of contents

found through the text and the items of the table of contents, even when they are in the same manuscript, might indicate that the table of contents was not derived from Tresbens himself, as Cifuentes suggests, but was due to the careless work of a later scribe. The placement of the table of the various works of Tresbens in the preface of the *Llibre de les nativitats* is another hint in the same direction.

In the text of *R* there are indications that it was corrected by the copying scribe himself, at times with a support manuscript different from the antigraph, as we can gather from the fact that corrections are indicated with the word *àlias*.¹²

THE *TRACTAT DE LES ELECCIONS* WITHIN THE CAREER OF BARTOMEU DE TRESBENS

As a result of recent studies based on the documentation regarding Bartomeu de Tresbens, which is mainly kept in the Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó (Archive of the Crown of Aragon, ACA), and the few autobiographical references in his works, we now know more about the course of this outstanding astrologer's life.¹³ His origins in the County of Foix have recently been established from various indications. Tresbens is the name of a small village very close to Foix, and there are clear Occitanisms in the Catalan he uses in the works preserved in *R*.¹⁴ The autobiographical references present in the *Libel d'investigació de tresors*

(*R*, fol. 1r), “Primerament de la nativitat e de la perfectió o imperfectió si vendrà a perfet temps o edat de nodriment lo nat.” Third chapter: *R*, fol. 6v, “Lo terç capítol de l'encercament del loch de la vida e de so donador, so és de l'yleg e de l'alcocodén”; Paris, BnF esp. 411, fol. 4v, “Capítol 3, qui mostra lo sercament del lloch de la vida e de son donador, so és lo yleig”; Table of contents (two different items), “Del senyor de la vida elegir que és yleg” and “De la quantitat de la vida, que és alcocodén.”

¹² See the notes to lines 183 and 656 below.

¹³ See the biographical investigation and edition of the known documentation in Carmel Ferragud and Sebastià Giralt, “Bartomeu de Tresbens, metge i astròleg de Pere el Cerimoniós: aproximació biogràfica i diplomatare,” *Magnificat: Cultura i Literatura Medievals* 6 (2019): 113–63.

¹⁴ Sebastià Giralt, “El deix occità de Bartomeu de Tresbens,” in Anna Alberni, Lluís Cifuentes, Joan Santanach, and Albert Soler, “*Qui fruit ne sap collir*”: homenatge a la prof. Lola Badia en el seu 70è aniversari (Barcelona, 2021), 1:299–308.

place him within the service of Gaston de Lévis, lord of Léran, in Languedoc. He was probably born in 1317 in Tresbens,¹⁵ and he must have studied medicine in Montpellier and then entered the service of Gaston de Lévis as a physician and astrologer. Perhaps after the death of this nobleman in 1347, he decided to move south of the Pyrenees. We have, however, no proof that he lived in Barcelona until 1359. In that year, he took part in a medical tribunal, which is a clear sign that he had become a respected physician in his new city. From 1360 on, he officially held the position of physician of the household of the king of Aragon, although some documents suggest he was acting as an astrologer as well. He takes up this dual function at the same time that Pere the Ceremonious significantly began to promote the science of the stars; starting in 1359, the king embarked on an ambitious program with various authors creating works on astronomy and astrology, among which the contribution of Tresbens is included.¹⁶ In the period leading up to 1363, corresponding with the first few years of his service of the monarchy, Tresbens was among the followers of King Pere, who fought throughout the kingdom of Aragon in his campaign against Castile, and it would not be until after this period that he fully dedicated himself to his works. After a long interruption between 1363 and 1372 and his attempts to become the mu-

¹⁵ On his date of birth, see also Julio Samsó, “Astrología matemática en el *Llibre de les nativitats* de Bartomeu de Tresbens,” in Alberni, Cifuentes, Santanach, and Soler, “*Qui fruit ne sap collir*” 2:237–54.

¹⁶ On Pere’s promotion of astronomy/astrology, see Millàs Vallicrosa, *Las Tablas astronómicas*, 54–84; Josep Chabàs, *L’Astronomia de Jacob ben David Bonjorn* (Barcelona, 1992), 39–251; Josep Chabàs, “L’activitat astronòmica a l’època del rei Pere (segle XIV),” in *La ciència en la història dels Països Catalans. I: Dels àrabs al Renaixement*, ed. Joan Vernet and Ramon Parés (Valencia, 2004), 483–514; Lluís Cifuentes, *La ciència en català a l’Edat Mitjana i el Renaixement* (Barcelona and Palma, 2006), 189–220; Michael Ryan, *A Kingdom of Stargazers: Astrology and Authority in the Late Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Ithaca, NY, 2011), 105–53; Julien Véronèse, “Nicolas Eymereich et l’astrologie à la cour d’Aragon,” in *De Frédéric II à Rodolphe II: Astrologie, divination et magie dans les cours (XIII^e–XVII^e siècle)*, ed. Jean-Patrice Boudet, Marine Ostorero, and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Florence, 2017), 97–155; and Glòria Sabaté and Lourdes Soriano, “La ciència dels estels dins del projecte cultural de Pere el Cerimoniós,” in *Literature, Science & Religion: Textual Transmission and Translation in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Manel Bellmunt and Joan Mahiques (Kassel, 2020), 397–414.

nicipal physician of the Catalan town of Cervera failing on account of his demanding too much (1372),¹⁷ the documentation shows that Tresbens resumed his continued service to the monarchy. During this second period of service, he gained influence over the king's firstborn son, Joan, who trusted in both his medical and astrological knowledge. Consequently, in 1375 Joan attempted an ambitious plan of regulating the medical profession that was halted by the intervention of the king. This power conflict between the sovereign and his son seems to have led to the immediate rupture of the relationship between Tresbens and the monarchy, given that all trace of the astrologer is lost after that point.

We cannot date the *Tractat de les eleccions* with certainty, but there are several indications that allow us to place it within the career of its author and to propose an approximate date. To do so, we must consider indications in all of the preserved works together, which although somewhat relative in nature and not conclusive *per se*, allow us to obtain a plausible timeline of all the works written by Tresbens over the course of his career. These consist of certain allusions to historical and autobiographical events, references to his other works, documental evidence, and the structure of the manuscript.¹⁸ To start with, within the treatise we find a reference to a historical event. Tresbens remembers a king's council with the barons of Catalonia that, using astrology, he had correctly predicted would have no effects (§58). According to what he writes, Tresbens addressed this prediction to the archbishop of Zaragoza, who would have to be Lope Fernández de Luna, the archbishop from 1351 to 1382.¹⁹ That council, which must have been held in the past and therefore was likely not contemporaneous with the writing of the same work, may correspond to a meeting that Pere had with the barons and churchmen of Catalonia on 10 July 1362, according to the early modern

¹⁷ Carmel Ferragud, "Bartomeu de Tresbens, físic i astròleg del rei Pere el Cerimoniós i l'infant Joan: entre el servei a la corona i al municipi," *Asclepio* 70/2 (2018): 227.

¹⁸ Ferragud and Giralt, "Bartomeu de Tresbens, metge i astròleg."

¹⁹ He was very close to the king and had significant political importance. In 1361, he defended the Kingdom of Aragon against the Castilian invasion; see Luisa d'Arienzo, "Fernández de Luna, Lope," *Diccionario biográfico electrónico*, Real Academia de la Historia, < <http://dbe.rah.es> >.

chronicle of Jerónimo de Zurita.²⁰ If this is correct, we would have a *terminus post quem* that would fit with the dates at which we can place the other works, which were presumably written after 1363. That year was when Tresbens seems to have retired from direct service to the Crown, after participating in the king's military campaign against Castile. The *Llibre de les nativitats* must have been finished after 1364. According to Julio Samsó's calculations that was the year of his son's birth, when he was forty-seven years old per his declaration in a passage of the *Llibre de les nativitats* in which he describes how he used his son's birth chart to determine the length of his own life.²¹ In the *Tractat de les interrogacions* there is a possible allusion to the English intervention in the war between Pedro the Cruel and Enrique of Trastámara, which occurred between 1366 and 1367.²² Finally, the *Libel d'investigació de tresors* must have been written in 1369 at the latest, if it is what a document of the ACA dated to September of that year refers to as a "book on hidden treasures" that the king orders to be copied.²³

The references in the treatises to the author's other works allow us to see the order of their production. We find references to the *Llibre de les nativitats* and the *Tractat de les interrogacions* in the *Tractat de les eleccions* proving that they must have been written first, while the *Tractat de les interrogacions* only mentions the *Llibre de les nativitats*. This would suggest that the order of their writing matches the order in which they appear in the manuscript: *Llibre de les nativitats*, *Tractat de les interrogacions*, and *Tractat de les eleccions*. The latter also alludes to the *Libel d'investigació de tresors*, but it is at the end of the treatise (§90) and therefore appears more likely to be a reference introduced at the time that the collection was originally prepared. If we consider its position within codex and the 1369 document it refers to, it is more plausible that the *Libel* was the latest of the four extant works written by Tresbens.

²⁰ "Y el rey a 10 de junio mandó convocar todos los perlados y barones de Cataluña para que se juntasen en Barcelona a 10 de julio siguiente" (Jerónimo Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragón*, ed. Ángel Canellas López [Saragossa, 1967–85], IX, 40 [4:436]).

²¹ Samsó, "Astrología matemática."

²² "E devant de totes coses fassan aquesta interrogació demana lo Rey d'Anglaterra si conseguirà lo Regne de Castella" (*R*, fol. 89r).

²³ ACA, C, reg. 1225, fol. 44r, edited in Antoni Rubió, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-aval* (Barcelona, 1908–21), 2:159, no. 162.

If we combine all the evidence of different types presented here, we obtain a proposed dating for all of the extant works of Tresbens that is plausible but not absolutely certain: the *Llibre de les nativitats* must have been written between 1363 and 1366, the *Tractat de les interrogacions* between 1366 and 1367, the *Tractat de les eleccions* between 1367 and 1368, and the *Libel d'investigació de tresors* between 1368 and 1369.

CONTENTS CHOSEN FOR THE KING

In the preface Tresbens dedicates the work to Pere the Ceremonious and notes that after speaking of the nativities and interrogations in the previous treatises, he is now continuing with elections. In order to convince the sovereign to make use of elections more often, he puts forth only those aspects relevant to the needs of royalty, since the election is reliable only for the kings and the mighty, those for whom the nativity is known, or those who often make use of astrology.

The first chapter provides some general rules that must be taken into account for any election. The second is a “general chapter” with provisions for the first steps of an election for any action that one wishes to take and then proceeds to what must be done to continue the election, with particular instructions for each specific purpose being provided in the following chapters. From there, as the author had stated in the preface, he limits his instructions to matters related to royalty. The subsequent chapters begin with the astrological conditions for accessing and keeping power, such as crowning the king or ennobling an individual (chapter III), bestowing or taking away a lordship, and doing homage (IV). This is followed by questions relating specifically to war: conquering lands or besieging towns (V), starting a battle (VI), fending off or accepting a challenge (VII and VIII), launching a war against a vassal or a lord, with a table showing good and bad times to go to war (IX and X), destroying towns and castles (XI), and sending knights or infantry into action (XII). The author then discusses political relationships: sending an ambassador to negotiate a peace (XIII) or to arrange a marriage (XIV), starting a journey by land or sea (XV), appointing new knights (XVI), and holding general councils and courts (XVII and XVIII). Here he recalls the king’s council in Catalonia with the barons, mentioned above. He continues with administrative and protocolary aspects: asking the

people for help or a tribute (XIX), collecting rents (XXI), appointing officials to carry out justice, administration, and financial and military matters (XX, XXII, XXIII), and even writing letters (XXIV), offering invitations and gifts (XXV and XXVI), and cutting fabric and wearing new clothes (XXVII). Immediately afterwards he reviews preparations for war: buying horses and other beasts (XXVIII), winning tournaments and learning to fight (XXIX), purchasing weapons (XXX), and making weapons, military engines, and warships (XXXI). Lastly, he deals with actions related to public works: building towns and castles (XXXII), populating unsettled territory (XXXIII), buying lands and towns (XXXIV), digging wells, and managing and/or constructing rivers, springs and canals (XXXV). Chapter XXXIII includes discussion of the making and burying of astrological images for populating or depopulating places, and XXXV for making water flow.

SOURCES

The sources employed by Tresbens in the *Tractat de les eleccions* are consistent with the others used in the rest of his works, while also showing some peculiarities depending on the specific subject under examination. Overall, despite his usual dependence on Haly Abenragel, Tresbens shows ample knowledge of the principal authorities on medieval astrology, who were almost always Arabs.²⁴ As in all the treatises that have been preserved by the same author, the main source of this treatise is the *Liber completus* by Haly Abenragel (‘Alī ibn Abī l-Rijāl), an eleventh-century Maghreb astrologer from the court of Kairouan. The *Liber completus* was one of the most general, comprehensive and widespread compendia of astrology and under Alfonso X it was translated from Arabic into Castilian (*Libro conplido en los judizios de las estrellas*) and from Castilian into Latin in two different versions. Of the two the one which was vastly more widespread was that of Egidio de’ Tebaldi and Pietro da

²⁴ Regarding the sources in the works of Tresbens in general, see Sebastià Giralt, “Drawing from the Marrow of the Authors of Astrology: The Sources of Bartomeu de Tresbens, Astrologer to King Pere the Ceremonious of Aragon,” in *De Frédéric II à Rodolphe II. Astrologie, divination et magie dans les cours (XIII^e–XVII^e siècle)*, ed. Jean-Patrice Boudet, Martine Ostorero, and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Florence, 2017), 71–96.

Reggio (*Liber completus in iudiciis stellarum*).²⁵ That was the version used by Tresbens according to various indications.²⁶ Approximately half of the contents in the *Tractat de les eleccions* come from the *Liber completus*, and in particular from the seventh part dedicated to elections and of which the Castilian translation has not been preserved. There is, however, a very literal Portuguese translation made from it in 1411, as well as the Latin version. Thus, the *Liber completus* is the authority most used by Tresbens. Nevertheless, in this treatise he only cites Abenragel—with the name *Aly*—four times and therefore does not acknowledge the origin of the contents most of the time.

A number of entire chapters in the *Tractat de les eleccions* follow what appears in *Liber completus*. Some of them—in general short (XI, XXIV, XXVII, XXX, XXXI)—reproduce its chapters completely or nearly so, while others only extract a certain number of passages from the source. There are also chapters where only part comes from Abenragel and

²⁵ On Haly Abenragel, see David Pingree, “Ibn Abī l-Ridjāl, Abū l-Ḥasan ‘Alī al-Shaybānī al-Kātib al-Maghribī al-Ḳayrawānī,” in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd ed., vol. 3 (Leiden, 1986), 688; Francis J. Carmody, *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation: A Critical Bibliography* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1956), 150–54. The Castilian version of the *Liber Completus* was edited in two separate volumes: Aly Abenragel, *El Libro conplido de los iudizios de las estrellas: traducción hecha en la corte de Alfonso el Sabio*, ed. Gerold Hilty (Madrid, 1954), containing the first five books; the remaining books were edited in Aly Abenragel, *El Libro conplido en los iudizios de las estrellas (partes 6 a 8): traducción hecha en la corte de Alfonso el Sabio*, ed. Gerold Hilty (Saragossa and Barcelona, 2005). We have no current edition of the Latin version, and I have consulted a Renaissance edition: *Liber de iudiciis astrorum* (Basel, 1551), hereinafter *ARLat*.

²⁶ For example, the use of some words in the *Libel d’investigació de tresors* (ed. Giralt, “Astrologia per a la recerca de tresors”) shows that it derives from the Latin version and not from the Castilian: *col·liri* (§12) for the Latin *pulvis que dicitur colirium* (*ARLat*, 36 [*Liber completus* 1.39]), instead of the Castilian *magnicie* (*El Libro conplido* [1954], 41); *fet* (§12) from Latin *factura* (*ARLat*, 36), not from the Castilian *fehizo* (*El Libro conplido* [1954], 41), or *substància* (§4–8) for the Latin *substantia* (*ARLat*, 35) instead of the Castilian *cosa* (*El Libro conplido* [1954], 40–41). Moreover, Gerold Hilty, “El *Libro conplido* en Catalunya,” *Estudis Romànics*, 38 (2016): 347–55, points out two mistakes, which are not found in the Castilian translation, transmitted from the Latin version of Tebaldi and Reggio to the *Llibre de les nativitats*.

which are combined with citations from other authors, original material, or material of an unknown origin.

Citations from other sources are usually solitary and sporadic. The references to Ptolemy stand out. They are, however, actually references to the Pseudo-Ptolemaic *Centiloquium*, a highly influential collection of one hundred astrological aphorisms of disputed origin, which may be either Byzantine Greek or Arabic.²⁷ Several translations from Arabic into Latin have been preserved but the most widespread by far is the one made by Plato of Tivoli in Barcelona in 1136 and must have been the version used by Tresbens. Aphorisms from this collection are explicitly cited three times by Tresbens (§19, §23, §24, corresponding to numbers 10, 29, and 39 of the *Centiloquium*) and one of them (§24) includes the commentary of the Egyptian astrologer Abū Ja'far Ahmad ibn Yūsuf ibn al-Dāya that accompanied the aphorisms. Furthermore, he may have based §23 on aphorism 84 of the *Centiloquium* without explicitly stating as much. The last of the citations to Ptolemy (§53), however, does not correspond to any of the works circulating attributed to him, but rather Tresbens attributes a phrase from Abenragel—most likely by mistake—to Ptolemy. Finally, as we will see, one of the images he describes may have been taken from the *Liber de imaginibus* of Pseudo-Ptolemy.

Another referenced author is Zahel, who is cited twice in chapter III (§25). Zahel (Sahl ibn Bišr) was a Jewish astrologer from the first half of the ninth century who was in the service of vizier al-Ḥasan ibn Sahl in Bagdad and wrote abundant works of vast influence in Arabic. These references are from his treatise specifically on elections that became common in its anonymous Latin translation under the title *De electioni-*

²⁷ Regarding the *Centiloquium*, see Jean-Patrice Boudet, “Astrology between Rational Science and Divine Inspiration: The Pseudo-Ptolemy’s *Centiloquium*,” in *Dialogues among Books in Medieval Western Magic and Divination*, ed. Stephano Rapisarda and Erik Niblaeus (Florence, 2014), 49–76. I consulted the Latin version in a Renaissance edition: Ptolemy, *Quadripartitum*, trans. Platon of Tivoli / Pseudo-Ptolemy, *Centiloquium*, trans. Juan de Sevilla (Venice, 1493); and an Italian translation from Arabic: Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn al-Dāya, *Commento al Centiloquio tolemaico*, ed. Franco Martorello and Giuseppe Bezza (Sesto San Giovanni, 2013).

bus.²⁸ Another passage (§84) may also be taken from Zahel, despite there being no citation attributing it to him. A long section of chapter I on general rules (§3–5) also follows Zahel as a main source, but, again, he is not mentioned.²⁹ The influence of Zahel is most significant, however, in the preface (§1). Even though the Jewish astrologer is not named explicitly, Tresbens owes the main idea he develops to him: that it is best to limit elections to kings, lords, and high-ranking nobles or at least people whose nativity is known, or whose first son's nativity is known.

The use of the *Introductorius* by Alcabitius is more sporadic. Alcabitius (Al-Qabīṣī) was an astrologer in the tenth-century court of the Emir of Aleppo. His introduction to astrology, as translated into Latin by Juan de Sevilla, was the most widely circulated throughout medieval Europe,³⁰ but is only cited in one passage of the *Tractat de les eleccions* (§44).

Both the compendia of Alcabitius and Abenragel, as well as the *Centiloquium*, were present in the library of Barcelona's Palau Reial Major ("Grand Royal Palace") according to the 1410 inventory of the goods possessed by King Martí the Humane in the Palau Major of Barcelona and which were to be inherited by Queen Margarida upon his death. It should be taken into account that this inventory does not list all the books of the library, and the descriptions are often insufficiently clear for the identification of the titles. Therefore, the royal palace may have held some of the other sources used by Tresbens. Nevertheless we are able to affirm that the *Introductorius* by Alcabitius was there in its Latin translation by Juan de Sevilla (item 161 of the inventory and perhaps 1064 as

²⁸ The Arabic text and the Latin version were studied and presented in Carole Mary Crofts, "*Kitāb al-Ikhtiyārāt 'alā l-buyūt al-iṭnai 'ašar*, by Sahl ibn Bišr al-Isrā'īlī, with Its Latin Translation *De electionibus*," PhD dissertation (Glasgow, 1985).

²⁹ See appendix 1.

³⁰ Also edited in the original Arabic and the Latin translation in Al-Qabīṣī (Alcabitius), *The Introduction to Astrology (=Introductorius)*, ed. Charles Burnett, Keiji Yamamoto, and Michio Yano (London, 2004). Concerning Alcabitius, see Keiji Yamamoto, "Qabīṣī: Abū al-Saqr 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn 'Uthmān ibn 'Alī al-Qabīṣī," in *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, ed. Thomas Hockey et al. (New York, 2007), 941.

well) and in the Catalan version too (286).³¹ The library also held a copy of the *Centiloquium* (78). Given the great interest shown by Pere the Ceremonious and his son Joan in acquiring books on the science of the stars, it is most likely that they were the ones who introduced these titles to the royal library. In the end, there is no way for us to know with any certainty whether they were already part of the library when Tresbens was in the service of the king, and consequentially, whether they were available to him when he was writing his own works. On the other hand, it has been confirmed with documental evidence that the *Liber completus* in Latin was already included in the royal library in 1359, when the king ordered that Dalmau Sesplanes have any book on the science of the stars except that one.³² The Catalan version, however, did not arrive in the library until years after the work of Tresbens, given that in 1386 the king's son Joan requested the governor of Majorca make a copy of Abenragel in Catalan based on the one they had on the island.³³

Therefore, Tresbens took much of his content from Abenragel and other astrological authorities. It is true though, that he also made his own contributions of varying degrees, some quite modest, while others were more notable. The most simple of them are additions that have no other purpose except to clarify technical concepts, but they show that Tresbens was willing to provide information his readership might require. For example, in passage §15 the additions (marked in italics) specify which planets are diurnal and which are nocturnal.

Tractat de les eleccions §15

ARLat, 299 (7.1).

E sàpies que la millor e la més fortunada elecció és—e més perfeta és—metre les planetas en son any e que sien les planetas diürnas orientals del Sol, *axí com són Saturnus, Júpiter e-l Sol*, e que sien en signes de masculinitat, e aquells

Melior electio et magis fortunata et perfecta est, si sint planetae diurni orientales a Sole

³¹ The inventory is published in Jaume Massó, “Inventari dels béns mobles del rey Martí d’Aragó,” *Revue Hispanique* 12/42 (1905): 413–590. With regard to the identification of the items, see Chabàs, “L’Astronomia,” 28–37; Chabàs, “L’activitat astronòmica,” 503–6; Cifuentes, *La ciència en català*, 209–19; and Giralt, “Drawing from the Marrow.”

³² The following items of the inventory correspond to the *Liber completus*: 79, 119, 221, 253 (Latin), 11 and 130 (Catalan). Regarding the king’s order, see ACA, C, reg. 1071, fols. 176v–177r, edited in Rubió, *Documents*, vol. 1, no. 191.

³³ ACA, C, reg. 1674, fol. 47v = Rubió, *Documents*, vol. 1, no. 385.

que són nocturnals, que sian occidentals a la Luna, axí com són Mars, Venus, Mercúrius e la Luna—mas Mercuri pot ésser diürnal e pot ésser nocturnal—e aquestes que seran en signes de femenins. et in signis masculinis, et nocturni occidentales a Luna in signis foemininis.

He also keeps in mind the target audience, mainly the king and his successors, and adapts some of the content he addresses to their interests. This can be seen when we compare the passages of the treatise with the sources. Thus, when he talks about sending messengers (§67), he replaces the roles of the recipients specified by Abenragel (“mayor, judge or merchant”) with “pope.”³⁴ Chapter XXVIII, regarding “taming, racing horses and purchasing,” is based in part on chapter 52 of the *Liber completus*, entitled “de emptione animalium,” which takes into account other beasts besides the horse. Tresbens focuses more on horses (though not exclusively. The difference is probably due to the fact that horses were animals more closely linked to the monarchy. In chapter XXXII (§81) it says that the construction of towns and castles is exclusively the domain of the king, while Abenragel leaves it in the hands of “kings and illustrious and wealthy men.” In two different passages referring to journeys (§8 and §50), Tresbens reiterates the recommendation from the same source that traveling should be avoided under fixed signs, but Tresbens adds an exception: Leo is favorable for the voyages of the monarch, because it is a royal sign.

In some cases the inclination in favor of the needs of the monarchy is more substantial, such as in chapter XVIII on summoning general courts, a parliamentary institution particular to the Catalan-Aragonese monarchy (§57). In that same chapter we find the only autobiographical reference present in this treatise as an example of the importance of choosing a favorable time when summoning assemblies: the prophecy mentioned above regarding the council of barons (§58). In fact, this is the clearest case, but there are other chapters or sections of chapters that do not seem to come from Abenragel or the other authors cited, or any other sources, at least to the extent that I have been able to check. This would lead me to wonder if a substantial part of the *Tractat de les eleccions* might be original work by Tresbens.

³⁴ See note to line 621 below.

An undoubtedly original contribution of the author is the presence of an astrological table of the hours that are favorable and unfavorable for going to war. Such a resource can also be seen in the *Llibre de les natiuitats*, where he combined tables coming from the sources and tables of his own creation. This is clearly of his own elaboration, just as he himself declares (§43), based on the exposition provided by Abenragel.

Another piece of proof showing that Tresbens is not just a compiler is the fact that he is occasionally critical of his sources, both in this treatise and his other treatises, generally using the first person. Here we see him contradict Abenragel's claim that the aspect (*esguard*) of Mars must be avoided in the preparation of weapons, ships or war machines, or the launching of ships, since our author considers that Mars is always positively inclined to any matter of arms, whether for land or for sea, so long as Mars is in favor of your cause and not that of the enemy (§80). In chapter III on the ascension to power (§25) Tresbens is faced with a discrepancy between two authorities: Zahel recommends that the coronation is performed with the Moon in ascendant, while Abenragel claims that the Moon in ascendant is inauspicious. The Occitan astrologer agrees with the negative effects of the ascendant Moon when traveling (as he recalls that Zahel says elsewhere) and in the beginning of any action in general, but he notes that the Moon signifies the common people and, as the ruler must favor the people, he concludes that the ascendant Moon is propitious to the coronation and entering power, so long as it is under favorable conditions.

Finally, not only the citations but also the structure of the work may be indicative of the sources employed by the author. If the structure of the *Tractat de les eleccions* is compared with its main source, the *Liber completus*, it does not appear to be dependent on the order of contents in Abenragel's work.³⁵ Certainly, some common blocks emerge, but they are based on thematic subjects, such as war, questions of protocol or public works, and the placement of these blocks is different in both works. Indeed, one of Abenragel's blocks, regarding war, appears divided by Tresbens in two sections, even though both are partially or mostly derived from the *Liber completus*: battle (chapters V–XII) and weapon procurement (XXX–XXXI). As usual in the *Liber completus*, Abenragel organizes the contents of its seventh part on elections according to the

³⁵ See appendix 2.

twelve houses or equal sectors of thirty degrees into which the celestial sphere is divided. Instead, Zahel's *De electionibus* is arranged according to the signs of the zodiac. The *Tractat de les eleccions*, however, follows none of these two systems, although Tresbens does use the twelve houses to organize the second part of the *Llibre de les nativitats* (chaps. XX–XXXVIII). Unlike the former, which follows a uniquely thematic order, more accessible to laymen, the latter has a general reach, compatible with maintaining a structure similar to Abenragel's. Therefore, the *Tractat de les eleccions* seems to be arranged in a structure conveniently conceived by its author to accomplish its purpose of focusing on the needs of power, while the books by Abenragel or Zahel, not limited to affairs of governance, have a broader scope and offer a wide range of purposes for astrology, including subjects not directly related to monarchy, such as food, medicine, games, alchemy, or agriculture.

THE APPLICATION OF TALISMANS, BEYOND JUDICIAL ASTROLOGY

The two final chapters of the treatise deal with construction (XXXIII and XXXV) and describe astrological images or talismans, but the source of these is not completely clear. The first two (§85), which are given as alternative options, represent astral situations auspicious to purpose of increasing population in a farmhouse (*mas*) or a town, or the opposing position if you wish to decrease population in them. After they are made, the talismans must be buried in the middle of the location in question. While I have found no parallel for the first which is in the shape of a man, the second reproduces the appropriate planet and resembles an image described by the *De imaginibus* attributed to the ninth-century Harranian astronomer Thābit ibn Qurra, one of the most influential treatises on talismans of which only the Latin translation by Juan de Sevilla has been preserved.³⁶ The coincidence, however, is partial and the function is not exactly the same, since Thābit's is designed to destroy a region.

³⁶ Edited in Francis J. Carmody, *The Astronomical Works of Thabit b. Qurra* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1960), 180–97. Regarding Thābit's treatise, see Charles Burnett, "Thābit ibn Qurra the Harrānian on Talismans and the Spirits of the Planets," *La corónica* 36.1 (2007): 13–40; and Nicolas Weill-Parot, *Les "images astrologiques" au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance: spéculations intellectuelles et pratiques magiques (XII^e–XV^e siècle)* (Paris, 2002), 63–72.

The third image (§89) is intended to bring ample amounts of water from a spring, a river or a canal. It is supposed to represent an auspicious astral situation, under which the talisman is to be buried, and the sign of Aquarius must be reproduced using a masculine figure pouring water out of a vessel. The description of the figure is very similar to one found in the zodiac images of the *Liber de imaginibus*, which is attributed to Ptolemy, but is actually of Arabic origin.³⁷ There are, however, some important differences: Tresbens describes a detailed astral situation that is not found in Pseudo-Ptolemy's book and it specifies that the image must be buried at a spring. On the other hand, the purpose of the pseudo-Ptolemaic talisman is the opposite, to stop the flow of water from the source.

If we take into account that Tresbens was inspired by these two treatises, which were widespread in the Middle Ages, we must also note that he made an effort to adapt the images to the purposes he intended. It is important to point out that these are the only three astrological images that we find anywhere in his extant work. In fact, this device goes beyond the subject of judicial astrology that his treatises address. While judicial astrology's function is simply divinatory and, at most, by means of elections, can influence the course of events by choosing the suitable moment to carry out a specific action, the use of astrological images can be considered a category of magic based on astrology. Indeed, they are a means to use technology—the engraving or incision on stone or the forge of metal figures or medals with bas-relief and inscriptions under precise astrological conditions—with the goal of intervening in human actions or natural phenomena. It was a resource that remained a controversial matter for a long time among the late medieval intellectual elite. The use of talismans was considered admissible so long as it was not associated with the invocation of spirits by authors who saw their effects as being connected to the occult properties of the stars, which were thought to be of a natural origin. Contrarily, those who saw the risk of a demonic in-

³⁷ Jean-Patrice Boudet, “Un traité de magie astrale arabo-latin: le *Liber de imaginibus* du pseudo-Ptolémée,” in *Natura, scienze e società medievali: studi in onore di Agostino Paravicini Bagliani*, ed. Claudio Leonardi and Francesco Santi (Florence, 2008), 17–35. See also Weill-Parot, *Les “images astrologiques,”* 77–79.

tervention rejected the practice on the basis of the conviction that it was impossible to channel such forces properly through technique.³⁸

THE USEFULNESS OF ELECTIONS FOR THE RULER

The preface of the *Tractat de les eleccions* clearly reveals the author's intention. Tresbens addresses Pere the Ceremonious, reminding him of the interventions and discussions he, in his position as astrologer, made for and to the king in the past, and alluding to the two treatises he had written previously, the *Llibre de les nativitats* and the *Tractat de les interrogacions*, which had enabled him to show him a large part of the science of astrology. It is thus understood that this new treatise by Tresbens continues his overall project of presenting the fundamentals of astrology, especially those which might be of interest to the king. Effectively, he is attempting to get Pere to make more frequent use of the elections because up until that point he has done so rarely. With this objective in mind, the author states that he will tailor his discourse to what is necessary for the king and his successors. Therefore, in order to convince the sovereign of how useful astrology is, he shall only address affairs related to power. This is why he stays clear of the aspects more related to daily life that are instead found in the astrology works of reference. It should be noted that he did not follow this criteria in the first of his preserved works, the *Llibre de les nativitats*, and though he did apply it to the next one, the *Tractat de les interrogacions* (as shown not only in the extant text but also in the items transmitted uniquely in the table of contents—taking into account that only part of the work has been passed down to our time),³⁹ it was not until the preface of the *Tractat de les*

³⁸ On the use of astrological images and the different positions on them among late medieval thinkers, the work of reference is Weill-Parot, *Les "images astrologiques."* See also Sebastià Giralt, "Magia y ciencia en la Baja Edad Media: la construcción de los límites entre la magia natural y la nigromancia (c. 1230–c. 1310)," *Clío & Crimen* 8 (2011): 15–72.

³⁹ At the beginning of chapter 2: [§19] "Quant alcun Rey o príncep o altres senyors demandarà, o altre per ell, si durarà en son regne lonch temps o en sa senyoria e honor. . . ." Almost all the items of this treatise included in the table of contents are related with monarchy or nobility. For example: "[3] Si lo possehirà en pau o si haurà guerres, [4] Si son poble amarà ell o lo contrari o ell amarà ells,

eleccions that he explicitly stated it as his goal. It is understood there that the author's intention is to prove to the king what advantage he can obtain from consulting his astrologer before carrying out any governmental action. Therefore, by making clear what an astrologer can do for the monarchy, Tresbens is likely aiming to gain political influence.

The author justifies restricting the treatise to affairs of governance based on the the agreement of all authors that using election only makes sense for kings, lords, and high-ranking people, with an exception for individuals for whom there is a birth chart (their own or their child's) or an interrogation equivalent to the nativity or for those who habitually made use of astrology. Actually, this limitation is only found in one of the sources employed by Tresbens, which is evidently the origin of this claim even though he does not explicitly cite it, Zahel's *De electionibus* (attributing it to all authors). Contrarily, Abenragel only says that those for whom the nativity is unknown should not make use of election, but does not limit the practice exclusively to kings or lords.⁴⁰ If we look beyond the authorities cited by Tresbens, the attitude tends to be more flexible than that of Zahel. Some astrologers are even less strict on the requirement of knowing the nativity. In his widespread treatise on elections, Ali al-'Imrani (Mosul, tenth century) states that he disagrees with all the other astrologers who strictly deny elections to those whose nativity is not known.⁴¹ The Andalusí Jew, Abraham Ibn Ezra (ca. 1089–1167) provided two methods in his work on elections. One of the two did not use the nativity, but he noted that the one using the nativity was pref-

[5] Si serà justicier en ells, [6] Si haurà enemichs cuberts o manifests, [7] Si sos enemichs li faran dan o ell a ells, [8] Si los que pren de son consell li seran leylals o no, [9] Si li és bé fer moure guerra o no. . .” (ed. Giralt, “El *Tractat de les interrogacions*”).

⁴⁰ “Adhortor te ne facias electionem ei cuius nativitatem ignoras, sed eius cuius nativitatem ac revolutionem anni cognoveris, et erit ei bona et praestabilis ex beneplacito Dei. Nam si quando feceris ei electionem, cuius nativitatem ignoraveris ac revolutionem anni eius, vel saltem non habueris eius quaestionis ascendens nec nativitatem cognitam, periclitaberis et eris in periculo ne quando accipias ascendens inimicum et contrarium radici nativitatís” (Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7, preface, *ARLat*, 297); cf. *El Libro conplido . . . (partes 6 a 8)*, 88–89.

⁴¹ *De electionibus*, ed. Josep Maria Millàs Vallicrosa, *Las traducciones orientales en los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Catedral de Toledo* (Madrid, 1942), 329.

erable.⁴² Guido Bonatti, an astrologer who served under several different Italian lords (ca. 1210–ca. 1290), was also more open with regard to this matter in his great *Liber introductorius ad iudicia stellarum*, in which he discusses the opinion of an astrologer named Sarcinator—a name that, according to Benjamin N. Dykes, may be a poor transcription of Sahl ibn Bishr (Zahel)⁴³—who recommended against elections for lower or middle class people for whom the nativity was not known. Nevertheless, Bonatti provides an interpretation of Sarcinator’s words that is far from strict and considers that he does not completely reject their using the method, but rather considers those types of elections a practice that cannot be sufficiently certain. Instead, Bonatti sides with the opinion that elections are for everybody, so long as they are done individually, and argues that being against them is to reject what is attainable in the quest for perfectionism.⁴⁴ Therefore, based on Zahel, Tresbens opts for a particularly restrictive position for who can be a beneficiary of the elections, and this position is actually exceptional among astrological authorities. It may be that the reason behind his emphasizing the virtues of astrology specifically for the ruler above all other people is that he is seeking to convince the king in question of the value of astrology.

⁴² Abraham Ibn Ezra on Elections, Interrogations, and Medical Astrology: A Parallel Hebrew-English Critical Edition of the “Book of elections” (3 versions), the “Book of interrogations” (3 versions), and the “Book of the luminaries,” edited, translated, and annotated by Shlomo Sela (Leiden and Boston, 2011), 46–49, 93–96, 142–47.

⁴³ Benjamin N. Dykes, “Introduction,” in Guido Bonatti, *The Book of Astronomy* (Golden Valley, MN, 2007), lvi. Regarding Bonatti, see Benjamin N. Dykes, “Practice and Counsel in Guido Bonatti,” *Astrologers and Their Clients in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Wiebke Deimann and David Juste (Cologne, 2015), 43–62.

⁴⁴ “Sarcinator vero visus est velle quod non eligemus vilibus vel mediocribus, nisi super nativitate vel interrogatione eorum. Tamen ipse non inhibuit ex toto quin eligeremus eis, sed videbatur ei tutius eligere super nativitatibus vel interrogationibus. . . . Mihi autem videtur quod possumus omnibus singulariter eligere. . . . ita enim credo mediocrem seu vilem habere suam radiculam in nativitate, quemadmodum magnatam suam radicem. . . . Vitantes enim electiones quae non fiunt super nativitatibus vel super interrogationibus non videntur mihi ex toto sapientes, quia si non possunt habere id boni quod volunt, non debent tamen spernere id boni quod habere possunt” (Guido Bonatti, *De Astronomia tractatus X* [Basilea, 1550], c. 389).

It is clear that an astrologer in the service of a prince must emphasize the importance of elections, given that in accordance with astrological doctrine, successfully choosing the suitable moment for any given action of governance is a fundamental aspect of his functions. The only parallel contemporary work that compares to Tresbens's is the unfinished *Livre des elections universelles des douze mansions* dedicated in 1361 to King Charles V of France by Pèlerin de Prusse, a master of arts of German origin.⁴⁵ Pèlerin and Tresbens coincided in emphasizing the interest that astrology (specifically the branch of elections) has for kings and, consequentially, adapted their writings to the needs of the monarchy. Pèlerin bases his book on Abenragel and Bonatti but eliminates aspects that might be inconvenient, such as those relating to the Church, while he expands on others that might interest the king, like procreation, war, coronation, and calling assemblies. Despite the fact that the works by Pèlerin and Tresbens on elections differ in structure and contents, we can ask whether Pèlerin's work may have inspired Tresbens's, written a few years later. It is not impossible, but it should be noted that Pèlerin's attitude with regard to his sources is different from that of Tresbens, given that he presents himself as a compiler who only puts forth what his sources state, even though some of his content appears to be original.⁴⁶

What then was the real, practical application of elections by those medieval rulers most drawn to astrology? In the case of Pere the Ceremonious, as we have already seen in the preface of the treatise, Tresbens notes that the king rarely makes use of elections in his political decisions. This

⁴⁵ "... je escriray soubz correction un petit livret a mon pouvoir de la partie des elections, uquel je assembleray les plus communes et plus neccessaires choses de ladite partie, et especialement matieres touchans la santé du corps et fait humain generalment, et causes royaulx et de princes, pour garder naturellement leur commencement en quelconques matire. Car la salvacion de prince est conservacion de pays et de pueple ..." (Floriane Aline Gagnard, *Le dauphin et l'astrologue: le Livret des elections universelles des 12 maisons de Pèlerin de Prusse* [Montréal, 2014], 52). See also Jean-Patrice Boudet, "Astrologie et politique dans la crise du milieu du XIV^e siècle": le *Livre des elections universelles des douze maisons* de Pèlerin de Prusse, in *Par les mots et les textes... Mélanges de littérature et d'histoire des sciences médiévales offerts à Claude Thomasset*, ed. Danielle Jacquart, Danièle James-Raoul, and Olivier Soutet (Paris, 2005), 83–104.

⁴⁶ "Et en ce livret et ces parties, je ne metray rien de nouvel ne de ma teste, fors de ce que je pourray entendre des livres de mes maistres" (Gagnard, *Le dauphin et l'astrologue*, 53).

observation matches the information provided by the royal documentation, given that there is only one record of an occasion on which Pere paid attention to an election. In fact, this is the only clear evidence of Pere making any type of use of an astrological indication. In a letter dated 15 October 1359 King Pere told his foreman Guillem Carbonell which days and times were the most propitious to lay the first stone in the work that was about to start on the Palau Reial Major in Barcelona—according to the calculations of Pere Gibert and Dalmau Sesplanes.⁴⁷ Despite all of his determined promotion of the science of the stars, there is no evidence that he often consulted his astrologers for actions of governance, except for listening to the political predictions set forth by Tresbens at the urging of his son Joan and the order to provide resources for some mysterious matters to be carried out by Tresbens and Sesplanes.⁴⁸ On the contrary, his successor Joan was far more inclined to give an ear to astrologers and to take interest in political prophecies, but again there is no record that he used elections as a guide except in 1379, when he asked Sesplanes what were the most opportune dates for his betrothed Violant de Bar to enter Catalonia in order to celebrate their wedding.⁴⁹ Regardless, we must take into account that the documents showing that Joan consulted several astrologers often fail to specify the reason or nature of his question, and therefore, it cannot be ruled out that they were elections.

Without evidence on how the Catalan kings made use of elections in the exercise of power, we must look beyond the Crown of Aragon. First of all, in writings both in favor of and against astrology, elections are often connected to military actions. For example, a king who was very close to Pere, his vassal and brother-in-law, Jaume III of Majorca, appears in the works of Nicole Oresme and Philippe de Mézières criticizing judiciary astrology: *Contra astronomos iudicarios* (1349) and *Songe du viel pelerin* (1389) respectively. The two authors use Jaume III as an ex-

⁴⁷ Josep M. Madurell, “El Palau Reial Major de Barcelona: recull de notes històriques,” *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 22 (1936): 491–518.

⁴⁸ Ferragud and Giralt, “Bartomeu de Tresbens, metge i astròleg,” documents 28 and 29. It is possible that both things were related.

⁴⁹ “Volem que vós parleu amb en Dalmau Planes stalabre quals dies e quant dels meses de ffabrer, març e abril serien bons a entrar la Duquessa en lo Principat de Cathalunya e axí matex a fer bodes” (9 December 1379, ACA, C, reg. 1746, fol. 50r, cited in Rubió, *Documents* 1:281).

ample of a ruler who causes his own destruction through his gullibility regarding the stars. According to them, he made use of an astrological election to decide the best time to embark on an expedition to reconquer the kingdom of Majorca, after it had been annexed by the Ceremonious into his own territories. Oresme, as Mézières after him, sums up the end of Jaume by saying that “he lost his kingdom and his head.”⁵⁰ Indeed, after being defeated at the Battle of Lluçmajor in 1349, he was killed and decapitated. In this case though, neither the medieval chronicles nor the documental sources support Oresme’s version of the events (which was later followed by Mézières). This should put us on guard when faced with reports of the influence on astrologers on political decisions given by biased witnesses, whether against or in favor of astrology. We must take into account that when making a political or military decision the ruler often listened to several advisers, among which at times there were astrologers, and weighed a number of different factors, among which, when applicable, were astrological conditions.⁵¹ For this reason, we must

⁵⁰ “Recitons ce qui advint ou temps du Viel Pelerin lui estant a Avignon. Jacques le roy de Maiorgue, qui fort se delitoit en ceste hauste folie, a grant conseil et longue determinacion des astrologiens en Avignon, print son election pour aler recouvrer son royaume que le roy Pierre d’Arragon tenoit. Il se parti d’Avignon a toute s’election et paou failli que le Viel Pelerin n’ala avec lui. Ledit roy de Maiorgue par son election se tenoit a seur de recouvrer son royaume. Il y entra et assés tost après par le roy Pierre d’Arragon il perdi et la teste et son royaume” (Philippe de Mézières, *Le Songe du viel pelerin* 1.598, ed. Joël Blanchard with Antoine Calvet and Didier Kahn [Geneva, 2015], 1:754); “Istis denique temporibus rex Majoricarum Jacobus multum erat astrologie inclinatus qui cum semel horam recedendi de Avinione per hanc scienciam elegisset inde profectus nunquam reversurus satis cito post per Petrum regem Arragonum perdidit caput simul et regimen” (George W. Coopland, *Nicole Oresme and the Astrologers: A Study of His Livre de Divinations* [Cambridge, MA, 1952], 127).

⁵¹ Regarding the relationship between astrology and power in medieval Europe, see Maxime Préaud, *Les astrologues à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1984), 227–31; Hilary Mary Carey, *Courting Disaster: Astrology at the English Court and University in the Later Middle Ages* (Basingstoke, 1992); John D. North, “Scholars and Power: Astrologers at the Courts of Medieval Europe,” in *Actes de la VI trobada d’història de la ciència i de la tècnica (Vic, 27, 28 i 29 d’octubre de 2000)*, ed. Josep Batlló, Pasqual Bernat, and Roser Puig (Barcelona, 2002), 13–28; Gerd Mentgen, *Astrologie und Öffentlichkeit im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 2005), 159–283; Jean-Patrice Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance: astrologie, divination et magie*

be equally wary about accepting the testimony of Guido Bonatti without any critical analysis, when in the *Liber introductorius* he narrates several cases in which he advised in his capacity as an astrologer on military operations. He reports that in 1260, when he was in the pay of the Tuscan count Guido Novello, he recommended attacking the Guelfs of Florence after having performed an interrogation and an election, and that it was due to this advice that the count achieved a great victory.⁵² According to the chronicle of Rolandino of Padua, another of the lords that Bonatti served, Ezzelino III da Romano, lord of Treviso, laid siege to Orzinuovi hoping to take advantage of a situation his astrologers considered favorable, but the attempt ended in his defeat and subsequent death (1259).⁵³

While it is difficult to know what the decision-making process for a political or military enterprise might have been with certainty because of the different factors that must be taken into account, it must have been less difficult for a ruler to trust his astrologers with regard to deciding when to begin a construction or perform a ceremony. This is the case of Emperor Frederick II, who used an election to found the town of Vittoria (near Padua) under good auspices in 1247.⁵⁴ Misfortune, however, would have it that an enemy incursion took the city a year later and destroyed it. According to an English chronicler, the same emperor

dans l'Occident médiéval (XII^e–XV^e siècle) (Paris, 2006), 169–70, 295–325; Klaus Oschema, “Entre superstition et expertise scientifique: l’astrologie et la prise de décision des ducs de Bourgogne,” in *Les cultures de la décision dans l’espace bourguignon: acteurs, conflits, représentations. Rencontres de Münster (22–25 septembre 2016)*, Alain Marchandisse, Gilles Docquier, and Nils Bock (Neuchâtel, 2017), 89–103; H. Darrel Rutkin, *Sapientia Astrologica: Astrology, Magic and Natural Knowledge, ca. 1250–1800* (Cham, 2019), 422–63; Jean-Patrice Boudet, *Astrologie et politique entre Moyen Âge et Renaissance* (Florence, 2020), as well as several papers published in *De Frédéric II à Rodolphe II. Astrologie, divination et magie dans les cours (XIII^e–XVII^e siècle)*, ed. Jean-Patrice Boudet, Martine Ostorero, and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Florence, 2017).

⁵² “. . . ego elegi quadam vice comiti Guidoni Novello de Tuscia contra Florentinos qui expulerunt eum de Florentia. . . . debellavimus eos et vicimus ex toto. . . . ego habebam primo per quaestionem quod debebamus obtinere et post habuimus electionem fortissimam in eundo ad praelium et sciebam exitum eorum per privatos nuncios missos” (Bonatti, *De Astronomia*, 393–94).

⁵³ Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance*, 169–70.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 176.

postponed the consummation of his marriage to Isabella of England until the fortunate hour assigned by his astrologers.⁵⁵

Kings and nobles were not the only ones in the political setting to make use of astrology. There were also Italian communal republics that used it, to the extent that astrological elections occasionally became part of the civil rituals and processes. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the republic of Florence observed several ceremonial acts of political transcendence at moments deemed favorable by astrologers: when the army should cross the walls, when scrutiny was conducted in the drawing of candidates for public office, or when the baton and banner were handed over to the general who led the army.⁵⁶

A good example of how far a ruler particularly dedicated to astrology could reach in the use of elections, from the end of the fifteenth century, is Ludovico Maria Sforza the Moor, duke of Milan. He scrupulously followed the recommendations of his astrologer Ambrogio Varese da Rosate when scheduling many actions of his personal life, politics, and military campaigns. On the basis of elections, he waited for the opportune time to have the 300 Venetian soldiers who had come to his aid cross the Adda River (1497) and also decided the date to enter Genoa (1498).⁵⁷ Elections were also used for his diplomatic meetings and for the journeys of his ambassadors and members of the court, as well as for the weddings and consummation of marriage of the duke himself and of his nieces, and the medical attention given to his family and the nobles of his court. Varese is an excellent example of how, through his technical knowledge, an astrologer could achieve significant influence in government if his lord was dependent enough on astrology. He also shows the fragility of that position, given that Ludovico's downfall also led to Varese's fall from grace.⁵⁸

The use of astrology was far from the general norm among late medieval rulers. It was rather a use that depended on the prince's own indi-

⁵⁵ Danielle Jacquart, "La physiognomonie à l'époque de Frédéric II: le traité de Michel Scot," in *Le scienze alla corte di Federico II / Sciences at the Court of Frederick II*, ed. Véronique Pasche (Turnhout, 1994), 19–37; Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance*, 176.

⁵⁶ Rutkin, *Sapientia Astrologica*, 455–63.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 450–51.

⁵⁸ Monica Azzolini, *The Duke and the Stars: Astrology and Politics in Renaissance Milan* (Cambridge, MA, and London, 2013), 167–209.

vidual criteria, although there was a trend that led it to become more widespread from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century and in the Renaissance. The drives to promote astrology or take astrological predictions into account were not uniform. Sometimes what was sought was more the legitimation of power by means of sophisticated technical knowledge, as was the case with Pere the Ceremonious, while other rulers used it as psychological support when making more or less risky decisions, as must have been the case for Joan.

EDITION

This is the first edition of the *Tractat de les eleccions* by Bartomeu de Tresbens and is based on *R*, the only known witness. I have followed the usual criteria for the edition of Catalan medieval texts: I have maintained the spelling of *R* but have expanded abbreviations and separated words in accordance with current usage; I have applied the modern Catalan u/v and i/j distinctions, added accents and diaeresis, apostrophes (') to indicate the submission of letters that are currently marked with that symbol, interpuncts (·) to separate joined words that today are separated by spaces and dashes (-) for enclitic pronouns. I have also regularized the use of capitalization. While the text of *R* does have punctuation, I punctuated it anew with the modern standards, including the suppression of the periods that surrounded the numerals. I divided the text into chapters at the points where *R* has space for initials (except in the cases of XXIV and XXVI), numbered them, and added titles from the table of contents that appears at the start of the manuscript. In only a few instances I had to supply a title absent from the table of contents (VI, XI) or modify title because of corruption of the text (chapter XXII). In one case I combined two items from the table into a single chapter (IX). I have noted the rare occasions on which there were discrepancies. I have not found significant differences in wording between the table of contents and the beginning of the text, except in chapter XXXII where the table of contents apparently preserves an Occitanism of the author that was replaced by a copyist in the text with the corresponding Catalan word. I have placed all added words and letters in square brackets. To facilitate the referencing the text, I have numbered the paragraphs (§) and indicated the folio numbers. The corrections I made to the text—based on the sources used

by Tresbens on the sense of the passage—are noted in the critical apparatus, along with incidents arising from the copying process, such as expunctions and corrections. The lower register includes the sources used by Tresbens and numerous lexical clarifications, especially for words that come from Occitan. Despite my having frequently consulted the *DCVB* and the *DOM*,⁵⁹ I have only noted as much in exceptional cases. With regard to the sources, I have cited the Latin version used by Tresbens, but, for those cases in which the Latin text of the Renaissance print is corrupt, I have compared it to current, more reliable, editions of translations into other languages: the medieval Portuguese version of the seventh part of the *Liber completus* by Abenragel and the modern Italian translation of *Centiloquium* from the Arabic.

SIGLA

R = Ripoll, Biblioteca Lambert Mata MS 21

ARLat = Abenragel, *Liber completus in iudiciis stellarum = Liber de iudiciis astrorum* (Basel, 1551).

ARLus = Abenragel, *El Libro conplido en los iudizios de las estrellas (partes 6 a 8): traducción hecha en la corte de Alfonso el Sabio*, ed. Gerold Hilty (Saragossa and Barcelona, 2005), “Parte séptima,” 87–190.

⁵⁹ *DCVB* = Antoni M. Alcover and Francesc de B. Moll, *Diccionari català-valencià-balear*, 10 vols. (Palma, 1964–69); *DOM* = *Dictionnaire de l’occitan médiéval*, Munic, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften < <http://www.dom-en-ligne.de> >.

[Tractat de les eleccions]

[Prefaci]

5 [§1] Don Pedro, senyor Rey d'Aragó, príncep humil més que negun
 anyell, molt havets vists e hauzit de mos dits: aprenets los que més vos
 plauen pendre. Però bé·m plau que, si alcun vol rependre razó, sol la'm
 10 faça entendre bé [e]·m repenré en so que·m volrà dir e clarament de-
 mostrar ab albir e, si m'i porà vendre per més rahó, seré vencut e tornaré
 aprendre. E ja sabets que en los tracta[t]s precedents d'aquest vos he
 mostrat molt dels affers de astrologia en las nativitats e en las interro-
 15 gacions. E perquè més sovén usats en elections, jatsia que tart ne de-
 manets ni'n fassats, vull vos far compliment en ellas en aquellas cosas
 tan solament que és mester o necessitat a vós com a Rey e a vostros
 successors. E non entén a parlar en aquestes elections, si no·ntén sola-
 20 ment en las cosas reyal, que pertanyen a la casa e progènia reyal en sos
 afers necessaris, per ço car dien tots los actors que electió no·s deu fer
 sinó sobre nativitats o sobre interrogacions e sobre fets reyal. E per ço
 car les nativitats al jorn de vuy no se'n salven ni se'n retenen sinó per
 25 Reys e per hòmens de gran caler, e d'aquells són poch, perquè la scièn-
 cia és departida en lo món, se confon. E per amor d'açò non deuen ésser
 fetas elections sinó en aquells qui han gran e natura[1] senyoria, sens na-
 tivitats, ni a altres, sinó que seran tals que contínuament vullan usar per
 astrologia e en aquella se nodriran o en aquells qui han feta enterrogació
 equivalent a la nativitat, la qual se féu per hom que lonch temps ha consi-
 derat en voler saber son ésser de sa fortuna e vida e accidents ab intenció
 cordial. Car aquell mou e ha mogut lo firmament en aquella voluntat

16 sobre² *sup. lin. R* 17 vuy] uny R

4 “hauzit”: Occitanism for “heard.”

8–10 “E ja sabets . . . en las interrogacions”: The author alludes to his own works preceding the *Tractat de les eleccions* in the same manuscript: *Llibre de les nativitats*, fols. 1ra–85vb, and *Tractat de les interrogacions*, fols. 86ra–98rb.

13–25 “E non entén . . . ab intenció cordial”: The idea that an astrologer must accept elections consultations principally from kings, lords, and people of high rank, or individuals whose nativity or children’s nativity is known, comes from

qu·él tenia amagada entrò aquell die e hora e minut, entrò al punt que·s mou e va fer son viatge al maestre de l'art o li tramet letres per cert misatge, lo qual li especifica la qüestió en tal forma: “Maestre, prech-vos que·m prengats l'ascendent per veure e saber la figura del cel e la disposició per la ordinació de l'ésser de ma vida en los accidents a mi pertanyents segons natura.”

[§2] E açò fet, sia obrat al judici e d'aquí avant pot fer elections equi-
|valent[s] a la electió que se faria per la nativitat si la havia. E vertedera-
ment les elections non són bones ni profiten sinó a cas e a fortuna a les
altres gents. És ver que, en alguns hòmens, de la nativitat d'alcun primogènit seu al qual serà jutjada nutrició perfeta se poden pendre accidents pertinents al pare e puyes fer electió al pare e al fill per aquella, e és quaix equipol·lent o equal a la figura de la nativitat del pare pròpia.

[I. Regles generals]

[§3] Quant volràs elegir, cové que elegesques sobre l'ascendent de la nativitat o de la interrogació que tu sabs e sobre lo senyal del signe de la perfectió de l'any, e adonchs serà ta electió perfeta e mellor, car per aquells sabràs què és a ell més profitable e més dampnós de les obres de les esteles. E tot quant és en l'ascendent de les elections és en saber la natura dels signes. Car los signes que són fermes e fixes són Taurus, Leo,

26 minut] pnut *R* 32 d'aquí] de qui *R* 35 de] dels quals *R*

Zahel, who, like Tresbens, attributes it to all the authors: “Omnes concordati sunt quod electiones sint debiles, nisi in regibus, habent enim isti, licet debilitentur eorum electiones, radicem, id est nativitates eorum, quae confortant omnem planetam debilem in itinere. Vilibus vero et mercatoribus et his qui sequuntur non eligas aliquid, nisi supra nativitates eorum et revolutiones annorum illorum et supra nativitates eorum filiorum” (Zahel, *De electionibus*, §1–2, in Crofts, “*Kitāb al-Ik̄tiyārāt*,” 29). This restriction, however, does not appear to be shared by most astrologers and was not accepted by Abenragel (see n. 40 above).

39 “Regles generals”: The title is taken from the beginning of the next chapter: “Vistes les regles generals. . . .” The numbering of all the chapters is by the editor.

45–73 “Car los signes . . . se trobarà en ells”: Based on Zahel, *De electionibus* (§12–16 in Crofts, “*Kitāb al-Ik̄tiyārāt*,” 34–37) and Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7.3 (*ArLat*, 302–3 [“De signis et eorum significationibus”]; *ArLus*, 98–99). Since the

Escorpí e Aquari: signifiquen fermesa e tarditat e constància e perseve-
 ransa de les coses e molt durar. E per amor d'açò qui vol fer cosa de
 durada o de tardansa o hedificansa d'ostals o de masos per durar és bon,
 e celebrar nocés après que lo sposalment sia fet en los signes movibles. E
 50 si en los signes fermes fembre serà fugida a son marit, tart o jamés no la
 recobrarà. E judicis e comensaments que sien en ells comensats de plets
 no se acabaran sens grans multiplicacions de testimonis de grans fortu-
 nas. E qui serà mes en càrker sots la senyoria o assencions de tals signes
 haurà lonch càrker. E si algun se cuyta en ell, non se mitiguerà leugera-
 55 ment. Conditions e retribucions són profitoses. E sàpies que Escorpí és
 més leuguer que negun dels signes fermes, e Leo és més ferm e Acari és
 més tart e pijós.

[§4] Los signes movibles són Àries, Càncer, Libra e Capricornus:
 signifiquen sobtesa e festinància e leugera o cuytament o mobilitat e tota
 60 cosa de pocha durada, e lo temps que significa és breu, e en aquells no
 és bona fer neguna cosa que deja durar ni de què hajam parlat en los
 signes fermes. En ells és bon semenar e comprar e vendre e fermar muller,
 mas non pas fer nocés. E lo malalte que comensa de malautejar tost serà
 guarit o mort, e contencions que s comense[n] en ells non durara[n], e
 65 l'hom que fugirà tost retornarà. E fer peregrina|tge bon és. Coses pro-
 meses non sa tendran, parlament o novelles portades en tals signes falsas
 són, ni és bo plantar en aquells ni fer neguna cosa de durada. E los més
 cuytoses e los més movibles són Àries e Càncer, per què són més torts
 en les lurs assencions, e Libra e Capricornus són més forts e més tempras.

70 [§5] Los signes comuns són Gèmini, Virgo, Sagitari e Pisces. E a-
 quell[s] són bons en tota cosa que vullas que sia tornada altra vegada a

48 o¹] no R 56 és iter. R 57 tart scripsi ex tardior Zahel : car R
 67 post cosa exp. qui R

latter very closely followed the former or a source common to the both of them (Dorotheus), the source used by Tresbens here is not evident at first glance. A careful comparison, however, shows that his text is closer to Zahel's in several instances, while just once he reproduces a piece of information which is only in Abenragel (see appendix 1). Tresbens changes the order of exposition, placing the fixed before the mobile signs. On the relationship between Zahel, Abenragel, and Dorotheus, see Crofts, "*Kitāb al-İktiyārāt*," x-xiii.

fer e en companyes e participacions, e tota cosa tal o de tal natura és bona de fer en ells, per què comprar ni núpries o noces fer non és bon en aquells, car frau e decepció se trobarà en ells.

75 [§6] E sàpies que, quant a tu covenrà fer eleccions per força e non pots haver la saó que la Luna non sia infortunada, fe que aquella planeta que enfortunarà la Luna que sia senyor de l'ascendent e, tant non poràs ad-
 80 guar tots los significadors de la cosa sobre què volets fer eleccions, fe que lo senyor de l'ascendent sia en bona disposició. E quant trobaràs en algun comensament de elecció planeta bona en algun angle e majorment en lo mig del cel, non te'n cal haver cura d'altre, car aquell és bon e abastant.

[§7] Quant la revolució de l'any de la nativitat o de la interrogació serà mala, poch t'i aprofitaran les eleccions en aquell any. E si la revolució
 85 d'aquell any és fortunada e bona, non t'i cal fer eleccions.

[§8] En los viatges de mar o d'aygua Mars no fa gran dan, si donchs non és per fet de guerras o de robaria, ni Saturnus en los camins de terra, si donchs non és per infirmitat. Los signes forts e fermes devets esquivar en tots camins, si donchs non és en viatges de Rey o de sos fets, car en
 90 tals són bons, majorment Leo, que és signe reyal, e los signes que són casas o exaltacions dels 3 sobirans planetas, exceptat Càncer, qui és més per mendicans o per correus o per mercers, si donchs Júpiter non era en ell e que lo Sol lo regardàs de bon esguarts.

[§9] Quant alcuna mala planeta prometrà mal e serà fora e cazents de
 95 l'angle e fort senyada e serà peregrina e en signe contrari a ella o a sas dignitats, sàpies que serà lo dampnatge tan grant de la sua significació, que no lo porà tolre negú per eleccions si non tan solament Déu.

75–89 “quant a tu covenrà . . . en tots camins”: Based on Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7.1 (*ARLat*, 298–99; *ARLus*, 91). The first chapter of the seventh part lays out “some universal and aphoristic rules,” which Tresbens reproduces almost in their entirety in these general rules and completes them by taking some rules from the third chapter of Abenragel. Tresbens expands on the recommendations of his source by adding exceptions, including the exception for Leo when avoiding strong signs during travel, which is repeated further along (§50).

94–133 “Quant alcuna mala planeta . . . faràs de ta elecció”: Based on Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7.1 (*ARLat*, 298–99; *ARLus*, 91).

94 “cazents”: Occitanism for “cadent.”

[§10] Sàpies que en la 4 de migjorn són molt poderosos la Luna e Venus. E en la 4 de l'orient són molt flachs. |

100 [§11] Quant la planeta que és infortuna recebrà alguna planeta fortuna, 151v
sàpies no li'n fa gran dan, e majorment que serà guardat de esguart de
s'amistansa quan és del 4 o de l'opòsit.

[§12] E sàpies cert que lo infortuni de las planetes crex e és trop fort
quant són de tot en tot fores de lurs dignitats e són en lochs estranys.

105 [§13] Ítem non que, si vols batallar villa e trobas que lo senyor de
l'ascendent de la revolució d'aquell any del món, ço és, quant lo Sol entre
en Àries, sia son significador, mal te vendrà per aquell any.

[§14] Sàpies que en los comensaments de totes cosas cové que poses
lo cel covinent e acordant a las naturas dels significadors de las cosas
110 que comensas, e los significadors axí mateix acordants e covinents ad
aquells que s'i mesclen ab ells.

[§15] E sàpies que la millor e la més fortunada elecció és—e més
perfeta és—metre les planetas en son any e que sien les planetas diürnas
orientals del Sol, axí com són Saturnus, Júpiter e'l Sol, e que sien en
115 signes de masculinitat, e aquells que són nocturnals, que sian occidentals
a la Luna, axí com són Mars, Venus, Mercúrius e la Luna—mas Mercuri
pot ésser diürnal e pot ésser nocturnal—e aquestes que seran en signes
de femenins.

[§16] E layxa de fer elecció bona e de ben, quant la Luna applicarà a
120 Mars de casa de Venus, con és de Taurus e de Libra, e a Júpiter de casa
de Mercuri, con són de Gèmini e de Virgo, on que sien los altres, ço és
Mars e Júpiter.

[§17] Sàpies que molt és e pot estar fortunat aquell que haurà fortunes
125 poderosas o aquell de qui seran lo senyor de la 11, del seu ascendent, de
sa nativitat o de sa interrogació en son any, o lo senyor de la 11 comtant

103 lo infortuni *scripsi ex* infortunium *ARLat* / a infortuna *ARLus* : les infortu-
nis *R* **115** *post de add. et exp. ms R* **123** e *sup. lin.*

103–4 “lo infortuni (les infortunis *R*) . . . en lochs estranys”: Abenragel, in the
printed Latin version, has “multum crescit *infortunium* planetarum, si quando fue-
ri[n]t in locis extraneis” (*ARLat*, 29), and in the Portuguese version, which closely
followed the now lost Castilian version, “Muito crece a *infortuna* das pranas
quando foren en lugares estranhos” (*ARLus*, 91).

del loch de la Luna o lo senyor de la 11 comtant de la part de la fortuna, con aquests seran en son any, o la 1 d'elles no li cal més eleccions o, si són fortunats, ja menys.

130 [§18] Quant lo senyor del terme de la conjuntió o de la prevenció passada devant lo temps de la electió de ta casa serà en bon loch e en bon estament en sas casas e de sa natura e seran concordants a la natura de la cosa, serà de longa durada e per lonch temps aquella cosa que faràs de ta electió.

[II.] Capítol general

135 [§19] Vistes les regles generals, aquest capítol és general en tots comensaments, per què en totes coses que vulles comensar seguiràs l'orde d'aquest | en general e puys als altres particularment. Faràs eguallar l'ascendent e son senyor e acordar per fortuna o per infortuna, e açò és la intenció de Tholomeu en la 9a regla del *Centiloqui*, là on dix que covén
140 que lo judicador de astrologia ús per les males planetes, axí com fa lo mege de física per les particions venenoses, e açò segons quantitat competent a esmenar e corregir error de forts defalliments e de fortunes, e aquesta és la intenció quant diu per fortuna o per infortuna.

145 [§20] Diu Aly: fortuna en l'ascendent vol aytant dir que l'ascendent sia de natura covinent e semblant a la cosa que vols fer o comensar en calitat o per rahó, axí com quant volem fer obres leugeras e movibles o soptoses e viatges que sobte sien complits, que l'ascendent sia signe

129 o de la prevenció *sup. lin.* 131 *post de exp. bona natura R* 137 puys] punys *R* 140 planetes] plantes *R*

134 “Capítol general”: This is the only chapter with its title at the start.

139 “la 9a regla del *Centiloqui*”: It is actually *Centiloquium*, verbum 10 (Venice, 1493, fol. 107v, “Uti oportet infortunis in electionibus sicut periti medici utuntur venenosis secundum competentem quantitatem”). For the Arabic text with Italian translation, see Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf, *Commento al Centiloquio tolemaico*, 74–75.

144–72 “Diu Ali: fortuna en l'ascendent . . . genus de la cosa requir”: Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7.2 (*ARLat*, 299 [Tresbens §22=“Cave praeterea ne Cauda sit cum aliquo Luminarium quum est in coniunctione vel oppositione, vel Luminaria non sint in coniunctione vel oppositione. Etiam cave ne Cauda sit in ascendente nec in loco rei neque cum parte rei, quia res facit vi les. . . Procura in die ascendens de signis diurnis, in nocte de nocturnis . . .”]; cf. *ARLus*, 92–93).

movible, e de natura de foch, quant demanam gràcia e honor al Rey. E
 entén segons què diu per la rahó, la significació e obra de la planeta, axí
 150 com vehem que Mars és significador de plets e de batallas, deveu fortunar
 Mars en aquell cas per la part que voleu que vença, per què se saguex
 que deveu appellar e egualar la casa e·l seu senyor de la cosa que volem
 comensar e lo senyor del signe e casa en què serà lo senyor aquell
 d'aquella cosa que volem.

155 [§21] E sàpies que l'ascendent significa lo comensament d'aquell qui
 és la cosa, e lo senyor de l'ascendent significa la mijancera edat, e lo
 senyor de la casa on és lo senyor de l'ascendent significa la fi d'aquell
 de qui és la cosa. E si guardaràs a la part de fortuna, e la poràs mellorar
 e·l seu senyor e lo senyor del loch del seu senyor per esguart o per appli-
 160 cació o per conjuntió o acordament de las naturas, e remouràs o faràs
 luny d'aquells tota mala planeta, serà la obra en major perfectió. E que
 guardes que lo senyor de l'ascendent non sia retrogradant ni enbergat,
 car retrogradació e son empatxament significa gran tarditat e gran en-
 bergament en las causas e desobediència e que non s'i complirà sinó ab
 165 gran treball, jassia que los altres significadors sien tots bons e signifiquen
 perfectió de la cosa.

[§22] E guarda que la Coha del Dragó non sia ab lo Sol ni ab la Luna
 ni ells no sien en lurs conjuntió ni en lur oposició ni la Coha non sia
 en l'ascendent ni en la casa de cosa, ni tampoch ab la part de la obra que
 170 vol fer, car gran viltat aporta en tota res. E fes que de dies sia l'ascendent
 | en signes de dies e masculins, e de nits en nocturnes e femenins, e se-
 gons que la natura e·l genus de la cosa requir.

[§23] Sàpies que, axí com diu lo Ptholomeu en lo *Centiloqui*, les este-
 les fixes donan grans dons e forapassan tota mesura, mas per major par-
 175 tida finissen e fan termenar en mal. E per amor d'assò devets guardar,
 quant volràs metre rey en son coronament, que en l'ascendent non haja

147 sobte *scripsi e cito ARLat* : sobre *R* 150 *post* batallas *exp.* e *R*
 152 deveu] *devent R* 169 *post* en¹ *exp.* lur *R*

173–75 “axí com diu lo Ptholomeu ... en mal”: *Centiloquium*, verbum 29
 (Venice, 1493, fol. 109r, “Stelle fixe dant dona grandia, modum exedentia sed mul-
 totiens finiuntur in malum”). Cf. the Arabic text with Italian translation: Aḥmad
 ibn Yūsuf, *Commento al Centiloquio tolemaico*, 104–5.

estela que sia de natura de Mars, car, si ho serà, serà lo rey tiran e destruidor de son poble per sanch o per foch o per rapina. E si de Venus e de Mars, serà femenié, molt putaner, e majorment si en la nativitat havia concordansa de semblants.

[III. En comensar son coronament e de sos fills]

[§24] Quant volràs coronar rey o fer comte o ennoblehir novellament algun, posa lo Sol en Ariete, passats los primers 10 graus, o en Leo o en Taurus, e Mars és millor en Àries per lo coronament, o fes que Júpiter e Mars lo reguàrdent, o ell a ells, de bon esguars e que sien en bona disposició e en alcuna dignitat sua, e fes que la Luna sia crexent e, si pot en una de las cases de las 3 planetas sobiranes, e majorment en Aquari o en Sagitari, e Venus e Mercuri que sien *directi* en lur anament e orientals e que Saturnus sia en alcuna dignitat. E si lo Cap del Dragó és en lo mig del cel, és fort bon. E fes que ll'ascendent sia 1 del[s] signes o exaltacions de les 3 planetas sobirans, mes que la Luna non sia aquí infortunada ni en la 12 ni en la 6 ni en la 8 ni en la 2, mas sie en la 3 o en la 5 o en la 11. E enfre totes cosas guarda que la 11 casa e son senyor sien bons e la part de fortuna e son senyor el[s] lochs d'aquells. Car aquesta és aquella, per què són significats los accidents dels conselladors del Rey e de sa substància, axí com diu lo Ptholomeu en lo *Centiloqui*, verbo 39, on diu que, quant la 11 casa e l seu senyor seran mals fortunats, serà lo damp-

178 *post son exp. poble R* 183 10] 20 (al. 10 *in marg.*) R 196 verbo 39 *sup. lin.*

176–78 “quant volràs . . . per rapina”: Even though it is not stated as such, this could also be based on *Centiloquium*, verbum 84 (Venice, 1493, fols. 114v–115r, “Cum fuerit dominus ascendentis intronizationis alicuius, scilicet officii alicuius dignitatis, Mars et ipse in secunda domo vel commixtus domino secunde, destruet substantiam eorum quibus preest, precipue si fuerit dominus secunde Iupiter”). Cf. Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf, *Commento al Centiloquio tolemaico*, 206–7.

181: “En comensar son coronament e de sos fills”: From this point forward, the titles are taken from the general table located at the start of the manuscript, with some exceptions that will be indicated in the corresponding places.

183 “10”: The copying scribe indicated with the abbreviation of *àlias* that he was correcting the “20” in the text on the basis of another manuscript.

natge en la substància del Rey e en los seus concellers, e lo infortuni de
 la 2 casa de l'ascendent significa lo dan del poble en sa substància. E
 200 aquesta sentència se acorde ab lo comén de l'Aly, per què fe ton poder
 que aquestes 4 cases sien fortunades al més que poràs en las cosas
 dessusdites e lo senyor del 10 non guarde de mal esguart lo senyor d'ell.
 E si lo Sol és en Taurus en lo mig del cel e Leo ascendent, serà duració
 en ell.

205 [§25] Zael diu que hom pauze la Luna en l'ascendent en sublimació
 de | reys ajustada a las fortunas, la qual non sembla bona, per ço car diu
 Aly que la Luna és enemiga de l'ascendent. En los principis dels camins
 aquell mateix Zael diu que fa varejar los camins quant hom la posa en
 l'ascendent ni en signes migans, per quant que sia fortunada. E donchs,

153r

203 *post Sol exp. és R* 208 *la] lo R* 209 *sia] sien R*

197–99 “axí com diu lo Ptholomeu . . . en sa substància”: *Centiloquium*, verbum 39 (fol. 110r, “Malum esse undecime domus et eius domini in intronizatione regum significat quod accidet consiliatoribus suis et eius substantia de malo. Et eodem modo erit malum esse secunde que est domus substantie, significans quod modicum adispiscetur populus cum illo rege”). Cf. the Arabic text with Italian translation: Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf, *Commento al Centiloquio tolemaico*, 124–25.

200 “comén de l'Aly”: In this case the citation refers not to Haly Abenragel (as at ll. 144, 206, 582, 740) but rather the author of the commentary that usually accompanied the *Centiloquium* and was attributed to Hali but in reality the work of Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn al-Dāya. It is found directly following the aphorism in the editions mentioned above, and in this case is limited to justifying the statements of Pseudo-Ptolemy. Regardless, Abenragel and Hali are sometimes confused, at least so far as is shown by Tresbens himself (*Libel d'investigació de tresors*, gloss 15, in Giralt, “Astrologia per a la recerca de tresors”).

205 “pauze”: Occitanism, *pauzar*, “to put.”

205–6 “Zael diu . . . ajustada a las fortunas”: Zahel, *De electionibus* (§124, in Crofts, “*Kitāb al-Iḳtiyārāt*,” 85: “Et cum volueris sublimari et moveri ad regnum, sit hoc cum ascensione Leonis, et sit Sol in Tauro in medio caeli et Luna in ascendente, iuncta fortunis aut domino medii caeli”).

206–7 “diu Aly . . . enemiga de l'ascendent”: Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7.70 (*ARLat*, 328, “Similiter abhorribilis est Luna in ascendente tam in introitu quam in exitu, quia significat in itinere infirmitatem et magnum laborem”; *ARLus*, 145).

208–9 “Zael diu . . . per quant que sia fortunada”: Zahel, *De electionibus* (§107,

210 dic yo, com la Luna signifie poble comú, si és posada en l'ascendent,
no farà variar lo poble, axí com lo camí. Dich què s'i deurà fer. E yo
responch-li a la diversitat que és ver, que és mala en viatges e comensa-
ments de obres e les fa variar per l'entenció d'aquell que fa la obra en
què lo fa vagar en 1 e en altre. E per ço car lo príncep és donat per regidor,
215 ha auçmentar poble és subject. E per amor d'açò dic que la Luna ben
fortunada en coronament e en sublimacions de nobleza e de senyoria
[deu] estar en l'ascendent. Encare més és bo e necessari que lo senyor de
la 4 reguarde les fortunas e les bones planetas. E si açò no s'i pot fer, fes
que la Luna sia rahebuda e lo senyor de la 4 sia en loch fort. E si açò non
220 se pot fer, fe-la cazer de l'ascendent de son esguart e posa les fortunas
en l'esguart del 4 signe e de mig cel.

[IV. En pendre senyories o potestats e homenatges]

[§26] Quant volràs pendre o fermar senyoria o principat o homenatges
penre e metre senyor novell, bones són les demuntades constil·lacions,
225 mas en special és a metre la Luna en signe de Mars ben fortunada, e que
guarde a Mars de bon esguart, ab bones fortunes en la fi del mes ajustades
a ells, e guarda tant per los capítols precedents quant per aquest. E en tots
fets d'armes que fassas, Mars apoderat, fortunat e participant en bon esta-
ment e que haja part en l'ascendent e non pas en loch negun de part ad-
230 versa ni de enemichs, e Júpter reguarda a la Luna o sia ella en ell e en
casa sua o de Mars ab sos esguarts. E guarda que la Luna no sia en Càncer
ni lo senyor de l'ascendent non sia en Cancro ne en casa infortunada ni
dels infortunats.

[§27] Quant lo senyor de l'ascendent serà en signe fix e l'ascendent
235 fix és, tots fortunats, durarà la senyoria, e atressí en los sucsedents fortu-

216 *post senyoria exp. e R* 217 *necessari] necessaris R*

in Crofts, “*Kitāb al-Ikhtiyārāt*,” 77: “Horribilis est etiam praesentia Lunae in ascen-
dente in introitu atque exitu, quia timetur peregrinanti infirmitas in suo itinere vel
gravis labor in corpore”). I have understood *varejar* as *barrejar* in the sense of “mix
up” or “spoil” (*DCVB*, s.v. “barrejar”).

220 “cazer”: Occitanism for “to fall.”

222–81: This chapter follows Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7.81 (*ARLat*, 334–
36; *ARLus*, 156–59).

nats. E infortuna, malícia. E Mars, longa ira e mal cor, si non hi és ab esguart de fortuna e mostra decepcions. Sol en l'ascendent signifie moltes cavalleries en grans ajudes en altas e nobles e | gran fama e molt espaordida en excel·lència e poder reyal altificat e regne. Júpiter en l'ascendent significa justícia, virtuts e bon regiment e honest. Mercuri en l'ascendent lo fa de bones custumes e de gran pes e consell e que non haurà cura de deports ni solaços de vanitats. E si aquí serà Venus, serà hom de grans delits e deports e serà ergullós e leuger. E si aquí serà la Luna, haurà audàcia e bon nom. E si aquí serà lo Cap del Dragó, significa molt alta senyoria e victòria de sos enemichs, e majorment si serà ab fortunas.

[§28] Quant Júpiter serà cazent de l'ascendent e la Luna del Sol e negun d'ells non reguardarà en lo comensament del regne o de la senyoria, significa greu mal. E quant Mars serà en lo comensament del regne en bon loch o en casa de Júpiter e que sia reebut, signifie gran audàcia e vanaglòria, que sos manaments farà passar de vendre plets e bregas e guardarà ben ses coses.

[§29] E nota ben que, si lo planeta que és significador serà en la sumitat del seu auge e que sia pujant en ell, que serà la dignitat molt noble, honorable e durable e de lahor. E ajuda molt la septentrional latitut, que, quant major és, més val e més fort ajuda. E orientelitat ajuda a bontat e sens pena. E la planeta que és en lo mig del cel o en l'orient, si és en signe de exaltació de la 1 de los luminaris, ajuda a exalçament e honors. E los graus qui són luents e clars e los graus qui fan cúyer fortuna quant són e l'ascendent ab bona planeta e per bons esguarts confortats ajuden e fan molt en aquest fet.

[§30] E Saturnus en la 11 e que sia en sa exaltació e que Júpiter haja mesclansa ab ell ajuda molt a fer poblar terres e lochs, mas que ret lo cors del senyor en ferm e flach, e majorment si serà de dies lo fet. E si

255 *post la exp. virtut R* 264 *ferm] fermis R*

234–36 “Quant lo senyor . . . en los sucesdents fortunats”: Tresbens has not faithfully reproduced his source here (*ARLat*, 334: “At si quando ascendens fuerit signum fixum et Luna in bono loco figurae in angulo vel succedenti fuerit fortunata, significat quod illud regnum vel dominium longo tempore durabit”).

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265 serà de nits e serà Mars en aquella disposició, haurà poder e victòria gran e ardidesa e gran fama expandida e mantindrà plets e cavalleries.

[§31] E si la part de fortuna s'i acorda, serà més fort en matar gents e en cavalls e cavalleries e caminants. E en açò fe acordar la part de la nobilitat que se trau del Sol entrò al grau de la exaltació sua, que és 19
270 graus de Àries, e gites-se del grau de l'ascendent de dies e de nits del grau de la Luna entrò al grau | de la sua exaltació, que és a 3 graus de 154r Taurus, e gita-se de l'ascendent. E atressí devets acordar la part del regne e fortunar-lo e de la victòria que se pren de dies e de nits del grau del Sol al grau de la Luna, e gites del grau del mig cel, car quant aquestas parts
275 e lurs senyors seran en bona disposició, significa gran ben a aquell senyor. E si non, seguirà-se lo contrari.

[§32] E si vols saber lo mal e el ben que n'exirà, guarda totes les 12 cases, car aquellas que seran fortunades li daran ben en la lur significació. E aquellas que seran infortunades li faran dan en les cases que són de lur
280 significació e del signe d'elles e de lur senyor e del senyor del loc de lur senyor.

[V. En comensar conquerir terres de enemichs e de infidels]

[§33] Quant volràs conquistar o asetjar terras, villas, ciutats a ta mà e volràs comensar ton camí o ton seti o plets o qüestió moure enfre tu
285 mateix e l'altre, vejas si pots: bon és saber ta nativitat e l'ascendent de la vila o del loch que volràs conquerir e lo significador de la casa per la qual vols pladejar. E fe de guisa que lo significador de l'adversari sia infortunat e cahent dels angles e que lo senyor de l'ascendent lo raheba o per ben o per mal. E fe que la Luna guarde a l'ascendent de bon esguart
290 e al seu senyor, e Mars que done sa força e son lum a l'ascendent e a son senyor de bon esguart e que reguarde al senyor del 7 o del 12 per mal esguart e que lo senyor del 7 e del 12 sien en lur decahiment e pelegrins e applicuen al senyor de l'ascendent o al senyor de son loch.

[§34] E fe, si pots, que Júpiter done alguna força al senyor de l'ascendent e l Sol, axí mateix que l'ascendent sia una de les cases de la 1 de las
295 planetes sobiranes. E si lo senyor de l'ascendent és en la 11 o en la 10 o

270 *post del¹ exp. part R* 280–81 del senyor del loc de lur senyor *in marg. R*

si aquell senyor de la 2a d'aquellas casas és Mars, bon és. E guarda tant com poràs que Mars non sia en la 7 ni en la 4 ni e la 8 ni lo senyor de l'ascendent ni de l'11 ni del 10. Mas guarda que non sia cazents ni Mars
 300 ni ton significador, ni sian applicats a planeta cahent, però lo significador del contrari sia cahent e applicant al teu, car per aquella figura conquistarà tots los enemichs teus, si a Déus plaurà.

[§35] E si la Luna faràs en disposició estar que porte lo lum o los raigs del senyor del 7 per esguart bon e que ell sia en son decasament e retrogradan o pelegrí al senyor de l'ascendent per aplicació de bon esguart e
 305 que Mars garde a la Luna e atressí a l'ascendent e | Júpiter lo fortifique, adonchs és senyal que l'enemich e lo loch vendrà a ta mercè e serà sens batalla o sens ferida. E si lo contrari feyas, perdries. 154v

[VI. En fer affrontament e batalla]

[§36] E si volràs que fassa affrontament e batalla, fes Mars sia en angle d'aquell que volràs que vença e que Júpiter o alcuna fortuna lo fortifiquen, que haja poder o dignitat en l'ascendent e que aquell sia de natura de l'ascendent, car sàpies que aquell a qui donaràs Mars per ajudador serà tostemp vencedor. E non poses pas lo senyor de l'ascendent ni de
 315 la 2 en la 7 ni en la 8, mas posa lo senyor del 7 o del 8 en la primera o en la 2, car per aquella disposició serà tostemp lo enemich o lo adversari confús. E guarda que la Luna non sia dampnada, ni lo senyor de sa casa ni la 12 del loch de la Luna ni son senyor. E tostemp fe que les planetas que són de batalles, axí com Mars, Mercuri e la Luna, sien appoderats
 320 per la part que volràs que vença, e encara los senyors de les cases on seran.

[§37] E sàpies que tostemp en fet de batallas vencrà aquell que serà nat de nits e haurà Mars per significador o ajudador en alcuna part de significació en sa nativitat. E en ayçò apparella la part de victòria la qual
 325 se aparella e se trau del grau del loch del Sol entrò al grau de Mars e

324 apparella *sup. lin. R* 325 aparella *exp. R*

309–36: While the table of contents does not provide any title corresponding to this passage, the space with the guide letter indicates the start of a new chapter. This chapter follows Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7.55 (*ARLat*, 320; *ARLus*, 130–31).

gitaràs-la del grau de l'ascendent e guarda que ella non caya ni son senyor en la 4 ni en la 8.

[§38] Ítem guarda que non vajas combatre ab algun ni pladejar quant la Luna serà en Taurus ajustada ab Mars, car aquella col·lació és fort
 330 mala. Mas si iràs quant la Luna serà en Gèminis o en Càncer fortificada per Mars o per bones planetes, va segurament, car aquell qui comensarà en tal disposició vencerà. Mas si serà en Vírgine o en Capricornus, qui comensarà serà vençut. Tostemps que la Luna sia salva de infortunas e que guarde les fortunes, qui comensarà de combatre o pladejar vencerà,
 335 mas que non sia en aquells signes dessusdits e que Saturnus non sia en triplicitat de Taurus.

[VII. En trametre desafiaments e en pendre-los per triar avantatge a si mateix]

[§39] Quant volràs desafiar ton enemich e que haja pahor de tu e fassa
 340 tas volentats o que convengue que s'humilie a tu, fortunaràs la Luna e Mercuri per Mars e per Júpiter e l'ascendent e son senyor, e pausaràs lo senyor del 7 e del 12 cazents d'aquells e de lurs senyor[s], si pots, e en tal constil·lació tra|met ton desafiament.

[§40] Quant sabràs que alcun ton enemich te tramet dezafiament,
 345 destrigua que non lo prengues entrò que vejas la figura del cel aparellada a ton profit. E fe que lo senyor del 7 sia appoderat sobre lo senyor de l'ascendent, car l'ascendent és aquell que aporta o tramet lo desafís e lo 7 és de tu a qui ven. E fe tota la força al 7 que poràs e a son senyor, axí com fist a l'ascendent quant tu trametist los desafiaments.

[VIII. En saber que se'n seguirà per la hora en què li és tramès o presentat lo desafiament]

[§41] Si vols saber que se'n seguirà per los dezafiments, vejas lo
 355 senyor de l'ascendent e la Luna, en qual estament és ab lo senyor de la 4, car si és fortuna e haurà aplicació ab lo senyor de l'ascendent de bon esguart, la fi serà bona per lo que comense o fo causa del desafiament. E

345 lo] los R 348 fe] fa R 355 post bona add. e R

341 “pausaràs”: Occitanism for “you will put.”

si ab lo 7 o ab son senyor, serà la fi bona per aquell a qui foren tramès los significadors. E si serà lo senyor de la 4 infortuna e la aplicació mala, serà la fi mala o serà lo mal a aquell a qui s'aplicarà per qüestió o per esguart. E si lo senyor de l'ascendent és en la 4 e és fortuna, serà la
 360 fi bona. E si infortuna, mala. E si aquí serà la Coha del Dragó ab fortuna o ab infortuna, serà la fi mala per aquell de qui serà la planeta que aquí serà o per aquell ab qui farà aplicació. Axí matex, si lo senyor de l'ascendent serà mal e en mala disposició en lo temps del dezafiament, és mal per aquell que tramet. E si lo senyor del 7 és mal e en mala
 365 disposició, és mal per aquell a qui és tramès e lo Cap del Dragó fa fortificació en ben ab los bons e ab mal en los mals. E la Coha del Dragó aminva de la boneza dels bons e crex en la malícia dels mals.

[IX. En comensar la guerra per terra o per mar. Per anar contra son
 vassall rebel·le]

370 [§42] Si la guerra volets comensar per terra o per mar, guardats ves qual part són los enemichs contra los quals volets anar. E guardats si l'ome contra qui volets guerrear és rebel·le a vós o vós a ell, o si és vostre senyor o vós d'ell. Car null temps Rey ni altre senyor no deu anar contra son vassall rebel·le, si donchs la Luna non és fortunada, car tos-
 375 temps la Luna e·l senyor e·l senyor de l'ascendent, segons Alkindi, són del rebel·le. Mas per ço car lo senyor lo vol rependre, cové que al comensament de sa correctió o persecució que prengua la fortuna de son rebel·le per si matex e que fassa l'ascendent e son senyor e la Luna fortunada e posa tostemp la Luna detrás sas espallas, axí que, si va anta

368–69: These two titles provided by the table of contents describe content set forth in a single chapter.

375: “Alkindi”: The citation of al-Kindi comes from Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7.57 (*ARLat*, 321–22; *ARLus*, 133–34), which is actually the base source for this chapter. The origin of the passage as being from al-Kindi can be found in the *Iudicia astrorum* by al-Kindi, “The *Forty chapters (Iudicia astrorum)*: the two Latin versions,” unpublished edition by Charles Burnett (London, 1993), 120 (available at the Warburg Institute, London).

379 “anta” (=enta) “towards.” Despite the fact that the preposition *enta* exists in the more western forms of Catalan and Aragonese (*DCVB* s.v. “enta,” in Joan Coromines, *Diccionari etimològic i complementari de la llengua catalana*, 9 vols. [Barcelona, 1980–91], s.v. “en” adverb), I consider it an Occitanism.

380 orient, que la Luna sia en occident, e si en occident va, | que ane quant 155v
 serà la Luna en la part d'orient. E si serà meridional per latitut o per
 signes, que ell ane vers septentrion. E si serà septentrional per latitut o
 per signes, que ane vers migjorn.

[§43] E lo rey o lo senyor deu guardar, quant irà contra son rebel·le,
 385 que Mars sia en les parts de orient, que són de 10 graus del signe de
 Taurus a 10 graus de Leo. E de 10 graus d'Escorpí entrò a 10 graus de
 Aquari en açò, si rebel·le és en las parts de l'orient al loch del senyor. E
 si él serà envers las parts de l'occident, espera que Mars sia en los graus
 occidentals, que són de 10 graus de Leo entrò a 10 graus d'Escorpí e de
 390 10 graus de Aquari a 10 graus de Taurus. E sobretot se quart tothom de
 guerra, que non comens a combatre ni plets en horas malas, que són ditas
 combustas e són 12. Aprés la conjunció del Sol e de la Luna tantost
 següent. E puys són bones entrò a 96. E puys són 12 combustes, que són
 del nombre de las 96 inclusivament. E per saber-las pus tost en n'e feta
 395 assí una taula on són totes segons los dies de la edat de la Luna e són
 hores artificials.

[§44] Diu l'Alkabissi que qui comensarà batallar en las primeras 4
 perdrà la vida. E en las següens 4 serà nafrat sens que non morrà. E en
 las 4 derrerases perdrà de sos bens e de sos companyons.

380 “ane”: I consider this an Occitanism (“to go,” in subjunctive). Despite the fact that the third-person present subjective is *an* in medieval Occitan, *ane* is common in modern Occitan; see José Ramón Fernández González, *Gramática histórica provenzal* (Oviedo, 1985), 386–87, 406.

394–96 “E per saber-las . . . e són hores artificials”: As stated, Tresbens was the one who drew up the table, copied on the following folio, based on the explanation by Abenragel, as well as other tables that he created in certain points of the *Libre de les nativitats* based on various authors (Giralt, “Drawing from the Marrow”). The table is shown after paragraph §44.

397–99 “Diu l'Alkabissi . . . de sos bens e de sos companyons”: Alcabitius, *Introductorius* 4.310 (348): “Qui inceperit in iiii horis primis bellare, timenda erit perditio anime sue, et qui inceperit in 4 horis secundis, timendum erit ei detrimentum corporis sui sine amissione anime sue, et qui inceperit in 4 horis ultimis, timendum erit ei detrimentum substantie et sociorum.”

Etat de Luna dies	Hores singu-lars	Hores col·lec-tas	Quals hores són bones e quals són malas	Etat de Luna dies	Hores sin-gulars	Hores col·lec-tas	Quals hores són bones e quals són malas
1 1	12 24	12 24	combustes bones	16 16	12 24	372 384	combustes bones
2 2	12 24	36 48	bones bones	17 17	12 24	396 408	bones bones
3 3	12 24	60 72	bones bones	18 18	12 24	420 432	bones bones
4 4	12 24	84 96	bones combustes	19 19	12 24	444 456	bones bones
5 5	12 24	108 120	bones bones	20 20	12 24	468 480	combustes bones
6 6	12 24	132 144	bones bones	21 21	12 24	492 508	bones bones
7 7	12 24	156 168	bones bones	22 22	12 24	516 528	bones bones
8 8	12 24	180 192	combustes bones	23 23	12 24	540 552	bones bones
9 9	12 24	204 216	bones bones	24 24	12 24	564 576	combustes bones
10 10	12 24	228 240	bones bones	25 25	12 24	588 600	bones bones
11 11	12 24	242 264	bones bones	20 20	12 24	468 480	combustes bones
12 12	12 24	276 288	combustes bones	26 26	12 24	612 628	bones bones
13 13	12 24	300 312	bones bones	27 27	12 24	636 648	bones bones
14 14	12 24	324 336	bones bones	28 28	12 24	660 672	combustes bones
15 15	12 24	348 360	bones bones	30 30	12 24	708 720	bones combustes

medio-
cres

400

[X. Ítem per las horas combustes]

156v

[§45] Ítem guarda que non comens plets ni guerra ni tensó en signes movibles, e majorment de Àries e de Libra, ni Càncer estant en l'ascendent, per ço car la Luna, que és sa dona e son senyor, és la més bas de tots, e Saturnus és lo més alt, que sia senyor del 7. Per què fortificaràs
 405 ton contrari, con ja t'e dit que los signes dels 3 sobirans són fortunes, mes en tals obras e fets.

[XI. En destruir o rompre villas o castells]

[§46] E si vols destruir o rompre villas o castells de tos enemichs, posa l'ascendent signe del foch o d'ayre, e que la Luna sia en tals signes con
 410 aquells, e sia l'ascendent de assencions directes, e lo senyor de l'ascendent que sia occidental, e la primera planeta que ha per pujar après l'ascendent sia aminvant en son anament e que sia applicant a alcuna planeta d'aquella mateixa condició e que vaja a son casament, que és lo
 415 contrari de sa exaltació e que sia lunyat de ll'angle o casa d'ell, mas que non sia pas retrogradan. E és bon que la Luna sia oriental aminvant de son lum e de son anament e remoguda de l'angle o cazén e que applique a alcuna planeta que sia d'aquella condició mateixa e que vaja a son decasament de la Luna, que és en Escorpí. E si la Luna és sobre terra, fe
 420 que applique a planeta que stia dejús la terra, mas guarda que lo senyor de l'ascendent no sia retrogradan. E serà bo si s feya en la derrera 4 del mes lunar e que la Luna no reguarde lo senyor de la casa ni lo Sol. E la Coha del Dragó estan en la 4 ab alcuna infortuna és fort en tal electió, car sotsvertís tots edeficis.

400–406 This chapter is based on Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7.55 (*ARLat*, 321; *ARLus*, 132).

401 “tensó”: Occitanism for “struggle.”

403 “bas”: Occitanism for “low.”

407–23 This chapter does not appear in the initial table of contents, but the guide letter and change in subject indicate the start of a new chapter.

408–21 “E si vols . . . ni lo Sol”: Based on Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7.58 (*ARLat*, 323; *ARLus*, 136).

413 “casament”: i.e. “cazement,” an Occitanism for “fall” (a position of weakness of the planet). In Latin, *ad eius casum* (*ARLat*, 323).

414 “mas”: Later changed by the scribe into *Mars* by adding an *r*.

[XII. En trametre cavallers o pehons per fer la guerra]

425 [§47] E si volets trametre cavallers o pehons per fer la guerra, serva la
 manera del primer e del segon capítols e fortifica l'ascendent e la 11 casa
 e la 2 e la 5 a son senyor del 9. Fe cazer lo 7 e·l 8 e·l 12 e per aquestes
 maneres dessusdites destruiràs tos enemichs, si Déus ho vol permetre, e
 430 e fe so que faràs e non per voluntat pròpia ni per tolre res en aquell que
 tort non te de, e Déus ajudar t'a. Aprés vejas avant lo capítol 2 àlias 20,
 on se tractarà d'açò.

[XIII. En trametre legats per fer pau]

435 [§48] E si volets trametre legat per tractar pau, fortifica la Luna o lo
 senyor de l'ascendent e fe participant Júpiter ab ella, e Mercuri que sia
 ab ella e que porte la Luna los raigs del senyor de l'ascendent | al senyor
 del 7 o del senyor del 7 al senyor de l'ascendent, o almenys de aquell que
 serà significador d'aquell que vol la pau. E guarda que Mars non hi sia
 440 participant ni la Coha del Dragó, mas fe que las planetas que signifiquen
 guerra e part de fortuna sian en disposició amigable e que lo Cap del
 Dragó o Júpiter o abdós sien en lo mig del cel o en lurs bones disposi-
 cions e que en la 4 hajan fortuna, e lo senyor de la quarta sia fortuna e en
 bon estat ab los sobredits, e non sian retrogradants ni combusts ne sien
 445 pelegrins neguns dels significadors, e axí hauran pau, si Déus plau, aca-
 bada.

[XIV. En trametre legats o missatgés per matrimoni de si o de fill o de filla]

[§49] Ítem si los legats volets trametra per tractar e fer matrimoni per
 ton fill o filla, la semblant constil·lació dessusdita és necessària, e que

426 del segon] dels segons *R* 435 Mercuri *exp.* ab ella *R* 442 e lo
 senyor de la quarta sia fortuna *in marg. R* 444 *post axí exp.* en *R*

425–26 “serva la manera del primer e del segon capítols”: References to the first two chapters of this treatise, in which there are general rules.

431–32 “vejas avant lo capítol 2 àlias 20, on se tractarà d'açò”: It is not clear which chapter this refers to, since it does not coincide with any subsequent passage.

450 sia fortunat lo 7 e·l 8 e lur senyor e lo primer e·l segon de l'ascendent e
 que la 1 applique a l'altre de bons esguarts e que non sia la Luna en
 signes estèrils, que són exorchs, ni sia en l'ascendent signe tort. E Venus
 e Júpiter fe que hajan part en açò, e lo Sol, e que fassan alguns esguarts
 bons, e los luminaris sobretot hajan acort ab los significadors e ab lo
 455 senyor de la 5, e axí faran, si a Déu plau, bon tractament.

[XV. En comensar viatge per terra o per mar]

[§50] En comensar viatge per terra o per mar tots signes fermes hi són
 vituperables, exceptat Leo e aquell mes, si non és en fet de Reys o de
 guerras. E en aquellas dues coses és fort lohat. E los signes migans són
 460 bons per metre-los en l'ascendent, sol que la Luna non sia en ells ni en
 l'ascendent, encara que sia fortunada, car dien que fa mudar canvis. En
 Ariete estant la Luna ben fortunada és bon camí pendre, e en lo comensa-
 ment de Libra, mas del mig de Libra avant non és loable. En Capricornus
 és bon, mas que Saturnus non sia retrogradan. E en Cancro és bon, mas
 465 que Júpiter hi sia o la reguarde de bon loch. O que la Luna sia crexent en
 signe de aygua bon és per aygua, mas que fortunes hi sien o los conforten.
 En signes de foch és bon vers orient, mas que sien fortunats, e en signes
 de terra vers migjorn, e d'aygua vers septentrion, e d'ayre vers occident.
 En signes que sien exaltació de alguna planeta bon és exir en camí en la
 470 hora d'aquella planeta aquell signe ascendent. E és mal exir en hora de
 la planeta de la qual lo signe qui és en l'ascendent és son caziment, que
 és oppòsit de sa exaltació, axí com exir en hora de Mars estant Càncer
 en l'ascendent, mas en hora de Júpiter és bon, per ço car és signe de sa
 exaltació. | E axí dels altres.

475 [§51] En tot camí fe fortunat lo 7 e son senyor, e lo 8 e son senyor, e
 la Luna, e non poses la Luna en la 6 ni en la 8 ni en la 9 ni 12, ni la fassas
 estar en la via combusta que és de mig de Libra entrò al mig d'Escorpí,
 e per res no la poses en signes de dos cursos, si pots. E segons los lochs
 e fets per què iràs acorda la Luna ab lo significador de la casa, axí com
 480 si vas al rey o a poderós e noble que acordes la Luna ab lo senyor del 10.

[§52] E si vas a romiatge o a prelat o a religiós o per sciència apendre,
 acorda-lo ab lo 9. E si vas a amichs o per fortuna o per cosa en què speren
 confiança de recaptar o per fer consell ab amichs o altres, acorda-la ab la
 11. E si vas per enemichs acorda-la ab la 12, segons que requerrà lo
 485 negoci e la rahó per què hi vas. E si per comprar terras o ppossecions,

acorda-la ab la 4 e ab son senyor. E axí hauràs profit, si a Déu plau, en lo viatge.

490 [§53] E guarda que Mars non empatxe la Luna ni sia en la 3 ni en la 9a, car ladres o robadors hi ha, si donchs tu matex per robar e desrobar non vas, car en aquells és profitós per guanyar, mas que Mars que sia fortunat. E guarda de Saturnus en mar que no sia infortunat, car—diu Ptholomeu—non dampna Mars en los camins de l’aygua ni Saturnus en los camins o viatges de terra, mas guarda de Saturnus per mar, axí com de Mars per terra.

495 [§54] E fe acordar la Luna ab lo significador per què vas: axí com vas al Rey, que sia amigada ab lo Sol. E si per religioses o savis o jutges, acorda-la ab Júpiter. E si a mercaders o scrivans o comptadors de moneda, ab Mercuri. E si a fembres jòvens, vullas acordar-la ab Venus. E si ab hòmens vils o laboradors de terra, acorda-lo ab Saturnus. E axí servada la bona propiació del temps ab aquestes coses, hauràs bon viatge, 500 si a Déu plau, e fortuna en so per què hiràs.

501 so] son R

491–94 “diu Ptholomeu . . . per terra”: As it is formulated here, this does not seem to come from Ptolemy but rather from Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7.1 (*ARLat*, 298, “Non facit Mars damnum iter facientibus per aquam, sicut Saturnus non multum subeuntibus iter per terram”; *ARLus*, 91). The attribution of this statement to Ptolemy might be due to Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf’s commentary on the *Centiloquium*, verbum 55 (Venice, 1493, fol. 112r, “Impedimenta vero que fiunt in mari sunt Saturni”). By contrast, Ptolemy’s *Quadripartitum* 4.7 (fol. 98r) gives different rules: “Si Saturnus et Mars locis luminarium dominantur, maxime autem cum per longitudinem in oppositione fuerit, id quod ei continget invalidudo nuncupabitur et ipse multum impediatur. Quod si in signis humidis uterque moretur, hoc impedimentum ei ex infestatione aquatici itineris et ex submersione vel propter infortunium iter aride vie per desertorum locorum transitus continget” (corresponding to chapter 4.8, in the modern edition, *Le Previsioni astrologiche*, ed. Simonetta Feraboli (Verona, 1985), 332. Ibn Ezra also attributes a similar opinion to Ptolemy by stating that if Saturn is in the ninth house when an interrogation is made for a sea voyage, it means a heavy storm, while if it is Mars in relation to a land voyage, it means an attack by bandits; see *Sefer ha-She’elot II*, or second version of the *Book on interrogations* 9.1, *Abraham Ibn Ezra on Elections, Interrogations, and Medical Astrology*, edited, translated, and annotated by Shlomo Sela (n. 42 above), 379.

[XVI. En fer cavallers novells]

505 [§55] Si al Rey plaurà a fer e criar cavallers novells e vols que Déus
 que Leo sia en lo ascendent e lo Sol en Taurus o en Àries o en Sagitari,
 o que Aquari sia ascendent e lo Sol en Ariete e Júpiter que l'esguarde de
 bon loch e Saturnus tanbé. E si Mars és fortunat e porà ésser en loch que
 510 guarde a l'ascendent o al mig del cel o lo senyor de l'ascendent o del mig
 cel o cascun de bon esguart, és bo, mas que non sia Mars en | la 7 ni en 158r
 la 12 ni en la 6 ni en la 8 ni en la 4, si non que fos senyor d'aquella e
 encara en aquell loch non mi plau. E non sia desmembrada la Luna, que
 sia en disposició que porte los raigs del mig cel o de son senyor per bon
 esguart al senyor de l'ascendent o del senyor de l'ascendent al mig cel o
 a son senyor en bon loch e de bon loch. E atressí a Mars, si fer-sa pot de
 515 bon loch e non sien pelegrins ni combusts ni retrogradants ni en contrari
 de lur casa ni de lur exaltació ne apliquem a l'alcun que fos d'aquella
 disposició. E en aytal constil·lació farà Déu mercè al cavaller, si li plaurà.

[XVII. En comensar consell novell sobra algun fet]

520 [§56] Quant lo rey volrà sobre algun fet comensar consell, apte la 11
 casa e son senyor per bona fortuna e per bona disposició e la Luna e la
 10 e la primera, e guarda que la Coha del Dragó non hi sia e Mercuri sia
 en bon estament, e Júpiter e Saturnus e en special la planeta que significa
 la cosa de què se fa lo consell. E quant més planetas hi seran bones, tant
 més serà millor. E lo senyor de la hora no sia cazent ni pelegrí ni en
 525 contrari de sa casa ni de sa exaltació, e si serà en son terme, seria fort
 bon Sol que non fos cazent e que garde la Luna.

[XVIII. En ajustament de corts]

530 [§57] En ajustar las corts generals havets acordar les constil·lacions
 devantdites e fer de tot en tot que Júpiter ni Mercuri non sian retro-
 gradants ni infortunats, e que lo senyor de l'11 e del 9 e del 10 sian acor-
 dant[s] ab lo senyor de l'ascendent, e lo senyor de la fi que sia fortuna, e
 la Luna que porte lums e raigs dels uns als altres, e majorment al consell

505 en lo *sup. lin. R* 528 corts] cors *R*

e al senyor del 10. E si fer-se pot, que-l porte al senyor d'ell, e de l'ascendent e de l'11 e del 9 e de la 4 al senyor del 10 per concòrdia e de
535 ters, e axí finirà so que volrà en sas corts, si a Déu plau.

[§58] E remembre-m'i que lo Rey féu 1 consell ab tots los barons en Catalunya e yo viu que termeneren lo consell e yo diguí a l'archabisbe de Saragossa que notàs bé aquella cosa que yo li diria: que ja res no se'n seguiria d'aquella determinació, per ço car la Luna era adonchs en la 6
540 casa. E axí fo, per què guardats tots temps que la Luna non sia cazent.

[XIX. En demandar adjutori o tribut al poble]

[§59] E si vol demanar ajuda ni tribut a son poble, apparte l'ascendent e Júpiter e la Luna e fassa posar lo senyor de l'ascendent en la 10 o lo senyor del segon en la 10 o en la 11, o Júpiter que sia en la 11 ab la Luna
545 o en son esguart e que haja | bones dignitats, e non sia pelegrí ni cazent lo senyor de la 11 ni la Luna. Mas lo senyor de l'ascendent e la Luna e lo senyor del segon sien en la 11 o 10 pelegrins, mas non pas retrogradent ni combust, mas si poden star jus los raigs sens combustió, seria bo, car significa estar lo poble en obediència del senyor. E si Mercuri aquí serà
550 en Gèmini o en son bon esguart, seria fort bon, mas que Càncer fos fora de la 12 o que fos ardidament ascendent Càncer e Júpiter en la 11 ab la Luna o en la 10 e Mercuri en la 11 atressí o en la 10. E non laysen la part de fortuna ni son senyor que esguàrdent l'ascendent e son senyor e la Luna, e fay de tot en tot que la 7 casa sia francha del mal, car la demanda
555 seria perduda, si era embargada. E acorda en açò los significadors d'aquells a qui demanaràs: si a prelat, Júpiter; si a donas, Venus; si a scri-vans, Mercuri; si a vils e laboradors, Saturnus; si a tot lo poble, la Luna e-l senyor de l'ascendent. E en tal constil·lació non poria lo poble contradir al senyor ab la ajuda de Déu.

558–59 *post* contradir *add.* e *R*

536–40 “E remembre-m'i . . . non sia cazent”: This council may be a summons of the barons and clergy celebrated on 10 July 1362 and the archbishop of Zaragoza is without doubt Lope Fernández de Luna. Regarding this reference, see the second section of the introduction.

552 “laysen”: Occitanism for “they let.”

560 [XX. En demanar o metre officials o batles]

[§60] Quant volrà lo Rey donar officis per execució de justícias, axí com son vaguer o batles o senescals o castallanies, e volrà que aquell persevere en son offici e que lo fassa ab bona fe e ab bona justícia, guarda que la Luna sia en Sagitari o en Pisces o en Càncer e que Júpiter la guarde
565 de bon loch e de bon esguart e Venus que les fortifique per semblant esguart.

[XXI. En fer cullir rendes]

[§61] Lo Sol e Júpiter e Venus són significadors de rendas e la Luna dels cullidors, e la 11, de la substància e rendas del rey, e la 11 comtant
570 de la 10, dels furts, e la segona de l'ascendent e la 8 de l'ascendent és de las rendas del mort e de les rendes dotals e mellors. E per so devets adobar e endreçar aquestes en bones disposicions e la Luna ajustada ab los significadors per bons esguarts. E si ho faràs, hauràs lyals cullidors e complit compte. E si la Luna serà infortunada e Mars la esguardarà, seran
575 robadors d'aquella e dar t'an mal comte e fals.

[XXII. En fer tesaurers]

[§62] E si vols comanar ton tresor o fer tesaurer, sia fortunada la segona casa e la 11 e la Luna, e fes cazer Mars e la Cauda e Saturnus dels lochs de la substància e del sen, car aquest hi fa gran dan, mas Saturnus
580 n'i fa pus poch. |

[XXIII. En fer trametre capitans sobre companhes]

[§63] Un capítol posa l'Aly que és fort general e necessari a tot Rey e
159r gran senyor quant deu fer capitans o majordoms sobra algunas com-

576 en fer tesaurers *conieci e R* aux en terres 582 general] generals *R*
583 *post* algunas *exp.* companyies *R*

563–66 “guarda que la Luna . . . per semblant esguart”: Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7.83 (*ARLat*, 337, “In dignitate alcaydiarum seu iudicum utile est si Luna sit in aliqua domorum Iovis aspicientis eam de tertio vel sextili, Venere fortunante ambos”; *ARLus*, 160).

panyes per combatre. Salvades les regles dessusdites, diu que, si vols
 585 conèixer e saber quals d'aquellas companyas és major, mellor e pus fel e
 pus vertader, dich que reguarts a l'ascendent e al senyor de la triplicitat
 de l'ascendent, e fassa 3 ordes d'aquellas companyes aquell que las
 nomenarà, e al primer orde compararà lo senyor primer de la triplicitat
 o, al segon orde, lo senyor segon e, al 3 orde, lo 3 senyor. E guarda en la
 590 figura del cel quals d'aquellas 3 planetas és en mellor disposició, e aquell
 orde que li és contrasemblant serà son capità mellor e pus leal e més
 victoriós, emperò Mars non t'i desmembre.

[§64] Quant aquell a qui Mars darà mal e que la Luna sia infortunada
 e deseparada de fortunas e que los altres se[n]yors de la triplicitat sien
 595 flachs, aquell serà pus poderós e més leyal, mas ja no porà complir so
 per què va ni aconsaguir. E si Saturnus lo infortuna, haurà tardansa d'a-
 quella en so que haurà elegir. E si la infortuna que fa lo mal és en terme
 de fortuna e que fortuna lo esguarde, farà una gran partida d'açò per què
 va.

[§65] E si tots los 3 senyors de la triplicitat seran eguals, en bé jutjaràs
 que tots seran bons e faran bon profit e per ço que van. E si tots seran
 mals, tots seran de mal fer, més que ben, o seran traïdors o no faran res
 de ben. E sàpies que lo senyor primer és lo senyor que ha senyoria de
 dies, si la obra se fa de dies. E lo 2 aquell de la nit, e lo 3 és lo participant.
 605 E si la obra se fa de nit, sàpies que és primera aquella planeta que ha
 senyoria en la triplicitat de nit.

[§66] E sàpies que, si aquella planeta que dona la melloria serà
 infortuna e que sia apoderant sobre les altres, que aquell home que és de
 sa participació farà més avant que son senyor non li mana e cosa que no
 610 li plaurà. E si ab tot açò haurà esguart de bones planetas, vengrà tot per
 violència o per malas obras. E aquell que haurà fortunas en sa signi-
 ficació sens infortunas farà ben e noblament sos affers e los complirà. E

593 *post* darà *exp. m R* **595** *post* leyal *exp. m R* **605** *post* aquella
exp. senyoria R **608** *que*³ *sup. lin. R*

582–603 “Un capítol posa l’Aly . . . no faran res de ben”: The first part of this chapter is based on Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7.85 (*ARLat*, 337–38; *ARLus*, 161–62).

615 si Mars és 1 d'aquells senyors de la triplicitat e que esguart de bons
 esguarts, non és dampnatge negú, ans és bon, e axí segons los estaments
 de les planetas jutjaràs los fets d'aquells | hòmens. 159v

[XXIV. En scriure cartes]

620 [§67] E pot se ajustar en après d'aquest capítol per trametre correus o
 cartas escriure. Car en assò devets fer que la Luna sia applicant a la pla-
 neta que és significador d'aquell a qui tramates per bon esguart e que sia
 salva de malas disposicions. E si tramets a rey, que sia applicant al sol.
 E si al papa, applique a Júpiter, e axí dels altres, e que no sien cazents
 dels angles. E quant scriuràs letras o cartes, fe que la Luna sia applicant
 a Mercuri franch o poderós e que fassas que l'ascendent e son senyor
 sien franchs de mala[s] planetas e de lurs raigs.

625 [XXV. En convits pendre o fer]

630 [§68] Si vols covidar algun, fe que lo senyor del 5 e la Luna e la 11
 casa hajan bona conveniència ab l'ascendent, aquell ascendent sia bo. E
 son senyor e Júpiter és bon e Venus e l Cap del Dragó en tals affers. E
 garde que Mars ni la Coha del Dragó ni Saturnus ni lo senyor de la 8 ni
 del 6 ni de la 12 no hi sien ni fassan mal, car bregues e desacorts e falsies
 s'i tractarien.

[§69] E si hom vol covidar tu e alcun d'aquelles planetes seran en la
 11 o ab son senyor e guardarà al senyor de la 7 de mal esguart, sàpies
 que per ton dan t'i guiden, que, si aquí és Mars, mort o plagues hauràs.

624 *post sien add. sian.* 629 *post garde exp. l R*

616 “En scriure cartes”: The title is from the general table of contents. §67 is not separated from §66 in the text, nor is there any guide letter indicating a new chapter. Under this heading, Tresbens combines two very short chapters of Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7.36 and 37, respectively, on sending messengers and writing letters (*ARLat*, 314; *ARLus*, 119).

621 “papa”: The author uses “pope” to replace the expression “iudex aut mercator” in the printed Latin version; the Portuguese version has “alqueide ou juits ou mercador.”

- 635 E si la Coha del Dragó, metzines o poysós. E si Saturnus, malaltia hi
penràs. E si Mercuri aquí serà infortunat o serà ab lo senyor del 7 o lo
del senyor de la 11 serà ab lo senyor de la 7 en la 6 casa o en la 8 o en la
12, mort o presó o malaltia hauràs per aquell convit. E si lo senyor del 7
640 és infortuna e lo senyor de l'ascendent tanbé, per mal te covida, no hi
vajas. E si són en esguart l'un de l'altre d'amistansa e són mals de si mala
volentat te porta, farets pau. E si fortunas los esguardara[n], sallirets bons
amichs.

[XXVI. En present pendre o trametra]

- 645 [§70] E quant t'i trametran presents, fe que lo senyor de l'ascendent
sia elevat o per augis o per latitud sobre lo senyor del 7. E si tu lo tra-
metes, fe per lo contrari, e seguent les regles del capítol quant hon dona
a cabal.

640 *post són² exp. m R*

635 “poysós”: Occitanism or Gallicism for “poisons.” The sense of the Occitan term is only shown with the meaning “potion, drinking” in the *DOM* (s.v. “poison”) and Emil Levy, *Provenzalisches supplement-Wörterbuch: Berichtigungen und Ergänzungen zu Raynouards Lexique roman* (Leipzig, 1894–1924), s.v. “poison”; Simon Jude Honnorat, *Dictionnaire provençal-français ou dictionnaire de la langue d’oc ancienne et moderne* (Digne, 1846–47), s.v. “poiso”; or François-Just-Marie Raynouard, *Lexique roman ou dictionnaire de la langue des troubadours* (Paris, 1838–44), s.v. “poizo.” Only Frederic Mistral, *Lou Tresor dóu Felibrige ou Dictionnaire provençal-français embrassant les divers dialectes de la langue d’oc moderne* (Raphèle-lès-Arles, 1979 [1932]), s.v. “pouisoun,” and the modern Occitan dictionaries, such as Louis Alibert, *Dictionnaire occitan-français d’après les parlers languedociens* (Toulouse, 1966) or *Diccionari General de la Lengua Occitana* (2008–16) have the “poison” meaning.

641 “sallirets”: Occitanism (also used in 805, “salliran,” and 817, “sallir”), “to exit.”

643 §70 does not correspond to any guide letter in the manuscript, but I have treated it as a separate chapter since it is present in the table of contents. It is based on Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7.35 (*ARLat*, 314; *ARLus*, 118). Tresbens translates the Latin “in capitulo dandi capitale” into Catalan as “capítol quant hon dona a cabal.” Abenragel’s “in capitulo dandi capitale” refers to *Liber completus* 7.13, but since the Occitan astrologer does not include that section in his own treatise, the reference makes little sense.

[XXVII. En vestir novelles vestidures]

650 [§71] En tallar vestits nous e vestir-los, fe que la Luna sia en signe o
 movible o comú, mas guarda que non sia en conjunció del Sol ni en la
 oposició ni lo Sol non sia en l'ascendent ni en lo occident, e que non sia
 en signes fermes, majorment en Leo, si donques non són d'armadu|res, e 160r
 lo Sol e la Luna en mig del cel, e sia bona la segona casa e son senyor al
 comprar del drap.

655 [XXVIII. En domar e córrer cavalls e comprar]

660 [§72] Quant volràs domar cavalls o bèsties altres, tota la electió està
 en so que la Luna sia fortunada e crexent e que non sia aplicada a pla-
 neta retrogradan. E si és cavall, que applique a Mars, ell estan fortuna en
 bon loch o en sa dignitat. E los ases e los muls són de Saturnus, e los
 bous són de Saturnus e de Júpiter e aquells són igualadors ab la Luna.

665 [§73] E en comprar los cavalls devets guardar temps que la Luna sia
 ajustada a alcuna fortuna e aquell[a] fortuna sia oriental e non retro-
 gradan e que sia ascendent e guardade de conjunció de mala planeta, car
 adonchs seria dubte e temor de perdre la bèstia. E si aquella bèstia que
 670 volràs comprar és ja domada, fe que, quant la compraràs, puge signe
 comú en l'ascendent e que la Luna sia en signe ferm, mas que non sia
 Aquari ni Escorpí, car en aquestes serà debilitació en alcun membre de
 la bèstia e l'ascendent sia signe dels sobirans planetas. E si la planeta era
 descendent e retrogradan o deffallen de lum, seria la bèstia petita. E si és
 670 *directus* e crexent e puja en son agme, serà gran de sos membres e bells.

650 comú] comuns *R* 651 *post* sia¹ *exp.* ascendent *R* 656 domar]
 donar (al. domar *in marg.*) *R* *post* la *exp.* ell *R* 663 de¹ *iter. sup.lin.* *R*

648–54 This chapter follows Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7.34 (*ARLat*, 314–15; *ARLus*, 118).

655 This title follows (XXIX) “En fer juntes o torneigs” in the table of contents.

656 “domar”: The scribe indicated with the abbreviation of *àlias* that he was correcting “donar” on the basis of another manuscript; the correction matches the title shown in the table of contents.

661–70 “E en comprar los cavalls . . . Aquari ni Escorpí,” “E si és *directus* . . . membres e bells”: Based on Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7.52 (*ARLat*, 318; *ARLus*, 127). Tresbens focuses more on horses and leaves out the other animals.

E açò diu per saber l'èsser de la bèstia, quant hom no la ha vista encara o quant hom la compra abans que sia nodrida e sap hom per açò son ésser. E si compraràs bèstia que non sia ja domada, sie l'ascendent signe comú e la Luna sia en signe movable ajustada ab fortuna, e Mercuri és
675 bo en açò.

[§74] Aquell que volrà vendre en cavalls córrer, quant comensarà a exir de sa casa, pose que lo senyor de la hora sia en l'ascendent e, si lo senyor de la hora serà en la 10 casa, seran molt corrents aquells que són enfre los primés e·ls derrés. E si serà en la 7 casa, correrà mils ab aquells
680 qui foren prop dels derrés. E si serà en l'angle de la terra, corren millor ab los derrés, mas roman detràs. E si lo senyor de la hora serà en son casament, cayrà la bèstia. E és bon en tal fet que la Luna sia en Sagitari o en la meytat de Libra.

[XXIX. En fer juntes o torneigs]

[§75] E per açò car juntes e tornejaments és fet d'armes e és manera de joch de deport, no per esters face per exercissi, en lo qual camp enveja e cascun hi vol haver victòria e honor. E per amor d'açò aquell que volrà conquistar aquellas dues causes cové que fortifique l'ascendent e son senyor e que fassa per manera que Mars sia fortificant la sua partida. |

[§76] Entén a dir que, si ell és cometedor, que tenga la taula, que fassa
690 per manera que lo senyor de l'ascendent sia Mars o haja participació ab ell e que non sia en loch de son cazent ni retrogradant ni cremat, e la Luna que sia fort e que porte lo lum del senyor de l'ascendent a Mars o de Mars al senyor de l'ascendent. E si serà deffendent, ço és que sia
695 comès, que fortifique lo 7 per semblant manera e lo 10 e son senyor, que ajud a aquell que volrà que haja victòria e honor, que, si la Luna portarà o farà translació d'aquell a alcun d'ells, aquell al qual hirà la translació haurà la honor. E, si és en bon loch e fortuna, la guarda; e si non, haurà-ne desonor. E posa lo senyor d'ell contra, si en contrària disposició, e

674 *post signe exp. en R* 676 *córrer sup.lin. R* *post cavalls add. corre et cové sup. lin. R* 677 *post la¹ exp. casa R* 678 *post casa exp. ass R*
697 *post ells add. e R*

682 “cayrà”: Occitanism for “will fall.”

688 “causes”: Occitanism for “things.”

700 faràs dos béns a tu o a aquell per qui elegiràs. E si és per desamistansa mortal, axí com és punta de lansa o de glavi, faràs per la semblant manera e faràs decazer lo senyor de la 12 casa e de la 7 casa per lo defendent, si són mal, o de l'ascendent per lo demandant, si vols que lo qui comensa sia vençut.

705 [§77] E ajusten açí per los jòvens que volen apendre de tenir armes, que quant comensaran, que fassan que lo signe de l'ascendent e la Luna que sian en la triplicitat primera e que Mars sia en bon loch e la Luna que non sia en son casament, ço és en Scorpí, majorment en apendre d'armas a cavalls. Mas millor és si la Luna serà en Taurus, e encares és mellor si
710 lo senyor de l'ascendent serà en sa exaltació e si non se pot fer que sia enmig del cel o que entre en ell. E en apendre de luytar obras, que sia la Luna en Gèminis.

[XXX. En comprar armes]

[§78] E si volets comprar armes, esperats que la Luna sia en sa exaltació e en la sua triplicitat e que sia ajustada a Mars o per esguards bons
715 e que sia en la fi del mes, si fer-sa pot. Car segons tots los savis d'esta sentència en lo comensament del mes la Luna és mala cosa, quant la Luna és ab Mars, e en la fi del mes ab Saturnus és mala, per què en aquests estats se deu hom guardar d'ella.

720 [XXXI. En fer ginys o navilis e armes]

[§79] E si volràs fer enginy e armes e navilis per combatre tos enemics, primerament posaràs l'ascendent que sie ferm signe e, si pots, tots los 4 angles, e que sien dels signes que són de las ascensions directas, que són del cap de Càncer entrò a la fi de Sagitari. E és bo que lo senyor
725 de l'ascendent e la Luna que sian en los angles, e alcuna planeta bona en

717 *post mes add. de la Luna R* 721 *armes] arnes R*

702 “decazer”: Occitanism for “to decline.”

705–12 “E ajusten açí . . . la Luna en Gèminis”: Based on Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7.91 (*ARLat*, 339; *ARLus*, 165).

713–19: Based on Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7.56 (*ARLat*, 321; *ARLus*, 133).

720–43: Although Tresbens follows Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7.59 (*ARLat*,

lo mig del cel que sia en alcuna sua dignitat e oriental poderós e de sobte
 e leuger moviment, e axí | matex la Luna crexent. E quant més poràs 161r
 fortificar Mars ab honestadat, feu-ho, e fe que lo senyor de la conjunció
 o de la prevenció d'aquell mes abans passada sia bon e en bona disposi-
 730 ció ab aquells dessusdits, e que la primera applicació que haurà feta la
 Luna après d'aquella sia bona e a bona fortuna o a Mars de bon esguart
 e en bon loch. E si lo senyor de l'ascendent és en la entrada de l'angle,
 és covinent e bon e que reguarde la 4 casa, e majorment en fet de nau,
 car aquell és lo loch de la nau e de sos semblants. E que mellor és la 4
 735 casa e que sia signe ferm e fix, e és bon que sia la Luna en Taurus o en
 Gèmini, per ço car aquí és la forma del riu d'Aquari del cel, e sia la Luna
 sobre la terra.

[§80] E quan volràs los navilis posar en mar, pren semblant electió
 d'aquesta sobredita. Alcu[n]s dien que Mars non és bon en aquest fet,
 740 per què diu Aly que se garde de l'esguart de Mars. E yo dich que Mars
 és bon en tot fet d'armes, e d'aygua e de terra, mas que sia en bona dispo-
 sició e que non done victòria a la part dels enemichs o dels contraris, mas
 que aquell que aquí ha mester lo meta fort per la sua partida.

[XXXII. En fer bastides, lochs e edificis]

745 [§81] Per edificar ciutats o lochs o castells o vilas, quant al Rey ven-

736 *post e exp.* de la *R*

323; *ARLus*, 136–37) throughout this chapter, he contradicts one of Abenragel's
 aphorisms in §80 at ll. 740–41 (“diu Aly . . . E yo dich . . .”); see next note.

740 “diu Aly que se garde de l'esguart de Mars”: cf. *ARLat*, 323, “Alii sapien-
 tes dicunt quod bonum est in hoc negotio, si sit Luna in Tauro vel Geminis, quia
 figura et forma rivi est in illis signis. Etiam caveas ibi ab aspectibus Martis. Etiam
 est bonum si sit Luna super terram. Etiam si quando haec navigia volueris ponere
 in aquam, aspice aliam talem electionem qualis est illa.”

744–80 This chapter follows Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7.20 (*ARLat*, 308–
 11; *ARLus*, 108–12), specifically in ll. 744–58, “Per edificar . . . l'ascendent de la
 hora,” 760–61, “E sia lo senyor . . . retragraden,” and 764–70, “e lo Sol sia en signe
 . . . en major partida.”

744 In the Occitan speaking areas, *bastida* is the name given to many newly
 founded towns, especially those that were settled by those displaced by the Albi-
 gensian Crusade: Claudine Pailhès, *Le comté de Foix: un pays et des homes. Re-*

dria de plaer, car a altres non pertany, el fa mester fortunat lo signe e la planeta d'aquell clima en què està, e fortificar Saturnus e Júpiter sobre ell e ab ell o per conjunció o per esguart bon, e fer que signe ascendent de sa triplicitat lo més fort e bon que hi sia e l mes fortunat, e los senyors
 750 d'aquella triplicitat segons lo temps en què la comensarà, si és de dies o de nits, e posa Saturnus, si és senyor del signe d'aquella partició o de l'ascendent, en alcun angle del mateix ab Júpiter e ab son bon esguart. Mas si fer-se pot, sia ascendent l signe de las casas de Júpiter, e la Luna sia crexent e ab Júpiter o ab Venus o en lo mig d'ells e separada de Saturnus.
 755 E Saturnus haja alcun appoderament del mig cel al comensament del posar la primera pera e l sement bart.

[§82] E sobretot guarda que Mars non guarde ab la part de fortuna ni a la Luna ni al senyor de l'ascendent de la hora, mas sia separat de tot tant com poràs o cazén e desestruch ni ab lo senyor del 10. Car faria lo
 760 senyor d'aquella ciutat mal home e destruhidor. E sia lo senyor de l'ascendent fortuna crexent en son lum e en son enament ni retragraden ni cremat, e sia oriental e fort en sas dignitats los mellors que puscha e més, | que lo senyor del terme e de la fas tots tant com poràs sien quitis de tot embarch, e lo Sol sia en signe leuger e de detrás ascencions.

[§83] Ítem la part de fortuna e son senyor sien en casas de fortuna, so
 765 és de bona planeta e de bon loch en la figura e non cazens, e la Luna en bona disposició ab ells, car per aquells serà la fertilitat e la habundància del loch e de las cosas que hi venran. Guarda que Mercúrius non sia ab la Coxa del Dragó, car tota la gent de la ciutat serà fort mensonaguera en
 770 major partida, e fes aquí que sia fort Mercuri e hauràs veritat e bonas

760 sia *scripsi e* sit *ARLat* : si ab *R*

gards sur un comté pyrénéen au Moyen âge (Cahors, 2006), 61. The fact that this term is preserved in the table of contents but not in the text may suggest that it is an Occitanism replaced by the copying scribe with the word *ciutat*, which was more comprehensible in Catalan.

746 “a altres non pertany”: Abenragel does not make such a categorical restriction, since he also includes “illustrious and wealthy men” (*ARLat*, 308, “Circa architecturam . . . valde usui est regibus et claris hominibus et divitibus”).

747 “Saturnus”: Abenragel uses Saturn as an example and not as a general rule.

756 “sement bart”: *ciment bard*; according to *DCVB*, *bard* is earth mixed with water to make the walls of houses.

commixtions de mercaderies. E fes que sia fort Júpiter e haurà aquí justí-
 cia e equitat e honestat e multiplicacions de hòmens per generacions,
 majorment si Pisces o Càncer serà en la partició, e feyt fort Venus e
 haurà-y alegria e jocunditat e bellesa, e fortifique lo Sol e serà ennoblida
 775 de gents, e per la Luna moras gens e fembres. E fes que acordes les pla-
 netas aytant com poràs en ben, mas que poses Martes separat. Emperò si
 Mars és fortunat e lo posas en alcuna casa succedent, mas que no garde
 als dessusdits, non damna, ans daria victòria a les gents contra sos ene-
 michs. E per aquestes regles segons més o menys podets elegir per fer
 780 altres lochs.

[XXXIII. En poblar aquelles]

[§84] E si volràs poblar lochs e vilas o casas desertas o mazes, guarda
 e posa que Júpiter sia senyor de l[a] 4 casa e possa l'ascendent signe
 Càncer o Pisces. E si Júpiter non podets posa[r] senyor de la 4 casa, posa-
 785 hi Venus, e que hun dels dessusdits signes sia en l'ascendent o en la 4
 casa o en la 10 e sia senyor del 10 o de la 4 o sia en sa exaltació e la Luna
 en bons esguarts.

[§85] E si faràs la figura del senyor de l'ascendent en 4, de home, o 1
 ymatge en la semblant constil·lació que tenga la figura de la planeta, el
 790 nom del senyor de la hora e del senyor de l'ascendent e de la 4 o de la
 10, e que la enterres en lo mig del mas o vila o loch, serà poblat mara-
 vellosament ab la ajuda de Déu, tant com aquella ymatge hi serà. E si
 faràs en constil·lació contrària ymatge de contràries accions e figuras de
 planetas infortunas e en lur casament, despoblarà-se.

774 *jocunditat conieci* : jous ditat *R* 778 *post victòria exp. a R* 788 fi-
 gura] figures *R*

774 “jocunditat”: *alegria e jocunditat* (“joy and playfulness”), or vice versa, is also found in other texts: Curt Wittlin, *Repertori d'expressions multinominals i de grups de sinònims en traduccions catalanes antigues* (Barcelona, 1991), 372.

782–85 “E si volràs poblar lochs . . . dessusdits signes”: Zahel, *De electionibus*, §49, in Crofts, “*Kitāb al-Iktiyārāt*,” 52): “Hoc significat populationem illius terrae et eius redditus. Quod si aspectum Iovis cum Saturno habere nequiveris, pone Venerem in loco Iovis et fortunabis signa aquatica.”

788–94 The second of the two astrological images given as alternative options

795 [XXXIV. En comprar lochs, empenyorar aquells o vendre]

[§86] E si comprar volets lochs o vilas o heretats, faràs de guisa que la
4 casa sia ben fortunada e que hi haja alcuna planeta fortuna o per
existència o per reguart e la Luna que sia en sa exaltació, e garde't de
Mars e de tot son encontre e que les luminàries guàrdent a l'ascendent | 162r
800 e la 4. E guarda que, si l'ascendent o lo signe de la 4 és signe d'aygua,
que Saturnus non hi garde o per neguna guiza non sia la 10 casa infortu-
nada ni en la 9 ni en la 11 ni en la 5 non sien males planetas ni lo signe
de la 4 non sia de foch ne aquí non haja planeta de foch.

[§87] E sàpies que l'ascendent signifie la causa e l'comprador e lo
805 profit que se seguirà d'aquellas cosas que d'aquí salliran o naxiran: si és
terras, axí com són arbres e samensas. E lo 7 e son senyor signifiquen les
heretats e les habitacions. E la 4 e son senyor signifiquen lo ben de la

804 *post causa exp.* del comprador R

is similar to some included in the *De imaginibus* attributed to Thābit ibn Qurra (ed. Carmody, *Astronomical Works* [n. 36 above], 184): “Et scripsit in imaginem nomen regionis et nomen ascendentis et eius domini et domini hore et nomen domini diei et pars fortune infortunata, et partem malorum et eius domini et dominum signi in quo cecidit numerus. Et sepelivit imaginem in medio regionis. . . .” In this case it is for destroying a region, but as Tresbens says, similar talismans can be used for contrary purposes by changing the astrological conditions.

795–815 The chapter follows Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7.22 (*ARLat*, 311; *ARLus*, 113).

804–6 “l'ascendent signifie la causa . . . arbres e samensas”: Tresbens does not faithfully reproduce his source here (*ARLat*, 311, “Ascendens et eius dominus significant rem et emptorem et profectum eiusdem praedii et habitationes. Et medium caeli et eius dominus significant res quae proveniunt ibi super faciem terrae, sicut sunt arbores et similia”; *ARLus*, 113).

804 “causa”: Occitanism for “thing,” *cosa*; see Latin in preceding note (*res*).

806–8 “E lo 7 . . . se fan o's faran”: Here again we find discrepancies between Tresbens and the printed version of Abenragel (*ARLat*, 311, “Quarta et eius dominus significant praedia et habitatores. . . . Et septima et eius dominus significant fertilitatem terrae et seminationes quae ibi fiunt”). For example, the fourth house and the seventh house appear in the place of one another. The Portuguese, however, matches Tresbens (*ARLus*, 113) and shows that his text has the original readings. R also has *habitacions* (“habitations”) for *habitatores* (“dwellers”). In this case the

terra e las semensas que aquí se fan o·s faran, per què la bontat o la malícia dels significadors faran la bontat o lo mal en aquellas cosas. Per què
 810 fe ton poder que lo[s] senyor[s] dels angles sien orientals e fortunat[s] e crexents en lur lum e en l'ornament e pujants al septentrion. E las fortunas hajan alcuna dignitat en los angles, e majorment en l'ascendent, e que Júpiter e la planeta de qui se separa la Luna, e sien significadors en aquella cosa d'aquell que compre la heretat e la planeta a qui applica la
 815 Luna sia significador de la fi e que serà d'aquella heretat.

[XXXV. En fer venir aygues e cavar pous o fontanes]

[§88] E si volets cavar pous e fer sallir o córrer ayguas, fes de manera que l'ascendent e son senyor sien sauls de tota infortuna e que sien en si fortunat, e lo senyor de l'ascendent oriental en algunas de sas dignitats e
 820 en angle e que vaja a l'angle, e Saturnus que sia oriental, e lo signe de la 11 casa e de la 3 sian fixos. E si la 11 casa és dignitat de la Luna e [non] que sia en ella corporalment ab Saturnus, almenys que sia sobre la terra, la Luna és assats bona constel·lació, e que sia la Luna en la primera 4 del Sol. E guarda que mala planeta non sia en lo mig del cel. E fes que los
 825 angles non sien remoguts per nombre de figura, e entén-se que la menor part del signe que serà en los angles sia dintre los angles e non pas devés la fi, e tant com porets feu que la Luna sia ben fortunada.

[§89] E per aquesta matexa constel·lació podets fer córrer rius e fontanes o canals de molins e sos semblans, fets que pertangua[n] a aygua.

814 *post* la¹ *exp.* dignitat *R* **818** sien¹ *exp.* salus *R* **823** *post e add.* non *R* (cf. *ARLat ARLus*)

Portuguese text matches the Latin one, and therefore, the form given in *R* is incorrect.

809–11 “Per què fe . . . pujants al septentrion”: I have used plural throughout as in the Latin (*ARLat*, 311, “domini angulorum sint orientales crescentes in suo motu et ascendentes ad septentrionem,” which matches the Portuguese, *ARLus*, 113).

816–27 “E si volets cavar . . . feu que la Luna sia ben fortunada”: Based on Abenragel, *Liber completus* 7.21 (*ARLat*, 311; *ArLus*, 112–13).

821 “E si la 11 casa”: The printed Latin has *duodecima* (*ARLat*, 311, has “Sed si Luna fuerit super terram, sit in duodecima domo”), but the Portuguese has *onzena* (*ARLat*, 311, “E se a Lua for sobre terra, seja ena onzena casa”).

830 E si volets que dure, fets ymatge d'ome e tenga odre en lo coll, axí com
 qui gita o buyda aygua en 1 vexell, e que sia en la constel·lació la Luna
 estant en les esteles del sposador d'Aquari, e que scrivets lo nom de la
 Luna e del senyor de l'ascendent e de la hora e del signe e de la mansió
 en què serà la Luna e lo nom de la Luna, e soterras en | aquella matexa 162v
 835 constil·lació d'aquella figura ab la figura de la Luna, e per toststemp
 durarà aquella don que hom del món no l'en porà destruir. Mas sia ben
 pregon que hom non la hi tròpia, e vendrà tanta aygua aquí per partida
 d'on que sia, creixerà poch a poch que serà gran ribera. E si Venus e
 Mercúrius havien aquí dignitats, faria més fort, e que hi fossen ses figures
 840 e sos noms.

[§90] *Encercar tresors e traure lo tractat se saguex après del Mirall de Plató e de la Spera e igualadura que per si matexa se mou.* Ni de la spera e igualadura non vull de present tractar: fer-s'a altra temps, quant Déu plaurà e a vós, senyor, serà mils avinent.

832 lo corr. e la post lo exp. Luna

832 “sposador”: Occitanism meaning “pouler” (from the verb *espozar*).

830–40 “E si volets que dure . . . ses figures e sos noms”: We find a similar image in Pseudo-Ptolemy’s *Liber de imaginibus* §42 (n. 37 above, 34): “cum vuleris ligare fontem, fiat ymago viri in cuius manu sit addelu, id est aquarius, id est vas in quo hauritur aqua, la facie Aquarii oriente. Post sepeliatur in aliquo fonte et nemo accipiet aquam inde quin frangatur eius urceus.” The effects attributed to it, however, are contrary to those here: impeding the flow of water from a spring. Also, Tresbens’s description is more detailed.

841–44 At the end of this treatise, Tresbens makes references to the titles of several other works that he himself has produced, two of which appeared after it in the same Ripoll manuscript according to the table of contents, but only one of which has been preserved: *Libel d’investigacions de tresors* (fols. 166r–173v), edited in Giralt, “Astrologia per a la recerca de tresors.” The *Mirall de Plató* (Plato’s Mirror) referenced here appears at the end of the table of contents of *R*: “En fer el mirall de què hom veia sos enemichs de mieja jornada” (as pointed out by Cifuentes, *Sciencia.cat*, ms459). It must have been lost along with the folios at the end of the codex, along with the end of the *Libel*. By contrast, there is no evidence that Tresbens was able to complete the *Spera e igualadura*, the treatise on the astronomical instruments of the sphere and the equator, which he indicates he will complete sometime in the future.

APPENDIX I

Comparison of the *Tractat de les eleccions* §3–5 with its possible sources, Zahel and Abenragel. The passages showing significant agreement between Tresbens and one of the sources appear in italics. The Zahel and Abenragel texts have been rearranged to follow the order in the Tresbens text.

Tresbens, <i>Tractat de les eleccions</i> , §3–5	Zahel, <i>De electionibus</i> (§12–16 in Crofts, “ <i>Kitāb al-Iktiyārāt</i> ,” 34–37)	Abenragel, <i>Liber completus</i> 7.3 (<i>ArLat</i> , 302–3)
<p>Car los signes que són fermes e fixes són Taurus, Leo, Escorpí e Aquari: signifiquen <i>fermesa e tarditat e constància e perseveransa de les coses e molt durar</i>. E per amor d’açò qui vol fer cosa de durada o de tardansa o hedificansa d’ostals o de masos per durar és bon, e celebrar nocés après que lo sposalent sia fet en los signes movibles. E si en los signes fermes fembre serà fugida a son marit, tart o jamés no la recobrarà. <i>E iudicis e comensaments que sien en ells comensats de plets no se acabaran sens grans multiplicacions de testimonis de grans fortunas</i>. E qui serà mes en càrrec sots la senyoria o assencions de tals signes haurà</p>	<p>(§15) Scorpio autem levior est omnibus fixis et Leo magis fixus, Aquarius est <i>tardior ac deterior</i>, Taurus vero magis est planus. (§14) Porro fixa congrua sunt omni operi, cuius <i>stabilitas et prolongatio quaeritur et quod vult auctor eius esse durable</i>. Bonumque et utile est in eis aedificare et nuptias celebrare, postquam fuerit desponsatio in mobilibus. Et si in eis dimissa fuerit mulier a marito, non revertetur ad eum. <i>In iudiciis vero et in ceptionibus in eis non erit postea fiducia, nisi multiplicentur in eis testimonia fortunarum</i>. Et qui vinctus fuerit in eis, prolongabitur eius carcer, et <i>qui irascitur in eis, non poterit cito mitigari; conditiones</i></p>	<p>Signa fixa sunt convenientia et bona rebus omnibus quas durare volumus et longo tempore manere. (303) Ideoque bonum est in eis aedificare, matrimonium confirmare post sponsalia facta in mobilibus. Si aliqua mulier dimissa fuerit a suo marito, nunquam reverteretur ad eum. Nec itinera in eis nec lites nec principia possunt esse bona, nisi habuerint multa testimonia fortunarum. Si quis captus fuerit in eis, prolongabitur eius carcer, et qui in eis incurrit odium alicuius, non reconciliabit amorem ipsius. Et pacta quae fiunt in eis bona. Scorpio est levior signorum fixorum, Leo magis est fixus, Aquarius deterior</p>

lonch càrcer. *E si alcun se cuyta en ell, non se mitiguerà leugerament. Conditions e retribucions són profitoses. E sàpies que Escorpí és més leguer que negun dels signes fermes, e Leo és més ferm e Acari és més tart e pijós.*

(§4) Los signes movibles són Àries, Càncer, Libra e Capricornus: *significquen sobtesa e festinància e leugera o cuytament o mobilitat e tota cosa de pocha durada, e lo temps que significa és breu, e en aquells no és bona fer neguna cosa que deja durar ni de què hajam parlat en los signes fermes. En ells és bon semenar e comprar e vendre e fer muller, mas non pas fer nocés. E lo malalte que comensa de malautejar tost serà guarit o mort, e contencions que-s comense[n] en ells non durara[n], e l'hom que fugirà tost retornarà. E fer peregrinatge bon és. Coses promeses non sa tendran, parlament o novelles portades en tals signes falsas són, ni és bo plantar en aquells ni*

vero et mercedes in eis utiles sunt, bonumque erit aedificare et facere fundamenta.

(§12–13) Scito quod signa mobilia *significant mobilitatem rerum. Festinanter et nihil durabile sit in eis nec prolongatur tempus illorum. Bonum tamen est in eis seminare, emere, vendere et mulierem firmare* (haec omnia sub eis proficiunt) et infirmus liberabitur cito, *contentio quoque in eis non prolongatur et fugitivus revertetur cito. Peregrinatio etiam utilis est in eis, et si quis promiserit, in eis aliquid, non proficiet promissum. Locutiones, somnia et rumores in eis falsi erunt, non curet sub eis aliquis medicus nec plantetur sub eis aliqua plantatio et non fundetur in eis fundamentum, quia malum est. Et omne quod inceperis in eis, cuius stabilitatem volueris, non erit stabile, omne autem opus in-*

et Taurus magis temperatus.

(302) Signa mobilia obiter significant mutationem rerum, et non affirmant nec durant significationes suas per aliquam conditionem. Bona sunt ad seminandum, emendum, vendendum et ad faciendum sponsalia. *Si quis aliquo morbo corripitur in eis aut liberabitur aut morietur cito nec causae in eis prolongantur. Et qui fugit cito revertitur. Bonum est in eis iter facere. Promissio facta in eis non complebitur. Et somnia et rumores in eis sunt mendaces. Cave etiam ne plantes in eis aliquam plantam nec aedifices in aliquo loco, quia malum est. Et omne quod in eis inceperis, etiamsi durare volueris, non erit durabile multum. . . .*

fer neguna cosa de durada. E los més cuytoses e los més movibles són Àries e Càncer, per què són més torts en les lurs assencions, e Libra e Capricornus són més forts e més tempras.

(§5) Los signes comuns són Gèmini, Virgo, Sagitari e Pisces. E aquell[s] són bons en tota cosa que vullas que sia tornada altra vegada a fer e en companyes e participacions, e tota cosa tal o de tal natura és bona de fer en ells, per què comprar ni núpries o noces fer non és bon en aquells, car frau e decepció se trobarà en ells.

stabile (et festinationes), quod volueris facere, incipe sub eis. Et velociora mobilibus sunt Aries et Cancer, sunt enim plus tortuositatis et plus mobilitatis. Libra vero et Capricornus sunt fortiora et magis temperata.

(§16) Signa communia in participatione et fraternitate sunt utilia et quicquid operatum fuerit in eis, saepe erit iteratum. Emere vero et nuptias celebrare in eis non erit utile nec proficuum, et erit in eis ingenium et deceptio.

Signorum praeterea mobilium leviora sunt Aries et Cancer et haec eadem magis tortuosa et quae citius permuntantur. Libra vero et Capricornus sunt magis firma et stabilia et magis temperata.

(303) Signa communia sunt bona ad participationem et amicitias et fraternitate et res quae fiunt in eis multotiens revertuntur. Quare emptiones et coniugia quae fiunt in eis non multum durant, sed accidit illis deceptio.

APPENDIX 2

Identified sources of the *Tractat de les eleccions* chapters

Preface	Zahel, <i>De electionibus</i> , §1–2
I. Regles generals	Abenragel, <i>Liber Completus</i> 7.1, “De regulis et radicibus que necessarie sunt in hac ratione et excusari non possunt”; Zahel, <i>De electionibus</i> , §12–16
II. Capítol general	Abenragel 7.2, “De principiis factorum”; Pseudo-Ptolemy, <i>Centiloquium</i> , 10, 29, and 84
III. En comensar son coronament e de sos fills	Abenragel 7.70, “De electione itineris”; Zahel, <i>De electionibus</i> , §124 and 107

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|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| IV. En pendre senyories o potestats e homenatges | Abenragel 7.81, “De ingressu ad dignitatem” |
| V. En comensar conquerir terres de enemichs e de infidels | |
| VI. En fer affrontament e batalla | Abenragel 7.55, “De electionibus litis” |
| VII. En trametre desafiaments e en pendre-los per triar avantatge a si mateix | |
| VIII. En saber que se’n seguirà per la hora en què li és tramès o presentat lo desafiament | |
| IX. En comensar la guerra per terra o per mar. Per anar contra son vassall rebel·le | Abenragel 7.57, “De indictione belli et pacis pactione”;
Alcabitiu, <i>Introductorius</i> 4.310 |
| X. Ítem per las horas combustes | Abenragel 7.55, “De electionibus litis” |
| XI. En destruir o rompre villas o castells | Abenragel 7.58, “De diruptione castrorum et villarum inimicorum” |
| XII. En trametre cavallers o pehons per fer la guerra | |
| XIII. En trametre legats per fer pau | |
| XIV. En trametre legats o missatgés per matrimoni de si o de fill o de filla | |
| XV. En comensar viatge per terra o per mar | Abenragel 7.1, “De regulis et radicibus que necessarie sunt in hac ratione et excusari non possunt” (attributed to Ptolemy) |
| XVI. En fer cavallers novells | |
| XVII. En comensar consell novell sobra algun fet | |
| XVIII. En ajustament de corts | |
| XIX. En demandar adjutori o tribut al poble | |
| XX. En demanar o metre oficials o batles | Abenragel 7.83, “De dignitate alcajdium seu potestatum vitae et mortis” |
| XXI. En fer cullir rendes | |

XXII. En fer tesaurers	
XXIII. En fer trametre capitans sobre companyes	Abenragel 7.85, “De electione facienda inter aequales super creatione praefecti vel ducis”
XXIV. En scriure cartes	Abenragel 7.36 and 37, “De cursoribus transmittendis” / “De scribendis chartis”
XXV. En convits pendre o fer	
XXVI. En present pendre o trametra	Abenragel 7.35, “De xeniis transmittendis”
XXVII. En vestir novelles vestidures	Abenragel 7.34, “De incidendis et induendis novis vestibus”
XXVIII. En domdar e córrer cavalls e comprar	Abenragel 7.52, “De emptione animalium”
XXIX. En fer juntes o torneigs	Abenragel 7.91, “De pugillatione et arma tenere”
XXX. En comprar armes	Abenragel 7.56, “De emptione armorum bellicorum”
XXXI. En fer ginys o navilis e armes	Abenragel 7.59, “De praeparatione armorum et instrumentorum bellicorum et trimium”
XXXII. En fer bastides, lochs e edificis	Abenragel 7.20, “De fundamentis villarum et domorum et aliorum iacendis”
XXXIII. En poblar aquelles	Zahel, <i>De electionibus</i> , §124; <i>De imaginibus</i> attributed to Thābit ibn Qurra
XXXIV. En comprar lochs, empenyorar aquells o vendre	Abenragel 7.22, “De emendis hereditibus et praedis”
XXXV. En fer venir aygües e cavar pous o fontanes.	Abenragel 7.21, “De puteis fodiendis, rivis ducendis seu zequiis faciendis”; Pseudo-Ptolemy, <i>Liber de imaginibus</i> , §42 (34)

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