
This is the **accepted version** of the journal article:

Giralt, Sebastià. «The times and stars for ruling a kingdom : the tractat de les eleccions by bartomeu de tresbens. A study and edition». Mediaeval Studies, Vol. 82 (2020), p. 79-148. 70 pàg.

This version is available at <https://ddd.uab.cat/record/279316>

under the terms of the  **IN**
COPYRIGHT license

THE TIMES AND STARS FOR RULING A KINGDOM:
THE *TRACTAT DE LES ELECCIONS* BY BARTOMEU DE TREBENS.
A STUDY AND EDITION¹

The *Tractat de les eleccions* (“Treatise on elections”) is a short text 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 conserved in the MS XXI, Ripoll, Biblioteca Lambert Mata. The fourth work by the same author that has been preserved is the substantial *Llibre de les nativitats* (“Book of nativities”), which is incomplete in this codex but has been conserved in its entirety in MS 411 Paris, BnF Espagnol. Three out of the four Tresbens’s extant treatises, all in Catalan, are dedicated to the main branches of judiciary astrology: elections, nativities –chart casts for the moment of birth-- and interrogations –inquiries about individual matters. Such a trifold approach was 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. Instead, a particular application of astrology --also included in general compendia translated from Arabic into Latin but rarely elaborated by a Latin or vernacular author in a specific treatise-- was discussed in his booklet on treasure hunting. With such a wide collection Trebens showed greater ambition than any other medieval astrological author in a European vernacular language². While the *Llibre de les nativitats* was first edited about sixty years ago by Joan Vernet and David Romano,³ the three short treatises remained unpublished and almost completely neglected. It is only very recently that the study and edition has been embarked upon, starting with the *Libel d’investigació de tresors* (“Booklet of research for treasures”),⁴ and now followed here with the *Tractat de les eleccions* and soon to come is the *Tractat de les interrogacions* (“Treatise on interrogations”)⁵.

¹ This article is a result of Frances A. Yates Short-term Fellowship “Astrology in the service of power: Bartomeu de Tresbens’s brief astrological treatises dedicated to King Pere the Ceremonious of Aragon” at the Warburg Institute, the research project funded by the Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities FFI2014-53050-C5-2-P “Corpus digital de Arnau de Vilanova: filosofía y ciencia en la Corona de Aragón (siglos XIII-XIV)” and PID2019-104308GB-I00 “Arnau de Vilanova Digital”, as well as the “Grup de recerca consolidat de Cultura i Literatura a la Baixa Edat Mitjana” (AGAUR 2017 SGR 142). I thank Lluís Cifuentes, Carmel Ferragud, Lola Badia, Nicolas Weill-Parot, Charles Burnett and Raquel Parera for their help.

² 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, 104-29.

³ Bartomeu de Tresbens, *Tractat d’astrologia*, ed. J. Vernet and D. Romano (Barcelona, 1957-1958).

⁴ Sebastià Giralt, “Astrologia per a la recerca de tresors: el *Libel d’investigació de tresors* de Bartomeu de Tresbens,” *eHumanista/IVITRA* 14 (2018), 761-793.

⁵ 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 36 chapters belonging to the former and 35 to the latter, but considerably shorter than the *Llibre de les nativitats* (77,5 ff.). According to my calculations, it might be about 24 fols. long.

THE MANUSCRIPT

Upon its examination, the Ripoll manuscript reveals to contain almost exclusively astronomical-astrological writings related to Pere the Ceremonious, the four by Tresbens and the *Tables of King Pere*⁶. MS Ripoll, Biblioteca Lambert Mata, XXI (hereinafter *R*) has 173 paper folios (291 x 215 mm). Fols. 1 and 23-30 underwent mutilation with a resulting loss of text, along with some of the blank fols. (21v, 23r-28v, 69v, 98v-111v, 121r-122v, 128v, 148v, 149v, 164v-165v) and the one that came after fol. 173, which was cut out. However, some rests of the marginalia of the folio that was cut out have been conserved and it apparently belongs to the *Libel d'investigacions de tresors* ("Booklet of research for treasures"). Blank fols. appear between different works (in 69v, 149v, 164v-165v), two different copies of the same work (in 121r-122v) or different parts of works (in 128v, 148v). Nevertheless, the longest series of blank fols. (98v-111v) are likely due to the incompleteness of the *Tractat de les interrogacions*: it seems to have been copied from a defective antigraph, but the leaves necessary to finish the transcription were left empty to allow to end it if possible.⁷ Finally, the blank fols. 23r-28v, which are mutilated, are more difficult to justify, because they happen in the middle of the *Llibre de les nativitats*.

The codex has been dated by BITECA to the third quarter of the 15th century based on 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 is taken up by Tresbens' treatises, except for 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 to find the ascendant at the time of birth, the first of which is in Latin (fols. 163r-163v) and the other in Catalan (fols. 163v-164r). *R* transmits all the works of Tresbens that have been preserved: *Llibre de les nativitats*, fols. 1r-85v, with fols. 1r-v and 23r-30v being mutilated⁸; 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. Out of all of the treatises, only two have been clearly attributed to Tresbens:

⁶ The manuscript was firstly described by Vernet and Romano in the introduction to 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: Josep Maria Millàs Vallicrosa, *Las Tablas astronómicas del Rey Don Pedro el Ceremonioso* (Madrid-Barcelona, 1962), 121-238. My description is based on the records of BITECA and Sciència.cat, which agree essentially. I checked their data by examining the manuscript both directly and via a digital copy.

⁷ Giralt, "El *Tractat de les interrogacions*".

⁸ As a consequence, excluding the general table of contents, which is placed between the preface and chapter 1 (f. 1r-2v), long fragments of the *Llibre de les nativitats* copied in *R* are missing in ff. 1r (preface), 29rv and 30rv (chapter 14), while the mutilated ff. 23-26 were blank. Hence, there are two leaves and a half severely damaged and 74 entirely left, including the f. 21, which has been cut out only to add a table.

the *Llibre de les nativitats*, just as it is in the Paris manuscript; and the *Libel d'investigació de tresors*, the first and the last of the series.

Therefore, in the only known copy, the *Tractat de les eleccions* remains anonymous, 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 Pere is not referred to by name in the *Tractat de les interrogacions*), 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. Tresbens' 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: nativities, interrogations and elections. Nevertheless, his contribution focuses on those aspects that may interest his audience, kings and nobles, especially in the last two treatises. However, he does not limit himself to the basics of astrology, but also discusses more specialised 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, ff. 1r-2v). It has been immensely valuable in helping us to understand the conception, the origin and the texts collected in the manuscript, because, as noted by Cifuentes,⁹ it lists subjects that are addressed not only by this work but in all the writings by Tresbens included in this codex. On one hand, its presence suggests that most of R lies in 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 Tresbens' works. It gives us a list of chapters or subjects from the *Tractat de les interrogacions*. In total there are 36, 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. However, the table clearly shows that most of the book has been lost.¹⁰ Finally, the table also allows us to know 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.

With regard to the *Tractat de les eleccions*, the table of contents was very useful for the edition of this work to provide titles for the chapters. Effectively, the text of the treatise reached our days with clues of where the division into chapters should be. There are empty spaces for the initials with guide letters but without any titles, except in the second chapter, in which it has been maintained. The same thing

⁹ Cifuentes, *Sciència.cat*, ms459.

¹⁰ Giralt, "El *Tractat de les interrogacions*".

occurs in the rest of Tresbens' treatises present in *R*, with the exception of the first and second chapters of the *Llibre de les nativitats*. On the contrary, in the canons of the *Taules del rei En Pere*, the initials and chapter titles appear written in red. However, for the *Tractat de les eleccions*, the contents of the chapters whose start is 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.¹¹ 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 titles of this work present 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 the titles in the Parisian codex are reasonably faithful to the original ones.¹² Such divergences between the titles which are 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 it was due to a careless work of a later scribe. The placement of the table of the Tresbens's works in the preface of the *Llibre de les nativitats* is another hint in the same direction.

In the text of *R* there are clues that it was corrected by the copying scribe himself, at times with a different support manuscript than the antigraph, as we can gather from the fact that said correction are indicated with the word *àlias*.¹³

THE *TRACTAT DE LES ELECCIONS* WITHIN TRESBENS' CAREER

Thanks to recent studies based on the documentation regarding 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.¹⁴ His origins in the County of Foix recently arose from various indications. First, the surname Tresbens coincides with a name of a small village very close to Foix. Second, there are clear

¹¹ 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".

¹² First chapter: "Capítol de la nativitat del nat e de la perfecció o imperfectió si vendrà a perfet temps o edat de nodriment lo nat" (*R*, fol. 3r) / "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" (MS 411 Paris, BnF Espagnol, fol. 1v) / Table of contents (*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: "Lo terç capítol de l'encercament del loch de la vida e de so donador, so és de l'yleg e de l'alccodén" (*R* fol. 6v) / "Capítol 3, qui mostra lo sercament del lloch de la vida e de son donador, so és lo yleig" (MS 411 Paris, BnF Espagnol, fol. 4v) / Two different items in the table of contents: "Del senyor de la vida elegir que és yleg" and "De la quantitat de la vida, que és alccodén".

¹³ See notes 76 and 115 below.

¹⁴ See a biographical approximation and the edition of the known documentation: Carmel Ferragud – Sebastià Giralt, "Bartomeu de Tresbens, metge i astròleg de Pere el Cerimoniós: aproximació biogràfica i diplomàtica," *Magnificat: Cultura i Literatura Medievals* 6 (2019), 113-163.

Occitanisms in the Catalan he uses in the works preserved in *R*¹⁵. Then, the autobiographical references present in the *Libel d'investigació de tresors* place him within the service of Gaston de Lévis, lord of Lérans, in Languedoc. He was probably born in 1317 in Tresbens¹⁶, and 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. However, we have 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. It should be noted that he takes up this dual function at the same time that Pere the Ceremonious began to significantly 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 Tresbens' contribution is included.¹⁷ In any case, 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 municipal physician of the Catalan town of Cervera failing due to his demanding too much (1372),¹⁸ 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. Subject to this inspiration, in 1375 Joan attempted an ambitious plan of regulating the medical profession that was halted by intervention of the king. This power conflict between the sovereign and his son seems to have led to the

¹⁵ Sebastià Giralt, "El deix occità de Bartomeu de Tresbens," Anna Alberni – Lluís Cifuentes – Joan Santanach – Albert Soler, *"Qui fruit ne sap collir": homenatge a la prof. Lola Badia en el seu 70è aniversari* (Barcelona, 2021, forthcoming).

¹⁶ On Tresbens' date of birth, also see Julio Samsó, "Astrología matemática en el *Llibre de les nativitats* de Bartomeu de Tresbens," Alberni – Cifuentes – Santanach – Soler, *"Qui fruit ne sap collir"* (Barcelona, 2021, forthcoming).

¹⁷ 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 - Palma, 2006), 189-220; Michael Ryan, *A Kingdom of Stargazers: Astrology and Authority in the Late Medieval Crown of Aragon* (Ithaca, NY, 2011), 105-153; Julien Véronèse, "Nicolas Eymerich et l'astrologie à la cour d'Aragon," in *De Frédéric II à Rodolphe II: Astrologie, divination et magie dans les cours (XIIIe-XVIIe siècle)*, ed. Jean-Patrice Boudet, Marine Ostorero and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Florence, 2017), 97-155; Glòria Sabaté - 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 - Joan Mahiques (Kassel, 2020), 397-414.

¹⁸ 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), p227.

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. In that aim we must consider all of the referent indication in all of the preserved works together, which although they somewhat relative in nature and are not determinant *per se*, allow us to obtain a plausible timeline of all of the works over the course of Tresbens' career. These clues are made up of certain allusions to historical and autobiographical events, references to his other works, documental evidence and the structure of the manuscript¹⁹. 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, who held that Church position from 1351 to 1382.²⁰ That council, which had to have been held in the past and therefore was likely not contemporaneous to 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 chronicle of Jerónimo de Zurita.²¹ If this is correct, we would have a *terminus post quem* that would fit with the dates 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 47 years old as 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.²² 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 1367²³. Finally, the *Libel d'investigació de tresors* must have been written in 1369 at the latest, if it is the "book on hidden treasures" that the king orders to be copied that appears in a document of the ACA dated to September of that year.²⁴

The mentions in the treatises of 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

¹⁹ Ferragud – Giralt, "Bartomeu de Tresbens, metge i astròleg."

²⁰ He was very close to the king and had significant political importance. In 1361, he defended the Kingdom of Aragon against the Castilian invasion: Luisa d'Arienzo, "Fernández de Luna, Lope," *Diccionario biográfico electrónico*, Real Academia de la Historia, < <http://dbe.rah.es> >.

²¹ "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, 1967-1985), IX, 40 (vol. 4, 436).

²² Samsó, "Astrología matemática."

²³ "E devant de totes coses fassan aquesta interrogació demana lo Rey d'Anglaterra si conseguirà lo Regne de Castella," fol. 89r.

²⁴ ACA, C, reg. 1225, f. 44r, edited in Antoni Rubió, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-aval* (Barcelona, 1908-1921), vol. 2, 159, no. 162.

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 they appear in the manuscript: *Llibre de les nativitats*, *Tractat de les interrogacions* and *Tractat de les eleccions*. It is true that the last work also alludes to the *Libel d'investigació de tresors* but it is not within the treatise but at the end of it (§90), and therefore it appears more likely to be a reference introduced in 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 treaty written chronologically last of the four preserved works of Tresbens.

So if we combine all of the evidence of different types here above, we obtain a proposed dating for all of the preserved 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 the 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 with 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” that provides indications for the first steps of an election for any action that one wishes to take and then directly what must be done to continue the election with particular instruction for each specific purpose being provided in the following chapters. From there, as he had stated in the preface, he limits his indications to the matters related with royalty. The following 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 or accepting a challenge (VII and VIII), launching a war against a vassal or a lord— including 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); 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, financial and military matters (XX, XXII, XXIII), and even writing letters (XXIV), offering invitations and gifts (XXV and XXVI), cutting and wearing new clothes (XXVII). Immediately afterwards he reviews preparations for war: buying horses and other

beasts (XXVIII), wining tournaments, learning to fight (XXIX), purchasing weapons (XXX), 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). The chapter XXXIII includes discussion of the making and burying of astrological images for populating or depopulating places, and the 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.²⁵ Effectively, 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 d'Egidio de' Tebaldi and Pietro da Reggio (*Liber completus in iudiciis stellarum*)²⁶. That was the version used by Tresbens according to various indications.²⁷ Approximately half of the contents in the *Tractat de les eleccions* come from the *Liber completus*. In particular they come from the seventh part

²⁵ Regarding the sources in Tresbens work 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 (XIIIe-XVIIe siècle)*, ed. Jean-Patrice Boudet, Martine Ostorero and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Florence, 2017), 71-96.

²⁶ On Abenragel: David Pingree, "Ibn Abī l-Ridjāl, Abū l-Hasan 'Alī, al-Shaybānī al-Kātib al-Maghribī al-Kayrawānī," in *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden, 1986), vol. 3, 688; Francis J. Carmody, *Arabic Astronomical and Astrological Sciences in Latin Translation: A Critical Bibliography* (Berkeley - Los Angeles, 1956), 50-53. 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 - Barcelona, 2005). We have no current edition of the Latin version and I consulted a Renaissance edition: *Liber de iudiciis astrorum* (Basel, 1551), hereinafter *ARLat*.

²⁷ 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 collyrium* (*ARLat*, 36), instead of the Castilian *magnicie* (Abenragel, *El Libro conplido*, 1954, 41); *fet* (§12) from Latin *factura* (*ARLat*, 36), not from the Castilian *fechizo* (*El Libro conplido*, 1954, 41), or *substància* (§4-8) for the Latin *substantia* (*ARLat*, 35-36) instead of the Castilian *cosa* (*El Libro conplido*, 1954, 40-41). Moreover, Gerold Hilty, "El *Libro conplido* en Catalunya," *Estudis Romànics*, 38 (2016): 347-355, points out two copy mistakes, which are not found in the Castilian translation, transmitted from the Latin version by Tebaldi and Reggio to Tresbens's *Llibre de les nativitats*.

dedicated to elections and of which the Castilian translation has not been preserved. However, there is 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 by a wide margin. Nevertheless, in this treatise 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 which are combined with citations from other authors, Tresbens’ own passages or material of an unknown origin.

Unlike with Abenragel, the citations from other sources are usually solitary and sporadic. The references to Ptolemy stand out. However, they are 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.²⁸ 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, 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 passage §23 on aphorism 84 of the *Centiloquium* without explicitly stating as much. However, the last of the citations to Ptolemy (§53) 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 describes may have been taken from the *Liber de imaginibus* by 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 9th 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 specialized in elections that became common in its anonymous Latin translation under the title *De electionibus*.²⁹ 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

²⁸ 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).

²⁹ The Arabic text and the Latin version were studied and published in Carole Mary Crofts, *Kitab al-ikhtiyarat ‘ala l-buyut al-itnai ‘asar, by Sahl ibn Bišr al-Isra’ili, with Its Latin Translation De electionibus* (Glasgow, 1985).

(§3-5) also follows Zahel as a main source, but, again, he is not mentioned³⁰. However, the influence of Zahel is most significant 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 10th 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,³¹ 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 well) and in the Catalan version too (286).³² 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 Sespanes have any book on the science of the stars except that one.³³ However, the Catalan version did not arrive in the library until years after Tresbens's work, 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.³⁴

³⁰ See appendix 1.

³¹ Also edited in the original Arabic and the Latin translation in Burnett: Alcabitius (Al-Qabīṣī), *The Introduction to Astrology (=Introductorius)*, ed. Charles Burnett, Keiji Yamamoto and Michio Yano (London, 2004). Concerning Alcabitius see Yamamoto, Keiji, "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.

³² 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," 503-506; Cifuentes, *La ciència en català*, 209-219, and Giralt, "Drawing from the marrow,".

³³ 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, f. 176v-177r, edited in Rubió, *Documents*, vol. 1, no. 191.

³⁴ ACA, C, reg. 1674, f. 47v = Rubió, *Documents*, vol. 1, núm. 385.

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 Tresbens's willingness to inform and respect that he was writing for a readership that were not experts. For example, in passage §15 the additions (marked in italics) specify which planets are diurnal and which are nocturnal.

<i>Tractat de les eleccions</i> §15	ARLat, 299 (VII, 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, <i>axí com són Saturnus, Júpiter e'l Sol</i> , e que sien en signes de masculinitat, e aquells que són nocturnals, que sian occidentals a la Luna, <i>axí com són Mars, Venus, Mercúrius e la Luna –mas Mercuri pot ésser diürnal e pot ésser nocturnal–</i> , e aquestes que seran en signes de femenins.	Melior electio et magis fortunata et perfecta est, si sint planetae diurni orientales a Sole et in signis masculinis, et nocturni occidentales a Luna in signis foeminilis.

He also keeps in mind who is the target audience, mainly the king and his successors, to adapt 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.”³⁵ Chapter XXVIII regarding “taming, racing horses and purchasing” is based in part on chapter LII of the *Liber completus* entitled “de emptione animalium.” Just by comparing the titles we can see that Tresbens focuses more on horses (though not exclusively) more than his source, which takes into account other beasts besides the horse. 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

³⁵ See note 109 below.

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 great part of the *Tractat de les eleccions* might be original work by Tresbens.

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 nativitats*, where he combined tables coming from the sources and tables of his own creation. Without a doubt 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 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 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 indicant of the sources employed by the author. If the structure of the *Tractat de les eleccions* is compared with its main source, *Liber completus*, it does not appear to be dependent on the order of contents in Abenragel's work.³⁶ Certainly, some common blocks emerge, but they are based on thematic subjects, such as war, protocolary questions 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 partially or mostly derived from the *Liber completus*: battle (chapters V-XII) and weapon procurement (XXX-XXXI). As usual in the *Liber completus*, Abenragel organises the contents of its seventh part on elections according to the 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. However, the *Tractat de les eleccions* follows none of these two systems, although Tresbens does use the twelve houses to organise the second part of the *Llibre de les nativitats* (chapters XX-XXXVIII). Unlike with 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

³⁶ See appendix 2.

in a structure conveniently conceived by its author to accomplish its purpose to focus 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 the 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 Harranian astronomer Thabit ibn Qurra (9th century), one of the most influential treatises on talismans of which only the Latin translation by Juan de Sevilla has been preserved³⁷. However, the coincidence is partial and the function is not exactly the same, since Thabit's is designed to destroy a region.

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 Arab origin³⁸. There are clearly some important differences though: 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 admit that he put in 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 Tresbens' preserved 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

³⁷ Edited in Francis J. Carmody, *The Astronomical Works of Thabit b. Qurra* (Berkeley - Los Angeles, 1960), 180-197. Regarding Thabit's treatise see Charles Burnett, "Ṭābit ibn Qurra the Harrānian on talismans and the spirits of the planets", *La corónica*, 36.1 (2007), 13-40; Nicolas Weill-Parot, *Les "images astrologiques" au Moyen Âge et à la Renaissance: spéculations intellectuelles et pratiques magiques (XIIe-XVe siècle)* (Paris, 2002), 63-72.

³⁸ Jean-Patrice Boudet, "Un traité de magie astrale arabo-latin: le *Liber de imaginibus* du pseudo-Ptolémée," *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.

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 intervention rejected the practice based on the conviction that it was impossible to properly channel such forces through technique.³⁹

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*, that had enabled him to show him a large part of the science of astrology. It is understood, thus, 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 stated that, while he did not follow this criteria in the first of his preserved works, the *Llibre de les nativitats*, and he did apply it to the next one, the *Tractat de les interrogacions* --as shown not only in the remaining 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)⁴⁰--, it was not until the preface of the *Tractat de les 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.

³⁹ 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.

⁴⁰ 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, [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 leials o no, [9] Si li és bé fer moure guerra o no"... ed. Giralt, "El *Tractat de les interrogacions*".

The author justifies restricting the treatise to affairs of governance based on the fact that all the authors agree 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 indubitably is the origin of this claim even though he does not explicitly cite it, Zahel's *De electionibus* (which however, attributes 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.⁴¹ 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, 10th century) states that he disagrees with all the other astrologers who strictly deny elections to those whose nativity is not known.⁴² 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 preferable.⁴³ 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)⁴⁴ – 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.⁴⁵ Therefore, based on Zahel, Tresbens opts

⁴¹ “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 nativitatis,” Abenragel, VII, preface, *Liber de iudiciis astrorum*, 297. Cf. *El Libro conplido... (partes 6 a 8)*: 88-89.

⁴² *De electionibus*, edited in Josep Maria Millàs Vallicrosa, *Las traducciones orientales en los manuscritos de la Biblioteca Catedral de Toledo* (Madrid, 1942), 329.

⁴³ *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 - Boston, 2011), 46-49, 93-96, 142-147.

⁴⁴ Benjamin N. Dykes, “Introduction,” in Guido Bonatti, *The Book of Astronomy* (Golden Valley, Minn., 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.

⁴⁵ “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 magnatem 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.

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.

It is clear the importance an astrologer in the service of a prince must emphasize for 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. Considering this fact, it is worth remembering that the only parallel contemporary work that compares to Tresbens's is the unfinished *Livre des eleccions universelles des douze mansions* dedicated in 1361 to King Charles V of France by Pèlerin de Prusse, a master of arts of German origin.⁴⁶ Both Pèlerin and Tresbens coincided in their 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 the calling of assemblies. Despite the fact that both the structure and contents of Pèlerin's and Tresbens' work dedicated to elections are different, we can posit the question of whether Pèlerin's work may have been 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 Tresbens', given that he presents himself only as a compiler that only puts forth what his sources state, even though some of his content appears to be original.⁴⁷

What then was the real, practical application of elections by those medieval rulers most drawn to astrology? If we examine at 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 observation matches the information provided by the royal documentation, given that there is record of only one time that Pere ever paid attention to an election. In fact, this is the only time there is 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

⁴⁶ "...je escriray soubz correction un petit livret a mon pover 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 Livre 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 XIVe siècle": le *Livre des élections 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* (Paris, 2005), 83-104.

⁴⁷ "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.

Pere Gibert and Dalmau Sesplanes.⁴⁸ 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.⁴⁹ On the contrary, his successor Joan was for more inclined to give ear to astrologers and to take interest in political prophecies, but again there is no record that he allowed elections to guide with a single exception. In 1379, he asked Sesplanes which were the most opportune dates for his betrothed Violant de Bar to enter Catalonia in order to celebrate the wedding to him.⁵⁰ 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.

Therefore, with this lack of 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, both in writings in favor 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 iudiciarios* (1349) and *Songe du viel pelerin* (1389) respectively. The two authors use Jaume III as an example 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, and Mézières after him, sums up the end of Jaume by saying that, “he lost his kingdom and his head.”⁵¹ Indeed, after being defeated at the Battle of Llucmajor 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

⁴⁸ Josep M. Madurell, “El Palau Reial Major de Barcelona: recull de notes històriques,” *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*, 22 (1936), 491-518.

⁴⁹ Ferragud – Giralt, “Bartomeu de Tresbens, metge i astròleg,” documents 28 and 29. It is possible that both things were related.

⁵⁰ “Volem que vós parreu amb en Dalmau Planes stalabre quals dies e quant dels meses de ffraber, 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*, vol. 1, 281).

⁵¹ “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*, ed. Joël Blanchard with Antoine Calvet and Didier Kahn (Geneva, 2015), 1, 598, vol. 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 Divinacions* (Cambridge, MA, 1952), 127.

advisers, among which at times there were astrologers, and weighed a number of different factors, among which, when applicable, were astrological conditions.⁵² For this reason, we must 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 tells 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 thanks to this advice that the count achieved a great victory.⁵³ 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).⁵⁴

While it is difficult to know what the decision making process for a political or military enterprise might have been with certainty due to 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 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 1247.⁵⁵ However, his poor fortune would have it that an enemy incursion took the city a year later and destroyed it. According to an English chronicler, the same emperor postponed the consummation of his marriage to Isabella of England until the fortunate hour assigned by his astrologers.⁵⁶

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

⁵² 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 dans l’Occident médiéval (XIIIe-XVe siècle)* (Paris, 2006), 169–170, 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, representations. Rencontres de Münster (22-25 septembre 2016)*, Alain Marchandisse - Gilles Docquier - Nils Bock (Neuchâtel, 2017), 89–103; H. Darrel Rutkin, *Sapientia Astrologica: Astrology, Magic and Natural Knowledge, ca. 1250-1800* (Cham, 2019), 422–463; 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 (XIIIe-XVIIe siècle)*, ed. Jean-Patrice Boudet, Martine Ostorero, and Agostino Paravicini Bagliani (Florence, 2017).

⁵³ “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*, 393–394.

⁵⁴ Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance*, 169–170.

⁵⁵ Boudet, *Entre science et nigromance*, 176.

⁵⁶ 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.

astrological elections occasionally became part of the civil rituals and processes. In the 14th and 15th 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.⁵⁷

A good example of how far a ruler particularly dedicated to astrology could reach in the use of elections, from the end of the 15th 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. Based on 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).⁵⁸ 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 his nieces and the medical attention given to his family and the nobles of his court. Varese is an excellent example of how, based on his technical knowledge, an astrologer could achieve significant influence in government if his lord was dependent enough on astrology. However, he also shows the fragility of that position, given that Ludovico's downfall also led to Varese fall from grace.⁵⁹

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 individual criteria, although there was a trend that led it to become more widespread from the 13th to 15th century and in the Renaissance. The drives to promote astrology or take astrological predictions into account were not uniform either. 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 was made based on *R*, the only known testimony. I followed the usual criteria for the edition of Catalan medieval texts: I maintained the spelling of *R*, but I expanded the abbreviations and separated words in accordance with current usage; I applied the modern Catalan distinction between u/v and i/j; added accents and the 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 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

⁵⁷ Rutkin, *Sapientia Astrologica*, 455-463.

⁵⁸ Rutkin, *Sapientia Astrologica*, 450-451.

⁵⁹ Monica Azzolini, *The Duke and the Stars: Astrology and Politics in Renaissance Milan* (Cambridge, MA - London, 2013), 167-209.

the numerals. I separated the chapters where there was space for the initials (escape in the single case of XXIV), numbered them and added titles, that were nearly directly taken from the table of contents that appears at the start of the manuscript. There were just a few times when I had to supply or modify the items in the content due to its absence (chapter VI) or the corruption of the text (chapter XXII). In one case (chapter IX) I combined two items from the table into a single chapter. In any case, the rare occasions in which there were discrepancies I have indicated them with a note. I have not found significative differences between the table of contents entries and the beginning of the text, except for chapter XXII: the table apparently preserves an Occitanism of the author that was replaced by a copyist in the text with the corresponding Catalan word. I placed all added words and letters in square brackets. To facilitate the referencing the text, I also numbered the paragraphs (§). I indicated the sides of the folios. The corrections I made to the text – based on the sources used by Tresbens or based on the sense of the passage – are collected in the critical apparatus, along with the incidents arising from the copying process, such as scratched, crossed out or corrected elements. The notes include 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*⁶⁰, I only noted as much in exceptional cases. With regards to the sources, I have cited them in the Latin version used by Tresbens, but, for those cases in which the Latin text of the Renaissance print is corrupt, I 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 = MS Ripoll, Biblioteca Lambert Mata, XXI

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 - Barcelona, 2005), “Parte séptima,” 87-190.

⁶⁰ *DCVB* = Antoni M. Alcover - Francesc de B. Moll, *Diccionari català-valencià-balear*, 10 vols. (Palma, 1964-1969); *DOM* = *Dictionnaire de l'occitan médiéval*, Munic, Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften < <http://www.dom-en-ligne.de> >.

Tractat de les eleccions

[Prefaci]

[f. 150r] [§1] Don Pedro, senyor Rey d'Aragó, príncep humil més que negun anyell, molt havets vists e hauzit⁶¹ de mos dits: aprenets los que més vos plauen pendre. Però bé·m plau que, si alcun vol rependre razó, sol la·m faça entendre bé [e]·m repenré en so que·m volrà dir e clarament demostrar ab albir e, si m'i porà vengre per més rahó, seré vengut e tornaré apendre. 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 interrogacions⁶². E perquè més sovén usats en elections, jatsia que tart ne demanets 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 solament en las cosas reyls, 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 reyls. E per ço car les nativitats al jorn de vuy no se'n salven ni se'n retenen sinó per Reys e per hòmens de gran caler, e d'aquells són pochs, perquè la sciència 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[l] senyoria, sens nativitats, 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 considerat en voler saber son ésser de sa fortuna e vida e accidents ab intenció cordial⁶³. Car aquell mou e ha mogut lo firmament en aquella voluntat qu'él tenia amagada entrò aquell die e hora e minut, entrò al punt que·s mou e va fer son viatge al mestre 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 [f. 150v]. E vertederament 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 puys fer electió al pare e al

⁶¹ Occitanism for 'to hear.'

⁶² The author alludes to his own works prior to the *Tractat de les eleccions* in the same manuscript and which therefore appear to have been written before: *Llibre de les nativitats*, ff. 1ra-85vb, and *Tractat de les interrogacions*, ff. 86ra-98rb.

⁶³ The idea that an astrologer must accept elections consultations principally from kings, lords and high ranking people, or individuals whose nativity or the nativity of their children is known comes from 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" (*De electionibus*, § 1-2, in Crofts, *Kitab al-ikhtiyarat*, 29). However, this restriction does not actually appear to be shared by most astrologers and was not accepted by Abenragel, Tresbens' principal source. On this question, see the part "The usefulness of elections for the ruler" of the introduction.

fill per aquella, e és quaix equipol·lent o equal a la figura de la nativitat del pare pròpia.

35 **[I. Regles generals]⁶⁴**

[§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
40 de les elections és en saber la natura dels signes. Car los signes que són fermes e fixes són Taurus, Leo, Escorpí e Aquari: signifiquen fermesa e tarditat e constància e perseveransa 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
45 après que lo sposament sia fet en los signes movibles. E 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 fortunes. E qui serà mes en càrrec sots la senyoria o assencions de tals signes haurà lonch càrrec. E si alcun se cuyta en ell, non se mitiguerà leugerament. Conditions e retribucions són profitoses. E sàpies
50 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 cosa de pocha durada, e lo temps que significa és breu, e en aquells no és bona fer neguna cosa que deja
55 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 l'hom que fugirà tost retornarà. E fer peregrina/tge bon és [f. 151r]. Coses promeses non sa tendran, parlament o novelles portades en tals signes falsas
60 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.

[§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
65 participacions, e tota cosa tal o de tal natura és bona de fer en ells, per què comprar ni núpries o nocés fer non és bon en aquells, car frau e decepció se trobarà en ells⁶⁵.

⁶⁴ Title taken from the beginning of the next chapter: *Vistes les regles generals...* The numbering of all the chapters is by the editor.

⁶⁵ “Car los signes que són fermes... se trobarà en ells”: Passage based on Zahel (*De electionibus*, § 12-16 in Crofts, *Kitab al-ikhtiyarat*, 34-37) and Abenragel VII, 3, *ARLat* 302-303 / *ARLus* 98-99 (“De signis et eorum significationibus”). Since the latter very closely followed the former or a source common to the both of them (Dorotheus), Tresbens's source is not evident at first glance. However, a careful comparison 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, switching the placement of the fixed before the mobile ones. On the relationship between Zahel, Abenragel and Dorotheus, see Crofts, *Kitab al-ikhtiyarat*, x-xiii.

- 70 [§6] E sàpies que, quant a tu covenrà fer eleccions per força e non pots haver la saho que la Luna non sia infortunada, fe que aquella planeta que enfortunarà la Luna que sia senyor de l'ascendent e, tant non poràs adequar 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 alcun comensament de elecció planeta bona en alcun angle e majorment en lo mig del cel, non te'n cal haver cura d'altre, car aquell és bon e abastant.
- 75 [§7] Quant la revolució de l'any de la nativitat o de la interrogació serà mala, poch t'i aprofitaran les eleccions en aquell any⁶⁶. E si la revolució d'aquell any és fortunada e bona, non t'i cal fer eleccions.
- 80 [§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 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.
- 85 [§9] Quant alcuna mala planeta prometrà mal e serà fora e cazents⁶⁷ de 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.
- [§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. [f. 151v]
- 90 [§11] Quant la planeta que és infortuna recebrà alcuna planeta fortuna, sàpies no li'n fa gran dan, e majorment que serà guardat de esguart de s'amistansa quan és del 4 o de l'oppòsit.
- [§12] E sàpies cert que lo infortuni⁶⁸ de las planetes crex e és trop fort quant són de tot en tot fores de lurs dignitats e són en lochs estranys.
- 95 [§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.

⁶⁶ “quant a tu covenrà fer eleccions... en tots camins”, “Quant alcuna mala planeta...faràs de ta elecció :” Passages based on Abenragel, *Liber completus*, VII, 1, *ARLat*, 298-299 / *ARLus*, 91. In the first chapter of the seventh part the Arab author 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, as we mentioned earlier. 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).

⁶⁷ Occitanism for ‘cadent’.

⁶⁸ I correct *les infortunis* based on the printed Latin version of Abenragel: “multum crescit infortunium planetarum, si quando fueri[n]t in locis extraneis” (*ARLat*, 299). This presents another problem with regard to their matching that is shown when it is compared with the Portuguese version, which closely followed the now lost Castilian version: “Muito crece a infortuna das planetas quando foren en lugares estranhos” (*ARLus*, 91).

100 [§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 que comensas, e los significadors axí mateix acordants e covinents ad aquells que s'i mesclen ab ells.

105 [§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 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 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.

110 [§17] Sàpies que molt és e pot estar fortunat aquell que haurà fortunes 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 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.

115 [§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 general⁶⁹

120 [§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 [f. 152r] en general e puy 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*⁷⁰, là on dix que covén 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.

130 [§20] Diu Aly⁷¹: 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 movable, 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 com vehem que Mars és significador de plets e de batallas, deveu

⁶⁹ This is the only chapter that conserves its title at the start.

⁷⁰ Actually, it is the *verbum 10*: “Uti oportet infortunis in electionibus sicut periti medici utuntur venenosis secundum competentem qualitatem”, *Centiloquium*, f. 107v. The Arabic text with Italian translation can also be checked: Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf, *Commento al Centiloquio tolemaico*, 74-75.

⁷¹ “fortuna en l'ascendent... genus de la cosa requir”: Haly Abenragel (cited as Aly by Tresbens), VII, 2, *ARLat*, 299. Cf. *ARLus*, 92-93.

135 fortunar Mars en aquell cas per la part que voleu que vença, per què se sagueu 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.

140 [§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 aplicació 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
145 retrogradació e son empatxament significa gran tarditat e gran enbergament en las
causas e desobediència e que non s'i complirà sinó ab gran treball, jassia que los
altres significadors sien tots bons e signifiquen perfectió de la cosa.

[§22] E guarda que la Cohā del Dragó non sia ab lo Sol ni ab la Luna ni ells no sien
en lurs conjuntió ni en lur oposició ni la Cohā non sia en l'ascendent ni en la casa
de cosa, ni tampoch ab la part de la obra que vol fer, car gran viltat aporta en tota
150 res. E fes que de dies sia l'ascendent [f. 152v] en signes de dies e masculins, e de
nits en nocturnes e femenins, e segons que la natura e'l genus de la cosa requir⁷².

[§23] Sàpies que, axí com diu lo Ptholomeu en lo *Centiloqui*, les esteles fixes donan
grans dons e forapassan tota mesura, mas per major partida finissen e fan termenar
en mal⁷³. E per amor d'assò devets guardar, quant volràs metre rey en son
155 coronament, que en l'ascendent non haja 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 rapina⁷⁴.
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]⁷⁵

160 [§24] Quant volràs coronar rey o fer comte o ennoblehir novellament alcun, posa
lo Sol en Ariete, passats los primers 10⁷⁶ 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

⁷² "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 viles [...]. Procura in die ascendens de signis diurnis, in nocte de nocturnis...", Abenragel, VII, 2, *ARLat*, 299.

⁷³ "Verbum 29: Stelle fixe dant dona grandia, modum exedentia sed multotiens finiuntur in malum", ff. 109r. Cf. the Arabic text with Italian translation: Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf, *Commento al Centiloquio tolemaico*, 104-105.

⁷⁴ Even though it is not stated as such, this indication could also be based on the *Centiloquium*, verbum 84: "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", ff. 114v-115r. Cf. Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf, *Commento al Centiloquio tolemaico*, 206-207.

⁷⁵ From this point forward, the titles are taken from the general table of Tresbens' works located at the start of the manuscript, with some exceptions that will be indicated in the corresponding places.

⁷⁶ 10 written in the margin by the copying scribe, who indicated with the abbreviation of *alias* that he was correcting the 20 in the text on the basis of another manuscript.

- la Luna sia crexent e, si pot en una de las cases de las 3 planetas sobiranes, e
 165 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
 170 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
 dampnatge en la substància del Rey e en los seus concellers, e lo infortuni de la 2
 175 casa de l'ascendent significa lo dan del poble en sa substància⁷⁷. E aquesta sentència
 se acorde ab lo comén de l'Aly⁷⁸, 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.
- 180 [§25] Zael diu que hom pauze⁷⁹ la Luna en l'ascendent en sublimació de [f. 153r]
 reys ajustada a las fortunas⁸⁰, la qual non sembla bona, per ço car diu Aly que la
 Luna és enemiga de l'ascendent⁸¹. 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 fortunada⁸². E donchs, dic yo, com la Luna signifie poble comú,
 185 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
 comensaments 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, ha auçmentar
 poble és subject. E per amor d'açò dic que la Luna ben fortunada en coronament e
 190 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.

⁷⁷ “Verbum 39: Malum esse 11 domus et eius domini in intronizatione regum significat quod accidet consiliatoribus suis et eius substantie de malo. Et eodem modo erit malum esse secunde que est domus substantie, significans quod modicum adispiscetur populus cum illo rege”, *Centiloquium*, f. 110r. Cf. The Arabic text with Italian translation: Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf, *Commento al Centiloquio tolemaico*, 124-125.

⁷⁸ Aly in this case does not refer to Haly Abenragel but rather the author of the commentary that usually accompanied the *Centiloquium*, which was falsely attributed to Hali, but in reality, was the work of d'Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn al-Dāya. It is found in the above mentioned editions directly following the aphorism 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”).

⁷⁹ *pauzar*, Occitanism for ‘to put’.

⁸⁰ “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”, Zahel, *De electionibus*, § 124, in Crofts, *Kitab al-ikhtiyarat*, 85.

⁸¹ “Similiter abhorribilis est Luna in ascendente tam in introitu quam in exitu, quia significat in itinere infirmitatem et magnum laborem”, *Liber completus* d'Abenragel, VII, 70, *ARLat*, 328 / *ARLus*, 145.

⁸² “Horribilis est etiam praesentia Lunae in ascendente in introitu atque exitu, quia timetur peregrinanti infirmitas in suo itinere vel gravis labor in corpore”, Zahel, *De electionibus*, § 107, Crofts, *Kitab al-ikhtiyarat*, 77. I have understood *varejar* as *barrejar* in the sense of “mix up” or “spoil” (*DCVB*, s. v. ‘barrejar’).

E si açò non se pot fer, fe-la cazer⁸³ de l'ascendent de son esguart e posa les fortunes en l'esguart del 4 signe e de mig cel.

195 **[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, mas en special és a metre la Luna en signe de Mars ben fortunada, e que garde a Mars de bon esguart, ab bones fortunes en la fi del mes ajustades a ells, e guarda tant per los capítols
200 precedents quant per aquest. E en tots fets d'armes que fassas, Mars apoderat, fortunat e participant en bon estament e que haja part en l'ascendent e non pas en loch negun de part adversa ni de enemichs, e Júpiter 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
205 infortunats⁸⁴.

[§27] Quant lo senyor de l'ascendent serà en signe fix e l'ascendent fix és, tots fortunats, durarà la senyoria, e atressí en los succedents fortunats⁸⁵. 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
210 e nobles e [f. 153v] 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 costumes e de gran pes e consell e que non haurà cura de deportes ni solaços de vanitats. E si aquí serà Venus, serà hom de grans delits e deportes e serà ergullós e leuger. E si aquí serà la Luna, haurà
215 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 fortunes.

[§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
220 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
225 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.

⁸³ Occitanism for 'to fall'.

⁸⁴ The whole chapter follows the *Liber completus* d'Abenragel (VII, 81, *ARLat*, 334-336, *ARLus*, 156-159).

⁸⁵ He has not faithfully reproduced his source here: "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" (*ARLat*, 334).

230 [§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 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.

235 [§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 graus de Àries, e gites-se del grau de l'ascendent de dies e de nits del grau de la Luna entrò al grau [f. 154r] de la sua exaltació, que és a 3 graus de Taurus, e gita-se de l'ascendent. E atressí devets
240 acordar la part del regne efortunar-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 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
245 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 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
250 comensar ton camí o ton seti o plets o qüestió moure enfre tu 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 garde a l'ascendent de
255 bon esguart 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 planetes sobiranes. E si lo senyor de l'ascendent és en la 11 o en la 10 o si aquell senyor de la 2a d'aquellas
260 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 ni ton significador, ni sian applicats a planeta cahent, però lo
265 significador del contrari sia cahent e applicant al teu, car per aquella figura conquistaràs 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 que Mars garde a la Luna e
270 atressí a l'ascendent e [f. 154v] 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.

[VI. En fer affrontament e batalla]⁸⁶

275 [§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 tostemps vencedor. E non poses pas lo
senyor de l'ascendent ni de la 2 en la 7 ni en la 8, mas posa lo senyor del 7 o del 8
280 en la primera o en la 2, car per aquella disposició serà tostemps 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 tostemps fe que les planetas que són
de batalles, axí com Mars, Mercuri e la Luna, sien appoderats per la part que volràs
que vença, e encara los senyors de les cases on seran.

285 [§37] E sàpies que tostemps en fet de batallas vengrà 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 se aparella e se trau del grau del loch
del Sol entrò al grau de Mars e gitaràs-la del grau de l'ascendent e guarda que ella
non caya ni son senyor en la 4 ni en la 8.

290 [§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 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 vengrà. 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
295 vengrà, 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 tas volentats
o que convengue que s'humilie a tu, fortunaràs la Luna e Mercuri per Mars e per
300 Júpiter e l'ascendent e son senyor, e pausaràs⁸⁷ lo senyor del 7 e del 12 cazents
d'aquells e de lurs senyor[s], si pots, e en tal constil·lació tra/met [f. 155r] ton
desafiament.

[§40] Quant sabràs que alcun ton enemich te tramet dezafiament, destrigua que non
lo prengues entrò que vejas la figura del cel aparellada a ton profit. E fe que lo
305 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]

⁸⁶ 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. For this reason it was added. This entire chapter follows Abenragel, *Liber completus*, VII, 55 (ARLat, 320 / ARLus, 130-131).

⁸⁷ *pausaràs* is an Occitanism for 'you will put'.

310 [§41] Si vols saber que se'n seguirà per los dezafiments, vejas lo senyor de
l'ascendent e la Luna, en qual estament és ab lo senyor de la 4, car si és fortuna e
haurà applicació ab lo senyor de l'ascendent de bon esguart, la fi serà bona per lo
que comense o fo causa del desafiament. E si ab lo 7 o ab son senyor, serà la fi bona
315 e la applicació 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 fi bona. E
si infortuna, mala. E si aquí serà la Coho 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
applicació. Axí matex, si lo senyor de l'ascendent serà mal e en mala disposició en
320 lo temps del dezafiament, és mal per aquell que tramet. E si lo senyor del 7 és mal
e en mala 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 Coho del Dragó aminva de
la boneza dels bons e crex en la malícia dels mals.

325 **[IX. En comensar la guerra per terra o per mar. Per anar contra son vassall
rebel·le]⁸⁸**

[§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
330 non és fortunada, car tostemps 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
tostemps la Luna detrás sas espallas, axí que, si va anta⁸⁹ orient, que la Luna sia en
335 occident⁹⁰, e si en occident va, [f. 155v] que ane⁹¹ quant 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, que Mars sia
en les parts de orient, que són de 10 graus del signe de Taurus a 10 graus de Leo. E
340 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 10 graus de Aquari a 10 graus de Taurus. E sobretot se guart tothom
de guerra, que non comens a combatre ni plets en horas malas, que són ditas

⁸⁸ These two titles provided by the table of contents describe content set forth in a single chapter.

⁸⁹ *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, 1980-1991), s. v. «en» adverb), we have considered it as an Occitanism here.

⁹⁰ This citation of al-Kindi comes from Abenragel, *Liber completus*, VII, 57, *ARLat*, 321-322 / *ARLus*, 133-134, 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).

⁹¹ In my opinion *ane* is 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: José Ramón Fernández González, *Gramática histórica provenzal* (Oviedo, 1985), 386-387, 406.

345 combustas e són 12. Aprés la conjunció del Sol e de la Luna tantost següent. E puy són bones entrò a 96. E puy són 12 combustes, que són del nombre de las 96 inclusivament. E per saber-las pus tost en n'e feta assí una taula on són totes segons los dies de la edat de la Luna e són hores artificials⁹².

[§44] Diu l'Alkabissi que qui comensarà batallar en las primeras 4 perdrà la vida.
350 E en las següens 4 serà nafrat sens que non morrà. E en las 4 derreras perdrà de sos bens e de sos companyons⁹³. [f. 156r]

Etat de Luna dies	Hores singul- lars	Hores col·lec- tas	Quals hores són bones e quals són malas		Etat de Luna dies	Hores singul- lars	Hores col·lec- tas	Quals hores són bones e quals malas
1	12	12	combustes		16	12	372	combustes
1	24	24	bones		16	24	384	bones
2	12	36	bones		17	12	396	bones
2	24	48	bones		17	24	408	bones
3	12	60	bones		18	12	420	bones
3	24	72	bones		18	24	432	bones
4	12	84	bones		19	12	444	bones
4	24	96	combustes		19	24	456	bones
5	12	108	bones		20	12	468	combustes
5	24	120	bones		20	24	480	bones
6	12	132	bones		21	12	492	bones
6	24	144	bones		21	24	508	bones
7	12	156	bones		22	12	516	bones
7	24	168	bones		22	24	528	bones
8	12	180	combustes bones		23	12	540	bones
8	24	192			23	24	552	bones
9	12	204	bones		24	12	564	combustes
9	24	216	bones		24	24	576	bones
10	12	228	bones		25	12	588	bones

⁹² It is true, as stated, that 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.

⁹³ "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", Alcabitius, *Introductorius*, IV, 310 (348).

10	24	240	bones		25	24	600	bones	
11	12	242	bones		26	12	612	bones	
11	24	264	bones		26	24	628	bones	
12	12	276	combustes		27	12	636	bones	
12	24	288	bones		27	24	648	bones	
13	12	300	bones		28	12	660	combustes	
13	24	312	bones		28	24	672	bones	
14	12	324	bones		29	12	684	bones	
14	24	336	bones		29	24	696	bones	
15	12	348	bones		30	12	708	bones	
15	24	360	bones		30	24	720	combustes	mediocres

[X. Ítem per las horas combustes]

355 [f. 156v][§45] Ítem guarda que non comens plets ni guerra ni tensó⁹⁴ 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 bas⁹⁵ de tots, e Saturnus és lo més alt, que sia senyor del 7. Per què fortificaràs ton contrari, con ja t'e dit que los signes dels 3 sobirans són fortunes, mes en tals obras e fets⁹⁶.

[XI. En destruir o rompre villas o castells]⁹⁷

360 [§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 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 aplicant a alcuna planeta d'aquella matexa condició e que vaja a son casament⁹⁸,
365 que és lo contrari de sa exaltació e que sia lunnyat de ll'angle o casa d'ell, mas⁹⁹ 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 matexa e que vaja a son decasament de la Luna, que és en Escorpí. E si la Luna és sobre terra, fe que applique a planeta que stia dejús la terra,
370 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 Sol¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁴ Occitanism for 'struggle'.

⁹⁵ Occitanism for 'low'.

⁹⁶ This chapter is based on Abenragel, *Liber completus*, VII, 55 (ARLat, 321 / ARLus, 132).

⁹⁷ This chapter does not appear in the initial table of contents, but the presence of a guide letter and the change in subject indicate it is opportune to add it.

⁹⁸ i.e. 'cazement', an Occitanism for 'fall' (a position of weakness of the planet). In Latin, *ad eius casum* (ARLat, 323).

⁹⁹ *mas* was later changed by the scribe into *Mars* by adding an *r*.

¹⁰⁰ Until this point Tresbens follows Abenragel, *Liber completus*, VII, 58, ARLat, 323 / ARLus, 136.

E la Coha del Dragó estan en la 4 ab alcuna infortuna és fort en tal electió, car sotsvertís tots edeficis.

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

375 [§47] E si volets trametre cavallers o pehons per fer la guerra, serva la manera del primer e del segon capítols¹⁰¹ 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 que fassas per Déus ab justícia e mercè de tot proïsme e per força forçada, 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'açò¹⁰².

[XIII. En trametre legats per fer pau]

385 [§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 [f.157r] 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 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 390 disposicions 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 pelegrins neguns dels significadors, e axí hauran pau, si Déus plau, acabada.

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

395 [§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 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 400 e ab lo senyor de la 5, e axí faran, si a Déu plau, bon tractament.

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

405 [§50] En comensar viatge per terra o per mar tots signes ferms 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 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 comensament 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 que Júpiter hi sia o la reguarde de bon loch. O que la Luna sia crexent en signe de aygua bon 410 és per aygua, mas que fortunes hi sien o los conforten. En signes de foch és bon

¹⁰¹ References to chapters 1 to 2 of the same treatise, in which there are general indications.

¹⁰² It is not clear which chapter it refers to, since it does not coincide with any subsequent passage.

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 alcuna planeta bon és exir en camí en la 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,
415 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. [f. 157v] E axí dels altres.

[§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
420 que és de mig de Libra entrò al mig d'Escorpí, e per res no la poses en signes de dos corsos, si pots. E segons los lochs e fets per què iràs acorda la Luna ab lo significador de la casa, axí com 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 confiansa 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 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.

[§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 Ptholomeu¹⁰³– non dampna Mars en los camins de l'aygua ni Saturnus en los camins o viatges de terra, mas guarda de Saturnus per
435 mar, axí com de Mars per terra.

[§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 lavoradors de terra, acorda-lo ab

¹⁰³ This indication, as it is formulated here, does not seem to come from Ptolemy but rather from the Abenragel, *Liber completus*, VII, 1, *ARLat*, 298 / *ARLus*, 91: “Non facit Mars damnum iter facientibus per aquam, sicut Saturnus non multum subeuntibus iter per terram”. However, Trebens's wrong attribution of this statement to Ptolemy might have been induced by Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf's commentary to the *Centiloquium* (verbum 55): “Impedimenta vero que fiunt in mari sunt Saturni”, ff. 112. By contrast, Ptolemy's *Quadripartitum* (IV, 7, f. 98r) gives different rules: “Si Saturnus etiam 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 IV, 8, in the modern edition *Le Previsioni astrologiche*, ed. Simonetta Feraboli (Verona, 1985), 332. It is worth noting that 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: *Sefer ha-She'elot II* or second version of the *Book on interrogations*, 9.1, *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 - Boston, 2011), 379.

440 Saturnus. E axí servada la bona propiació del temps ab aquestes coses, hauràs bon viatge, si a Déu plau, e fortuna en so per què hiràs.

[XVI. En fer cavallers novells]

[§55] Si al Rey plaurà a fer e criar cavallers novells e vols que Déus los fassa melloria e ben e que sian leylals a ell e a lurs cavallaria[s], faça que Leo sia en lo
445 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 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 [f. 158r] la 7 ni en la 12 ni en la 6 ni en la 8 ni en la 4, si non que fos senyor
450 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 bon loch e non sien pelegrins ni combusts ni retrogradants ni en contrari de lur casa ni de lur exaltació ne
455 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]

[§56] Quant lo rey volrà sobre alcun 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
460 que la Cohà 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 contrari de sa casa ni de sa exaltació, e si serà en son terme, seria fort bon Sol que non fos cazent e que guarde la Luna.

[XVIII. En ajustament de corts]

[§57] En ajustar las corts generals havets acordar les constil·lacions devantdites e fer de tot en tot que Júpiter ni Mercuri non sian retrogradants ni infortunats, e que lo senyor de l'11 e del 9 e del 10 sian acordant[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,
470 e majorment al consell 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 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
475 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 casa. E axí fo, per què guardats tots temps que la Luna non sia cazent¹⁰⁴.

¹⁰⁴ 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.

[XIX. En demandar adjutori o tribut al poble]

480 [§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 o en son esguart e que haja [f. 158v] 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, 485 seria bo, car significa estar lo poble en obediència del senyor. E si Mercuri aquí serà 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 laysen¹⁰⁵ 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 490 sia francha del mal, car la demanda 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 scrivans, Mercuri; si a vils e lavoradors, 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.

495 [XX. En demanar o metre oficials 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 ofici 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 de bon loch e de bon esguart e Venus que les 500 fortifique per semblant esguart¹⁰⁶.

[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 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 505 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 robadors d'aquella e dar t'an mal comte e fals.

[XXII. En fer tesaurers]

510 [§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 n'i fa pus poch. [f. 159r]

[XXIII. En fer trametre capitans sobre companhes]

¹⁰⁵ Occitanism for 'they let'.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. Abenragel, VII, 83, *ARLat*, 337 / *ARLus*, 160: "In dignitate alcaidiarum seu iudicum utile est si Luna sit in aliqua domorum Iovis aspicentis eam de tertio vel sextili, Venere fortunante ambos".

515 [§63] Un capítol posa l'Aly que és fort general e necessari a tot Rey e gran senyor
quant deu fer capitans o majordoms sobra algunas companyes per combatre¹⁰⁷.
Salvades les regles dessusdites, diu que, si vols 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
520 triplicitat o, al segon orde, lo senyor segon e, al 3 orde, lo 3 senyor. E guarda en la
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.

525 [§64] Quant aquell a qui Mars darà mal e que la Luna sia infortunada e desemparada
de fortunes e que los altres se[n]yors de la triplicitat sien 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'aquella 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.

530 [§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. E si la obra se fa de nit, sàpies que és primera aquella
535 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 li plaurà. E si ab tot açò haurà esguart de
bones planetas, vengrà tot per violència o per malas obras. E aquell que haurà
540 fortunes en sa significació sens infortunas farà ben e noblament sos affers e los
complirà. E 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 [f. 159v] hòmens.

[XXIV. En scriure cartes]¹⁰⁸

545 [§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 planeta 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 papa¹⁰⁹, applique a
Júpiter, e axí dels altres, e que no sien cazents dels angles. E quant scriuràs letras o

¹⁰⁷ The first part of this chapter (until “no faran res de ben”) is based on Abenragel, *Liber completus*, VII, 85, *ARLat* 337-338 / *ARLus*, 161-162.

¹⁰⁸ Title taken from the general table of contents. However, in the text there is no separation between this and the preceding chapter, nor is there any guide letter indicating a new chapter. Under this heading, Tresbens combines two very short chapters of the *Liber completus* by Abenragel, VII, 36 and 37, respectively, on the sending of messengers and the writing of letters (*ARLat*, 314 / *ARLus*, 119).

¹⁰⁹ The author uses “pope” to replace the expression “iudex aut mercator” that we find in the Latin (at least in the printed version), while the Portuguese version says, “alqueide ou juits ou mercador”.

550 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.

[XXV. En convits pendre o fer]

[§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
555 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,
560 que, si aquí és Mars, mort o plagues hauràs. E si la Coha del Dragó, metzines o poysós¹¹⁰. 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 és infortuna e lo senyor de l'ascendent tanbé, per mal te covida, no hi vajas. E si
565 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], sallirets¹¹¹ bons amichs.

[XXVI. En present pendre o trametra]

[§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 trametes, fe per lo contrari, e
570 seguent les regles del capítol quant hon dona a cabal.¹¹²

[XXVII. En vestir novelles vestidures]

[§71] En tallar vestits nous e vestir-los, fe que la Luna sia en signe o movable 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

¹¹⁰ Occitanism or Gallicism for “poison”. 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, 1846-1847), s. v. “poiso”; or François-Just-Marie Raynouard, *Lexique roman ou dictionnaire de la langue des troubadours* (Paris, 1838-1844), 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* (2008-2016), accept the “poison” meaning.

¹¹¹ Occitanism (that is also used later) meaning “to exit”.

¹¹² I have opened this chapter present in the table of contents despite the fact that it does not correspond to any guide letter. It is based on Abenragel's *Liber completus*, VII, 35, *ARLat*, 314 / *ARLus*, 118. Tresbens translates the Latin “in capitulo dandi capitale” into Catalan as “capítol quant hon dona a cabal”. However, Abenragel's “in capitulo dandi capitale” refers to *Liber completus*, VII, 13, but the Occitan astrologer does not include that section in his own treatise and, consequently, the reference has little sense.

575 Leo, si donques non són d'armadu/res [f. 160r], e lo Sol e la Luna en mig del cel, e sia bona la segona casa e son senyor al comprar del drap¹¹³.

[XXVIII. En domdar e córrer cavalls e comprar]¹¹⁴

580 [§72] Quant volràs domar¹¹⁵ cavalls o bèsties altres, tota la electió està en so que la Luna sia fortunada e crexent e que non sia applicada a planeta 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.

585 [§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 retrogradan 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 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 *directus* e crexent e puja en son agme, serà gran de sos membres e bells. E açò diu per saber l'ésser 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 590 Mercuri és bo en açò.¹¹⁶

600 [§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 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, cayrà¹¹⁷ 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]

605 [§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

¹¹³ This chapter follows Abenragel, *Liber completus*, VII, 34, *ARLat*, 314-315 / *ARLus*, 118.

¹¹⁴ This title appears below in the table of contents.

¹¹⁵ I have corrected the *donar* lesson to be *domar*, given on the margin of the manuscript itself indicating the correction based on a lesson from another manuscript (as shown by the abbreviation of *àlias*) and which matches the title shown in the table of contents.

¹¹⁶ Part of this chapter ("E en comprar los cavalls... Aquari ni Escorpí", "E si és *directus*... membres e bells") is based on Abenragel, *Liber completus*, VII, 52, *ARLat*, 318 / *ARLus*, 127. Tresbens focuses more on horses and leaves out the other animals that the Arab author addresses in addition to horses.

¹¹⁷ *cayrà* is an Occitanism for 'will fall'.

causes¹¹⁸ cové que fortifique l'ascendent e son senyor e que fassa per manera que Mars sia fortificant la sua partida. [f. 160v]

[§76] Entén a dir que, si ell és cometedor, que tenga la taula, que fassa per manera
610 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 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
615 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 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 decazer¹¹⁹ lo senyor de la 12 casa e de la
620 7 casa per lo defendent, si són mal, o de l'ascendent per lo demandant, si vols que
lo qui comensa sia vençut.

[§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,
625 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 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 Gèminis¹²⁰.

[XXX. En comprar armes]

630 [§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 esguarts bons 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'ella¹²¹.

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

[§79] E si volràs fer enginy e armes e navilis per combatre tos enemichs,
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 de l'ascendent e la Luna que sian en
640 los angles, e alcuna planeta bona en lo mig del cel que sia en alcuna sua dignitat e
oriental poderós e de sobte e leuger moviment, e axí [f. 161r] matex la Luna crexent.
E quant més poràs fortificar Mars ab honestedat, feu-ho, e fe que lo senyor de la
conjunció o de la prevenció d'aquell mes abans passada sia bon e en bona
disposició ab aquells dessusdits, e que la primera applicació que haurà feta la Luna
645 après d'aquella sia bona e a bona fortuna o a Mars de bon esguart e en bon loch. E

¹¹⁸ Occitanism for 'things'.

¹¹⁹ Occitanism for 'to decline'.

¹²⁰ The last part follows Abenragel, *Liber completus*, VII, 91, *ARLat*, 339 / *ARLus*, 165.

¹²¹ Based on Abenragel, *Liber completus*, VII, 56, *ARLat*, 321 / *ARLus*, 133.

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 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, per què diu Aly que se guarde 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 disposició 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 partida¹²².

[XXXII. En fer bastides¹²³, lochs e edificis]¹²⁴

[§81] Per edificar ciutats o lochs o castells o vilas, quant al Rey vendria de plaer, car a altres non pertany¹²⁵, el fa mester fortunat lo signe e la planeta d'aquell clima en què està, e fortificar Saturnus¹²⁶ 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 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 1 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. E Saturnus haja alcun appoderament del mig cel al comensament del posar la primera pera e'l sement bart¹²⁷.

[§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 senyor d'aquella ciutat mal home e destruhidor. E sia lo senyor de l'ascendent fortuna crexent en son lum e en son

¹²² This chapter follows Abenragel, *Liber completus*, VII, 59, *ARLat*, 323 / *ARLus*, 136-137, very closely throughout, but at the end of it Tresbens contradicts one of Abenragel's aphorisms: "Alii sapientes 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".

¹²³ 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 Albigensian Crusade: Claudine Pailhès, *Le comté de Foix: un pays et des homes. Regards 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 that was replaced by the copying scribe with the word *ciutat*, which was more comprehensible in Catalan.

¹²⁴ This chapter partially follows the words of Abenragel, *Liber completus*, VII, 20, *ARLat*, 308-311 / *ARLus*, 108-112, specifically in these passages "Per edificar ciutats... l'ascendent de la hora", "E sia lo senyor de l'ascendent... retragraden" and "e lo Sol sia en signe.. en major partida".

¹²⁵ Abenragel does not make such a categorical restriction, since he also includes "illustrious and wealthy men": "Circa architecturam ... valde usui est regibus et claris hominibus et divitibus" (*ARLat*, 308).

¹²⁶ Actually, Abenragel uses Saturn simply as an example and not as a general rule like Tresbens has understood.

¹²⁷ *ciment bard*: according to *DCVB*, *bard* is earth mixed with water to make the walls of houses.

enament ni retragraden ni cremat, e sia oriental e fort en sas dignitats los mellors que puscha e més [f. 161v], que lo senyor del terme e de la fas tots tant com poràs
675 sien quitis de tot embarch, e lo Sol sia en signe leuger e de detràs ascencions.

[§83] Ítem la part de fortuna e son senyor sien en casas de fortuna, so 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 fartilitat 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 menonaguera en major partida, e fes aquí que sia fort Mercuri e haurà veritat e bonas commixtions de mercaderies. E fes que sia fort Júpiter e haurà aquí justícia 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 jocunditat¹²⁸ e bellesa, e fortifique lo Sol e serà ennoblida de gents, e per la Luna
685 moras gens e fembres. E fes que acordes les planetas aytant com poràs en ben, mas que poses Marts separat. Emperò si Mars és fortunat e lo posas en alcuna casa succedent, mas que no guarde als dessusdits, non damna, ans daria victòria a les gents contra sos enemichs. E per aquestes regles segons més o menys podets elegir per fer altres lochs.

690 [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-hi Venus, e que hun dels dessusdits signes¹²⁹ sia en l'ascendent o en la 4 casa o en la 10 e sia senyor del 10
695 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 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 maravellosament ab la ajuda de Déu, tant com aquella ymatge hi serà. E si faràs en constil·lació contrària ymatge de contràries accions e
700 figuras de planetas infortunas e en lur casament, despoblarà-se¹³⁰.

[XXXIV. En comprar lochs, empenyorar aquells o vendre]¹³¹

¹²⁸ I correct *jous ditat*. The two element name of *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.

¹²⁹ "Hoc significat populationem illius terrae et eius redditus. Si aspectum Iovis cum Saturno habere nequiveris, pone Venerem in loco Iovis et fortunabis signa aquatica" (Zahel, *De electionibus*, § 49, in Crofts, *Kitab al-ikhtiyarat*, 52).

¹³⁰ Out of the two astrological images given as alternative options, the second is similar to some included in the *De imaginibus* attributed to Tabit ibn Qurra: "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..." ed. Carmody, *The Astronomical Works*, 184. In this case it is for the purposes of destroying a region, but as Tresbens says here, similar talismans can be used for a purpose or the contrary of that purpose by changing the astrological conditions.

¹³¹ The whole chapter follows Abenragel, *Liber completus*, VII, 22, *ARLat*, 311 / *ARLus*, 113.

- [§86] E si comprar volets lochs o vilas o heretats, faràs de guisa que la 4 casa sia ben fortunada e que hi haja alguna planeta fortuna o per existència o per reguart e la Luna que sia en sa exaltació, e guarde't de Mars e de tot sonencontre e que les luminàries guàrdent a l'ascendent [f. 162r] e la 4. E guarda que, si l'ascendent o lo signe de la 4 és signe d'aygua, que Saturnus non hi guarde o per neguna guiza non sia la 10 casa infortunada 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.
- 705
- [§87] E sàpies que l'ascendent signifie la causa¹³² e'l comprador e lo profit que se seguirà d'aquellas cosas que d'aquí salliran o naxiran: si és terras, axí com són arbres e samensas¹³³. E lo 7 e son senyor signifiquen les heretats e les habitacions. E la 4 e son senyor signifiquen lo ben de la terra e las semensas que aquí se fan o's faran¹³⁴, per què la bontat o la malícia dels significadors faran la bontat o lo mal en aquellas cosas. Per què 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 septentrion¹³⁵. E las fortunas hajan alguna dignitat en los angles, e majorment en l'ascendent, e que Júpter 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 Luna sia significador de la fi e que serà d'aquella heretat.
- 715
- 720

[XXXV. En fer venir aygües e cavar pous o fontanes]¹³⁶.

- [§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 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 11¹³⁷ 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.
- 725

¹³² *Causa* is an Occitanism for 'cosa' ("thing"): the Latin source says *rem* (see the next note).

¹³³ Whether by mistake or some other reason, Tresbens does not faithfully reproduce his source here: "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", Abenragel, *ARLat*, 311 / *ARLus*, 113.

¹³⁴ Here again we find discrepancies between Tresbens and the printed version of Abenragel: "Quarta et eius dominus significant praedia et habitatores (...). Et septima et eius dominus significant fertilitatem terrae et seminationes quae ibi fiunt" (*ARLat*, 311). Some of the differences are due to copying errors. For example, the fourth house and the seventh house appear in the place of one another. However, the Portuguese version matches Tresbens (*ARLus*, 113) and show that the indications he gives are the original variants. Then, there is the fact that *R* shows *habitacions* ("habitations") for *habitatores* ("dwellers"). In this case the Portuguese text matches the Latin one, and therefore, the form given in *R* is incorrect, regardless of whether the error was the author's or the scribe's.

¹³⁵ The various elements of this sentence have plural and singular grammar markers that disagree and I have resolved them so that they are all plural based on the Latin version (which also matches the Portuguese): "domini angulorum sint orientales crescentes in suo motu et ascendentes ad septentrionem" (*ARLat*, 311 / *ARLus*, 113).

¹³⁶ The first part of the chapter (until "feu que la Luna sia ben fortunada") is based on Abenragel, *Liber completus*, VII, 21, *ARLat*, 311 / *ARLus* 112-113.

¹³⁷ *Duodecima* ("12th") appears in the printed Latin version of Abenragel, but the Portuguese also says *onzena* ("11th"): "Sed si Luna fuerit super terram, sit in duodecima domo." / "E se a Lua for sobre terra, seja ena onzena casa" (*ARLat*, 311 / *ARLus* 112).

730 E fes que los 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. E si volets que dure, fets ymatge d'ome e tenga ordre en lo coll, axí com qui gita o buyda aygua en 1 vexell,
735 e que sia en la constel·lació la Luna estant en les esteles del sposador¹³⁸ 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 [f. 162v] aquella matexa constel·lació d'aquella figura ab la figura de la Luna, e per toststamps durarà aquella don que hom del món no l'en porà destruir. Mas sia ben
740 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 e sos noms.¹³⁹

[§90] *Encercar tresors e traure* lo tractat se saguex après del *Mirall* de Plató e de la *Spera e equaladura que per si matexa se mou*¹⁴⁰. Ni de la spera e equaladura non
745 vull de present tractar: fer-s'a altra temps, quant Déu plaurà e a vós, senyor, serà mils avinent.

¹³⁸ *sposador*, derived from the verb *espozar*, is an Occitanism meaning “pourer.”

¹³⁹ We find a similar image in Pseudo-Prolemy's *Liber de imaginibus*, 34, § 42: “cum volueris ligare fontem, fiat ymago viri in cuius manu sit addelu, id est aquarius, id est vas in quo hauritur aqua, Ia facie Aquarii oriente. Post sepeliatur in aliquo fonte et nemo accipiet aquam inde quin frangatur eius urceus.” However, it is attributed with effects contrary to those here: impeding the flow of water from a spring. Also, Tresbens' description is more detailed.

¹⁴⁰ At the end of this treatise, Tresbens makes references to the titles of several other works that he himself has produced, two of which appear after in the same Ripoll manuscript according to the table of contents, but only one of which has been preserved: *Libel d'investigacions de tresors* (ff. 166r-173v), edited in Giralt, “Astrologia per a la recerca de tresors.” Instead, the *Mirall de Plató* (“Plato's Mirror”) that is referenced here appears at the end of the table of context of R: : “En fer el mirall de què hom veia sos enemichs de mieja jornada” (as pointed out by Cifuentes, *Sciencia.cat*, ms459). However, it must have been lost along with the folios at the end of the codex, along with the end of the *Libel*. Contrarily, there is no evidence that he was able to complete the writing of the treatise on the *Spera e equaladura*, which is on the astronomical instruments of the sphere and the equator, which he indicates he will complete sometime in the future.

Critical apparatus

- 14 sobre² *sup. lin. R*
15 vuy] uny *R*
23 minut] pnut *R*
28 d'aquí] de qui *R*
31 de] dels quals *R*
43 o¹] no *R*
51 és *iter. R* tart] *scripsi ex tardior Zahel : car R*
60 *post* cosa *exp. qui R*
93 lo infortuni] *scripsi ex infortunium ARLat a infortuna ARLus : les infortunis R*
103 *post* de *add. et expl. ms R*
110 e *sup. lin.*
115 o de la prevenció *sup. lin.*
116 *post* de *exp. bona natura R*
122 puys] punys *R*
125 planetes] plantes *R*
130 sobte] *scripsi e cito ARLat : sobre R*
133 *post* batallas *exp. e R*
135 deveu] devent *R*
148 *post* en³ *exp. lur R*
156 *post* son *exp. poble R*
173 verbo 39 *sup. lin.*
178 *post* Sol *exp. és R*
183 la] lo *R*
184 sia] sien *R*
190 *post* senyoria *exp. e R*
191 necessari] necessaris *R*
224 *post* la *exp. virtut R*
231 ferm] ferms.
236 *post* del *exp. part R*
247 del senyor del loc de lur senyor *in marg. R*
286 aparella *sup. lin. R* appella *exp. R*
304 lo¹] los *R*
306 fe] fa *R*
312 *post* bona *add. e R*
376 del segon] dels segons *R*
384 Mercuri *exp. ab ella R*
390 e lo senyor de la quarta sia fortuna *in marg. R*
392 *post* axí *exp. en R*
413 és] en *R*
421 què *sup. lin. R*
427 lo] la *R*
441 so] son *R*
444 en lo *sup. lin. R*
465 corts] cors *R*
493 *post* contradir *add. e R*
507 en fer tesaurers *conieci e R*
514 general] generals *R*
515 *post* algunas *exp. companyies R*

524 *post* darà *exp.* m *R*
 526 *post* leyal *exp.* m *R*
 534 *post* aquella *exp.* senyoria *R*
 537 *que sup. lin. R*
 551 *post* sien *add.* sian.
 555 *post* garde *exp.* l *R*
 565 *post* són² *exp.* m *R*
 573 comú] comuns *R*
 574 *post* sia¹ *exp.* ascendent *R*
 578 *post* la¹ *exp.* ell *R*
 585 de¹ *iter. sup.lin. R*
 594 *post* signe² *exp.* en *R*
 596 córrer *sup.lin. R post* cavalls *add.* corre *et* cové *sup. lin. R*
 597 *post* la¹ *exp.* casa *R*
 598 *post* casa *exp.* ass *R*
 615 *post* ells *add.* e *R*
 632 *post* mes *add.* de la Luna *R*
 635 armes] arnes *R*
 650 *post* e *exp.* de la *R*
 672 sia *scripsi* e sit *ARLat* : si ab *R*
 684 jocunditat *conieci* e jous ditat *R*
 687 *post* victòria *exp.* a *R*
 696 figura] figures *R*
 710 *post* causa *exp.* del comprador *R*
 719 *post* la¹ *exp.* dignitat *R*
 723 sien¹ *exp.* salus *R*
 727 *post* e *add.* non *R cf. ARLat ARLus*
 736 lo *corr.* e la *post* lo *exp.* Luna

Appendix 1: comparison of the *Tractat de les eleccions* §3-5 with its possible sources, Zahel and Abenragel. The passages showing significant similarities appear in italics. The order of Zahel's and Abenragel's texts has been rearranged to follow Tresbens's discussion.

Tresbens, <i>Tractat de les eleccions</i> , §3-5	Zahel, <i>De electionibus</i> , §12-16 in Crofts, <i>Kitab al-ikhtiyarat</i> , 34-37	Abenragel, VII, 3, <i>ARLat</i> 302-303
Car los signes que són ferms 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 sposalment sia fet en los signes movibles. E si en los signes ferms fembre serà fugida a son marit, tart o jamés no la recobrarà. <i>E judicis 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 lonch càrrec. <i>E si algun se cuyta en ell, non se mitiguerà leugerament. Conditions e retribucions són profitoses</i> . E sàpies que Escorpí és més leguer que negun dels signes ferms, e Leo és més ferm e Acari és més tart e pijós.	Scorpio autem levior est omnibus fixis et Leo magis fixus, <i>Aquarius est tardior ac deterior</i> , Taurus vero magis est planus. Porro fixa congrua sunt omni operi, cuius <i>stabilitas et prolongatio quaeritur et quod vult auctor eius esse durabile</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. In iudiciis vero et inceptionibus in eis non erit postea fiducia, nisi multiplicentur in eis testimonia fortunarum. Et qui vinctus fuerit in eis, prolongabitur eius carcer, et <i>qui irascitur in eis, non poterit cito mitigari; conditiones vero et mercedes in eis utiles sunt</i> , bonumque erit aedificare et facere fundamenta.	Signa fixa sunt convenientia et bona rebus omnibus quas durare volumus et longo tempore manere. 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 fient in eis sub bona. Scorpio est levior signorum fixorum, Leo magis est fixus, Aquarius deterior et Taurus magis temperatus.
[§4] Los signes movibles són Àries, Càncer, Libra e Capricornus: signifiquen <i>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 ferms. En ells és bon semenar e comprar e vendre e fer muller</i> , mas non pas fer nocés. <i>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 peregrina/tge bon és</i> . Coses promeses 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,	Scito quod signa mobilia <i>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</i> (haec omnia sub eis proficiunt) et infirmus liberabitur cito, <i>contentio quoque in eis non prolongatur</i> et fugitivus revertetur cito. <i>Peregrinatio etiam utilis est in eis</i> , et si quis promiserit, in eis aliquid, non proficiet promissum. <i>Locutiones, somnia et rumores in eis falsi erunt</i> , 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 instabile (et festinationes), quod volueris	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. <i>Si quis aliquo morbo corripitur in eis aut liberabitur aut morietur cito nec causae in eis prolongantur</i> . 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 inceperis, etiamsi durare volueris, non erit durabile multum. [...] Signorum praeterea mobilium leviora sunt Aries et Cancer et haec eadem magis tortuosa et quae citius

per què són més torts en les lurs assencions, e Libra e Capricornus són més forts e més tempras.	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.	permuntantur. Libra vero et Capricornus sunt magis firma et stabilia et magis temperata.
[§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 nocces fer non és bon en aquells, car frau e decepció se trobarà en ells.	(§16a) 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.	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* (Abr=Abenragel)

Preface	Zahel, <i>De electionibus</i> , § 1-2,
I. Regles generals	Abr, VII, 1, “in regulis et radicibus que necessarie sunt in hac ratione et excusari non possunt” Zahel, <i>De electionibus</i> , § 12-16
II. Capítol general	Abr, VII, 2, “in principiis factorum” Pseudo-Ptolemy, <i>Centiloquium</i> , 10, 29 and 84
III. En comensar son coronament e de sos fills	Abr, VII, 70, “in electione itineris” Zahel, <i>De electionibus</i> , § 124 and 107,
IV. En pendre senyories o potestats e homenatges	Abr, VII, 81, “in recipiendo dignitatem”
V. En comensar conquerir terres de enemichs e de infidels	
VI. En fer affrontament e batalla	Abr, VII, 55, “in electionibus pro lite”
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	Abr, VII, 57, “in affrontando bella et faciendo pacem” Alcabitus, <i>Introductorius</i> , IV, 310
X. Ítem per las horas combustes	Abr, VII, 55, “in electionibus pro lite”
XI. En destruir o rompre villas o castells	Abr, VII, 58, “in diruendo castra et villas 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	Abr, VII, 1, “in regulis et radicibus que necessarie sunt in hac ratione et excusari non possunt” (but attributed to Ptolemy by Trebens)
XVI. En fer cavallers novells	
XVII. En comensar consell novell sobre algun fet	
XVIII. En ajustament de corts	
XIX. En demandar adjutori o tribut al poble	
XX. En demanar o metre oficials o batles	Abr, VII, 83, “in aptando dignitatem alcaidiarum”
XXI. En fer cullir rendes	
XXII. En fer tesaurers	
XXIII. En fer trametre capitans sobre companyes	Abr, VII, 85, “in eligendo de hominibus equalibus quem eorum facient dominum et maiorem”

XXIV. En scriure cartes	Abr, VII, 36 and 37, “in cursoribus transmittendis” / “in scribendo cartas”
XXV. En convits pendre o fer	
XXVI. En present pendre o trametra	Abr, VII, 35, “in enxeniis transmittendis”
XXVII. En vestir novelles vestidures	Abr, VII, 34, “in incidendis et induendis novis vestibus”
XXVIII. En domdar e córrer cavalls e comprar	Abr, VII, 52, “in emendo bestias magnas et parvas”
XXIX. En fer juntes o torneigs	Abr, VII, 91, “in addiscendo arma tenere”
XXX. En comprar armes	Abr, VII, 56, “in emendo arma pro bello”
XXXI. En fer ginys o navilis e armes	Abr, VII, 59, “in faciendo arma et ingenia ad debellandum inimicos sicut galeas et alia vasa maris”.
XXXII. En fer bastides, lochs e edificis	Abr, VII, 20, “in faciendo fundamenta villarum et domorum”
XXXIII. En poblar aquelles	Zahel, <i>De electionibus</i> , § 124 <i>De imaginibus</i> attributed to Tabit ibn Qurra
XXXIV. En comprar lochs, empenyorar aquells o vendre	Abr, VII, 22, “in emendis hereditatibus”
XXXV. En fer venir aygües e cavar pous o fontanes .	Abr, VII, 21, “in extrahendo aquas fodiendo et faciendo decurrere rivos sive zequias” Pseudo-Prolemy, <i>Liber de imaginibus</i> , 34, § 42