

# IBN AL-ḤĀTIM ON THE TALISMANS OF THE LUNAR MANSIONS

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## I. INTRODUCTION

AMONG the codices assembled by Federico da Montefeltro, Duke of Urbino from 1474 to 1482, there is a curious bilingual Arabic and Latin manuscript now in the Vatican Library (Urb. lat. 1384; Pls 14, 15, 16a).<sup>1</sup> The codex contains three works written or translated from the Arabic by a scholar who calls himself Guglielmo Raymundus de Moncata, that is, Guglielmo Raimondo de Moncada. This author is better known to historians of the Italian Renaissance by his pseudonym, Flavius Mithridates.<sup>2</sup>

Three works, all of them dedicated to Duke Federico, are preserved in Urb. lat. 1384.

i. Fols 1–19 and 21–28 (numbered 1–27): the Arabic original<sup>3</sup> of a work on the talismans of the twenty-eight lunar mansions composed by Abū 'Alī ibn al-Ḥassan ibn al-Ḥātim with Guglielmo's own Latin translation, an introduction and an epilogue. There is a reference in the first line of the introduction (fol. 1<sup>r</sup>a) to Cardinal Giambattista Cibo, Bishop of Molfetta (elected to the papacy in 1484 as Innocent VIII) and Guglielmo's patron during the early 1480s.

ii. Fols 31–62<sup>v</sup> (numbered 30–61<sup>v</sup>): Guglielmo's work on eclipse computations, *Soli lunaeque sanctissimis sanctum*. The canons are on fols 31–44<sup>v</sup> (numbered 30–43<sup>v</sup>); and the tables on fols 45–62<sup>v</sup> (numbered 44–61<sup>v</sup>). The epoch of the tables is Sunday 8 January 1475. Guglielmo names Aristoteles, Ptholomeus, Raban Gamalielis (Rabbi Gamaliel), il Bactani (al-Battānī), Ibn il Chimadi (Ibn al-Kammad), Ibn il Raccam (Ibn al-Raqqām), and Ali ibn il Haytim (Abū 'Alī ibn al-Ḥātim, the author of the first treatise) among his authorities.

iii. Fols 63<sup>v</sup>–89 (numbered 62–88): Sūras 21–22 (juz' 17) of the Arabic *Qur'ān* with Guglielmo's Latin translation. It is followed by a brief glossary of Arabic words.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> As can be deduced from the text of the manuscript, Urb. lat. 1384 originally contained eighty-nine folios. The twentieth folio has been lost. The current numbering of the folios (1–88) obscures this loss. For a description of the manuscript see C. Stornajolo, *Codices Urbino Latini*, Rome 1921, III, pp. 296–98. See also R. Starrabba, 'Guglielmo Raimondo Moncada, ebreo convertito siciliano del secolo XV', *Archivio storico siciliano*, n.s. III, 1878, pp. 84–91, and J. Carini, 'Guglielmo Raimondi de Moncada', *Archivio storico siciliano*, n.s. XXII, 1897, pp. 485–92.

<sup>2</sup> See n. 18 below.

<sup>3</sup> G. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione del più antico fondo della Biblioteca Vaticana, Studi e testi* XCII, Vatican City 1939, p. 93, n. 2, has pointed out that the Arabic sections of Urb. lat. 1384 were almost certainly

written by Guglielmo himself. The hand is identical to the Arabic citations from the *Qur'ān* in the autograph copy of Guglielmo's *Sermo de passione Domini*, Vat. Barb. lat. 1775. The scribe of the Latin portions, however, is not Guglielmo. His Latin script may be seen in Vat. ebr. 189, Vat. Chigi A. VI. 190, and Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatinus 885. For reproductions from these manuscripts, see C. Wirszubski, *Flavius Mithridates, Sermo de passione Domini*, Jerusalem 1963, pls I–VI. The extreme corruption of the Arabic demonstrates Guglielmo's lack of familiarity with written Arabic and his inability to distinguish the phonemes of spoken Arabic.

<sup>4</sup> Other manuscripts containing this translation are Venice, Marcianus lat. 123 (4662) and Milan, Ambrosianus n. 113, sup.

The purpose of this paper is to edit the Latin version of the first work in the manuscript, the *De imaginibus caelestibus*, and to supply an English translation of the Arabic text upon which Guglielmo's Latin translation is based. The *De imaginibus caelestibus* is closely related to the thirteenth-century Spanish version of *Las ymagenes de las veynt e ocho mansiones de la Luna*<sup>5</sup> ascribed to 'Plinio'.<sup>6</sup> The Latin translation of the Spanish text was appended to the Latin *Picatrix* as iv, ix, 29–56, under which guise it was well known in Northern Italy when Guglielmo translated Ibn al-Hātim's version.<sup>7</sup>

Nothing is known about the author of the *De imaginibus caelestibus*, Ibn al-Hātim, beyond Guglielmo's statement made in the canons to his book on eclipses,<sup>8</sup> that he observed a solar eclipse in Spain on the morning of 19 July 939:

Sciendum tamen est quod quandoque contingit Solem deficere in una urbe et non deficiet in alia illa eadem hora, ut ab Ali ibn il Haytīm ponitur Solem defecisse in Andolos post duas horas diei quinti ebdomadē mense Ramdan anno vicesimo septimo Agarenorum. Et hec eadem defectio visa est in Mecha eadem die eiusdem mensis paulo ante occasum Solis. Et huius veritas scientibus et non scientibus patuit.

19 July 939 was 28 Ramaḍān 327 AH, a Friday (day 5 until noon). The eclipse was visible in Spain and Italy.

By contrast the life and career of Guglielmo Raimondo de Moncada is well documented. In the introduction to his translation of the *De imaginibus caelestibus*, Guglielmo describes a golden lion talisman made by his father, Rabi Nissim Abu il Faragh.<sup>9</sup> Nissim Abū al-Faraj was a Jewish scholar from Sicily. His only two extant works, both in Hebrew, are an astronomical treatise and a lapidary.<sup>10</sup> Guglielmo was born in Agrigento in the mid-1450s.<sup>11</sup> He took the name of his godfather, Guglielmo Raimondo V Moncada, Count of Aderò,<sup>12</sup> when he converted to Christianity at the age of fourteen. Arriving in Rome about 1477, the young scholar attracted the attention of Giambattista Cibo, Bishop of Molfetta. Under Cibo's sponsorship, Guglielmo delivered his lengthy *Sermo de passione Domini* in St Peter's before Pope Sixtus IV on Good Friday, 20 April 1481. The multi-lingual sermon, which included phrases in Greek, Hebrew, 'Chaldean' and some Arabic passages from the *Qur'ān*, impressed the Pope, who rewarded Guglielmo with the position of Prior of the Cathedral of Cefalù. In 1482 Guglielmo was reading theology at the Archiginnasio. During this time he also seems to have been employed cataloguing the Vatican Library's collection of Arabic and Hebrew manuscripts.<sup>13</sup> In 1483, however, some mysterious incident caused him to flee from Rome.

<sup>5</sup> The text appears on fols 18<sup>v</sup>–21<sup>r</sup> of the Alphonsine manuscript, Vat. Reg. lat. 1283. See below for a discussion of the similarities between the illustrations found in the two manuscripts.

<sup>6</sup> See D. Pingree, 'Between the *Ghāya* and the *Picatrix*. I. The Spanish Version', this *Journal*, xliiv, 1981, pp. 27–56.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. D. Pingree, *Picatrix: The Latin Version*, Studies of the Warburg Institute, xxxix, London 1986.

<sup>8</sup> Urb. lat. 1384, fol. 43<sup>v</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> Urb. lat. 1384, fol. 3<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>10</sup> These works are uniquely preserved in a manuscript in Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, Hebr. 202. See M.

Steinschneider, *Die hebräischen Übersetzungen der Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher*, Berlin 1893, p. 599.

<sup>11</sup> For the early life of Guglielmo see Starrabba's article (as in n. 1) and U. Cassuto, 'Wer war der Orientalist Mithridates?', *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland*, v, 1934, pp. 230–36.

<sup>12</sup> On the Count's highly successful career under Alfonso V of Aragon see A. Ryder, *The Kingdom of Naples under Alfonso the Magnanimous*, Oxford 1976, pp. 63–64.

<sup>13</sup> See G. Levi della Vida, *Ricerche sulla formazione...*, pp. 94–95.

Guglielmo travelled north, matriculating at Cologne in 1484. His Latin translation of the *Sententiae septem sapientum et Pythagorae* was printed there on 24 March 1485.<sup>14</sup> He went on to Louvain (where Rudolph Agricola heard him lecture), and to Tübingen and Basle, before returning to Italy in late 1485 or early 1486. Between 1486 and early 1489 he was in Florence, associated with Pico della Mirandola.<sup>15</sup> Guglielmo taught Pico both Hebrew and 'Chaldean' and also translated a number of Hebrew texts for him, providing commentaries for some. Among these are a number of works on the Cabbala,<sup>16</sup> Levi ben Gerson's *Commentary on the Canticles*, Maimonides's *De resurrectione mortuorum*, the *Porta iusticie*, and a *Commentary on Job*.<sup>17</sup> Unfortunately, however, the relationship between Guglielmo and Pico seems always to have been somewhat tempestuous and the two parted on bad terms. There is a letter from Pico's secretary to Lorenzo de' Medici soliciting his intercession to ensure the return of some of Pico's books Guglielmo had borrowed. The events of the succeeding years of Guglielmo's career and the date of his death are unknown.

Most likely, Urb. lat. 1384 was produced for the ducal Library of Federico da Montefeltro between 1480 and 1481. The manuscript certainly predates Cibo's elevation to the papacy in 1484, since he is referred to as '*Cardinalis Melfitensis*' on fol. 1'a of the preface to Guglielmo's translation of the *De imaginibus caelestibus*. It probably predates Federico da Montefeltro's death in 1482. The fact that Guglielmo nowhere refers to himself as Flavius Mithridates in the text and prefaces of the manuscript also suggests that Urb. lat. 1384 was completed before 1481.<sup>18</sup> In addition, it was only during Guglielmo's Roman period, roughly from 1477 until 1483, that he is known to have worked with Arabic materials such as are preserved in our manuscript. In the North, he worked primarily on Greek and Hebrew translations. After his return to Italy in 1485 or 1486, his studies were limited to Hebrew, 'Chaldean' and Latin.

<sup>14</sup> Ludwig Hain, *Repertorium Bibliographicum* . . . , 2 vols, Stuttgart 1826-38, 14681. See also É. Voullième, *Der Buchdruck Kölns bis zum Ende des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Bonn 1903, p. 164, no. 370. The manuscript original is Vat. Chigi s. iv. 123. For his collection of the letters of Brutus, see *Marsi Junii Bruti Epistolae a Mithridate collectae, nuper a Juliano Scarpa de Graeco in Latinam versae*, Venice 1570.

<sup>15</sup> See U. Cassuto, *Gli Ebrei a Firenze nell'età del Rinascimento*, Florence 1918, pp. 299-300; P. Kibre, *The Library of Pico della Mirandola*, New York 1936, pp. 38 and 174; G. Mercati, *Codici latini Pico Grimani Pio e di altre biblioteche ignote del secolo XVI esistenti nell'Ottoboniana e i codici greci Pio da Modena con una digressione per la storia dei codici di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, Studi e testi LXXV, Vatican City 1938, pp. 11-18, 23 and 267; K. Dannenfeldt, 'The Renaissance Humanists and their Knowledge of Arabic', *Studies in the Renaissance*, II, 1955, pp. 96-117; P. O. Kristeller, 'Giovanni Pico and his Sources', in *L'opera e il pensiero di Giovanni Pico della Mirandola nella storia dell'umanesimo*, Florence 1975, I, pp. 35-142.

<sup>16</sup> See F. Secret, 'Nouvelles précisions sur Flavius Mithridates maître de Pico de la Mirandole et traducteur de commentaires de Kabbale', in *L'opera e il pensiero di*

*Giovanni Pico della Mirandola nella storia dell'umanesimo*, Florence 1975, II, pp. 169-87; and C. Wirszubski, 'Giovanni Pico's Companion to Kabbalistic Symbolism', in *Studies in Mysticism and Religion presented to Gershom G. Scholem*, Jerusalem 1967, pp. 353-62. See also Vat. ebr. 189, 190 and 191.

<sup>17</sup> See C. Wirszubski, 'Giovanni Pico's Book of Job', this *Journal*, xxxii, 1969, pp. 171-99.

<sup>18</sup> Guglielmo's pseudonym, Flavius Mithridates, seems to have been acquired in two stages. The name Flavius, most likely a reference to the Jewish historian Flavius Josephus indicating Guglielmo's recognition of his own Jewish ancestry, appears not to have been used prior to 1481. The name Mithridates, alluding to Mithridates IX Eupator who was famous for his penetrating intellect and mastery of twenty-two languages, cannot be documented before October 1484. See C. Wirszubski, *Flavius Mithridates* . . . , pp. 48-49. Giacomo Gherardi refers to Guglielmo as 'Guglielmo Siculus', Konrad Summenhart calls him 'Wilhelmus Raimundi Romanus', Reuchlin uses 'Raimundus Mithridates Romanus' and Pico names him as 'Mithridates Gulielmus.'



Finally, Dr A. C. de la Mare has identified the hand of the Latin portions of Urb. lat. 1384 with the scribe Pietro Ursuleo de Capua.<sup>19</sup> Ursuleo is first documented in Rome in 1475. He is listed as a copyist for Sixtus IV between 1477 and 1482. Ursuleo had begun his career as a professional scribe in Naples in the mid-1440s. By 1451, he was registered in the service of Alfonso d'Aragona as 'scriptor de la sua libreria'. He was elected Bishop of Satriano in 1474 and Archbishop of Santa Severina in 1482. The Latin script of Urb. lat. 1384 is particularly close to Ursuleo's signed manuscript of Nicolaus de Lyra's *Expositio in IV Evangelia*,<sup>20</sup> upon which he describes himself as working day and night from 15 September 1481 to 10 January 1482. The stylistic similarities between the script of these two manuscripts support the dating of Urb. lat. 1384 to 1480 or 1481.<sup>21</sup>

The illustrations of the talismans in Urb. lat. 1384 were completed concurrently with the writing of the text. It is probable that the Arabic passages established the format of each page. In several instances, individual letters in the Latin text have been abnormally elongated, taking up more space in order to keep the two texts parallel throughout the manuscript. The illustrations were inserted; after which, each picture was labelled with its Arabic *nomen virtutis* following the stipulations outlined in the accompanying text.

Stornajolo's suggestion that the miniatures in Urb. lat. 1384 are Ferrarese<sup>22</sup> seems based on an examination of the frontispiece (fol. 1<sup>r</sup>) alone. The decoration on this page is stylistically distinct from the other illuminations in the manuscript. It is busy and cramped. The two shield-bearing putti at the bottom of the page are squat and solid. The illustrations accompanying the text, however, are remarkably fine. The figures are elegantly drawn and proportioned. The disparity between the two styles suggests that the manuscript was illuminated in two distinct phases. The illustrations accompanying the text appear to have been completed in Rome, perhaps by a Florentine miniaturist. The illuminations on the title-page and opening folio were added later, perhaps in Urbino, by a Ferrarese-trained artist.

Iconographically, the talismans in Urb. lat. 1384 are quite close to the illustration accompanying the Alphonsine, Spanish version of the text,<sup>23</sup> in which a rabbit-riding Luna is shown at the centre of a roundel containing the talismans for her twenty-eight mansions (Pl. 16b). The differences between the two sets reflect variants in the respective texts.<sup>24</sup> The format of the Urb. lat. 1384 illustrations, pictograms set within circular

<sup>19</sup> Concerning Ursuleo, see T. de Marinis, *La Biblioteca napoletana dei Re d'Aragona*, Milan 1952, I, pp. 16–19 and II (1947), pp. 66, 139 and 142, and pls 207, 213, and 298 n. For an additional listing of his manuscripts, see A. Derolez, *Codicologie des manuscrits en écriture humanistique sur parchemin*, Turnhout 1984, I, p. 157.

<sup>20</sup> For a reproduction of the colophon of this manuscript (Vat. lat. 167), see de Marinis, *Biblioteca napoletana*, I, p. 18.

<sup>21</sup> Ursuleo also copied Panormita's *De dictis et factis Alphonsi regis* for Federico da Montefeltro (Urb. lat. 1185; signed 'P. Ursuleus', on fol. 100<sup>r</sup>). See de Marinis, *Biblioteca napoletana*, I, p. 18; Derolez, *Codicologie* (as in n. 19), II, p. 138; and Stornajolo, *Codices Urbinate latini*, III, p. 195.

<sup>22</sup> *Codices Urbinate latini*, III, p. 298.

<sup>23</sup> See p. 58 above. The illustration appears on fol. 21<sup>r</sup>. Saxl, in the only discussion of the astrological iconography of Urb. lat. 1384, was incorrect in his

identification of the talisman for the *frons et cor leonis* (fol. 7<sup>r</sup>) as 'the sign of the Lion'. See F. Saxl, 'Revival of Late Antique Astrology', in *Lectures*, London, 1957, I, pp. 73–84, esp. p. 81.

<sup>24</sup> See pp. 73–75 below. The pictorial differences are as follows:

The Urb. lat. 1384 *cor leonis* talisman is a rampant lion wearing a hairy cloth and carrying a sword; in Reg. lat. 1283 it is a man wearing an animal skin and carrying a spear; the Urb. lat. 1384 *cauda arietis* female is standing, and in the Alphonsine manuscript she is seated; the *scelus lauri* horned man in Urb. lat. 1384 appears riding a horse and carrying a snake in Reg. lat. 1283; the Urb. lat. 1384 *cilia leonis* holds one hand over his eyes; in Reg. lat. 1283 he holds both hands over his eyes; the *virgo* talisman has lost all but one of her friends in the Spanish version; the *tele* talisman bites his tail instead of his paw in Reg. lat. 1283.

The ordering of the talismans between the *cor*

frames, recalls the talismans depicted in the Second and Third *Lapidarii* of Alfonso X el Sabio.<sup>25</sup> Although each of the three sets represents a separate tradition, the iconographical constant of the circular frame is worth noting. Beyond this similarity, however, there is very little evidence of contamination from other astral-mythological manuscripts in Urb. lat. 1384. It is possible that the image for *cauda arietis*, a woman holding her right hand to her head (fol. 8<sup>r</sup>), is related to representations of the second decan of Aries.<sup>26</sup> Also, there may be a connection between the talisman for *umbilicus leonis* (fol. 13<sup>v</sup>) and the Johannes Angelus lion-riding man representing a native born under the first decan of Leo.<sup>27</sup> The lack of iconographic overlap between Urb. lat. 1384 and other astrological manuscripts suggests that an illustrated version of Ibn al-Hātim's *De imaginibus caelestibus* was nearly as rare during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance as it is today.

## II. TRANSLATION OF THE ARABIC TEXT

(This is a *verbum ad verbum* translation. The spelling of transliterated names follows the indications of the Arabic MS as closely as possible. Round brackets enclose additions by the translator for the sake of clarity; pointed brackets signify words mistakenly omitted from the Arabic.)

[3<sup>a</sup>a] In the name of God, the merciful and the compassionate.

Abū 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥātim says: You should know that God the exalted — blessed be His name! — placed the Sun among the six planets, three above it and three below it. From among the three which are above it is the Killer, whose name is Saturn; it is traversing a zodiacal sign in thirty months and traversing the sky in thirty years approximately. He created under it Jupiter; it traverses a zodiacal sign in a year and traverses the sphere in twelve years. Its name [4<sup>b</sup>] is al-Burjisah. He created under Jupiter the Red One, which He called Mars; it traverses a zodiacal sign in forty-five days and the sphere in eighteen months approximately. Below it is the Sun: it traverses a zodiacal sign in a month and the sphere in a year. Lower than the Sun is Venus, whose name is Barḥīf; it traverses a zodiacal sign in twenty-five days and the sphere in ten months. Lower than it is the Scribe whose name is Mercury; it traverses a zodiacal sign in eight days and the sphere

*scorpionis* and *optimus optimorum* is inconsistent. In Urb. lat. 1384, *cor scorpionis* is illustrated with two scorpions, *cauda scorpionis* is two women; the text for the next talisman is missing, but the illustration shows a nude man with four heads; *amans* is illustrated with two seated monkeys; *prosper agularis* has a wolf and a lion; and *prosper deglutens* has a lion with a dog's head and a monkey's body. In Reg. lat. 1283, the talismans are illustrated as one standing monkey, one scorpion without legs or tail, one woman with her hands over her face, a centaur with two severed hands floating above him, a bifrons man, a blank space and a dog.

The final difference between the two manuscripts is that Urb. lat. 1384 shows *infusor aquarius posterior* as a winged naked youth holding his perforated hands up to his mouth; Reg. lat. 1283 has a winged youth holding a chalice.

<sup>25</sup> See the facsimile edition of Escorialensis h.1.6 by J. Fernández Montaña, *Lapidario del Rey D. Alfonso X. Codice original*, Madrid 1881. The texts have been edited

by Roderic C. Dinman and Lynn W. Winget in *Alfonso El Sabio: Lapidario and Libro de las formas e ymagenes*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1980. See also Ana Domínguez Rodríguez, *Astrología y arte en el Lapidario de Alfonso X el Sabio*, Madrid 1984.

<sup>26</sup> See, for example, the illustrations in the manuscripts of Georgius Zotori Zapari Fenduli's *Abridgement (Liber astrologiae)* of Abū Ma'shar's *Introduccionum* (London, BL, Sloane 3983, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>; New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 785, fol. 4<sup>r</sup> and Paris, BN, lat. 7330, 7<sup>r</sup>) or Ludovico d'Angulo's *De figura seu imagine mundi* (Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana 3011, fol. 10<sup>v</sup>).

<sup>27</sup> Johannes Angelus, *Astrolabium planum in tabula ascendens*, Augsburg 1488. For a discussion of the contamination of the *Astrolabium planum* by images from the *Picatrix latinus*, see K. Lippincott, 'The Frescoes of the *Salvo dei Mesi* in the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara. Style, Iconography and Cultural Context', Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1987, pp. 150–51 and Appendix III.



in three months and twenty-six days approximately. Below it is the Moon; it traverses a zodiacal sign in [4'a] two nights and the sphere in twenty-eight nights. Then it (is visible) in twenty-eight mansions; and it is possible that it is created on the thirtieth day or on the twenty-ninth day and night, and on the thirty-first it appears. (In) the zodiacal sign in which the Sun turns is created the crescent. Lower than the Moon is fire, and lower than fire is air, and lower than air is water, and lower than water is earth. May He save us. There is no God but He, not spiritual and not corporeal, because He created them.

[5'b] Second chapter. For the aspects of the zodiacal signs and of the mansions.

This is that the zodiacal signs aspect, one of them another zodiacal sign. The first aspects the seventh zodiacal sign: Aries aspects Libra, and Taurus Scorpio and Gemini Sagittarius and Cancer Capricorn and Leo Aquarius and Virgo Pisces.

Similarly the mansions aspect (one) the other (according to) what we told you, that the sphere rotates in them, that each zodiacal sign aspects the seventh for it [5'a] from wherever you begin. If one rises from the East, the second sets in the West. Similarly are the twenty-eight mansions: al-Naṭṭ aspects al-Ghaffār, al-Baṭn al-Zubāna, al-Thurāyā al-Ikhlīl, al-Dawbarān al-Qalb, al-Haqa'a al-Shiwwāl, al-Han'a al-Na'a'im, al-Dhirā' al-Bild, al-Nāthira al-Dābiḥ, al-Tarfā al-Bal'a, al-Jabh al-Sa'd, al-Kirāth al-Akhbiya, al-Ṣarfā al-Baṭn al-Ḥūta, al-'Awā Farja al-muqadam, al-Simāka al-'Azal Farj al-mu'akhir. Similarly each one [6'b] of the remaining aspects the two sevenths (fourteenth) of the mansions for it.

Third chapter. For the judgement of the circles which proceed along the zodiacal signs.

The Sun is the Amīr, and Venus the Wazīr, and the Scribe the messenger, and the Moon the peerless dancer, and Jupiter the judge, and the Killer the jailer, and Mars the policeman and executioner. May God deliver us from them! Amen.

Fourth chapter (Pl. 15a–d). For describing the figures which rise in these mentioned mansions [6'a] and their names and their stars.

1. The butting (al-Naṭṭ) is called al-Sharṭayn. They are two stars; Aries is said to belong to them. They are shining and set aside. Their setting is (at) the beginning of the rains. Its image is the image of a black lion wrapped in garments of hair; in his hand is a lance. He is prepared to kill enemies, and guards for demolition and crushing. When you wish this from it, you should shape it as I described to you at its rising. Fumigate it with storax and wax, and bury it in the house of the enemy. Its name is Ḥāris.
2. [7'b] Al-Baṭn is the belly of Aries. It is three stars close together, small, not shining. Its image is a crowned king. Its name is Anākhīl. You should shape it from white wax and mastic mixed together. It is for meeting the king and everything you hope for. Fumigate it with aloes-wood and sandalwood.
3. [7'a] Al-Thurāyā is the tail of Aries; six stars joined together and one other small one. Its image is a girl who has put her right hand on her head; and she is clothed. Her name is Abūlsīth. You should shape this in a ring of silver for the love of a man and a woman. You should fumigate it with mastic and fingernail of perfume.
4. [8'b] Al-Dawrān is the eye of Taurus. It is a red star with which are two small stars. Its image is a man with two horns. His name is Iswāwis. You should shape this in red wax for enmity and hatred. You should fumigate it with storax. It should be buried in the house of the one whom you wish; she will be infatuated.
5. [8'a] Al-Haq'a is the head of Gemini — three stars small, close together. The image is a head without a body; a large crown is on it. The name of its lord is Iqbāl. You should shape it in a ring of silver, and engrave on it the name of the king on the throat. You should fumigate it [9'b] with

- sandalwood. Then you should keep it on yourself. You will not enter into the presence of kings and nobles but that your desire will be satisfied and the evil (caused by) your enemy will be postponed. It is very noble. With it are two stars, one small and the other large.
6. [9<sup>a</sup>] Al-Han'a is three stars between the two feet of Gemini. The image is two persons embracing. You should shape them from white wax, and you should fumigate it with camphor and damp aloes-wood. The name of its lord is Anāri. Wrap it in a shining rag, hold it with you, and beseech it. You will be brought to love and to medical treatment. The name(s) of its stars are al-Zara and al-Mizān.
  7. [10<sup>b</sup>] Al-Dhirā' is the arm of Leo. It is two stars; one of them is called Sha'r al-'Abūr and the other Mardham al-Dhirā'. The name 'Abūr means a lively dog; this is because dogs and persons pounce at its rising. Its image is a man standing, his two hands stretched out as if he were praying. You should shape it in the belly of a ring of silver, and you should fumigate it with wax mixed with mastic or with perfume. It is good for entering the presence of the sultān and for binding spirits and bodies. You should engrave [10<sup>a</sup>] the name of the king on its chest. The name of its lord is Shā'lika . . . in «whatever» one desires among all its ways and things.
  8. [11<sup>b</sup>] (Pl. 16a) Al-Nāthira is the nose of Leo. It consists of a nebula between two small stars. The image is an eagle whose face is the face of a man. Its speciality is to excel in battles, in enmities between men. You should engrave it on lead. He should keep it in battle who wishes to be the victor. The name of its lord is Aqāris.
  9. [11<sup>a</sup>] Al-Ṭarfā is the edge of the eyelid of Leo. They are two small stars. Its image is a man who has placed his hand over his two eyes. You should shape it out of black wax. You should make a small, hot nail and drive it in one of its two eyes. You should suspend it at the rising of Mars or Saturn for the wind from its head. You should engrave its name on its head together with the name of the effective person. Its speciality is removing ophthalmia and disease of the eyes and the flow of blood. The name of its lord is Rawyal. If you do not cauterize, you should engrave it in lead.
  10. [12<sup>a</sup>] The face (al-Jibha) and the heart (qalb) of Leo are four shining stars. The northern of these two is the heart of Leo. Its image is the head of a lion without a body. The name of its lord is Arāḍin. It is for entering into the presence of kings and curing diseases and extracting the foetus. Whoever engraves this image on a seal of gold or red copper, and engraves on it the name of the king, and fumigates it with musk and with walnut every day, and prays in the name of the lord of this mansion, and keeps it with him, he will see wonders. But he should not put on new clothes in it nor travel.
  11. [13<sup>b</sup>] Al-Kirāthin is two shining stars penetrating to the interior of Leo. Its image is a man riding a lion; in his right hand is a slingshot, and the left is on the ear of the lion. Its name is Aqlul liqābul. Fumigate it with the hair of a lion. Shape it on a seal of gold, and stamp on his head the name of its lord. You should pray in his name that you will see because of him whatever you wish in . . . . [13<sup>a</sup>] «Whomever» you desire will be satisfying in the view of men and in the view of all creatures.
  12. [14<sup>b</sup>] Al-Ṣarfā is the tail of Leo. It is a star whose name is al-Ṣarfā because of the departure of warmth at its rising and the departure of cold at its setting. Its image is a snake fighting with a man. You should shape it out of wax or on a plate of lead. Fumigate it with asafoetida, and engrave the name of its lord on the head of the snake. Bury it in the house of whatever kinsfolk you wish or enemies. Then those two will be separated, and there will arise between them [14<sup>a</sup>] enmity and hatred, and the place will be destroyed. The name of its lord is Adhbisha.
  13. [15<sup>b</sup>] Al-'Awwā is five stars as if an alif with the tail chopped off and is among the image(s) of Virgo. Its image is a man spread out opposite a woman. You should shape him out of red wax and the woman out of white wax. The name of its lord is Asārub. Fumigate it with aloes-wood and amber, and wrap them both in a red rag for love and the excitation of sexual intercourse. One of the stars is inclined to the West while the other four are straight in (their) intersection.
  14. [15<sup>a</sup>] Al-Samaka is two stars one of which is al-A'zal and the other al-Rimāh. Its image is a dog biting the end of its paw. Its name is Anāh. It should be engraved on a plate of red copper. Fumigate it with the hair of a dog. It is for cutting off and enmity. Al-Ramāh is red.



15. [16<sup>b</sup>] Al-Ghaffār is three small stars which do not shine. Its image is a seated man reading. Its name is Aqālidh. Fumigate it with perfume and frankincense. You should engrave it on a seal of qal' (?). Its speciality is the ending of enmity and hatred.
16. [16<sup>a</sup>] Al-Zibānun are the two horns of Scorpio. They are two stars setting in (the season of) warmth. Its image is a man sitting on a throne; in his hand is a balance. The name of its lord is Asāruṭ. You should engrave it on a seal of silver. Its speciality is selling and buying and in favour of business.
17. [17<sup>a</sup>] Al-Aklil is three shining stars. Its image is the image of two apes, the left hand of one of which is on its head while the right is in its image (*sic*). The name of his lord is Aryāth. The other of the two has likaffi (?) the palms (of his hands) on his shoulders. His name is Adhniyāb. You should engrave it on a seal of iron or red wax. Wrap it in the skin of an ape, and fumigate it with the hair of an ape and the slough of a snake. Then bury it in whatever place you wish, and pray in its name over the people of this [18<sup>b</sup>] place. Its speciality is expelling thieves.
18. [18<sup>a</sup>] The heart (qalb) of Scorpio is a red star between two small, shining stars. Its image is two scorpions; one of them needs its tail, and the other, whose name is Aḥbiyāl — spikes are implanted in its eyes. Engrave it on a seal of red copper, and fumigate it with the horn of a stag; fumigate it for seven nights. It should be placed in his house so that a snake (?) will not enter the house. If he keeps it with him, it will protect him from pain. If one stamps with it for whomever a snake (?) has stung, by (his) eating (it in) milk it will free him. The name of the second (scorpion) is Aghiyāl.
19. [19<sup>b</sup>] Al-Shiwwāl is the tail of Scorpio. It is two stars and another shining one under which are three. Its image is two women one of whom has placed her hand over her vulva — her name is Adhniyāl — while the other is spread out in the likeness of a river of water. You should form her [19<sup>a</sup>] out of white wax or engrave her on lead. Fumigate her with liquid storax, and wrap her in a cotton rag. Hang her in a stream of water, or you should set her up over her (the patient's) vulva. You should pray in the name of their lord. Her speciality is the flowing of the blood of women until they die. The name of the second of the two is Abriyāl.
- [20 is missing]
21. [21<sup>b</sup>] Place it inside (?) a roof. Fumigate it with sulphur and amber and the hair of a man for three nights. Bury it in a place whose people you wish to separate. You should pray in the name of its lord so that he will answer you. His name is Kawyākifah. Its speciality is misfortune (?) and emptiness (?) and emigration.
22. [21<sup>a</sup>] Sa'd dabḥ. The image of a lion between whose two paws is a fox. His tail is turned in place of his head and his head in place of his tail. Fumigate it with the hair of a lion after you have engraved it out of wax, and bury it in the name of the wazīr whom you wish, and pray in the name of its lord. Destruction and misery will turn to (?) the wazīr. Its name is Ūfit arānit. Its speciality is separation between kings and their wazīrs. It is two stars, not shining, which in the sight of an eye are the measure of a forearm.
23. [22<sup>b</sup>] Sa'd bal' is two small, equal stars. Its name is Bala' whenever the earth emerges from a flood. Its image is the image of a lion from the fore part; his head is the head of a dog and his body the body of an ape. You should shape it out of black potter's clay. Fumigate it with the hair of a dog [22<sup>a</sup>] or a wolf, and pray in the name of its lord at the time of its fumigation. You should bury it in the house of the stubbornly resisting in order to destroy the enemies' house. The name of its lord is Sani sanahin. Its speciality is imposing ruin and disease upon whomever you wish.
24. [23<sup>b</sup>] Sa'd al-su'ūd. The image is a woman suckling her child. You should shape it out of fat and flour or engrave it on the horn of a ram. You should say the name and bury it in the house so that suffering will not reach the cattle and the people of that house, by the power of God. The name of its lord is Afratim abriyās. Its speciality is the improvement of cattle and driving away reptiles (?) from it and infectious disease and the rest of diseases. It is two stars.
25. [23<sup>a</sup>] Sa'd al-akhbiya. The image is two men, one of whom is treating (a disease) and the other of whom is helping a plant whose fruit is between his two hands. You should shape it in a piece of



- wood of white fig. Its speciality is the improvement of fruit and arable [24<sup>b</sup>] land whenever it is buried; and it protects it from blights and calamities of the heavens after its fumigation with the flowers of the fruit (trees). The name of its lord is *Asyāl*. It is four stars like the shape of a triangle whose middle is the fourth star.
26. [24<sup>a</sup>] *Faragh al-dalw al-muqaddam*. The image is a woman whose hair hangs down; on her are varieties of coloured cloths; between her two hands is a pot in which is a perfume (with which) she perfumes herself. You should shape her, in accordance with the name of whomever among women you wish, out of white wax and mastic. Fumigate it with varieties of perfumes. You should write on her chest the name of the man overcoming her love for herself. You should keep the image in the house so that she refrains from going to him, if God wills. The name of her lord is *Nafsiyāl taghriyāl*. Its speciality [25<sup>b</sup>] is for love that she entice (?) the man marvellously and promote lust. It is four stars, similar to a bucket.
27. [25<sup>a</sup>] *Faragh al-dalw al-mu'akhhir*. The image is a man who has wings; in his hand is a vessel pouring out, which he raises to his mouth. You should shape it out of red clay; and it should be hollow. When it has been cast, you should put in it *asafoetida* and *storax*; and you should fumigate it with wax and *naphtha*. The name should be engraved on the head of the image so that no-one shall pass by this region. The name of its lord is *Amriyāl lāmiyāl*. Its speciality is the ruin of whatever bath you wish and the corruption of all its water so that he will absolutely not benefit from it. It is two stars.
28. [26<sup>a</sup>] *Baṭn al-ḥūt*. The image is a fish whose back is striped with colours; in its mouth is a small fish. You should shape it out of silver according to whatever sort you wish of snakes. Fumigate it with the skin of a goat or *kam fūd* (?). You should tie it in a place in which you wish to seize fish to yourself by means of a strong string. Then they will be turned about and will increase so that you may take them with your hand. The name of its lord is *Anūsh*. Its speciality is overpowering fish (to come) to whatever place you wish and region that is close.

[27<sup>b</sup>] The fifth chapter.

The aforesaid *Abū 'Alī* says: the explanation of smoke is (that) it moves with the air and penetrates together with it the spirits by the motion of the influenced soul. The master of the smoke moves and accomplishes an act by subjecting the spirits called upon by it in the name of God, the lord of the two worlds. Amen — Glory to God the magnanimous!

### III. LATIN TRANSLATION

Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb. lat. 1384

[i<sup>v</sup>] (Pl. 14: left)

IN HOC CODICE CONTINETUR ALI DE YMAGINIBUS; ALCHORAMI MAHOMETI ET DEFECTUS SOLIS ET LUNE.

[1<sup>r</sup>] (Pl. 14: right)

Ad Illustrissimum dominum Fredericum Ducem Urbini S. R. E. vexilliferum Guillelmi Raymundi de Moncata militis artium doctoris de imaginibus celestibus Ali ibn il Haytim traductio.

[1<sup>r</sup>a]

Etsi negotiis reverendissimi domini mei Cardinalis Melfitensis sim quotidie occupatus quae me totum sibi (tanta est illius sciendi cupiditas) vindicarunt, tamen, si quid succisivi temporis fuit ut interrogationi tuae satisfacere, impendi, Illustrissime Princeps, inhumanum profecto esset tibi et praesertim tam praeclara cupienti recusare quod optas. Natus [1<sup>r</sup>b] enim videris ad communem ingeniorum utilitatem; cum omni via ac diligentia perquiras augere sermonis Latini volumina, quae negligentia superiorum temporum pene interiere.

Utinam meae vires, quae pusillae sunt, accedere ad gremium tuum mereantur.

Sed tanta est humanitas atque benignitas tecum genita ut etiam humiles servulos admittere non dedigneris.

Spero illam refertissimam bibliothecam tuam uno opusculo augere quod, licet illipedum et inele[1<sup>a</sup>]gans videatur, utilitas tamen verborum, ut aiunt, eclypsim rependet. Est enim translatio ex lingua Arabica in nostram, cuius titulus est De imaginibus celestibus. Haec est illa scientia divina quae felices homines reddit et ut dii inter mortales videantur edocet: haec est quae cum astris loquitur et, si maius dicere fas est, cum Deo ipso, cuius nutu quicquid in mundo est gubernatur. De qua sic Messala scripsit:

Omnia astra habent virtutem cum septem planetis in actione et operationibus eorum. Et virtus operationis astrorum in mundo comparatur lapidi attrahenti ferrum (magnes enim vocatur) cum appropinquetur ad illud.

[1<sup>b</sup>] Et ita omnes creaturae quae sunt super terram creantur ex vi et motu astrorum, et universa edificia mundi et eius finis. Ita quaecumque eveniunt in mundo astris assignantur; et hoc indicant hominum negocia et quae eis accidunt et eveniunt. Nam saepe invenitur vir sapiens et ingeniosus qui divicias nunquam comparabit, et ignavi deditique luxui ditissimi fiunt et quae agunt secunda fortuna foventur; et hoc iussu Dei benedicti, qui potentiam dedisse astris recte existimatur.

Aristoteles etiam videtur idem sentire primo Metaurorum:

Necesse est mundum hunc inferiorem continuum esse superioribus lationibus ut omnis virtus [2<sup>a</sup>] eius gubernetur inde.

Moyses vero experientia reliquit posteris astrologiam esse ex omni parte veram, quemadmodum in Talmud legitur: Rabi Tan Huma super textu Exo.:

Et accepit Moyses ossa Ioseph cum eo, unde scivit Moyses ubi Ioseph sepultus erat. Ex quo Aegyptii, quando decessit, fecerunt ei arcam aeneam et proiecerunt in Nilum (ita enim fiebat omnibus aliquam virtutem singularem habentibus). Venit Moyses et stetit supra Nilum. Accepit laminam gemmae, in qua<sup>1</sup> sculpsit imaginem Tauri et in circuitu has literas ~~משה~~: id est, ascende Taure. Et praesente populo proiecit in Nilum et clamavit 'Ioseph, Io[2<sup>b</sup>]seph, venit hora qua Deus sanctus et benedictus redimit filios suos. Hic deitas et Israel et nubes glorie expectant te. Si vis revelare te, bene quidem; sin autem, sumus liberi a iuramento tibi facto'. Mox apparuit arca et emersit et in summa aqua enatavit donec pervenit ad populum cum imagine illa. Sed populus accingebat se ad accipiendam arcam. Et Micheas quidam non curavit de arca, sed de lamina ubi imago tauri et litterae sculptae erant. Et quando Aaron effundebat 125 centusses auri, qui dati fuerunt ei a populo ut faceret eis Deum, Micheas in vas in quo populus viritim (?) ponebat aurum ut liquefieret demisit [2<sup>a</sup>] laminam illam gemmae. Et statim exiliit vitulus mugiens. Et cum viderunt, dixerunt omnes: hi sunt dii tui, Israel.

Similiter quando populus morsus est a serpente, fecit Moyses imaginem serpentis in massa oricalchi; qua visa omnes salutem accipiebant.

Sive hoc a Deo sit, ut creditur, sive monitus in somniis ut hoc faceret sive per artem astrologie. Et hoc quia astrologia et medicina experimento et relatione divinorum invente sunt ut dicit Galienus, et alii medici idem asserunt qui fidem ex hac revelatione praestiterunt, et ita verisimile est non solum in his, immo in omnibus artibus [2<sup>b</sup>] quia, cum homo abstrahitur continue in arte illa, accidit ei quod virtus cogitativa inclinetur in materias illius artis quam ipse perquirat, et pervenit ei noticia in somnis. De hoc hactenus.

<sup>1</sup> quas, s crossed out



Non alienum videtur hoc loco eos qui de imaginibus scripserunt inserere. Primus fuit Hermes apud Aegyptios, Aratus apud Graecos, apud nos postea Iginus, demum apud illos Ptholomeus, apud nos Albertus. Sed omni tempore floruerunt Arabes at Chaldei, quibus astrologiae inventio assignatur.

Quis, inquam, est qui Ali ibn Roghla Arabico comparari possit? Berosusne qui statuam cum aurata lingua [3<sup>a</sup>] meruit? An Democritus qui aetatem inter experimenta consumpsit? Et si ab Hebris petimus, an Isaac? An Abanhazra? Denique Arabes palmam sibi merito vindicant. Quid enim fructuosius et utilius operibus Abu Nasar? Et Ali ibn il Hasan qui de imaginibus tam bonum opusculum reliquit.

Petrus Patavinus ad Fontem Aponi natus ponit quod, Sole existente in corde Leonis, Jove aut Venere aspiciente et infortuniis cadentibus, si imprimeretur imago leonis in lamina aurea, valeret ad omnes infirmitates reanum; quod Nicolaus Ariminensis medicus expertus est.

[3<sup>b</sup>]

Ego quoque vidi caput tantum leonis in lamina aurea sculptum manu patris mei, Rabi Nissim abu il Faragh, involutum in bombice odorifera musco et nuce muscata; et a tergo hi characteres erant.

Quod facilem partum mulieribus dedit, collo parientium alligatum.

Autoritate igitur et experimento nihil esse verius astrologia manifestum est.

Sed iam ad ipsam interpretationem, humanissime princeps, deveniamus.

[3<sup>b</sup>] In nomine Dei clementis et misericordis.



Dixit Ali filius il Hasan filius il Aytim: Scito Deum excelsum — benedicatur nomen eius — ordinasse Solem in medio sex planetarum, trium superiorum et trium inferiorum. Et primus superiorum est interficiens, et vocatur Saturnus, qui transit signum in triginta mensibus, et transit caelum in triginta annis vel circa. Et creavit sub eo Iovem, qui transit signum in uno anno et celum in duodecim annis; et vocatur [4<sup>a</sup>] *Il Bargis*. Sub quo creavit rubeum, qui Mars appellatur. Et transit signum in quadraginta quinque diebus, caelum vero in decem et octo mensibus vel prope.<sup>2</sup> Sub quo Solem, qui transit signum in uno mense et caelum in uno anno. Deinde sub Sole Venerem, quae *Il Barhih* nuncupatur; et transit signum in viginti quinque diebus et caelum in decem mensibus. Sub qua scribam, qui Mercurius nominatur; et transit signum in octo diebus et celum in tribus mensibus et viginti sex diebus vel circa. Tum sub Mercurio Lunam creavit, quae transit signum in [4<sup>b</sup>] duabus noctibus et celum in viginti octo noctibus eo modo quo mansio sua est in viginti octo mansionibus. Et potest esse ipsam nasci in die tricesimo aut in die vicesimo nono et nocte, et tricesimo primo videri. Signo<sup>3</sup> autem in quod Sol intrat nascitur *il hūlal*, id est Diana. Deinde sub Luna creavit ignem, sub igne vero aerem ordinavit, et sub aere aquam, et sub aqua terram. Glorificetur ipse Deus; non est alius Deus praeter eum, neque corporalis neque spiritualis, quoniam ipse creavit omnia.

[5<sup>a</sup>] BAB SECUNDA.

De aspectibus signorum et mansionum.

Signa aspiciunt se invicem hoc modo, scilicet primum signum aspicit sibi septimum: Aries Libram, Taurus Scorpionem, Gemini Sagittarium, Cancer Capricornum, Leo Aquarium, Virgo Pisces aspicit. Ita vero mansiones aspiciunt se invicem secundum quod diximus tibi de signis. Quoniam caelum volvitur in eis hoc modo quod mansio quaelibet respicit sibi septimam a quacumque parte inceperis, et si unum eorum orietur ab [5<sup>b</sup>] oriente, aliud occidit in occidente, idem iudicium est

<sup>2</sup> .i after prope.

<sup>3</sup> signum

de signis et mansionibus. Respiciunt enim cornua Arietis remittentem, venter Arietis cornua Scorpionis, cauda Arietis amantem, oculus Tauri cor Scorpionis, caput Geminorum caudam Scorpionis, pedes struciones, brachium Leonis imberbem, nares Leonis prosperum iugulatem, cilia Leonis deglutientem, frons et cor Leonis optimum optumorum, umblicus Leonis tabernacula, cauda Leonis infusorem priorem, Virgo infusorem Aquarium posteriorem, telo adherens ventrem Piscium, et ita una [6<sup>a</sup>] queque aliarum respicit sibi bis septimam mansionem.

BAB TERTIA.

De potestate planetarum qui currunt semper in signis.

Solis autem potestas imperatoris comparatur, Veneris vero vicem gerentis et scribē<sup>4</sup> missi, sed et Lunae apparitoris, attamen Iovis gratias concedentis et interficientis, id est Saturni, lictoris, Martis vero spatarii. Et liberet nos Deus ab eorum potestate. Amen.

BAB QUARTA.

De commemoratione imaginis que ascendit in his mansionibus predictis, et de nominibus earum et [6<sup>b</sup>] de stellis earum.

Cornua Arietis vocantur *il Nathy*, et alio nomine *il Sartayn*. Sunt duae stellae lucentes et separate, quae cum ceciderint incipit pluvia. Quarum imago est forma leonis nigri cooperti piloso panno in cuius manu sit ensis. Ordinatur ad interficiendos inimicos et in diruptionem domorum et status. Cum postulaberis hoc facere, formabis ut tibi declaratum est eis ascendentibus in anulo ferreo, et fumigabis cum storace et cera. Et nomen virtutis eius *Haris*. Et ita quaslibet imagines has formabis eis ascendentibus.

[7<sup>a</sup>] Venter Arietis vocatur *il Bothn*. Sunt tres stelle parvule, non lucentes. Quarum imago est forma regis coronati. Et nomen eius *Anachil*. Formabis illam in cera alba et mastice commistis. Valet ad obviandum regibus et quibus volueris. Et fumagabis cum ligno aloe et sandalis.

[7<sup>b</sup>] Cauda Arietis vocatur *il Thuraya*. Sunt sex stelle coniuncte et una alia parva. Imago eius est forma mulieris ponentis manum suam dextram super caput suum; et sit induta. Et nomen eius *Abulsith*. Forma eam in anulo argenteo; in dilectionem maritorum et uxorum valet. Et fumigatio eius fit cum mastice et cinamomo contuso.

[8<sup>a</sup>] Oculus Tauri vocatur *il Dabran*. Est una stella rubea cum qua sunt alię stellę parvę. Cuius imago est forma hominis cum duobus cornibus. Et nomen eius *Isuavis*. Forma eam in cera rubea ad ponendum odium et inimiciam. Et fumigetur cum storace; et sepe liatur in habitationibus eorum inter quos odia desideras.

[8<sup>b</sup>] Caput Geminorum vocatur *il Hachaa*. Sunt tres stelle parvulae, propinque. Imago eius est caput sine trunco super quo sit una corona magna. Et nomen virtutis eius *Achal*. Formabis eam in anulo argenteo, et sculpes in eius gutture nomen virtutis eius. Et [9<sup>a</sup>] fumiga eam cum sandalis, quam quidem apud te teneas. Non intrabis apud quempiam principem quin non concedat tibi petitionem tuam, et tardare faciet mala futura tibi ab inimicis tuis. Cum qua sunt duae stellae quarum una est maior alia.

[9<sup>b</sup>] Pedes Geminorum vocantur *il Hanhaa*. Sunt due stellae in medio pedum Geminorum quarum imago est forma duorum puerorum amplectentium se. Forma eos de cera alba, et fumiga cum canfora et ligno aloe tenello. Et nomen virtutis eius *Anari*. Volues eam in panno albo, et tene apud te. Iuvabit enim ad amores et medelas. Nomen stellarum est *il Ziruil mizen*.

[10<sup>a</sup>] Bracchium Leonis vocatur *il Drah*. Sunt duę stellę quarum una *Xahr il habur* nominatur, alia vero *Marzan il Drah*. Et nomen *il Habur* est canis ferox; et hoc quia eo ascendente canes et bestie rapaces incitantur ad predam. Cuius imago est forma hominis stantis, extendentis manus suas ac si Deum invocaret. Formabis eam in ventre anuli argentei, id est in parte interiori sub gemma. Et

<sup>4</sup> | after scribe, but crossed out



fumigabis cum cera et mastice aut cum cinamomo. Et valet ad intrandum apud principes et reges et ligandos animos et corpora. Et sculpes [10<sup>v</sup>b] nomen virtutis eius in pectore illius qui *Xalich* vocatur. Prosperari te faciet in negociis et factis tuis.

[11<sup>r</sup>a] (Pl. 16a) Nares Leonis vocatur *il Nathra*. Est nubes in medio duarum stellarum parvularum. Ymago grifis cuius facies sit hominis. Et valet ad superandum in bello et inimicis hominum. Sculpes eam in plumbo. Et teneat in bello qui vellet alium superare. Et nomen virtutis eius *Acharis*.

[11<sup>v</sup>b] Cilia Leonis vocatur *il Tarpha*. Sunt duę stellę parvę. Imago hominis ponentis manum suam super oculis suis. Formabis eam de cera nigra. Et accipies ignitum clavum parvulum antequam faber illum totaliter disiungat a ferro, et eum in uno oculorum eius configes, et suspendes illam in vento Marte vel Saturno ascendente, capite sursum stante. Et sculpes nomen virtutis eius in capite suo cum nomine hominis pro quo fit. Valet autem ad removendum cataractas, et *il ramd* et infirmitates oculorum et fluxum sanguinis. Et nomen virtutis eius *Rauyal*. Et si non ha[12<sup>r</sup>a]bueris ceram, sculpe in plumbo.

[12<sup>v</sup>b] Frons et Cor Leonis vocatur *il Iabhah u Calb il Asad*. Sunt quatuor stellę lucentes; et septentrionalis earum est Cor Leonis. Imago eius est caput leonis sine trunco. Et nomen virtutis eius *Aradis*. Valet ad introitum apud principes et curare infirmos et fetum de utero matris educere. Si quis sculperet eam in lamina aurea aut aere rubeo, et sculperet super ea nomen virtutis eius, et fumigaret eam cum musco et nucce muscata die qualibet, et nominaret nomen virtutis eius, et teneret apud se, videret mirabilia; sed non induat nova nec naviget dum eam tenet.

[13<sup>r</sup>a] Umbilicus Leonis vocatur *il Charthin*. Sunt duę stellę lucentes, quarum imago est homo equitans leonem, cuius manus dextra lorum teneat et sinistra in aure leonis sit. Et nomen eius *Achlulcabul*. Formes illam in lamina aurea, et fumiges eam cum pilis leonis, et imprime in capite illius nomen virtutis eius, quod quidem nomina. Videbis per illam quae desideras, et ab eo [13<sup>v</sup>b] quem diligis intentum tuum consequeris sive homo sit sive alia creatura.

[14<sup>r</sup>a] Cauda Leonis vocatur *il Sarpha*. Est una stella, et vocatur *il Sarpha*, id est Terminans, quoniam ea ascendente est terminus estatis, et ea cadente est terminus hyemis. Imago eius est serpens bellans cum homine. Formes eam de cera, aut sculpe eam in lamina plumbea. Et fumiges eam cum asa fetida, et sculpes nomen virtutis eius in capite serpentis. Et sepelias eam in domo cuiusvis inimici vel populorum quorum discordiam optaveris. Certe maximum odium et inimicitiae generabuntur inter eos; itaque fere locus eorum diruetur et destruetur. [14<sup>v</sup>b] Et nomen virtutis huius *Adbixa*.

[15<sup>r</sup>a] Virgo vocatur *il Hava*. Sunt quinque stellę ac si esset *Aliph* abscissa cauda; et est de imaginibus Virginis. Cuius imago est vir sociatus obvians mulieri. Formetur vir de cera rubea et femina de cera alba. Et nomen virtutis eius *Asarub*. Et fumigetur cum ligno aloes et ambra, et involves illas in panno rubeo. Virtus eius valet ad amorem et incitationem coitus. Una vero stellarum eius inclinatur ad occidentem, sed alię quattuor stellę sunt directe, separatae.

[15<sup>v</sup>b] Telo adherens vocatur *il Samach*. Sunt duę stellę, quarum una *il Hadl* vocatur et alia *il Ramah*. Cuius imago est canis mordens sibi anteriorem tibiam, reliquo pede caudae superposito. Et nomen virtutis eius *Hunahal*. Sculpe in lamina aeris rubei, et fumigetur cum stercore canis. Valet ad destruendos homines, et ponere inimicitias. Sed stella que vocatur *il Ramah* est rubea.

[16<sup>r</sup>a] Remittens vocatur *il Gaffar*. Sunt tres stellę parvę, non lucentes. Imago eius est vir sedens cathedraliter, legens. Cuius nomen est *Acalid*. Fumigetur cum cinamomo contuso et ture postquam sculpta fuerit in anulo de aere combusto. Valet ad removenda odia necnon et inimicitias.

[16<sup>v</sup>b] Cornua Scorpionis vocantur *il Zabanin*. Sunt duę stelle cadentes in estate. Quorum imago est homo sedens super sede, in cuius manu sit statera. Et nomen virtutis eius *Asarud*. Sculpes illam in anulo argenteo. Et valet ad prosperas faciendas merces et emptiones et venditiones.

[17<sup>b</sup>] Amans vocatur *il Achilil*. Sunt tres stellae lucentes. Huius imago sunt due simie, quarum una ponit manum suam sinistram super caput suum et dextram super faciem suam, et vocatur *Ariath*; altera ponit palmas suas super humeros eius, et vocatur *Adniab*. Sculptes eam in anulo ferreo vel in cera rubea, et involues illam in pelle simiac. Et fumigabis cum pilo simiac et spolio serpentis. Deinde sepelias eam ubi vis, et nomina nomen virtutum eius super illis qui habitant in illo loco. Et talis imago valet [18<sup>a</sup>] ad repellendos predones.

[18<sup>b</sup>] Cor Scorpionis vocatur *il Calb*. Est una stella rubea in medio duarum minorum lucentium. Cuius imago sunt duo scorpiones, quorum unus caudam non habeat, et vocatur *Ahbial*; alter spinas infixas in oculis, et nomen eius *Haghysal*. Qui hanc imaginem in anulo aeris rubei sculperet, et fumigaret cum cornu cervino, et poneret eam in sereno aere septem noctibus, postea poneret in domo sua — non intrabunt reptilia nec venenosa domum illam. Et si eam apud se tenuerit, liberabitur a doloribus. Si vero aliquis morsus fuerit a reptilibus et venenosis, et impressio sibi fieret cum anulo illo, et postea comederet modicum turis, liberaretur.

[19<sup>a</sup>] Cauda Scorpionis vocatur *il Xual*. Sunt due stellae et alia lucens, sub qua sunt aliae tres. Cuius imago sunt duae mulieres, quarum una ponit manum suam super vulvam suam, et vocatur *Adniab*; altera vero extensa iacet super decursum fluminis aquarum. Forma eas de cera rubea vel sculpe in plumbo, et fumiga [19<sup>b</sup>] cum astorace liquida. Et volue eas in panno bombicis, et suspende in decursu aquarum aut ponatur super vulva. Et nomina nomen virtutis eius. Valet ad provocandum fluxum sanguinis mulierum donec moriantur. Et nomen secundae est *Abarbial*.

(fols 21–28 numbered 20–27)

[21<sup>a</sup>] in foramine in tecto. Et fumiges cum sulphure et carabe et pilis hominis tribus noctibus. Et sepelias in domo ubi vis divisionem facere. Et nomina nomen virtutis eius — adimplebit desiderium tuum, et vocatur *Chauyachufa*. Et valet ad migrare faciendum et destruendum et pati.

[21<sup>b</sup>] Prosper iugulans vocatur *Sahd dabah*. Imago eius est leo; in medio manuum eius sit vulpis, cuius cauda sit versus caput leonis et caput versus caudam. Fumigabis cum pilo leonis postquam sculperis eam de cera, et sepelias nomine domini cuiusvis. Et nomina nomen virtutis eius; perveniet ad dominum illum destructio et corruptio. Et vocatur *Huphit aranith*. Et valet ad generandas divisiones inter reges et principes eorum. Et sunt duae stellae non lucentes, in visione oculorum ad quantitatem brachii.

[22<sup>a</sup>] Prosper deglutiens: sunt duae stellae parvae, aequales. Et vocatur *Sahd balaha*, id est deglutiens ab eo quod diluvium deglutivit terram. Huius imago est leonis a parte anteriori, et caput eius caput canis, et reliquum corporis sicut simiac. Forma de creta nigra, [22<sup>b</sup>] et fumiga cum pilo canis et lupi, et nomina nomen virtutis eius in fumigio. Et sepelias in domo inimicorum ad destruendum domos eorum. Et vocatur *Sanissachin*. Valet ad diruendum et dominari faciendum pestes cuiusvis.

[23<sup>a</sup>] Optimus optimorum vocatur *Sahd il sahad*. Imago eius est mulier lactans filium suum. Formabis eam de scevo et farina, aut sculptes illam in cornu tauri vel arietis. Et fumigaretur cum cornu arietis, et memora nomen. Sepelias deinde in domo cuiusvis; nunquam perveniet gregi neque familiae domus illius infortunium aliquod in virtute eius quae vocatur *Alfrathyas abriyas*. Valet autem ad prosperos faciendum greges et expellere reptilia et pestes ceterasque infirmitates. Et sunt duae stellae.

[23<sup>b</sup>] Optimum tabernaculorum vocatur *Sahd il achbia*. Imago eius sunt duo homines, quorum unus sit medicus et alter plantet plantas, et fructus earum in manu eius. Formes in fustro ligni ficus albi. Valet ad prosperos faciendum fructus et semina si sepelli[24<sup>a</sup>]atur prope ea et liberare ea a gelu et tonitruis et infortuniis celestibus. Et fumigatio eius fiat cum floribus diversorum fructuum. Et nomen virtutis eius *Aryab*. Et sunt quatuor stellae in forma trianguli, et altera in medio eius.



[24<sup>b</sup>] Infusor aquarius prior vocatur *Farg il dalu il macadam*. Imago eius est mulier cuius capilli sint soluti, vestita vestimentis diversorum colorum; in medio manuum eius sit vas plenum cinamomo quo cinomamizet corpus suum. Formabis eam pro nomine cuiusvis mulieris, et fumigabis cum diversis cinamomis aromatibus. Et scribe in pectore eius nomen illius cuius amore teneris, et tene imaginem hanc in domo tua. Vere non quiescet quin non concedat se tibi. Et vocatur *Naffial tagrial*. Valet ad amorem mulierum [25<sup>a</sup>] ut adament viros mirabiliter, et incitat appetitum coitus. Et sunt quatuor stellae in forma aquarii.

[25<sup>b</sup>] Infusor aquarius posterior vocatur *Farg il dalu il muachir*. Imago eius est homo alatus cuius manus sint perforate, erigens eas ad os suum. Formetur de creta rubea, et infundatur; et cum infunderis illas, pones in eam asam fetidam et storacem. Et fumigetur cum petroleo et cera, et sculpetur nomen virtutis eius in capite illius. Per eundem locum ubi eam posueris nemo unquam transibit. Et vocatur *Anrial lamial*. Valet ad diruenda quaevis balnea et corrumpere aquas eius ita ut nemo possit consequi aliquam utilitatem ab eis. Et sunt duae stellae.

[26<sup>b</sup>] Venter Piscium vocatur *Bothu il huth*. Huius imago est piscis cuius dorsum sit depictum diversis coloribus; et in ore eius teneat piscem parvulum. Formabis eam de argento instar quorumvis reptilium, et fumigabis illam cum pelle caprae et ericii. Et liga eam in loco ubi vis capere pisces cum filo forti et hamo. Illo tunc superabuntur pisces et multiplicabuntur; itaque possis capere eos manu. Et nomen virtutis eius *Anxi*. Valet ad superandos pisces ubi volueris. Et sunt stellae ad formam piscis.

[27<sup>a</sup>] BAB QUINTA

Dixit Abu Ali predictus: declaratio fumigii est quod fumus it per aera et penetrat cum eo intellegentias in motu anime passive; et movetur dominus fumigii et agit actum secundum dationem ab intellegentis quae nominantur in his factis virtute Dei creatoris saeculorum. Amen.

[27<sup>a</sup>] Ali est nomen Hebraicum quod Eli dicitur, sed quia Arabes carent *e* vocali mutant *e* in *a*. Et quinque Ali fuerunt: unus Hebraeus pontifex maximus, alius Hispanus rex Evize et filius Sine quem nos Avicennam dicimus, tertius astrologus de Hispania Bethica quem nos Ali ibn Roghla dicimus, alius medicus Hyspanus qui Ali il Mansuri dicitur, et quintus de Arabia Felici; et est autor huius operis.

*Hasan* est pater autoris.

*Haytim* est avus autoris.

*Halif* est prima littera alfabeti Arabici.

*Bargis* est eufortunium maius; et sunt duae dictiones: *bar* id est fortunium, et *gis* id est maius.

*Barhit* id est eufortunium minus.

*Hilal* est Luna in maxima dimi[27<sup>b</sup>]nutione; postea vocatur *il camri*.

*Bab* est ianua, sicut apud nos capitula.

*Sartayni* sunt duo extrema pontis et sunt cornua Arietis.

*Hares* id est custodi.

*Anachil* sunt duae dictiones: *ana* id est ego, et *chil* id est amo.

*Abulith* id est osculare.

*Isuavis* id est angustiator.

*Achal* id est recipere cum bona facie.

*Anari* id est incendat ignis.

*Zir* est pondus statera, et est nomen stelle posite in Geminorum pedibus.

*Mizan* id est statera, et est stella in pedibus Geminorum.

*Xahr* id est pili.

*Habur* est locus brachii inter manum et cubitum, et est stella in brachio Leonis.

*Drah* id est brachium.

*Marzan* id est nodus cubiti [28<sup>a</sup>] David, et est unum de quatuor principalibus receptis a

Maumetanis.

*Il thaura* id est lex Moysi.

*Il zaburi* id est psalmi David.

*Il angil* id est Euāngelium.

*Il furcan et il Curaan* id est lex Mahometi.

Et haec nos exposuisse sufficiat.

#### IV. COMMENTARY

##### Chapter 1

With the variant names of the planets utilized in this chapter, one can compare those used in the prayers to the planets added to the *Picatrix* after the Plinio text (*Picatrix* iv, ix, 58–64):

	Ibn al-Ḥātim	<i>Picatrix</i>
Saturn	the Killer	Quehinen
Jupiter	Burjīṣah	Bargis
Mars	Red One	rubeus
Venus	Barḥīf	Neyrgat
Mercury	Scribe	scriba

The name(s) for Venus are miswritings of the Iranian Anāhit, which appears as Anyht in *Picatrix* iii, vii, 30. One other name is also Iranian ('Feniz' in *Picatrix*, iii, vii); Quehinen is a miswriting, as is Keyhven (iii, vii, 17), of Kaywān. Burjīṣah and Bargis (see iii, vii, 19 and 21) represent Arabic Birjis, whose origin is unknown; but cf. Pahlavī borz, 'high', and wuzurg, 'great'. The Red One or rubeus for Mars and the Scribe for Mercury are names for these planets found also in the *De scientia motus orbis* of Māshā'allāh, who derived them from a Syrian source; see D. Pingree, 'Māshā'allāh: Some Sasanian and Syriac Sources,' in *Essays on Islamic Philosophy and Science*, Albany, N.Y. 1975, pp. 5–14, esp. p. 14, fns 31 and 32.

The 'creation' of the Moon is its yēvva, when it first leaves conjunction with the Sun.

##### Chapter 2

The only aspect of the four normally envisaged — sextile, quartile, trine and opposition — here admitted is the last. Ibn al-Ḥātim's list of *manāzil* in opposition is confused at the last three, which should be:

- al-Ṣarfā — Farj al-muqadam
- al-'Awā — Farj al-mu'akhir
- al-Simāka — al-Baṭn al-Ḥūta



*Chapter 3*

Some of these correspondences between the planets and members of a court can be paralleled in astrological texts, but others remain quite unexpected. I compare selected items from *Picatrix* (III, vii):

	Ibn al-Ḥātim	<i>Picatrix</i>
Saturn	jailer	carcer (9)
Jupiter	judge	iudices (3)
Mars	policeman, executioner	facere res in legibus prohibitas (11)
Sun	amīr	rex (5)
Venus	wazīr	
Mercury	messenger	
Moon	dancer	graciosus (15)

*Chapter 4*

As has already been remarked, the talismans of the lunar mansions described by Ibn al-Ḥātim represent a variant version of those described in the text attributed to Plinio. Ibn al-Ḥātim normally provides the following information, though not always in the same order:

- a. the name of the *manzil*
- b. the part that it is of its zodiacal sign
- c. the number (and quality) of its stars
- d. a description of its image
- e. the name of the image's 'lord'
- f. the substance of which the talisman is made
- g. the fumigation to be used
- h. how to manipulate the talisman
- i. a prayer to be recited (occasional)
- j. the purpose or effect of the talisman
- k. the season of the rising or setting of the *manzil* (occasional)
- l. the configuration of its stars (occasional)
- m. the names of its stars (occasional)

The Plinio text normally gives of these elements, again in varying order, a, d, e, f, g, h, i, and j only.

The Plinio text and Ibn al-Ḥātim give the same names of the manāzil except for nos 1 (al-Sharaṭān, as in the *Ghāya*, instead of al-Naṭṭ, which appears in b in Ibn al-Ḥātim); 5 (al-Haq'ā, as in the *Ghāya*, instead of al-Maysān); 6 (al-Han'a, as in the *Ghāya*, instead of al-Taḥāyā); 11 (al-Kirāthin instead of al-Zubra); and 28 (Baṭn al-ḥūt instead of al-Rishā').

The images in the two texts are substantially the same, though with many deviations. Note especially nos 1 (a black lion in Ibn al-Ḥātim, a black man in Plinio); 4 (a man with two horns in Ibn al-Ḥātim, a man riding on a horse and holding a serpent in his hand in Plinio); 17 (two apes in Ibn al-Ḥātim, one in Plinio); 18 (two scorpions, one of which lacks its tail while the other has spikes in its eyes in Ibn al-Ḥātim, a snake with its tail over its head in Plinio); 19 (two women, one of whom holds her hand over her genitals while the other lies like [or on] a river in Ibn al-Ḥātim, a woman holding her hands over her face in Plinio); 23 (a lion with a dog's head and an ape's body in Ibn al-Ḥātim, a cat with a dog's head in Plinio); and 25 (two men, one of whom is a doctor while the other tends a tree in Ibn al-Ḥātim, a man planting trees in Plinio). In some of these, parts of the images are simply left out (nos 17 and 25), in others the images are differently interpreted (nos 1, 18 and 23), while in one a sense of embarrassment seems to have overcome 'Plinio' (no. 19). We see no plausible explanation for the divergence in no. 4. But, in general, it appears that, while Ibn al-Ḥātim probably relied on verbal descriptions of the images, the author of the Plinio text was probably working from illustrations.

The names of the lords of the images are clearly derived from the same Arabic originals, though those in the Plinio text are often misreadings or contractions of those given by Ibn al-Ḥātim. For example, misreadings:

1. Geriç (for Jāris) from Ḥāris
2. Enedil from Anākhil
3. Anuncia from Abūlsith

etc.; and contractions:

11. Necol for Aqlul liqābul
17. Adrieb for Aryāth and Adhniyāb
19. Annuçel for Adhniyāl and Abriyāl
21. Quene for Kawyākifāh

The two that cannot be so easily explained are nos 8 (Annediex for Aqāris); and 14 (Erdegel for Anāb; but the name on the image is Awdhājal).

The substances out of which the talismans are made are also substantially the same in both texts. The exceptions are no. 23 (black potter's clay in Ibn al-Ḥātim, seal of iron in Plinio), and two of the three cases where the Spanish transliterates ānuk, 'lead'; in no. 15 Ibn al-Ḥātim has 'seal of qal', in no. 19 'white wax or lead', and in no. 28 'silver'.

The materials used in the fumigations are also generally identical, though one or the other version is from time to time the fuller. But in no. 12 Ibn al-Ḥātim has 'musk and walnut' while Plinio has 'amber', and in no. 28 the first has 'skin of a goat or kam fūd', the second 'skin of a marine fish'.



In the cases of the manipulations and purposes or effects of the talismans each text has chosen to emphasize these features in its own way, but in all cases they are clearly drawing upon the same source.

### Chapter 5

The idea of this chapter seems to be that the smoke of the fumigation is propelled by the soul through the air to the spirits, whom the person who makes the fumigation thereby controls.

## V. ARABIC-LATIN GLOSSARY

The words are given in the order of the Arabic alphabet; Guillelmus's mistaken spellings are retained, but the correct reading, when it can be divined, is given in parentheses.

### IMPORTANT WORDS

- ibn Adam** homo 11, 21  
**atā** concedere 24<sup>v</sup>  
**ahad** unus 10, 11<sup>v</sup>, 15<sup>v</sup>, 17<sup>v</sup>, 18<sup>v</sup>, 19, 23<sup>v</sup>; alter 23<sup>v</sup>;  
 lā . . . **ahad** nemo 25<sup>v</sup>  
**ahad saḡhīr wa ahad kabīr** una est maior alia 9  
**akhadha** capere 26<sup>v</sup>  
**akhara** tardare 9  
**ākhar** alius 7<sup>v</sup>, 10, 15, 15<sup>v</sup>, 19; alter 17<sup>v</sup>, 18<sup>v</sup>, 19; se  
 invicem 5  
**mu'akhhkar** posterior 25<sup>v</sup>  
**adā** iuvare 9<sup>v</sup>  
**udhun** auris 13  
**ard** terra 4<sup>v</sup>, 22  
**asad** leo 6<sup>v</sup>, 12<sup>v</sup>, 13, 21<sup>v</sup>  
**ism** nomen *passim*; vocare 6<sup>v</sup>; nominare 10  
**akala** comedere 18<sup>v</sup>  
**alif** aliph 15  
**alam** infortunium 23  
**allāh** Deus 3<sup>v</sup>, 4<sup>v</sup>, 6, 27  
**amīr** imperator 6  
**amala** volere 7; *not translated* 10<sup>v</sup>  
**amin** amen 6, 27  
**insān** homo 14, 16<sup>v</sup>, 25<sup>v</sup>  
**anf** nares 11  
**inā** (*for inā*) *not translated* 25<sup>v</sup>  
**ahl** illi qui habitant 17<sup>v</sup>; familia 23; *not translated* 21  
**ayyil** cervinus 18<sup>v</sup>
- al-battata** aliquis 25<sup>v</sup>  
**bakhara** fumigare *passim*  
**bakhūr** fumigatio 7<sup>v</sup>, 24; fumigare 8, 9<sup>v</sup>  
**tabkhūr** fumigium 22<sup>v</sup>  
**bada'a** incipere 5<sup>v</sup>  
**ibtidā'** incipere 6<sup>v</sup>  
**barī'a** liberare 18<sup>v</sup>  
**burj** signum 3<sup>v</sup>, 4, 4<sup>v</sup>, 5, 6; mansio 5; **bur** signum 4  
**bard** hyems 14
- baraka** in benedicere 3<sup>v</sup>  
**mabsūt** (*for mabsūt*) extensum 10  
**baṭn** venter 7, 26<sup>v</sup>; **baṭūn** venter 10  
**ba'd** (*for bu'd*) postquam 21<sup>v</sup>  
**ba'd li-ba'z** (*for ba'd ilā ba'd*) se invicem 5  
**bughd** inimicitia 14<sup>v</sup>  
**bāqī** alius 6; ceterus 23  
**bala'a** deglutiens 22; **tala'a** deglutire 22  
**jala'** (*for balā*) pati 21  
**balā'** corruptio 21<sup>v</sup>  
**bāb** bab 5, 6, 27  
**bayt** domus 18<sup>v</sup>  
**abyaḍ** albus 7, 9<sup>v</sup>, 15, 23<sup>v</sup>; rubeus 19<sup>v</sup>; *not translated*  
 24<sup>v</sup>; **bayḍ** albus 9<sup>v</sup>  
**bay'** merces 16<sup>v</sup>  
**bayān** declaratio 27
- matjar** venditio 16<sup>v</sup>  
**tāj** corona 8<sup>v</sup>  
**mutayyaj** coronatus 7  
**ūn** ficus 23<sup>v</sup>
- thu'bān** serpens 14  
**sa'lab** (*for tha'lab*) vulpis 21<sup>v</sup>  
**muthallath** triangulum 24  
**thamar** fructus 23<sup>v</sup>, 24  
**thānī** alius 5<sup>v</sup>  
**thawb** vestimentum 24<sup>v</sup>  
**thawr** taurus 23
- jabah** (*for jabbah*) frons 12<sup>v</sup>  
**jidd** *not translated* 9  
**jadīd** novus 12<sup>v</sup>  
**jarā** currere 6  
**jar** (*for jary*) fluxus 11<sup>v</sup>, 19<sup>v</sup>  
**majran** decursus 19<sup>v</sup>  
**jāriyah** mulier 7<sup>v</sup>

- jasad** truncus 8<sup>v</sup>, 12<sup>v</sup>; corpus 10, 22  
**jusmānī** corporalis 4<sup>v</sup>  
**ja'ala** ponere 11<sup>v</sup>, 18<sup>v</sup>, 19, 25<sup>v</sup>; *not translated* 21  
**jild** pellis 17<sup>v</sup>, 26<sup>v</sup>  
**jālis** sedens cathedraliter 16  
**jamī** alius 13<sup>v</sup>; *not translated* 10<sup>v</sup>, 25<sup>v</sup>  
**jimā** coitus 15  
**janin** fetus 12<sup>v</sup>  
**li-hi ajnubā** alatus 25<sup>v</sup>  
**jayaba** (*for jāba* IV) adimplere desiderium 21  
**jā'ih** infortunium 24  
**jawz** nux muscata 12<sup>v</sup>  
**jawf** umbilicus 13; **jawq** foramen 21  
**mujawwaf** infundi 25<sup>v</sup>
- habba** desiderare 13  
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## PROPER NAMES

- Abadhriyāl** 19<sup>v</sup> (*label*)  
**Abriyāl** Abarbial 19<sup>v</sup>  
**Abū 'Alī** Abu Ali 27  
**Abū 'Alī ibn al-Ḥasan ibn al-Ḥātam** Ali filius il  
     Hasan filius il Aytim 3<sup>v</sup>  
**Abūlsīth** Abulsīth 7<sup>v</sup>, 8 (*label*)  
**Aḥbiyāl** Haghyal 18<sup>v</sup>, 19 (*label*)  
**al-Akhbiya** (*see Sa'd al-akhbiya*) tabernacula 5<sup>v</sup>  
**Akhiyāl** 19 (*label*)  
**Adhbīsha** Adbixa 14<sup>v</sup>  
**Adhniyāb** Adniab 17<sup>v</sup>, 18 (*label*)  
**Adhniyāl** 19<sup>v</sup> (*label*)  
  
**Adhiyāl** Adniab 19  
**Arādīn** 13 (*label*)  
**Arādīn** Aradīn 12<sup>v</sup>  
**Aryāth** Ariath 17<sup>v</sup>, 18 (*label*)  
**Asārūb** Asarub 15  
**Asārūt** Asarud 16<sup>v</sup>  
**Asārūb** 15<sup>v</sup> (*label*)  
**Asārūd** 17 (*label*)  
**al-Asad** Leo 5, 10, 11, 11<sup>v</sup>, 12<sup>v</sup>, 13, 14  
**Iswāwis** Isuavis 8, 8<sup>v</sup> (*label*)  
**Asyāl** Asyal 24, 24 (*label*)  
**al-A'zal** (*see Simāk al-a'zal*) il Hadl 15<sup>v</sup>



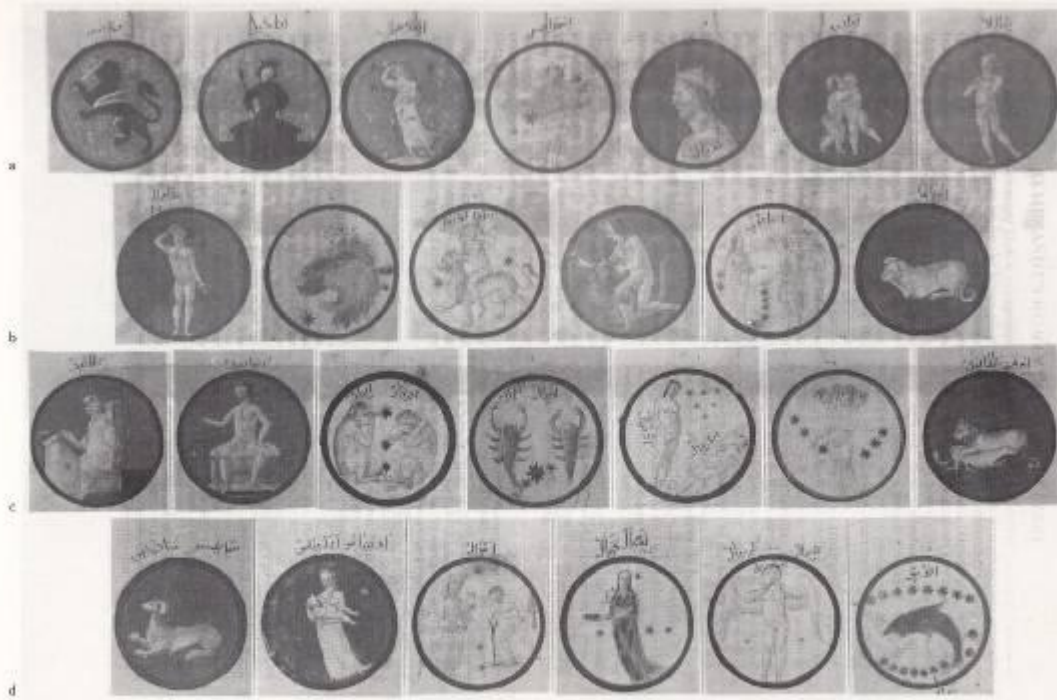
- Aghiyāl** *not transliterated* 18<sup>v</sup>  
**Afratīyās abarbiyās** 23<sup>v</sup> (*label*)  
**Afratīm abriyās** Afrathyas abriyas 23  
**Aqāris** Acharis 11, 11 (*label*)  
**Aqālid** 16<sup>v</sup> (*label*)  
**Aqālidh** Acalid 16  
**Iqbāl** Achbal 8<sup>v</sup>, 9 (*label*)  
**Aqlul liqābul** Achlullcabul 13  
**Aqlūl liqābu'l** 13<sup>v</sup> (*label*)  
**al-Ikfil** il Achlil 17<sup>v</sup>; **al-Ikhlil** amans 5<sup>v</sup>  
**Amriyāl lāmiyāl** Amrial lamial 25<sup>v</sup>, 26 (*label*)  
**Anāh** Hunahal 15<sup>v</sup>  
**Anākhil** Anachil 7  
**Anāri** Anari 9<sup>v</sup>  
**Anāri** 9<sup>v</sup> (*label*)  
**Anūsh** Anuxi 26<sup>v</sup>, 27 (*label*)  
**Awdhājāl** 16 (*label*)  
**Ūfit arānit** Huphit aranith 21<sup>v</sup>  
**Ūfit adānit** 22 (*label*)
- al-Burjīсах** il Bargis 4  
**Barhīf** il Barhih 4  
**al-Baṭn** venter Arietis 5<sup>v</sup>; il Bothn 7  
**Baṭn al-hūt** venter Piscium 5<sup>v</sup>; Bothn il huth 26<sup>v</sup>  
**al-Bild** (*for al-Balda*) imberbis 5<sup>v</sup>  
**Bal'a** (*see Sa'd bula'*) deglutiens 5<sup>v</sup>; **Bala'** deglutiens 22
- al-Thurāyā** (*for al-Thurayyā*) cauda Arietis 5<sup>v</sup>; il Thuraya 7<sup>v</sup>  
**al-Thamān** (*for al-Tawā'im*) Gemini 5  
**al-Thawr** Taurus 5, 8
- al-Jibha** (*for al-Jabha*) frons et cor Leonis 5<sup>v</sup>; il Iabbah 12<sup>v</sup>  
**al-Jad** (*for al-Jady*) Capricornus 5  
**al-Jawz** (*for al-Jawzā'*) Gemini 8<sup>v</sup>, 9<sup>v</sup>  
**Hāris** Haris 6<sup>v</sup>, 7 (*label*)  
**al-Hamal** Aries 6<sup>v</sup>, 7, 7<sup>v</sup>  
**al-Hūt** Pisces 5
- al-Dawbarān** (*for al-Dabarān*) oculus Tauri 5<sup>v</sup>;  
**al-Dawrān** il Dabran 8  
**al-Dalw** Aquarius 5, 25
- al-Dābih** (*for al-Dhābih*; *see Sa'd al-Dhābih*)  
 prosperus iugulans 5<sup>v</sup>  
**al-Dhirā'** brachium Leonis 5<sup>v</sup>; il Drah 10
- Rāwyāl** 12 (*label*)  
**al-Rimāh**, **al-Ramāh** (*for al-Rāmiḥ*) il Ramah 15<sup>v</sup>  
**Rawyal** Ranyal 11<sup>v</sup>
- al-Zibānum** cornua Scorpionis 5<sup>v</sup>; il Zabanin 16<sup>v</sup>  
**Zuḥāl** Saturnus 3<sup>v</sup>, 11<sup>v</sup>  
**al-Zara wa al-Mizān** il Ziruilmizen 9<sup>v</sup>
- al-Zuhar** (*for al-Zuharah*) Venus 4, 6
- Sānis sākīn** 22<sup>v</sup> (*label*)  
**al-Saratān** Cancer 5  
**al-Sa'd** (*see Sa'd al-su'ūd*) optumus optumorum 5<sup>v</sup>  
**Sa'd al-akhbiya** (*see al-Akhbiya*) Sahd il achbia 23<sup>v</sup>  
**Sa'd bal'** (*for Sa'd bula'*, *see al-Bula'*) Sahd balaha 22
- Sa'd dabh** (*for Sa'd al-Dhābih*; *see al-Dhābih*) Sahd dabah 21<sup>v</sup>  
**Sa'd al-su'ūd** (*see al-Sa'd*) Sahd il sahud 23  
**al-Simāka al-azal** (*for al-Simāk al-a'zal*; *see al-A'zal*) Virgo 5<sup>v</sup>; **al-Samaka** il Samach 15<sup>v</sup>  
**al-Sunbul** (*for al-Sunbulah*) Virgo 5  
**Sani sanahin** Sanissachin 22<sup>v</sup>
- Shā'lika** Xalich 10<sup>v</sup>  
**Shālik** 10<sup>v</sup> (*label*)  
**al-Shartayn** (*for al-Sharatān*) il Sartayn 6<sup>v</sup>  
**Sha'r al-'Abūr** Xahr il Habur 10  
**al-Shams** Sol 3<sup>v</sup>, 4, 4<sup>v</sup>, 6  
**al-Shiwwāl** (*for al-Shawla*) il Xual 19
- al-Sarfa** cauda Leonis 5<sup>v</sup>; il Sarpha 14
- al-Ṭarfa** (*for al-Ṭarf*) cilia Leonis 5<sup>v</sup>; il Tarpha 11<sup>v</sup>
- al-'Abūr** il Habur 10  
**al-'Adhrah** (*for al-'Adhrā'*) Virgo 15  
**Uṭārid** Mercurius 4  
**al-'Aqrab** Scorpio 5, 18<sup>v</sup>, 19; **al-'A'qrab** Scorpio 16<sup>v</sup>  
**al-'Awwā** telo adherens 5<sup>v</sup>; il Haua 15
- al-Ghaffār** (*for al-Ghafr*) remittens 5<sup>v</sup>; il Gaffar 16
- Farj al-mu'akhir** (*for al-Fargh al-mu'akhhhar*)  
 infusor aquarum posterior 5<sup>v</sup>; **Faragh al-dalw**  
**al-mu'akhhhar** Farg il dalu il muachir 25<sup>v</sup>  
**Farja al-muqadam** (*for al-Fargh al-muqaddam*)  
 infusor prior 5<sup>v</sup>; **Faragh al-dalw al-muqaddam**  
 Farg il dalu il macadam 24<sup>v</sup>
- al-Qalb** cor Scorpionis 5<sup>v</sup>; il Calb 17<sup>v</sup>  
**al-Qamar** Luna 4, 4<sup>v</sup>, 6  
**al-Qaws** Sagittarius 5
- al-Kabsh** Aries 5  
**al-Kirāth** umbilicus Leonis 5<sup>v</sup>, 13; **al-Kirāthin** il Charithin 13  
**Kawyākifah** Chauyachufa 21
- Mardham al-Dhirā'** Marzan il Drah 10  
**al-Mirrīk** (*for al-Mirrikkh*) Mars 4, 6, 11<sup>v</sup>  
**al-Mushtari** Jupiter 3<sup>v</sup>, 6; (*qui*) 4  
**al-Mizān** Libra 5

- al-Nāthira** (for **al-Nathra**) nares Leonis 5°; il Nathra **Nafsiyāl taghriyāl** Nafsiāl tagriāl 24°  
 11  
**al-Nath** cornua Arietis 5°; il Nathy 6°  
**al-Na'ā'im** pedes strucionis 5°  
**Nafsiyāl takhriyāl** 25 (label)  
**al-Haq'a'a** (for **al-Haq'a**) caput Geminorum 5°;  
**al-Haq'a** il Hachaa 8°  
**al-Han'a** il Hanhaa 9°

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Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb. lat. 1384, fol. 1<sup>r</sup> (title-page) and fol. 1<sup>v</sup> (frontispiece) (pp. 57, 60, 65)



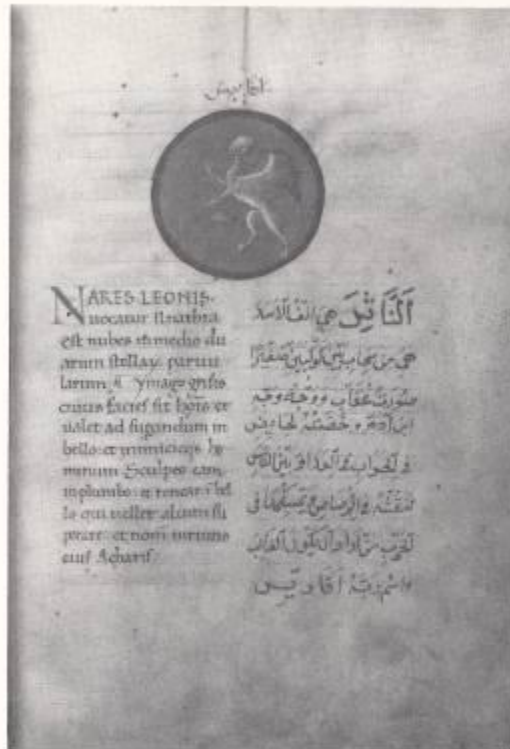
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Urb.lat. 1384, details of illustrated folios (photomontage)

a—Fols 6<sup>r</sup>–8<sup>r</sup>, 9<sup>r</sup>, 10<sup>r</sup> (pp. 57, 62f, 66–68)

b—Fols 11<sup>r</sup>, 12<sup>r</sup>, 13<sup>r</sup>, 14<sup>r</sup>, 15<sup>r</sup> (pp. 57, 63, 69)

c—Fols 16<sup>r</sup>, 17<sup>r</sup>, 18<sup>r</sup>, 19<sup>r</sup>, 21<sup>r</sup> (pp. 57, 64, 69f)

d—Fols 22<sup>r</sup>, 23<sup>r</sup>, 24<sup>r</sup>, 25<sup>r</sup>, 26<sup>r</sup> (pp. 57, 64f, 70f)



a—MS Urb.lat. 1384, fol. 11<sup>r</sup> (pp. 57, 63, 69)



b—MS Reg.lat. 1283, fol. 21 (p. 60)

a, b: Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana