

Henry Bate, Translator of Abraham Ibn Ezra's Astrological Writings

ABSTRACT Henry Bate of Mechelen (1246–after 1310) was the first to bring the astrological work of the twelfth-century Jewish polymath Abraham Ibn Ezra (ca. 1089–ca. 1161) to the knowledge of Latin readers. Ibn Ezra created the first comprehensive set of Hebrew astrological textbooks that addressed the main systems of Arabic astrology and provided Hebrew readers with access to the subject. The present study, divided into three parts, studies Henry Bate as translator of Ibn Ezra's astrological writings. The first part focuses on Bate's complete translations, authenticates Bate's authorship, determines their title and the time and place of composition, and consolidates information about their source texts. The second part reviews Bate's numerous references to Ibn Ezra and translations of individual passages from his astrological works. The third part examines the most salient features of Henry Bate's *modus operandi* as translator of Ibn Ezra. This begins with his use of double or triple translations for a single word or locution, a feature that readers of his translations recognize as his hallmark. This is followed by an investigation of Bate's familiarity with Hebrew and how he applied this knowledge in his translations. Finally, it looks at the additions and glosses Bate incorporated into the translations and considers his motives for doing so. The conclusion summarizes the findings and asks how Bate prepared these translations.

A special place of honor in the reception of Hebrew, Arabic, and Greek texts in the Latin West at the end of the thirteenth century is reserved to Henry Bate of

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Mechelen (1246–after 1310).¹ Thanks to an extensive translation project, he was the first to bring the astrological work of the twelfth-century Jewish polymath Abraham Ibn Ezra (ca. 1089–ca. 1161) to the knowledge of Latin readers. Ibn Ezra created the first comprehensive set of Hebrew astrological textbooks that addressed the main systems of Arabic astrology and provided Hebrew readers with access to the subject. Today we know of twenty astrological works by him.² The present paper studies Henry Bate as translator of Ibn Ezra's astrological writings and reflects the findings of a preliminary study of all of Bate's translations, whose ultimate goal is to produce a critical edition of all or part of them.

Some research on this topic has been conducted in the past. In *The Astrological Works of Abraham Ibn Ezra*, published in 1927, Raphael Levy allotted an entire section to Bate's oeuvre. Levy not only mentioned Hagin le Juif's and Bate's translations of Ibn Ezra's astrological writings, he also highlighted the frequent references to Ibn Ezra in *Nativitas*, Bate's astrological biography.³ Twenty years later, Thorndike published a landmark article with a list of all the Latin translations of astrological treatises by Abraham Avenezra (the Latinized form of Abraham Ibn Ezra) that were known to him, including the manuscripts. These included ten manuscripts with copies of Bate's five Latin translations of Ibn Ezra.⁴ Thorndike's aim was to identify manuscripts and texts and to examine their titles, incipits, and colophons; hence he did not describe the contents or try to identify the Hebrew source texts. Recently, David Juste updated this list with catalogues of virtually all manuscripts of Bate's translations

- 1 Carlos Steel and Steven Vanden Broecke, "A Portrait of Henry Bate," in: Carlos Steel, Steven Vanden Broecke, David Juste, and Shlomo Sela, *The Astrological Biography of a Medieval Philosopher: Henry Bate's Nativitas (1280–1281)* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2018), pp. 31–43.
- 2 This relatively large number reflects the multiple versions or recensions of each individual work that he produced. For a list, see *Abraham Ibn Ezra Latinus on Elections and Interrogations. A Parallel Latin-English Critical Edition of Liber Electionum, Liber Interrogationum, and Tractatus Particulares*, ed., trans., and annot. Shlomo Sela (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 2–8.
- 3 Raphael Levy, *The Astrological Works of Abraham Ibn Ezra* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1927), pp. 24–32. For Hagin le Juif's translations, see below p. 106.
- 4 Lynn Thorndike, "The Latin Translations of the Astrological Tracts of Abraham Avenezra," *Isis* 35 (1944): 293–302.

currently available in European libraries and identified the versions of Ibn Ezra's writings behind Bate's translations.⁵ Juste also sketched the main contours of the intellectual circle at the University of Paris, where Bate presumably became acquainted with Ibn Ezra's astrological oeuvre.⁶ I have studied special features of Bate's translations, especially passages from Ibn Ezra's oeuvre incorporated into *Nativitas*.⁷ Only two of Bate's translations have been printed, one of them in a recent critical edition by Carlos Steel.⁸

However, we still do not have a comprehensive assessment of Bate's Ibn Ezra translation project, particularly one that juxtaposes Bate's complete and incomplete Latin translations with their Hebrew source texts and French counterparts and that studies Bate's *modus operandi* as a translator. The present study, divided into three parts, attempts to fill these lacunae. The first part focuses on Bate's complete translations, authenticates Bate's authorship, determines their title and the time and place of composition, and consolidates information about their source texts. The second part reviews Bate's numerous references to Ibn Ezra and translations of passages from his astrological works. The third part studies Bate's *modus operandi* as a translator of Ibn Ezra. In the conclusion I summarize my findings and ask how Bate prepared these translations. Readers are warned that the Hebrew excerpts in the three parts are always followed by their corresponding English translations (in italics), but this is not always the case for Latin excerpts.

Because this study is full of repetitive references to the same manuscripts, I use the following sigla (each item in the following list is accompanied by a brief explanation):

Le = Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 1466, (a fourteenth-century manuscript with the earliest version of all of Bate's Latin translations of Ibn Ezra's astrological writings)

- 5 David Juste, "Bate's Astrological and Astronomical Works," in Steel et al., *The Astrological Biography of a Medieval Philosopher*, pp. 50–54.
- 6 David Juste, "Bate and the University of Paris," in Steel et al., *The Astrological Biography of a Medieval Philosopher*, pp. 68–80.
- 7 Shlomo Sela, "The Ibn Ezra–Henry Bate Astrological Connection and the Three Abrahams," *Mediterranea* 2 (2017): 163–186.
- 8 Carlos Steel, "Henry Bate's Translation of Ibn Ezra's Treatise *The Book of the World*, A Critical Edition," *Quaestio* 19 (2019): 227–278.

Li = Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, MS Voss. Chymici Q.27, fols. 91r–99r (a sixteenth-century manuscript with the Latin translations of Ibn Ezra's astrological writings attributed to Pierre of Limoges)

P = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 24276 (a thirteenth-century manuscript with the earliest available version of Hagin's four French translations of Ibn Ezra's astrological writings)

P² = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, fonds français 1351 (a fifteenth-century manuscript with Hagin's four French translations of Ibn Ezra's astrological writings)

V = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 5143 (a fifteenth-century manuscript with Pietro d'Abano's seven Latin translations of Ibn Ezra's astrological writings)

Z = Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, B.244 (769) (a fifteenth-century manuscript with Pietro's seven translations)

Part I: Bate's Complete Translations

In 1273, in preparation for writing his own works, Bate commissioned a Jewish scholar named Hagin le Juif to translate a collection of Ibn Ezra's astrological works from Hebrew into French. Hagin translated four works, which are preserved in two manuscripts.⁹ His French translations exerted a huge influence on later Latin translations of Ibn Ezra's astrological writings.¹⁰ A recently identified charter reveals that Hagin le Juif was still alive in 1288 and resident in Mechelen, not far from Henry Bate's home, fifteen years after the latter commissioned him to translate Ibn Ezra. Given that they were neighbors, Bate

9 These are: (1) *Li livres du commencement de sapience*, (2) *Livre des jugemens des natiuités*, (3) *Le livre des elections Abraham*, and (4) *Le livre des interrogations*, in **P** (Paris, BnF, fonds français, MS 24276, fols. 1ra–125ra, and **P²** (BnF, fonds français, MS 1351, fols. 1ra–123rb). We have substantial bibliographical information only for the first item, from whose colophon we learn that the Hebrew original of *Li livres du commencement de sapience* was composed by Abraham Ibn Ezra, translated by Hagin from Hebrew into French, and transcribed in French by a certain Obers de Mondidier in Bate's house in Mechelen (= Malines), Flanders, at the end of 1273. See BnF, français 24276, fol. 66rb.

10 See Shlomo Sela, "The Impact of Hagin Le Juif's French Translations on Subsequent Latin Translations of Abraham Ibn Ezra's Astrological Writings," *Jewish Quarterly Review*, forthcoming.

could have consulted his Jewish translator whenever his astrological interests made it necessary.¹¹

We now know that the first part of a tripartite Latin text on world astrology, preserved in a single manuscript—Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Pal. lat. 1407, fols. 55r–62r—incorporates a hitherto unknown incomplete Latin translation of the lost third version of Ibn Ezra’s *Sefer ha-‘Olam* (henceforth ‘*Olam* III). This translation was produced by Henry Bate, presumably in Mechelen in 1278. Readers are invited to consult a recently published study that offers a complete account of this discovery.¹²

But the most significant and weighty component of Bate’s translation project are the six complete Latin translations of astrological treatises by Ibn Ezra, produced between 1281 and 1292, which we turn now to study.

1.1 *Liber Abrahe Avenerre introductorius ad astronomiam*

The only complete translation that has a counterpart in Hagin’s Hebrew-to-French translations—the third part of Bate’s translation project—is a Latin version of *Sefer Reshit hokhmah* (Book of the beginning of wisdom; henceforth *Reshit hokhmah*), extant in six manuscripts, one from the fourteenth century and the others from the fifteenth century.¹³ Only three of the five fifteenth-century manuscripts include a complete copy of Bate’s translation, which at approximately 40,000 words is the longest of Bate’s Latin translations of Ibn Ezra.

Reshit hokhmah is a ten-chapter introduction to astrology, the longest of Ibn Ezra’s astrological treatises and the one with the widest circulation of all his astrological works among Jews in the Middle Ages and after. It runs to about 28,000 words and is extant in at least 70 Hebrew manuscripts.¹⁴

11 Ibid.

12 Shlomo Sela, Carlos Steel, C. Philipp E. Nothaft, David Juste, and Charles Burnett, “A Newly Discovered Treatise by Abraham Ibn Ezra and two Treatises Attributed to Al-Kindi in a Latin Translation by Henry Bate,” *Mediterranea* (2020): 191–303.

13 For a list of manuscripts, see Juste, “Bate’s Astrological and Astronomical Works,” pp. 52–53. In addition to this list, a copy that includes chapters 1–9 is found in Prague, NKCR, MS III.C.2 (433), fols. 98ra–118vb.

14 For a critical edition and English translation of *Reshit hokhmah*, see *Abraham Ibn Ezra’s Introductions to Astrology*, A Parallel Hebrew-English Critical Edition of the *Book of the Beginning of Wisdom* and the *Book of the Judgments of the Zodiacal Signs*, ed., trans., and annot. Shlomo Sela (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 48–271. This edition is used for all quotations

I.1.1 Title, Authorship, and Place and Date of Composition

Of all the manuscripts, only the earliest (**Le**) provides a title to Bate's complete translation of *Reshit hokhmah: Liber Abrahe Avenerre Introductorius ad astronomiam* (Introductory book to astrology by Abraham Ibn Ezra; henceforth *Introductorius*).¹⁵ The colophons of the two complete copies of *Introductorius* provide significant information about this work. The fullest is the earliest:

Le, 23va: Complete sunt .10. partes libri huius quem compilavit Magister Abraham Avenezre, quod interpretatur Magister Adiutorii. Et Magister Hynricus de Malinis, dictus Bate, cantor Leodiensis transtulit, translationemque complevit in Urbe Veteri, anno Domini MCCXCII, in octava Assumptionis Beate Marie virginis gloriose. Laudationes illi Domini qui extendit aera sive celos et qui scientiam ampliavit. Amen.¹⁶

The ten chapters of this book, which authored Master Abraham Ibn Ezra, <a name> whose translation is Master of Help, are completed. Master Henry of Malines, called Bate, cantor of Liège, executed the translation, which he completed in Orvieto on the eighth day after the Assumption of the glorious Virgin Mary [i.e., August 22, the eighth day counting from the feast on August 15]. Praised be the Lord who extended the Heavens and augmented wisdom. Amen.

According to the colophons of the two complete copies of *Introductorius*, both of which identify Bate as the cantor of Liège,¹⁷ he finished work on this translation

from or references to the Hebrew text and English translation of *Reshit hokhmah*, in the following format: *Reshit hokhmah*, §10.3:7, 270–271 = *Reshit hokhmah* (ed. Sela 2017), chapter 10, section 3, sentence 7, in *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Introductions to Astrology*, pp. 270–271.

15 **Le**, 2ra.

16 Cf. Vatican, BAV, MS Pal. lat. 1377, fol. 37va: "Hunc librum edidit Habraham Avenezre quod interpretatur Magister Adiutorii. Translatus est hic liber a Magistro Henrico de Malines dicto Bate cantore Leodiensis et est hec translatio perfecta in Urbe Vetere, anno Domini 1292o in octava Assumptionis beate Marie virginis gloriose. Deo gratias."

17 The cantor was the second in rank after the dean of the chapter, and a fat prebend was usually attached to such a position. The first solid proof of Bate in this position dates from 1289, when he is mentioned as cantor and canon of St. Lambert Cathedral in Liège, acting on the authority of the cathedral chapter in a legal dispute with the prince-bishop John of

in Orvieto on August 22, 1292. This date means that *Introductorius* was the second of the five complete Latin translations he executed in the same place and around the same time. Inasmuch as Bate's previous translation, *De luminaribus*, was completed in Orvieto on June 4, 1292, Bate invested a maximum of four months (111 days) in the translation of *Reshit hokhmah*. Below we will explore why this colophon renders "Master Abraham Ibn Ezra" as "Master of Help."

1.1.2 The Structure of *Introductorius*

Introductorius is a complete translation of *Reshit hokhmah*, with no substantial omissions and, in contrast to some of Bate's other translations, without major additions or digressions. Here are the first and last sections of *Introductorius*, as they appear in **Le**, accompanied by their Hebrew counterparts and an English translation (of the Hebrew):

Le, 2ra (*Introductorius*): "Initium sapientie timor Domini," huius autem verbi seu dicti sensus quod dum homo neque post oculos suos neque post cor suum ire studet *seu evagari* ad concupiscentias suas perficiendas tunc in ipso quiescit intellectus. Adhuc timor Dei preservat ipsum a consuetudinibus celorum legibus *seu ordinationibus* et fatis eorum, cunctis diebus vite sue et, cum a corpore separata fuerit anima, facit eam inhabitare vitam seculorum. Incipiam igitur narrare *consuetudines* celorum *ac* ordinationes *seu leges* secundum viam iudiciorum quam experti sunt antiqui in generationibus post generationes. Postquam autem hunc librum compilavero, adiungam *Librum explanationis rationum et causarum*. Ad hoc perficiendum Deus auxilium michi prestat. Amen.

Reshit hokhmah, §10.3:4–5, 270–271:

ראשית חכמה יראת השם, כי היא המוסד, כי כאשר לא יתור האדם אחר עיניו ולבו למלאת תאותו אז תנוח החכמה בקרבו. ועוד שיראת השם תשמרנו מחקות השמים ומשטרים כל ימי חייו, ובהפרד נשמתו מגיותו תנחילנו יש וחי לעולם. והנה אהל לספר חוקות השמים בדרך המשפטים, כאשר נסו הקדמונים דור אחר דור. ואחר שאשלים זה הספר אחבר ספר בפירוש הטעמים. ואל השם אתחנן לעזרני, אמן.

The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord (Ps. 111:10), for it is the foundation, because when man ceases to follow his eyes and heart to satisfy his desire, then wisdom comes to rest inside him. Furthermore, the fear of the

Flanders (1282–1292). This shows that Bate already enjoyed great authority in Liège at that time. See Steel and Vanden Broecke, "A Portrait of Henry Bate," pp. 37–38.

Lord will protect him from the ordinances of heavens and their dominion <on the earth> all the days of his life; and after the soul takes leave of his body, he will inherit substance and will live forever. I now begin to explain the ordinances of the heavens by means of the <astrological> judgments as they were verified by experience by the Ancients, generation after generation. When this book is finished, I shall compile a treatise explaining the <astrological> reasons. I implore God to assist me, amen.

Le, 23rb–23va (*Introductorius*): Postremo est adhuc alia directio in nativitatibus hominum ac revolutionibus annorum mundi et est quod tu dirigere debes gradum ascendentem ad corpora stellarum aut ad aspectus radiorum a signo scito ac a gradu scito, quolibet anno .1. gradus. Directio vero sortium secundum contrarium signorum ita est ut commemorat Ptolomeus in *Libro Fructus* vel *Centiloquii*.

Reshit hokhmah, §1:1–5, 48–49:

יש עוד נהוג אחד במולד האדם ובתקופת שנת העולם, והוא שתנהג מן המעלה הצומחת אל גוף כוכב, או מבט אורו אל מזל ידוע או מעלה ידועה, לכל שנה מעלה אחת. ונהוג הגורלות הפך המזלות, כאשר הזכיר בטלמיוס בספר הפרי.

There is another direction <used> in the nativities of human beings and in the revolution of the world-year, which is to direct from the degree of the ascendant degree to the body of a planet, or <from> the aspect of its ray to a particular sign or particular degree, <assigning> one degree to each year. The direction of the lots is the opposite of the <direction> of the signs, as mentioned by Ptolemy in Sefer ha-Peri.

I.1.3 The Source Text of Introductorius

In 1273, Bate commissioned *Li livres du Commencement de Sapience* (henceforth *Commencement*), Hagin's French translation of *Reshit hokhmah*; it survives in two manuscripts.¹⁸ Thus it stands to reason that Bate used Hagin's translation for his own Latin version of *Reshit hokhmah* nearly two decades later, in 1292. Four main proofs demonstrate that this is certainly the case.

(1) *Reshit hokhmah* includes a complete list of the 48 Ptolemaic constellations.¹⁹

18 **P**, 1ra–66rb; **P**², 1ra–66rb. For a critical edition, see *The Beginning of Wisdom, An Astrological Treatise by Abraham Ibn Ezra*, ed. Raphael Levy and Francisco Cantera (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1939), pp. 31–125.

19 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §1.2:1–3 through §1.5:1–23, 50–54.

Ibn Ezra, as a rule, shuns transliteration of Arabic and translates their names into Hebrew. Hagin follows suit and translates these Hebrew names into French. A distinctive feature of **P**²⁰ is that Latin translations of some of the names of constellations appear in the margins of the relevant parts of *Li livres du Commencement de Sapience*, in the same hand that copied the French translation. Proof that Bate followed this French translation and was using a manuscript of the family of **P** is that Bate incorporates *all* these Latin constellation names found in the margin of **P** into his Latin translation, together with a Latin translation of the French names of constellations and stars. This is illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1

<i>Reshit hokhmah</i> (ed. Sela, 2017), 52–53	Hagin's translation: P , 2ra–2va	Margin of P	Bate's Latin translation: Le , 2rb–2va
§1.4:2: ארי הים, ויש שקורין אותו דוב = the Sea-Lion, some call it the Bear	le Lion de la mer, et tel i a qui l'apelent Ours	Cetus	Leo maris quem quidam vocant ursus et est Cetus
§1.4:3: הכלב הגבור = the Mighty Dog	le Chien le fort	Orion	Canis fortis et est Orion
§1.4:9: החיה = the Beast (meaning the Snake)	la Biche	Ydra	Bestia et est Ydra
§1.4:12: נשאת האריה = the Lion Carrier	cele qui porte le Lion	Centaurus	portans Leonem et est Centaurus
§1.5:5: בעלת הלהב = the Lady of the Flame	la Dame de la flambe	vel Flaminatus vel Cepheus	Domina flamine alibi vocatur Flaminatus vel Zepheus

- 20 **P** was copied by a professional scribe, with the text and scholia in clear characters in two columns, and space left for rubricated initials at the beginning of each text. Its margins contain glosses in the hand of Peter of Limoges, who habitually wrote comments in the manuscripts he owned. This indicates that **P**, too, belonged to him and was commissioned by him, or was given to him in some way, for his own use. For this characterization of **P**, see Shlomo Sela, "The Abraham Ibn Ezra–Peter of Limoges Astrological-Exegetical Connection," *Aleph* 19.1 (2019): 9–57, esp. pp. 28–29.

§1.5:6: הכלב הנובח = the Barking Dog	le Chien abiaiant	Boetes	Canis latrans alibi notatur ululans cuius intentio est vociferans vel Boetes
§1.5:12: הנושא את ראש השטן = the Carrier of the Devil's Head	celi qui porte le Chief du Diable	Perseus	portans Caput Dyaboli et est Perseus
§1.5:13: הרועה = the Shepherd	le Pasteur	Agitator	Pastor seu Agitator
§1.5:14: עוצרת החיה = the One who Holds the Beast (meaning the Snake)	celi qui retient la Biche	Serpentarius	retinens Bestiam et est Serpentarius
§1.5:15: החיה = the Beast (meaning the Snake)	la Biche	Serpens	Bestia sive Serpens
§1.5:16: השטן = the Devil	le Nuisieur	Sagitta	Nocumentivus et est Sagitta

- (2) A second proof emerges from a comparison of the colophons of *Reshit hokhmah* (in one of the manuscripts) and of Hagin's and Bate's translations of *Reshit hokhmah*:

Reshit hokhmah, §10.3:6, 270–271: ל. נשלם ספר ראשית חכמה לראב"ע ז"ל. = This ends the book *Beginning of Wisdom* by R.A.B.E (= Rabbi Abraham the son of Ezra), his memory for a blessing.

P, 66rb (*Commencement*): Ci define li livres de Commencement de Sapience que fist Abraham Even Azre ou Aezero qui est interpretés Maistre de Aide. = Here ends the book *Beginning of Wisdom*, which was composed by Abraham Ibn Ezra, or Ibn Eezera, <a name> whose translation is "Maistre de Aide" (i.e., Master of Help).

Le, 23va (*Introductorius*): Complete sunt .10. partes libri huius quem compilavit Magister Abraham Avenezre, quod interpretatur Magister Adiutorii. = The ten chapters of this book, which authored Master Abraham Ibn Ezra, <a name> whose translation *Master of Help*, are completed.

We see that the Latin colophon is a translation of its French counterpart, which is itself a translation of the colophon of one of the manuscripts of *Reshit hokhmah*. It also emerges that the mysterious "Magister Adiutorii" of the Latin colophon is simply a translation of "Maistre de Aide" in the French colophon. That is,

the Latin “magister” renders the French “maistre,” which is a translation of the Hebrew abbreviation ר', which stands for “rabbi,” but in this context means “teacher.” The Latin *adiutorium* accurately translates the French *aide*; both mean “help.” But the two colophons take “Magister Adiutorii” or “Maistre de Aide” to be a translation of “Avenezre,” which is Ibn Ezra’s Latinized surname. Is this correct? The response is definitely in the affirmative: Hebrew עזרא *ezra* means “help.” Hagin, who knew this, rendered the second element of Ibn Ezra’s Latinized name as “aide” and created the name “Maistre de Aide.” Subsequently, Bate, following Hagin, turned this into “Magister Adiutorii.”²¹

(3) *Li livres du Commencement de Sapience* includes a number of Hebrew transliterations. Evidently these represent words that Hagin did not know how to translate into French. Solid proof that Bate relied on Hagin’s French translation is that Bate incorporates these Hebrew transliterations into his Latin translation in the same loci as they appear in Hagin’s translation. Here are three examples of this type. The first involves the biblical word *terafim* (Gen. 31:19 et passim), which is some sort of magical device:

Reshit hokhmah, §2.1:28, 60–61: ובידו תרפים = and with *terafim* in his hand.

P, 5ra (*Commencement*): et en sa mein *terafim*.

Le, 3rb (*Introductorius*): in cuius manu *terafim*, id est artificia magica.²²

The second example refers to the biblical bird *raḥamah* (Deut. 14:17 et passim), which is identified with the bustard:

Reshit hokhmah, §2.5:16, 86–87: והעוף הנקרא רחמה = and the bird called *raḥamah*

P, 13vb (*Commencement*): et l’oisel qui est apelés *raiema*.

Le, 3rb (*Introductorius*): et avis vocata *raiheana*.

21 The same occurs in the explicit of Pietro d’Abano’s Latin translation of *Reshit hokhmah*: Paris, Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, MS 640, fol. 94rb: “Explicit *Liber Principium sapientie* intitulus, editur ab Abrahæ Nazareth vel Aezera Iudeo, qui Magister Adiutorii est appellatus” = “Here ends the book called *Beginning of Wisdom*. It was composed by Abraham Ibn Ezra, or Ibn Eezera the Jew, who is called Magister Adiutorii [i.e., master of help].”

22 For Bate’s use of *terafim*, see, below, pp. 191–192.

An identical transliteration of *rahamah* occurs in Hagin's and Bate's translations of *Reshit hokhmah*, §4.1:11.²³

The third example refers to the talmudic tree *harub* (M *Pe'ah* 1:5), which is identified with the carob:

Reshit hokhmah, §2.10:8, 116–116: ומן הצמחים, הזיתים והאגוזים והחרוב = of plants, olives, nuts, *harub*.

P, 24rb (*Commencement*): et des germinans les olivers, et les noieres et le *harobe*.

Le, 9rb (*Introductorius*): de vegetalibus olive et *orobe*.

An identical transliteration of *harub* occurs in another place in Hagin's and Bate's translations of *Reshit hokhmah*.²⁴

- (4) The fourth proof are the cases where Hagin's and Bate's translations agree but deviate considerably from the Hebrew version provided by the critical edition of *Reshit hokhmah* and by all the manuscripts of that work that I have checked. There are numerous places like this in *Introductorius* (they will be noted in a forthcoming critical edition of Bate's translation). Here I offer only one example, which relates to the description of the tenth horoscopic place in the third chapter of *Reshit hokhmah*:

Reshit hokhmah, §3.14:1–2, 146–147:

הבית העשירי יורה על האם, ועל המלוכה, ועל השם, ועל כל אומנות. ובעל השלישות ראשונה יורה על האם, והשני על מעלתו, והשלישי על אומנותו.

The tenth place signifies the mother, kingship, reputation, and every <human> craft. The first lord of the triplicity signifies the mother, the second <lord of the triplicity signifies> his [the native's] rank, and the third <signifies> his craft.

P, 34va (*Commencement*): La 10^e meson enseigne sur rois et oevres, et hautece, et essaucement, et roiaume, et memoire, et vois .1. [sic] de commandement, et sur maistries, et sur les meres, et gloire, et loenge, et chose emblee ou ostee, et les juges, et les princes et les prelas, et enseigne

23 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §4.1:11, 148–149. Cf. P, 35rb (*Commencement*); Le, 12va (*Introductorius*).

24 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §4.1:113, 148–149. Cf. P, 35va (*Commencement*); Le, 12va (*Introductorius*).

sur la moitié des ans de la vie. Et dit Alendezgoz que le sires de la triplicité premiere enseigne sur oeuvre et essachement, ch'est haute de siege et mansion tres haute; le secont enseigne sur vois de commandement et hardiece en cele; li tiers senefie l'estableté et la durableté.²⁵

Le, 12rb (*Introductorius*): Decima domus super reges significat et opera, sublimationes ac exaltationes, regna et famositates et auctoritatem. Item super magisteria et matres et gloriam et laudem et res furatas aut sublatas ad huc super iudices et principes et prelatos et significat super medium annorum vite. Dominum autem triplicitatis primus super omnia opera significat et exaltationes et mansiones altissimas. Secundus super auctoritatem et audaciam in ea et tertius stabilitatem et durabilitatem.

The tenth place signifies kings, works, highness and exaltation, kingdoms, fame and authority. Also crafts, mothers, glory, praise, something taken away or stolen, as well as judges, princes, rulers, and it signifies half of the years of life. The first lord of the triplicity indicates every work, exaltations, and high mansions; the second <lord of the triplicity signifies> authority, and boldness in it; the third <lord of the triplicity signifies> stability and longevity.

1.2 *Liber de mundo vel seculo*

The first component of Henry Bate's translation project is a complete Latin translation of the first version of Ibn Ezra's *Sefer ha-'Olam* (Book of the world; henceforth 'Olam I); approximately 11,000 words long, it is the only Latin translation of this work. It is also the only one of Bate's full translations of a work by Ibn Ezra that has recently had a critical edition (see above, note 8). Bate's translation of 'Olam I appears in two print editions and no fewer than 30 manuscripts—two from the thirteenth century, nine from the fourteenth century, and the rest from the fifteenth century.²⁶ This shows that it was the most widespread of Bate's translations.

Ibn Ezra wrote three versions of *Sefer ha-'Olam*, which deals with world

25 The section of this description of the tenth place assigned to al-Andarzagar corresponds exactly to al-Qabīṣī (Alcabitius): *The Introduction to Astrology*, Editions of the Arabic and Latin texts and an English translation, ed. and trans. Charles Burnett, Keiji Yamamoto, and M. Yano (London and Turin: The Warburg Institute–Nino Aragno Editore, 2004), I, 66, p. 55.

26 For a list of manuscripts and editions, see Steel, "Henry Bate's Translation of Ibn Ezra's Treatise *The Book of the World*," pp. 230–231.

astrology; that is, the reconstruction, interpretation, and prognostication of political, historical, and religious events, on the one hand, and weather forecasting, on the other, by means of methods such as the interpretation of solar and lunar eclipses, the analysis of horoscopes cast in years of Saturn-Jupiter conjunctions, and the use of a great variety of periods, indicators, and cycles. 'Olam I (approximately 9,000 words) is extant in at least 34 Hebrew manuscripts.²⁷

I.2.1 Title, Authorship, and Place and Date of Composition

There is no consensus in Bate's oeuvre regarding the title of his translation of 'Olam I. The incipits and explicits employ a bewildering variety of names, but the most frequent is *Liber de mundo vel seculo* (Book of the world or of the age; henceforth *De mundo*).²⁸ This name, which includes a double translation of the Hebrew name of the source text, i.e., עולם, "world," should come as no surprise: the doublet "mundus vel seculum" occurs at least eight times in Bate's other translations,²⁹ without no connection to this translation, and as a disambiguation of the Hebrew term עולם, which can mean both "world" and "eternity."

Significant information about the author of *De mundo* and its source text, as well as about its place and date of composition, is given in the explicits, which exist in short and long versions. The best representative of the former is the explicit of the earliest available manuscript:

- 27 For a critical edition and English translation of 'Olam I, see *The Book of the World*, A Parallel Hebrew-English Critical Edition of the Two Versions of the Text, ed., trans., and annot. Shlomo Sela (Leiden and Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2010), pp. 52–97. This edition is used for all the quotations from or references to the Hebrew text of 'Olam I, in the format: 'Olam I, §45:1, 82–83 = *The Book of the World*, (ed. Sela 2010), section 45, sentence 1, on pp. 82–83.
- 28 This name is used in the incipit of the earliest manuscript (Paris, BnF, MS n.a.l. 3091, fol. 107vb), as well as in the incipit of Ghent, UB, MS 2 (417/152), fol. 45v. The same name occurs in the explicits of the following manuscripts: Limoges, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 9 (28), fol. 143v; Paris, BnF, MS lat. 7336, fol. 109r; Paris, BnF, MS lat. 10269, fol. 99rb; Zurich, Zentralbibliothek, MS B.244 (769), fol. 87ra; Oxford, Bodleian, MS Canon. Misc. 190, fol. 72r; Ghent, UB, MS 2 (417/152), fol. 54r; London, BL, MS Sloane 312, fol. 96v.
- 29 See Le, 5vb, 23rb (*Introductorius*), Le, 50rb, 51rb, 51rb, 52ra, 57vb (translation of *Te'amim* II), Le, 37rv (translation of *Mishpeṭei ha-Mazzalot*).

Paris, BnF, MS n.a.l. 3091, fol. 113rb:³⁰ Explicit *Liber Avenesre de mundo* translatus de Hebreo in Latinum a magistro Henrico Bate anno Domini 1281.

Thus ends the Book of the World by Ibn Ezra, translated from Hebrew into Latin in the year of the Lord 1281.

More information is provided in the long version of the explicit found in the 1507 Venice edition by Liechtenstein and in three manuscripts:

Oxford Digby 212, fol. 52v: Explicit *Liber de mundo vel seculo*, completus die Lune post festum Beati Luce hora diei quasi 10, anno Domini 1281, inceptus in Leodio, perfectus in Machlinia, translatus a magistro Henrico Bate de Hebreo in Latinum.³¹

Thus ends the Book of the World or the Age, completed on the Monday (lit. the day of the Moon) after the Feast of Saint Luke, at about the tenth hour, in the year of the Lord 1281, started in Liège, completed in Mechelen, translated by Master Henry Bate from Hebrew into Latin.

According to this colophon, *De mundo* was finished on October 20, 1281, the Monday after the feast of St. Luke (October 18, which fell on Saturday in 1281). The use of astrological chronological nomenclature (here “the day of the Moon”) and the ecclesiastical calendar is typical of Bate. Despite the great diversity of the explicits, virtually all of them agree that *De mundo* was translated “de Hebreo in Latinum.”

1.2.2 The Structure of *De mundo*

De mundo is a complete Latin rendering of ‘*Olam* I, but also incorporates a number of significant additions or digressions, which will be reviewed in the third part of this study. Here are the first and last paragraphs of the translation, with their Hebrew counterparts and English translation:

30 Most of the specimens of the short version mention the author of the translation and the language of the source text, but not the year of composition and the author of the source text. See, for example, the explicit in Limoges, Bibliothèque municipale, 9 (28), fol. 143v.

31 See Oxford, MS Digby 212, fol. 52v; Vienna, ÖNB, Cod. 5309, fol. 264r; Basel, UB, MS F.II.10, fol. 90rb; and the print edition, ed. Petrus Liechtenstein, Venice, 1507, sig. LXXXVra.

‘Olam I, §1:1–4, 52–53:

אם מצאת ספר אבו מעשר במחברות המשרתים לא תאבה לו ולא תשמע אליו, כי הוא סומך על מחברות המשרתים במהלך השווה. ואין חכם מודה לו, כי האמת להיות המחברת כנגד גלגל המזלות. גם לא תסמוך במחברות הכוכבים על לוחות חכמי הודו, כי אינם נכונים כלל. והנכון שתסמוך על לוחות חכמי הנסיון בכל דור ודור.

If you come across Abū Ma'shar's Book on the Conjunctions of the Planets you would neither like it nor trust it, because he relies on the mean motion for the planetary conjunctions. No scholar concurs with him, because the truth is that the conjunctions should be reckoned with respect to the zodiac. Nor should you trust the planetary conjunctions calculated according to the <astronomical> tables of the Indian scientists, because they are wholly incorrect. Rather, the correct approach is to rely on the <astronomical> tables of the scientists of every generation who rely on experience.

Paris, BnF, MS n.a.l. 3091, 109ra (*De mundo*): Si tu inveneris *Librum Albumasar de coniunctionibus planetarum*, non acquiescas ei nec audias ipsum. Sustentatus enim est super coniunctiones planetarum secundum medium cursum vel equalem. Non est autem sapiens aliquis qui huic consentiat. Verum namque est planetis esse coniunctiones secundum orbem signorum. Adhuc neque sustenteris super coniunctiones planetarum secundum tabulas sapientum Indorum: veraces enim non sunt neque tanto, neque quanto. Rei autem veritas est sustentari super tabulas sapientum experientie seu magistrorum probationum secundum tempus quodlibet

‘Olam I, §70:1–8, 96–97:

ואם בחמישי ירבו בניהם, ואם היה שם אחד המזיקים ימותו הנערים הקטנים. ועל זה הדרך תדין בשאר הבתים. ולעולם תסתכל על המבטים, כי עליהם כל המשפטים.

If <it is> in the fifth <place> there will be many children, but if one of the malefics is there little children will die. Pronounce judgment in a similar way regarding the remaining places. Always look at the aspects, because they are the basis of all judgments.

Paris, BnF, n.a.l. 3091, 113rb (*De mundo*): Denique si in 5^a, multiplicabuntur pueri seu infantes. Si autem malorum aliquis ibidem fuerit, morientur infantes parvi. Secundum igitur hanc viam iudicare poteris in reliquis domibus. Ad aspectus autem semper intendas.

1.2.3 *The Source Text of De mundo*

Judging by a brief gloss (quoted below, p. 190), when Bate translated *De mundo*, he had a Hebrew manuscript of *‘Olam I* in front of him, but part of it was illegible or its meaning unclear to him. Moreover, as said above, virtually all the explicits agree that *De mundo* was translated “de Hebreo in Latinum.” Can we conclude that Bate knew Hebrew and translated *De mundo* from a Hebrew source text himself?

Although Bate does evince familiarity with a few Hebrew words, the response is definitely in the negative: neither Bate nor any other Latin scholar in his circle knew Hebrew well enough to be able to translate any of Ibn Ezra’s highly specialized works into Latin. “De Hebreo in Latinum” probably means that *De mundo* was translated *à quatre mains*: one scholar, probably a Jew, would read the Hebrew text and translate it orally into French; a Latin scholar translated what he heard into Latin and wrote it down. The Latin scholar was Bate and the Jewish scholar must have been Hagin le Juif: we know now that Bate and Hagin were neighbors in Mechelen, so Bate could have consulted his Jewish translator whenever his astrological interests made it necessary. The topic of Bate’s familiarity with Hebrew is covered in greater detail in the third part of this study (see below, p. 189).

1.3 *Liber Abrahe Avenesre de luminaribus*

The second item in Henry Bate’s translation project is a complete Latin version (approximately 6,000 words) of *Sefer ha-Me’orot* (Book of the luminaries; henceforth *Me’orot*). It is extant in four print editions and no fewer than nine manuscripts—three from the fourteenth, five from the fifteenth, and one from the sixteenth century.³² This makes it the second most widespread of Bate’s translations.

Ibn Ezra’s *Me’orot*, about 4,200 words long, survives in Hebrew in at least 35 manuscripts.³³ *Me’orot* deals with medical astrology, based on the Greek theory of

32 For a list of manuscripts and editions, see Juste, “Bate’s Astrological and Astronomical Works,” p. 52.

33 For a critical edition and English translation of *Me’orot*, see *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, ed., trans., and annot. Shlomo Sela (Leiden: Brill, 2011), pp. 452–483. This edition is used for all quotations from or references to the Hebrew text and English translation of *Me’orot*, in the format: *Me’orot*, §25:4, 472–473 = *Me’orot*, (ed. Sela 2011), section 25, passage 4 on pp. 472–473.

the critical days, namely, that the course of acute diseases is determined by “crises” or “critical days” when marked changes in the symptoms take place and the disease reaches a climax, whether good or bad. The Moon’s position with respect to its position at the onset of the disease was thought to be connected to the time and character of these “critical days.” *Me’orot* starts with a cosmological preface on the source of the light of the Sun and Moon,³⁴ followed by a defense of the astrological theory behind the critical days.³⁵ Then *Me’orot* is divided into four parts.³⁶

I.3.1 Title, Authorship, and Place and Date of Composition

In the manuscripts, the most frequent title attached to Bate’s source text as well as to his translation of *Me’orot* is *Liber Abrahe Avenesre de luminaribus* (Book of the luminaries by Abraham Ibn Ezra; henceforth *De luminaribus*), which is a literal rendering of the Hebrew title;³⁷ the second most frequent title is *Tractatus/Liber Abrahe Avenare de luminaribus seu/et diebus creticis* (Book of the luminaries and/or the critical days by Abraham Ibn Ezra), which adds a subtitle that refers to the book’s main content.³⁸

The translator of *De luminaribus*, and the date and place of completion of the translation, are stated in only two of the surviving manuscripts. This is the most complete:

MS Limoges, BM, 9 (28), fol. 71v: Explicit *Liber de luminaribus*. Pulcherrimas laudes habeat ille qui omnes creat creaturas. Perfectus 4 die iunii, anno Domini 1292, die Mercurii, Sole occidente in Urbe Veteri, translatus in Latinum a magistro Henrico de Malinis, dicto Bate, pro reverendo patre domino A,³⁹ presule Aversano.

Thus ends the Book of the Luminaries. Glorious praises to Him who

34 *Me’orot*, §1:1–11, 452–455 through §3:1–2, 454–455.

35 *Me’orot*, §3:3–7, 454–457 through §9:1–9, 460–461.

36 For their content, see *Abraham Ibn Ezra on Elections, Interrogations and Medical Astrology*, pp. 29–31.

37 See Limoges, Bibliothèque municipale, 9 (28), fols. 66r, 71v; Le, fol. 34rb (in the margin); Paris, BnF, lat. 16195, fols. 5ra, 6vb; Glasgow, UL, Hunterian Museum 461, fol. 114r.

38 See Le, fol. 30va; NKCR VI.F.7 (1144), fol. 147r; Vicenza, Biblioteca Civica Bertoliana, 208, fols. 95r, 103v.

39 See Glasgow UL 461, fol. 114r; Limoges, Bibliothèque municipale, 9 (28) renders this name as “N.”

created all creatures. Completed on June 4, in the year 1292 of the Lord, on Tuesday (lit. the day of Mercury), when the Sun was setting in Orvieto, translated into Latin by Master Henry of Malines, called Bate, on behalf of the reverend father Lord A<dam>, bishop of Aversa.

Thus *De luminaribus* was the first in a series of five Latin translations of Ibn Ezra's astrological writings carried out by Bate in the same place and around the same time, as we shall see. The "reverend father Lord A<dam>," the dedicatee of *De luminaribus* is Adam of Bray, bishop of Aversa between 1276 and 1293, a native of Picardy, who with the support of Charles I of Anjou (1226/7–1285), served as bishop of Aversa until his death in 1293. Adam probably stayed in Orvieto for some time during the prolonged conclave after the death of Nicholas IV. It is there that he may have become acquainted with Bate, with whom he could converse in Picardian on matters of common interest. Given Adam's interest in medical matters, it is possible that Bate also composed his *De diebus creticis* for him.⁴⁰

I.3.2 The Structure of the Translation

De luminaribus is a complete Latin translation of *Me'orot*, with no significant additions or digressions. Here are the first and last paragraphs of this translation, accompanied by their Hebrew counterpart and English translation:

Limoges, BM, 9 (28), fol. 66r (*De luminaribus*): Dominum Deum meum simpliciter oro, quamdiu in me est anima mea, ut in cor meum lumen suum immittat et veritatem; multum enim est delectabile lumen eius ac bonum oculis anime ad videndum; et nox sicut dies illuminabitur, nec occultabunt ipsum nubes; etenim non est sicut lumen Solis qui de die obumbratur, id est, obnubilatur, neque sicut Luna de nocte, quia non diminuitur sicut diminutio luminis illius.

Me'orot, §1:1–2, 452–453:

מפיל אני תחנתי לפני אלהי אבי כל עוד נשמתי בי, לשלוח אורו ואמתו אל לבבי, כי מתוק אורו וטוב לעיני הנשמה לראותו, ולילה כיום יאיר ועננים לא יסתירוהו, ואיננו כאור השמש שיכה יומם ולא כירח בלילה, ולא יחסר בחסרון אורה.

I present my supplication to the God of my father, as long as my breath is in me, that He sends forth His light and His truth to my heart; for His light is

40 For this work by Bate, see below, p. 148; see also Carlos Steel and Steven Vanden Broecke, "A Portrait of Henry Bate," pp. 38–39.

sweet, and a pleasant thing for the eyes of the soul to behold; it [His light] illuminates both night and day and the clouds do not hide it [i.e., His light]; it is not like the Sun's light that smites by day, nor like the Moon <that smites> by night, and does not wane the way its [the Moon's] light wanes.

Limoges, BM, 9 (28), fol. 71v (*De luminaribus*): Et si tu sciveris gradum signi ascendentis in principio egritudinis, scito revolutionem anni secundi sive sequentis addendo 87 gradus et considera qualiter aspiciant stelle signum primum ac etiam secundum; et quamquam sit in hoc radix Sol, nihilominus hec duo addunt aliquid et minuunt. Sic ergo facere debes de anno in annum.

Me'orot, §35:3–6, 482–483:

ואם ידעת המזל העולה בתחלת החולי, דע תקופת השנה, שתוסיף על המעלה הצומחת שבע ושמונים מעלות גם חמישה עשר חלקים ראשונים, והסתכל איך יביטו הכוכבים אל המזל הראשון גם אל השני, אע"פ שהעיקר הוא השמש, לכן גם אלה שניהם יוסיפו ויגרעו. וכן תעשה שנה בשנה.

If you know the rising sign at the onset of the disease, determine the revolution of the year, adding 87° 15' to the ascendant degree, and observe how the planets aspect the first sign, also the second <sign>, although the Sun is the root, so that these two [the rising sign at the onset of the disease and the revolution of the next year] increase and decrease. Proceed likewise every year.

I.3.3 Source Text

We know of three other Latin translations of *Me'orot* in addition to Bate's. One is Pietro d'Abano's *Liber de luminaribus*, extant in at least nine manuscripts and one print edition.⁴¹ Another, the *Liber Abraham de terminatione morborum*, is attributed to Pierre de Limoges.⁴² A third, the anonymous *Liber Luminarium Aben Ezra Israelite*, is extant in one manuscript.⁴³ No French translation of *Me'orot* has been found, but the existence of so many Latin translations raises the question of whether they may derive from a common source text.

41 See Shlomo Sela, "Pietro d'Abano, Translator of Ibn Ezra's Astrological Writings," *Sefarad*, 79:1 (2019): 1–82, esp. pp. 66–70.

42 See Sela, "The Abraham Ibn Ezra–Peter of Limoges Astrological-Exegetical Connection," pp. 15–20.

43 Oxford, Bodleian, Canon Misc. 109, fols. 144r–159r.

To check this, I present next four examples from *Me'orot* and their counterparts in the Latin translations by Bate, Pietro, and Pierre. Relevant differences and similarities between them are underlined.

- (1) The first example refers to the extent to which malefic and benefic planets increase or reduce misfortune:

Me'orot, §23:6, 468–469:

ולפי דעתי כי לא יוסיפו ברעה, והטובים לא יחסרו ממנה, כי אין להם כח, רק אם יהיו הכוכבים בגבולם והשמש איננו בגבולו.

In my opinion they [i.e., the malefic planets] do not increase misfortune and the benefics do not reduce it, because they are powerless, unless the planets are in their terms and the Sun is not in its term.

Le (Bate), 32vb: Secundum meam autem opinionem mali autem non addunt in malo et boni non minuunt illud in hac quidem dispositione quia non est eis fortitudo, ac vero si ad Solem crises revertentur.

Z, 80rb (Pietro): Et secundum sententiam meam mali non augent malum neque boni minuunt quoniam non habent ipsi vigorem, sed si crises revertantur ad Solem.

Li, 95r (Pierre): Sed secundum opinionem meam mali non augent malum et boni non diminuent quia non est eis fortitudo sed si termini crismum reverteretur ad Solem.

In my opinion the malefic <planets> do not increase misfortune and the benefics do not reduce it in this configuration, because they are powerless, unless the crises return to the Sun.

We see that Bate, Pietro, and Pierre agree in the final clause (“unless the crises return to the Sun”), all three Latin versions deviate from the Hebrew original in the same locus (“unless the planets are in their terms and the Sun is not in its term”).

- (2) The second example relates to the extent to which planetary configurations aggravate or alleviate diseases:

Me'orot, §31:1–4, §32:1, 476–479:

ואם הלבנה עם מחברת שבתי וצדק ונגה, יועיל מעט ... ואם על מבט שלישית, יציל, ואם על מבט ששית, יחסר מהרע רק לא יציל. ומבטי השמש כולם ללבנה טובים, רק אם היה המבט של הנכח בדלי או במאזנים, אז יחסר מהטוב, והמחברת רעה מכל המחברות. ואם הלבנה עם שבתי ומאדים, הוא פחות מחצי סימן רע.

If the Moon is in conjunction with Saturn, Jupiter, and Venus, it is slightly beneficent ... If it is in trine, it will save <the patient>; if in sextile, it will decrease the misfortune but will not save <him>. All of Sun's aspects with the Moon are fortunate, but if it [the Sun] is in opposition in Aquarius or Libra, the good fortune will be diminished, and a conjunction <of the Sun and the Moon> is the worst of all the conjunctions. If the Moon is with Saturn and Mars, this is less than half of an inauspicious sign.

Le, 33vb (Bate): Si autem Luna fuerit in oppositione Saturni et Iovis valebit quidem sed nihilominus non evadet ... Si in trino sit aspectu evadet egri si vero in .6°. de malo quidem minuetur sed ille non evadet. [*desunt*] Si autem Luna cum Saturno et Marte hoc minus est dimidio signo malo.

Z, fols. 81ra–81rb (Pietro): Si vero Luna fuerit cum preventione Saturni et Iovis proderit, non tamen salvabitur omnino ... quod si fuerit in aspectu trino liberabitur ex suo malo sed non salvabitur omnino et in sexto aspectu minorabitur ex suo malo sed non salvabitur omnino. [*desunt*] Quod si Luna fuerit cum Saturno et Marte hoc minus est dimidio signo malo.

Li, fols. 97v–98r (Pierre): Et si Luna est in aspectu opposito Saturni et Iovis istud valebit et tunc infirmus non evadet ... Et si ipsi fuerit in aspectu trini infirmus pertegetur et in aspectu sextilis deficient de malo tunc infirmus non perteget. [*desunt*] Et si Luna est iuncta cum Saturno et Marte hoc est minus quam dimidius signum mali.

If the Moon is in opposition to Saturn, Jupiter, and Venus, he will not be saved at all ... If it is in trine, it will save <the patient>; if in sextile, it will decrease the misfortune but will not save <him>. [A full sentence is omitted.] If the Moon is with Saturn and Mars, this is less than half of an inauspicious sign.

Here the three Latin versions leave out a full sentence found in the Hebrew original (“All of Sun’s aspects with the Moon are fortunate, but if it [the Sun] is in opposition in Aquarius or Libra, the good fortune will be diminished, and a conjunction <of the Sun and the Moon> is the worst of all the conjunctions.”). And whereas, at the start of the passage, the Hebrew refers to a Saturn-Jupiter conjunction, the three Latin versions refer to their opposition.

(3) The third example relates to the extent to which some planetary aspects aggravate diseases:

Me'orot, §32:3, 478–479:

ואם הלבנה עם שבתאי ומאדים או כוכב חמה על מבט נכח או רביעית, זו רעה חולה, ומבטי הכוכבים הטובים לא יועילו.

If the Moon is with Saturn and Mars, or Mercury is in opposition or quartile, this is a great calamity, and the aspects of the beneficent planets will be of no avail. [A full sentence is missing.]

Le, 33vb (Bate): Si autem fuerit Luna cum Saturno et Mars aut Mercurius in aspectu opposito vel .4°. hoc malum est egro et aspectus bonorum planetarum non valet. In generalitate tunc Lune boni sunt omnes aspectus Solis preter quam aspectus oppositus ab Aquario aut Libra tunc enim minuetur a bono.

Z, 81rb (Pietro): Quod si Luna fuerit cum Saturno et Marte aut Mercurius in aspectu opposito aut quarto, hoc malum est egro, et aspectus fortunarum non prosunt aliquid. Et aspectus Solis vel Lune universaliter sunt boni nisi aspectus oppositus sit in Aquario aut Libra, quoniam tunc minuetur ex bono.

Li, 98r (Pierre): Et si Luna est cum Saturno et Marte vel Mercurio secundum aspectum oppositionis vel quartum hoc est malum infortunio, etiam aspectus bonarum stellarum nichil valent ibi. Item aspectus Solis et Lune communiter sunt boni preter aspectum oppositionis in Aquario vel Libra quia tunc deficeret de bono.

If the Moon is with Saturn and Mars, or Mercury is in opposition or quartile, this is bad for a malefic, and the aspects of the beneficent planets will be of no avail. In general, all the aspects of the Moon and the Sun are propitious, unless the aspect of opposition is in Aquarius and Libra because then good fortune is diminished.

Here a complete sentence that occurs in the three Latin versions is not found in the Hebrew.

(4) The fourth example consists of two sentences about the fixed stars.

Me'orot, §33:3,5, 478–481:

ודע כי הכוכבים שהם בגלגל השמיני הם גבוהים ... כעין השור ולב אריה ולב עקרב.

Know that the stars of the eighth orb are <very> high ... such as the Eye of the Bull, the Heart of the Lion, and the Heart of the Scorpion.

Le, 34ra (Bate): Sciendum autem quod stelle signorum altissime sunt ...

ut de Corde Leonis et de Corde Scorpionis et de Corde Piscibus.

Z, 81rb (Pietro): Et sciendum stellas signorum esse altas valde ... sicut Corde Scorpionis, Corde Leonis et Corde Piscium.

Li, 98r (Pierre): Et scito quod stelle signorum sunt alte valde alte ... notandum est Cor Scorpionis et Cor Leonis et Cor Piscium.

Know that the stars of the signs are very high ... such as the Heart of the Scorpion, the Heart of the Lion, and the Heart of Pisces.

All three Latin versions deviate from the Hebrew original in the same loci. In the first sentence, the Hebrew refers to the “stars of the eighth orb” but the three Latin versions have the “stars of the signs.” In the second sentence: the Hebrew refers to the “Eye of the Bull” but the three Latin versions have the “Heart of Pisces.”

To sum up: in all these examples, Bate, Pietro d’Abano, and Pierre de Limoges were following the same source text. Because one of the Latin translations is by Bate, who commissioned Hagin le Juif to produce French translations of Ibn Ezra’s astrological writings, and because we know now that Bate and Hagin were neighbors in Mechelen, it is possible that a lost French translation of *Me’orot* by Hagin is the common source text of the three Latin translations.

I.4 *Liber causarum seu rationum*

The fourth item is Henry Bate’s 17,000-word translation of the first version of *Sefer ha-Ṭe’amim* (Book of reasons; henceforth *Ṭe’amim* I). It survives in two manuscripts from the fourteenth century, only one of which is complete.⁴⁴

Ibn Ezra wrote *Ṭe’amim* I to explain the reasons behind the astrological concepts employed in his *Reshit hokhmah*. *Ṭe’amim* I, like *Reshit hokhmah*, is divided into ten chapters and is full of quotations from *Reshit hokhmah*. *Ṭe’amim* I, which runs to 11,400 words, is extant in at least 32 Hebrew manuscripts.⁴⁵

44 For a list of manuscripts, see David Juste, “Bate’s Astrological and Astronomical Works,” p. 53.

45 For a critical edition and English translation of *Ṭe’amim* I, see *Abraham Ibn Ezra: The Book of Reasons, A Parallel Hebrew-English Critical Edition of the Two Versions of the Text*, Edited, translated, and annotated by Shlomo Sela (Leiden and Boston: Brill Academic Publishers, 2007), pp. 28–107. This edition is used for all quotations from or references to the Hebrew text and English translation of *Ṭe’amim* I, in the format: (i) *Ṭe’amim* I, §3.2:1, 70–71 = *Ṭe’amim* I (ed. Sela 2007), chapter 3, section 2, passage 1 on pp. 70–71.

I.4.1 Title, Authorship, and Place and Date of Composition

Let us look first at the incipit of the complete manuscript of the translation of *Ṭe'amim* I:

Le, 60vb: Incipit *Liber causarum seu rationum* super hiis que dicuntur in Introductorio Abrache Avi<nezra>, incipit <Initium> sapientie timor Domini

Thus begins the Book of Causes and Reasons for what is said in the Introduction by Abraham Ibn <Ezra>, which begins "the beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord."

According to the incipit, the source text of Bate's translation of *Ṭe'amim* I is entitled *Liber causarum seu rationum* (Book of causes and reasons; henceforth *Rationes* I). This title, which includes a double translation of the Hebrew name of the source text, *ṭe'amim*, "reasons," makes perfect sense. The doublet "rationes seu causas" or "ratio seu causa," occurs twice in *Rationes* I, without connection to the name of the translation,⁴⁶ and three times in Bate's other translations,⁴⁷ as a disambiguation of the Hebrew טעם, which may mean "taste," "flavor," "reason" or "cause." The first paragraph of *Introductorius* employs a similar title—*Liber explanationis rationum et causarum* (Book of the explanation of causes and reasons)—to refer to *Ṭe'amim* I.⁴⁸

The incipit also reports that this book presents the causes and reasons for what is said in an "Introduction" by Abraham Ibn Ezra, which begins "the beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord." The last words of the incipit, i.e., "<Initium> sapientie timor Domini," are identical with the first words of *Introductorius*, that is, Bate's Latin translation of Ibn Ezra's *Reshit hokhmah*, and in fact render the opening words of that work. This means that the "Introduction by Abraham Ibn Ezra" referred to in the incipit of *Rationes* I must be *Reshit hokhmah*. That the incipit is not identical with any of the incipits of any of the manuscripts of *Ṭe'amim* I that I have checked means that Bate had independent knowledge that *Ṭe'amim* I is a commentary on *Reshit hokhmah*. This is noteworthy, because Bate also translated Ibn Ezra's second *Sefer ha-Ṭe'amim*, which is not a commentary on the *Reshit hokhmah* to which *Ṭe'amim* I is a

46 See **Le**, 63ra, 67ra.

47 See **Le**, 23ra (*Introductorius*); and **Le**, 55ra, 60rb (translation to *Ṭe'amim* II).

48 **Le**, 2ra (*Introductorius*).

pendant. Here is the colophon of the complete manuscript of Bate's translation of *Ṭe'amim* I:

Le, 73va (*Rationes* I): Explicit *Liber rationum* et completus est, cuius translatio perfecta est a magistro Hynrico de Malinis, dicto Bate, in Urbe Veteri anno Domini .1292º. in octavis nativitatis beate Marie virginis.
Thus ends and is completed the Book of Reasons, whose translation was finished by Master Henry of Malines, called Bate, in Orvieto, in the year of the Lord 1292, on the eighth day after the <Feast of the> Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

According to this text, which is almost identical to the explicit of the second extant manuscript,⁴⁹ Bate finished his translation of *Rationes* I on September 15, 1292 (the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary falls on September 8). This makes *Rationes* I the third translation Bate completed during his stay in Orvieto. Note too that he finished work on *Rationes* I only 24 days after he completed *Introductorius*, the translation of Ibn Ezra's *Reshit hokhmah* (on August 22)—seemingly quite an achievement!⁵⁰

I.4.2 The Structure of the Translation

Rationes I is a complete translation *Ṭe'amim* I, with six additions by Bate. (They are reviewed in the third part of this study.) As noted, *Reshit hokhmah*, is divided into 10 chapters, introduced in the Hebrew text by the corresponding subtitles: Chapter One, Chapter Two, and so on. The same subtitles reappear in the Hebrew text of *Ṭe'amim* I; *Rationes* I follows suit for most of the chapters. Here are the first and last paragraphs of this translation, accompanied by their Hebrew counterparts and English translation. Differences between the Latin and the Hebrew are underlined.

Le, 60vb–61ra (*Rationes* I): Capitulum primum. Excelsus Dominus et metuendus adaperiat et illuminet oculos nostros in Libro rationum et dirigat gressus nostros in viam veritatis [= *Exalted and redoubtable Lord, open and give light to our eyes in the Book of Reasons, and lead our steps towards the way of truth*]. Circulus 360 partes habet eo quod non

49 See Limoges, Bibliothèque municipale, 9 (28), s. XIV, fol. 44r.

50 We will see later that the chronology of Bate's translations cannot be taken at face value. See below, p. 200.

invenerunt numerum minorem ipso tot habente fractiones [omits “except for one-seventh”]. Unde si numerum hunc per septem multiplicaveris invenies numerum omnis habentem fractiones et est 2520. Iterum, eligerunt numerum hunc eo quod propinquus est numero dierum anni [lacking solar year]. Distraxerunt etiam gradus circuli per signa .12. eo quod non invenerunt numerum minorem ipso fractiones habentem quales habet ipse, Rursus quia quilibet annus .12. etiam habet lunationes.

Te'amim I, §1.1:1–4, 28–29:

שער הראשון. חלקו הגלגל לשלש מאות וששים מעלות בעבור שלא מצאו חשבון פחות ממנו שיש לו כל השברים חוץ מהשביעית. על כן, אם תערוך זה המספר על שבעה או תמצא החשבון שיש לו כל השברים, והוא אלפים וחמש מאות ועשרים. ועוד, בחרו זה החשבון בעבור שהוא קרוב מחשבון ימות שנות החמה. וחלקו מעלות הגלגל על שנים עשר בעבור שלא מצאו חשבון פחות ממנו שיש לו שברים כמהו, ועוד כי בכל שנה יש שנים עשר לבנות.

First chapter. They divided the circle into 360 degrees because they did not find a smaller number that has all the fractions <from one-half to one-tenth>, except for one-seventh. Therefore, if you multiply this number by 7 you get the number that has all the fractions <from one-half to one-tenth>, namely, 2,520. In addition, this number [i.e., 360] was chosen because it is close to the number of days in the solar year. They divided the degrees of the circle into 12 because they found no smaller number that has as many fractions as it does, and also because there are 12 lunar months in any <solar> year.

Le, 73rb–73va (*Rationes* I): Directiones autem alias commemorate que sunt .1000orum. et .100orum. ac .10orum. hoc quidem est sententia sapientium persarum et indorum, sed Ptolomeus deridet eos. Postquam in directione vocata alfardar, hanc enim expertus est, adhuc ad directionem signi quolibet anno in rebus scitis et expertis omnium, que antiquorum sententia huic concordat et cum eis Ptolomeus. Quod autem diximus superiores duos mutari? de triplicitate ad triplicitatem in .960. annis, hoc est secundum viam propinquitatis, nam quandoque plus est quandoque minus. Item quod dixi eos coniunctos .12. vicibus in .240. annis hoc quidem quandoque .13. quandoque .12. et hoc utique contingit propter velocitatem motus duorum superiorum aut propter eorum tarditatem, hoc igitur adhuc explanabo tibi in *Libro seculi sive revolutionum mundi* per adiutorium Dei seculorum.

Te'amim I, §10.9:1–4, 106–107:

והנהוגים שהזכרתי, שהוא מהאלפים והמאות והעשרות, זאת דעת חכמי פרס והודו, ובטלמיוס לועג עליהם. רק ניהוג הזמן הנקרא אלפרדאר הוא מנוסה, גם ניהוג מזל לכל שנה דבר ידוע ומנוסה, ודעת כל הקדמונים הסכימה על זה ועמדה בטלמיוס. ומה שאמרנו, כי העליונים יעתקו משלישות אל שלישות לתשע מאות וששים שנה, הוא על דרך קירוב, כי פעמים יוסיף גם פעמים יגרע. גם זה שהזכרתי במאתים וארבעים שנה, שהם שנים עשרה פעמים שיתחברו, יש פעמים שיתחברו שלוש עשרה פעמים, וזה יקרה בעבור מהירות הליכת שני עליונים או המתנתם, ועוד אפרש זה בספר העולם בעזרת אלהי עולם.

As for the directions that I have mentioned, namely, of thousands, hundreds and decades, this is the opinion of the scientists of Persia and India, but Ptolemy laughs at them. Only the direction of the period called the fardār has been verified by experience; the annual direction of a sign is also known and has been verified. All the Ancients concur in this opinion, including Ptolemy. As for what we have said, namely, that the upper <planets> [i.e., Saturn and Jupiter] move from triplicity to triplicity in 960 years, this was said by way of approximation, since sometimes <this period> is longer and sometimes shorter. Also, as for what I have mentioned, that 240 years are the time of 12 conjunctions, sometimes they conjoin 13 times, because of the rapid motion or lagging behind of the two upper <planets>. I shall explain this topic further in the Book of the World, with the assistance of the God of the Universe.

In broad lines, then, *Rationes* I follows *Te'amim* I closely, with the exception of four items: (1) The prefatory canticle in *Rationes* I does not occur in *Te'amim* I, which indicates that the former was based on a Hebrew source text that is not identical with any of the Hebrew manuscripts of the latter that I checked. (2) At the end of the second sentence, *Rationes* I omits “except for one-seventh.” (3) At the end of the third sentence, *Rationes* I speaks of days of the year, tout court, and omits referring to the solar year, as *Te'amim* I does. (4) At the end of the translation, *Rationes* I refers to the first version of *Sefer ha-'Olam* by a name (*Liber seculi sive revolutionum mundi* = Book of the age or of the revolutions of the world) that is not found in the Hebrew source text.

I.4.3 Source Text

No French translation of *Te'amim* I has been found to date; *Rationes* I is the only extant Latin translation of that work. At this stage, what can be said regarding

the source text of *Rationes* I is that in some places the wording of this translation (as reflected in the two available manuscripts) and of *Ṭe'amim* I (as reflected in the available Hebrew manuscripts) diverge considerably. This suggests that Bate based *Rationes* I on a Hebrew-to-French translation carried out on the basis of a Hebrew manuscript different from those available today.

Clear evidence pointing in this direction is found in the very first sentence of *Rationes* I, which incorporates a prefatory canticle that is not found in any of the Hebrew manuscripts of *Ṭe'amim* I that I checked (see above, p. 128). Additional evidence is provided by several loci of *Rationes* I, where the Latin text departs considerably from the Hebrew source text. Seven examples follow (differences between the Latin and Hebrew are underlined):

- (1) *Ṭe'amim* I, §2.14:2, 54–55:

והוא יורה על כל גבוה כמו השמים בעבור שהוא תולדת האויר.

It indicates everything that is high, like the heavens, because its nature is airy.

Le, 64vb (*Rationes* I): Significat autem super omnem sublimitatem et principes, duces et prophetas legislatores, eo quod est de natura aerea.

- (2) *Ṭe'amim* I, §2.16:5, 54–55:

והנה יהיה מעלת קלון השמש תשע עשרה ממאזנים, ומעלת קלון הלבנה השלישית מעקרב; על כן אמרו מתשע עשרה מעלות ממאזנים עד המעלה השלישית מעקרב הוא מקום השריפה.

Now the degree of the dejection of the Sun is Libra 19°, and the degree of the dejection of the Moon is Scorpio 3°; hence they called from Libra 19° to Scorpio 3° "the place of burning."

Le, 65ra (*Rationes* I): Et erit casus Solis in 19. gradus Libre [...] et hinc usque ad tercium gradum Scorpionis est locus combustionis seu via combusta.

- (3) *Ṭe'amim* I, §2.17:4, 56–57:

ושמו מאדים שותף עמהם בעבור כי הוא יורה על רוח דרומית ומזלות העפר הם דרומיים, והוציאו כוכב חמה ושבטאי בעבור שאין להם כח ברוחות הדרומיים.

They designated Mars as their partner because it indicates the southerly wind and <because> the earthy signs are southern; they excluded Mercury and Saturn because they have no power over the southerly winds.

Le, 65rb (*Rationes* I): Posueruntque Martem participem cum illis eo quod super parte significat meridianam [...] et repulerunt Mercurium ac Saturnum quia fortitudinem in angulo meridiano non habeat.

(4) *Te'amim* I, §4.2:3–4, 70–73:

ובחלקו מהארץ המערות וכל מקום חושך בעבור כי בעל המרה השחורה תולדתו להתבודד ושלא יעמוד במקום מיושב. ויורה על כל חיה גדולה בעבור היותו עליון, ומכוערת בעבור כי המרה השחורה לא תעשה צורה יפה. ואילן העפצים בחלקו בעבור תולדתו, וכל דבר שיש בו סם המות בעבור כי הוא יורה על מות.

Its portion of the Earth is caves and dark places, because it suits a melancholy nature to be in solitude and not to stay in an inhabited place. It indicates any animal that is big, because it is uppermost, and <any animal> that is ugly, because black bile does not shape any handsome image. The gall-oak is in its portion on account of its nature, as well as anything that contains a deadly poison, because it indicates death.

Le, 67rb (*Rationes* I): Et est in parte eius omnis locus tenebrosus et turpis [...] quia pulchram figuram et formosam non efficit melancolia et significat arborem seu plantam kenesisin et omnem rem toxicam et pocionem mortiferam eo quod super mortem significat.

(5) *Te'amim* I, §4.8:2–3, 80–81:

בחלקה הגבול השביעי כי ככה גלגלה לגלגל שבתאי, ומן הארצות אל צאביה בעבור היות מזלם סרטן שהוא ביתה. ומבני אדם המלחים בעבור שהיא תורה על הים, שהיא קרה ולחה.

The seventh climate is in its portion, because that is the relationship of its orb to Saturn's orb; of countries, al-Sabia <is in its portion>, because their sign is Cancer, which is its house. Of human beings, sailors <are in its portion>, because it indicates the sea, which is cold and moist

Le, 68vb (*Rationes* I): In eius autem divisione est clima septimus, hoc enim modo circulus eius respectu circuli Saturni se habet; de animalibus autem pisces quia signum eorum Cancer est qui est domus eius. De hominibus autem naute eo quod ipsa mari preest quia frigidum est et humidum.

(6) *Te'amim* I, §8.1:2, 90–91:

וטעם לשום ללבנה שותפות עם המזל העולה בעבור שהיא קרובה אל הארץ.
The reason for making the Moon the partner of the sign of the ascendant is that it is close to the Earth.

Le, 71ra (*Rationes* I): Ratio autem quare Luna particeps ascendenti ponitur hec est quia similitudinem habet cum signo ascendente.

(7) *Te'amim* I, §1.5:5, 34–35:

ואני אברהם, המחבר, אומר כי זה הספר לא חברו בטלמיוס, כי יש שם דברים רבים בטלים משיקול הדעת והנסיון, כאשר אפרש בספר המולדות.

But I, Abraham, the author, say that this book was not written by Ptolemy, because there are many things in it that have in them nothing of rational thought or experience, as I shall explain in the Book of Nativities. Le, 61vb (Rationes I): Et ego Abracham compilator dico quod librum illum non compilavit Ptolomeus quia in eo multi sunt sermones otiosi secundum scientie et experientie contrapensationem prout in Libris explanabo iudiciorum.

1.5 *Secunda pars libri rationum*

The fifth item in Henry Bate's project is a complete translation of the second version of *Sefer ha-Te'amim* (henceforth *Te'amim* II), approximately 16,000 words long, and found in two fourteenth-century manuscripts, only one of which is complete.⁵¹

Ibn Ezra wrote *Te'amim* II, which runs to approximately 10,500 words and is extant in at least 25 Hebrew manuscripts, in order to explain the reasons behind the astrological concepts employed in his lost second version of *Reshit hokhmah*.⁵²

1.5.1 *Title, Authorship, and Place and Date of Composition*

Neither of the two extant manuscripts has an incipit, but we learn from the prefatory canticle that Bate's source text of his complete translation of *Te'amim* II is called *Liber rationum seu causarum* (Book of reasons and causes; henceforth *Rationes* II).⁵³ This prefatory canticle is found in at least one of the Hebrew manuscripts of *Te'amim* II that I examined.⁵⁴ Here is the colophon of the same manuscript of the complete translation of *Te'amim* II:

51 For a list of manuscripts, see David Juste, "Bate's Astrological and Astronomical Works," p. 53.

52 For a critical edition and English translation of *Te'amim* II, see *Abraham Ibn Ezra: The Book of Reasons*, pp. 182–257. This edition is used for all quotations from or references to the Hebrew text and English translation of *Te'amim* II, in the format: *Te'amim* II, §4.3:1, 208–209 = *Te'amim* II (ed. Sela 2007), chapter 4, section 3, passage 1, on pp. 208–209.

53 The prefatory canticle occurs only in *Le*, 49vb: "In nomine Dei manentis in excelsis incipiam *Librum rationum seu causarum*" = "In the name of God who dwells on high, I shall begin the *Book of reasons and causes*."

54 Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS ebr. 47 (IMHM: F 00686), fol. 44v.

Le, 60vb (*Rationes* II): Translatio partis huius perfecta est 23 die mensis septembris anni Domini 1292.

The translation of this part has been completed on the 23rd day of the month of September, in the year of the Lord 1292.

This colophon mentions only the day when the work was completed. The names of the translator, the translation, and the place where the translation was completed may be inferred from the colophons of the previous and next translations carried out by Bate in Orvieto in 1281 (see above, p. 128, and below, p. 149). The colophon uses the expression “translation of this part” because Bate considered *Liber rationum seu causarum* to be divided into two parts, the first identical with *Ṭe’amim* I and the second identical with *Ṭe’amim* II. This is confirmed by the fact that in his *Nativitas*, Bate refers to *Ṭe’amim* II as “secunda pars *Libri rationum*” and “*Liber rationum*, secunda particula.”⁵⁵ Because *Rationes* I was completed in Orvieto on September 15, 1292, and *Rationes* II on September 23, 1292, it turns out that Bate claimed to have translated *Ṭe’amim* II in the span of eight days, seemingly quite an achievement for a text of approximately 16,000 words.⁵⁶

1.5.2 The Structure of the Translation

Rationes II is a complete translation of *Ṭe’amim* II, with no substantial additions by Bate. By contrast with *Ṭe’amim* I, *Ṭe’amim* II is not divided into chapters, but the various topics are headed by rubrics. The same rubrics, translated into Latin, are found in *Rationes* II. Here are the first and last paragraphs of *Rationes* II, accompanied by their Hebrew counterparts and English translation:

Le, 49vb (*Rationes* II): In nomine Dei manentis in excelsis incipiam *Librum rationum seu causarum*. Fundamentum quidem volo ponere *Libro initii sapientie*. Scito nempe quod omnis creatura subsistere nititur ex Dei consilio gloriosi ac metuendi in Proverbiis autem ait Salomon non didici sapientiam neque sanctorum sciam, id est angelorum.

Ṭe’amim II, §1.1:1–2, 182–183:

בשם שוכן מרומים אהל ספר הטעמים. הנה נא הואלתי לשום מוסד לספר ראשית

55 See *Nativitas* (ed. Steel, 2018), 160, 593. For this format, see below, n. 70.

56 We will see later that the dates of completion of Bate's translations cannot be taken at face value. See below, p. 200.

חכמה. ואמנם ידעתי כי כל נוצר ילאה לעמוד בסוד השם הנכבד והנורא, כדברי אגור: ולא למדתי חכמה ודעת קדושים, שהם המלאכים.

In the name of Him who dwells in the Heavens, I will begin the Book of Reasons. Behold now, I venture to lay the foundation of the Book of the Beginning of Wisdom. I certainly knew that all creatures will prove unequal to learning the secret of the Glorious and Awe-Inspiring Name (Deut. 28:58), as Agur <son of Yaqe> said: I have not learned wisdom, nor do I have the knowledge of the holy ones (Prov. 30:3), who are the angels.

Le, 60vb (*Rationes* II): Secundum meam autem opinionem non est stellis circuli signorum virtus magna eo quod multum elongate sunt, et adhuc amplius stellis presetim que remote sunt a linea circuli signorum ut est Aquila Maior, est etiam virtus modica in omni loco cuius magna est latitudo et cui super caput est, Cor autem Leonis virtutem habet magnam eo quod est cum linea circuli signorum. Denique consenserunt antiqui quod non est fortitudo alicui ipsarum nisi cum fuerit in principio alicuius angulorum cum Sole de die et cum Luna de nocte.

Ṭe'amim I, §8.7:10–11, 254–257:

ולפי דעתי שאין לכוכבי גלגל המזלות כח רב בעבור שהם רחוקים, אף כי הכוכבים שהם רחוקים מקו גלגל המזלות, כמו הנשר הגדול; גם יש לו מעט כח בכל מקום שרחבו רב והוא על ראשו, ולב האריה יש לו כח בעבור שהוא עם קו גלגל המזלות. גם הקדמונים מחכמי הודו אמרו שאין כח לאחד מהם, רק אם יהיה בתחלת אחד היתדות או השמש ביום והלבנה בלילה.

In my opinion, the stars of the orb of the zodiacal constellations do not have much power because they are distant; and that holds true in the case of the stars that are distant from the line of the zodiac, like the Great Eagle; besides, it [i.e. a star] has little power where it is in a high latitude and when it stands on its head, but Cor Leonis has power because it is in the line of the zodiac. The Ancients among the Indian scientists also said that none of them has any power, except when they are at the beginning of one of the cardines, or <in the place of> the Sun by day or <of> the Moon by night.

In broad lines, then, *Rationes* II follows *Ṭe'amim* II closely.

1.5.3 The Source Text

So far, no French translation of *Ṭe'amim* II has been found. Other than *Rationes* II, the only Latin translation of *Ṭe'amim* II known today is the *Liber de rationibus*,

by Pietro d'Abano, produced in Paris after 1293.⁵⁷ This raises the question of whether Bate's *Liber causarum seu rationum* and Pietro's *De rationibus* drew on the same source text, conjecturally a lost French translation by Hagin. To check this, I present five passages of *Ṭe'amim* II and their counterparts in Bate's and Pietro's versions. The differences between them are underlined:

- (1) The first example relates to the reason behind the names of two categories of zodiacal signs:

Ṭe'amim II, §2.4:16–17, 194–195:

הבינוניים שהם על צורת בהמות, ואשר הם במים יולידו רבים. מזל הים סרטן.

Intermediate <signs> have the shape of beasts, and those that live in water produce many <offspring>. The sign of the sea is Cancer.

Le, 51va (*Rationes* II): Mediocra autem sunt que in forma sunt bestiarum gressibilium que vero aqua seu aquatilia multorum generativa sunt. Et omnibus hiis opus est multum in nativitatibus et interrogationibus atque electionibus. Signum maris et aquarii Cancer.

Intermediate <signs> have the shape of animals, those that live in water <produce> many <offspring>. All these things are very necessary in nativities, interrogations, and elections. The sign of the sea is Cancer.

V, 22ra (Pietro): Media sunt in bruti forma, aquatica autem multos. Et res omnes huius sunt valde necessarie in nativitatibus, questionibus atque electionibus. Maris autem signum est Cancer.

We see that Bate and Pietro added a clause that is not found in the critical edition and all the Hebrew manuscripts of *Ṭe'amim* II that I examined.

- (2) The second example, divided into three sentences, appears at the end of *Ṭe'amim* II:

Ṭe'amim II, §8.7:1–3, 254–255:

הנה אגלה לך סוד. דע כי תחלת שנת הודו מנקודה בגלגל המזלות, על כן אמרו הקדמונים שיש מעלות חשובות ושיש מעלות נוגהות ויש בורות. והטעם, שיש כוכבים בממסך שבתאי גם מאדים.

I shall now reveal a secret to you. Know that the beginning of the year of India is with respect to a point in the zodiac; hence the Ancients said that there are dark degrees, bright degrees, and pits. The reason <for the pits>

57 See Sela, "Pietro d'Abano, Translator of Ibn Ezra's Astrological Writings," pp. 35–47.

is that there are stars with the complexion of Saturn and Mars.

Le, 60va (*Rationes* II): Postremo quidem secretum tibi detegam consilium. Scito igitur quod principium anni indorum ab uno puncto quousque reditus fiat ad eundem. Et secundum hoc dixerunt eorum sapientes quod sex primi gradus sunt tenebrosi sed corrigendum est hoc puteus, hoc est dictum quod ibi sunt stelle de complexionem Saturni et Martis.

I shall finally reveal a secret to you. Know that the beginning of the year of the Indians is from one point until it returns to the same <point>; According to this, their sages said that the first six dark degrees are dark, but this should be corrected for pit<s>, which is said because there are there stars with the complexion of Saturn and Mars.

V, 28ra (Pietro): Et tibi patefaciam secretum unum. Sciendum principium anni indorum esse a puncto circuli signorum donec revertatur. Ideo dixerunt eorum sapientes .6. gradus tenebrosos et hoc indiget correctione scilicet puteos. Et est ratio quoniam adsunt stelle connixte ex Saturno et Marte.

We see that both Bate and Pietro diverge from the Hebrew source text of *Te'amim* II on three points: (1) Where *Te'amim* II says that the beginning of the year of India is “with respect to a point in the zodiac,” Bate and Pietro say that it is “from one point in the zodiac until it returns to the same point.” (2) Where *Te'amim* II refers to “the Ancients,” Bate and Pietro mention “their sages.” (3) Where *Te'amim* II refers to dark degrees, bright degrees, and pits, Bate and Pietro say that “the first six dark degrees are dark, but this should be corrected for pit<s>.”

(3) The third example, divided into three sentences, also relates to the reason behind the names of the categories of zodiacal signs:

Te'amim II, §2.4:4–5, 9, 192–193:

(1) השמים. תאומים הוא ממזלות הרוח ואין מזל במזלות גבוה ממנו בעבור שהוא סוף צפון, ולא כן סרטן כי הוא מתולדת המים, והשמים הוא אויר. (2) השדים. אמרו כי דלי מזל שדים בעבור שהוא בית שבתאי, כי הוא יורה על המרה השחורה המראה השדים ... (3) ועוד, כי אם שמנו השמש בתחלת טלה, שם תוקף גבורתו, אז יהיה המזל העולה סרטן.

(1) *Heavens*. Gemini is one of the airy signs and no sign is higher than it is because it is the extreme north; not so Cancer, because it is of a watery nature, and the heavens are air. (2) *Demons*. They said that Aquarius is the sign of demons because it is the house of Saturn, since it indicates the

black bile which makes the demons visible ... (3) In addition, if we place the Sun at the beginning of Aries, where it attains its strongest power, then the sign of the ascendant is Cancer.

Le, 51ra–51rb (*Rationes* II): (1) Gemini ipsi de signis aereis sunt et nullum signum inter signa est plus elevatum ipso eo quod in fine partis septentrionalis est et non sic Cancer quia de signis aqueis est, Gemini vero de aereis. (2) Principes seu duces, legis latores scilicet et prophete. Dixerunt quod Aquarius est signum ducum seu prophetarum eo quod domus Saturni est qui super melancholiam signat ac demonum visionem ... (3) Amplius si ponamus Solem in principio Arietis in medio celi ubi virtus eius fortificatur tunc signum ascendens erit Cancer in spera recta sub recto circulo.

(1) Gemini is of the airy signs, and no sign is higher than it is because it is the extreme north; not so Cancer, because it is of a watery nature, and Gemini is airy. (2) Princes or leaders, law givers and prophets. They said that Aquarius is the sign of leaders or prophets because it is Saturn's house, and indicates the black bile and the manifestation of demons ... (3) In addition, if we place the Sun at the beginning of Aries, in midheaven, where its power is strengthened, then the Cancer is in right sphere.

V, 21vb (Pietro): (1) Gemini sunt ventorum signa, quorum nullum est altius est namque ultimum septentrionis, non sic quidem Cancer, est enim nature aque, aerei autem Gemini. (2) Principum autem signum posuerunt Aquarium, eo quod est domus Saturni, denotat enim melancoliam et diabolorum apparentiam ... (3) Amplius si posuerimus Solem in principio Arietis in medietate celi ubi fortificatur eius virtus, erit tunc ascendens Cancer.

(1) Gemini is of the signs of winds, and no sign is higher than it is because it is the extreme north; not so Cancer, because it is of a watery nature, and Gemini is airy. (2) They made Aquarius the sign of leaders because it is the house of Saturn, and it indicates the black bile and the manifestation of demons ... (3) In addition, if we place the Sun at the beginning of Aries, in midheaven, where its power is strengthened, then the sign of the ascendant is Cancer.

Both Bate and Pietro deviate from the Hebrew original in all three sentences: (1) At the end of the first sentence, Bate and Pietro write that “Gemini is airy,” while

Ṭe'amim II states that “the heavens are air.” (2) The second sentence, according to *Ṭe'amim* II, focuses on השדִּים, “the demons,” but Bate’s and Pietro’s versions have *principes seu duces*, “princes or leaders.” (3) In the third sentence, *Ṭe'amim* II speaks of “the beginning of Aries,” but Bate and Pietro add *in medietate celi* “in midheaven.”

(4) The fourth example is whether Capricorn is on the Sun’s side or the left side:⁵⁸

Ṭe'amim II, §2.3:8, 188–189:

על כן גרי מפאת חלק השמאל.

So Capricorn is on the left side.

Le, 50vb (*Rationes* II): Ideo Capricornus est de parte Solis.

So Capricorn is on the side of the Sun.

V, 21va (Pietro): Et ideo est Capricornus in parte Solis.

Here Pietro and Bate assign Capricorn to the “side of the Sun,” where the Hebrew original assigns it to the “left side.”

(5) The fifth example deals with the calculation of the number of days in the year:

Ṭe'amim II, §8.2:4, 250–251:

על כן אמרתי להוסיף יום אחד לכל שנה.

Hence I said that one day should be added each year.

Le, 50vb (*Rationes* II): qua propter ait Ptolomeus quod unicumque anno addendus est dies unus.

Hence Ptolemy said that one day should be added each year.

V, 27va–b (Pietro): et ideo dicit Ptolomeus adde diem unum omni anno.

Here, where *Ṭe'amim* II assigns the statement to Ibn Ezra himself, Pietro and Bate attribute it to Ptolemy.

The same picture emerges from all five examples: The translations by Bate and Pietro follow the same manuscript, which is not identical with the extant Hebrew. At present we cannot identify this source text, but given that Pietro says explicitly that he found the source text of his first translation of Ibn Ezra’s astrological

58 The zodiac is divided by astrologers into a “larger domain,” ascribed to the Sun, and a “smaller domain,” ascribed to the Moon. Each of the planets, except for the Sun and the Moon, has two houses, one in the Sun’s domain and the other in the Moon’s domain.

writings in French,⁵⁹ that Bate commissioned Hagin le Juif to produce French translations of Ibn Ezra's astrological writings, and that Bate and Hagin were neighbors in Mechelen, it is plausible to assume that the source text of *Rationes* II is a lost Hebrew-to-French translation by Hagin le Juif commissioned by Bate.

1.6 *Liber introductionis ad iudicia astrologie*

The sixth constituent of Henry Bate's translation project is a complete Latin version of *Sefer Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot* (Book of the judgments of the zodiacal signs; henceforth *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*), approximately 17,000 words long. It is found in three manuscripts, the earliest of which, from the fourteenth century, is complete; the other two, from the fifteenth century, are incomplete.⁶⁰

Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot (roughly 9,500 words) is another introduction to astrology by Ibn Ezra, extant in at least 25 Hebrew manuscripts.⁶¹

1.6.1 *Title, Authorship, and Place and Date of Composition*

We begin with the explicit of Bate's translation of *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot* as found in the earliest manuscript:

Le, 49va: Explicit *Liber introductionis ad iudicia astrologie*. Deo gratias et laudes, cuius nomen magnum et per quem opera sunt numerata. Perfecta quidem est translatio libri huius in Urbe Veteri, a magistro Hynrico de Malinis dicto, anno Domini 1292 in crastino apostolorum Symonis et Iude etc.

Thus ends the Book of the Introduction to the Judgments of Astrology. Thanks and praises to God, whose name is great and through whom works are counted. The translation of this book was completed in Orvieto, by the aforementioned Master Henry of Malines, in the year of the Lord 1292, on the day after <the feast of> the Apostles Simon and Jude, etc.

59 See Sela, "Pietro d'Abano, Translator of Ibn Ezra's Astrological Writings," p. 19.

60 For a list of manuscripts, see Juste, "Bate's Astrological and Astronomical Works," p. 54.

61 For a critical edition and English translation of *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*, see Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Introductions to Astrology*, pp. 488–555. This edition is used for all quotations from or references to the Hebrew text and English translation of *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*, in the following format: *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*, §38:7, 522–523 = *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot* (ed. Sela 2017), section 38, passage 7, on pp. 522–523.

The Latin title *Liber introductionis ad iudicia astrologie* is somewhat similar to that of the original Hebrew. According to the date in this explicit, *Iudicia* was the last of Bate's translations of Ibn Ezra done in Orvieto, completed on October 29, 1292 (because the feast of the Apostles Simon and Jude is celebrated on October 28), only 36 days after Bate had finished working on *Rationes* II (September 23).

A note in the upper margin of the first folio of *Iudicia* in the earliest manuscript provides an alternative name and reveals, surprisingly, that Abraham Ibn Ezra was not the author of the source text:

Le, 37rb (*Iudicia*): Ysagoge magistri Abrahe Ducis seu Principis vocati Hebrayce Nati Hezkia.

Introduction by Master Abraham the Duke or the Prince, called in Hebrew Bar Ḥiyya

Abraham Bar Ḥiyya (ca. 1065–ca. 1136) was known to medieval Jewish society as *Avraham ha-Našīʿ*, Abraham the Prince. It is therefore understandable that Henry Bate might have identified Abraham Princeps with the historical figure we know as Abraham Bar Ḥiyya. In the prologue to *De mundo*, Bate ascribes to Abraham Princeps “5° Redemptionis Israel,” (the fifth chapter <of the book> on the Redemption of Israel), that is, the fifth chapter of Abraham Bar Ḥiyya's *Megillat ha-megalleh* (Scroll of the revealer), which incorporates a Jewish and universal astrological history and an astrological prognostication of the coming of the Messiah. In the same prologue to *De mundo*, Bate also says that Abraham Princeps was Abraham Ibn Ezra's “magister” and that Ibn Ezra himself admitted this.⁶² This explains why the note on the first folio of *Iudicia* makes Abraham Dux or Princeps a “magister.” But why is “Master Abraham

62 Le, 24v1:44–45, 24v2:1–5: “Insuper et Abraham princeps quem Avenesre magistrum suum profitetur in 5° Redemptionis Israel loquens de mutatione regnorum, de preliis, de fame et siccitate, leuitate et gravitate bladi sic ait: et hoc totum sciemus per revolutionem coniunctionis Saturni et Iovis, id est Sole intrante in Arietem, et cetera.” = “In addition, Abraham Princeps, who Ibn Ezra admits is his master, in the fifth chapter <of the book> on the Redemption of Israel, speaks about the changing of the kingdoms, wars, famine, drought, low and high prices of the grain, and he says: all this we know by the revolution of the conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter, that is, when the Sun enters in Aries, etc.” For an explanation of this passage, see Sela, “The Ibn Ezra–Henry Bate Astrological Connection,” pp. 175–180.

Duke or Prince, called in Hebrew Bar Ḥiyya,” given as the author of the source text of *Iudicia*?

The earliest manuscript of *Iudicia* ends: “Hec Abraham Princeps” = Abraham the Prince <said> these things.⁶³ This is followed immediately by a gloss that Bate found and translated by Bate from a now-lost Hebrew manuscript of *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot* and appended to *Iudicia*.⁶⁴ This is borne out by the Hebraisms and doublets (a frequent feature of Bate’s translations: see below, Part III.1) found in the Latin text of the gloss. Bate may have been led to translate this gloss because it refers to the “aspects of the directions” (see, below, p. 196 and n. 252), the same topic covered at the end of *Iudicia*. The gloss is followed by a long excursus, with Bate’s own commentary on the gloss and on the last section of *Iudicia*, both of which address the “aspects of the directions.” At the beginning of the gloss, according to Bate’s Latin translation, the Hebrew glossator referred to Abraham the Prince and to Abraham Ibn Ezra with regard to the “aspects of the directions”:

Le, 48rb (*Iudicia*): Quoniam igitur aspectus directionum Abrahe Principis et Avenerre michi occulti sunt et absconditi, ideo sermones Albumasar exemplabo diffusius quia recti sunt in oculis meis.

Therefore, since the aspects of the directions put forward by Abraham the Prince and by Ibn Ezra are hidden and concealed from me [i.e., the author of the gloss], I will explain Abū Ma’shar’s statements at length because in my eyes they are right.

Note the Hebraism “recti sunt in oculis meis” ישרים בעיני, and the doublet “occulti sunt et absconditi,” a clear sign that Bate was translating a Hebrew Vorlage. Here the glossator’s “aspectus directionum Abrahe Principis” certainly refers to chapter 20 of Abraham Bar Ḥiyya’s *Ḥeshbon mahalakhot ha-kokhavim* (Calculation of the stellar motions), whose contents are very similar to the last section of Ibn Ezra’s *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*.⁶⁵ “Aspectus directionum Avenerre”

63 Le, 48rb.

64 Bate, as is his wont, did not translate this gloss from the Hebrew source text but thorough a French intermediary, probably produced by Hagin le Juif.

65 José Maria Millás Vallicrosa, ed. and trans., *La obra Séfer hesbón mahlekot ha-kokabim* (*Libro del cálculo de los movimientos de los astros*) de R. Abraham bar Ḥiyya ha-Bargeloni (Madrid: CSIC, 1959), pp. 108–117 (Hebrew section); pp. 100–106 (Spanish section).

refers to the last section of Ibn Ezra's *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*, which deals with the aspects of the directions.⁶⁶ However, because Bate was not familiar with Bar Ḥiyya's *Ḥeshbon mahalakhot ha-kokhavim*, he misunderstood this passage and took "aspectus directionum Abrahe Principis" to be a reference to the last section of *Iudicia*, which addresses the "aspects of the directions," and "aspectus directionum Avenerre" to be a reference to the last section of Ibn Ezra's *Rationes* I, which also deals with this topic. This is supported by two passages in Bate's excursus at the end of *Iudicia*. First, the beginning of the excursus:

Le, 48vb (*Iudicia*): Dicit translator: quia sermones Abrache Ducis de planetarum aspectibus equandis in hac parte glossator iste obscuros aut insufficientes et imperfectos esse asserit, propter quod et sermonibus Albumasar magis adherendum esse decernit.

The translator [i.e., Bate] says: Because this glossator maintains that the statements of Abraham the Prince about the calculation of the aspects of the planets in this part [i.e., in the last part of Iudicia] are obscure, insufficient, and imperfect, therefore he [the glossator] decided that it is more appropriate to adhere to Abū Ma'shar's statements.

In other words, Bate takes "aspectus directionum Abrahe Principis," whose meaning is hidden and concealed from the Hebrew glossator, to be identical with "sermones Abrache Ducis de planetarum aspectibus equandis in hac parte," that is, the statements by Abraham the Prince about the calculation of the aspects of the planets in the last part of *Iudicia*, which Bate finds equally obscure, insufficient, and imperfect. Then Bate adds, several lines later in his excursus:

Le, 49rb–48va (*Iudicia*): Porro, licet in equandis planetarum aspectibus documentis Abrache Ducis et Avenesre in *Libro Rationum* huiusmodi non accidant inconvenientia, nichilominus insufficiencia sunt ut prelibatum est et obscura nec non et vacillancia circa radiorum invencionem seu aspectuum et presertim ea que documentis Abrache Ducis et Avenezre superaddit in *Libro rationum* versus finem.

Moreover, although there are no inconsistencies in the calculations of the aspects of the planets <put forward> in the texts by Abraham Princeps and by Ibn Ezra in the Book of Reasons, nevertheless they are

66 *Mishpeṭei ha-Mazzalot*, §71:1–7 through §75:1–7, 550–555.

insufficient, as has been mentioned above, and there are obscure things as well as uncertainties about finding the rays or the aspects, and particularly about things that Ibn Ezra, towards the end of the Book of Reasons, added to the texts of Abraham, the Prince.

We learn that according to Bate, the “aspectus directionum Avenerre” referred to by the Hebrew glossator coincides with the last section of *Rationes* I, where Ibn Ezra addresses the topic of the “aspects of the directions.” Moreover, according to Bate, the last section of Ibn Ezra's *Rationes* I is a sort of commentary on Abraham the Prince's *Iudicia*. This is a further explanation of why Bate considered Abraham Princeps to be Abraham Ibn Ezra's “master.” This interpretation is supported by an excursus that Bate appended to *Rationes* I:

Le, 73va (*Iudicia*): Dicit translator: advertendum quod etsi per documentum actoris huius in hac parte satis rationabiliter inveniri possit veritas in aspectibus equandis, nihillominus vacillans additionis ac diminutionis per quam operandum esse docet, incertitudo regulari<s> non est arti conveniens quale esse docet in hoc proposito. Preterea quod ad habendam equationem aspectuum planete distantia ab angulo per partes horarum gradus ipsius planete dividendum esse dicit actor in hoc error est secundum quod notum est ac satis declaratum in glossa quadam super *Introductorium Abrahe Ducis*, capitulo de aspectibus. Quapropter ad huiusmodi defectus adimplendos erroresque vitandos et aspectus ipsos artificiosius equandos ac regularius ibidem regulare, quoddam et artificiosum ac breve tradidimus documentum.

The translator says: Attention should be directed to the fact that if by means of the text by this author [i.e., Ibn Ezra] in this part [i.e., at the end of Ṭe'amim I] it is possible to find a sufficient and reasonable truth regarding the calculation of the aspects, nevertheless the uncertainty of the rules about the addition or subtraction that he [i.e., Ibn Ezra] teaches should be used does not correspond to what the art should be in this case as he [i.e., Ibn Ezra] teaches. Moreover, regarding what the author [i.e., Ibn Ezra] says, that in order to calculate the aspects of a planet by the distance from the cardo the degrees of the planet should be divided by the minutes of this planet, this is wrong, as has been noted and sufficiently explained in a gloss on the Introduction by Abraham, the Prince, in the chapter on the aspects [i.e. the gloss appended to Iudicia]. Therefore, to

overcome these defects, to avoid these errors, and to calculate these aspects more skillfully and more in accordance with the rules, we have passed down a document that is skillful and brief [i.e. Bate's excursus after the gloss at the end of Iudicia].

We see, then, that just as on the first folio of *Iudicia*, where a marginal note invokes “*Ysagoge magistri Abrahe Ducis seu Principis*,” in the excursus appended to *Rationes* I, Bate refers to “*Introductorium Abrahe Ducis*” and in the same breath mentions the gloss appended to *Iudicia*, in the past tense (“*tradidimus documentum*”) and the excursus he appended to the gloss. We also see that just as in the excursus appended to *Iudicia* Bate refers to “*Liber rationum versus finem*,” (towards the end of the *Book of Reasons*), so in the excursus appended to *Rationes* I he refers to “*documentum actoris huius in hac parte*” (i.e., the section on the aspects at the end of *Rationes* I). Bate wrote the excursus appended to *Rationes* I in order to guide readers to consult the detailed excursus appended to *Iudicia*, where they would find Bate's remarks and instructions for correcting the defects and avoiding the errors related to the calculation of the aspects, which appear both in the last section of Abraham Ibn Ezra's *Rationes* I and in the last section of Abraham the Prince's *Iudicia*.

I.6.2 The Structure of the Translation

Iudicia is an almost complete translation of *Mishpetei ha-mazzalot*. I say “almost” because (1) the two manuscripts that contain the last part of *Iudicia* lack the sentences that correspond to §76:5–10 and §77:1–2 in the print edition of *Mishpetei ha-mazzalot*; (2) *Iudicia* is full of Bate's additions or digressions, as we shall see in the third part of this study, and (3) *Iudicia* incorporates several astrological tables and texts that do not appear in any of the known Hebrew manuscripts of *Mishpetei ha-mazzalot*, as we shall see in the following section.

There are strong indications that the organization and text of *Mishpetei ha-mazzalot*, as we have it today, are the result of interpolations made either by Ibn Ezra in different stages of its composition or by copyists in the early stages of the transmission of the original text.⁶⁷ This is also reflected in the organization of the paragraphs in *Iudicia*, which do not always correspond to those of *Mishpetei ha-mazzalot*. With the exception of these divergences, though, *Iudicia* follows

67 See Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Introductions to Astrology*, pp. 9–10.

Mishpetei ha-mazzalot rather closely. Here are the first and last paragraph of *Iudicia*, accompanied by their Hebrew counterparts and English translation:

Le, 49vb: 37rb (*Iudicia*): Spera maior honorabilis, in qua totus est exercitus Dei gloriosi, et sublimis celum celorum vocata est. Ab illa quidem inferius spere sunt septem planetarum, duodecim vero signa in cingulo spere sunt quam et antiqui sapientes partiti sunt in .48. ymagines, quarum .21. septentrionales sunt a linea signorum .15. vero meridionales. *Mishpetei ha-mazzalot*, §1:1–2, 488–489:

הגלגל הגדול הנכבד, ששם צבאות השם הנכבד, הוא הנקרא שמי השמים. כי למטה ממנו גלגלי השבעה המשרתים, ובאמצע יש גלגל י"ב מזלות, כי חכמי קדם חלקו כל הגלגל על שמונה וארבעים צורות, מהם שמאלים לקו המזלות והם אחת ועשרים, והדרומיים חמישה עשר צורות.

The great and glorious orb, where the hosts of the Glorious Name are, is what is called the heaven of heavens. Beneath it are the orbs of the seven planets, and in the middle <of the great orb> there is a wheel with the 12 <zodiacal> signs; the scientists of antiquity divided the <great> orb into 48 constellations, 21 of them north of the ecliptic and 15 south <of it>.

Le, 48ra-rb (*Iudicia*): Secundum equationes itaque domorum oportet esse inter principium domus undecime et decime duas horas tortas in tabula recti circuli in tabula vero regionis quatuor horas. Si autem acceperis tertiamque partemque graduum equalium inter principium domus decime et gradum ascendentem, invenieris secundum propinquitatem domum undecimam. Similiter quoque facies ad querendam duodecimam. Secundum hanc ergo viam accipiendum est principium domus secunde enim quod tu considerare debes arcum oppositum et consimiliter est de principio tertie domus.

Mishpetei ha-mazzalot, §76:1–4, 554–555:

ותקון הבתים. ראוי להיות בין תחלת הבית האחד עשר והעשירי שתי שעות מעוותות בגלגל המישור וארבע שעות בלוח הארץ. ואם לקחת שלישית המעלות הישרות בין תחלת הבית העשירי אל המעלה הצומחת, תמצא בקירוב תחלת בית י"א. וככה תעשה לבקש בית השנים עשר. ועל זה הדרך תחלת הבית השני, רק יש לך לשמור קשת השעה של הנכח, וככה תחלת השלישי.

Correction of the places. Between the cusp of the eleventh place and the <cul> of the tenth <place> there should be two seasonal hours at sphaera recta and four hours in the table of <rising times for> the <given> country. If you take a third of the equal degrees between the cusp of the

tenth place and the degree of the ascendant, you will be close to the cusp of the eleventh place. Follow the same procedure to find the <cusp of the> twelfth place. Use the same method <to find> the cusp of the second place, but you should keep the arc of the <seasonal> hour of the opposite <degree>, and likewise for the cusp of the third <place>.

1.6.3 The Source Text of *Iudicia*

The entire second part of *Tractatus particulares*, a four-part work attributed to Abraham Ibn Ezra, is a reworking of the section of *Mishpetei ha-mazzalot* on the features of the seven planets.⁶⁸ An incomplete anonymous translation of *Mishpetei ha-mazzalot* survives in Erfurt, UFB, MS Amplon. O.89, fols. 5r–19v; but *Iudicia* is the only surviving complete Latin translation. So far, no French translation of *Mishpetei ha-mazzalot* has been found. However, we can be certain that Bate's ultimate Hebrew source text for *Iudicia* was different from any of the Hebrew manuscripts of *Mishpetei ha-mazzalot* extant today.

This is evident from the aforementioned gloss that Bate translated into Latin and appended to *Iudicia*. But it emerges particularly from several astrological tables and texts in *Iudicia* that do not appear in any of the surviving Hebrew manuscripts of *Mishpetei ha-Mazzalot*. A full account will be provided in a forthcoming edition of *Iudicia*; a summary will have to do for now. We begin with two statements found only in *Iudicia*, the first of them after tables of terms and decans, the second after a table of degrees of pits:

Le, 38ra (*Iudicia*): In quodam libro scriptum inveni quod a terminis et faciebus ac ab aliis gradibus subtrahendi sunt .9. gradus in anno .921. secundum iudeos.

In a certain book I found written that it is necessary to subtract 9 degrees from the terms and decans and the other degrees in the year 921 according to the Jews.

Le, 38vb (*Iudicia*): Et omnibus hiis puteis addendi sunt .8. gradus perfecti in anno christianorum 1160, secundum iudeos quidem in anno 921, ad sciendum loca hiis diebus.

To all these <degrees of> pits it is necessary to add 8 whole degrees in the year 1160 of the Christians, <that is,> in the year <4>921 according to the Jews, to know <their> places in these days.

68 See Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra Latinus on Elections and Interrogations*, pp. 72–74.

The Hebrew text of *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*, according to the surviving manuscripts, does not provide any explicit date for its composition. But terminological links with Ibn Ezra's other astrological writings and the report of an astronomical observation suggest that it was written late in Ibn Ezra's career, when he was living in Rouen or in England.⁶⁹ The two passages just quoted fit well with this and now allow us to establish a specific date for the composition of *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*: Anno mundi 4921 according to the Hebrew calendar, which corresponds to the last four months of AD 1160 on the Christian calendar.

Part II: Bate's Translations of Individual Passages from Ibn Ezra's Astrological Writings

In 1280, seven years after he commissioned Hagin le Juif's French translations, and one year before the first extant complete Latin translation, Bate composed an astrological autobiography, commonly known as *Nativitas*.⁷⁰ In order to ground the astrological interpretation of his own life it incorporates many astrological texts, including at least 140 paraphrases, translations, and quotations from twelve treatises written by or attributed to Abraham Ibn Ezra. These are the earliest known references to Ibn Ezra the astrologer in the Latin West. At presumably the same date (see below, p. 160), Bate composed *De diebus creticis periodumque causis* (On the critical days and the causes of the periods; henceforth *De diebus creticis*), in which he incorporated at least seven references to five astrological treatises written by or attributed to Ibn Ezra.⁷¹ We now review these translations, classified by the branch of astrology to which they belong.

69 See Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Introductions to Astrology*, pp. 28–29.

70 See Carlos Steel's critical edition of *Nativitas* in Steel et al., *The Astrological Biography of a Medieval Philosopher*, pp. 127–267. This edition is used for all quotations from or references to *Nativitas*, in the following format: *Nativitas* (ed. Steel, 2018), 160 = *Nativitas*, line 160 in *Nativitas* (ed. Steel, 2018).

71 See Giuseppe Dell'Anna, *Dies critici: La teoria della ciclicità delle patologie nel XIV secolo* (Galatina: Mario Congedo Editore, 1999); Juste, "Bate's Astrological and Astronomical Works," pp. 46–48.

II.1 World Astrology

II.1.1 ‘Olam I

As we have seen, Bate produced *De mundo*, a complete translation of ‘Olam I, in 1281 (see above, p. 117). But the previous year, in *Nativitas*, he had already included three references to ‘Olam I, which he attributed once to the *Liber revolutionum annorum mundi* (Book of the revolutions of the years of the world), by “Abraham” tout court, and twice to Avenezre’s *Liber coniunctionum* (Book of the conjunctions). One of these references in *Nativitas* translates a brief passage from ‘Olam I, which is worth comparing with its counterpart in ‘Olam I and in *De mundo*:

Nativitas (ed. Steel, 2018), 2049–2051: Occidentalitas quidem Martis maiorem innuit tribulationem et timorem quam lesionem, ut testatur Avenezre in *Libro coniunctionum*.

Le, 26vb (*De mundo*): Et si <Mars> occidentalis <fuerit>, erit metus et tribulatio maior quam occisio.

‘Olam I (Sela 2010), §22:2, 66–67:

ואם מערבי יהיה הפחד והטלטול יותר מן ההרג.
and if it <Mars> is occidental there will be more fear and flight than killing.

We see, then, that the translations of the passage of ‘Olam I in *Nativitas* and in *De mundo* closely follow the Hebrew original, but are by no means identical in terminology and style.

II.2 Introductions to Astrology

II.2.1 *Reshit ḥokhmah*

Twelve years before he completed *Introductorius* in 1292, Bate had already cited and translated passages from *Reshit ḥokhmah* in *Nativitas*. Rather than *Liber Abrahe Avenerre Introductorius ad astronomiam*, the title assigned to *Reshit ḥokhmah* in the complete translation, in *Nativitas* Bate always writes *Liber initii sapientie*, which is a rendering of the Hebrew title.⁷² Bate also uses *Liber initii sapientie* when he translates cross-references to *Reshit ḥokhmah* in his other Latin translations.⁷³

⁷² *Nativitas* (ed. Steel, 2018), 250, 615, 821, 984, 3109.

⁷³ See Le, 49vb (*Rationes II*); Le, 34rb (*De luminaribus*); Le, 30rb (*De mundo*).

Nativitas contains no fewer than 17 references to *Reshit hokhmah*. A third of them translate passages from Ibn Ezra's work; none are identical with their counterpart in *Introductorius*. One example follows (differences between the two Latin translations are underlined):

Nativitas (ed. Steel, 2018), 615–619: Dixit Avenezre in *Sapientie Initio* quod Mercurius propter copiam motuum eius et propter consuetam propinquitatem eius ad Solem iugem et naturalem, minimum ledi potest a combustione Solis. Unde sub testimoniis antiquorum dicit quod si Mercurius fuerit Soli copulatus, duo Mercurii sunt in celo.

Le, 17ra–17rb (*Introductorius*): Mercurius vero, propter multitudinem motuum suorum et mobilitatem et quia semper propinquus est Soli modicum ledi potest quando sub radiis Solis est aut sub termino combustionis. Cum autem precise coniunctus est Soli secundum antiquorum sententiam fortitudinem habet magnam in tantum quod dixerunt quando sic se habet Mercurius, duo Mercurii sunt in celo.

Reshit hokhmah, §7.4:8–9, 198–201:

וכוכב חמה, בעבור רוב תנועותיו ושהוא קרוב מהשמש, לעולם מעט יזיקנו בהיותו תחת אור השמש או תחת גבול השריפה. ובהיות הכוכב דבק עם השמש, על דעת הקדמונים, יש לו כח גדול, עד שאמרו: אם היה כן כוכב חמה, שני כוכבי חמה יש בגלגל.

Mercury, because of its many motions and proximity to the Sun, is always only slightly harmed by it [the Sun] when it is under the ray of the Sun or in the domain of burning. When Mercury is joined to the Sun it has great power, according to the Ancients, so much that they said: if Mercury is in such a condition [i.e., joined], <it is as if> there were two Mercuries in the orb.

We see that the two translations are quite different: (1) They use a different vocabulary: *copiam* vs. *multitudinem*; *consuetam* vs. *semper*; *minimum* vs. *modicum*; *combustione Solis* vs. *sub termino combustionis*; *testimoniis antiquorum* vs. *antiquorum sententiam*; *fuerit Soli copulatus* vs. *precise coniunctus est Soli*; *Mercurius fuerit* vs. *sic se habet Mercurius*. (2) The first translation is shorter than the second (43 against 52 words), because the latter closely follows the Hebrew text, whereas the former omits two clauses found in the latter and in the Hebrew original (“quando sub radiis Solis est” = בהיותו תחת אור השמש; “fortitudinem habet magnam” = יש לו כח גדול).

II.2.2 *Mishpetei ha-mazzalot*

Nativitas contains one implicit reference to *Mishpetei ha-mazzalot* and assigns it to Abraham Princeps.⁷⁴ Quoting this reference and comparing it with its counterparts in *Mishpetei ha-mazzalot* and in *Iudicia* will help us appreciate how Bate manipulates passages from his Ibn Ezra sources:

Nativitas (ed. Steel, 2018), 694–697: Secundum testimonium Abrahe Principis dicentis quod Mercurius tendens ad occidentalitatem, cum destiterit a Sole .6. gradibus, ut facit in proposito, iam exivit combustionis terminum.

Le, 41va (*Iudicia*): Proprium quoque horum duorum inferiorum est et rectum quod cum fuerunt cum Sole minus .16. minutis magna est eis fortitudo et usque ad sex gradus erunt combusti, post sex vero usque ad .15. sub radiis Solis sunt et quando sunt occidentales fortes sunt, sed quando orientales non est in eis fortitudo.

Mishpetei ha-mazzalot (Sela 2017) §29:1, 512–513:

והמשפט אלה השנים השפלים: כאשר הם עם השמש בפחות מי"ו חלקים יש להם כח רב, ועד שש מעלות הם נשרפים.

This is a rule for the two lower planets: when they are closer than 16 minutes to the Sun they have great power; <from there> up to 6° they are burnt.

Where *Nativitas* speaks of Mercury as moving west of the Sun by 6 degrees and leaving the domain of burning, *Mishpetei ha-mazzalot* and *Iudicia* refer to the two lower planets and say that when they are closer than 16 minutes to the Sun they have great power, and that from there up to 6° they are burnt. Thus the passage in *Nativitas* is neither a translation nor a paraphrase but a reworking that uses elements of a passage from *Mishpetei ha-mazzalot* to flesh out its argument.

II.2.3 *Te'amim I*

Nativitas contains no fewer than nine references to *Te'amim I*. In contrast with the doublet used in the incipit of *Rationes I* to refer to *Te'amim I* (*Liber causarum seu rationum*), *Nativitas* always has *Liber rationum* and generally mentions Ibn Ezra as its author ("Avenezre in *Libro rationum*"). In some cases

⁷⁴ *Nativitas* (ed. Steel, 2018), 694–697.

Nativitas specifies the chapter in *Ṭe'amim* I from which the reference was taken, particularly when *Nativitas* translates from *Ṭe'amim* I, as we shall see.

Some of the references consist of a few words and are intended to summarize an entire idea or theory expressed in *Ṭe'amim* I. This is the case when Bate writes “proportionales sunt ad invicem Saturnus et Mercurius, ut patet in *Libro rationum*” (“Saturn and Mercury are reciprocally proportional, as is shown in the *Book of Reasons*”),⁷⁵ referring to a Ptolemaic theory, detailed in *Ṭe'amim* I, that assigns a number to each of the seven planets and explains that a planet is considered to be benefic if its number has a “noble” or harmonious ratio to the number of another planet.⁷⁶

In other cases, though, *Nativitas* purports to offer translations of passages from *Ṭe'amim* I. What is the relationship between these translations and their counterpart in *Rationes* I? Here are two examples to answer this question, with the Latin translations in *Nativitas* and *Rationes* I followed by the Hebrew text and its English translation. Differences between the two Latin translations are underlined.

- (1) The first example relates to an astrological configuration in which Mercury's power is duplicated:

Nativitas (ed. Steel, 2018), 619–624: Idem <Avenezre> quoque dicit in *Libro rationum*, capitulo 6°, prima particula: Vidi, inquit, in libris Dorothii, qui Princeps est inter iudices, nempe experimentatus fuerat sermones Indorum, qui dixit si fuerit Mercurius coniunctus Soli, tunc erit secundus in celo Mercurius, hoc est quia virtus eius duplicata est.

Le, 70va (*Rationes* I): Ego tamen vidi in libris Doronii, qui apud nos quidem est Princeps iudicium quod ipse sermones indorum expertus erat, et sic ait in libro suo: si fuerit Mercurius coniunctus Soli tunc in celo secundus erit Mercurius sive duplex, et hoc est dictu quia duplicatur virtus eius seu fortitudo.

Ṭe'amim I, §6.2:4, 86–87:

רק ראיתי בספר דורוניוס, שהוא ראש לבעלי הדינין, כי נסה דברי הודו, וכבה אמר בספרו: אם היה כוכב חמה דבק עם השמש, אז יהיו בגלגל שני כוכבי חמה, והטעם שיכפל כחו.

In the book by Doronius, the leader of the experts in <astrological>

75 Ibid., 1637–1640.

76 *Ṭe'amim* I, §4.1:2–4, 68–71, and note on pp. 154–156.

judgments, I have seen that he verified by experience the statements <of the scientists> of India, and this is what he said in his book: if Mercury is in conjunction with the Sun, there will be two Mercuries in the orb, and the reason is because its power is doubled.

We see that the two Latin translations render the Hebrew source text almost in full. *Nativitas* and *Rationes* I concur in the translation of two key astrological terms found in *Ṭe'amim* I: בגלגל “in the orb” as *in celo* and בעלי הדינים “judges” (but meaning “astrologers”) as *iudices*. However, *Nativitas* and *Rationes* I differ considerably on a number of points: (1) *Rationes* I has *libro suo*, reflecting the Hebrew text, but *Nativitas* omits it. (2) *Rationes* I offers two doublets (*secundus sive duplex* and *virtus seu fortitudo*), a hallmark of Bate’s complete translations, which *Nativitas* omits. (3) *Rationes* I refers to Doronius, which transliterates the Hebrew name of the astrologer as found in *Ṭe'amim* I, but *Nativitas* has Dorotheus, which is his Latinized name. (4) With regard to Dorotheus as the leader of the astrologers, *Rationes* I says that this is *apud nos* “among us,” but *Ṭe'amim* I and *Nativitas* omit this remark. (5) *Nativitas* and *Rationes* I evince differences in style, such as the use of “Princeps inter iudices” vs. “Princeps iudicum” and “experimentatus fuerat” vs. “expertus erat.”

(2) The second example is concerned with how the native is influenced by the nature of the lord of the ascendant sign at the time of birth:

Nativitas (ed. Steel, 2018), 767–769: Unde Avenezre in 1° *Rationum*, capitulo 9°, dicit quod signum ascendens in nativitate naturam sui domini influit nato, quamquam dominus eius in malo loco foret.

Le, 71rb (*Rationes* I): Et hic quidem sermo qui propinquus est veritati est quod quocunque signo in orientali angulo ascendente in hora nativitatis semper erit natus de natura domini signi, quamvis etiam de genere non sic conventiente ad talem gradum puta dominandi.

Ṭe'amim I, §9.1:6, 92–93:

זה הדבר קרוב אל האמת, כי כל מזל שהוא עולה בפאת מזרח ברגע הלידה, לעולם יהיה בנולד תולדת בעל המזל, אפילו שיהיה ממשפחה שאינה ראויה למעלה גבוהה.

This thing is close to the truth, for when any sign rises in the eastern side at the time of birth, the native is always endowed with the nature of the lord of the sign, even if he comes from a family that is not worthy of high status.

This example is quite different from the previous one: while *Rationes* I offers a translation, *Nativitas* gives a summary that omits three clauses found in *Ṭe'amim* I and *Rationes* I: (1) The first is that the main statement in this quote "is close to the truth." (2) The second is that the statement is true "even if the native comes from a family that is not worth of high status." Instead, *Nativitas* states that the statement is true "quamquam dominus eius in malo loco foret" ("although the lord of the ascendant sign is in an inauspicious place"). Rather than a translation, this clause is Bate's explanation of the astrological condition mentioned in the quotation. (3) And finally, that the sign that rises at the time of birth ascends on the eastern side ("in orientali angulo ascendente").

A third type of reference to *Ṭe'amim* I in *Nativitas* occurs in a passage where Bate discusses the relationship between retrogradation of the planets and the native's soul and the affinity of this motion to entities that are more divine.⁷⁷ This discussion is sparked by a passage in *Ṭe'amim* I where Ibn Ezra maintains that "when a planet is far from the Earth it receives great power from the upper stars. So if a planet that is at apogee is in charge of the soul, which is something superior, the native will be exceedingly wise in any undertaking ... But if a planet that is at perigee is in charge of the soul, it indicates that the native will be a fool and ignoramus."⁷⁸ Instead of paraphrasing or translating this passage, at the end of the discussion Bate writes:

Nativitas (ed. Steel, 2018), 944–945: quemadmodum a nobis latius est expositum super *Libro rationum* Avenezre.⁷⁹

As I have explained at length in a commentary on the Book of Reasons by Ibn Ezra.

Rationes I, completed in Orvieto on September 15, 1292, does in fact incorporate a long excursus of approximately 850 words, commencing with the rubric "Inquit translator" ("the translator says"), in which Bate discusses the aforementioned topic. But the reference to a "commentary on the Book of Reasons by Ibn Ezra" uses the past tense and appears in *Nativitas*, composed in 1280. This means that Bate had written a draft of this "commentary on the Book of Reasons by Ibn Ezra" before 1280, which surfaced in *Rationes* I at least twelve years later. This

⁷⁷ *Nativitas* (ed. Steel, 2018), 930–944.

⁷⁸ *Ṭe'amim* I, §5.2:5–7, 84–85.

⁷⁹ The significance of this passage was discovered by Carlos Steel. See Steel, "Editorial Principles," in *The Astrological Biography of a Medieval Philosopher*, p. 29.

also strongly suggests that Bate had a complete version of his translation of *Ṭe'amim* I well before 1280. The nature of this translation remains to be clarified.

Bate's *De diebus creticis* contains a reference to the first part of the third chapter of *Liber causarum seu rationum*, assigned to Abraham Ibn Ezra, regarding the aspects. Since *Ṭe'amim* I is divided into chapters (like *Reshit hokhmah*) and *Ṭe'amim* II does not have such a structure, this is certainly a reference to the third chapter *Ṭe'amim* I, where a section on the aspects is indeed found.⁸⁰ *De diebus creticis* also includes a reference to the first version of *Liber rationum*, written by Ibn Ezra, on the planets' periods or years.⁸¹

II.2.4 *Ṭe'amim* II

Nativitas contains 15 references to *Ṭe'amim* II. In contrast with the doublet used in the prefatory canticle of *Rationes* II to refer to *Ṭe'amim* II (*Liber rationum seu causarum*), *Nativitas* always has *Liber rationum* and generally refers to Ibn Ezra as its author ("Avenezre in *Libro rationum*"). When *Nativitas* offers a translation of a passage from *Ṭe'amim* II, *Ṭe'amim* II is designated *Liber rationum, secunda parte* or *particula*, as we shall see.

In the overwhelming majority of cases, references to *Ṭe'amim* II in *Nativitas* consist of short paraphrases or translations of a few words, manipulated by Bate to strengthen some argument. In one case, though, *Nativitas* incorporates a translation from *Ṭe'amim* II. Here is this translation in *Nativitas* and its counterparts in *Rationes* II and *Ṭe'amim* II.

Nativitas (ed. Steel, 2018), 593–595: Nam ut vult Avenezre in *Libro rationum*, 2^a. particula, ob hoc quod operatio stelle non apparet cum fuerit Sol supra terram, ideo dixerunt astrologi fortitudinem non habere stellam que est coniuncta Soli.

Limoges, BM, MS 9 (28), fol. 8r (*Rationes* II): Sane quia stellarum non apparet virtus seu fortitudo quamdiu Sol est super terram, ideo posuerunt quod non est illi fortitudo qui in coniunctione est cum Sole.

Ṭe'amim II, §4.1:3, pp. 206–207:

80 See Dell'Anna, *Dies critici*, vol. 2, p. 102, cap. 3: "Ut patet in ... *Libro causarum seu rationum* Abrahe Avenesare capitulo 3^o prime partis ... de aspectibus." Cf. *Ṭe'amim* I, §3.2:1–12, 60–63.

81 Ibid., p. 125, cap. 16: "quod testatur Avenezre in *Libro rationum*, prima parte ... ubi de peryodis determinat planetarum"; cf. *Ṭe'amim* I, §4.2:11, 72–73.

ובעבור שלא יראה כח כוכב כאשר השמש על הארץ, על כן שמו שאין כח להזה
עם השמש.

Because the power of the planet is invisible when the Sun is above the Earth they stated that it [i.e. the planet] has no power with the Sun.

As we see, the two Latin translations offer full and accurate renderings of the same Hebrew source text, but the differences are great, as if they were the work of two different translators:

- (1) Differences in style: “ob hoc quod” vs. “sane quia”; “cum fuerit Sol” vs. “quamdiu Sol est”; “supra terram” vs. “super terram”; “fortitudinem non habere stellam” vs. “non est illi fortitudo” ; “est coniuncta Soli” vs. “in coniunctione est cum Sole.”
- (2) Differences in terminology: “operatio stelle” vs. “stellarum virtus”; “dixerunt” vs. “posuerunt.”
- (3) There are also other substantial differences, as the use in *Rationes* II of the doublet “virtus seu fortitudo,” extremely frequent in all of Bate’s complete translations (see below, p. 184); the use in *Nativitas* of “stella” in the singular, against the use in *Rationes* II of the plural “stelle”; and the reference in *Nativitas* of “astrologi,” omitted in *Rationes* II and in *Te’amim* II.

Bate’s *De diebus creticis* contains a reference to the chapter on the aspects in the second version of *Liber causarum seu rationum*, assigned to Abraham Ibn Ezra, which corresponds to a passage of *Te’amim* II in the section on the aspects.⁸² *De diebus creticis* also has a reference to the second version of *Liber rationum*, written by Ibn Ezra, on the planets’ periods or years.⁸³

II.3 Nativities

There are three works on nativities written or attributed to Ibn Ezra. In *Nativitas*, Bate assigned them to three different authors—all of them “Abraham,” but with different cognomens.⁸⁴

82 Ibid., p. 102, cap. 3: “Ut patet in ... *Libro causarum seu rationum* Abrahe Avenesare ... et specialiter in secunda parte capitulo de aspectibus.” Cf. *Te’amim* II, 4.6:1–5, §4.7:1–8, §4.8:1–3, 210–213.

83 Ibid., vol. 2, p. 125, cap. 16: “quod testatur Avenezere in *Libro rationum*, ... secunda <parte>, ubi de peryodis determinat planetarum.” Cf. *Te’amim* II, §5.3:13, 224–225.

84 For an analysis of this phenomenon, see Sela, “The Ibn Ezra–Henry Bate Astrological Connection,” pp. 163–186.

II.3.1 *Sefer ha-Moladot*

Bate assigned a *Liber nativitatum* that is identical with *Sefer ha-Moladot* (Book of nativities, henceforth *Moladot*) to Abraham Avenezra. *Moladot*, which survives in at least 53 manuscripts, is the only extant complete Hebrew text by Ibn Ezra on the astrological doctrine of nativities.⁸⁵ Bate commissioned Hagin le Juif to produce a French translation of *Moladot*, entitled *Le livre des jugemens des nativités* (henceforth *Nativités*), which is extant in two manuscripts,⁸⁶ but did not produce a complete Latin translation from it. However, Bate's *Nativitas* does include at least 52 references to passages in *Moladot*. The overwhelming majority comprise only a few words. There is, though, a notable exception that is worth quoting, together with its counterpart in Ibn Ezra's *Moladot* and in Hagin's *Nativités*. Differences between them are underlined.

Nativitas (ed. Steel, 2018), 1874–1883: Unde Avenezre hoc ipsum confirmans dicit in principio sui *Libri nativitatum*, quod sapiens in astrorum scientia mutare potest superventura propter dignitatem intellectus. Similiter quidem, inquit, qui confidit in Deo ex toto corde suo, Deus illi vertet versiones et ante ipsum parate sunt cause et occasiones ad protegendum eum et preservandum a iactura ex nativitate propria sibi significata. Dubium enim non est quin homo iustus custoditus sit melius quam sapiens in astrologia; nam frequentius involuuntur super ipsum confusa iudicia, secundum quod dictum est, et divinator involuit et permiscetur; beatus autem ille qui totum cor suum unitum habuerit suo Deo.

Hence Ibn Ezra, while he confirms this, said in the beginning of his Book of Nativities that the scholar in the science of the stars can change <his> luck as a result of the dignity of the intellect. He said: Likewise, he who trusts in God with all his heart, God—“by Him actions are weighed” (1

85 For a critical edition and English translation of *Moladot*, see *Abraham Ibn Ezra on Nativities and Continuous Horoscopy*, A Parallel Hebrew English Critical Edition of the Book of Nativities and the Book of Revolution, ed., trans., and annot. Shlomo Sela (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp. 84–203. This edition is used for all quotations from or references to the Hebrew text and English translation of *Moladot*, in the following format: *Moladot*, III vi 8:4, 152–153 = *Moladot* (ed. Sela 2013), part III (the twelve horoscopic places) chapter 6 (addressing the sixth horoscopic place), section 8, sentence 4, on pp. 152–153.

86 P, 66rb–100va; P², 66rb–102ra.

Samuel 2:3)—will effect causes for himself that protect and preserve him from harm prognosticated for him in his nativity. Therefore, there is no doubt that the righteous person is better protected than a scholar versed in astrology, since frequently the scholar's <astrological> judgments will be confused, as Scripture says (Isaiah 44:25), "and make fools of the augurs"; whereas he whose heart is wholly with his God is fortunate.

Moladot, I 9:4–5, 88–89:

וככה הבוטח בשם בכל לבו, השם יסבב לו סבות ולו נתקנו עלילות להצילנו מכל נזק שיש במולדו. על כן, אין ספק כי הצדיק יותר שמור מהמשכיל בדיני המזלות, כי פעמים ישתבשו עליו הדינין, כדרך שאמר הכתוב וקוסמים יהולל, והנה אשרי מי שלבו תמים עם אלהיו.

Likewise, he who trusts in God with all his heart, God—"by Him actions are weighed" (1 Samuel 2:3)—will effect causes for himself that save him from any harm prognosticated in his nativity. Therefore, there is no doubt that the righteous person is better protected than a scholar versed in judgments of the zodiacal signs, since sometimes the scholar's <astrological> judgments will be confused, as Scripture says (Isaiah 44:25), "and make fools of the augurs"; whereas he whose heart is wholly with his God is fortunate.

P, 67va (*Nativités*): Et ainsi cil qui se fie en Dieu en tout son cuer, Dieus li tourne tours et devant li fort sont appareilliés oevres occasions a li garantir du damage qui li doit avenir par sa nativité. Car il n'i a point de soupecion que le justes est mieus gardés que le sage en astronomie, car assés de fois se triboulent sur li li jugement d'astronomie ausinc, come il est dit, et de umeur entremellé, et beneuré celi qui a son cuer enterin ensamble son Dieu.

And so, he who trusts in God with all his heart, God turns to him and before him are set works of opportunity to guard him against the damage that must come to him because of his nativity. For there is no doubt that the righteous person is better guarded than the scholar versed in astrology, for often enough the judgments of astrology are subject to tribulations, as it is said, and to intermingled humors, and blessed is he who has wholly his heart together with his God.

Here *Nativitas* offers a complete and precise translation of its counterpart in *Moladot*. In the three places where it diverges from the Hebrew, *Nativitas* agrees with Hagin's *Nativités*, which suggests the latter was Bate's source text for all his

references to *Moladot* in *Nativitas*: (1) המשכיל בדיני המזלות, “the scholar versed in judgments of the zodiacal signs,” vs. “sapiens in astrologia” and “le sage en astronomie;” (2) פעמים “sometimes” vs. “frequentius” and “assés de fois;” (3) כל נזק “any harm” vs. “iactura” and “damage.” Note, though, the presence in the passage of *Nativitas* of a doublet (“ad protegendum eum et preservandum”), the hallmark of Bate the translator, which does not occur in *Moladot* or in Hagin’s translation.

Bate’s *De diebus creticis* includes another complete and precise translation of a passage from *Moladot*. Exactly the same text appears in Bate’s *Nativitas*. These are presented below, accompanied by their Hebrew and French counterparts. Differences between them are underlined:

De diebus creticis (Dell’Anna 1999), vol. 2, p. 113, cap. 8: Unde Avenesare ... dicit ... quoque in *Libro nativitatum*: scito quod aspectus Solis ad Lunam, sive sextilis sive tertius aut quartus, melior est quam aspectus Iovis et Veneris, quamvis nam ambe infortune, Saturnus scilicet et Mars, coniuncte essent Lune, fortitudo aspectus Solis impedimenta repellet ambarum.

Nativitas (ed. Steel 2018), 564–567: Dicit enim Avenesare ... quoque in *Libro nativitatum*: scito quod aspectus Solis ad Lunam, sive sextilis sive tertius aut quartus, melior est quam aspectus Iovis et Veneris, quamvis nam ambe infortune, Saturnus scilicet et Mars, coniuncte essent Lune, fortitudo aspectus Solis impedimenta repellet ambarum.

P, 87ra (*Nativités*): Et saches que le regart du Soleil a la Lune, soit regart .6. ou tiers ou quart, est plus bon que le regard Iupiter ne de Venus, car se estoient les .2. damachans avec la Lune, la force du regart du Soleil osteroit leur force.

Moladot (Sela 2013), III vi 11:4, 154–155:

ודע כי מבט השמש אל הלבנה, בין מבט שלישית או ששית או רביעית, יותר טוב ממבט צדק ונגה, כי אם היו השנים המזיקים עם הלבנה, כח מבט השמש תסיר בחם.
Know that an aspect of the Sun with the Moon, whether trine, sextile, or quartile, is more auspicious than an aspect of Jupiter and Venus, because if the two malefics are with the Moon, the power of the Sun’s aspect will eliminate their [the malefics’] power.

Whereas *Nativités* offers a literal translation of the text in *Moladot*, the identical versions in *De diebus creticis* and *Nativitas* diverge from *Nativités* and *Moladot* in the following points: (i) *De diebus creticis* and *Nativitas* specify the identity of

the two malefics, Saturn and Mars, which *Nativités*, following *Moladot*, ignores; (ii) *De diebus creticis* and *Nativitas* refer to the malefic as being *in conjunction* with the Moon (“coniuncte essent Lune”), while *Nativités*, following *Moladot*, describes it as being *with* the Moon (“avec la Lune”); (iii) *De diebus creticis* and *Nativitas* refer to the *impediments* of both malefics (“impedimenta ambarum”), while *Nativités* following *Moladot* speaks of their *power* (“leur force”).

As we shall see, in both *De diebus creticis* and *Nativitas*, this identical translation from *Moladot* is immediately preceded by another identical translation of a passage from the second version of Ibn Ezra's *Sefer ha-Mivḥarim* (see below, p. 162). This indicates that when Bate wrote *De diebus creticis* and *Nativitas* he already had access to Latin translations of *Moladot* and of the second version of Ibn Ezra's *Sefer ha-Mivḥarim* (whether complete or incomplete), from each of which he incorporated an excerpt into *De diebus creticis* and *Nativitas*. Since this *modus operandi* is in sharp contrast with all the other cases where Bate produced double translations of the same passage, this suggests that *De diebus creticis* was written around 1280–1281, the date of composition of *Nativitas*.

II.3.2 The Second Version of *Sefer ha-Moladot*

Bate's second Abraham is the aforementioned Abraham Princeps, to whom Bate in *Nativitas* assigned a *Liber nativitatum*. The latter is the Latinized name of and identical in content with the second version of *Sefer ha-Moladot* (Book of Nativities, henceforth *Moladot* II), whose Hebrew original is lost but which survives in an anonymous complete Latin translation designated *Liber nativitatum*.⁸⁷ The core of *Moladot* II, like *Moladot*, consists of 12 sections, one for each of the twelve horoscopic places; but it begins with a long introduction divided into ten “chapters,” and lacks the final long section on continuous horoscopy in nativities found in *Moladot*. Bate's *Nativitas* has at least 24 references to passages in *Moladot* II; none of them is identical with its counterpart in the Latin translation of *Moladot* II.⁸⁸ This indicates that Bate

87 For a critical edition and English translation of *Liber nativitatum*, the Latin translation of *Moladot* II, see *Abraham Ibn Ezra Latinus on Nativities. A Parallel Latin-English Critical Edition of Liber Nativitatum and Liber Abraham Iudei de Nativitatibus*, ed., trans., and annot. Shlomo Sela (Leiden: Brill, 2019), pp. 80–159.

88 For a list of these references, see Steel et al., *The Astrological Biography of a Medieval Philosopher*, pp. 272–273. I have myself compared each of the items of this list and their match in *Liber Nativitatum*.

did not know this translation and must have relied on a French into Hebrew translation of *Moladot* II or on a now lost Hebrew copy of *Moladot* II.

II.3.3 *Liber Abraham Iudei de Nativitatibus*

The third Abraham is Abraham Compiler, to whom Bate in *Nativitas* assigned a *Liber nativitatum* that is identical with *Liber Abraham Iudei de nativitatibus* (Book on nativities by Abraham the Jew; henceforth *De nativitatibus*), a Latin work on nativities assigned to Ibn Ezra that survives in 16 manuscripts and three print editions.⁸⁹ A close look at the manuscript and print witnesses of *De nativitatibus* reveals that this work was transmitted in four very different versions.⁹⁰ Bate's *Nativitas* includes no fewer than 17 references to the so-called fourth version of *De nativitatibus*.⁹¹ This emerges from the fact that nine of these seventeen passages are verbatim quotations of passages from that version.⁹² Of all the references in *Nativitas* to works by Ibn Ezra quoted in *De nativitatibus*, these are the only verbatim quotations from a text that appears in the manuscript or print tradition. For this and other reasons, it has been argued in a separate study that Bate was responsible for the fourth version of *De nativitatibus*, which he then quoted in *Nativitas*.⁹³

II.4 Elections

Ibn Ezra wrote three different versions of *Sefer ha-Mivḥarim* (Book of Elections), which deals with choosing the most auspicious moment to perform specific actions. Bate commissioned Hagin le Juif to produce a French translation of the second version of *Sefer ha-Mivḥarim* (henceforth *Mivḥarim* II), entitled *Le livre des elections Abraham* (henceforth *Elections*), extant in two manuscripts.⁹⁴ It seems, however, that Bate never produced a complete translation of any of the three versions of *Sefer ha-Mivḥarim*, but did include translated passages

89 For a critical edition and English translation of *De nativitatibus*, see Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra Latinus on Nativities*, pp. 250–351.

90 See Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra Latinus on Nativities*, pp. 49–59.

91 For a list of these references, see Steel et al., *The Astrological Biography of a Medieval Philosopher*, p. 272.

92 For a list of these references in *Nativitas* and their match in the fourth version of *De nativitatibus*, see Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra Latinus on Nativities*, p. 59 n. 364.

93 See *ibid.* pp. 59–65.

94 P, 104ra–107rb; P², 102ra–110va.

and references to *Mivḥarim* II and the third version of *Sefer ha-Mivḥarim* (henceforth *Mivḥarim* III), assigning the two works to two different Abrahams.

II.4.1 *Mivḥarim* II

There are two references to *Mivḥarim* II⁹⁵ in Bate's *Nativitas*. One is a short reference to "Avenezre in *Libro electionum*," accompanied by a brief paraphrase.⁹⁶ The other is a short translation of a passage from *Mivḥarim* II, which merits quotation here because it appears verbatim in Bate's *De diebus creticis*, right before *De diebus creticis* and *Nativitas* present the same translation of a passage from *Moladot*, as shown above (p. 159). This common passage of *De diebus creticis* and *Nativitas* is presented below, accompanied by its Hebrew and French counterparts. Differences between them are underlined:

De diebus creticis (Dell'Anna 1999), vol. 2, p. 113, cap. 8: Unde Avenesare in suo *Libro electionum* dicit quod omnes aspectus Solis ad Lunam boni sunt quia lumen suum a Sole recipit.

Nativitas (ed. Steel, 2018), 562–563: Dicit enim Avenezre in suo *Libro electionum* quod omnes aspectus Solis ad Lunam boni sunt quia lumen suum a Sole recipit.

P, 111rb (*Elections*): Et je di que tous les regars du Soleil a la Lune sont bon car sa clarté de sa clarté [sic; de sa clarté *add. in margin*].

Mivḥarim II, §1.5:2, 152–153:

ואני אומר כי מבטי השמש אל הלכנה כולם טובים מפני שאורה מאורו.

But I say that all the aspects that the Sun forms with the Moon are fortunate, because her <the Moon's> light is from his <the Sun's> light.

We see that while *Elections* offers a literal translation of a passage from *Mivḥarim* II, *De diebus creticis* and *Nativitas* incorporate an independent and identical translation of the same passage from *Mivḥarim* II, but diverging in two points: (1) while *De diebus creticis* and *Nativitas* mention Ibn Ezra and his *Book of Elections* in the third person, *Mivḥarim* II and *Elections* employ the first person;

95 For a critical edition and English translation of *Mivḥarim* II, see Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra on Elections, Interrogations and Medical Astrology*, pp. 142–177. This edition is used for all quotations from or references to the Hebrew text and English translation of *Moladot*, in the following format: *Mivḥarim* II, §7.1:6, 164–165 = *Mivḥarim* II, (ed. Sela 2011), chapter 7 (addressing the seventh horoscopic place), section 1, sentence 6, on pp. 164–165.

96 See *Nativitas* (ed. Steel, 2018), 605–607; cf. *Mivḥarim* II, §10.2:1–2, 172–173.

(2) while *De diebus creticis* and *Nativitas* refer to the Moon as receiving its light from the Sun, *Mivḥarim* II and *Elections* speak of the Moon's light as coming or being from the Sun's light.

As already remarked, in *De diebus creticis* and *Nativitas* this identical translation from *Mivḥarim* II precedes another identical translation of a passage from *Moladot* (see above, p. 159). This indicates that when Bate wrote *De diebus creticis* and *Nativitas* he already had Latin translations of *Moladot* and of *Mivḥarim* II (either complete or incomplete) to hand, taking an excerpt from each to quote in *De diebus creticis* and *Nativitas*.

II.4.2 *Mivḥarim* III

The Hebrew original of *Mivḥarim* III is almost completely lost but survives in an anonymous Latin translation, designated *Liber electionum*.⁹⁷ *Nativitas* contains four brief references to *Mivḥarim* III, all of them assigned to Abraham Princeps. The first is a reference to “Abraham Princeps in suo *Tractatu de electionibus*,” with regard to corrections that should be made to the *trutina Hermetis*.⁹⁸ The second reference to Abraham Princeps also concerns the *trutina Hermetis*.⁹⁹ Note that there is nothing in *Mivḥarim* I and *Mivḥarim* II about the *trutina Hermetis*, but that *Liber electionum* allots the bulk of the chapter on the fifth horoscopic place to a detailed account of it (without using this name). The third is a reference to “*Liber electionum* Abrahe Principis” regarding the power of a planet when it is in the domain of combustion or in Leo and Aries.¹⁰⁰ The fourth

97 For a critical edition and English translation of *Liber electionum*, see Abraham Ibn Ezra *Latinus on Elections and Interrogations*, pp. 92–131. This edition is used for the quotations or references to this Latin translation in the format: *Liber electionum* (ed. Sela 2020), II v 3:1–2, 106–107 = *Liber electionum* (ed. Sela 2020), part II (the twelve horoscopic places), chapter v (addressing the fifth horoscopic place), section 3, sentences 1–2, on pp. 106–107.

98 See *Nativitas* (ed. Steel, 2018), 106–107; cf. *Liber electionum* (ed. Sela 2020), II v 3:1–2, 106–107. The *trutina Hermetis* is a procedure assigned by Ibn Ezra to Enoch or Hermes and used in the doctrine of nativities to determine the ascendant of the natal horoscope on the basis of the duration of pregnancy when the time of birth is not known (the usual situation).

99 See *Nativitas* (ed. Steel, 2018), 86–87; cf. *Liber electionum* (ed. Sela 2020), II v 1:1 through II v 2:5, 104–105.

100 See *Nativitas* (ed. Steel, 2018), 603–604; cf. *Liber electionum* (ed. Sela 2020), II vii 5:5–6, 120–123.

is a reference to Abraham Princeps regarding two combatants, a typical topic in elections.¹⁰¹

II.5 Interrogations

Ibn Ezra composed three versions of *Sefer ha-She'elot* (Book of Interrogations), which instructs astrologers how to reply to questions related to daily life by casting and analyzing a horoscope for the time when the querent poses his question. Bate commissioned Hagin le Juif to produce a French translation of the second version of *Sefer ha-She'elot* (henceforth *She'elot* II), entitled *Le livre des interrogations* (henceforth *Interrogations*), extant in two manuscript,¹⁰² but did not produce a full Latin translation of *She'elot* II based on it.

II.5.1 *She'elot* II

Bate's *Nativitas* includes four references to *She'elot* II,¹⁰³ which is always attributed to Ibn Ezra. These are not translations of passages from *She'elot* II but rather loose paraphrases that combine elements of passages of *She'elot* II in order to flesh out some point in Bate's astrological autobiography.

One of them is about the condition in which an upper or lower planet is said to be victorious over another;¹⁰⁴ the second is about the relative power of the planet that is considered to be the lord of the exaltation in a certain sign;¹⁰⁵ the third is about the power of a planet when it is in the domain of combustion;¹⁰⁶ the fourth, about the weakness of a retrograde planet, is the closest to a translation. To appreciate Bate's *modus operandi*, the last-cited passage in *Nativitas* is presented here, accompanied by its counterpart in Ibn Ezra's *She'elot* II and in Hagin's *Interrogations*:

101 See *Nativitas* (ed. Steel, 2018), 1919–1920; cf. *Liber electionum* (ed. Sela 2020), II vii 4:5, 120–121.

102 P, 113va–125ra; P², 110va–123rb.

103 For a critical edition and English translation of *She'elot* II, see Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra on Elections, Interrogations and Medical Astrology*, pp 348–397. This edition is used for all quotations from or references to the Hebrew text and English translation of *Moladot*, in the following format: *She'elot* II, §7.1:2, 368–369 = *She'elot* II, (ed. Sela 2011), chapter 7 (addressing the seventh horoscopic place), section 1, sentence 2, on pp. 368–369.

104 See *Nativitas* (ed. Steel, 2018), 1910–1914; cf. *She'elot* II, §7.1:2, 368–369.

105 *Nativitas* (ed. Steel, 2018), 1105–1107; cf. *She'elot* II, §8:1–3, 354–355.

106 See *Nativitas* (ed. Steel, 2018), 604–605; cf. *She'elot* II, §10.1:1–2, 383–384.

Nativitas (ed. Steel, 2018), 903–905: Retrogradatio enim superiorum non est perfecta debilitas, ut vult Avenezre in suo *Libro interrogationum*.

P, 118va (*Interrogations*): Et aussi la retrogre demoutre que ille afoiblira, fors se ele est des hautes non sera sa foiblese enterine.

She'elot II, §7.1:4, 368–369:

וככה השב לאחור יורה שיחלש, רק אם היה מהעליונים לא תהיה חלישותו שלמה.

The same applies to a retrograde <planet> and this signifies that it will grow weaker, but if it is one of the upper planets its weakness will be not complete.

Hagin follows Ibn Ezra's Hebrew closely, but Bate offers a precise translation of only the last part of the passage and a loose paraphrase of the first part.

II.6 Medical Astrology

II.6.1 *Sefer ha-Me'orot*

Twelve years before he completed *De luminaribus*, the complete Latin translation of *Me'orot*, Bate had already incorporated five references to *Me'orot* into his *Nativitas*. At approximately the same date he also included one reference to *Me'orot* in *De diebus ceticis*. Bate attributes all six references to Ibn Ezra, and in most of them mentions the *Liber luminarium* (Book of the luminaries), in the genitive rather than the ablative (*Liber de luminaribus*). Bate used this title for *Me'orot* in three places in *Nativitas*, written in 1280,¹⁰⁷ and once in *De diebus ceticis*.¹⁰⁸

Five of them are loose references to various loci in *Me'orot*. The first is about the dangerous indications of Mercury when it is harmed by Saturn and Mars;¹⁰⁹ the second, how variations in the ecliptic latitude make the Moon's testimony invalid;¹¹⁰ the third, how Saturn in its apogee causes a disease involving constipation;¹¹¹ the fourth, how the patient may be saved if the benefic planets aspect the malefic planets;¹¹² the fifth, how the sixth day may be a critical day

¹⁰⁷ *Nativitas* (ed. Steel, 2018), 2978, 3022, 3131.

¹⁰⁸ See Dell'Anna, *Dies critici*, vol. 2, p. 106.

¹⁰⁹ *Nativitas* (ed. Steel, 2018), 3137–3140; cf. *Me'orot*, §8:1, 460–461.

¹¹⁰ *Nativitas* (ed. Steel, 2018), 3019–3022; cf. *Me'orot*, §20:3, 466–467.

¹¹¹ *Nativitas* (ed. Steel, 2018), 3119–3122; cf. *Me'orot*, §24:8, 470–471.

¹¹² *Nativitas* (ed. Steel, 2018), 2976–2981; cf. *Me'orot*, §32:1–2, 478–479.

when the Moon is moving rapidly.¹¹³ The sixth reference actually translates a passage from *Me'orot*, presented here with its counterparts in *De luminaribus* and in *Me'orot*. Differences between them are underlined:

Nativitas (ed. Steel, 2018), 3130–3133: Dicit quidem enim Avenezre in *Libro luminarium* quod coniunctio Lune cum Saturno et Marte valet minus medietate significationis male. Nam alter alterius significationem corrumpit.

Le, 33vb (*De luminaribus*): Si autem Luna cum Saturno et Marte fuerint hoc minus est dimidio signo malo, eo quod alter alterius opera deseruit aut disturbat.

Me'orot, §32:1, 478–479:

ואם הלבנה עם שבתִי ומאדים, הוא פחות מחצי סימן רע, בעבור כי זה יבטל מעשה זה.
If the Moon is with Saturn and Mars, this is less than half of an inauspicious sign, because one cancels the effect of the other.

Both *Nativitas* and *De luminaribus* offer close translations of the Hebrew original, but diverge in three points: (1) Where *Nativitas* has “coniunctio Lune cum Saturno,” *De luminaribus* translates “Luna cum Saturno,” which is closer to the Hebrew original; (2) where *Nativitas* has “valet minus medietate significationis male,” *De luminaribus* translates “minus est dimidio signo malo,” which is closer to the Hebrew original; (3) where *Nativitas* has “significationem corrumpit,” *De luminaribus* translates “opera deseruit aut disturbat” which is not only closer to the Hebrew original but also incorporates Bate’s signature doublet (“deseruit aut disturbat”).

Part III: Bate’s *Modus Operandi*

In the third part of this study we examine the most salient features of Henry Bate’s *modus operandi* as a translator of Ibn Ezra’s astrological writings. First we examine his use of double or triple translations for a single word or locution, a feature that readers of his translations will agree is his hallmark. Then we investigate Bate’s familiarity with Hebrew and how he applied this knowledge in his translations. Finally, we review the additions and glosses Bate incorporated into the translations and seek his motives for proceeding in this way.

113 Dell’Anna, *Dies critici*, vol. 2, p. 106, cap. 5; cf. *Me'orot*, §4:2–3, 456–457.

III.1 Henry Bate and the Art of the Doublet

The most conspicuous stylistic feature of Bate’s *modus operandi* in his complete translations of Ibn Ezra’s astrological writings is the frequent double and sometimes triple translations of a single word or expression in his source text. A study of the words or expressions rendered as doublets or triplets, an examination of their contents, and scrutiny of Bate’s motives for multiple translations of specific words or expressions highlights the details of this conspicuous stylistic feature and reveals his linguistic approach to the art of translation, his wide general knowledge, and his acquaintance with the Latin technical astrological and astronomical vocabulary in vogue in his time.

Let us begin with the quantitative aspect. Other Latin translators produced double or triple translations of a single word on occasion,¹¹⁴ but not with the same frequency as Bate did in his translations of Ibn Ezra. Table 2 displays his fondness for this method (in descending order):

Table 2

Bate’s work	Ibn Ezra original	Doublets	Triplets
<i>Introductorius</i>	<i>Reshit hokhmah</i>	409	19
<i>Rationes</i> I	<i>Ṭe’amim</i> I	210	6
<i>Rationes</i> II	<i>Ṭe’amim</i> II	184	6
<i>Iudicia</i>	<i>Mishpeṭei ha-Mazzalot</i>	167	11
<i>De luminaribus</i>	<i>Me’orot</i>	60	3
<i>De mundo</i>	‘Olam I	39	3

An exhaustive examination of these doublets and triplets is beyond the scope of the current study and is reserved to the critical editions of Bate’s translations

114 One example is the Latin translation of *Kelal qatan*, a Hebrew work on medical astrology based on Ibn Ezra’s *Me’orot*, where we find, inter alia, the following doublets: “flebotomari vel flebotomiam facere” for להקיז דם “bloodletting”; “motus vel cursus” for הליכה “motion”; “mala vel impedimenta” for רעות “calamities.” See Charles Burnett’s critical edition of this text in Gerrit Bos, Charles Burnett, and Y. Tzvi Langermann, *Hebrew Medical Astrology: David Ben Yom Tov’s Kelal Qatan* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2005), pp. 64–71.

of Ibn Ezra. Here I focus on doublets and triplets strictly related to astrology and astronomy that Bate used (1) more than once in a single translation; (2) in more than one of his translations, and (3) only once, but which render important astrological or astronomical terms. To make the content more comprehensible, they are divided below into the astrological and astronomical categories to which they pertain.

III.1.1 *The Zodiac, the Ecliptic, and the Zodiacal Signs*

The zodiac is a narrow strip, inclined with respect to the celestial equator, that divides the celestial sphere in half and in which the planets are confined and move. It is conventionally divided into 360 degrees. The zodiacal signs are twelve equal divisions of the zodiac, 30° each, beginning from the vernal equinox. The ecliptic is the apparent path that the Sun follows through the zodiac over the course of the year. Astrological tradition groups the zodiacal signs in various categories and usually assigns them metaphorical names. To denote these and other elements related to the zodiac Ibn Ezra usually uses Hebrew terms that are literal translations from the Arabic. In his translations, Bate sometimes clarifies these names by means of doublets or triplets, as in the following examples:

- (1) To denote the zodiac Ibn Ezra frequently writes גלגל המזלות, “circle of the signs,” translated by Hagin as “cercle des signes” and subsequently by Bate as “circulus signorum” = “circle of the signs.”¹¹⁵ To denote the ecliptic, Ibn Ezra uses חשב אפודת הגלגל, “the girdle of the vest of the circle,” derived from the biblical expression חשב האפוד (Exodus 28 and 39), “the girdle of the vest.”¹¹⁶ Hagin renders this expression, which appears several times in *Reshit hokhmah*, as “ceint dil ymagination du cercle”; Bate, as “cingulum ymaginationis circuli signorum”¹¹⁷ or “cingulum orbis signorum” = “girdle of the orb of the signs.”¹¹⁸ In *Rationes* I, though, Bate twice employs the

115 See, for example, *Reshit hokhmah*, §3:1, 50–51; P, 1va (*Commencement*); Le, 2ra (*Introductorius*).

116 The expression חשב אפודתו appears in this context in the poem *Keter malkhut* (Royal crown) by Solomon Ibn Gabirol (ca. 1021–ca. 1057). See Josefina Rodriguez Arribas, “Astronomical and Astrological Terms in Ibn Ezra’s Biblical Commentaries: A New Approach,” *Culture and Cosmos* 13.1 (2009): 323.

117 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §1.10:5, 56–57; P, 3va (*Commencement*); Le, 2vb (*Introductorius*).

118 See, for example, *Reshit hokhmah*, §2.14:1, 132–133; P, 29vb (*Commencement*); Le, 11ra (*Introductorius*).

doublet “cingulum orbis signorum sive ecliptice linee” = “girdle of the orb of the signs or line of the ecliptic.”¹¹⁹

- (2) For the bicorporal signs (Gemini, Virgo, Sagittarius, and Pisces), *Reshit hokhmah* has שתי צורות, “two figures,” and יש לו שני גופות, “it has two bodies.” In Hagin’s French these become “.2. figures,” and “et a .2. cors.” Bate, in *Introductorius*, renders the first expression as “bicorpor vel duas habet figuras” = “bicorporal or it has two figures” and the second as “duorum corporum sive bicorpor” = “of two bodies or bicorporal.”¹²⁰ Bate’s *Rationes* II represents the second expression by means of the same doublet as *Introductorius* does.¹²¹ We see that in both cases one component of the doublet is a literal translation and the other is the common Latin technical term.
- (3) For Ibn Ezra, the tropical signs (Aries, Cancer, Libra, Capricorn) are מתהפכים, “turning <signs>.” Hagin, in his translation of *Reshit hokhmah*, renders this as “s’est trestournans”; Bate’s *Introductorius* uses the doublet “mobile seu tropicale” = “mobile or tropical.”¹²² Bate’s *Iudicia* and *Rationes* II, too, clarify the term by means of the doublet “mobilia seu tropica”;¹²³ *Rationes* I offers the triplet “mutabile seu tropicum et mobile” = “changeable, or tropical and mobile.”¹²⁴ As in the previous case, one component of the doublet is a literal translation and the other is the common Latin technical term.
- (4) *Reshit hokhmah* describes a fixed sign (Taurus, Leo, Scorpio, Aquarius) as עומד על דרך אחד, “standing in one way;” Hagin renders the expression literally as “il est sur une voie”; in *Introductorius*, Bate offers a doublet that omits a literal translation and instead provides the Latin technical term plus an explanation: “fixum sive non mutabile” = “fixed or not changeable.”¹²⁵ A

119 *Ṭe’amim* I, §1.2:1, 28–29 and §1.3:3, 30–31; cf. *Le*, 61ra and 61rb (*Rationes* I).

120 See, respectively, *Reshit hokhmah*, §2.1:11, 58–59; *P*, 4rb (*Commencement*); *Le*, 3ra (*Introductorius*), and *Reshit hokhmah*, §2.9:2, 108–109; *P*, 21vb (*Commencement*); *Le*, 8va (*Introductorius*).

121 *Ṭe’amim* II, §2.3:4, 188–189; *Le*, 50va (*Rationes* II).

122 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §2.1:4, 58–59; *P*, 4ra (*Commencement*); *Le*, 3ra (*Introductorius*).

123 See *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*, §2:2, 488–489; *Le*, 37rb (*Iudicia*); *Ṭe’amim* II, §2.3:1, 188–189; *Le*, 50va (*Rationes* II).

124 *Ṭe’amim* I, §2.2:1, 38–39; *Le*, 62va (*Rationes* I).

125 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §2.8:3, 102–103; *P*, 20ra (*Commencement*); *Le*, 7vb (*Introductorius*).

- similar denomination, מזל עומד, “standing sign,” is found in both versions of *Ṭe’amim*; in *Rationes* I and *Rationes* II Bates writes “stabile seu fixum” = “stable or immovable.”¹²⁶ For the same category of signs, *Mishpetei ha-mazzalot* and *Me’orot* use נאמנים, “enduring.” In *Iudicia* Bate opts for the triplet “firma seu fixa vel stabilia” = “firm or immovable or stable”; in *De luminaribus* he has the doublet “firma vel fixa” = “firm or immovable.”¹²⁷
- (5) The “long signs,” from Cancer to Sagittarius, divide the zodiac according to their rising times or ascensions.¹²⁸ Ibn Ezra designates them מזלות ארוכים, “long signs.” In *De luminaribus* Bate uses the doublet “signa longa seu longarum ascensionum” = “long signs or <signs> of long ascensions” in three different places.¹²⁹
- (6) Ibn Ezra designated the “terminal sign” as בית הסוף,¹³⁰ “terminal house.” Bate renders it by the same doublet three times, once in *De Mundo* and twice in *Rationes* II: “domus finis sive signum profectionis” = “terminal house or sign of profection.”¹³¹ Here too one component of the doublet translates the Hebrew term literally, while the other is the common Latin technical term.
- (7) The “signs of deformities” (Taurus, Cancer, Scorpio, Capricorn, and Pisces) are referred to throughout Ibn Ezra’s astrological oeuvre as מזלות המומים, “signs of deformities.” Hagin translates literally as “signes les mehaignans”; Bate, in *Introductorius*, clarifies the term by means of the triplet “signa impedimentorum, orbationum seu mutilationum” = signs of hindrances, privations or mutilations.”¹³² The same category occurs in *Ṭe’amim* II as המומים, “deformities,” which Bate translates by means of the

126 See *Ṭe’amim* I, §2.13:1, 52–53; *Le*, 64va (*Rationes* I); and see *Ṭe’amim* II, §2.3:3, 184–185; *Le*, 50va (*Rationes* II).

127 See *Mishpetei ha-mazzalot*, §2:3, 488–489; *Le*, 37rb (*Iudicia*); *Me’orot*, §33:1, 466–467; *Le*, 32rb (*De luminaribus*).

128 The term “rising times” or “ascensions” refers to how many degrees of the equator cross the horizon of a given locality simultaneously with the consecutive zodiacal signs.

129 See *Me’orot*, §16:4 and §16:5, 466–467; *Le*, 32rb (*De luminaribus*); *Me’orot*, §23:3, 468–469; *Le*, 32va (*De luminaribus*).

130 For this concept, see Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra on Nativities and Continuous Horoscopy*, pp. 400–402.

131 See *’Olam* I, §57:2, 88–89; *Le*, 29vb (*De mundo*); *Ṭe’amim* II, §6.4:1, 238–239; *Le*, 58rb (*Rationes* II); *Ṭe’amim* II, §8.5:1, 252–253; *Le*, 60rb (*Rationes* II).

132 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §2.8:30, 106–107; *P*, 21ra (*Commencement*); *Le*, 8rb (*Introductorius*).

doublet “orbationes seu azemena” = privations or *azemena*.¹³³ The second component of this doublet is a transliteration of الزمانه, used in al-Qabīṣī’s *Introduction to Astrology* to denote a category of zodiacal degrees that indicate chronic diseases.¹³⁴

- (8) The zodiac is divided into groups of degrees that are taken to have astrological influence on specific portions of the signs. Ibn Ezra calls one of them חשוכות, “dark.” Hagin translates literally as “oscuri,” which Bate expands into the doublet “obscuri vel tenebrosi,” Latin synonyms for “dark.”¹³⁵
- (9) Following Arabic sources, Latin astrology calls the interval of the zodiac between Libra 19° and Scorpio 3° “via combusta,” “the burnt path.” A planet is said to be weak there. *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot* and *Ṭe’amim* I employ מקום השריפה, “the place of burning.” Bate’s *Iudicia* and *Rationes* I clarify this expression by means of a doublet that includes a literal translation of the Hebrew and the common Latin technical term: “locus combustionis seu via combusta” = “place of burning or the burnt path.”¹³⁶ *Ṭe’amim* I, though, uses דרך החושך, “the path of darkness,” which Bate expands into another doublet that consists of a literal translation of the Hebrew and the common Latin technical term: “via obscuritatis seu via combusta” = “path of darkness or the burnt path.”¹³⁷

III.1.2 Astronomical Terms

Ibn Ezra’s introductions to astrology (and to a lesser extent his treatises on the specific branches of Greco-Arabic astrology) incorporate extensive astronomical content. Ibn Ezra’s astronomical terms are usually literal translations from his Arabic sources, although there are also Hebrew coinages derived from the Bible or the Talmud. Bate clarifies these terms by means of doublets, which as a rule include the common Latin technical counterpart, as follows:

- (1) The common Latin technical term to denote the distance along the zodiac between two planets is “longitudo.” To denote this concept, Ibn Ezra always writes מרחק, even though this term may apply to the distance of a planet from

133 See *Ṭe’amim* II, §2.3:17, 190–191; *Le*, 50vb (*Rationes* II).

134 Al-Qabīṣī (Alcabitius): *The Introduction to Astrology*, ed. Ch. Burnett et al., pp. 44–45.

135 *Reshit hokhmah*, §2.4:42, 84–85; *P*, 13ra (*Commencement*); *Le*, 5vb (*Introductorius*).

136 See *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*, §4:3, 492–493; *Le*, 37va (*Iudicia*); *Ṭe’amim* I, §2.16:5, 54–55; *Le*, 64vb (*Rationes* I).

137 See *Ṭe’amim* II, §2.7:5, 194–195; *Le*, 52rb (*Rationes* II).

the Sun, from the Earth, etc. In seven places Bate's *Iudicia* disambiguates the Hebrew term by means of the doublet "distantia seu longitudo" = "distance or longitude."¹³⁸ The same doublet appears five times in *Rationes* I and once in *Introductorius*.¹³⁹

- (2) By contrast, the common Latin technical term to denote the distance between a planet and the Sun is "elongatio." To denote the distance between a planet and the Sun, Ibn Ezra again uses the equivocal מרחק. Bate's *Introductorius* and *Rationes* I disambiguate the Hebrew term by means of the doublet "distantia seu elongatio" = "distance or elongation."¹⁴⁰
- (3) The common Latin technical terms to indicate that a planet has northern or southern latitude with respect to the ecliptic are "septentrionalis" or "meridionalis." To denote these two concepts Ibn Ezra, influenced by his Arabic sources, uses the biblical שמאל and ימין, whose primary sense is "left" and "right," which Hagin renders literally as "senestre" and "destre," "left" and "right." Bate disambiguates them as "sinister vel septentrionalis" and "dexter vel meridionalis" = "left or northern" and "right or southern." These doublets are found at least five times in *Introductorius*, three times in *Rationes* I, three times in *Rationes* II, and once in *Iudicia*.¹⁴¹
- (4) To denote the nodes, the points where a planet crosses the ecliptic, Ibn Ezra always employs the talmudic word תלי, "Dragon." *Reshit hokhmah*, for example, refers to ראש התלי, "the head of the Dragon," and Hagin translates "le chief du Dragon." Bate's *Introductorius* disambiguates this by means of the doublet "caput Draconis seu genzaar" = "the head of the Dragon or jawzahar."¹⁴² The second component of the doublet is the transliteration of

138 See *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*, §35:3–4, 518–519; Le, 42rb (*Iudicia*) et passim.

139 See *Te'amim* I, §9.2:2, 92–93; Le, 71va (*Rationes* I) et passim; *Reshit hokhmah*, §9.18:3, 260–261; P, 63rb (*Commencement*: l'alongement); Le, 22ra (*Introductorius*).

140 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §1.10:1, 56–57; P, 3va (*Commencement*: l'alongement du soleil); Le, 2vb (*Introductorius*); *Te'amim* I, §6.3:5, 86–86; Le, 70va (*Rationes* I).

141 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §1.10:2, 56–57; P, 3va (*Commencement*); Le, 2vb (*Introductorius*) et passim; *Te'amim* I, §1.4:3, 32–33; Le, 61va (*Rationes* I) et passim; *Te'amim* II, §2.2:1, 186–187; Le, 50rb (*Rationes* II) et passim; *Mishpeṭei ha-Mazzalot*, §44:5, 530–531; Le, 44va (*Iudicia*).

142 *Reshit hokhmah*, §2.12:35, 130–131; P, 29ra (*Commencement*); Le, 10rb (*Introductorius*) et passim.

the Arabic-Persian term *jawzahar*, *جوزهر*, which Latin scholars used for the nodes.¹⁴³

- (5) To denote perigee, the point in the orbit of a planet where it is closest to the Earth, Latin scholars use “*oppositum augis*,” that is, “the opposite of the apogee,” the point in the orbit of a planet where it is furthest from the Earth. Ibn Ezra uses *שפלות* or *מקום שפלות*, “lowness” or “place of lowness.” *Reshit hokhmah*, for example, has *מקום שפלות*, which Hagin renders literally as “*le lieu de la baisseté*.” This is translated by Bate in *Introductorius* by means of the doublet “*depressio seu appositum augis*” = “a depression or the opposite of the apogee,” which combines a literal translation of the Hebrew term with the common Latin technical term. The same doublet is found twice in *Introductorius*, three times in *Iudicia*, and once in *Rationes* I.¹⁴⁴ In another passage in *Introductorius*, though, Bate translates the same term as “*depressio seu humiliatio*” = “depression or lying low”¹⁴⁵
- (6) To denote the concept that one planet eclipses another, Ibn Ezra in *Ṭe’amim* II and *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot* employs the verb *הסתיר*, “hide.” In *Rationes* II and *Iudicia*, Bate uses the doublet “*occultat seu eclipsat*” = “hides or eclipses.”¹⁴⁶
- (7) In Greek astronomy, the “eccentric circle” is one whose center is not the Earth but some point slightly offset from it. It is also called “*deferens*,” “carrying,” because the epicycle is carried by the eccentric circle. To denote this, Ibn Ezra uses *הגלגל המרכז*, “the circle of the center,” which incorporates his neologism *מרוצק*, *muṣaq*, *lit.* “solid, stable, or strong,” as meaning “center.”¹⁴⁷ In *Rationes* I, Bate avoids a literal translation of Ibn Ezra’s

143 Pietro d’Abano, for example, in his translation of *Reshit hokhmah*, §5.5:6–7, 186–187, writes: “Aut sint cum capite suorum *genazahat* Draconis aut cauda, aut cum capite *genazahat* Lune, sitque inter eos minus .12. gradus.” See Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne 640, fol. 89va.

144 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §2.3:25, 74–75; P, 3va (*Commencement*); Le, 4vb (*Introductorius*) et passim; *Mishpeṭei ha-Mazzalot*, §21:3, 506–507; Le, 40rb (*Iudicia*) et passim; *Ṭe’amim* I, §2.6:3, 46–47; Le, 63vb (*Rationes* I).

145 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §2.1:40, 62–63; P, 5vb (*Commencement*); Le, 3va (*Introductorius*).

146 See *Ṭe’amim* II, §1.2:3, 182–183; Le, 49vb (*Rationes* II); *Mishpeṭei ha-Mazzalot*, §32:1, 516–517; Le, 41vb (*Iudicia*).

147 For this neologism, see Shlomo Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra and the Rise of Medieval Hebrew Science* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2003), pp. 113–116.

expression and instead uses the doublet "circulus ecentricus sive deferens" = "eccentric or carrying circle."¹⁴⁸

III.1.3 Astronomical Terms derived from ישר "Straight" and שווה "Equal"

Ibn Ezra uses words derived from ישר and שווה, literally "straight" and "equal," for several astronomical terms. Bate found these terms rather confusing and clarified them by means of doublets. Usually, one component of the doublet is the literal translation of the Hebrew word and the other component presents the common Latin technical term:

- (1) To denote the "mean motion of the planets," in contrast to the "variable motion" of the planets, 'Olam I uses המהלך השווה, "the equal motion." *De mundo* renders this as "medius cursus vel equalis" = "mean or equal motion."¹⁴⁹
- (2) To denote "equal degrees," that is, degrees measured along the zodiac, Ibn Ezra frequently uses מעלות ישרות, "straight degrees." *Introductorius* clarifies this term, rendered by Hagin as "grés droits" = "straight degrees," as "gradus recti seu equales" = "straight or equal degrees."¹⁵⁰ The same doublet, translating the same Hebrew expression, is found in *Rationes* I.¹⁵¹
- (3) For the "straight signs," those from Cancer to Sagittarius (in contrast to the "crooked" signs, from Capricorn to Gemini), which divide the zodiac according to their rising times, Ibn Ezra uses מזלות ישרים, "straight signs." *Rationes* I has the doublet "equales signa aut recta" = "equal or straight signs."¹⁵²
- (4) Ibn Ezra uses מישור, "plane," derived from the root ישר, in the expression גלגל המישור, "plane circle" or "straight circle," for "sphaera recta," which refers to the situation when calculations are transferred from the ecliptic to the celestial equator. Bate hesitated about the meaning of this expression and produced three different translations in three different loci of *Iudicia*: (a) "circulus equalis sive rectus" = "equal or straight circle";¹⁵³ (b) "circulus

148 See *Te'amim* I, §2.5:1, 194–195; *Le*, 63rb (*Rationes* I).

149 See 'Olam I, §1:1, 52–53; *Le*, 25rb (*De mundo*).

150 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §1.1:3, 50–51; P, 1vb (*Commencement*); *Le*, 2rb (*Introductorius*).

151 See *Te'amim* I, §10.5:2, 98–99; *Le*, 72rb (*Rationes* I).

152 See *Te'amim* I, §3.3:2, 62–63; *Le*, 65vb (*Rationes* I).

153 See *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*, §1:7, 488–489; *Le*, 37rb (*Iudicia*).

equalitatis sive spera recta” = “circle of equality or sphaera recta”,¹⁵⁴ (c) “rectus circulus seu linea equalis” = “straight circle or equal line.”¹⁵⁵

- (5) Ibn Ezra uses יושר, “straightness,” another word derived from ישר, in the expression קו היושר, “line of straightness,” to denote the equator. *Rationes* I translates and explains this expression by means of the doublet “linea equalis sive spera recta” = “equal line or sphaera recta.”¹⁵⁶

III.1.4 Astrological Terms derived from ישר “Straight”

Ibn Ezra employs the same Hebrew terms, ישר “straight” and יושר “straightness,” to represent the adjective “temperate” and the noun “temperament” as they apply to the physical nature of planets, signs, and the human body. In many cases, as we shall see in this section, Bate clarifies the term by means of doublets or triplets. No doubt Bate became aware of the alternative meaning of these words as a result of the context in which they appear and not as a result of French intermediaries, which usually offer literal translations of the Hebrew text. To highlight the latter point, here are Bate’s doublets or triplets (underlined), together with their context.

(1) The following five examples relate to the nature of the planets:

- (a) *Reshit hokhmah*, §7.14:1, 204–205:

שיביט כוכב אל כוכב ... אז יהיה ממסך שניהם ישר.

When one planet aspects <another> planet ... in which case the mixture of both is tempered.

P, 49vb (Hagin): Regarde estoile a estoile ... adonc sera le mellement de eus .2. droit.

Le, 3ra (*Introductorius*): Ut aspiciat planeta planetam alium ... tunc erit eorum commixtio eorum equalis seu temperata.

When one planet aspects another planet ... then the mixture of both is equal or tempered.

- (b) *Reshit hokhmah*, §7.28:5, 208–209:

והכוכב הטוב יקבל הטוב בעבור היות תולדתו ישרה.

A benefic planet receives a benefic one because of its balanced nature.

P, 51rb (Hagin): L'estoile bone reçoit la bone pour ce que est leur nature droite.

154 See *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*, §65:9, 546–547; Le, 46vb (*Iudicia*).

155 See *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*, §71:5, 550–551; Le, 47rb (*Iudicia*).

156 See *Ṭe'amim* I, §2.4:4, 42–43; Le, 63ra (*Rationes* I).

Le, 18rb (*Introductorius*): Planeta benevolus recipit benevolum eo quod natura ipsorum equalis est seu temperata
A benefic planet receives a benefic one because their nature is equal or balanced.

- (c) *Te'amim* I, §2.17:7, 58–99:

צדק, שהוא ישר בתולדתו.

Jupiter, which is temperate in its nature

Le, 65rb (*Rationes* I): Iovem ... eo quod equalis seu temperatus est in sua natura

Jupiter ... because it is equal or temperate in its nature.

- (d) *Te'amim* II, §5.4:10, 38–39:

והוא כוכב אמת כי כן התולדת הישרה.

It is a star of truth because such is the temperate nature.

Le, 56va (*Rationes* II): et itaque planeta veritatis similiter enim est et eius natura equalis sive iusta et temperata.

Likewise, it is a star of truth, and its nature is equal or just or temperate.

- (e) *Te'amim* II, §5.7:2, 232–233:

כוכב חמה ... על כן משתנה מהרה לכל תולדת בעבור היותו ישר.

Mercury ... for this reason it quickly changes to any nature because it is temperate.

Le, 57vb (*Rationes* II): Mercurius ... et ideo confestim mutatur ad qualibet naturam eo quod equalis est seu rectus vel temperatus

Mercury ... for this reason it quickly changes to any nature because it is equal, straight, or temperate.

In all these cases Bate uses both “equalis,” the literal translation of ישר, as well as “temperata,” which conveys the meaning. In the two last examples Bate uses triplets, which, in addition to “equalis” and “temperata,” include synonyms for the literal translation of ישר: “iustus” and “rectus.” The first two examples here present Hagin’s French translation, on which Bate relied to produce his *Introductorius*. Given that in both examples Hagin opted for “droit,” which is a literal translation of ישר, it follows that Bate must have become aware of the alternative meaning of ישר as a result of the context.

- (2) The next two examples relate, respectively, to the nature of zodiacal signs and of the human body:

- (a) *Reshit hokhmah*, §2.4:9, 80–81:

סרטן ... והוא יורה ... על כל ממסך קר ולח במעט יושר.

Cancer ... indicates ... any mixture of cold and moist that is somewhat balanced.

P, 11rb (Hagin): La Creveice ... et il enseigne ... sur tout mellement froit et moiste en un petit de droiture.

Le, 54b (*Introductorius*): Cancer ... et significat ... super omnem complexionen frigidam et humidam in equalitate aliquantula seu temperamento.

Cancer ... signifies ... any mixture of cold and moist in a little degree of equality or temperament.

(b) *Reshit hokhmah*, §2.12:26, 128–129:

והנולד בו מבני אדם יהיה ישר.

A person born in it, his body will be mixed.

P, 28va (Hagin): Et celi qui est nés en li d'enfans d'ome sera son cors droit

Le, 10ra (*Introductorius*): Qui natus fuerit in hoc signo, erit corpus eius rectus et temperatus

A person born in this sign, his body will be straight and temperate.

In these two examples, related to the nature of the signs and the human body, we note the same features as in the five previous examples, related to the nature of the planets: the use of “temperamentum” or “temperatus” to disambiguate the meaning of “equalitas” and “rectus,” which translate יושר and ישר. In addition, we see that in these cases Hagin opted for a literal French translation of the Hebrew—“droiture” and “droit”—so Bate must have based his alternative translation on the context.

III.1.5 Planets and Fixed Stars

- (1) Ibn Ezra uses two words for “planets.” One is משרתים, “servants,” perhaps Ibn Ezra’s most frequent and distinctive biblical neologism.¹⁵⁷ Inasmuch as this Hebrew term refers unequivocally to the planets, Bate translates it everywhere as “planete,” with no need for a clarifying doublet. The other Hebrew term, though, כוכבים, “stars,” may refer to the planets or to the fixed stars. Hagin translates it as “estoiles,” but given the ambiguity, Bate frequently employs

157 For this neologism, see Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra and the Rise of Medieval Hebrew Science*, pp. 129–130.

- the doublet “stelle seu planete.”¹⁵⁸ The same doublet occurs frequently in *De luminaribus*,¹⁵⁹ *Rationes* I,¹⁶⁰ *Rationes* II,¹⁶¹ and *De mundo*.¹⁶²
- (2) Ibn Ezra often writes העליונים, “the uppermost <stars>,” meaning either the three uppermost planets, Saturn, Jupiter, and Mars, or the fixed stars. In *De luminaribus*, Bate twice resolves the ambiguity when it refers to the fixed stars by means of the doublet “stelle supreme seu fixe” = “highest or fixed stars.”¹⁶³
 - (3) Following his Arabic sources, Ibn Ezra uses צורה, “shape” or “figure,” for a constellation. Hagin translates “figure”; Bate, in *Introductorius*, clarifies the terms by means of the doublet “figura seu ymago” = “figure or image.”¹⁶⁴ The same doublet, clarifying the same Hebrew term, is found in *De mundo*.¹⁶⁵
 - (4) The planets are assigned various appellations related to their motions, indications, and positions. Ibn Ezra, following his Arabic sources, often calls the slow planets כובבים, “heavy planets.” Bate clarifies the term with the doublet “stelle graves seu tarde” = “heavy or slow stars.”¹⁶⁶
 - (5) Ibn Ezra is in the habit of calling the beneficent and maleficent planets טובים ורעים, “good and bad,” Bate disambiguates the term with the doublet “boni et mali, seu benefici et malefici” = “good and bad or benefic and malefic.”¹⁶⁷
 - (6) *Reshit hokhmah* designates a planet that is located in the “straight signs” as הנגיד, “the governor,” and one that is located in the “crooked signs” as העבד, “the slave.” Hagin translates these two terms as “siegneur” and “serjant,” respectively. *Introductorius* clarifies these metaphors by means of doublets:

158 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §2.1:32, 62–63; §3.2:4, 140–141; §7.2:1, 196–197; P, 5vb; 32rb; 47va (*Commencement*); Le, 3rb; 11vb; 16vb (*Introductorius*).

159 See *Me'orot*, §1:2, 452–453; §1:5, 452–453; §10:1, 462–462; §23:5, 469–469; §29:1, 474–475; §34:2, 480–481; Le, 30va; 30va; 31vb; 32va; 334b; 34ra (*De luminaribus*).

160 See *Te'amim* I, §1.3:2, 30–31; §3.2:11, 60–61; §4.5:6, 76–77; §5.2:6, 84–85; Le, 61ra; 65vb; 67rb; 69rb (*Rationes* I).

161 See *Te'amim* II, §4.3:1, 208–298; §6.5:3, 240–241; Le, 53va; 58va (*Rationes* I).

162 See *Olam* I, §64:2, 94–95; Le, 39rb (*De mundo*).

163 See *Me'orot*, §34:5, 480–481; §35:1, 482–483; Le, 34ra, 34rb (*De luminaribus*).

164 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §2.6:21, 94–95; P, 16rb (*Commencement*); Le, 7ra (*Introductorius*).

165 See *Olam* I, §62:5, 92–93; Le, 30ra (*De mundo*).

166 See *Olam* I, §7:1, 56–56; Le, 25va (*De mundo*).

167 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §1.9:2, 54–55; P, 3ra (*Commencement*); Le, 2va (*Introductorius*). In addition, because Ibn Ezra uses the same adjectives for the zodiacal signs, Bate clarifies the term with the same doublet. See *Te'amim* I, §2.2:2, 38–39; Le, 62va (*Rationes* I).

- “dominus seu principans” and “servus seu subiectus” = “lord or ruler” and “slave or subject.”¹⁶⁸
- (7) A planet is said to be “peregrine” when it is not in its planetary house, exaltation, or triplicity. *Reshit hokhmah* calls such a planet גר במקומו, “stranger in its position.” Hagin translates “etranger en son lieu”; Bate clarifies the metaphor with the doublet “stella peregrina seu extranea” = “peregrine or foreign star.”¹⁶⁹
- (8) *Reshit hokhmah* uses the verb התחבר “conjoin” when the distance between two planets is less than 15° and they are moving closer, and not only for two planets that are in conjunction.¹⁷⁰ Hagin translates literally as “se conjoint a autre estoile.” Bate, though, disambiguates the term by means of a doublet that includes the verb “applicare,” the common Latin technical term: “applicet seu coniungatur” = “comes nearer or conjoins.”¹⁷¹
- (9) The planets are said to emit “rays,” a metaphor for a certain number of degrees in the zodiac, ahead of or behind the planet, where its influence is still felt.¹⁷² For this concept, *Te’amim* I and *Te’amim* I use אור “light,” in both the singular and the plural. Bate disambiguates the term three times in *Rationes* I and four times in *Rationes* II by means of the doublet “lumen seu radius” = “light or ray.”¹⁷³
- (10) The planets are said to indicate “pains” when located in specific signs.¹⁷⁴ *Te’amim* I denotes this concept by כאב “pain,” which *Rationes* I translates by means of the doublet “dolor seu passio” = “pain or suffering.”¹⁷⁵ *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot* designates the same concept by מכאוב כל כוכב, “pain of any planet,” which *Iudicia* translates by means of the doublet “planete dolores et passiones” = “pains or sufferings of the planets.”¹⁷⁶

168 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §3.2:4, 140–141; P, 32rb (*Commencement*); Le, 11vb (*Introductorius*).

169 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §5.4:14, 184–185; P, 54vb (*Commencement*); Le, 15rb (*Introductorius*).

170 For this condition, see *Reshit hokhmah*, §7.2:1–4, 196–197.

171 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §7.6:3, 200–201; P, 48vb (*Commencement*); Le, 17rb (*Introductorius*).

172 For this concept, see Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra’s Introductions to Astrology*, pp. 592–593.

173 See *Te’amim* I, §2.16:4, 54–55; §2.16:5, 54–55; §4.2:12, 74–75; Le, 65ra; 65ra; 67rb (*Rationes* I). *Te’amim* II, §4.2:1, 208–209; §4.2:3, 208–209; §4.9:3, 214–215; §5.2:15, 220–221; Le, 53va; 53va; 54rb; 55va (*Rationes* I).

174 For this concept, see Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra’s Introductions to Astrology*, pp. 589–590.

175 See *Te’amim* I, §2.3:4, 40–41; Le, 63ra (*Rationes* I).

176 See *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*, §20:1, 504–505; Le, 40ra (*Iudicia*).

III.1.6 The Dignities

The dignities (house, exaltation, triplicity, term, decan) are five distinct zodiacal positions (a whole sign, a degree in a sign, or an interval of degrees in a sign) where a planet is said to acquire strength in the horoscope, for good or for evil, according to its nature.

- (1) *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot* denotes the concept of dignity by means of פְּקִידוֹת, “lordship.” Bate clarifies the term by means of the doublet “dignitas seu potestas” = “dignity or power.”¹⁷⁷
- (2) The second of the planets’ five essential dignities is “exaltation.” Ibn Ezra, following his Arabic sources, used the Hebrew כְּבוֹד “honor.”¹⁷⁸ Hagin turns this into “oneur”; *Introductorius* sometimes explicates what would strike his readers as a curious term by means of the doublet “honor seu exaltatio” = “honor or exaltation.”¹⁷⁹ Because כְּבוֹד meaning exaltation is extremely frequent in Ibn Ezra’s astrological corpus, the doublet “honor seu exaltatio” appears often in Bate’s translations of Ibn Ezra: at least twelve times in *Introductorius*, five times in *Rationes* I, four times in *Iudicia*, three times in *Rationes* II, and once in *De luminaribus*.
- (3) A planet is said to be in its “house of dejection” if it is in the house opposite its exaltation. The common Latin technical term for this astrological concept is “casus,” “falling,” or “domus casus,” “house of falling.” To denote this concept, Ibn Ezra coined קֶלֶן “dishonor,” being the antonym of כְּבוֹד “honor.” Hagin renders קֶלֶן as “honte”; *Introductorius* sometimes makes the sense clear by means of the doublets “casus vel dedecus” or “domus casus sive dedecoris” = “falling or dishonor” or “house of falling or dishonor.”¹⁸⁰
- (4) A planet is said to be in its “detriment” if it is in the house opposite its planetary house, which is the first of the planets’ five essential dignities. In all of the components of the astrological encyclopedia he composed in Béziers in 1148, Ibn Ezra used שְׂנֵאָה or בֵּית שְׂנֵאָה, “hate” or “house of hate.”¹⁸¹ Hagin

177 See *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*, §38:14, 520–521; *Le*, 42vb (*Iudicia*).

178 For this concept, see Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra Latinus on Elections and Interrogations*, p. 242.

179 *Reshit ḥokhmah*, §1.11:1, 56–57; §1.11:3, 56–57; *P*, 3vb; 3vb (*Commencement*); *Le*, 2vb; 2vb (*Introductorius*).

180 See *Reshit ḥokhmah*, §2.4:36, 82–83; §2.12:35, 130–131; §9.20:3, 262–263; *P*, 12va; 29ra; 63vb (*Commencement*); *Le*, 5vb; 10rb; 22va (*Introductorius*).

181 This includes *Reshit ḥokhmah*, *Ṭe’amim* I, *Moladot*, *Mivḥarim* I, *She’elot* I, ‘*Olam* I.

wrote “meson de la haine.” Bate seems to be bewildered by this expression; in *Introductorius* he attempted both “odium seu domus dedecoris” = “hate or house of dishonor”¹⁸² and “domus exilii vel odiii” = “house of exile or of hate.”¹⁸³

*III.1.7 The Use of the Latin Translations of Abū Maʿshar’s Great
Introduction for the Planetary Conditions*

Chapter 7 of *Reshit hokhmah*, which is a Hebrew translation of several sections from part 7 of Abū Maʿshar’s *Great Introduction*, names and describes several planetary conditions.¹⁸⁴ Ibn Ezra’s names for these planetary conditions are usually literal Hebrew translations of Abū Maʿshar’s metaphorical Arabic names. Hagin, as is his wont, offers literal French translations of Ibn Ezra’s Hebrew. Bate, in his Latin translations, translates the French terms but also seems to rely on the Latin versions of Abū Maʿshar’s *Great Introduction*, particularly that of Hermann of Carinthia. This is true of places where Bate employed doublets and of others where he did not. This is illustrated in Table 3:

Table 3

Ibn Ezra ¹⁸⁵	Hagin ¹⁸⁶	Bate ¹⁸⁷	Hermann ¹⁸⁸	John ¹⁸⁹
הקירוב = approach	l’aprochement	applicatio	applicatio	coniunctio
החיבור = conjunction	la conjunction	coniunctio	conventus	coniunctio
הממסך = mixture	li mellemens	commixtio	permixtio	complexio

182 *Reshit hokhmah*, §2.5:32, 90–91; P, 14vb (*Commencement*); Le, 6va (*Introductorius*).

183 *Reshit hokhmah*, §5.4:11, 184–185; P, 43vb (*Commencement*); Le, 14vb (*Introductorius*).

184 *Reshit hokhmah*, §7.1:1 through §7.3:8, 196–211 and notes on 438–457.

185 *Reshit hokhmah*, §7.2:1 through §7.32:1, 196–211.

186 P, 47va through 51vb (*Commencement*).

187 Le, 16vb–18rb (*Introductorius*).

188 Abū Maʿshar al-Balkhī (Albumasar), *Liber introductorii maioris ad scientiam judiciorum astrorum*, ed. Richard Lemay (Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1996), vol. VIII (Traduction latine de Hermann de Carinthie), VII:5–7, pp. 135–141.

189 Abū Maʿshar, *Liber introductorii maioris ad scientiam judiciorum astrorum*, ed. Lemay, VII:5–7, pp. 292–307.

המבט = aspect	le regars	aspectus	respectus	aspectus
הפירוד = separation	le departement	separatio	separatio	separatio
הילוך בדר = solitary motion	aler seul	solitudo	solitudo	vacuatio cursus
השומם = desolate	l'ataisement	alienatio	alienatio	feralitas
השבת האור = reflecting the light	le retournement de la clarté	redditio luminis	redditio	redditus luminis
הבטול = cancellation	le destorbement	refrenatio seu contradictio	contradictio	refrenatio
המקרה = accident	l'accident	accidens seu eventus accidentalis	inpredictio	accidens
האבד = loss	la deperdition	frustratio seu evasio	evasio	frustratio
כריתות האור = cutting of the light	le taillement de la clarté	abscissio luminis seu interceptio	interceptio	abscissio luminis
הנועם = pleasantness	la sovantume	compassio seu largitio	compassio	largitio
הנדיבות = generosity	la volentivité	benevolentia sive liberalitas		
הדמיון = similitude	la samblance	similitudo sive haiz sive esse in suo limite	haiz	alhaiz
האמצעיות = intermediacy	la miloennetes	obsessio	obsessio	obsessio

That Bate used the Latin translations of Abū Maʿshar is particularly evident in the two last items in the table. In the penultimate line, Bate opts for a triplet: the first component is a literal translation of Hagin's French (*similitudo*); but the second (*haiz*) is a transliteration of حيز, which he could have found in Hermann of Carinthia's or John of Seville's translations of the Great Introduction.¹⁹⁰ Most interesting is the last item in the table, where Abū Maʿshar wrote حصار, "siege."

190 See *Reshit hokhmah* §7.31:1–2, 240–241 and note on p. 456.

In this particular case Ibn Ezra avoided a literal translation and rendered the planetary condition as *אמצעי* “intermediacy,” which is a technical description of the astrological or astronomical condition.¹⁹¹ Hagin translated Ibn Ezra’s Hebrew literally, as “miloennetes.” But here Bate completely diverged from the French and wrote “obsessio,” “siege,” which he could have found in Hermann’s or John’s translations of Abū Ma’shar’s Great Introduction, and which corresponds precisely to Abū Ma’shar’s Arabic.

III.1.8 The Components of the Horoscope

The horoscope is the main tool used by astrologers from Antiquity to the present to make their prognostications. Bate invested a good deal of his translational efforts to clarify the meaning of some of the horoscope’s components:

- (1) The common Latin technical term for the first, fourth, seventh, and tenth horoscopic places, which are taken to be highly influential in the interpretation of the horoscope, is “anguli” or “cardines,” that is, “corners” or “hinges.” Following his Arabic sources, Ibn Ezra employs *יתדות* “pegs,” which Hagin translates literally as “chevilles.” Rather than translating this, Bate frequently writes “anguli”; but several times in *Introductorius* he uses the doublet “anguli vel cardines” = “corners or hinges.”¹⁹² The same doublet is also found in *Iudicia*¹⁹³ and twice in *Rationes* I.¹⁹⁴
- (2) Ibn Ezra refers to the third, sixth, ninth, and twelfth horoscopic places as *חלשים* “weak.” In *Introductorius* Bate employs the doublet “debiles seu cadentes” = “weak or falling,” where the second component derives from the idea that these four horoscopic places are “falling from the cardines.” In this particular locus, though, Bate was following Hagin, who employed a doublet in his French, “foibles ou cheans.”¹⁹⁵ The same doublet occurs in *Iudicia*.¹⁹⁶
- (3) In *Ṭe’amim* I Ibn Ezra designates the cusp of the fourth place, which is the lowest place of the horoscope, as *קו התהום*, “the line of the abyss.” Bate

191 See *Reshit hokhmah* §7.32:1, 240–241 and note on pp. 456–457.

192 *Reshit hokhmah*, §3.4:2, 142–143; §3.4:5, 142–143; §5.3:5, 184–185; P, 334b, 33va, 43va (*Commencement*); Le, 12ra, 12ra, 15rb (*Introductorius*).

193 See *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*, §12:6, 498–499; Le, 39ra (*Iudicia*).

194 See *Ṭe’amim* I, §3.1:4, 60–61; §3.5:5, 64–65; Le, 65va; 66ra (*Rationes* I).

195 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §3.4:4, 142–143; P, 33rb (*Commencement*); Le, 12ra (*Introductorius*).

196 See *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*, §12:6, 498–499; Le, 39ra (*Iudicia*).

twice turns this into the doublet “abyssi linea seu angulus terre” = “line of the abyss or corner of the Earth.”¹⁹⁷

- (4) Virtually all the elements and celestial objects that play a role in the horoscope are said to have “power.” This is an extremely frequent term in Ibn Ezra's astrological writings, always expressed by כח “power.” Hagin always renders it as “force,” but Bate frequently employs the doublet “virtus seu fortitudo” = “power or strength.” This doublet appears at least ten times in *Rationes* II,¹⁹⁸ seven times in *Iudicia*,¹⁹⁹ six times in *Rationes* I,²⁰⁰ and three times in *Introductorius*.²⁰¹
- (5) In horoscopes related to the doctrine of interrogations, the person who poses the question to the astrologer is represented by some component of the horoscope. *Reshit hokhmah* designates this person as השואל, “the one who asks a question.” Hagin translates this term as “le demandeur,” and *Intoductorium* uses the doublet “querens seu interrogator” = “one who asks or the interrogator.”²⁰²

Bate's motivation for the use of doublets such as “dolor seu passio,” “virtus seu fortitudo,” “querens seu interrogator,” and “obscuri vel tenebrosi” remains a puzzle. The components of these doublets are near synonyms, and not a literal translation, on the one hand, and the common Latin technical term, on the other. Probably Bate felt that the synonyms clarified obscure terms: one component is a rare Latin term he took as a literal translation of what he found in his source text; the other is the Latin term in vogue in Bate's time.

III.1.9 The Strongest Planet

The strongest planet in a horoscopic chart is usually the one that has most dignities (house, exaltation, triplicity, term, and decan) in the ascendant or in other zodiacal locations. The common Latin technical term for this concept is “almutaz,” a transliteration of the Arabic المبتز (*al-mubtazz*).

197 See *Te'amim* I, §3.6:2, 66–67; §10.5:2, 98–99; *Le*, 66va; 72rb (*Rationes* I).

198 See *Te'amim* II, §3.3:2, 206–207; *Le*, 53rb (*Rationes* I) et passim.

199 See *Mishpetei ha-mazzalot*, §42:12, 528–529; *Le*, 44ra (*Iudicia*) et passim.

200 See *Te'amim* I, §3.4:6, 62–63; *Le*, 66ra (*Rationes* I) et passim.

201 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §6.6:6, 192–193; *P*, 46ra (*Commencement*); *Le*, 16rb (*Introductorius*) et passim.

202 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §8.2:3,4, 212–213; *P*, 52rb–52va (*Commencement*); *Le*, 18va (*Introductorius*).

- (1) Ibn Ezra, who shuns transliterations of Arabic terms, uses at least four different Hebrew words to mean the strongest planet. Bate turns all of them into doublets.
- (a) הממונה, literally “the one that is in charge.” In *De mundo*, Bate uses two different doublets for this, whose common feature is the inclusion of “almutaz”: “prepotens sive almutaz” and “almutaz vel dominum” = “very powerful or *al-mubtazz*” and “*al-mubtazz* or lord.”²⁰³ But in *Rationes* II the same Hebrew term (הממונה) becomes “banilus seu presul” = “*banilus* or leader,”²⁰⁴ and in *Rationes* I “presul seu prepositus qui vocatur almutaz” = “leader or chief, which is called *al-mubtazz*.”²⁰⁵
 - (b) הפקיד, “the minister,” translated in *Iudicia* as “presul seu almutaz” = “leader or *al-mubtazz*.”²⁰⁶
 - (c) המושל, “the governor,” translated in *Iudicia* as “presul seu dominus” = “leader or lord.”²⁰⁷
 - (d) השליט, “the ruler,” translated in *Rationes* II as “prepositus sive presul” = “chief or leader.”²⁰⁸
- (2) Ibn Ezra coined new Hebrew names for the same concept when it applies to the strongest planet in the natal chart; Bate renders them by means of new doublets:
- (a) *Ṭe’amim* II, in one locus, refers to הממונה על המולד, “the one that is in charge of the nativity.” *Rationes* II translates this as “presul nativitatis seu ille qui nativitate preest” = “the leader of the nativity or the one that is in charge in the nativity.”²⁰⁹
 - (b) *Ṭe’amim* II, in another locus, refers to כל נולד שיהיה הפקיד עליו, “any native whose minister is...” *Rationes* II has the triplet “cuicumque nato presul sive almutaz aut significator” = “the one that is the leader of any native, or *al-mubtazz*, or the significator.”²¹⁰

203 See *‘Olam* I, §24:1, 68–69; §42:3, 80–81; Le, 27ra; 28vb (*De mundo*).

204 See *Ṭe’amim* II, §7.2:23, 244–245; Le, 59va (*Rationes* I). A “banilus,” “bajulus,” or “ballivus” is a royal minister or governor (compare English “bailiff”).

205 See *Ṭe’amim* I, §3.3:3, 62–63; Le, 65vb (*Rationes* I).

206 See *Mishpetei ha-mazzalot*, §47:3, 534–535; Le, 44vb–45ra (*Iudicia*).

207 See *Mishpetei ha-mazzalot*, §48:7, 536–537; Le, 45rb (*Iudicia*).

208 See *Ṭe’amim* II, §7.1:4, 244–245; Le, 59ra (*Rationes* I).

209 See *Ṭe’amim* II, §2.1:5, 184–185; Le, 50ra (*Rationes* I).

210 See *Ṭe’amim* II, §2.4:20, 194–195; Le, 51va (*Rationes* I).

- (c) In *Me'orot*, Ibn Ezra employed the expression הפקיד הממונה על מולד, "the minister, the one that is in charge of the nativity." *De luminaribus* translates by means of a Latin triplet: "dux vel presul seu almutaz super nativitate" = "the commander, or the leader, or *al-mubtazz* over the nativity."²¹¹
- (3) A related concept is that of the "strongest planet in the five places of dominion."²¹² In Arabic astrology these "five places of dominion" are known as الهيلاج (*al-haylāġ*), and the strongest planet over one of these five places is كدذداه (*kaddūdāh*). The common Latin technical terms for them are transliterations of the Arabic: "hillej" (or some variation) and "alcochoden" (or some variation). Ibn Ezra, who avoided transliterations of Arabic words, coined new Hebrew terms for the five places of dominion and for the strongest planet in these places. Bate, as is his wont, turned them into doublets:
- (a) *Ṭe'amim* II designates the "five places of dominion" by המושלים, "governors." *Rationes* II translates this Hebrew term by means of the doublet "presules seu duces" = "leaders or commanders."²¹³
- (b) *Ṭe'amim* II calls the *kaddūdāh* as השרש שילקח ממנו החיים, "the root from which <the span of> life is taken." Bate understood Ibn Ezra's metaphor and opted for the doublet "Princeps seu presul a quo sumpta est vita" = "the prince or the leader from which <the span of> life is taken."²¹⁴
- (c) *Mishpetei ha-Mazzalot* refers to the *kaddūdāh* as הפקיד על חמשה מקומות השררה, "the minister over the five places of dominion." Again, Bate understood Ibn Ezra's expression and offered four alternative translations, one of which transliterates the Arabic *al-haylāġ*: "presul super quinque loca dominium seu dignitatis aut principatus quod est

211 See *Me'orot*, §8:4, 460–461; *Le*, 31va (*De luminaribus*).

212 The five places of dominion, which play a significant role in the prediction of the native's lifespan, are (1–2) the positions of the two luminaries, (3) the position of the conjunction or opposition of the luminaries, whichever occurred last before the native's birth, (4) the degree of the ascendant, and (5) the lot of Fortune. For an account of the selection of the strongest planet in these five places, see Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra on Nativities and Continuous Horoscopy*, pp. 45–57.

213 See *Ṭe'amim* II, §6.2:1, 236–237; *Le*, 57vb (*Rationes* II).

214 See *Ṭe'amim* II, §8.6:2, 252–253; *Le*, 60rb (*Rationes* II).

hilles” = “the leader of the five places of dominion, or of the dignity, or of the governance, that is the *haylāḡ*.”²¹⁵

- (4) The concept of “strongest planet” is also applied to the planet in the natal chart that is in charge of the native’s spiritual and physical makeup.
- (a) *Mishpeṭei ha-Mazzalot* refers to הפקיד על הנשמה, “the minister over the soul,” which *Iudicia* translates as “prepositus seu presul super animam” = “chief or leader of the soul.”²¹⁶
- (b) *Ṭe’amim* I mentions הממונה על דבר הגוף, “the one that is in charge of the body,” which *Rationes* I turns into “presul seu almubtaz super res corporis” = “leader or *al-mubtazz* of the body.”²¹⁷

III.1.10 The Lots

- (1) To denote the concept of astrological lot,²¹⁸ Ibn Ezra employs the biblical term גורל (Daniel 12:13 *et passim*), whose original sense is “stone, pebble,” and the method used to allot the territories to the tribes. By contrast, the common Latin technical term is “pars,” a translation of one meaning of سهم, “portion” or “lot” (another meaning is “arrow”), the standard Arabic term for “astrological lot.” As a rule, Hagin translates גורל as *sort*; Bate follows suit with *sors*. In *Introductorius* and *Rationes* II, however, Bate clarifies the term by means of the doublet “sortes sive partes.”²¹⁹
- (2) Ibn Ezra’s introductions of astrology, all of them translated by Bate, present list of lots and how they are calculated. In many cases, Bate glosses the names of these lots by means of doublets, sometimes using *sors* and sometimes *pars*. In the doublets, one component is usually a literal translation of the Hebrew and the other the common Latin technical name, sometimes incorporating a transliteration of the Arabic term. This is illustrated in Table 4.

215 See *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*, §43:9, 528–529; Le, 44rb (*Iudicia*).

216 See *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*, §22:4, 506–507; Le, 40vb (*Iudicia*).

217 See *Ṭe’amim* I, §5.2:6, 84–85; Le, 69rb (*Rationes* I).

218 The lots are imaginary ecliptical points that are influential in the horoscope and whose calculation is based on three horoscopic entities. The distance between two of them (place of the planets, cusps of horoscopic places, etc.) is added to the position of the third, usually the ascendant.

219 See *Reshit ḥokhmah*, §2:10, 48–49; P, 1va (*Commencement*); Le, 2ra (*Introductorius*); *Ṭe’amim* II, §7.1:3, 244–245; Le, 59ra (*Rationes* II).

Table 4

<i>Reshit hokhmah</i> ²²⁰	<i>Mishpeṭei ha-Mazzalot</i> ²²¹ <i>Te'amim I</i> ²²² <i>Te'amim II</i> ²²³	Hagin le Juif ²²⁴	Henry Bate ²²⁵
הגורל הטוב = Lot of Fortune		le sort le bon	sors bona sive sors fortune
גורל התעלומה = lot of the secret		le sort du reçoilement	sors secretorum sive celati animi
	גורל התעלומה = lot of the secret (<i>Te'amim I</i>)		pars secretorum sive celati
	מנת התעלומה = lot of the secret (<i>Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot</i>)		pars celati animi seu secretorum
גורל המומין = lot of deformities		le sort des mehains	sors impedimentorum seu axemena
גורל צניעות האשה = lot of the woman's chastity		le sort de la simpleté a la fame	pars simplicitatis seu pietatis femelle
גורל ערמת הזכרים = lot of the cunning of men		le sort de l'engin des malles	sors ingenii seu fallacie virorum
גורל ההליכה במים = lot of travel by water		le sort de l'aller par l'iaue	sors eundi per aquam sive navigandi
	גורל על דרך המים = lot of travel by water (<i>Te'amim II</i>)		pars navigationis seu iteneris per aquas

220 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §9.1:2 through §9.16:10, 234–235.

221 See *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*, §45:1, 530–531.

222 See *Te'amim I*, §9.1:2, 92–93

223 See *Te'amim II*, §7.2:21 through §7.2:28, 246–248.

224 See P, 57vb–62rb (*Commencement*).

225 See Le, 20rb–22ra (*Introductorius*); Le, 71rb (*Rationes I*); Le, 59va (*Rationes II*); Le, 44va (*Iudicia*).

גורל הענוה = lot of humility		le sort de la simploté	sors simplicitatis seu pietatis
גורל הדעת = lot of knowledge		le sort du savoir	sors sapientie et scientie
גורל המלוכה = lot of kingship		le sort de la roiauté	sors regni seu regnandi
גורל הנצוח = lot of subjugation		le sort du vainquement	sors vincendi seu victorie
גורל הנדיבות = lot of generosity		le sort de la volentivité	sors benevolentie seu liberalitatis
גורל הרעים = lot of friends		le sort des compaignons	sors sodalium seu consortium
גורל המום בגוף = lot of physical deformity		le sort du mahing ou cours	sors inpedimentum seu azemena
גורל העקב = lot of reward		le sort de l'agait	sors retributionis vel insidiationis
גורל הגבורה = lot of courage		le sort de la force	sors fortitudinis et audacie
גורל ההריגה = lot of killing		le sort de l'ocision	sors feritatis vel occisionis
	גורל הזנות = lot of prostitution (<i>Te'amim</i> II)		pars incestus seu violentus coitus ac ingenii et fallacie
	גורל הכבוד = lot of dignity (<i>Te'amim</i> II)		pars honoris seu exaltationis et dignitatis
	גורל החן = lot of beauty (<i>Te'amim</i> II)		pars gratie et acceptabilitates

III.2 How much Hebrew did Bate Know?

We do not know whether Henry Bate ever studied Hebrew. There is, however, evidence that he could parse at least some Hebrew words and passages and even translate Hebrew texts with the assistance of a Hebraist.

III.2.1 *Translations "de Hebreo in Latinum"*

All the explicits of the numerous manuscripts of *De mundo vel seculo* agree that Bate's translation of 'Olam I was made "de Hebreo in Latinum" (see above, p. 117). Note, however, that such a remark does not occur in the explicits of any of Bate's other translations of Ibn Ezra.

As mentioned above, the first part of a tripartite Latin text on world astrology incorporates a hitherto unknown incomplete Latin translation of 'Olam III (see above, p. 107). The colophon of the last component of this tripartite text, which includes a Latin translation of al-Kindī's *Liber de iudiciis revolutionum annorum mundi*, says unambiguously that this translation was carried out by Henry Bate of Malines in 1278 "ex Hebrayco in Latinum."²²⁶

III.2.2 *"Secundum quod iacet in Ebraico"*

Ibn Ezra opens 'Olam I with a lengthy, detailed, and original mathematical explanation of the 120 planetary conjunctions, a numerical-cosmological pattern borrowed from pseudo-Ptolemy's *Centiloquium*.²²⁷ Henry Bate appears to have had trouble understanding this section, because at the end of his translation of this section he added the following gloss:

Le, 25va (*De mundo*): Inquit translator: hic est itaque sermo Avenesre secundum quod iacet in Ebraico, sed visum est nobis aut truncatam fuisse litteram in exemplari aut salvis bene dictis eius doctrinam nimis confusam tradidisse et minus artificiosam.

The translator [i.e. Bate] says: This is Ibn Ezra's account according to what lies open in the Hebrew <text>, but it seems to me that either the writing has been cut off in the <manuscript> copy or, while the words are sound and well, its message has been transmitted in an exceedingly confused manner and with little skill.

Here Bate states explicitly not only that he had a Hebrew manuscript of 'Olam I in front of him, but also that the Hebrew text in part of it was illegible or its meaning unclear to him.

226 See Sela et al. "A Newly Discovered Treatise," pp. 191–303, esp. p. 267.

227 See 'Olam I, §2:1–4 through §6:1–7, 52–55; Le, 25rb–25va (*De mundo*).

III.2.3 Hebrew Names of Planets

Bate not only knows how to pronounce the Hebrew names of the planets, but also their literal non-astronomical meanings. In *Nativitas*, Bate writes “ab Hebreis vocatus est Mercurius stella Solis,” that is, “Mercury is called by the Hebrews the ‘star of the Sun.’” Indeed, Mercury is כוכב חמה (*kokhav ḥamah*), which, because *ḥamah* can mean Sun, could be parsed (albeit incorrectly) as “the star of the Sun.”²²⁸ In *Iudicia*, Jupiter and Saturn are described as follows.

Le, 43vb (*Iudicia*): Clavis autem et sententia est quod est planeta veritatis et ideo vocatur est in Hebrayco cedek idest iustus etiam et Saturnus eadem in Hebrayco vocatus est Sabtay, id est quiescens eo quod servit die sabati.

As a rule, it is a planet of truth, therefore in Hebrew it is called ṣedek, meaning just, and Saturn, too, is called in Hebrew Shabbetai, meaning being at rest, because it is in charge of the Sabbath.

III.2.3 Hebrew Words that Hagin Left Untranslated

Bate knows the meaning of numerous Hebrew words that Hagin transliterated instead of translating. One example relates to the biblical term *terafim* (Gen. 31:19, 34 *et passim*), commonly interpreted as some sort of magical device used to predict the future, which appears in *Reshit ḥokhmah* in the description of the *paranatellonta* of the third decan of Aries:²²⁹

Reshit Ḥokhmah §2.1:28, 218–219:

ויעלה בפנים השלישיים בחור ... ובידו תרפים.

In its third decan rises a young man ... with terafim in his hand.

P, 5rb (*Commencement*): Et montera es faces tierces .1. bachelor ... et en sa mein *terafim*.

Le, 3rb (Introductorius): In tertia vero facie ascendit iuvenis ... in cuius manu *terafim*, id est artificia magica.

The term *terafim* is mentioned in the Vulgate of Judges 17:5, 18:14, and Hosea

²²⁸ *Nativitas* (ed. Steel 2018), 614–615.

²²⁹ The decans are 36 subdivisions of the zodiac, each of them extending over 10 degrees of the zodiac; the *paranatellonta* are constellations, segments of constellations, or stars that co-ascend with each of these decans.

3:4,²³⁰ so that Bate would have recognized it from there. But note that the term is spelled differently (*therafin* in the Vulgate versus *terafim* in Bate's translation), and that Bate's explanation of the term ("id est artificia magica") does not occur in the Vulgate. In turns out, then, that, Bate knew the meaning of *terafim* from another source.

Other cases where Bate knows the meaning of Hebrew words that Hagin transliterated instead of translating are: (1) ספרים כתובים "written books," half-transliterated by Hagin as "le livre de kessuvim" but translated by Bate as "liber scripturarum";²³¹ (2) צבוע "hyena," transliterated by Hagin as "scevoae" but translated by Bate as "canis ferus";²³² (3) רוח קדים "east wind," half transliterated by Hagin as "vent de ruahih" but correctly translated by Bate as "ventus orientale."²³³

III.2.4 Hebrew Place Names

Bate recognizes Hebrew place names that Hagin transliterated instead of translating. These include מצרים, transliterated by Hagin as "Miseraim" and translated by Bate as "Egyptus";²³⁴ ארץ כוש, transliterated by Hagin as "terre de Cus" and translated by Bate as "terra Ethyopie";²³⁵ and ארץ אדום, transliterated by Hagin as "terre de Edom" and translated by Bate as the doublet "terra Edom sive Christianorum."²³⁶

III.2.5 Biblical Stars

Bate knows the Latin counterparts of the Hebrew names of biblical stars and constellations and presumes to understand their meaning. (1) Ibn Ezra always refers to the Pleiades as כימה (*Kimah*). Hagin always transliterates "*Kima*"; but Bate always turns this into "Pleiades."²³⁷ (2) Ibn Ezra refers to Suhayl as המאיר

230 See <https://www.wordproject.org/bibles/vg/> ad loc.

231 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §2.7:17, 98–99; cf. P, 18rb (*Commencement*); Le, 7va (*Introductorius*).

232 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §2.9:20, 110–111; cf. P, 22va (*Commencement*); Le, 8va (*Introductorius*).

233 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §2.9:9, 108–109; cf. P, 22ra (*Commencement*); Le, 8va (*Introductorius*).

234 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §2.2:13, 66–67; P, 6vb (*Commencement*); Le, 3vb (*Introductorius*).

235 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §2.7:13, 98–99; P, 18rb (*Commencement*); Le, 7rb (*Introductorius*).

236 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §2.7:13, 98–99; P, 18rb (*Commencement*); Le, 7rb (*Introductorius*), et passim.

237 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §1.3:3, 50–51; cf. P, 2ra (*Commencement*); Le, 2rb (*Introductorius*) et passim.

הנקרא כסיל, “the bright star called *Kesil*.” Hagin translates “le clér qui est apeles *Kescil*.” Bate expands this into “lucida que est in pede Orionis, in hebrayco vocata est *Kesil*, id est ignis vel lucida vel fortuna” = “the bright star in the leg of Orion, called in Hebrew *Kesil*, that is, fire, or bright, or good luck.”²³⁸ (3) Ibn Ezra refers to Ursa Minor as עֵישׁ וּבְנֶיהָ (Job 38:32), “*‘ayish* and her sons.” Hagin, according to P, brings *‘ayish* in Hebrew letters, עֵישׁ, and then adds “et ses enfans.” Bate, for his part, knows the meaning of the Hebrew word and translates “Ursa Minor cum fetibus suis.”²³⁹

III.3 Bate, Commentator and Supercommentator on Ibn Ezra

A notable feature of Bate’s *modus operandi* is that he does not confine himself to the role of translator, but takes on the task of commentator and even supercommentator. This is noticeable in the fairly frequent and sometimes lengthy interpolations in some of his complete translations of Ibn Ezra’s astrological writings. A full edition and study of these additions must be left to a forthcoming critical edition of Bate’s translations. Here I look at all of these translations in chronological order and limit myself to a brief review of the content of these additions.

III.3.1 Additions in *De mundo*

Bate’s translation of *‘Olam* I incorporates a number of significant additions. The first sentence of *‘Olam* I unleashes a harsh attack on Abū Ma’shar (quoted above, p. 118). This leads Bate to write a long prologue to refute Ibn Ezra’s criticism of Abū Ma’shar.²⁴⁰

Bate begins by expressing his indignation and disbelief and insists that Ibn Ezra should have been more tolerant in his reading of Abū Ma’shar. Next Bate discusses how Ibn Ezra wields Ptolemy’s authority. Rather than defending Ptolemy against Ibn Ezra, Bate wonders where in Ptolemy’s oeuvre Ibn Ezra

238 See, for example, *Reshit hokhmah*, §2.16:10, 50–51; cf. P, 31rb (*Commencement*); Le, 11va (*Introductorius*).

239 See *Reshit hokhmah*, §1.5:2, 52–53; cf. P, 2rb (*Commencement*); Le, 2rb (*Introductorius*).

240 Here I am following Carlos Steel’s analysis of this prologue. See Carlos Steel, “A Discussion on Ptolemy’s Authority: Henry Bate’s Prologue to his Translation of Ibn Ezra’s Book of the World,” in David Juste, Benno van Dalen, Dag Nikolaus Hasse, and Charles Burnett, eds., *Ptolemy’s Science of the Stars in the Middle Ages* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020).

could have found the argument he attributes to the astronomer. Next Bate discusses Ibn Ezra's main arguments for his conclusion, namely, that the incertitude of observations results both from errors in the manufacture of the instruments and from the different ideas about the length of the year because of the discrepancies in the observations by the experimental masters.

A second long addition by Bate is caused by a digression in 'Olam I where Ibn Ezra, on the authority of *Sefer Yeşirah*, seems to reject the hypothesis that there is a perfect cyclical regularity in the celestial motions.²⁴¹ Here Bate tries to reveal what Ibn Ezra only hinted at.²⁴² He writes that Ibn Ezra did not really reject the cyclical regularity of the celestial motions, but only wanted to say that one could never calculate exactly when a certain relation between celestial bodies would return, given the infinite possibilities of combination. But admitting the difficulty of calculating the exact return of a celestial configuration does not lead to the conclusion that the celestial motions will continue to infinity without ever returning to a certain configuration.²⁴³

III.3.2 Additions in *De luminaribus*

There are no substantial additions in Bate's translation of Ibn Ezra's *Me'orot*, on the critical days. This may be because Bate's *De diebus creticis*—which is also concerned with the critical days and includes a number of quotations from Ibn Ezra's oeuvre—is a sort of commentary on *Me'orot*. However, no comparative study of *De diebus creticis* and *De luminaribus* has been carried out to date.

III.3.3 Additions in *Introductorius*

The first chapter of *Reshit hokhmah* includes a complete list of the Hebrew names of the 48 Ptolemaic constellations. Bate, following Hagin's French, renders these names in Latin literally. For eleven of the 36 southern and northern Ptolemaic constellations, though, Bate adds the Latin astronomical counterpart to the literal translation of its Hebrew name. The same eleven Latin names appear in the margin of **P**, the earliest extant manuscript with Hagin's four French translations of Ibn Ezra's astrological writings, in the relevant sections of *Li livres du Commencement de Sapience*. There can be little doubt

241 'Olam I, §24:3–6, 68–69.

242 In the middle of this addition Bate writes: "Et hoc forsitan est quod hic innuit actor iste" =

This is perhaps what this author hinted at"; see **Le**, 27rb (*De mundo*)

243 See Steel, "A Discussion on Ptolemy's Authority."

that Bate added them to the margin of a predecessor of **P**, as he did to his Latin translation of *Reshit ḥokhmah*. Table 1 displays Ibn Ezra's Hebrew names of these constellations, Hagin's French translations, the Latin name in the margin of **P**, and Bate's translations in *Introductorius*.

III.3.4 *Rationes I*

There are several interpolations in Bate's Latin translation of *Ṭe'amim I*. The first two are short additions following Ibn Ezra's statements that the nature of the signs depends on their shape. In the first addition, Bate says that if one wishes to know the truth it is much better to consult the second part of Abū Ma'shar's *Great Introduction*, which indeed deals with the nature of the signs.²⁴⁴ In the second addition, Bate simply says that enough has been said on this topic by Abū Ma'shar, thereby implying that the latter is one of Ibn Ezra's main sources in *Reshit ḥokhmah*, which *Ṭe'amim I* comments on.²⁴⁵

In *Rationes I*, following a disagreement between Ptolemy and the Indian scientists regarding the power of a planet when it rises to its apogee, Bate inserts a long gloss that comments on an enigmatic statement in which Ibn Ezra offers a middleground solution. Here Bate basically agrees with Ibn Ezra and attempts to flesh out the latter's point by offering new perspectives on the problem: the motion in epicycle, that is, direct motion and retrogradation, as well as what Bate takes to be the opinions of Aristotle, al-Bīṭrūjī, and Plato on this subject.²⁴⁶

The tenth and last chapter of *Ṭe'amim I* is a long discussion about the calculation of the aspects, which expands the brief discussion of the same topic in the last chapter of *Reshit ḥokhmah*.²⁴⁷ Bate is not happy with how Ibn Ezra handles this. So at the end of *Rationes I* he inserts a passage of moderate length that refers to a gloss—not by Bate but by a Jewish scholar—appended to the chapter on the aspects in *Iudicia*, Bate's translation of *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*. At the end of the addition in *Rationes I*, Bate says that to “overcome Ibn Ezra's defects, to avoid these errors, and to calculate the aspects more skillfully and more in accordance

244 *The Great Introduction to Astrology by Abū Ma'shar*, ed. Keiji Yamamoto and Charles Burnett (Leiden: Brill, 2019), Part II, pp. 177–224.

245 See *Ṭe'amim I*, §1.4:4, §1.4:7, 32–33; cf. **Le**, 61va, 61vb (*Rationes I*).

246 See *Ṭe'amim I*, §5.2:3–7, 82–85; cf. **Le**, 69va–70rb (*Rationes I*).

247 See *Ṭe'amim I*, §10.6:1–4 through §10.8:1–10, 102–107; cf. *Reshit ḥokhmah*, §10.1:1–8, 266–267.

to rules," he has already set down a skillful calculation elsewhere. Here Bate is referring to his long addition to the gloss by the Jewish scholar in *Iudicia*.²⁴⁸

III.3.5 *Iudicia*

There are numerous additions in Bate's Latin translation of *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*. After the section on the ninth-parts, which follows *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot* closely, *Iudicia* inserts eight tables, sometimes accompanied by explanations, that are not found in any of the surviving Hebrew manuscripts of *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*: (1) a table of the novenaria or ninth-parts of the signs; (2 and 3) two tables of dark, bright, and dusky degrees, and of degrees of pits in the signs; (4) a table of masculine and feminine degrees in the signs; (5) a table of degrees of pits in the images of the zodiacal constellations; (6) a table of degrees of pits in the signs; (7) a table of "gradus azemenarum sive orbationum," that is, "degrees of *azemena* [الزمانة] or deformities," meaning degrees that indicate chronic diseases; and (8) a table of degrees that increase good fortune in the signs.²⁴⁹

Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot asserts that "the Ancients said that when a planet is at apogee it is extremely auspicious, and the opposite at its perigee."²⁵⁰ This is the same topic addressed in *Te'amim* I and the same topic that attracted Bate's attention in an addition to *Rationes* I (above, p. 195). Next Bate incorporates an addition of moderate length that repeats the same ideas already presented in the corresponding addition to *Rationes* I. Here, though, Bate relies primarily on Aristotle's *De generatione et corruptione*.²⁵¹

Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot ends with a long section on the calculation of the "aspects of the directions."²⁵² The same topic is dealt with in the tenth and last

248 See Le, 73va (Bate's *Rationes* I); cf. Le, 48rb–49va (Bate's *Iudicia*).

249 See Le, 38rb–39ra (Bate's *Iudicia*). Similar lists and tables occur in *The Great Introduction to Astrology* by Abū Mašār, ed. Yamamoto and Burnett, Part V, 19.1–20.6b, pp. 525–531, and al-Qabīṣī (Alcabitius): *The Introduction to Astrology*, ed. Burnett et al., I, 49–53, pp. 41–47.

250 *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*, §22:1, 506–507.

251 See Le, 40va (Bate's *Iudicia*).

252 *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*, §71:1–7 through §75:1–7, 550–555, which refers to the astrological function of the aspects and the procedure of directions in the framework of the so-called "projection of rays." The astrological technique of "projection of rays" assumes that a planet or zodiacal object may "project its rays" on another zodiacal object when the two are at an angular distance that is equivalent to one of the astrological aspects. See Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Introductions to Astrology*, pp. 479–480.

chapter of *Reshit hokhmah* and particularly in the tenth and last chapter of *Te'amim* I. As predicted in the addition to *Rationes* I (above p. 195), immediately after the long section on the calculation of the aspects of the directions *Iudicia* inserts the Latin translation of a long passage by a Jewish glossator, which addresses the same topic.²⁵³ Bate found this gloss and translated it, in all likelihood through a French intermediary produced by Hagin le Juif, from a now lost Hebrew manuscript of *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*, and appended it to *Iudicia*. This is shown by the Hebraisms and signature doublets in the Latin of the gloss. The Jewish commentator's motivation for writing this gloss, according to Bate, is that the treatment of the aspects of the directions by Abraham Princeps, the author of *Mishpeṭei ha-Mazzalot*, and by Abraham Ibn Ezra, the author of *Reshit hokhmah* and *Te'amim* I, are "hidden and concealed" from him (i.e. the glossator). This is why he will provide a lengthy explanation of Abū Ma'shar's statements, which he believes to be correct.²⁵⁴ As promised in the addition to *Rationes* I (above p. 195), in *Iudicia* this gloss is followed immediately by a long interpolation on the same topic in which Bate assumes the role of supercommentator, commenting on the passage taken from the Jewish glossator as well as on Ibn Ezra's treatment of the calculation of the aspects of the directions at the end of *Mishpeṭei ha-Mazzalot*.²⁵⁵

Conclusion

We can summarize our findings within a chronological chart of Bate's translations (Table 5).

Table 5

Translations	words/ passages	date and place of completion	days/years from the last translation
Hagin le Juif's Hebrew into French translations	<i>Reshit Hokhmah</i> <i>Moladot</i> , <i>Mivharim</i> II, <i>She'elot</i> II,	1273, Mechelen	

253 Le, 48rb–48vb.

254 Le, 48rb: “Quoniam igitur aspectus directionum Abrahe Principis et Avenerre michi occulti sunt et absconditi, ideo sermones Albumasar explanabo diffusius quia recti sunt in oculis meis.”

255 Le, 48vb–49va (*Iudicia*).

translation of 'Olam III	3,700 words	around 1278	5 years
<i>Nativitas</i>	140 passages from 12 works	1280	2 years
<i>De diebus creticis</i>	7 passages from 4 works	around 1280	2 years
<i>De mundo</i>	11,000 words	October 20 1281, started in Liège, completed in Mechelen	3 years
<i>De luminaribus</i>	6,000 words	June 4 1292, Orvieto	11 years
<i>Introductorium</i>	40,000 words	22 August 1292, Orvieto	80 days, or 2 months and 19 days
<i>Rationes I</i>	17,000 words	15 Sept. 1292, Orvieto	24 days
<i>Rationes II</i>	16,000 words	23 Sept. 1292, Orvieto	9 days
<i>Iudicia</i>	17,000 words	29 October 1292, Orvieto	37 days

We see that of the 20 items in Ibn Ezra's astrological corpus known to us today, Henry Bate knew and translated from 13: *Reshit Hokhmah*, *Te'amim I*, *Te'amim II*, *Mishpetei ha-Mazzalot*, *Moladot*, *Moladot II*, *De nativitatibus*, *Mivharim II*, *Mivharim III*, *She'elot II*, *Me'orot*, 'Olam I, and 'Olam III. This makes him the most prolific translator of Ibn Ezra of all the Latin scholars who, starting in the last decades of the thirteenth century, produced various collections of Ibn Ezra's astrological writings. By comparison, Pietro d'Abano produced seven complete translations of treatises by Ibn Ezra,²⁵⁶ and Arnoul de Quincampoix three.²⁵⁷ Pierre de Limoges had a hand in the Latin translation of only one complete work by Ibn Ezra and of sections of two others.²⁵⁸ In addition, there are at least twelve more anonymous Latin translations of astrological treatises by Ibn Ezra that remain to be studied.²⁵⁹

Ibn Ezra's astrological texts known to Bate belong to all the branches

256 Sela, "Pietro d'Abano," pp. 1–82.

257 They are preserved in a single fifteenth-century manuscript, Ghent, MS Univ. 5 (416), fols. 85r–103r.

258 See Sela, "The Abraham Ibn Ezra–Peter of Limoges Astrological-Exegetical Connection," pp. 9–57.

259 Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra's Introductions to Astrology*, pp. 17–18.

of Greco-Arabic astrology, but a closer look at those he selected for a complete (or incomplete) translation reveals Bate's predilections. Four of them—*Introductorius*, *Iudicia*, *Rationes I*, and *Rationes II*—are introductions to the subject. This indicates that Bate turned to Ibn Ezra principally in order to learn about the basic elements of the worldview that underlies astrology and about the technical concepts employed in its various branches. Next come two translations, the earliest of all, related to world astrology—'*Olam III* and *De mundo*; they probably reflect Bate's concern with his own and his patrons' political career. Finally, there is one translation related to the critical days and medical astrology: *De luminaribus*. That this topic was high on Bate's agenda is shown by the fact that he himself composed *De diebus creticis*, it too on the critical days.

That eight years elapsed between 1273 and the completion of *De mundo* in 1281, and that three of Hagin's four French translations have no counterpart among Bate's complete Latin translations, demonstrate that he did not commission Hagin so that he could put the latter's French translations to immediate use as the basis for Latin translations of Ibn Ezra's astrological writings. At this stage, Bate needed Hagin's French translations so that he could take a first look at Ibn Ezra's astrological work and lay the astrological substratum for his own treatises.

As seen above, the nearly 140 references to twelve astrological treatises by Ibn Ezra that Bate incorporated into *Nativitas* in 1280, and into *De diebus creticis* soon after, use Ibn Ezra's texts in different ways. (1) Most of the references are paraphrases or loose paraphrases of identifiable passages from treatises written by or attributed to Abraham Ibn Ezra. (2) In *Nativitas* and in *De diebus creticis* Bate incorporated, one right after the other, identical translations of two passages from two treatises by Ibn Ezra (see above, pp. 159, 162). (3) Some of these references are precise translations of identifiable passages from treatises written by or attributed to Abraham Ibn Ezra. (4) Nine of the references are not translations or paraphrases from a Hebrew text by Ibn Ezra but verbatim quotations from one of the four versions transmitted in *De nativitatibus*, a Latin text attributed to Ibn Ezra that has no surviving Hebrew counterpart.

It is highly implausible that relevant passages from certain texts can be selected and their translation or paraphrase then incorporated into another text, unless the author has access to full versions of the texts in question. It is also highly implausible that an author can do this when translating *à quatre mains*, because in order to select 150 relevant passages from certain texts he needs to have a complete picture of all the relevant passages in all the relevant texts. Therefore, the fact that *Nativitas* and in *De diebus creticis* contain 150

translations or paraphrases from passages of identifiable treatises by Ibn Ezra demonstrates that in 1280, seven years after Hagin's translations, Bate owned virtually complete translations, probably in French, of twelve relevant Hebrew treatises by Ibn Ezra.

As we have seen, in all the cases where translations in *Nativitas* and *De diebus creticis* have a counterpart in passages from the six complete translations carried out by Bate in 1281 and in 1292, *Nativitas* and *De diebus creticis*, on the one hand, and the six complete translations, on the other, differ considerably from each other. This indicates that in 1292 he did not use a hypothetical earlier Latin translation he had produced in 1280 or earlier. The most plausible scenario is that when he incorporated translations or paraphrases into *Nativitas* and *De diebus creticis*, and later when he produced his six complete translations, Bate was translating from French intermediary translations produced before 1280.

A look at the explicits of the five complete translations Bate produced in Orvieto in 1292 strongly suggests that the chronology of the translations cannot be taken at face value. Take for example *Rationes* II, the Latin translation of *Te'amim* II: it was completed on September 23, 1292, in Orvieto, only eight days after he finished work on *Rationes* I, on September 15, 1292. This means that hypothetically the translation of *Rationes* II, which comprises 16,000 words, took only eight days, an impossible mission! Likewise, the 17,000 words of *Rationes* I, Bate's translation of *Te'amim* I, were ostensibly set down in only 24 days. Similarly, according to the intervals indicated in the explicits, he worked 36 days on *Mishpetei ha-mazzalot* and 79 days on *Introductorius*, the translation of *Reshit hokhmah*.

The logical conclusion is that the dates given in the explicits are the dates when Bate "completed" the translation—but cannot be taken to indicate when he started work on the next translation. There is no reason to assume that Bate worked on only one treatise by Ibn Ezra at a time and carried out each translation in one go. It is more likely that he improved and polished them over time after he had a first draft ready, and that the completion date is when he was willing to pronounce a particular job done, while continuing to work on other texts.

That Bate produced his translations gradually and that parts of them were executed months or years before the completion date in the explicit is borne out by two passages already mentioned above. In *Nativitas*, composed in 1280, Bate refers to a long excursus (approximately 850 words) in the middle of *Rationes* I, completed in 1292 (quoted above, p. 154). This means that Bate already had produced some version of this passage before 1280. We may infer that Bate had

a draft version of his translation of *Ṭe'amim* I before 1280 and that this draft included the long excursus.

The other evidence for this hypothesis is found at the end of *Iudicia*, the Latin translation of *Mishpeṭei ha-mazzalot*. Here Bate incorporated a Latin translation of a gloss written by a Hebrew scholar on the aspects of the directions, followed immediately by a long excursus in which he commented on the last part of *Iudicia* and on the gloss of the Hebrew scholar. However, at the end of *Rationes* I, the translation of *Ṭe'amim* I, Bate inserted a long excursus in which he referred to the gloss in the past tense ("secundum quod notum est ac satis declaratum in glossa" = "as has been noted and sufficiently explained in a gloss") as well to his own excursus ("tradidimus documentum" = "we have passed down a testimony/document") at the end of *Iudicia* (quoted in full above, p. 144). This means that at some date before Bate completed *Rationes* I, on September 15, 1292, he already had a draft version of *Mishpeṭei ha-Mazzalot*, which he continued to revise and polish until it was deemed complete on October 29, 1292.

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