

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL PHILOSOPHY • SERIES 1

The Astrological Autobiography of a Medieval Philosopher *Henry Bate's Nativitas* (1280-81)

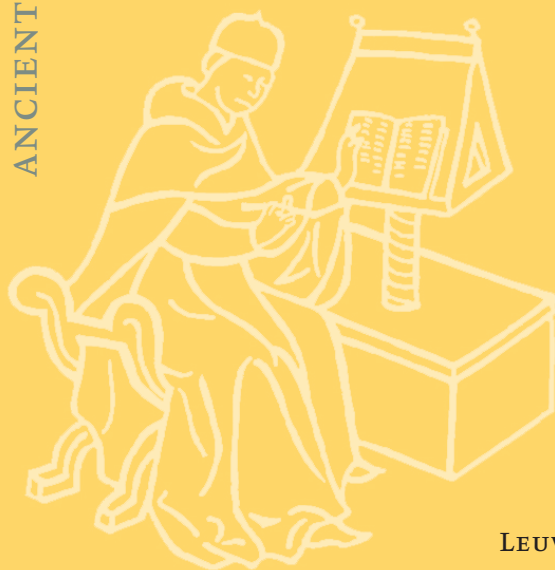
Edited by

Carlos Steel

Steven Vanden Broecke

David Juste

Shlomo Sela



LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

THE ASTROLOGICAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF
A MEDIEVAL PHILOSOPHER
HENRY BATE'S NATIVITAS (1280-81)

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL PHILOSOPHY

DE WULF-MANSION CENTRE
Series I

XVII

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THE ASTROLOGICAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY
OF A MEDIEVAL PHILOSOPHER

Henry Bate's *Nativitas* (1280-81)

Edited and introduced by
Carlos Steel, Steven Vanden Broecke,
David Juste and Shlomo Sela

LEUVEN UNIVERSITY PRESS

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PREFACE

In *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien* (1860), Jacob Burckhardt famously claimed that “much of what, till the close of the Middle Ages, passed for biography, is actually nothing but contemporary narrative, written without any sense of what is individual in the subject of the memoir” (trans. Middlemore). Only in Renaissance Italy, Burckhardt continued, did “a keen eye for individuality” first emerge, with the astrological autobiographer Girolamo Cardano (1501-1576) as one of its foremost examples.

This book discloses the riches of an astrological autobiography that preceded Cardano’s famous efforts by almost 300 years, and which is in fact the earliest preserved self-analysis to use astrology as an interpretive device. This *Nativitas* was written by Henry Bate of Mechelen (Malines) (1246-after 1310). Bate trained as a philosopher in Paris before embarking on a successful career as a courtier and Church dignitary. In 1280, at the age of 35, Bate was anxiously trying to prepare the next step in his ecclesiastical career. It was precisely at this time that Bate decided to engage in self-analysis, and his philosophical and mathematical skills allowed him to use one of the most powerful tools available: astrology.

Although the historical importance of Bate’s *Nativitas* was already recognised in the nineteenth century by scholars like Emile Littré (1801-1881), no edition of this text existed until now. Upon resuming the editing of another one of Bate’s works, the *Speculum divinatorum*, Carlos Steel encountered the late father Emiel Van de Vyver, librarian of the Benedictine abbey of Dendermonde and an eminent medieval scholar. While Van de Vyver had given up on the edition of the *Speculum*, he maintained a strong interest in Bate’s *Nativitas*, having made a transcription of the text from MS Paris, BnF, lat. 10270 and collated it with the other Paris manuscript (lat. 7324). However, Van de Vyver also realised the amount of additional work that would be necessary to prepare a scholarly edition and abandoned this project in view of the frightfully large number of sources used by Bate, most of which were (and still are) unpublished. For a long time, Van de Vyver’s handwritten copy remained in a library safe. In the meantime, David Juste got interested in Bate’s *Nativitas* while working on his comprehensive catalogue of Latin astrological manuscripts. What frightened him Van de Vyver in Bate was exactly what thrilled David: the wealth of newly discovered astrological sources. David urged Carlos to start working on the edition of the *Nativitas*, but Carlos said that he could only undertake this task if seconded by experts on medieval astrology. Steven Vanden Broecke agreed to collaborate on the project together with David. In dealing with the labyrinth of Bate’s quotations from the work of Abraham Ibn Ezra, Shlomo Sela subsequently joined as the fourth member of our team.

The resulting book consists of two parts. On the one hand, it offers the first edition of Bate's *Nativitas*. This edition of the *Nativitas* was primarily prepared by Carlos Steel (text) and Steven Vanden Broecke (textual sources), with the assistance of David Juste and Shlomo Sela. On the other hand, it soon became clear that the full story of the *Nativitas*, its genesis and its context, was so complex that it required an introductory monograph, whose final coordination and editing were taken in hand by Steven Vanden Broecke. Over the course of seven chapters, this introduction covers four essential dimensions of Bate's *Nativitas*.

Chapter 1, by Carlos Steel and David Juste, lays out the basis of the text edition. It provides a complete inventory of the extant manuscripts of the *Nativitas*, and reconstructs the intricate but fascinating textual tradition. One of the most important results of this exploration is the discovery that not only Bate's astrological self-analysis and predictions have been preserved, but also his subsequent records for empirical verification of these predictions.

Chapter 2, by Carlos Steel and Steven Vanden Broecke, rewrites Bate's biography on the basis of a wealth of new documents and information. It also documents Bate's stunningly long, detailed and penetrating attempt at decoding his life and idiosyncracies in the *Nativitas*. His philosophical and mathematical skills, musical prowess, love of dance and poetry, sense of solitude, dreams, social conflicts, illnesses, fears of death, love of women: the text of the *Nativitas* reveals all of these and more through Bate's reading of his own horoscope. Finally, chapter 2 reconstructs the immediate biographical context that prompted Bate to undertake this exercise.

Chapter 3, authored by David Juste, likewise rewrites Bate's bibliography. It offers a new, complete catalogue of Bate's known astrological and astronomical works, both original works and translations.

Chapter 4, by Steven Vanden Broecke, presents the intellectual and cultural context of Bate's *Nativitas*. This chapter focuses on Bate's *Nativitas* as an exercise in autobiography. On the one hand, it seeks to delineate Bate's own possible motivations for authoring the *Nativitas*, as well as the precedents and subsequent reception of this remarkable practice. On the other hand, it offers a critical reflection on the applicability of a notion like 'autobiography' to the *Nativitas*, using Bate's text as an illustration of key differences between medieval and modern notions of autobiographical writing.

Chapter 5, by David Juste, goes even deeper by exploring Bate's personal and intellectual connections to the astrological tradition on the one hand, and to the Parisian astrological scene of the second half of the thirteenth century on the other. This chapter demonstrates the extraordinary breadth of Bate's knowledge of astrology and astrological literature. By 1280, most astrological texts that were to become the vulgate until the sixteenth century were already available in Latin, and it is no exaggeration to say that Bate knew virtually all of them. Not only did he know and

use them, but he thoroughly mastered their content, scope and significance as well. Indeed, few European scholars before 1300 demonstrate such knowledge and command of astrology. Through a thorough analysis of the relevant manuscript sources, this chapter also reveals the close ties between Bate and the Parisian scholarly scene, on which it casts an entirely new light.

Chapter 6, by Shlomo Sela, focuses on another dimension of Bate's historical importance: his role in the transmission of Hebrew learning to the Latin West. On the one hand, this chapter explains that it was Bate who brought the astrological treatises of Abraham Ibn Ezra (c. 1089-c. 1161), one of the foremost Hebrew scholars of the Middle Ages, to the attention of the Latin West. On the other hand, this chapter documents and disentangles Bate's complex relation to the astrological corpus of Ibn Ezra in the *Nativitas*.

Chapter 7, by Steven Vanden Broecke, leaves the intellectual and cultural context of the *Nativitas*, and focuses on some of the main astrological techniques and concepts that Bate deployed in constructing his self-analysis. In doing so, the chapter casts a privileged light on some of the methods used by one of the most accomplished working astrologers of the 13th century.

The cooperation among four editors through hundreds of mails was as productive as it was complicated. In dealing with the many faces of Henry Bate, we were also fortunate in being able to draw on the expertise of other scholars. Charles Burnett freely shared his extraordinary knowledge of astrological texts with us, allowing us to identify source references by Bate that would otherwise have remained unidentified. Through David Juste, we could also draw on the riches of the database of the *Ptolemaeus Arabus et Latinus* (PAL) project of the Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Guy Guldentops, expert editor of Bate's *Speculum divinatorum*, was always ready to assist us with his unparalleled knowledge of Bate's intellectual and linguistic idiosyncracies. Our heartfelt thanks also go out to Pasquale Arfé (Università degli Studi di Bari Aldo Moro), Jean-Patrice Boudet (Université d'Orléans), David Burn (KU Leuven), Godfried Croenen (University of Liverpool), Benjamin Dykes (The Cazimi Press), Russell Friedman (KU Leuven), Kenan van de Mierop (Ghent University) and Philipp Nothaft (All Souls College, Oxford) for their invaluable advice and assistance on specific astrological, astronomical, biographical, linguistic and musicological problems.

We also thank the two anonymous readers of "Universitaire Stichting/Fondation Universitaire" for their valuable comments and suggestions, which kept us from making even more mistakes and helped us to improve the edition. We thank Universitaire Stichting/Fondation Universitaire for its financial assistance in making this book possible. In the past, Leuven University Press published four volumes of Bate's *Speculum divinatorum*. We are very proud to have our edition of the *Nativitas* accepted as part of their series on Ancient and Medieval Philosophy, which is its natural place indeed.

Our one remaining frustration is that we were as yet unable to complement our edition with a full annotated translation of this remarkable text, written in a complicated Latin and larded with the daunting technical vocabulary of ancient astronomy and astrology. We hope that this can be the goal of another project.

Completum Lovanii in vigilia Assumptionis beatae Mariae Virginis anno Domini 2018, die Martis, ascendente Libra in qua Luna coniuncta Veneri.

Carlos Steel
Steven Vanden Broecke
David Juste
Shlomo Sela

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ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|----------------|---|
| <i>App. I</i> | Henricus Bate, <i>Nativitas</i> , Appendix I |
| <i>App. II</i> | Henricus Bate, <i>Nativitas</i> , Appendix II |
| <i>Nat.</i> | Henricus Bate, <i>Nativitas</i> |

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

MANUSCRIPTS AND TEXT TRADITION OF THE NATIVITAS

1.1. Manuscripts (David Juste)

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 3857 (M)

s. XIII^{ex} for fols. 47-48 (the core of the MS dates from the second half of the thirteenth century). Or.: probably the University of Paris. Prov.: cathedral of Augsburg.

Parchment, 48 fols., a single neat hand copied the core of the MS (fols. 1-46). Fols. 47-48 contain added notes in two or three hands, the first of which (fol. 47r) might be that of the main scribe, albeit in a more cursive script.

Astrology: Albumasar, *Flores* (1ra-5ra); Gergis, *De significatione septem planetarum in domibus* (5ra-6ra); Jafar, *De pluviis et ventis* (6rb-7ra); astrometeorology, at least partly from the *Liber novem iudicum* "Aomar: Ex conventu itaque vel oppositione vel ex Solis..." (7ra-8rb); Albumasar, *Introductorium maius*, tr. John of Seville, VI.1 (9ra-11rb); Ptolemy, *Quadripartitum*, tr. Plato of Tivoli (11va-43va); Pseudo-Ptolemy, *Liber proiectionis radiorum stellarum* (43va-43vb); Pseudo-Ptolemy, *De iudiciis partium* (43vb-46vb). According to a table of contents added by another hand in the top margin of fol. 1r, the MS also contained Alcabitius's *Introductorius* after fol. 46. The added notes fols. 47-48 include **Henry Bate, *Nativitas*, excerpts (47r)**; a list of the 28 lunar mansions (47v); *Liber Alchandreï*, 19-20 (47v); the horoscope of a nativity of 16 March 1265 (47v); two horoscopes of a nativity of 23 December 1267 (48r); an unfinished *rota* meant to show the 12 signs and the 28 lunar mansions (48v).

The excerpts from the *Nativitas* consist of three horoscopes with tables and notes, including Bate's nativity, the horoscope of the syzygy preceding birth and the revolution for the 35th year, i.e. *Nat.* 375-471, 483-489, 511-512, 507, 513, 508-509 and 2793-2810, with the following section added between *Nat.* 489 and 511: "Saturnus retrogradus, Iupiter retrogradus, Mars directus, Venus directa, Mercurius directus, Luna tarda cursu".

Lit. Karl Halm and Georg von Laubmann, *Catalogus Codicum Latinorum Bibliothecae Regiae Monacensis*, vol. 1.2: *Clm 2501-5250* (München: Sumptibus Bibliothecae Regiae, 1871), p. 147; David Juste, *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Latinorum*, vol. 1: *Les manuscrits astrologiques latins conservés à la Bayerische Staatsbibliothek de Munich* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2011), pp. 99-100.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 210 (O)

s. XVI. Or.: Italian hand.

Paper, 93 fols., a single hand.

Astrology: Lorenzo Bonincontri, *De revolutionibus nativitatum* (1r-33v); astrological notes (33v-35r); “De morte natorum. Pronosticatio mortis nascentium laudem maximam astronomo prestat...” (35v-39v); Lorenzo Bonincontri, star table verified 1480 (39v-41r); Albumasar, *De revolutionibus nativitatum* (42r-87v); **Henry Bate**, *Nativitas*, excerpts 5-373 and 562-571 (87v-91r), followed without a break by astrological notes “Sed quoniam aspectus et huiusmodi figure...” (91r-91v); added horoscopes for 1556 and 1497 with notes (91^{bis}r-91^{ter}r). Blank: 41v.

The excerpts from the *Nativitas* are identical to those in *Vat*.

Lit. William D. Macray, *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Bodleianae*, vol. 9: *Codices a viro clarissimo Kenelm Digby* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1883), cols. 225-226.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7324 (P)

s. XIV² (for fols. 1-90; after 1362, cf. fols. 50v-51v; fols. 91-102 were added in the fifteenth century). Or.: France or northern Italy (for fols. 1-90, see Boudet). Prov.: Louis de Langle, who copied fols. 91-102; anonymous astrologer working in Lyons in the 1470s; Simon de Phares; King Francis I.

Paper, 104 fols., composite MS made of two parts: fols. 1-90 (two hands: fols. 1-49 and 50-89) and fols. 91-102 (a single hand).

Astrology and astronomy: Albumasar, *De revolutionibus nativitatum*, attr. Messahallah (1ra-24va); **Henry Bate**, *Nativitas* (24va-47ra); William of Saint-Cloud, *Nativitas* (47ra-49va); star table verified 1362 in Barcelona (50va-51va); another star table (51vb); Messahallah, *De revolutionibus annorum mundi* (52r-58v); John of Saxony, commentary on Alcabitus's *Introductorius*, Book IV (59r-68v); Messahallah, *De nativitatibus*, anonymous tr. (73r-76ra); “Dixit Tholomeus quod si domini triplicitatis Solis... Explicit liber Ali de qualitate nati” (76rb-86r); “Alius tractatus. Capitulum in nativitate hoc est ad sciendum nativitatem...” (86v-88r); “Luna iuncta cum Saturno aut ipsam 4 aspectu vel oppositione...” (88r-89r); Guido Bonatti, *Liber introductorius ad iudicia stellarum*, IX.3 (91r-102v); table of contents of the volume, added at the end of the fifteenth century (103r-104v). Blank: 50r, 69r-72v, 89v-90v.

Lit. *Catalogus codicum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Regiae*, vol. 4: *Cod. Latini* 7226-8822 (Paris: E Typographia Regia, 1744), p. 341; Jean-Patrice Boudet, *Lire dans le ciel. La bibliothèque de Simon de Phares, astrologue du XV^e siècle* (Bruxelles: Centre d'Etude des Manuscrits, 1994), pp. 62-68; David Juste, *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Latinorum*, vol. 2: *Les manuscrits astrologiques latins conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de France à Paris* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2015), pp. 103-104.

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 10270 (*Par*)

s. XV². Or.: Naples, copied under the supervision of Arnald of Brussels. Prov.: Bernard Collot (d. 1755), canon of Notre-Dame of Paris.

Paper, 102 fols. numbered 83-184 by Arnald of Brussels, a single hand. All texts and excerpts in this MS, including the horoscopes fols. 83r, 84v and 86v, are found to be identical and in the same order in V.

Astrology: two horoscopes (83r); *Liber Salcharie Albassarith*, end only "... in ascendenti debet esse humilis boni cordis..." (83v-84r); onomancy "Quia omnes verissime prescire soli Deo subtiliter constituta existit neminem contradicere..." (84r); horoscope (84v); "Si volueris habere unam mulierem et volueris scire utrum possis habere eam vel non, aspice dominum ascendentis et dominum septimi..." (84v-86v); horoscope (86v); Albumasar, *De revolutionibus nativitatum* (87r-139r); **Henry Bate**, *Nativitas* (139v-177v); William of Saint-Cloud, *Nativitas* (178r-183v). Blank: 184.

Lit. Léopold Delisle, *Inventaire des manuscrits conservés à la Bibliothèque Impériale sous les numéros 8823-11503 du fonds latin* (Paris: A. Durand, 1863), p. 68; Emmanuel Poulle, *La bibliothèque scientifique d'un imprimeur humaniste au XVe siècle. Catalogue des manuscrits d'Arnaud de Bruxelles à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris* (Genève: Droz, 1963), pp. 87-88; Charles Samaran and Robert Marichal, *Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant des indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste*, vol. 3: *Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds latin (N^{os} 8001 à 18613)* (Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1974), p. 634; David Juste, *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Latinorum*, vol. 2: *Les manuscrits astrologiques latins conservés à la Bibliothèque nationale de France à Paris* (Paris: CNRS éditions, 2015), p. 193.

Segovia, Archivo y Biblioteca de la Catedral, B 349 (84) (*S*)

s. XV² (after 1455 for fols. 33r-35v, cf. fol. 33r: "ab anno Christi 1455 usque ad annum in quo es..."). Or.: unknown. Prov.: "Es del archivo de la cathedral de Segovia", 17th c.-hand (fol. 11r).

Paper, 106 fols. formerly paginated 490-699, several hands.

Astrology and astronomy: **Henry Bate**, *Nativitas* (1r-28v); Antonius de Murellis de Camerino, prognostication for 1432 (29r-32v); "Cum planeta cuius est negotium est in medio celi..." (33r-35v); table: properties of the 12 signs (36v); Firminus de Bellavalle, *De mutatione aeris* (37r-75v); Pseudo-Ptolemy, *De cometis* (75v-76r); Messahallah, *Liber interpretationum* (76v-78v); "Domus prima, prima est illa que ascendit in oriente, demonstrat vitam..." (79r-84v); Eustachius de Eldris, *De directionibus* (85r-89r); notes (89v); solar table dated 1331 in Paris (90r); "Ad retrogradationem sciendam oportet querere..." (91r-96v); astronomical tables (97r-106v). Blank: 36r, 90v.

Lit. Guy Beaujouan, "Manuscrits scientifiques médiévaux de la cathédrale de Ségovie", in *Actes du XIe Congrès international d'histoire des sciences* (Varsovie,

Toruń, Kielce, Cracovie, 24-31 août 1965) (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1968), vol. 3, pp. 15-18 (p. 17) [reprinted in Guy Beaujouan, *Science médiévale d'Espagne et d'alentour* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992), art. IV].

Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, 5-1-38 (*L*)

s. XV. Or.: unknown. Prov.: Padua until 1531, cf. fol. 60v: "Este libro costó 16 beços en Padua a 15 de abril de 1531 y el ducado de oro vale 280 beços."

Paper, 60 fols., a single hand. The first six folia have been damaged, apparently by water, so that the upper part (about 30-50%) of the folia concerned is illegible.

Astrology: **Henry Bate**, *Nativitas* (1r-50r); William of Saint-Cloud, *Nativitas* (50r-56r); added astrological notes (60v). Blank: 56v-60v (except provenance note fol. 60v).

Lit. José Francisco Sáez Guillén and Pilar Jiménez de Cisneros Vencelá, *Catálogo de manuscritos de la Biblioteca Colombina de Sevilla* (Sevilla: Cabildo de la Santa, Metropolitana y Patriarcal Iglesia Catedral de Sevilla, 2002), vol. 1, p. 72.

Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 12732 (*Vat*)

s. XV² (fols. 105-239) and XVIⁱⁿ (for the rest of the MS). Or.: Italy, perhaps Naples (fols. 105-239). The core of the MS consists of fol. 105-239, copied in a single neat hand. Most of the rest of the MS has been copied by two alternating hands, one of which signed "... finit 1502, per me Iohannem de Basilea Magna cum diligentia scriptus" (fol. 83r), while the other left notes and glosses throughout the entire volume.

Paper, 279 fols. (new foliation in lower right corner), three main hands.

Astrology: fols. 105-239 contain Albohali, *De nativitatibus*, tr. Plato of Tivoli (beginning) and Johannes Toletanus (end) (105r-130v); Firmicus Maternus, *Mathesis*, excerpts from Books IV and III (130v-153r); astrological notes (153r-153v); Haly Abenragel, *De iudiciis astrorum*, excerpts (154r-167r); astrological notes (167r-167v); Albumasar, *De revolutionibus nativitatum* (168r-231v); **Henry Bate**, *Nativitas*, excerpts 5-373 and 562-571 (232r-236v), followed without a break by astrological notes "Quoniam aspectus et huiusmodi figure eorumque virtus et efficacia ad stellarum radiorum naturam spectat..." (236v-237r); Hermes, *Liber de stellis beibeniis* (237v-239v). The rest of the MS is made of texts, excerpts and notes dealing mainly with nativities and including, among others, Lorenzo Bonincontri, star table verified 1480 (8r-12v) and Lorenzo Bonincontri, *Liber nativitatum* (22r-83r).

The excerpts from the *Nativitas* are as follows: *Nat.* 5-373 "Quoniam ut testatur Philosophus Politicorum tertio, fere quidem plurimi... (236v) in ergo his omnibus protestor me aut parum aut nihil de meo positurum" and *Nat.* 562-571 "Dicit enim Avenezre in suo libro equationum (sic) quod omnes aspectus Solis ad Lunam boni sunt... et benignitatis suae gaudio illustrat."

Lit. *Codices manu scripti Vaticani Latini 12345-12847 ex Archivo in Bybliothecam Vaticanam translati anno 1920 aliiue qui in dies accesserunt* [handwritten catalogue available *in situ*], fol. 915r; Paul Oskar Kristeller, *Iter Italicum*, vol. 2 (London/Leiden: Brill, 1977), p. 348.

Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, lat. VI.108 (2555) (V)

s. XV² (perhaps c. 1463, date mentioned in the upper margin of fol. 41r). Or.: unknown (northern Italy?). Prov.: Venice, Cardinal Domenico Grimani (1461-1523).

Paper, 145 fols., several hands. The MS was bound in disorder: fols. 1-40 originally took place — or were meant to take place — after fol. 112v (cf. catchwords on that folio “Sole nativitatis tempore”, which correspond to the incipit of Albumasar’s *De revolutionibus nativitatum*). Once the correct order is restored, the sequence of texts and excerpts in this MS (fols. 110v-112 + 1-40 + 113-145) matches that of *Par*, fols. 83-183 exactly.

Astrology: Albumasar, *De revolutionibus nativitatum* (1r-40r); Alubater, *De nativitatibus* (41r-110r); “Nota quod omnes beiberne [sic] que reperiuntur in libro Hermetis de beibenis currente anno Ihesu Christi 1185...” (110r); two horoscopes, the positions of the second of which correspond to 29 October 1201 (110v); *Liber Salcharie Albassarith*, end only “... in ascendenti debet esse humilis boni cordis...” (111r); onomancy “Quia omnes verissime prescire soli Deo subtiliter constituta existit neminem contradicere...” (111r); horoscope, whose positions are roughly correct for 1 or 2 November 1234 (111v); “Si volueris habere unam mulierem et volueris scire utrum possis habere eam vel non...” (111v-112v); horoscope (112v); **Henry Bate**, *Nativitas* (113r-141v); William of Saint-Cloud, *Nativitas* (141v-145v). Blank: 40v.

Lit. Giuseppe Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca manuscripta ad S. Marci Venetiarum. Codices MSS. Latini*, vol. 4 (Venezia: Ex Typographia Commercii, 1871), pp. 288-289 (XI.110).

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 10583 (W)

s. XVI.

Paper, 100 fols., a single hand.

Astrology: Albumasar, *De revolutionibus nativitatum* (1r-90r); **Henry Bate**, *Nativitas*, excerpts 5-373 and 562-571 (90r-98v), followed without a break by astrological notes “Quoniam aspectus et huiusmodi figure...” (98v-99v). Blank: 100.

The excerpts from the *Nativitas* are identical to those in *Vat*.

Lit. *Tabulae codicum manu scriptorum praeter Graecos et Orientales in Bibliotheca Palatina Vindobonensi asservatorum*, vol. 6: *Cod. 9001-11500* (Wien: Gerold, 1873), p. 208.

?Unknown location, *olim* Greenville (Miss.), Public Library, 1 (G)

s. XV^{ex} (“1480. Deo gracias”, at the end of Albumasar’s text). Or.: unknown. Prov.: Constantin August Naumann (d. 1852), professor of mathematics at Freiberg, who had acquired many manuscripts in Germany; Guglielmo Libri, who bought the MS in 1854 and sold it in London in 1859; Greenville (Miss.), Public Library, 1 (De Ricci). The MS is no longer in Greenville and appears to be lost.

Paper, 61 or 62 fols.

Astrology: Albohali, *De nativitatibus*, tr. Plato of Tivoli (12 fols.); Albumasar, *De revolutionibus nativatum*, (35 fols.); “Tractatus astrologicus (?) incerti auctoris” (15 fols.). The last item (labelled “Ms. astrologicum incerti auctoris” in Naumann’s catalogue, “Astrologia incerti Auctoris” in Libri and “Tractatus astrologicus (?) incerti auctoris” in De Ricci) might correspond to **Henry Bate’s *Nativitas***, also found after Albumasar’s *De revolutionibus nativatum* in *Par* and *V*, as well as, for the excerpts 5-373 and 562-571, in *O*, *Vat* and *W*. Only Naumann’s catalogue gives the number of folia for each text.

Lit. *Catalogue de la bibliothèque de feu Mr. Auguste Const. Naumann, professeur de mathématiques à l’école des mines à Freiberg, dont la vente se fera mardi le 6 juin 1854 et jours suivants dans la salle de Mr. T. O. Weigel à Leipzig* (Paris, 1854), p. 2, no. 9; Guglielmo Libri, *Catalogue of the Extraordinary Collection of Splendid Manuscripts, Chiefly upon Vellum, in Various Languages of Europe and the East, Formed by M. Guglielmo Libri, The Eminent Collector, who is obliged to leave London in consequence of ill health, and for that reason to dispose of his Literary Treasures* (London: J. Davy and Sons, 1859), p. 8, no. 25; Seymour de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, vol. 2 (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1937), p. 1142.

Lost manuscript

A copy of the *Nativitas* once belonged to the library of Charles V of France, as seen in the inventory of the “librairie du Louvre” made by Gilles Malet in 1373: “Nativitas cujusdam Dyonisii, episcopi Silvanentis, **Exemplum nativitatis Henrici de Mechlinia**, Nativitas cujusdam imperatoris Constantinopolis, Albertus [i.e., Albumasar?] *De revolutionibus nativatum*, et quasdam determinationes sive questiones, escript en pappier, de tres menue lettre, couvert de parchemin, sans aiz” (ed. Boudet 2015, p. 396, no. 677; see also Delisle 1868-1881, vol. 3, p. 148, no. 731). The same MS reappears in the subsequent inventories of the librairie du Louvre in 1411, 1413 and 1424 (see Delisle, *ibid.*). This MS has not been found.

1.2. Text tradition (Carlos Steel)

Bate’s *Nativitas* is transmitted in five manuscripts, one of which dates from the 14th century (*P*), while the four others are from the late 15th century (*L Par S V*). More-

over, three manuscripts copied around 1500 (*O Vat W*) contain the introduction until the first nativity figure. Finally, the first three horoscopes were copied in *M*. An examination of the relations between the copies will demonstrate that we have to assume that at least two now lost manuscripts were used as models.

The Segovia manuscript (*S*) exhibits a textual tradition that is different from the four other manuscripts. Moreover, this manuscript contains an alternative version of the events occurring in Bate's 35th year (with a wealth of autobiographical material), which is very different from the standard text in the four other manuscripts (see below 1.2.2). As we shall see, these four manuscripts have many errors in common, in particular omissions, which is proof that they all derive from a lost common model (α). As we shall further show, *Par* is a direct copy of *V*, while *L* and *P* depend upon a lost model (β), which was itself copied from α . Finally, immediately after Bate's *Nativitas*, these four manuscripts offer another autobiographical nativity of someone born in Paris in 1255 (the son of a certain Petrus Fabri). As David Juste demonstrates in section 5.3.4 below, the author of the latter text is William of Saint-Cloud (fl. 1285-1292). However, the manuscripts give no indication that a new text by a different author starts here. On the contrary, what follows in the next paragraph ("inveni per scripta") might initially appear to be the continuation of Bate's own *Nativitas*. Interestingly, the copyists of manuscripts *P* and *L* put the concluding title "Explicit natiuitas magistri Henrici Machliniensis cum quibusdam reuolutionibus" after the *Nativitas* of William of Saint-Cloud, because they were unaware that another nativity had been added to Bate's text. This explicit must have been on the same (incorrect) place in their common model β . The most plausible explanation for the presence of this nativity after Bate's nativity is that William had obtained a copy of Bate's *Nativitas* from Bate himself. Having read Bate's text with great interest, he started working on his own nativity, following Bate's magnificent example. He probably wrote down his nativity on the manuscript he owned, which contained Bate's *Nativitas*. As William's *Nativitas* can be dated 1285, he must have obtained his copy of Bate's *Nativitas* directly from its author. We should therefore assume that the scholars were in close contact with each other.

1.2.1. The two traditions of the Nativitas

As stated previously, Bate's *Nativitas* is transmitted in two textual traditions, one represented by the Segovia manuscript, the other by four manuscripts originating from a copy that once may have belonged to Willam of Saint-Cloud. Both traditions are differentiated by a great number of disjunctive errors.

1.2.1.1. Errors in *PV* (and their copies *Par L*) against *S*

Samples of omissions: 61 nominato *om. PV* | 144 mediam *om. PV* | 161 imparis *om. PV* | 257 reuolutionis *om. PV* | 640 ut...infra *om. PV* | 859 Non...864 coniunctionem *om. PV* | 923 magis...infortunatus *om. PV* | 997-8 ex...eius *om. PV* | 1015 ex...eius

om. PV | 1166 hoc proposito *om. PV* | 1192 homo *om. PV* | 1223 uel maleuolos *om. PV* | 1246-7 Baltheus...pectus *om. PV* | 1327 quomodo ... prudentiam *om. PV* | 1338-9 unum ... operibus *om. PV* | 1474 hominum *om. PV* | 1553 et negligit *om. PV* | 1672 receptus *om. PV* | 1711-2 Mars ... infirmitatum *om. PV* | 3307-9 Iouem ... ad *om. PV* | 3362 nisi — ille *om. PV*

Other errors: 653 penes] ponere *PV* | 766 regales] regulares *PV* | 781 habitudinis] habitationis *PV* | 782 habentes] homines *PV* | 870 bene...dispositus] bone fuerit dispositionis *PV* | 1461 improuiso] impulso *PV* | 1863 oportunum] optimum *PV* | 2521 magisterii] ingenii *PV* | 2532 qui idem] quidem *PV* | 2548 coincidunt] quo incidit *PV* | 2568 sufficienter] supra *PV* | 2601 Sagittarius] Saturnus *PV* | 2626 ob inimicitias] ab inimicis *PV* | 2863 ludis] laudis *PS*

1.2.1.2. Errors in *S* against *PV* (and their copies)

11 neque...habentibus *om. S* | 68 partum...aptum *om. S* | 77-8 reuoluendo...compotistarum *om. S* | 108-10 illo...gradu *om. S* | 277 habebat...natiuitatis *om. S* | 899 etiam] quoque *S* | 900 scilicet Saturni *inv. S* | 905 interrogationum] retrogradationum *S* | 909 minus] nimis *S* | 914 Vnde...Hispalensis *om. S* | 917 tardus est *inv. S* | 918 simpliciter] in omnibus *praem. S* | 920 alkocoden] post natiuitatibus *S* | 1024 fuisset...infortunatus *om. S* | 1315-1317 cantionum...et *om. S* | 1387 quod] dicitur *add. S* | 1389 iam *om. S* | 1391 que domus *om. S* | 1393 mysteria] in scientia *S* | 1397 Saturnus est *inv. S* | 1405 Saturni *om. S* | 1429 cuius...luminaris *om. S* | 1444-1446 et alii...non *om. S* | 1770 Venus...1772 Hispalensis *om. S* | 1802-1803 Dorotheus...nubere *om. S* | 2355 coniunctionis *om. S* | 2359 libro *om. S* | quod Saturnus *om. S* | 2658 domini *om. S* | etiam dicit *inv. S* | 2663 dubius] indubius *S* | 2665-6 mortis...possumus *om. S* | 2715 propterea...cognouerunt *om. S* | 3221 Circa...retrogradationis *om. S* | 3368 renouabit] remouebit *S* | 3371 operatio] oppositio *S* | 3374 operabitur aliquid] comparabitur idem *S* | 3381-2 Leonis...propriam *om. S* | 3382 Leoni] locum *S* | 3385 inimicorum] amicorum *S*

1.2.1.3. *Par* a copy from *V*

Par is a superb manuscript, beautifully written with the utmost care by a professional copyist working under the supervision of Arnald of Brussels, who was established as a printer in Naples between 1472 and 1477. While residing in Naples, Arnald collected copies of astronomical treatises out of personal interest in the topic; these are now partially preserved in Paris at the BnF.¹ When Emiel Van de Vyver (1921-2000) started work on an edition of Bate's *Nativitas*, he took *Par* as his "Leithandschrift". Van de Vyver's handwritten copy of *Par* was the starting point of our own collations. However, the discovery of the Venetian manuscript (*V*) undermined the authority of *Par*, which is in fact an excellent copy of *V*. Both

¹ See Poulle 1963; Edmunds 1991, pp. 29-30.

manuscripts contain the same collection of astrological texts and excerpts in the same order. This common content could be explained in three ways: *Par* is a copy of *V*, *V* a copy of *Par*, or both *Par* and *V* have a common model. Evidence confirms the first hypothesis: *Par* follows *V* in its particular errors (although some minor errors are corrected in writing), and it adds some further errors, which are not found in *V*.

Examples of errors in both *V* and *Par* (not including errors that come from the model α common to *PV* + *Par*):

215-6 huiusmodi ... propositum *om.* *V Par* | 1119 spiritu...omnia *om.* *V Par* | 1836-7 quia...confirmat *om.* *V Par* | 2028-9 in proposito autem dominus secundi qui auxiliores nati significat *om.* *V Par* | 2143 et separationum *om.* *V Par* | 2316 suos...quomodocumque *om.* *V Par*

Errors in *Par* not present in *V*:

562 electionum] equationum *Par* | 569 omnibus *om.* *Par* | 570 sororem] uxorem *Par* | 590 ubique *om.* *Par* | 711 ad presens *om.* *Par* | 720 dominus uite est *om.* *Par* | 769 nato *om.* *Par* | 781 magnitudinis] bone conseruationis *add.* *Par* | 875 respectu] natiuitatis *add.* *Par* | 1325 efficere et musicam morem qualem quondam *om.* *Par* | 1512 stabilitatem] iustitie et *add.* *Par* | 1671 felicitatem *om.* *Par* | 1866 conscripserit] in scriptis *praem.* *Par* | 1903 aduersitatem] diuersitatem *Par* | 2194 amicabile *om.* *Par* | 2195 magne] intelligentiae et *add.* *Par* | 2289-90 potius uidetur *inv.* *Par* | 2298 uidelicet] unde licet *Par* | 2317 non uideo *om.* *Par* | 2321 in gradu] gradus *Par* | 2334-5 angulus tamen *inv.* *Par* | 2342 Iouis et Saturni *inv.* *Par* | 2367 refrenata] reformata *Par* | 2433-4 uim suam] unus itaque *Par* | 2442 reges significat *inv.* *Par* | 2449 dominus *om.* *Par* | 2519 ut uult Auicenna *om.* *Par* | 2572 amicos habere *inv.* *Par* | 2642 dicit Hispalensis *inv.* *Par* | 2643 eandem *om.* *Par* | 2702 ut uult Avicenna *om.* *Par* | 2932-3 et celestibus *om.* *Par* | 2975 ut est hic *om.* *Par* | 3040 conturbari magis *inv.* *Par* | 3295 bonitate] ueritate et] *praem.* *Par*

From all these examples, it becomes evident that *Par* is a copy of *V*, and not the other way around. There is a counterargument however. *V* only has the first two natal charts (i.e., for Bate's time of birth and for the syzygy preceding his birth), not the figures of the revolution of Bate's birth chart for his 35th and 36th year; in the two latter cases, the scribe of *V* left a blank space, but he never entered the figures. *Par* has all four figures however. This raises the question of where the scribe found the latter two? Moreover, *Par* has a full title, while *V* only has a title in the margin, probably written by another hand. However, the full title in *Par* is probably an addition of Arnald of Brussels, as we will show below, section 1.2.3. If this is the case, Arnald may also have intervened in the text and asked the copyist to add the two missing charts in the open spaces. The figures for Bate's 35th and 36th year in *Par* have all their features in common with *L P* and *M* (in the latter case only for the figure of 35th year). Therefore, Arnald must have found the missing figures in another manuscript of the α tradition. It could have been β , the lost model of *L* and

P, which was circulating in Italy at that time (see below). Or he may have had access to α from which *V* itself had been copied.

On fol. 152v Arnald (?) noted in the margin a quote from the *Picatrix* which corresponds to a passage of Albumasar quoted by Bate in *Nat.* 1240-1243: “Nota secundum Picatricem: ascendit enim secunda facie Geminorum vir cuius vultus est similis aquile et eius caput panno linteo aptatum, lorica plumbea indutus et munitus et in eius caput galeam ferream, supra quam est corona Sirica, et in eius manu balistam et sagittas habens”.²

1.2.1.4. *P* and *L* copies of a common model

P and *L* share a large number of various errors, including many omissions. *P* is a meticulous copy, whereas *L* is a mediocre and hastily made copy. Because of their many common errors, and the multiplication of errors in *L* not present in *P*, one could easily surmise that *L* is just a bad copy of *P*. However, this hypothesis could not be confirmed. *P* has a number of particular errors that are absent from *L*. Although these errors are not very numerous (compared to the mass of errors in *L*), they definitely exclude a dependence of *L* on *P*.

Examples of particular errors in *P* not present in *L*:

658 esse *om.* *P* | 1570 natus *om.* *P* | 1641 ad subduplum *om.* *P* | 1788 in septimal *om.* *P* | 1812 aliqua *om.* *P* | 2158 generaliter *om.* *P* | 2672 insuper et aspicientes *om.* *P* | 3334 domum occupabit *om.* *P*

The strongest argument against *L*'s dependency on *P* is the fact that *P* omitted a very long section of the text. On fol. 36vb (modern numbering), after “aduersantes” (*Nat.* 1974), the whole section “moderator premonstratum est” (*Nat.* 1974-2020) is lacking in *P*. The copyist simply continues after “aduersantes” with “nam testimonia aduersariorum” without noticing that he skipped a page. Was the page lacking in his model, or did he inadvertently turn two pages at once? The second hypothesis seems most probable. Surprisingly, the omitted text was added by a later hand on two strips of paper (one folium cut in half vertically). This text begins with “moderator” and ends on the second strip with “premonstratum est. Nam testimonia aduersariorum et cetera ut sequitur”. The addition of the supplementary strips of pages led to a new numbering of the folia. The *Nativitas* begins on fol. 24v in a modern numbering which replaces the older medieval numbering (which had one number less: 23v). Folio 33 in the medieval numbering thus becomes 34, 34 becomes 35, 35 becomes 36 (where the omission occurs); but 36 becomes 39, 37 becomes 40, etc. The medieval numbering simply continues, but the modern numbering required adding the two supplementary strips of paper. One of these is numbered 38, the other has no numbering, but the librarian may -erroneously- have considered it to be 37. This proves that the long omission, which probably corresponds to one page,

² Pingree 1986, p. 76:23-26.

was not noticed when the first numbering of the folia was made. The addition of the extra half leaves came later.

L also omits a long section of the text. After “dirigendo a parte fortune” (*Nat.* 2833), there immediately follows “Luna hyleg” (*Nat.* 2971). The entire section “peruenitur hoc anno ... loco in quo fui” is lacking in *L*, with no indication whatsoever. It is most likely that a folio disappeared from its model. There are numerous errors on all folia; what follows is a full collation of fol. 14v:

968 profectionis] perfectionis *L* | 970 que fuit *om.* *LP* | 976 arismetica] arismetrica *LV* | 977 ex compositione] expositione *L* | 978 delectationis] -nem *P* dilectionem *L* | 980 aularum] uillarum *P* | 981 infortunia] -nium *LP* | 982 et] in *L* | 983 huius] eius *LP* | 985 iudicum] et *add.* *L* | 986 eorum] illorum *LP* | seu] siue *L* | etiam et *om.* *LP* | conuiuia] communia *L* | 987 ergo] igitur *LP* | domus uite *om.* *L* | 989 | coniunctionum] -nis *LP* | 990 iuxta *om.* *LPV* | 992 quidem *om.* *L* | uel] et *L* 994| orizonte] oriente *P* | 995 omnium cardinum] *spat. vacuum in L* lib. deficit *mg. notavit* | 996 semper *om.* *P* | 997 ex...eius *om.* *LPV* | 1000 quoque *om.* *LPV*.

We may conclude that *L* and *P* derive from a common lost exemplar β . This cannot be *V* since *V* has its own errors that are neither present in *P* nor *L*. *P* is an accurate copy of this lost model, the work of a professional copyist, while *L* is a dreadful copy, full of mistakes. We fully collated manuscript *L*, but decided not to include its multiple variant readings in the apparatus. These never offer a valuable reading that is preferable to what is found in the other manuscripts. Moreover, the first six folia are seriously damaged: only half the text, or less, is decipherable. We only quote *L* in the horoscope figures and when *S* is not present (notably in the section where *S* has an alternative version of Bate’s revolution for his 35th year).

The Spanish owner of *L* mentions that he bought the manuscript in Padua in 1521. It is plausible that *L* was copied in northern Italy from its model β . If this is the case, we must suppose that β had been moved from Paris, where it was used to copy *P*, to northern Italy, where it served as model for *L*.

1.2.1.5. Another witness of β : Munich, BSB, Clm 3857

This manuscript collection of astrological texts was copied during Bate’s lifetime, at the end of the 13th century, probably in Paris. Some notes were added on the last leaves of this parchment codex (fol. 47-48). On fol. 47r one finds three astrological charts with the corresponding tables and notes from Bate’s *Nativitas*: Bate’s own nativity chart, the figure of the syzygies preceding his birth, and the chart of the solar revolution for Bate’s 35th year. This is undoubtedly the earliest textual witness of the *Nativitas*. An unknown scholar with an interest in astrology must have encountered a manuscript of the *Nativitas* and copied the first three figures with the corresponding notes from it. It is clear that the manuscript he used belonged to the tradition of *LPV Par*. Moreover, there are some indications that he used manuscript

β , from which both P and L derive. Thus M shares with L and P the following addition in the tables accompanying the second chart: “Ascensiones gradus ascendentis 280 gr. 44 min. correspondentes 12 gr. 20 min. Sagittarii. Equatio dierum 12 min. hore” (441-443). See also 376 equatis] equalibus $LP+M$ | 402 27.8] 27 $LP+M$ | 435 56] secunda add. $LP + M$ | 436 6.52] 6 min. 52 sec. $LP + M$. If the scribe used sub-archetype β (a copy of a copy of Bate’s original text), one should assume that the figures were copied in M at the earliest at the end of the 13th century in Paris.

1.2.1.6. Three copies of the introduction of the *Nativitas*

At the end of the 15th century, an Italian scholar, probably in Naples, read the introduction of the *Nativitas* with interest and had a copy made of it. This partial copy is found in three manuscripts, which were copied late 15th/early 16th centuries in Italy (*O Vat W*).

Bibliotheca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 12732 (Vat)

The Vatican codex is a convolute containing diverse texts related to astrology, which were copied by different scribes at different times. In its original state (fols. 105-239), it contained a series of astrological texts copied by a hand of the late 15th century. To this ancient core, two later hands, copying alternately, added two works of the astronomer Lorenzo Bonincontri (1410-c. 1491).³ The partial copy of the *Nativitas* is found in the original core, on fols. 232r-236v, directly following upon Albumasar, *De revolutionibus nativitatum* (168r-231v) and copied by the same scribe. Bate’s text begins without any title: “Quoniam ut testatur Philosophus Politicorum tertio fere quidem plurimi”, and ends on fol. 236v: “protestor me aut parum aut nihil de meo positurum” (373). It is clear that the scribe (or his patron) was only interested in the introduction of the *Nativitas*, in which Bate explains how he establishes the exact date of his birth and conception using different indications (cf. a later scholar’s note on fol. 233r: “loquitur de mora in utero matris”). The copy ends just before the insertion of the first horoscope chart. However, after a space of three lines, a different hand added another passage from the *Nativitas* taken from lines 562-571: “Dicit enim Auenezre in suo libro equationum (*sic*) quod omnes... gaudio illustrat”. Moreover, this other hand continued with the following comment which is not found in Bate’s *Nativitas*:

“Sed quoniam aspectus et huiusmodi figure eorumque uirtus et efficacia ad stellarum radiorum naturam spectat et ad illorum proprietatem referri uidetur – dum enim in predictis figurarum locis planete discurrunt, radiorum potentia et uirtus, sed etiam ipsius stellaris corporis uis atque benignitas diuino quodam nutu per rectam lineam ad alterius stelle dirigitur corpus –, de radiis eorundem pauca subicio. Notandum itaque stellarum lumen bipartitum esse, ante scilicet et retro

³ On Bonincontri, see Grayson 1970, Heilen 1999.

per medium. Solis enim radii 30 graduum, 15 ante et totidem retro, Lune siquidem 24, 12 ante et totidem retro, Saturni nanque et Iouis 18, refulgent nouem ante et nouem retro equaliter. Martis sexdecim uindicauit potentia, 8 ante et totidem retro. Cum itaque stella ad stellam applicans gradum illius proprio lumine contingerit, applicata dicitur. Si enim nundum attingit, ad applicationem uidetur accedere. Et in conuentu similiter. Nec unquam separari dicetur stella ab alia eiusue applicatione donec ad medium sue lucis eandem suosue radios transierit. Deinceps si quidem separata iudicari potest.”

Finally, yet another hand (presumably the scholar who also made some comments in the margins) added more comments: “In conuentu uerum est non in aspectibus: scito quod in eclipsi Sol non potest fieri quin significetur aliquod magnum accidens...” until “Si eclipsis facit in gradu Solis uel Lune radices uel prope per unum gradum abc:”

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 210

Besides the two works of Lorenzo Bonincontri, which are found in *Vat*, this manuscript also contains Albumasar, *De revolutionibus nativitatum* (fol. 42r-87r), followed, as in *Vat*, by the introduction of Bate's *Nativitas*, 5-373 (87v-91r). The same scribe continues on fol. 91r with the other extract of the *Nativitas* (562-571), which in *Vat* had been added by another hand, and with the comment “Sed quoniam aspectus et huiusmodi figure.... Deinceps si quidem separata iudicari potest”. However, he does not continue with the comment added by the third scholarly hand in *Vat*, which reads: “In conuentu uerum est non in aspectibus, etc.”. The rare combination of the introduction of the *Nativitas* with a second extract of this work and supplementary astrological comments, which are found in *Vat* written by different hands, is proof that the scribe of the Oxford manuscript used *Vat* as model for its copy. At the moment the scribe of *O* made his copy, the third hand in *Vat* had not yet added the extra comment “In conuentu uerum est non in aspectibus, etc.”. However, the copyist of *O* added some extra material himself. After “Deinceps si quidem separata iudicari potest” he added a title: “Infallibiles et notande Gaurici regule vere et probate de commento ex verbis Centiloquii 6o. Hore figurate primi concubitus — habuerit in radice et in aliquo reuolutionis anno reiterauerit, morbum in partibus obscenis denotat, et eo maxime cum habuerit in: ”. This reference to a work of the celebrated astronomer Luca Gaurico (1475-1558) is proof that the copy in *O* was made after c. 1530.

Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 10583 (W)

This manuscript contains Albumasar's *De revolutionibus nativitatum* (1-90r) followed without title by the introduction of Bate's *Nativitas* and the other additional comments as in *O* (90r-99v). There is no doubt that *W* was copied from *O*. It is, alas, a dreadful copy and contains numerous errors.

As *Vat* is the origin of this partial textual tradition, we only collated this copy of the *Nativitas*. The collations demonstrate that this partial copy of the *Nativitas* undoubtedly derives from the manuscript that was once in the possession of Arnald of Brussels when he was residing in Naples (= *Par*). Not only does it have the particular errors of *Par* (setting it apart from its own model *V*), it also has some of the corrections that were introduced in the first pages of the text in *Par* by another hand (= *Par^c*)

11 altera] odienti *add. mg. Par^c Vat* | 12 magnitudinem] amoris *s.l. Par^c Vat^c 16*
 potentes] de se *add. Par^c Vat* | 96 nam] tantum *Par Vat* | 105 alterius *om. Par Vat*
 | 111 uel] aut *Par Vat* | 114 uel] aut *Par Vat* | 133 emergeret] contingeret *Par Vat* |
 134 illius] ipsius *Par Vat* | 142 qua de causa] qua de re *Par Vat* | 144 mediam *om. PV*
s.l. Par^c in textu Vat | 145 horam integram *inv. Par Vat* | 146 1 gr. 38 min.] in 30 *Par*
Vat | 147 eufortuniorum et infortuniorum] eufortuniorum *Par* infortuniorum *Vat*
 | 148 poteram] possunt *Par Vat* | 157 inter Hermetem et Ptolomeum] Ptolomei et
 Hermetis *Par Vat* | 227-228 comprobetur. Hec est enim uia uocata] nota. Probetur
 enim estimatiua *ex. corr. Par, sic in textu Vat* | 250 etiam] autem *Par Vat* | 251
 testatur] dicit *Par Vat* | 252 causare] creare *Par Vat* | 255 in *om. V s.l. add. Par^c in*
textu Vat | eiusdem] illius *Par Vat* | 259 causabat] procreabit *Par Vat* | 277 habebat
exp. Par om. Vat | 562 libro Electionum] libro Equationum *Par Vat*.

As is the case in *Par* and in all other manuscripts deriving from α , Bate's *Nativitas* follows in *Vat* immediately after Albumasar's *De revolutionibus nativitatum*. However, in *Vat* and its copies, Bate's *Nativitas* begins without a title, and seems to be a continuation of Albumasar's text. This may indicate that the *Nativitas* in *Par* had not yet received its full title ("liber servi Dei etc."), when it was copied by the scribe of *Vat*. (on this title, see below section 1.2.3). From these indications we may conclude that the partial copy in the Vatican manuscript was made in Naples, probably before Arnald inserted the title, i.e. before 1477 (end of stay of Arnald in Naples).

Since *Vat* entirely depends on *Par*, which is itself a copy of *V*, this partial tradition of the *Nativitas* contributes nothing to the constitution of the text in the edition. However, it reveals some interest for Bate's work in Italy at the end of the 15th century.

1.2.2. Two different versions of the revolution of the 35th year

In the last part of his work, after having established and analysed his nativity, Bate turns to the discussion of the revolutions for the current and following years. He first discusses the indications of the revolution for his 35th year, followed by those for his 36th year. An alternative version of the events following from the revolution for the 35th year is found in the Segovia manuscript (edited in *App. I* after the text of the *Nativitas* and translated below). The relation of this document to the other version, present in the four other manuscripts, poses many problems of interpretation.

The divergence in the tradition is only found in the last section (corresponding to *Nat.* 3089-3169). In the preceding section starting with the chart for the 35th year (*Nat.* 2796-3088), both traditions offer the same version. Bate first examines at length the exact configurations for the revolution of the 35th year and the influence of the different astrological signifiers for his fortune or misfortune. His 35th year is mainly ruled by Venus, notwithstanding hindrances caused by Saturn and Mars. Referring to astrological authorities, and above all, to Albumasar, Bate infers that he will enjoy happiness and prosperity in this year (“significat prosperitatem in illo anno”, *Nat.* 2857), mainly through women. Nevertheless, Bate also finds counter-indications: he will suffer from women through envy, quarrels, slander (“infamia et suspicio praua” 2894-2895), and will even suffer accusations of fornication (“rixas cum feminis et accusationes de fornicatione”, *Nat.* 2884-2885). Other elements in the solar revolution are found to suggest that Bate will be plagued by all kinds of diseases (“egrotabit egritudine pessima”, *Nat.* 2920), particularly in his eyes and in his head. On the authority of a large number of astrological authors, Bate tries to show that, while these misfortunes may cause anxiety and sorrow, they will fail to hinder a positive outcome for the coming year. For instance, one text by Albumasar predicts a difficult year, with victories for Bate’s enemies and a serious injury (“significant malitiam anni et difficultatem et inimicorum uictoriam et uulnus a ferro ... ac damnum”, *Nat.* 2949-2951). However, Bate manages to sidestep this indication by arguing that Albumasar’s text might be corrupt (“truncatus”): “God’s servant” will eventually escape these evils and impediments after some 80 days. Accordingly, he concludes (following Albumasar) that “some good will happen around the end of the [35th] year”.

After this conclusion, we have two different versions of the events of the 35th year. In the manuscripts of the α tradition we find an astrological prediction of the events to come. In the *S* version, on the contrary, the events of the 35th year are described and assessed as having already happened in the past. Moreover, the Segovia account contains a wealth of autobiographical information that is missing in the other tradition. After the divergent version, both *S* and the α manuscripts give the chart of the 36th year followed by an explanation of what will happen in that year, when “the good that was indicated at the end of the previous year will receive its fulfilment” (“bonum in fine precedentis insinuat consummationem recipiet”, *Nat.* 3188). From there on, there are no more divergences between the two traditions, except for the usual accidents due to copying errors.

We shall first present the text of the α tradition and then the *S* version. Finally, we will try to explain why there are two different versions of the events of the 35th year.

1.2.2.1 The α version

The standard version begins with a somewhat solemn announcement of good tidings:

“The year had then reached the angle of the tenth house of the root nativity, where two superior planets were both within the [astrological] terms of the conjunction, together with a fixed star and the ‘lot of friends’ in the house of Venus, who is now lord of the year and participating in the division. Given that [Venus] had such dignity in the root nativity, as was explained above, it appears that the prosperity and honour which, according to all philosophers, was indicated by these signifiers, may come about through female persons of high or royal rank, and this around the end of the year” (*Nat.* 3089-3097).

However, Bate continues, there will also be hindrances and misfortunes in the second quarter of the year due to the presence of the Moon and Saturn between the twin angles of mid-heaven and the West. Bate also expects to be affected by Mars around the beginning of the fourth quarter of that year. Furthermore, he needs to be on guard for the effects of an imminent Saturn-Mars conjunction (*Nat.* 3097-3106)

With Albumasar and Ibn Ezra, Bate finally determines that his misfortunes will be not fatal, but that he will have to be vigilant about a Saturnine disease, i.e. a tertian or quartan fever (“quartana aut tertiana”, *Nat.* 3118). He must also beware of constipation, injuries in the eyes, and maladies of the entire head “unless the directions are not concordant” with the configurations (*Nat.* 3125-3126). Around Christmas 1280, a conjunction of the Moon with both Saturn and Mars also portends evil, and Mercury’s simultaneous association with these planets reinforces the dangers (*Nat.* 3133-3140). Bate also finds cause for worry in Venus being combust at that time, even though Mercury’s receding from Saturn and Mars and application to Jupiter should bring relief for the greater part of these evils (*Nat.* 3140-3144). Another cause for hope by the end of the year is given by Venus’s return to the place it previously occupied in the revolution at the beginning of the year, and because the Sun will then have entered the degree of the lot of fortune (*Nat.* 3144-3149). Bate adds many more astrological indications of a prosperous end to the year.

“Briefly, the height of the [native’s] prosperity depends on Venus, and it is with her that we sealed off (*sigillauimus*) this year” (*Nat.* 3167-3169).

1.2.2.2. The S version

In view of the exceptional biographical (see below, sections 2.2 and 2.3) value of the S version of Bate’s revolution for his 35th year, we here offer a full translation of this text, as found in *App. I* of our edition.