

GVIDONIS BONATI

ON WAR

translated from the original Latin text by:

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BONATTI ON WAR

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INTRODUCTION

The Astrologer As Military Adviser In The Middle Ages And Renaissance

It is now being recognised that the role of the astrologer as a counsellor to kings and to the powerful in Medieval and Renaissance Europe was far more extensive than was previously realised. Recent scholarship by D. P. Walker ¹ and Frances Yates ² has shown convincingly how widely accepted were the occult doctrines of magic and astrology upon which much of Renaissance philosophy rests. Yates, particularly in her *Rosicrucian Enlightenment*, has shown the importance of the magical-astrological tradition as the forerunner of the scientific movement in Europe and has hinted at its being the common source of both the Protestant Reformation and the rise of scientific societies in both Italy and England.

Hugh Kearny as well, in his *Science and Change 1500-1700*, emphasises the role of Neoplatonic, Pythagorean, Hermetic and Magical philosophies in the development of science both in the Renaissance and Early Modern Period ³. Finally, E. A. Burtt's *The Metaphysical Foundations of Modern Science*, long ago became a classic in this field, showing the connections between the magical-astrological Neoplatonism of Ficino and Pico della Mirandola and the theory of heliocentricity ⁴.

This state of affairs was the outcome of a long period of interest in occult philosophy by the intelligentsia of Europe which began in the twelfth century with the translation of Arabic scientific and philosophical texts and lasted until the end of the seventeenth century. By the thirteenth century astrology had become the Supreme Science to the rule of which all inferior elementary bodies were subjugated ⁵.

The astrologer was viewed as the supreme scientist, the adherent of an art that claimed to deal with the underlying principles of all

sciences (not to mention politics, psychology and philosophy), to deal with the very laws of nature. It is therefore not surprising to find that increasingly from the twelfth century until the Renaissance, astrologers, employing texts and techniques translated from Greek and Arabic assumed the role of adviser in all areas of life and in all levels of society, including the business of waging war

In the thirteenth century, the court of Emperor Frederick II was a centre of astrological study ⁶. Michael Scot, Frederick's court astrologer ⁷ dedicated his *Liber Introductorius*, and *Liber Particularis*, to the Emperor at the latter's request ⁸. Much of Roger Bacon's *Opus Maius* is devoted to a discussion of magic and astrology. He includes lengthy sections on astrology and the importance of its study as well as its relation to the Christian religion ⁹. In his *Opus Tertium* ¹⁰ he declares "it is manifest to all that the celestial bodies are the causes of generation and corruption in all inferior things. "

Astrological doctrine even penetrated the Papacy. Several Popes, such as Sylvester II, were avidly interested in astrology. Pope Paul III often relied upon astrological aid, and after the astrologer Luca Gaurico predicted Alessandro Farnese's, {Paul III} ascension to Bishop of Rome, he was made a Papal Table Companion, knighted and appointed Bishop of Giffoni in 1539. Later Gaurico, commissioned by the Pope, elected the most auspicious time for laying the corner stone of the church of Saint Peter for the "third restoration of the city". Vincentius Campanatius of Bologna, another astrologer, assisted by inspecting the sky with an astrolabe and declared the best time to the assembled crowd. The Cardinal of Albano {another adherent of astrology}, clad in a white stole and red tiara, set the stone bearing the mark of the Pope in the foundation ¹¹.

Kepler and Tycho Brahe submitted astrological reports to King Rudolph of Bohemia. Queen Elizabeth employed John Dee the astrologer/magician and Richelieu employed Jean Baptiste Morin D'Villefranche in the service of Louis XIII of France.

This list could be greatly lengthened but that merely deflects from the more immediate matter at hand. *The important observation being that already, by the end of the twelfth century the astrologer had become a source of advice much relied upon by the temporal and spiritual leaders of European Society.*

GUIDO BONATTI

Guido Bonatti was one such astrologer-advisor who was frequently relied upon for political and military advice. We do not know exactly when he was born, but Thorndike dates his birth before 1223 and his death about 1300¹². He was also one of the most distinguished and successful of medieval astrologers¹³, being mentioned by Salimbene¹⁴, Filippo, Villani¹⁵ and Fossi¹⁶. His influence was such that Dante placed him in the eighth circle of the Inferno¹⁷. He seems to have been a professor of astrology at Bologna and may at some time have been connected with the court of Frederick II for he was reputed, like Michael Scot, to have worked for the Hohenstaufen Emperor¹⁸.

Thorndike described the *Liber Astronomiae* (also called the *Liber Astronomicus* or *Liber Astrologiae*) Bonatti's *magnum opus*,¹⁹ as "The most important astrological work produced in Latin in the 13th century"²⁰. This work, which was written sometime after 1277, is a compilation of ancient and contemporary authors with many of Bonatti's own additions and observations. It is extremely well laid out; very clear and simply written although at times Bonatti's attempt to be precise does make the text rather verbose.

The *Liber Astronomiae* was extremely popular and widely read throughout the later Middle Ages and Renaissance, evidence of which is the number of manuscripts, including one made for Henry VII of England, whose picture is given in the midst of the text. It was translated into Italian and a manuscript in this language held at the Laurentian Library at Florence. A German translation was printed at Basel in 1572, and an English translation of the [fifth tractate] (misleadingly listed as a translation of the entire work by Thorndike)²¹ was published by William Lilly the English Astrologer who predicted the great fire and plague of London in 1666. A manuscript copy was in the library of Pico della Mirandola²² as well as in that of John Dee²³.

Among the Arabic authors upon whom Bonatti relied, he seemed generally to favour Abu Ma'shar. In the section on war, however, he relied almost entirely on Zael (Abu' Utman Sahl ibn Bisr ibn Habib), an Arab astrologer of the ninth century. Zael was the author of the *Kitab al-Ihitiyarat 'ala l'buy ut al-itnai 'asar*, the twenty fifth chapter of which deals with military expeditions²⁴. It is this chapter which Bonatti drew upon in the chapters of the section of *Tractatus Sextus* which is translated below, although

whether he worked from the Arabic or from a Latin copy is not known.

Bonatti was not merely a compiler of Arabic material. His exposition of the methods of his predecessors was enlarged with many of his own experiences and observations. He was a practitioner, not a theorist and he was interested in conveying the tradition even when he did not understand or quite agree with the "ancients". An example of this is found in Chapter Twenty Nine where he points out that he does not understand Zodyel's dicta regarding whether or not a besieged castle will be taken or not.

Bonatti was employed by Ezzelino da Romana ²⁵ and Guido, count of Montefeltro specifically for military advice on several occasions. The annals of Forli indicate that Bonatti was involved with Montefeltro in the successful defence of Forli against the army of Pope Martin IV in 1282 ²⁶. In the section translated below, Bonatti himself mentions three occasions on which his advice was sought by his patron, Montefeltro. He mentions two actions dealing with a struggle between Florence and Luca, one on 12 September 1282 ²⁷. The third is a conflict between the count of Montefeltro and Valbona, which took place in 1277. All three of these incidents he uses to illustrate specific kinds of questions, which the astrologer runs into and explains the steps in judgement in light of the rules he has previously given. The astrological indications presiding at the time of the encounter or "question" ²⁸ are given.

Thus the professional experience of the practising astrologer is largely the reason for the popularity of this work.

PREAMBLE TO THE TRANSLATION OF TRACTATUS SEXTUS

Tractatus Sextus deals with the dual subject of Interrogations, also called Questions, or Horary Astrology, and its flip side, Elections. Horary astrology deals with determining the outcome of a significant event after it has been initiated from the astrologer (although there are various secondary methods of proceeding, which Bonatti deals with in the appropriate place). Electional Astrology, Chapter Three on electing the hour going out to war, is used to elect or choose propitious times for the commencement of an action.

Since the laws underlying the two branches, i.e. horary and electional astrology, are essentially the same (the methods used for each differ far less than for other astrological procedures), they are usually treated together in treatises such as this sort. The major difference between the two for our purposes is the point at which the astrologer becomes involved with the matter. If someone poses a question about a matter already begun it is treated as a Question, i.e. a matter for Horary Astrology.

Tractatus Sextus is divided into two major divisions. One deals with horary questions and the other with elections. Each of these is then subdivided into two arts. The first is divided into an '*Introductorium ad iudicia stellarum*' containing chapters on various aspects of judgement such as the timing and methods of placing questions: how things are brought to perfection (by the stars); what things are brought to completion easily by the querent or with various degrees of difficulty etc.

Next follows the "Tractate regarding special judgements of the stars". This section takes each house²⁹ and discusses particular cases and how to proceed in each case. This is followed by a "Tractate on elections according to the sayings of the wise men. Finally comes a "*Secundus Tractatus De Electionibus particularibus*" in parallel arrangement with the first division of *Tractatus Sextus* dealing with horary astrology. The translated material below comes from the horary section with one item, the last in the translation, from the material on elections.

In the several chapters comprising the translated sections it is apparent that the Medieval astrologer attempted to deal in great detail with the specifics of the matter at hand. For instance, we find Bonatti writing in **Chapter Twenty One** that if either the significator of the querent, {i.e. the lord of the first or the significator of the seventh} is retrograde when one receives the other in its sign, and one of these significators is three houses from the other, this signifies that although peace will be made between the contestants before any real conflict, it will not prove to be a sincere and lasting peace since one will attempt to deceive the other, the one which is signified by the retrograde planet making a secret agreement with the other's brother, thus subverting the truce. Various other combinations are indicated with the corresponding subtle differences of judgement involved.

In **Chapters Twenty Two** and **Twenty Five** the astrologer explains how the client may be advised as to the relative number of his and the enemies allies and the king's attitude to each. Moreover, Bonatti describes how to determine not only the number of allies but their quality, that is whether they are well prepared or ill, and how much of a threat they pose.

Chapter Twenty Three shows how to give the answer to the all-important question - who will win?

Chapter Twenty Four lays out the rules by which the astrologer may judge whether the war is just or not.

Chapter Twenty Six is an attempt - not a very convincing one however, at relating the kinds of weapons used to various astrological significators. Obviously it would be of great advantage to know in advance and in detail what weapons would be used by the enemy and what sort would be of use in exterminating or subjugating him. However, the general tone suggests that Bonatti himself was not satisfied with this chapter, although he felt duty bound to include it because it was written on by the ancients and was thus required for completeness.

Chapter Twenty Seven concerns such questions as the ability of the querent to successfully wage war, his strengths and weaknesses in different areas, together with the strengths and weaknesses of the various parties on both sides, the condition of their animals - the horses, mules etc. Also discussed are the

probable casualty rate, the likelihood of plague, and similar matters.

Chapter Twenty Eight considers the question of whether the opposing armies will actually clash. Bonatti introduces as an example the horoscope he cast and interpreted for Guido of Montefeltro in 1261, regarding the question of whether or not there would be a conflict between Florence and Luca. In accordance with the rules laid out in the chapter he advised Montefeltro that there would be no war on account of the inability of either side to properly mobilise and deploy their forces.

Chapter Twenty Nine considers besieged castles or cities and the condition of the defenders, outlining the rules for judging whether a castle will definitely fall or not, whether the besieging army will quit the field and how the defenders will fare.

These selections are all from the section on horary astrology which deal with an already existing situation of war or its threat. There follows the section from the elections material of *Tractatus Sextus*³⁰ which deals with "how to start a war and win." This gives very clear instructions on what to establish and what to avoid in the figure of the heavens for the election of the beginning of the war. It should be noted that the philosophical principle upon which this doctrine rests is that the beginning of an event holds the entire unfolding of it and its outcome in itself as an acorn holds an oak. Thus to know the beginning in order to know the outcome; this would be horary astrology but to choose the beginning is to determine the outcome is electional astrology and here we are on the edge of magic.

The value of his work as a whole to the astrologer of the Middle Ages was that Bonatti collected and synthesised the available material of the ancients. The value of the *Tractatus Sextus* as illustrated by the chapters on war from the section on "special judgements of the stars" is that it lays out very meticulously the opinions of the ancients, Bonatti's experience and a step by step "how-to" text for other astrologer/advisors. From it we get a far better an insight into the actual relationships between the astrologer advisor and his warlord/politician client.

We can also see the basis upon which the astrologers made their decisions and thus gain a better idea of the role of the astrologer as a director of the mundane affairs in Europe.

NOTES :

- 1 D. P. Walker, ***Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to Campanella, studies of the Warburg Institute***, vol. 22, London, 1958.
" " ***Prisca Theologia in France***, Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute, XVII, 1954, pp. 204-259.
- 2 Frances Yates, ***Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition***, University of Chicago Press, 1964.
" " ***The Art of Memory***, University of Chicago Press, 1966.
" " ***The Rosicrucian Enlightenment***, Paladin, 1975, especially chapters 13 and 14.
- 3 especially chapters 1, 4, and 7.
- 4 Copernicus was instructed while in Italy by one Dominicus Maria De Novara who was a disciple of Ficino's, who introduced him to the doctrines of the ancients concerning heliocentricity.
- 5 ***Michael Scot***, Lynn Thorndike, Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., London, 1965, pp. 13-14.
- 6 ***The Renaissance of the 12th Century***, C. H. Haskins, Harvard, 1927, pp. 283-284, 301, 318-319, 336.
- 7 ***History of Magic and Experimental Science***, Lynn Thorndike, Vol. II, pp. 309 & 311.
- 8 Ibid. p. 309.
- 9 ***The Opus Maius of Roger Bacon***, ed. J. H. Bridges, Vols. I & II, Oxford 1897; Vol. III 1900, pp. 230-269 and 376-404.
- 10 ***Fr. Rogeri Bacon Opera quaedam hactenus inedita***, J. S. Brewer, London 1859, *Opus Tertium* cap. 30, 107.
- 11 ***History of Magic and Experimental Science***, Lynn Thorndike, Vol. V, p 259
- 12 Ibid. Vol. II, p. 827.
- 13 so called by Haskins. ***Renaissance of the Twelfth Century***, p318
- 14 Cronica.
- 15 cited by Boncampagni, ***Della vita e della opera di Guido Bonatti astrologo ed astronomo del secolo decimoterzo, notizie raccolte da B. Boncampagni***, Roma 1851. Estratte dal Giornale Arcadico, Tomo CXXIII-CXXIV, p. 5.
- 16 Fossi, F. ***Catalogus codicum saeculo XV impressorum qui in publica bibliotheca magliabechiana Florentiae Adservantur 1793-1795***, p. 395.
- 17 *Inferno* XX 115.

- 18 **Renaissance of the Twelfth Century**, Haskins, Harvard 1971, p. 319.
- 19 I have used: **Guidonis Bonati Forliviensis Mathematici de astronomia Tractatus X unversum quod iudiciariam rationem nativitatum aeris tempestaturn attinet, comprehendentes. Adjectus est Cl. Ptolemaei liber Fructus cum commentariis utilissimis Georgii Trapezuntii.** Basileae, anno 1550 (15), p. 1. 848+62 Columns.
- 20 **History of Magic and Experimental Science**, Vol. II, p. 826.
- 21 Ibid, 827.
- 22 **The Library of Pico della Mirandola**, Kibre, Pearl. Columbia University Press, N.Y. Pico attacks Bonatti in his **Disputatio Adversus Astrologiam Divinatricern-Opera Ominia** Basel 1572 (Printed the same year as the German edition of Bonatti's Liber Astronomia).
- 23 **The Private Library of Dr. John Dee, and the Catalogue of his Library of Manuscripts**, ed. J. P. Halliwell-Phillipps, Camden Society Publications (London 1842), pp. 65-98. Cf. also Montague R. James, Lists of Manuscripts Formerly Owned by Dr. John Dee, Oxford, 1921.
- 24 **Handbuch der Orientalistik**, von M. Ullmann, Astrologie, p. 299.
- 25 **Renaissance of the 12th Century.**, Haskins, p. 319. Bonatti mentions, "the tyrant Ycilinus" in the Liber Astronomiae in the section of the Tractatus Tertius, On the return of Virtue, capitula XIII.
- 26 Muratori Rerum Italicarum Scriptores, revised edition Fasc. 20, 1903, p. 105.
- 27 the other I have not yet been able to date. Whether Bonatti was using inaccurate tables or doctored the chart for didactic purposes I cannot yet tell.
- 28 the term "question" is a technical term in the art of Judicial Astrology as explained below.
- 29 the astrological "house" denotes one of 12 mathematically derived fields signifying as many areas of life or topoi.
- 30 a first glance the Table of Contents is a bit misleading. *Tractatus Sextus* is listed as "having three introductory heads". In fact, it is divided into four parts as given above.

GVIDONIS BONATI

FOROLIVIENSIS MATHEMATICI
DE ASTRONOMIA TRACTATUS X.

Vniuersum quod iudiciariam rationem
Nativitatum Aeris Tempetstatum,
attinet, comprehendentes.

Adiectus est
Cl.Ptolemaei liber Fructus, cum Commentariis
vtilissimis Georgii Trapezuntii.

BASILEÆ, ANNO M D L,

Also known as Liber astronomiae
or Liber astronomicus or Liber astrologiae.
Columns 295 - 314 {1550, Basel (15) p.I. 848+62}
translated by Robert Zoller.

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The following is an extract from the work of Guido Bonatti translated from Latin into English from Guidonis Bonati Forliviensis *Mathematici de Astronomia Tractatus X universum quod iudiciariam rationem nativitatum, aeris tempestatum attinet, comprehendentes. Adiectus est Cl. Ptolemaei liber Fructus, cum utilissimis Georgii Trapezuntii*. Published 1550, Basel. {(15) p.1 848+62 columns} The extract covers columns 295 – 314 of *Tractatus Sextus* of the said work which is also known by its short title of *Liber Astronomiae* or *Liber Astronomicus* or *Liber Astrologiae*.

Here follows the translation:

CHAPTER TWENTY ONE

CONCERNING ONE DESIRING TO GO INTO THE ARMY OR TO WAR OR TO BEGIN A WAR, WHETHER A DUKE OR ANOTHER, WHOEVER HE IS, WHETHER HE WILL WIN OR NOT.

When there is some kind of war between some men or when it is hoped that there will be, (as often happens) and one of them {the contestants} comes to you, he wants to know from you what is able to happen to him as a result, whether he is king, emperor, mark, duke, count or (simply) a powerful man, ¹ or any other person lay or cleric, who will lead an army; whether he is noble or commoner or a rustic, provided that he be leader of an army or of one fraction or party of some war, he is called leader ² of that army or war; whether he was appointed ³ for superintending this purpose or for some other. And he desires to begin a war for someone or to go into an army against someone else.

And concerning these things, he places ⁴ the question to you or he places the question himself regarding the condition of another, concerning whom he is extremely worried (and the one asked about is not the emperor nor the king,) you {the astrologer, referred to by Bonatti as "the artist"} will give the first {house} to him, and its lord, and see from which planet the moon separates, ⁵ and give that {planet} likewise to the querent ⁶ .

The seventh and its lord and the planet to which the moon is now joined you will give to the adversary. However, if he {the querent} were an emperor or a potentate, or ruler, and he asked concerning the deeds of the empire or kingdom or city which he ruled, you will give the tenth to him and the fourth to his adversary. But if he asked concerning his own business and something special which does not concern an act of the empire or the kingdom, or the city you will give the first to him and the seventh to his enemy and you will judge for him in all other things just as {you would} with another individual person.

But if the moon does not separate at that time from some {planet} nor is it joined to another, Zael says that the moon ought not to be dismissed in this work. You may see if the lord of the first is joined to the lord of the seventh and whether he {is joined} to him by a trine or sextile aspect with a perfect reception.

But if one of them receives the other, it signifies that peace will be made between them before the contention. But if it is joined by a square aspect or an opposition, although they receive each other or by a trine or sextile aspect without reception, they will not be pacified unless they fight first and contend ⁷ at the same time. But after they have struggled or fought together, they reconcile each other and the beginning of peace or of reconciliation will come from the side of the one whose significator is the lighter {planet}.

You ought to know that the superior planets, that is, Saturn, Jupiter and Mars, are stronger in wars and conflicts than the inferiors: Sol, Luna, Venus and Mercury, and more stable and constant on account of the slowness of their motion, and because the inferiors ⁸ apply to them and not the other way around. Whence, if you are able to do this, always be sure in your inceptions {i.e. elections} of wars or contests, that you have as significator, one of the superior planets as is said elsewhere; however, if you are not able to have a superior {planet} take the better of the inferiors as you are able to: because it is good to have an auspicious inferior ⁹ than an unfortunate or impeded {or afflicted} superior.

After this consider {the significator} from which you see that they will be pacified. If either significator, namely the lord of the ascendant and the lord of the seventh are direct, the peace or agreement which they will make will be at once good and firm and especially if there is a trine or a sextile aspect.

But if both are retrograde, it will be a false peace and it will not be good or long lasting but rather with evil intent and cunning and each strives to deceive the other. But if one is direct and the other retrograde, he whose significator is retrograde strives to deceive the other and comes forth with evil intent and with cunning against the other.

See in what place he is from the other whom he attempts to deceive, because if he is in the second from the first, after he agreed with him and because the other confides in him, he will bear off his substance from him ¹⁰. And if he is in the third, first he will deceive him on account of his brother, because he will take his brother from him and will hold him and extort something from him or perhaps he will settle with his brother and he {the brother} will do what harms him {the deceived party} or he will send him out of that region to his detriment {i.e. into exile}. But if he will not have the brother, he will deceive him from other

causes signified by the third house. But if he is in the fourth, he will capture him and hold him in prison underground and secretly until he gets what he wants or he will take the kingdom or the city or castle, or the village or the house or other estate from him according as there was discord between them.

If it is in the fifth he will do to him as if the significator were in the third except by reason of his child or something in accordance with the signification of the fifth house. If it is in the sixth house he will hold him and incarcerate him so that he may take from him his servants and other small animals, such as sheep, pigs, goats, dogs, pastures and the like. If it is in the eighth {because the seventh doesn't count in this work, unless as the first} he places him in prison and causes him to die in it or in some other way kills him.

And if it is in the ninth, he will send him into a long journey {or exile}, and will cause him to suffer hardship there. And if it is in the tenth, he will give him up into the hand of a powerful man or other magnate so that he offends him or perhaps he will incarcerate him in some castle or in some tower or in some other elevated place. And if it is in the eleventh house, he will hand him over to some soldier or familiar king or powerful person or other magnate so that he may extort something from him, or he will hand him over to one of his own friends for the same reason ¹¹ or so that he guards him for him.

And if it is in the twelfth house, he will hold him and strip him ¹² in the deepest {or farthest} prison {or dungeon} and by speaking pleasant things ¹³ to him, he will do the worst to him he is able by means of the imprisonment and he will hold him for a long time so that he will despair nor will he believe that he will ever be able to escape, or so that he will take {his} horses, cows, camels, and other large animals from him.

Note that the fourth signifies prison. The seventh signifies incarceration or incarcerating. The eighth signifies the act of incarcerating. The tenth signifies .that he has already been incarcerated. Finally look to the lord of the seventh, which has to signify he who is incarcerated. If it is retrograde it signifies that he escapes from prison. See then to whom it is first joined in that retrogradation, because if it is joined to a benefic it signifies good for him in his flight.

If you do not see that they will agree or be pacified, see if the lord of the first separates from the lord of the seventh or vice versa.

This signifies that the war or contest or contention or discord will last a long time, nor is it seen that it will be ended in a short time. And if the lord of the first is one of the three superior planets and is in the first or in the tenth or indeed is received in the fourth, {unless that planet which receives {it} is the lord of the seventh or of the eighth, nevertheless the fourth is far below the tenth and below the first} ¹⁴ it signifies that he who asks the question will conquer and obtain against his enemy unless it {the ruler of the first} is combust or entering combustion at that time.

But if the lord of the seventh is one of the three superior planets and is in the seventh or fourth or in the tenth (but if he is received in the tenth which is below the fourth unless the planet which receives him is the lord of the first or the second) it signifies that the enemy will conquer and obtain against the querent unless it is combust or enters combustion at that time, because he is then debilitated, and has no strength.

Now consider, indeed, those significators, that are the lord of the first and the lord of the seventh because even if the lord of the ascendant is cadent and thus has a great debility, if he is one of the superior planets he will have strength against his enemies by reason of that superiority and his adversary will be weak by reason of inferiority, because the lord of the seventh will be one of the inferiors which are not strong in the act of war like the superiors.

Whence you ought not to say on this account to the querent that he will succumb, unless when you see first to whom the lord of the seventh is joined, because although the lord of the first, which is one of the superiors is cadent from an angle and the lord of the seventh which is one of the inferiors is in an angle, however the lord of the first is not on this account of less power than the lord of the seventh unless the lord of the seventh is joined to some planet which fortifies him.

If the lord of the seventh is joined with some planet which is in a strong place, namely in an angle, and he receives him ¹⁵, then the lord of the seventh is fortified and you are able to tell the querent that he will succumb and be conquered by his enemy or adversary. If the lord of the seventh is joined to a planet which does not receive him, the lord of the seventh is not strengthened sufficiently that the querent will succumb on this account. And say the reverse of what you said regarding the ruler of the first concerning the lord of the seventh if it is one of the superior planets and because if the

lord of the seventh is one of the superiors and cadent from his own angle, that is the seventh, do not judge victory for the querent over his enemy, even if the lord of the first as one of the inferiors is in an angle, unless he is joined to another planet which is in an angle and which receives him. For if he was thus received he would be fortified thereby sufficiently that you are able to judge the victory for him over his enemy. {This} if the lord of the seventh is cadent from an angle, even though he is one of the superiors.

If indeed, you find the lord of the first strong in an angle even if he is joined to some planet cadent from an angle which has to signify his {the lord of the first's} impediment. Nevertheless he will still be strong because his fortitude (which he has by being angular) will be greater than the debility which the cadent planet causes him and this will last until he is in that place and degree which the angle was or all the way until he is elongated from it by fifteen degrees, unless he first completes a conjunction between himself and the cadent planet which impedes him. But whenever the conjunction is completed between these two planets exactly to the degree he ¹⁶ is debilitated beyond measure and it is feared that the querent will thereafter succumb, even if he succeeded well from the beginning. Furthermore the enemy will be strengthened even though it had not gone well for him from the beginning.

You may judge this likewise regarding the ruler of the seventh as you judged regarding the ruler of the first, that is if you find the lord of the seventh strong in an angle, even if it is joined to a cadent planet which has to indicate its impediment, nevertheless, it will still be strong because the fortitude it has by its angularity is greater than the debility it has as a result of the conjunction with the cadent planet which impedes him until he is in that place and degree in which the angle was at that time or all the way until it is elongated from it by fifteen degrees, unless the conjunction between the planet and the lord of the seventh is completed first exactly to the degree. But whenever the conjunction is completed he is exceedingly weakened, and it seems that the enemy will succumb even though it seemed that things went well for him from the beginning and the querent is fortified even though it seemed from the beginning that it would fall out evilly for him.

And he ¹⁷ said that you say the same thing regarding the lord of the first and the lord of the seventh (if it enters into combustion) which you said, when the conjunction of one of them with an evil planet cadent from an angle and impeding it is completed.

However, if the lord of the first or the seventh is not joined with any planet in the sign in which it is {posited} see with which planet it is first joined after its departure from that sign when it enters the other sign. Because if it is joined to one of the superiors by a trine or a sextile aspect with reception and in a strong place that is in an angle or a succedent house, or if it is joined to one of the benefics by a trine or sextile aspect without reception or a square or an opposition with reception, it signifies that he whose significator it is will thus conquer and obtain all he desires and all things will be fortunate for him whether he is lord of the first or of the seventh. But if this conjunction is by a square aspect or by an opposition with reception and receiving him in a strong place as I said, or by a trine or sextile aspect without reception, it will work out as it were semi-prosperously for him, but not perfectly. If, however, the conjunction is by a square or opposition without reception and the malefic is cadent or combust or enters into combustion, it signifies that in the end everything falls out adversely for him, however, they began.

And Zael said, that when you change the significator to the second sign, that you do not judge by the fortitude of the inferior planets unless according to the benefit of its place ¹⁸ from the ascendant and by its liberation from the impeding planets, and by the assistance of other planets on its behalf. Furthermore, you ought to know that the significators, that is the lord of the first and the lord of the seventh, are able to have fortitudes and debilities and "relatives" ¹⁹ by position of place. And they are these; if the lord of the seventh is in the first, it is the greatest debility for it and the greatest fortitude to the lord of the first because it signifies that the lord of the first will conquer his enemy nor will the latter have any defence against him.

Likewise, in elections it seems to be able to be said just as happened to us when we rode against Valbona. Taurus was ascending and Mars was in the ascendant. We conquered all those attempting to hinder us. But if the lord of the first is in the seventh, which is the greatest debility for it and the greatest fortitude for the enemy, it signifies that the enemy conquers the querent. And Zael says, "And these things which I told you will happen all the more strongly if any of the significators aspects that planet which is in its own house". That is if the lord of the first aspects the lord of the seventh in the first the querent will overtake his enemy and will conquer him.

If the lord of the seventh aspects the lord of the first in the seventh, the enemy overtakes the querent and conquers him. Similarly see that the lord of the first falls not in the eighth, because if it does, or if the lord of the first is conjunct the lord of the eighth, it renders the querent uncertain {or irresolute} or if the lord of the eighth is joined to the lord of the first it then signifies the death of the querent. If the lord of the seventh is in the second from the first, or is joined to its lord, or that to it, it renders the enemy uncertain {or irresolute} and it signifies his death, and especially if the lord of the second is impeded with any of the aforesaid impediments by which a planet is impeded, because the second from the first is the eighth from the seventh, just as the second from the seventh is the eighth from the first.

You may say the same thing regarding the lord of the eighth if it is impeded, because then it signifies death so strongly that it is hardly ever or never escaped, unless the lighter planet is received by a heavier planet and the lighter planet does not receive the heavier one or vice versa, because if each is received it signifies death. But if one receives and the other does not, it does not impose the necessity of death, although it threatens death.

Next, consider if the lord of the first is joined to the lord of the tenth, or he to it, and if the lord of the first with this {the lord of the tenth} is in the tenth, it signifies that (if the war or conflict is in the district or kingdom of he who asks) he will be strong, indeed stronger than all those who come against him, and that he will conquer them all, unless by chance it would be a multitude without number. And he will capture his adversary or enemy who contends with him and the better and stronger if the heavier lord, namely of the first or tenth, is in an angle such as the first or the tenth or in the houses succeeding these, i.e. the second or the eleventh, because it signifies then that he will not be able to be conquered, nor will there be anyone so strong that he may be able to have any powers against him in his district or kingdom.

However, if he is in the district of another he will conquer his enemies by the above mentioned conditions, but he will not be so strong because he would be able to lose because of his own affairs and even from {his} people ²⁰, however the reputation and rumour will be that he conquered. But he will not be able to {prevail} against as large a multitude as he was in his own district. However he will be able {to prevail} against one fourth or one third greater than his own. However if the lord of the seventh is in the fourth, which is his tenth or is joined to the lord of the fourth or the lord of the fourth is joined to him and the heavier of

the two is in an angle, that is, the seventh or the fourth or in a house succeeding those angles, that is the eighth or the fifth, it signifies that the enemy will not be defeated and he will not be able at all {to prevail} against him if the contest is in the district of the querent, there is concern that the querent may lose his district or kingdom.

Zael said, "If one of the significators is joined to some planet in an angle, or to the lord of the angle, and all the more so if it is itself in an angle, then it signifies the fortitude of this significator". And he said, "If one of the significators is in an angle free from the malefics and in a mobile sign it signifies death for him soon after attainment {of the victory}."

Again look and see if the lord of the seventh is in the first and the lord of the first does not aspect him, or if it {the lord of the seventh} is in the twelfth, it signifies the escape of the enemy. But if the lord of the first aspects him, he {the querent} will conquer him. And if, indeed it is retrograde it signifies his escape and his subjugation and the breaking of his part {or party, faction} ²¹. But if the lord of the first is in the seventh, and the lord of the seventh does not aspect him or if the lord of the first is in the sixth it signifies the escape of the querent. However if it were retrograde it signifies his escape and subjugation and the destruction of his part {party or faction}.

Next look and see the lord of the tenth is in the first, it is seen that the king will aid the querent. But if the lord of the tenth is in the seventh, it is that he will aid the enemy. You may say the same thing if the sun or the moon are joined or either of them to either of the significators that is to the lord of the first or the lord of the seventh, because to whichever either of the luminaries is joined, that one will be assisted by the king. Furthermore, see the significatrix, i.e. the Moon. See if she separates from any of the significators and is joined to another. This signifies the strength of him to whom she is joined and the debility of him from whom she separates. If she separates from the lord of the seventh and is joined to the lord of the first, it signifies victory on the part of the querent against the enemy. If however she separates from the lord of the first and is joined to the lord of the seventh, it signifies the victory of the enemy over the querent.

Next, see the place of Saturn in the matter of war, because his presence in the angles in the act of war, is evil, because it signifies the fortitude and atrocity of the war. Whence if you see him in any of the angles at the time of the question or the beginning of a

war, pronounce the strength, cruelty and prolixity of the war. And if he is retrograde he impedes more and does the worse whether he has dignity or power in the angle or not. If he is in the first house, the war will be great and strong on the part of the querent. If the fourth, it will be below this in all directions²². If it is in the seventh it will be great and long lasting especially on the part of the enemy. However if it is in the tenth house there will be called a great, strong, cruel war. You may say the same thing if you see Mars at the time of the question, or the beginning of the struggle in Capricorn or Aries, but the conflict will not be totally terrible.

After this, see if Mars is the significator of either side, because he is the significator of the querent or of the beginning, or of his allies, and he is direct, it signifies that those on the querent's side will be good warriors, and will not propose in their hearts to flee. And if Mars is stationary in his second station, they will rather permit themselves to be killed than to flee or retreat. However, if Mars is retrograde at that time, they will be unstable fighters, and will not persevere well in war, unless as those who rise up against others in the manner of thieves and highway men".

On the other hand, if Mars is the significator of the enemy or his allies, it signifies the same thing for the enemy as has been said for the querent. But if he is not the significator of any of them, he signifies the fortitude or the debility of both according to his own condition²³ and the ultimate fortitude in war when he is in his station.

The retrogradation of Saturn signifies the prolongation of the war and its repeat. But the retrogradation of Mars does not prolong the war like the retrogradation of Saturn. And if Mars is at that time in the tenth house that is at the time the question is asked or at the time of the beginning of the hostilities, it will be called a war and will last a long time and it will spill into many regions, far and wide. And if Mars were {anywhere} from the tenth house all the way to the western angle, the war will be long and will grow and be multiplied but one of the captains or dukes {leaders} of the armies attempts to deceive the other and each will do whatever he will do with intent and cunning.

Consider indeed if Mars is in an angle, that is he himself or the planet which aspects him²⁴, because it signifies the strength of the war, indeed without the influence²⁵ of Saturn but it will not be the greatest strength possible. But if Mars is succedent and that

planet which aspects him is in an angle or vice versa, it signifies a greater strength of the war than when both of them is in an angle. And if both are in succedent houses, it signifies again greater strength than when they are as has been said ²⁶. And if one is in an angle or in a succedent house, and the other is in a cadent house it signifies again a greater strength of the war.

If, indeed, both are cadent from an angle, it signifies that the war will be strong, terrible, and of many conflicts except in the tenth because then Mars weakens the war ²⁷. And if one of the malefics is in square aspect to the other and one of them is with *Cauda Draconis* it signifies the strength of the war. And if Mars is in Aries or Virgo or Scorpio and the war is diurnal ²⁸ or the question was diurnal ²⁹ or if nocturnal and Mars is in Cancer or Pisces it signifies mediocrity of the war. And if in Taurus or Libra whether the conflict or the question is diurnal or nocturnal, the war will be light with respect to other wars and will not last long, but will be disengaged in a short time.

After this you ought to look at the Moon and see if she is joined anywhere to Mars corporally and especially in the eighth because it signifies then the death of the querent, or of he who begins the war unless a benefic then aspects him. For if a benefic aspects him, although horrible dangers oppress the querent, nevertheless it frees him from death, although hardly. Likewise see if the Moon is in the first and Mars is in the seventh or vice versa. If so, counsel him who desires to go or to begin the war not to proceed and not to begin the war because this signifies his death. And if the Moon is in the fourth, or the sixth, or the tenth he will be captured and wounded with questionable wounds, unless by chance (as was said) it is aspected by a benefic. For if the benefics aspect, they mitigate the malice of Mars. If by chance he is not killed, however Mars always renders him uncertain.

If, however, the Moon is separated then from Mars by body and corporally joined to Saturn or by opposition without a perfect reception, and especially if she is in the second, it signifies the death of the enemy, unless the fortunes aspect her at that time, that is, when she is joined to Saturn, as has been said when she is joined to Mars; and these things especially happen if Mars or Saturn are with *Caput* or *Cauda Draconis* at that time, and even more so if it is so at the time of the beginning of the war.

Next, look to the Sun, which likewise if you find with *Caput* or *Cauda Draconis* at the time of the question, but even more at the

time of the inception of the war, it signifies the greatest killing on all sides, but it will be greater on the part of those who hold their backs towards the South or West, nor moreover will they be pacified on account of those conflicts.

But if the lord of the first is then in that conjunction, that is, if the Sun is with *Caput* or *Cauda Draconis*, it signifies that the killing will be so fierce and terrible and so great that as it were all parts are killed so that there will be no one left. Moreover, it will be worse with *Cauda* than *Caput* and they will lose their bodies.

And you should know that just as Mars signifies the strength or weakness of the war and the planet to which he is joined or which is joined to him, so the Moon signifies numerical greatness or smallness of it, because if she is in an angle, it signifies the smallness of the war, and especially if the lord of the house in which she is aspects her, and he, likewise is in an angle. However, if she is in a succedent house, it signifies a moderate war, and especially if the lord of the house in which she is aspects her or is in an angle or a succedent house or is in Taurus or Cancer. If, however, she is in a cadent house and is joined to the lord of the house in which she is and he is cadent it signifies a multitude of conflicts and wars.

You are able to say the same thing if she is in Scorpio or Capricorn or in the last half of Libra. And always be careful that you do not ever place the lord of the first or the Moon or Mars impeded for those who wish to begin a war nor the planet from which the Moon separates. But if you are not able to avoid all this, avoid what you can. Avoid as much as possible an impediment of the lord of the first lest he who begins {the war} ³⁰ succumb. And beware in the beginning of a war or in the journey to a war that the lord of the first is not joined to nor applies to the conjunction of the lord of the seventh. In this case the more he desires to go to the war, the more doubt there will be concerning him and it will be so much the worse if the lord of the seventh receives the lord of the first.

CHAPTER TWENTY TWO

WHICH PARTY HAS MANY ALLIES.

If, indeed, you desire to know which of the significators is more supported or numerous in allies, see which of them is in his greater dignity, (that is the lord of the first or the lord of the seventh). And who aspects his own house better, and who is aspected by many planets and who has more planets in his own part (that is towards the ascendant or towards the seventh) because the one who is thus will have more soldiers or many allies³¹. And just as the first house signifies the querent or the one beginning the war, so the second house indicates his soldiers or allies. And just as the seventh indicates the enemy, so the eighth indicates his soldiers or allies. And just as the tenth indicates the King, so the eleventh indicates his soldiers, allies or ministers.

Zael said that if there are benefics in the second or if they aspect the second house, and the lord of the second is in a good place, it signifies the strength of the allies of the querent, and their fidelity and assistance. By the eighth and its lord judge the allies of the enemy in the same way as you judged by the second its lord regarding the allies of the querent. And if the benefics which are in the second are in a common sign, or in Cancer, Scorpio, Pisces, Aries, Libra or Capricorn³², announce that the querent will have a multitude of soldiers or allies. You may say likewise concerning the benefics in the eighth house if any and also for those in the eleventh if any on behalf of the king and his vicar.

Zael says that the fifth signifies the city and all those who live in it. And he says that if there is a planet oriental in its own house, or the lord of the second is direct and oriental the soldiers or allies of the querent seek the truth. But if it is retrograde, they will not obey him³³.

But for the soldiers or allies of the king or for the vicars of the king look to the eleventh house and see if any malefic planet is in it for if so they will not obey him well. Moreover, if the malefic is retrograde not only will the soldiers of the king be disobedient but they will even be traitors. All the more so if Mercury and *Cauda Draconis* are near the Sun, 13 degrees or less, or if one of the malefics is in the eighth house from the sign in which the Sun then is. But if the malefic is retrograde, not only will the allies of the king be malefactors and traitors, but even the king himself or likewise his vicar will be evil and unjust.

You may understand this if the armies are not pacified. But if you discover that they will be pacified, see then the planet to which the leaders or "*productores*" of the armies commit their disposition. He who has that significator is he who introduces himself concerning agreeing or pacifying between them³⁴. If you desire to know what kind of person he is, see if he is in any of his dignities. For if the receiver of disposition who introduces himself regarding that agreement in his own house he will be one of those who are in one of the armies. If he is in his exaltation someone strong who is with {these} in that army with all of the land which he rules.

But if he is in his term, he will be one of those who has blood relatives in the army or {who} would not want anything evil to occur to them. If he is in his triplicity he will be one of those who has his friends or allies who came into the army at his demand. If he is in his own face it will be a man who has something to do in the army by reason of his profession. If he is not in one of his own dignities it will be a person who comes from some where else as it were a traveller or rustic.

You will be able to know more carefully by his significator, and perhaps you will be able to know his appearance by the same planet. For if it is Saturn it seems that he is an ignoble old man {or an old commoner}, especially if Saturn is occidental. However, if he is oriental he will be less old. If it is Jupiter, it seems that he is of mature³⁵ age, noble and he would be able to be perhaps a bishop or a judge or similar to those.

But if it is Mars he will be a man who persuaded or made the army advance³⁶, and perhaps he will be one of the leaders of the same army and he will be a liar, and was once a highwayman or otherwise a malefactor. If it is the Sun, he will be a man more noble than those who have been attached to despotism, or perhaps he will be a king or someone set over many peoples. And if it is Venus, he will be someone young in age and little learned in wisdom and whatever he does will be done in good faith and not under any kind of treachery. If it is Mercury he will be a man wise and learned both in natural sense and accidental, and he will be literate. If it is the Moon, it will be a man who with just motion and good will, introduces himself for these things.

And if you see Mercury under the Sun's rays and the lord of the first together with the lord of the seventh impeding him {Mercury} it signifies that both sides attempt to deceive and

destroy the other. And if you discover then, Mars with Mercury that betrayal will fail so that it will be known openly by all. And if the extreme planets that is Saturn and the Moon both aspect the ascendant or are both in ascendant or with the lord of the ascendant, it signifies that the betrayal will be perfected by one of the parties against the other.

And if Mercury is not in the ascendant or the Moon but they both aspect it (or one of them) by a square aspect or by an opposition, it signifies that he who introduces himself between them for the purpose of pacifying them is neither faithful or legal. And if his significator is then under the Sun's beams it signifies that he will be discovered to those of the army which is against him.

And if the Moon is then corporally joined to Mars, or to the planet from which Mars separates, or which separates from Mars, he will be captured. And if Mercury is with his planet and oriental, he will be placed in prison, but ultimately he will escape. Furthermore, if Mercury is at that time joined corporally to one of the malefics and that malefic has North latitude, he (the false mediator) suffers from him in prison and will suffer detriment therein. If he ³⁷ is joined to a benefic and the benefic is north from him, the false mediator will escape from the detriment.

If Mars is the significator of the one impeding the pacifier, it will be some bellicose soldier who afflicts him. If it is the Sun, it will be one of the producers of the armies and specially greater and more excellent than he. And if mercury is in Gemini at that time or Virgo, Sagittarius, or Pisces, those who introduce themselves regarding the pacification of the armies will be many. However, if Jupiter or the Moon are aspecting the ascendant all these things will happen with legality and goodness and no deception or betrayal will fall then in that body.

CHAPTER TWENTY THREE

ON THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE VICTORY OF THE WAR: WHO WINS.

See if the Sun and the Moon are from the line of the tenth house all the way to the fourth house on the eastern part, or from the line of the fourth house all the way to the line of the *Medium Coeli* on the western part {of the chart} and they are free and clear fortunate and strong because then they will signify the victory of the war on behalf of the part in which they are, so that if they are in the eastern part they will signify that the victory goes to the querent and to he who begins the conflict.

However, if they are in the western part they will signify that the enemy wins. If, however, they are unfortunate and weak, they will signify the contrary because he will succumb in whose part they are.

CHAPTER TWENTY FOUR WHAT WAS THE CAUSE WHY THAT WAR AROSE AND WHETHER IT WAS JUST OR UNJUST?

If someone should ever ask as frequently happens, or should you for some reason desire to tell someone what the reason was why the war rose Zael said that you ought to look to Mars, because he is naturally the significator of wars. All wars, as we said elsewhere, are attributed to him. See from what planet he is separated, or which separates from him because from that one you will see who began the war. From the planet to which he is joined or which joins itself to him you will see the enemy or adversary. If he is separated from the benefics or the fortunes are separated from it and it is joined to it, it signifies that the querent or he who begins the hostilities moves himself to beginning the war from a just cause and that he uses justice and truth and his adversary uses the contrary methods.

But if Mars separates from the malefics or they from him, and is joined to the benefics it signifies that he moves himself against justice and does not use the truth, and his adversary defends justice and truth. And if Mars is separated from benefics and joined to benefics, it signifies that both sides favour a just cause, which rarely occurs. If Mars separates from malefics and is joined to malefics, it signifies that both strive against justice and against truth.

Next look and see if any of the malefics is in the first and especially if it is Mars, because it signifies that the war arose because of the treachery which one will have against the other, or perhaps because one desired to take some of the other's food. And if in the second the war will have arisen from this cause, namely that one desired to take the other's goods and his substance or money. And if it is in the third, it is seen that one harmed the other's brother, and for this reason the war will have arisen or perhaps because he said that he was not a catholic.

And if in the fourth it is seen that it is by reason of the city or castle which one takes away or perhaps he desired to take his house from him, or his land, or his field, or his inheritance or his vineyard, or because he harmed his father. And if in the fifth it signifies that the cause is the children some of whom he harmed or for the sake of a woman or of something for pleasure or because of the goods of the father and especially those of his goods which are immovable.

And if you see that the Moon is joined at that time to Mercury by a trine or sextile aspect, it is seen that the war is because of a certain city or castle which one of them desired to occupy for himself.

And if it is in the sixth, it will be by reason of a servant or maid or small animals which have been stolen from one by the other, or it will be as it were for no reason at all or for something for which there ought not to be any war. And if it is in the seventh, it will be because of a woman having been taken or harmed or injured and especially the wife or lover, or because of the false suit of an evil-doer. And if it is in the eighth it will be by reason of the inheritance of someone who is dead, which neither of them {the two contestants} got much from. And if in the ninth, it will be by reason of religion or because of the religion of one of the contestants or because one of them desires to convert the other so that one will follow the religion which the other does and revere what he reveres. And if in the tenth house it will be for the sake of the king and his honour and for increasing his dominion.

And if then the Moon is in the tenth, and corporally joined to Mars or aspects him by a square or opposition, the war will be magnified and there will be much killing everywhere. And if Mars is in the eleventh it will be by reason of friends or it will be to defend the substance of the king or to defend his allies. And if it is in the twelfth house it be because of an ancient enmity and because of the ill will which is between the two sides or between those who raise the armies, but although there may be war by this cause, nevertheless, the sides will not engage at the same time in universal war and they will easily agree if there are any who desire to introduce themselves between them for the purpose of making an agreement.

CHAPTER TWENTY FIVE

ON THE SIZE OF THE ARMIES.

If by chance, at some point in time, one of the producers of one of the armies is uncertain regarding the army of his adversary and desires from you to know whether it is great or small and you wish to look for him, look for the place of the Moon at the time in degrees and minutes and Mercury's place likewise and take the place of the Moon from the place of Mercury and see how many signs remain to you, which if they are equal, the army will be great and the greater the number of the signs remaining after that subtraction, the greater the army. And if they are unequal, and the fewer they are the smaller the army.

But if the place of Mercury is not such that you are able to extract the place of the Moon, add twelve signs to it and then subtract the place of the Moon and proceed as above. And see if there are more planets in the western part (which is from the angle of the earth all the way to the tenth house by way of the seventh house) than in the eastern part (which is from the tenth house to the angle of the earth by way of the ascendant) it signifies again a greater quantity of people ³⁸ on the part of the adversary. But if there is a greater number of planets in the eastern part than in the west, it signifies the diminution of the quantity of the people on the enemies side although by the aforesaid reason it will signify that his army is great and vice versa on the part of the querent ³⁹.

CHAPTER TWENTY SIX

FOR KNOWING ALL THE INSTRUMENTS ⁴⁰ AND OTHER THINGS WHICH PERTAIN TO THE WAR.

For knowing all the instruments which pertain to war, Zael said that the ascendant signifies the party beginning the war and his cause and the thing which excited the war and whether it began with truth or falsehood. The first house signifies the party beginning the war because the first thing which comes into a war is the beginner. But the second house from the ascendant signifies whether there will be a war or not, and whether it may be successful or ruinous, because that which follows the beginning of the war is the effect of warring. And he said the third from the first signifies the arms and with what kinds of weapons the victory or attainment will be won, and what kind of weapons will not be necessary in this war, because the third is the thing which comes into the war, they are weapons because without these no-one would be able to wage war successfully.

And the fourth from the first signifies the place in which the war will be, whether it will be in the fields or mountainous, and whether on the shore of the sea or next to a river, or whether the trees may be fruit bearing or forest, because the place is a matter so pertaining to war that without it, it would not be able to happen. ⁴¹ The fifth signifies the uprightness and advance and daring and sloth of the contestants ⁴² because uprightness is a thing without which warriors would not fight well. And he said that the sixth signifies what the animals of the soldiers are, that is whether they are horses or asses or mules or camels, because it is a matter which is more useful to soldiers that there are horses for the warriors or other animals which may carry them.

And he said that the seventh signifies the instruments which throw stones, and whether the war is with skill or not because this is a thing extremely useful in war after all the instruments or arms before mentioned. And he said that the eighth signifies traps, capture and death, also breaking ⁴³ and the escape of the victors because these are the very act for performance} of warring in which wars are in the habit of finally resulting. And he said that the ninth house signifies the work of explorers and the knowledge of the enemy's condition and his rumours and skills. This is because these are things that a leader ⁴⁴ of a war should certainly procure. That is, he should know the acts of the enemy

and any new things he has and how roused he is for the acts of war, and how skilled he is or ingenious.

And he said that the tenth signifies the habit {or custom} of the greater leader {or duke} and the leader of the others who are under his rule because you or someone else ought to strive to see this; that is whether the king or duke is roused and procuring those things which are needed for war or not and whether he is cautious and astute in those things which pertain to war. And he said that the eleventh signifies their battle line or column and their arrangement and how they attack their enemy. This is an affair especially to be attended to, so that one may know how to order his own line and his own warriors and to teach them how they should hold themselves in the matter of war. By this alone many conquer their enemies. And he said that the twelfth signifies the city and those who are besieged and die in it because this is a matter which is fitting that a warrior know and from which may depend what he has to do and how he may be strengthened against his enemy.

CHAPTER TWENTY SEVEN

HOW YOU OUGHT TO LOOK AT THE SIGNIFICATIONS OF THE TWELVE HOUSES.

Although we have spoken above on many of the things in this heading regarding the things which pertain to the waging of wars or conflicts, nevertheless I will now tell you certain useful things which do not seem to me ought to be omitted. Do not believe that I desire to contradict the foregoing opinions because if you inspect closely the things which have been said and you understand well the things which are said you will discover no disagreement. Whence if you distinguish properly the times, the things which ought to agree will so very well ⁴⁵.

Therefore, when you have carefully noted, as has been said, all the houses and you desire every signification of them, look on behalf of the querent or he who begins the conflict, at all the houses in the order written below, beginning from the first; but for the enemy, from the seventh house and make that the first of the enemy, and make the eighth his second, and the ninth his third, and the tenth his fourth, and the eleventh his fifth, make the twelfth his sixth, make the first his seventh, the second his eighth, the third his ninth, the fourth his tenth, the fifth his eleventh, the sixth his twelfth.

Then see if there is a malefic in the first or aspecting the first by a square aspect or an opposition. This signifies that the querent will not exercise well the things which ought to be exercised for waging war, nor will he be greatly stirred up concerning it. This is the reason why it will not go well for him in the war, unless that malefic is the ruler of the ascendant or indeed {if the ascendant} is its exaltation. It signifies that the querent or he who begins the war is not just, but rather the contrary. However, if there is a benefic there or one aspects by a trine aspect to the place of the aforesaid malefic, it signifies good. A malefic signifies the contrary. If there is a malefic in the second (who is not the lord of the second or of its exaltation) ⁴⁶ or aspects it with a square aspect or an opposition, it signifies that there will not be a war, and if there is it will be the ruin of the querent and not useful to him.

If, however, there is a benefic there or the aspect of one (as was said regarding the first house), it signifies that there will be a war, and if so it will be of use to the querent. If a malefic is in the third and it is Mars, and he is of good condition ⁴⁷, armed soldiers will

be necessary in that war. You may say the same thing if Jupiter is there and it is fitting that the querent use them if he wishes to prevail. And if Mars is in evil condition it signifies that those whose arms are used will be thieves, highwaymen, and unstable men and that they will not be useful to him.

However, if the malefic is in the fourth or in the aspect to it above mentioned, it signifies that the place of the war will be inconvenient and unsuitable so far as the querent is concerned if it is level ground. If it is mountainous they will be steep, inhabitable and covered with trees. But if it is next to the water, it will be marshy and muddy and ill fitted for fighting. However, if a benefic is in the fifth house or in aspect to it as said above, or if Mars is there and he is in good condition, it signifies that the soldiers and allies of the querent will be proven and daring and the attack easy and well adapted for fighting. And if there is a malefic there or its above mentioned aspect, or Mars and he in evil condition, it signifies that they will be worthless and inert and the advance severe and slow and evilly fitted for fighting. If it is in the sixth or a benefic or the afore-said aspect of them or *Caput Draconis*, the animals which are used for that war will be valuable.

Likewise if Mars is there and he is of good condition, they will be fierce, impatient and hardy. And if a malefic is there especially Saturn, the horses will be useless, so that they are uncooperative and other old horses and for the greater part of little valour, and there will be asses and camels if it is in a region in which there are camels. And if *Cauda Draconis* is there they will be mules and other animals worthless for fighting and not well trained. If, however, there is a benefic in the seventh or his aforesaid aspect it signifies that instruments with which stones are thrown and these will be useful and that they will do that for which they were intended well. And it signifies the goodness of the enemy.

And if there is a malefic planet there or his aforesaid aspect it signifies the usefulness of the aforesaid instruments. And that he ⁴⁸ will attempt to fight with cunning and deception and treachery and it signifies the utility of the enemy. If indeed, there is a fortune in the eighth, it signifies that little plague follows the war and few mortalities and that not many of the wounds will be dangerous nor do many captures follow from it, nor will there be great subjugation nor great flights. If, however, there is a malefic there and especially Saturn and if he is retrograde, there will be many plagues, and they will be dangerous, and the killing will be great and the capturing and the destruction.

If, however, a benefic is in the ninth or his aspect, it signifies that the enemy is well disposed and that he has hope of some rumours which he has and that rumours are useful to him, and that he is a cunning man, who attempts to deceive the querent if he is able. However, if the benefic is in the tenth or his aforesaid aspect, it signifies that the querent or that one who is greater or the captain of his army is wise and learned in such things as pertain to war, and in other {counsellors} to which something pertaining to war has been entrusted.

However, if there is a malefic there it signifies that the querent or his leader or the "major" of his army and the other "*productores*" of the army to whom something concerning the actions of the army has been committed are either all, or for the most part, men inept in the exercise of such things. But if the benefic is in the eleventh house, it signifies that the querent or "*productores*" of the army are distinguished men and those who know well how to order their lines and how to deploy them for war. {It also shows} that they will know well how to go against the enemies or adversaries and to do all things well which pertain to this.

However, if there is a malefic there or his aspect mentioned before, it signifies that the "*productor*" of the army is unknowledgeable and undistinguished, and that he does not know how to order his lines, nor to deploy them for war nor how to do those things which pertain to the raising of an army although otherwise, he should be able to be of good will. If, indeed, the benefic is in the twelfth house, it signifies that those who are in the city or other land which is besieged are well disposed and equipped for defence and they are unanimous and of good morale and that they seem to fear nothing. If, however there is a malefic there or his aspect mentioned above it signifies that they are evilly disposed, and not equipped for defence and that they are not unanimous and that they are terrified with fear.

Do not forget one thing which I tell you now, because although I did not find {these} in the words of the philosophers, nevertheless I have always found them proven by proven experiments that when Mars is in the twelfth betrayal ought always to be feared. You are able to say just about the same thing regarding *Cauda*. And just as you looked at {the figure} on the part of the querent, in all the houses, beginning in the first and ending in the twelfth, so investigate on behalf of the enemy by judging for him, each of the houses beginning from the seventh and ending in the sixth

just as you judge regarding the querent or him beginning the war, so likewise judge from the seventh for the enemy.

And just as from the second for the querent so from the eighth for the enemy. And just as from the third for the querent, so from the ninth for the enemy. And just as from the fourth for the querent so from the tenth for the enemy. And just as from the fifth for the querent so from the eleventh for the enemy. And just as from the sixth for the querent so from the twelfth for the enemy. And just as from the seventh for the querent so from the first for the enemy. And just as from the eighth for the querent so from the second for the enemy. And just as from the ninth for the querent so from the third for the enemy. And just as from the tenth for the querent so from the fourth for the enemy. And just as from the eleventh for the querent so from the fifth for the enemy. And just as from the twelfth for the querent so from the sixth for the enemy.

But you ought to know this, that if you discover the significators of the armies, namely the lord of the first and the lord of the seventh in all {ways} equally strong, and well disposed. Then it signifies that the victory {will go} to the part of him who began the war, unless the aforesaid combust hours ⁴⁹ work against this. And if one is well disposed and the other evilly, and he whose significator is well disposed began {the strife}, he will prevail. However, if he whose significator is evilly disposed, he will succumb, even if otherwise they were in all things equally strong.

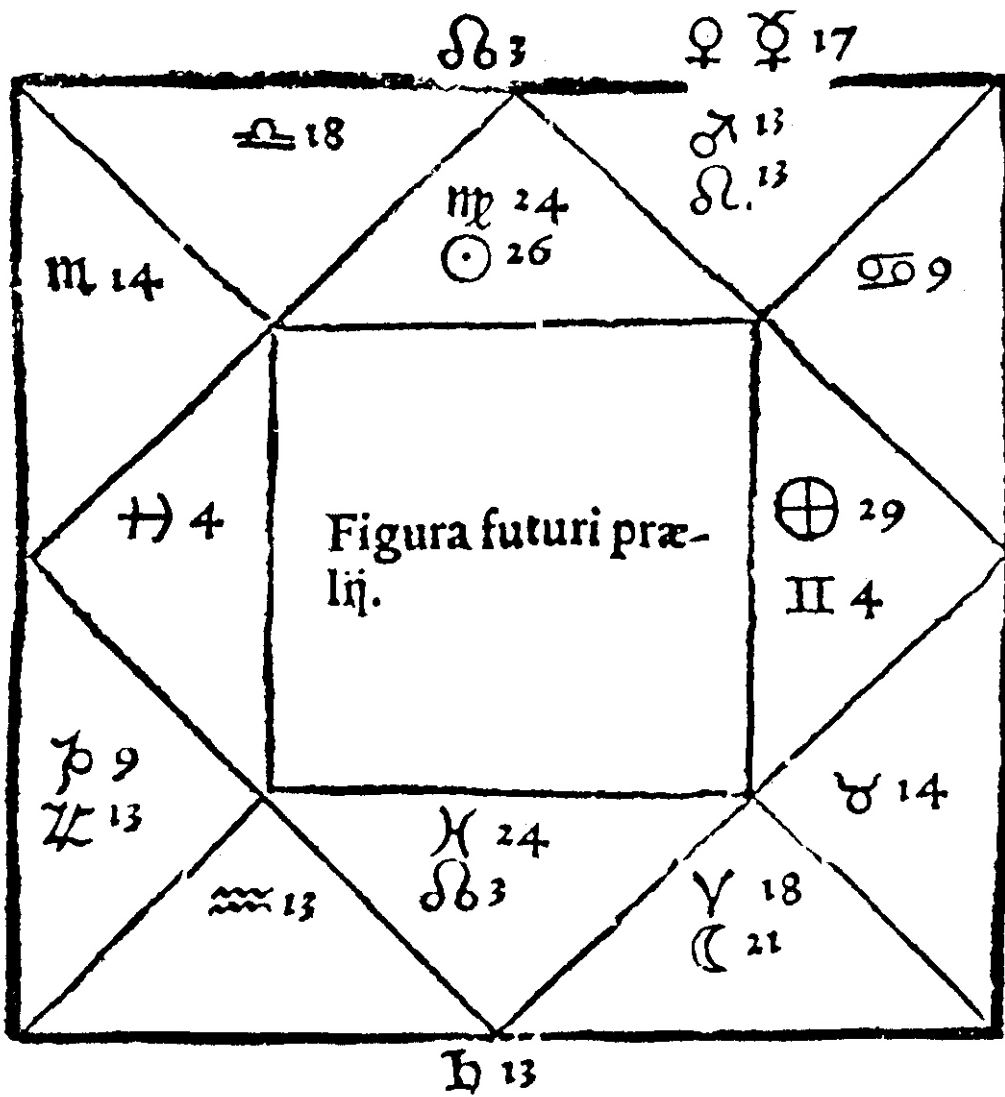
CHAPTER TWENTY EIGHT

WHETHER THERE WILL BE A BATTLE BETWEEN THE ARMIES OR NOT.

If anyone asks whether there will be a conflict between the armies or not, look then at the first and its lord and the Moon and the seventh and its lord and see if they are joined corporally in any of the angles because that signifies that there will be a conflict between them. If, however, they are not joined corporally, see if they are joined by opposition or square aspect, because that signifies likewise that there will be a conflict. And if none of them are {angular} then see if any planet transfers the light between them by an opposition or square aspect, because that signifies that there will be a conflict, without reception.

However, if the heavier planet receives the one which transfers the light between them, it signifies that there will not be a conflict, and if there will be, they will be pacified either in that conflict or shortly there after. And if it is otherwise, namely that the significators of the armies, that is the lord of the first and the lord of the seventh, are not joined anywhere, nor do they impede each other, nor is there any who transfers the light between them, as has been said above, it signifies that the conflict will not be.

This {Fig 1} was an example of this matter. When Count Guido ⁵⁰ was the new authority ⁵¹ in Florence and we were in the army above the district of the Lucenses. And the Lucenses held fast in the heart of the district with their own army close to a thousand men or less. He, Guido, asked whether, there was going to be a conflict between the armies that of Florence and that in the district of the Lucenses or not.



{FIG I Indicating That there will be a War }

Bonatti Tractatus VI Col 311, Basel 1550 edition

I looked into the question: the ascendant was Sagittarius; the *Medium Coeli* ⁵² was 24° Virgo; Mars was in it i.e. Virgo at 13°30', Venus was at 17°6' also of Virgo and Mercury was at 17°13' in the ninth house ⁵³ cadent from the angle of the *Medium Coeli*; the Sun in the same sign at 26°4' in the angle of the tenth house; the eleventh house was 18° of Libra; *Cauda* ⁵⁴ was in the sign at 3°; the twelfth house was at 14° Scorpio; Capricorn was the second house 9°; Jupiter was in it at 13° Aquarius was the third house 13°; Pisces was the fourth house 24°; Aries was the fifth house, 18°; *Caput* was in Aries at 3°; Saturn was in Aries at 13° retrograde; The Moon was in Aries at 21°; The sixth house was Taurus, 14°; The seventh 4° Gemini; The *Pars Fortunae* was in Gemini at 29°; The eighth house was 9° Cancer; The ninth house was 13° Leo.

This was in the era of the Arabs, 658 years ⁵⁵ 9 months and almost 16 days. The altitude of the Sun before the meridian, almost 48 degrees, Monday, 12th of September.

Therefore I inspected the ascendant of this question and the lord of the ascendant which was Jupiter and the seventh and its lord which was Mercury. One of these {i.e. Jupiter} was in the second in Capricorn, that is in its Fall. ⁵⁶ This seemed to signify the utility of the querent's side so that he should not seek a conflict, but because he {Jupiter the ruler of the ascendant - hence, Guido} was in the second, it signifies that he had some strength. Next, I inspected the Moon which was in Aries, void of course. ⁵⁷ This signified likewise the weakness and utility of the querent. Then I looked at Mercury on behalf of the enemies. It was in Virgo, combust and cadent which although it was in its own house {sign}, as if in its own land {remember the Lucenses were in their own district} it signified its debility, so that they could not seek a conflict. From this I judged the question for him and it came about because they were not able to place themselves for fighting and so afterwards both armies dispersed just as is said in the chapter on the hidden castle which follows this.

CHAPTER TWENTY NINE

WHETHER A CITY OR CASTLE BESIEGED, OR ABOUT TO BE BESIEGED WILL BE TAKEN OR NOT.

The ancient astrologers did not concern themselves much about this matter which puzzles me because it is a matter which very frequently runs through their hands but perhaps it is because although they did it they considered it a light matter and thought that everyone knew it and for this reason they did not care to speak on it. However, I will append this something for you. However, {though} Zodyel said something on this, I did not well understand his intent.

Whence ⁵⁸ if a question is made to you regarding whether a city or castle besieged or about to be so will be taken or not, consider the ascendant {of the figure erected for the time of} the beginning of the siege. ⁵⁹ For the first house is the querent and the fourth the besieged city or castle, although some of the moderns said that the tenth signifies the city and they were moved by this reason, that the fourth signifies the land of the querent. By the same reason the tenth signifies the land of the enemy - not making a difference between the land or inheritance of estates and the city or castle.

However, it seems to me that we ought not to give the fourth to the city or castle because the fourth signifies the inheritance of the querent and his lands, and houses, and the tenth signifies his honour, and there is no honour greater than to rule; and no disgrace greater than to be deposed from dominion. Whence if the tenth signifies the honour of the querent, which is signified more by the city or castle than by other riches, it is fitting that the fourth should signify the honour of the adversary which is opposed to that of the querent. Thus it is seen that the fourth house signifies the city or castle of the enemy. Nor should you believe that this is the contrary of that which Zael says. He seems to wish to say that the twelfth signifies the besieged city or castle. ⁶⁰ But his intention was concerning the city in the querents' jurisdiction against which an enemy army may come but without laying siege around it, enters it violently and regarding the defenders of the city or castle.

Whence if you find the lord of the first strong and fortunate or if you find him joined to the lord of the fourth in the first or with the Moon or in the tenth or even in the eleventh, or in another

place which is not unfortunate (such as the twelfth, eighth or sixth) ⁶¹, so that the lord of the first receives the lord of the fourth or the Moon receives him, even if it is not received by him, ⁶² it signifies the obtaining of the city and its capture ⁶³. Similarly, if the lord of the fourth is in {one of} the evil places not aspecting its own house, or unless the lord of the seventh is in the fourth, because then it signifies the {continued} custody of it {by the enemy}.

Likewise if the lord of the fourth is impeded with the malefics, it signifies its capture, or if the malefics are in the fourth without any of the benefics or any praiseworthy aspect of one, it signifies {the city's} capture. You may say the same thing if *Cauda Draconis* is there it has to signify loss and evacuation. However, if none of the things I have said apply, see if the lord of the fourth is in the fourth and is strong and fortunate, neither retrograde nor combust nor besieged by the malefics; or {if} the lord of the seventh is there free from the malefics and from all impediments; or {if} Jupiter or Venus or the Sun or *Caput Draconis*, and the lord of the first receives not the lord of the fourth, nor impedes it, it signifies that the city or castle will not be taken by the querent's army.

This will especially be true if the lord of the first is impeded not having any dignity there ⁶⁴ even if any of the malefics would be in the fourth, provided that there is a benefic there which applies to the cusp of the fourth house before the malefic, especially if the lord of the first was weak, as I said. But if some benefic is there, and the lord of the first is strong and fortunate, and aspects the fourth himself, or the Moon {aspects the fourth}, it signifies the capture {of the city or castle}. But if he does not aspect {the fourth} or is impeded, it signifies that the querent's side, on account of {its} worthlessness and sloth, quits from doing the things by which besieged castles are taken.

And so, by the negligence and worthlessness of the fighters the besieged castle, will remain when it would be able to be taken. Zodial said that the ascendant and its lord ought to be looked at for the querent, but the seventh and its lord for the city or castle. And he said that the side whose significator was evilly disposed or retrograde, or in its descension ⁶⁵ will be overcome. And if the lord of the ascendant enters the seventh house and the lord of the seventh gives him strength, the city or castle will be taken. If the angles are joined to benefic planets "*suffragia*" will come to both, namely to the city and to the besiegers.

{Listing for Figure II}

The ascendant of the question was 2 degrees Sagittarius.

The second house was 7 degrees of Capricorn.

Jupiter was in the second at 16 degrees.

The third house was 10 degrees of Aquarius.

20 degrees Pisces was the fourth house.

The fifth house was 14 degrees of Aries.

Caput Draconis was in Aries at 2 degrees.

Saturn was at 9 degrees Aries and retrograde

The sixth house was Taurus 11 degrees.

The Moon was in Taurus also at 11 degrees.

The seventh house was Gemini 2 degrees.

The Pars Fortunae was in it at 18 degrees.

The eighth house was 7 degrees Cancer.

The ninth house was 10 degrees Leo.

The eleventh house was 14 degrees Libra.

Mars was in Libra at 2 degrees.

Cauda Draconis was also at 2 degrees Libra.

Venus was at 23 degrees Libra and combust.

The Sun was at 25 degrees Libra.

The twelfth house was 11 degrees Scorpio.

Mercury was in Scorpio at 6 degrees.

And thus Jupiter which was at 16° Capricorn; aspecting the fourth house signified the capture of the castle, especially since he was the lord of the first and the lord of the fourth, and because one and the same planet {i.e. Jupiter} was lord of the first and lord of the fourth, it seemed that it would be had by concord {or, by agreement} provided that they {i.e. the Count's men} would do those things which they ought to do for its capture}.

The Moon which was in Taurus in its own exaltation signified honour on the part of the querent. Mercury, which was close to the twelfth house not yet well removed from it, signified the debility of the enemies of the querent.

However, although Jupiter seemed to indicate the capture of the castle, nevertheless, because he was in his descension and he aspected the fourth and not the first and although the Moon was in her exaltation, nevertheless, she was in the sixth, cadent, and it signified this, that they ⁶⁹ were of such worthlessness and sloth and laziness and weakness, that they would not persist in those things by which the castle ought and was able to be taken. For this reason it would not be taken when it should and could be taken, because although *Caput Draconis* was in the fourth,

nevertheless, Saturn was near it so that it was placed near the entrance to the fourth house.

Whence I responded to him under this condition, and said to him that it seemed to me that they were of such worthlessness, that the castle would stand rather than be taken. At length, they handled themselves that they did riot in anyway do anything of those things which they should have done for its capture. Thus, it remained, as it were in a weakened condition or wounded, and the army was lifted from the field, and so many remained in the army that they would have easily been able to have attacked the castle, had they wanted to do those things which they ought to have done in such matters.

Finally, they consulted me concerning the mutation of the air ⁷⁰ before they left the field and I discovered that it was changed from the day of the question to three days by a great mutation and so it was that they were happy when they returned home, it was the first time in four months that it had not rained.

CHAPTER THIRTY

ON ELECTING TIMES FOR GOING OUT TO WAR OR FOR FIGHTING THE ENEMY.

When you desire to elect an hour for someone desiring to go to war or for attacking enemies, fortify the ascendant and its lord, the second and its lord and weaken the seventh and its lord and the eighth and its lord. Let any of the houses of Mars or Saturn be ascending. The houses of Mars are stronger than the others and Scorpio is stronger than Aries. Whence, if you are able to do so, make Scorpio the ascendant and place Mars strong and fortunate.

And although some seem to disagree {with the statement} that Mars should be in the ascendant, if he is the lord of the ascendant, it will be extremely good if you can place any benefic in the ascendant with him, and adapt Jupiter {for this work} by placing him in the second or in the first, or in the eleventh for the soldiers or allies of the party beginning the battle ⁷¹. Make Venus the lady of the seventh for the enemies and let her be weak. Make Mercury for his allies and place them in the first or second houses, or place them retrograde or combust or cadent from the angles or from any aspect of friendship to the seventh or eighth. But if Aries is ascending, let Mars, the lord of the ascendant, be likewise strong and fortunate. Weaken Venus, the lady of the seventh as has been said.

However, if you are not able to place either of the houses of Mars on the ascendant, place either of the houses of Jupiter or of Saturn there, and place that one whose house is ascending {so that} he is strong and fortunate in the ascendant or in the tenth or eleventh.

Fortify the lord of the second for his allies by placing him likewise in the ascendant or in the tenth or the eleventh or in the twelfth fortunate and strong and weaken the seventh and its lord and the eighth and its lord by every method you are able and afflict them in as much as you possibly can. Make it so that he ⁷² who afflicts them or at least one of them ⁷³ and it is better that the planet by which the lord of the seventh is afflicted, is the lord of the ascendant or at least the lord of the second because that will be good.

Take care not to place Mars in the ascendant, unless he is the lord of the ascendant but arrange it ⁷⁴ that he may aspect the ascendant or its lord by a trine or a sextile aspect because that will be a good

thing, and that he {i.e. Mars} is not impeded. If he is impeded place against affliction a benefic ascending, which prohibits it ⁷⁵.

Take care never to make the lord of the ascendant or the lord of the second house impeded nor place either of them in the seventh or the eighth because that would be the worst thing {you could do} for it signifies that they {the enemy} will conquer ⁷⁶. Beware also the fourth house and that the lord of the ascendant is not joined to a cadent planet or one in its own fall unless by chance the cadent planet receives it.

And if you are not able to place the lord of the seventh in the ascendant or in the second make him joined to the lord of the ascendant and he turn to him, ⁷⁷ and let there be such a conjunction of them that he does not receive the lord of the ascendant whether he, the lord of the ascendant receives him or not.

Haly said, "Place Mars aspecting the ascendant with a trine aspect, after you have chosen it i.e. the ascendant, and he will have the greatest in it and it is better if the ascendant is his house or that he aspects it with a laudable aspect.

And let the lord of the seventh be unfortunate and weak and cadent. What is better is to let he who afflicts be the lord of the ascendant, if he is able thus to be made, and let the lord of the ascendant be applying to an angle in any of his dignities elevated above the lord of the seventh and the tenth.

And indeed, it is a good thing if the lord of the ascendant is transiting over the lord of the seventh whether the latter is a benefic or malefic and that the lord of the ascendant may be above the earth while the lord of the seventh may be below the earth. For if the lord of the ascendant afflicts the lord of the seventh it signifies that the king or captain of the enemies will be captured and let the lord of the tenth be aspecting the ascendant, or at least the lord of the ascendant, with a praiseworthy aspect, and let it have dignity in the ascendant if possible." And he said let him ⁷⁸ not be aspecting the seventh or its lord nor have any dignity in the seventh.

However, if this is not possible, let him have greater dignity in the ascendant than in the seventh. And he said that the Moon ought to be handled ⁷⁹ in the same way as the lord of the ascendant.

And Zael said if you make them to be joined in angles there will be war between them. And he said do not go to war unless Mars is lord of the ascendant or aspects the ascendant favourably ⁸⁰ and may be fortunate and in a good place and not impeded. And he said, let him be in signs of "direct" ascension and in Ayz of the ascendant so that it may be an aid for him who proceeds to war and place the *Pars Fortunae* ⁸¹ and its lord in the ascendant or in the second joined with their lords or, at least, with one of them and never place it in the seventh or eighth nor joined to their lords. And he said beware lest you make the ascendant or the lord of the ascendant {for him who desires the war} impeded at the beginning of the war. And observe the duodena of the Moon, because it is necessary in the matter of war.

Alkindi said, it is necessary that the prince against whom enemies advance never begins to fight with them while the Moon is fortunate, but if the war demands {that he close with the enemy} let him do so when the Moon is not fortunate. ⁸²

Haly said that it would be unpleasant ⁸³ for those fighting to begin the war in the hours which are called combust, concerning which I made {mention} to you to choose the stars of war, namely Mars, Mercury, the Moon and the lord of its house. Therefore, look to these in the arranging of these things and do not neglect them, nor hand them over into oblivion. And he said, know that hen you produce both armies wisely, as I told you before, that one {of the contestants} will attain victory who was born at night and in whose nativity Mars has a part, because Mars is the lord of the warriors and to these, war as been committed. And he said, perhaps they will. be pacified or quit the field even though the start was good. ⁸⁴

**ON INSPECTING THE REVOLUTION OF THE YEAR OF THE
CAPTAIN OF THE ARMY.**

If the nativity of the king or captain of the army is known, it is necessary to inspect its revolution. If this signifies victory for him over his enemies in that year, without a doubt his side will win. However, if the contrary is indicated for him, he ought to be removed in that year and another ought to be put in his place.

END OF TRANSLATION

FOOTNOTES:

- 1 potestas
- 2 *dux*
- 3 *constitutus*
- 4 literally "makes"
- 5 *seperatur* - the active voice reads better though.
- 6 the querent is he who asks the question.
- 7 precise meaning uncertain.
- 8 the Latin text says Sol, Luna, Venus and Mercurius. Usually Sol is taken as the reference point. Mars, Jupiter and Saturn are the Superiors. Luna, Venus and Mercurius are the Inferiors.
- 9 *inferioreum beatum*.
- 10 the deceived party will trust the deceiver, confide in him and lose his wealth as a result of the false peace.
- 11 that he may extort something from him.
- 12 *destringet eum*.
- 13 *dicendo sibi bona verba* - literally by saying good words to him.
- 14 Bonatti's parenthetical remarks are not recognised as such by the typesetter. The intent is to show that the ascendant and tenth houses are elevated above the fourth and so even if the ruler of the first in the fourth were received by the ruler of the seventh and eighth, it might not be sufficient to indicate the defeat of the querent. However, Bonatti does not strongly affirm that this is the case but rather insinuates this statement in a parenthetical and hesitant manner, indicating his doubt about the matter.
- 15 that is the strongly placed planet receives the lord of the seventh.
- 16 the ruler of the first.
- 17 Zael.
- 18 *per bonitatem loci*.
- 19 *relitias*
- 20 *de suis rebus, et etiam de personis*.
- 21 text has "*confractioem suae partis*" but this might be a misprint for "*confractioem suae parietis*" in which case the translation would be "and the destruction of his wall".

- 22 ... erit infra hoc hinc inde
- 23 esse.
- 24 it is worth noting that Bonatti considers that if a planet is aspected by an angular planet, it too is considered "in an angle" because its rays are. However, a planet so placed is not as strong as if it were in fact an angle.
- 25 *intromissione*.
- 26 i.e. both angular; one angular and the other succedent.
- 27 this is an unusual doctrine. It goes against the concept that angular planets strengthen an influence. The only sense I can make out of it is that war, having begun, is made worse by protracting it. Thus strong indicators such as angular planets by their very strength bring the hostilities to the end sooner than weak significators which prolong the conflict. Note that this was not mentioned in connection with Saturn's influence which was naturally to prolong the misery of the war but only with Mars.
- 28 i.e. began during the day.
- 29 posited during the day.
- 30 keep in mind that this is the astrologer's patron.
- 31 vide Chapter Twenty Six.(1st paragraph).
- 32 Bonatti names half the zodiac by name and adds the two remaining common signs - Virgo and Gemini. Total = 8 signs in this consideration.
- 33 this section is confused. 'My statement about the city may be an interpolation or there may be a lacuna between that sentence and the next. In any event, the sentence which begins 'And he said that if..' causes us to wonder what planet is meant and where it is.
- 34 who plays the role of mediator.
- 35 literally collected.
- 36 an officer, "*qui fecit producere exercitus*".
- 37 Mercury.
- 38 *maiolem quantitatem gentis* - literally of the tribe.
- 39 that is, the querent will have a larger army than his adversary when there are more planets in the east than the west. Also, Note the similarity between this method and that mentioned in Chapter Twenty Two (1st par.) for determining the number of allies.
- 40 Bonatti's use of "*instrumenta*" is very broad. It means all the details of war, weapons, place, etc. as we shall see.
- 41 one wonders how much the author of this, Zael or Bonatti, had his tongue in his cheek when writing this.

- 42 the text has "*bellatorum*" literally "fighters". But I take this to mean the *incipiens querrae* and *adversarius* suits.
- 43 *Fractiones*.
- 44 reading "*quoniam istaeressurt quas*" instead of "*istud res est quas*".
- 45 *Unde si recte distinxeris tempora, bene concordabunt concordanda*.
- 46 as houses do not have exaltations but the sign which is on the cusp of the house may be the exaltation of a planet we must take this to mean that the malefic referred to, may be the ruler of the house by exaltation therein.
- 47 esse - i.e. by zodiacal state.
- 48 the enemy.
- 49 Bonatti deals with combust hours in *Tractatus Quartus*, col. 158.
- 50 of Montefeltro.
- 51 *potestas*.
- 52 zenith.
- 53 as can be seen from the figure, Venus Mercury and Mars are all in the ninth house and cadent.
- 54 *Cauda Draconis* or the Moon's South Node. The North node, *Caput Draconis*, is always opposite the South as we shall see.
- 55 1261 AD. Tuckerman, "Planetary Lunar and Solar Positions" AD American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia 1964.
- 56 therefore in bad zodiacal condition. This is rather inauspicious. However, note how Bonatti applies the foregoing rules. I translate especially literally here so as to convey Bonatti's presentation to Guido, his patron.
- 57 not aspecting any planet after it separated from Saturn.
- 58 I have rephrased the Latin somewhat since the order of the clauses in Latin makes the literal English translation meaningless.
- 59 *ex obsidione illa*
- 60 the reference is to Chapter Twenty Seven c.f. Chapter Twenty Two
- 61 which are unfortunate.
- 62 the Latin is unclear as to whether this fast phrase refers to just the Moon or to the Moon and the lord of the fourth since no pronoun is used with the verb. The text reads: "...*ita quod dominus primae recipiat dominum quartae, vel etiam recipiat eum Luna, etiam non recipiatur ab eo, significat...*"
- 63 the querent will take the enemy's city.

- 64 in the fourth, i.e. Pisces rising; Gemini on the fourth, Jupiter the ruler of Pisces has no dignity in Gemini.
- 65 Bonatti is using this term as we shall see in the example below for "*casus*" - fall. He probably intends, by the use of this term both the major debilities of a planet .i.e. detriment and fall.
- 66 i.e. the oriental half of the figure.
- 67 i.e. the occidental half of the figure, from the tenth to the fourth by way of the seventh house.
- 68 Guido de Montefeltro.
- 69 the Count's men.
- 70 weather.
- 71 i.e. for the astrologer's client.
- 72 the planet.
- 73 that is, the lord of the seventh or the lord of the eighth.
- 74 *fac quod.*
- 75 Bonatti's *Tractatus Tertius*, Chapter Thirteen col.141 explains how one planets' aspecting another may prohibit the conjunction or aspect of a third planet from affecting the other. Here, the first planet must be the benefic and must be ascending to be of service.
- 76 see above
- 77 in order for this to occur these planets must be retrograde and it should be the ruler of the seventh, for retrogradation is a weakness and for this work the ascendant cannot afford to be weakened.
- 78 the lord of the tenth.
- 79 *faciendum sit.*
- 80 *ex amicitia.*
- 81 the *Pars Fortunae* is the most frequently used of the Arabic parts. It is said to be a lunar ascendant, although exactly what is meant by this is no longer understood. It, like all the "parts", is a mathematical fiction arrived at by the comparison of the various places in the horoscope. In the case of the *Pars Fortunae*, the position of the Moon is added to that of the ascendant and from the sum of the position of the Sun is subtracted. The remainder will be the place of the *Pars Fortunae*, such baffling astronumerology has been excised from the practice of most western astrologers since Kepler's time.
- 82 the wording here seems to me to indicate that Alchindi (Alkindi) may have had in mind two armies which were both directed by astrologers.
- 83 *Litotes*

84 if both armies are produced with skill by astrologers so that neither side has the upper hand, that side will prevail whose chief was born at night and has a nativity in which Mars is strong. Otherwise, they may decide that it is unwise to fight and make peace.

APPENDIX

ERRATA

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