Having considered the Arabic theories of astral influences and their appropriation in twelfth-century cosmology, we can say that astral dynamics obtained three interpretive levels: aetiological, considering them as causes of generation, corruption, and terrestrial events; semiological, the celestial bodies constituting signs to be interpreted by the astrologer;¹ and operational, astral influences harnessed by the magician to control and divert nature. The first two levels occupied a considerable space in the cosmological works of the twelfth century as we saw in the previous chapter. Magic was only subtly present. In many cases, translators of medical, astrological and philosophical texts also translated magic works: Constantine the African translated Qusta ibn Luqa’s book on Physical Ligatures which is concerned with the occult properties of natural things. It formed part of the Pantegni and was diffused as such in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, leading to its attribution during these centuries to Constantine himself.² Adelard of Bath and John of Seville produced independent translations of Thabit ibn Qurra’s Treatise on Talismans.³ In Adelard’s Natural Questions we read about the time when he and his nephew approached an old sorceress to learn natural magic.⁴ He wore a green cloak and a ring set with an engraved emerald.⁵ In De essentiis, Hermann of Carinthia quotes a passage from the Hermetic text Kitab al-Istamatis and Burnett suggests that since the quotation is found in the Picatrix it could be the intermediary source since Hermann could have read the Arabic original.⁶ Physis in Bernard’s Cosmographia can be viewed as a magician who took as her subject ‘the origin of all natural things, their properties, powers, and functions […] not content with herbs, plants, and grasses, she wrung curative effects from metals and stones […] by artful mixing she could use even the deadliest poisons most effectively in the work of healing’.⁷

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The intelligibility of the universe generally and the heavens specifically formed the framework of magical knowledge. As we will see, natural/astral magic came to be seen as the practical application of natural philosophy and it was understood in physical and emanative terms based on the understanding of causes, signs, radiation and sympathies. This was reflected in the place magic occupied in the classification of sciences. In the twelfth century, it was related indirectly to astronomy which was taught to include astrology, the latter being often the context in which the efficacy of astral magic was explained. Petrus Alphonsi points out that for those who are inclined to occult matters, magic can be the seventh art, the other six being dialectic, arithmetic, geometry, medicine, music and astronomy. But the seventh art could also be philosophy or grammar. More explicitly, however, Gundissalinus, in his *On the Division of Philosophy*, includes magic ‘according to physics’ and the science of talismans, amongst the natural sciences, along with medicine, agriculture, navigation, alchemy and optics. This division is derived from a translation of an anonymous Arabic text called *De ortu scientarum* (*On the Rise of the Sciences*). Gundissalinus’s distinction between the science of talismans and magic ‘according to physics’ is very significant. Magic according to physics seems to imply the theory of magic inferred through the study of nature and the origins of things. Daniel of Morley includes ‘nigromancy according to physics’ among the sciences in addition to the science of images, astrology, agriculture, illusions and the science of mirrors. The words ‘necromancy’ and ‘nigromancy’ were often used to denote magic and not only raising the dead or dark arts. In *Ut testator*, the twelfth-century anonymous division of sciences of Arabic origin, the author regards magic as the part of the science of astrology concerned with astral influences harnessed in a form or image representing the movement of the celestial bodies. Furthermore, although Bernard Silvestris does not allude to magic in his *Cosmographia*, in the *Commentary on Martianus Capella’s De nuptiis philologiae et mercurii* attributed to him, we encounter a discussion of the five different types of the magical arts (*De arte magica*): tricks of illusion, incantations of demons (*maleficium*), divination by drawing lots (*sortilegium*), necromancy, and mathematical magic (*mathesis*) which includes horoscopes, auspice and augury from the locations of the stars.

Magic, then, was not excluded from the ‘scientific’ episteme of the twelfth century. However, it was in the thirteenth century that it became a more pronounced area of investigation in the field of natural philosophy. In addition to the epistemological support inherited from