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## ► To cite this version:

Luca Farina. The Greek Fragments of the Works of Māšā'allāh ibn Aṭarī. *Mediterranea. International Journal on the Transfer of Knowledge*, 2022, 7, pp.225-279. <10.21071/mijtk.v7i.13659>. <hal-03628844>

**HAL Id: hal-03628844**

**<https://hal.science/hal-03628844v1>**

Submitted on 29 Dec 2022

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# THE GREEK FRAGMENTS OF THE WORKS OF MĀŠĀ' ALLĀH IBN AṬARĪ\*

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## Abstract

This article provides an overview of the Greek mentions of the Arabic astrologers Māšā'allāh ibn Aṭarī al-Baṣrī and Abū Ma'sar al-Balḥī, together with the edition of the Greek fragments explicitly attributed to Māšā'allāh, based on all their known witnesses. Moreover, a general introduction to the Greek tradition of the two astrologers and a discussion of their mentions in the MS *Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1056* are supplied.

## Key Words

Māšā'allāh ibn Aṭarī, Abū Ma'sar al-Balḥī, Astrology, Manuscripts, Arabic into Greek.



## Introduction

The present contribution offers a preliminary survey of the dissemination of Arabic astrology in Byzantium by focusing on the mentions of Māšā'allāh ibn Aṭarī al-Baṣrī (d. 815) and Abū Ma'sar al-Balḥī (d. 886).<sup>1</sup> In addition to this, it supplies

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\* I would like to thank Joe Glynias, Johannes Pahlitzsch and Zachary Chitwood for encouraging me to write this contribution, for reading its first draft and for commenting it. I am also grateful to the two anonymous referees for the several suggestions they made, greatly improving it.

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<sup>1</sup> For a summary of the life and works of Māšā'allāh ibn Aṭarī al-Baṣrī, cf. DAVID PINGREE, « Māšā'allāh », in CHARLES GILLISPIE (ed.), *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 9, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York 1974, p. 159–162; FUAT SEZGIN, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 7, Brill, Leiden 1979, p. 102–08; DAVID PINGREE, « Masha'allah: Greek, Pahlavi, Arabic, and Latin Astrology », in AHMAD HASNAOUI, ABDELALI ELAMRANI-JAMAL, MAROUN AOUAD (eds.), *Perspectives arabes et médiévales sur la tradition scientifique et philosophique grecque. Actes du colloque de la SIHSPAI, Société Internationale d'Histoire des Sciences et de la Philosophie Arabes et Islamiques*, Paris, 31 mars–

the edition of the fragments explicitly attributed to Māshā'allāh in the Greek manuscript tradition. The main goal of the article therefore is to make available a corpus of Greek translations of Arabic astrological material to better grasp the interests Byzantine scholars had in such a branch of knowledge. On one hand, the studies carried out by David Pingree – together with the *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* (i.e. CCAG) that was compiled between 1898 and 1953 –<sup>2</sup> had a pivotal role in the development of this field of study, but a comprehensive and systematic overview is still a *desideratum*.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, it is difficult to access Greek translations of Arabic texts: both because of their abstruseness and, most importantly, because they still often lie in manuscripts.

To clarify the presence of the above-mentioned scholars from the Islamicate world in Byzantium, the obliged starting point is the analysis of the astrological Graeco-Arabic manuscript corpus (thirteenth-seventeenth century) that has come down to us. The following tables list the occurrences of Abū Ma'shar's and Māshā'allāh's works in the Greek tradition, together with the mention of their names, to the extent I am aware.<sup>4</sup> The first table concerns Abū Ma'shar's works; the

3 avril 1993, Peeters Publisher-Institut du monde arabe, Leuven-Paris 1997 (Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 79), p. 123–136 and, more recently, ID., « The Byzantine Translations of Māshā'allāh's Works on Interrogational Astrology », in MARIA MAVROUDI, PAUL MAGDALINO (eds.), *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, La Pomme d'Or, Geneva 2006, p. 231–243. On Abū Ma'shar al-Balḥī, cf. at least SEZGIN, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 7, p. 139–151; CHARLES BURNETT, « Abū Ma'shar », in KATE FLEET, GUDRUN KRÄMER, DENIS MATRINGE, JOHN NAWAS, EVERETT ROWSON (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Islam Three*, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2008; ID., « Abū Ma'shar (AD 787–886) and his Major Texts on Astrology », in GHERARDO GNOLI, ANTONIO PANAINO (eds.), *Kayd. Studies in History of Mathematics, Astronomy and Astrology in Memory of David Pingree*, Istituto Italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, Rome 2009 (Serie Orientale Roma, 102), p. 17–29 and the previous bibliography recorded there; the proceedings of the conference CHARLES BURNETT (ed.), *Abū Ma'shar al-Balkhī: a 'Philosophus' in Ninth-Century Baghdad*, Warburg Institute, London, 27 October 2018 (forthcoming).

<sup>2</sup> See at least the CCAG, which provides extensive descriptions of the contents of Greek astrological manuscripts, together with the edition of many excerpts. Cf. also DAVID PINGREE (ed.), *Albumasaris, De revolutionibus nativitatum*, B. G. Teubner, Leipzig 1968 (Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Auctores Graeci); ID., « The Indian and Pseudo-Indian Passages in Greek and Latin Astronomical and Astrological Texts », *Viator*, 7 (1976), p. 141–195; ID., « Classical and Byzantine Astrology in Sassanian Persia », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 43 (1989), p. 227–239; ID., « Masha'allah: Greek, Pahlavi, Arabic, and Latin Astrology », DAVID PINGREE, CHARLES BURNETT (eds.), *The 'Liber Aristotilis' of Hugo of Santalla*, The Warburg Institute, London 1997 (Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, 26) and PINGREE, « The Byzantine Translations of Māshā'allāh's Works on Interrogational Astrology », which offers in-depth, although often labyrinthine, analyses.

<sup>3</sup> An important contribution to the field is the article by Joe Glynias in this same issue.

<sup>4</sup> The tables are still provisional: they aim to be a starting point – in combination with the information given by the CCAG and <<https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr>> – for the study of Arabo-Greek astrological arguments. The *diktyon* of each manuscript is specified in correspondence of its first occurrence. Online reproductions and a preliminary analysis of the codices here mentioned can be found through *Pinakes*. For reason of space, the overview of the Greek manuscript tradition

second one focuses on the excerpts of the collection entitled *Apotelesmatic Mysteries of Knowledge of Abū Ma'šar* (i.e. the *Mysteries*) as contained in the rich *marginalia* of the manuscript *Vat. gr. 1056* – a codex particularly relevant for the present study, and for the study of Arabic astrology in Greek *tout court*, both for its dating and for its contents –;<sup>5</sup> and the third one is about Māšā'allāh's works and mentions.

This article is laid out as follows: (I) after sketching an overview of Abū Ma'šar's and Māšā'allāh's Greek occurrences and briefly presenting the Byzantine translations of their works, (II) it will focus on the importance of *Vat. gr. 1056* by giving a concise description of the codex, (III) and then it will supply the text of the Greek fragments of Māšā'allāh's works. The appendices contain two additional texts that have been mentioned in the article.

Shelfmark	Folia	Contents
Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Philipps 1577 ( <i>gr. 173</i> ) (c. 14 <sup>th</sup> –15 <sup>th</sup> ) [ <i>Diktyon</i> , 9478]	136r	Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι καὶ οἱ γεωργοὶ γινώσκουσιν τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους εἰς τὰ ἀνήκοντα αὐτῶν.
Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, 3632 (305) (c. 1440) [ <i>Diktyon</i> , 9761]	272r–273v	<i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. γ'–δ', η'–ιβ'; <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ρκθ'–ρλβ', ρλζ'; <i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. οε', μζ', π', ρμγ'–ρμδ', ρμζ'; <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ρνα', ρνε'–ρνζ'
	280r–281v	<i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. κθ'–λ', ρηη'–σ'; <i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. ρλζ', ρνα', ρξδ', ιδ'; <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ρηη', σζ'–σιε', ρα', ρκ'–ρκη'
El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, Φ.I.5 ( <i>gr. 183</i> ) (16 <sup>th</sup> > 1542) [ <i>Diktyon</i> , 15137]	210r–316v	<i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. ρηγ'–ρηι', ρκζ' <i>om.</i> ; <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ρηβ' (part.); <i>Mysteries</i> γ', ch. κδ'–κη' <i>om.</i>
El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, R.I.14 ( <i>gr. 14</i> ) (15 <sup>th</sup> ) [ <i>Diktyon</i> , 15286]	191r, 192r–192v	<i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. ξζ'–οα', οζ'
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana,	233r–v	Περὶ τῶν ἀποδεδειγμένων τετραγώνων τοῦ Ἡλίου πρὸς τὴν Σελήνην ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ βλαπτικά.

that is supplied here cannot be analysed thoroughly. For more information about the codices, cf. the corresponding catalogue's entries, together with the ones in the CCAG.

<sup>5</sup> *Infra*, p. 247–249.

<i>plut.</i> 28.14 (14 <sup>th</sup> ) [ <i>Diktyon</i> , 16195]		
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, <i>plut.</i> 28.33 (1542) [ <i>Diktyon</i> , 16214]	3r–192r	<i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. α'–ρξδ'; <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. α'–σκα'; <i>Mysteries</i> γ', ch. α'–ξη'
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, <i>plut.</i> 28.36 (15 <sup>th</sup> ) [ <i>Diktyon</i> , 16217]	1r–91v	<i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. α'–ρξδ'; <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. α'–πβ'
Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. gr. F° 9 (16 <sup>th</sup> –17 <sup>th</sup> ) [ <i>Diktyon</i> , 38017]	1r–8r	<i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. α'–λη' (ch. θ': different ending; some variations in the last chapters)
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 38 sup. (gr. 88) (15 <sup>th</sup> ) [ <i>Diktyon</i> , 42310]	1r–93r	<i>Mysteries</i> α' (ch. ριγ'–ριη' <i>om.</i> ); <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ρηβ' (part.); <i>Mysteries</i> γ', (ch. κδ'–κη' <i>om.</i> )
	146v	Mention in subscription
Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, H 2 inf. (gr. 1030) (16 <sup>th</sup> ) [ <i>Diktyon</i> , 42845]	262r	Mention
Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, <i>Cod. graec.</i> 287 (1491) [ <i>Diktyon</i> , 44734]	1r–2r	Περὶ συγκοπῆς ἱματίων καὶ φορέσεως. Περὶ διαφόρων πραγμάτων ὅποιον βούλει. Περὶ τοῦ ἐνικίου ( <i>sic</i> ). Περὶ κινήσεως καὶ ἀποδημίας. Περὶ ἀγορᾶς καὶ πρ(ά)σεως. Περὶ φλεβοτομίας καὶ σικυάσεως. Περὶ γάμων. Περὶ διαδοχῆς τέχνης καὶ λόγου. Περὶ ἀποστολῆς γραφῆς καὶ ἀπολρισιαρίων ( <i>sic</i> ). Περὶ τόπου ( <i>sic</i> ) δεῖ ἐπάρειν βοήθημα. Ὅταν ἡ Σελήνη μόνη ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς ζῳδίοις.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 94 (15 <sup>th</sup> –16 <sup>th</sup> ) [ <i>Diktyon</i> , 47381]	68r–75v	<i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. α'–λη' (ch. κε'–λη' are added by a later hand)
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Cromwell 12 (15 <sup>th</sup> –16 <sup>th</sup> ) [ <i>Diktyon</i> , 47802]	400–401	Περὶ δὲ τοῦ πολεύνοντος καὶ διέπον ( <i>sic</i> ) ἐπὶ πάσης καταρχῆς ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι φυλάττειν τὴν τε πρώτην καὶ ὀγδόην ὥραν τῶν δύο τῆς ἐβδομάδος ἡμερῶν, τῆς δ' καὶ τοῦ σαββάτου, cf. <i>Introductio et fundamentum astrologiae</i> by Ahmed the Persian.

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		Περὶ τοῦ ποῖος τετράγωνος τοῦ Ἡλίου καὶ τῆς Σελήνης οὐκ ἔστι βλαπτικός τοῦ Ἀπομάσαρ. Τοῦ Ἀπομάσαρ πῶς ἡ Σελήνη ἐν τοῖς φρέασιν οὔσα οὐ βλέπεται ἀλλ' ὠφελεῖται. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ τοῦ ἄν τύχη ὅμοιον σημαιομένη Ἄρει ἡ Σελήνη.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham gr. 109 (15 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 48177]	158r	<i>Mysteries α', ch. ρνα'</i>
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Holkham gr. 110 (1428) [Diktyon, 48178]	17r–18r	Περὶ συγκοπῆς ἱματίων καὶ φορέσεως. Περὶ διαφόρων πραγμάτων, ὅποιον βούλει. Περὶ τοῦ ἐνικεῖσαι (sic) ἐν τόπῳ. Περὶ κινήσεως καὶ ἀποδημίας. Περὶ ἀγορᾶς καὶ πράσεως. Περὶ φλεβοτομίας καὶ σικυάσεως. Περὶ γάμου. Περὶ διαδοχῆς τέχνης καὶ λόγου. Περὶ ἀποστολῆς γραφῆς καὶ ἀποκρισιarίων. Περὶ τόπου (sic) δεῖ ἐπάρειν βοήθημα. Τῆς Σελήνης μόνης οὔσης ἐν τοῖς ζῳδίοις.
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2381 (c. 1371) [Diktyon, 52013]	71v	<i>Mysteries γ', ch. νζ'</i>
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2417 (13 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 52049]	4r, 8r	<i>Mysteries β', ch. ρλε', ρμθ'</i>
	25r–26v	<i>Mysteries α', ch. ξζ'–οα', οζ' (different ending)</i>
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2419 (15 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 52051]	37r–v	Ἀπὸ τῆς βίβλου Ἀπομαζάρ (sic) κεφάλαια ἀνανκαιότατα (sic).
	71v–72r	<i>Mysteries γ', ch. ιζ'–ιη'</i>
	137v–139r	<i>Mysteries γ', ch. ιδ', ιθ'–κ', ιβ'–ιγ'; Mysteries α', ch. ρμβ', ρμα'; Mysteries β', ch. π'; Mysteries α', ch. ρμη'</i>
	278v	<i>Mysteries α', ch. ρνζ'</i>
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2504 (16 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 52136]	35r	Mention: attribution of the anonymous commentary of Ptolemy's <i>Tetrabiblos</i> : Ἀπομάσσαρος τοῦ παλαιτάτου ἐξήγησις εἰς τὴν Τετράβιβλον τοῦ Πτολεμαίου.
	156r–158v	<i>De revolutionibus nativitatum (229–239)</i>
	160r	<i>Mysteries α', ch. ε'</i>

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2506 (14 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 52138]	173v–175v	<i>De revolutionibus nativitatum</i> (170–182)
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2507 (14 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 52139]	62r–63r	<p>Περὶ τῶν ἀποδεδειγμένων τετραγώνων τοῦ Ἡλίου πρὸς τὴν Σελήνην ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ βλαπτικά.          Τοῦ αὐτοῦ.          Περὶ ἐπανόδου εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἀπὸ ἀποδημίας.          Περὶ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποδήμου.          Περὶ συγκοπῆς καὶ φορήσεως ἱματίου.          Περὶ διαφόρων πραγμάτων τῆς Σελήνης οὔσης ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ζῳδίων.          Περὶ τοῦ ἐνοικιῶσαι (<i>sic</i>).          Περὶ ὀρυγῆς φρέατος καὶ πακτεύσεως ὑδάτων.          Περὶ κινήσεως καὶ ἀποδημίας.          Περὶ ἀγορασίας ψυχαρίων.          Περὶ κοινωνίας καὶ δουλείας ἀερικῆς (<i>sic</i>).          Περὶ ἀγορασίας καὶ πράσεως.          Περὶ φλεβοτομίας καὶ σικυάσεως.          Περὶ γάμου.          Περὶ συνελεύσεως χάριν γονῆς παιδίων ἀρρένων.          Περὶ ἀπογαλακτίσεως βρέφους.          Περὶ διαδοχῆς τέχνης καὶ λόγου.          Περὶ λουτροῦ.          Περὶ συγκοπῆς ἱματίου καὶ ἐνδύσεως αὐτοῦ.          Περὶ ἀποστολῆς γραμμάτων καὶ ἀποκρισιarioῦ.          Περὶ βοηθημάτων.</p>
	79r–101v, 113v–123v	<i>De revolutionibus nativitatum</i>
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2509 (16 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 52141]	95v	<i>Mysteries β', ch. ρνζ', ρνζ'</i>
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, supplément grec 1148 (16 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 53805]	133v	Περὶ τοῦ ὅτι καὶ οἱ γεωργοὶ γινώσκουσιν τοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖους εἰς τὰ ἀνήκοντα αὐτῶν.
Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, gr. 29 (1388) [Diktyon, 55936]	10r–39v	<i>Mysteries α', ch. α'–ρξδ' (ρζ' om., some chapters are in the wrong order)</i>
	39v–67v	<i>Mysteries β', ch. α'–σκα'</i>

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	68r–91r	<i>Mysteries γ', ch. α'–ξη'</i>
	237v	<i>Mysteries β', ch. δ' (longer version)</i>
Saint Petersburg, академия наук, О N° 128 (1448) [Diktyon, 56834]	194r–201r, 1r–2r	<i>Mysteries β', ch. α'–λη'</i>
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, <i>Barb.</i> gr. 127 (15 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 64675]	114r	Εἶδον ἐν Περσικῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ Απομάσαρ ὅτι ὁ ὠροσκόπος τῆς ἐναλλαγῆς τοῦ ἔτους. Εἶδον ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ βιβλίῳ τοῦ Απομάσαρ καὶ τοῦτο ἐὰν εὐρῆς ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἔτους ἐναλλαγῇ.
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, <i>Pal.</i> gr. 312 (15 <sup>th</sup> –16 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 66044]	17v–18r	Ἀπὸ τῆς βίβλου Απομαζάρ κεφάλαια ἀναγκαιότατα.
	116r	cf. <i>Mysteries β', ch. δ'</i>
	160v	Mention
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, <i>Vat.</i> gr. 191 (13 <sup>th</sup> –14 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 66822]	248v–286v	<i>De revolutionibus nativitatum</i>
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, <i>Vat.</i> gr. 1056 (13 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 67687]	1r	Mention
	31r–32r	Mention
	33r	Mention
	46r–v (marg.)	Εἶπεν ὁ Απομάσαρ ὅτι παρῆν ἐγώ. Κρίσις τοῦ Απομάσαρ.
	64v (marg.)	Ἐρωτηθεῖς ( <i>sic</i> ) ὁ Απομάσαρ περὶ τῆς εὐρέσεως τῆς ἐρωτήσεως.
	69v–71r	<i>Mysteries α', ch. ρβ', ξ'–ξδ'</i>
	72v (marg.)	Εἶπεν ὁ Απομάσαρ ὅτι ἀπὸ πείρας ἀπὸ τῶν μυστηρίων τῆς τέχνης βιβλίων ἔγνωμεν τοῦτο. Ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ζ' τόπου — τὸν κύριον τοῦ η'.
	74v (marg.)	Εἶπεν ὁ Απομάσαρ ὅτι μὴ ἀποτελέσεις περὶ θανάτου — θανεῖται ὁ νοσῶν.
	74v (marg.)	Τοῦ Απομάσαρ σὺν τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου — καὶ τῆς Σελήνης.
	75v (marg.)	Περὶ γαμικοῦ συναλλάγματος.
	80v (marg.)	Περὶ κλοπῆς λέγει ὁ Απομάσαρ.
	89r (marg.)	Ὁ Απομάσαρ μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν οὐκ ὀλίγα περὶ πολέμου, ὅσα καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ εἶπον, εἶπε καὶ τοῦτο — περὶ τοῦ ζ' καὶ τοῦ η'.
		Τοῦ αὐτοῦ Απομάσαρ ἐρωτηθεῖς ( <i>sic</i> ) οὗτος, ἐὰν ὁ κύριος τοῦ ζ' — ὅπερ οὐκ ἀποδέχομαι.



		Εἶπε καὶ τοῦτο ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ ὅτι ἐὰν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου — νικᾷ ὁ ἀντίδικος.
	90r	<i>Mysteries β', ch. σκ'</i>
	94v (marg.)	Περὶ τοῦ ἐὰν ἐρωτηθῇς ὡς εἰ ἔστιν ὁ δεῖνα ἐν τῷ τόπῳ τῷ δεῖνι ἢ μετέβη, λέγει ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ — λέγε ὅτι ἐξῆλθε.
	101r (marg.)	Περὶ ἄρχοντος πεσόντος ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ.
	106r, 107v–108r	<i>Mysteries α', ch. ρη', ρθ'–ριβ'</i>
	111r	<i>Mysteries α', ch. ριθ'; Mysteries β', ch. ξβ'</i>
	111v (marg.)	Περὶ φήμης εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ καὶ τοῦτο· εἰ βούλει γινῶναι — καὶ ἐφορᾷ αὐτόν.
	152v	Ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ λέγει ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ εἰ θέλεις ἰδεῖν — μὴ ἐπιλανθάνου τούτων.
	155v	<i>Mysteries β', ch. ια', ρο' (part.); Mysteries γ', ch. με' (part.); cf. Mysteries α', ch. ριε'; Mysteries α', ch. ια'</i>
	170v–172r (marg.)	Λέγει ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ ὅταν εἰσέρχηται τις — καὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ. Περὶ ἀποδημίας. Εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ· εἰ βούλει ἐκβαλεῖν τινα ἐπὶ πόλεμον — τοῦτο ἀναγκαῖον. Λέγει ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ ὅτι ἐν τῇ πρὸς πόλεμον ἀποδημία — τὴν κοσμικὴν διαίρεσιν.
	173r (marg.)	Ἀπομάσαρ λέγει ὅτι ἡ Σελήνη ἀεὶ ἡττημένη — εἰς τὰς μεγάλας ἐκλογάς.
	174v (marg.)	Τοῦ Ἀπομάσαρ ἄξιον λόγου καὶ πάνυ τῶν αἰρετῶν — ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγαθοποιῶν.
	193v	Mention
	194r–221v	<i>Mysteries β', ch. α'–σζ'</i>
	221v–234r, 24r–27v	<i>Mysteries γ', ch. α'–ζ', ι'–ιδ' a–d, ιζ' (beginning), ιη'–κ', κγ'–κδ', κβ', κε'–λζ' (part.), με' (part.)–νζ', ζ'–ζζ', κα'</i>
	234v	Εἶπεν ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ ὅτι εἶπεν ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐπὶ τῶν μυστηρίων.
	235v–236r	Κεφάλαια ἀναγκαῖα κατ' ἐρώτησιν τοῦ Γασάμη καὶ ἀπόκρισις τοῦ Ἀπομάσαρ.
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat.	1r–101v	<i>Mysteries α', ch. α'–ρξδ'; Mysteries β', ch. α'–σκα'; Mysteries γ', ch. α'–ξη'</i>

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gr. 1057 (1542) [Diktyon, 67688]		
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1058 (15 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 67689]	454r–457v	<i>Mysteries γ', ch. κα'</i>
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1066 (15 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 67697]	103v–124r	<i>De revolutionibus nativitatum</i> (ch. 3.9–4.7)
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1698 (15 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 68327]	86r–104r, 104r–106r	<i>De revolutionibus nativitatum</i> (ch. 245–273.33; 167–170.5)
Venice, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 324 (coll. 640) (14 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 69795]	231v	cf. <i>Mysteries β', ch. δ'</i>
	326r	<i>Mysteries γ', ch. με' (part.)</i>
Venice, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 334 (coll. 553) (13 <sup>th</sup> –14 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 69805]	38v	Εἶπεν ὁ Απομάσαρ ταῦτα τὰ τετράγωνα.
Venice, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 335 (coll. 645) (14 <sup>th</sup> –15 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 69806]	125v	Περὶ ἄρχοντος πεσόντος ἀπὸ τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ εἰ ἐρωτηθῆς.
	208r–211v	<i>Mysteries α', ch. α'–θ'</i>
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, hist. gr. 122 (16 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 70999]	33r–43r	<i>Mysteries α', ch. α'–κα'</i>
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, phil. gr. 108 (15 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 71222]	205r–207v	Καὶ περὶ κλήρου τύχης ἐν τοῖς δώδεκα ζῳδίοις.
	267v–268v	Ἀπὸ τῆς βίβλου Απομαζάρ ἀναγκαιότατα κεφάλαια ἀπὸ δοκιμασιῶν.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, phil. gr. 115 (13 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 71229]	117r–120r	Περὶ τῶν ὑποδεδειγμένων τετραγώνων τοῦ Ἡλίου καὶ τῆς Σελήνης ὅτι οὐκ εἰσὶ βλαπτικά. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ περὶ φήμης. Τοῦ Απομάσαρ περὶ ὥροσκόπου εἰσελεύσεως ἀπὸ ἀποδημίας. Περὶ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποδήμου ἀπὸ ἐρωτήσεως. Περὶ συγκοπῆς ἱματίων καὶ φορέσεως ἐν ὑγείᾳ αὐτοῦ.

		<p>Περὶ διαφόρων πραγμάτων Σελήνης οὔσης ἐν ἐκάστῳ τῶν ζῳδίων.  Περὶ τοῦ ἐνοικίου.  Περὶ ὀρυγῆς πηγάδων καὶ πακτεύσεως ὑδάτων.  Περὶ κινήσεως καὶ ἀποδημίας  Περὶ ἀγορᾶς ψυχαρίων.  Περὶ κοινωνίας καὶ δουλείας ἀερικῆς (<i>sic</i>).  Περὶ ἀγορᾶς καὶ πράσεως.  Περὶ φλεβοτομίας καὶ συκιάσεως (<i>sic</i>).  Περὶ γάμου.  Περὶ συνελεύσεως χάριν γονῆς παιδὸς ἀρρένου.  Περὶ ἀποκοπῆς βρέφους ἀπὸ τοῦ γαλακτισμοῦ.  Περὶ διαδοχῆς τέχνης καὶ λόγου.  Περὶ λουτροῦ.  Περὶ συγκοπῆς ἱματίου καὶ ἐνδύσεως αὐτοῦ.  Περὶ ἀποστολῆς γραμμάτων καὶ ἀποκρισιarίων.  Περὶ βοηθήματος.</p>
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, <i>phil. gr.</i> 262 (15 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 71376]	152v	<i>Mysteries β'</i> , ch. δ' (?)

Table 1

***Mysteries α'***

<b><i>Folia</i></b>	<b>Chapter</b>
45v	πδ', πθ'
53r	ρκζ'
66v	π' (part.)
68r	ιζ', ρκζ'
69v	ρα' (2 <sup>nd</sup> half)
70r	ρνε'
77r	νζ'
77v	οβ'

***Mysteries β'***

<b><i>Folia</i></b>	<b>Chapter</b>
45r	νζ' (Ἄλλως)
71v	ρλη'
72r	ρλε' (abbrv.), ιη', π'
	Λέγει ὁ Ἀπομάσαρ ὅτι ἐστὶν ὁ Ἥλιος κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκοποῦ — οἱ β' συνοδεύοντες.
73r	ρμζ'
73v	ρμθ'

78r	ογ'
80v	μ'
81v	μδ'
82r	με', μζ', μζ'
82v	με', νβ', μη'
83v	μθ'
84r	μβ'
84v	να'
90r	ρλα'
93v	ρκ'
94v	ρζ'–ᾗλλωζ, ρκγ' (cf.)
97r	ρμθ'
100v	ιβ'
101v	ρκη'
104r	ρκδ'
111r	ριθ'
166v	νθ'
173v	ρκα'
175r	ριζ'
177v	οε'
180r	νζ'
184v	νη'
193r	ζ'

75r	ρλζ', ρλδ', ρλζ', ρλε'
75v	οδ'
87r	λη'
91v	σιθ'
93r	ση'
95r	ρλδ'
100r	οθ'
111r	ξβ'
111v	σκα'
166r	ρη'
180r	ρνδ'
180v	ρλ', ρλβ'

*Mysteries γ'*

<i>Folia</i>	<b>Chapter</b>
144v	με' (part.)

Table 2

<b>Shelfmark</b>	<b>Folia</b>	<b>Contents</b>
El Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, Φ.I.5 (gr. 183) (16 <sup>th</sup> > 1542) [Diktyon, 15137]	235r	Mention in <i>Mysteries α'</i> , ch. ρβ'
	252r	Mention in <i>Mysteries β'</i> , ch. ι'
	261v	Mention in <i>Mysteries β'</i> , ch. ξ'
	266r	Mention in <i>Mysteries β'</i> , ch. ι'
Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 28.33 (1542) [Diktyon, 16214]	49r	Mention in <i>Mysteries α'</i> , ch. ρβ'
	78v	Mention in <i>Mysteries β'</i> , ch. ι'
	95r	Mention in <i>Mysteries β'</i> , ch. ξ'
	103v	Mention in <i>Mysteries β'</i> , ch. ι'
	23r	Mention in <i>Mysteries α'</i> , ch. ρβ'
	37r	Mention in <i>Mysteries β'</i> , ch. ι'

Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, B 38 <i>sup.</i> (gr. 88) (15 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 42310]	44v	Mention in <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ξ'
	48v	Mention in <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ι'
Naples, Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, II.C.33 (15 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 46079]	403r	Mention
	406v	Mention (Περὶ θησαυρῶν)
	410r-v	Περὶ τοῦ εἰ ἔστι τινὶ ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν καὶ πότε.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 94 (15 <sup>th</sup> -16 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 47381]	100v	Περὶ χρόνων ζωῆς.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Cromwell 12 (15 <sup>th</sup> -16 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 47802]	436	Τοῦ Μασαλέως περὶ φίλων. Τοῦ Μασαλέως περὶ φιλίας.
	437	Περὶ τοῦ εἰ ἔστι τινὶ ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν καὶ πότε.
	441-442	Περὶ χρόνων ζωῆς.
	445	Mention (Περὶ θησαυρῶν)
	446	Περὶ τοῦ ε' τόπου.
	447-449	Περὶ τοῦ ζ' τόπου.
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Selden <i>Supra</i> 17 (14 <sup>th</sup> -15 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 48462]	114r	Mention
	117v	Mention (Περὶ θησαυρῶν)
	120r	Περὶ τοῦ εἰ ἔστι τινὶ ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν καὶ πότε.
Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2424 (14 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 52056]	205v	Mention
	206v	Περὶ τοῦ πότε ἔστι τινὶ καλὸν ἢ κακόν.
Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, gr. 29 (1388) [Diktyon, 55936]	30r	Mention in <i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. ρβ'
	43v	Mention in <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ι'
	50v	Mention in <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ξ'
	54r	Mention in <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ι'
	68v-69r	cf. Laleli 2122bis, fol. 3r
	152v	cf. Laleli 2122bis, fol. 23v
	153v-154r	cf. Laleli 2122bis, fol. 22r-v
	157r-v	cf. Laleli 2122bis, fol. 2v; 21v; 23v-24v
	167v	cf. Laleli 2122bis, fol. 13r-v
	170v-171r	cf. Laleli 2122bis, fol. 7v-11v
Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. gr. 1056 (13 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 67687]	48r-v	Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι.
	48v-49r	Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι.
	49v-50r	Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι.
	64r	Mention
	67r	⟨Περὶ χρόνων ζωῆς⟩.
	68v	Περὶ χρέους.
	68v-69r	Mention (Περὶ θησαυρῶν)
	69v	Mention ( <i>Mysteries</i> α', ch. ρβ')

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	70r	Περὶ παιδὸς γίνεται ἡ οὐ.
	70v	ἡ Περὶ τοῦ εἰ ἐρωτηθῆς ἄρα ἀληθὲς ἐστὶ ἢ σύλληψις ἢ ψευδής).
	73r (marg.)	Περὶ ἰατρείας.
	74r-v	Περὶ δούλου εἰ ἐλευθεροῦται ἢ μεταβήσεται πρὸς ἑτέραν δεσποτείαν.
	74v-75r	Περὶ γαμικοῦ συναλλάγματος γίνεται ἡ οὐ γίνεται.
	75r (marg.)	Εἶπεν ὁ Μασάλα — γενήσεται αὐθις.
	86r (marg.)	Τὸν Μασάλα ἐρώτησιν — παρὰ τοῦ τοιούτου σοφοῦ Μασάλα.
	90v-91r	Περὶ ἀποδημίας γίνεται ἡ οὐ.
	95v (marg.)	Τὸ τοιούτον θεμάτιόν ἐστιν — ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ.
	97r	Περὶ ἀνδρὸς ἐρωτῶντος εἰ προσληφθήσεται παρὰ βασιλέως ἢ ἐξουσιαστοῦ.
	100v (marg.)	Λέγει ὁ Μασάλα — ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς τοῦ ὠροσκόπου μέρεσιν.
	106r	Περὶ τοῦ πότε ἐστὶ τινὶ ἀγαθὸν ἢ ἐναντίον.
	111r-112r	Περὶ φήμης εἰ ἀληθὲς ἐστὶν ἢ ψευδής.
	195v	Mention in <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ι'
	202v	Mention in <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ξ'
	205v	Mention in <i>Mysteries</i> β', ch. ιλ'
	234v	Mention
	242r-v	Λόγος τοῦ σοφωτάτου Μασάλα — τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν τοιούτων βιβλίων.
Venice, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 334 (coll. 553) (13 <sup>th</sup> -14 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 69805]	148v	Περὶ τοῦ πότε ἔσται τινὶ καλὸν ἢ κακόν.
Venice, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, gr. Z. 335 (coll. 645) (14 <sup>th</sup> -15 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 69806]	310v	Περὶ τοῦ πότε ἔσται τινὶ καλὸν ἢ κακόν.
	394r	Περὶ τοῦ ζ' τόπου.
	Pinax	ρζ' Περὶ χρόνων ζωῆς.
Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, hist. gr. 122 (16 <sup>th</sup> ) [Diktyon, 70999]	81r-87v	Περὶ χρόνου ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου ἀπὸ τοῦ βιβλίου τῶν δώδεκα τόπων τοῦ Μασάλα. Περὶ τοῦ πότε ἐνὶ ἀγαθόν τινι ἢ κακόν.

Table 3

### I. Status Quaestionis

Before presenting some astrological sections found especially in *Vat. gr.* 1056, it is useful to briefly summarize which works by Abū Maʿšar al-Balḥī (Ἀπομάσαρ) and Māšāʾallāh ibn Aṭarī al-Baṣrī (Μασάλλα)<sup>6</sup> were translated from Arabic into Byzantine Greek, and to make some remarks about the above-mentioned Vatican manuscript. From the list of the occurrences of their works, it appears clear that the former is far more widespread than the latter. From a quantitative point of view, it has been possible to find forty-three codices dated from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century. They are distributed as follows: three dated to the thirteenth century; two to the thirteenth-fourteenth century; eight to the fourteenth century; three from the fourteenth-fifteenth century; fifteen to the fifteenth century; three to the fifteenth-sixteenth century; eight to the sixteenth century and one to the sixteenth-seventeenth century. Therefore, their works are attested from the thirteenth century onwards, and the interest Byzantine (and post-Byzantine) scholars nourished towards them grew over time, booming in the fifteenth century.

The epitomized translations of three complete works by Abū Maʿšar are well known: the *Book on the Revolutions of the Years of the Nativities* (*Kitāb fī taḥāwīl sinī al-mawālīd*, Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐτῶν ἐναλλαγῆς), the *Book of the Great Introduction to Astrology* (*Kitāb al-mudḥal al-kabīr ilā ʿilm al-ḥkām al-nuḡūm*, Ἡ εἰσαγωγή τοῦ Ἀπομάσαρ)<sup>7</sup> and the *Dialogues on Astrology* (*Mudākarāt fī ʿilm al-nuḡūm*, Ἡ β' ἀποτελεσματικὴ βίβλος τῶν μυστηρίων τῆς ἐπιστήμης τοῦ Ἀπομάσαρ).<sup>8</sup> The last two of them are preserved

<sup>6</sup> There is no univocal agreement on the transliteration into Greek of neither Māšāʾallāh's name nor Abū Maʿšar's. Nevertheless, for the former the most common are Μασάλλα, Μασάλα and Μασάλης, while for the latter are Ἀπομάσαρ, Ἀπομάσσαρ, Ἀπομάζαρ, Ἀπομαζάρ and Ἀπομάσσαρος.

<sup>7</sup> On the title of this work, cf. PAUL KUNITZSCH, «Albumasariana», *Annali dell'Università degli Studi di Napoli 'L'Orientale'*. *Rivista del Dipartimento di Studi Asiatici e del Dipartimento di Studi e Ricerche su Africa e Paesi Arabi*, 62 (2002), p. 19–28. For its critical edition and English translation, cf. KEIJI YAMAMOTO, CHARLES BURNETT (eds.), *The Great Introduction to Astrology by Abū Maʿšar*, with an Edition of the Greek Version by DAVID PINGREE, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2019 (Islamic Philosophy, Theology and Science. Texts and Studies, 106).

<sup>8</sup> The critical edition of this work, together with the one of the first book of the *Mysteries*, is in progress: I hope to publish it sooner rather than later. On this text, cf. GRAZIELLA FEDERICI VESCOVINI, «Albumasar in Sadan e Pietro d'Abano», in BIANCAMARIA SCARCIA AMORETTI (ed.), *La diffusione delle scienze islamiche nel Medio Evo europeo*. Roma, 2–4 ottobre 1984, Convegno internazionale, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome 1987, p. 29–55, EAD., *I Segreti astrologici di Albumasar*, Nino Aragno Editore, Turin 2000 (*Speculum Historiale*, 2), EAD., «La versio latina degli *Excerpta de secretis Albumasar* di Sadan», *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Âge*, 65 (1998), p. 273–330, CHARLES BURNETT, «Albumasar in Sadan in the Twelfth Century», in GIANCARLO MARCHETTI, ORSOLA RIGNANI, VALERIA SORGE (eds.), *Ratio et Superstitio. Essays in Honor of Graziella*

in a three-volume compilation entitled: *Apotelesmatic Mysteries of Knowledge of Abū Ma'šar* in the third and in the second book, respectively. A few remarks might be made in this regard: (i) while the contents of the second and third book only are well known and surely have an Arabic equivalent, the first book consists of one hundred sixty-four chapters attributed to Abū Ma'šar whose Arabic parallels have not yet been identified;<sup>9</sup> (ii) the most ancient complete witness of the three-volume compilation is the manuscript *Ang. gr.* 29 copied in 1388 by the astrologer Eleutherios.<sup>10</sup> In more ancient codices (such as the *Vat. gr.* 1056 and the *Par. gr.* 2417) only excerpts – different in length – are preserved: the first book is not attested in a complete or almost-complete form anywhere except in the *Ang. gr.* 29 and the manuscripts related to it.

The translations of Arabic astrological texts – and Abū Ma'šar's in particular – are dated by Pingree around the year 1000<sup>11</sup> but, as demonstrated by Glynias on the basis of the manuscript evidence, the span of time in which they were made has to be narrowed from the late tenth to the twelfth century, depending on the texts.<sup>12</sup> One of the key points of Pingree's argumentation is the dating of the contents of the astrological compendia preserved in *Vat. gr.* 1056: he assigned them to around the eleventh century from the horoscopes contained in the manuscript.<sup>13</sup> The case of the Vatican manuscript is especially relevant for the study of Abū Ma'šar's *Mysteries* because, while most of the chapters of the second and third book are contiguous (fol. 194r–221v and fol. 221v–234r), the ones composing the first book are scattered throughout the whole codex and are especially found in its *marginalia* (often due to later hands), as emerges clearly

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Federici Vescovini, *Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales*, Louvain-la-Neuve 2003, p. 59–68, and DAVID PINGREE, « The Sayings of Abū Ma'šar in Arabic, Greek and Latin », in *Ratio et Superstitio*, p. 41–58.

<sup>9</sup> Abū Ma'šar's *Mysteries* in the form it is now preserved seems to respond to the desire of Byzantine scholars to have an anthology of most of the astrological works by the same author.

<sup>10</sup> On Eleutherios, cf. at least DAVID PINGREE, « The Astrological School of John Abramius », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 15 (1971), p. 189–215, and PAUL MAGDALINO, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues : la science entre le dogme et la divination à Byzance, VII<sup>e</sup>–XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Lethielleux, Paris 2006 (*Réalités byzantines*, 12), p. 101. The identification made by Pingree, based on the horoscopes he is associated with, seems to be more convincing than Magdalino's critiques.

<sup>11</sup> DAVID PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, Istituto italiano per l'Africa e l'Oriente, Rome 1997 (*Serie Orientale Roma*, 78), p. 63–71.

<sup>12</sup> See Glynias's article in this same issue.

<sup>13</sup> DAVID PINGREE (ed.), *Hephaestionis Thebani, Apotelesmaticorum Epitomae quattuor*, B. G. Teubner, Leipzig 1973–1974 (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana. Auctores Graeci*, 51.1–2), p. XXI; DAVID PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 71; ANNE TIHON, « Tables islamiques à Byzance », *Byzantion. Revue Internationale des Études Byzantines*, 60 (1990), p. 401–425; MARIA MAVROUDI, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation. The Oneirocriticon of Achmet and Its Arabic Sources*, Brill, Leiden–Boston–Köln 2002 (*The Medieval Mediterranean. Peoples, Economies and Cultures, 400–1500*, 36), p. 399–400 and *infra*, p. 248–249.



from Table 2.<sup>14</sup> The analysis of the manuscript tradition therefore leads to two provisional conclusions: (i) Abū Maʿšar's *Mysteries* was not available in the three-book form to the compiler of the Vatican codex, and (ii) it has been assembled in this form by Eleutherios or, at least, it has been copied by him from a now-lost antigraph.<sup>15</sup>

Considering this, it is possible to assess two further considerations: (i) as typical in astrological texts, they are organized in brief sections that are easy to be excerpted and used as needed, as confirmed by the wide circulation of their small excerpts; (ii) from the philological analysis of the manuscripts it emerges that the *Vat. gr.* 1056 and the *Ang. gr.* 29 are witnesses of two *recensiones* of the texts they share.<sup>16</sup> This is especially true in the case of Abū Maʿšar's *Mysteries*: not only for the second and third book, but also for the sections of the first one they both preserve.<sup>17</sup> The hypothesis that *Vat. gr.* 1056 has been used as antigraph of *Ang. gr.* 29 should be excluded. This can be explained by omissions and lengthy variants.<sup>18</sup> Another minor hint in favour of this is that, among the many hands that annotated it, neither Eleutherios's writing nor the ones of Dionysios or his other known collaborators are recognizable.<sup>19</sup> The circulation of single chapters and sets of chapters is attested in the manuscript tradition.<sup>20</sup> Moreover, the fact that some manuscripts (*i.e.* *Vind. phil. gr.* 115) preserve chapters attributed to Abū Maʿšar that are not linked to the *Mysteries* allows one to suppose that the circulation of his texts was wider than the one attested today.<sup>21</sup>

### 1.1. *Vat. gr.* 1056: Abū Maʿšar's Mentions

Looking at the manuscripts containing Abū Maʿšar's mentions and works, it is possible to point out some details. Beside the *Mysteries*, the other known texts by Abū Maʿšar in Greek are some sections on catarchic and interrogational astrology

<sup>14</sup> *Supra*, p. 234–235.

<sup>15</sup> The sections by Abū Maʿšar that are preserved in *Vind. phil. gr.* 115 are not included in the *Mysteries*, therefore it cannot be put in relation with the manuscript used by Eleutherios.

<sup>16</sup> CCAG, V.3, p. 7–64; V.1, p. 4–57.

<sup>17</sup> In this regard, cf. also the Appendix I where the two *recensiones* of one and the same chapter of the first book of Abū Maʿšar's *Mysteries* are included.

<sup>18</sup> See Appendix II (*Mysteries* α'), RAÚL CABALLERO-SÁNCHEZ, « Sobre los signos que indican los deseos amorosos: problemas de autoría en torno a un texto astrológico transmitido en el *Comentario Anónimo al Tetrabiblos* de Tolomeo », *MINERVA. Revista de Filología Clásica*, 31 (2018), p. 150–153 (*Mysteries* β') and KEIJI YAMAMOTO, CHARLES BURNETT (eds.), *The Great Introduction to Astrology by Abū Maʿšar*, ch. κε' (*Mysteries* γ').

<sup>19</sup> PINGREE, « The Astrological School of John Abramius ».

<sup>20</sup> *Supra*, p. 227–234.

<sup>21</sup> The *Vind. phil. gr.* 115 (early thirteenth century) contains sections on interrogational and catarchic astrology attributed to Abū Maʿšar that show affinities with the *Laur. Plut.* 28.34 (eleventh century). I hope soon to publish the first edition of such excerpts.

and the *Book on the Revolutions of the Years of the Nativities*. Its Greek title is postulated by Pingree as « Περὶ τῆς τῶν ἐτῶν ἐναλλαγῆς », <sup>22</sup> and it is confirmed by two hitherto neglected mentions preserved in *Vat. gr.* 1056, fol. 31r–v. Both of them are included in the introduction to two anonymous lists of stars derived by the *Mumtaḥan Zīj* by Yaḥyā ibn Abī Maṣṣūr. <sup>23</sup> In the first case, it is named « Ἐν τῇ τῶν ἐναλλαγῶν βίβλῳ τοῦ Ἀπομάσας » and conveys only an abbreviated version of the title, while in the second case it gives a more complete and literal translation of the Arabic title: « Τῆς τῶν ἐναλλαγῶν τῶν γενεθλίων βίβλου τοῦ Ἀπομάσας ». <sup>24</sup> This work is preserved in two different *recensiones* as well: the first one is found in *Vat. gr.* 191, the early Palaiologan encyclopaedia composed between the end of thirteenth century and the very beginning of the fourteenth century under the

<sup>22</sup> PINGREE (ed.), *Albumasaris, De revolutionibus nativitatum*.

<sup>23</sup> The texts preceding the tables and the tables themselves have been studied in PAUL KUNITZSCH, « Abu Ma'šar, Johannes Hispalensis und Alkameluz », *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 120 (1) (1970), p. 103–125, ID., « Die arabische Herkunft von zwei Sternverzeichnissen in cod. *Vat. gr.* 1056 », *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 120 (2) (1970), p. 281–287, and TIHON, « Tables islamiques à Byzance ». An edition of them is in progress. On Yaḥyā ibn Abī Maṣṣūr, cf. at least BENNO VAN DALEN, « Yaḥyā ibn Abī Maṣṣūr: Abū 'Alī Yaḥyā ibn Abī Maṣṣūr al-Munajjim », in THOMAS HOCKEY (ed.), *The Biographical Encyclopedia of Astronomers*, Springer, New York 2007, p. 1249–1250, on *Mumtaḥan Zīj*, cf. BENNO VAN DALEN, « A Second Manuscript of the *Mumtaḥan Zīj* », *Suḥayl. International Journal for the History of the Exact and Natural Sciences in Islamic Civilisation*, 4 (2004), p. 9–44.

<sup>24</sup> The translation of the text is: « On the positions of the fixed stars, according to the ninth indiction of the year 6669 (i.e. 1161), accurately compiled from three canons: the one by Abū al-Ḥasan ibn Yūnis (*al-Zīj al-kabīr al-Ḥākīmī*), the one by Kūšyār ibn Labbān and the knowledge that has been found and brought by us from Egypt. And having understood the positions, we would mark [them] down here, omitting the fourteen misfortunate stars – the ones that are explained because of 20 (*sic*)–: we registered, indeed, the positions of those fourteen stars, to the degree that we may also find in the *Book of the Revolutions* by Abū Ma'šar, considering their running from that time to the abovementioned ninth indiction [*sequitur tabula*]. Such fixed stars move themselves from West to East, each one of them every year, by 54 and 33 ». It means that the value of the precession is: 0; 0, 54, 33° every year, 1° every 66 years. « Compiled from the *Book of the Revolutions of the Nativities* by Abū Ma'šar, concerning the misfortunate fixed stars, these things are what the most savant Muḡnīs – accepting as reliable – showed in his *Book of Nativities*. Abū Ma'šar says that the destructive stars, the misfortunate ones and those infallible towards evil are fourteen, four of which are hot desire, being in temperament from the first and second length, thus: [*sequitur tabula*]. And other three stars are inferior to them in range and rank, thus: [*sequitur tabula*]. The other seven stars are cloudy, dark and dangerous and destroy life, thus: [*sequitur tabula*]. Acknowledge how are those position of such stars of the abovementioned ninth indiction ». As emphasized by Kunitzsch and Tihon, the authorities mentioned by the author are not used for the compilation of the list. Cf. TIHON, « Tables islamiques à Byzance », p. 407: « L'auteur byzantin les cite, peut-être parce qu'il disposait d'un manuscrit comportant aussi leurs œuvres, parmi d'autres », nevertheless the mention of these sources allows one to suppose that they were available in Greek already in the twelfth century. On the astronomical tables of Kūšyār ibn Labbān, now cf. BENNO VAN DALEN, *Ptolemaic Tradition and Islamic Innovation: The Astronomical Tables of Kūshyār ibn Labbān*, Brepols, Turnhout 2021 (Ptolemaeus Arabus et Latinus – Texts 2).

supervision of John Pediasimos,<sup>25</sup> while the second one is made in the fourteenth century by Isaac Argyros and it is preserved in one of his two astronomical-astrological compilations, the *Par. gr.* 2507, fol. 79r–101v, 113v–123v.<sup>26</sup>

These lists of fixed stars, among which is mentioned a certain « ὁ σοφώτατος Μούγνης »,<sup>27</sup> are followed by a short section by the same author: he can be identified with the Christian astrologer Ibn Hibintā (fl. 932), the compiler of the astrological anthology named the *Book of the Wealth of Astrology* (*Kitāb al-muğnī fī aḥkām al-nuḡūm*).<sup>28</sup> Their authorship is still anonymous. Pingree advanced the hypothesis that the author could be Symeon Seth, namely on the basis of the fact that on fol. 32r<sup>29</sup> is preserved a short text on the axial precession attributed to him

<sup>25</sup> For a palaeographical analysis of the codex, cf. ALEXANDER TURYN, *Codices Graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti annorumque notis instructi*, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City 1964 (Codices e Vaticanis selecti quam simillime expressi, 28), p. 89–97 and DANIELE BIANCONI, « Libri e mani. Sulla formazione di alcune miscellanee dell'età dei Paleologi », *Segno e Testo. International Journal of Manuscript and Text Transmission*, 2 (2004), p. 324–330. For a more inclusive inquiry, cf. FABIO ACERBI, « Byzantine Recensions of Greek Mathematical and Astronomical Texts: A Survey », *Estudios Bizantinos. Revista de la Sociedad Española de Bizantinística*, 4 (2016), p. 192–195, and FABIO ACERBI, ANNA GIOFFREDA, « Manoscritti scientifici della prima età paleologa in scrittura arcaizzante », *Scripta. An International Journal of Codicology and Palaeography*, 12 (2019), p. 9–52.

<sup>26</sup> Having been attributed both to Isidore of Kiev and to John Abramios, it was penned by Isaac Argyros, as proposed in BRIGITTE MONDRAIN, « Les écritures dans les manuscrits byzantins du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle », *Rivista di Studi Bizantini e Neoellenici*, 44 (2007), p. 167 and confirmed in ANNA GIOFFREDA, *Tra i libri di Isacco Argiro*, De Gruyter, Berlin–Boston 2020 (Transmissions. Studies on Conditions, Processes and Dynamics of Textual Transmission, 4). The other astronomical-astrological compilation by Argyros is the *Laur. Plut.* 28.13.

<sup>27</sup> To the best of my knowledge, there is only a handful of Byzantine mentions of Μούγνης. These are mostly found in the manuscript *Vat. gr.* 1056, at fol. 31v, 150r–v, 154v (simply mentioned), 157r and in the *marginalia* of fol. 147v and 148v; the excerpt preserved in the margins of fol. 147v is included in a miscellaneous chapter entitled « Περὶ καταρχῶν, διαφορὰ τινῶν σοφῶν » in manuscript *Marc. gr.* Z. 324 (coll. 640), fol. 316r, under the name of the same Μούγνης. Since only the Venetian excerpt has been edited, I hope to edit the text of all the excerpts attributed to Μούγνης in Greek in a future publication.

<sup>28</sup> For a presentation of Ibn Hibintā's profile, cf. DAVID PINGREE, « Ibn Hibintā », in CHARLES GILLISPIE (ed.), *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, 6, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York 1972, p. 381, for the edition of his work is edited, in Arabic, cf. FUAT SEZGIN (ed.), *Kitāb al-muğnī fī aḥkām al-nuḡūm*, Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science, Frankfurt am Main 1987 (Publications of the Institute for the History of Arabic-Islamic Science. Series C, Facsimile Editions, 41.1–41.2). For other pieces of information concerning this neglected astrologer, cf. at least SEZGIN, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, 7, p. 162–164, and EKMELEDDIN İHSANOĞLU, BORIS ROZENFELD, *Mathematicians, Astronomers and Other Scholars of Islamic Civilisation and Their Works (7<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> C.)*, Research Centre for Islamic History, Art, and Culture, Istanbul 2003, p. 30.

<sup>29</sup> Abū Ma'šār's authority is mentioned in this excerpt as well: Ἔχουσι δὲ οἱ τοιοῦτοι, οὕτως καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἐν τῇδε τῇ βίβλῳ εἰσὶ καταγεγραμμένοι οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀπλανεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς βίβλου τοῦ Ἀπομάσαρ ἄνευ τινῶν ὀλιγοστῶν, κατὰ τοῦτο περιττὸν ἡμῖν ἔδοξε καταγράψασθαι τούτους καὶ ἐνταῦθα, τοὺς δὲ μὴ ὄντας καταγεγραμμένους καταγραφόμεθα οἵτινες καὶ εἰσὶν. The source of Symeon Seth is

by the words « Τοῦ Σηθ ἐκείνου ».<sup>30</sup> The presence of the word « ἐκείνου » suggests that Seth was already dead when the manuscript was copied.<sup>31</sup> They are written by the same hand – even if the first lines of the previous text on the same folio is copied by a different scribe – but the attribution of the previous chapters on the basis of such attribution of the following texts only is fragile. Nevertheless, it is important to stress the fact that the compiler of those lists was perfectly aware of the Greek translation of Abū Ma'shar's *Book on the Revolutions of the Years of the Nativities* that was already circulating around the year 1161, when the positions of the fixed stars were computed.

#### 1.2. Vat. gr. 1056: Māšā'allāh's Mentions

Considering the translation of Māšā'allāh's works, it is clear that he did not benefit from such interest on the part of the Byzantines, probably because, as argued by Pingree: « The early Islamic astrology of the eighth century had become antiquated by the ninth, when Sahl ibn Bišr and Abū Ma'shar revised and systematized Māšā'allāh's inept and unintegrated borrowings from both the Greek and the Indo-Persian traditions ».<sup>32</sup>

The codices mentioning Māšā'allāh's works number only twelve, but four of them are to be left out of the count because they preserve indirect quotations in Abū Ma'shar's *Mysteries*. From the known excerpts, we do not have any preserved textual evidence that the works by Māšā'allāh had been fully translated in Byzantium. The lack of complete translations, however, does not imply that they were not widespread and read in Greek, even in book form. The two main pieces of evidence of the existence of Māšā'allāh's translations in Greek are: (i) the existence of excerpts of translations in the main texts and in the margins of Vat. gr. 1056; (ii) the explicit attestation of the knowledge of Māšā'allāh's book by the

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still unknown, but he explicitly mentions that the nine fixed stars he lists are missing in Abū Ma'shar's book. For the complete edition of this short text, cf. PINGREE, « The Indian and Pseudo-Indian Passages in Greek and Latin Astronomical and Astrological Texts », p. 192; for an analysis, TIHON, « Tables islamiques à Byzance », p. 407–408.

<sup>30</sup> PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 69. It is probably an excerpt of a larger work by Symeon Seth, as confirmed in MARIE CRONIER, ALESSIA GUARDASOLE, CAROLINE MAGDELAINE, ANTOINE PIETROBELLI, « Galien en procès à Byzance : l'Antirrétique de Syméon Seth », *Galenos*, 9 (2015), p. 74, n. 18.

<sup>31</sup> MAGDALINO, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues*, p. 101.

<sup>32</sup> PINGREE, « The Byzantine Translations of Māšā'allāh's Works on Interrogational Astrology », p. 242.

copyist and compiler of *Vat. gr.* 1056. On fol. 68v–69r, following a chapter on debts attributed to Hephaestion,<sup>33</sup> it reads:<sup>34</sup>

Περὶ θησαυρῶν.<sup>35</sup>

Εἰ ἐρωτηθῇς<sup>36</sup> περὶ θησαυρῶν, ἡγουν<sup>37</sup> περὶ  
τόπου ἂν ἐστὶν ἐκεῖσε<sup>38</sup> θησαυρός, <sup>39</sup> ἴδε<sup>40</sup>  
τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, καὶ εἰ μὲν<sup>41</sup> ἐστὶν  
ἐπίκεντρος ἢ καὶ <sup>42</sup> ὑπάρχουσιν <sup>43</sup> ἐν τοῖς  
κέντροις ἀγαθοποιοί, <sup>44</sup> ἐστὶν <sup>45</sup> ἐκεῖσε <sup>46</sup>  
θησαυρός, εἰ δὲ μή, οὐκ ἔστι. <sup>47</sup> Εἰ δὲ βούλει<sup>48</sup>  
γνῶναι <sup>49</sup> ποῦ ἐστὶν, ἴδε τὸν ἐπικρατήτορα  
ποῦ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν <sup>50</sup> ποίῳ μέρει. <sup>51</sup> ἐν ἐκείνῳ  
γὰρ<sup>52</sup> τῷ μέρει ἐστὶν ὁ θησαυρός, καὶ εἰ μὲν  
ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ, ἐστὶν <sup>53</sup> ἐν τῷ  
ἀνατολικῷ μέρει τοῦ οἴκου, εἰ <sup>54</sup> δὲ ἐν τῷ

On Treasures.

If you are asked about treasures – that is about the place where a treasure is – consider the lord of the ascendant, and if it is in the cardine, or if the good planets happen to be in the cardines, there is the treasure. On the contrary, it is not there. If you wish to know where it is, consider where the ruling star is and in which part: the treasure is, indeed, in that part; and if it is in the ascendant, it is the eastern part of the house, while if it is in the Midheaven, it is in the southern one; if it is in the quarter in which the sun

<sup>33</sup> This attribution is made in the codex *Vind. phil. gr.* 108 [Diktyon, 71222], fol. 278r.

<sup>34</sup> The text supplied here has already been noticed and partially translated in PINGREE, « The Byzantine Translations of Māshā'allāh's Works on Interrogational Astrology », p. 242. It is the result of a collation of the *Vat. gr.* 1056, fol. 68v–69r (V) with *Neap.* II.C.33, fol. 406v (N), *Bodl. Cromwell* 12, p. 445 (O1), *Bodl. Selden Supra* 17, fol. 117v (O2) and *Vind. phil. gr.* 108, fol. 278r (W). On the importance of the Neapolitan and of the Bodleian manuscripts, cf. ANNE TIHON, « Sur l'identité de l'astronome Alim », *Archives Internationales d'Histoire des Sciences*, 39 (1989), p. 3–21; EAD., « Tables islamiques à Byzance ».

<sup>35</sup> Περὶ θησαυρῶν] δ' *praem.* V, Ἄλλως *praem.* O1, τοῦ Ἡφαιστίωνος *praem.* W, ρλβ' *add. in mg.* W.

<sup>36</sup> ἐρωτηθῇς] ἐρωτηθεῖς VNO2.

<sup>37</sup> ἡγουν] *om.* NO102.

<sup>38</sup> ἐκεῖσε] ἐκεῖ NO102.

<sup>39</sup> περὶ — θησαυρός] περὶ τόπου ἂν ἐστὶν ἐκεῖ θησαυρός O102, περὶ τόπου εἰ ἔστιν ἐκεῖ θησαυρός W.

<sup>40</sup> ἴδε] εἶδε *ante corr.* N.

<sup>41</sup> μὲν] *om.* W.

<sup>42</sup> καὶ] *om.* WO102.

<sup>43</sup> ὑπάρχουσιν] ὑπάρχει NO102.

<sup>44</sup> ἀγαθοποιοί] ἀγαθοποιός NO102.

<sup>45</sup> ἐστὶν] εἰ *praem.* W.

<sup>46</sup> ἐκεῖσε] ἐκεῖ NO102W.

<sup>47</sup> ἐστὶ] ἔστιν NO1.

<sup>48</sup> βούλει] βούλη O102.

<sup>49</sup> γνῶναι] γνῶνε W.

<sup>50</sup> ἐστὶ καὶ ἐν] ἐστὶν ἐν W.

<sup>51</sup> μέρει] μέρος W.

<sup>52</sup> ἐκείνῳ γὰρ] *inv. ord.* NO102W.

<sup>53</sup> ἔστιν] *om.* N.

<sup>54</sup> εἰ] οἱ W.

μεσουρανήματι, ἐν τῷ νοτίῳ,<sup>55</sup> εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ  
 δύσει,<sup>56</sup> ἐν τῷ δυτικῷ,<sup>57</sup> εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ βορείῳ,<sup>58</sup> καὶ εἰ  
 μὲν ἐν στερεῷ<sup>59</sup> ζῳδίῳ<sup>60</sup> ἐστίν, ἔστι<sup>61</sup>  
 κεχωσμένον<sup>62</sup> ἐν τῇ γῇ, εἰ δὲ ἐν δισώμῳ,<sup>63</sup> ἐν  
 οἰκίᾳ<sup>64</sup> ὠροφωμένῃ, εἰ δὲ ἐν τροπικῷ, ἐν  
 τοίχῳ. Καὶ<sup>65</sup> εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν ὁ ἐπικρατήτωρ<sup>66</sup> καὶ  
 ὁ διέπων ἀνατολικοί,<sup>67</sup> ἔστι νεωστὶ  
 κεχωσμένον,<sup>68</sup> εἰ δὲ δυτικοί,<sup>69</sup> πάλαι<sup>70</sup>  
 περικεκαλυμμένον.<sup>71</sup> Εἰ δὲ βούλει<sup>72</sup> ἢ  
 ἀκριβῶς καταλαβεῖν<sup>73</sup> τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ –  
 ἡγουν ἔνθα κεῖται ὁ θησαυρός –<sup>74</sup> καὶ  
 διαγνῶναι,<sup>75</sup> ἀνάγνωθι<sup>76</sup> τὸ κεφάλαιον ὅπερ  
 ἐξέθετο περὶ τοῦτου ὁ Μασάλλα,<sup>77</sup> πρὸς<sup>78</sup> τὸ  
 τέλος τοῦ βιβλίου αὐτοῦ.<sup>79</sup> Ὡς γὰρ<sup>80</sup> ἱκανῶς  
 ἐκεῖ σεσαφηνίσται,<sup>81</sup> παρέλειψα τοῦτο, ἡμεῖς  
 δὲ διὰ τοῦτόν τε λείπομεν τὸ παρὸν χαρτίον

sets, it is in the western one; if it is in the  
 northern – that is in the nadir – it is in  
 the northern one. And if it is in a fixed  
 sign, it has been buried under the earth,  
 while if it is in a bicorporal one, it is in a  
 house covered with a roof, but if it is in a  
 tropical one, it is in a wall. And if the  
 ruling star and the following are eastern  
 ones, it has been buried recently, while if  
 they are southern ones, they have been  
 hidden long time ago. But if you wish to  
 understand and precisely know its place  
 – that is where the treasure lies – read  
 aloud the chapter about it that  
 Māšā'allāh posted up toward the end of  
 his book. As it is explained sufficiently  
 here, I left it out, but we left blank the  
 present page because of it, so that when

<sup>55</sup> νοτίῳ] νότω O102.

<sup>56</sup> τῇ δύσει] τῷ δύνοντι N0102.

<sup>57</sup> εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ δύσει, ἐν τῷ δυτικῷ] εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ δυτικῷ, ἐν τῇ δύσει W.

<sup>58</sup> βορείῳ – γῇ] ὑπὸ γῆν, ἐν τῷ βορίῳ (sic) N, ὑπὸ γῆν, ἐν τῷ βορείῳ O102W.

<sup>59</sup> στερεῷ] στερρεῷ N.

<sup>60</sup> ζῳδίῳ] ζῳδίων O1.

<sup>61</sup> ἔστι] ἔσται O1.

<sup>62</sup> ἔστι κεχωσμένον] ἔστι κεχωσμένος O1, κεχωσμένος ἔστι W.

<sup>63</sup> ἐν δισώμῳ] ἐνδισσωμένον (sic) N0102, ἐν (sic) δυσώμῳ W.

<sup>64</sup> οἰκίᾳ] οἰκοίᾳ W.

<sup>65</sup> Καὶ] om. O1.

<sup>66</sup> ἐπικρατήτωρ] ἐπικρατήτης O2.

<sup>67</sup> ἀνατολικοί] ἐν ἀνατολῇ N02, ἀνατολικὸς W.

<sup>68</sup> κεχωσμένον] κεχωσμένος N0102, καιχωσμένος W.

<sup>69</sup> δυτικοί] δυτικὸς W.

<sup>70</sup> πάλαι] πάλαιον O1.

<sup>71</sup> περικεκαλυμμένον] περικεκαλυμμένου N02, περικεκαλυμμένος W.

<sup>72</sup> βούλει] βούλῃ O1.

<sup>73</sup> καταλαβεῖν] καταλαβῆν W.

<sup>74</sup> αὐτοῦ – θησαυρός] αὐτοῦ ἔνθα ὁ θησαυρὸς κεῖται N02, ἔνθα ὁ θησαυρὸς κεῖται W.

<sup>75</sup> καὶ διαγνῶναι] om. W.

<sup>76</sup> ἀνάγνωθι] ἀνάγνωσον O1.

<sup>77</sup> Μασάλλα] Μασάλης N02, Μασάλας O1, Ἀπομαξάρ W.

<sup>78</sup> πρὸς] περὶ W.

<sup>79</sup> Ὡς – ἐνταῦθα] ἐμοὶ γὰρ τοῦτο παρελήφθης ἐκεῖσε παρὰ τοῦ σαφηνισθέντος W.

<sup>80</sup> γὰρ] om. O1.

<sup>81</sup> σεσαφηνίσται] σαφηνισθὲν O1.

ἄγραφον, ἵν' ὅτε εὕρωμεν τὴν τοῦ Μασάλλα βίβλον, γράψωμεν κακεῖνο ἐνταῦθα.<sup>82</sup> we would find the book by Māšā' allāh we will write that here.

As written by the compiler, he has left blank the page – the chapter ends at fol. 69r, l. 5 – in order to fill it with the chapter on the same subject written by Māšā' allāh that, unfortunately, he did not have available at the time. It is to be stressed that nowadays the page is completely filled by other chapters « On Treasures ». The fact that they do not match with the ones on the same subject known to be written by Māšā' allāh in Arabic cannot allow us to assign to him their paternity. Nevertheless, it is possible to make a couple of considerations: in the first place the tendency of the copyist to fill the empty space with every astrological chapter on the same subject is clear, including an integration with different ink. For example, together with some still anonymous chapters, in the margin of fol. 66v is added a chapter from the first book of the *Mysteries* by Abū Ma' šar.<sup>83</sup> In the second place, even if an excerpt of a book by Māšā' allāh has not been copied there, it was well known to the Byzantine compiler so that he even knew the position of the chapter in Māšā' allāh's book (τὴν τοῦ Μασάλλα βίβλον).

In conclusion, the information about the translation into Greek of Māšā' allāh's works are lacking:<sup>84</sup> only some excerpts of his works are now preserved. Some of them<sup>85</sup> are translations (often epitomized) of sections of the *Book of Questions to Māšā' allāh* (*Kitāb masā'il Māšā' allāh*)<sup>86</sup> while others are probably translations both of a now-lost work,<sup>87</sup> and of sections preserved, in Arabic, in the miscellaneous manuscript *Leid. or.* 891, fol. 1r–27r.<sup>88</sup> As proved by Pingree, the translator of the « text partially preserved in the Leiden manuscript was certainly different from the person who translated the *Kitāb masā'il Māšā' allāh* », <sup>89</sup> as is inferable from the different lexical rendering of some technical words such as the indicator (*dalīl*). In the rest of this article, the Greek sections attributed to Māšā' allāh are edited: for the great majority, they are preserved in the *Vat. gr.* 1056 only.<sup>90</sup> They are mostly located in the second book (fol. 67r–158v), on astrological interrogations, of the

<sup>82</sup> πρὸς — ἐνταῦθα] *om.* NO2, ἡμεῖς — ἐνταῦθα] *om.* O1.

<sup>83</sup> The Greek text of this section is included in *Appendix I*.

<sup>84</sup> For a complete overview of what is preserved in Greek, cf. PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology* and *Id.*, « The Byzantine Translations of Māshā'allāh's Works on Interrogational Astrology ».

<sup>85</sup> These chapters have been identified for the first time in *Id.*, p. 132, nn. 41–42.

<sup>86</sup> This work is preserved in Arabic by one single incomplete manuscript: the Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, Laleli 2122bis, copied by Ayyūb ibn Aḥmad in 1266.

<sup>87</sup> *Id.*, « The Byzantine Translations of Māshā'allāh's Works on Interrogational Astrology ».

<sup>88</sup> For a list of the sections that are translated into Greek, cf. *supra*: Table 3, p. 235–237.

<sup>89</sup> *Id.*, « The Byzantine Translations of Māshā'allāh's Works on Interrogational Astrology », p. 239.

<sup>90</sup> For reasons of space, on this occasion it will not be possible to present the Greek text in parallel with the Arabic original. I hope to do so in a future publication.

manuscript: mostly in the main texts, for example on fol. 48r–50r<sup>91</sup> – together with a section by Rašīq ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥāsib (Ρασήκ) on fol. 49v –, <sup>92</sup> 67r, 68v, 70r–v, 74r–75r, 90v–91r, 97r, 106r, 111r–112r; but in the margins as well: fol. 73r, 75r, 86r, 95v and 100v. A last isolated mention of Māšā' allāh is found at fol. 242v.<sup>93</sup> It has been possible to add some excerpts to the Vatican corpus that are not attributed directly to Māšā' allāh in the *Vat. gr.* 1056 thanks to the collation of the manuscript *Bodl. Cromwell* 12, p. 436, where the attribution is made explicitly.<sup>94</sup>

## II. *Vat. gr.* 1056

The Vatican codex is « the most important witness of the proliferation of Arabic astrological works in the eleventh century ». <sup>95</sup> Joseph Heeg has meticulously described its contents<sup>96</sup> and it is often repeated that it is a fourteenth-century codex, a copy of a twelfth-century antigraph. In the following paragraph, I will argue that it is possible to retro-date the codex to at least to the thirteenth century by providing some preliminary information about its structure and dating. This aims to better read the manuscript in its context, and to understand its relevance in the overview of Graeco-Arabic manuscripts, and for the transmission of Arabic astrological knowledge in Byzantium. This short presentation will be threefold, moving from a brief description of the contents to their dating and, in the end, to the dating of the manuscript itself.<sup>97</sup>

1. Organization of the contents: on fol. 2r–6r, inscribed in a simple decoration, there is the *pinax* of a five-volume compilation that reads: « Πίναξ ἀκριβῆς τῆσδε τῆς πενταβίβλου. Κατ' ἀρχὰς τῆς παρούσης βίβλου ἐγράφησαν λόγοι σοφωτάτου τινος περὶ τῆς μαθηματικῆς τέχνης, ἧγουν περὶ τῶν χρησαμένων

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<sup>91</sup> It has to be noted that one of the sub-chapters of κα' Περὶ τοῦ γινῶναι τὴν ἐρώτησιν ὡς ὁ σοφώτατος Μασάλλα φησὶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς οἱ Ἰνδοὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μεθόδου τοῦ ἐ(ν)νάτου, τοῦ Περσιστὶ καλουμένου νουπάχρατ on fol. 48r–v, concerning Indian thought, exactly corresponds to Abū Ma' šar's *Revolutions of the Nativities*, 171.4–15. This is an example of the working method of the compiler of the astrological *compendium* preserved in *Vat. gr.* 1056.

<sup>92</sup> The text of this small section is provided in *Appendix II*.

<sup>93</sup> This last text – edited a first time in CCAG, I, p. 81–82 and a second time in PINGREE, BURNETT (eds.), *The 'Liber Aristotilis' of Hugo of Santalla*, p. 203–204 – is the bibliographical section of the introduction to a book on genethliology that is lost both in Arabic and in Greek but that is preserved in Latin in the so-called *Liber Aristotilis* by Hugo of Santalla.

<sup>94</sup> *Supra*: Table 3, p. 235–237.

<sup>95</sup> PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 67. On this manuscript, cf. also ALAN JONES, *An Eleventh-Century Manual of Arabo-Byzantine Astronomy*, J. C. Gieben, Amsterdam 1987 (*Corpus des Astronomes Byzantins*, 3), p. 18, and Glynias' article in this issue.

<sup>96</sup> CCAG, V.3, p. 7–64.

<sup>97</sup> An in-depth study, with a palaeographical and codicological description, will be published in the near future.



ἔθνων ταύτη πρὸς τοῦ λέγοντος ἐφάμαρτον εἶναι αὐτήν, περὶ τοῦ ὅτι ἀμαρτάνη ὁ ταύτην μὴ προσδέχομενος, περὶ τοῦ χρησίμου αὐτῆς καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὅτι πασῶν ἐστὶ τιμιωτέρα τῶν τεχνῶν ». From a codicological point of view, to be stressed is the fact that in the top margin an ancient fasciculation in Greek (β) is readable. Both the *pinax* and the contents are incomplete. Of the five books only the first one concerns mainly astronomy (fol. 14r–66v), the second one is about interrogational astrology (fol. 67r–158v) and the third one is on catarthic astrology (fol. 165r–193r). They are followed by the second (fol. 193v–221v) and the third book of the *Mysteries* (fol. 221v–234r, 24r–27v) and by other various short astrological texts (fol. 234v–244v).

2. Dating of the contents: on fol. 1r a note dated to 1119/20 is readable; on fol. 1v an excerpt of the *Introductio in astronomiam* by John Kamateros composed under Manuel I Komnenos (d. 1179) is preserved; on fol. 6v–7r there are the horoscope charts for the proclamations of Alexios I and Manuel I Komnenos (1081 and 1143), and for the death of the still unknown Alexander, together with a note about Manuel's death on 24 September 1179;<sup>98</sup> on fol. 15v–21r there is a short treatise on the astrolabe in 27 chapters, rich in Arabic terms;<sup>99</sup> on fol. 30v–33r there are lists of stars dated to 1156 and 1161 followed by astronomic tables on fol. 33v, 36r–38r, and by a list of seven climates whose limits correspond to al-Ḥawārizmī's ones on fol. 35v;<sup>100</sup> on fol. 115r–v there are horoscopes datable to 1106 and 1007.<sup>101</sup> Moreover, about twenty astrologers are cited coming from different backgrounds and traditions, the latest of whom is 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-'Imrānī (d. 955).<sup>102</sup> There are translated texts by Muslims, Jews, Indians, Late Antique and Byzantines, both in the rich *marginalia* and in the main text.<sup>103</sup> Within the themes and the typologies of the books, the different chapters, translated from various sources (often not mentioned by name) are pulled

<sup>98</sup> DAVID PINGREE, « Gregory Chioniades and Palaeologan Astronomy », *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 18 (1964), p. 138–139.

<sup>99</sup> As has been mentioned by TIHON, « Tables islamiques à Byzance », p. 406–407 and Glynias announced that its edition is in progress (*per litteras*).

<sup>100</sup> Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 411–412.

<sup>101</sup> PINGREE (ed.), *Hephaestionis Thebani, Apotelesmaticorum Epitomae quattuor*, p. XXI.

<sup>102</sup> On 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-'Imrānī, cf. İHSANOĞLU, ROZENFELD, *Mathematicians, Astronomers and Other Scholars of Islamic Civilisation and Their Works (7<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> C.)*, p. 79. On astrological translations in Byzantium, cf. at least MARIA MAVROUDI, « Islamic Divination in the Context of its 'Eastern' and 'Western' Counterparts », in MASSUMEH FARHAD, SERPİL BAĞCI (eds.), *Falnama. The Book of Omens*, Thames & Hudson-Freer Gallery of Art-Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, London-Washington DC 2009, p. 222–9/324–9; CHARLES BURNETT, « Astrological Translations in Byzantium », in MARTIN HAUSER, IOANA FEODOROV, NICHOLAS SEKUNDA (eds.), *Actes du Symposium International 'Le Livre. La Roumanie'* (4<sup>ème</sup> Édition : 20–23 Septembre 2011), 3, Editura Biblioteca Bucureștilor, Bucarest 2012, p. 178–83 and the bibliography listed there.

<sup>103</sup> PINGREE, *From Astral Omens to Astrology*, p. 68.

together unceasingly, with the purpose of creating an anthology of astrological knowledge. The resulting entanglement of traditions is therefore created by the accumulation of sections into thematic unities.

3. Dating of the manuscript: the manuscript is a large codex (220 × 300 mm) counting 244 *folia*. It is written in its entirety on oriental paper without watermarks by various scribes and the signature marks are generally trimmed or missed. Moreover, some *folia* are missing and/or in the wrong order. It is dated approximately to the fourteenth century by the CCAG and by Pingree, but after an initial codicological and palaeographical exam, on the basis of the quality of the paper and of the writing style of main copyists, the common dating seems to be questioned. It seems to be more ancient and – at least for the texts that comprise the main text of the codex – to be retro-dated to the thirteenth century.<sup>104</sup> It seems plausible to connect them to the informal styles in which many scientific manuscripts from the late Komnenian age are written and, in particular, it is reminiscent of the quick and often abbreviated scholarly hands, like the one that compiled the codex *Vind. phil. gr.* 115.<sup>105</sup> Moreover, the proposed date of composition of the codex, on codicological and palaeographical grounds, fits well with the contents themselves, and with the astrological interests in Komnenian times.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> An in-depth palaeographical study of all the hands identifiable in the manuscript could lead to a somewhat different conclusion and could allow a retro-dating of the codex to the twilight of the twelfth century: this I have been as yet unable to do, in part because of the COVID-19 pandemic, but the study is in progress. The conclusions presented here must therefore be viewed as provisional.

<sup>105</sup> Cf. DANIELE BIANCONI, « Età comnena e cultura scritta. Materiali e considerazioni alle origini di una ricerca », in ANTONIO BRAVO GARCÍA, INMACULADA PÉREZ MARTÍN (eds.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Colloquium of Greek Palaeography* (Madrid-Salamanca, 15–20 September 2008), Brepols Publishers, Turnhout 2010 (Bibliologia, 31A–B), p. 75–96 and CIRO GIACOMELLI, « Giovanni Battista da Lion (c. 1480–1528) e la sua biblioteca greca », *Quaderni per la storia dell'Università di Padova* 49 (2016), p. 103–109 for a parallel with some peculiarities with the *Pal. gr.* 31 [Diktyon, 65764]. A study of the Viennese codex and the edition of the Arabo-Greek excerpts (*i.e.* Περὶ εὐθηνίας εἰδῶν καὶ κνιείας ἀπὸ Σαρακηνικοῦ βιβλίου μέθοδοι αὐταὶ μετεγράφησαν) preserved in its very last *folia* (fol. 219r–226v) is in progress. For a first analysis of the manuscript and the edition of the unique existing text by al-Qabīṣī (Καπίσης) in Greek that is preserved in it at fol. 219r, cf. DAVID PINGREE, « The Greek Fragment of al-Qabīṣī », in CHARLES BURNETT, KEIJI YAMAMOTO, MICHIO YANO (eds.), *Al-Qabīṣī (Alcabitius), The Introduction to Astrology. Editions of the Arabic and Latin Texts and a English Translation*, The Warburg Institute–Nino Aragno Editore, London–Turin, 2004 (Warburg Institute Studies and Texts, 2), p. 371–374; for a preliminary description of the codex, cf. CCAG, VI, p. 6.

<sup>106</sup> On this matter, cf. at least MAVROUDI, *A Byzantine Book on Dream Interpretation*; MAGDALINO, *L'orthodoxie des astrologues*, Id., « Astrology », in ANTHONY KALDELLIS, NIKETAS SINIOSSOGLOU (eds.), *The Cambridge Intellectual History of Byzantium*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2017, p. 198–214; ANNE-LAURENCE CAUDANO, « Le ciel a la forme d'un cube ou a été dressé comme une peau: Pierre

### III. Vat. gr. 1056: *Māšā`allāh's Excerpts*

In this section, the excerpts explicitly attributed to *Māšā`allāh* by the Greek manuscript tradition are edited. They are organized as follows: (III.1) the fragments attributed in the *Vat. gr. 1056*, in the order of the *folia*; (III.2) the few additional ones that are found both in the Vatican codex, anonymously, and in the *Bodl. Cromwell 12*, explicitly; (III.3) the ones that are found in the Bodleian manuscript only. Given the fact that they are often preserved by the Vatican witness as a *codex unicus*, I tried to follow it as closely as possible, both concerning the orthography of the words, the accentuation, and the paragraph division. I integrated the text when necessary due to lacunae, and I normalized the punctuation when necessary for a better comprehension. In the footnotes, I put the references to previous editions or to other witnesses of the excerpts: unless otherwise noted, the text is edited on the basis of the Vatican manuscript only.

#### III.1. Fragments in *Vat. gr. 1056*

##### (i) fol. 48r-v<sup>107</sup>

κα' <sup>108</sup> Περὶ τοῦ γινῶναι τὴν ἐρώτησιν, ὡς ὁ σοφώτατος Μασάλα φησὶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς οἱ Ἰνδοί, ἀπὸ τῆς μεθόδου τοῦ ἐννάτου <sup>109</sup> τοῦ Περσιιστὶ <sup>110</sup> καλουμένου νουπάχρατ.

Περὶ τοῦ τίς ἢ ἐρώτησις ὁ Μασάλα φησὶν ὡς οὐχ εὖρομεν ἀκριβέστερον μαθεῖν τὴν ἐρώτησιν ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ὠροσκόπου. Ἵνα λάβῃς τοῦτον ὡς σημειωτικὸν ἀστέρα τῆς ὑποθέσεως – ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸν ἀστέρα τὸν ὀρῶντα τὸν ὠροσκόπον καὶ τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ, ἐπεὶ ὁ λογισμὸς τοῦ ἐρωτῶντος ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐπιγινώσκεται, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀρῶντος αὐτὸν ἀστέρος, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μοίρας τοῦ ὠροσκόπου – ἀλλὰ μὴ δὲ <sup>111</sup> τὸν ἴσως εὐρεθέντα ἀστέρα ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ καταλείψῃς, <sup>112</sup> μήτε μὴν τὸν ὀρῶντα ἀστέρα τὴν μοῖραν τοῦ ὠροσκόπου μοιρικῶς, <sup>113</sup>

le Philosophe ou l'orthodoxie du savoir astronomique sous Manuel I<sup>er</sup> Comnène », *Byzantion. Revue Internationale des Études Byzantines*, 81 (2011), p. 19–73, EAD., « An Astrological Handbook from the Reign of Manuel I Komnenos », *Almagest*, 3/2 (2012), p. 47–65, EAD., « Astronomy and Astrology », in STAVROS LAZARIS (ed.), *A Companion to Byzantine Science*, Brill, Leiden–Boston 2020 (Brill's Companions to the Byzantine World, 6), p. 202–230, and ANNE TIHON, « Astrological Promenade in Byzantium in the Early Paleologan Period », in *The Occult Sciences in Byzantium*, p. 265–90, EAD., « Astrologie et astronomie à Byzance au début de l'époque Paléologue », in *Liber amicorum* Jacques Malherbe, Bruylant, Bruxelles 2006, p. 1037–1052.

<sup>107</sup> This text has been previously edited in PINGREE, « The Indian and Pseudo-Indian Passages in Greek and Latin Astronomical and Astrological Texts », p. 181–182 (P).

<sup>108</sup> κα' ] om. P.

<sup>109</sup> ἐννάτου] corr., ἐνάτου V.

<sup>110</sup> Περσιιστὶ] corr., περσιιστῇ V, Περσιιστὶ corr. P.

<sup>111</sup> μὴ δὲ] μὴδ' ἐ P.

<sup>112</sup> καταλείψῃς] καταλήψῃς P.

<sup>113</sup> μοιρικῶς] corr., μοιρηκῶς V, μοιρικῶς corr. P.

καὶ οἶον ἂν εὗρης δυνατότερον ἐκ τούτων ἴδε<sup>114</sup> ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐκ τούτου ἐπιγνωσθήσεται σοι ἡ ἐνθύμησις τῆς ἐρωτήσεως.<sup>115</sup> ||

Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἴνδοι ὅτι ἴδε<sup>116</sup> τοὺς ἀστέρας τοὺς ὀρῶντας τὸν ὠροσκόπον καὶ τοὺς ὄντας εἰς τινὰς τόπους τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, ὡσαύτως καὶ τὸν κύριον τοῦ ἐννάτου, ἥτοι τοῦ νουπάχρατ. Περὶ οὗ καὶ παρακατιῶν δηλωθήσεται ὅπως<sup>117</sup> τὸ ἔννατον εὐρήσεις. Ἰδε<sup>118</sup> δὲ καὶ τὸν ὀριοκράτορα καὶ τριγωνοκράτορα τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, καὶ οἶον (ἂν)<sup>119</sup> εὗρης<sup>120</sup> δυνατότερον καὶ οἰκειότερον τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ τυγχάνοντα ἴδε<sup>121</sup> ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐκ τούτου<sup>122</sup> ἐπιγνωσθήσεται ἡ ἐρώτησις.

Τὸ δὲ ἔννατον ὃ καὶ οἱ Ἴνδοι νουπάχρατ καλοῦσι γινώσκεται οὕτως ἰστέον ὅτι τῷ τοιούτῳ ὀνόματι – ἡγουν τὸ ἔννατον – ἐστὶ διακοσίων λεπτῶν, ἥτοι τριῶν μοιρῶν καὶ τρίτου μοίρας ὀρθῆς. Ἔσται οὖν ἐν ἐκάστῳ ζῳδίῳ ἐννέα ἔννατα ὧν ἕκαστον ἔχει ἴδιον ἐπικρατήτορα. Καὶ εἰ μὲν τὸ ζῳδίον ἐστὶ Κριός, ἢ Λέων, ἢ Τοξότης<sup>123</sup> ἔσται ἐκάστου πρώτου ἐννάτου ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις ζῳδίοις κύριος ὁ τοῦ Κριοῦ οἰκοδεσπότης Ἄρης τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου (ἐννάτου)<sup>124</sup> κυριεύσει ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἢ κυρία τοῦ Ταύρου τοῦ δὲ τρίτου ἐννάτου κυριεύσει ὁ Ἑρμῆς ὁ κύριος τῶν Διδύμων τοῦ δὲ δ' ἐννάτου ἡ Σελήνη ἢ κυρία τοῦ Καρκίνου τοῦ δὲ ε' (ἐννάτου)<sup>125</sup> ὁ Ἥλιος ὁ κύριος τοῦ Λέοντος τοῦ δὲ ζ' (ἐννάτου)<sup>126</sup> ὁ Ἑρμῆς ὁ κύριος τῆς Παρθένου, καὶ οὕτως ποιῶν εὐρήσεις τὸν κύριον τοῦ ἐννάτου.<sup>127</sup>

(ii) fol. 48v–49r<sup>128</sup>

κβ'<sup>129</sup> Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι τὴν ἐρώτησιν καθὼς καὶ αὐθις ὁ Μασάλλα<sup>130</sup> φησὶν, ποιήσας καὶ ὑπόδειγμα [*sequitur diagramma*]. ||

<sup>114</sup> ἴδε] ἰδὲ P.

<sup>115</sup> τῆς ἐρωτήσεως] τῆς ἐρωτῶντος, τοῦ ἐρωτῶντος P.

<sup>116</sup> ἴδε] ἰδὲ P.

<sup>117</sup> ὅπως] ὅπερ P.

<sup>118</sup> ἴδε] ἰδὲ P.

<sup>119</sup> ἂν] *suppl.* P, *abest* V.

<sup>120</sup> εὗρης] εὕρηζ P.

<sup>121</sup> ἴδε] ἰδὲ P.

<sup>122</sup> ἐκ τούτου] *corr.*, ἐκ τοῦ τόπου V.

<sup>123</sup> Τοξότης] *corr.* P, Ταῦρος V.

<sup>124</sup> ἐννάτου] *suppl.* P, *abest* V.

<sup>125</sup> ἐννάτου] *suppl.* P, *abest* V.

<sup>126</sup> ἐννάτου] *suppl.* P, *abest* V.

<sup>127</sup> Τὸ δὲ ἔννατον — τοῦ ἐννάτου] *De rev. nat.*, 171.4–15.

<sup>128</sup> The text has been previously edited in EDWARD KENNEDY, DAVID PINGREE (eds.), *The Astrological History of Māshā' allāh*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge 1971 (Harvard Monographs in the History of Science), p. 179 (P).

<sup>129</sup> κβ'] *om.* P.

<sup>130</sup> Μασάλλα] Μασάλα P.

Περὶ τοῦ γνῶναι τὴν ἐρώτησιν κατὰ τὸ προκείμενον ὑπόδειγμα, ὁ Μασάλλα φησὶν· ὅτι ἐπειδὴ τὸ ὠροσκοποῦν ζῳδιὸν ἐστὶ Ταῦρος, εὐρέθη δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκεῖσε· ἡ δὲ κυρία τοῦ ὠροσκοποῦ Ἀφροδίτη ἦν ἐν Καρκίνῳ τῷ τρίτῳ τόπῳ, ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ αὐτῆς<sup>131</sup> τριγώνῳ· ἡ δὲ Σελήνη ἦν ἐν Ζυγῷ, μὴ οὖσα ἐν οἰκείῳ τόπῳ· ὁ δὲ ἥλιος ἐν Τοξότη, μὴ δ' <sup>132</sup> αὐτὸς ὑπάρχων ἐν οἰκείῳ τόπῳ· ὁ δὲ κύριος τοῦ κλήρου τῆς Τύχης ἦν ὁ Κρόνος, καὶ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ὑπογείῳ τετάρτῳ τόπῳ. Οὐχ ἕτερός τις προεκρίθη ἀστὴρ σημειωτικὸς τῆς τοιαύτης ὑποθέσεως ἢ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη διὰ τὸ εἶναι αὐτὴν ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ τριγώνῳ<sup>133</sup> καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἡ οἰκοδέσποινα αὐτῆς Σελήνη ὑπάρχει ἐν Ζυγῷ τῷ τετάρτῳ τόπῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτῆς.

Ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ Σελήνη σημειωτικὴ τῶν μητέρων. Ἐπὶ γινώσκοντες εἶναι τὴν ἐρώτησιν περὶ μητρὸς καὶ ὅτι καὶ ἀρρωστεῖ ἡ μήτηρ διὰ τὸ εἶναι τὴν Σελήνην ἐν τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠροσκοποῦ ζ' τόπῳ. Ὁρῶντες δ' αὐθις ἀπορρεῦσαν<sup>134</sup> τὴν Σελήνην ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξαγώνου συναφῆς τοῦ Κρόνου, ἐπὶ γινώσκοντες εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην νοσηλείαν ἀπὸ ξηρότητος καὶ ψυχρότητος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κρόνου κρᾶσιν. Ἐπεὶ δὲ εἶδομεν εἶναι τὸν Κρόνον ἐν Λέοντι, διεγνώσθη ἡμῖν νοσεῖν τὸ κυριευόμενον μέρος τοῦ<sup>135</sup> Λέοντος, ἡγουν τὸν στόμαχον. Ταῦτα σκεψάμενοι, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι μαθεῖν καὶ εἰπεῖν ἡμᾶς καὶ τὸ τῆς νόσου ταύτης ἀποτέλεσμα, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ὁρῶμεν τὴν Σελήνην ἀπερχομένην πρὸς τετράγωνον συναφῆς τῆς ἀγαθωτάτης Ἀφροδίτης, λέγομεν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τὸν νοσοῦντα τῆς νόσου διὰ τὴν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀγαθότητα. Τὸ δὲ διὰ πόσου χρόνου τοῦτο γενήσεται, ἐπειδὴ πέντε μοίρας λείπεται ἡ Σελήνη πρὸς τὸ τετραγωνίσαι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην· (εἰ)<sup>136</sup> ἐστὶ δὲ ἡ Σελήνη ἐν τροπικῷ ζῳδίῳ λέγομεν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῆς νόσου ὁ νοσῶν διὰ πέντε ἡμερῶν, εἰ γὰρ ἦν ἡ Σελήνη ἐν δισώμῳ<sup>137</sup> ζῳδίῳ εἴπομεν ἂν μῆνας ε'· εἰ δὲ ἐν στερεῷ ζῳδίῳ ἐνιαυτοὺς πέντε. Εἰ δὲ καὶ ἀπῆρχετο<sup>138</sup> ἡ Σελήνη πρὸς συναφῆς τοῦ Ἄρεως,<sup>139</sup> ἔμελλε θανεῖν ὁ νοσῶν διὰ τὸ<sup>140</sup> συνεχῶς εἰ δὲ ἦν ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἔνθα αὐτὴ ἡ Σελήνη, καὶ<sup>141</sup> πάλιν εἴχομεν εἰπεῖν ὅτι περὶ μητρὸς ἐστὶν ἡ ἐρώτησις· εἰ δὲ ἦν ὁ Κρόνος, εἴπομεν περὶ πορνείας· εἰ δὲ ἦν ὁ Ἄρης, εἴπομεν περὶ φυγάδος· εἰ δὲ ἦν (ὁ)<sup>142</sup> ἥλιος, εἴπομεν ὅτι περὶ μεγίστου προσώπου ἐστὶν ἡ

<sup>131</sup> αὐτῆς] αὐτῆς *corr.* P.

<sup>132</sup> μὴ δ'] μὴδ' P.

<sup>133</sup> τριγώνῳ] τριγώνῳ *ante corr.* V.

<sup>134</sup> ἀπορρεῦσαν] ἀπορρεύσασαν V, ἀπορρεῦσαν *corr.* P.

<sup>135</sup> τοῦ] παρὰ *add. s.l.* V, *om.* P.

<sup>136</sup> εἰ] *suppl.*, *abest* V.

<sup>137</sup> δισώμῳ] *corr.*, δυσώμῳ V, δισώμῳ P.

<sup>138</sup> ἀπῆρχετο] *corr.*, ἀπέρχετο V, *corr.* ἀπῆρχετο P.

<sup>139</sup> Ἄρεως] *corr.*, Ἄρεος VP.

<sup>140</sup> τὸ] τοῦτο P.

<sup>141</sup> καὶ] *ut videtur* V, ἐστίν P.

<sup>142</sup> ὁ] *suppl.*, *abest* VP.

ἐρώτησις· εἰ δὲ ἦν ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ (τόπῳ),<sup>143</sup> εἶπομεν περὶ γαμικοῦ συναλλάγματος εἶναι τὴν ἐρώτησιν· εἰ δὲ ἦν ὁ Ἑρμῆς, περὶ γραμμάτων καὶ λοιπῶν ὁμοίων· εἰ δὲ ἦν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν τῷ θ' τόπῳ, εἶχομεν εἰπεῖν ὅτι περὶ ὀνείρων ἐστὶν ἡ ἐρώτησις.

Οὕτως οὖν σκέπτου<sup>144</sup> περὶ τῆς ἐρωτήσεως καὶ πρόσχες μετὰ ἀκριβείας καὶ μὴ ἁμελήσης τι πρὸ τοῦ ἀποτελέσαι, μήτε οὖν καταφρονῆς ταῖς ἀπορροίαις τῶν ἀστέρων, ταῖς δορυφορίαις, ταῖς συναφαῖς καὶ ταῖς ὑποδοχαῖς<sup>145</sup> αἷς ποιεῖται ὁ εἷς ἀστήρ πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον· πρὸς δὲ καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰς κυβερνήσεις, καὶ οὐδὲν τί σοι ἐπιλήσεται.

(iii) fol. 49v–50r

κγ' Περὶ τοῦ γινῶναι τὸν σημειωτικὸν ἀστέρα τῆς ὑποθέσεως.

Φησὶν ὁ Μασάλλα οὕτως ὅτι ἐάν ἐστὶν ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ, οὗτός ἐστι σημειωτικὸς ὁ δηλῶν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἔστιν ἀστήρ τις ἐν τῇ μοίρᾳ τοῦ ὑψώματος αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπάρχει ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ, λογίζεται καὶ αὐτὸς σημειωτικὸς ὥς ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου· εἰ δὲ καὶ εἰσὶν ἀμφότεροι ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ, ὑπάρχουσι καὶ ἀμφότεροι σημειωτικοὶ τῆς ὑποθέσεως· εἰ δὲ τις ἐκ τούτων πλείονα ἔχει μαρτυρίαν, ἐκεῖνον πρόκρινε σημειωτικόν, ἡ δὲ μαρτυρία τοιαύτη ἐστὶ τὸ συνάπτεσθαι μοιρικῶς<sup>146</sup> τὸν ὠροσκοποῦντα ἀστέρα παρ' ἐτέρου ἀστέρος, καὶ εἰ ὁ<sup>147</sup> ἀστήρ προκριθῇ σημειωτικὸς, ἐκεῖνος μέλλει δηλῶσαι καὶ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν δι' ἣν ἡ ἐρώτησις ἐγένετο. ἥ

Γίνωσκε δὲ ὅτι πᾶς ὠροσκόπος διὰ δύο ὑποβιβάζεται ὠρῶν καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς δύο ὥραις διάφορα πάντως παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γίνονται ἐρωτήματα, καὶ ἐάν ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἀπλῶς οὕτως λαμβάνεται ὥς σημειωτικὸς τῆς ὑποθέσεως. Πᾶσαι αἱ ἐρωτήσεις αἱ γινόμεναι ἐντὸς τῶν δύο τούτων ὠρῶν περὶ μιᾶς ὑποθέσεως ἐμφαίνειν μέλλουσιν ὅπ(ερ)<sup>148</sup> Σελήνη δοκεῖ σφαλερά,<sup>149</sup> ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Σελήνη ἴσως ἵνα συνάπτῃ ἀγαθοποιὸν ἀστέρα τὴν ὅλην ἡμέραν, ἢ καὶ μέρος τῆς ἡμέρας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ αἱ ἐρωτήσεις ἔχουσι καὶ διαφοράς, καὶ λοιπὸν τὴν περὶ ταῦτα σκεψίν σου ἐνδέχεται ἵνα ποιῇ μετὰ ἀκριβείας.

Γίνωσκε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὅτι αἱ ἐρωτήσεις τῶν ἀνθρώπων πάντων οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἰσότητα ἀλλὰ μεγάλην διαφοράν· αἱ γὰρ παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων γινόμεναι πρὸς τὸν

<sup>143</sup> τόπῳ] *suppl.*, *abest* VP.

<sup>144</sup> σκέπτου] *corr.*, σκέτου V, σκέπτου P.

<sup>145</sup> ὑποδοχαῖς] ὑπο *add. s.l.* V.

<sup>146</sup> μοιρικῶς] *corr.*, μοιρηκῶς V.

<sup>147</sup> εἰ ὁ] *ut videtur* V.

<sup>148</sup> ὅπερ] *suppl.*, ὅπ V.

<sup>149</sup> σφαλερά] *corr.*, σφαλερόν V.

ἐπιστήμονα<sup>150</sup> ἐρωτήσεις κρίνονται, ἄλλως, αἱ δὲ παρὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων, ἄλλως, καὶ αἱ παρὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ λαοῦ, ἄλλως. Ταῦτα οὖν δεδωκώς σοι εἶδισιν, ἐὰν προσχῆς οὐχ ἀμάρτης, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ὀλίγην λεπτότητα καὶ ἀκρίβειαν ἔχουσιν.

(iv) fol. 68v

γ' Περὶ χρέους, καθὼς φησὶν ὁ Μασάλλα.

Εἰ ἐρωτηθῆς<sup>151</sup> περὶ χρέους, ποιήσον τὸν ὠροσκόπον τῷ ἐρωτῶντι, τὸν δὲ ζ' τόπον περὶ οὗ ἡ ἐρώτησις, τὸν δὲ Ἑρμῆν καὶ τὴν Σελήνην τὸ χρεωστούμενον· καὶ εἰ μὲν τετραγωνίζει ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἐβδόμου τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἢ διαμετρεῖ, λήψεται τὸ χρεωστούμενον ὁ δανειστής βίᾳ· εἰ δὲ ἐκ τριγώνου<sup>152</sup> ἢ ἐξαγώνου μετὰ εἰρήνης εἰ δὲ οὐ συνάπτει αὐτῷ, οὐδὲν λάβῃ. Καὶ εἰ εὗρης τὴν Σελήνην ἢ ἕτερον ἀστέρα διαπορθμεύοντα τὰς ἀκτῖνας, γενήσεται ἡ ἀποχρέωσις διὰ μέσου τινὸς ἢ πρέσβεος καὶ εἰ ἔστιν ἡ Σελήνη ἀκάκωτος δηλοῖ ἀγαθὴν τὴν ἀποχρέωσιν· εἰ δὲ κεκακωμένη γενήσεται ἐπὶ τῷ χρεῖ ἀμφιβολία καὶ δίκη· εἰ δὲ κακοῦται ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἄρεως<sup>153</sup> δηλοῖ μάχας ἰσχυρὰς καὶ φιλονεικίας μεγάλας.

(v) fol. 70r<sup>154</sup>

Περὶ τοῦ πέμπτου<sup>155</sup> τόπου.

ζ' Περὶ παιδός, (εἰ)<sup>156</sup> γίνεται ἢ οὐ.<sup>157</sup>

Εἶπεν ὁ Μασάλλα<sup>158</sup> εἰ ἐρωτηθῆς περὶ παιδός, εἰ<sup>159</sup> γίνεται ἢ οὐ, ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τὴν Σελήνην καὶ εἴπερ συνάπτουσι τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ πέμπτου τόπου,<sup>160</sup> ἢ ὁ κύριος τοῦ πέμπτου<sup>161</sup> τόπου συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, ἢ δὲ<sup>162</sup> ὁ κύριος τοῦ ε' τόπου ὑπάρχει ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ γενήσεται. Ἴδε δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας οἷς<sup>163</sup> συνάπτουσιν<sup>164</sup> οἱ τοιοῦτοι, καὶ εἰ ὑπάρχουσιν<sup>165</sup> ἀκάκωτοι καὶ

<sup>150</sup> τὸν ἐπιστήμονα] *corr.*, τὸν ἐπιστήμον V.

<sup>151</sup> ἐρωτηθῆς] *corr.*, ἐρωτηθεὶς V.

<sup>152</sup> τριγώνου] τρυγώνου *ante corr.* V.

<sup>153</sup> Ἄρεως] *corr.*, Ἄρεος V.

<sup>154</sup> The text is edited on the basis of *Vat. gr.* 1056, fol. 70r (V) and *Bodl. Cromwell* 12, p. 446 (O1).

<sup>155</sup> πέμπτου] ε' O1.

<sup>156</sup> εἰ] *suppl.*, *abest* VO1.

<sup>157</sup> ζ' Περὶ παιδός, γίνεται ἢ οὐ] *om.* O1.

<sup>158</sup> Μασάλλα] Μασάλλας O1.

<sup>159</sup> εἰ] *om.* V.

<sup>160</sup> πέμπτου τόπου] ε' O1.

<sup>161</sup> πέμπτου] ε' O1.

<sup>162</sup> δὲ] *om.* O1.

<sup>163</sup> οἷς] οὓς V.

<sup>164</sup> συνάπτουσιν] συνάπτουσι O1.

<sup>165</sup> ὑπάρχουσιν] πάρχουσιν V.

ἔξωθεν τῶν ἡλιακῶν αὐτῶν<sup>166</sup> γενήσεται. Ἴδε δὲ καὶ τὸν ὠροσκόπον καὶ εἰ ἐφορᾶται παρὰ ἀγαθοποιῶν, ἢ ἐστὶν ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ, ἢ μεσουρανεῖ, ἢ ἐν τῷ πέμπτῳ<sup>167</sup> ὑπάρχει, ἢ ἐν τῷ ια', ὑπάρχει δὲ καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν καλῷ τόπῳ – συνὼν τοῖς τριγωνοκράτορσιν<sup>168</sup> αὐτοῦ καὶ μὴ ὑπαυγος – γενήσεται<sup>169</sup> ἡ σύλληψις. Καὶ εἰ ἐστὶν ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐν τῷ ζ' ἢ τῷ δ', ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς ἐν καλῷ τόπῳ, γενήσεται βράδιον. Καὶ εἰ εὗρης τὸν ὠροσκόπον κεκακωμένον καὶ τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ ἐν κακῷ τόπῳ – ἀποκεκλικότος<sup>170</sup> τοῦ Διός, ἢ ὑπαύγου<sup>171</sup> ὄντος, ἢ ἐν τῷ η' – δηλοῖ ὀλιγοτεκνίαν ἢ ὀλιγοζωίαν τῶν γεννωμένων<sup>172</sup> ὡσαύτως καὶ εἰ κακοῦται ἡ Σελήνη, σύλληψις<sup>173</sup> οὐ γενήσεται. Ὅρα δὲ καὶ τὸν ε' τόπον, καὶ εἰ εὗρης ἐν αὐτῷ ἀγαθοποιόν<sup>174</sup> ἢ ἐφορᾷ αὐτὸν ἀγαθοποιός, γενήσεται τάχιον. Εἰ δὲ κακοποιὸς ὑπάρχη ἐν αὐτῷ ἢ ἐφορᾷ<sup>175</sup> τοῦτον κακοποιός, οὐ γενήσεται σύλληψις.<sup>176</sup>

(vi) fol. 72r-v<sup>177</sup>

Περὶ τοῦ ζ' τόπου.<sup>178</sup>

ιδ' Περὶ ἀρρώστου, εἰ ὑγιαίνει ἢ οὐ.<sup>179</sup>

Εἰ ἐρωτηθῇς<sup>180</sup> περὶ ἀρρώστου, εἰ<sup>181</sup> ὑγιαίνει<sup>182</sup> ἢ οὐ, ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τὴν Σελήνην, καὶ λάβε ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸν ἐπίκεντρον, ἢ<sup>183</sup> ἐφορῶντα τὸν ὠροσκόπον. Καὶ εἰ ἐστὶν ἀκάκωτος<sup>184</sup> καὶ μὴ ὑπαυγος ὑγιαίνει<sup>185</sup> εἰ δὲ κακοῦται

<sup>166</sup> τῶν ἡλιακῶν αὐτῶν] τῶν αὐτῶν τῶν ἡλιακῶν O1.

<sup>167</sup> πέμπτῳ] ε' O1.

<sup>168</sup> τριγωνοκράτορσιν] τριγωνοκράτορσιν *ante corr.* V.

<sup>169</sup> γενήσεται] γενῆται O1.

<sup>170</sup> ἀποκεκλικότος] ἀποκεκλεικότος V.

<sup>171</sup> ὑπαύγου] ὑπαύγος O1.

<sup>172</sup> τῶν γεννωμένων] τῷ γεννωμένῳ O1.

<sup>173</sup> σύλληψις] σύλληψις O1.

<sup>174</sup> ἀγαθοποιόν] ἀγαθοποιῶν O1.

<sup>175</sup> ἐφορᾷ] ἐν ἐφορᾷ *ante corr.* O1.

<sup>176</sup> σύλληψις] O1 *add. sect.* η', *vd. infra*, p. 270–271.

<sup>177</sup> The text is edited on the basis of Bodl. Cromwell 12, p. 447–449 (O1), Marc. gr. Z 335, fol. 394r (M1), and Vat. gr. 1056, fol. 72r–v (V).

<sup>178</sup> Περὶ τοῦ ζ' τόπου] ἐκ τοῦ Μασάλα *praem.* M1.

<sup>179</sup> ιδ' Περὶ ἀρρώστου, εἰ ὑγιαίνει ἢ οὐ] *om.* M1O1.

<sup>180</sup> ἐρωτηθῇς] *corr.*, ἐρωτηθεῖς *ante corr.* V, ἐρωτηθεῖς M1.

<sup>181</sup> εἰ] *om.* M1O1.

<sup>182</sup> ὑγιαίνει] ὑγειαίνει M1, ὑγιανῇ O1.

<sup>183</sup> ἢ] καὶ M1.

<sup>184</sup> ἀκάκωτος] ἀκάκοτος M1.

<sup>185</sup> ὑγιαίνει] ὑγιαίνῃ M1, ὑγιανεῖ O1.



ἀποθνήσκει<sup>186</sup> καὶ εἰ συνάπτει<sup>187</sup> ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου τῷ Ἡλίῳ, τελευτήσῃ<sup>188</sup> εἰ δὲ<sup>189</sup> συνάπτει<sup>190</sup> ἡ Σελήνη τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου,<sup>191</sup> ὑγιανεῖ<sup>192</sup> τάχιον.<sup>193</sup> Εἰ δὲ ὑπάρχει<sup>194</sup> ἡ Σελήνη ὑπὸ γῆν καὶ συνάπτει ἀστέρι ὑπὸ γῆν· εἰ μὲν δέχεται ταύτην ὁ ἀστήρ, ὑγιανεῖ,<sup>195</sup> εἰ δὲ μὴ δέχεται, ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ εἰ μὲν<sup>196</sup> ἐστὶν ὕπαυγος ἢ κεκακωμένος<sup>197</sup> παρὰ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ἡ', τελευτήσῃ. Εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου κακοποιὸς ὑπάρχων ἢ<sup>198</sup> ἐπίκεντρός ἐστι, τελευτήσῃ· εἰ δὲ συνάπτει ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου<sup>199</sup> τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ἡ'<sup>200</sup> ἀπὸ τριγώνου,<sup>201</sup> ὑπάρχει<sup>202</sup> δὲ καὶ<sup>203</sup> ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐπίκεντρος, ἢ<sup>204</sup> ὑπάρχει πρὸς<sup>205</sup> τούτοις ὁ<sup>206</sup> κύριος τοῦ ἡ'<sup>207</sup> ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ, δηλοῖ θάνατον. Εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ὑπάρχει ἐν τῷ ζ' τόπῳ,<sup>208</sup> ὁ δὲ κύριος τοῦ ζ' ἐν τῷ<sup>209</sup> ὠροσκόπῳ, μακρονοσήσῃ<sup>210</sup> ἄχρις ὅτου ἐξέλθῃ<sup>211</sup> ὁ ἀστήρ ἀπὸ τοῦ ζωδίου ἐκείνου.<sup>212</sup> Ὡσαύτως καὶ εἰ συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ζ',<sup>213</sup> βράδιον<sup>214</sup> ὑγιανεῖ<sup>215</sup> τοῦ νοσήματος αὐξήσιν λαμβάνοντος.<sup>216</sup> Εἰ δὲ

<sup>186</sup> ἀποθνήσκει] ἀποθάνη M1.

<sup>187</sup> συνάπτει] συνοδεύει M1.

<sup>188</sup> τελευτήσῃ] τελευτίσει M1.

<sup>189</sup> εἰ δὲ] καὶ εἰ M1.

<sup>190</sup> συνάπτει] συνάπτῃ M1.

<sup>191</sup> τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου] τῷ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου κυρίῳ M1.

<sup>192</sup> ὑγιανεῖ] *corr.*, ὑγιαίνει VO1, ὑγειαίνει M1.

<sup>193</sup> τάχιον] *add. verba alia manu V, om.* M1.

<sup>194</sup> ὑπάρχει] ὑπάρχῃ M1.

<sup>195</sup> ὑγιανεῖ] ὑγιαίνει M1.

<sup>196</sup> εἰ μὲν] *om.* VM1.

<sup>197</sup> κεκακωμένος] καὶ *praem.* O1.

<sup>198</sup> ἢ] *om.* VM1.

<sup>199</sup> καὶ εἰ ἐστὶν ὕπαυγος — ὠροσκόπου] *om.* M1.

<sup>200</sup> ἡ'] ὀγδόου O1.

<sup>201</sup> τριγώνου] τρυγώνου *ante corr.* V.

<sup>202</sup> ὑπάρχει] ὑπάρχον O1.

<sup>203</sup> καὶ] *om.* M1.

<sup>204</sup> ἢ] *om.* VM1.

<sup>205</sup> πρὸς] δὲ *praem.* V.

<sup>206</sup> ὁ] καὶ *praem.* V.

<sup>207</sup> ἡ'] ὀγδόου O1.

<sup>208</sup> τόπῳ] *om.* M1O1.

<sup>209</sup> ἐν τῷ] *om.* M1.

<sup>210</sup> μακρονοσήσῃ] μακροχρονίσει M1.

<sup>211</sup> ἐξέλθῃ] *corr.*, ἐξέλθοι V, ἐξέλθει M1, διέλθῃ (*sic*) O1.

<sup>212</sup> ἀπὸ τοῦ ζωδίου ἐκείνου] ἀπεκείνου τοῦ ζωδίου M1, *add. verba in margine alia manu V.*

<sup>213</sup> ζ'] ζ' τόπου M1.

<sup>214</sup> βραδίαν] βραδέως M1.

<sup>215</sup> ὑγιανεῖ] ὑγιάνει M1.

<sup>216</sup> λαμβάνοντος] λαμβάνοντα M1.

συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ β' <sup>217</sup> τόπου ἐξοδιάσει <sup>218</sup> ἐν τῇ ἀρρωστίᾳ αὐτοῦ  
πάμπολλα <sup>219</sup> εἰ δὲ συνάπτει κακοποιῶ, καὶ ὑπάρχει ὁ κακοποιὸς ἐκεῖνος κύριος τοῦ  
δ', <sup>220</sup> τὸν αὐτὸν μόρον ὑποστήσεται τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ. <sup>221</sup> εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ η' ἐστὶν ἐν  
τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ, καὶ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐν τῷ η' <sup>222</sup> καὶ συνάπτει κακοποιῶ,  
ἐξαίφνης <sup>223</sup> τελευτήσκει. Κακὸν δέ ἐστι <sup>224</sup> καὶ τὸ εἶναι τὸν κύριον τοῦ η' ἐπίκεντρον,  
τὸν δὲ ἀγαθοποιούμενον ἀστέρα οὐ βλάπτει <sup>225</sup> τὸ ὕπαυγον. <sup>226</sup> Εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ  
ὠροσκόπου ἐστὶν <sup>227</sup> ὑπὲρ γῆν καὶ συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ θανατικοῦ τόπου ὑπὸ γῆν  
ὄντι, ἢ <sup>228</sup> ἐν τῷ δ', δηλοῖ ἀπώλειαν. <sup>229</sup> εἰ δὲ κακοῦται ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου <sup>230</sup> ἀπὸ  
τριγώνου καὶ ὁ κακῶν αὐτὸν ἀστήρ οὐχ ὑπάρχει ἐν <sup>231</sup> ἐναντίῳ τόπῳ, <sup>232</sup> δηλοῖ μῆκος  
τοῦ <sup>233</sup> νόσου· εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ὕπαυγός ἐστι μὴ μέντοι <sup>234</sup> ἀπέχων τῷ  
Ἡλίῳ <sup>235</sup> πλεῖον <sup>236</sup> τῶν ἰβ' μοιρῶν, ἀπολεσθήσεται. <sup>237</sup> Ὁ <sup>238</sup> δὲ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου  
ἐν τῷ ια' τόπῳ ὦν <sup>239</sup> καὶ <sup>240</sup> ἐν τῷ ε', <sup>241</sup> δυνατώτερός ἐστιν ὑπὲρ <sup>242</sup> οὗ <sup>243</sup> ἐν τῷ θ'  
τόπῳ <sup>244</sup> καὶ ἐν τῷ γ', ἀποκλίματα <sup>245</sup> γὰρ τὰ τοιαῦτα.

<sup>217</sup> β'] δευτέρου M1.

<sup>218</sup> ἐξοδιάσει] ἐξοδιάση M1.

<sup>219</sup> πάμπολλα] πάμπολα O1.

<sup>220</sup> δ'] τετάρτου O1.

<sup>221</sup> αὐτοῦ] *add. verba in margine alia manu V, om.* M1.

<sup>222</sup> η'] ὀγδόῳ O1.

<sup>223</sup> ἐξαίφνης] ἐξεύνης M1, ἐξάφνης O1.

<sup>224</sup> ἐστι] ἐστιν M1O1.

<sup>225</sup> βλάπτει] βλάπτει O1.

<sup>226</sup> ὕπαυγον] ὕπαυγος M1, *add. verba alia manu V, om.* M1.

<sup>227</sup> ἐστὶν] *om.* O1.

<sup>228</sup> ἢ] *om.* M1.

<sup>229</sup> ἀπώλειαν] ἀπόλειαν M1.

<sup>230</sup> ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου] ὁ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου κύριος M1.

<sup>231</sup> ἐν] *om.* O1.

<sup>232</sup> ἐναντίῳ τόπῳ] ἐναντίῳ τί τόπῳ M1, *add. verba alia manu V.*

<sup>233</sup> τοῦ] *om.* M1.

<sup>234</sup> μέντοι] μέντι O1.

<sup>235</sup> ἀπέχων τῷ Ἡλίῳ] ἀπέχη τοῦ Ἡλίου M1, ὑπάρχει τοῦ Ἡλίου O1.

<sup>236</sup> πλεῖον] πλέον M1.

<sup>237</sup> ἀπολεσθήσεται] ἀπολεσθήσονται M1.

<sup>238</sup> Ὁ] Εἰ δὲ *praem.* O1.

<sup>239</sup> τόπῳ ὦν] *inv. ord.* M1.

<sup>240</sup> καὶ] ὁ M1, ἢ O1.

<sup>241</sup> ε'] πέμπτῳ M1.

<sup>242</sup> ὑπὲρ] εἵπερ M1O1.

<sup>243</sup> οὗ] *om.* M1O1.

<sup>244</sup> τόπῳ] ἐστι M1, ἐστι *add.* O1.

<sup>245</sup> ἀποκλίματα] ἀποκλήματα M1.

Γίνωσκε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο· ὅτι ὁ κύριος τοῦ β' τόπου τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἔχει τῷ τοῦ η' καὶ<sup>246</sup> κακῶν τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ὁμοίαν<sup>247</sup> ἐπάγει<sup>248</sup> τὴν κάκωσιν τῷ τοῦ η', ὡσαύτως καὶ ὁ ιβ' τόπος<sup>249</sup> τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἔχει<sup>250</sup> τῷ<sup>251</sup> τοῦ<sup>252</sup> ζ'. Ἡ ἴσθι δὲ καὶ πῦρ,<sup>253</sup> ὡς τὰ τροπικὰ ζῳδια ταχέως ἐπιφέρει τὴν ὑγείαν ἢ<sup>254</sup> τὸν θάνατον, τὰ δὲ δίσωμα μέσως,<sup>255</sup> τὰ δὲ στερεὰ<sup>256</sup> ἐπιτείνει<sup>257</sup> τὴν νόσον. Κρεῖττον δὲ σχῆμα<sup>258</sup> τῶν ἄλλων ἐστὶ τὸ ἐφορᾶσθαι τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου παρὰ ἀγαθοποιῶν καὶ εἶναι ἐν τόπῳ καλῷ, ὥσπερ χειρόν τὸ<sup>259</sup> ἐφορᾶσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπικέντρον παρὰ κακοποιῶν· τὸ μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον ταχεῖαν ὑγείαν<sup>260</sup> σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ ὕστερον ταχεῖαν ἀπώλειαν.

Λάμβανε<sup>261</sup> ἀπὸ μὲν<sup>262</sup> τοῦ ὠροσκόπου τὸν ἱατρόν, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ μεσουρανήματος τὸν νοσοῦντα, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ<sup>263</sup> ζ' τὴν νόσον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ δ' τὰς ἱατρείας.<sup>264</sup> Κακοποιῶν<sup>265</sup> μὲν γὰρ ὠροσκοποῦντος,<sup>266</sup> οὐδὲν ὠφελήθησεται παρὰ τῶν ἱατρῶν εἰ δὲ ἀγαθοποιὸς ὠροσκοπεῖ, ὠφελήθησεται εἰ δὲ κακοποιὸς μεσουρανεῖ, αὐτὸς ὁ ἄρρωστος ἑαυτὸν βλάψει εἰ δὲ ἀγαθοποιός, ἑαυτὸν ὠφελήσει εἰ δὲ<sup>267</sup> κακοποιός ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ζ',<sup>268</sup> μεταπεσεῖται ἀπὸ νόσου εἰς νόσον· εἰ δὲ ἀγαθοποιός, αὐτομάτως ὑγιανεῖ<sup>269</sup> εἰ<sup>270</sup> δὲ κακοποιός ἐστὶν<sup>271</sup> ἐν τῷ δ', ἐπιταθήσεται ἡ νόσος αὐτοῦ διὰ τῆς ἱατρείας.

<sup>246</sup> τὴν αὐτὴν δύναμιν ἔχει τῷ τοῦ η', καὶ] *om.* M1.

<sup>247</sup> ὁμοίαν] ὁμοίως M101.

<sup>248</sup> ἐπάγει] ἐπάγη O1.

<sup>249</sup> ιβ' τόπος] β' M1.

<sup>250</sup> δύναμιν ἔχει] *inv. ord.* M1.

<sup>251</sup> τῷ] *om.* O1.

<sup>252</sup> τοῦ] *om.* VM1.

<sup>253</sup> ἴσθι δὲ καὶ πῦρ] ὁμοίως καὶ τούτου M1.

<sup>254</sup> τὴν ὑγείαν ἢ] *om.* M1.

<sup>255</sup> δίσωμα μέσως] δύσσωμα μέσα M1.

<sup>256</sup> στερεὰ] στερρεὰ V.

<sup>257</sup> ἐπιτείνει] ἐπιτείνει O1.

<sup>258</sup> σχῆμα] τὸ *praem.* M1.

<sup>259</sup> τὸ] ἔστι *praem.* O1.

<sup>260</sup> ὑγείαν] ὑγίαν M1.

<sup>261</sup> Λάμβανε] Λαμβάνομεν δὲ M1.

<sup>262</sup> ἀπὸ μὲν] ἀπὸ M1, δὲ ἀπὸ O1.

<sup>263</sup> τοῦ] *om.* O1.

<sup>264</sup> ἱατρείας] ἱατρίας *ante corr.* O1.

<sup>265</sup> κακοποιῶν] κακοποιῶ M1.

<sup>266</sup> ὠροσκοποῦντος] ὠροσκόπῳ M1.

<sup>267</sup> εἰ δὲ] Ἑρμῆς O1.

<sup>268</sup> ζ'] τοπῷ *add.* O1.

<sup>269</sup> ὑγιανεῖ] ὑγιανῇ M1.

<sup>270</sup> εἰ] *lac.* V.

<sup>271</sup> ἐστὶν] ἐστὶ V.

Γνωθι δὲ καὶ τὴν τριταίαν<sup>272</sup> τῆς<sup>273</sup> Σελήνης καὶ τὴν ἐβδόμην<sup>274</sup> καὶ τὴν ιδ' καὶ τὴν κα', καὶ εἴπερ ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις ἡμέραις ἡ<sup>275</sup> Σελήνη συνάπτει κακοποιῶ ἐπιτείνει τὴν νόσον· εἰ δὲ ἀγαθοποιῶ ἐλαφρῇ.<sup>276</sup> Ἴδε δὲ καὶ τὴν ι'<sup>277</sup> μοῖραν ἀπὸ τῆς<sup>278</sup> Σελήνης καὶ τὴν μ'.<sup>279</sup> ὅτε ἔλθῃ ἐν αὐταῖς ἡ<sup>280</sup> Σελήνη, καὶ εἰ μὲν συνάπτει ἀγαθοποιῶ, ὑγείαν δηλοῖ· εἰ δὲ κακοποιῶ, ἐπιτείνει τὴν νόσον,<sup>281</sup> εἰ μὴ γε<sup>282</sup> ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν βοηθήσει.<sup>283</sup>

(vii) fol. 73r

Περὶ ἰατρείας.

Λέγει ὁ Μασάλλα· ὡς εἰ ἐρωτηθῇς περὶ ἰατρείας, ἔστιν ὠφελιμένος. Σκέπτου<sup>284</sup> τὰ<sup>285</sup> περὶ τῆς ἰατρείας ἀπὸ τοῦ ζ' τόπου, ἡγέγονας τοῦ ἐναντίου τῆς νόσου.† Πῶς βλέπεις εἴτε καλῶς εἴτε κακῶς τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου; Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀγαθοποιὸς, δὲ ἀγαθύνει τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, ὠφελήσεται ὁ νοσῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰατρείας· εἰ δὲ κακοῖ αὐτόν, βλαβήσεται ὑπὸ τῆς τοιαύτης ἰατρείας.

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ις' Περὶ δούλου, εἰ ἐλευθεροῦται ἢ μεταβήσεται πρὸς ἑτέραν δεσποτείαν, ἢπραθήσεται ἢ οὐ, ἢ εἰ ἐρωτηθῇς<sup>286</sup> παρὰ τινος ἐπιζητοῦντος δουλεύειν τινά.

Εἶπεν ὁ Μασάλλα· εἰ ἐρωτηθῇς περὶ δούλου, εἰ ἐλευθεροῦται ἢ οὐ, ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τὸν ἐπικρατήτορα, καὶ εἰ εὗρης τὸν δυνατώτερον αὐτῶν ἀπορρέοντα ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ μεσουρανήματος ἢ τοῦ Ἥλιου, καὶ μὴ συνάπτοντά τι, λέγε ἐλευθεροῦσθαι τὸν δοῦλον. Εἰ δὲ μὴ οὕτως ἔχει, οὐκ ἐλευθεροῦται.

Εἰ δὲ ἐρωτήσῃ σε δοῦλος ἄρα πρὸς ἑτέραν δεσποτείαν μεταβήσεται ἢ οὐ, ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ εἰ ἔστιν ἐπικεντρος καὶ μὴ συνάπτων ἑτέρῳ ἀστέρι, οὐ μεταβήσεται· εἰ δὲ συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ τρίτου τόπου ἢ τοῦ ἐννάτου δηλοῖ μετὰ βασιν· εἰ δὲ βλάπτεται ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου τῇ συνόδῳ, ἢ τῇ διαμέτρῳ, ἢ

<sup>272</sup> τριταίαν] γ' M1.

<sup>273</sup> τῆς] om. M1.

<sup>274</sup> καὶ τὴν ἐβδόμην] om. M1, καὶ τὴν ζ' O1.

<sup>275</sup> ἡ] om. M1.

<sup>276</sup> ἐλαφρῇ] corr., ἐλαφροῖ VM101.

<sup>277</sup> ι'] ἴσην O1.

<sup>278</sup> τῆς] om. V.

<sup>279</sup> μ'] οὕσαν O1.

<sup>280</sup> ἡ] om. M1.

<sup>281</sup> τὴν νόσον] om. M1.

<sup>282</sup> γε] om. O1.

<sup>283</sup> αὐτὸν βοηθήσει] βοηθήσει αὐτῷ M1, βοηθήσει O1.

<sup>284</sup> Σκέπτου] corr., Σκέψω V.

<sup>285</sup> τὰ] ut videtur V.

<sup>286</sup> ἐρωτηθῇς] corr., ἐρωτηθεῖς V.

τῷ τετραγώνῳ τοῦ κακοποιοῦ, ἢ ὑπανγός ἐστι, τελευτήσῃ ὁ δοῦλος πρὸ τοῦ μεταστῆναι.

Εἰ δὲ ἐρωτηθῇς<sup>287</sup> περὶ δούλου, ἄρα ἀγορασθήσεται ἢ οὐ, ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τὴν Σελήνην, καὶ εἰ συνάπτουσι τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ζ' ἢ συνάπτει ὁ κύριος τοῦ ζ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὑπάρχει ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἢ ἡ Σελήνη ἐν τῷ ζ', ἢ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ζ' ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ, ἀγορασθήσεται.

Εἰ δὲ ἐρωτηθῇς<sup>288</sup> περὶ δούλου, ἄρα πραθήσεται ἢ οὐ, ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τὴν Σελήνην, καὶ εἰ συνάπτουσι τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ γ' τόπου, ἢ τοῦ ἐννάτου πραθήσεται καὶ εἰ ὑπάρχουσιν ἐν τῷ ζ' πραθήσεται καὶ εἰ συνάψουσιν κακοποιῶ πραθήσεται εἰ δὲ ἡ Σελήνη συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ τρίτου, ἢ τοῦ θ', πραθήσεται.

Εἰ δὲ ἐρωτηθῇς<sup>289</sup> παρά τινος ἐπιζητοῦντος τινὰ δουλεύειν αὐτῷ, ἢ ποιήσῃ τὸν μὲν ὠροσκόπον τῷ ἐρωτῶντι τῷ δὲ ἐβδόμῳ τόπῳ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀφ' οὗ ἐπιζητεῖς τὸν δουλεύσαντα, τὸν δὲ δωδέκατον τόπον τῷ δουλεύοντι, καὶ ἴδε τὰς συναφὰς ἀλλήλων καθὼς προείπομεν, καὶ κατ' ἐκείνας ἀποτελέσων.

(ix) fol. 74v–75r

Περὶ τοῦ ἐβδόμου τόπου.

ιζ' Περὶ γαμικοῦ συναλλάγματος, <εἰ><sup>290</sup> γίνεται ἢ οὐ γίνεται.

Εἶπεν ὁ Μασάλλα· εἰ ἐρωτηθῇς περὶ γαμικοῦ συναλλάγματος <εἰ><sup>291</sup> γίνεται ἢ οὐ, λάβε τὸν ὠροσκόπον, καὶ τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸν ἥλιον τῷ ἀνδρί· τὸν δὲ ζ' τόπον, καὶ τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην τῇ γυναικί. Εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐρώτησις περὶ συνουσίας, λάβε τὸν ὠροσκόπον, καὶ τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν Σελήνην· καὶ εἰ μὲν συνάπτει ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ἐβδόμου, τεύξεται τοῦ θελήματος αὐτοῦ ὁ ἐρωτῶν, ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐὰν ὑπάρχῃ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ ἡ Σελήνη ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ· εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ζ' συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, ἢ ὠροσκοπεῖ, εὐχερῶς τεύξεται τοῦ ποθομένου. Εἰ δὲ ἡ Σελήνη διαπορθμεύει τὴν ἀκτῖνα τοῦ ἐνὸς ἐπὶ τὸν ἕτερον, τεύξεται τῆς γυναικὸς διὰ μέσου τινός, ὡσαύτως καὶ εἰ ἡ Σελήνη ἀκάκωτος μεσουρανεῖ.<sup>292</sup> Εἶτα ἴδε καὶ τὸν ἐπικρατήτορα,<sup>293</sup> καὶ εἰ ἐστὶ κεκακωμένος,<sup>294</sup> ἢ τεταπεινωμένος, ἀποτυχίαν δηλοῖ μετὰ εὐόδωσιν· καὶ εἰ μὲν ὁ

<sup>287</sup> ἐρωτηθῇς] *corr.*, ἐρωτηθεῖς V.

<sup>288</sup> ἐρωτηθῇς] *corr.*, ἐρωτηθεῖς V.

<sup>289</sup> ἐρωτηθῇς] *corr.*, ἐρωτηθεῖς V.

<sup>290</sup> εἰ] *suppl.*, *abest* V.

<sup>291</sup> εἰ] *suppl.*, *abest* V.

<sup>292</sup> μεσουρανεῖ] *add. verba alia manu* V.

<sup>293</sup> ἐπικρατήτορα] *corr.*, ἐπικράτορα V, *add. verba alia manu* V.

<sup>294</sup> κεκακωμένος] *post corr.* V.

κακῶν ἀστὴρ ὑπάρχει κύριος τοῦ β' ἢ τοῦ η',<sup>295</sup> ὁ ἐμποδισμὸς γενήσεται διὰ τὸν ἄρραβῶνα· εἰ δὲ κύριος ὑπάρχει ὁ κακοποιὸς τοῦ δ' τόπου, ἐμποδισθήσεται διὰ γονεῖς,<sup>296</sup> καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ ἀποφαίνου περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν οἴκων· εἰ δὲ κακοποιὸς ὑπάρχει ὁ διαπορθμεύων τὰς ἀκτῖνας, γενήσεται ὁ ἐμποδισμὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ μεσιτεύοντος· εἰ δὲ κύριος ὑπάρχει τοῦ ζ' τόπου, χεῖριστον, ἢ τοῦ η' τόπου, ἢ τοῦ β', ἢ τοῦ ιβ', ἢ τοῦ δ', ἢ ὑπάρχει ἐν στερεῷ<sup>297</sup> ζῳδίῳ. Καὶ εἰ ὥροσκοπεῖ δίσωμον ζῳδίων, ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ θελήσει τὴν γυναῖκα, ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἐτέρῳ συζυγήσεται· εἰ δὲ ὁ δηλῶν ἀστὴρ τὰ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπικέντρος ὑπάρχει, τάχιον συζυγήσεται || ἐτέρῳ ἀνδρὶ παρὰ τὸν ἄνδρα· εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὥροσκόπου δυνατώτερός ἐστι, πρότερον εἰς τὸν γάμον ἔλθῃ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἢ περὶ ἡ γυνή. Καὶ εἰ μὲν διαμετροῦσιν οἱ δηλοῦντες ἀστέρες τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα, μάχας δηλοῦσιν καὶ ἀντιλογίας· εἰ δὲ τετραγωνίζουσιν, ἀλλήλας κακοηθείας μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκηδίας· εἰ δὲ τριγωνίζουσιν, ἢ ἐξαγωνίζουσι, δηλοῦσιν<sup>298</sup> ἀγάπην καὶ καλοήθειαν· εἰ δὲ συνοδεύουσιν, ἀκηδίας δηλοῦσιν. Εἰ δὲ ἡ Σελήνη ἐπιβλέπει τὸν ὥροσκόπον κεκακωμένη, κακοῦνται ἀμφότεροι καὶ εἰ μὲν ὁ κακοποιὸς ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ ὥροσκόπῳ, δηλοῖ τὴν κάκωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρός· εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἐβδόμῳ, ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς· εἰ δὲ κακοῦται ὁ ἥλιος, βλαβήσεται ὁ ἀνὴρ· εἰ δὲ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη, βλαβήσεται ἡ γυνή· εἰ δὲ ἡ Σελήνη, βλαβήσονται ἀμφότεροι.<sup>299</sup>

(x) fol. 75r

Εἶπεν ὁ Μασάλα· ὥς ὅτε γένηται συνουσία μέσον ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς ἐνυπάρχει, (εἰ)<sup>300</sup> ὁ ὥροσκόπος καὶ ἡ Σελήνη (ἐ)ν<sup>301</sup> ζῳδίοις ἀρρενικοῖς, προτελευ(τή)σει<sup>302</sup> ὁ ἀνὴρ· (εἰ)<sup>303</sup> δὲ ἐν θηλυκοῖς, προτελευ(τή)σει<sup>304</sup> ἡ γυν(αικὴ)<sup>305</sup>· εἰ δὲ ἐν δισώμοις, τελευτήσωσι καὶ ἀμφότεροι μετὰ παρέλευσιν ὀλιγοστοῦ καιροῦ α(ὐτ)ὸς<sup>306</sup> τοῦ (ἐ)τέρου<sup>307</sup>· εἰ δὲ ὁ (ὥροσκόπος)<sup>308</sup> μὲν ἐν ἀρρενικῷ ζῳδίῳ, ἡ (Σελήνη)<sup>309</sup> δὲ ἐν θηλυκῷ, ἢ τὸ ἔμπαλιν, ἀποτελεῖ ἐκ τῶν πλειόνων.

<sup>295</sup> η'] *add. verba alia manu V.*

<sup>296</sup> γονεῖς] *add. verba alia manu V.*

<sup>297</sup> στερεῷ] *corr.*, στερρεῷ *V.*

<sup>298</sup> δηλοῦσιν] *corr.*, δηλοῖ *V.*

<sup>299</sup> ἀμφότεροι] *add. verba alia manu V.*

<sup>300</sup> εἰ] *suppl.*, *abest V.*

<sup>301</sup> ἐν] *ε suppl.*, *abest V.*

<sup>302</sup> προτελευτήσει] *τή suppl.*, *abest V.*

<sup>303</sup> εἰ] *suppl.*, *abest V.*

<sup>304</sup> προτελευτήσει] *τή suppl.*, *abest V.*

<sup>305</sup> γυναικὴ] *ναική suppl.*, *abest V.*

<sup>306</sup> αὐτὸς] *ὕτ suppl.*, *abest V.*

<sup>307</sup> ἐτέρου] *ε suppl.*, *abest V.*

<sup>308</sup> ὥροσκόπος] *suppl.*, *abest V.*

<sup>309</sup> Σελήνη] *suppl.*, *abest V.*

Περὶ δὲ τοῦ εἰ ἐλπίζεται τὸ αὐθις γενέσθαι, μέλλει ἐμποδισθῆναι, ἴδε τὸν ἐμποδίζοντα κακοποιὸν ἢ τὸν κακοῦντα, καὶ ἐὰν ἦ φίλος τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, γενήσεται αὐθις.

(xi) fol. 86r<sup>310</sup>

†[...] <sup>311</sup> τὸν Μασάλα ἐρώτησιν. † <sup>312</sup> Ὁ Μασάλα τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐξέθετο θεμάτ(ιον) <sup>313</sup> καὶ τὴν ἀπόφασιν ταύτην πεποίηκε <sup>314</sup> ἔλαβον πρόσωπον τοῦ ἐρωτήσαντος τὸν ὠροσκόπον, τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν Κρόνον ἀφ' οὗ ἡ Σελήνη ἀπέρρευσε <sup>315</sup> πρόσωπον δὲ τοῦ ἐναντίου τὸ δῦνον, τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην τὴν παρὰ τῆς Σελήνης συναπτομένην. Λοιπὸν οἱ μὲν τοῦ ἐρωτήσαντός εἰσιν ἀστέρες ὑψηλοί, τοῦ δὲ ἐναντίου χαμηλοί. Εὐρέθη γοῦν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν τῷ ζ' τόπῳ ὑποποδίζων, τοῦ Ἄρεως ἀπερχομένου διαμετρήσαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ ι' <sup>316</sup> οἴκου· ὁ δὲ Κρόνος εὐρέθη μὲν ἐν τῷ ιβ' ἐν ᾧ δὲ τό(πῳ) <sup>317</sup> χαίρει ὁ δὲ γε Ἑρμῆς καὶ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἐν τῷ ι' τόπῳ εὐρέθησαν, οἱ καὶ διατοῦτο <sup>318</sup> δηλοῦσι δύναμιν τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἔχειν ὅτε ἐστ(ίν). <sup>319</sup> Ὁ Ἑρμῆς καὶ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἐν τῷ Ζυγῷ εἰσιν ἀκάκωτοι, ὅτε δὲ ἐν τῷ Σκορπίῳ εἰσὶ θάτεροι. Ζήτει ἐκεῖθεν, <sup>320</sup> ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ ἐστὶν ὁ Ἄρης, ἀπολεσθήσεται ὁ ἐχθρός. Διὰ τὸ εἶναι τοὺς σημαντικούς τούτους ἀστέρας στερεοὺς <sup>321</sup> καὶ τοὺς σημαντικούς τοῦ ἐρωτήσαντος ἀστέρας ὑψηλοὺς ἢ μέντοι ὑπερτέρους τοῦ ἐρωτήσαντος, κατὰ τοῦ ἐναντίου οὐ ῥαδίῳ γενήσεται ἀλλὰ μετὰ δυσχερείας μεγάλης καὶ περιστάσεως δὲ μετὰ τὸ καὶ ἡττηθῆναι αὐτὸν παρὰ τοῦ ἐναντίου.

Ἀπετελέσθη ἡ κρίσις ὡς ἐκρίθη παρὰ τοῦ τοιοῦτου σοφοῦ Μασάλα.

(xii) fol. 90v–91r

Περὶ τοῦ ἐννάτου τόπου.

λς' Περὶ ἀποδημίας, (εἰ) <sup>322</sup> γίνεται ἢ οὐ.

<sup>310</sup> The text has been previously partially edited in KENNEDY, PINGREE (eds.), *The Astrological History of Māshā 'allāh*, p. 180 (P).

<sup>311</sup> The *folium* is trimmed, but traces of writing are visible in the upper right margin.

<sup>312</sup> ἐρώτησιν] ἐρώτησεν P.

<sup>313</sup> θεμάτιον] ιον *suppl.*, *abest* V.

<sup>314</sup> πεποίηκε] πεποίηκεν P.

<sup>315</sup> ἀπέρρευσε] ἀπέρρευσεν P.

<sup>316</sup> ι'] ιβ' P.

<sup>317</sup> τόπῳ] *lac.* P, πῳ *suppl.*, *abest* V.

<sup>318</sup> διατοῦτο] διὰ τοῦτο P.

<sup>319</sup> ἐστίν] *in suppl.*, *abest* V.

<sup>320</sup> ἐκεῖθεν] *des.* P, (ἐ)κ τῶν κακοποιῶν *add.* P.

<sup>321</sup> στερεοὺς] *corr.*, στερρείους V.

<sup>322</sup> εἰ] *suppl.*, *abest* V.

Εἶπεν ὁ Μασάλλα· εἰ ἐρωτηθῆς<sup>323</sup> περὶ ἀποδημίας (εἰ)<sup>324</sup> γίνεται ἢ οὐ, ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, καὶ τὸν κύριον τοῦ θ' τόπου, καὶ εἰ συνάπτουσιν ἀλλήλοις, δηλοῦσιν ἀποδημίαν· εἰ δὲ πρὸς τούτοις καὶ ὁ κύριος τοῦ θ' ὠροσκοπεῖ, ταχεῖαν ποιεῖται τὴν ἀποδημίαν, ὡσαύτως καὶ ἐὰν ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ ἡ Σελήνη ὑπάρχουσιν ἐν τῷ θ', ὁ δὲ κύριος τοῦ θ' ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ, γενήσεται || αὐτῷ κίνησις· καὶ εἰ μὲν ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐστὶν ἀκάκωτος, εὐτυχῇ δηλοῖ τὴν κίνησιν· εἰ δὲ κεκακωμένος ἢ ἐν μέντοι τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ, δυσχέρειαν δηλοῖ καὶ ἐν Καρκίνῳ δίσωμον. Καὶ εἰ εὐρῆς τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τὸν κύριον τοῦ θ' τόπου συνάπτοντας ἀστέρι βαρεῖ, καὶ ὁ ἀστὴρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ βαρὺς ἐπιβλέπει τὸν τόπον τῆς ἀποδημίας, δηλοῖ ἀποδημίαν<sup>325</sup>· εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐπίκεντρός ἐστι, καὶ συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ γ' τόπου, δηλοῖ ἀποδημίαν· εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ θ', ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς τόποις τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, καὶ δέχεται τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ σημειωτικοῦ ἀστέρος, δηλοῖ δυσχέρειαν. Ὡσαύτως καὶ ὅτε ἐστὶν ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς μέρεσι τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ συνάπτει τῷ σημειωτικῷ ἀστέρι ἀπὸ τῶν ἀριστερῶν μερῶν τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, τὸ αὐτὸ δηλοῖ. Εἰ δὲ κακοποιὸς ὠροσκοπεῖ, ἐμπόδιον ποιήσει· εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ ζ' ὑπάρχει, μαθήσεται αὐτὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον πρὸς ὃν μέλλει ἀπελθεῖν φήμην τινὰ κλείουσιν αὐτὸν τῆς ὁδοιορίας· εἰ δὲ μεσουρανεῖ ὁ κακοποιός, ἐξουσιαστικῇ δυνάμει ἀποδημήσει. Εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ θ', εἶτα μετ' ἐκεῖνον συνάψει κακοποιῶ, ἐκ διαμέτρου ἢ τετραγώνου ἢ ἐκ συνόδου πείσεται δεινὰ κατὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ ἀστέρος καὶ τοῦ τόπου οὗ κυριεύει· εἰ μὲν γὰρ (κυρ)ιεύει<sup>326</sup> τοῦ ζ' ἀπὸ νόσου· εἰ δὲ τοῦ ιβ' ἀπὸ συνόδου, καὶ φυσικοῦ καὶ ἔχθρας καὶ λυπήσει· εἰ δὲ τοῦ η' ἀπὸ κινδύνου. Ὁ δὲ κύριος τοῦ ιβ' ἢ τοῦ ζ', κακοποιὸς ὢν καὶ συνάπτων τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου μετὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸν κύριον τοῦ θ' συναφὴν αὐτήν, δηλοῖ βλάβην παρὰ λ' τῶν ἀστέρων· καὶ εἰ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐστὶν ὁ συστηματισμός, δὲ ἐστὶ περὶ φωνῆς, εἰ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μεσουρανήματος περὶ ἀπωλείας πλούτου. Εἶτα ἴδε καὶ τὸ σημειωτικὸν ἀστέρα, καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀγαθοπεποιημένος εὐόδωσιν δηλοῖ· εἰ δὲ τὸ ἐναντίον<sup>327</sup> δυσχέρειαν. Εἶτα ἴδε καὶ περὶ τοῦ σημειωτικοῦ ἀστέρος<sup>328</sup> ὡς ἔσται περὶ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, καὶ εἰ μὲν συνάπτει ἀστέρι τινὶ ἐν τῷ γ', ἢ τῷ θ' τόπῳ ἀλλοτρίως ἐνυπάρχει, δηλοῖ ἀποδημίαν· εἰ δὲ καὶ ἡ Σελήνη ἐπίκεντρός ἐστιν, ἐπιτείνει τὴν τῆς ἀποδημίας ταχυτήτα. Εἰ δὲ μὴ συνάπτει τινὶ τῶν ἀστέρων, ἐν τοῖς δηλωθεῖσιν τόποις ὑπάρχει, ἀλλὰ (εἰ)<sup>329</sup> συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ θ' τόπου καὶ τοῦ γ', ὑπάρχει ἐν

<sup>323</sup> ἐρωτηθῆς] *corr.*, ἐρωτηθεῖς V.

<sup>324</sup> εἰ] *suppl.*, *abest* V.

<sup>325</sup> ἀποδημίαν] *post. corr.* V, ἐν αὐτῷ *post* ἀποδημίαν *del.* V.

<sup>326</sup> κυριεύει] *kur suppl.*, *abest* V.

<sup>327</sup> ἐναντίον] *corr.*, ἐννατον V.

<sup>328</sup> ἀστέρος] ἡγουν τῆς Σελήνης *add. in marg.* V.

<sup>329</sup> εἰ] *suppl.*, *abest* V.



ἀλλοτρίοις ζωδίοις, καὶ οὕτως ἀποδημίαν δηλοῖ. Εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὥροσκόπου καὶ τοῦ θ' τόπου ἐν τοῖς κέντροις ᾧσιν, ἐμποδισμὸν δηλοῦ(σιν)<sup>330</sup> καὶ ἀργίαν· εἰ δὲ ἡ Σελήνη συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ θ' τόπου, ἢ τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ γ' τόπου, καὶ ὑπάρχουσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἀστέρες ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις ζωδίοις, ἢ συνάπτουσιν ἀστέρι ἀλλοτρίῳ ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις τόποις, ἀποδημίαν δηλοῖ.

(xiii) fol. 95v<sup>331</sup>

Τὸ τοιοῦτον θεμάτιόν ἐστιν (ἐ)ρωτήσεως<sup>332</sup> γενομένης παρὰ τινος πρὸς τὸν Μασάλα περὶ παραμονῆς καταρχῆς, ἢ ἐξελεύσεως ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ.

Ἐσκεψάμην τὴν τοιαύτην ἐρώτησιν καὶ εὔρον τὸν μὲν κύριον τοῦ ὥροσκόπου ἐν τῷ ια' τόπῳ, τὴν δὲ Σελήνην ἐν τῷ Λέοντι τῷ ε' τόπῳ μὴ ὀρῶσαν μὲν τὸν οἰκοδεσπότην αὐτῆς, διαμετροῦσαν δὲ τὸν Ἄρην. Ὁ δὲ τριγωνοκράτωρ τοῦ ὥροσκόπου καὶ ὑποκράτωρ, Ἥλιος, εὔρεθι ἐν τῷ μεσουρανήματι ἐν ζωδίῳ τροπικῷ, οἰκοδεσπότης ὢν καὶ τῆς Σελήνης ὁ δὲ οἰκοδεσπότης τοῦ μεσουρανήματος, Κρόνος, εὔρεθι ἐν τῷ τῆς ἀποβάσεως τόπῳ ζωδίῳ τροπικῷ ὑποποδισμένος, διὰ γοῦν τὸ εἶναι τὰ ζώδια τοῦ τε μεσουρανήματος καὶ τοῦ δ' τόπου τροπικά, καὶ τὸν κύριον τοῦ μεσουρανήματος, Κρόνον, ἐν ζωδίῳ τροπικῷ ὑποποδισμένον, δηλοῖ τὸ ἐξωσθῆναι τὸν ἀρχηγὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ.

Ἀπετελέσθη<sup>333</sup> οὕτως κατὰ τὴν τοιοῦτου σοφοῦ κρίσιν.

(xiv) fol. 97r

νγ' Περὶ ἀνδρὸς ἐρωτῶντος εἰ προσληφθήσεται παρὰ βασιλέως, ἢ ἐξουσιαστοῦ.

Εἶπεν ὁ Μασάλλα· εἰ ἐρωτηθῆς παρὰ τινος ἅρά γε δύναται οἰκειωθῆναι πρὸς βασιλέα, ἢ ἐξουσιαστήν ἢ οὐ, ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὥροσκόπου καὶ τὸν σημειωτικὸν ἀστέρα,<sup>334</sup> καὶ εἰ συνάπτουσιν ἀμφοτέρω τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ μεσουρανήματος, ἢ ὑπάρχουσιν ἀμφοτέρω ἐν τῷ μεσουρανήματι, λέγε καταλαβεῖν τὸν ἐρωτῶντα καὶ ἐπιτυχεῖν τῆς ἐφέσεως αὐτοῦ· εἰ δὲ οὐ συνάπτουσι, λέγε οὐ.<sup>335</sup>

<sup>330</sup> δηλοῦσιν] σιν *suppl.*, *abest* V.

<sup>331</sup> The text has been previously edited in KENNEDY, PINGREE (eds.), *The Astrological History of Māshā'allāh*, p. 181 (P).

<sup>332</sup> ἐρωτήσεως] *suppl.*, ἐρωτήσεως P, ἐ *abest* V.

<sup>333</sup> Ἀπετελέσθη] Αποτελέσθη P.

<sup>334</sup> σημειωτικὸν ἀστέρα] ἡγουν τὴν Σελήνην *add in marg.* V.

<sup>335</sup> οὐ] Εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὥροσκόπου εὔρεθι (ἐν) τῷ μεσουρανήματι, ὁ δὲ κύριος τοῦ μεσουρανήματος οὐ συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ὥροσκόπου, ὁ μὲν ἐρωτῶν ἀγωνισθήσεται δουλεῦν τῷ βασιλεῖ, οὐ προσληφθήσεται δὲ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, *add. alia manu* V.

(xv) fol. 100v

Λέγει ὁ Μασάλα· ὡς ἐὰν ἐρωτηθῇς παρὰ ἀρχη(γοῦ)<sup>336</sup> ἐκβληθέν(τος)<sup>337</sup> ἀπὸ τ(ῆς)<sup>338</sup> ἐξουσίας εἰ ὑποστρέψει ἐν αὐ(τῷ)<sup>339</sup> καὶ μὴ, σκέπτου<sup>340</sup> περὶ τούτου καθὼς περὶ ὑποστροφῆς ἀποδημήσαντός τινος, καὶ ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, καὶ ἐὰν ἐστὶν ὑποποδισμένος, ὑποστρέψει οὗτος ἐπὶ τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ τῇ προθέσει αὐτοῦ, μᾶλλον ἐὰν ἡ Σελήνη συνάπτῃ ἀστέρι ὑποποδισμένῳ. Εἰ δὲ καὶ σὺν τούτοις ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ Σελήνη ἐν τροπικῷ ζῳδίῳ, ἐπιβεβαιοῖ τὴν ὑποστροφήν γενέσεως ταχύτεραν. Ἐὰν δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου οὐχ ὑποποδίζῃ, ἴδε τὴν Σελήνην καὶ ἐὰν συσχηματίζεται τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, ὑποστρέψει κρεῖττον δὲ πάντων, ἔστι τὸ τὴν Σελήνην συσχηματίζειν τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ὄντι ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς τοῦ ὠροσκόπου μέρεσιν.

(xvi) fol. 106r<sup>341</sup>

οἱ<sup>342</sup> Περὶ τοῦ πότε ἐστὶ<sup>343</sup> τινὶ ἀγαθὸν<sup>344</sup> ἢ ἐναντίον.<sup>345</sup>  
 Εἶπεν ὁ Μασάλλα<sup>346</sup> εἰ βούλει γινῶναι πότε<sup>347</sup> γενήσεται ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἢ ἐναντίον,<sup>348</sup>  
 ἴδε τὸν ὠροσκόπον καὶ τοὺς οἰκοδεσπότης τῶν δύο φωστήρων<sup>349</sup> καὶ τὸν κύριον  
 τοῦ<sup>350</sup> ὠροσκόπου, καὶ οἶον (ἄν)<sup>351</sup> εὗρης δυνατώτερον καὶ λόγους ἔχοντα<sup>352</sup> εἰς τὸν  
 ὠροσκόπον λάβε<sup>353</sup> τοῦτον<sup>354</sup> κυβερνήτην<sup>355</sup> καὶ ἀνέτην. Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν

<sup>336</sup> ἀρχηγοῦ] γοῦ *suppl.*, *abest* V.

<sup>337</sup> ἐκβληθέντος] τος *suppl.*, *abest* V.

<sup>338</sup> τῆς] ῆς *suppl.*, *abest* V.

<sup>339</sup> αὐτῷ] τῷ *suppl.*, *abest* V.

<sup>340</sup> σκέπτου] *corr.*, σκέψο V.

<sup>341</sup> This text is edited on the basis of *Marc. gr.* Z 334, fol. 148v (M1), *Marc. gr.* Z 335, fol. 310v (M2), *Neap.* II.C.33, fol. 410r–v (N). *Par. grec* 2424, fol. 206v (P), and *Vat. gr.* 1056, fol. 106r (V). Due to COVID-19, I could not collate the codex *Vind. hist. gr.* 122.

<sup>342</sup> οἱ] *om.* M1M2NP.

<sup>343</sup> ἐστὶ] ἔσται M1M2P.

<sup>344</sup> ἀγαθὸν] καλὸν M1M2P.

<sup>345</sup> Περὶ — ἐναντίον] Περὶ τοῦ εἰ ἔστι τινὶ ἀγαθὸν ἢ κακὸν καὶ πότε N | ἐναντίον] κακὸν M1M2P.

<sup>346</sup> Μασάλλα] Μάσκλα M1M2P, Μασάλης N.

<sup>347</sup> πότε] *add.* τινὶ N.

<sup>348</sup> γενήσεται — ἐναντίον] γίνεται καλὸν ἢ κακὸν N, καλὸν ἢ κακὸν M1M2P.

<sup>349</sup> τῶν — φωστήρων] τῶν φωστήρων τῶν β' N.

<sup>350</sup> τοῦ] τῆς *praem.* N.

<sup>351</sup> ἄν] *suppl.*, *abest* VM1M2NP.

<sup>352</sup> λόγους ἔχοντα] λόγοντα M1P.

<sup>353</sup> λάβε] λάμβανε N.

<sup>354</sup> τοῦτον] κύριον *add.* N.

<sup>355</sup> κυβερνήτης] κυβερνίτης M1P.

ἐπίκεντρος, δώσει<sup>356</sup> χρόνους, εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ<sup>357</sup> τόπῳ μήνας, εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ γ' ἡμέρας.

Γνωθὶ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἐπτὰ πλανήτων· ὁ ἥλιος δίδωσιν ἔτη<sup>358</sup> ιθ', μήνας ιθ', ἡμέρας ιθ'· ἡ Σελήνη<sup>359</sup> ἀνὰ κε'· ὁ Κρόνος ἀνὰ λ'· ὁ<sup>360</sup> Ἄρης ἀνὰ ιε'· ὁ<sup>361</sup> Ζεὺς ἀνὰ ιβ'· ὁ<sup>362</sup> Ἑρμῆς ἀνὰ κ',<sup>363</sup> καὶ<sup>364</sup> ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἀνὰ ὀκτώ.<sup>365</sup>

(xvii) fol. 111r–112r

πς' Περὶ φήμης, εἰ ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν ἢ ψευδής.

Εἶπεν ὁ Μασάλλα· ὡς εἰ ἐρωτηθῆς<sup>366</sup> περὶ φήμης, ἄρα ψευδὴς ἐστὶν ἢ ἀληθής, εἴτε περὶ φόβου ἐστὶν ἢ ἐρώτησις, εἴτε περὶ ἐλπίδος ἀγαθοῦ πραγμάτος. Ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τὴν Σελήνην καὶ τὸν ἐπικεντρότερον ἐξ αὐτῶν λάβε. Εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐστὶ τις ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπίκεντρος λάβε τὸν ἔχοντα ἐξ αὐτῶν πλείονας λόγους εἰς τὸν ὠροσκόπον, καὶ ἐὰν ἢ ἀστήρ ἐν τινὶ κέντρῳ ἀκάκωτος μὴ συνάπτει ἀστέρι ἐν ἀποκλίματι μὴ προσδεχομένῳ αὐτὸν ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν ἢ φήμη· εἰ δὲ ἐπίκεντρός ἐστι συνάπτει δὲ ἢ ἀποκεκλικότι ἀστέρι μὴ προσδεχομένῳ αὐτόν, γεγόναμεν μνεῖα τοῦ πράγματος ἐκείνου, οὐτε λέγετε δὲ ἀλλ' ἐμποδίζετε.<sup>367</sup> Εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν κέντρῳ, συνάπτει δὲ ἀστέρι ἐπικέντρῳ ἀγαθοποιῶ προσδεχομένῳ τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, ἀληθὴς ἐστὶν ἢ φήμη καὶ γενήσεται· εἰ δὲ ὁ ἀστήρ ἐστὶ κακοποιὸς οὐ προσδέχεται δὲ τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, ψευδὴς ἐστὶ ἢ φήμη· εἰ δὲ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπίκεντρος, συνάπτει δὲ ἀστέρι ἐν ἀποκλίματι, ψευδὴς ἐστὶ ἢ φήμη. Εἰ μὴ γε προσδέχεται τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ὁ ἀστήρ· εἰ δὲ ὁ προσδεχόμενος τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου συνάπτει τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου· καὶ εἰ συνάπτει κακοποιῶ μὴ προσδεχομένῳ αὐτὸν ψευδὴς ἢ φήμη καὶ ἡ ἐλπίς ματαία· εἰ δὲ οἱ δύο φωστῆρες συνάπτουσι τῷ κυρίῳ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐπικέντρῳ καὶ ἀκακώτῳ ὄντι γενήσεται ἡδοναί· εἰ δὲ κεκακωμένοι εἰσὶν<sup>368</sup> ἐρήμωσιν δηλοῦσιν<sup>369</sup> μετὰ εὐόδωσιν. Εἰ δὲ ὁ

<sup>356</sup> δώσει] δηλοῖ M1.

<sup>357</sup> δευτέρῳ] β' M2NP.

<sup>358</sup> ἔτη] ἐν τῇ M1M2P.

<sup>359</sup> ἡ Σελήνη] καὶ add. M1M2.

<sup>360</sup> ὁ] om. M1M2.

<sup>361</sup> ὁ] om. M1M2.

<sup>362</sup> ὁ] om. M1M2.

<sup>363</sup> κ'] praem. εἰ V.

<sup>364</sup> καὶ] om. M1M2.

<sup>365</sup> ὀκτώ] η' M1M2NP.

<sup>366</sup> ἐρωτηθῆς] corr., ἐρωτηθεῖς V.

<sup>367</sup> λέγετε δὲ ἀλλ' ἐμποδίζετε] ut videtur V.

<sup>368</sup> κεκακωμένοι εἰσὶν] corr., κεκακωμένη ἐστὶν V.

<sup>369</sup> δηλοῦσιν] corr., δηλοῖ V.

κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἀποκεκλικῶς ἦν οἱ δὲ φωστῆρες ἐπίκεντρος γενήσονται.<sup>370</sup> εἰ δὲ ἡ Σελήνη καὶ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου συνάπτουσιν ἀστέρι ταπεινουμένῳ, καὶ μὴ ὑποδεχομένῳ αὐτοὺς οὐ γενήσονται.<sup>371</sup>

Εἶπον καὶ οἱ σοφοί ὡς τὰ τροπικὰ ζῳδια δηλοῦσι τὸ πρᾶγμα πρὸ τοῦ τελειωθῆναι, τὰ δὲ δίσωμα ὡς δ' εἰς τὸ πρᾶγμα πραχθήσεται, τὰ δὲ στερεὰ στερέωσιν αὐτῶν. Ἐὰν δὲ ἡ Σελήνη καὶ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, οὔσης τῆς ἐρωτήσεως περὶ φόβου, παρῆλθον τοὺς κακοποιούς μιᾷ μοίρᾳ, καὶ ὑπάρχουσιν οἱ κακοποιοὶ ἤδη συνοδεύσαντες αὐτοῖς ἐν τοῖς κέντροις αὐτῶν, φόβους μόνους ἐπάγουσιν· εἰ δὲ ἀπέρχονται πρὸς συναφὴν, καὶ φόβον ἐπείγουσι καὶ βάσανον· εἰ δὲ ἐπικαλύψουσιν<sup>372</sup> ἀγαθοποιοὶ, λύσουσι τὸ δεινόν.

Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὡς εἰ ἐρωτηθῇς<sup>373</sup> περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἴδε τὴν Σελήνην, καὶ εἰ τριγωνίζει τὸν ὠροσκόπον, ἢ ἐξαγωνίζει, τὸ γράμμα ἔξει ἀφροσύνην· εἰ δὲ τετραγωνίζει, ἢ διαμετρεῖ, βλάβην καὶ συνοχὴν ἢ ψεῦδος καὶ οὔτε λύπην οὔτε χήραν. Μὴ ἀμελήσης δὲ τοῦ τηρεῖν τὴν συναφὴν τῆς Σελήνης πρὸς τε τοὺς κακοποιούς καὶ τοὺς ἀγαθοποιούς, οὕτως γὰρ ποιῶν οὐχ ἀμάρτης.

Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ἴδε τὴν Σελήνην, καὶ εἰ ἔστιν ἐν οἴκῳ ἀγαθοποιῶν, ἢ ὀρίοις, ἢ ἐπιβλέπει ταύτην ἀγαθοποιός, ἢ ὠροσκοπεῖ ἀγαθοποιός, ἀληθὴς ἐστὶ ἡ φήμη· εἰ δὲ ἐναντίον, ψευδής.

Εἶπε δὲ ὁ Μασάλλα καὶ τοῦτο γίνωσκε ὅτι τὰ μυστήρια παρὰ τοῖς ἄστροις κεκρυμμένα εἰσίν, ὅτε δὲ ἡ Σελήνη συνάψει τῷ Ἑρμῇ, φανεροῦνται. Ἴδε οὖν ἢ ποίου ἀστέρος ἐστὶν ἡ φήμη, καὶ εἰ συνῆψεν ἡ Σελήνη τούτων, εἴτα ἀπέρρευσεν αὐτῶν ὡς πρὸς συναφὴν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἢ ἀπλῶς ἀπέρρευσεν. Ἴδε τὸν Ἑρμῆν, καὶ εἰ ἔστιν ἐπίκεντρος, ἀληθὴς ἐστὶ ἡ φήμη· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ψευδής.<sup>374</sup> καὶ εἰ ἐπαναφέρεται κέντρῳ, γενήσεται· εἰ δὲ προαναφέρεται, ἥδη ἐγένετο. Εἰ δὲ κρύφια φήμη ἐλεύσεται, καὶ βούλει γνῶναι ἀληθὴς ἐστὶ ἢ φαύλη, ἴδε τὸν τόπον τῆς Σελήνης, καὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦ κλήρου τῆς φήμης, καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα ἀποφαίνου, εἴτε ἀγαθουμένου τοῦ τόπου, εἴτε κακωμένου. Ἡ δὲ Σελήνη συνάπτουσα ἀναποδίζοντι ἀστέρι, ἢ ἀποκεκλικότι, ἢ κακοποιῷ, ψευδὴ τὴν φήμην δηλοῖ· εἰ δὲ μεσουρανεῖ ὁ ἀστήρ, φανερά ἐστὶ ἡ φήμη. Ὁ δὲ κλῆρος τῆς φήμης λαμβάνεται ἡμέρας μὲν ἀπὸ Ἑρμοῦ ἐπὶ Σελήνης, νυκτὸς τὸ ἀνάπαλιν, καὶ τὰ ἴσα ἀπὸ ὠροσκόπου. Καὶ εἴ γε πέση ὁ κλῆρος ἐν τροπικῷ ζῳδίῳ, ἢ λοξῷ, ἢ ὑπάρχει ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ ἀναποδισμένος, ἢ ταπεινούμενος, ἢ ἀποκεκλικῶς,

<sup>370</sup> γενήσονται] *corr.*, γενήσεται V.

<sup>371</sup> γενήσονται] *corr.*, γενήσεται V.

<sup>372</sup> ἐπικαλύψουσιν] *corr.*, ἐπικαλέψουσιν V.

<sup>373</sup> ἐρωτηθῇς] *corr.*, ἐρωτηθεῖς V.

<sup>374</sup> ψευδής] Ἰστέον ὡς ἡ τῶν κακοποιῶν συναφὴ ἐκ μένων τῶν ἰδῶν οἴκων καὶ ὑψωμάτων ἐστὶν εὐπρόσδεκτος οὐχὶ δὲ ἀπὸ τριγώνων, ἢ δεκανῶν, ἢ ὀρίων τῶν δὲ ἀγαθοποιῶν, ἐκ παντῶν τῶν εἰρημένων εὐπρόσδεκτός ἐστι, *add. in marg.* V.

ἢ συνάπτων κακοποιοῖς, ψευδῆς ἔσται ἡ φήμη· εἰ δὲ τὸ ἀνάπαλιν, ἀληθῆς· εἰ δὲ σύμμικτα ὧσι τὰ σχήματα, ἀποτελεῖ ἐκ τῶν δυνατωτέρων.

(xviii) fol. 242r-v<sup>375</sup>

λη' Λόγος τοῦ σοφωτάτου Μασάλα περιέχων τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν βιβλίων<sup>376</sup> ἃ<sup>377</sup> ἐξέθετο ἕκαστος τῶν παλαιῶν σοφῶν καὶ τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν τοιούτων βιβλίων.

Εἶπεν ὁ Μασάλα ὅτι εἶδον τοὺς παλαιοὺς σοφοὺς ἔχοντας ἀμφιβολίας περὶ ὑποθέσεων τινων ἀστρονομικῶν ὧν σοφῶν πλῆθος γέγονε τῶν βιβλίων καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σύγχυσις γίνεταί τοῦ νοδὸς τοῦ ταῦτα ἀναγινώσκοντος. Ἐγὼ δὲ ἐξεθέμην τὴν τοιαύτην βίβλον συνοπτικῶς δηλώσας ἐν αὐτῇ τὰ ἀναμφίβολα καὶ τὰ τῶν λόγων κρείττονα ἀπὸ τε τῶν βιβλίων τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ τῶν μεγάλων σοφῶν καὶ πολυμαθῶν, ὡσαύτως καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν βιβλίων τῶν καταλειφθέντων παρὰ τῶν πρὸ ἐμοῦ τοῖς παισὶν αὐτῶν εἰς κληρονομίαν.

Οἱ ἐκθέμενοι δὲ τὰ βιβλία εἰσὶν οὗτοι· ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐξέθετο βιβλία κδ'· ἀφ' ὧν εἰσι γενεθλιαλογικὰ ις', περὶ ἐρωτήσεων ε', περὶ τῶν μοιρῶν τῶν ζωδίων δύο καὶ περὶ λογισμοῦ α'. Ὁ Πλάτων βιβλία ζ'· ἡγουν περὶ γενεθλίων ε' καὶ περὶ ἐρωτήσεων β'. Ὁ Δωρόθεος βιβλία ια'· ἡγουν περὶ γενεθλίων δ', περὶ ἐρωτήσεων γ', περὶ λογισμοῦ γ' καὶ περὶ τῶν συνόδων α'. Ὁ Δημόκριτος βιβλία ιδ'· ἡγουν περὶ γενεθλίων ς', περὶ ἐρωτήσεων δ', περὶ τῶν συνόδων δύο, περὶ λογισμοῦ α', καὶ περὶ τῶν κλιμάτων α'. Ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης βιβλία ι'· ἡγουν περὶ γενεθλίων γ', περὶ ἐρωτήσεων δύο, περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τῶν ζωδίων, καὶ τῆς συμφωνίας αὐτῶν ε'. Ὁ Ἀντικὸς βιβλία ζ'· ἡγουν περὶ γενεθλίων ε' καὶ περὶ ἐρωτήσεων β'. Ὁ Οὐάλης βιβλία δέκα ἔχοντα τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν ὅλων βιβλίων. Ὁ Ἑρασίστρατος βιβλία ι(α')<sup>378</sup> ἡγουν περὶ γενεθλίων δ', περὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦ Ἡλίου πρὸς τοὺς ἀστέρας α', περὶ λογισμοῦ α', περὶ ἐρωτήσεων δύο, περὶ τῶν συνόδων δύο καὶ περὶ τῶν φαρταρίων α'. Καὶ ὁ Στόχος βιβλία ς'· ἡγουν περὶ γενεθλίων γ', περὶ ἐκλείψεων α', περὶ συνόδων α' καὶ περὶ εὐτυχιῶν καὶ ἀτυχιῶν α'. Οἱ δὲ Πέρσαι ἐξέθεντο βιβλία μδ'· εἰς ἃ καὶ ἐδήλωσαν τὰ τε παρεληλυθότα<sup>379</sup> καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἐξέθεντο δὲ καὶ ἕτερα δύο μεγάλα καὶ ἀναγκαῖα βιβλία, τὸ μὲν α'<sup>380</sup> περὶ γενεθλίων καὶ τὸ ἕτερον περὶ ἐρωτήσεων, ἔχον ἕκαστον βιβλίον κεφάλαια α, ἔχον ἕκαστον αὐθις κεφάλαιον λόγους δ'· ἃ καὶ ἔστιν ἀποτιθεμένα<sup>381</sup> εἰς Ἰνδίαν<sup>382</sup> μὴ ἐκβληθέντα πρὸς ἡμᾶς.

<sup>375</sup> The text has been previously edited in CCAG, I, p. 81–82 (O) and in PINGREE, BURNETT (eds.), *The 'Liber Aristotilis' of Hugo of Santalla*, p. 203–204. (P).

<sup>376</sup> βιβλίων] corr., βιβλίων V, corr. βιβλίων P.

<sup>377</sup> ἃ] corr., ὧν V, ἃ corr. P.

<sup>378</sup> ια'] ια' suppl. OP, α' abest V.

<sup>379</sup> παρεληλυθότα] corr., παρεληλυθότα V, παρεληλυθότα corr. OP.

<sup>380</sup> α'] πρῶτον O.

<sup>381</sup> ἀποτιθεμένα] corr., ἀποτιθεμένα V, ἀποδεδομένα corr. O, ἀποθεθειμένα corr. P.

<sup>382</sup> Ἰνδίαν] corr., Ἰνδία V, Ἰνδιαν corr. OP.

Ταῦτά εἰσι τὰ βιβλία τὰ εὐρεθέντα ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἡμῶν περὶ ὧν καὶ, ὡς εἴρηται, ἐδήλωσα ὅπως γνῶτε<sup>383</sup> ὅτι πολλὰ ἢ ἐκοπίασα πρὸς τὸ παρεκβαλεῖν καὶ ἐκθεῖναι τὴν παροῦσαν βίβλον ἀπὸ τῶν ῥηθέντων βιβλίων συνοπτικῶς ἐν τέσσαρσι λόγοις.

### III.2. Fragments Known from Bodl. Cromwell 12

(i) fol. 67r<sup>384</sup>

Ἀρχὴ σὺν θεῷ τοῦ δευτέρου βιβλίου.

Βιβλίον δευτερον ἀποτελεσματικὸν περιέχον τοὺς δώδεκα τόπους τοῦ θέματος ἐξ ὧν μέλλειν δύνασθαι τὸν ἐπιστήμονα πάσας τὰς ἐρωτήσεις τὰς πρὸς αὐτὸν γινομένας ἀποτελεῖν. Καὶ πρῶτα μὲν ἀρχόμεθα ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου τόπου, ἥτοι τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, τοῦ περὶ χρόνων ζωῆς δηλοῦντος.<sup>385</sup>

α' Ἐὰν ἐρωτηθῇς<sup>386</sup> περὶ χρόνων ζωῆς, ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τὴν Σελήνην· ἡ γὰρ ἀπόρροια τῆς Σελήνης δηλοῖ τὰ παρελθόντα, ἡ δὲ συναφὴ<sup>387</sup> τὰ μέλλοντα.<sup>388</sup> καὶ εἰ ἔστιν ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ὕψαυγος καὶ ἡ Σελήνη κεκακωμένη, ἡ καὶ τις κακοποιὸς ὠροσκοπεῖ ἢ δύνει,<sup>389</sup> δηλοῖ θάνατον τοῦ ἐρωτῶντος. Ἴδε οὖν πόσαι μοῖραι εἰσὶ μεταξὺ<sup>390</sup> τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τοῦ Ἥλιου, καὶ κατ' ἐκεῖνα<sup>391</sup> ἀποφαίνου.<sup>392</sup> καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐστὶ τὸ ζῶδιον στερεὸν<sup>393</sup> λέγε χρόνους, εἰ δὲ δίσωμον μῆνας, εἰ δὲ τροπικὸν ἡμέρας. Εἰ δὲ ὠροσκοπεῖ κακοποιός<sup>394</sup> ἔστι<sup>395</sup> χειρόν, εἰ δὲ ἐπιβλέπει<sup>396</sup> ὁ κύριος τοῦ τετάρτου τόπου<sup>397</sup> τὸν ὠροσκόπον ἢ

<sup>383</sup> γνῶτε] *corr.*, γνώσητε VOP.

<sup>384</sup> This text is edited on the basis of *Oxon. Barocci* 94, fol. 100v–101r (B), *Oxon. Cromwell* 12, p. 441–442 (O1), and *Vat. gr.* 1056, fol. 67r (V). Due to COVID-19 I could not collate the codex *Vind. hist. gr.* 122.

<sup>385</sup> Ἀρχὴ — δηλοῦντος] *Περὶ χρόνων ζωῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου. Ἀρχεται ὁ Μασάλα περὶ τῶν ἰβ' τόπων* O1, *Περὶ χρόνων ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου ἀπὸ τοῦ βιβλίου τῶν δώδεκα τόπων τοῦ Μασάλα* B.

<sup>386</sup> Ἐὰν ἐρωτηθῇς] *Εἰ ἐρωτηθεῖς* B.

<sup>387</sup> συναφὴ] *συνάφεια* O1.

<sup>388</sup> τὰ μέλλοντα] *δηλοῖ praem.* B.

<sup>389</sup> κακοποιὸς ὠροσκοπεῖ ἢ δύνει] *κακοποιοὶ ὠροσκοπὸν ἢ δύνων* O1, *κακοποιὸς ὠροσκόπος δύνει* B.

<sup>390</sup> μεταξὺ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ὠροσκόπου] *μετὰ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου* O1.

<sup>391</sup> κατ' ἐκεῖνα] *κατ' ἐκεῖνου* O1, *κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ὠροσκόπου* *add. in margine et del.* B.

<sup>392</sup> ἀποφαίνου] *μῆνα praem.* B.

<sup>393</sup> στερεὸν] *στερρεὸν* V.

<sup>394</sup> εἰ δὲ ὠροσκοπεῖ κακοποιός] *εἰ δὲ ἡ ὠροσκοπεῖ κακοποιὰ* B.

<sup>395</sup> ἔστι] *ἐτι* V, *om.* O1.

<sup>396</sup> ἐπιβλέπει] *καὶ βλέπει* V, *καὶ ἐπιβλέπει* B.

<sup>397</sup> τετάρτου τόπου] *δ' B01.*

τὸν<sup>398</sup> κύριον τοῦ ἡ' τόπου<sup>399</sup> κακόν ἐστι,<sup>400</sup> εἰ μή γε ἐπιβλέπουσιν<sup>401</sup> οἱ<sup>402</sup> ἀγαθοποιοὶ τὸν ὠροσκόπον καὶ ἡ Σελήνη ἐστὶν<sup>403</sup> ἀκάκωτος.

(ii) fol. 70v<sup>404</sup>

ἡ' Περὶ τοῦ εἰ ἐρωτηθῆς ἄρα ἀληθής ἐστι ἡ σύλληψις ἢ ψευδής.<sup>405</sup>

Εἰ ἐρωτηθῆς<sup>406</sup> ἄρα ἀληθής ἐστι ἡ σύλληψις ἢ ψευδής,<sup>407</sup> ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τὴν Σελήνην,<sup>408</sup> καὶ εἰ<sup>409</sup> ὑπάρχουσι<sup>410</sup> ἐν τῷ ε' τόπῳ ὁ δὲ κύριος τοῦ ε'<sup>411</sup> τόπου ὠροσκοπεῖ ἀκάκωτος, ἀληθής ἐστι<sup>412</sup> ἡ σύλληψις· εἰ δὲ τροπικόν ἐστι τὸ ζῳδιον καὶ ἐπίκεντρος ὑπάρχει ὁ<sup>413</sup> κακοποιός, οὐκ ἔστιν ἀληθής· εἰ δὲ ἐστι ἡ συναφή τῶν εἰρηνικῶν ἀστέρων πρὸς ἀναποδίζοντας ἀστέρας,<sup>414</sup> οὐ<sup>415</sup> γενήσεται, εἰ μή γε ἀκάκωτος ἐστὶν ἡ Σελήνη καὶ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἐν τόπῳ καλῷ.

Εἶπον δὲ τινες τῶν παλαίων ὅτι<sup>416</sup> ὅτε πλησίφωτος οὔσα ἡ Σελήνη συνοδεύει τῷ Ἄρει<sup>417</sup> ἀμβλωθρίδιον γενήσεται καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τελευτήσῃ· εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ ι' τόπῳ ἀπὸ Ἀφροδίτης ὑπάρχουσιν οἱ κακοποιοὶ<sup>418</sup> φθαρήσεται τὸ βρέφος.

<sup>398</sup> τὸν] καὶ *praem.* O1.

<sup>399</sup> τόπου] *om.* BO1.

<sup>400</sup> ἐστι] *om.* BO1.

<sup>401</sup> ἐπιβλέπουσιν] ἐπιβλέπουσι O1.

<sup>402</sup> ἀγαθοποιοὶ] *om.* O1V.

<sup>403</sup> ἡ Σελήνη ἐστὶν] *inv. ord.* BO1.

<sup>404</sup> This text is edited on the basis of *Oxon.* Cromwell 12, p. 446 (O1), and *Vat. gr.* 1056, fol. 70v (V).

<sup>405</sup> ἡ' Περὶ — ψευδής] *om.* O1.

<sup>406</sup> ἐρωτηθῆς] δὲ *praem.* O1.

<sup>407</sup> ἀληθής ἐστι ἡ σύλληψις, ἢ ψευδής] ἡ σύλληψις ἀληθής ἐστίν, ἢ οὐ O1.

<sup>408</sup> καὶ τὴν Σελήνην] *add. s.l. alia manu* V.

<sup>409</sup> εἰ] ὥς O1.

<sup>410</sup> ὑπάρχουσι] ὑπάρχει *ante corr.* V.

<sup>411</sup> ε'] πέμπτου O1.

<sup>412</sup> ἐστι] *om.* O1.

<sup>413</sup> ὁ] *om.* O1.

<sup>414</sup> ἀναποδίζοντας ἀστέρας] ἀναποδίζοντος ἀστήρ O1.

<sup>415</sup> οὐ] *om.* O1.

<sup>416</sup> ὅτι] *om.* O1.

<sup>417</sup> τῷ Ἄρει] τὸν Ἄρεα V.

<sup>418</sup> εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ ι' τόπῳ — κακοποιοὶ] εἰ δὲ ἐπίκεντροι ὑπάρχουσιν οἱ κακοποιοὶ ἀπὸ Ἀφροδίτης O1.

Εἶπον δὲ καὶ τοῦτο ὥς εἰ<sup>419</sup> ὑπάρχουσιν οἱ δύο φωστήρες καὶ ὁ ὠροσκόπος ἐν δισώμοις ζωδίοις<sup>420</sup> ἢ πολυσπέρμοις – ἦτοι τῷ Σκορπίῳ, καὶ<sup>421</sup> τοῖς Ἰχθύσι καὶ τῷ Καρκίνῳ – καὶ ἐπιβλέπουσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ<sup>422</sup> ἀγαθοποιοί, σύλληψις ὑπάρχει.<sup>423</sup>

### III.3. Additional Fragments from *Bodl. Cromwell* 12

(i) p. 436

Τοῦ Μασαλέως περὶ φίλων.

Εἰ ἐρωτήσῃ σέ τις περὶ ἰδίου φίλου ἄρα ἐνωθήσεται αὐτῷ ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὠροσκόπου καὶ τὴν Σελήνην, καὶ εἰ ποιοῦνται τὴν συναφὴν πρὸς τὸν κύριον τοῦ ἰα' τόπου, ἐνωθήσεται τῇ αὐτῇ μεθόδῳ χρῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ τέκνα ἀπὸ τοῦ ε' τόπου, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γυναικὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ ζ', καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς ἀπὸ τοῦ γ', καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡλίου καὶ τῆς Σελήνης, καὶ ἐπὶ δούλων ἀπὸ τοῦ ζ', τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν λοιπῶν.

(ii) p. 436

Τοῦ Μασαλέως περὶ φιλίας.

Εἰ ἐρωτηθῇς ἄρά γε ἐστὶ φιλία μεταξὺ τοῦ δεῖνος καὶ δεῖνος ἴδε τὸν κύριον τοῦ ἰα' καὶ τὸν κύριον τοῦ ζ' καὶ τὸν κύριον τοῦ ζ', καὶ εἰ ἐπιβλέπουσιν οἱ κύριοι τῶν τοιούτων τόπων<sup>424</sup> τοῦ ὠροσκόπου ἢ τὸν κύριον αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τριγώνου ἢ ἐξαγώνου, συστήσεται μεταξὺ αὐτῶν φίλων· εἰ δὲ τετραγώνου ἢ διαμέτρου ἔχθρα γενήσεται· εἰ δὲ οἱ κύριοι τῶν τοιούτων τόπων συσχηματίζονται ἀπὸ τριγώνου ἢ ἐξαγώνου σχήματος καὶ μάλιστα ὁ κύριος τοῦ ἐν ἰα', ἔσται φιλία· εἰ δὲ οἱ δύο, ἔτι πλεῖον ἐπιταθήσεται· εἰ δὲ πάντες, ἔσται ὑπερβολικὴ<sup>425</sup> ἀγάπη, καὶ μάλιστα εἰ ἀπὸ στερεῶν ζωδίων<sup>426</sup> ἢ συναφῇ γένηται.

### IV. Conclusions

In 2012, Maria Mavroudi rightly stated that: « Writing a history of Byzantine astrology remains inhibited by the dearth of published Byzantine astrological texts, though Pingree and Kazhdan provided a brief account mostly based on their

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<sup>419</sup> εἰ] ἐάν O1.

<sup>420</sup> δισώμοις ζωδίοις ἢ πολυσπέρμοις] δισώμῳ ζωδίῳ ἢ πολυσπέρμῳ O1.

<sup>421</sup> καὶ] om. O1.

<sup>422</sup> οἱ] om. O1.

<sup>423</sup> ὑπάρχει] Ἐὰν ὁ κύριος τοῦ ε' τόπου ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ θ', ἐν ζωδίῳ δισώμῳ, λέγε ἔχειν γαστρί add. *alia manu* V.

<sup>424</sup> τόπων] corr., τόπον O1.

<sup>425</sup> ὑπερβολικὴ] corr., ὑπερβολιτικὴ O1.

<sup>426</sup> ἀπὸ στερεῶν ζωδίων] corr., ἢ ἀποστερεᾶ ζώδια O1.



extensive acquaintance with manuscripts ».<sup>427</sup> This article tries to partially fill such gap by making available to the scholars the Greek fragments by Māšā' allāh. Moreover, from a preliminary survey of the direct occurrences of the Greek translations of Māšā' allāh ibn Aṭarī's and Abū Ma'šar al-Balḥī's works, and from the presentation of the sections by Māšā' allāh that are preserved in the *Vat. gr.* 1056, the interest Byzantine scholars had towards Arabic astrological texts, from the late Komnenian times onwards, clearly emerges. The Vatican codex is, indeed, a valuable case study because it proved to be a rich Byzantine anthology of astrological and astronomical texts – especially mixing Arabic, Late Antique and ancient sources – written no later than the thirteenth century, that has been read and used in later times. It offers indeed the possibility of looking at the wealth of material that was available to Byzantine scholars, and that has not been thoroughly investigated by modern scholars yet.

## Appendices

### Appendix I

*Vat. gr.* 1056, fol. 66v

Περὶ θησαυρῶν. Ζήτηι καὶ ἄλλως  
ἐκεῖθεν.<sup>428</sup>

Εἴ τις ἔχει κεκρυμμένον θησαυρὸν καὶ ἀγνοεῖ ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐρωτηθῆς περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου, στήσον ἀκριβῶς τὸν ὠροσκόπον, καὶ ἴδε ποῖος τῶν ἐ' ἀστέρων, **τῶν φωστήρων** πλείονας λόγους καὶ οἰκοδεσπότης ἔχουσι πρὸς τὸν ὠροσκόπον, **καὶ** ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ ἐστὶ τῶν ἱβ' τόπων. Εἴτα ἴδε εἰ σύνεστι τῷ δηλωθέντι οἰκοδεσπότη, ἀστήρ τις ἐν **ἐκείνῳ** τῷ ζῳδίῳ, ἢ οὐ σύνεστί τις ἀστήρ, καὶ εἰ μὲν

*Ang. gr.* 29, fol. 23r-v

π' Περὶ θησαυρῶν.

Εἴ τις ἔχει κεκρυμμένον θησαυρὸν καὶ ἀγνοεῖ ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ ἐστὶ καὶ ἐρωτηθῆς περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου, ἢ στήσον ἀκριβῶς τὸν ὠροσκόπον, καὶ ἴδε ποῖος τῶν ἐ' ἀστέρων, **καὶ ὁ Ἥλιος ἢ Σελήνη** πλείονας λόγους καὶ οἰκοδεσπότης ἔχουσι πρὸς τὸν ὠροσκόπον, **ἴδε δὲ καὶ ἐκ τότε** ἐν ποίῳ τόπῳ ἐστὶ τῶν ἱβ' τόπων. Εἴτα ἴδε εἰ σύνεστι τῷ δηλωθέντι οἰκοδεσπότη, ἀστήρ τις ἐν

<sup>427</sup> MARIA MAVROUDI, « Astrology, Byzantine », in ROGE SHALER BAGNALL, KAI BRODERSEN, CRAIG BIAN CHAMPION, ANDREW ERSKINE, SABINE HÜBNER (eds.), *The Encyclopedia of Ancient History*, 2, Wiley-Blackwell, Malden-Oxford-Chichester 2012.

<sup>428</sup> ἐκεῖθεν] *add. verba non legitur* V.

συνυπάρχει (αὐ)τῷ<sup>429</sup> ὁ ἥλιος, γινώθι ὅτι ὁ θησαυρὸς ἐν τῷ τρικλινίῳ<sup>430</sup> ἐστὶν ἐν ᾧ κάθεται διηνεκῶς ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας, εἰ δὲ συνυπάρχει αὐτῷ ἡ Σελήνη, γινώθι τὸν **θη(σαν)ρὸν**<sup>431</sup> εἶναι ἐν τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ διηνεκῶς κάθεται ἡ κυρία τῆς οἰκίας, ἡ πλησίον τοῦ φρέατος, ἡ τοῦ **σωτηρίου**. Εἰ δὲ ὁ συνὼν τῷ οἰκοδεσπότῃ τοῦ Ἄρεως, λέγε ὅτι πλησίον τοῦ φούρνου ἐστὶν ὁ θησαυρὸς, ἡ τοῦ μαγειρείου, ἡ ἐν **ἐτέρῳ**<sup>432</sup> τόπῳ τῆς οἰκίας ἐν ᾧ **ἄπτεται** πῦρ· εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ Ἑρμῆς, ἔστιν ἐν τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ εἰσὶ βιβλία ἢ γράμματα, ἢ ἔνθα ἐμπορεύεται ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας· εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀστήρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ζεὺς, γινώθι ὅτι πλησίον ἐκκλησίας ἐστὶν εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ Ἀφροδίτη, εἰπέ ὅτι ἐστὶ **φυτῶν πλησίον**, ἡ ἀρωμάτων, ἢ ἔνθα κεῖται ἡ προῖξ τῆς γυναικός· εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ Κρόνος, κεῖται ἐν τόπῳ ῥυπαρῶ· **εἴτα ἴδε καὶ** εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν ὁ ἀστήρ ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ ἐστὶν ὁ θησαυρὸς πλησίον τοῦ πυλῶνος· εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ β' τόπῳ, ἢ τῷ γ', ἢ τῷ δ', ἢ τῷ ε' ἐστὶν ἐπὶ τοῖς δεξιῶς μέρεσι τοῦ πυλῶνος καθὼς εἰσέρχεσθαι· εἰ δὲ ζ' τόπῳ, ἢ τῷ ζ', ἢ τῷ η' ἐστὶν ἀντικρυς τοῦ πυλῶνος· εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ θ', ἢ τῷ ι', ἢ τῷ ια', ἢ τῷ ιβ' ἐστὶν ἐν τοῖς ἀριστεροῖς μέρεσι τοῦ πυλῶνος.

**ἐκεῖ(νῳ)**<sup>433</sup> τῷ ζωδίῳ, ἢ οὐ σύνεστι τις ἀστήρ, καὶ εἰ μὲν **σύνεστιν αὐτῷ** ὁ ἥλιος, γινώθι ὅτι ὁ θησαυρὸς ἐν τῷ **τρίποδι** ἐστὶν ἐν ᾧ κάθεται διηνεκῶς ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας, εἰ δὲ **σύνεστιν** αὐτῷ ἡ Σελήνη, γινώθι τὸν **θησαυρὸν** εἶναι ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ διηνεκῶς κάθεται ἡ κυρία τῆς οἰκίας, ἡ πλησίον τοῦ φρέατος, ἡ τοῦ **σωτηρίου**. Εἰ δὲ **τύχη** ὁ συνὼν τῷ οἰκοδεσπότῃ ὁ Ἄρης, λέγε ὅτι πλησίον τοῦ φούρνου ἐστὶν ὁ θησαυρὸς, ἡ τοῦ μαγειρείου, ἢ **ἐνθα ἀνάπτεται** πῦρ· εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ Ἑρμῆς, ἐστὶν ἐν τόπῳ ἐν ᾧ εἰσὶ βιβλία **(ἢ)**<sup>434</sup> γράμματα, ἢ ἔνθα ἐμπορεύεται ὁ κύριος τοῦ οἴκου· εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ ἀστήρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ Ζεὺς, γινώθι ὅτι πλησίον ἐκκλησίας ἐστὶν· εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ Ἀφροδίτη, εἰπέ ὅτι ἐστὶ **πλησίον φυτῶν** ἢ ἀρωμάτων, ἢ ἔνθα κεῖται ἡ προῖξ τῆς γυναικός· εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ Κρόνος, κεῖται ἐν τόπῳ ῥυπαρῶ· **εἰ δὲ βούλει γινῶναι, εἴτε εἰς τὰ δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ οἴκου ἔστιν ὁ θησαυρὸς, εἴτε εἰς τὰ ἀριστερά, στήσον τὸν ὠροσκόπον.** Καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐστὶν ἀστήρ ἐν τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ, γινώθι ὅτι πλησίον τοῦ πυλῶνος ἐστὶν ὁ θησαυρὸς· εἰ δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ β' τόπῳ, ἐστὶν ἐν τοίχῳ τῷ ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ μέρει τοῦ πυλῶνος. **Δεξιὰ δὲ μέρη τοῦ πυλῶνος λέγομεν, τὰ ἐν τῷ εἰσέρχεσθαι ἐν τῷ πυλῶνι δεξιὰ μέρη τοῦ εἰσερχομένου·** εἰ δὲ **τύχη** ἐν τῷ γ' τόπῳ, τὸ αὐτό ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐν τῷ δ'

<sup>429</sup> αὐτῷ] αὐ suppl., abest V.

<sup>430</sup> τρικλινίῳ] corr., τρικλείνῳ V.

<sup>431</sup> θησαυρὸν] σαν suppl., abest V.

<sup>432</sup> ἐτέρῳ] post corr. V.

<sup>433</sup> ἐκεῖνῳ] νῳ suppl., abest A.

<sup>434</sup> ἢ] suppl., abest A.

ὁμοίως, καὶ ἐν τῷ ε΄ ὁμοίως, καὶ ἐν τῷ ς΄ τόπῳ εἰ τύχη, ἔσται ἐν τῷ ἐξεναντίῳ μέρει τοῦ πυλῶνος, καὶ ἐν τῷ ζ΄ ὁμοίως, καὶ ἐν τῷ η΄ ὁμοίως· εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ θ΄ τύχη, ἔστιν ἐν τῷ ἀριστερῷ μέρει τοῦ πυλῶνος, εἰ δὲ ἐν τῷ ι΄ ὁμοίως, καὶ ἐν τῷ ια΄ ὁμοίως, καὶ ἐν τῷ ιβ΄ ὁμοίως, καὶ ἐὰν ἐρωτηθῇς ἄρα γε ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἔστιν ἢ πλησίον φρέατος, ἢ σωτήρος, ἢ πλησίον φούρνου, ἢ ἐν τόπῳ ἀρωματικῷ, ἢ ἐν τόπῳ πραγμάτων, ἢ ῥυπαρῷ, ἢ ἐν τῷ τρίποδι ἐν ᾧ κάθεται ὁ κύριος τῆς οἰκίας, ἢ ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ κάθεται ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ, ἀποτελέσων κατὰ τὴν μέθοδον ἣν προεδιδάχθης.

## Appendix II

*Vat. gr. 1056, fol. 49v*

Λέγει δὲ καὶ ὁ Ῥασήκ ὁ σοφώτατος ὅτι· ἐπειδὴ εὖρον εἶναι τὸν ὠροσκόπου ζῴδιον θηλυκόν, τὴν δὲ κυρίαν αὐτοῦ θηλυκὴν, καὶ ὑπάρχουσιν ἐν θηλυκῷ ζῴδιῳ, λέγω εἶναι τὴν ἐρώτησιν περὶ θηλυκῶν προσώπων, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἡ οἰκοδέσποινα τῆς κυρίας τοῦ ὠροσκόπου Σελήνη ὑπάρχει ἐν ζῴδιῳ Ζυγῷ.<sup>435</sup> Ἀπέρρευσε δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξαγωνικῆς συναφῆς τοῦ Κρόνου, ὁ δὲ Κρόνος ἦν ἐν τῷ δ΄ τόπῳ τῷ ὑπογείῳ τῷ τόπῳ δηλαδὴ τῶν γονέων ἦν δὲ καὶ ἡ Σελήνη θηλυκὴ ὡς εἴρηται, ἢ δὲ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἦν ἐν τῷ γ΄ τόπῳ τῷ δηλοῦντι τοὺς οἰκείους τε ἀδελφοὺς καὶ συγγενεῖς ὁρᾶται παρὰ τῆς Σελήνης. Λέγω ὅτι ἡ ἐρώτησις αὕτη περὶ οἰκείας ἐστὶ μητέρος, διὰ τὸ εἶναι τὴν Σελήνην ἀεὶ σημειωτικὴν τῶν μητέρων, διὰ δὲ τὸ εἶναι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην κυρίαν μὲν τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, σημειωτικὴν δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ὑποθέσεως, κυριεύειν δὲ καὶ τοῦ τόπου τῆς νοσηλείας, καὶ ὁρᾶται παρὰ τῆς Σελήνης ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς νοσηλείας τοῦτο. Λέγω νοσεῖν τὴν μητέρα τοῦ ἐρωτήσαντος, καὶ μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ ἀπορρεῦσαι τὴν Σελήνην ἀπὸ τοῦ Κρόνου τοῦ δηλοῦντος ἀεὶ τὰ γηραιότερα πρόσωπα.

<sup>435</sup> Ζυγῷ] *corr.*, γυγῷ V.

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