

The Development of an Astrological Term – from Greek *hairesis* to Arabic *ḥayyiz*

Giuseppe Bezza

Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to present the history of an astrological technical term, *hairesis* in Greek and *ḥayyiz* in Arabic (often called ‘sect’ in English). Every scholar is fully aware of the importance and the necessity of a reliable lexicon of astrological terminology. Moreover, it is important to understand the meaning of these astrological terms, which are so numerous and manifold, within an historical context.

Αἴρεσις (*hairesis*) is one of the technical terms which we find outside the narrow field of Greek astrological literature. Plotinus, for example, says about the distinction between diurnal and nocturnal planets:

καὶ τόνδε μὲν χαίρει τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ἀγαθὸν γίνεσθαι
θερμαινόμενον, τόνδε δὲ τῇ νυκτὶ χαίρειν πυρῶδη
ὄντα...

One of them rejoices by day and becomes good through being warmed up, while the other, of fiery nature, rejoices at night...¹

Here Plotinus uses the verb *χαίρειν* (*chairein*), which is, as we shall see later, a technical astrological term strictly related to the notion of *αἴρεσις*. The origin of this notion must be very ancient, because some texts give evidence of a connection of *αἴρεσις* with the practice of hepatoscopy. Like the liver of a human being, that of a sacrificed animal is ‘a mirror which receives likenesses of objects and returns their images to the sight.’² It has both sweetness and bitterness: when the bitter

¹ *Enneads* II, 3.5.

² Plato, *Timæus*, 71b-d.

element pervades the liver, it produces the two kinds of bile, but when its natural sweetness prevails, it acquires the ability to practise divination in sleep. The two biles are the black bile, which causes gloominess and the yellow one, which causes cholera and anger. The former, astrologers say, is related to Saturn, the latter to Mars. Then, the priest appointed to examine the liver could easily give a prediction, provided that the entrails are of a good colour and condition. This is the case, Hephæstio of Thebes tells us,³ when the Moon is increasing in number and light and applies to beneficent stars. On the other hand, when the Moon is waning and is with Saturn, the entrails are livid, pale, and a watery colour; and when it is waxing and applies to Mars, the entrails are full of reddish spots. But when the Moon, in waxing, applies to Saturn, and in waning applies to Mars above the earth, the entrails are of a good complexion, and bode good fortune. It is the opposite when they are under the earth, especially with maleficent stars.

This text, like others on the foundation of temples or the casting of statues, shows us a hieratic ritual and testifies to the theurgic function of astrology in the Hellenistic world. The examination of the entrails (σπλαγχνοσκοπία), Hephæstio says, is not different from the judgment of any other *katarchē* (καταρχή) and the outcomes of an action, favourable or unfavourable, are similar to the bad or good conditions of the liver of the sacrificed animal. In fact, the two different configurations of the Moon with Saturn and Mars are carefully noted in the composition of Greek ephemerides. Delambre⁴ first drew attention to a small treatise

³ *Apotelesmatica* III, 6; Pingree I, p. 253.5; *Epitoma* IV, 81; Pingree II, pp. 284-285 (this text seems to me the more accurate): διατυποῖ δὲ τὰ ἐντὸς τῶν σπλάγγων ἄλλοτε ἄλλως καὶ πρὸς τὴν συνανακίοναμένην αὐτῇ τῶν ἀστέρων φύσιν. εἰς μὲν οὖν εὐχροίαν καὶ εὐεξίαν τρέπει ὅταν προστιθῆ τοῖς ἀριθμοῖς καὶ τοῖς φασὶ καὶ συνῆ ἀγαθοποιῶς, εἰς δὲ πελιδνότητα καὶ ὠχρότητα καὶ ἐξυδατωμένην χροίαν ὅτε καὶ ἀμάντευτα γίνεται τὰ κατὰ τὰ σπλάγγνα ὅταν λεψίφωτός τε ἦ καὶ μετὰ χρόνου τύχη, ἐὰν δὲ ἄρης αὐτῇ συνῆ πληρουμένη ποιῆ καὶ ξανθὰ σημεῖα καὶ δι' αἱμάτων εἰς ὅλον τὸ σπλάγγον, εὐκρατα δὲ ἐπὶ χρόνῳ μὲν πλήθουσα, ἄρει δὲ λήγουσα συνάπτῃ ὑπὲρ γῆν, καὶ καλὰ καὶ αἴσια καὶ μαντευτικά καὶ εὐσημα, τούναντίον δὲ ὅταν ὑπὸ γῆν, καὶ μάλιστα μετὰ τῶν κακοποιῶν. I have paraphrased this above.

⁴ J. B. J. Delambre, *Histoire de l'astronomie ancienne* (2 vols, Paris, 1817), II, pp. 635-38. Cf. O. Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy* (Berlin, Heidelberg, New York, 1975), pp. 1055-56.

which he found in a Byzantine manuscript,⁵ at the end of Theon's *Small Commentary to the Handy Tables*, where instructions are given on how an ephemeris should be laid out. The treatise gives some prescriptions about the the conditions of the aspects of the Moon to the Sun and the planets. Afterwards, this remark follows:

περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν σχηματισμῶν τῆς σελήνης
ἐπισημασιῶν (...) πρὸς δὲ κρόνον αὐξουσα μὲν ἀγαθὴ
ἔστι, λήγουσα δὲ φαύλη· πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἄρην,
τοῦναντίον, λήγουσα μὲν ἀγαθὴ, αὐξουσα δὲ φαύλη.

About the indications from the configurations of the Moon (...) the Moon towards Saturn, when it is waxing, is good, when waning is bad; towards Mars, the contrary: it is good when it is waning and bad when waxing.⁶

⁵ Par. gr. 2394 (CCAG 8/4 no. 78, p. 20). The text has been edited by Halma in: *Tables Manuelles astronomiques de Ptolémée et de Théon*, troisième partie (Paris, 1825), pp. 38-42. Other manuscripts: Par. gr. 2406, fo. 64v, Scorialensis II. Ψ. 17, fo. 55v, Par. gr. 2425, fo. 220r-221v and Par. gr. suppl. 38, eds H. D. Curtis and F. E. Robbins, 'An Ephemeris of 467 A.D', *Publications of the Observatory of the University of Michigan* (1935), vol. 6, no. 9, pp. 77-100. This treatise is cited in an almanac for the year 1353: see R. Mercier, *An Almanac for Trebizond for the year 1336* (Louvain la Neuve, 1994), p. 159.

⁶ I cite from Par. gr. 2406, fo. 65r. Similar statements can often be found in Byzantine astrological manuscripts, where the principle of *hairesis* applies to the *synaphē* of the Moon to all the planets, cf. e.g. Parisinus gr. 2491 (CCAG 8/4 no. 83, pp. 42-44), fo. 14r: περὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τῶν σχηματισμῶν τῆς σελήνης ἐπισημασιῶν· πρὸς δὲ κρόνον αὐξουσα μὲν ἀγαθὴ ἔστι, λήγουσα δὲ φαύλη· πρὸς δὲ τὸν ἄρην τοῦναντίον· λήγουσα μὲν ἀγαθὴ, αὐξουσα δὲ φαύλη· τετραγωνίζουσα μὲν ἢ διαμετροῦσα ἢ συμπαροῦσα ἐκατέρων αὐτῶν, πλεόν, τριγωνίζουσα ἢ ἐξαγωνίζουσα ἦττον. Πρὸς δὲ τὸν τοῦ διὸς ἢ ἀφροδίτης αἰὲ καλὴ ἔστι, ἀλλ' αὐξουσα μὲν πρὸς δία, λήγουσα δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀφροδίτην· ἢ τριγωνίζουσα μὲν ἢ ἐξαγωνίζουσα ἢ συμπαροῦσα πλεόν, τετραγωνίζουσα δὲ καὶ διαμετροῦσα ἦττον. Πρὸς δὲ ἐρμῆν μόνον εἰ φέρεται, τριγωνίζουσα μὲν ἢ ἐξαγωνίζουσα ἢ συμπαροῦσα ἀγαθὴ, τετραγωνίζουσα δὲ καὶ διαμετροῦσα φαύλη· εἰ δὲ πρὸς ἐρμῆν φερομένη καὶ ἑτέρῳ τινὶ συνάπτει, συνεξομοιοῦται ἢ τοῦ ἐρμού συναφῆ τῆ τοῦ ἀστέρους σχηματισμῶ. Furthermore, a physical explanation of these aspects of the Moon has been given, e.g. Βιβλίον σὺν θεῷ τῆς ἀστρονομικῆς τέχνης τῶν Περσῶν (ms. Angelicus 29 fo. 219v): ἀπὸ συνόδου τοίνυν τοῦ ἡλίου ἕως πανσελήνου καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν αὐξίφωτεῖ, ἀπὸ δὲ πανσελήνου ἕως ἄλλης συνόδου λειψίφωτεῖ· ὀφείλεις γοῦν προσέχειν καὶ τοῦτο· οἷαν ὥραν

This aphorism is widely attested in astrological literature. Sarapio of Alexandria says that if the Moon looks at Mars when it is waxing, or Saturn when it is waning, from quartile or opposition, especially when it is in a cardine, it produces loss and misfortune⁷. The reasoning behind this sentence (and many others like it) depends on the principle of αἵρεσις. This is clearly stated by Sarapio:

ὅτι ἡ σελήνη χαίρει συνάπτουσα μεστὴ μὲν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἡλίου αἵρεσιν, ἀποκρουστικὴ δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἑαυτῆς αἵρεσιν.

The Moon rejoices when, increasing in light, it applies to the sect (*hairesis*) of the Sun and, decreasing in light, applies to its own sect.⁸

In this sentence, Sarapio makes use of two astrological terms: αἵρεσις and χαίρειν (to rejoice). We return therefore to the starting point of our discourse. When Ptolemy (*Tetr.* I, 7) explains the principle of the αἵρεσις, he does not use the verb χαίρειν, but simply emphasizes the concept of suitable relation, *symmetria* (συμμετρία). It is the Greek anonymous commentator who, in expounding this notion of *συμμετρία*, mentions *chara* (χαρά, joy):

ἀπὸ συνόδου τοῦ ἡλίου συναφθῆ ἡ σελήνη τὸν ἄρην ἢ τετραγωνίζῃ ἢ διαμετροῖ, αὕτη ἡ συναφή τῆς σελήνης πολλὰ ἐπιζήμιος ὑπάρχει, διότι πεπερωμένη ἐξ ἡλίου συνάπτεται τῷ ἄρει θερμοῦ καὶ αὐτῷ ὄντι καὶ ἐξέρχεται ἡ φύσις αὐτῆς ἀπ' ἐκατέρωθεν θερμῆς εἰς δυσκρασίαν· ἐν δὲ τῇ πανσελήνῳ ἀπορρεύσασα ἐκ διαμέτρου τοῦ ἡλίου, φύσεως ψυχρῆς ὑπάρχει καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ὥραν εἰ συναφθῆ τῷ κρόνῳ, ἢ ψύξις ἐν αὐτῇ πλεονάζει, ὡς ἀπ' εὐκράτου πρὸς ψυχρὰν δυσκρασίαν, καὶ δηλοῖ ὅτι φθείρεται ἡ σελήνη· ὅταν δὲ ἡ σελήνη ἀπὸ συνόδου τοῦ ἡλίου συναφθῆ τῷ κρόνῳ τελείως ἀζήμιος ὑπάρχει, διότι ἀπὸ θερμῆς ψύχεται καὶ γίνεται εὐκράτος καὶ φθορὰν οὐ δηλοῖ· ὁμοίως καὶ ἐκ διαμέτρου εἰ συναφθῆ τῷ ἄρει, ζημίαν οὐκ ἔχει ὅτι εὐκράτος γίνεται. εἰς τὴν πρώτην τῆς σελήνης ἐὰν ὁ ἄρης βλέπῃ αὐτὴν, ζημίαν ἔχει, ὁ δὲ κρόνος οὐδὲν ζημιῖ· καὶ εἰς τὸ τέλος πάλιν ὁ μὲν κρόνος ζημιῖ, ὁ δὲ ἄρης οὐ ζημιῖ.

⁷ CCAG 8/4, p. 229.33.

⁸ CCAG 8/4, p. 229.11.

τῶν ἀστέρων ὅσοι μὲν εἰσιν εὐκράτοι χαίρουσι τῷ
ὁμοίῳ· φυλάττεται γὰρ αὐτῶν ἢ κρᾶσις διὰ τοῦ
ὁμοίου· ὅσοι δὲ δύσκρατοι, χαίρουσι τῷ ἀνομοίῳ.

The well-tempered stars rejoice in what is like them, because they maintain their complexion through what is like them; but the stars of bad temperament rejoice in what is dissimilar to them.⁹

This interpretation is correct in the Ptolemaic sense; χαίρειν is a hapax in the *Tetrabiblos* and appears together with αἴρεσις in a text (*Tetr.* I, 23) where Ptolemy discusses the δύναμις (strength) of the planets:

They say they rejoice (χαίρειν) when, even though the containing signs have no familiarity with the stars themselves, nevertheless they have it with the stars of the same sect (αἴρεσις); in this case the sympathy arises less directly. They share, however, in the similarity in the same way; just as, on the contrary, when they are found in alien regions belonging to the opposite sect, a great part of their proper power is paralysed, because the temperament which arises from the dissimilarity of the signs produces a different and adulterated nature.¹⁰

To understand the concept of αἴρεσις and its connection with κρᾶς, let us examine briefly the first chapters of the first book of the *Tetrabiblos*, where Ptolemy deals with the natures of the planets. In I, 4 he declares τὸ ποιητικόν, the active or productive power, of planets in physical terms according to their primary qualities. In I, 5 he distinguishes the planets as benefic and malefic on the basis of their productive quality (ποιητικόν); Saturn and Mars produce excessive coldness and excessive dryness and are bad tempered. In I, 6 he makes a distinction between masculine and feminine planets based on the principle of the moist quality prevailing in them. Finally, in I, 7 he explains what the αἴρεσις of planets is, but he does not mention the

⁹ In *Claudii Ptolemæi quadripartitum enarrator ignoti nominis, quem tamen Proclum fuisse quidam existimant* (Basel, 1554), p. 23.

¹⁰ Robbins' translation (Ptolemy, *Tetrabiblos*, tr. F.E. Robbins (Cambridge, MA, 1940, p. 113).

χαρά. Indeed, the first chapters deal generally with the nature, φύσις, of planets as a whole, while the χαρά is related to the different kinds of κρᾶσις, temperament, and δύναμις, strength, of planets in their various positions and configurations. As to their positions, the masculine and feminine places, both in the zodiac and in the diurnal motion, must be noted; as to their configurations, their morning or evening rising and setting. Ptolemy does not mention these conditions, but they are clearly pointed out by the Greek anonymous commentator:

ἐθέλει γὰρ μὴ μόνον κατὰ τὴν τῆς κρᾶσεως δύναμιν οἰκειῶσαι τὰς αἰρέσεις τοῖς πλανωμένοις, τὰς ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ τὸ θῆλυ, ἔτι δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὸ ἡμερινὸν καὶ νυκτερινόν.

Vult nam non solum secundum complexionis potestatem factiones planetis assimilare, sed etiam secundum masculinitatem et femininitatem atque etiam secundum diurnum et nocturnum.¹¹

For he wishes to affiliate the sects to the planets not only according to the power of the temperament, but also according to masculine and feminine, and even to day and night.

The whole matter has been explained, in a masterful manner, by Theophilus of Edessa:

φύσιν δὲ λέγω τὴν κακοποιΐαν καὶ τὴν ἀγαθοποιΐαν, κρᾶσιν δὲ τὴν εἰς τὴν θέσιν καὶ τὴν συνάφειαν καὶ ἣν ἔχουσι καθ' αἰρέσιν ἀναλογίαν, τόπους δὲ καλοὺς ἢ κακοὺς, ὡς ὅταν ἐπὶ κέντρων ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπαναφορῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀποκλιμάτων ᾧσι· δύναμιν δὲ ὡς ὅταν ἀνατολικοὶ ᾧσι ἢ ἐσπέριοι ἢ ὑπαυγοὶ ἢ ἡμερινοὶ ἢ νυκτερινοὶ ἢ ἐν ἰδίῳις τριγώνοις ἢ ἐν ὑψώμασιν ᾧσιν.

By nature, *phusis*, I mean the beneficent and maleficent quality; by temperament, *krasis*, what results from their

¹¹ My citation is from ms. Complutensis, Villamil. n. 27, fo. 15r, which presents a more accurate text. The Latin version is from ms. Complutensis 117Z34, fo. 19v.

position and application and their relation with respect to αἵρεσις; and as to the places, good or bad, I mean the angles, the succedents or the cadent places; by strength, δύναμις, I mean when they are oriental or occidental or combust, or diurnal or nocturnal, or in their own trigons [triplicities] or exaltations.¹²

In the first chapters of the *Tetrabiblos*, Ptolemy gives an account of the φύσις of the planets, that is, of their active power (τὸ ποιητικόν) in an absolute sense, and in the seventh chapter he describes this same active power in a relative sense, namely compared to an ideal temperament. The *hairesis* of a planet is a *symmetria*, a good proportion, that brings the planet to a kind of μεσότης (happy medium) of its active power. So *hairesis* is not a part of *nature*, but must be considered for judging the temperament, κρᾶσις, and strength, δύναμις; and when a planet maintains a good proportion with respect both to temperament and strength, they say that it is rejoicing, χαίρει. Julian of Laodicea expresses this concept well in the following sentence:

...οἱ δὲ κατὰ αἵρεσιν τοῖς κατ' ἀξίαν καὶ κατὰ φύσιν
[sc. οἰκειοῦνται], οἱ δὲ παρ' αἵρεσιν βιαίους,
ἀδίκους...

...the planets consonant with their *hairesis* signify what happens befittingly and according to nature, but those non consonant signify violent events and injustice...¹³

Furthermore, because accordance with *hairesis* produces a temperament, astrologers judge sympathy and identity from it: if Mars

...ἀπὸ μὲν αἰρετιστῶν ἀπορρέων ἢ συνάπτων,
ὁμογενεῖς τοὺς μαχομένους δηλώσει· ἀνθαιρετισταῖς
δὲ συνάπτων ἢ ἀπορρέων, οὐχ ὁμοφύλους...

¹² This is a chapter, Περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τοῦ ἔτους, from the treatise Πῶς δεῖ σκέπτεσθαι τὰς μεταφορὰς τοῦ χρόνου, transmitted by about ten manuscripts. My text is slightly different from the fragment published, without the name of Theophilus, by S. Weinstock in *CCAG* 9/1, pp. 176-79.

¹³ *CCAG* 5/1 p. 190.11-12.

...separates from or applies to planets of the same *hairesis*, this shows that the fighters are of the same tribe; but if it separates from or applies to planets of the opposite *hairesis*, they are not of the same race....¹⁴

Finally, accordance with *hairesis* tempers the destructive effect of the maleficent planets. As a general rule, Dorotheus says:

mā yaḍurru zuḥal bi-man walada nahārā wa-'l-mirrīkh
bi-man walada laylā

Saturn does not harm one who is born by day and Mars
one who is born by night.¹⁵

In the treatment of *hairesis* and *chara* there are no substantial differences in Greek astrology. Nevertheless, it is possible to discern, among the few extant statements, a difference between strict and well-defined comments and others more open to interpretation. To the first group belong those of Rhetorius, Sarapio of Alexandria¹⁶ and Vettius Valens;¹⁷ to the second, those of Antiochus,¹⁸ Paulus of Alexandria,¹⁹ and

¹⁴ Julian of Laodicea, *CCAG* 5/1, p. 183.20-22.

¹⁵ *Carmen astrologicum* I, 6. Pingree's translation is not accurate, cf. *ibid.* p. 165.

¹⁶ Sarapio Al., *CCAG* 8/4, p. 231.16-22: 'Saturn, Jupiter and Mars rejoice when they are morning stars and in mutual aspect, but the Moon and Venus when they are following the Sun and are evening stars. Besides, Saturn, Jupiter and Mars rejoice when they are situated in the oriental quadrants of the zodiac, but the Moon and Venus in the others. Also, the diurnal planets rejoice by day above the earth and the nocturnal ones below; and at night the diurnal planets rejoice below the earth and the nocturnal ones above the earth.' χαίρουσιν οἱ ἀστέρες, ὁ μὲν Κρόνος καὶ Ζεὺς καὶ Ἄρης ἑῶι ὄντες καὶ συσχηματιζόμενοι, Σελήνη δὲ καὶ Ἀφροδίτη ἐπόμεναι καὶ ἑσπέρια· ἔτι δὲ Κρόνος μὲν καὶ Ζεὺς καὶ Ἄρης χαίρουσι συσχηματιζόμενοι ἐν τοῖς ἑῶις τεταρτημορίοις τοῦ ζῳδιακοῦ, Σελήνη δὲ καὶ Ἀφροδίτη ἐν τοῖς ἐναλλάξ· καὶ οἱ μὲν ἡμερινοὶ δι' ἡμέρας ὑπέργειοι χαίρουσιν, οἱ δὲ νυκτερινοὶ ὑπόγειοι· καὶ ἔμπαλιν οἱ μὲν ἡμερινοὶ διὰ νυκτὸς ὑπόγειοι χαίρουσιν, οἱ δὲ νυκτερινοὶ ὑπέργειοι. The text of Rhetorius is very similar, cf. *CCAG* I, p. 159.20 (a better version is in Par.gr.2501, fo. 193r).

¹⁷ *Anthology*, III, 5; p. 133.31-134.7 Pingree: 'It is also necessary to consider the *hairesis* of the stars, for the Sun, Jupiter and Saturn rejoice when they are above the earth by day and below at night. The Moon, Mars and Venus rejoice when

Firmicus.²⁰ In fact, these comments are not in opposition. On the

they are above the earth at night and below by day; Mercury goes with the *hairesis* of the ruler of his terms. Hence, for those who are born by day, if someone should be found to have Jupiter, the Sun and Saturn well aspected above the earth, it will be better than having them beneath the earth. Similarly also for the nocturnal planets, if someone should have them above the earth at night, it will be useful'. Δεῖ δὲ σκοπεῖν καὶ τὰς αἰρέσεις τῶν ἀστέρων. Ἥλιος μὲν γὰρ καὶ Ζεὺς καὶ Κρόνος ἡμέρας ὑπέργειοι χαίρουσιν, νυκτὸς δὲ ὑπόγειοι. Σελήνη δὲ καὶ Ἄρης καὶ Ἀφροδίτη νυκτὸς ὑπέργειοι χαίρουσιν, ἡμέρας δὲ ὑπόγειοι. Ἐρμῆς παρὰ τὰς αἰρέσεις τοῦ οἰκοδεσπότη ἐν οἷς ἐστὶν ὀρίοις. ὅθεν ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἡμέρας γεννωμένων ἐάν τις εὐρεθῆ ἔχων Δία, Ἥλιον, Κρόνον ὑπεργείους καλῶς ἐσηματισμένους, ἄμεινον ἔσται τοῦ ὑπογείου ἔχοντος· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοὺς νυκτερινούς <νυκτὸς> ἐάν ὑπεργείους τις ἔχη, σύμφορον.

¹⁸ CCAG 8/3, p. 112.8-13: 'Of the five planets, Saturn and Jupiter, when they are morning stars, share the *hairesis* of the Sun and are called diurnal: they rejoice during the day by being operational in diurnal domiciles and terms. Mars and Venus are called nocturnal and they share the *hairesis* of the Moon. Mercury is common and it assimilates to the star with which it is in relationship'. τῶν ἐ' πλανωμένων Κρόνος μὲν <καὶ> Ζεὺς ἐῶι ὄντες τῆς αἰρέσεώς εἰσιν τοῦ Ἥλιου καὶ καλοῦνται ἡμερινοί· χαίρουσι γὰρ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ χρηματίζοντες ἐν οἴκοις ἡμερινοῖς καὶ ὀρίοις. Ἄρης δὲ καὶ Ἀφροδίτη νυκτερινοί τε λέγονται καὶ τῆς Σελήνης αἰρέσεώς εἰσιν. ὁ δὲ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἐπίκοινος· ὃ γὰρ ἂν σηματοισθῆ τῶν ἀστέρων, τούτῳ καὶ ἐξοικειοῦται.

¹⁹ Cf. ch. 6, p. 18.16-19.4 Boer. 'The Sun is in possession of the day, the morning rising and masculine signs and his partners, δορυφόροι, are Saturn and Jupiter. The Moon is in possession of the night, the evening rising and the feminine signs and her partners are Mars and Venus.' ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἥλιος ἐκλήρωσατο τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ τὴν ἐῶαν ἀνατολὴν καὶ τὰ ἀρρενικὰ ζῳδία, δορυφόρους δὲ ἔχει τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς ἀστέρα, ἡ δὲ Σελήνη τὴν νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἑσπερίαν ἀνατολὴν καὶ τὰ θηλυκὰ ζῳδία, δορυφόρους δὲ ἔχει τὸν τοῦ Ἄρεως καὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἀστέρα.

²⁰ *Mathesis*, II, 7.2, Kroll, Skutsch I, p. 49: *De stellarum conditione*. Per diem gaudent Sol Iuppiter Saturnus; conditionem itaque Solis secuntur Iuppiter et Saturnus; ideo in diurnis genituris in oportunitis locis positi maiorem vim habent, ac ut plurimum bonam fortunam, fœlicitatemque decernunt. Per noctem autem gaudent Luna, Mars ac Venus; conditionem itaque Lunæ sequuntur Mars et Venus, nam Mercurius, quoniam ad utranque naturam se accommodat, ideo modo diurnus est, modo nocturnus, sed orientalis diurnus est, occidentalis vero nocturnus, hic fortior quam illis, permixtis tamen stellis inter utrunque

contrary, they show a common principle: the planets of each *hairesis* must accord with their leader, the ἀίρεσιάρχης, and model themselves on its nature and behaviour. Thus, diurnal planets rejoice during the day, in masculine signs and in masculine quadrants, and in their morning rising (both oriental to the Sun and visible); nocturnal ones, during the night, in the feminine signs and quadrants, and in their evening rising (i.e. occidental to the Sun and visible). Of all these conditions, the first in order and efficacy is the heliacal rising, because the first appearance of the planet, in the morning or in the evening, is the visible beginning of its synodic cycle and has always been considered as the most valid evidence of its strength. Theophilus of Edessa clearly expresses this concept when speaking of the strength of the phases of the planets:

καὶ ὁ μὲν ὕπαυγος παντάπασιν ἀδρανής, ὁ δὲ ἀνατολικὸς ἔμπρακτος ἐάντερ χρηματίζῃ· καὶ ἔϋαν μὲν ποιῶν ἀνατολήν, εὐτονώτερας καὶ εὐθυβόλους σημαίνει τὰς πράξεις, ἔσπερίαν δὲ, βραδυτέρας· κρεῖττον δὲ ἂν καὶ τὰς ἀνατολικὰς καθ' αἴρεσιν ἔχωσιν, τουτέστι οἱ μὲν ἡμερινοὶ ἑφάσ ποιούμενοι, οἱ δὲ νυκτερινοὶ ἔσπερίας· οὕτω γὰρ εὐπραξίας καὶ εὐπορίας αἴτιοι γίνονται.

The combust planet is wholly impotent and the rising one is effective, if it occupies an operative place; and if it is making a morning rising it signifies vigorous actions, hitting the mark; but at its evening rising the actions are slower. And it is better if the rising is according to the *hairesis*, that is, when the diurnal planets make morning

concedens ('maiolem...concedens' only in Iulius Firmicus, *Astronomicorum libri octo*, ed. Pescennius Franciscus Niger [Venice, 1499]).

II, 20.11, Kroll and Skutsch I, p. 67: Quære etiam, si diurna genitura est, quatenus stellæ, quæ per diem gaudent, positæ sint et quatenus quæ nocturnis; si enim stellæ, quæ per diem gaudent, in diurna genitura principales possederint locos et in primis cardinibus fuerint inventæ, maxima felicitatis incrementa decernunt. Si vero stellæ, quas per noctem gaudere diximus, in diurna genitura principalia loca vel primos genituræ possederint cardines, infinita infortunia continuatis calamitatibus indicunt.

risings and the nocturnal ones evening risings: thus they become the cause of success and abundance.²¹

Moreover, the phases of the planets, not as a whole, but according to the *hairesis*, form the basis for the δορυφορία, attendance, because in the *doryphoria* the planets are required to be in accordance with the *hairesis*:

ἡ εὐτυχία γίνεται ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν ἀστέρων ἑώας ἀνατολῆς καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκείας αὐτῶν αἰρέσεως καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐγκεντρότητος αὐτῶν.

The success comes from the morning rising of the stars and from their suitable *hairesis* and from their positions in the cardinal points.²²

One of the later Greek texts that gives an account of *hairesis* is the scholia of Demophilus, an astrologer of the 10th century, at the end of the *Introduction to the Tetrabiblos* ascribed to Porphry. In these scholia, Arabic elements seem to be absent. Nevertheless, in the scholia numbered by Weinstock 53 and 54, he presents two schemas of *hairesis*, each of them doubled, according to the position of the planet either in reference to the Sun or to its motion along the zodiac. Furthermore, Demophilus does not take into consideration the distinction between diurnal and nocturnal planets, but only between superior and inferior ones. Furthermore, at the beginning of scholion no. 53, Demophilus makes use of a technical term that does not belong to Greek astrological literature:

...ὅταν ὁ πλανήτης ὑπάρχη εἰς τινα τόπον τῆς ἰδίας ἀξίας, ἤγουν εἰς οἶκον, ἢ εἰς τρίγωνον, ἢ εἰς ὑψωμα, ἢ εἰς ὄρια, ἢ εἰς πρόσωπον ἢ τόπον ἐν ᾧ χείρει.

²¹ Περὶ κοινῶν καὶ καθολικῶν καταρχῶν. My citation is from Marcianus 335, fo. 88v.

²² Greek version of the commentary of the pseudo-Ptolemaic *Centiloquium* of Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn al-Dāya, kalima 29. The Arabic text has *tashrīq* instead of ἑώας ἀνατολῆς and *dastūriyya* instead of τῆς οἰκείας αὐτῶν αἰρέσεως. On these terms, see al-Bīrūnī, *The Book of Instruction in the Elements of the Art of Astrology*, ed. R. Wright, (London, 1934), pp. 296ff.; G. Bezza, *Commento al primo libro della Tetrabiblos di Claudio Tolomeo* (Milan, 1991), pp. 132-37.

...when a planet is in a place of one of its *dignities*, that is to say, in its domicile or triplicity or exaltation or term or decan or in a place which is its joy.²³

The term ἀξία (*axia*, dignity) translates the Arabic *ḥazz*, and for this reason we can presume that the scholia of Demophilus depends on an original Arabic text. No term exactly equivalent to *ḥazz* can be found in Greek astrology. Of the nearest equivalents, οἰκειῶσις (*oikeiōsis*), which Ptolemy favours, has a very broad sense of connection of things, with a hint of the Stoic idea of *conciliatio naturae*, while λόγος (*logos*) covers a wider semantic field. In fact, Demophilus, who lived in the late 10th century, translated word for word a text of Sahl ibn Bishr (first half of 9th century) about the conditions of the strength of the planets, and this text was frequently quoted in medieval astrology.²⁴ *Ḥazz* has two meanings: ‘fortune, good fortune’, and ‘share, portion’. The latter is the meaning of *ḥazz* as an astrological technical term. When the astrologers say that the planets have, in the zodiacal signs, a domicile, exaltation, triplicity, term

²³ CCAG 5/4, p. 226.24-27.

²⁴ See in **Appendix A** the parallel texts of Demophilus, Sahl and Andalone di Nigro. Viktor Stegemann was the first to show the dependence of many scholia of Demophilus on the text of Sahl ibn Bishr: see *Doroteo von Sidon und das sogenannte Introductorium des Sahl ibn Bišr* (Prague, 1942), pp. 83-87. A Byzantine translation of the text of Sahl ibn Bishr has been published in CCAG 5/3, p. 109. The topic of the *fortitudines planetarum* usually consists of eleven clauses and there are two distinct forms: the tradition handed down by Abū Ma’shar (*Liber introductorii maioris ad scientiam iudiciorum astrorum*, VII, 6, ed. R. Lemay, [9 vols, Naples, 1995] [hereafter *Greater Introduction*], III, p. 546) and al-Qabīṣī (*The Introduction to Astrology*, eds Ch. Burnett, K. Yamamoto, M. Yano, [London – Turin, 2004], III, 25-26, p. 100) and that transmitted by Māshā’allāh (cf. *Incipit liber Messahala de 14. proprietatibus stellarum que videlicet generationi et corruptioni omnium rerum deserviunt*, ms. Bodl. Oxford Digby 47, fo. 88v-89r) and by Sahl ibn Bishr (*Incipit introductorium de principijs iudiciorum Zahelis Ysmaelite, apud Liber quadripartiti Ptholemei* [Venice, 1493] [hereafter *Liber quadripartiti Ptholemei*], fo. 125ab). The latter is the best attested, sometimes with reference to Sahl, cf. Thomas Rocha, *Incipit compilatio quedam terminorum astronomie* (Montpellier, 1501), S. b4r-v: ‘Confortatio planetarum seu vigoris crementum fit propter locum in quo est, quia locus ille iuvat planetam et secundum Algazel fit multis modis...’.

or decan, they say, as a general rule, that the planets have one *ḥazz* or more *ḥuzūz* in the signs.²⁵ Therefore, the technical meaning of *ḥazz* is more restrictive than the Ptolemaic λόγος, although it is very similar. Al-Bīrūnī gives *naṣīb* as a synonym for *ḥazz*, to signify that a planet has a ‘share’ in its sign; but, if that is not the case, it is said to be *gharīb*, odd, a stranger.²⁶ Later on, medieval astrology acquired these terms, and *ḥazz* becomes *dignitas*, *gharīb* and *ighrāb*, *peregrinus* and *peregrinitas*.²⁷ Even though *dignitas* does not reproduce the exact meaning of *ḥazz*, Latin medieval astrologers were aware of its interpretative context.

As a general rule, a distinction was made between *dignitates essentialia* and *accidentales*, the former being related to motion along the zodiac, that is, the zodiacal signs, the latter to diurnal motion, that is, the houses. This distinction clearly reveals an indebtedness of Latin medieval astrology to the Arabs. The *dignitates essentialia* originate from the Arabic *al-ḥuzūz al-dhātīyya* or *ḥuzūz bi-l-tab* ‘essential dignities’ or ‘dignities according to nature’;²⁸ the *dignitates accidentales* from *al-ḥuzūz al-‘arḍīyya* or *ḥuzūz bi-l-‘arḍ* ‘accidental dignities’.²⁹

²⁵ Cf. al-Qabīṣī, *The Introduction to Astrology*, I, 13, p. 22, line 49.

²⁶ Al-Bīrūnī, *The Book of Instruction*, p. 306, § 493.

²⁷ In his translation of the *Liber introductorii maioris* of Abū Ma’shar, John of Seville always renders *ḥazz* with *dignitas*. Cf. G. Vitali, *Lexicon mathematicum astronomicum geometricum* (ristampa anastatica dell’edizione parigina del 1668), ed. G. Bezza, (La Spezia, 2003), p. 406 (370): ‘Peregrinus apud astronomos dicitur planeta repertus in loco, ubi nullam habet dignitatem, ex quinque essentialibus, domicilio nempe, exaltatione, trigono, terminis et facie, ut Sol in Virgine, Luna in Geminis, etc.’.

²⁸ Al-Qabīṣī has both expressions, cf. *The Introduction to Astrology*, I, 13: I, 22; I, 70; III, 31. Cf. Leonardo Qualea, *Compendium clari viri Leonardi Qualea quod Astronomiam medicinalem nuncupari voluit, ex multis Syrorum, Indorum, Arabum, Persarum, Egyptiorum, Grecorum et Latinorum voluminibus compilatum in facilitatem medicorum et commoditatem infirmorum*, ms. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 10264, fo. 71r: ‘Quasdam potestates naturales, quasdam vero actuales habent singuli planete in signis (...) Naturales igitur potestates sunt septem et actuales tres. Naturales potestates sunt: domus, exaltatio, triplicitas, terminus, gaudium, facies et dignitas; actuales vero sunt virtus, dies et hora’.

²⁹ When reference is made to the strength that planets acquire thanks to their *ḥuzūz*, astrologers speak of *quwwa*, *potestas*, like Qualea (see note 28 above).

However, because *ḥazz* also means good fortune, *felicitas vel proprie portio boni cuiusdam*,³⁰ when a planet is in one of its *ḥuzūz*, it always indicates something good. But, if one of the principal places of a man's nativity is in the *ḥuzūz* of a maleficent planet, it cannot indicate evil.

Si fuerit Mars dominus horoscopi, cum planete non infortunent dignitates suas (*wa laysa yanḥasu al-kawākib ḥuzūz*) quin dispergat et impediat quicquid est in secunda ... salvabit quod est ascendentis.³¹

If Mars is the lord of the ascendant, because the planets do not harm his dignities, although he will squander and obstruct whatever is in the second [place]...he will preserve what belongs to the ascendant.

Ḥazz is frequently used in the sense of share and therefore it is not different from the technical astrological meaning of the Greek λόγος; see, for example, the Ptolemaic expression οἰκοδεσποτικὸς λόγος.³² Thus, because the first significance of *ḥazz* is 'good fortune', it indicates having a share in some good. When the astrologers speak of *ḥuzūz bi-l-ṭab'*, this

Cf. al-Qabīṣī, *The Introduction to Astrology*, I, 22; Kūshyār ibn Labbān, *Introduction to Astrology*, ed. and trans. M. Yano, (Tokyo, 1997), p. 55: 'The powers of the planets <of which there are three kinds>: <1> the essential, <2> the accidental, and <3> the beneficial'; cf. the pseudo-Aḥmad al-Farsī (Angelicus 29, fo. 185r, cap.164; cf. Palatinus gr. 312, fo. 92v cap.23 and Marcianus gr. 324, fo. 209r, cap.23): εἰς τὰς δυνάμεις τῶν ἀστέρων, τὸ κατ' οὐσίαν - καθόλου αἱ δυνάμεις τῶν ἀστέρων ἐκ τῶν τριῶν γενῶν εἰσί, τὸ μὲν κατ' οὐσίαν, τὸ δὲ κατὰ συμβεβηκός, τὸ δὲ κατὰ ἀγαθότητα (this anonymous compilation depends greatly on the treatise of Kūshyār ibn Labbān).

³⁰ G. W. Freytag, *Lexicon Arabico-latinum* (Beirut, 1975), I, 397b.

³¹ Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf ibn al-Dāya, *Kitāb al-thamara*, kalima 85 (*in substantia intronizanti*), *apud Liber quadripartiti Ptholemei*, fo. 115ra. On the other hand, if the malefic is in the opposite condition, it will destroy the native's body, cf. *ibid.*, fo. 114ra, kalima 75: 'Cum Mars coniunctus fuerit cum domino ascendentis corporaliter in Leone et non fuerit Marti in ascendente aliqua dignitas (*wa-lam yakūn li'l-mirrikh ḥazz fī 'l-ṭāli*) ... natus ille cremabitur'.

³² *Apotelesmatika* III, 3, eds Boll Boer, p. 111.12.

good preexists potentially, but it exists in actuality in the *ḥuḏūz bi-l-'arḏ*. This difference was well understood by Qualea in his Aristotelian distinction between *potestates naturales* and *actuales*.³³ And because this good is something in nature, an essence, the astrologers provided some metaphorical meanings for these goods.³⁴ Astrologers often represent by

³³ See note 28 above. This meaning is well understood by M. Gloton, who translates *ḥazz* by *prédisposition*, cfr. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Jurjānī, *Kitāb al-Ta'rifāt* (Teheran, 1994), p. 184.

³⁴ Cf. al-Qabīṣī, *The Introduction to Astrology*, I, 23, p. 32, line 145; *Iudicia Alkindi*, apud al-Qabīṣī, p. 392; Kūshyār ibn Labbān, *Introduction*, I, 19.2, p. 55; *Incipit liber Messahala de 14. proprietatibus*, fo. 92r: 'Nam stella quelibet in propria domo et fortitudine vigens homini in domo propria et sue professioni viriliter insistenti comparatur. Nam in regno suo cuilibet regnanti vel regi similis est. In ternario quoque quasi qui inter custodes et defensores et coadiutores moratur et huius formam retinet. Rursus stella in termino suo homini qui in patria et cognatione versatur similis est. In facie existens quasi artifex dum formas et ymaginum figuras insculpit reputatur'; 'Alī ibn Riḏwān, apud *Liber quadripartiti Ptholemei*, fo. 23a: 'potentia planete in domo sua similis est potentie hominis in sua domo, qui ibit quocumque voluerit et faciet quod sibi placebit. Et potentia planete in triplicitate sua similis est potentie hominis inter vassallos et auxiliares suos. Et potentia planete in exaltatione sua similis est potentie hominis in regno suo. Et potentia planete in suo termino similis est potentie hominis in villa sua. Et potentia planete in sua facie similis est potentie hominis in magisterio suo'; pseudo-Aḥmad al-Farsī (Angelicus 29, fo. 185r, cap.164; cfr. Palatinus gr. 312, fo. 92v cap.23 and Marcianus gr. 324, fo. 209r, cap.23: διότι ὁ ἀστήρ ὁ ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ ὁμοίος ἐστὶ τῷ ὄντι εἰς τὸ στερέωμα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς τὸν τόπον καὶ τὴν εἰρήνην αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ ἀστήρ ὁ ὄν ἐν τῷ ὑψώματι αὐτοῦ ὁμοίος ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ὄντι ἐν τῇ τιμῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐθεντεῖα καὶ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ ὄν ἐν τῷ τριγώνῳ, ὁμοίος ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ὄντι μέσον φίλων καὶ βοηθῶν αὐτοῦ· ὁ δὲ ὄν ἐν τῷ προσώπῳ αὐτοῦ, ὁμοίος ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ὄντι εἰς τὸ χωρίον αὐτοῦ· (...) ὁ δὲ ὄν εἰς τὰ ὄρια αὐτοῦ, ὁμοίος ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ὄντι μέσον τῶν ἰδίων ἀδελφῶν καὶ γειτόνων. Among the medieval astrologers, cf. Andalone di Nigro, *Incipit introductorium valde necessarium ad iudicia astrologie editum a domino andolo de nigro de janua in arte astrologie peritissimo*, ms. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat. 7272, fo. 106rv: 'Quidam autem de hac re dederunt comparationem dicentes quod planeta cum in domo sua fuerit similis est viro in domo atque sua dominatione. Et cum fuerit in termino suo est sicut vir inter parentes suos cognatos atque gentes. Et cum fuerit in triplicitate sua et est sicut vir in suo honore et in ter auxiliares atque ministros suos. Et cum fuerit in facie sua est sicut vir in suo magisterio. Hec sunt universe potestates planetarum essentielles in signis'.

metaphorical images what the planets signify in the various states of their motions,³⁵ but the authors mentioned above (see note 34) add some other metaphorical images, related to the *ḥuzūz bi-l-‘ard*: Kūshyār ibn Labbān *farah*, Greek χαρά, and *ḥayyiz*, Greek ἄρεσις,³⁶ as well as pseudo-Aḥmad al-Farsī, who usually follows Kūshyār ibn Labbān, where *ḥayyiz* is translated as ἀγαθότης (lit., ‘goodness’),³⁷ al-Kindī *ialib*,³⁸ al-Qabīṣī *ḥalb* and *ḥayyiz* together,³⁹ Māshā’allāh *ḥayyiz*, translated into Latin as *habitus*.⁴⁰

The *dignitates accidentales* are obviously more numerous than the *dignitates essentiales*, because they indicate various states at one or more moments in time. In Arabic astrology these states are named *ḥālāt* or

³⁵ See, for example, *Abrahe Avenaris Iudei astrologi peritissimi in re iudiciali opera: ab excellentissimo philosopho Petro de Abano post accuratam castigationem in latinum traductum* (Venice, 1507), fo. 27r-28v (*Principium sapientiae*); *Libri mysteriorum Apomasaris*, II, § 167ff.

³⁶ Kūshyār ibn Labbān, *Introduction*, I, 19.2, p. 55: ‘When it (the planet) is in its “joy” (*farah*) it is like a man in his recreation ground and gaiety; when it is in its “domain” (*ḥayyiz*), it is like a man among his acquaintances and friends’.

³⁷ Angelicus 29, fo. 185r: ὁ δὲ ὦν ἐν τῇ χαρᾷ αὐτοῦ, ὁμοίος ἐστὶ εἰς τόπον χαρᾶς καὶ τιμῆς: (...) ὁ δὲ ὦν εἰς τὴν ἀγαθότητα αὐτοῦ, ὁμοίος ἐστὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ὄντι μέσον τῶν γνωρίμων καὶ τῶν φίλων αὐτοῦ.

³⁸ *Iudicia Alkindi, apud al-Qabīṣī, The Introduction to Astrology*, p. 392: ‘In ialib viget velud vir lucrans fortunaque pollens’. Cf. Guido Bonatti, *Decem continens tractatus de astronomia*, (Augsburg, 1491), ccD3,2r: ‘Unde cum planeta fuerit significator alicuius rei et fuerit in sua similitudine melius et perfectius, perficiet rem quam significaverit quam cum non fuerit in sua similitudine. Et est *aym* quedam fortitudo et tunc erit planeta aliquantulum fortior quam cum non est in sua *aym*, sicuti est qui est in statu in quo lucretur et satisfacit quodammodo sue intentioni et perficit et fortuna videtur ei favere’.

³⁹ Al-Qabīṣī, *The Introduction to Astrology*, I, 78, p. 61: ‘Its power is like the power of a man in the place of his benefits, his gain, and his good fortune’.

⁴⁰ *Incipit liber Messahala de 14. proprietatibus*, fo. 92r: ‘Quod si sue habitudinis locum obtineat, ut diurna de die et econtra quasi qui lucri et prosperitatis sorte splendescit’; cf. John Danko of Saxony, *Scriptum super Alchabitium...* (Venice, 1521), fo. 48a: ‘Et erit tunc fortitudo sua sicut fortitudo viri in loco sui profectus et lucri atque fortune’.

awḥāl (sing. *ḥāl*). *Ḥāl* means a temporary condition, which is opposed to *malaka*, the permanent one. These are their meanings as philosophical terms: *ḥāl* translates the Aristotelian term *διάθεσις* (*diathesis*, ‘active condition’), which is opposed to *ἔξις* (*hexis*, ‘state’). Abū Ma’shar, in the *Kitāb al-mukhtaṣar*, describes 25 *ḥālāt* of the planets, the first of them being the *ḥayyiz*.⁴¹ Kunitzsch⁴² and Pingree⁴³ supposed that the technical terms of these *ḥālāt* pre-existed in the late Antique Greek astrological treatises. It is, however, hard to agree with this. Many of these terms do not have a corresponding Greek word and very few of them are attested in the Greek astrological treatises. It is, however, true that Ptolemy’s commentators, from Ibn Riḍwān to Cardanus and Naibod, considered the doctrine of the *ḥālāt* as an implicit development of the last two chapters of the first book of the *Tetrabiblos*, and virtually contained in it.⁴⁴ But Arabic astrology profoundly extended the technical lexicon

⁴¹ Cf. Abū Ma’shar, *The Abbreviation of the Introduction to Astrology*, ed. and trans. Ch. Burnett, K. Yamamoto, M. Yano, (Leiden, New York and Cologne, 1994), p. 40. Sahl ibn Bishr (*Kitāb al-aḥkām ‘alā al-niṣba al-falakiyya*, cf. M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam* [Leiden, 1972], pp. 309ff. Stegemann, *Doroteo von Sidon*, p. 37) does not use the term *ḥāl*, but *wajh*, in Latin translation *modus*, and most of the Latin astrologers follow him: Andalone di Nigro, *Introductorium*, fo. 164r: ‘de effectu et detrimento planetarum in modis 16.’; Magister Romanus, *Tractatus de xvi impedimentis in astronomia*, ms. München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 25005, fo. 50v: ‘Scito quod omne quod stelle significant sc. an res fiant et perficiantur aut quod prohibent quod non fiant nec perficiuntur et que sunt et destruuntur postquam sint perfecte, sit 16. modis’; Bonatti, *Decem tractatus de astronomia*, S. f7ra, G1ra (‘16. modi’); John Danko of Saxony, *Scriptum super Alchabitium*, fo. 54a (‘esse, modi’).

⁴² P. Kunitzsch, *Mittelalterliche astronomisch-astrologische Glossare mit arabischen Fachausdrücken* (Munich, 1977), p. 25, n. 43.

⁴³ D. Pingree, *From Astral Omens to Astrology. From Babylon to Bīkānēr* (Rome, 1997), p. 71.

⁴⁴ Cf. Ibn Riḍwān, *apud Liber quadripartiti Ptholemei* (ca. xxii. *In almugea, id est in visionem adinvicem facie ad faciem et in alchinara, id est splendore, et in his similibus*) fo. 28va: ‘Ptholemeus nominat in hoc loco status planetarum respectu unius ad alium et dicit quod planete gaudent et fortificantur cum habuerint participationem unius scilicet cum alio qui secum concordet concordia naturali vel accidentali, quamvis planeta non sit per se in signo convenienti sibi et econtra. (...) Hi vero status secundum quod multi sapientum dixerunt sunt

and often the same concept has a different name and a different meaning in Greek and Arabic astrology. That is the case for the Greek term αἵρεσις. Bouché-Leclercq said that ‘les Arabes ont fait de αἵρεσις *haiz* ou *alahiz*’,⁴⁵ but these terms are neither the transcription of the Greek word, nor the loan-translation used to render its meaning.⁴⁶ The proper meaning of *ḥayyiz* is ‘a container or receptacle of anything’. In philosophical terminology *ḥayyiz* is the ‘spatial domain’⁴⁷ and in Scholastic theology, ‘*ilm al-kalām*, it is the imaginary portion of space occupied by a thing having an extent. Thus, *ḥayyiz* signifies the sphere of activity, the *juste milieu*. A star in its domain, *fī ḥayyizihi*, is well placed, as if it is in its proper natural place, *al-ḥayyiz al-ṭabīʿī*. It is in a position to carry out an effect and signifies *temperamentum et aptationem* (*al-iʿtidāl wa-l-ṣalāḥ*).⁴⁸ Moreover, because it occupies a *ḥayyiz*, it is named *mutaḥayyiz*: this word means ‘associated, member of a society’ and also ‘a partisan’. In conclusion, although Arabic astrologers shaped the Greek

undecim modi completi, quoniam omnes alij status ad hos undecim referuntur, et habent unam ad quam referuntur radicem’. The Anonymus Cracoviensis repeats the *undecim modos completos* of Ibn Riḍwān and remarks: ‘multas habitudines planetarum posuit Albumazar et Alkabicus, tamen isti sunt de quibus Haly facit commemoracionem’, *Ad tabulam quadripartiti Ptholomei*, ms. Laurentianus Ashburnham 202, fo. 29r.

⁴⁵ A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L’astrologie grecque* (Paris, 1899), p. 103, n. 2.

⁴⁶ See Kunitzsch, *Mittelalterliche astronomisch-astrologische Glossare*, p. 33: ‘*Ayz*: arab. *al-ḥayyiz*, Lehnübersetzung zur Wiedergabe des ptolemäischen αἵρεσις in der Tetrabiblos, Bezeichnung der “Sekte” oder “Partei” der Tag- und Nachtplaneten’.

⁴⁷ Cf. E. E. Calverley and J. W. Pollock, *Nature, Man and God in Medieval Islam* (Leiden, 2002), I, p. 400, n. 96: ‘*ḥayyiz* is the criterion by which bodies are sensately distinguished from each other, spatial domain being a more general term than place, *makān*, and it is used to deal with the precise position, *waḍʿ*, in which one undefined thing may differ from another in reference. Thus, a thing would be “within its spatial domain”, *mutaḥayyiz*, but would not be in a “place”’.

⁴⁸ Abū Maʿshar, *Greater Introduction*, ed. R. Lemay, versio latina Ioannis Hipsalensis, V, p. 276.134; Arabic text III, p. 522.74.

notion of *hairesis* into a different form, we cannot find a substantial difference between the *mutahayyiz* and the equivalent Greek terms.⁴⁹

On the other hand, medieval Latin astrologers not only made a transcription of the Arabic *hayyiz*,⁵⁰ but also tried to find a Latin word which could represent the idea of this concept.⁵¹ Broadly speaking, the Arabic doctrine of *hayyiz* follows the Greek doctrine of *ἀίρεσις*. Because at the basis of these doctrines there is the principle of *symmetria* and good proportion, the term *similitudo* often can be found in Latin medieval literature as the equivalent of *hayyiz*. For example, Giorgio Anselmi, who wrote in the first half of the fifteenth century, says:

Arabes nominant hayç stelle dispositionem qui nos similitudinem. Exultat siquidem stella omnis cum locum sive in mundo sive in zodiaco nature sue similem sortita fuerit. Congaudent enim similibus similia, unde et que diurne videntur stelle super emisperium diurnum percurrentes luce gaudent. Que vero nocturne, nocturnum nocte; et que masculine sunt cum signa masculina tenerint, que feminine cum feminina; et que calide

⁴⁹ Among the various Greek terms we may note: *συναίρετης* (Olympiodorus, ed. Æ. Boer, pp. 6.9; 17.16; 39.15; Abramius, ed. Pingree, p. 206); *συναίρετιστής* (Vettius Valens II, 1; II, 21; II, 27; III, 14; Sarapio Alexandrinus, *CCAG* 8/4, p. 230.26) *συναίρεστής* (Hephaestio ed. Pingree I, p. 41.24); *αίρετιστής* (Rhetorius *CCAG* 8/4 p. 118, Julian of Laodicea, *CCAG* 5/1 p. 183.20); *αίρέτης* (Teucer, *CCAG* 9/2 p. 183.13); *συναίρεσιώτης* (Sarapio Al., *CCAG* 8/4 p. 230); *συναίρετίστης* (*CCAG* 7, p. 215).; *αίρεσιώτης* (Paulus Al. ed. Æ. Boer p. 94.4).

⁵⁰ A list of these terms can be found in Kunitzsch, *Mittelalterliche astronomisch-astrologische Glossare*, p. 33, n. 60: ‘In lateinischen Texten erscheint (*al-*) *hayyiz* in mannigfaltigen Formen: *alahiz*, *alaiz*, *alhais*, *Auz*, *ayz*, *haoç*, *Haijs*, *haiz*, *Hays*, *hayz* (zu beachten ist, dass die nach unten gezogene Form des *z* am Wortende auch als Schluss *-m* missverstanden werden konnte, so dass auch Formen auf *-m* vorkommen!).’

⁵¹ It is noteworthy that in Zebelenos, who largely depends on Ibn Labbān, the term *ἀίρεσις* translates Arabic *qabūl* (ὑποδοχή, receptio). Cf. G. Bezza, ‘Il trattato sulle natività di Eleuterio Zebeleno di Elis’, *MHNH* (2002), vol. 2, pp. 257ss. *Hairesis* has the same meaning in the Βιβλίον σὺν θεῶ τῆς ἀστρονομικῆς τέχνης τῶν Περσῶν (ms. Angelicus 29 fo. 214ss.), see **Appendix B**.

dicuntur cum sub signis decurrunt calidis, et que frigide cum sub frigidis, et que humide cum sub humidis, et que sicce cum sub siccis.⁵²

The Arabs call ‘*ḥayç*’ the disposition of the star, which we call ‘similitude’. For, every star rejoices when it has obtained a place similar to its nature, whether in the world or in the zodiac. For like rejoices in like. Hence also the stars which are seen by day passing through the hemisphere of the day rejoice in the light. But the nocturnal stars rejoice at night. Also, those that are masculine, in masculine signs; feminine in feminine signs; and those that are called ‘hot’, when they run beneath hot signs, and the cold, when they are under cold signs, the moist under moist, and the dry under dry.

In this statement, two distinct elements of the doctrine are taken into account: the relation between a planet and a portion of time, day and night, and the relation between the gender of the planet, the gender of the various parts of the zodiac and the diurnal motion through the four quadrants which are divided amongst the elemental qualities.⁵³

A second term is *habitus*. We can find it in a compilation ascribed to Māshā’allāh and in the *Liber Alkindi de iudiciis*. In these statements, only the first part of the doctrine is considered.

Quod si sue habitudinis locum obtineat, ut diurna de die et econtra quasi qui lucri et prosperitatis sorte splendescit.⁵⁴

Rursum, in stellarum dignitatem ialib, proprietates videlicet aut habitudo stelle, continetur. Dicitur itaque

⁵² *Incipit astronomia magistri Georgij de Anselmis*, ms. Vat.lat. 4080, fo. 55r.

⁵³ Among the medieval authors who report this doctrine under the name of *similitudo*, we can cite: Ibn Ezra (*Abrahe Avenaris Iudei astrologi peritissimi in re iudiciali opera... (Principium sapientie)*, fo. 24ra); John Danko of Saxony, *Scriptum super Alchabitium*, fo. 48; Bonatti, *Decem tractatus de astronomia*, II, 3, 15 S. D4r; III, 3, 7, S. E6v; Anonymus Cracoviensis, *Ad tabulam quadripartiti*, fo. 27v: ‘Et dicunt planete quinque esse in suo haiis hoc est in sua similitudine...’.

⁵⁴ *Incipit liber Messahala de 14. proprietatibus*, fo. 92r.

stelle habitudo locus aliqua portione sibi conveniens. Est namque stellarum pars quedam diei ascripta, pars autem alia nocti dicatur. Si ergo stella diurna de die super terram, nocte quoque sub terram feratur, hec in sua habitudine manere dicetur. Quod si aliter accidat, ab habitudine remotam ponemus. Nocturna item de die sub terram, noctu quoque supra terram moretur, et ipsa suam habitudinem possidet et occupat. Quod si aliter fiat, ab habitudine privatur.⁵⁵

But if it obtains the place of its ‘habitude’: so that a diurnal star is in a day chart, and vice versa, like one who shines because he has received wealth and prosperity

Again, among the dignities of the stars is included the ‘ialib’, i.e. the properties or ‘habitude’ of the star. The ‘habitude’ of the star is called the place which agrees with it in some proportion. For some of the stars are ascribed to the day, others are dedicated to the night. If, therefore, a diurnal star by day is carried above the earth, and by night under the earth, it will be said to stay in its ‘habitude’. But if something different happens, we shall make it far from its ‘habitude’. Likewise if a nocturnal star passes the day under the earth, but the night above the earth and holds and occupies its ‘habitude’. But if something different happens, it is deprived of its ‘habitude’.

This is the first section of the doctrine of *ḥayyiz* as a whole and depends on the relationship of the planets with the Sun, i.e. on the phases that occur for the five planets in their synodic cycle. We read in the *Isagoge* of al-Qabīṣī:

Et planeta cum exierit desub radiis Solis et nulli planete iunctus fuerit, dicitur quod sit in lumine suo.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ *Liber Alkindi de iudiciis*, trans. Hugo of Sanctalla, *apud* al-Qabīṣī, *The Introduction to Astrology*, p. 393.

⁵⁶ Al-Qabīṣī, *The Introduction to Astrology*, III, 10, p. 94.

It is said of a planet that, if it comes out from under the rays <of the Sun> and is not in application with a planet, it is in own light (*fī daw' nafsīhi*).⁵⁷

In this phase, the planet acquires strength,⁵⁸ but its strength rests entirely upon its relationship with the Sun. Furthermore, astrologers also say that a planet is *in suo lumine* when it first appears from the beams of the Sun, the diurnal planet by day, the nocturnal one by night:

ὁπόταν ἀστὴρ ἡμερινὸς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀνατέλλει, εἰς τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ, καθὼς ὁ ἥλιος ὡς ὢν ἡμερινός, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ εἰς τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ· ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ἄρης ὡς ὢν νυκτερινός, ἐν νυκτὶ εἰς τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ, καὶ πάντοτε ὅταν ἴδῃς αὐτοὺς οὕτω, λέγε ὅτι εἰς τὸ φῶς αὐτῶν εἰσί, ἢ εἰς τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ἔρχεται· καὶ αὕτη ἡ ὑπόθεσις γίνεται.

Whenever a diurnal star rises during the day, it is in its own light, as the Sun, which is a diurnal <star>, it is in its own light by day; and for Mars, which is nocturnal, its own light is by night; and always, when you see the stars in these conditions, say that they are in their own light or

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 302. Cf. John of Eshenden, *Summa astrologiæ iudicialis de accidentibus mundi quæ anglicana vulgo nuncupatur* (Venice, 1489), fo. 77ra: 'Et planeta cum exierit de sub radiis Solis et nulli planeta iunctus dicitur quod sit in lumine suo et hoc est esse planetarum secundum Alchabitium'; cf. John Danko of Saxony, *Scriptum super Alchabitium*, fo. 54a.

⁵⁸ Cf. Ibn Abī-l-Rijāl, *Preclarissimus liber completus in iudicijs astrorum quem edidit Albohazen Haly filius Abenragel*, VIII, 33 (Venice, 1485), S. 14rb: '... et maxime si fuerit orientalis exeundo de sub radijs et existendo in suo lumine levis motus' (about the ruler of the syzygy of each month); Māshā'allāh, *In revolutionibus annorum mundi, apud Liber quadripartiti Ptholemei*, fo. 149va: 'Cumque sciveris dominum anni et significatorem regis eiusdem regionis, aspice quis eum aspicit et qualis sit fortitudo aspicientis eum et utrum sit in lumine suo i. cum exierit de sub radijs solis et nulli iunctus fuerit vel in lumine alterius', cf. *Messahallæ... libri tres... editi a Ioachimo Hellero* (Nuremberg, 1549), ch. 11.

that they are coming into their own light. Therefore the proposed action will take place.⁵⁹

We find the same statement in Sahl ibn Bishr:

De planeta in lumine suo. Dicitur planeta esse in lumine suo, ut Mars cum fuerit in nocte significator, qui est nocturnus, et Saturnus in die dicitur esse in suo lumine, qui est diurnus.⁶⁰

On the planet in its own light. A planet is said to be in its own light, e.g. Mars, which is nocturnal, when it is the significator by night, and Saturn, which is diurnal, when it is by day, are said to be in their own light.

The Latin expression *in lumine suo* and the Greek εἰς τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ('in its own light') translate the Arabic *fī daw' nafsīhi*, and 'Alī ibn Riḍwān, in his commentary on Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*, misunderstood the Greek word λαμπήνη (chariot) in the context of the doctrine of *ḥayyiz*: λαμπήνη was translated as *al-ināra* and became synonymous with *fī daw' nafsīhi*.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Βιβλίον σὺν θεῷ τῆς ἀστρονομικῆς..., fo. 220r, ch. 15: κατὰ ποῖον τρόπον ἐστὶν ὁ ἀστήρ εἰς τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ.

⁶⁰ *Incipit introductorium de principijs iudiciorum Zahelis Ysmaelite, apud Liber quadripartiti Ptholemei*, fo. 125vb; cf. Andalone, fo. 169v, who repeats word by word the sentence of Zahel; cf. *Βιβλίον σὺν θεῷ*, fo. 217r: ὁπότεν ἀστήρ ἡμερινὸς ἐστὶ ταλῆλ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ ὁ νυκτερινὸς ἐν νυκτί, ἐστὶ ἀγαθοσύνη καὶ φῶς τοῦ ἀστέρος· ἡ δὲ κάκωσις ἔστι τοῦ ἀστέρος ὅτε γένηται ταλῆλ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ἀστήρ νυκτερινὸς ἢ ἐν νυκτί ἀστήρ ἡμερινὸς ἢ καὶ εἰς ζῳδιὸν ἀνοίκειον ἢ ὕπαυγος ἡλίου ἢ ἀσύνδετος τῷ ὄρωσκόπῳ ταῦτα πάντα κάκωσις ἐστὶ.

⁶¹ Cf. *Liber quadripartiti Ptholemei*, fo. 28ra: translation of Plato of Tivoli: 'Hoc autem sequitur alchinara, que fit cum fuerit in sua haiz et in eius simili ex locis sibi convenientibus', cf. trans. of Robert of Chester (ms. Parmensis 719 fo. 320r): 'Dicitur etiam de planetis quod habent alicharam'; cf. Nallino, *al-Battānī sive Albatēnī Opus Astronomicum* (Milan, 1903), p. xxi, n. 4: 'Fulgur seu splendor (*al-ināra*), unde in latina versione Tetrabibli ex arabico alchinara) est pro graeco λαμπήνη i.e. currus seu carpentum regium ... Arabicus interpres manifeste voce λαμπήνη e verbo λάμπειν, fulgere, quod in fine loci occurrit, duxit in titulo capitis vertendo; illa vero ἐν λαμπήναις δὲ ἰδίαις λέγονται

In fact, some difficulties arise when astrologers mix together the two distinct elements of the doctrine of *ḥayyiz*: one of which depends on the succession of day and night and the other, on the similarity between the gender of the planet and the gender of the zodiacal signs. Sahl ibn Bishr, for example, told us that the planets are *in suo lumine* when the masculine ones are in the portion of the day and the feminine in the portion of the night.⁶² This statement is ambiguous, because Mars, being masculine, should be *in suo lumine* during the day, but, being nocturnal, it must be *in suo lumine* during the night. This difficulty has been apparently resolved by Māshā'allāh when he affirms:

Et scito quod planetæ diurni sunt Sol, Saturnus et Iupiter et masculini in die, et fœminini in nocte. Et planetæ nocturni Luna, Mars et Venus et sunt fœminini in die, masculini in nocte. Mercurius autem cum masculis masculinus, cum fœmininis fœmininus, cum nocturnis quoque nocturnus, cum diurnis diurnus est.⁶³

Know that the diurnal planets are the Sun, Saturn and Jupiter and they are masculine by day, feminine by night. The nocturnal planets are the Moon, Mars and Venus, and they are feminine by day, masculine by night. Mercury is masculine with the masculine planets, feminine with the feminine, also nocturnal with the nocturnal and diurnal with the diurnal.

εἶναι καὶ θρόνοις aliter eum interpretatus esse elucet ex ambabus latinis ex arabico versionibus'. Cf. John of Eshenden, *Summa astrologiae*, fo. 77vb: 'Et Ptolemeus primo quadripartiti ca. 23, dicit quod splendor sive illuminatio fit cum fuerit planeta in suo haiz...'; cf. *Liber quatuor tractatum Ptolemei cognomine Alfillud* (ms. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, lat.7302, fo. 19v): 'Hec autem sequitur alkinara, i. splendor vel illuminatio'.

⁶² See **Appendix A**. Cf. pseudo-Aḥmad al-Farsī (Angelicus 29, fo. 161v, cap.69; cfr. Palatinus gr. 312, fo. 93v cap. 24 and Marcianus gr. 324, fo. 209v, cap. 24): περὶ ἀγαθοσύνης, χαρᾶς, θλίψεως, ἰδιοπροσωπίας συνοικειώσεως καὶ δωδεκατημορίων ἢ ἀγαθοσύνη τοῦτο ἐστίν· ὀπηνίκα ὁ ἀστὴρ ἡμερινὸς καὶ ἀρσενικὸς ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὑπὲρ γῆν καὶ ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ θηλυκὸς καὶ νυκτερινὸς ἐν νυκτὶ ὑπὲρ γῆν καὶ ἐν ἡμέρᾳ ὑπὸ γῆν.

⁶³ *Messahallæ... libri tres*, ch. 25.

We can say, in conclusion, that the term *similitudo* corresponds to the concept of *hairesis* on the whole. On the other hand, the expressions *in suo lumine*, εἰς τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ and, partially, *habitus*, represent only the first section of the doctrine, that concerns the planet's phases of visibility. A superior planet is in its own light at the time of its heliacal morning rising; an inferior planet is in this condition at its heliacal evening rising. Moreover, the superior planet must be above the horizon during the day, the inferior below, and so on. This is the condition that Arabs call *jalb* or *ḥalb*:

One of the shares (*wa-min al-ḥuzūz*) is the *jalb* of the planets, i. e. a period related to it. Some of the planets are related to the day, others to the night. And if a diurnal planet is by day above the earth and by night under the earth, it is in its *jalb*.⁶⁴

Broadly speaking, when the planet enters into a zodiacal sign, it is said to be 'in its *ḥayyiz*' or not. When a planet moves through its phases of visibility, both within the synodic cycle and according to diurnal motion, it is said to be 'in its *jalb*' or not. Thus, the *ḥayyiz* happens before the *jalb*, because its period of time is longer:

The terms *ḥayyiz* and *ḥalb* are related in meaning and they share one condition, namely, that when a diurnal planet is above the earth by day and beneath it at night, and when a nocturnal planet is above the earth at night and beneath it by day, it is said to be in its *ḥalb*, and a planet in such a state is described as in or not in its *ḥalb*. When in addition to this a planet is male and in a male sign, or female and in a female sign, the condition is called *ḥayyiz*, and a planet is said to be in or not in its *ḥayyiz*. Moreover it is obvious that *ḥayyiz* is more comprehensive than *ḥalb*, because every *ḥayyiz* is a *ḥalb*, but not every *ḥalb* a *ḥayyiz*.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ al-Kindī, *Forty Chapters*, in: Qabīṣī, *The Introduction to Astrology*, p. 389.

⁶⁵ Al-Bīrūnī, *The Book of Instruction*, p. 308, §496. I think the word *jalb* must be preferred to *ḥalb*. For *jalb* derives from *jalaba*, 'to attract, to bring', and it means the act of acquiring or gaining possession. Cf. Abū Ma'shar, *Abbreviation*, IV, 3: 'In fortuna planetarum (*sa'adat al-kawākib*). Or they are swift in their

Appendix A

Demophilus	Andalone di Negro	Zahel
<i>CCAG 5/4, pp. 226ss.</i>	<i>Incipit introductorium valde necessarium ad iudicia astrologie editum a domino andolo de nigro de janua in arte astrologie peritissimo, ms. BN-Paris lat. 7272, fo. 168r</i>	<i>de interrogationibus, ap. Liber quadripartiti Ptholemei..., Venetiis 1493, cc. 125ab</i>
ἐκ πόσων τρόπων γίνεται τὰ ἀποτελέσματα τῶν πλανητῶν τὰ ἀποτελέσματα τῶν πλανητῶν γίνονται κατὰ τρόπους ἕνδεκα, καὶ πρῶτος μὲν ὑπάρχει, ὅταν ὁ πλανήτης ἴσταται ἐν ἀγαθῷ τόπῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὠροσκόπου εἴτε εἰς κέντρον, εἴτε εἰς τοὺς ἀκολουθούς τρόπους τῶν κέντρων, οὗς βλέπει ὁ ὠροσκόπος. δεύτερος δὲ ὅταν ὁ πλανήτης ὑπάρχη εἰς τινα τόπον τῆς ἰδίας ἀξίας, ἤγουν εἰς οἶκον, ἢ εἰς	De fortitudine planetarum. Expositio autem fortitudinis planetarum cui deest occasio sive impedimentum ad perficiendum causam cum receperint atque promiserint fit hoc 11. modis. Primo ut sit planeta in bono loco ab ascendente i. in angulis et succedentibus angulorum ex locis que aspiciunt ascendens. Secundo ut sit planeta in	De fortitudine planetarum Expositio autem fortitudinis planetarum cui deest occasio sive impedimentum ad perficiendam causam cum receperint atque promiserint; fit hoc undecim modis. Quorum primus est ut planeta sit in bono loco ab ascendente, i. in angulis et succedentibus angulorum ex locis sc. Qui aspiciunt ascendens.

motion, increasing in light and number, or they are in their *halb*, i.e., in the signs in which they have a share (*hazz*), or in their rejoicings, or in the bright degrees or received, or in their domains (*fi hayyizihā*). Abū Ma'shar, *Greater Introduction*, VII, 6: p. 304 (= Arabic III, p. 546): 'In fortuna planetarum et eorum fortitudine atque debilitate et detrimento, et in detrimento lune. Et sint velociore cursu, aucti lumine et numero. Aut sint in bonamentis suis (*fi jalbihi*), i.e., in domibus suis, vel in exaltationibus aut in terminis vel triplicitatibus seu faciebus suis, aut in gaudiis suis. Aut sint in gradibus lucidis. Aut sint recepti. Vel sint in suo haiz, hoc est ut sit planeta masculinus in signo masculino et gradibus masculinis in die super terram et in nocte sub terra, et femininus in signo feminino et gradibus femininis in die sub terra et in nocte super terram'. Cf. Abenragel, *Liber completus*, I, 6 (Venice, 1485, fo. 10r): 'Ageleb: aliqui ex eis dicunt quod est haiz (Venice, 1523, fo. vi r: 'haim'; Basel, 1521, p. 19: 'haim'), et alii dicunt quod est dignitas, et primum est veritas et rectum.

<p> τρίγωνον, ἢ εἰς ὕψωμα, ἢ εἰς ὄρια, ἢ εἰς προσώπον ἢ τόπον ἐν ᾧ χαίρει. τρίτος δὲ ὑπάρχει, ὅταν μὴ ἦ ὁ πλανήτης ὑποπεποδισμένος, ἀλλ' ὀρθοποδῶν. τέταρτος δὲ ὑπάρχει, ὅταν ὁ πλανήτης μὴ συνοδεύῃ ἐτέρω κακοποιῶ πλανήτη ἢ διαμετρῆ, ἢ τετραγωνίζῃ. πέμπτος τὸ μὴ φθάνειν αὐτὸν πλανήτην μὴ βλέποντα τὸν ὠροσκόπον ἢ ὄντα ἐν τῷ ταπεινώματι αὐτοῦ. ἕκτος, ὅταν ὑπάρχη αὐτὸν ἀποδεχόμενος. ἕβδομος ὅταν ὑπάρχωσιν οἱ ἀνώτεροι αὐτοῦ πλανῆται οἱ ἄρσενες, ἤγουν ὁ κρόνος, ζεὺς, ἄρης ἀνατολικοί, ἤτοι φαινόμενοι εἰς τὴν ἀνατολὴν τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ οἱ κατώτεροι πλανῆται, ἤγουν οἱ θηλυκοὶ ἀφροδίτη, ἑρμῆς, σελήνη, δυτικοί, ἤτοι φαινόμενοι τὴν ἐσπέραν εἰς τὴν δύσιν. ὄγδοος ὅταν ὑπάρχωσιν οἱ πλανῆται εἰς τὸ φῶς αὐτῶν, ἤγουν τοῦ εἶναι τοὺς μὲν ἄρσενας κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ ἐπάνω ἡμισφαιρίῳ, κατὰ δὲ τὴν νύκτα ἐν τῷ ὑποκάτω, τὴν δὲ ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ ἐπάνω. ἔννατος ὅταν ᾧσιν οἱ </p>	<p> aliqua partium suarum vel dignitatum hoc est in domo sua, i. ut non sint peregrini, aut exaltatione sua aut triplicitate vel termino seu facie sua vel gaudio suo. 3. ut sit directus. 4. ut non sit cum eo planeta malus, i. in eodem signo in quo fuerit, cum sit iunctus aut aspiciat ab oppositione vel a quarto aspectu. 5. ut non iungatur stelle cadenti ab ascendente aut planete qui sit in descensione sua. 6. ut sit receptus 7. ut sint planete altiores masculi qui sunt Saturnus, Iupiter et Mars orientales, i. ut appareant in mane exeuntes de sub radijs Solis, ut planete inferiores sint feminini, s. Venus, Mercurius et Luna, occidentales, i. apparentes in vespere. 8. ut sint planete in signis fixis. 9. ut sint planete in suo lumine, i. planete masculi sint in die et feminini in nocte. 10. ut sint planete in corde </p>	<p> Secundus est ut sit planeta in aliqua partium suarum vel dignitatum hoc in domo sua aut exaltatione aut triplicitate vel termino seu facie sua vel gaudio suo. Tertius est ut sit directus. Quartus ut non sit cum eo malus planeta, i. in eodem signo in quo fuerit cui sit iunctus aut aspiciat eum ab oppositione vel a quarto aspectu. Quintus ut non iungatur stelle cadenti ab ascendente aut planete qui sit in descensione sua aut sit ipse in descensione sua. Sextus ut sit receptus. Septimus ut sint planete altiores masculini, qui sunt Saturnus, Juppiter et Mars orientales i. ut appareant in mane exeuntes de sub radijs Solis et planete feminini i. Venus, Mercurius, Luna occidentales i. apparentes vespere. Octavus ut sint planete in suo lumine i. sint planete masculini in die et feminini in nocte. </p>
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<p>πλανῆται ἐν ζῳδίοφ στερεῶ. δέκατος ὅταν ᾤσιν οἱ πλανῆται ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ τοῦ ἡλίου, ἦτοι μοῖρα πρὸς μοῖραν· τότε γὰρ οἱ μὲν ἀγαθοποιοὶ στερεοῦσι τὸ ἀγαθόν, οἱ δὲ κακοποιοὶ τὸ κακόν. ἐνδέκατος ὅταν οἱ μὲν ἀρσενικοὶ πλανῆται ὑπάχωσιν ἐν τοῖς ἀρσενικοῖς τεταρτημορίοις, οἱ δὲ θηλυκοὶ ἐν τοῖς θηλυκοῖς, καὶ πάλιν οἱ μὲν ἀρσενικοὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀρσενικοῖς ζῳδίοις, οἱ δὲ θηλυκοὶ ἐν τοῖς θηλυκοῖς.</p>	<p>Solis, i. cum Sole in uno gradu quia tunc fortune augent fortunam et bonum, mali vero minuunt malum. 11. ut sint planete masculini in quartis masculinis ex partibus ascendentibus ex circulo hoc est a medio celi in ascendente et a quarto in septimum directi. Et planete feminini in quartis femininis, i. a septimo in medium celi et ab ascendente in quartum directi. Et sint planete masculi in signis masculinis et planete feminini in signis femininis. Hec enim sunt testimonia quibus confortantur planete et non habent occasionem que eis noceat ad perficiendum causam quando receperunt et promiserunt.</p>	<p>Nonus ut sint planete in signis fixis. Decimus ut sint planete in corde Solis: cum Sole in uno gradu quia tunc fortune augent fortunam et bonum et malorum confortatur malum. Undecimus est ut sint planete masculini in quartis masculinis ex partibus ascendentibus ex circulo, hoc est a medio celi in ascendente i. a quarto in septimum directi ; et planete feminini in quartis femininis i. a septimo in medium celi et ab ascendente in quartum directi; et sint planete masculi in signis masculinis et planete feminini in signis femininis. Hec sunt testimonia quibus confortantur planete et non habent occasionem que eis noceat ad perficiendam causam quando receperunt et promiserint.</p>
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Appendix B

Βιβλίον σὺν θεῶ τῆς ἀστρονομίας τέχνης τῶν Περσῶν, χρησιμεῦον εἰς πᾶν ζήτημα καὶ πᾶν ἐρώτημα, δι' ἀστρολάβου ἢ ὥρολογίου εὐρίσκοντες τὴν ὥραν ὀπηνίκα ἐρωτηθῶμεν, ἔχοντες πρότερον καὶ τὴν ὅλην εἰσαγωγὴν καὶ ἐπιστήμην τοῦ μαθήματος.

ms. Angelicus 29, fo. 216r-217r

cap. 4 – Κρίσεις ἀστέρων

Ἐὰν ἀστήρ συνοδεύῃ ἀστέρι καὶ οὗτος ὁ διοικητὴς μεθ' ἐτέρου ἀστέρος σχηματισθῇ καὶ εἰς τὴν σύνοδον ἐνωθῇ, ἡ κρίσις τῶν ἀστέρων τῆς συνόδου ἐστὶ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ προεἶπει κρίσιν γενέσθαι· οἷον ὅτε ἡ σελήνη εἰς τὴν δεκάτην μοῖραν τοῦ ταύρου, ἡ δὲ ἀφροδίτη εἰς τὴν ιε' μοῖραν τοῦ καρκίνου, καὶ ἡ σελήνη, πρὶν συνοδεύσει τῷ ἄρει, σχηματισθῇ τὴν ἀφροδίτην, καθότι ἡ ἀφροδίτη ἐλάττω τῶν μοιρῶν ἐστὶ τοῦ ἄρεως, ἀλλ' ὁ ἄρης ἐστὶ συνοδεύων τῇ σελήνῃ καὶ ἡ κρίσις τῆς συνόδου ἰσχυρότερα ἐστὶ τῆς κρίσεως τοῦ σχηματισμοῦ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὁ σχηματισμὸς τὴν σύνοδον ἀδύνατον οὐ ποιῆσαι. ὁ δὲ σχηματισμὸς καὶ ἡ θεωρία παρέρχεται καὶ γίνηται ἀνωφελὲς αἰρετικὸν καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῆς αἰρέσεως οὕτω ἐστὶ· ὅταν ἀστήρ εὐρεθῇ εἰς ὑψωμα ἐτέρου ἀστέρος ἢ εἰς οἶκον μετὰ τοῦ κυρίου τοῦ ὑψώματος ἢ βλέπη τὸν κύριον τοῦ οἴκου καὶ αὕτη τελεία αἵρεσις, ὅταν ἀπὸ οἴκου βλέπη τὸν κύριον τοῦ οἴκου, καὶ ὁ τρόπος τῆς αἰρέσεως ἐκ προσπαίου τὴν κακίαν διαβιβάζῃ· καὶ ἐὰν ἀστήρ βλέπη ἀστέρα τὸν κύριον τοῦ τριγώνου τοῦ οἴκου ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶ ἡ τὸν κύριον τῶν ὀρίων καὶ τοῦτο αἵρεσις ἐστὶ, ἀλλ' αὕτη ἡ αἵρεσις ἐλάττω τῶν προρρηθέντων.

Πᾶς δὲ σχηματισμὸς μὴ ὢν καθὼς εἴπομεν ἐν αὐτῷ αἵρεσις οὐκ ἔστι, διότι οἱ ἀστέρες ἀλλήλους οὐ δέχονται καὶ εἰσόδους οὐκ ἔχουσι· οἷον ἡ σελήνη εἰς τὸν κριὸν καὶ βλέπη τὸν ἄρη καὶ ὁ ἄρης πρὸς αὐτὸ τελείαν αἵρεσιν ἔχει, διότι ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ θεωρεῖ αὐτόν· ὁμοίως καὶ ἐὰν ἡ σελήνη ἀπὸ κριοῦ βλέπη τὸν ἥλιον καὶ αὐτὸ τελείαν αἵρεσιν ἔχει, ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὑψώματος αὐτοῦ βλέπει αὐτόν καὶ ἀπὸ ταύρου βλέπει τὴν ἀφροδίτην, οἴκου αὐτῆς, ἢ ἀπὸ διδύμων βλέπει τὸν ἐρμῆν· αὗται πάσαι τελείαι αἵρεσεις λέγονται.

cap. 5 - Περὶ αἰρέσεως ἀπὸ τριγώνων καὶ τῶν ὀρίων

Ἡ δ' αἵρεσις ἀπὸ τριγώνων καὶ τῶν ὀρίων οὕτως ἔστι· ὅταν ἡ σελήνη ἀπὸ παρθένου καὶ τῶν ὀρίων τῆς ἀφροδίτης βλέπη τὴν ἀφροδίτην καὶ ἡ ἀφροδίτη αἵρεσιν ἔχει μετὰ τῆς σελήνης διότι ἔστι κύρια τοῦ τριγώνου καὶ τῶν ὀρίων, ἢ ἡ σελήνη ἀπὸ διδύμων

βλέπη τὸν κρόνον καὶ ὁ κρόνος πρὸς αὐτήν, αἴρεσις ποιῆ διότι ἔστι κύριος τοῦ τριγώνου καὶ τῶν ὀρίων· καὶ ὁσάκις ἡ σελήνη εἰς τοιαύτην θεωρίαν εὐρεθῆ αἴρεσιν ἔχει καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον αἴρεσιν μόνον λέγουσι τριγώνου καὶ τῶν ὀρίων· καὶ ἐὰν ἡ σελήνη βλέπη ἀστέρα καὶ ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἀστὴρ βλέπη τὸν κύριον τοῦ οἴκου σελήνης ἢ τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὑψώματος τοῦ οἴκου σελήνης καὶ ἐκεῖνο αἴρεσις ἐστὶ· οἷον ἡ σελήνη βλέπει τὸν ἄρην οὖσα ἐν διδύμοις καὶ ὁ ἄρης βλέπει τὸν ἐρμῆν, ἢ ἐὰν ἡ σελήνη ἐν κριῶ βλέπη τὸν δία, ὁ δὲ διὸς βλέπη τὸν ἥλιον καὶ ἐὰν ἡ σελήνη κενοδρομῆ, ὅτε ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ζῳδίου μεταβαίνει εἰς ζῳδιον ἕτερον καὶ μετὰ τὸ μεταβῆναι βλέπη τὸν κύριον τοῦ προτέρου οἴκου ἢ τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὑψώματος αὐτοῦ, αἴρεσις δικαία λέγεται, οἷον ἡ σελήνη ἐν ἰχθύσι κενοδρομοῦσα μεταβῆ εἰς τὸν κριὸν καὶ βλέπη ἢ τὸν ἄρην ἢ τὸν ἥλιον· εἰ δ' εὐρεθῆ ἐκτὸς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ζῳδίου καὶ βλέπη τὸν κύριον τοῦ προτέρου οἴκου ἢ τὸν κύριον τοῦ ὑψώματος αὐτοῦ, καίπερ ¶216v¶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κριοῦ τὸν δία ἢ τὴν ἀφροδίτην, ἐκεῖνη ἢ δήλωσις ἀνωφελῆς καὶ τὸ ζήτημα ἀτέλειον καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τῶν σημειωθέντων οὐκ ἔχει αἴρεσιν, τουτέστιν ὅταν ἀστὴρ ἐκ τόπου ἀστέρα βλέπη τὸν μὴ ἔχοντα αἴρεσιν ἤτοι οἶκον ὑψώματα καὶ ταπεινώματα καὶ ὅταν ἐκ τοιούτου τόπου ἀστὴρ ἄλλον ἀστέρα βλέπη, ἀλλήλοισι οὐ δέχονται καὶ αἴρεσιν οὐκ ἔστι αὐτοῖς· οἷον ἡ σελήνη ἢ ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου βλέπει ἀστέρα τὸν ἔχοντα ἐν αὐτῷ ταπεινώματα, ὡς ὅταν τις ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου τῶν ἐχθρῶν, εἰς τὸ μέρος τοῦ ἐρωτῶντος ἔλθῃ ἀβουλέτου αὐτοῦ· οἷον ἡ σελήνη εἰς τὸν κριὸν καὶ βλέπει τὸν κρόνον ἢ ἐκ τοῦ καρκίνου βλέπει τὸν ἄρην ἢ ἐκ τῆς παρθένου βλέπει τὴν ἀφροδίτην ἢ ἐκ τῶν ἰχθύων τὸν ἐρμῆν ἢ ἐξ αἰγοκέρωτος τὸν δία ἢ ἐκ ζυγοῦ τὸν ἥλιον ἢ αὕτη ἡ σελήνη εἰς τὸν σκορπίον καὶ ἐὰν ὁ ταλήλ εἰς τὸ ταπεινώματα αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ καὶ βλέπει ἀστέρα μὴ ἔχοντα καθόλου οἰκειότητα εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ ταλήλ κενοδρομῶν, τρόπος ἐστὶ μονοκίνητος· οἷον ὅταν ἡ σελήνη βλέπη ἀστέρα ἀναποδίζοντα ἢ ὑπαυγος ἡλίου, καίπερ ἀστὴρ ὢν εἰς τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν αὐτοῦ, ἡ δύναμις καὶ τὸ φῶς αὐτοῦ ἐξ ἡμίσειας ἐστὶ καὶ στρέφει τὸ ζήτημα· τρόπος ἄλλος ἀνεύρετος τοῦτο ἐστὶ· ὅταν ἀστὴρ ταχυκίνητος καὶ διοικητῆς ἀσύνδετος εὐρεθῆ τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ, ὅσον ἐλπίζεται εἰς δόσιν ἀγαθοῦ, κακὸν δίδωσι, στρέφει τε καὶ τὸ ζήτημα φθείρει· καὶ ὅταν τις τῶν ἀστέρων εἰς τοιαύτην τάξιν τύχη, δηλοῖ ὅτι ὁ ἐρωτῶν οὐδὲ ἀρχὴν ἔχει, οὐδὲ τέλος· οἷον ὁ ὠροσκόπος ὁ καρκίνος καὶ ἡ σελήνη, ὁ κύριος τοῦ ὠροσκόπου, εἰς τὸν τοξότην εἰς οἶκον ζ' ἀπὸ ὠροσκόπου καὶ ἔστι ἀσύνδετος καὶ βλέπει τὸν ἄρην εἰς τοὺς διδύμους καὶ οἱ δίδυμοι οἶκος ιβ' καὶ αὐτὸς ἀσύνδετος ἀπὸ ὠροσκόπου καὶ δηλοῖ τὸν ἐρωτῶντα φθορὰν τῆς ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς

τελειώσεως· καὶ ἄλλο πάλιν ὅταν ἀστήρ ταχυκίνητος διοικητῆς ὢν ἐπίκεντρος βλέπη ἀστέρα βραδυκίνητος καὶ ἀσύνδετος τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ, δηλοῖ τὸ ζητούμενον ὅτι λάβη μὲν ἀρχήν, οὐ τελεσθήσεται δέ, ὅτι ὅταν ἀστήρ διοικητῆς ἢ καὶ ἐπίκεντρος δηλοῖ τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς δουλείας, ὁ δὲ ἀστήρ ὁ βραδυκίνητος ὃν βλέπη δηλοῖ τὸ τέλος τῆς πράξεως· ὁ δὲ ἀσύνδετος τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ δηλοῖ μὴ τελεσθῆναι τὸ ζήτημα.

Καὶ πάντοτε ὁ ἀστήρ ὁ ταχυκίνητος διοικητῆς προηγούμενος λέγεται, ὁ δὲ βραδυκίνητος, διοικητῆς ἐπόμενος. πάλιν ἡ ὠφέλεια τῆς δυνάμεως τοῦτο ἔστι, ὅταν ἀστήρ ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου αὐτοῦ ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ὑψώματος αὐτοῦ ἢ ἐκ τοῦ τριγώνου αὐτοῦ βλέπη ἕτερον ἀστέρα καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ δίδωσι πρὸς αὐτόν, διότι τὸ φῶς τοῦ οἴκου ἢ τοῦ ὑψώματος ἐκείνου ἔδωκε. πάλιν ὠφέλεια διοικήσεως φυσικῆς τοῦτο ἔστι· ὅταν ἀστήρ εἰς οἶκον ἀστέρος ὑπάρχη καὶ βλέπη τὸν κύριον τοῦ οἴκου καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ δίδωσι πρὸς αὐτόν, οἷον ἡ σελήνη ἢ ἀστήρ ἕτερος εὐρεθῆ εἰς τὸν κριὸν καὶ βλέπη τὸν ἄρην ἢ ἐν τοῖς διδύμοις καὶ βλέπη τὸν ἔρμη, ἐκεῖ αἴρεις ἐστί, καὶ ὅταν ἡ¹ εἰς ταῦρον καὶ ὁ καρκίνος εἰς τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τὴν διοίκησιν αὐτοῦ, οἱ δύο πρὸς αὐτὸ δίδωσιν τὴν δύναμιν τὸ σχηματιζόμενον ζῳδίων, εἰ δὲ τὰ ἕτερα ζῳδία διοίκησιν μόνον δίδωσιν· καὶ ὅταν αἴρεις ἢ τελεία εἰς τὰς δουλείας καθόλου ἐμποδισμὸν οὐκ ἔστι.

Οὗτος δὲ ὁ τρόπος τῆς δυνάμεως ἰε' θεωρίας ἔχει·
 α' ἐὰν ἀστήρ ἀπὸ ὠροσκόπου εἰς τόπον καλὸν εὐρεθῆ, οἷον εἰς κέντρα καὶ εἰς ἐπαναφοράς ἢ εἰς τόπον ὀρῶντα τὸν ὠροσκόπον.
 β' θεωρία ὁπόταν ἀστήρ εἰς τόπον ἴδιον ὑπάρχη ἤτοι εἰς ἴδιον οἶκον ἢ ὑψωμα ἢ τρίγωνον ἢ ὄρια ἢ πρόσωπα ἢ εἰς τὴν χαρὰν αὐτοῦ.
 γ' θεωρία ὅταν ἀστήρ ἐνθά ἐστί προποδίζων ἢ.
 δ' ὁπόταν ἐν αὐτῷ οὐδεὶς τῶν κακοποιῶν ¶217r¶ βλέπη, οὔτε σχηματισμὸν ἔχη, μήτε σύνοδον, μήτε τετράγωνον, μήτε διάμετρον.
 ε' θεωρία ὅταν ὁ ἀστήρ ἀσύνδετος πάντων ἀστέρων ἢ ἤτοι κενοδρομῆ, ἀσύνδετος δὲ καὶ τῷ ὠροσκόπῳ, ἢ δὲ καὶ εἰς τὸ ἴδιον ταπεῖνωμα.

ς' ὅταν ἀστήρ ὑπάρχη εἰς αἴρεις

ζ' ὅταν ὁ κρόνος καὶ ὁ ζεὺς ᾧσι ἀνατολικοὶ ἢ εἰς τὰ ὑψώματα αὐτῶν καὶ εἰς βλάβην μὴ δὲ εἰς ταραχὴν ᾧσι, εἰ μὴ εἰς τὸν ὠροσκόπον ἀναποδίζων· ὅτι οἷαν ὥραν ὁ ἀναποδίζων ταραχθῆ, καὶ κακοσύνην ἔχει σφόδραν.

ὅταν ἀστήρ εἰς ζῳδίων ὑπάρχη καὶ εἰ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ζῳδίων θέλησιν ἔχει, ὑπάρχη δὲ καὶ οἰκειώμενον τῇ κράσει αὐτοῦ, καθὼς ὁ κρόνος

¹ Lacuna unius verbi: σελήνη.

260 From Greek *hairesis* to Arabic *hayyiz*

εἰς ἴδιον οἶκον ἢ εἰς ὑψωμα ἢ εἰς ζώδιον ψυχρὸν καὶ ὁ ἄρης εἰς
ζώδιον θερμὸν, βέλτιον ἐστί· εἰ δὲ τύχῃ εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον, καὶ ἡ
κρᾶσις ἐναντιοῦται καὶ ἐστὶ χεῖρον.