

Translations from Greek into Latin in the Middle Ages

Some Minor Texts and Diagrams

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This article focuses on some anonymous translations of non-literary Greek texts into Latin. The texts and diagrams discussed here relate to astronomy and magic. Some of these texts were widely used in both the Western Latin and the Eastern Byzantine cultures, and their broad dissemination documents the considerable interest in such handy tables or prognostics about future events. A small selection is presented here alongside their Greek counterparts, opening a discussion on the translation of minor »practical texts« in the Middle Ages and moving beyond the frequently addressed classical and patristic authors that were translated into Latin. While some of the Greek models can be traced back to late antiquity, it seems that the Latin versions are not based on ancient strands that may have survived from that period, but rather represent a new and initial access to the texts in the (early) Middle Ages. An interesting source that still illustrates the impact of the respective Greek models is the *computus* companion created by the 10th-century scholar Abbo of Fleury. Another example is a short treatise on the magical-prognostic use of the Psalms, which is published here for the first time and likely to be attributed to Pascalis Romanus, who translated similar texts in Constantinople in the 1160s.

Keywords: Latin translations from Greek, Byzantine technical texts, astronomy, *computus*, prognostics, Petosiris, Psalms, Maximus the Confessor, Abbo of Fleury, Pascalis Romanus

Introduction

Following the collapse of the Roman Empire and its division into the Latin Western Empire and the Byzantine Eastern Empire, knowledge and practice of Greek apparently declined in the West and of Latin in the East. This also resulted in fewer Western students and scholars studying in the Greek-speaking areas, thus reducing cultural exchange. Only a few eastern monastic and pilgrimage centres, as well as the Byzantine capital, Constantinople, were still frequented by »Latins«. Even in the capital, however, Westerners were primarily motivated by commercial or political interests rather than an interest in studying the language and texts

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of others. The transition from papyrus rolls to parchment codices, which coincided with the dissolution of the former Roman Empire, and the limited durability of papyrus hindered the transmission of Greek texts still in circulation in the West. In the West, Greek lost its high reputation as the language of the renowned classical authors every scholar was expected to have read. The poor knowledge of this literature in the Middle Ages can be traced back to a few (late) antique translations.

However, despite the strained relations between the Byzantines and the Latins, which culminated in the Sack of Constantinople in 1204, the Greek language retained its status in the West as the language of the New Testament. Based on John 19:20, which describes the inscriptions on the cross in the three languages Hebrew, Latin and Greek, it was considered one of the three holy languages (the epithet »holy« goes back to Isidore, *Etymologiae* IX 1, 3), and it was the native language of the (accepted) Greek Church Fathers.¹ This respect brought about waves of endeavour to acquire a basic knowledge of the language, at least of the alphabet and the numerals. This was also intended to facilitate the reading, understanding and error-free copying of Greek words that were used in Latin texts, e.g. in the biblical commentaries of the Latin Church Fathers. Throughout the Middle Ages, bilingual scholars continued to translate selected Greek texts of interest into Latin. A notable example is the new Latin translation of the didactic poem *Phainomena* by Aratus of Soloi. This work had been translated several times from classical times until the late antique period, but it was translated again in the first half of the 8th century in Corbie.²

Thanks to Walter Berschin's pioneering study, *Greek Letters and the Latin Middle Ages from Jerome to Nicholas of Cusa*, as well as his articles on particular aspects of the reception of Greek in the medieval West,³ the Western centres, translators, and Grecophile scholars have been outlined in a diachronic and geographical overview. In his study, Berschin incorporated observations from Latin manuscripts, adding essential pieces to the mosaic of Greek influence in the West. Digitization campaigns and open access policies concerning manuscripts held in libraries allow us to follow in Berschin's footsteps and search for further evidence of substantial or alleged knowledge of Greek. Meanwhile, numerous studies have opened up new avenues of research or delved deeper into the reception of Greek in the West, providing a more detailed overall picture of this cultural exchange.⁴

1 See Herren, *Sacred Nectar*; Herren, Pelasgian fountains.

2 de Bourdellès, *Aratus Latinus*; see also the stemma of the textual transmission in Latin translation(s) on p. 15.

3 Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter*; Berschin, Griechisches bei den Iren; Berschin, Greek elements; Berschin, Griechisches in der Domschule von Verona; Berschin, Griechisches in der Klosterschule des alten St. Gallen; Berschin, Salerno um 1100; Berschin, Griechisch-lateinische Paulus-Handschrift; Berschin, Griechischer Septuagintapсалter; Berschin, Declinationes Graecorum; Berschin, Griechisches im karolingischen und ottonischen Fulda.

4 To quote some studies which continue research on Greek traces in Latin manuscripts: Herren, *Sacred Nectar*; Kaczynski, *Greek in the Carolingian Age*; Radiciotti, Manoscritti digrafici; Schreiner, Kreis um Liutprand (reprint in Schreiner, *Orbis Romanus*); Herren, Study of Greek in Ireland; Radiciotti, Scrivere e leggere il greco; Schreiner, Begegnung von Orient und Okzident; Herren, Pelasgian fountains.

Major projects focusing on the Latin translations of the works of authors such as Aristotle,⁵ Galen,⁶ Hippocrates,⁷ Plato⁸ or Ptolemy⁹ (or texts attributed to these authors) expand our knowledge of the texts in question and of how technical terms were rendered in Latin. However, these projects face the serious problem that these works were not always translated directly from Greek into Latin, but often also via (Syriac and) Arabic in culturally overlapping border zones. Bilingual scholars selected texts that interested them or which they deemed worthy of circulation in Latin. As a general rule, translations from Greek, starting from the 12th century and before the new wave under the humanists, should always be cross-checked for indirect transmission via Arabic, particularly for technical texts (in a broader sense).

Needless to say, the knowledge of Greek was confined to certain cultural and ecclesiastical centres, requiring a specific interest among scholars and clergymen to flourish. From paratexts in medieval manuscripts, such as alphabets, and from literary works quoting Greek words, one can discern an elitist sense of pride in »mastering« this language. This could even result in extreme artificiality, with authors cramming Greek words, or words they thought were Greek, into their texts in order to demonstrate their education. The Iberian *Hisperica Famina*¹⁰ or the florilegium Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.5.35 (mid-11th century, after 1039, Canterbury, Abbey of St. Augustine),¹¹ famous for its *Carmina Cantabrigiensia*,¹² are good examples of this use (or abuse) of Greek. Another example of this elitist use of Greek can be seen in the widespread use of Greek numerals in Latin medieval manuscripts, for which lists of the corresponding Latin numerals were required (figure 1). Alongside Greek alphabets, concordances of Greek and Latin numerals exist in many medieval manuscripts (the explanation in Isidore, *Etymologiae* I 3, and subsequent commentaries significantly impacted medieval users).¹³ A comprehensive overview of these paratexts and the respective culture of the *gr(a)ecizantes* remains a *desideratum*.

5 Aristoteles Latinus and Aristoteles Semitico-Latinus, projects 9/2a and 9/2b (Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi) of the Union académique internationale (since 1929 and 1971 respectively); see also the updated information, accessed on 27 May 2026: <https://hiw.kuleuven.be/dwmc/research/al/>.

6 Durling, *Burgundio of Pisa's Translation of Galen's Περὶ κράσεων*; Durling, *Burgundio of Pisa's Translation of Galen's Περὶ πεπονθότων τόπων*; Scimone, Galenus Latinus; see also the catalogue <https://www.galenolatio.com/>, created by Michaelangiola Marchiaro, Clara Provenziani, and Anna Maria Raia for all translations from the 5th/6th until the 17th c., and the overview in Fortuna, Nuova versione.

7 Kibre, Hippocrates Latinus.

8 Plato Latinus (Corpus Philosophorum Medii Aevi), project 9/1 of the Union Académique Internationale (meanwhile suspended).

9 Ptolemaeus Arabus et Latinus, project 89 of the Union Académique Internationale (since 2015). See also the recent overview of Ptolemaic writings by David Juste: *Latin Ptolemaic Writings*, ed. Juste.

10 Herren, *Hisperica Famina*.

11 Online, accessed on 27 May 2026: <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-GG-00005-00035/1>.

12 See recently, *Carmina Cantabrigiensia*, ed. Lo Monaco.

13 A preliminary study of the manuscripts in St. Gallen is published by Kaczynski, *Greek in the Carolingian Age*, 33-42 and appendix 1 (alphabets and numerals), 117-120.

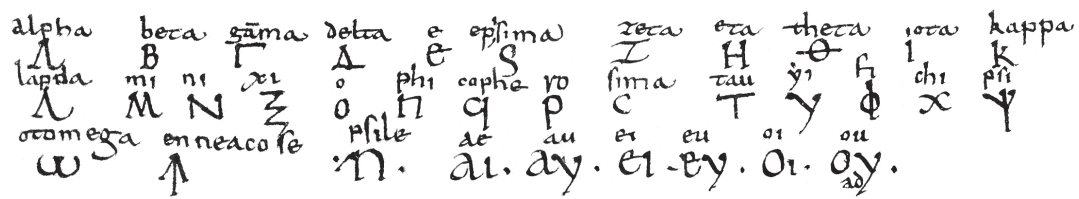


Figure 1: Cambridge UL, MS Gg.5.35, fol. 420v: Greek numerals and their names as well as diphthongs
(© traced from the original by the author)

In this regard, an important author of medieval computus literature, the Benedictine abbot and theologian Abbo of Fleury (940/945-13.11.1004), is a good example of an author interested in using Greek letters, words, and numerals¹⁴ to emphasise his scientific claims – or rather to continue the tradition of his predecessor in computist studies, the Venerable Bede.¹⁵ Therefore, it is unsurprising that the computus companion originating from his school in Fleury also provides two concordances of Greek and Latin numerals (fols. 53v and 55r [figure 2]), with the second concordance indicating the names of the numerals.

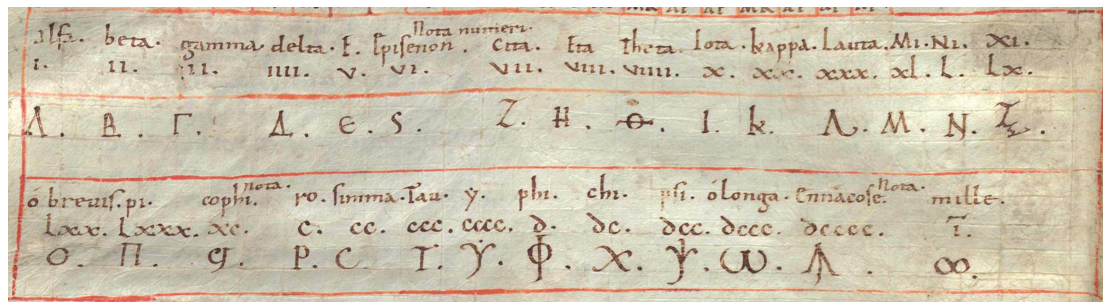


Figure 2: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Phillipps 1833, fol. 55r: Greek numerals and their names
(© Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany, Public Domain Mark 1.0)

- 14 So, e.g., ch. 1: Greek numbers in the margin (Abbo of Fleury, *Miscellanea de computo*, ed. Lohr, 6-8); ch. 7: the Latin and Greek names of the zodiac signs and the months (ed. Lohr, 28, ll. 12-17, with diagram on p. 29); ch. 8: Greek numerals (ed. Lohr, 32); ch. 11: Greek numerals (ed. Lohr, 37, diagram); ch. 12: Greek numerals (ed. Lohr, 38, ll. 58-61; 40, ll. 39-41 and 46, with diagram on p. 39); ch. 17: Greek letters (ed. Lohr, diagrams on pp. 50-53, 58 and text on pp. 53, l. 8-57, l. 4, but here Abbo verbally quotes Chalcidius' commentary on Plato's *Timaeus*); ch. 19: Greek terms of the waxing and waning moon, sc. *monoydes* (μονοειδής), *dyatomos* (διχότομος), *amphicirtos* (ἀμφικυρτός), *panselenos* (πανσέληνος) (ed. Lohr 62 and 63, ll. 24-25, 27-28), ch. 23: Greek numerals (ed. Lohr, 78, ll. 3-4, with diagram on pp. 80-81) and Greek terms in the introducing poem (ed. Lohr 78, ll. 25, 29, 35, 36; 79, l. 39); ch. 25: Greek numerals (ed. Lohr 86, ll. 36-40 and the diagrams on pp. 86 and 87); ch. 26: concordance of Greek and Latin numerals (ed. Lohr, 121; see below to the letter from Petosiris); ch. 27: Greek numerals and the initials of the zodiac signs (ed. Lohr 126, ll. 55-58, 64-66 and diagram on p. 125); ch. 28: concordance of Greek and Latin numerals (ed. Lohr 128, diagram). For Abbo's knowledge of Greek, see also Juste, *Comput* 104-105; on Abbo, see also Verbist, *Duelling with the Past*, 35-84.
- 15 In chapter 1 of *De temporum ratione* (*De computo vel loquela digitorum*), Bede emphasizes the superiority of Greek numbers over Latin ones and also provides a concordance of the numbers in both scripts.

Apart from research on translators of Greek texts known by name, many more texts need to be examined to improve our understanding of the cultural exchange between the Greeks and the Latins during the Middle Ages. Unlike literary works, including those of classical authors, practical instructions in popular science did not arouse the same level of interest in modern research. These texts cover topics such as astrology, astronomy, medicine, prognostics and, to a certain extent, magic.

Some of these texts have come to our attention through inaccessible or outdated editions, which often focus solely on the Latin translation. Greek texts are occasionally referenced, but the problematic transmission of the sources has often prevented further investigation. This contribution presents additional minor texts and diagrams, some of which have new or improved editions, and aims to encourage comparative studies of further non-literary texts translated from Greek into Latin (or, vice versa, also from Latin into Greek).¹⁶ It goes without saying that this comparative view of some non-literary texts is just the first step into a broad research field, as many questions remain concerning the date of translation, the first use, the subsequent dissemination, and an overview of »all« – at least medieval and early humanist – manuscripts. A core problem with practical texts is that they underwent several modifications: parts were added or omitted, and the order of text units was changed. Consequently, there are several versions of the same text that differ to varying degrees. It is often impossible to trace the original text or to identify the exact source of the translation. In some cases, the existing manuscripts only provide access to later revisions in both Greek and Latin.

For Latin, modern corpora that serve as veritable gold mines for discovering texts of this kind include the *Catalogue of Incipits of Mediaeval Scientific Writings* by Lynn Thorndike and Pearle Kibre,¹⁷ as well as specialised catalogues of Latin medical and astrological manuscripts such as the *Catalogue of Latin and Vernacular Alchemical Manuscripts*,¹⁸ the *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques latins*,¹⁹ and David Juste's *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Latinorum* (2011-).²⁰ For Greek, the *Pinakes* database, maintained by the Greek Department at the *Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes* in Paris, is a good starting point,²¹ but it has not yet incorporated all minor texts. Valuable collections of Greek astrological manuscripts are the *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* (CCAG), a twelve-volume set (= 20 books, according to countries and their libraries) published in Brussels between 1898 and 1953,²² the follow-up edition project *Corpus des Astronomes Byzantins* of the Union Académique

16 See the translation of Dionysius Exiguus' explanation of how to calculate the date of Easter and the continued list for a full cycle of 532 years in Gastgeber, Ostertabelle.

17 Thorndike and Kibre, *Catalogue*.

18 Singer, *Catalogue*.

19 Corbet, *Catalogue* 1-2.

20 *Catalogus*, ed. Juste: volume 1 (2011) includes manuscripts in the Bavarian State Library of Munich, volume 2 (2015) contains manuscripts in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris (2015).

21 *Diktyon*, reference number of Greek manuscripts on the homepage Pinakes, CNRS, IRHT, Paris; accessed on 27 May 2026: <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/>.

22 Unfortunately, not all libraries could be investigated; see the relevant volumes cited in this article and listed below in the bibliography at the end.

Internationale (eleven volumes, since 1985, ongoing)²³ and the *Catalogue des Manuscrits Alchimiques Grecs*, an eight-volume set (again, according to countries and their libraries) published between 1924 and 1932.²⁴ Linked to the latter project is the ongoing edition project *Les Alchimistes Grecs*.²⁵ In 2020, Alain Touwaide recently published the newly revised and updated²⁶ *Catalogue of Greek Medical Manuscripts* (including the *Corpus Hippocraticum*, vol. 2, and the *Corpus Galenicum*, vol. 3)²⁷.

Latin Technical Texts: The Computus Companion of Abbo of Fleury

A comparative study of the work of a Latin author in relation to the neighboring Greek culture reveals some remarkable parallels in medieval »technical« treatises. If a Greek model seems to originate in classical or early Christian times, it was assumed that the Latin translation also dated back to this early period rather than being a new translation in the Middle Ages – or even the first translation – since Greek was rarely practised. Although no papyrus rolls or early manuscripts containing the (late) antique translation have been found, it is thought to have survived until its discovery by medieval scholars, or to have been preserved by authors whose works no longer exist today. Even if an earlier Latin translation of a (late) antique Greek text also exists (or once existed), it cannot be ruled out that the Latin text was newly translated in the Middle Ages, since these are very short, practical guides or compilations that did not require the linguistic skills of a scholar.

Without going into details in this study, I will start by presenting five examples of surprising parallels between (earlier) Greek and (medieval) Latin texts and tables²⁸ that have been overlooked in studies of the Latin versions. These examples belong to the broader context of computus texts and astronomical commentaries:

- (1) a concordance of the months in various cultures (and languages),
- (2) a table showing the lunar days in each part of the zodiac,
- (3) a table showing the lunar day for each date,
- (4) a table showing the days of the week for each date, and
- (5) a sundial.

23 Project 41 of the Union Académique Internationale; see the overview and the digitized volumes on the homepage, accessed on 27 May 2026: <https://www.uclouvain.be/fr/instituts-recherche/incal/ciol/ecab>.

24 The following libraries or topics are included in the volumes: manuscripts in Paris (1), Italy (2), Great Britain (3), Germany, Austria, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Switzerland (4), Spain (5), Michael Psellus (6), anonymous treatises about the *ars metallica* (7), and alchemical symbols (8).

25 The latest volume (9, 1) of the series was published in 2021 (*Traité*, ed. Haleux-El Gammal) out of numerical order of the series volumes (volumes 10 and 11 were published in 2000 and 2010 respectively).

26 Based on *Handschriften* 1 and 2, ed. Diels.

27 *Greek Medical Manuscripts*, ed. Touwaide.

28 The value of such tables is beyond question, since modern scholars still consult Grotefend's *Taschenbuch der Zeitrechnung des deutschen Mittelalters und der Neuzeit*.

(1) *Concordance of the Months in Contemporary Calendars*

The concordance was important for equating the Roman months with those used by the Jews, Egyptians and Greeks in the early computus treatises. Further names of the months were added to cover all possible areas and their particular calendars. Extended lists of this kind, with a concordance for each day of the month, are known from Greek manuscripts.²⁹ Additional material from an »early« manuscript of the *Handy Tables* of Ptolemy (or what is believed to have been elaborated by him³⁰ and, partially, from the respective commentary by Theon of Alexandria) dating from the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century provides illustrative parallels: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 28.26³¹ (*Diktyon* 16207), fols. 45r-50v, copied under Emperor Leo VI (886-912)³² (C6 Tihon)³³ (figure 3). It contains a concordance for each of the twelve months, starting from January, in fourteen local calendars, and is titled *monthly calendar of various cities* (ἡμερολόγιον μηνῶν διαφόρων πόλεων) (i.e. Romans, Alexandrians, Greeks, Tyrians, Arabs, Sidonians, Heliopolitans, Lycians, Asians, Cretans, Cypriots, Ephesians, Bithynians and Cappadocians). A similar concordance appears in the supplementary texts of the computus treatise *Brevis enarratio christiani paschatis* by Maximus the Confessor (c. 580-662)³⁴ (a work to which we will return later). This concordance is limited to the Greek, Latin and Egyptian names (e.g. the mid-10th-century manuscript Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken, Scaliger 33 [*Diktyon* 37986], fols. 20r-21v,³⁵ starting from January, figure 4). These tables were used to convert dates according to different calendar systems.

Maximus the Confessor may have played a key role in transferring such tables, which were used to calculate the date of Easter, from the East to the West. As staunch opponent of the Byzantine emperor, who supported Monotheletism, he formed an alliance with the pope and remained in Rome during the second half of the 640s. His computus treatise, based on

29 Kubitschek, *Kalenderbücher*; Mountford, *De mensium nominibus*; Jones, *Polemios Silvius*.

30 See the caution in Tihon, *Tables Faciles* 47: »Quant aux tables elles-mêmes (i.e. the work), elles existent dans quantité de manuscrits, mais la tradition les a séparées du mode d'emploi de Ptolémée, et il n'est pas certain qu'elles aient conservé exactement la forme que le maître leur avait donnée.« See also Tihon's analysis of the different categories of tables: 51-56. For a recent overview of research on Ptolemy's *Handy Tables* and translations in Latin, see David Juste, *Ptolemy, Handy Tables (Greek)* (update: 11 May 2025), and Juste, *Ptolemy, Preceptum canonis Ptolomei* (tr. before c. 1000) (update: 11 May 2025) in *Ptolemaeus Arabus et Latinus. Works*, accessed on 27 May 2026: <http://ptolemaeus.badw.de/work/153>, and <http://ptolemaeus.badw.de/work/52>.

31 For the manuscript, see Bianconi, *Il Laur. Plut. 28.26*; Tihon, *Petit Commentaire*, 139-141; Tihon, *Tables Faciles* 64-66.

32 This luxurious manuscript contains an old core (the *Handy Tables* of Ptolemy and other tables), written during the reign of Emperor Leon VI (886-912), as well as a modern prefixed section and additions within the core, copied by the well-known 14th-century scribe Michael Klostomalles. He worked as a notary in the imperial chancery in Constantinople. For information about the scribe, see Lamberz, *Das Geschenk*, and Lamberz, *Georgios Bullotes*, 44-46.

33 See Tihon, *Tables Faciles*, 55, 66.

34 *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* 3, no. 7706, ed. Geerard; Maximus Confessor, *Brevis enarratio*, PG 19, cols. 1217-1280. A critical edition is still missing.

35 Accessed on 27 May 2026: <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:1560058>.

the calculation of the current date of Easter, dates from 641.³⁶ He or his followers may have introduced the Romans to such clear visualizations as a starting point.

To take an example of a Latin medieval author, the Venerable Bede (672/3-735) explains the names of the months in his work *De temporum ratione* in chapters 11 (*De mensibus*, concerning the Jewish and Egyptian names), 12 (*De mensibus Romanorum*) and 14 (*De mensibus Graecorum*). He wrote the Greek names in Latin transliteration; the modern editor, Charles W. Jones, referred to Polemius Silvius' *Laterculus* in the *apparatus fontium*.³⁷ A Carolingian commentator identified as Martin of Laon,³⁸ who had some knowledge of Greek, added to Bede's summary name lists (which the modern editor included in a separate *apparatus*) in the margins of folios 25r and 27r of his copy, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Phillipps 1832 (figures 5a and 5b), and reconstructed the names in their original form.³⁹

Such lists circulated in the Latin West, starting from the Carolingian period onwards. For example, the 12th-century manuscript St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 453 contains one such list (p. 207: *De nominibus mensium secundum Latinos, Hebreos, Egyptios, Grecos*,⁴⁰ figure 6). For further parallels originating from Greek texts, I will refer to the astrological computus companion of the manuscript Berlin, Phillipps 1833, which is linked to the school of Abbo of Fleury (940/5-1004, abbot of Fleury Abbey from 988). On folio 31v, Abbo's table of the *cursus lunae per duodecim signa* shows the concordance of the Latin and Greek months (figure 7).⁴¹

36 See Lempire, *Calcul*.

37 Bede Venerabilis, *De temporum ratione*, ch. 14, ed. Jones, 327.

38 For Martin of Laon, see Jones in the preface of Bede Venerabilis, *De temporum ratione*, 257-261.

39 Bede Venerabilis, *De temporum ratione*, ch. 11, ed. Jones, 318, note to l. 88: Egyptian month names written in Greek letters (fol. 25r); 14, ed. Jones, 327, note to l. 16: Roman and Greek month names, both written in Greek letters (fol. 27r). For the glosses and the cultural background, see the introduction in Jones on pp. 257-261 (the glosses, all of which were written before 873, are attributed to Martin of Laon [819-875], an Irish scholar who was head of the local cathedral school and a connoisseur of Greek. He acquired his knowledge from glossaries), and Contreni, *Bede's Scientific Works*, paragr. 4-11.

40 Accessed on 27 May 2026: <https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/csg/0453/207>, written in Latin letters; description of the manuscript, accessed on 27 May 2026: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5076/e-codices-csg-0453>.

41 For the table, see the introduction by Alfred Lohr in Abbo of Fleury, *Miscellanea de computo*, LI-LXV, ed. Lohr and Obrist, *Tables et figures abboniennes*. For the manuscript, see Lohr in Abbo of Fleury, *Miscellanea de computo*, LXV-LXIX; the manuscript is online, accessed on 27 May 2026: <http://resolver.staatsbibliothek-berlin.de/SBB0001A74A00000000>.

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† ΗΜΕΡΟΛΟΓΙΟΝ ΜΗΝΟΣ ΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΥ

ΚΑΛ	ΓΑΒΟΥΛΙΟΣ	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ	ΤΥΒΕΙ	ΦΑΛΓΟΥΝΙ	ΑΥΓΑΛΑΟΣ	ΤΥΡΙΩΝ	ΑΠΕΛΛΑΟΣ	ΑΡΔΕΩΝ	ΑΥΓΑΛΑΟΣ	ΣΑΠΗΝΩΝ	ΑΙΟΣ	ΗΜΟΥΠΟΛΤΩΝ	ΘΩΡΙΝ	ΑΥΓΙΔΑΣ	ΑΙΟΣ	ΑΘΙΑΣ	ΠΟΣΙΔΑΩΝ	ΚΡΗΤΗΣ	ΜΕΤΑΡΧΙΟΣ	ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ	ΚΟΥΛΙΟΣ	ΕΦΕΣΟΥ	ΠΕΡΤΙΟΣ	ΒΙΘΥΝΩΝ	ΛΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ	ΚΑΠΠΑΔΟΚΩΝ	ΑΥΓΑΛΑΟΣ	ΗΛΙΟΥ	ΓΑΡΩΝΟΣ
ΚΑΛ	Σ	Α	ΙΕ	ΙΣ	Λ	Γ	Α	Η	Θ	Θ	Η	Θ	ΚΑ	Α	Α														
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Σ	ΙΓ	Η	ΚΒ	ΚΓ	Η	ΙΖ	Η	ΙΕ	ΙΣ	ΙΣ	ΙΕ	ΙΣ	ΚΗ	Α															
Ε	ΙΑ	Θ	ΚΓ	ΚΔ	Θ	ΙΗ	Θ	ΙΣ	ΙΖ	ΙΖ	ΙΣ	ΙΖ	ΚΘ	Β															
Α	ΙΕ	Ι	ΚΔ	ΚΕ	Ι	ΙΘ	Ι	ΙΖ	ΙΗ	ΙΗ	ΙΖ	ΙΗ	Λ	Γ	Δ														
Γ	ΙΣ	ΙΑ	ΚΕ	ΚΣ	ΙΑ	Κ	ΙΑ	ΙΗ	ΙΘ	ΙΗ	ΙΘ	ΙΗ	ΑΡΤ	Δ															
Α	ΙΖ	ΙΒ	ΚΣ	ΚΖ	ΙΒ	ΚΑ	ΙΒ	ΙΘ	Κ	Κ	ΙΘ	Κ	Λ	Ε															
ΕΙΑ	ΙΗ	ΙΓ	ΚΖ	ΚΗ	ΙΓ	ΚΒ	ΙΓ	Κ	ΚΑ	ΚΑ	Κ	ΚΑ	Γ	Ε															
ΙΘ	ΙΘ	ΙΑ	ΚΗ	ΚΘ	ΙΑ	ΚΓ	ΙΑ	Κ	ΚΒ	ΚΒ	Κ	ΚΑ	Γ	Ε															
ΙΗ	Κ	ΙΕ	ΚΘ	Λ	ΙΕ	ΚΑ	ΙΕ	Θ	Κ	ΚΓ	ΚΓ	Θ	Κ	ΚΓ	Ε														
ΙΖ	ΚΑ	ΙΣ	Λ	Α	ΙΣ	ΚΕ	ΙΣ	Η	Κ	ΚΑ	ΚΑ	Η	Κ	ΚΑ	Σ														
ΙΣ	ΚΒ	ΙΖ	ΑΥΓΙΝΗ	Β	ΙΖ	ΚΣ	ΙΖ	Ζ	Κ	ΚΕ	ΚΕ	Ζ	Κ	ΚΕ	Ζ														
ΙΕ	ΚΓ	ΙΗ	Β	Γ	ΙΗ	ΚΖ	ΙΗ	Σ	Κ	ΚΣ	ΚΣ	Σ	Κ	ΚΣ	Η														
ΙΑ	ΚΔ	ΙΘ	Γ	Δ	ΙΘ	ΚΗ	ΙΘ	Ε	Κ	ΚΖ	ΚΖ	Ε	Κ	ΚΖ	Θ														
ΙΓ	ΚΕ	Κ	Δ	Ε	Κ	ΚΘ	Κ	Δ	Κ	ΚΗ	ΚΗ	Δ	Κ	ΚΗ	Ι														
ΙΒ	ΚΣ	ΚΑ	Ε	Σ	ΚΑ	Λ	ΚΑ	Γ	Κ	ΚΘ	ΚΘ	Γ	Κ	ΚΘ	ΙΑ														
ΙΑ	ΚΖ	ΚΒ	Σ	Ζ	ΚΒ	Α	ΚΒ	ΠΡΟΤ	Λ	Λ	ΠΡΟΤΕΡ	Λ	ΙΒ	Ε															
Ι	ΚΗ	ΚΓ	Ζ	Η	ΚΓ	Β	ΚΓ	Λ	Α	Α	Α	Α	Α	Α	Α														
Θ	ΚΘ	ΚΑ	Η	Θ	ΚΑ	Γ	ΚΑ	Λ	Α	Α	Α	Α	Α	Α	Α														
Η	Α	ΚΕ	Θ	Ι	ΚΕ	Δ	ΚΕ	Β	Β	Β	Β	Β	Β	Β	Β														
Ζ	Α	ΚΣ	Ι	ΙΑ	ΚΣ	Ε	ΚΣ	Γ	Γ	Γ	Γ	Γ	Γ	Γ	Γ														
Σ	Β	ΚΖ	ΙΑ	ΙΒ	ΚΖ	Σ	ΚΖ	Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ	Δ														
Ε	Γ	ΚΗ	ΙΒ	ΙΓ	ΚΗ	Ζ	ΚΗ	Ε	Ε	Ε	Ε	Ε	Ε	Ε	Ε														
Δ	Α	ΚΘ	ΙΓ	ΙΑ	ΚΘ	Η	ΚΘ	Σ	Σ	Σ	Σ	Σ	Σ	Σ	Σ														
Α	Ε	Α	ΙΕ	ΙΣ	Α	Ι	Α	Α	Α	Α	Α	Α	Α	Α	Α														

Figure 3: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 28.26, fol. 45r: hemerologion for January (© Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Digital Repository, <https://tecabml.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/plutei/id/475232>, CC BY-NC-SA)

20.

Γ	Δ	Ε	Α	Β	Σ	Ε	Γ	Ζ
ΔΩΔΗΚ	ΙΑΝΝΟΥΑ	ΤΥΒΙ	ΠΕΡΙΤΙ	ΦΕΒΡΟΥ	ΜΕΧΙΡ	ΔΥΣΤΡ	ΜΑΡΤΙ	ΦΑΜΕΝΩΒ:
Α	ΚΑΛΑΝ	Σ	Α	ΚΑΛΑΝ	Ζ	Α	ΚΑΛΑΝ	Ε
Β	ΠΙΔΝΩ	Ζ	Β	ΠΙΔΝΩ	Η	Β	ΠΙΔΝΩ	Σ
Γ	Γ	Η	Γ	Γ	Θ	Γ	Ε	Ζ
Δ	Δ	Θ	Δ	Δ	Ι	Δ	Α	Η
Ε	ΝΕΙΔ	Ι	Ε	ΝΕΙΔ	ΙΑ	Ε	Γ	Θ
Σ	ΠΙΝΕΙΔ	ΙΑ	Σ	ΠΙΝΕΙΔ	ΒΙ	Σ	Α	Ι
Ζ	Ζ	ΙΒ	Ζ	Ζ	ΙΓ	Ζ	ΠΙΝΕΙΔ	ΙΑ
Η	Σ	ΙΓ	Η	Σ	ΔΙ	Η	Ζ	ΙΓ
Θ	Ε	ΙΔ	Θ	Ε	ΕΙ	Θ	Α	ΙΑ
ΙΑ	Γ	ΙΕ	ΙΑ	Γ	ΣΙ	ΙΑ	Σ	ΙΕ
ΙΒ	Δ	ΙΖ	ΙΒ	Δ	ΖΙ	ΙΒ	Α	ΙΣ
ΙΓ	ΕΙΔΟΙ	ΙΗ	ΙΓ	ΕΙΔΟΙ	ΘΙ	ΙΓ	Γ	ΙΖ
ΙΔ	ΠΙΚΙΔ	ΙΘ	ΙΔ	ΠΙΚΙΔ	ΚΑ	ΙΔ	Α	ΙΗ
ΙΕ	ΙΗ	ΚΑ	ΙΕ	ΕΙ	ΚΒ	ΙΕ	ΕΙ	ΙΘ
ΙΖ	ΙΣ	ΚΒ	ΙΖ	ΙΓ	ΚΓ	ΙΣ	ΠΙΚΙΔ	ΚΑ
ΙΗ	ΙΕ	ΚΓ	ΙΗ	ΙΒ	ΚΔ	ΙΗ	ΙΕ	ΚΒ
ΙΘ	ΙΑ	ΚΔ	ΙΘ	ΙΑ	ΚΕ	ΙΘ	ΙΑ	ΚΓ
Κ	ΙΓ	ΚΕ	Κ	Ι	ΚΣ	Κ	ΙΓ	ΚΔ
ΚΑ	ΙΒ	ΚΖ	ΚΑ	Θ	ΚΖ	ΚΑ	ΙΒ	ΚΕ
ΚΒ	ΙΑ	ΚΖ	ΚΒ	Η	ΚΗ	ΚΒ	ΙΑ	ΚΣ
ΚΓ	Ι	ΚΗ	ΚΓ	Ζ	ΚΘ	ΚΓ	Ι	ΚΖ
ΚΔ	Θ	ΚΘ	ΚΔ	Σ	Α	ΚΔ	Θ	ΚΗ
ΚΕ	Η	Α	ΚΕ	Ε	Β	ΚΕ	Η	ΚΘ
ΚΣ	Ζ	Β	ΚΣ	Δ	Γ	ΚΣ	Ζ	Α
ΚΖ	Σ	Γ	ΚΖ	Ε	Δ	ΚΖ	Σ	Β
ΚΗ	Ε	Γ	ΚΗ	Β	Α	ΚΗ	Ε	Γ
ΚΘ	Α	Δ	ΚΘ	Α	Β	ΚΘ	Α	Γ
Α	Γ	Ε	Α	Β	Α	Α	Γ	Δ
ΙΑ	Α	Σ	ΙΑ	Α	Β	ΙΑ	Α	Ε

Figure 4: Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken, Scaliger 33, fol. 20r: calendar concordance (Roman, Greek, Egyptian) (Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken, SCA 33, Public Domain Mark 1.0)

genfor dīne mēcatr	Δωδεκάμηνας	quaprimo popte sciore lune dīcur sum neudelica error	Δωδεκάμηνας	calculan die uelocitate gignat	Δωδεκάμηνας	ad solis cursum cuius motus tardior facilius potest cōphendi	Δωδεκάμηνας	MINSES EIDIOΣ
suos menses putare coeperunt	Δωδεκάμηνας	sumpto ab autumno tempore primo mor dīo	Δωδεκάμηνας	tricens hos produntur in	Δωδεκάμηνας	cludere diebus	Δωδεκάμηνας	Θωθ
Quorū primus mēsis hoc mēbt septē	Δωδεκάμηνας	sedis faof	Δωδεκάμηνας	quartobalendariū octobriū	Δωδεκάμηνας		Δωδεκάμηνας	ΑΘΡ
Teratū achir	Δωδεκάμηνας	quintobalendariū nouemb	Δωδεκάμηνας	chēac	Δωδεκάμηνας	kalendariū decemb	Δωδεκάμηνας	ΧΡΑΚ
darū ianuariū	Δωδεκάμηνας	sextus mēchir	Δωδεκάμηνας	septimobalendariū feb	Δωδεκάμηνας	uul famenoth	Δωδεκάμηνας	ΤΥΒΙ
marciariū	Δωδεκάμηνας	uul farmuth	Δωδεκάμηνας	sextobalendariū apriliū	Δωδεκάμηνας	uul pachon	Δωδεκάμηνας	ΧΕΧΙΡ
paum septimobalendariū	Δωδεκάμηνας	uul episi	Δωδεκάμηνας	septimobalendariū iulias	Δωδεκάμηνας	uul mēson	Δωδεκάμηνας	ΦΑΧΕΝΩΘ
exordium	Δωδεκάμηνας	uul mēson	Δωδεκάμηνας	uul mēson	Δωδεκάμηνας	uul mēson	Δωδεκάμηνας	ΠΑΧΩΝ
residue addit uocant	Δωδεκάμηνας	uul mēson	Δωδεκάμηνας	uul mēson	Δωδεκάμηνας	uul mēson	Δωδεκάμηνας	ΠΑΥΝΙ
annetay	Δωδεκάμηνας	uul mēson	Δωδεκάμηνας	uul mēson	Δωδεκάμηνας	uul mēson	Δωδεκάμηνας	ΕΠΙΦΙ
	Δωδεκάμηνας	uul mēson	Δωδεκάμηνας	uul mēson	Δωδεκάμηνας	uul mēson	Δωδεκάμηνας	ΧΕΧΙΡ
	Δωδεκάμηνας	uul mēson	Δωδεκάμηνας	uul mēson	Δωδεκάμηνας	uul mēson	Δωδεκάμηνας	ΧΕΧΙΡ

Figure 5a: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Philipps 1832, fol. 25r: Egyptian months in Greek letters (© Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany, Public Domain Mark 1.0)

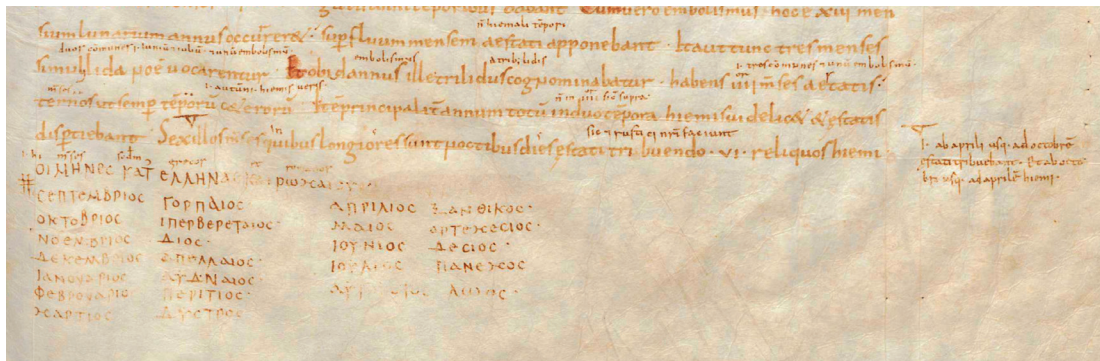


Figure 5b: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Phillips 1832, fol. 27r: Roman and Greek months in Greek letters (© Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany, Public Domain Mark 1.0)

De nomini	hi b y s oen	si y o se	c y h u y o.
Latinos	Hebreos	Egyptios.	Grecos.
Ianuarius.	TEBETH.	TIBY.	EYDIHOS.
Februarius.	SABATH.	MECHIR.	PERITIOS.
Martius.	ADAR.	FAMENOT.	DISTRIOS.
Aprilis.	HISAH.	FAROUTHI.	XATHNICOS.
Maius.	IAR.	PASCIO.	ARTHEMISEOS.
Iunius.	SIYAH.	PAUHI.	THESEOS.
Iulius.	THAMUL.	EPITHI.	PAHEGEOS.
Augustus.	ADAR.	MESSOR.	LOOS.
September.	EUL.	THOTH.	CORPEIOS.
October.	THESEKI.	F'AOFI.	PERBERETHEOS.
November.	Q'AKESVAH.	ATHIR.	ADIOS.
December.	CASLEY.	CHAC.	ADILEOS.

Figure 6: St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 453, p. 207: De nominibus mensium secundum Latinos, Hebreos, Egyptios, Grecos (© St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 453; CC BY NC 4.0 [<https://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/de/list/one/csg/0453>])

Sinistro brachio continent
grece & latine nomina
msium. sicut dextro signor.
Iresquaq; repolunt tercio id
ivl. nou. & mar. cu alu
solumodo gementur

APRIL	XANTIKOS
MAYUS	ARTIMISE OS
JUNIUS	DESEOS
JULIUS	PLANEMOS
AUGUST	ΛΟC
SEPTEB	ΓΟΡΓΕΙΟΣ
OCTOBER	ΥΦΕΡΕ ΤΟΣ
NOVEMB	ΔΥΟC
DECEMB	ΑΡΙΛΕΟΣ
JANUAR	ΕΥΔΙΝΙΟΣ
FEBRUAR	ΠΕΡΙΤΙΟC
MARTI	ΔΙΣΤΡΟC

Figure 7: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Philipps 1833, fol. 31v: list of Roman and Greek month names (© Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany, Public Domain Mark 1.0)

(2) The Days of a Lunar Orbit According to the Zodiac Signs

The different positions of the moon in the sky were determined by the twelve zodiac signs. A helpful visualization of this can be found in a supplement to Ptolemy's *Handy Tables* (which is supposed to stem directly from the original work, although the original shape of these visualizations is under discussion)⁴². The left-hand outer column shows the 30 days of a lunar orbit around the earth and the header shows the 12 months with their Latin and Egyptian names, starting with January (S1 Tihon)⁴³ (figure 8). The table shows the zodiac sign corresponding to each lunar day. A similar table is used by the computist Maximus the Confessor in the appendix to his already mentioned *Brevis enarratio* (figure 9).⁴⁴ Abbo of Fleury⁴⁵ also includes a zodiac table of the lunar days in his Berlin companion, starting with March (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Philipps 1833, fol. 39r).⁴⁶ The most striking feature is the identical shape of the alternately oblique inscriptions (from the bottom to the top or vice versa), which imitate the Greek version exactly (figure 10). However, the time units differ because Abbo's table also uses half days. It remains to be established whether Abbo or, rather, an earlier computist translated it into Latin.

42 See n. 30.

43 See Tihon, *Tables Faciles*, 55, 65.

44 See n. 34; the edition of Maximus the Confessor's *Brevis enarratio* in PG 19, cols. 1217-1280, omits the appendix.

45 Obrist, *Tables et figures abboniennes*, 153-154, refers to the tables in Maximus the Confessor's *Brevis enarratio* and quotes the manuscript Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 505 (*Diktyon* 67136; accessed on 27 May 2026: https://digi.vatlib.it/view/MSS_Vat.gr.505, dated 1520). Unfortunately, she did not consider the appendix on fols. 243r-251v, and the Vaticanus is only a very late witness to the text. Both the text and the appendix exist in earlier manuscripts dating from the 10th century onwards. Hereinafter, I shall refer to the earliest witness, Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken, Scaliger 33 (*Diktyon* 37986), which is dated to the mid-10th century.

46 Abbo of Fleury, *Miscellanea de computo*, ed. Lohr, 62 (figure) and 63 (Abbo's explanation); short commentary in the introduction by Alfred Lohr on pp. LIX-LX; see also Obrist, *Tables et figures abboniennes*, 172-177.

ΚΑΝΩΝ ΣΕΛΗΝΗΣ ΕΚ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΥ

ΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΣ	ΦΕΒΡΟΥΑΡΙΟΣ	ΜΑΡΤΙΟΣ	ΑΠΡΙΛΙΟΣ	ΜΑΪΟΣ	ΙΟΥΝΙΟΣ	ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ	ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΣ	ΟΚΤΩΒΡΙΟΣ	ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΣ	ΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΟΣ	ΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΣ
ΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΣ	ΦΕΒΡΟΥΑΡΙΟΣ	ΜΑΡΤΙΟΣ	ΑΠΡΙΛΙΟΣ	ΜΑΪΟΣ	ΙΟΥΝΙΟΣ	ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ	ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΣ	ΟΚΤΩΒΡΙΟΣ	ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΣ	ΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΟΣ	ΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΣ
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ΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΣ	ΦΕΒΡΟΥΑΡΙΟΣ	ΜΑΡΤΙΟΣ	ΑΠΡΙΛΙΟΣ	ΜΑΪΟΣ	ΙΟΥΝΙΟΣ	ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ	ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΣ	ΟΚΤΩΒΡΙΟΣ	ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΣ	ΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΟΣ	ΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΣ
ΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΣ	ΦΕΒΡΟΥΑΡΙΟΣ	ΜΑΡΤΙΟΣ	ΑΠΡΙΛΙΟΣ	ΜΑΪΟΣ	ΙΟΥΝΙΟΣ	ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ	ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΣ	ΟΚΤΩΒΡΙΟΣ	ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΣ	ΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΟΣ	ΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΣ
ΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΣ	ΦΕΒΡΟΥΑΡΙΟΣ	ΜΑΡΤΙΟΣ	ΑΠΡΙΛΙΟΣ	ΜΑΪΟΣ	ΙΟΥΝΙΟΣ	ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ	ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΣ	ΟΚΤΩΒΡΙΟΣ	ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΣ	ΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΙΟΣ	ΙΑΝΟΥΑΡΙΟΣ

Figure 8: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 28.26, fol. 43v: κανών σελήνης εκ συνόδου, additional material to Ptolemy's Handy Tables (© Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Digital Repository, <https://tecabml.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/plutei/id/475232>, CC BY-NC-SA)

(3) Table Indicating the Lunar Day for Each Date

Additional material circulating alongside Ptolemy's *Handy Tables* includes a concordance of the weekdays for each month of the year (Α, Β, Γ, Δ, Ε, Ζ, Η, ἡμέρα) and the corresponding lunar days (figure 11). The lunar days are indicated by the letters Α, Β, Γ, Δ, Ε, Ζ, Η, Θ, Ι, Κ (to be read from top to bottom), as well as by one or two spaces between these letters (ἡμέρα σεληνόδρομος; not the numeric value of the Greek letter). These ten letters encompass a full lunar month of up to 30 days (i.e. one letter and two spaces correspond to three days). Based on this complete calendar, it is possible to find the lunar day for each date in a separate diagram inscribed only with the lunar letters Α-Κ. However, a user must know the current year of the lunar cycle. The lunar days are indicated in the outer right column according to the 11-day interval of the annual lunar epacts (the difference of 11 days between a lunar year of 354 days and a solar year of 356 days). They start from Α = 1 and continue in the following order ΙΒ = 12, ΚΓ = 23, Δ = 4, and so on, i.e. the addition of 11. If the sum is greater than 30, 30 is subtracted and a lunar leap month is added to the lunar year (384 days). The header (numerals 1-30, i.e. Α-Λ) indicates the lunar days of this 30-year cycle (C8 Tihon).⁴⁷ A similar table can be found in the *Brevis enarratio* by Maximus the Confessor: The lunar days are inscribed in the same 11-day interval, but the diagram is rotated 90 degrees anticlockwise and these lunar days represent the header (figure 12). The Berlin computus companion by Abbo of Fleury imitates the table with the epact interval (according to the Ptolemy model) and has 30 columns for the years as the header (figure 13). Interestingly, he uses Greek numerals for the 30 years and imitates the Greek model in the table with the (Latin) letters Α, Β, Γ, Δ, Ε, Ζ, Η, Θ, Ι, Κ (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Philipps 1833, fol. 45r⁴⁸ and, modified, fol. 32v⁴⁹), but he also provides a »pure« Latin version with Roman numerals I-XXX (and inscribed letters Α-Κ) in an alternative table on fol. 32r⁵⁰ of his Berlin companion. Here, both the header and the left outer column bear the numerals I-XXX. According to the explanation on fol. 32r, the basic data required for the schemes on fols. 32v (and 45r) are the lunar letter from the *annale* and the lunar year (corresponding to the respective numeral in the header).⁵¹

47 Tihon, *Tables Faciles*, 55, 65.

48 Abbo of Fleury, *Miscellanea de computo*, ed. Lohr, 87 (table and Abbo's explanation), commentary in the introduction on p. LXII. The table refers to a separate calendar (*annale*) on fol. 44v, which uses Latin and Greek numerals (*hoc magis Grece quam Latine compositum annale, elementorum scilicet distinctione, superius descripsi suo ordine. sed ne auctoritatem grecizantis [= Abbo, see in the introduction, p. LXII] abolerem, hic id ipsum repetens innotescere decrevi ...* [Abbo of Fleury, *Miscellanea de computo*, ed. Lohr, 86, ll. 36-38]): The Greek numerals indicate the days of the month according to the Roman system of Kalends, Nones, and Ides. These terms are written in Latin and run from bottom to top).

49 Abbo of Fleury, *Miscellanea de computo*, ed. Lohr, 30 (table and Abbo's explanation), commentary in the introduction on pp. LIV-LV.

50 Abbo of Fleury, *Miscellanea de computo*, ed. Lohr, 31 (Abbo's explanation), 32 (table), commentary in the introduction on pp. LIV-LV.

51 See the explanation in Abbo of Fleury, *Miscellanea de computo*, ed. Lohr, LIV-LV.

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✠ ΗΜΕΡΑΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΕΛΗΝΗΝ ✠

Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	ΣΤ	Ζ	Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω
Α		4		8		12		16		20		24		28		32		36		40		44		48
Β		5		9		13		17		21		25		29		33		37		41		45		49
Γ		6		10		14		18		22		26		30		34		38		42		46		50
Δ		7		11		15		19		23		27		31		35		39		43		47		51
Ε		8		12		16		20		24		28		32		36		40		44		48		52
ΣΤ		9		13		17		21		25		29		33		37		41		45		49		53
Ζ		10		14		18		22		26		30		34		38		42		46		50		54
Η		11		15		19		23		27		31		35		39		43		47		51		55
Θ		12		16		20		24		28		32		36		40		44		48		52		56
Ι		13		17		21		25		29		33		37		41		45		49		53		57
Κ		14		18		22		26		30		34		38		42		46		50		54		58
Λ		15		19		23		27		31		35		39		43		47		51		55		59
Μ		16		20		24		28		32		36		40		44		48		52		56		60
Ν		17		21		25		29		33		37		41		45		49		53		57		61
Ξ		18		22		26		30		34		38		42		46		50		54		58		62
Ο		19		23		27		31		35		39		43		47		51		55		59		63
Π		20		24		28		32		36		40		44		48		52		56		60		64
Ρ		21		25		29		33		37		41		45		49		53		57		61		65
Σ		22		26		30		34		38		42		46		50		54		58		62		66
Τ		23		27		31		35		39		43		47		51		55		59		63		67
Υ		24		28		32		36		40		44		48		52		56		60		64		68
Φ		25		29		33		37		41		45		49		53		57		61		65		69
Χ		26		30		34		38		42		46		50		54		58		62		66		70
Ψ		27		31		35		39		43		47		51		55		59		63		67		71
Ω		28		32		36		40		44		48		52		56		60		64		68		72

Figure 11: Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 28.26, fol. 44r: *ἡμέραι κατὰ σελήνην*: the lunar days and the epacts, in the additional material to Ptolemy's *Handy Tables* (refers to the last column in the model calendar: 45r-50v) (© Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Digital Repository, <https://tecabml.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/plutei/id/475232>)

25.

Month	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
Jan	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η
Feb	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η
Mar	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η
Apr	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η
May	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η
Jun	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η
Jul	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η
Aug	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η
Sep	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η
Oct	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η
Nov	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η
Dec	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	Ν	Ξ	Ο	Π	Ρ	Σ	Τ	Υ	Φ	Χ	Ψ	Ω	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η

Figure 12: Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken, Scaliger 33, fol. 25r: list indicating the lunar day for each date in the appendix to Maximus the Confessor's *Brevis enarratio* (it refers to the lunar column of each month in the model calendar on fols. 23v-24r) (Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken, SCA 33, Public Domain Mark 1.0)

Figures 13: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Phillipps 1833, fol. 45r: list indicating the lunar day for each date in the computus companion by Abbo of Fleury (reference calendar on fol. 44v) (© Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany, Public Domain Mark 1.0)

(4) Table Showing the Weekday for each Date

To calculate Easter Sunday for any year, it is first necessary to determine the weekday of the 14th day of the first lunar month (i.e. the full moon) in the solar calendar. This can be done by calculation or by referring to tables providing a quick overview.⁵² The appendix to Maximus the Confessor's *Brevis enarratio* indicates the first weekdays of each year in a 28-year solar cycle, including the leap days every fourth year (figure 14). He starts with Sunday and lists the weekdays using the letters A, B, Γ, Δ, E, Z, H without numerical value. Abbo of Fleury

52 In his *Brevis enarratio*, Maximus the Confessor provides a method of calculating the day of the week for any given date. To simplify the process, he adds a circle containing the sun epacts (in Latin *paschalia*, the so called *concurrentes*) for each year of a solar cycle, and inscribes a table showing the first week of each month in the first year of the solar cycle (Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken, Scaliger 33, fol. 12r); however, as his commentary (f. 11rv; Maximus the Confessor, *Brevis enarratio*, PG 19, cols. 1264-1268) explains the calculation process (addition of the epacts and days, division by 7), the user must calculate the result (rather than simply consulting the tables), as the tables in the appendix only serve to simplify the process.

illustrates this *septizodium*⁵³ with three tables (one for leap years, one for the days of a leap year until the leap day – both starting with Saturday –, and one with leap days included, starting with Sunday; the dates differ due to scribal errors) and explains it on fol. 29r of his *computus companion*,⁵⁴ Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Philipps 1833 (figure 15). Basic data is included again in the *annale* on fols. 23r-28v.

	ΕΤΗ	ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ	ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ	ΤΡΙΤΗ	ΤΕΤΑΡΤΗ	ΠΕΜΠΤΗ	ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ	ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟ
	Α	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η
	Β	Η	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ
	Γ	Ζ	Η	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε
ΒΙΣΕΚ	Δ	ΕΑ	ΖΕ	ΗΖ	ΑΗ	ΒΑ	ΓΒ	ΔΓ
	Ε	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Α	Β
	Σ	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Α
	Ζ	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η
ΒΙΣΕΚ	Η	ΗΖ	ΑΗ	ΒΑ	ΓΒ	ΔΓ	ΕΔ	ΖΕ
	Α	Ε	Ζ	Η	Α	Β	Γ	Δ
	Β	Α	Ε	Ζ	Η	Α	Β	Γ
	ΑΙ	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Α	Β
ΒΙΣΕΚ	ΒΙ	ΒΑ	ΓΒ	ΔΓ	ΕΔ	ΖΕ	ΗΖ	ΑΗ
	ΓΙ	Η	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ
	ΔΙ	Ζ	Η	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε
	ΕΙ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Α	Β	Γ	Δ
ΒΙΣΕΚ	ΙΣ	ΑΓ	ΕΔ	ΖΕ	ΗΖ	ΑΗ	ΒΑ	ΓΒ
	ΙΖ	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Α
	ΙΗ	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η
	ΙΘ	Η	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ
ΒΙΣΕΚ	Κ	ΖΕ	ΗΖ	ΑΗ	ΒΑ	ΓΒ	ΔΓ	ΕΔ
	ΚΑ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Α	Β	Γ
	ΚΒ	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Α	Β
	ΚΓ	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Α
ΒΙΣΕΚ	ΚΔ	ΑΗ	ΒΑ	ΓΒ	ΔΓ	ΕΔ	ΖΕ	ΗΖ
	ΚΕ	Ζ	Η	Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε
	ΚΣ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Α	Β	Γ	Δ
	ΚΖ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Α	Β	Γ
ΒΙΣΕΚ	ΚΗ	ΓΒ	ΔΓ	ΕΔ	ΖΕ	ΗΖ	ΑΗ	ΒΑ

Figure 14: Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken, Scaliger 33, fol. 24v: list indicating the weekday for each date (Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken, SCA 33, Public Domain Mark 1.0)

53 Abbo of Fleury explains the *ratio septizodii* as follows: »Because the letters (i.e. the indicators of the days of the week) return to the same value (i.e. day of the week) after seven years« (*eo quod per septem annorum circulum in semet revolvuntur* [sc. litterae]).

54 Abbo of Fleury, *Miscellanea de computo*, ed. Lohr, 18 (tables), 19 (explanation), commentary in the introduction on p. LII.

companion on fol. 38v.⁵⁶ Like the Greek manuscript, it shows the length of the respective shadows in feet (*horologium, quod contra unumquemque mensem habet ad umbram humani corporis pedes singularum horarum diei*). However, here it appears as a semicircle and the data are also presented in a table⁵⁷ (since the shadow lengths recur in the second half of the year, the respective months are combined) (figure 17).

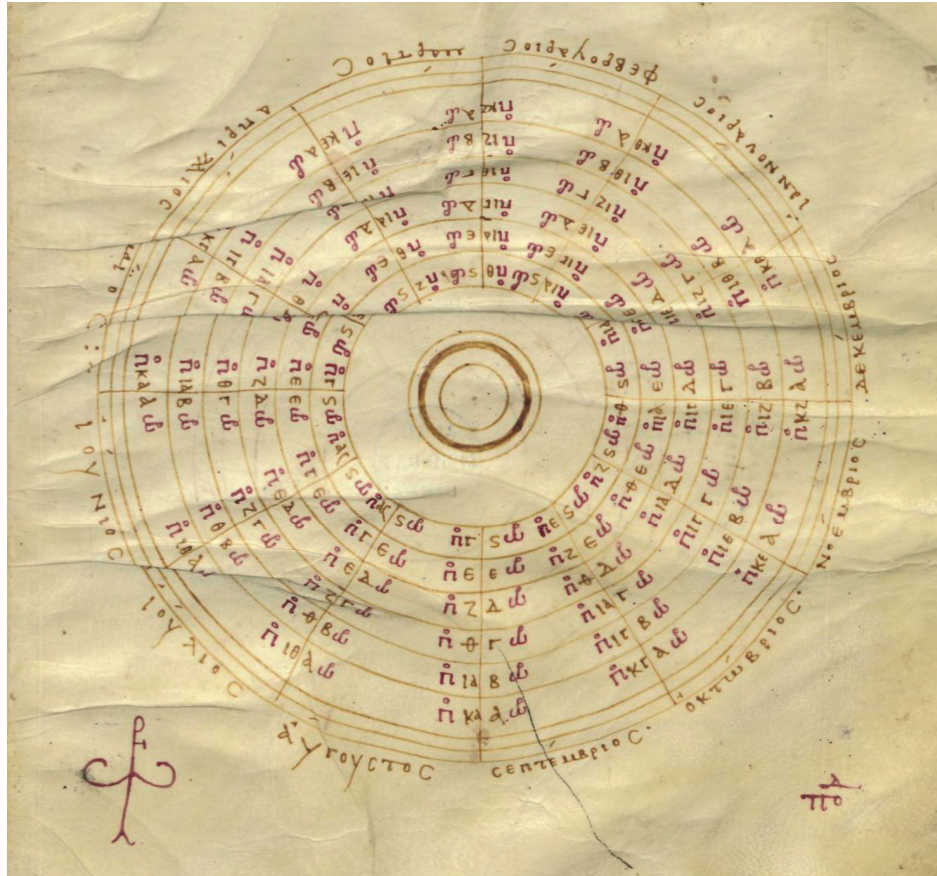


Figure 16: Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken, Scaliger 33, fol. 26r: scheme of a sundial (Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken, SCA 33, Public Domain Mark 1.0)

Ambrosiana, F.12. sup. [*Diktyon* 42736], fols. 304r-305v, 10th c. [as treatise by Theodorus to Theophilus] – Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 854 [*Diktyon* 50441], fols. 196v-197r, 13th c. [abbreviated version, Theodorus to Theophilus]. To add: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 341 (*Diktyon* 66972), fols. 11v-12v, dated 1021 (Theodorus to Theophilus); see furthermore Sekstos ὁ ὠροκράτωρ to King Philipp (the length of the shadow for each of the twelve hours in all twelve signs of the zodiac; edition: *Catalogus* 7, ed. Boll, 188-189 (from Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Philipps 1577 [*Diktyon* 9478], fols. 117r-118v, 15th c.).

56 Abbo of Fleury, *Miscellanea de computo*, ed. Lohr, 60 (table), commentary in the introduction on p. LIX; see also Obrist, *Tables et figures abboniennes*, 178-182.

57 The following manuscript contains an explanation of the table: Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 250, fol. 14v. This also originates from Abbo's school; see Barbara Obrist in the introduction of Abbo of Fleury, *Miscellanea de computo*, ed. Lohr, XXXVII, XL. The text is edited in Lohr, 151, l. 26-152, l. 50; for the Bern manuscript, see also the introduction on p. LXV, as well as Cordoliani, *Manuscripts* 135-146.

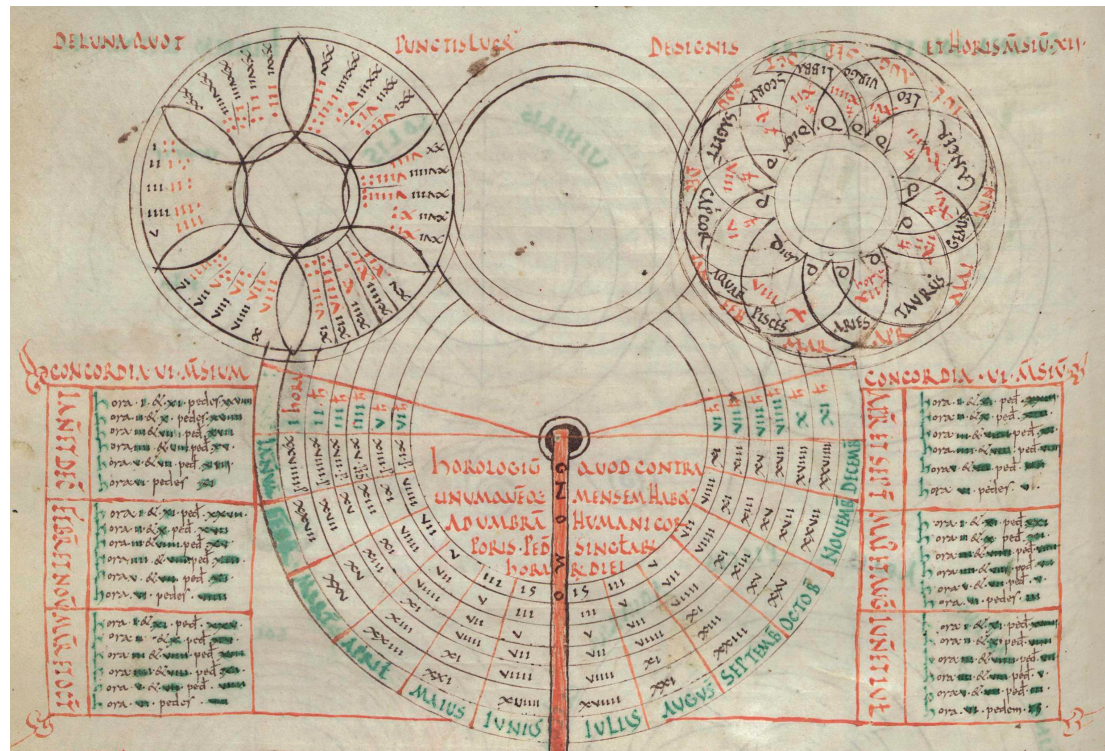


Figure 17: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Philipps 1833, fol. 38v: scheme of a sundial (© Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany, Public Domain Mark 1.0)

Text 1: Letter from Petosiris to King Necho

This treatise, which was very popular in medieval times, explains what outcome a person can expect when facing threatening events such as serious illness, fugitive status, single combat or duelling.⁵⁸ This method is based on the letters of a person's name, which also have a numer-

58 I would like to thank the anonymous reviewer for drawing my attention to two similar texts in the magical papyri from the late antiquity period: »Sphere of Democritus«: *Papyri Graecae Magicae* 2, ed. Preisendanz and Henrichs, 81 no. XII 351-364 (English translation and commentary in: *Greek and Egyptian Magical Formularies* 1, ed. Faraone and Torallas Tovar, 112-113, no. 15.400-418): The basic numbers are the lunar day on which someone fell ill and their name (each letter has a numerical value). The sum is then divided by 30, as a lunar month has 30 days, and the remainder below 30 is checked against a schema in which the 30 numerals are arranged above and below a centre line. If the number matches one of the numerals above the center line, the sick person will survive; if it matches one of the numerals below the center line, the sick person will die. The second text is edited in *Papyri Graecae Magicae* 2, ed. Preisendanz and Henrichs, 194, no. LXII 48-52: 612 (= the numerical value of the name Zeus [$\zeta = 7, \epsilon = 5, \upsilon = 400, \varsigma = 200$]) is added to a random number (obtained by rolling dice) and 353 (the numerical value of the name Hermes [$\epsilon = 5, \rho = 100, \mu = 40, \eta = 8, \varsigma = 200$]) is subtracted. If the result is an even number, the person will survive; otherwise, the person will die. Furthermore, instructions for prognostication based on the numerical value of a name are ascribed to Pythagoras; see Tannery, Notice, 255-260. The *Pinakes* database, maintained by the CNRS, IRHT, Paris, lists these manuscripts under *Pythagoras philosophus, works: computus, tabulae cabalisticae and epistula ad Telaugem*; see for example the Florence manuscript, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 86.14 (*Diktyon*

ical value in Greek, and the day of the moon, to which a numerical value is attributed in an accompanying concordance. The treatise explains how to calculate and interpret the final value. Finally, the user must consult a circle diagram in which the possible final values are assigned to one of the four quadrants (*megale zoe*, *mikra zoe*, *megas thanatos*, *mikros thanatos* – μεγάλη ζωή, μικρά ζωή, μέγας θάνατος, μικρός θάνατος) or a border zone (*mese zoe*, *mesos thanatos* – μέση ζωή, μέσος θάνατος).

A classic example is the battle between Achilles and Hector:⁵⁹ the sums calculated prove the outcome as recounted in mythology (Achilles emerges victorious). The mathematical process is as follows: First, the numbers in the person's name are added together. In the Greek version this is simply calculated by using the numerical value of each letter. For example, the name Achilles (Αχιλλεύς) is calculated as follows: 1 (Α) + 600 (Χ) + 10 (Ι) + λλ (2 × 30 = 60) + 5 (Ε) + 400 (Υ) + 200 (Ζ = Σ), adding up to 1276. Next, the lunar day is required (here, the day of the fight). Each of the 30 possible days is equated with a particular number taken from the concordance (1st lunar day = 1585 [or another number], 2nd = 1116, 3rd = 1019, 4th = 1315, 5th = 814 etc.). The 17th lunar day corresponds to number 893 in the list. When this sum (1276 + 893 = 2169) is divided by 29, the remainder is 23 (2169 mod 29). In the diagram, this numeral can be found in the μεγάλη ζωή quadrant. However, the manuscripts vary in how they distribute the 29 numerals to the quadrants.

The problem with this list is that the attributed numbers vary in the manuscripts due to scribal errors. The next step is to divide the sum of the added numbers by 29, the number of a hollow lunar month, and to search for the remainder in one of the quadrants of the circle diagram. A good outcome is expected from numerals in the life part (*megale zoe* – μεγάλη ζωή) and a bad outcome from the numerals in the death part (*megas thanatos* – μέγας θάνατος).

However, there is also another method: one must take the sum of the letters in a person's name and divide the result by 29, take the respective lunar day, and check both numbers on the circle diagram. In this case, the two hemispheres are important: the parts above and below the horizon, known as *hypergeion* (ὑπέργειον) and *hypogeion* (ὑπόγειον) respectively. If the remainder of the sum of a person's letters is attributed to the *hypogeion* (the bad half) and the lunar day coincides with a numeral in the *hypergeion* (the good half), the person has a chance of being saved. Conversely, if both numbers coincide with a *hypogeion* numeral, the person has no chance.

In Greek manuscripts, the circle diagram is divided so that the two life parts (*megale zoe*, *mikra zoe* – μεγάλη ζωή, μικρά ζωή) are in the two upper quadrants, while the two death

16800), fols. 37r-39v, 15th c. (on fol. 39v is a table divided into *hypergeion* [the space above the earth] and *hypogeion* [the subterranean space]; accessed on 27 May 2026: <https://tecabml.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/plutei/id/1014844>). Manuscripts linked to the teaching of Abbo of Fleury also contain the *ratio spere Pitagorae, quam Apuleius descripsit*, which predicts the fate of the sick and warriors; see Juste, Comput, 107-114 and 122-125. There are some very unusual calculation methods in *Catalogus* 11/2, ed. Zuretti, 139-152 (cod. 34 of this volume; from Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 4616 [*Diktyon* 40096], fols. 82v-89r). For the texts attributed to Pythagoras, Petosiris and Hermes Trismegistos, see also Neugebauer and Saliva, On Greek numerology.

59 Even »more pragmatic« prognostics were used, such as predicting who in a couple would die first, depending on the sum of the syllables of their names, see *Catalogus* 10, ed. Delatte, 243.

parts (*megas thanatos*, *mikros thanatos* – μέγας θάνατος, μικρός θάνατος) are in the lower ones. This illustrates the promising *hypergeion* and the fatal *hypogeion*.⁶⁰ However, the sequence may differ: In scheme 1, moving anticlockwise from the right, the order is: μικρά ζωή, μεγάλη ζωή (in the upper semicircle), μέγας θάνατος, μικρός θάνατος (continued in the lower semicircle; see fig. 19). In scheme 2, moving anticlockwise from the right, the order is: μεγάλη ζωή, μικρά ζωή (in the upper semicircle), μέγας θάνατος, μικρός θάνατος (continued in the lower semicircle; see fig. 20). In some circle diagrams, the area between the two life and death zones is designated the middle zone (*mese zoe*, *mesos thanatos* – μέση ζωή, μέσος θάνατος), which includes some numerals. This zone indicates an outcome that is neither quick nor long-lasting and that is positive in the life part or negative in the death part.⁶¹

There were slightly different Greek versions of the text and its illustrating diagram in circulation, namely as to the concordance of the letters and the diagram of the four quadrants.⁶² One modification concerned the chosen names: Achilles and Hector were replaced by David (fighting Goliath) or Leon⁶³.

Such prognostics also attracted the interest of the West,⁶⁴ and so Latin translations began to circulate in manuscripts from the 9th century onwards. I am referring to the text and diagram transmitted in the computus companion of the School of Fleury, Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Philipps 1883, fols. 53v-54r⁶⁵ (figure 18). The diagram's explanation includes the mid zone (*media vita*, *meso zoe* and *media mors*, *meso thanathos*; fol. 53v), but the mid zones are not inscribed with their numerals in the circle diagram, as they are in some Greek diagrams. However, the accompanying descriptions of such Greek diagrams only rarely refer to the mid zones (e.g. the Parisinus suppl. grec 446 [*Diktyon* 50020], see below). Another peculiarity of the Latin version is that the circle has been rotated 90 degrees to the left. This means that the life quadrants now correspond to the two left quadrants, and the death quadrants correspond to the two right ones (according to scheme 2, see figure 20). Due to this rotation, the *hypogeion* and *hypergeion* areas, which should correspond to the lower or

60 In the Madrid manuscript (see fig. 20) it is described as follows: The entire upper (half of the circle) is illuminated, while the entire lower (part) is dark.

61 See the illustration in Berthelot and Ruelle, *Collection* 1, 88 (taken from Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2419 [*Diktyon* 52051], fol. 32r).

62 See *Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta*, ed. Riess, 382-388; a longer version from Modena, Biblioteca Estense universitaria, α.V.7.6 (Puntoni 174) (*Diktyon* 43508), fol. 262r, is published in *Catalogus* 4, ed. Oliveri, 120-121 (see also 34-35, under no. 13; furthermore Neugebauer and Saliva, On Greek numerology).

63 It is highly probable that this Leon refers to Emperor Leo VI, the »Wise«, who, over time, attained the status of a prophet in the 12th century and beyond; see Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit (PmbZ), #24311, accessed on 27 May 1026: www.degruyterbrill.com/database/PMBZ/entry/PMBZ26465/html. – These recensions, along with their respective calculation methods, have already been edited. For editions, see the list of the Greek manuscripts below.

64 For the vast influence of prognostics in the Middle Ages, see Heiduk, Herbers, and Lehner, *Prognostication*. For the Greek area in particular: Lempire, *Calendrical Calculations*.

65 Fol. 53v (diagram) (Abbo of Fleury, *Miscellanea de computo*, ed. Lohr, 121); Letter from Petosiris: fols. 53v-54r (ed. Lohr 123-124); see also the introduction in Lohr, LXIII. For the Latin tradition of the Letter from Petosiris, see Wickersheimer, *Figures médio-astrologiques*, 166-167; Van de Vyver, *Les plus anciennes traductions latines*, 674-676 (676: transmission from late antiquity to medieval time); Tolles, *Latin tradition*; Engelen, *Zeit, Zahl und Bild*, 108-111; Juste, *Comput*, 101-107, 114-117, 119-121 (critical edition).

upper semicircle, are instead ascribed to *zoe megale* / *vita maior* + *tanatos micra* (sic) / *mors minor* (for the *ypergeia*, from left to right) and *zoe micra* / *vita minor* + *tanatos megale* (sic) / *mors maior* (for the *ypogeia*, from left to right), which makes no sense. A possible reason for the rotation of the circle is the additional inscription of the four cardinal directions in some Greek diagrams. According to this, the right-hand section (in the Greek circle) indicates south, while the left indicates north. Therefore, if a user wishes to adjust the circle to the usual compass, it must be turned as in the Latin circle diagram.⁶⁶

A text version that is very similar to, but not identical with that of the Berlin companion is preserved in the manuscript Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España 4616 (*Diktyon* 40096), fols. 89r-90r⁶⁷ (figures 20, 21). However, as previously demonstrated, the Berlin manuscript also refers to the border zones, the μέση ζωή and μέσος θάνατος which are omitted in the Madrid version. For comparison, a version describing the three areas of life and death is included here (as preserved in the earliest manuscript of the Petosiris letter, the manuscript Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, suppl. grec 446⁶⁸, figure 19). Minor orthographic errors of the Greek texts have been tacitly corrected. The Paris manuscript uses majuscule letters for numerals, whereas the Madrid manuscript uses minuscule letters; I have followed their respective practices.

66 For a Greek example, see the inscription of the four cardinal directions in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2419 (*Diktyon* 52051), fol. 156r, or suppl. grec 637 (*Diktyon* 53372), fol. 58v.

67 The text (without diagram and inscriptions) is edited in *Regiae Bibliothecae Matritensis Codices Graeci* 1, ed. Iriarte, 338-339 (no 84); for the astronomical content, see *Catalogus* 11/2, ed. Zuretti, 53-71 (cod. 34) and 152-154 (edition); accessed on 27 May 2026: <http://bdh.bne.es/bnearch/detalle/bdh0000247036>. The Madrid version has also been published by Ernst Riess (*Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta*, ed. Riess, 385-386).

68 Accessed on 27 May 2026: <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b11004080k>.

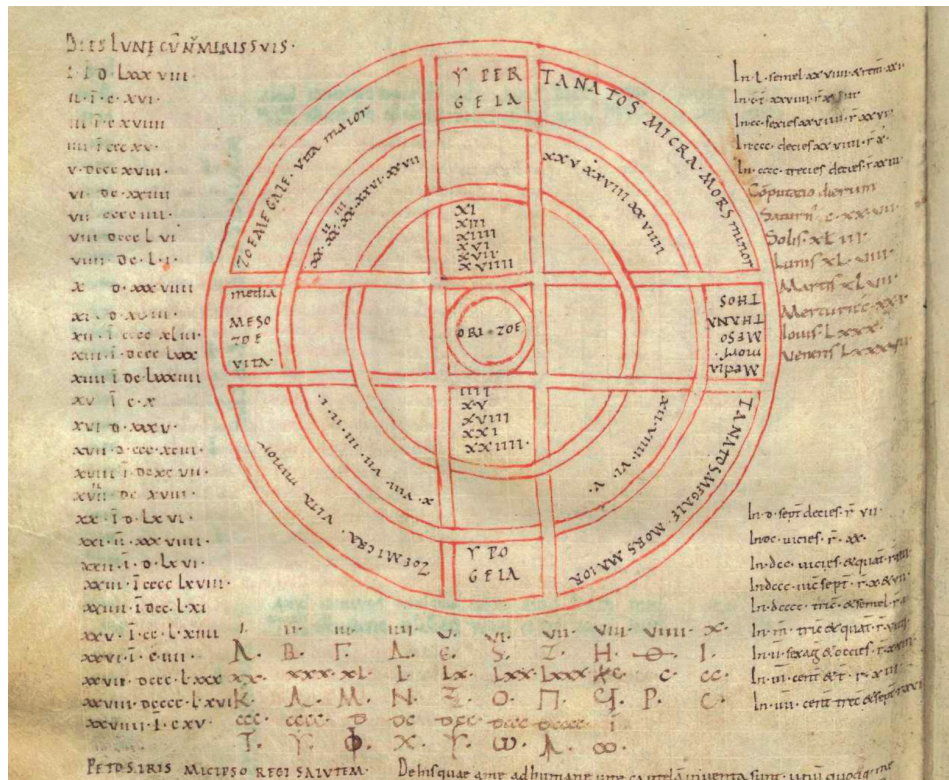


Figure 18: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Phillipps 1833, fol. 53v: illustration to the letter from Petosiris (© Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, Germany, Public Domain Mark 1.0)



Figure 19: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, suppl. grec 446, fol. 44r: illustration to the letter from Petosiris (© gallica.bnf.fr/Bibliothèque nationale de France)

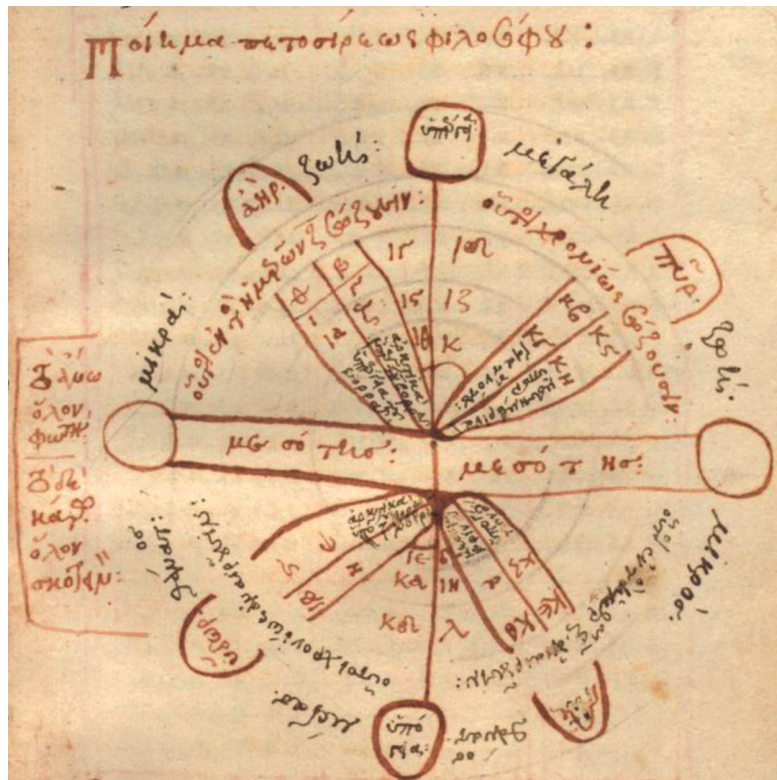


Figure 20: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 4616, fol. 90r: illustration to the letter from Petosiris (© image taken from the holdings of the Biblioteca Nacional de España, CC BY 4.0)

μικροί θάνατος: τα πρῶτα μὲν τῶν μηνῶν

α	αφπγ	15	ψλγ
β	αρις	16	ωλγ
γ	α ιθ	17	αωξ
δ	ατιγ	18	ψ λγ
ε	ω ιθ	19	αφξς
ς	χ λθ	20	β λθ
ξ	υ λ	21	αφξς
η	ω νς	22	αυξδ
θ	χ ξγ	23	αψξα
ι	χ λθ	24	ασξδ
ια	χ γθ	25	α ρ λ
ιβ	αυμγ	26	ω π
ιγ	α σ π	27	δεξ
ιδ	α χ π α	28	α ρ ι γ
ιε	α ρ ι	29	α ρ μ ζ

σε λύνει. ἡμεῖς αὖ καὶ ἀνὰ ἡμέρας

Figure 21: Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España, 4616, fol. 89v: concordance of lunar days and respective calculation number (© image taken from the holdings of the Biblioteca Nacional de España, CC BY 4.0)

As there is still no overview of the Greek manuscripts, I will start by compiling a list from the references in the *Catalogi Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum* (CCAG), the database *Pinakes* and checks in digital manuscript libraries.

*Greek Manuscripts until the End of the 15th Century as far as Known*⁶⁹

1. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, suppl. grec 446 (*Diktyon* 53179), fols. 43v-44r, 10th c. (with circle diagram, fol. 44r: ἡμικύκλιον ἀναστάσεως, ζωῆς, πράξεως καὶ εὐρέσεως), inc.: ὄργανον ἀστρονομικόν, ἐπιστολὴ Πετοσιρεως πρὸς Νεχεψῶ βασιλέα Ἀσυρίων. – ψῆφος σεληνιακή, δὲ ἥς (ex σεληνιακὸς δὲ οὐ u.v. corr.) ἐστὶν τὸν ἐπισκεπτόμενον τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἄπτεστον (sic) εἶναι περὶ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου καὶ περὶ μονομάχων (sic) καὶ πράξεων καὶ περὶ πόλεως ἢ στεφάνου ἢ πρακτῆρος ἢ πλοκῆς καὶ ἀποδρασμοῦ καὶ εὐρέσεως καὶ τὰ τοιοῦτοις ὅμοια [...] expl.: ἐλθὲ οὖν ἐν τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ ὀργάνῳ καὶ εὐρήσεις, ὅτι νικᾷ Δαβὶδ τὸν Γολιάθ (*Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta*, no. 40, ed. Riess, 386; *Catalogus* 8/3, ed. Boudreaux, 75 [cod. 55 of this volume]; example: David [and Goliath]; numerical concordance of the lunar days: $\alpha = 1589$, $\beta = 1116$, $\gamma = 1019$, $\delta = 1315$, $\varepsilon = 814$, $\varsigma = 634$, $\zeta = 430$, etc.).
2. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 432 (*Diktyon* 67063), fol. 138v, 14th c. (with two circle diagrams, ὄργανον κανονικὸν ἥτοι πυθαγορικόν, for the *hypergaion* [ταχεῖα ζωὴ and μακρὰ ζωὴ] and the *hypogaion* [ταχὺς θάνατος and μακρὸς θάνατος], fol. 138v; the text is ascribed to a priest and βιβλίῳ ἐπισφραγιστῆς named Florentinus [Florentinus is also the author of a letter to Ptolemy, see Vatican, BAV, gr. 509 [*Diktyon* 67140], fols. 311v-312r), inc.: ἐπέταξά σοι ὄργανον κανονικόν, ὃ διασκεπτόμενος αἰεὶ ἀδιάπτωτος ἔσῃ, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ νίκης μονομάχων, πραγμάτων καὶ ἀποδιδρασκόντων καὶ τῶν ὁμοίων. σκέπτου δὲ οὕτως· δέξαι τοῦ κατακλιθέντος ἢ τοῦ φυγόντος ἢ τοῦ ἀντιδίκου ἢ τῶν τούτοις ὁμοίων τὸ ὄνομα [...] expl.: λέγομεν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα νικᾶν, τὸν δὲ Ἑκτορα νικᾶσθαι, ἐπειδὴ εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ ὀργάνῳ καταλειμμένη α', ἔνθα ὁ μικρὸς θάνατος (*Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta*, no. 38, ed. Riess, 384, l. 14-385, 45; *Catalogus* 5/4, ed. Weinstock, 6-7 [cod. 34 of this volume]; examples: Achilles [and Hector]; numerical concordance of the lunar days: $\alpha = 1589$, $\beta = 1110$, $\gamma = 1119$, $\delta = 1315$, $\varepsilon = 1408$, $\varsigma = 634$, $\zeta = 804$, etc.).
3. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea, Plut. 86.17 (*Diktyon* 16803), fols. 176v-177v, 15th c. (with circle diagram, fol. 176r: κύκλος τοῦ Πετόσιρι), inc.: Πετόσιρις Νεχψῶ (sic) τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ βασιλεῖ χαίρειν. περὶ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εὐρισκομένων πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἐξακριβωσάμενος διαπέμψασθαί σοι οὐκ ὤκνησα καὶ σὺ δὲ τῇ θεοπνεύστῳ σου προνοίᾳ ἐνέργει τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ σοι γραφομένοις, ἀναγκαίου γὰρ ὄντος τῆς τῶν καταπερικλινομένων ἀνθρώπων συνθέσεως ἢ νοσοῦντων ἐπίστασθαι, πότερον ὑγιαίνουνσιν ἢ οὐ, ὑπέταξά σοι ὄργανον κανονικόν, δὲ οὐ ἐπισκεπτόμενος αἰεὶ ἀδιάπτωτος ἔσῃ· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ νίκης καὶ μοναχῶν (sic) καὶ πραγμάτων, ἀποδιδρασκόντων καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτοις ὁμοίων, σκέπτου δὲ οὕτως [...] expl.: εἰ δὲ ἀναμεμιγμένοι ἐκ τῆς παροχῆς γινώσκουσι, πότερον πολλοὺς χρόνους αἱ νόσοι ἢ οὐ καὶ εἰ φευκτέος ὁ κίνδυνος ἢ οὐ (cf. *Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta*, no. 39, ed. Riess; example: Leon, in the calculation a *kanon* is referred to, but this concordance is not

69 See also the overview in *Pinakes*, accessed on 27 May 2026: <https://pinakes.irht.cnrs.fr/notices/oeuvre/5262/>.

included in the diagrams on fol. 178r, they only contain the numerals 1-30 distributed in the *hypergeion* and *hypogeion* diagram).

4. Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken, Voss. gr. F° 59 (*Diktyon* 38069), fols. 279v-280r, 15th c. (with circle diagram), inc. (without name of the author) ὄργανον προγνωστικὸν βιωφελὲς χρήσιμον ἐξ αἰγυπτιακῆς βιβλίου ἠκριβόμενον (sic) ἀντιγραφέν, σκεπτέον δὲ οὕτως [...] expl.: ἔνθα ἦν ὁ μικρὸς θάνατος (= *Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta*, no. 38, ed. Riess, 384, 17-385, 45; de Meyier, *Codices Vossiani graeci*, 69 [he refers to Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2184 (*Diktyon* 51813), fol. 211rv, second half of the 15th c., see *Catalogus* 8/4, ed. Boudreaux, 12 (cod. 73 of this volume) and below, no. 10]; the Paris manuscript has no circle diagram, but a list [ὄργανον] of concordance indicating the remainders and the respective quadrant [f. 211v]; examples: Achilles and Hector; numerical concordance of the lunar days: $\alpha = 1585$, $\beta = 1116$, $\gamma = 1019$, $\delta = 1315$, $\epsilon = 814$, $\zeta = 634$, $\zeta = 430$, etc.).
5. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 637 (*Diktyon* 53372), fol. 59r, 15th c. (with circle diagram, fol. 58v), inc.: προγνωστικὸν ἠκριβωμένον βιωφελὲς καὶ χρήσιμον ἀντι[γραφέν ἐξ] αἰγυπτιακῆς παλαιᾶς βίβλου Πετώσιρις Νεχεψὼ τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ βασιλεῖ χαίρειν. ἐπεὶ δὴ βεβάρηται σου ἡ θεία ψυχὴ, σοφώτατε βασιλεῦ, πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἄστρον κινήσει, ζητοῦσα τῶν ἐσομένων τὴν ἔκβασιν—πολυσχεδῆς γὰρ καὶ δυσκατάληπτος [...] expl.: ἐν τῷ ὀργάνῳ καταλελειμμένος α', ἔνθα ἦν ὁ μικρὸς θάνατος (= *Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta*, no. 38, ed. Riess, 384-385, l. 45; examples: Achilles and Hector; the numerical concordance of the lunar days is missing; on fol. 58r a later hand added a calculation example for the name Leon).
6. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 952 (*Diktyon* 67583), fol. 185rv, first half of the 15th c. (with table, fol. 185v), inc.: ἡ δὲ Πετοσύρεως προσενεχθεῖσα τῷ βασιλεῖ Νεχεψὼ μέθοδος, ἥ καὶ Πυθαγόρας ἔχρητο· ἔστιν αὕτη· ἀρίθμει, φησί, τὸ ἰθυγενὲς ὄνομα τοῦ κάμνοντος ἢ τοῦ παλαίοντος ἢ τοῦ ἀποδράντος ἢ ἐτέρου τινὸς τοιοῦτου, ἀριθμεῖ δὲ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς σελήνης [...] expl.: καὶ σπουδάζεις προγῶναι τὸ ἐσόμενον. τινὲς δὲ ἐφεξῆς τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς κατακλίσεως τὰς ψήφους λαμβάνουσι, καὶ ἐὰν εὐρεθῶσι σύμφωνοι, βεβαίτερον ἀποφαίνονται· ἐὰν δὲ ἀναμεγμιγμένοι, ἐκ τῆς ὑπεροχῆς γινώσκουσι, πότερον πολυχρόνιον ἢ νόσος ἢ οὐ καὶ εἰ ἐκφευκτέος ὁ κίνδυνος ἢ οὐ (*Catalogus* 5/4, ed. Weinstock, 11-12 [cod. 39 of this volume]; example: Leon; numerical concordance of the lunar days on fol. 186r: $\alpha = 1589 = 1288 + 301$ [numerical value of the name σελήνη; added until full moon], $\beta = 1123 = 822$ [cod. 815] + 301, $\gamma = 1019 = 718 + 301$, $\delta = 1315 = 1014 + 301$, $\epsilon = 814 = 513$ [cod. 518] + 301, $\zeta = 634 = 333 + 301$, $\zeta = 430 = 129 + 301$, etc.).
7. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ross. 986 (*Diktyon* 66453), fol. 388v, mid 15th c. (with circle diagram, fol. 388v), inc.: περισσότερος (sic) φιλοσόφου. περὶ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εὐρισκομένων πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον διαπέμψασθαι ἐξακριβευσάμενος οὐκ ὤκησα [...] expl.: λέγομεν τὸν μὲν Ἀχιλλέα νικᾶν, τὸ δὲ ἔκτορα νικᾶσθαι, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ ὀργάνῳ καταλελυμένον (sic) α', ἔνθα ἔστιν ἡ μία μικρὸς θάνατος (= *Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta*, no. 39, ed. Riess, 385-386; examples: Achilles and Hector; numerical concordance of the lunar days on fol. 389r: $\alpha = 1589$, $\beta = 1116$, $\gamma = 1119$, $\delta = 1315$, $\epsilon = 818$, $\zeta = 634$, $\zeta = 804$, etc.).
8. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 70 (*Diktyon* 47357), fols. 379r-380r, second half of the 15th c., inc.: προγνωστικὸν βιωφελὲς καὶ χρήσιμον, ἀντιγραφέν ἐξ αἰγυπτιακῆς παλαιᾶς βίβλου· Πετώσιρὲς Νεχεψὼ τιμιωτάτῳ βασιλεῖ χαίρειν. ἐπεὶ δὴ βεβάρηται σου ἡ θεία ψυχὴ, σοφώτατε βασιλεῦ, πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἄστρον κινήσει, ζητοῦσα τῶν ἐσομένων τὴν ἔκβασιν

- πολυσχεδῆς γὰρ καὶ δυσκατάληπτος [...] expl.: τὸν Ἀχιλλέα νικᾶν, τὸν δὲ Ἑκτορα ἡττᾶσθαι, ἐπειδὴ εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ ὀργάνῳ καταλελει<μ>μένος α', ἔνθεν ἦν ὁ μικρὸς θάνατος (= *Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta*, no. 38, ed. Riess, 384-385, l. 45; Catalogus 9/1, ed. Weinstock, 4 [cod. 3 of this volume]; examples: Achilles and Hector; no circle diagram, but a list [ὄργανον] of concordance indicating the remainders and the respective quadrant [f. 381r]; numerical concordance of the lunar days [see no. 18]: α = 1585, β = 1[116], γ = 1[119], δ = 1315, ε = 814, ζ = 634, ζ = 430, etc.).
9. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2184 (*Diktyon* 51813), fol. 211rv, written by Georgios Gregoropoulos in the second half of the 15th c. (Catalogus 8/4, ed. Boudreaux, 12 [cod. 73 of this volume]), see no. 4, Leiden, Voss. gr. F° 59.
10. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2419 (*Diktyon* 52051), fol. 32r, written by Georgios Meidiates in the second half of the 15th c. (with circle diagram, fol. 32r), with many orthographical mistakes, inc.: Πετοσίρου μαθηματικοῦ πρὸς Νεχεψῶ τῷ βασιλεῖ. περὶ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εὐρισκομένων πρὸς τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων βίων ἐξακριβευσάμενος διαπέμψασθέ σου οὐκ ὀκνισα, σὺ δὲ τη θεοπνεύστο σου προνία ἐν ἔργοις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ συγγραφεμένος μὴ ὀκνεῖ, ἀναγκαίου γὰρ ὄντος τῶν καταπερικληνομένων ἀνθρώπων συνθέσεως ἢ νοσούντων ὑγειένωσιν ἢ οὐ, ὑπέταξά σοι ὄργανον κανονικὸν δι' οὗ σκεπτόμενος αἰεὶ ἀδιάπτωτος ἔσει [...] expl.: καὶ σπουδάζων προγνῶναι τὸ ζητούμενον κᾶν τε ἀγαθὸν κᾶν τε ἐναντίον καὶ τούτῳ ποιῶν οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεις σὺν θεῷ ἀγίῳ (cf. *Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta*, no. 39, ed. Riess, 385-386; for the end cf. no. 15, Florence, Plut. 86.14, fol. 95v; example: Leon; numerical concordance of the lunar days: α = 1585, β = 1123, γ = 1019, δ = 1315, ε = 814, ζ = 634, ζ = 430, etc.). fols. 155v-156r (with circle diagram, fol. 156r, minor errors are corrected) Πετοσύρου Νεχεψῶ τημιωτάτῳ (sic) βασιλεῖ χαίρειν· περὶ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εὐρισκομένων πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἐξακριβευσάμενος [...] des.: καὶ σπουδάζει προγνῶναι τὸ ἐσόμενον, τινὲς δὲ ἐφεξῆς τῶν τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἀπὸ τῆς κατακλίσεως τοὺς ψήφους λαμβάνουσιν καί, ἐὰν εὐρεθῶσιν σύμφωνα, βέβαιοι τῷ (sic) ἀποφαίνονται. εἰ δὲ ἀναμεμιγμένοι, ἐκ τῆς παροχῆς γινώσκουσιν, πότερον πολλοὺς χρόνους οἱ νόσοι ἢ οὐ καὶ εἰ φευκτέος ὁ κίνδυνος ἢ οὐ (cf. *Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta*, no. 39, ed. Riess; example: Leon; the *kanon* is referred to, but not copied to this text, cf. Florence, Plut. 86.14).
11. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2992 (*Diktyon* 52635), fol. 372rv, written by Ioannes Plusiadenos in the second half of the 15th c., inc.: ὄργανον προγνωστικὸν βιωφελὲς χρήσιμον ἐξ αἰγυπτιακῆς βίβλου ἡκριβωμένον ἀντιγραφέν. σκεπτέον δὲ οὕτως· δέξαι τοῦ κατακλιθέντος ἢ τοῦ φυγόντος ἢ τοῦ ἀντιδίκου τὸ ὄνομα [...] expl.: καὶ λέγομεν τὸν Ἀχιλλέα νικᾶν, τὸν δὲ Ἑκτορα ἡττᾶσθαι, ἐπειδὴ εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ ὀργάνῳ μία καταλελει<μ>μένος, ἔνθα ἦν ὁ μικρὸς θάνατος (= *Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta*, no. 38, ed. Riess, 384, l. 17-385, l. 45; Catalogus 8/4, ed. Boudreaux, 73-74 [cod. 95 of this volume]; examples: Achilles and Hector, numerical concordance of the lunar days on fol. 373r [ἰδοὺ καὶ τὸ κανόνιον]: α = 1585, β = 1116, γ = 1019, δ = 1315, ε = 814, ζ = 634, ζ = 430, etc.).
12. Madrid, Biblioteca nacional de España, 4616 (*Diktyon* 40096), fol. 89rv, second half of the 15th c. (with circle diagram, fol. 90r), inc.: Πετοσίρεως ἐτέρα γνῶσις· περὶ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εὐρισκομένων πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον διαπέμψασθαί σοι ἐξακριβευσάμενος, οὐκ ὤκνησα, σὺ δὲ <διὰ> τῆς θεοπνεύστου προνοίας ἐνέργει τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ σοι γραφομένοις. ἀναγκαίης γὰρ οὕσης τῆς περὶ τῶν κατακλινομένων ἀνθρώπων συνθέσεως ἐπίστασθαι πρότερον, πότε ὑγιαίνουσιν ἢ οὐ [...] τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ νίκης μονομάχων [...] expl.: ἐπειδὴ εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ ὀργάνῳ καταλέλει<μ>μένη ἢ μία, ἔνθα ἢ μία μικρὸς θάνατος (= *Nechepsonis et*

- Petosiridis fragmenta*, no. 39, ed. Riess, 385-386; *Catalogus* 11/2, ed. Zuretti, 61 [cod. 34 of this volume]; edition: 152-154; examples: Achilles [and Hector]; numerical concordance of the lunar days: $\alpha = 1585$, $\beta = 1116$, $\gamma = 1019$, $\delta = 1315$, $\epsilon = 814$, $\zeta = 634$, $\zeta = 430$, etc.). fol. 130v (with circle diagram, fol. 131r), inc.: ὄργανον ἀστρονομικὸν Πετοσίρεως πρὸς Νεχεψὼ βασιλέα Ἀσυρίων. ψῆφος σεληνιακός, δι' οὗ ἐστὶ τὸν ἐπισκεπτόμενον τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἄπταιστον εἶναι περὶ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου καὶ περὶ μονομάχων καὶ πράξεων καὶ περὶ πόλεως ἢ στεφάνου ἢ πρακτῆρος ἢ πλοκῆς καὶ ἀποδρασμοῦ καὶ εὐρέσεως καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια. ὑπετάξαμεν δὲ καὶ τὸ ὄργανον, ψῆφισον τὸ ποσὸν τῆς σελήνης καὶ βλέπε εἰς τὸ ὄργανον τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ψῆφισον τὸ ὄνομα, ὃ βούλει [...] expl.: ταύτας σύναψον ὁμοῦ καὶ ὑφαίρεσον (sic) εἰς κθ' καὶ περιττεύει ψῆφος α'. ἐλθὲ οὖν ἐν τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ ὀργάνῳ καὶ εὐρήσεις, ὅτι νικᾷ Δαβὶδ τὸν Γολιάθ (cf. *Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta*, no. 40, ed. Riess, 386-387; example: David [and Goliath]; numerical concordance of the lunar days: $\alpha = 1589$, $\beta = 1116$, $\gamma = 1019$, $\delta = 1315$, $\epsilon = 814$, $\zeta = 431?$, $\zeta = 430$, etc.; *Catalogus* 11/2, ed. Zuretti, 163-164).
13. Modena, Biblioteca Estense universitaria, α.V.7.6 (Puntoni 174) (*Diktyon* 43508), fol. 262rv, written by Giorgio Valla in 1488 (edited in *Catalogus* 4, ed. Oliveri, 120-121 [cod. 13 of this volume]), inc.: ἐπιστολὴ Πετοσίρεως φιλοσόφου πρὸς Νεκεψὼ βασιλέα. περὶ τῶν κατακλινομένων ἐν ἀρρωστίαις, εἰ ῥύσσονται ἢ τενήζονται, καὶ περὶ τῶν νικῶντων ἐν μονομαχίαις καὶ πράγμασιν εἰς τιμὴν καὶ τῶν ἀποδιδρασκόντων καὶ λοιπῶν τῶν τούτοις ὁμοίων. περὶ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εὐρημένων εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον ἐξακριβωσάμενος διαπέμψασθαί σοι οὐκ ὤκνησα, ὑπέταξα δὲ σοι ὄργανον κανονικόν, ὅπερ ἐπισκεπτόμενος αἰεὶ ἀδιαπτῶτως ἔσῃ. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ νίκης μονομαχιῶν καὶ πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀποδιδρασκόντων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ὁμοίων, σκόπει δὲ [...] expl.: εὐρήσεις ἡττωμένον τὸν Ἔκτορα (cf. *Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta*, no. 39, ed. Riess, 385-386, examples: Achilles and Hector; numerical concordance of the lunar days: $\alpha = 1589$, $\beta = 1116$, [$\gamma = 1019$], $\delta = 1315$, $\epsilon = 814$, $\zeta = 634$, $\zeta = 828$, etc.).
14. Florence, Biblioteca Medicea, Plut. 86.14 (*Diktyon* 16800), fol. 95rv, written by Lorenzo di Zanobi Ciatti at the end of the 15th c. (with circle diagram, fol. 94v⁷⁰), inc.: Πετόσιρις Νεχψὼ τῷ τιμιωτάτῳ βασιλεῖ χαίρειν. περὶ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου [...] πότερον πολλοὺς χρόνους αἱ νόσοι ἢ οὐ καὶ εἰ φευκτέος ὁ κίνδυνος ἢ οὐ (cf. *Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta*, no. 39, ed. Riess, 385-386; example: {Ma}Leon⁷¹ = 30 + 5 + 800 + 50 = 885; in the calculation a *kanon* is referred to, but this concordance is not included; see Florence, Plut 86.17).
15. Naples, Biblioteca nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, II C 33 (*Diktyon* 46079), fols. 307v-308v, end of the 15th c. (with circle diagram, fol. 309r), inc.: Πετοσίρεως φιλοσόφου. περὶ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εὐρισκομένων [...] expl.: μικρὸς θάνατος ταχέως τελευτήσῃ (cf. *Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta*, no. 39, ed. Riess, 385-386; *Catalogus* 4, ed. Bassi and Martini, 55-56 [cod. 19 of this volume]; according to Mioni, *Catalogus* I/1, 232, the text greatly differs from the edited versions).

70 Rapisarda and Calcagno, Manoscritto Plut. 86.14.

71 The error of the name Maleon stems from the incorrect reduplication of the syllable μα: ἐχέτω τις ὄνομα {Ma} Λέων.

16. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barocci 166 (*Diktyon* 47453), fols. 163v-164r, end of the 15th c., inc.: προγνωστικὸν βιωφελὲς καὶ χρήσιμον, ἀντιγραφὲν ἐξ αἰγυπτιακῆς παλαιᾶς βίβλου Πετωσιρες (sic) Νεχεψὼ τιμιωτάτῳ βασιλεῖ χαίρειν. ἐπειδὴ βεβάρηται σου ἡ θεία ψυχὴ, σοφώτατε βασιλεῦ, πολυπραγμονεῖν ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἄστρον κινήσει, ζητοῦσα τῶν ἐσομένων τὴν ἔκβασιν – πολυσχεδὴς γὰρ καὶ δυσκατάληπτος – [...] expl.: τὸν Ἀχιλλέα νικᾶν, τὸν δὲ Ἑκτορα ἡττᾶσθαι, ἐπειδὴ εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ ὀργάνῳ καταλελειμμένος α', ἔνθεν ἦν ὁ μικρὸς θάνατος (= *Nechepsonis et Petosiridis fragmenta*, no. 38, ed. Riess, 384-385, l. 45; *Catalogus* 9/1, ed. Weinstock, 19 [cod. 9 of this volume]; examples: Achilles and Hector; no circle diagram, but the same list [ὄργανον] of concordance indicating the remainders and the respective quadrant [fol. 165r] as in Barocci 70 [no. 8]; numerical concordance of the lunar days: α = 1585, β = 1116, γ = 1119, δ = 1315, ε = 814, ζ = 634, ζ = 430, etc.).
17. Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, gr. 1379 (*Diktyon* 68011), fol. 111rv, end of the 15th century⁷² (with four circle diagrams, fol. 114rv), inc.: ἐπιστολὴ Πετοσίρεως φιλοσόφου πρὸς τὸν Νεχεψὼ βασιλέα. περὶ τῶν κατακλινομένων ἐν ἀρρωστίαις εἰ ρύσσονται (cod. ῥήσσονται) ἢ τεθνήσκονται καὶ περὶ τῶν νικῶντων ἐν μονομαχίαις καὶ πράγμασι εἰς (cod. ἔγε) τιμὴν καὶ τῶν ἀποδιδρασκόντων καὶ λοιπῶν τῶν τούτοις ὁμοίων περὶ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εὐρημένων εἰς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον [...] τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ νίκης μονομαχιῶν καὶ πραγμάτων καὶ τῶν ἀποδιδρασκόντων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ὁμοίων [...] expl.: καὶ εὐρήσεις νικῶντα τὸν Ἀχιλλέα καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ ια' εἰσὶν ἐν τῷ ὑπεργείῳ, μία δὲ ἐν τῷ ὑπογείῳ εὐρήσεις ἡττόμενον (ἡπτ- cod.) τὸν Ἑκτορα (cf. no. 13, Modena, Biblioteca Estense universitaria, α.V.7.6; *Catalogus* 5/3, ed. Heeg, 71 [cod. 24 of this volume]; examples: Achilles and Hector, the following paragraphs on fols. 111v-112r refer to the four tables [πλινθίον]).

I will also include the concordance list of the lunar days and their respective numerical values at the end of the edition. The three parallel lists demonstrate how scribal errors have contributed to many discrepancies. In column 3, a further witness is quoted (within brackets) under L_{Λ} and $L_{\kappa\theta}$: two concordances with 30 and 29 lunar days, written in Greek letters, from the 9th century manuscript Leiden, Universitaire Bibliotheken, Scaliger 38, fol. 4v.⁷³

72 For the scribe, see Speranzi, *Scritura* 50 and note 64.

73 For the manuscript, see Juste, *Comput*, 106, 126. The manuscript is online, accessed on 27 May 2026: <http://hdl.handle.net/1887.1/item:882068>.

Text

Riess 38 (Madrid, BnE 4616, fol. 89rv)	Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 446, fols. 43v-44r	Lohr 123-124 (Berlin, SB, Philipps 1833, fols. 53v-54r)
1. Πετοσίρεως ἐτέρα γνῶσις	Ὅργανον ἀστρονομικόν. Ἐπιστολὴ Πετοσίρεως πρὸς Νεχεψῶ βασιλέα Ἀσυρίων	Petosiris Micipso regi salutem
	Ψῆφος σεληνιακή, δι' ἧς ἐστὶν τὸν ἐπισκεπτόμενον τοὺς νοσοῦντας ἀπταιστον ⁷⁴ εἶναι περὶ ζωῆς καὶ θανάτου καὶ περὶ μονομάχων ⁷⁵ καὶ πράξεων καὶ περὶ πόλεως ἢ στεφάνου ἢ πρακτῆρος ἢ πλοκῆς καὶ ἀποδρασμοῦ καὶ εὐρέσεως καὶ τὰ τούτοις ὅμοια,	
2. Περὶ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ εὐρισκομένων πρὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον διαπέψασθαί σοι ἐξακριβευσάμενος οὐκ ᾤκησα, σὺ δὲ <διὰ> τῆς θεοπνεύστου σοι προνοίας ἐνέργει τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ σοι γραφομένοις. ἀναγκαίης γὰρ οὔσης τῆς περὶ τῶν κατακλινομένων ἀνθρώπων συνθέσεως ἐπίστασθαι, πότερον ποτε ὕγιαίνουσιν ἢ οὐ, ὑπέταξά σοι ὄργανον κανονικόν, δι' οὗ ἐπισκεπτόμενος ἀεὶ ἀδιάπτωτος ἔση· τὸ αὐτὸ ἐπὶ νίκης μονομάχων καὶ πραγμάτων καὶ ἀποδιδρασκόντων καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ὁμοίων.	ὑπετάξαμεν δὲ καὶ τὸ ὄργανον.	De his, quae a me ad humanę vitę cautelam inventa sunt, unumquodque me tibi mittere non pignit. Superest, ut tu in his per inspiratam tibi divinitus prudentiam operando laborem inpendas certus, quod decumbentium vel fugitivorum vel monomachorum vel aliorum similium eventibus non fallacem poteris capere prescientiam, si argumentum regulare, quod huic scripturae subieci, diligenter inspexeris.

74 ἀπτεστον *cod.*75 μονομάχον (*incertain accent*) *cod.*

Riess 38 (Madrid, BnE 4616, fol. 89rv)	Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 446, fols. 43v-44r	Lohr 123-124 (Berlin, SB, Philipps 1833, fols. 53v-54r)
3. Σκέπτου δὲ οὕτως· δέξαι τοῦ κατακλιθέντος ἢ τοῦ φυγόντος ἢ τοῦ ἀντιδίκου ἢ τῶν τούτοις ὁμοίων τὸ ὄνομα καὶ ἀρίθμει ἐπιμελῶς καὶ πρόσβαλε αὐτῷ τὸν παρακείμενον ἀριθμὸν ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας τῆς σελήνης, καὶ μέριζε παρὰ τῶν κθ' καὶ τὰ κατα [fol. 89v] λιμπανόμενα ἐπιθεώρει ἐν τῷ ὀργάνῳ· καὶ εἰ μὲν εὖρης ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ζωῇ, χρονίσει⁷⁶. ἐὰν δὲ εὐρεθῇ, ὅπου λέγει μέγας θάνατος, χρονίσει καὶ τελευτήσει.	Ψήφισον τὸ ποσὸν τῆς σελήνης καὶ βλέπε εἰς τὸ ὄργανον τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ ψήφισον τὸ ὄνομα, ὃ βούλει⁷⁷, καὶ θές ὁμοῦ καὶ ὑφαίρεσον εἰς κθ', ἕως ὑποληφθῶσιν κθ' ἢ ἐλάσσω, καὶ τὸν ὑποληφθέντα⁷⁸ ἀριθμὸν θεωρεῖ ἐν τῷ ὀργάνῳ· καὶ ἐὰν εὖρης αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ζωῇ, ταχέως ἐγερωθήσεται. εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ μέσῃ ζωῇ, πλείους ἡμέρας ἀσθενήσας ἐγερωθή- [σ]εται· εἰ δ' ἐν τῇ μικρᾷ [ζ]ωῇ, χρόνον ἀσθενήσας [ἐγερω]θήσεται. ἐὰν δὲ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ θανάτῳ ἢ ψῆφος εὐρεθῇ, ταχέως τελευτήσει· ἐὰν δὲ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ θανάτῳ, πλείους ἡμέρας ἀσθενήσας τελευτήσει. ἐὰν δὲ ἐν τῷ μικρῷ θανάτῳ, χρόνον ἀσθενήσας τελευτήσει.	Consulturus igitur sic facito: Sume nomen vel dicumbentis vel in fugam lapsi vel depugnaturi vel alterius cuiuslibet, de quo inquiris, et collige num<e>rum eius. Deinde lunam considera, quota fuerit ea die, qua vel eger decubuit vel fugitivus elapsus est vel quota futura sit, cum monomachus depugnaturus est, et cetera huiusmodi, numerumque regularem, qui ei lunae ascriptus est, numero nominis adiunge. Tum summam, que ex his conficitur, per XXVIII divide et numerum, qui superfuerit, collige inspectaque figura, quo in loco idem numerus sit positus, inquire. Si eum inveneris in ZOH MHΓΑΛΙ et de egro agitur, cito convalescet; si de fugitivo, cito revertetur; si de gladiatore, vincet. Si autem in MESO ZOE, omnia hec difficiliter evenient. Si autem in ZOH MIKPA, licet prosperum, difficilem tamen exitum habitura. Quodsi in eo loco fuerit, TANATOS MHΓPA inscriptus, eger post longam infirmitatem morietur, fugitivus diu quesitus non invenietur, gladiator tamen difficile superabitur. Eadem in MHΣO ΘANATO celeriora fiunt et in MIKPO ΘANATO celerrima.

76 This seems to be a mistake of the scribe, see e.g. Vat. Ross. 986, fol. 388v, ll. 11-12: ταχέως ἐγερωθήσεται.

77 βούλη *cod.* (maybe βούλη should be preferred?)

78 ὑπολειφθέντα *cod.*

Riess 38 (Madrid, BnE 4616, fol. 89rv)	Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 446, fols. 43v-44r	Lohr 123-124 (Berlin, SB, Philipps 1833, fols. 53v-54r)
4. Ἐὰν δε ὁ τῆς σελήνης ἀριθμὸς εὐρεθῇ ἐν τῷ ὑπεργείῳ, ὁ δὲ τοῦ κάμνοντος ἐν τῷ ὑπογείῳ, ἐγγὺς μὲν κινδύνου γενήσεται, σωθήσεται δέ. ἂν δὲ ὁ τοῦ κάμνοντος εὐρεθῇ ἐν τῷ ὑπεργείῳ, ὁ δὲ τῆς σελήνης ἐν τῷ ὑπογείῳ, ὀχληθεὶς σωθήσεται. ἂν δὲ ἀμφοτέρω ἐν τῷ ὑπογείῳ συνέλθωσι, τελευτᾷ	Ὑποδείγματος⁷⁹ δὲ χάριν ψήφισον τὸ ποσὸν τῆς σελήνης <ἐκ τῆς ἡμέρας, ἢ, cf. Catalogus 11/2, ed. Zuretti, 148, 31> κατεκλίθη, καὶ ἰδὲ⁸⁰ εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τοῦ μέσου καί, ἂν εὐρεθῇ ἐν τῷ ὑπεργείῳ⁸¹, ὁμοίως καὶ τοῦ κάμνοντος ψήφισον τὸ ὄνομα· καὶ ἂν εὐρεθῇ ἐν τῷ ὑπογείῳ, κινδυνεύσει μὲν, οὐ θνήσκει⁸² δέ. ἂν δὲ ὁ τῆς σελήνης κύκλος εὐρεθῇ ἐν τῷ ὑπογείῳ, ὁ δὲ τοῦ κάμνοντος ἐν τῷ ὑπεργείῳ εὐρεθῇ, ὀχληθεὶς σωθήσεται· ἂν δὲ ὁ τῆς σελήνης καὶ ὁ τοῦ κάμνοντος εὐρεθῇ ἐν τῷ ὑπογείῳ, τελευτᾷ.	
5. Ὑπόδειγμα· ἐν τῷ εἶναι τὴν σελήνην ἡμερῶν ιζ' ἔχει τὸν παρακείμενον ἀριθμὸν ωγ' καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ δικαζομένου Ἀχιλλεύς⁸³, ἄσος· μίγνυμεν τὰς τοῦ ὀνόματος καὶ τὰς παρακείμενας τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς σελήνης, καὶ γίνονται βρξθ', καὶ ταῦτα μερίζομεν παρὰ τῶν κθ' καὶ καταλιπόντες κγ' εἰσάγομεν ταύτας ἐν τῷ ὀργάνῳ, καὶ εὐρίσκοντες αὐτὰ ἐν τῇ μεγάλῃ ζωῇ λέγομεν τὸν μὲν Ἀχιλλεὺς νικᾶν, τὸν δὲ Ἑκτορᾶ⁸⁴ νικᾶσθαι, ἐπεὶ εὐρέθη ἐν τῷ ὀργάνῳ καταλειμμένη ἡ μία, ἔνθα ἡ μία⁸⁵ μικρὸς θάνατος.	Ἡ δὲ ὑπόδειξις⁸⁶ τῆς ψήφου ἐστὶν οὕτως, ὥστε ἔχειν τὴν σελήνην α' καὶ βλέπε τὸν παρακείμενον ἀριθμὸν, ὅτι ἔχει ψήφους ,αφπθ', καὶ Δαυὶδ ἔχει ψήφους υιθ'⁸⁷, γίνονται ὁμοῦ ,βη'. ὑφαίρεσον εἰς κθ' καὶ περιττεύουσι ψήφοι ζ'. πάλιν τῆς σελήνης α' γίνονται ψήφοι ,αφπθ', καὶ Γολιάθ⁸⁸ ἔχει ψήφους ρκγ' (44r), {γίνονται ὁμοῦ ,αψιβ}. ταύτας συναψον ὁμοῦ καὶ ὑφαίρεσον εἰς κθ', καὶ περιττεύει ψήφος α'. ἐλθὲ οὖν ἐν τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ ὀργάνῳ καὶ εὐρήσεις, ὅτι νικᾷ Δαυὶδ τὸν Γολιάθ.	Ponatur exempli gratia pugna Hectoris et [fol. 54r] Achillis. Luna erit XVII, que habet numerum regularem DCCCXCIII, Achillei nomen habet MCCLXXVI. Qui simul iuncti faciunt IICLXVIII. Hos partire per XXVIII et, quod superfuerit, id est XXIII, quere in forma regulari. Et inuenies illud in eo loco, ubi scribitur ΖΟΗ ΜΗΓΑΛΗ. Si idem de Hectore feceris, inuenies residuum numerum in ΜΙΚΡΟ ΘΑΝΑΤΟ. Que positio numerorum victorem Achillem et Hectorem victum significat absque ambiguitate.

79 ὑποδείγματος *cod.*

80 εἰδέ *cod.* (added in the margin).

81 ὑπογείῳ *cod.*, correction according to meaning and other versions.

82 θνήσκειται *cod.* (as it seems).

83 $A = 1 + \chi = 600 + \iota = 10 + \lambda = 30 + \lambda = 30 + \epsilon = 5 + \upsilon = 400 + \sigma = 200 = \text{,}\alpha\sigma\omicron\varsigma\text{'}$ = 1276.

84 Ἑκτωρ = $5 + 20 + 300 + 800 + 100 = 1225$.

85 $1225 \pmod{29} = 1$.

86 ὑπόδειξις *cod.*

87 $\Delta = 4 + \alpha = 1 + \upsilon = 500 + \iota = 10 + \delta = 4 = \text{υι}\theta\text{'}$ = 519.

88 $\gamma = 3 + \omicron = 70 + \lambda = 30 + \iota = 10 + \alpha = 1 + 1 = 0 = \text{ρ}\kappa\gamma\text{'}$ = 123.

Riess 38 (Madrid, BnE 4616, fol. 89rv)	Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 446, fols. 43v-44r	Lohr 123-124 (Berlin, SB, Philipps 1833, fols. 53v-54r)
see chapter 4 ←	see chapter 4 ←	Est et alius modus: Si numerus lunae fuerit in ypogio et numerus hominis in ypergio, periclitabitur quidem homo, evadet tamen. E contrario, si hominis numerus in ypogio, lunae vero fuerit in ypergio, sub specie prosperorum adversa contingent. At vero, si uterque numerus hominis videlicet ac lunę supra horizontem fuerit inventus, procul dubio prospera pollicentur. Sed si ambos infra horizontem esse constiterit, adversa omnia provenient.
(6.) (paratext on fol. 89v to the diagram) τὰ παρακείμενα τῶν ἡμερῶν τῆς σελήνης, ἡμέραι καὶ ἀριθμοί α' ,αφπε' (1585) β' ,αρις' (1116) γ' ,αιθ' (1019) δ' ,ατιε' (1315) ε' ,ωιδ' (814) ς' ,χλδ' (634) ζ' ,υλ' (430) η' ,ωνς' (856) θ' ,χξε' (665) ι' ,χλθ' (639) ια' ,χδ' (694) ιβ' ,αυμγ' (1443) ιγ' ,ασπ' (1280) ιδ' ,αχπα' (1681) ιε' ,αρι' (1110) ις' ,ψλε' (735)	(paratext on fol. 44r to the diagram) A' ,ΑΦΠΘ' (1589) B' ,ΑΡΙΣ' Γ' ,ΑΙΘ' Δ' ,ΑΤΙΕ' Ε' ,ΩΙΔ' Σ' ,ΥΛΑ' (431) Ζ' ,ΥΛ' Η' ,ΥΝΣ' (456) Θ' ,ΥΝΔ' (454) Ι' ,ΧΛΘ' ΙΑ' ,ΗΠΔ' (984) ΙΒ' ,ΥΜΒ' (442) ΙΓ' ,ΑΧΠ' (1680) ΙΔ' ,ΑΧΟ' (1670) ΙΕ' ,ΑΡΙ' ΙΣ' ,ΦΠ' (580)	(paratext on fol. 53v to the diagram) Dies lunae cum numeris suis: I. IDLXXXVIII (1588) (L_A: A IDLXXXIX, Λ_{KΘ} A IDCXXXIX) II. ICXVI (1116) (L_A: B ICXVI, Λ_{KΘ} B ICXVI) III. ICXVIII (1119) (L_A: Γ IXIX, Λ_{KΘ} Γ ICXIX) IIII. ICCXV (1315) (L_A: Δ ICCXV, Λ_{KΘ} Δ ICCXV) V. DCCCXVIII (818) (L_A: E DCCCXIII, Λ_{KΘ} E DCCCXVIII) VI. DCXXIII (624) (L_A: Σ DCXXXIII, Λ_{KΘ} Σ DCXXXIII) VII. CCCIII (404) (L_A: Ζ CCCCXXX, Λ_{KΘ} Ζ CCCCIII) VIII. DCCCLVI (856) (L_A: Η CCCCCLVI, Λ_{KΘ} Η DCCCLVI) VIII. DCLI (651) (L_A: Θ DCCXV, Λ_{KΘ} Θ DCLXI) X. DXXXVIII (539) (L_A: Ι DCXXXIX, Λ_{KΘ} Σ DCXXXIX) XI. DXCIII (593) (L_A: ΙΑ DCXVIII, Λ_{KΘ} ΙΑ DCXCIII) XII. ICCCLXIII (1443) (L_A: ΙΒ DCCXIII, Λ_{KΘ} ΙΒ ICCCLXIII) XIII. IDCCCLXXX (1880) (L_A: ΙΓ ICCLXXIII, Λ_{KΘ} ΙΓ IDCCCLXXX) XIII. IDCLXXXIII (1684) (L_A: ΙΔ IDCLXXX, Λ_{KΘ} ΙΔ IDCLXXXIII) XV. ICX (1110) (L_A: ΙΕ ICIII, Λ_{KΘ} ΙΕ ICX) XVI. DXXXV (535) (L_A: ΙΣ DCCCXXIX, Λ_{KΘ} ΙΣ DXXXV)

Riess 38 (Madrid, BnE 4616, fol. 89rv)	Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 446, fols. 43v-44r	Lohr 123-124 (Berlin, SB, Philipps 1833, fols. 53v-54r)
ιζ' ωγ' (893)	IZ' ΩΠΓ' (883)	XVII. DCCCXCIII (893) (L _A : IZ' ĪL, Λ _{KΘ} IZ' DCCCXCIII)
ιη' ,αωξ' (1860)	IH' ,AXϣZ' (1697)	XVIII. ĪDCXCVII (1697) (L _A : IH' ĪCXXIII, Λ _{KΘ} IH' ĪDCXCVII)
ιθ' ψλγ' (733)	IΘ' ,AIH' (1018)	XV ^{III} . DCXVIII (618) (L _A : IΘ' DCCLXXV, Λ _{KΘ} IΘ' ĪDCXVIII)
κ' ,αφξζ' (1566)	K' ΨKA' (721)	XX. ĪDLXVI (1566) (L _A : K' DCCCCXIII, Λ _{KΘ} S' ĪDCLVI)
κα' ,βλθ' (2039)	KA' ,BP' (2100)	XXI. ĪXXXVIII (2039) (L _A : KA' ĪCCII, Λ _{KΘ} KA' ĪXXXIX)
κβ' ,αφξζ' (1566)	KB' ,AXI' (1610)	XXII. ĪDLXVI (1566) (L _A : KB' ĪCCXXIX, Λ _{KΘ} KB' ĪDLXVI)
κγ' ,αυξδ' (1464)	KΓ' ,AΨΞE' (1765; XΨΞE cod.)	XXIII. ĪCCCCXLVIII (1468) (L _A : KΓ' ĪDCXXXII, Λ _{KΘ} KΓ' ĪCCCCXLIX)
κδ' ,αψξα' (1761)	KΔ' ,AΨΞE' (1765)	XXIII. ĪDCCLXI (1761) (L _A : KΔ' ĪCCCCXXIX, Λ _{KΘ} KΔ' ĪDCCLXI)
κε' ,ασξδ' (1264)	KE' ,ΑΣΞΓ' (1263)	XXV. ĪCCLXIII (1264) (L _A : KE' ĪCCCCXXVII, Λ _{KΘ} KE' ĪCCLXIII)
κς' ,αρδ' (1104)	KS' ,BTΔ' (2304)	XXVI. ĪCIII (1104) (L _A : KS' ĪCCXLVII, Λ _{KΘ} KS' ĪCIII)
κζ' ωπ' (880)	KZ' ΩΠ'	XXVII. DCCCCLXXX (880) (L _A : KZ' ĪXLIII, Λ _{KΘ} KZ' DCCCCLXXX)
κη' ,αξζ' (966)	KH' ,ηS' (906)	XXVIII. DCCCCLXVI (966) (L _A : KH' ĪLXVIII, Λ _{KΘ} KH' DCCCCLXVI)
κθ' ,αριε' (1115)	KΘ' ,ΑΣΙE' (1215)	XXVIII. ĪCXV (1115) (L _A : KΘ' ĪCCCXXVIII, Λ _{KΘ} KΘ' ĪCXV)
λ' ,αρμζ' (1147)	Λ' ,ΑΡΛΔ' (1134, ΑΡΛΔ cod.)	(L _A : Λ' ĪCCCX)

Translation

Riess 38 (Madrid, BnE 4616, fol. 89rv)	Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 446, fols. 43v-44r	Berlin, SB, Philipps 1833, fols. 53v-54r
1. Another insight from Petosiris	Astronomical work Letter from Petosiris to Nechepso, king of the Assyrians	Petosiris greets King Micipsus (sic)
	Calculation using the moon, through which it is possible for the person observing the sick to make no mistake regarding life and death, as well as duellists and actions, city or (victor's) wreath or tax collector or betrayal and escape and discovery and such similar things.	
2. I did not hesitate to write to you in detail about every single thing I discovered about human life. However, by virtue of your God-given power of providence, you prove effective in what I have written to you. Because it is necessary to know the condition of those lying (at the sickbed) and whether they will recover or not, I have included a canonical diagram (<i>organon</i>) for you, with which you as a viewer will always be error-free, when it comes to matters such as the victory of duellists, in (other) matters, and matters such as fleeing persons and similar issues.	We have also included the diagram (<i>organon</i>).	I am happy to send you everything I invented to protect human life. It is up to you to actively apply your God-inspired wisdom to this matter, with the secure (knowledge) that you gain infallible foresight regarding incidents involving the sick, fugitives, duellists and other similar matters if you carefully consider the set of rules that I have attached to this text.

Riess 38 (Madrid, BnE 4616, fol. 89rv)	Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 446, fols. 43v-44r	Berlin, SB, Phillipps 1833, fols. 53v-54r
3. Consider it this way: Take the name of the sick person, the fugitive, the opponent or someone similar and count (the numbers of the name) exactly (together). Add the corresponding number of the lunar day to this, divide (the result) by 29, and check the remainder in the diagram (<i>organon</i>). If you find (the numeral) in the »great life« (<i>megale zoe</i>), he will grow old⁸⁹; but if (the numeral) is found where it says »great death« (<i>megas thanatos</i>), he will die after some time (of illness).	Calculate what day of the moon it is and check the number in the diagram (<i>organon</i>), and calculate the name you want, and add (the numbers) together and divide (the result) by 29 until 29 or less remains, and check the remaining number in the diagram (<i>organon</i>). And if you find it in the »great life« (<i>megale zoe</i>), he will quickly get up (from his sickbed). But if (it is) in the »middle life« (<i>mese zoe</i>), he will get up (from his sickbed) after several days of illness; but if (it is) in the »little life« (<i>mikra zoe</i>), he will remain ill for a while and then get up (from his sickbed). If the numeral is found in the »great death« (<i>megas thanatos</i>), he will die quickly; if (it is found) in the »middle death« (<i>mesos thanatos</i>), he will remain ill for several days and then die; if (it is found) in the »little death« (<i>mikros thanatos</i>), he will remain ill for a while and then die.	Now, conduct the consultation as follows: Take the name of either a sick person, a fugitive, someone fighting a decisive battle, or anyone else you are investigating, and take the number (of letters in their names). Then consider the moon, what day it was when they fell ill or fled, or what day it will be when a duellist fights to the death, and other such matters. Add the regular number assigned to the moon (day) to the number of the name. Then divide the sum resulting from these (numbers) by 29 and take the remaining number, consult the diagram (below), and find where this numeral appears. If you find it in the »great life« (<i>zoe megale</i>) and it is a sick person, he will recover quickly; if it is a fugitive, he will return quickly; if it is a gladiator, he will be victorious. However, if the numeral is in the »middle life« (<i>meso zoe</i>), everything will be more difficult. If it is in the »little life« (<i>zoe mikra</i>), the outcome will be favourable but still difficult. If the numeral is in the place labelled »great death« (<i>tanatos megas</i>, here mistakenly labelled <i>megra</i>), the sick person will die after a long period of weakness, the fugitive will not be found after a long search, and the gladiator will still be defeated with difficulty. The same thing happens more quickly in the case of »middle death« (<i>mesos thanatos</i>) and most quickly in the case of »little death« (<i>mikros thanatos</i>).

89 Or according to the alternative (better) version: »He will quickly get up (from sick leave).«

Riess 38 (Madrid, BnE 4616, fol. 89rv)	Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 446, fols. 43v-44r	Berlin, SB, Philipps 1833, fols. 53v-54r
4. If the numeral of the moon is found in the space above the earth (<i>hypergeion</i>) and the (numeral) of the sick person (is found) in the subterranean space (<i>ypogeion</i>), he will approach a danger, but he will be rescued. However, if the (number) of the sick person is found in the space above the earth (<i>hypergeion</i>) and the (number) of the moon (is found) in the subterranean space (<i>ypogeion</i>), he will be threatened but saved. If both (numbers) meet in the subterranean space (<i>hypogeion</i>), he will die.	For example, calculate the lunar day number <from the day> someone fell ill, and look at its number of the horizon, and see if it is found in the space above the earth (<i>hypergeion</i>). Similarly, calculate the number of the sick person's name, and if it is in the subterranean space (<i>hypogeion</i>), he will be in danger, but he will not die. However, if the day of the lunar cycle is in the subterranean space (<i>hypogeion</i>) and the sick person's (number) is found in the space above the earth (<i>hypergeion</i>), he will be threatened, but he will be saved; but if both the lunar day and the sick person's (name) number are in the subterranean space (<i>hypogeion</i>), he will die.	
5. An example: When the moon is 17 days old, it has the corresponding number 893, and the name of the one demanding justice is Achilles, (which is) 1276. We add the number of the name and the number appended to the lunar day, and the sum is 2169; we divide this (sum) by 29, and we get 23 as the remainder and check the numeral in the diagram (<i>organon</i>) and, finding it in the »great life« (<i>megale zoe</i>), we thus say that Achilles wins, but Hector is defeated, because the remainder in the diagram (<i>organon</i>) is 1, where 1 is the »little death« (<i>mikros thanatos</i>).	The calculation example is as follows: The moon has (the day) 1, and look at the corresponding number, which is 1589; and David has the number 419, which together makes 2008. Divide by 29, and the remainder is 7. Again, moon 1 has the number 1589, and Goliath has the number 123, {which together makes 1712}. Add these numbers together and divide them by 29, and the number 1 remains. Now go to the diagram (<i>organon</i>) below, and you will find that David defeats Goliath.	For example, let's take the battle between Hector and Achilles: It will take place on the 17th lunar day, which has the regular number 893. The name Achilles has the (total) number 1276. When added together, this makes 2169. Divide this by 29, and what remains, that is 23, check (below) in the regular diagram. And you will find it in the place where »great life« (<i>zoe megale</i>) is written. If you do the same for Hector, you will find the remainder in »little death« (<i>mikros thanatos</i>). This position of the numerals undoubtedly indicates Achilles as the victor and Hector as the defeated.

Riess 38 (Madrid, BnE 4616, fol. 89rv)	Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 446, fols. 43v-44r	Berlin, SB, Philipps 1833, fols. 53v-54r
see chapter 4 ←	see chapter 4 ←	There is also another method (of calculating): If the moon's numeral (= lunar day) is in the <i>ypogium</i> and the person's numeral (is) in the <i>ypergium</i> , then the person is indeed in danger, but nevertheless escapes. Conversely, if the person's numeral is in the <i>ypogium</i> and the moon's (numeral) is in the <i>ypergium</i> , then adverse events will occur under the guise of favourable ones. However, if both numerals, namely those of the person and the moon, are found above the horizon, they undoubtedly promise favorable outcomes. If both are certain to be below the horizon, everything will turn out adversely.
(7.) (paratext on fol. 89v relating to the diagram) The corresponding (numbers) of lunar days: days and numerals 1: 1585 2: 1116 3: 1019 4: 1315 5: 814 6: 634 7: 430 8: 856 9: 665 10: 639 11: 694 12: 1443 13: 1280 14: 1681 15: 1110	(paratext on fol. 44r relating to the diagram) 1: 1589 2: 1116 3: 1019 4: 1315 5: 814 6: 431 7: 430 8: 456 9: 454 10: 639 11: 984 12: 442 13: 1680 14: 1670 15: 1110	(paratext on fol. 53v relating to the diagram) Lunar days with their numbers: 1: 1588 (L_{Λ}: 1589, $\Lambda_{K\Theta}$: 1639) 2: 1116 (= L_{Λ} and $\Lambda_{K\Theta}$) 3: 1119 (L_{Λ}: 1019, Γ, $\Lambda_{K\Theta}$: 1119) 4: 1315 (= L_{Λ} and $\Lambda_{K\Theta} \Delta$) 5: 818 (L_{Λ}: 814, $\Lambda_{K\Theta}$: 818) 6: 624 (L_{Λ}: 634, $\Lambda_{K\Theta}$: 634) 7: 404 (L_{Λ}: 430, $\Lambda_{K\Theta}$: 404) 8: 856 (L_{Λ}: 456, $\Lambda_{K\Theta}$: 856) 9: 651 (L_{Λ}: 715, $\Lambda_{K\Theta}$: 661) 10: 539 (L_{Λ} and $\Lambda_{K\Theta}$: 639) 11: 518 (L_{Λ}: 619, $\Lambda_{K\Theta}$: 694) 12: 1443 (L_{Λ}: 713, $\Lambda_{K\Theta}$: 1444) 13: 1880 (L_{Λ}: 1274, $\Lambda_{K\Theta}$: 1880) 14: 1684 (L_{Λ}: 1680, $\Lambda_{K\Theta}$: 1684) 15: 1110 (L_{Λ}: 1104, $\Lambda_{K\Theta}$: 1110)

Riess 38 (Madrid, BnE 4616, fol. 89rv)	Paris, BnF, suppl. gr. 446, fols. 43v-44r	Berlin, SB, Philipps 1833, fols. 53v-54r
16: 735	16: 580	16: 535 (L _A : 829, Λ_{KE} : 535)
17: 893	17: 883	17: 893 (L _A : 1050, Λ_{KE} : 893)
18: 1860	18: 1697	18: 1697 (L _A : 1124, Λ_{KE} : 1697)
19: 733	19: 1018	19: 618 (L _A : 775, Λ_{KE} : 1618)
20: 1566	20: 721	20: 1566 (L _A : 914, Λ_{KE} S: 1656)
21: 2039	21: 2100	21: 2039 (L _A : 2202, Λ_{KE} KA: 2039)
22: 1566	22: 1610	22: 1566 (L _A : 1729, Λ_{KE} : 1566)
23: 1464	23: 1765	23: 1468 (L _A : 1632, Λ_{KE} : 1469)
24: 1761	24: 1765	24: 1761 (L _A : 1929, Λ_{KE} : 1761)
25: 1264	25: 1263	25: 1264 (L _A : 1427, Λ_{KE} : 1264)
26: 1104	26: 2304	26: 1104 (L _A : 1247, Λ_{KE} : 1104)
27: 880	27: 880	27: 880 (L _A : 1043, Λ_{KE} : 880)
28: 966	28: 906	28: 966 (L _A : 1069, Λ_{KE} : 966)
29: 1115	29: 1215	29: 1115 (L _A : 1328, Λ_{KE} : 1115)
30: 1147	30: 1134	(L _A : 30: 1310)

Text 2: Useful Psalms

The number of Latins in Constantinople increased in the 12th century due to the arrival of Crusaders. Latin scholars and theologians also arrived in the capital and took part in translation projects or were engaged as translators, even by the Byzantine emperor in his chancery for documents addressed to the West.⁹⁰ The Greek texts that sparked interest in Latin translation were primarily theological, though some were also related to popular medicine, astronomy and magic. Examples include the Cyranides, a late antique collection of four books of medical-magical texts,⁹¹ and the Dream Book (*Oneirokritikon*), which circulated under the name of Ahmet (ben Sirin), but was actually composed by a Greek Christian between 813 and the early 11th century. The latter was translated by Leo Tuscus. He was employed by Emperor

90 See, e.g., Haskins, *Studies*, 194-222 (North-Italian translators); Dondaine, Hugues Éthérien et Léon Toscan; Classen, *Konzil von Konstantinopel* 1166; Dondaine, Hugues Éthérien et le concile; Berschin, *Griechisch-Lateinisches Mittelalter*, 259-271; Kapriev, *Lateinische Rivalen*; Møller Jensen, Hugo Eterianus; Podolak and Zago, Ugo Eteriano e la controversia; Hugo Eterianus, *De sancto et immortalis Deo, Compendiosa expositio, Fragmenta Graeca*, ed. Podolak and Zago.

91 See Delatte, *Textes*.

Manuel I Comnenus as his personal translator in the period from 1166 to 1182.⁹² A certain Pascalis Romanus is known to have compiled a dream book, titled *Liber Thesauri Occulti*, which he completed in Constantinople in 1165.⁹³ In the preface he writes about the sources as follows: *collectus autem est liber iste ex divina et humana scriptura tam ex usu experimenti quam ex ratione rei de Latinis et Grecis et Caldaicis et Persis et Pharaonis et Nabugodonosor annalibus, in quibus multipharie sompna eorum sunt exposita*.⁹⁴ It has been suggested that Pascalis Romanus, who began translating theological texts in 1163,⁹⁵ was also the translator of the Latin Cyranides⁹⁶ (which, according to the preface, were completed in 1169; Haskins interprets the cryptic initial »Pa.« in the Palatinus latinus 1273 manuscript as the name of the addressor Pascalis of the dedicatory letter).⁹⁷

As far as is known, this text about useful psalms is published here for the first time. It is found in the manuscript Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 998 (a collection of medical and alchemical texts comprising quires of various sizes written by different hands) on fols. 75r-77v,⁹⁸ without an author's name or title (*Catalogue*, ed. Thorndike and Kibre, 1457).⁹⁹ It provides guidance on situations in which verses of the Psalms, when written down or read aloud, can offer assistance.¹⁰⁰ This version appears to have been damaged during its transmission, as there is a gap between Psalms 16 and 142 (at the transition to a new sheet, i.e. 77r).

Its colophon provides the date and place of translation: 1151 in Constantinople. According to this note, the text itself had already been translated from Arabic into Greek the previous year in Alexandria. However, as the text also indicates the indiction (i.e. 9), the year as it appears in the corrected manuscript, cannot be correct. Indiction 9, however, corresponds to the year 1161, which would bring this text closer to the dated translations by Pascalis Romanus in the 1160s. The content of this short treatise is consistent with his evident interest in Greek popular science.

Neither the Arabic nor the Greek versions of the text appear to exist, or at least they have not yet been discovered. A similar guide to the practical use of the Psalms in Greek can be found in two manuscripts that once formed a unit: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, hist. gr. 129, fol. 12rv, and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, grec 2236, fols. 44r-45r.

92 See Haskins, *Studies*, 215-218; Haskins, Leo Tuscus; Rigo, Leone Toscano.

93 See Haskins, Pascalis Romanus; Collin-Roset, *Liber thesauri occulti*; Montecini, *Infiniment grand*.

94 Collin-Roset, *Liber thesauri occulti*, 147.

95 See Franceschini, *Studi e note*, 109-128 (Il περί τοῦ βίου τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου di Epifanio nella versione Latina medievale di Pasquale Romano); Collin-Roset, *Liber thesauri occulti*, 114; Dahan, Paschalis Romanus; Berschin, *Griechisch-Lateinisches Mittelalter*, 263.

96 Delatte, *Textes*; see also Lucentini and Perrone Compagni, *Testi e codici*, 34-37; Lucentini and Perrone, *Manoscritti*, 723-724.

97 Haskins, *Studies*, 219-221; see also the comment in Collin-Roset, *Liber thesauri occulti*, 116.

98 A *kalandologion*, dated 1374, follows fols. 77v-78v, and a short guide to the *periculosi et infelices dies* of each month follows fols. 78v-79r.

99 I would like to thank David Speranzi for providing me with photographs of the relevant pages.

100 For the topic, see Zellmann-Rohrer, *Psalms useful for everything*; Zellmann-Rohrer, *The usefulness of the Psalms*; Zellmann-Rohrer, *Further useful Psalms*.

Both date from the 15th century¹⁰¹ (the Paris manuscript continues the Vienna part, which was written by the same scribe). Michael Zellmann-Rohrer found further examples of such instructions for using the Psalms from the post-Byzantine period¹⁰² and also investigated the Jewish and Christian origins of inscribing or amuleting psalms. He is undoubtedly correct to reconsider the term »magical« in relation to this practice as understood by Byzantine users.¹⁰³ However, none of the published Greek texts correspond with the Latin instructions. Georg Graf¹⁰⁴ outlined similar Arabic texts describing the magical use of the Psalms; the manuscripts he references date from the 14th century onwards.

The biblical quotations in the Florentine manuscript have been adapted by the translator to align with the Latin Vulgate. Where the Septuagint differs slightly from the Vulgate, the translator has stuck to the standard Latin wording. This suggests that the translator was a Latin scholar with a strong grasp of the Latin Vulgate (I provide the Septuagint version of these phrases in the footnotes). Phrases displaying minimal modifications are compared with the standard Vulgate version in the footnotes. However, these passages never refer back to the corresponding Septuagint version.

Manuscript

Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Palatino 998, fols. 75r-77v¹⁰⁵ (linguistic peculiarities have largely been retained; obvious errors are corrected)

Text and Translation

fol. 75r

Beatus vir [Ps 1:1 = Vulgata]

Si qua mulier non continet fetum¹⁰⁶, scribe hunc psalmum usque ad *folium eius non defluet* [Ps 1:3 = Vulgata] et continebit. prodest autem et arbori non continenti fructum suum. scribe s(cilicet) hunc f psalmum et pone in ollam novam et sub terra pone ad radicem arboris.

101 See the description and edition in Zellmann-Rohrer, *Psalms useful for everything*, 113-114 and 121-130 (edition).

102 Zellmann-Rohrer, *Psalms useful for everything*, 114-149 (editions).

103 Zellmann-Rohrer, *Psalms useful for everything*, 116-119, in part. 117: »On balance, however, the classification as magical is one that the contemporary users of the treatises would have vigorously resisted [...]. There is little doubt that these users would have identified as anything but Orthodox Christians. Indeed the recipes explicitly align themselves against what they term »magical« ... in offering solutions to afflictions caused thereby [...] and deploy other mainstays of Byzantine Christian practice such as the sign of the cross and cult of the saints [...].«

104 Graf, *Geschichte der arabischen christlichen Literatur* 2, 468-469 (appendix, 145, biblical texts).

105 Description on the homepage of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale of Florence, accessed on 27 May 2026: <https://manus.iccu.sbn.it/risultati-ricerca-manoscritti/-/manus-search/detail/681160>; see also the catalogue by Gentile, *Indice e cataloghi* 4/2/1, 473-475.

106 -um ex corr.

If a woman cannot have children, write this psalm up to *folium eius non defluet* and she will have [children]. It is also useful for a tree that bears no fruit. So, write this psalm, put it in a new pot and place it underground next to the root of a tree.

Quare fremuerunt [Ps 2:1 = Vulgata]

Si quis repletionem¹⁰⁷ malorum humorum <patitur>, lege hunc psalmum usque *hodie genui te* [Ps 2:7 = Vulgata] super oleum ter et unge infirmum et sanabitur, et lava predicto oleo faciem tuam et bene eris receptus a principibus. si autem vasa figuli vis frangere, scribe hunc psalmum usque *tanquam vas frigo figuli confringe eos*¹⁰⁸ [Ps 2:9] in testam novam et proice in camino¹⁰⁹ et a<m>miraberis.

If someone suffers from an increase in bad fluids, read this psalm three times up to *hodie genui te* over oil, rub the sick person [with the oil], and he will recover; and wash your face with this oil and you will be well received by rulers. However, if you want to smash some pottery, write this psalm until *tanquam vas figuli confringe eos* on a new shard, throw it in the fireplace and you will be amazed.

Domine, quid multiplicati sunt [Ps 3:2 = Vulgata]

Si quis patitur in capite, scribe hunc psalmum usque *et esaltabis*~~tu~~¹¹⁰ *capud meum*¹¹¹ [Ps 3:4] et liga in capite eius et sanabitur.

If someone has a headache, write this psalm up to *et esalta tu et capud meum*, tie it to their head and they will be cured.

Cum invocarem [Ps 4:2 = Vulgata]

Scribe hunc psalmum in testa usque *dum clamavero ad eum*¹¹² [Ps 4:4] et pone sub capite cuiusvis et dormiet. et si vis intrare ad regem vel principem vel potestatem, lege hunc¹¹³ psalmum super oleum roseum et unge faciem¹¹⁴ tuam et habebis magnam laudem ab eis vel ab eo.

Write this psalm on a shard up to *dum clamavero ad eum*, place it under the head of anyone, and they will fall asleep; and if you wish to enter [the court] of a king, ruler, or potentate, read this psalm over rose oil, rub [the oil] on your face, and you will receive great praise from them or from him.

107 repletionem *cod.*

108 ὡς σκεῦος κεραμέως συντρίψεις αὐτούς *LXX*, tamquam vas figuli confringes eos *Vulgata*.

109 canmino *cod.*

110 *The scribe first wrote exaltabis tu, then he cancelled the letters until t, understood the letter u as n and added the letter s at the end.*

111 καὶ ὑψῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν μου *LXX*; et exaltans caput meum *Vulgata*.

112 eam *cod.*; ἐν τῷ κεκραγέναι με πρὸς αὐτόν *LXX*; cum clamavero ad eum *Vulgata*.

113 humc (*sic*) ex humo *corr. cod.*

114 facien *cod.*

fol. 75v

Verba mea [Ps 5:2 = Vulgata]

Si vis mutuum accipere ab aliquo, lege hunc psalmum super oleum bonum ter usque in finem et unge faciem tuam.

If you want to receive a loan from someone, read this psalm three times to the end over good oil und rub your face [with the oil].

Domine, ne in furore{m} ~~tuo~~¹¹⁵ [Ps 6:2]

Si quis dolorem habet in oculis, scribe hunc psalmum usque *turbatus est pre ira*¹¹⁶ a *furore oculus meus* [Ps 6:8] et liga in capite.

If someone has pain in their eyes, write this psalm up to *turbatus est pre ira a furore oculus meus* and tie it to their head.

Confiteor tibi domine [Ps 9:2 = Vulgata]

Si vis honorari a rege vel a principe et, ut recipiant te bene et honorifice, scribe hunc <p>psalmum totum in lamina vitrea et dilue eum¹¹⁷ oleo roseo et faciem tuam unge.

If you want to be honored by a king or ruler and if you want them to welcome you well and respectfully, write this entire psalm on a pane of glass, dissolve [the writing] with rose oil und rub your face [with the oil].

Salvum me fac, domine, quoniam de(fecit) s(anctus) [Ps 11:2 = Vulgata]

Si habes inimicitiam contra aliquem et ipse loquatur adversum te mala, lege hunc psalmum super aquam et efunde illam in portam inimici.

If you are at odds with someone and he speaks ill of you, read this psalm over water und pour the water at the enemy's door.

Usque quo, domine, ob{b}livisceris me [Ps 12:1 = Vulgata]

Si latrones insidias posuerint et times eos, dic ps(almum) istum ter et fugient¹¹⁸ a te. si autem dormieris in desertum locum, lege eum usque *ne quandi quando dicat i(nimicus) meus p(revalui) a(dversus) eum* [Ps 12:5 = Vulgata] ter et non timebis furem n(eque) latronem adiutorio Dey.

If robbers will set an ambush and you are afraid of them, say this psalm three times and they will flee from you. But if you are sleep in a deserted place, read it up to *ne quando dicat inimicus meus prevalui adversus eum* three times and, with God's help, you will not fear any thief or robber.

115 κύριε, μὴ τῷ θυμῷ σου LXX; *Domine, ne in furore tuo Vulgata.*

116 *pre ira varia lectio or an alternative translation (for ἀπὸ θυμοῦ); ἐταράχθη ἀπὸ θυμοῦ ὁ ὀφθαλμός μου LXX;* *turbatus est a furore oculus meus Vulgata.*

117 *eam cod. (but the pronoun refers to the psalm, not to lamina).*

118 *fucient cod.*

Dixit insipiens [Ps 13:1 = Vulgata]

Si vis alicui apparere magnus et honorari ab illo, lege ~~hunc~~ hunc psalmum super aquam mundam et salem usque *quoniam dominus in ge(neratione) i(u)sta est*¹¹⁹ [Ps 13:6] et scribe psalmum istum in tabula et lava eam [fol. 76r] cum predicta aqua et efunde in portam cuiusvis. dices autem eum p(re)se(n)s ps(almum), ambulante¹²⁰ te incipiens et secundum, scilicet *quare fremuerunt* [Ps 2:1 = Vulgata] usque *tunc loquatur ad eos in ira sua*¹²¹ [Ps 2:5].

If you want to appear important to someone and be honoured by them, read this psalm over clean water and salt up to *quoniam dominus in generatione iusta est*, write this psalm on a tablet, wash it [the tablet] with the aforementioned water and pour it at the door of any person. But you will also recite the psalm, and as you walk around also begin the second [psalm], namely *quare fremuerunt* up to *tunc loquatur ad eos in ira sua*.

In the lower margin of fol. 75v another scribe added:

Domine, dominus noster [Ps 8:2 = Vulgata]

Si infans¹²² plangit multum et non dormit, scribe hunc <p>salmum et liga in brachio infantuli.

If a child cries a lot and does not sleep, write this psalm and tie it to the child's arm.

fol. 76r cont.*Domine, quis <h>abitabit tab(ernaculo)*¹²³ [Ps 14:1]

Si vis ingredi in aliquam civitatem aut ad principem, lege hunc <p>salmum te inggrediente.

If you wish to enter a city or [the court] of a ruler, read this psalm as you enter.

Conserva me, domine [Ps 15:1 = Vulgata]

Si tim<u>eris, ne faxinatio malorum oculorum apprehendat¹²⁴ te et noceat tibi, scribe hunc psalmum et porta tecum.

If you are afraid of being bewitched by evil eyes and that it will harm you, write this psalm und carry [it] with you.

Exaudi, domine [Ps 16:1 = Vulgata]

119 ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἐν γενεᾷ δικαίᾳ. βουλὴν πτωχοῦ κατησχύνατε, ὅτι κύριος ἐλπίς αὐτοῦ ἐστίν LXX; quoniam deus in generatione iusta, consilium inopis confudistis, quoniam dominus spes eius est Vulgata.

120 anbulante cod.

121 τότε λαλήσει πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐν ὀργῇ αὐτοῦ LXX; tunc loquetur ad eos in ira sua Vulgata.

122 imfans cod.

123 κύριε, τίς παροικήσει ἐν τῷ σκηνώματι LXX; domine, quis habitabit in tabernaculo Vulgata.

124 apprehendat (= apprehenderat) cod. (an apprehenderit scribere voluit?).

Si vis evadere¹²⁵ scandalum et discordiam¹²⁶, lege hunc psalmum usque ad *animam meam ab impiis*¹²⁷ [Ps 16:13] septies et scribe eum in carta et porta tecum.

If you want to escape scandal and discord, read this psalm up to *animam meam ab impiis* six times, write it on paper and carry [the paper] with you.

Diligam te, domine [Ps 17:2 = Vulgata]

Si in aliqua domo sunt infirmi, accipe ollam novam et imple eam aqua munda et lege totum i psalmum¹²⁸ super aquam i<l>lam septies aspergesque in circuitu domus et in angulis.

If there are sick people in the house, take a new pot, fill it with clean water und read the entire psalm seven times over this water, and you will sprinkle [the water] around the house and in the corners.

Celi enarrant [Ps 18:2 = Vulgata]

Si qua mulier dolorem patitur et parere non potest, scribe hunc <p>salmum usque *exaltabit ut ggigans ad currendam*¹²⁹ *viam*¹³⁰ [Ps 18:6] in testam novam et pone sub destro^{eius} el pede statimque pariet.

If a woman suffers from pain and is unable to give birth, write this psalm up to *exaltabit ut gigans ad currendam viam* on a new shard, place it under her right foot and she will give birth immediately.

*Exaudiat te in die tribulationis*¹³¹ [Ps 19:2]

Si legeris hunc <p>salmum cotidie mane ter, invenies benedictionem a domino. quodsi legeris hunc psalmum super hominem, qui infirmitatur velut ad mortem, si vivere debet, inveniet [fol. 76v] requiem; sin autem moriturus est, statim morietur.

If you read this psalm three times every morning, you will find blessing from the Lord. If you read this psalm over a person who is ill almost to the point of death and if the person must live, the person will find peace; but if the person is to die, the person will die immediately.

Domine in virtute tua [Ps 20:2 = Vulgata]

Si vis, ut bene recipiaris ab omni homine, cuiuscumque {h}ordinis sit vel qua dignitatis, dic hunc psalmum super oleum roseum septies et unge ex predicto oleo faciem tuam et hēbis habebis honorem magnum.

If you want to be well received by everyone regardless of rank and dignity, recite this psalm seven times over rose oil, rub your face with this oil and you will be greatly honored.

125 evadare *cod.*

126 discordian *cod.*

127 την ψυχὴν μου ἀπὸ ἀσεβοῦς *LXX*; animam meam ab impio *Vulgata*.

128 p *corrected in the cod.*

129 currendum *cod.*

130 ἀγαλλιάσεται ὡς γίγας δραμεῖν ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ *LXX*; exultavit ut gigans ad currendam viam *Vulgata*.

131 ἐπακούσαι σου κύριος ἐν ἡμέρᾳ θλίψεως *LXX*; exaudiat te dominus in die tribulationis *Vulgata*.

*Deus deus meus, respice in me*¹³² [Ps 21:2]

Si incideris in manus inimichorum¹³³ hominum et timueris malitiam eorum, dic hunc psalmum VII et salvaberis ab eis.

If you fall into the hands of enemies and fear their wickedness, recite this psalm seven times, and you will be saved from them.

*Dominus regit me*¹³⁴ [Ps 22:1]

Si quis peregre profici^{scit}ur aut quacumque via ierit et legerit hunc psalmum septies, non detinebunt eum inimici eius, et si erraverit ab¹³⁵ via, legat ipsum super oleum bonum et faciem suam ungat et viam reinveniet.

If someone travels abroad or whichever road he takes and reads this psalm seven times, his enemies will not capture him; and if he strays from the road, he should read it over good oil, rub [the oil] on his face and he will find the road again.

Ad amorem

For love

Domini est terra [Ps 23:1 = Vulgata]

Scribe hunc <p>salmum usque *introibit rex glorie* [Ps 23:7 vel 9 = Vulgata] et portet.

Write this psalm up to *introibit rex glorie*, and he should carry [it with him].

Ad te, domine, levavi animam meam [Ps 24:1 = Vulgata]

Si quis infirmus non dormit, scribe hunc <p>salmum et pone ad capud eius et dormiet.

If a sick person cannot sleep, write this psalm, place it by the person's head, and the person will sleep.

Iudica me, domine, quoniam [Ps 25:1 = Vulgata]

Si vis solvere opera incantatoris¹³⁶ et fantasie, dic hunc <p>salmum et nichil poterit facere incantator. et si dixerit¹³⁷ in medio inimicorum hominum, liberab<er>is ab eis et non poterunt noscere t tibi.

If you want to render the work of a sorcerer or an illusion ineffective, recite this psalm, and the sorcerer will not be able to do anything. And if he speaks right in the middle of enemies,¹³⁸ you will be freed from them, and they will be unable to harm you.

132 ὁ θεὸς ὁ θεός μου, πρόσχες μοι LXX; deus, deus meus respice me (in me varia lectio) Vulgata.

133 I thank the anonymous reviewer for correcting my reading of this word.

134 κύριος ποιμαίνει με LXX; dominus reget (regit varia lectio) me Vulgata.

135 ad cod.

136 Corrected from incantationis.

137 See the next note.

138 dixerit should probably be corrected to dixeris. This alters the meaning as follows: »If you recite it (the psalm) while surrounded by enemies, ...«

Dominus illuminatio [Ps 26:1 = Vulgata]

Si vis plantare vineam, scribe hunc psalmum in initio lune et dilue eum in fonte¹³⁹, de quo adaquatur vinea, et salvabitur.

If you want to plant a vineyard, write this psalm at the start of the lunar [month], and dissolve it [the writing] at the source from which the vineyard is irrigated, and [the vineyard] will be saved.

fol. 77r

Ad partum d(e)c(im)us psalmus. scribe etiam eum similiter CXLII ps(almum) et liga in coxa mulieris et salvabitur. et si navis inciderit in procella tempestatis¹⁴⁰, scribe hunc psalmum usque *libera me de aquis multis*¹⁴¹ [Ps 143:7 = Vulgata] et liberaberis.

For childbirth Psalm 10. You should also write Psalm 142 in similar way and tie [it] to the woman's hip, and she will be cured. And if a ship gets caught in a hurricane, write this psalm up to *libera me de aquis multis* and you will be freed [from the storm].

~~Exaltabo te, deus meus rex~~ [Ps 144:1] S

Ad convertendum cor viri ad uxorem

Exaltabo teus te, deus meus rex [Ps 144:1 = Vulgata]

Si quis {h}odio abie<c>erit (?) uxorem suam asque causa, legat hunc psalmum septies super oleum bonum et l ungat capud mulieris et scribat eum et subterret eum ante portam mulieris, et revertetur vir eius ad eam. et si legeris eum super oleum bonum VII et faciem infirmi un<g>seris¹⁴², sanabitur.

To win a man's heart for a woman.

If someone abandons his wife out of hatred [and] without reason, [one] should read this psalm seven times over good oil, rub the woman's head [with this oil], write it [the psalm] und bury it in front of the woman's door; and her husband will return to her. And if you read it [the psalm] seven times over good oil and rub [the oil] on a sick person's face, the person will be cured.

Lauda, anima mea, dominum [Ps 145:2 = Vulgata]

Lege hunc psalmum super oleum et mur{n}iam VII usque *dominus erigit elisos*¹⁴³ [Ps 145:8] et unge fracta ossa et sanabitur.

Read this psalm seven times over oil and salt water up to *dominus erigit elisos*, rub [the fluid] over the broken bones, and [the person] will be cured.

¹³⁹ funte *cod.*

¹⁴⁰ tenpestatis *cod.*

¹⁴¹ ῥῦσαί με ἐξ ὑδάτων πολλῶν *LXX.*

¹⁴² uns(er)it *cod.*

¹⁴³ κύριος ἀνθρώποι κατεργαγμένους *LXX*; dominus erigit adlisos (*elisos varia lectio*) *Vulgata.*

*Laudate dominum, quoniam bonus est*¹⁴⁴ [Ps 146:1]

Lege hunc psalmum cum supradicto psalmo usque *et alligat contriciones eorum*¹⁴⁵
[Ps 146:3] super oleum et mur{n}iam et unge infirmum et sanabitur. et si vis aliquid
dividere cum aliquo, dic hunc psalmum et erit portio tua bona.

Read this psalm alongside the aforementioned psalm up to *et alligat contriciones eorum* over oil and salt water, rub the [fluid] onto the sick person, and the person will be cured. And if you want to share something with someone, recite this psalm and your share will be good.

Lauda, Ierusalem [Ps 147:12 = Vulgata]

Si domum vel edificium vis edificare, scribe hunc psalmum cum croco et aqua rosea
ros(ea) et su<f>umiga cum ligno aloe et subterra in domo edificii et edificare (*sic*)
super et erit benedicto Dei in ea.

If you want to build a house or a building, write this psalm with saffron and rose water, smoke it with [lign-]aloes wood, bury it in the house of the building, build [the house] on top and God's blessing will be upon it.

*Laudate dominum de celis*¹⁴⁶ [Ps 148:1 = Vulgata]

Si quis legerit hunc psalmum cotidie vespere et mane VII in domo [fol. 77v] sua,
discedet diabolus ab ea et erit ibi benedictio Dei.

If someone reads this psalm seven times a day, evening and morning, in their house, the devil will leave this house and God's blessing will be there.

Cantate domino [Ps 149:1 = Vulgata]

Si qua mulier infirmatur, dic hunc psalmum VII super oleum bonum et unge et
sanabitur.

If a woman falls ill, recite this psalm seven times over good oil, rub [the oil into her], and she will be cured.

Laudate dominum in sanctis eius [Ps 150:1 = Vulgata]

Si habes arotum¹⁴⁷ vel <h>ortum, dic hunc psalmum ibi secties (*sic*) et multi-
plicabuntur bona in eis et benedictio Dei erit in illo loco.

If you have land to plough or a garden, recite this psalm there seven times, and the goods within will increase, and God's blessing will be upon this place.

Explicit. liber iste de virtutibus psalmorum translatus (*sic*) Constantinopoli
anno domini m millesimo ~~CLH~~ CL<X>¹⁴⁸ indictione VIII de greco in latinum et
Alessandrie de saraceno in ~~ereco~~ greco preterito anno fuerat. Deo gratias.

144 αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον, ὅτι ἀγαθὸν LXX; laudate dominum, quoniam bonum (bonus *varia lectio*) Vulgata.

145 δεσμύων τὰ συντρίμματα αὐτῶν LXX; alligat contriciones illorum Vulgata.

146 αἰνεῖτε τὸν κύριον ἐκ τῶν οὐρανῶν LXX.

147 Verbatim translation from the Greek word ἀροτόν.

148 For the corrected year with regard to the indiction, see p. 51 in the introduction to Text 2.

End. This book about the power of the Psalms was translated from Greek into Latin in Constantinople in 1161 during the 8th indiction and from Arabic into Greek in Alexandria the previous year. I thank God.

Some Conclusions

This contribution aimed to shift the focus of medieval translation literature (from Greek into Latin) from literary works to shorter »technical« texts. This opens up a field of research into influences that go beyond the previously favored literary texts. The influence of astrological texts and »guides for daily life« is notable, and indeed understandable. The advantage of such shorter texts is that they require less vocabulary and language knowledge to translate. The second example, a text about the use of psalms, is an interesting case of a double translation from the original language to the target language via a mediating language, in this case from Arabic into Latin via Greek. This text should caution us against assuming that an identified source is the origin of a Latin text when a third language may have acted as an intermediary.

Interest in such »useful texts« could arise whenever representatives of one cultural zone came into contact with those of another, or in a contact zone more generally. Constantinople, the capital, with its »Latin quarters«, is a good example of this, as are the Greek settlements in Southern Italy. Astrological and astronomical texts have always attracted great interest, particularly prognostics and simple methods of predicting the future. The problem with these texts is that they are open texts and that they have changed over time within the textual tradition. As can be seen in the first example (text 1), even the basic numbers used for calculations were subject to scribal errors, thereby altering the numerical framework. Consequently, it is almost impossible to identify the exact original version of these »living texts«.

Minor texts, such as the translations presented in this paper, provide further insight into medieval society, which adopted foreign cultural heritage despite national and linguistic boundaries. This is often only recognizable to us in written form, as well as in how it was received within the new cultural circle. To introduce the topic, I have used short astronomical texts and diagrams that play an important role in computistics as illustrative examples. Comparing the Latin and Greek computistic texts reveals both their mutual influence and reception, enabling us to fill existing gaps through the parallel tradition.

In conclusion, one *desideratum* remains, which is to create an overview of all these minor texts through comparative analysis.

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Abbreviations

cod. = codex

ex corr. = ex correctione

gr. = graecus/um

LXX = Septuaginta

PG = Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Graeca, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris 1857-1891)

PL = Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina, ed. Jacques-Paul Migne (Paris 1844-1890)

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