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## ON THE GREEK CHIROMANTIC FRAGMENT: AN UPDATE\*

ALBERTO BARDI

*Abstract.* This paper provides an update to Roger Pack's 1972 article "On the Greek Chiromantic Fragment" (*TAPA* 103: 367-380). The discovery of several new witnesses to the text warrants a reconsideration of the scholarly questions about Greek chiromancy. This paper presents the results of recent scholarship on the Greek chiromantic fragment, alongside a new edition of the text and a survey of its reception.

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The title of this paper refers explicitly to an article by Roger Pack, published in 1972,<sup>1</sup> which dealt with the sole surviving witness to chiromancy (or palmistry) written in ancient Greek. Surveying the recent scholarship on Greek astronomical texts led me to detect further witnesses to the text. The latter are provided in manuscripts preserved in

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<sup>1</sup> Pack 1972.

European libraries, and I have collated the new witnesses. As the new text-variants are significant in comparison to the last edition (1908), it was necessary to establish a new critical text. In this paper, I not only provide a new edition of the Greek chiromancy, but also present a discussion of the variants and the editorial principles. The philological side of this survey also sheds new light on questions pertaining to the date and provenance of the text, as well as the problem of its authorship and reception. As we will see below, renowned humanists such as Pico della Mirandola and Regiomontanus took this text into consideration when conducting their own studies.

The Greek chiromantic text was discovered by the renowned German philologist Franz Boll, who published the first edition in 1908 in the 7<sup>th</sup> volume of the *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*.<sup>2</sup> His edition was established by collating two manuscripts: the *Parisinus Graecus* 2506 (14<sup>th</sup> century) and the *Erlangensis* 1227 (89) (mid-15<sup>th</sup> century). No expositions of this non-conventional subject had previously come to light, and this discovery received no scholarly attention before R. Pack had his article published in 1972. Boll's discovery opened up an area of general interest for the history of astrology and chiromancy, for his findings showed – as both Boll and Pack noted – that the union between these two methods of inquiry could have occurred in antiquity and not in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as had been hitherto supposed.<sup>3</sup>

Pack commented on the text by comparing it with some published and unpublished Latin chiromantic treatises.<sup>4</sup> As he noticed, chiromancy (or investigations of the hand) was not new to Greek tradition. Indeed, in his introduction to the Greek text, Boll had already included a number of references to chiromancy, taken from classical literature. These references were also taken up by Pack in his own comparative study. In addition, Pack wrote a paper on the indirect sources of ancient Greek palmistry in 1978.<sup>5</sup> Briefly, it is clear that the hand was

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<sup>2</sup> CCAG, 236-244.

<sup>3</sup> CCAG, 236-237.

<sup>4</sup> Pack 1972, 370-380.

<sup>5</sup> Pack 1978.

seen as a special part of the human body, and was deemed to be a particularly important area of speculation for what was later called *physiognomy*. As no further evidence about the chiromantic tradition in ancient Greek sources has been discovered, I shall omit details of the Greek chiromantic tradition and direct the reader to Pack's paper of 1978.

The current paper provides an updated account of extant Greek chiromancy from a philological perspective and on the basis of the evidence uncovered by studies into the text's reception. The paper sheds new light on the text, its composition, its possible author, and its reception. Witnesses to the text will be analysed and collated, and the principles for the edition will also be given (sections 2 and 3); section 4 will contain the edition with *apparatus criticus*; a commentary will be offered in section 5; the text's reception will be discussed in section 6; and finally, section 7 will draw some conclusions.

## 2. TEXT WITNESSES

Greek chiromancy is extant in the following manuscripts. As previously discovered by Boll, the text witnesses are:

**E** *Erlangensis* 1227 (89), ff. 192v-196r

**P** *Parisinus graecus* 2506, ff. 188v-190v

A survey of Greek astronomical texts allowed me to discover further witnesses, who were already revealed in published catalogues:

**L** *Laurentianus graecus* 28.13, ff. 17r-19r

**J** *Laurentianus graecus* 28.16, ff. 20v-23r

**M** *Marcianus graecus* Z. 336, ff. 28r-30r

**N** *Ambrosianus* N 284 sup., ff. 56r-60r

**Q** *Ambrosianus* Q 13 sup., ff. 247r-252v

The text of L was composed no later than 1374, for the manuscript on f. 1r contains a horoscope casted for the year 6882 from the creation of the world, a year that corresponds to A.D. 1374.<sup>6</sup> The scribe is the Byzantine mathematician and astronomer Isaac Argyros; its hand was

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<sup>6</sup> Gentile 1994, 88-94.

recognized by Brigitte Mondrain.<sup>7</sup> The Greek chiromancy is transcribed as the last chapter of a handbook on how to use a set of Persian astronomical tables, entitled *Παράδοσις εἰς τοὺς περσικοὺς κανόνας τῆς ἀστρονομίας* (*Instructions for the Persian Tables of Astronomy*).<sup>8</sup> Both texts are anonymous.

The witness J, composed no later than A.D. 1382, copies the aforementioned astronomical handbook alongside the chiromancy.<sup>9</sup> The scribe was recognized by Alexander Turyn as a collaborator of the Byzantine astrologer John Abramios.<sup>10</sup> From J derives the witness M, which stems from the first half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>11</sup> In this instance too, the chiromancy is added to the astronomical handbook.

The witness E is part of a selection of Greek astrological texts copied by the astronomer Regiomontanus in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>12</sup> No attribution to an author is provided.

P copies the text into a selection of physiognomic-astrological texts. I could not recognize the scribe, but this hand is certainly no older than 14<sup>th</sup> century.

Both N and Q are 16<sup>th</sup>-century copies. The former provides the text in a carefully written minuscule style in a miscellaneous volume among selections from rhetorical and philosophical texts. The scribe is unknown.<sup>13</sup> The latter is transcribed from an unknown hand in a selection of astrological and physiognomic texts.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Mondrain 2012.

<sup>8</sup> Tihon 2009, 406; Bardi 2018.

<sup>9</sup> Turyn 1972, 245-248.

<sup>10</sup> On the scribe, see Turyn 1972, 245-248; On Abramios, see Pingree 1971.

<sup>11</sup> Mioni 1985, 77-83.

<sup>12</sup> Thurn and Stählin 1980, 24-28.

<sup>13</sup> See Martini and Bassi 1906, 674-675.

<sup>14</sup> Martini and Bassi 1906, 747-751.



6	μερῶν τῆς παλάμης	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	om.
7	τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ τούτων	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	<i>posit</i> τούτων <i>add.</i> ὑπόκοιλον
9	ἀπὸ τοῦ μετὰ τὸ θῆναρ	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	ἀπὸ τοῦ μεταθῆναρος ( <i>lectio difficilior</i> )
9-10	τὸ δὲ μετὰ τὸ θῆναρ ὁ τόπος ἐστὶν ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους τοῦ λαχανοῦ	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	μετάθῆναρ ὁ ἐστὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ τελ. τ. λυχ. τόπος
11	ἐπὶ πλείστον	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	εἰς τὸ πλείστον
13	τούτων	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	om.
15-16	ὅτε ... ὅτε	≡ L	ὅτε ... ποτέ	≡ M	≡ M	≡ L	≡ L
17	χειρὸς πολλάκις ὑποκαταβαίνουσιν	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	χειρὸς αὐτῆ πολλάκις ὑποκαταβαίνουσα

20	παρακείμενα, μέρη τῶν τῆς χειρὸς ὕψηλων	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	παρακείμενα μέρη αὐτῶν τῆ χειρὶ ὕψηλά
25	ὁ δὲ ἀντίχειρ δακτυλοπόδα	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	<i>post</i> ἀντίχειρ <i>add.</i> τὸν
26	τὸν μεσοδάκτυλον ἔχει μόνον	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	<i>post</i> μεσοδάκτυλον <i>add.</i> αὐτὸν : <i>om.</i> μόνον
26-27	ὅπου σημείον τῷ υ στοιχείῳ παραπλήσιόν ἐστι	≡ L	≡ L	ὅπου σημείον τὸ υ στοιχείον παραπλήσιόν ἐστὶ	≡ L	≡ L
28	ὁ μὲν οὖν τῆς χειρὸς κατάδεσμος	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	<i>post</i> οὖν <i>add.</i> καὶ
30	τὸ μεταστήθιον καὶ αἱ γραμμαῖαι	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	τὸ μεταστήθιον καὶ ( <i>om.</i> αἱ) γραμμαῖαι
31	μετὰ θέναρ	≡ P	≡ L	≡ L	μετὰ τὸ θέναρ	μεταθέναρ



31	ὁ πρῶτος λεγόμενος δάκτυλος τοῦ Διός	≡ L	om. τοῦ	≡ M	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L
37	τοὺς ὀρθόντας	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	om.
37	πάν τε	πάν	ante πάν add. καὶ	≡ M	≡ M	≡ L	≡ L
38	γάρ	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	τε
38	τούτῳ πείσεται καὶ οὗτος	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	om. οὗτος	post πείσεται add. κέντρα : om. καὶ οὗτος (κέντρα, <i>quod inerte</i> <i>pro</i> φάσεις <i>dictum</i> , Boll)
49	συνεξοιγμένως	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	συνεξοιγμένα ς (sic.)	≡ L
50-51	ἐλεύθερος δὲ καὶ κληρονομίας ἀπολήνεται	≡ L	ἐλεύθερος δὲ (om. καὶ) κληρονομίας ἀπολήνεται	≡ M	≡ L	≡ L	ἐλεύθερος δὲ κληρονομίας ἐκλείνεται

55	τοῦ τοῦ Ἑρμιῶ δακτυλόποδος γραμμαμῆς ἀμυχαῖς	≡ J	≡ J	≡ L	τῶν Ἑρμιῶ δακτυλόποδι ἔχοντες γραμμαμῆς ἀμυχανῶν
56	καὶ τῆς τοῦ	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	<i>om.</i>
56	ὄντες οὗτοι ἔσσονται	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	ἔσ. οἱ τοιοῦτοι
56	ὀλέθριοι	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	λάθριοι
57	ἐν βίῳ	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	βίου
58	πάσγοντες	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	παρέγοντες
58	ἀστέρι	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	θεῶ
59	ἀποτόμωζ	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	ποτόμωζ
59	αὐτοῖς	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	ἀνθρώποις
70	ὑπερβαίνει	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	ὑπερβῆ
70	τόνδε τὸν ἄστερα	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	τὴνδε τὴν θεάν
71	αὐτὴν ταύτην	≡ L	τὴνδε αὐτὴν ≡ M	≡ L	≡ L
73	καὶ μὴ ἔχουσαν	≡ L	καὶ ( <i>om.</i> μὴ) ἔχουσαν ≡ M	≡ M	≡ M

76-77	Ἐάν – δηλοῖ	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	bis	≡ L
79	εἰς μέσον	≡ L	ἐπὶ μέσον	≡ M	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L
85	ἐπενηνεγμένα αὐτῷ ἦγρον	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	ὕπὸ τῆς εἰμαρμένης αὐτῷ ἐπικλωσθέντα οἶον
89	σιδήρω	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	δῶρω	≡ L
92	εὐρης γραμμῆν	≡ L	γραμμῆν εὐρης	≡ M	≡ L	εὐρήση	≡ L
99	τὸ μῆν	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	τιμῆν	≡ L
101	διακλάισσα	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	διακλάισσα	
102	τουτὶ τὸ σημεῖον	≡ L	τουτοῦ τι	≡ M	≡ L	τουτο τὸ	τουτο τὸ σημεῖον
102- 103	εἰ δὲ μὴ πεπλήρωται, πληρωθήσεται τὸν πόδα	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	λέγε οὖν καὶ τῷ μηδέμω (sic) ἐπερωμένο ὅτι πειρωθήσεται τὸν πόδα
105	ἰσχυακοὺς σημαίνει ἔσεσθαι	ἰσχυαδικούς σημ. ἔσ.	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	ἰσχυακοὺς ἔσεσθαι σημαίνει

107	ἔλικκοειδής ἢ καὶ μελανοειδής	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	om. ἢ
122	ἔσται	≡ L	λέγε	≡ M	≡ L	≡ L
124	δίκτυον	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	δίκτυα
124	ἐφαπτομένους αὐτῶν	om.	≡ L	≡ L	om.	≡ L
127- 128	σημιανόμενον ὑπέριμεγα ἔσται	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L ὑπέριμεσα pro ὑπέριμεγα	πεπρωμένον ἐκ μοίρας· πάντως γὰρ ἄφεικτος καὶ ἀπαράβατα τὰ ἐκ τάωτης
136	ἀποτελούσας	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	ἀποτελοῦσιν
136- 137	σιδήρω αἰωνιδίῳ τιμηθήσεται αἰωνιδίως ἢ ἐνδείξαι τροφῆς ὀλεῖται	τιμηθήσεται	τροφήσεται	≡ M	σιδήρω τροφήσεται αἰωνιδίως ἢ ἐνδείξαι τροφῆς ὀλεῖται	σημιῶ αἰωνιδίῳ τιμηθήσεται ἐξᾠφνης ἢ ἐνδείξαι τροφῆς ὀλεῖται
139	προσιούσαν	προσιούσαν	≡ J	≡ J	≡ J	≡ L
						post ἢ add. ἀλλήλως συνερείδουσαι P

141- 142	τόξον εοικυῖαν ἔχη γραμμὴν καὶ τοῦτο ἔχη ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίονα ρέπον	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	τόξον εἰκελὸν ἔχη γεγραμμένον καὶ τοῦτο ρέπη ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίονα
144	ὁ δὴ	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	τὸ δὲ
144	ἕτερον μέρος	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	ῥοστὶ μέρος <i>add.</i> αὐτῆς
144	μέρος	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	γένη
144	αὐτό	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	αὐτός
149	κατὰ μέρος	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	κατὰ μέρος
151	ἢ διακεκριμένον	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	διακρίπται
152	ζ. εἰρημένον κοινῶς	ζ. εἰρημένος κοινῶς	ζ. κοινῶς ( <i>om.</i> εἰρ.)	≡ M	≡ L	≡ M
156	ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου δάκτυλον	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	αὐτῆς εἰς τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου δάκτυλον
158	φλοκαλόυς	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	φιλολόγους
161	οὐ	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	οὔτε
162	τὰ ἀναγκαῖα	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	<i>om.</i>
162	περισσεύουσιν	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	περισσεύει

165	ἐλαττωθέντα	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	ἐλαττώματα
168	ἐάν τις ἀστέρα ἐχῆ μεταξὺ τῆς ἀναγκαιᾶς καὶ τῆς ζωηφόρου, ἔσται δικαίος καὶ ἐπιεικής <i>ex loco 111 hic repetita, ut vidit Boll.</i>	≡ L	≡ L	<i>non repetit</i>	<i>non repetit</i>	<i>non repetit</i>	≡ L
171	ἐκτρέψουσιν	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	<i>om.</i>		ἐκτρέψουσιν
171	ἐντίμως	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	<i>om.</i>		ἐντίμως
171- 173	ἐκτρέψουσιν – δάκτυλον	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	<i>om.</i>		≡ L
174	<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>	<i>om.</i>		οὖν
174	ἔσται	≡ L	≡ L	<i>om.</i>	≡ L		≡ L
174 et 175	ἐγκεκλιμένην	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L	≡ L		ἐγκεκλιμένην

It is evident that L, J, M, E, N, and Q share a consistent amount of variants. This shows that they constitute a family of manuscripts, whose head is the witness L. This family consists of direct copies from L, as outlined by the following sequence: L > J, L > M, M > E, J > N, and E > Q.

Significant variants are provided by P, which indicate that P does not belong to the family of L. Variants of P not shared by L and its apographs are provided in the passages listed here (see the table above): 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 9-10, 11, 13, 17, 20, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31 (μεταθέναρ), 37 (see *om.*), 38, 50-51, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 70, 85, 101, 102, 102-103, 107, 124, 127-128, 136, 137, 141-142, 144, 149, 151, 156, 161, 165, 171, 174, 175.

Compared to them, the variants shared by P and the L family are few: 15-16, 26-27, 31, 37, 71, 79, 92, 105, 122, 168, 171-173, 174.

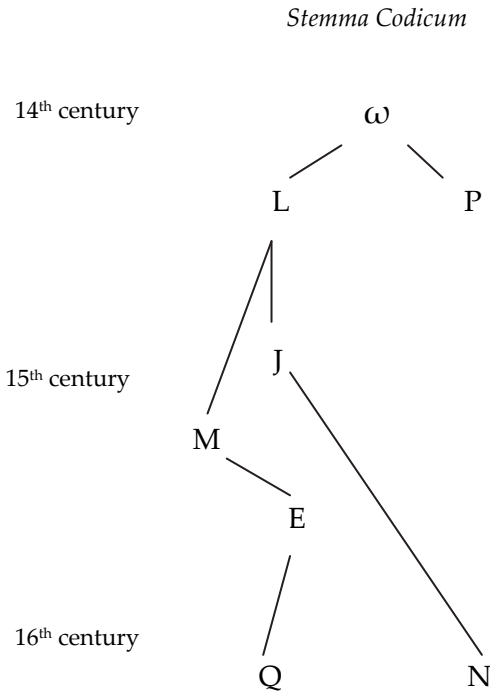
In the family of L, the following relationships were detected by analyzing variants. The witness J shares all of the above listed readings except the variants 31, 37, 105, 120, 136-137, 139, and the omissions 38, 55, 124. Moreover, it transcribes the chiromancy directly after the astronomical handbook like L. In this position, the text was also copied by M, which shares with J the omission 55 and provides its own variants at 2, 15-16, 31, 50-51, 71, 73, 79, 92, 102, 122, 136-137, 152, and its own omissions at 31 and 152, as well as an addition at 152. All of this demonstrates that L is their common antigraph.

The witness E shares with J and M the variant 55. It is an apograph of M because it transcribes all the variants and omissions carried by M, which M does not share with J and L, see: 15-16, 31, 37, 50-51, 71, 73, 79, 92, 102, 122, 136-137, 152. Moreover, E provides its own variants at 3, 26-27, and it does not repeat the sentence at 168, which is copied from line 111. As this sentence is coherent in both sections, I would not describe it as an error; as such, I left it in place within the critical text. However, the scribe of E understood this as a double occurrence.

Witnesses N and Q share a significant amount of common variants with the other manuscripts of the family of L. This makes it difficult to detect their stemmatic relationships. The small title *ῥροι* (line 2) of N speaks in favour of a transcription from L or J. A transcription from J

is confirmed by the omission at 124, shared only by J and N. Moreover, N does not copy the sentence from 111 at 168, a common variant with E and Q. The scribe of Q transcribes from E, for it is the only witness that adopts διορίζειν (3) as incipit. Q contains notably more errors than the other witnesses. The most evident are the repetition of the sentence 76-77 and the omission at 171-173, a “saut du même au même.”

The stemmatic relationships can be summarized in the following stemma.





At this point, only L and P should be considered for the *constitutio textus*. There are several reasons to take L as the collation manuscript: it is an antigraph of several witnesses; it is as old as P; and it contains a “good text.” Its *lectiones* are not always better than those of P, and the latter might sometimes be closer to the original. In the following I provide the most significant cases in which I have preferred P:

7) ὑπόκουλον P : *om.* L. In this passage, there is clearly a missing word.

10) μεταθέναρος P] μετὰ τὸ θέναρ L. P provides a *lectio difficilior*.

85-86) τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς εἰμαρμένης αὐτῶ ἐπικλωσθέντα οἶον P] τὰ ἐπεινηγεμένα αὐτῶ ἢ L. The reference to the εἰμαρμένη (“what is decreed by the fate”) is in accordance to the reference to the fate at 128 (see below) and it is evidence of an ancient vocabulary.

128) τὸ πεπρωμένον ἐκ μοίρας· πάντως γὰρ ἄφευκτος καὶ ἀποράβητα τὰ ἐκ ταύτης P] τὸ σημαινόμενον ὑπέρομεγα ἔσται L. The reference to unavoidable fate makes more sense. It is also in accordance with what the scribe of P wrote at 85-86 (see above).

149) κατὰ μέσον P] κατὰ μέρος L. The variant of L does not make sense; it is clearly a mistake.

As far as the *mise en page* of the critical text is concerned, I took the freedom to organize the text into paragraphs following the coherence of the topics treated in the discourse. From line 61, the text is basically a list of conditional clauses based on the model “if → then.” As such, I decided to give each sentence a paragraph. The main clauses of the conditional phrase are always separated by commas.

## 4. EDITION

Προγνωστικὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ παλάμῃ γραμμῶν<sup>15</sup>

Ὅροι<sup>16</sup>

Τὶ ὀρίζειν<sup>17</sup> χρῆ καὶ καλεῖν τὸ ἀπὸ τῶν γραμμῶν μέρος τῶν πρὸς τῷ καρπῷ μέχρι τῶν δακτύλων ὅλων ἀκρόχειρα,<sup>18</sup> καλοῦσι δ' οἱ πλείστοι τοῦτο καὶ παλάμην<sup>19</sup> τὸ δὲ μετὰ τὰς (5) γραμμὰς εὐθὺς μέρος ῥίζα βραχίονος<sup>20</sup> καὶ χειρὸς λέγεται, τὸ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ῥίζαν<sup>21</sup> ὑψηλοτέρων μερῶν τῆς παλάμης,<sup>22</sup> τὸ μὲν πρὸς τῷ μεγάλῳ δακτύλῳ στήθος ἀντίχειρος ὀνομάζεται, τὸ δὲ κάτω μέρος στήθος τῆς χειρὸς, τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ τούτων ὑπόκοilon,<sup>23</sup> ὅπου γραμμαὶ τινες εἰώθασιν εἶναι, μεταστήθιον· ὀρίζεται δὲ τὸ στήθος τοῦ μεγάλου δακτύλου γραμμῇ τῇ ληγούσῃ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ μεταστήθιον, ἀρχομένη δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μεταθέναρος,<sup>24</sup> ἣτις ὀνομάζεται (10) χρονικὴ· τὸ δὲ μετὰ τὸ θέναρ ὁ τόπος ἐστὶν ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ τέλους τοῦ λιχανοῦ<sup>25</sup> μέχρι τῆς ῥίζης τοῦ ἀντίχειρος· ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου μέσου γραμμῇ τις ἀρχομένη καὶ ἐπὶ πλείστον<sup>26</sup> τῆς χρονικῆς ἐφαπτομένη, κατὰ τὴν ῥίζαν δι' αὐτῆς δὲ ἀπολυθεῖσα φέρεται διὰ τοῦ κοίλου τῆς χειρὸς, αὕτη προσαγορεύεται ζωηφόρος· τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ ταύτης τε καὶ τῆς χρονικῆς καλεῖται τρίγωνον· τῶν δὲ δύο τούτων<sup>27</sup> γραμμῶν τῆς τε χρονικῆς καὶ

<sup>15</sup> Προγνωστικὸν – γραμμῶν *rubro pictum*] υζγ' Περὶ τῆς ζωηφόρου *rubro pictum* P

<sup>16</sup> *supra lineam* L: *om.* P

<sup>17</sup> Τὶ ὀρίζειν] οἰορίζειν P

<sup>18</sup> ἀκρόχειρα] ἀκρόχειρον P

<sup>19</sup> καλοῦσι – παλάμην *om.* P

<sup>20</sup> ῥίζα βραχίονος] ῥίζαι καὶ βραχίονος P

<sup>21</sup> τὴν ῥίζαν] τὰς χεῖρας P

<sup>22</sup> μερῶν τῆς παλάμης *om.* P

<sup>23</sup> ὑπόκοilon *om.* L

<sup>24</sup> μεταθέναρος] μετὰ τὸ θέναρ L

<sup>25</sup> τὸ – λιχανοῦ] μετάθεναρ ὃ ἐστὶ ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ τελ. τ. λιχ. τόπος P

<sup>26</sup> ἐπὶ τὸ πλείστον] εἰς τὸ πλείστον P

<sup>27</sup> τούτων *om.* P

τῆς ζωηφόρου τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα καθ' ἃ (15) προσάπτονται ἀλλήλων καὶ ἐνοῦνται συναφή καλείσθω ταύτην δὲ τὴν συναφήν ὅτε μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἐστὶ συνιδεῖν τῶν γραμμῶν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ἀφεστηκυῶν, ὅτε δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θένταρος αὐτοῦ μέχρι τοῦ κοίλου τῆς χειρὸς<sup>28</sup> πολλάκις ὑποκαταβαίνουσα<sup>29</sup>: ἀναγκαίαν δὲ λέγομεν γραμμὴν τὴν ὑποκλῶσαν τοῦς τρεῖς δακτύλους, Κρόνον λέγω καὶ Ἥλιον καὶ Ἑρμῆν, διὰ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπικλάσεως τῶν δακτύλων φυσικῶς ἀνατετυπῶσθαι· τὸ δὲ μεταξὺ ταύτης καὶ τῆς (20) ζωηφόρου τετράγωνον ὀνομάζομεν· στήθη δὲ δακτύλων ὀνομάζομεν τὰ παρακειμένα μέρη τῶν τῆς χειρὸς ὑψηλῶν<sup>30</sup>· τὸ δὲ στήθος αὐτῆς τῆς χειρὸς ὀρίζεται ταῖς ῥίζαις τοῦ βραχίονος ταῖς ὑπὸ τῆ χρονικῆ γραμμῆ ὑποκειμέναις καὶ τῆ ἀναγκαίᾳ, προσεικὸς κοιλία (κοιλία γὰρ λέγεται χειρὸς διὰ τὸ μικρῶς παρωγκῶσθαι)· τριῶν δὲ ὄντων ἐν τοῖς δακτύλοις φαλαγγίων ἔσται τὸ μὲν ἐπιτεφυκὸς τῆ χειρὶ καὶ διορίζον τὴν χεῖρα δακτυλόπους ἢ ῥιζοδάκτυλος· τὸ δὲ (25) δεῦτερον μεσοδάκτυλος· τὸ δὲ τρίτον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ὄνυχοφόρον, ἀκροδάκτυλον ἢ μετόνυχον· ὁ δὲ ἀντίχειρ<sup>31</sup> δακτυλόποδα καὶ τὸν μεσοδάκτυλον ἔχει μόνον<sup>32</sup>· ἀστὴρ δὲ λέγεται, ὅπου σημεῖον τῶ υ στοιχείῳ παραπλήσιον ἐστὶ· γίνεται δὲ ὅπου ἂν τύχοι, οὐκ ἀφωρισμένως.

Ὁ μὲν οὖν τῆς χειρὸς κατάδεσμος τοιοῦτός τις ἐστίν, ὡς ἐν συντόμῳ φάναι, καὶ τὰ τῶν γραμμῶν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ ὀνόματα ταῦτα· ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ φράζειν τοὺς τόπους τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τὰς (30) δυνάμεις αὐτῶν ἴωμεν· Σελήνης τὸ μεταστήθιον καὶ αἱ γραμμαί· Ἀφροδίτης ὁ ἀντίχειρ· τὸ δὲ μεταθέντα<sup>33</sup> καὶ ἡ ζωηφόρος Ἄρεως· ὁ δὲ λιχανὸς καὶ ὁ πρῶτος λεγόμενος δάκτυλος τοῦ Διός· Κρόνου δὲ ὁ μέσος· Ἡλίου δὲ ἡ Απόλλωνος ὁ παράμεσος· ὁ δὲ μικρὸς Ἑρμοῦ.

<sup>28</sup> *post* χειρὸς *add.* αὐτὴ P

<sup>29</sup> ὑποκαταβαίνουσα] ὑποκαταβαίνουσιν L

<sup>30</sup> τῶν – ὑψηλῶν] αὐτῶν τῆ χειρὶ ὑψηλά P

<sup>31</sup> *post* ἀντίχειρ *add.* τὸν L

<sup>32</sup> ἔχει μόνον] αὐτὸν ἔχει P

<sup>33</sup> μετὰ θέντα L

Ἐπισκέπτεσθαι μὲν οὖν χρῆ τὰς γραμμάς τῆς δεξιᾶς χειρὸς, χρῆ δὲ καὶ πολλὰς ὀρᾶν χεῖρας τὸν σπουδαῖον, ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ἡ πείρα τῆς προρρήσεως προβαίνοι ἂν ἐπὶ τὸ ἀσφαλές.

(35) Οἱ τῆς σεληνιακῆς γενέσεως μετεληχότες ἔξουσιν ἐν τῷ τετραγώνῳ τῆς χειρὸς σημεῖον παραπλήσιον τῷ χ στοιχείῳ· ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ οὖν ἡλικίᾳ ὁ τοιοῦτος πένης ἔσται, ἐν τῇ μέσῃ δὲ εὐπορήσει παρ' ἐλπίδα, ὥστε ἐκπλήττεσθαι τοὺς ὀρῶντας,<sup>34</sup> πάλιν τε εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἀναλύσει, εἰς ὃ ἦν ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡλικίᾳ· ὅμοια γὰρ τῷ ἀστέρι τούτῳ πείσεται<sup>35</sup> καὶ οὗτος<sup>36</sup> ἀυξόμενος τε<sup>37</sup> καὶ κατὰ τὴν τύχην λήγων.

(40) Οἱ δὲ τῆς τοῦ Ἡλίου γενέσεως μετεληχότες ἔξουσιν γραμμάς λεπτὰς ἐπὶ τοῦ δακτυλόποδος αὐτοῦ οἰονεῖ ἀμυχᾶς· ἔσονται δὲ οἱ τοιοῦτοι εὐφρεῖς, μιμηταὶ παντὸς ἔργου, ἃ οὐκ ἔμαθον ταῦτα πράττοντες, οὐδέποτε δὲ λείπει τοῖς τοιοῦτοις οὐδὲν τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ τούτῳ καὶ οἱ μὲν πάνυ συνήθεις καὶ φίλοι αὐτοῖς καὶ οἱ παρ' αὐτοῖς λειτουργοῦντες ἀχαριστοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ πόρρω προσφιλέστατοι γίνονται.

(45) Οἱ δὲ τῆς τοῦ Κρόνου γενέσεως μετεληχότες ἔσονται ἀγαθοὶ ἄνδρες τε καὶ γυναῖκες, κοινοὶ φίλοι, ἀπλοὶ τε καὶ τὰ ἄριστα συμβουλευόντες, βαρεῖς τῇ διανοίᾳ, οὐ ταχὺ συνιέντες, εὐχερῶς πιστεύοντες τοῖς πράγμασι, βλάπτονται δὲ οἱ τοιοῦτοι μάλιστα ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων τέκνων, γῆρας δὲ λιπαρὸν ἔξουσι.

Τῆς Ἄρεως δὲ εἴ τις ἔσται γενέσεως, ἐὰν μὲν ἔχη τὰς δύο γραμμάς ταύτας συνεζευγμένας, τὴν (50) τε χρονικὴν καὶ τὴν ζωηφόρον, δοῦλος μὲν ὧν ἐλευθερωθήσεται, ἐλεύθερος δὲ κληρονομίας ἀπολήψεται.<sup>38</sup> ἐὰν δὲ ἀπεζευγμένας ἔχη ταύτας καὶ μηδεμίαν λεπτὴν ἐκτρέχουσαν καὶ παρεκκλίνουσαν, δοῦλος μὲν ὧν οὐδέποτε ἐλευθερωθήσεται, ἐλεύθερος δὲ ἐνδεὴς ἔσται· ἔσονται δὲ οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἄνδρεῖοι

<sup>34</sup> τοὺς ὀρῶντας *om.* P

<sup>35</sup> *post* πείσεται *add.* κέντρα P

<sup>36</sup> καὶ οὗτος *om.* P

<sup>37</sup> τε *om.* P

<sup>38</sup> ἐκλείψεται P

ἐπίπονοι, ἄοκνοι, διὰ παντός κακοπαθοῦντες· ἔνεκα δὲ ἐφημέρου τροφῆς τοῦτοις οὔτε λείψει οὔτε περισσεύσει.

(55) Οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ δακτυλόποδος γραμμὰς ἔχοντες ἀμυχαῖς<sup>39</sup> παραπλησίους καὶ τῆς τοῦ<sup>40</sup> Ἑρμοῦ γενέσεως ὄντες οὔτοι<sup>41</sup> ἔσονται κλέπται, ὀλέθριοι,<sup>42</sup> ἄκριτοι, ἀηδεῖς, ἀπροσφιλεῖς, ἐπιθέται, ψεῦσται· οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὐδὲ στάσιν ἐν βίῳ<sup>43</sup> ἢ θεμέλιον ἔξουσιν οὐδέποτε, παραπλήσια πάσχοντες<sup>44</sup> τῷ ἀστέρι<sup>45</sup> τούτῳ καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἀσάτῳ φύσει ἀποτόμως<sup>46</sup> γένεσιν αὐτοῖς<sup>47</sup> κακὴν ἐργάζεται.

(60) Περὶ τῆς ἀναγκαίας

Ἐὰν δὲ τις τὴν ἀναγκαίαν γραμμὴν ἀποτείνουσαν ἔχη, ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς δάκτυλον ἢ καὶ ἐγκεκλιμένην ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸν δάκτυλον, Διὸς οὗτος γενέσεως ἐστίν, ἀλλ' ἦν μὲν ὀρθῶς ἔχη, κρείττων ἢ γένεσις τούτου ἔσται, ἦν δὲ ἐγκεκλιμένη, ἦττον καλή. Οἱ οὖν ταύτης ὄντες τῆς γενέσεως ἔσονται εὐτυχεῖς, ἀμέριμοι, ἀμελεῖς διὰ τὰ ἀγαθὰ, ἀλαζόνες, οὐδὲν πικρὸν ἔχοντες (65) ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, εὐχερῶς ἀπατάμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν γυναικῶν.

Ἦν δὲ τις τὴν ἀναγκαίαν γραμμὴν ἔχη ἄνω νεύουσαν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς ῥιζοδάκτυλον καὶ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ θέναρος ὀρίοις στηρίζουσαν ἐπικλασθὲν τε αὐτῆς τὸ ἄκρον ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ῥιζοδάκτυλον, οὗτος ἔσται ἐπαφρόδιτος, ὥστε καὶ ὑφ' ὧν ποτὲ ἔδοξεν ἠδικῆσθαι γυναικῶν, ὑπὸ τούτων εὐεργετηθῆναι· ἐὰν δὲ ἡ αὐτὴ γραμμὴ ἕως τοῦ μεσοδακτύλου στηρίξη καὶ μὴ (70) ὑπερβαίνειν τοῦτον, ἔξει μὲν τὸνδε τὸν

<sup>39</sup> τοῦ<sup>1</sup> – ἀμυχαῖς] τῶν Ἑρμοῦ δακτυλόποδι ἔχοντες γραμμὰς ἀμηχανῶν P

<sup>40</sup> καὶ τῆς τοῦ om. P

<sup>41</sup> ὄντες οὔτοι] οἱ τοιοῦτοι P

<sup>42</sup> λάθριοι P

<sup>43</sup> ἐν βίῳ] βίου P

<sup>44</sup> παρέχοντες P

<sup>45</sup> θεῶ P

<sup>46</sup> ἀποτόμως] ποτόμως P

<sup>47</sup> ἀνθρώποις P

ἀστέρα<sup>48</sup> ἀρωγόν, οὐκ ἔσται δὲ ἐπαφρόδιτος· τὴν δὲ αὐτὴν ταύτην γραμμὴν, λέγω δὴ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν, ἐάν τις ἔχη ἐγκεκλιμένην, εὐκαταφρόνητος ἔσται πρὸς πάντων καὶ τῶν ἐλαχίστων, ἐπιβουλευόμενός τε καὶ ἀδικούμενος· ὁ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην γραμμὴν ἐπιτεταμένην ἔχων ὀρθὴν καὶ μὴ<sup>49</sup> ἔχουσαν ὄζους μεγάλους ἀπὸ τῆς ρίζης δυσκόλως βλαβήσεται ὑπὸ ἀντιδίκου.

(75) Περὶ τῆς ζωηφόρου<sup>50</sup>

Ἐάν δὲ ἡ ζωηφόρος γραμμὴ συσταλῇ, πολυχρονίους δηλοῖ, καὶ ὅσω ἂν συνεσταλμένη ὑπάρχη, πολυχρονιωτέρους δηλοῖ. Ἐάν δὲ ἡ ζωηφόρος πάλιν παρεκτείνῃ ἑαυτὴν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν μικρὸν δάκτυλον καὶ ὑποσημαίνουσαν μονὴν ποιῆσῃ εἰς μέσον τὸν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ δάκτυλον, ὀλιγοχρονίους δηλοῖ.

(80) Ἐάν δὲ τις μὴ ἔχη τὴν ζωηφόρον τελείαν, αἰφνιδίῳ ῥοπῇ πληγείσῃ ἀπολείται ἀναισθήτως.

Ἐάν δὲ τις εἰς μέσην τὴν γαστέρα τῆς ζωηφόρου ἔχη κύκλον παραπλήσιον τῷ ο στοιχείῳ, ἐάν μὲν εὐγραμμον ἢ καὶ εὐρυθμον, ὁ τοιοῦτος κινδυνεύσας ὑπὸ θηρίων ἀπολείσθαι σωθήσεται, ἐάν δὲ ἄρρυθμος, προφανῶς ὑπὸ θηρίων ἀπολείται.

Ἐάν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ζωηφόρου νεύσῃ τις γραμμὴ ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς δάκτυλον καὶ στηρίζῃ εἰς τὸν (85) δακτυλόποδα αὐτοῦ, περὶ τὴν πρώτην ἡλικίαν στήσεται τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς εἰμαρμένης αὐτῷ ἐπικλωσθέντα οἶον<sup>51</sup> δίκαι ἢ δεσμὰ ἢ θάνατος· ἐάν δὲ εἰς τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου, περὶ μέσην ἡλικίαν· ἐάν δὲ εἰς τὸν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ἢ Ἥλιου, ἐν γῆρα.

Ἐάν ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει τῆς ζωηφόρου δύο γραμμαὶ ὦσιν δὲ<sup>52</sup> ἐξεχόμεναί τε ἀλλήλων ἢ παρακείμεναί, τρωθήσεται ὁ τοιοῦτος σιδήρῳ.

<sup>48</sup> τὴνδε τὴν θεὰν P

<sup>49</sup> μὴ om. P

<sup>50</sup> *rubro pictum*.

<sup>51</sup> τὰ ὑπὸ τῆς εἰμαρμένης αὐτῷ ἐπικλωσθέντα οἶον] τὰ ἐπενηγεγμένα αὐτῷ ἢ L

<sup>52</sup> δὲ om. P

(90) Ἐάν τις τὴν ζωηφόρον ἔχη διεσπασμένην εἰς τὰ κάτω μέρη, εἰς ἐσχάτην ἤξει καὶ ὑγείαν καὶ πραγμάτων εὐδαιμονίαν.

Ἐάν ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ζωηφόρου γραμμῆν εὐρῆς ἐπὶ τὴν χρονικὴν φέρουσαν καὶ ταύτη συνάπτεται ἢ καὶ διαιωῆ αὐτήν, τρωθήσεται ἢ κινδυνεύσει τρωθῆναι.

Ἐάν ἡ ζωηφόρος γραμμὴ ὑπὸ πλαγίων γραμμῶν διαιωῆται, ὅσαι ἂν ὦσιν αἱ διαιωῦσαι τὴν (95) τοιαύτην γραμμὴν, τοσαῦται σωματικαὶ ἀσθένειαι τὸν τοιοῦτον θλίψουσιν· αἱ δ' ἐλικοειδεῖς οὖσαι ἀηδῖαν ἢ νοσήματα δηλοῦσι· τούτων δὲ αἱ μὲν περὶ τὰ ἄνω μέρη γινόμεναι καὶ διαιωῦσαι ταύτην περὶ κεφαλὴν καὶ τράχηλον δηλοῦσι τὰ νοσήματα, αἱ δὲ περὶ τὰ μέσα, περὶ θώρακα καὶ γαστέρα ἢ νῶτα ἢ ἰσχία· αἱ δὲ περὶ τὰ κάτω τούτων, περὶ τὰ γόνατα ἢ τοὺς πόδας.

Ἐάν ἡ ζωηφόρος χωρὶς ἐλαττώματος ἢ καὶ παντὸς σίνους ἀπολελυμένη μὴ τέ τινα ἔχη τὸ μὴν (100) ἐν ἑαυτῇ, οὐτ' ἐνόσησεν ὁ τοιοῦτος οὔτε νοσήσει.

Ἐάν ἡ ζωηφόρος ἐπὶ τῷ τέλει διακλαίουσα<sup>53</sup> ὑπάρχη, χολείαν σημαίνει. Σκόπησον οὖν τὴν τοῦ χωλοῦ χειρᾶ καὶ πάντως εὐρήσεις ἔχοντα τουτὶ τὸ<sup>54</sup> σῆμιον· εἰ δὲ μὴ πεπήρωται, πηρωθήσεται τὸν πόδα.<sup>55</sup>

Ἐάν ἡ ζωηφόρος ἢ μείζων τοῦ δέοντος καὶ ἐπικλᾶται ὑπάρχη τε κλαδαρὰ οἷον ἰμάς, (105) ἰσχυακούς σημαίνει ἔσεσθαι.

Ἐάν ἡ ζωηφόρος ὑγιῆς ἢ καὶ εὐθειᾶ καὶ κάτω νεύη, μὴ δὲ σκαμβὴ τις ἢ, τοιοῦτοι φαίνοντ' ἂν δὴ καὶ οἱ τρόποι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου· ἐάν δὲ ἐλικοειδῆς καὶ μελανοειδῆς ἢ,<sup>56</sup> φαῦλοί τε καὶ σκαιοὶ καὶ κακότροποι.

Ἐάν ἡ ζωηφόρος ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίονα νεύη, οὗτος ἔσται φιλάργυρος, ἀλλοτριῶν ἐπιθυμῶν, (110) αἰσχροκερδῆς.

<sup>53</sup> διακλίνουσα P

<sup>54</sup> τουτὶ τὸ] τοῦτο τὸ P

<sup>55</sup> εἰ δὲ μὴ πεπήρωται, πηρωθήσεται τὸν πόδα] λέγε οὖν καὶ τῷ μηδέμω (sic) ἐπειρωμένω ὅτι πειρωθήσεται τὸν πόδα P

<sup>56</sup> ἢ om. P

Ἐάν τις ἀστέρα ἔχη μεταξύ τῆς ζωηφόρου καὶ τῆς ἀναγκαίας, ἔσται δίκαιος καὶ εὐσεβής.

Ἐάν τις διεστώσας ἔχη ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὴν τε ζωηφόρον καὶ τὴν χρονικὴν καὶ μηδεμία αὐτῶν μεταξύ συνδέουσα αὐτάς, ἔσται ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀπάνθρωπος, ἀναιδής, ψεύστης, ἀπρόκοπος, ἀποστερητής, ὀκνηρός, κοῦφος.

(115) Ἐάν δὲ διεστώσας μὲν ἔχη τὰς γραμμάς, μεταξύ δὲ αὐτῶν οἶον σκυτάλιον, μηδεμιᾶς αὐτῶν ἐφαπτόμενον, ἀλλὰ καθ' ἑαυτὸ ἀπολελυμένον, οἰνόφλυξ ἔσται καὶ καπηλοδύτης.

Ἐάν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ θέναρως τῆς χειρὸς ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν μερῶν συνάπτωνται αἱ γραμμαὶ ἀλλήλαις ἢ τε ζωηφόρος λέγω καὶ ἡ χρονικὴ, ἐλεύθερος μὲν ὢν εὐτυχήσει καὶ ἀνεπίληπτον βίον διάξει, δοῦλος δὲ ὢν ἐλευθερωθήσεται καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐλευθερώσει καὶ θᾶπτον δέ, ἐάν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς (120) δάκτυλον τὴν συναφὴν ποιῶνται, βραδίον δέ, ἐάν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου (κάτοχος γὰρ ὁ ἀστήρ). Ἐάν δὲ μὴ συνάπτωνται ἀλλήλαις αἱ εἰρημέναι γραμμαὶ, ἀλλ' ἀπολείπωσι τὸν μεταξύ αὐτῶν τόπον καθαρὸν, τὰ ἐναντία ἔσται περὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον, δοῦλος μὲν γὰρ ὢν, οὐδέποτε ἐλευθερωθήσεται, ἐλεύθερος δὲ ἐνδεὴς ἔσται.

Ἐάν δὲ ὥσπερ δίκτυον<sup>57</sup> γραμμάς ἔχωσι λεπτάς ἐφαπτομένας αὐτῶν καὶ περικλειούσας αὐτάς, (125) ἔξει ἐπὶ τὰ βελτίονα βίον ἐκ χειρόνος ἐπὶ τέλους δὲ τῆς ζωῆς εὐτυχήσει· εἰ μὴ τις ἀπὸ τοῦ βραχίονος εἰστρέχουσα γραμμὴ παράπτοιτο αὐτῶν, δηλοῖ γὰρ ταχεῖαν ἄμειψιν, οἰκέτη μὲν ἐλευθερίαν, πένητι δὲ πλοῦτον, πλουσίω δὲ ἢ βασιλεῖ εὐτυχίαν· ἐκάστω γὰρ τὸ πεπρωμένον ἐκ μοίρας· πάντως γὰρ ἄφευκτος καὶ ἀποράβητα τὰ ἐκ ταύτης.<sup>58</sup>

Ἐάν τις ἔχη τὴν ζωηφόρον οἰονεὶ φοῖνικι παραπλησίαν, οὗτος μεγάλως εὐτυχήσει.

<sup>57</sup> δίκτυα P

<sup>58</sup> τὸ πεπρωμένον ἐκ μοίρας· πάντως γὰρ ἄφευκτος καὶ ἀποράβητα τὰ ἐκ ταύτης] τὸ σημαινόμενον ὑέριμεγα ἔσται L



(130) Ἐάν τις πρὸς τοῖς κάτω μέρεσι τῆς ζωηφόρου καὶ τῆς χρονικῆς ἔχη πλαγίαν γραμμὴν, ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας προσδεχέσθω.

Ἐάν ἡ ζωηφόρος εἰς τὸ ἄνω μέρος ἐπικαμφθεῖσα τῆς ἀναγκαίας ἄψηται, μεγάλην ζημίαν ἔσεσθαι σημαίνει.

Ἐάν τις ἔχη τὰς δύο γραμμάς, τὴν τε χρονικὴν καὶ τὴν ἀναγκαίαν, ἀλλήλαις συναπτούσας<sup>59</sup> (135) καὶ συνδεούσας ὄνπερ τρόπον ἡ ζωηφόρος καὶ ἡ χρονικὴ, τὴν συναφήν ἐπὶ τῶ μέσῳ θέναρι ἀποτελούσας,<sup>60</sup> τῆς μέντοι ζωηφόρου ἐστερημέναι ὥσι, σιδήρῳ αἰφνιδίῳ τιμηθήσεται αἰφνιδίως ἢ<sup>61</sup> ἐνδεία τροφῆς ὀλεῖται.

Περὶ τῆς χρονικῆς γραμμῆς<sup>62</sup>

Ἐάν τις ἀπὸ τῆς χρονικῆς γραμμῆς εὐθείαν ἔχη γραμμὴν προσιοῦσαν ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ (140) δάκτυλον καὶ οἰονεὶ ἀπολελυμένην, κινδυνεύσει ἢ σιδήρῳ τρωθήσεται.

Ἐάν τις μεταξὺ τῆς χρονικῆς καὶ τῆς ζωηφόρου πρὸς τοῖς κάτω μέρεσιν αὐτῶν τόξῳ ἐοικυῖαν ἔχη γραμμὴν καὶ τοῦτο ἔχη ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίονα ῥέπον,<sup>63</sup> ὁ ἔχων αὐτὸ τυφλὸς ἔσται.

Ἐάν τὰς δύο γραμμάς, τὴν τε<sup>64</sup> χρονικὴν καὶ τὴν ζωηφόρον, διακόπτῃ τις ἄλλη γραμμὴ κυρτὴ ὁμοία τόξῳ, τὸ δὲ<sup>65</sup> ἕτερον<sup>66</sup> μέρος<sup>67</sup> τὸν βραχίονα,<sup>68</sup> ὁ ἔχων αὐτὸ<sup>69</sup> πηρωθήσεται τὴν ὄρασιν.

<sup>59</sup> *ex* συναπτούσαις *corr.* L

<sup>60</sup> ἀποτελούσας] ἀπολελούσιν P

<sup>61</sup> *post* ἢ *add.* ἀλλήλαις συνερείδουσαι P

<sup>62</sup> Περὶ – γραμμῆς *rubro pictum* P : *om.* L

<sup>63</sup> τόξῳ ἐοικυῖαν ἔχη γραμμὴν καὶ τοῦτο ἔχη ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίονα ῥέπον] τόξῳ εἴκελον ἔχη γεγραμμένον καὶ τοῦτο ῥεπι ἐπὶ τὸν βραχίονα P

<sup>64</sup> τε *om.* L

<sup>65</sup> τὸ δὲ] ὁ δὲ P

<sup>66</sup> *post* δὲ *add.* αὐτῆς P

<sup>67</sup> γένη P

<sup>68</sup> τὸ – βραχίονα *locus corruptus videtur*

<sup>69</sup> αὐτός P

(145) Ἐὰν ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ ἀπὸ τῆς χρονικῆς γραμμῆς εὐρεθῇ γραμμὴ φέρουσα ἐπὶ τὴν ζωηφόρον καὶ ταύτη συνεπάπτηται ἢ καὶ διαιωῇ αὐτήν, τρωθήσεται ὁ ἔχων ἢ κινδυνεύσει τρωθῆναι.

Ἐὰν ἀπὸ τῆς χρονικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ζωηφόρον κλάδοι νεύοντες εὐρεθῶσι, ζημίαν ἢ δοῦλον ἔσσεσθαι ἐπισημαίνουσιν.

Ἐὰν ἡ χρονικὴ κατὰ<sup>70</sup> τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ζωηφόρον ἢ κατὰ μέσον<sup>71</sup> νεύη, ἄμεμπτον βίον (150) καὶ ἀκέραιον βιώσεται ὁ τοιοῦτος.

Ἐὰν δέ τι μὴ ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς γραμμῆς, λέγω δὴ τῆς χρονικῆς, ἢ διακεκριμένον<sup>72</sup> ἐκ τῶν ἐν τῇ ζωηφόρῳ εἰρημένων κοινῶς περὶ δύο γραμμῶν μεταφέρων τεκμαίρου.

Περὶ τῆς ἀναγκαίας γραμμῆς<sup>73</sup>

Ἐὰν τις ἔχη τὴν ἀναγκαίαν γραμμὴν βλέπουσαν ἐπὶ τὴν ζωηφόρον, οὗτος εἰς μέγιστον φόβον (155) καὶ κίνδυνον ἦξει θανάτου, οὐδὲν δὲ πείσεται κακόν.

Ἐὰν τις ἔχη τὴν ἀναγκαίαν γραμμὴν ἐγκλίνουσαν κατὰ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπὶ τὸν<sup>74</sup> τοῦ Κρόνου δάκτυλον, οὐδέποτε αὐτὸν λείψουσι δίκαι καὶ ἀηδία.

Ἐὰν ἡ ἀναγκαία γραμμὴ οἶον κλάδους ἔχη, χαρίεντας, φιλοκάλους,<sup>75</sup> μαθηματικούς, εὐέλπιδας, ἀγαθοὺς συμβούλους ὑπάρχειν δηλοῖ.

(160) Ἐὰν τις ἔχη τὴν ἀναγκαίαν γραμμὴν ὀρθὴν καὶ μὴ ὑπερορίζουσιν τὸ τοῦ Κρόνου δάκτυλον, ὡς ὄρνις τὸν ἐφήμερον βιώσεται βίον μετὰ κόπου καὶ μόχθου καὶ οὐτε<sup>76</sup> λείψουσιν αὐτὸν τὰ ἀναγκαῖα<sup>77</sup> οὔτε περισσεύουσιν.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>70</sup> *addidi* κατὰ ut Boll, cf. *infra* 156.

<sup>71</sup> κατὰ μέσον] κατὰ μέρος L

<sup>72</sup> ἢ διακεκριμένον] διακέκριπται P

<sup>73</sup> Περὶ – γραμμῆς *rubro pictum* P : *om.* L

<sup>74</sup> ἐπὶ τὸν] αὐτῆς εἰς τὸν P

<sup>75</sup> φιλολόγους P

<sup>76</sup> οὐ L

<sup>77</sup> τὰ ἀναγκαῖα *om.* P

Ἐάν τις ἔχη τὴν ἀναγκαίαν γραμμὴν κατὰ τὰ ἄνω μέρη εἰς ὄξυ λήγουσαν, ἐλαττώσει ὁ τοιοῦτος τὴν οὐσίαν. Ἐάν δὲ ἐκ τῶν κάτωθεν μερῶν ἢ πλατεῖα καὶ εὐρεία καὶ ἀσφαλῶς (165) βεβηκυῖα, ἀναλήψεται τὰ ἐλαττωθέντα<sup>79</sup> καὶ ἀποκαταστήσει.

Ἐάν ἡ ἀναγκαία γραμμὴ ἐπιστρέφηται καὶ ἐπινεύη ἐπὶ τὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης δάκτυλον, παρὰ γυναικῶν ἢ διὰ γυναικῶν κέρμα ἀποίσεται, ἐφ' ᾧ χαρήσεται μεγάλως.

Ἐάν τις ἀστέρα ἔχη μεταξὺ τῆς ἀναγκαίας καὶ τῆς ζωηφόρου, ἔσται δίκαιος καὶ εὐσεβής.<sup>80</sup>

Ἐάν ἡ ἀναγκαία γραμμὴ ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Κρόνου δάκτυλον ἐπιστρέφηται, ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων οὗτος (170) βλαβήσεται.

Ἐάν κλάδοι τινὲς τῆς ἀναγκαίας γραμμῆς ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς δάκτυλον ἐκτρέχουσιν,<sup>81</sup> ἐντίμους<sup>82</sup> ποιοῦσιν.

Ἐάν τις τὴν ἀναγκαίαν γραμμὴν ἀνατείνουσαν ἔχη ἐπὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς δάκτυλον ἢ ἐγκεκλιμένην<sup>83</sup> ὑπ' αὐτόν, ἦν μὲν οὖν<sup>84</sup> ὀρθὴν ἔχη, κρείττων ἢ γένεσις ἔσται τούτου, ἦν δὲ (175) ἐγκεκλιμένην,<sup>85</sup> καὶ οὕτως<sup>86</sup> καλή, οἱ γὰρ<sup>87</sup> ἔχοντες τοῦτο ἔσονται εὐτυχεῖς, ἀμέριμνοι, ἀμελεῖς, διὰ τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἀκόπως ζῶντες, εὐχερῶς ἀπατάμενοι ὑπὸ γυναικῶν.

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<sup>78</sup> περισσεύσει P

<sup>79</sup> ἐλαττώματα P

<sup>80</sup> *sententia ex loco 111 hic repetita*

<sup>81</sup> ἐκτρέχουσιν P

<sup>82</sup> ἐντίμως P

<sup>83</sup> ἐγκεκλεισμένην P

<sup>84</sup> οὖν *om.* L

<sup>85</sup> ἐγκεκλεισμένην P

<sup>86</sup> οὕτως *om.* P

<sup>87</sup> γοῦν P

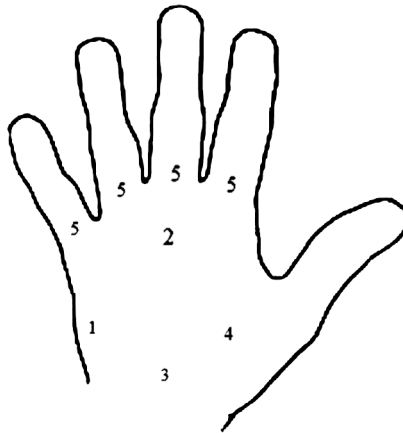
## 5. COMMENTARY

The edited chiromantic text is an application of astrological theories to the hand, providing a system for astrological prognostication from the study of a person's palm. The hand is read as a microcosm of the sky, which is seen through the eyes of an astrologer. The connection between the sky and the fate of human beings is probably rooted in sympathetic theories, which can be traced back to the philosopher Posidonius of Apamea (see, for instance, Cic. *Div.* 1.125-127). This would be no surprise. The variants of P concerning fate (see section 3) are in accordance with such philosophical views.

The frequency of rare and technical terms is unusually high. As this text is unique among the extant Greek sources (to date at least), I will leave the task of producing a good English translation to further studies.

The following graphics offer a summary of the topographical description of the hand.

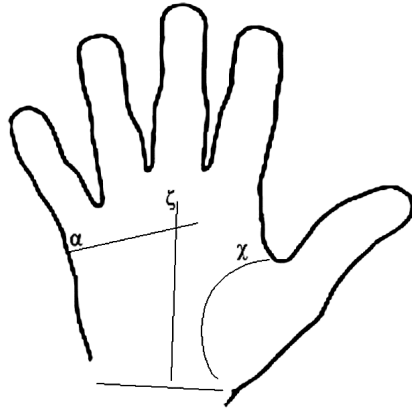
### Sections of the Palm



1 = στήθος τῆς χειρός (“mount of the hand”); 2 = μετάθENAQ (“middle palm”); 3 = μεταστήθιον (“hollow between the mounts”); 4 = στήθος ἀντίχειρος (“mount of the thumb”); 5 = στήθη δακτύλων (“mounts of the fingers”).

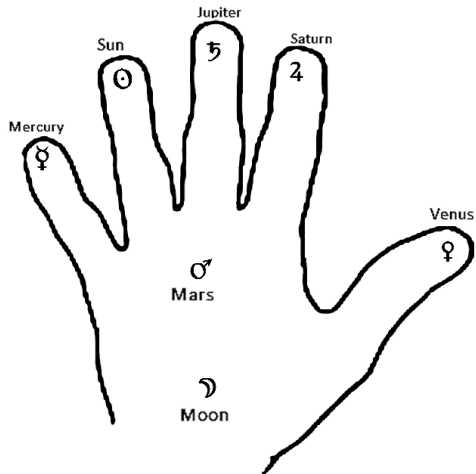
On the discussion of the term μετάθENAQ see Pack 1972, 372-373: θένAQ is equivalent to παλάμη; I therefore propose *middle palm*.

### Main Lines of the Palm



$\alpha$  = ή ἀναγκαία γραμμή (“the line of necessity”);  $\zeta$  = ή ζωηφόρος γραμμή (“the line of life”);  $\chi$  = ή χρονική γραμμή (“the line of time”).

### The Planetary Domains



The commentary provided by Pack<sup>88</sup> offers a translation of chiromantic Greek terms and compares the text with Latin chiromancies, which, for the most part, remain unpublished. This survey has not found any details that would substantively add to what Pack reported in his contribution. I will leave the discussion of the vocabulary to future and more in-depth studies.

## 6. RECEPTION

Inspecting the manuscripts containing the text prompts a new hypothesis concerning the author and the provenance of the Greek chiromancy. The analysis of section 3 allows the hypothesis of a lost original text. Two branches stem from the original witness ( $\omega$ ). The P branch shows that the text was incorporated in a collection of physiognomic texts. By contrast, the L branch shows that it was at first integrated as a chapter of an astronomical handbook; the copyist of E then copied it as an independent text. This format was still successful in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, as shown by witnesses N and Q: both provide the chiromantic fragment as an independent text. This puts into question the nature of the text. It could well be that it exists as part of a wider opus of physiognomy or astrology for prognostication, but in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Greek chiromancy was chiefly perceived as an independent text.

All the witnesses provide an anonymous text. The oldest of them is L, which was written before the year A.D. 1374 by Isaac Argyros (1300-1375).<sup>89</sup> Given the productivity of this Byzantine scholar in astronomy, it would have been no stretch for him to make astrological predictions – a common practice among scholars in 14<sup>th</sup>-century Byzantium. He could be the author of the horoscope on f. 1r of the ms L. As this casts a horoscope in favour of Manuel II (his proclamation as emperor in 1373), this goes against Andronicus IV Palaiologos, and could explain why Argyros did not mention his name in the folia directly after that.<sup>90</sup> On this account, further investigation into Argyros's

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<sup>88</sup> Pack 1972.

<sup>89</sup> On Argyros, see *PLP*, entry 1285.

<sup>90</sup> Pingree 1971, 193.

astrological activity is required. However, he is not the author of the Greek chiromancy, although a Byzantine scholar active in astrology might well have been its first composer. In this respect, Franz Boll erroneously surmised that the religious beliefs reflected in the text are such as to exclude Byzantine authorship.<sup>91</sup> Recent scholarship on astrology in the Eastern Roman Empire shows that such practice was common among Byzantine scholars. In particular, it has been shown that astronomers used to practice astrology.<sup>92</sup>

In addition, the manuscript L provides further useful data for the reception of the Greek chiromancy. A notable figure within the scientific community of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, namely Pico della Mirandola (1470-1533), borrowed the manuscript in 1493.<sup>93</sup> There is no evidence to suggest that he consulted the Greek chiromancy properly, for his notes are provided on the folia 99r-v (identification by Sebastiano Gentile), but his interest in astrology and his criticism of astrological practice is well known. Moreover, Pack reports that Pico redacted a treatise against chiromancers printed in 1507 in Strasbourg.<sup>94</sup> Therefore, it is likely that he had read the Greek chiromancy in a preliminary phase in view of the composition of his pamphlet against chiromancers.

Again from L, the bilingual titles on f. 2r and f. 247r *Πρόχειρον Περσικόν* (*Tabulae Persarum*) show that this codex could have originated from Manuel Chrysoloras' library.<sup>95</sup> This scholar was invited by the scholar Coluccio Salutati to Florence to teach the Greek language, and he stayed there from 1397 to 1400 for that purpose.<sup>96</sup> There is no evidence that Chrysoloras took this manuscript with him to Italy. Demetrios Tribolios<sup>97</sup> could also have possessed this manuscript. The private library of the Medici family acquired the manuscript from Tribolios

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<sup>91</sup> See CAG 1908, 236.

<sup>92</sup> Tihon 2006.

<sup>93</sup> Gentile 1994, 88-89.

<sup>94</sup> Pack 1978, 127-130.

<sup>95</sup> Mercati 1926, 98-99; Pontani 1995, 374; Rollo 2002a, 92, 95, 101 n. 64; Zorzi 2002, 108.

<sup>96</sup> Rollo 2002b, 47 n. 21.

<sup>97</sup> *PLP* 29298.

les' collection. In fact, the Byzantine scholar John Laskaris<sup>98</sup> reports that in 1491, during a trip to Greece in order to search for manuscripts on behalf of Lorenzo de' Medici, he found a manuscript in the library of Triboles in Arta. The content of that manuscript is very similar to L. After having been acquired for the Medici collection, it was borrowed by Giovanni Pico della Mirandola on 2 October 1493.<sup>99</sup> It was then discovered by Zanobi Acciaiuoli, as reported in his note on f. 1<sup>v</sup>: *Olim Petri de Medicis, repertus inter libros Comitiss Iohannis Mirandulanj* ("once of Pietro de' Medici, found among the book of the Earl John of Mirandola."). In sum, the oldest witness to the Greek chiromancy was brought to Italy either by Manuel Chrysoloras or by John Laskaris.

The manuscript J was transcribed by the Byzantine scholar John Abramios and one of his collaborators. Although not a renowned personality, Abramios was very active in astrology, and as such, he might have studied and made use of the text.<sup>100</sup>

The manuscript E reports the Greek chiromancy as an independent text for the first time. The treatise appears among Greek astrological texts, which were all copied by the renowned German astronomer Regiomontanus in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, between 1461-1467. His antigraphs were the *Marcianus graecus* Z 335 and the above-mentioned M.<sup>101</sup> During those years, Regiomontanus was working on behalf of Bessarion in order to accomplish a primer on the *Almagest*, i.e., the renowned *Epitoma Almagesti*, an opus aimed at correcting the errors introduced by the translations of Ptolemy's *magnum opus* into Latin.<sup>102</sup> On this account, Regiomontanus had to strive to improve his knowledge of Greek, in order to read the original text of the *Almagest*. The astrological texts he copied from M to E are evidence of his exercise in learning how to write in Greek. This is confirmed by the several Latin annotations in the margins, by the slow *ductus* he adopted and

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<sup>98</sup> *PLP* 14536.

<sup>99</sup> Gentile 1994, 88-89.

<sup>100</sup> Pingree 1971, *passim*.

<sup>101</sup> Rigo 1991, 75 n. 173.

<sup>102</sup> Zinner 1968, 51-55, 213-214. See also Shank 2017, 87-98.



by the style of his writing habit: all of this suggests a scribe not well versed in Greek writing. This is also evidence of Regiomontanus' interest in the Greek chiromancy: since he could select the texts for his transcription, he chose the chiromancy out of personal interest. In addition, we can be sure that the codex is his personal copy, for he took it with him later when he settled in Hungary (1467-1471), and then in Nürnberg, Germany (1471-1475), and it was inventorized as part of his estate upon his death. Regiomontanus' astrological interests, as well his practice of astrology, need to be investigated in greater depth. His estate includes some renowned astrological works, such as commentaries on Alcabitius, Manilius's *Astronomica*, and Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos*.<sup>103</sup> Furthermore, some astrological methods are ascribed to the astronomer of Königsberg (e.g., the casting of the astrological houses): Valentin Naibod's *Enarratio Elementorum Astrologiae* is an indirect source of the astrological methods of Regiomontanus (cf. *Enarratio* 115–122, 138). Moreover, two Latin chiromancies are attributed to Regiomontanus.<sup>104</sup> Such interests are not surprising: it is well known that all the astronomers of his age practiced astrology so as to make a living. On this account, it is very likely that he paid attention to the Greek chiromancy.

The manuscript N inserts the chiromancy into a selection of rhetorical and philosophical texts, copied by the Byzantine scholar Michael Sophianos<sup>105</sup> and the Italian humanist and collector Gian Vincenzo Pinelli,<sup>106</sup> both active in 16<sup>th</sup>-century Italy. The scribe of the chiromancy, as yet unrecognized, might be a collaborator of theirs, and this may also suggest the interest of an important Renaissance scholar like Pinelli in the Greek chiromancy.

## 7. FINAL REMARKS

Although the author of the Greek chiromantic fragment remains anonymous, the opus might originate from antiquity, but nothing ex-

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<sup>103</sup> Zinner 1968, 254.

<sup>104</sup> Craig 1916, xxvi-xxvii.

<sup>105</sup> Meschini 1981.

<sup>106</sup> Grendler 1981.

cludes the possibility that it might be a Byzantine composition – a hypothesis that Boll rejected. The astrological and philosophical knowledge provided in the text does not conflict with the cultural background of Byzantine scholars such as Argyros and Abramios.

Studying the text's reception demonstrates that the Greek chiromancy was considered amid the debates on astrology and chiromancy generated by Italian humanism. For sure, the text piqued the interest of one of the most important astronomers of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. The dual nature of chiromancy is reflected in its reception: P inserts the text into a selection of physiognomic texts, while L and its family transcribe the text into selections of astronomical and astrological texts.

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