INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME I

It is with great pleasure that I present two important translations of early Arabic-language natal astrology: a first-ever translation of the so-called Book of Aristotle (BA) by Māshā‘allāh, and a new translation of On the Judgments of Nativities (JN), a shorter work by his student Abū ’Ali. In Volume II I will publish a new translation of Three Books of Nativities (TBN) by Māshā‘allāh’s colleague ’Umar al-Tabarī, the first English translation of Abū Bakr’s On Nativities, and the first complete English translation of Abū Ma’shar’s On the Revolutions of Nativities. I hope this exciting material will transform and enrich the practice of traditional natal astrology.

§1: Hugo of Santalla and the Book of Aristotle

In 1140 or 1141, the Latin translator Hugo of Santalla sat down at his desk in northern Spain to begin work on a remarkable Arabic astrology book called the Book of Aristotle. Actually, the book had nothing to do with Aristotle, and Hugo did not even know who its true author was. But Hugo or his patron (Bishop Michael of Tarazona) had discovered this long and apparently important book in the deep recesses of the library in the fortress at Rueda Jalón, which had just been given up by a defeated Muslim ruler to the Christian King Alfonso VII. The text was long, complex, and claimed to be based on many famous and ancient astrological sources, including a few works by an “Aristotle.”¹ So Hugo and Michael knew it had to be important. Little did Hugo know, however, that his translation would virtually disappear for centuries, and the chance to put medieval natal astrology on a totally different footing would be lost. For BA contains authentic Hellenistic² and

¹ One reason for identifying Māshā‘allāh as the author is that a Byzantine Greek version of its bibliography, discovered separately, explicitly credits him with the authorship.
² Currently, astrologers use this imperfect term in a somewhat wider sense than many historians do. It normally refers to Greek culture throughout the Mediterranean and Near East, especially after the conquests of Alexander (late 4th Century BC) to about the 1st Century BC. But here we mean a certain approach to astrology, usually written in Greek, which began during the Hellenistic period but lasted until late antiquity (whose end-point is itself indeterminate). I would say the Sassanians practiced Hellenistic astrology written in Pahlavi, but augmented and somewhat changed by their own contributions in horary and mundane astrology. Thus Ptolemy could not have practiced Sassanian astrology (since the Sassanians did not rise until the 3rd Century AD), but Sassanians practiced Hellenistic astrology.
Sassanian Persians\textsuperscript{3} astrological methods which go back to the 3rd Century AD and were still being practiced in the 8th—but were hardly at all transmitted to or embraced by the medieval Latins.

Hugo was lucky in that Bishop Michael was actively interested in Arabic knowledge and was personally involved in discovering, selecting, and commissioning translations for Hugo to work on. Hugo also lived at the right time and place for a Latin scholar interested in making Arabic-language sciences available. And Michael’s secure and long-lasting position as a bishop in the Church (1119-51) guaranteed that someone could work for a long time at this.\textsuperscript{4} There was a lot to translate, especially in the area of astronomy and astrology.

Hugo lived in an uncertain political period that turned out to be a boon to scholars eager for access to Arabic libraries. The Muslims still held onto significant portions of Spain, especially in the south; toward the north, the centuries-old Reconquista to take Spain back was being aggressively pursued. Since the fall of the Cordoban Caliphate in 1018, the area around Zaragoza had broken off and become a taifa, an independent Muslim state. Since 1038 it had been ruled by a new group, the Banū Hūd. But as the new regional Muslim power, the Almoravids, tried to bring the independent taifas under their own control, the Banū Hūd decided to ally with El Cid (from Valencia) and the Castilians against them. Ultimately the Almoravids conquered territory up to the Ebro River (on which Zaragoza stands), abutting Aragon, and defeated the Banū Hūd in 1110. The Banū Hūd and their last king, Imad al-Dawla, joined up with the Christians for support and established themselves at a town and fortress a little southwest of Zaragoza, named Rueda Jalón. In 1118 the Christians finally took Zaragoza back and established the capital of the Kingdom of Aragon there.

In 1138 Christian forces conquered the Almoravids, and Alfonso VII added the throne of Aragon to his already lengthy list of titles, including being king of Galicia, León, and Castile. Within two years Imad al-Dawla had ceded Rueda Jalón to Alfonso. The thirty-year Muslim tenure there had

\textsuperscript{3} The Sassanian Persian empire lasted from 226 AD until its overthrow by the Muslims in 651 AD.

\textsuperscript{4} Some of Hugo’s other translations include a version of Ptolemy’s \textit{Centiloquy}, another work of Māshā’allaḥ’s, the book on weather prediction known as the \textit{Liber Imbrium} of “Jafar Indus,” a translation of ‘Umar al-Tabarī’s horary work (later incorporated into the \textit{Book of the Three Judges} and the \textit{Book of the Nine Judges}), a work on geomancy, and one on metaphysics and cosmology called \textit{On the Secrets of Nature}. 
ended, and Hugo and Michael traveled from Tarazona (a little northwest of Zaragoza), entering the library where B×A lay.

Hugo would have wanted the knowledge he uncovered to be known far and wide. Unfortunately for him and all later astrologers, one thing worked against him: his writing style. Hugo was part of a new humanist movement that disdained medieval Latin style and did not care for direct, word-for-word translations from Arabic (as found in the writings of John of Seville). Instead, Hugo affected a complicated and often irritating neo-classical style which made his writings less comprehensible to the average, moderately-educated astrologer. Thus Hugo’s works were rarely copied, not well known, and did not bequeath his Latin astrological vocabulary to later generations. Instead, most readers up through the 17th Century learned their astrology from works by John of Seville and those who copied his style. Thus even today we use John’s vocabulary to speak of planetary “exaltations,” instead of Hugo’s “kingdoms, supremacy.” We call certain planets “significators,” not “leaders.” We speak of a chart’s “angles,” not its “pivots” or “hinges.” And true to John’s plain style, we simply say a planet “is” in a sign, not that it “traverses” or “lingers” there. In the end, B×A was forgotten almost as soon as it was translated, and the Arabic original was lost sometime after that. Perhaps the only reason the two remaining manuscripts of B×A survived was that they were both later owned by that remarkable man, John Dee: the 16th Century mathematician, original James Bond, ceremonial magician, and astrologer to Queen Elizabeth I. Who knows what might have become of them if his library had not later been preserved?

Medieval astrology might have gone in a very different direction had Hugo only known the true identity of the author of this unusual book: it was none other than Māshā'allāh (ca. 740 – ca. 815 AD), the colleague of 'Umar al-Tabarī and contemporary of Sahl bin Bishr, all famous astrologers of the first and second generations of the Arabic astrological period (ca. 760-840 AD). Māshā'allāh and 'Umar, among others, were given the task of casting an election chart for the founding of Baghdad. Māshā'allāh was a regularly-cited

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5 Also known as John of Spain.
6 Except for a few instances, I have maintained Hugo’s sentence structure and wording. In Books I-II it takes more time to read, but in Books III-IV the reader should have few problems.
7 Digby 159 and Savile 15, both in the Bodleian Library.
8 John Dee’s code name in his espionage work for Elizabeth was 007.
9 Cast for approximately 2 PM on July 31, 762. See al-Bīrūnī 1983, p. 263.
authority in Arabic astrological texts, and was later one of the “judges” excerpted in a work known in the 13th Century as the *Book of the Nine Judges*—whose Latin translation bears the marks of Hugo and his colleague Hermann of Carinthia. Moreover, numerous other works by Māshā‘allāh on mundane and horary astrology (though little on natal techniques) were eventually translated by John of Seville or those using his style. A large natal work known to be by Māshā‘allāh would have garnered much attention and introduced more complete Hellenistic methods to medieval Latins, despite Hugo’s own Latin style.

Medieval natal astrology in Latin was changed for centuries by the neglect of *B.A*. Other natal treatments took its place. A century after Hugo, the natal portions of Guido Bonatti’s 13th Century compilation, the *Book of Astronomy*, derived largely from four other sources: works by and ascribed to Ptolemy, Abū ‘Ali al-Khayyār’s JN, ‘Umar al-Tabarī’s TBN, and al-Qabīsī’s short *Introduction*. But Ptolemy openly states that he does not follow certain methods of his Hellenistic contemporaries; Abū ‘Ali’s work is a simplified mixture of material from Māshā‘allāh and other sources, combined with a horary-style treatment of some topics; ‘Umar’s book seems to be largely an economical paraphrase and adaptation of material in Dorotheus and Ptolemy. Al-Qabīsī only summarizes some basic approaches to longevity and annual predictions. By contrast, al-Rījāl’s 11th-Century compendium does indeed follow more in the suit of *B.A.*, and even quotes Zaradusht (see below) in many places; but it does not seem to have been used as a primary natal text by medieval Latins, either. It was not available to the Latins until the 13th Century, and even then astrologers such as Bonatti used it more for horary technique than for nativities. If only *B.A.* had caught on, it could have paved the way for a wider acceptance of al-Rījāl’s natal treatment a century beforehand.

*B.A.*’s absence also helps explain why Sassanian-Arabic methods of annual solar revolutions (called the “cycle of the year”), profections and directions were not very well known by astrologers such as Bonatti. For although Stephanus of Messina translated the Greek version of Abū Ma‘shār’s presentation of it in 1262, it seems Bonatti had no access to this work either due to old age or expense or having fewer contacts among the Byzantines or the Sicilians. Thus Bonatti was limited to very brief summary statements

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10 It is possible that Abū ‘Ali’s and ‘Umar’s texts were originally meant to be handbooks, not complete manuals.
about the Lord of the Year (known as the sālkḫudḥāy), the bound Lord of the directed hilāj (the jārbakhṯār), and other matters which he had to get from his Latin edition of al-Qabīṣī. We cannot say with certainty how someone like Bonatti would have approached these matters in practice, but he certainly did not have access to lore such as annual transits to Lots and such, which B.A handles at length.

So what is so important about B.A? To begin with, it presents a complete treatment of Hellenistic astrology as commented upon and augmented by several centuries of Sassanian astrologers in the Pahlavi language. It gives calculations for Lots which Abū ’Ali omits. It reveals new material from Dorotheus that was wholly unknown until now. It makes the material of Rhetorius accessible to Western astrologers, which had not been done until recently. With this translation of Burnett’s and Pingree’s (hereafter, BP) 1997 critical edition, it is available again after 900 years.

§2: The Book of Aristotle: Sources, Significance, Structure

B.A is key for understanding more deeply how astrology was transmitted up to the early Arabic period (mid-late 8th Century), as well as for recovering formerly lost material. It derives from the following sources:

- A Pahlavi edition of Valens which probably originated in the 3rd Century, later used and commented on by a Persian called Buzurjmihr. The received view was that Buzurjmihr had been a 6th Century minister to the Sassanian ruler Khusrau I (r. 531-579), who was known for fostering Greek and Indian scholarship in Persia (this would also have been when the classical pagan philosophers left for Persian courts after the Byzantine Emperor Justinian closed the philosophical schools in 529). But according to Pingree he was instead a certain Burjmihr, a 6th-Century Sassanian scholar also responsible for introducing chess into Iran from India. Regardless,

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11 Again, Bonatti does not use this material as found in al-Rijāl: perhaps he only had certain portions of it.
12 Here I draw on numerous pieces by Pingree (1963, 1977, 1989, 1997) and BP’s Introduction to the critical edition of the B.A.
13 Pingree 1989 p. 231. I cannot help but point out another astrologer who is not well known but is likewise responsible for important cultural changes: Thrasyllus, the astrologer to Emperor Tiberius, was a Platonic philosopher who arranged and published the canonical collection of Platonic dialogues still in use in academia today.
his commentaries on Valens and others were pivotal for later Sassanian and early Arabic astrologers.

- A more complete version of Dorotheus's *Carmen Astrologicum*. Although Dorotheus's poem was available in Greek until the 600s, and prose paraphrases were available to the Byzantines until the 11th Century, our longest and most complete version is based on a Pahlavi translation of the 3rd Century, put into Arabic by 'Umar al-Tabarī (this is the version published by Pingree in 1976 and available in paperback now). Māshā'allāh also translated it from Pahlavi into Arabic, but only small portions remain. *BA* contains huge amounts of material based on Māshā'allāh's copy, including passages missing in 'Umar's.

- An edition of Ptolemy's *Tetrabiblos* and the *Almagest*. Some of the material from *Tet.* is gotten indirectly through Rhetorius, with some distortions.

- An edition of or excepts from, or a commentary on, Paul of Alexandria's 4th- or 5th-Century *Introductory Matters*. Māshā'allāh uses Paul's Lots of Male and Female Children, which differ from those in 'Umar's *Carmen and Valens*. But he may have gotten them from al-Andarzaghar's *Book of Nativities* (see below), which could have been drawn on Paul.

- An edition of Rhetorius, probably in Greek (according to Pingree), perhaps given to Māshā'allāh by Theophilus of Edessa. If Pingree's dating is correct, Rhetorius was one of the last Greek-speaking astrologers in Alexandria, before the Muslim invasions in 640 AD. He also excerpted from texts in the same collection to which Olympiodorus would have had access when the latter lectured on Paul of Alexandria in 564 AD. Only some of the technical definitions in Rhetorius (which go back to astrologers of the 1st Century BC/AD) are found in Māshā'allāh, but they were picked up in various ways by other astrologers such as Sahl bin Bishr in his *Intro-

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14 Pingree 1989, p. 232. See §3 below, where I argue that this edition of Rhetorius was not exactly the same as the versions we have today.

15 To my knowledge Pingree has not actually posited a *textual* relationship between Rhetorius and Olympiodorus.

16 Such as the description of a planet in detriment in II.8, which goes back to Serapio. There is apparently a controversy over the original Serapio and a later pseudo-Serapio from the Byzantine era, but I take it that Māshā'allāh's source comes from one similar to Rhetorius's and not from a Byzantine compiler.
Introduction

A Pahlavi (originally Old Persian) Book of Nativities written by “Zaradusht” (Zoroaster), translated into Arabic in the mid-700s. Pingree argues that this work was probably, at its core, a Greek work produced in the school of an astrologer at Harran—whose nativity is included in the work and dated April 9, 232. This work contains material attributed to a certain “Hermes” which is used by Māsha‘allāh for his list of fixed stars in Ch. III.2.1. The same list is used in its Greek form by Rhetorius, whereas Māsha‘allāh’s list still retains some Pahlavi designations for the stars. According to Pingree, Paul Kunitsch had already argued that this list (which appears in a Latin translation by Salio of a portion of a work of Abū Ma’shar) was taken from a Pahlavi source, but B.A confirms it.

This same text of “Hermes,” or another one attributed to him, used for certain delineations in Book IV on annual predictions. However, it is possible that this material was also included in al-Andarzaghar’s book (see below).

The Zīj al-Shah or Zīj al-Shabriyār, a famous astronomical book of tables from the Sassanian period.

A Book on Nativities by al-Andarzaghar or “the Advisor” (whose real name was Zādanfarrūkh), who may have lived after the Muslim overthrow of the Sassanians. Al-Andarzaghar expounds the extensive Sassanian method of annual predictions used in Book IV (and by Abū Ma’shar in his On the Revolutions of Nativities in Volume II of this book). He is also quoted by al-Qabīšt, presumably from the same lost source. Extensive Arabic excerpts from al-Andarzaghar’s book corresponding to B.A are found in a work by a late compiler named al-Damaghānī (Da.) written in 1113 AD. However, they are out of order in al-Damaghānī, and Hugo’s text now allows us to put them in the correct one.

A hypothesized, lost 6th Century Greek source, a version of which is preserved in part in CCAG VIII.1, pp. 220-48. This material contains commentary and quotations from Valens, Dorotheus, and other authors, and was used by the Sassanians especially in longevity delineations.17

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In short, BA provides a window into the manuscript transmission and unbroken tradition of Hellenistic astrology among the Persians, going back all the way to the 3rd Century.

Moreover, BA preserves material that would otherwise have been lost or remained unidentified. This is especially true for Dorotheus: on the basis of BA, Pingree and Burnett were able to identify prose Greek passages in other manuscripts which had been unlabeled but are now known to be based on the original in Greek. At the time of his publication of 'Umar’s Carmen in 1976, Pingree did not know of their existence, and no other source besides BA provides them:

- Friendship. Dorotheus uses the same Lot of Erōs as Valens (by day from the Lot of Fortune to the Lot of Spirit, and by night the reverse), along with the Lot of Friendship. But Māshā‘allah (III.12.2-3) gives us extra information on how to use the Lots of Erōs and Friendship, whereas the newly-identified Greek Excerpt does not. In his treatment on friendship, Dorotheus also uses the hearing and seeing signs (though Māshā‘allah or Hugo substitute the commanding-obeying signs, perhaps for cultural reasons).

- Travel. BA Ch. III.9.2 presents more complete Dorothean material on travel which had only been given in fragmentary form in Hephaistio II.24. Abū 'Ali draws on the same material but in a more abbreviated and misleading form.

- Marriage. Related to the friendship material above is a similar passage (III.7.6) based on the lost edition of Dorotheus. Māshā‘allah’s discussion of the Lots of Erōs and Marriage is very similar to the one in the friendship material, but it appears neither in 'Umar’s Dorotheus nor Valens. Perhaps other Dorotheus excerpts exist in those very same manuscripts identified by Pingree, which will shed more light on his treatment of marriage.

- Profession. Māshā‘allah seems to get all or most of his material from Rhetorius, so these passages seem to have been identified by BP from the Byzantine texts themselves along with the others just mentioned.

- Numerous other fragments dealing with annual predictions, elections, and much more.

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18 Printed as the Excerpts in the critical edition of BA, to complement the Fragments in Greek which were published by Pingree in his 1976 edition of Carmen.
§8: Abū 'Ali’s On the Judgments of Nativities

Abū 'Ali al-Khayyāt (ca. 770 – ca. 835 AD) is primarily known to us due to two facts: he was a student of Māshā'allāh’s, and he wrote JN, a slim and very popular manual suitable for astrological beginners. In the 12th Century it was translated twice into Latin: by Plato of Tivoli in 1136, and John of Seville in 1153. Joachim Heller’s printed edition (based primarily on John of Seville) was published in 1546 and reprinted in 1549, and my translation is of the latter. In this section I will explain the relationship between JN and Māshā’allāh’s works, and why we need a new translation.

JN is closely related to several works of Māshā’allāh’s, all of which are translated in full by me in this volume or in my Works of Sahl & Māshā’allāh: B/A, Nativities, On Sig. Planet, and Twelve Dom. In Appendix F I present a table which compares JN to B/A and other sources in Māshā’allāh by chapter, but the basic relation is this. Chapters 1-7 derive from a copy of Nativities; next, Chs. 8-38 are in part a very simplified and disorganized version of B/A III (along with other sources, one of which is certainly 'Umar’s TBN); lastly, the cookbook-style delineations in Chs. 39-50 are again transcribed mostly from other works of Māshā’allāh, especially from On Sig. Planet and Twelve Dom. Of course, since Dorotheus was so important to Māshā’allāh and others, some of JN’s material is indirectly related to Carmen.

B/A now allows us to understand some of the organization (and disorganization) of JN. Take for example the material on prosperity and wealth: portions of JN Chs. 7-8 are actually organized along the lines of B/A Chs. III.2.0-6, and distinguish between natives who enjoy great prosperity for their whole lives, or mediocre wealth, or who are brought to wealth after struggle and so on. But since neither the Latin JN nor Holden’s translation make this organization clear in their paragraphing or by headings or footnotes, I have done so below. On the other hand, while Abū 'Ali’s material is closely related to B/A, it is often presented out of sequence. Thus the end of JN Ch. 7 contains material corresponding to the following chapters of B/A, in roughly this order: III.1.2, 3.3, 2.8, 2.10, 2.12, 4.1, 4.2.

Following are some of the more notable differences between B/A and JN in terms of topical delineation:

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56 He wrote other works, but only JN was prominently received in the Latin world.
57 Chs. 39-45 come from On Sig. Planet., Ch. 46 from an unknown source, and Chs. 47-50 from Twelve Dom.
• **Eminence.** JN and B/A mention *dustūriyyah* with regard to the nativities of kings, whereas *Nativities* does not.

• **Siblings.** JN is totally disorganized when compared with B/A.

• **Children.** JN seems to be unaware of the difference between the Jupiter-Saturn Lot, the Lot of Children used for transits (Mars-Jupiter), and the Lot of Sons (Moon-Jupiter) and Daughters (Moon to Venus).

• **Slaves and Animals.** JN adds animals, along with a Lot of Captives (which might be the same as the Lot of Slaves used in B/A).

• **Marriage.** JN omits both the Lot of Erôs and the Venus-7th Lot.

• **Faith, Law.** Like other Arabic-period works, JN adds this topic, whereas B/A lacks it. It would probably have been added during the end of the Sassanian or the beginning of the Arabic period.

• **Enemies.** JN connects this with the 12th, whereas B/A uses Lots and synastry.

After the topical treatments, Ch. 38 presents valuable and rare general delineation instructions. We now know that Abū 'Ali’s own work ends immediately after, followed by the material stemming from Māshā’allah (Chs. 39-45, from *On. Sig. Planet*). But in an editorial note, Heller states that everything else (Chs. 46-50, largely from *Twelve Dom.*) comes from another manuscript (which must be Plato of Tivoli’s). Although Heller is not sure they are really by Abū 'Ali, this other manuscript claims they are and so he includes them. Indeed, chapters after the core of JN do bear traces of another translator. Several chapters use Greek terms which John of Seville hardly ever uses: *thema, bôrøskopos.*58 The text uses synonyms for planets “being” in a house or domicile, in an attempt at literary diversity: so the planets “dwell” or “linger” or “persist” in a place. This language is not totally foreign to the rest of the JN, but it is notably concentrated there.59 These facts should convince use that Heller was not simply working with two versions of John’s translation (one being more complete than the other), but

58 Latin spelling: *bôrøskopos.*

59 One exception is Ch. 34, which uses the distinctly Hellenistic phrase “star of” Mars for Mars, and then uses the Latin for *bôrøskopos.* This chapter is on the native’s “boldness and strength,” and while Abū Bakr mentions it in his book, it is not a standard topic in traditional delineation, and not what one would expect to find a whole chapter on. Thus it might have been inserted from somewhere else (though by whom and when, is unknown).
rather used Plato of Tivoli to supplement John. Thus, Heller’s copy of John of Seville’s translation had already included material from Māshā’allāh (Chs. 39-45), to which Heller added even more (Chs. 47-50), believing that all of it was definitely or probably by Abū ‘Ali.

Since JN has a core apparently by Abū ‘Ali, bookended by chapters which follow pieces by Māshā’allāh very closely, there are several possibilities for understanding what JN really is:

1. None of the smaller works (like Nativities) is by Māshā’allāh at all: it is all by Abū ‘Ali, accidentally mislabeled throughout the manuscript tradition but fortuitously preserved and put together by medieval translators and Heller. To me this is the least likely scenario.

2. Abū ‘Ali copied the first and last parts of JN from Māshā’allāh as suggested; while the core is really more like crib notes or a short textbook based on B.A, TBN, and other works. For this to be true, we would have to accept that Māshā’allāh always meant to end Nativities when he did, in what seems to be the middle of the prosperity and wealth discussion. This seems odd to me, but then again Nativities might always have been intended to be only a short summary of life and character as a whole, not a complete guide to nativities.60

3. The most radical possibility from my point of view is that all of JN’s core is really Abū ‘Ali’s own copy of a lost work by Māshā’allāh, of which Nativities is the first and only surviving part. In that case, Māshā’allāh is ultimately responsible for all of the material, and JN represents a handy guide and textbook which Abū ‘Ali copied from his teacher for his own use.

One serious problem with the third possibility is that the organization of each topic in JN differs greatly from that found in B.A. Recall that in B.A, Māshā’allāh obsessively provided two layers of content guides for each topic61 an opening list of questions for the topic, another list detailing the items to be examined for each question, and then chapters explaining each item on the second list. Moreover, Māshā’allāh or perhaps Buzurjmihr had

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60 If so, then Nativities represents Māshā’allāh’s own summary of more complicated material found in B.A, along with his own summary of some delineations for character. That would help to explain why the longevity material in Nativities is similar to but not as complicated as that in B.I.

61 See §2 above.
gone through a lot of trouble to separate and organize *individual sentences* from throughout the first few books of the Pahlavi *Carmen* in order to achieve that result. It does not make sense to me that Māšāʾallāh would have rejected this organization in favor of what we find in the core of *JN*.

Therefore I favor the second explanation, and my current view is as follows. Separately from *B.A*, Māšāʾallāh wrote a short piece devoted to a general view of the native’s life and character, which we know as *Nativities*. It was based on, but not a copy of, material he had already found in his sources for *B.A*, along with other things (such as the delineations of Mercury and the Lord of the Ascendant). Then, again separately from *B.A*, he also wrote handy sets of cookbook-style delineations, which we know as *Twelve Dom.* and *On Sig. Planet*.

But after writing *B.A*, Māšāʾallāh probably wrote a short text devoted to topical delineations (or he lectured based on his own notes). This text, or more likely notes, would also have been based in part on discussions already taking place among his Persian contemporaries, or as he found them in the earlier commentaries of Buzurjmihr and others. For example, these discussions or commentaries would have included ideas about delineating a native’s faith, or one’s relation to livestock, and how to delineate friendship using the 11th house (which *B.A* does not). Moreover, since the Sassanians or early Arabic-period astrologers lacked Hellenistic precedents for some of these topics and approaches, they borrowed and adapted from one of the two Sassanian contributions to astrology: horary.62 Thus the treatments of religion, friendship, enemies, and part of eminence63 in *JN* have a horary-type feel to them insofar as they emphasize the relationships and conditions of domicile Lords, downplay the use of a natural significator, and look at planets in the stakes or angles of the relevant houses.

If I am right, then the core of *JN* contains Abū ’Ali’s cleaned-up lecture notes, bookended by actual works and lists by Māšāʾallāh himself. As a handy manual for the working astrologer, *JN* omits many details in favor of a general approach. For instance, it does not define basic terms, because they have already been learned. It instructs the reader to look at fixed stars for delineating eminence and prosperity, but unlike *B.A* it does not list (much

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62 The other contribution is the collection of mundane techniques, particularly the cycles of Saturn-Jupiter conjunctions. There may have been an Indian precedent for horary as well.

63 From Ch. 31 to the first paragraph of Ch. 32.
less describe) all 27 of them. It takes other shortcuts as well, such as not offering any Lot calculations. It omits other Lots altogether.

This possibility also helps explain why JN has lost much of the longevity material from Valens and the Sassanian commentaries (which BA contains), in favor of a simplified hybrid of Ptolemaic and Dorothean approaches. It has lost much of its connection to Rhetorius and Māshā‘allāh’s own, more complete edition of Carmen. What it also lacks (which we have in a separate Latin translation by Plato of Tivoli) is a text on annual predictions parallel to BA IV: I hope to remedy this and make it available in the future.

Two other features of JN deserve mention: first, the use of the term mubtazz (often called an almuten); second, its method. As I state below in my description of the mubtazz (§9), BA does not use this term or its equivalent at all, and JN only uses it three times, and never to indicate a weighted mubtazz (where each dignity is awarded a different number of points). In those three places, JN is rather ambiguous as to its determination, while a reference to the planet with “more votes of dignities” (Ch. 22) suggests at most a single-point mubtazz (where each dignity receives one point). Thus, however later astrologers may have used it in other works, BA and JN cannot be used as sources for any clear notion of a weighted mubtazz, and the use of a single-count mubtazz in JN is very general and unemphasized. In stark contrast to this stands 'Umar, who relies on a mubtazz throughout TBN, and seems to draw on Ptolemy’s single-count version system at the end of Tet. III.4.

Second, there is the question of Abū 'Ali’s method, which also begins to touch on the question of why a new translation is needed now. In the Preface to his 1546 edition of JN, and translated in Holden’s edition, Heller states inaccurately that Abū 'Ali’s method is that of “the rest of” the Arabs, Indians, and Persians: namely, that he first looks at “the cusp of the particular house” for a given matter, along with planets on or aspecting the cusp. This is wrong on two counts. First of all, the Arabs, Indians and Persians did not all use the same approach; second, Abū 'Ali never uses the word “cusp” or its equivalent to denote intermediate cusps in a quadrant-style house system. He refers to the axial degrees (such as the Ascendant or the Midheaven), but so do all other astrologers, including those who never or only ambiguously refer to intermediate cusps. In one place he does refer to the IC as the “house of fathers.” But since antiquity, Hellenistic astrologers had recognized that the degrees of the MC and IC had something to do with the profession and parents; and they also designated the tenth and fourth signs as
meaning the same thing. So there is nothing conclusive about Abū 'Ali’s text all by itself which could indicate the use of any quadrant-style house system, even that of Equal Houses.64

Following are the items Abū 'Ali himself describes as comprising his own general method (where he does not simply copy the approaches in B.A):65

- House: planets in it and in its stakes.66
- Lord of house: condition, place and aspects.
- Relevant Lot: its place.
- Lord of Lot: place, aspects.
- Significators (I take this to mean the general significators, such as Venus for marriage): their condition.
- If the “majority” of these do not agree in meaning, then Abū 'Ali prioritizes by analyzing the one with the more “powerful” or “better” dignities, or “more testimonies of dignities.”

This brings us to the final issue: why a new translation of JN now? For its time, Holden’s 1988 edition (since reprinted) was groundbreaking, and he deserves credit for being among the first to realize the very existence of whole-sign houses, much less their importance. But since 1988, numerous other translations and insights into traditional astrology have made new translation standards necessary, and thus new editions of works like JN. In particular, two important problems in Holden’s edition stand out.

First, Holden’s translation conventions contribute to misleading statements and misunderstandings. Not only does Holden introduce misleading abbreviations and terms, but he intentionally (and sometimes unintentionally) mistranslates key words.

64 JN does mention a Lot of Death. This is probably B.A’s Lot of Death, which uses the “degree of the eighth.” But this phrase could equally refer to the first degree of the eighth sign, since Hugo’s text also refers to the “degree of the [ninth] house” for the Lot of Travel, but the corresponding passage in Sahl simply says “the ninth place.” In Hellenistic and Sassanian practice, transits to places could be activated as soon as the transiting planet entered the first degree of the sign; likewise, primary directions to planets in bounds could be activated as soon as the direction entered the bound, and not only when arriving at the planet itself (see below III.1.8, and Auth. III.5 p. 48). So it is equally possible that the Lot of Death is measured using the first degree of the eighth sign.

65 JN Ch. 38.

66 That is, the angular signs from that place. See my Works of Sahl & Maḥṣūlah, pp. 200-210.
For example, *JN* Ch. 1 speaks of the sign of the “conjunction,” which denotes the syzygy before birth, and by itself brings to mind two planets joining: since the Sun and Moon signify male/paternal and female/maternal principles, speaking of their relationship in these terms reminds us that the child is the result of such a union. But Holden substitutes “New Moon”: not only does this mistranslate the Latin, but the exclusive focus on the Moon communicates a different idea. This approach can divert us from key notions in other areas. In *Anth*. III.7, Valens introduces a Lot which was known in the medieval period as the Lot of the *Hilaj* (though the Persians calculated it slightly differently). Valens clearly states that the Lot is calculated from the prenatal conjunction to the Moon; but if the birth was preventional, we measure from the natal Moon to the next conjunction. If we understand the conjunction as signifying the union of male and female, then the rationale for using the conjunction becomes clear. But if we said “New Moon” everywhere, we would have no immediate guidance: by itself, the symbolism of the New Moon normally signifies darkness and secrecy, and so the medieval astrologers routinely treat the New Moon that way in elections and horaries.

Similarly, Holden uses “ASC” for Ascendant and “MC” for Midheaven. But for modern astrological readers, these designations either indicate the axial degrees themselves or else the quadrant houses following those degrees. By contrast, medieval astrologers often treated the entire rising sign as the Ascendant, and often distinguished the ascending sign (the “Ascendant”) from the rising degree (the “degree of the Ascendant”). When they spoke of the Midheaven, it was often ambiguous as to whether this meant the tenth whole sign, or the axial degree. Thus Holden’s abbreviations point the modern reader’s attention in a different direction.

In another well-intended concession to modern usage, Holden intentionally mistranslates words like *locus* (“place”) as “house.” Again, the modern reader thinks “house” means quadrant houses, but the medievals usually used “place” or “sign” for this purpose: thus the second “place” or second “sign” indicates movable wealth, and explicitly or implicitly invokes whole-sign houses. By contrast, medievals tended to use “house” or “domicile” insofar as a sign or place is ruled or managed by a planet: thus Aries is the “house” or

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67 In *BA*, Hugo regularly calls the conjunction the “coming-together” (*conventus*), which again suggests the act of uniting.

68 Holden’s *JN* p. 1 n.4.
“domicile” of Mars. Now, we do still read that the “2nd house” signifies movable wealth, but this is ambiguous as to whether it means the second domicile (which is a sign) or the second quadrant house. If we cannot read an author’s words as clearly and simply as possible, we will not be able to begin figuring out what he intended us to understand. Unfortunately, after announcing his intention to translate all instances of “place” as “house,” a few paragraphs later Holden then translates “house” as “sign,” reversing the reader’s expectation. Thus it is often unclear what Abū ’Ali means, in Holden’s JN.

Second, and drawing on the trends above, Holden misrepresents Abū ’Ali’s attitude toward the houses, claiming that he used the Equal House system, complete with intermediate cusps. Holden even draws the cusps into five chart diagrams in Ch. 7. But Heller’s diagrams have no intermediary cusps, Abū ’Ali does not describe them, and as I showed in my own edition of Nativities, the charts which Abū ’Ali took from Māshāʾallāh have different cusps which could only have been added by a medieval translator working in northern Spain or southern France. Holden’s attribution of Equal Houses to JN is unjustified, and students will be mislead if they take such houses for granted. In my own chart diagrams, I have used only the descriptions provided by Abū ’Ali.

I believe our translations must be as literal as possible without being stilted or artificial, in order to begin accessing their meaning. For all of these reasons we need a new edition of JN which also appreciates the connection between it and Māshāʾallāh. By including it in Persian Nativities, I hope it can be put into its proper historical and astrological context.

69 Holden’s JN, top of p. 2. Holden: “if they are in good signs”. The correct translation is: “if they were in good places” (Qui si fuerint in bonis locis).
Chapter III.2.0: On profit and money

These things (which concern particularly the [physical] person of the one being born) having been observed, an examination of money and acquisition is had in a seven-fold way:

[1] Indeed firstly, how much the amount of prosperity and luckiness in life would be.
[2] Secondly, when one should lament its disappearance and slipping away.
[4] Fourthly, however, those whom she raises from the lowest degree to the highest dignity.
[5] Moreover fifthly, whose chronic adversity accompanies, and who are continuously afflicted by misery.
[6] Likewise sixthly, those who resolve on a life for themselves by the work of their own hands.
[7] Finally, seventhly, those for whom the necessities of life are furnished by violence and looting.

Also, some of the astrologers, commending the order and summary of the aforesaid headings [according to] what is written, in order that sound knowledge of them would even be had, having detailed the positions and places of the stars in the domiciles and bounds (and their mutual regards from the hexagon, trigon, tetragon, the coming-together and the opposition) with the greatest effort, merited the possession of a certain path of judgments.

[1.1] And so, for recognizing the favor of resources and prosperity, the biyābānīya stars (that is, the fixed ones) should be consulted, principally in particular signs: namely whether they occur with the degree of the east or of the Midheaven itself, or even with the Sun or the Moon whenever [the luminaries] are well-placed. [1.2] Secondly, however, the Lord of the solar triplicity by day (but of the lunar one by night)–which namely they call the at-

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1 Reading *prosecutis* for *prosecuti*.
2 *Munere*.
3 Lat. *albeibenie*. The Arabic is from the Pahlavi *awiyāhānīg*, “fixed.”
rest triplicities—the first one, I say, and the second one one will have to observe what distribution and what place from the Moon they are holding onto in the figure, even by what regard they watch over her and the Lot of Fortune. [1.3] Moreover thirdly, the luminary of the sect and the first and second Lord of its triplicity, namely whether it would be lingering in the fifteenth degree of the first sign. Well then, from these headings springs the [knowledge] of greater fortune and prosperity. [1.4] But in the fourth place, the place of the Lot of Fortune, and indeed the position of its Lord, and the regarding into that Lot; it should even be noted even whether each or at least either one traverses in its own triplicity or kingdom or bound. [1.5] Moreover fifthly, the Lords of the eastern [part], equally [those] of the Midheaven, and the eleventh place [itself] presents itself to be noted. [1.6] Sixthly, [observe] the position of the Moon through the signs and all of her traversals and places. [1.7] Seventhly, what benevolents or infortunes hold onto the eleventh from the Lot of Fortune. [1.8] Indeed eighthly, it is appropriate to know more attentively the Lot of Resources and of Money, in what place under the figure of the birthday [it and its Lord] traverse.

[2] Whence however he should grieve for a lost resource and lament the unchangeable face of Fortune, could be discovered thusly. [2.1] For in fact the first consideration to be had seems to be this: namely whether the Lords of the triplicities [of the luminary of the sect] are being corrupted or not. [2.2] Secondly, the Lot of Fortune and its Lord: how they would be corrupted by the infortunes. [2.3] Thirdly, which of the malevolents are holding onto the degree of the seventh. [2.4] Fourthly, which one of the infortunes which are not at rest is traversing in the house of resources. [2.5] Fifthly, whether the infortunes would be lingering in the house of parents and [in] the Midheaven, and if they would be rejoicing in the aspect of the benevolents, and likewise in the house of hope. [2.6] Sixthly, whether the stars which will have no rest would be possessing the eleventh place from the Lot of Fortune. [2.7] Seventhly, whether Saturn would accompany the Moon in a pivot, or [the Moon] would occur under the aspect of Mars. [2.8] Eighthly,

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4 Note that here and below the third triplicity Lord is not used.
5 Reading for Hugo’s “Lot of Fortune,” with Carmen and below.
6 Or rather, between 0° and 15°. See Chapter 2.2 below.
7 Alterutae. Hugo seems to be contracting the sentence for stylistic reasons. The Lot of Fortune does not traverse in the way planets do, nor does it have its own domicile, etc. Below he speaks of the Lot of Money and its Lord in a similar way.
8 Carmen reads, “second.”
the Lot of Fortune, while it regards neither the Sun nor its own Lord. [2.9] Ninthly, the Lord of the coming-together or the opposition: which place it would be holding onto in the nativity. [2.10] Indeed tenthly, the lunar recession [from] and application with the malevolents. [2.11] Moreover eleventhly, the enclosure of the Moon and the east by leaders turned awry.9 [2.12] Twelfthly, the place of the *kadukhuddhāh* under the birth itself should be noted, and equally its position in the *zā‘irjah*10 should be noted.

[3] On the other hand, the following five [points] reveal a mediocre life. [3.1] Indeed firstly is the Lot of Fortune and who regards it. [3.2] Secondly, the Lords of the triplicity which we call “at rest”—namely the fifteen degrees from the beginning of the east. [3.3] Moreover thirdly, what benevolents are regarding the Lot of Fortune. [3.4] Fourthly, the Lords of the eastern [direction] and equally of the tenth and even of the eleventh: what place in the birth they are holding onto. [3.5] Fifthly, to recognize the Lords of the solar and lunar triplicity.

[.....]

9 *Ducibus perversis.* BP reasonably believe this refers to besiegement by malefics.
10 BP believe this refers to its transits to itself. Perhaps at the solar revolution?
Chapter III.2.1: On the amount of prosperity and luckiness

[1.1] Therefore,\(^{13}\) [a] the peculiar quality of the fixed stars, and their arrangement and position in the eastern degree or [in the] Midheaven or the seventh, with the Sun and the Moon, principally reveal the amount of happiness and the heaping of prosperity. For [b] whenever the [planetary] stars happened to be found corrupted and falling\(^{14}\) under the nativity, while at least any of the fixed ones would be lingering in some one of the aforesaid [places], they furnish him who is being born with the highest dignity, beyond what any of his relatives would be able to estimate. Indeed, [c] they being found with the rest of the stars and equally in the already-stated places, while those stars are southern or northern, the judgment will be not other than that concerning the fixed ones, particularly while they are holding onto the glowing degrees (for thus they are placed the best). As [Hermes], prince of the wise\(^{15}\) [and] the astrologer claims, while they bear themselves thusly, they make the native a master and powerful man, with the people admiring [him], especially indeed if they traverse with fortunate ones or linger in their own domicile or bound. And so, it will not be incongruous to examine the judgments, strength, [and] power of the fixed [stars], and their places in the signs and joint common-company\(^{16}\) with the stars in quality.

Therefore, Hacac\(^{17}\) is in the sixth minute of the first degree of Libra, Kibar\(^{18}\) in the twenty-fourth degree of Sagittarius, moreover Sanduol\(^{19}\) in the twelfth [degree] and fiftieth minute of Aquarius: all of the first magnitude,\(^{20}\) southern, of a Venusian and Mercurial quality. However, any of these three in the degree of the east or the Midheaven, lifts the native up, multiplies fame and glory, increases riches greatly, readies fruitfulness [or abundance], provides with philosophy and every teaching, and he will rejoice in rhythmic\(^{21}\) songs; for he will be pious, good-willed toward children, a peacemaker

\(^{13}\) This paragraph discusses first [a] the fixed stars in places bringing prosperity, then [b] the same stars when the planets are in bad conditions, and then [c] the fixed stars along with the planets in presumably a good condition. Cf. Rhet. Ch. 58.

\(^{14}\) Lat. Sarhacir. BP plausibly suggest that this is a misread for the Pahlavi version of the Arabic title for Hermes that appears in Zaradush, sar zīrak.

\(^{15}\) Commune consortium.

\(^{16}\) Cadentes, i.e., cadent.

\(^{17}\) Spica. From Pahlavi būlāg, “ear of corn.”

\(^{18}\) Vega, α Lyra. From Pahlavi kēnār, “lyre.”

\(^{19}\) Fomalhaut, α Piscis Australis. Perhaps from Pahlavi Sadwēs, the name for the same star.

\(^{20}\) Here and below, lit. “power” (potestas).

\(^{21}\) Reading rhythmicos for rhythmis.
and humble, a friend of happiness and liveliness, quick to respond, faith and
truth in work; he will pursue every teaching through his own eagerness,
prudent in speech; and cautious in every business, eager for glory; grace and
kindness will not be absent, consistent love, a certain mellow sternness in
[his] mind; he will possess many slave-girls; he will rejoice in the touch of
women, nor will he fear to fornicate. This in fact happens especially if Mars
(under the earth and oriental) supports Venus with his own aspect. Moreover,
any one of the three fixed [stars] placed in the east adds knowledge and
lays judgments open, unless (I say) Mars is lingering in the same place: for
thus he corrupts. Moreover, Mars with any common-company of them
increases the appetites greatly, especially if he should possess the east with
the Sun. However, with Venus lingering under the earth in the house of
parents, while Mars accompanies her or any one of the fixed ones, or at least
should some one of them be placed in the seventh, the whole luckiness of
prosperity digresses into the worst and into nothing. Often even, a soft and
effeminate man is born, as one who cannot have sexual intercourse or who
will generate [a child] only [of] the womanly sex. Moreover the signification
of the fixed [stars] digresses into evil if Venus is placed with them. But
Mars\textsuperscript{22} in a pivot (if he regarded them from the seventh), generates a refined
natural philosopher,\textsuperscript{23} and he verifies all things by experience, and he finds
out the secrets of books through continual study. However, the aspect of
Jupiter to any one of the fixed [stars] adds prosperity and promotes [him] to
dignity; often it even breaks the custom of the fixed [stars].\textsuperscript{24} But if Mer-
cury\textsuperscript{25} holds onto the east or Midheaven with them, it manages prophecy and
makes him admired and venerable in the view of the people; it furnishes with
philosophy and enriches and equips [him] with many business dealings,
particularly when the nativity is in the clime of the Babylonians and is
nocturnal: for thus it generates an idolater and it practically grants the
elocution of prophets and female morals, it furnishes black magic too, and

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{22} Rhetorius has “Saturn.” Saturn sounds better for the study of nature, but Mars is often
associated with physicians.
\textsuperscript{23} Or a medical doctor (\textit{physicus}).
\textsuperscript{24} This last clause may be a misread by Hugo or Māshā’āllāh. One clue is that it does not
really make sense; the other is that Rhetorius says Jupiter may make the native move to
another place—which is what we might expect if the native is promoted to a new position.
\textsuperscript{25} Rhetorius reads “Spica,” treating this as part of the Jupiter situation in the previous
sentence.
\end{flushright}
he works \textit{almeringe} \textsuperscript{26} and prodigies with his own hands–to the extent that, I say, he incurs detriment and infamy.\textsuperscript{27}

Again, a certain fixed [star] which they call \textit{Sarben} \textsuperscript{28} [is] in the fifteenth degree and 20' of Libra, also another\textsuperscript{29} in the twenty-seventh degree and fiftieth minute of Libra, southern; another occurs in the twenty-seventh degree of Gemini, which they call \textit{Bariqini}.\textsuperscript{30} Indeed these three, established under the second magnitude, are of a Jovial and Mercurial complexion. Therefore the one which is called \textit{Sarben}, occurring in Libra, in the east or the Midheaven (for it is stronger than the rest even though they are of the same complexion) produces [someone] elegant, lucky, also a king, a friend to God and men, even ready-to-hand and quick. But with the remaining two being established in the east or the Midheaven, he would be a lover of teachings, he will rejoice in experiments but even music and verse, powerful in gold and silver and riches, venerated by men, especially under a diurnal nativity. Which if [the nativity] were nocturnal, he will exercise glory and prudence, it even makes [him] thankful and handsome\textsuperscript{31} and suitable with all.

Again, another\textsuperscript{32} of the fixed [stars] in 6° and 10' of Leo, of the first magnitude; another\textsuperscript{33} in Scorpio, the sixteenth degree and twentieth minute, southern, of the second magnitude; another\textsuperscript{34} in the twenty-first degree and 20' of Gemini, southern, of the first magnitude; another\textsuperscript{35} in the sixth degree and 30' of the same [sign], southern, of the second magnitude; another\textsuperscript{36} in the seventh degree, 30' of Capricorn, southern, of the second magnitude, which all follow the complexion of Jupiter and Mars. Therefore, whenever

\textsuperscript{26} Unknown, but definitely related to Ar. \textit{nār} (fire) or \textit{nūr} (light), indicating works of wonder.

\textsuperscript{27} This last sentence reflects Māshā'allāh’s or some other writer’s anti-pagan prejudice. Rhetorius is wholly positive about the influence of the gods and religious activities on the native’s prosperity; the phrase about “female morals” has to do with initiation into “feminine mysteries” in Rhetorius.

\textsuperscript{28} Alphecca, α Corona Borealis, from Pahlavi \textit{abesar}, “crown.”

\textsuperscript{29} Zuben Eschamali, β Libra.

\textsuperscript{30} Castor, α Gemini; meaning of Arabic/Pahlavi word unclear, but perhaps related to an Arabic name for Gemini, \textit{al-burj al-jawzā}, with the \textit{z} being mistaken at some point for an \textit{n}.

\textsuperscript{31} \textit{Speciosum}. This also has the visual connotation of being specious, having only a good outward appearance—which is close to Rhetorius.

\textsuperscript{32} Regulus, α Leo.

\textsuperscript{33} Antares, α Scorpio.

\textsuperscript{34} Sirius, α Canis Major.

\textsuperscript{35} Menkalinan, β Auriga.

\textsuperscript{36} Altair, α Aquila.
any one of these five fixed [stars] happen to be found in the east or the Midheaven, a leader of soldiers is generated, great-souled, dreaded by many; he will subjugate regions and cities, and all things will be available for his desire; obliging to the people, practically like kings, prudent in business matters and works, he will esteem no one, will hand himself over to no victor, prudently managing (as was already said) whatever he pursues, eager for praise and money, a respectable [look] in [the] face, he will die a respectable death.

Moreover, another\textsuperscript{37} of the fixed [stars] in the twenty-fourth degree and fiftieth minute of Taurus, of the first magnitude; another\textsuperscript{38} of the second magnitude in 20° and 40’ of Sagittarius; likewise another\textsuperscript{39} occurring in the third degree of Taurus and 50’, of the second magnitude; another\textsuperscript{40} of the first magnitude in the [twenty-eighth] degree and [fortieth] minute;\textsuperscript{41} another\textsuperscript{42} of the second magnitude under the first degree of Gemini. Indeed all five are southern, of a Jovial and Saturnian complexion. Any of which occurring in the east or Midheaven, it makes [him] wealthy and opulent, increases resources and means greatly through regions and cities, he practices agriculture [and] the planting of trees, he builds buildings. But if the Moon would regard any one of them, and she\textsuperscript{43} [were] in the east or the Midheaven, [he will be] merciful, venerable, a peacemaker and humble, courteous\textsuperscript{44} in every business, he will esteem all, be esteemed by all. Again, with the one which we said was in Sagittarius [or the one in Auriga]\textsuperscript{45} being placed thus in any manner, he who is born under it will delight especially in birds and beasts, even to the extent that, like a mule-driver and [someone] of this sort, he reduces animals of each kind to mildness through taming—of which type are hawks and falcons.

Moreover, another\textsuperscript{46} of the second magnitude in the twentieth degree of Cancer, southern, of the Martial complexion alone. Therefore, it being placed

\textsuperscript{37} Rigel, $\beta$ Orion.
\textsuperscript{38} Rukbat, $\alpha$ Sagittarius.
\textsuperscript{39} Algol, $\beta$ Perseus.
\textsuperscript{40} Capella, $\alpha$ Auriga.
\textsuperscript{41} Reading with Rhetorius and Hermes for Hugo’s “in the same degree and minute.”
\textsuperscript{42} Alnilam, $\zeta$ Orion.
\textsuperscript{43} It is unclear in Rhetorius who should be in the Midheaven. \textit{Ipsa} could refer to the Moon or the star, but I favor the Moon.
\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Discretus}. Perhaps, “discreet.”
\textsuperscript{45} Adding from Rhetorius.
\textsuperscript{46} Pollux, $\beta$ Gemini.
in the east or Midheaven, especially in a nocturnal nativity, generates a leader of wars, master of masters, bold, spirited, subordinate to none, liable to anger, wholly a person of note; but it being a diurnal birth [and in the Ascendant],\textsuperscript{47} neither merciful nor piteous, always covered by a cloud of wrath, worthless, practicing collusion in the law and an adversary to the just, a plunderer and unjustly acquiring all things, a bad mind, bad spirit, a big talker; often [in the Midheaven in a nocturnal nativity] he is even a preacher and royal household-member, but he will [not] end his days with a respectable death.

Moreover, another\textsuperscript{48} of the fixed [stars] in the twenty-seventh degree and 40' of Taurus; moreover another\textsuperscript{49} in the fourth degree and 4' of Cancer; a certain one\textsuperscript{50} in Gemini, in 50 and 40'; another\textsuperscript{51} in Pisces in the twenty-first degree and 30', of the second magnitude (the rest are of the first magnitude). Indeed all are southern, in the condition of a Martial and Mercurial complexion. Any of these in the east or the Midheaven, especially under a nocturnal birth, will divulge the leader of an army; indeed he will be great-souled, prudent, courteous in every business, he will be delighted with boys and virgins, and will rejoice in perjury; but it being a diurnal birth, [it will make him] glib, impious, a liar, liable to anger, devoid of friends, cunning, unconcerned, a scoffer, notorious, a murderer, enchanter, and he adheres to evil works of this kind.

On the other hand, a certain one\textsuperscript{52} in the twelfth degree of Scorpio, another\textsuperscript{53} in the third degree and 50' of Aries, each of the first magnitude; they follow a Venusian and Jovial nature. Therefore, any one established in the east or Midheaven will increase elegance greatly, he will gather riches, heap together resources; even being renowned, he runs after judgments and jokes: for he who is born is merciful and pious, good, just, his name having a good reputation, from women he freely obtains money [but] not from anything deserved; he triumphs in power, nor will truth be absent in [his] speech;

\textsuperscript{47} Material in brackets added from Rhetorius, here and in the rest of the paragraph.
\textsuperscript{48} Bellatrix, γ Orion.
\textsuperscript{49} Procyon, α Canis Minor.
\textsuperscript{50} Betelguese, α Orion.
\textsuperscript{51} Alpheratz, α Andromeda.
\textsuperscript{52} Toliman, α Centaurus.
\textsuperscript{53} Probably θ Eridani, though as Holden points out, this star is now of the third magnitude and a few degrees away.
many of these [natives] are redheads and notorious,54 particularly if the Moon should be regarding them.

Moreover a certain one55 of the fixed ones stays in the fourth degree of Leo; another56 in the seventeenth degree and 18' of the same; another one,57 being of the second magnitude, in the twenty-eighth degree and 20' of the same [sign]; the two remaining ones [are] in the second [magnitude]; all southern. However, with any of these being established in the east or Midheaven, he who is born will be lucky and wealthy in fields, with effectiveness in speech, famed and praiseworthy in all uprightness; but often pallor is present or a saffron color or foulness;58 softness in speech, eagerness for planting, agriculture and buildings; he will be vexed when under manly age by sexual impurity and longing; [when] full of days he will live in an uninhabited area,59 he will put out many food dishes, he will be an astrologer and educated in many disciplines; blackness of the eyes and of a sweet look.

Again, another60 in the sixteenth degree and twentieth minute of Taurus; another61 in Scorpio under that same number of degrees and minutes, each appearing southern and of the first magnitude. However, the one which stays in Taurus, appearing in the east or Midheaven, generates [someone] most lucky and most wealthy in fields, city and estate; in fact one foresighted [or prudent] in all things, he will rejoice in [bestowing] patronage and in scribes; even in the same way in which this star is noted in the sky, so he will be most noted and of a good name on earth. Nor otherwise does the one which appears in Scorpio, placed in the same location, convey riches; it even makes wealth and [makes] him glorious and praiseworthy in the mouth of the people; likewise it extends his dignity and power equally through all climes. Since therefore [when] the one which is in Taurus [is] placed in the east, the other which is in Scorpio will hold onto the seventh, he is enriched with many resources because of women. Also, in this way, if a woman were born under either of them, she will be judged wealthy, powerful, and praiseworthy

54 Rhetorius reads, “blonde and goodlooking, slender.”
55 Alphard, α Hydra.
56 Zosma, δ Leo.
57 Denebola, β Leo.
58 Or, “ugliness” (turpitudine). This does not correspond to Rhetorius.
59 Heremi fiet incolae; not in Rhetorius.
60 Aldebaran, α Taurus.
61 Antares, α Scorpio, already mentioned before. Rhetorius mentions it here because these two stars will set and rise opposite each other, so their significations will be related.
in the good, but not surviving long; but she will have a beautiful face and matronly body; she will incur great infamy from excessive sexual impurity. A certain Hermes, most expert of the astrologers, claims that an effect comes out with any of these being found in the house of travel or marriage which I have written down because he is experienced, although I have not found it to be firm enough.

Therefore, these matters (which it seemed were necessary for discerning the amount of happiness in births from the very properties of the fixed stars being diligently investigated, we are committed to examine the Lord of the solar triplicity by day and under a diurnal birth, but of the lunar one by night and under a nocturnal birth: namely the ones we say are at-rest or [well-]placed. Therefore if each one (as was already often said) is cleansed of the infortunes and would be lingering in a pivot, he will rejoice in perpetual luckiness for all the days of his life, especially with the Moon placed with them or regarding them from a safe place, or at any rate should she be regarding the east itself from a trigon or hexagon, tetragon or the opposition, especially if they are received by the Lord of the Lot of Fortune or of the house of money: for thus the luckiness will be firmer and more reliable.

For even knowing the amount of this prosperity itself, you will note the leaders (namely the Lords of the triplicity) again. And so, the Lord of the triplicity [being found] from the first degree of the sign up to the fifteenth, wholly with the degrees of the arisings of the Sun, and it in a pivot, blesses the one who is born with luckiness, furnishes with dignities, adds attendants, even underofficials and scribes, nor will he ever happen to be deprived of dominion or power; which if that same leader (the ruler, I say, of the triplicity) would be staying in the last 15º, it establishes the native himself as

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62 The first part of this sentence bears a resemblance to Rhet. Ch. 58, p. 108, though it involves different houses.

63 Rhetorius has the ninth and the fourth.

64 The rest of this sentence translated rather freely from: quod quoniam expertus non satis firmum repperi nec huius rei descripsi iudicium.


66 Quae de fixarum proprietate ad felicitatis summam in natalibus discernendum necessaria videbantur.

67 See also Nativities §6 p. 402, where Māshāʾallāh omits the phrase “[well-]placed” as a synonym or even an alternative condition to being of the sect.

68 Reading as with the text for BP’s eam.

69 For this paragraph, cf. Carmen I.26.2-4.

70 Integraliter. I take this to mean that Māshāʾallāh is measuring in oblique ascensions.

71 Dominator.
an underofficial or scribe or viceroy\textsuperscript{72} of some king or powerful man, nor will he ever be deprived of that dignity.

\[1.4\] However,\textsuperscript{73} whenever you will find the Lord (under a diurnal birth, of the solar triplicity, and, it being a nocturnal one, equally of the lunar one) corrupted,\textsuperscript{74} one will have to attend more diligently to what place the Lot of Fortune holds onto in the \(zā’irjah\textsuperscript{75}\) (namely a good one or a bad one). Propitious\textsuperscript{76} indeed will be the place if it lingers in a pivot or after a pivot; and [it will be] turned awry in the third, sixth or twelfth.\textsuperscript{77} Observe nevertheless even whether it is established in the domicile of benevolents or unlucky ones.\textsuperscript{78} And so,\textsuperscript{79} should this Lord of the Lot of Fortune, being eastern\textsuperscript{80} and free of the malice of the aforesaid infortunes, regard [the Lot] outside of the aspect of those turned awry,\textsuperscript{81} regarded by the benevolents, it foretells the compassion, dignity, power, [and] honor of the one being born, especially if diurnal stars (under a diurnal birth, nocturnal ones under a nocturnal one) accompany the Lot of Fortune and its Lord, or at any rate should they be regarding [the Lot]. But\textsuperscript{82} if the Lord of the Lot of Fortune would be diverting its own aspect from [the Lot]—at least, while it is lingering in the

\textsuperscript{72} Vicedominum.

\textsuperscript{73} For this paragraph, cf. \textit{Carmen} I.26.10-17 and \textit{Nativities} §6 pp. 402-03.

\textsuperscript{74} That is, if the dispositors of both luminaries are corrupted. The parenthetical remark seems to be added by Hugo, but the text uses the plural for “corrupted” and it does derive from \textit{Carmen} I.26.10, which specifies both.

\textsuperscript{75} Here, Dorotheus means what kind of place in the natal chart (good, bad, aspects, the location of its Lord).

\textsuperscript{76} \textit{Carmen} I.26.14-15.

\textsuperscript{77} Māshā’allāh/Hugo seem to conflate the cadent places with the bad places, by including the third. Dorotheus is a bit clearer: “If the lord of the lot aspects the lot from a bad place, then there is no good for the native; and similarly if you find its lord in a cadent [whether] aspecting it or not aspecting it. If the lot and its lord are thus in the sixth or twelfth or the malefics aspect [them] or [they are] under the rays of the Sun, then they have no power and no efficacy.”

\textsuperscript{78} Cf. \textit{Carmen} I.26.12.

\textsuperscript{79} Cf. \textit{Carmen} I.26.24, Māshā’allāh \textit{Nativities} p. 402. \textit{Carmen} says, “If the lord of the lot is in a known good place and with this the benefics aspect it in good places without the aspect of the malefics…” \textit{Nativities} associates the phrase about being free from the malefics with the Lord of the Ascendant and the Moon, and then says “And if the Lot of Fortune and its Lord [were] in an angle (namely in the east), and they aspected the Ascendant…” (of course they cannot aspect the very sign they are in, so something is wrong here).

\textsuperscript{80} According to \textit{Nativities} this means in the east (i.e., the rising sign).

\textsuperscript{81} The malefics.

\textsuperscript{82} Cf. \textit{Carmen} I.26.27.
fifth or eleventh—it promises luckiness, increases resources greatly—but preferably if it supported\textsuperscript{83} [the Lot] with its own aspect.

[1.5] Again,\textsuperscript{84} with the Lot of Fortune or its Lord being corrupted, the Lord of the east or of the Midheaven or of the eleventh\textsuperscript{85} should be consulted. Indeed those stars being cleansed of the infortunes and in a safe place, powerful\textsuperscript{86} in the distribution of luckiness under the birth, equally testify [he will be] lucky.

[1.6] However,\textsuperscript{87} with the Moon under that birth being regarded by the benevolents, and she in the second from the east, growing in computation and light, and she in the coming-together or disconnected from the Node by 12º, applying to fortunate ones, regarding the Sun from a tetragon,\textsuperscript{88} removed from the aspect of Mars, it equally generates [someone] lucky and powerful, and he will be raised up by lucky and prominent men.

[1.7] But\textsuperscript{89} it is necessary to pay attention even to the eleventh place from the Lot of Fortune: namely whether, in giving prosperity, it appears strong like the eleventh from the east.\textsuperscript{90} For in fact the position of the benevolents in the same place increases luckiness greatly, [but] on the other hand the traversing of the infortunes diminishes it, conferring an increase of evil.

[1.8] Again,\textsuperscript{91} it happens that the outlook\textsuperscript{92} of the Lot of Money and of its Lord should be noted; but it is taken in the night and day from the Lord of the house of money to the degree of that same lodging-place, with the degrees of the east being added. And so the location of it and of its Lord in a safe place—like, namely [if] they would be cleansed of the infortunes—portends an increase of good; but nevertheless even the dustūrīyyah of the

\textsuperscript{83} \textit{Foveret}. This also has connotations of caressing and keeping warm, as though the configuration to the Lot is a friendly gaze—but I do not know if this means the aspect should be a trine or sextile.

\textsuperscript{84} Cf. \textit{Carmen} I.25.5-6 for this and the next sentence. This could simply be a scribal error in the editions of Hugo.

\textsuperscript{85} Dorotheus reads, “second.”

\textsuperscript{86} Dorotheus specifies being angular or succeedent.

\textsuperscript{87} Cf. \textit{Carmen} I.27.17.

\textsuperscript{88} Dorotheus uses the trigon.

\textsuperscript{89} BP recommend Valens II.21 on the eleventh place from the Lot of Fortune. Valens says it is an acquisitive place, and generally agrees with Māša‘allāh’s assessment here.

\textsuperscript{90} Reading xi for xii.

\textsuperscript{91} Cf. \textit{Carmen} I.27.19-21 for this and the next sentence.

\textsuperscript{92} \textit{Speculatio}. 
stars to the Sun and the Moon will have to be consulted so that knowledge of full happiness may be had.93
[...] 

93 See e.g. Rhet. Ch. 53. This sentence is yet another indication that, for many medieval astrologers (including Abū 'Ali and Bonatti), general prosperity and happiness were treated as linked to financial well-being—as it is for many people today.
And what I said about the Lord of the domicile, I say the same about the Lord of the exaltation and the bound.

Chapter 10: On the native's being, and on the things signified by the 1st house

Look at the Lords of the triplicity of the Ascendant, because the first Lord of this triplicity signifies the beginning of life, the second one the middle, the third one the end. Which if one of them were in its own domicile or exaltation, in the angles or the succeedents of the angles, applying to fortunes and free from the bad ones, it signifies the good condition of the native in its own time of [his] life. And if some one of them were in a bad place, burned up, retrograde or in [its own] descension, or applying to the bad ones, it signifies the bad condition of the native in its own time of his life. And make the Lord of the Ascendant testify to the first Lord of the triplicity, and the Lord of the Midheaven to the second one, and the Lord of the seventh place to the third one. Which if both were well-established, it will be a greater signification over good; and if both were impeded, it will be a greater signification over evil.

Moreover, look even at the application of the Moon in the hour of the nativity with the planets, in order to understand the condition of the native. And if she were separated from planets, the native’s condition is distributed in two ways: of which one will be through the Moon’s sign and through her place in the houses of the circle, but the second [way] through the Lord of the Moon’s domicile and the place of the Lord of the Moon from the Sun, and [through] its strength and weakness, and its application with the planets (and even conversely that of the planets with it).

71 In Valens these times refer to planetary periods.
72 Ābū ’Alī is drawing a relation between the triplicity Lords signifying the three parts of life, and the Lords of the angles signifying the same, making a judgment about that part of life by comparing the goodness or badness of each pair in some way. Holden is definitely wrong in his translation of this passage, suggesting we look at the aspects of the primary triplicity ruler to any one of the Lords of the other places listed. In the first place, the text does not say (as Holden writes) “consider the aspects of,” but “make…testify” (fac testificari). In the second place, the text clearly matches up the two sets of Lords as pairs: the Lords of the other houses are all in the accusative (the objects of “make”) and they are matched up individually to the ordinal names for the triplicity Lords, in the dative (indirect objects).
73 Omitting eius.
Moreover, look at the Lord of the Ascendant and its place in the houses of the circle:

Because if it were in the Ascendant, it signifies the native’s honor among neighbors\textsuperscript{74} and members of his household\textsuperscript{75} and those known to him.

If in the second from the Ascendant he will be a destroyer of his own substance.\textsuperscript{76} Yet if it were received there, he will profit and make money.

But in the third place of heaven from the \textit{horoskopos},\textsuperscript{77} it signifies that he will have fit brothers, and will go much on foreign journeys.\textsuperscript{78}

In the fourth, that he will have a good mind, and he will obtain the greatest goods from his parents.

In the fifth, that he will rejoice with children, and will have many friends.

In the sixth, that he will be annoyed by the greatest and numerous labors and infirmities.

In the seventh, that he will be contentious, liable to anger, following the will of women.

In the eighth, that he will be fraudulent, of much sorrow \textit{[and]} a weak mind.

In the ninth, that he will go much on foreign journeys\textsuperscript{79} and will be a lover of sciences.

\textsuperscript{74} Or perhaps, “relatives” (\textit{propinquos}).
\textsuperscript{75} Or perhaps, his “domestic staff” (\textit{domesticos}).
\textsuperscript{76} This seems to reflect the older view of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} as a bad place.
\textsuperscript{77} Lat. \textit{horoskopos}. As with the lists in Ch. 47, the use of this Greek term is uncharacteristic for the rest of the work.
\textsuperscript{78} But this verb (\textit{peregrinor}) can also mean to go on pilgrimage, and the third (like the ninth) does have spiritual significance in traditional astrology.
\textsuperscript{79} See earlier footnote.
In the tenth, that he will always be with kings and will live because of them.

In the eleventh, that he will be endowed with good morals\(^{80}\) and he will have many friends, scarce children.

In the twelfth, that he will have a bad life, and will have many enemies.

Chapter 11: On the knowledge of the native’s substance, and of its causes, and on what is signified by the 2\(^{nd}\) house

Look at the 2\(^{nd}\) house from the Ascendant: which if fortunes were in it or aspected, and the bad ones were not in it nor aspected, and its Lord [were] in a good place in the circle and from the Sun, they will signify fortune, and the native’s success in readying resources. But if on the other hand they bore themselves in a converse manner, they portend detriment for the native in matters of substance.

Then, look even at the Lord of the second sign: which if it will apply to the Lord of the Ascendant, it will signify the acquisition of much money without labor. But if on the contrary the Lord of the Ascendant applied to the Lord of the second place, it signifies indeed an increase of resources, but with labor. Afterwards, consider whether this application would come to be from out of the angles: which if happened [that way], it signifies a multitude of riches, from matters already known. But if the application were from out of the succedents of the angles, indeed something of the above-stated luckiness and ease of fortune will abate. Still nevertheless, the native will have a good mind.\(^ {81}\) Of the rest, if the application were from out of bad places, and [from] ones not aspecting the Ascendant, it signifies the native’s acquisition [will be] commingled and indifferent—that is, he will not care whether he would acquire from a good or bad [source], with greed and flattery. If however no application came between the Lord of the Ascendant and that of the second sign, look only at the Lord of the second: which if it

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\(^{80}\) This might also simply mean “customs” (mores).

\(^{81}\) This probably means something like, “he will have a good attitude,” even though the riches will not be as great.
(and likewise the Moon) were in the angles, free from the bad ones, the 
native will overflow to a middling degree in [his] means of livelihood.

Next, consider even the Lord of the Ascendant and Jupiter: which if one 
applied to the other, it signifies prosperity and a multitude of substance, but 
especially if even there were reception in addition to the\textsuperscript{82} application.

Likewise even if the Lot of Fortune and its Lord were in a good place in 
the circle, free from the bad ones and aspecting the Ascendant, they signify 
riches and a multitude of goods.

Likewise if the Moon were received, aspecting the Ascendant, it signifies 
the native’s riches, and a good status, but especially if the receiving star were 
a fortune. In the same [way], if they were in the angles or in their suc-
ceedents, increased in light and number, and they conjoined their own 
disposition and virtue to the planet who is receiving\textsuperscript{83} her, it signifies the 
abundance of the native’s goods, and the multitude and greatness of his 
fortune, and the success of matters coming upon him without limit.\textsuperscript{84}

Consider even the Lords of the triplicity of the 2\textsuperscript{nd} house, since they have 
signification concerning the native’s fortune in the matters of substance, 
according to [each Lord’s] own nature and strength. Which if the first one of 
them were free from the bad ones, he will have good in the beginning of his 
life; and if the second one were strong, he will obtain it in the middle of his 
life; and if the third one likewise were strong, goods will come to him at the 
end of life.

Moreover, if even some one of the fortunes were in the eleventh sign 
from the Lot of Fortune, it signifies the acquisition of money and of 
resources from good matters. But if some one of the bad ones were in the 
eleventh sign from the Lot of Fortune, it signifies the native’s fraudulence in 
the acquisition of money, and [his] injustice, and especially if it were in its 
own domicile or exaltation.

And if the Lord of the house of substance and the Lord of the Lot of 
Fortune met with burning, it signifies the native’s bad status, and the 
diminution of his goods.

If the Lot of Fortune were conjoined to fortunes, or it were in their 
square or opposite aspect, and the bad ones were cadent from it, it signifies 
the multitude of good for the native, and of his fortune. And if it were

\textsuperscript{82} Accedat ad.
\textsuperscript{83} Reading recipit (sing.) for recipiunt (pl.).
\textsuperscript{84} Indefinenter.
conjoined to bad ones or it were in their square or opposite aspect, and the fortunes did not aspect it, it signifies the native's bad status, and the scarcity of his good.

If the Lord of the Ascendant and of the second sign did not apply, one to the other, and the fortunes were cadent from the Ascendant and [from] the second, they signify the native's labor, and his bad condition for all the days of his life.

And, still seeking out even more testimonies which signify substance, consider the application of the Lord of the Ascendant or of the Lord of the second place, and [consider] the Lords of the triplicity of that luminary which will be holding onto the rulership\(^{85}\) of the time, and of the Lot of Fortune and of the Lot of Substance and of Jupiter:\(^{86}\) because if you found a planet (from out of these) which had more dignities (namely one or two or three), free of the bad ones, and in a good place in the circle and from the Sun, it signifies the native’s good condition in substance and fortune, according to their place and motion. But if the majority of them were cadent or impeded, they signify the native’s bad success in substance, according to the malignity and their place in the circle.

Moreover, the places of the significator of substance\(^{87}\) or of the Lord of the 2nd must be considered.

For if the Lord of the second sign were in the Ascendant, it signifies that the native will be an acquirer of money without labor and worry; and if it were received there, there will be the highest luckiness in the good, and especially if it were received by a benefic and lucky star appearing in an angle.

If it were in the second, the acquisition and his means of livelihood will be from a known thing,\(^{88}\) nor will be assemble monies.

Indeed if it were in the third, it portends the bad condition of the brothers, and their labor.\(^{89}\)

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\(^{85}\) Reading \textit{dominium} for \textit{dominum}.

\(^{86}\) For these last three, the text does not specify whether we are looking for the triplicity Lords of all of these, or their Lords. One would actually expect the domicile Lords of the two Lots, and Jupiter himself.

\(^{87}\) This probably indicates the best planet from the preceding paragraph.

\(^{88}\) \textit{Re nota}. This suggests resources already at hand or owned or managed by the native.
But in the fourth, it denotes the good standing of the parents, and the
native's durability in that home in which he was born, and the good-
ness of his condition.

In the fifth he will have children, familiar to the king's palace, and he
will have many goods.

If it were in the sixth, it means the flight of slaves and the loss of ani-
imals, and he will be generous.

But in the seventh, it portends the accumulation of things from some-
thing unjust, and the dispersal of the same on women and contracts.

And if the Lord of the second sign were in the 8th, it signifies that the
native will acquire substance from inheritances and on the occasion of
the dead, and he will be generous, nor will he care in what way he
spends or earns.90

And if it were in the ninth place of heaven, it signifies that he will be an
acquirer of substance from journeys and on the occasion of religion,
and he will not care about [anything] unless it is of things not present,
and his business will be because of foreign travel and those traveling
abroad.91

And if it were in the tenth, he will obtain substance from the king and
because of his purposes, and he will live from thence.

If in the eleventh, he will discover substance from friends and busi-
nessmen and lenders, or from wares.

89 Undoubtedly because the second is the twelfth from the third; but this does not help us
understand the native's financial situation.
90 I note that such a Lord would be in the sign of his detriment; so while on the one hand
the 8th would show a relation to inheritance, the detriment suggests the squandering of his
money—hence perhaps his "generous" nature.
91 This can also mean "pilgrimage and those going on pilgrimage" (peregrinatione &
peregrinantibus).
Finally, if it were in the 12th, he will earn resources and monies from prisons and enemies, and from every low-class work, and by doing something shameful, and he will be a thief and plunderer.

[...]