Abraham Ibn Ezra's Astrological Works in Hebrew and Latin: New Discoveries and Exhaustive Listing

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A well-known personage for historians of medieval science, Abraham Ibn Ezra (1089/1092–1164/1167) is noted for his sustained activity in the fields of poetry, bible commentary, mathematics, astronomy, and astrology. Born in Tudela in the Muslim kingdom of Saragossa, he was educated no less in the Hebrew tradition than in contemporary Arabic culture. About the first fifty years of his life, which he spent in Spain, we know disappointingly little. During the latter part of his life...
(beginning 1140), which he spent in Italy, France, and England, Ibn Ezra issued a steady stream of scientific writings. Ibn Ezra’s scientific writings were composed not only in Hebrew, but in Latin as well. The thesis that Ibn Ezra authored treatises in Latin without the intermediary stage of a Hebrew text was first put forward by Millás Vallicrosa with respect to certain astronomical writings. More recently it has been suggested that several of his astrological and perhaps mathematical treatises, too, are such Latin works. It should be emphasized, however, that Ibn Ezra presumably authored these Latin texts with the linguistic help of others. Therefore, the term “author” is here understood in a broad sense, as denoting the recognizable source of knowledge and ideas.

Ibn Ezra’s Hebrew scientific treatises are among the first of their kind to convey Arabic learning to Jews who could not read Arabic. Their exceptional value derives from the fact they were written at a time when a Hebrew scientific library of translated Arabic texts did not yet exist: a true Hebrew counterpart of the twelfth-century Latin translation movement emerged only a century later. Ibn Ezra contributed to this transfer of knowledge from Arabic into Hebrew through his scientific translations, too, although their significance is secondary to that of the treatises. Similarly, Ibn Ezra’s Latin scientific treatises are early examples of Latin texts drawing on Arabic sources.

Ibn Ezra’s astrological writings form a remarkably extensive corpus and constitute by far the greatest bulk of his scientific output. He wrote on all the main branches of astrology with a competence that earned him a secure place in the history of the discipline. At the core of his production are the commented introductions to astrology, specialized treatises on natures, elections, and interrogations, and works on medical and general astrology. This corpus consists of the following treatises:

1. Re'isi ḥokmah (Beginning of wisdom)
2. Mi'pēti' hu-mazalot (Judgments of the zodiacal signs)
3. Te'amim (Reasons)
4. Moladot (Nativities)
5. Miẓharim (Elections)
6. Še'elot (Interrogations)
7. Me'orot (Luminaries)
8. 'Olam (World).

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2 For the latest findings and considerations, see Renate Smithuis, “Science in Normandy and England under the Angevins: The Creation of Abraham Ibn Ezra’s Latin Works on Astronomy and Astrology,” in Hebrew to Latin–Latin to Hebrew: The Mirroring of Two Cultures in the Age of Humanism, ed. G. Busi (Berlin and Turin: Nino Aragno, 2006). To avoid confusion, let me state at the outset that the newly discovered Latin texts discussed in this article are all translations made long after Ibn Ezra’s death.
These titles faithfully reflect the corresponding Arabic tradition: *mudkhals* (introductions) to the art of astrology, *kutub al-mawātīd* (books on naivities), *taḥawīl sant ʿl-ʿalam* (revolutions of the years of the world), *kutub al-ikhtiyārāt* (books on interrogations), and so forth. Ibn Ezra’s Hebrew astrological treatises are regarded today as parts of an “encyclopedia” whose internal coherence is due to the fact that Ibn Ezra interspersed numerous forward and backward cross-references in the individual texts: these suggest that he intended to provide his readers with a comprehensive compendium of astrology that included all its essential sub-branches.

It is well known that Abraham Ibn Ezra rewrote most of his works, often more than once: this is true of his biblical commentaries no less than of his scientific writings. In what follows, I will call each distinct form of a given work a *redaction* of that work: this term, then, refers to a form of a work that resulted from rewriting by Ibn Ezra himself and not from the accidents of textual transmission. Thus, whereas the astrological encyclopedia basically consists of around seven different works, the number of redactions needs to be determined separately for each work. I will use the term *text* to denote a specific witness of a given redaction of a work, carried by a particular manuscript. It is not always easy to decide whether the variations displayed by the texts carried by different manuscripts are the result of rewriting by Ibn Ezra or simple scribal interventions or errors; i.e., whether these texts represent different redactions or merely variants of a single redaction. This must and can be determined by a careful comparison of these texts. Lastly, I will use the term *version* when a given redaction of a work is extant in different languages.

The numerous cross-references between the different works making up Ibn Ezra’s astrological encyclopedia allow us to establish the order in which the works were composed. This order seems to be invariant, both for the different redactions of the Hebrew works and for the newly discovered Latin versions (of which more will be said below);

5 The term was introduced in this context by Millás Vallicrosa and has been current ever since. See Sela, *Abraham Ibn Ezra*, p. 57.
6 This is not to say that each encyclopedia necessarily included versions of all these treatises. For the full pattern of cross-references see Appendix 2 in Smithuis, “Abraham Ibn Ezra.”
Abraham Ibn Ezra’s Astrological Works in Hebrew, French, and Latin

Ibn Ezra’s popular astrological works survive in impressive numbers of manuscripts in Hebrew, medieval French (as well as some other vernaculars), and Latin. The known manuscripts of the core treatises are as follows.

A. Manuscripts of Hebrew Redactions

Building on the work of predecessors like Steinschneider and Millás Vallicrosa, Shlomo Sela has published several surveys of Ibn Ezra’s scientific output concerning the Jewish calendar, mathematics, astronomy, and astrology. Neither his research nor my own has brought to light any previously unknown astrological treatise by Ibn Ezra. The known astrological treatises and their redactions are as follows:

1. Rešit ḥoḵmah
2. Mi qaṭeṭ ḥa-mazzalot
3. Teʾanim 1 and 2
4. Moladot
5. Meḥbarim 1 and 2
6. Seʾelot 1 and 2
7. Meʾorot
8. ʿOlām 1 and 2.

These astrological writings by Ibn Ezra in Hebrew are preserved in 115 manuscripts (for an exhaustive index, see Appendix B).

B. Manuscripts of French Versions

No more than two manuscripts containing French translations of astrological writings by Ibn Ezra are known today, both discovered by Raphael Levy. These translations were made by Hagin le Juif during the second half of the thirteenth century. They are Paris, BNF; fonds français 24276 (= F1) and Paris, BNF; fonds français 1351 (= F2). The first manuscript dates from the thirteenth century. A certain Viennot Pingot copied the second manuscript in 1477 (F2, f. 123b). These two manuscripts contain:

1. Li Livres du Commencement de sapience (= Rešit ḥoḵmah) (F1, ff. 1a–66a; idem in F2)


A note above the table of contents states that the manuscript is from the thirteenth century. Cf. Levy, The Astrological Works, p. 20. The edition in Levy–Cantera, Be-Beginning of Wisdom, is based on this manuscript.
2. *Le Livre (des Jugemens) des nativités (= Moladot)* (F1, ff. 66a–100b; F2, ff. 66a–102a)\(^{11}\)
3. *Le Livre des Elections Abraham (= Mitscharim 2)* (F1, ff. 109a1.8–113b1.23, ff. 104a–107a; F2, ff. 102a.9–110b)\(^{12}\)
4. *Le Livre des Questions (= Sé’elot 2)* (F1, ff. 113b1.24–125a1.23; F2, ff. 110b–123a2)\(^{13}\)

Both manuscripts include additional astrological material. Near the end of the discussion of the third place of the horoscope in *Le Livre des Elections* (F1, ff. 112a2–113a1.1) are some further judgments. In F1 and 2, the complete text of *Le Livre des Questions*, which corresponds to *Sé’elot 2* as we know it in Hebrew, is followed by astrological judgments in the style of Ibn Ezra on illnesses (place 6), introduced in F1 by the words “Sur le Livre de Q(ue)stions sur la .6. meson” (F1, ff. 125a1.23–b), which are absent from the original.\(^{14}\) F1 also contains an incomplete French version of the *Livres des Révolutions du Siècle* by Ibn Ma’shar (ff. 100b1.24–103b1.10)\(^{15}\) and a Latin fragment in which the same Arabic author is quoted from his *Flores* (F1, ff. 103b1–104a1.13). I am not aware of other manuscript copies in French of astrological writings by Ibn Ezra.

C. The Latin Versions in Manuscripts and Early Editions

In 1944, Lynn Thorndike published a comprehensive survey of “The Latin Translations of the Astrological Tracts of Abraham Avenezra.”\(^{16}\) To date, however, no attempt has been made to match the Latin versions preserved in these manuscripts with their possible Hebrew originals. This task will be undertaken here.

We know the identities of four Latin translators of Ibn Ezra’s astrological works: Henry Bate (1246–ca. 1310), Peter d’Abano (ca. 1250–ca. 1315), Arnoul de Quinquempoix (d. 1321/6), and Ludovicus de Angola (fifteenth century).

Henry Bate’s translations are found together in MS Leipzig University 1466 (= L):

\(^{11}\) F1, f. 66a: “Or co(n)mence son Livre des Jugemens des Nativités. E dist nostre maistre Abraham le sage lavertissant...”; f. 102b: “Ci define le Livre des Nativités...”

\(^{12}\) In F2, *Le Livre des Elections* follows without a heading directly after nativities and ends with the words: “Cy fine Le Livre des Elections” (f. 110b). In F1, the text of *Le Livre des Elections* is complete, but its final part, starting from place six (f. 104a), comes first. The intermediate folios (107b–109a1.7) contain an extensive French gloss that respectively begins and ends with the copyist’s remark “Sup(er) Librum(um) Electionum ii(n) signis talib(um)” and “Ces glosses estoient en 1 marge en cor le premier chapitre et le .2. et .3. et A.” This gloss is not in F2.

\(^{13}\) In both manuscripts, *Sé’elot 2* follows directly on *Elections*, without a heading, although “Liber de Interrogacionibus” can be found in the margin of F1, f.113b. The title *Le Livre des Questions (de Abraham Avenezazer, F2)* is found only at the end of the treatise.

\(^{14}\) In F2, f. 123b the same text starts with “dela 6 maison es q(ue)stion.” All the text additions can be found transcribed in Appendix 10 of Smithuis, “Abraham Ibn Ezra.”

\(^{15}\) Part of the incipit: *Le Livre Even Massar des Revolutions du Siècle*. Il est devise en .xvi. chapitres devises en asses de manieres ainsi co(m) je lesplenerai, et ce sont il lun le sire de lennere, le secont celi qui ensegne ala gent, le tiers qui ensegne al roi et de la gent, le q(u)iont de lensegne(n)it des planetes, le .6. sure les batales (etc.), le .13. des estoile fichies, le .14. du ... essample, le q(u)iontsme du movement de la (e)jere, le .16. de lafaire des planetes. Incipit of the book proper: Le p(re)miier le sire de lennere. Ce dit Even Massar: Tu dois equier le lieu du soleil ou p(re)miier menu de Logel et equier le (de)(ge)(re) assc(e)(nt) et regarde se le g(e)(re)mini(n)it est signe v(e)(re)table il sera ensegneant sur toute lennere et si est signe de .2. cors il ensegne(vre)a sur demi an et q(u)iont return(e)(nt) le soleil au chief des Balances etc.

\(^{16}\) Iis 35 (1944): 293–302.
1. Introductorius ad astronomiam (= Reität ḥokmah) (ff. 2a–23b)
2. De mundo vel seculo (= ‘Olam l) (ff. 25a2–7–30b1.28), with Henry’s own prologue on ff. 24a–25a2.6
3. De luminarius seu De diebus creativis (= Me’orot) (ff. 30b1.29–34a2.27)\(^\text{17}\)
4. Liber introductionis ad indicia astrologiae (= Mišpēṭei ha-mazzalot) (ff. 37a–48a2.1), followed by some annotations and with the explicit only at the very end (f. 49b1)
5. Liber causalum seu racionum (= Ṭe‘āmin 2) (ff. 49b2–60b2.28)\(^\text{18}\)
6. Liber causalum seu racionum (= Ṭe‘āmin 1) (ff. 60b2.35–73b1.4), followed by an annotation and the explicit (4–27)\(^\text{19}\).

The colophons to Henry’s versions reveal the following chronology: (1) De mundo vel seculo translated in Liège\(^\text{20}\) and Malines in 1281;\(^\text{21}\) (2) Introductorius ad astronomiam (August 1292), the two versions of the Liber causalum seu racionum (September 1292), Liber introductionis ad indicia astrologiae (October 1292), all four completed at Orvieto; De luminarius seu De diebus creativis (also 1292) is dedicated to the bishop of Avessa.\(^\text{22}\) De luminarius seu De diebus creativis was printed in a separate edition by Erhard Ratdolt (Venice, 1482) and again in abbreviated form, together with Ganivetus’ Amicus medicorum, in Venice in 1550.\(^\text{23}\)

Peter d’Abano’s versions (which contributed greatly to the popularization of Ibn Ezra’s astrology in the Christian world) are to be found in another famous early edition of Ibn Ezra’s works, namely Abrāb Āvenarii Iudaei astrologii perissimis in Re Iudiciai Opera ab Excellentissimo Philosopho Petro de Albano post accuratam castigationem in Latinum traducta, published by Petrus Liechtenstein at Venice in 1507. Peter’s translations are:
1. Introductorium qui dicitur Principium sapientie (1293; = Reität ḥokmah) (2a1–31b1);
2. Liber rationum (= Ṭe‘āmin 2) (32a1–43a2);
3. Liber nativitatum et revolutionum earum (= Moladot) (44b1–60b1);
4. De interrogationibus (= Šeʾelot 2) (60b2–67a1);
5. De electionibus (= Miḥrāmim 2) (67a2–71a2);
6. Liber luminarium (= Me’orot) (71b1–75b2).

Liber rationum concludes somewhat ambiguously. The explicit at the close of 43a2, “Hic co(m)pletus est Liber rationum,” corresponds to the end of the Hebrew original. The intermediate text, up to the explicit on 44a, “Explicit translatio Libri de r(a)t(i)onibus (etc.),” is introduced by “Here, to the best of my ability, is what I have discovered at the end of this book, and it is, to begin with, on nativities.”\(^\text{24}\) What follows is indeed a first short paragraph on the subject of nativities, written in a style similar to Ibn Ezra’s. This is followed, however, by two further sections dealing with historical astrology, also written by an unknown Jewish author.

\(^{17}\) The folios the follow (ff. 34a–37a) contain William the Englishman’s short treatise on astro-medicine, Libellus de indicio artem non visu (Incipit: De ignorancie), in which he refers to Prolemy, Abu Maṣhar, Al-Qahibī, Mīghanī, and a certain Hermann.

\(^{18}\) Cf. in the margin of f. 49b: “Tractati(u) di(e) causis seu r(a)ci(n)bus co(r)um q(ua) disc(untur) Introducitor/ie ad indicia astronomica.”

\(^{19}\) The explicit reads further (f. 62b): “sup(er) hiis q(ua) di/cus(n)tur in Introducitorio Abrahe qui incipi Sapi(n)tie timor D(i)o(m)ini i...”


\(^{21}\) According to Thoroekie, A History of Magi, vol. 2, p. 928 one manuscript mentions 1292 in the colophon.


\(^{23}\) Perhaps Ganivetus should be held responsible for the abbreviation. Cf. Levy, The Astrological Works, p. 51, and the suggestion of Thoroekie, A History of Magi, 8: 139.

\(^{24}\) Hic (œ) fine istius libri ut possium inveni et est primum super nativitae(s).
It is worth noting that the Venice 1507 edition also contains (1) Henry Bate's De mundo vel seculo (=‘Olam 1; 77b2–85a1); (2) Tractatus particulares; and (3) two texts ascribed to a certain Bethen–Centiloquium (or Liber de consuetudinibus in indicis astrorum) and Libellus de horis planetarum.25 The Tractatus particulares consists of an interesting collection of short astrological writings attributed to Abraham Ibn Ezra, but of which no Hebrew original has been identified. However, it has emerged that, while the collection as a whole cannot be ascribed to Ibn Ezra, there is still a significant link to his astrology, since the collection contains substantial portions of some of his Hebrew astrological writings.26

The versions by Arnoul de Quincampoix are found together in MS Gent 5 [Saint-Genis 416] [= G], as follows:
1. De questionibus (= Se’elot 2) (ff. 85a.13–91b), preceded by Arnoul’s prologue (from f. 84b.17);
2. De eleccionibus (= Mivarim 2) (ff. 91b–96a);
3. Tractatus particulares (ff. 96b.6–103a.9).27

In his preface to De questionibus, Arnoul promises to translate Ibn Ezra’s Liber de questionibus, Liber de eleccionibus, and Liber de inventione occulatorum (or Liber de occulatorum inventionibus); the latter title probably refers to the work Peter d’Abano called Tractatus particulares.

Ludovicus de Angelo produced a Latin version of Molodot, which he completed in 1448. Preserved in MS Paris, BnF 7321, ff. 87a–111ab, it was done from one of the abridged Catalan versions that have traditionally been ascribed to a certain Martin d’Osca (= Huesca in Aragon).28

In addition, MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby 212 contains two anonymous Latin translations of known Hebrew originals:
1. Élecciones Abraham (= Mivarim 2) (ff. 6b–67b2), also preserved in MS London, British Library, Royal 12.C.XVIII, ff. 26a–30b;
2. De questionibus (= Se’elot 2) (ff. 67b2–72a).

A question that I can only mention but not discuss here is: what is the Vorlage from which the Latin translations were made? My own view, which I intend to present in detail elsewhere, is that all the Latin translators (except for Ludovicus de Angelo) translated from the Old French versions by Hagn le Juif and did not consult the Hebrew originals. This is important to bear in mind in view of the next section, in which I will present new Latin translations that also show the marks of having been done from Hagn’s French. This view implies that Hagn translated many more of Ibn Ezra’s works than the four that survive today; these translations must be assumed lost.

Another point to be mentioned before proceeding is that when we try to match the Latin versions of works by Ibn Ezra with Hebrew originals we must bear in mind that, as already noted, Ibn Ezra seems to have authored some of his works directly in Latin. This, I believe, is the

25 The short Bethen treatises may well originate from the Arabic, though nothing is known about their supposed author. Earlier suggestions that this person be identified with either Henry Bate or Al-Battani have been discredited (see Sergin, GAS, 7: 160).


26 I hope to demonstrate this elsewhere. See also Smithuis, “Abraham Ibn Ezra,” pp. 128–35.

27 To be precise, in G only Arnoul’s version of Mivarim 2 and the second part of his text matching Peter’s Tractatus particulares are expressly attributed to Ibn Ezra.

case of the *Liber de nativitatis*, dated 1154, also listed by Thorndike: it was published by Erhard Ratdolt at Venice in 1485, ascribed to “Abraham Judeus,” together with Henry Bate’s work on the astrolobe, *Magistralis compositio astrolabii*. Since Steinschneider it has been agreed, correctly I think, that this is indeed a work by Ibn Ezra. Steinschneider, followed by all later scholars, probably assumed that it was a translation, although no Hebrew original is known. I believe, however, that this is not the case: it was probably written directly in Latin for a Latin readership, if not by Ibn Ezra himself, then in his name and under his direction. It is thus on a par with Ibn Ezra’s commentaries to the Pisāl tables and the treatises on the astrolobe, which all seem to have been written directly in Latin. There is indeed a striking resemblance between *Liber de nativitatis* and the latter works, which suggests a similar genesis for all of them. I have taken up this question in detail elsewhere.

Thorndike called attention to a number of other compositions in Latin that are ascribed to Ibn Ezra. These texts are intriguing because, as it turns out, they are not translations of any of Ibn Ezra’s treatises known in Hebrew, but still present characteristics allowing their ascription to him. My suggestion, to be substantiated below, is that these are anonymous translations of unknown Hebrew astrological treatises by Ibn Ezra, made from an intermediary French version. These are: *Liber nativitatum*, *Liber revolucionum*, *Liber eleccionum*, and *Liber interrogacionum*, all preserved in MS Erfurt, Amplon. O.89 [= E] and MS Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 5442 [= V]. The same two manuscripts also contain a text entitled *Excerpta quaedam ex Libro iudiciorum Abraham deprompta* (Excerpts taken from a book on astrological judgments of Abraham), which, I will suggest, may be an incomplete and possibly shortened version of a likewise lost Hebrew treatise on nativities by Ibn Ezra. Manuscripts E and V preserve these five important but hitherto neglected texts along with a few additional anonymous versions of known texts, as follows:

1. *De iudiciis signorum* (= *Miṣpeṭt ha-mazzalot*) (E, ff. 5a–19b9)
2. *Liber interrogacionum* (no Hebrew original) (E, ff. 19b10–30a27; V, ff. 180a–186a2.14)
3. *Liber de interrogationibus* (= *Še’elot*) (E, ff. 30a28–39b3; V, ff. 186a2.15–192b2.9)
4. *Liber eleccionum* (no Hebrew original) (E, ff. 39b4–46b11; V, ff. 192b2.10–198b1.7)
5. *Liber de electionibus* (= *Misharim*) (E, ff. 46b12–52b; V, ff. 198b1.8–203b1.3)
6. *Liber nativitatum* (no Hebrew original) (E, ff. 53a–68b; V, ff. 203b1.4–217b2.4), followed by a short text and a gloss
7. *Liber revolucionum* (no Hebrew original) (E, ff. 69a25–72b; V, ff. 218a1.18–220b), followed by an undated horoscope

Its title reads in full: *Abraha de nativitatis cum exemplaribus figurae singulis dominibus antepositus et Magistralis compositio astrolabii Haueri Bate. John North (Horoscopes and History* [London: The Warburg Institute, University of London, 1986], pp. 109 ff.) concludes that the fourteen horoscopes printed alongside *De nativitatis* “stem from the very time of the printing of the book.”


Smithuis, “Science in Normandy and England.”

For the sake of clarity, only the titles of these four treatises will be used in the genitive plural throughout this article.


Called *Indicia nativitatis* in the explicit.

In V another hand has added: *annuarum nati*. 

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32 For the sake of clarity, only the titles of these four treatises will be used in the genitive plural throughout this article.


34 Called *Indicia nativitatis* in the explicit.

35 In V another hand has added: *annuarum nati*.
8. Excerpta quaedam ex Libro indiciorum Abraham deprompta (no Hebrew original) (E, ff. 73a–77a, V, ff. 221a–224b1.11; both uncompleted). Manuscripts E and V, from the fourteenth and fifteenth century respectively, show great affinity—a proximity down to the level of spelling. While E consists exclusively of texts by Ibn Ezra, V contains several other astrological books, including (Pseudo-) John of Seville’s Liber Quadrripartitus and ’Umar Ibn al-Farrukhān’s De nativitatis.36

Thorndike’s comprehensive overview thus allows us to identify new treatises, which, as I will now argue, are by Abraham Ibn Ezra. It is of course possible that the newly identified treatises will be found in additional manuscripts and that other Latin versions of works by Ibn Ezra will be discovered in the future.37

Ibn Ezra’s Authorship of the Four Treatises

I now argue that the Liber nativitatis, Liber revolucionum, Liber eleccionum, Liber interrogacionum, and perhaps the Excerpta are Latin translations of compositions originally written in Hebrew by Ibn Ezra. The following considerations seem to confirm this thesis.

A. Attribution

Manuscripts E and V both ascribe all five texts to Abraham, just as they attribute the translations of the known Hebrew treatises to him. This suggests that all attributions are of equal reliability. Liber de electionibus even specifies more fully “Abraham Avenezre” in its incipit. It must be admitted, though, that the copyists of both manuscripts, or perhaps the translator, assumed that the authors of the Liber interrogacionum (explicit: “editus ab Abraham Iudeo quodam, “translated by a certain Abraham the Jew”) and Liber de interrogationibus (incipit: “ab alio editus”) were different Abrahams.

Abraham is more than once explicitly mentioned as the author within the texts themselves. In manuscript E this happens as follows: (1) “Dict Abraham additor,” f. 53a (Liber nativitatem, incipit); (2) “Et ego Abraham additor dico,” f. 39b20 (Liber eleccionum, within the main body of the text); (3) “Et ego Abraham qui addo hunc librum,” f. 20a8–9 (Liber interrogacionum, in the main body of the text); (4) “Et ego Abraham addens confiteor,” f. 20b1 (idem); and (5) “Et ego Abraham temptavi multiotiens,” f. 25b3 (idem).38 Furthermore, the author may be referring to himself on the following occasions: (1) “Dict Abraham subtillis,” f. 20b24 (Liber interrogacionum, in the main body of the text); (2) “Dict Abraham additor,” f. 21b19 (idem); (3+4) “Dict Abraham,” f.

36 The table of contents on f. 4b of E announces “Omar [sic] De nativititibus,” but this text seems now lost. Charles Burnett has recently questioned the authenticity of the ascription of the Yaqoge and Liber quadrripartitus to John of Seville, taking into account the possibility that the works may well represent Latin originals authored by Abraham Ibn Ezra. These works belong to the first (and very few twelfth-century) Latin compositions based on Arab astrological sources. They were printed as Epitome totius astrologiae, accompanied by an introduction of Joachim Heller, by Johannes Montanus and Ulricus Neuber at Nuremberg in 1548. See Charles Burnett, “John of Seville and John of Spain: A Mise au Point,” Bulletin de Philosophie Médévale 44 (2002): 59–78, §6. See also Chapter 3 of Smithius, “Abraham Ibn Ezra.”

37 The treatise that Thorndike, “The Latin Translations,” mentions as “Abrahismus” corresponds to Ibn Ezra’s commentary on his astronomical tables, which was edited by Milliàs Vallicrosa in El Libro de los Fundamentos. The Latin versions often contain added text additions as compared to their Hebrew originals. For a preliminary transcription of these see Appendix 10 of Smithius, “Abraham Ibn Ezra.”

38 This is a phrase which Ibn Ezra often used in his astrological works to stress how he had lengthy tested a particular astrological doctrine before incorporating it into his own work.
22a4 and 6 (idem); (5) “Dicit Abraham additor,” f. 29a13 (idem); (6) “Dicit Abraham,” f. 30a23 (idem).

In this context the following literary problem must be mentioned. In the table of contents of both E and V, Liber nati vit atum, Liber revolutionum, and Liber eleccionum are attributed to “Abraham Additor.” This attribution is undoubtedly based on the incipit to the Liber nati vit atum, which reads “Dicit Abraham additor,” a phrase that also appears several times in the Liber interro ga cionum and Liber eleccionum (see above). Several attempts have been made to explain this expression. Thorndike speculated that the works to which this name is attached could have been written by a different author, for instance some editor, who expanded Ibn Ezra’s astrological work with his own texts. The word “additor” would then refer to a person “who adds.” In reaction to this hypothesis, Levy upheld the explanation offered by Steinschneider, who interpreted “additor” in the light of Hagan le Juif’s colophon to Rešit ḥokmah, in which Ibn Ezra is called “master of help” (maître de aide), a pun on Ibn Ezra’s name that Ibn Ezra already had made himself. In their colophons to Rešit ḥokmah, Henry Bate and Peter d’Abano translated this expression as “magister adiutorii.” According to Steinschneider’s and Levy’s hypothesis, copyists could then have mistaken adiutori for additor.

Neither of these theories seems correct to me. The phrase “Dicit Abraham additor” probably reflects an original Hebrew “Amar Avraham ha-meḥaḇber” (“Abraham, the writer [of this book], said”), a formula that Ibn Ezra sometimes used in his writings to introduce a personal opinion. Now an examination of the Latin works reveals that they contain variants of the word “additor,” all of which reflect the same Hebrew background, i.e., the root h-b-r. This peculiarity seems to have its origin in the French versions of Hagan le Juif. In general, Hagan used a single French equivalent for all derivatives of the root h-b-r, even though they have many different meanings. Thus he translated both “addition” (meḥubbar) and “conjunction” (meḥaḇberet) by “ajoustem” or “a(d)jouste.” The pī’el form of the same root became “ajouter,” irrespective of whether, in the context, the verb in fact meant “to add” or “to write, compose.” For instance, the sentence in Mal doth, “the astrologers wrote (bibberu) many books on how to know the native’s profession,” is rendered by Hagin as “et les sages des signes ont adjoute aux Livres pour savoir le mestier au ne.” In chapter seven of Rešit ḥokmah Ibn Ezra speaks directly to his readers: “And I, Abraham, the compiler (ba-ma’atig) of this book,” which Hagin translated as “Et Abraham Even Azer ajoustant le Livre.” According to my suggestion, then, the presence of the word additor attests both to the original’s having been in Hebrew and to the fact that the Latin translation was made from the Old French of Hagin. This conclusion confers additional credibility on the ascription of the works contained in manuscripts E and V to Abraham Ibn Ezra.

39 At the same time, the two words seem to function as a kind of incipit to the final section of the book, which includes astrological judgments on hidden treasures and the whereabouts of a fugitive slave.


41 See “Ego Abraham quem addo hunc librum” (E, f. 20a); “Et ego Abraham addens confiteor” (Liber interro ga cionum; E, f. 20b), which suggests an original reading of וַאֲמֹר אֶלֶם יִדְעֶנָּם בִּנְכֵם.

42 Listed in the glossary of Levy, The Astrological Works. See also “ajoindre” for ḥuqqa." steht.

43 MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Opp. 727 [Neubauer 2225] (= O), f. 86b; F2, f. 93a.

44 Henry Bate (and Peter d’Abano) chose the word “compilator” here, but also elsewhere for ba-mehabber: L, f. 61b2.3 (Te’amim l) and f. 24a2 (prologue to ‘Olam l).
B. Hebrewisms

Persuasive evidence of a Hebrew origin of the texts can be found in several curious Latin expressions that can be explained as calques from the Hebrew, which passed via the Old French version. A few examples may suffice.

From Liber nativitatum
1. *Et n(unc) apporte cor tua(m) cui pl(anet)e assim(i)lat(ur) n(atur)a sua; hoc est via *communis* o(mm)nibus natis.* / Now, put your heart on (the question), which planet his personality resembles—this is a general rule applicable to all the natives (E, f. 55a25–27).
   *Comment:* The first few words (in italics) can easily be retranslated into Hebrew as “*we’atta sim libbeka ’el.*” Thus the Latin is a literal rendering of the idiom that actually means “to pay attention to, to consider.” It also seems that “*via communis*” ultimately goes back to “dereq kelal.”

2. *Ita facies in *c(er)hib asp(ec)tuum/* Thus you must act in words related to the aspects (E, f. 68b26).
   *Comment:* *Davar* in Hebrew means both “thing, matter” and “word”; here the translator clearly chose the wrong meaning. This translation error appears quite regularly, also, for instance, in the *Liber interrogacionum.*

3. *Na(m) ibi sc(r)psi *s(ecundum) q(uo)d c(on)cordave *s(um) Antiq(uitatum)/* For there I have written down what the mind of the Ancients agrees upon (E, f. 57b25–6).
   *Comment:* *De’ah,* which must have been the original word here, can mean “mind,” but also “opinion” and “knowledge.” The translator again chose the wrong meaning. This peculiarity is quite frequent in the *Liber nativitatum.* Similarly, an opinion of an astrological authority is sometimes called “scientia” in the *Liber electionum.*

4. *Et s(imi)llite ri si fu(eri) tella mala in domo quarta, accidet da(m)n(um) p(er)manum pat(r)is sui.* / Likewise, if a malefic is in the fourth place, harm will befall [the native] through the band of his father (E, f. 63a15–6).
   *Comment:* Per manum apparently mirrors ‘al yedei, literally “by the hands of” but actually “through, by means of.” This translation error is common in the *Liber nativitatum.*

*Liber interrogacionum*

*Et no(n) judices p(er) os testimonii unius.* / You must not judge through the mouth of one testimony (E, f. 21b2).
   *Comment:* The words “per os” become understandable only when one realizes that le-fi ‘according to’ is literally “to the mouth of.”

By contrast, I could not identify any traces of Hebrewisms in the *Liber revolutionum* and the *Excerpta,* with the possible exception of the slightly odd expression “infirmitas ponderosa,” which may reflect holi kaved ‘severe illness’.

C. Date of composition

Lists of star positions are found scattered throughout astrological literature.45 To produce such a list, an author as a rule copied the latitudes from his chosen source, but occasionally adapted the longitudes for a given year by applying a certain precession rate. The author of the *Liber*

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nativitatum lists the positions of the fatal stars at the beginning of 1149. He gives their longitude, latitude, and the corresponding “mixed nature,” which, following Tetribilos I, 9, determines their astrological character similar to one planet or to the mixture of two. Now on several occasions Ibn Ezra mentions a specific year in connection with star positions; namely (1) the end of the description of each of the zodiacal signs in chapter two of Rešit ḥokmah (1147/8); (2) ‘Olam I (1148); and (3) the Hebrew treatises on the astrolabe, all of which are named Keli ba-nebozet (1145/6 in the first two known versions and 1147/8 in the third version). If correctly interpreted, the date in the Liber nativitatum clearly lies within the same range. In this context it should be noted that manuscript E refers to “annis .1148. integris” = “1148 complete years.” Apparently, this year is expressed according to the Christian calendar. However, Ibn Ezra used the Jewish calendar (i.e., 4929) in his Hebrew writings. Moreover, in his version of Rešit ḥokmah, Hagin le Juif rendered Ibn Ezra’s only reference to 4908, found in the description of Aries in chapter two, as “. . .4908. (du creemant d’Adam)”; the explanatory words were added by Hagin or someone else.

The Liber revolucionum contains an anniversary horoscope, in which reference is made to a particular year. In E (f. 72a) the relevant passage seems to read: “V(erbi) g(ratione)—Sit a(liquis nat(us) in hora .12. diei sexte a(n)o .921. et sint t(ra)nscit .25. a(n)i nati.” In translation: “Example—If someone were born on the twelfth hour of the sixth day of the year 921, and 25 years have passed since (etc.).” If the date was transmitted correctly and is interpreted as a reference to the Jewish calendar, 921 would be 1160, and the passage of 25 years would bring us to 1185, which is after Ibn Ezra’s death. Of course nothing in the passage necessarily implies that the text was written in 1160 or 1185.

D. Cross-references
The Liber nativitatum, Liber revolucionum, Liber eleccionum, and Liber interrogacionum reveal a pattern of cross-references similar to what we know from the corpus of Ibn Ezra’s Hebrew astrological treatises. The author of the Liber nativitatum refers to his Liber primus de sensu (E, ff. 58b13, 60b20, 63b25, 64a23, 68b2+28), a title that can be read as reflecting Rešit ḥokmah. He also promises to write a Liber revolucionum (56b17, 61a14, 68a26) and a Verba iurium seculi (53b4), which can be taken as a reference to ‘Olam. The Liber revolucionum refers to the Liber nativitatum (69b26). The Liber interrogacionum contains references to the Liber primus de sensu (20a19, 22a20, 23a18, 25b1), the Liber nativitatum (22a10, 22b26), and a Liber claritatum, which reflects Me’orot (E, f. 26a). The author of the Liber eleccionum, finally, refers to his Liber primus de sensu (45a18) and Liber eleccionatum (40a24) as completed works, while promising to write a Liber iurium / indiciorum seculi (42a28, 42b1, 45a24) in the future. To complete the picture, the Liber nativitatum mentions a Liber tabularum (54b15, 57b2+25), a reference that also frequently turns up in Ibn Ezra’s Hebrew astrological works, mostly in the form of Sefer ha-Luḥot. This pattern of cross-references corroborates the attribution to Abraham Ibn Ezra. By contrast, there are no cross-references in the Excerpta.

E. Structure and Doctrines
There is a very strong case to be made in favor of Ibn Ezra’s authorship of the Liber nativitatum, revolucionum, eleccionum, and

46 Isti a(utem) s(unt) loci stella(rum) fixa(rum) q(ui) occid(it) et absco(itum) vit(a) et s(unt) loci co(rum) a(n)i .1148. integ(nis). E, f. 59a23.
47 Verba iurium seculi is probably a corruption of Verba iurium diei. All book titles mentioned in this paragraph can be convincingly explained by reference to Hagin’s versions.
48 Sela has devoted much attention to the interpretation of these cross-references; see Abraham Ibn Ezra, pp. 57-74.
interrogacionum, on the basis not only of their structure, but also of their close parallels with his other astrological writings. These parallels are too numerous to be detailed here. I hope to highlight them by publishing an edition and translation of the Liber nativitatum. What follows is a brief discussion of the overall structure and contents of the treatises in comparison with the rest of Ibn Ezra’s astrological works. The four treatises, together with Excerpta, belong to the part of astrology known as “individual” (γενετικαλογικόν),49 in distinction to general astrology (καθολικόν), according to Ptolemy’s classic definitions in Tetrabiblos (especially II, 1). This part of astrology concentrates on the interpretation of an individual nativity or horoscope (molad). Horoscopes are devised with the aim of discovering clues about certain aspects of life. Each of the twelve places into which the horoscope is commonly divided is assumed to hold the key to a different set of these aspects of life.50 The basic aspects associated with the twelve places can be summarized as follows: life—property—brothers and sisters—parents—children—health—marriage—death—travel—honors—friends—enemies. The more precise subject matter with which the places are usually linked varies to some extent from one branch of astrology to the other.

The Liber nativitatum, Liber revolucionum, and Excerpta

These works belong to the field of nativities. Like Moladot and the Liber de nativitatisibus of 1154, the Liber nativitatum and Excerpta deal with the interpretation of natal horoscopes. The Liber revolucionum, similar to the second part of Moladot, which is known as Tegufot ha-šanim (= Revolutions of the years [of nativities]), concentrates on topics relevant for the casting of anniversary horoscopes. Ibn Ezra’s works on anniversary horoscopes form a natural sequel to those on nativities, so it is sensible to treat the Liber nativitatum and Liber revolucionum together. As will become clear, the Liber revolucionum covers the same combination of material as Tegufot ha-šanim, thus qualifying as a supplement to the Liber nativitatum (or indeed any other treatise on nativities by Ibn Ezra) in the same way as Tegufot ha-šanim complements the first part of Moladot. It may be added that in some manuscripts Tegufot ha-šanim appears as a separate treatise.

A treatise on nativities written by Ibn Ezra can be recognized above all by its introduction. Parallel to the Liber de nativitatisibus and the first part of Moladot, the Liber nativitatum opens with a lengthy introduction to what forms a highly specialized field of astrology. The Excerpta, on the other hand, lacks an introduction altogether, probably because it is an abridgement. This renders it more difficult to identify the author of Excerpta, whereas Ibn Ezra’s authorship of the Liber nativitatum is easier to establish.

As a rule, the introductions to Ibn Ezra’s works on nativities extend to the first main section of the work, place one, covering most of its paragraphs, with only a few series of astrological judgments interspersed, and usually comprise about six standard topics of discussion. In what follows, E, O, and Venice 1485 refer respectively to the Liber nativitatum (E, ff. 53a–68b), Moladot (O, ff. 65b–90b), and the Liber de nativitatisibus (Venice 1485, f. a2a–c4b).

1. The relation between general and individual astrology (E, ff. 53a–54a28, basically the first four of the ten capitula;51 O, ff. 65b–66b3, eight darakim or ways;52 absent in Venice 1485);

49 Literally the word means “belonging to one’s birth.”
51 Namely: (1) region (clima) but also country/town (patria), (2) people (gens), (3) family (descensus), (4) country/town (patria); great conjunction.
52 Namely: (1) people (‘am), (2) region (gevaal), (3+) town (medinah); great conjunction and revolution of the year of the world, (5) family (miṭaḥah), (6) king (i.e., his
2. Determination of the ascending degree: astrology and “balances” (E, ff. 54b23–55a17; O, ff. 66b3–68b9; Venice 1485, f. a2a1–b25);
3. Determination of the strongest planet of the horoscope from the “five places of life” (E, f. 58b5–12, place one, definition of five places only; O, f. 69a2–14, place one; Venice 1485, f. a5a37–b24, place one);
4. First four years of life: doctrines about “testimony” (E, ff. 56b22–57b12; O, ff. 69b5–70a16; Venice 1485, f. a4a4–a5a37, place one);
5. Length of life (E, ff. 58a14–59b20, place one; O, ff. 71a3–74a14, end of place one; Venice 1485, ff. a7a20–a8a, end of place one);
6. Determination of the twelve cusps of the horoscope (E, ff. 57b21–58a13, beginning of place one; absent in O; Venice 1485, ff. a3a33–a4a2).  

After the introduction, Ibn Ezra’s treatises on nativities continue with the twelve main sections of the book, in which a number of astrological judgments (miṣāṭim in Hebrew, iudicia in Latin) are recorded for each place (H. bayit, L. domus) of the horoscope. According to Ibn Ezra’s works, the basic aspects associated with the twelve places can be further refined as follows: 

Place one: Physical appearance—Character—Wisdom—Length of life
Place two: Property and wealth
Place three: Brothers and sisters—Faith
Place four: Parents (life of the father)—Outcome of a situation, event, etc.—Hidden treasures
Place five: Children
Place six: Illnesses and injuries—Slaves
Place seven: Marriage—Sex—Wars—Associates
Place eight: Death—Inheritance
Place nine: Travel (long journeys)—Faith—Dreams—Sciences
Place ten: Honors—Profession—Life of the mother
Place eleven: Success—Popularity—Friends

Place twelve: Imprisonment and captivity—Enemies and quarrels—Animals for riding on

These topics return in the form of astrological judgments in all Ibn Ezra’s treatises on nativities.  

In the Liber revolutionum and the second part of Molodot, Teqfot ha-c’anim (which can, in fact, be considered as a treatise within a treatise), Ibn Ezra discusses anniversary horoscopes. The astrological genre at which these book titles hint, and in which he also wrote the closing parts of Te’anim 2, is known as the revolutions of the years of nativities. The classic manual on the subject is the fourth book of Dorotheos’ Pentabiblos; later there were various kutub tahāwiyyin šinī ‘adam al-mawādha (Books of the revolutions of the years of nativities). In general, the genre was widespread in Arabic astrological literature, where the revolutions of the years were studied in terms of both general and individual astrology.

Anniversary horoscopes are drawn up at the moment when the sun enters the same degree of the zodiac that it occupied at the time of birth, for comparison with the horoscope at the birth or base-nativity, known

decisions), (7) the weather (ba-toledet; Sela: “natural power”), (8) the wise soul (ne’aman bahkamah) and piety.

53 The text is somewhat messy, as this discussion appears at the end of capitulum five before the other chapters, which deal with more general astrological lore.
54 For a discussion of the difficult doctrines involved in these introductions see Smithuis, “Abraham Ibn Ezra,” chapter 1.5.3.
56 O, f. 128b–129b14, where the section is entitled ba-tequfah, referring to the revolution of the years of nativities, and ff. 111a23–113a.
57 David Pingree, Dorothei Sidonii Carmen astrologicum interpretatione anglicam versam anu cum Dorothei fragmentis et graecis et latinis (Leipzig: Teubner, 1976). He calls this genre “progressive geneathiological astrology.”
in Arabic as the *'aṣl al-milād* or *'aṣl al-mawlid*.58 Central themes shared by the *Liber revolutionum* and *Tequfot* include the exact length of the tropical year (a recurrent theme in Ibn Ezra’s writings) and the technical question of how to compute the ascending degree after one tropical year (or a multiple of this) that has passed since the base-nativity. Later in *Tequfot*, Ibn Ezra draws attention to monthly and daily horoscopes, leaving out weekly horoscopes (O, ff. 90ii°14–iii°20). All three kinds of progressive horoscopes occur in the *Liber revolutionum* (E, ff. 71b23–72b) as well as in *Te’anim* 2.59 Ibn Ezra’s technical expositions of the revolutions of the years are exceedingly difficult to understand.

The *Liber eleccionum*

Elections (H. *micharim*) are astrological judgments that advise an individual on the best moment to start an activity. They belong to the field of catarchic astrology, a term derived from the Greek καταρχή (commencement). In Arabic astrological literature, *micharim* were known as either *ibtidāʿat* (commencements) or *ikhtīyārūt* (choices). The introductions to the *Liber eleccionum* and both redactions of *Mihcharim* are similar to one other. In Ibn Ezra’s works the actual elections, ranging from astrological advice on how to secure male offspring and make a dinner party a success to recommendations for travelling safely on the open sea or when to wage a war, relate to the following topics:

Place one: Taking medicine and bloodletting—Studying—Taking a bath
Place two: Buying something—Lending money
Place three: Going on a short trip—Studying the law
Place four: Buying land—Erecting a building—Laying the foundation for some edifice—Doing something secret—Searching for buried treasure

Royal horoscopes: Founding a town—Building a wall around an existing town

The *Liber eleccionum* includes a passage on the computation of the moments of conception and birth and the duration of the pregnancy as part of place five, after an election for begetting a child. This is the kind of material Ibn Ezra usually includes in the introductions to his treatises on nativities because of its relevance to the discussion on “balances” (item 2 in the list on p. 52 above). In the same book, the discussion of place six is noteworthy in that it consists of a lengthy exposition of the twenty-eight mansions of the moon with the respective actions that are believed to be particularly suitable whenever the sun is located in this

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mansion. The *locus classicus* for this alternative type of elections, in which the twelve places of the horoscope no longer constitute the dominant system of reference, is a chapter of the seventh book of ‘Alī ibn abi al-Rijāl’s *Kitāb al-Bārî* fi ʾaḥkām al-nujām (The outstanding book on astrological judgments).62

The *Liber interrogacionum*

In the curious technique of interrogations (H. ʾšeʾelōt), the astrologer casts a horoscope during a moment of intense self-examination or during a consultation by a client in order to find an answer to a well-defined question or set of questions. The idea sometimes encountered that the astrological genres of elections and interrogations are basically the same63 may be due, in part, to the absence of a clear-cut distinction between the two genres in *Pīʾ l-masaʾil* (On interrogations), the influential fifth book of Dorotheos of Sidon’s *Pentabiblos*, which later became fully integrated into Arabic catarachic astrology. Some confusion may have arisen also because elections and interrogations were common kinds of astrological examination to which people had recourse in everyday life. The two kinds of astrological judgements existed side by side and were to some extent interchangeable. People often used the method of interrogations when they wanted news about a third person, information that cannot be obtained via the method of elections, where the horoscope applies only to the individual for whom it is cast. An interrogation may concern the fate of a missing or absent person or lead to information about the approximate whereabouts of a fugitive slave, lost property, and hidden treasures. Being rather different from elections, the technique of interrogations requires some theoretical backing of its own, which is exactly what Ibn Ezra tries to provide, in a number of ways, in his introduction to the *Liber interrogacionum* and his two other redactions of ʾšeʾelōt. These introductions, which can be read in close conjunction with each other, include a number of striking parallels.64 In the *Liber interrogacionum* as well as in ʾšeʾelōt 1 and 2 the astrological judgments are grouped following the system of the twelve places.65 Both the *Liber interrogacionum* (E, ff. 29a13–30a) and ʾšeʾelōt 2 add a number of final paragraphs after this discussion of the twelve places. Characteristic of both works is that these concluding sections combine a general exposition of different aspects of the method of interrogations with additional astrological judgments, which are thematically grouped around, respectively, (1) the finding of hidden objects (E, f. 29b1–17) and fugitive slaves (E, f. 30a) and (2) wives/marriage (relevant to place seven), the location of stolen goods (places seven and eight), and treasures (P, ff. 7a–8a).

F. Transliteration of Foreign Terms

Arabic astrological writings and their Latin descendants abound with transliterated technical terms deriving from Greek, Persian, or Sanskrit.66 Ibn Ezra, by contrast, generally avoided transliterations from other languages and used Hebrew scientific terms that he had coined...

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62 It may be noted that similar material ascribed to Dorotheos and the Indians occurs at the end of part four on elections of (Pseudo-) John of Seville’s *Liber quadrupartitus*. See n. 37 above and the Hebrew fragment preserved in MS Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1186, ff. 80a–82b. For more information on Ibn Ezra’s books on elections see Smithius, “Abraham Ibn Ezra,” chapter 1.5.4 and Appendix 6.


65 The questions concerned are listed in an extensive comparative table in ibid., Appendix 6.

himself.69 Leaving aside transliterated star names (which appear occasionally alongside newly coined Hebrew names), there are only four transliterations of technical terms in Ibn Ezra’s Hebrew astrological works. This selective use of transliteration makes it possible for us to recognize astrological texts from his pen, both in Hebrew and in Latin. The transliterated terms are: (1) In several of his astrological treatises Ibn Ezra mentions the Arabic al-fardār, a technical term that derives from a Pahlavi transliteration of the Greek periodos, denoting a cycle of seventy-five years in both individual and general astrology (only in rare instances did he render it as beleg ‘part’).66 (2–3) He replaced the common but difficult terms bilaj and kadkhudāb, which in the field of nativities are of special relevance to the determination of the length of life of individuals, with new standard expressions (mezōmot ba-hayyīm and ba-idāʾīt ('at ba-nolad / ba-nolad), i.e., “the ruler/lord” (“of the horoscope”), with variants,67 but often not until he had first briefly introduced them in transliteration to his reader. The latter happens in the introduction to Moladot but also in Te’amim 2.68 (4) When evaluating various techniques for the determination of the ascending degree at the time of birth, in the introductions to his treatises on nativities Ibn Ezra usually explains his own term moznayīm ‘balance’ (truitina) as a translation of the Persian word namūdar, which can be understood as rectification.69

While the Excerpta unfortunately lacks an introduction in which the terms bilaj, kadkhudāb, and namūdar could have appeared, the first two are nevertheless briefly mentioned in the related discussion to place one, where they are accompanied by the information that Ibn Ezra usually provides on such occasions. None of the four transliterated terms occurs in the Liber nativitatum. This can be explained as due to the relative brevity of his discussion of the determination of the length of life (I, f. 58b5–12), which did not give Ibn Ezra an occasion to use bilaj or kadkhudāb.70 The Latin translator of the Liber nativitatum was obviously at a loss when he encountered the word “balances” in his

French Vorlage, for this is how he decided to translate, or rather not to translate, part of the passage in front of him:

Et inhibeo t(ibi) ne decipiaris in accipiendo gr(adius) ascen-dentem es balāt(n)ces <Pto>bo(lomeus) v(e) et balances sapi-entum(m) P(er)sie, e(om) ilia est(r)t jour ens e(st) balāt(n)ces (...) mo(n)ter de ?me(n)t ensemble. (f. 54b)

Ibn Ezra thus seems to have refrained here from mentioning the originally Persian term namūdar to supplement the new and unusual term. In the tenth capitulum of his introduction to the same treatise (ff. 56b–57a), finally, he dealt with the theory of al-fardār without feeling the need to use the term in transcription or a Hebrew equivalent. On the other hand, “alparādār” occurs twice in the Liber revolutionum. No other transliterations of technical terms common in medieval astrological literature are to be found in any of the four Latin works under discussion.

65 Sela, Abraham Ibn Ezra, pp. 93–143.
69 See O, ff. 66b3–68b9; Venice 1485, a2a1–a2b25; cf. Liber nativitatum E, f. 54b23–55a17. Definitions of the various technical terms can be found in Elwell-Sutton, The Horoscope, pp. 63–65 (hilāj), 82 (mustaul), 83 (namūdar). For Ibn Ezra’s use of the term moznayīm see also Gad B. Surfati, Mathematical Terminology in Hebrew Scientific Literature of the Middle Ages (Hebrew) (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1968), §186.
70 The terms “signator” and “prepositus,” on the other hand, mentioned in the same discussion, do reflect the notion of “ruler” or “lord of the horoscope.”
G. Mention of Authorities

Arabic astrological literature often quotes sayings or opinions attributed to a certain scholarly circle or individual from the past, notably Ptolemy, Dorotheos of Sidon, and the fictitious Hermes. In Ibn Ezra’s Hebrew astrological writings these authorities are also quoted often, but Hermes, who is very frequently mentioned, is replaced by Hanok (Enoch). 71 The four Latin treatises show the same general pattern of quoting authorities as do Ibn Ezra’s Hebrew works, and in particular use the latinized form of Hanok, Enoc(h). 72 References to astrological authorities are absent from the Excerpta, however.

All the above considerations allow us to conclude, I think, that there is abundant evidence in favor of Ibn Ezra’s authorship of the Libri nativitatum, revolutionum, eleccionum, and interrogationum. The Excerpta remains a merkav: we can be truly certain only that this is probably a Latin version of a long Hebrew original, which is attributed to a certain Abraham. Like all other Latin translations, these versions of Ibn Ezra’s works were made from the Old French versions of Hagin le Juif. The fact that no corresponding versions in French are known today is not a counter-argument, for, as I argued, many of Hagin’s translations have been lost.

Conclusion

The astrological works of Abraham Ibn Ezra, who was known to Christian scholars of the Middle Ages and Renaissance mainly as an astrologer, are preserved in a remarkable number of Latin translations. I suggested that the number of French translations, made by Hagin le Juif in the thirteenth century, was also considerable, and that in fact all Latin translations derive from them. I have reported here the discovery of four Latin astrological works, which I argued should also be ascribed to Ibn Ezra: the Liber nativitatum, Liber revolutionum, Liber eleccionum, and Liber interrogationum. I also argued that Ibn Ezra composed these treatises in Hebrew and that they were subsequently translated into Latin via an intermediary in Old French. The existence of these newly discovered works should not come as a surprise: Ibn Ezra worked for different local audiences and patrons and wrote and rewrote the same basic treatises a number of times during his life, sometimes in Hebrew and sometimes in Latin: this is why we have multiple redactions of his works. In the present case, however, we are dealing with more than newly identified redactions. Although in these four works Ibn Ezra covered the same ground as in other works and naturally repeated in part what he said there, I think that these Latin texts differ sufficiently to warrant being referred to as separate works rather than as additional redactions of known works. In this sense it can be said that we now have in Hebrew two detailed treatments of nativities—Moladot and the Liber nativitatum. These four works are thus an important addition to Ibn Ezra’s known astrological corpus. It should be noted in passing that these are very literal translations that, even more than the other Latin versions, must have left their readers perplexed.

The newly identified treatises invite us to revise the traditional view that Ibn Ezra composed two Hebrew astrological encyclopedias during his lifetime: one in Italy, around 1146, and another in southern France around 1148. 73 Shlomo Sela holds a slightly different view. He argues

71 That Ibn Ezra equated these two names is well-known. See Sela, Abraham Ibn Ezra, pp. 33, 184-85.
72 For a full index of sources as referred to in Ibn Ezra’s astrological works, see Smithuis, “Abraham Ibn Ezra,” Appendix 2.
that Ibn Ezra first composed a series of seven compositions (Reiit bokhmeh, the first redactions of Te'amim, Moladot, Micharim, Se'elot, Me'orot, and ‘Olam) in Béziers in 1148, and later wrote, still in France but after 1148, a second one (including Mipeiti ha-mazzalot and the second redactions of Te'amim, Moladot, Micharim, Se'elot, Me'orot, and ‘Olam). Thus he, too, ascribes two Hebrew encyclopedias to Ibn Ezra, one composed in 1148 and the other after that date. These views must probably be modified. In view of the new findings reported here we now have, in Hebrew, one treatise on medical astrology; two introductions, commentaries, and treatises on nativities and on general astrology; and three treatises on both elections and interrogations. Given the systematic character of Ibn Ezra’s writing (especially the cross-references), it is tempting to assume that there originally existed at least three Hebrew encyclopedias.

The following, hypothetical reconstruction of the dates and places of composition can now be proposed. There can be little doubt that Ibn Ezra composed a first Hebrew encyclopedia in Italy before 1148: this seems plausible in view of the length and productivity of his sojourn there (1140–48). The next Hebrew encyclopedia he wrote in Southern France, and it contained at least Reiit bokhmeh, Te’amim 1, and ‘Olam 1. The third encyclopedia he may have written in Angevin France or perhaps in England. A (very) small indication to this effect may be the local latitude mentioned in Mipeiti ha-mazzalot.


The treatise Sela is referring to here is the Liber de natevitatis, written in 1154, assuming that it is a translation of a Hebrew original. See, however, my remarks above.

He assumes this particular version to be lost, since only one version of Me’orot has so far been identified among the Hebrew manuscripts.

He has abandoned his initial hypothesis that Mipeiti ha-mazzalot was the first astrological treatise Ibn Ezra wrote, that is, in Lucca in 1146. See Sela, Abraham Ibn Ezra, pp. 79–80.

Ibid.

See also Smithuis, “Science in Normandy.”

See Shlomo Sela and Gad Freudenthal, “Abraham Ibn Ezra’s Non-Poetic Writings: A Chronological Listing,” in this issue of Aleph (especially with regard to the dating of Te’amim 2).
Appendix A: Table of Incipits and Explicit

Most of Ibn Ezra’s astrological treatises remain in manuscript. Notable exceptions are (1) the edition of Re'īṭ ḥokmāh by Levy and Cantera [= L/C], who accompanied it with an inadequate English translation; (2) the uncritical edition of ‘Olam 1 by Judah L. Fleischer. Several other treatises were published by M. Baqal (Jerusalem, 1971; 1982). Short references to manuscripts not yet cited in this article are B (= MS Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 220 [Or. Qu. 679]), C (MS Cambridge, University Library, Add. 1517), M (MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 202), and P (MS Paris, BnF, hêb. 1058). A few simple transcription rules have been observed. Letters between brackets represent: () letters not found in the original text due to abbreviations < > altered letters in case of obvious spelling, grammatical, or similar errors by the printer or copyist [ ] reconstructions of lost or illegible letters; blank space between square brackets denotes a lacuna in the original text

The “i” has been changed into “j” at the beginning of each French syllable or word. My distinction into “first” and “second” versions follows the standard set by Sela. Incidentally, Ptolemy is rendered in these texts as ים הספירה (all the first versions) and the rabbincששת (all the second versions).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INCIPIT</th>
<th>EXPLICIT</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Re'īṭ ḥokmāh A. Hebrew original (1148):</td>
<td>I. Re'īṭ ḥokmāh A. Hebrew original (1148):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Hagin, Li Livres du Commencement de sapience (1273):</td>
<td>B. Hagin, Li Livres du Commencement de sapience (1273):</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comenchal de sapience, c'est crémeur de Dieu; et c'est li chasti car, quant un home ne cerche après ses ieus ne après son cuer por accomplir son desir, adone se repose le sens dedens li ; et encore la creume de Dieu le garde des coustumes de ces chas et de leur destine trestous les jors de sa vie, et quant departira l'ame de son cors il la fera heriter vie de siecle. (L/C, p. 31)</td>
<td>Et meineums autres est encore en la nativité de l'ome et es revolutions d'ennie du siecle; et c'est que tu dois mener du gré l'ascendant a cors d'estoile ou au regart de sa clarité a signe seu ou a degré seu chacun an... degré. Et le meintenem des cors et le rebours des signes est com a rameneu Bertelmiou o Livre du fruit. (L/C, p. 125)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

80 Levy-Cantera, Beginning of Wisdom; Fleischer, “Sefer ha-‘Olam”; Sela, Abraham Ibn Ezra and Greive (Studien) mention additional uncritical editions.
C. Henry, Bate, Introductio ad astronomiam (1292):

Inicium sapientie timor d(i)m(i)nui, hu(i) as(i) ier(i)bi seu dicii ien(i)s hic e(x) q(uod) du(m) homo n(e)c post os(u)i suos neque post cor suum ete iud(u)re seu evagari ad c(o)c depr(cip)escias suas p(r) e(r)cias t(u)i in ip(s)o quiescit i(n) (... ad ...), timor Dei p(re)s(ey)at ip(s)um a c(o)nuei tre ce(l)us(e)rum leg(i)b(u)rum seu ordinc(i)e(o)b(u)rum et fati es(r)um cunctis diebus vive suet em cum a corp(o) se(r)aparata fu(er)it anima f(aci)et em inhabite vitam s(x)c(ol)orum (L. f. 2a).

D. Peter d’Abano, Introductioium qui dictur Principium Sapientie (1293):

Cum initium sapientie Dei timor existat, h(oc) utique virtus et sapere depredienti(um) quando ho(m)o non suorum ocui(um) ducta cordis(i)e(i) ii(i) per sua illicita adimplat etiam (s)unt magis seips(o) retrahet(e)s complittissim.i. Tunc e(a)n(i) q(i)e(i) Dei timor ipsum ab ill(o)rum imp(re)sionibus fat(o)que ille(i)sem usque ad suet vive terminu(m) (con)servant a Deo q(u)i ipsius animam post a corpore separationem vite futuri seculi hereditem institut. (Venice 1507, 2a1)

2. Te'amim 1

A. Hebrew original (1148):

By the word of the LORD our God, a word that rests on the throne of heaven, is the word of the — and it is finished in every place. It is not in the heaven above, nor in the earth below, that we can find any of his works —

(M, f. 67a)

B. Henry, Bate, Liber rationum (1292):

Et hoc utique es(e)ringit p(ro)p(er) velocitatem(m) mot(um) duo(rum) sup(er)ici(um) aut pro(p)er(es) eo(rum) tarditatem(m). Hoc (i)g(i) tur(d) adhuc explanabo tibi in Libro Seculii sive Resoluc(i)onem(m) (M)ui(n)i (p)er adiutoriu(m) [scratched out: mundi] Dei seculi(um) (L., f. 73 a-b)

3. Mişepe ha-mazalot

A. Hebrew original:

At the end of the days, the Lord spoke through his servant Isaiah:

(Mzc)

Elsewhere: Ṣophon.
C. and M2: Ṣophon.
B. Henry Bate, Liber introductorius ad judiciae astrolgie (1292).
Spera maior honorabilis in qua totus est exerit(xii:xi) Dei gloriosi et socraticus celo(rum) notata est, ab illa quidem ininitur: quae spere se(s) septem(m) planet(arum). Duodecim versio sig(ni) in cingulo sp(e)te s(un) quam et Antiqui saepe partit(s) iun) in . . . ymagines. Qua(rum) . . . .

C. Anonymous translation of De iudicis sighorum:

Principati causa domus(rum) pr(or)(un)ice domus(rum) opposita(m) et c(un)(un)ae(ta) si Deus iudicis sighorum, sive de die, sive de nocte et pr(a)ta(forma)
circulus sighorum (rum) sup(e)r(are). A. pr(un)ice, un(us) e(st) g(reat)is ascensens g(reat)i (rum) sit et cuius sig(ni) in pra(ter) or(i)ti et vocat(ur) cavilla pr(ri)ma.44 (E, f. 5a)

4. Te'amim 2

A. Hebrew original:

C. Anonymous translation of De iudicis sighorum:

Et super(e) illa(m) viam pr(ri)ma(s) c(omnia) domus(rum) se(cundae), nisi q(ue) d(e)li pr(orn)ter te respici(er) e gradus oppo(sitiones) et ita fu(eri) tum p(rincipi)um tertiie que ha(abet) magnum nomen.45 (1968-8)

Earlier:

Si vis scire p(r)incipi a in ap(ri)pro(pri)o quoc(ione) accepit ascensio(jones) q(ue) siti et vide qua(n)ta minu(e)tur in(e) ip(sum) et e(st) cul(um) si ip(sum) velis p(a)cri(e) et itu accepit ascensio jones g(reatis) illi(rum) q(ue) duxist(i ad illa(m) et sic (uc) us(e) ritu(g) gradus), ita illa . . . et sic ut(ri)us. (E, f. 19a20-24)

83 Thorndike (“The Latin Translations,” p. 296) mentions one more manuscript with the same explicit.
84 This version starts from “NAPSHOT” after the discussion of the planetary domains. O, f. 50b-51a.
85 “Que habet magnum nomen” is not found on f. 68a of O.
B. Henry Bate, Liber rationum (1292):
Fundam(en)rum qu(ue)d(e)m volo pon(ere)
Libro initii sapientiae. Scito ne(m)que quod
omnis c(oe)lum(s) aur(a)rum(a) sol(i)m(n)um ex
Dei co(n)s(e)nsu(ri)m gloriosi ac metuendi. In
Proverbia(ut)um ait Salomon no(n) di(dici)
sapie(n)tiam neq(ue) sancto(rum) sc(enti)am
id est angelo(rum). (L., f. 49b2)

B. Hugio le Juif, Livre des Jugemens des
nativite
E dist nostre maistre Abraham le sage
avertissant que tout sage que sentremet du
sens des jugemens des signes et il ne se doit
me de la sapie(n)ce souveraine il est tel fois que
ses jugemens sont faus pour qu il ne se
garde mie des choses de quoi il se doit
garder. (F., f. 66b2-6b)

C. Peter d'Abano, Liber rationum:
Volo enim ni(n)c ponere fundamentum(m)
Libro de Pr(i)incipio Sapientiae.
Certitudinaliter autem scio creature omnem
laborum, ut Dei honorati intersit consilio et
timmer, ascenduntur parabolas Aghur id est
Salomonis. Et ega non dixi sapientiam,
noeq(ue) scientiam sanctorum id est
angelonum. (Venice 1507, 32a1)

5a. Moladot (part 1)
A. Hebrew original:
Amorim yud mim binti yishuv tov dibor shatter
Sh. Moladot (part 2—Toqafot ba-isanim)
A. Hebrew original:

חַש בֶּית דִּמְעָה מִיהוּ מִשְׁפָּרָה שֶׁמִּנָּה בְּרֵכָּת אָמְרָה דְּבָרִים וְנְאֻסָּהָה דִּמְעָה מִיָּעֶה עַל נְפָשׁוֹת עַל חֵלֶב נְפָשׁוֹת וְעָלָיוֹן
(O, f. 88b)

Sh. Moladot (part 2—Toqafot ba-isanim)
A. Hebrew original:

בִּגְלָל בְּלַעְבָּר יָדִים עַלָּיוֹן עַל נְפָשׁוֹת עַל חֵלֶב נְפָשׁוֹת שֶׁמִּנָּה בְּרֵכָּת אָמְרָה דְּבָרִים וְנְאֻסָּהָה דִּמְעָה מִיָּעֶה
(O, f. 90iiib)

B. Hagin, Le Livre des Jugements des nativités

Les homes dindes si dient que lan du soleil si est .365. jours et le quart et le q(u)a(n)t dune heure sur ce ail entre chacune revolucion .93. (de)gres et jeres .2. partes. (F1, f. 95a)

6. Mefharim 1
A. Hebrew original:

אֶזְכָּר כְּרֵצָה סְרַגָּמְל אָמְרָה וּרְאֵר מְדוּנָה יָדוֹת לֹא יְשׁוּפֵי הָעַרְיָה מִיָּעֶה עַל לֹא לּא יְשׁוּפֵי הָעַרְיָה מִיָּעֶה עַל
(O, f. 165a)

C. Peter d’Abano, De revolutionibus nativitatum (tractatus secundus):88

Indi dixerunt anum(m) solare(m) esse .365. dies et quartam diei praeterea(m) et quinta(m) unius hore. Et sunt secundum(h) hoc in qualibet revolucion .93. gra(dus) et iterum .2. partes. (Venice 1507, 60a1)

7. Mefharim 2
A. Hebrew original:

אֶזְכָּר כְּרֵצָה סְרַגָּמְל אָמְרָה וּרְאֵר מְדוּנָה יָדוֹת לָא יְשׁוּפֵי הָעַרְיָה מִיָּעֶה עַל לָא יְשׁוּפֵי הָעַרְיָה מִיָּעֶה עַל
(O, f. 149b)

D. Ludovicus de Angulo, De natavitatisibus (1448):

Indy dica(u)s q(u)od(m) ann(us) solis est .365. die(rum). .6. hora(rum). .12. mi(nutorum) et (de) int(r)us duas revolucion(u)s(cus) est spatium(m). 93. g(radus). .2. mi(nutorum). (MS Paris, BNF 7321, f. 111b)

D. Ludovicus de Angulo, De natavitatisibus (1448):

Et si fu(e)r(it) in c(on)niunctio(ne) vel asp(ec)te dic(u)s praeterea(m) sup(e)riorium eo, ille superrior recipiunt virtute(m) et erit almus(b)ia(n)ti et debes misere(n)re naturam illo(rum) duo(rum) su(e)nde(m) eorum a sole et in signo in quarto su(n) et in angulis. (MS Paris, BNF 7321, f. 114v/b)

C. Peter d’Abano, De revolutionibus nativitatum (tractatus secundus):88

Et sic huc planeta fuerit in co(r)junctione, aut aspecta planeta ipso altioris, planeta hic superiori recipiunt virtute principiatur in nato. Et debes misere naturam illorum domorum s(ecundum) locum(m) solis, et signum illorum .2. et angulo(rum). (Venice 1507, 62b1)

88 A few pages are mixed up in the Venice, 1507 edition.
Es sages de la loi sotoient q(u)e lome a bien pouvoir de faire bien et mal et Moyes n(o)tre mestre le dit esplanement cest a savoir et escluses la vie et se ce fust ou ne fust pas dampte. Jerroes nos Anciens leur ram(ent)brance soit benie dirent q(u)e tout est en la miei Dieu, fors le creume Dieu. (F1, f. 109a1)

C. Peter d’Aboano, *De electionibus*:  
Sapi(e)n tes legis consenserunt hominem perfecte habere potestatem in faciendo bonum et malum. Et Moyes magister noster dixit plane hoc quidem est scire et super istud est via. Q(uo)deo si hoc non fuisse, non esset damnatus homo. Et iterum nostris Antiquis, quora(m) sit memoria beneficita disere totum fore in manu divina, excepto timore Dei. (Venice 1507, 67a2)

D. Arnoul de Quincampoix, *De electionibus*:  
Sapiences in lege concordant sunt q(uod) homo naturaliter de libertate arbitrii potest facere bonum et malum. Et hoc plane testatur m(a)(g)istri non ser Moyses, dicens et eliges vita(m). Et nisi hoc esset non damnacemur. Preterea n(o)stri Veters benedictar co(r)um memoria, disserunt q(uod) monsia sunt in manu Dei. (G, f. 91b)

E. Anonymous translation of *De electionibus*:  
Sapi(enes) legis sustin(nit) q(uod)i h(omo) h(abi)tus posse faciendi bonum et malum. Et Moyes m(a)(g)istri n(o)stri d(i)cit h(o)c ap(ete). Et n(i)i h(o)c fuisset n(uk)l(i)x d(a)mnim. It(em) Antiqui sui m(a)(g)istri iuventum rememos constituit i(ie)tq(i) in Tauro quando bove(m). Et in emendo vero camellum apta locum Veneris aut Iovis, ita enim disserunt Antiqui. (Venice 1507, 71a2)

89 F2, f. 112b: Aries.  
90 F2, f. 112b: les brebis.  
F. Anonymous translation of Electiones Abrahmi:

Sapientes legis s(e)n(ens)q(uerunt) 92 q(uod) homoe de libero arbitrio p(ote)n(t) fac(e)r(e) bonum(n) et malum(n) et Moyses mag(ist)er legis dixit hoc(um) exp(ressum). Tu eliges vitam nam si no(n) possit vita(m) elig(e)r(e) nun(m)q(uam) et ssext h(oc) mo(do) da(m)n(um)ur.

Et Antiqui n(ost)r(i), quo(rum) memori(a) sit in h(o)c(n)(e)dis, donec dixit(um) q(uod) q(uae)(um)ur(e)(r) n(o)(m)q(uae)(r) e(st) in mu(n)d(o) et(um) D(c)e p(rer)(c)rit timere D(on)m(i)n q(uae)(r) e(st) in homi(n)i.(e. (MS Oxford, BL, Digby 212, l. 64b)

8. Se’elot 1 93 Hebrew original:

אע工业企业 שושר מאפרים בצורת זה בלת מחמצת תרבות צור גורדי בכדי תחילת חדש מבית תאור ביבט משימה

(ו, l. 141b)

9. Se’elot 2

A. Hebrew original:

תודה בחרת לה嚭יתו נ CURL קרא הער נפסל ונפסל משמית ש תנאי אר又好又�ו מלחין צורת גדול המשמש

(P, f. 8b)

B. Hagaon, Le Livre des Questions:

Es chiese des astronomia furent .2. Li uns Pro(lémæ), li autres Dor(o)nibus et tous .2. furent lors. Et Pro(lémæ) oteri les juge(me)n des revolucions et des nati vac it .3. Lières de ce, mes il notoire pas q(ue) dema(n)des soient vraies. (F1, f. 113bl.24-32)

C. Peter d’Aboano, De interrogationibus:

Astrologie duo extir fur(n)i capitia, un(um) quide(n) Psulme(n)us), altera(n) v(eri) o Donoro(nibus). Et ambo fuere(n) reget.

Psulmeus aut(em) concessit revolutiones et natio vacas et composuit libris .2. ex eis, s(ed) non invent interogationes vera(es) vi(e). (Venice 1507, 602b)

C. Peter d’Aboano, De interrogationibus:

Plures itidem inspexerunt numerum dienum caudabilem planeta qui o(m)nes sunt, sicut est numerus annorum minorum ipsorum.

(Venice 1507, 67a1)


93 In the manuscripts this treatise is regularly tucked away as the last section of a larger work, which also bears the title Sefer ha-Se’elot. In general, catalogues tend to ascribe the complete work prematurely to Ibn Ezra (thus IMHM, Zotenberg, Neubauer, and Steinmaier). Sela, on the other hand, defines Se’elot I in the same way as I do in the present table. See further Appendix B below.
D. Arnol de Quincampoix, De questionibus.
Capitum astronomiae fuerunt duo, una (m) Phtholomaei (us) et aliud Dionisi et ambo fuere (nt) reges. Et <P>ho-lo-moeus aeternum aeterna sunt et verum <P>orantium (m) et ambo fuerunt reges. Et Tholomaei (us) concitae operum (m) et eorum (m) posuit super hoc tres libros in v. <P>ericsecue (nt) sic. Et postea in nativitate (m). Sed mo(n) (on) edict (o)n (nt) ftias (t) qus (ct) (nt) (...). (MS Oxford, BL, Digby 212, f. 72a).

E. Anonymous translation of De interpretationibus.24
Capita sapiens unum (m) signum (nt) fuerunt et alius Dionisi et ambo fuerunt reges. Et Tholomaei (us) eon (nt) edict (o)n (nt) aeternum (m) et eorum (m) posuit super hoc tres libros in v. <P>ericsecue (nt) sic. Et postea in nativitate (m). Sed mo(n) (on) edict (o)n (nt) ftias (t) qus (ct) (nt) (...). (MS Oxford, BL, Digby 212, f. 67b2).

F. Anonymous translation of De questionibus.
Et sup(e)r(s) et p(r)incipali(b)us sapiens (m) signorum et planetarum (m) fuere (nt) duo, una (m) Tholomaei (us) alius (nt) <P>orantium (m) et ambo fuerunt reges. Et Tholomaei (us) concitae operum (m) et eorum (m) posuit super hoc tres libros in v. <P>ericsecue (nt) sic. Et postea in nativitate (m). Sed mo(n) (on) edict (o)n (nt) ftias (t) qus (ct) (nt) (...). (MS Oxford, BL, Digby 212, f. 72a).

G. Anonymous translation of De questionibus.
Preterea plures aspiciens in numero dierum fast(n)orum cuius (nt) libet et illi sunt sicur anni erant (m) minores. (G, f. 91b)

H. Anonymous translation of De questionibus.
Plures aspiciens in numero dierum fast(n)orum cuius (nt) libet et illi sunt sicur anni erant (m) minores. (E, f. 39b)

I. Anonymous translation of De questionibus.
Plures aspiciens in numero dierum fast(n)orum cuius (nt) libet et illi sunt sicur anni erant (m) minores. (G, f. 91b)

J. Anonymous translation of De questionibus.
Plures aspiciens in numero dierum fast(n)orum cuius (nt) libet et illi sunt sicur anni erant (m) minores. (E, f. 39b)

K. Anonymous translation of De questionibus.
Plures aspiciens in numero dierum fast(n)orum cuius (nt) libet et illi sunt sicur anni erant (m) minores. (G, f. 91b)

L. Anonymous translation of De questionibus.
Plures aspiciens in numero dierum fast(n)orum cuius (nt) libet et illi sunt sicur anni erant (m) minores. (E, f. 39b)

M. Anonymous translation of De questionibus.
Plures aspiciens in numero dierum fast(n)orum cuius (nt) libet et illi sunt sicur anni erant (m) minores. (G, f. 91b)

N. Anonymous translation of De questionibus.
Plures aspiciens in numero dierum fast(n)orum cuius (nt) libet et illi sunt sicur anni erant (m) minores. (E, f. 39b)

O. Anonymous translation of De questionibus.
Plures aspiciens in numero dierum fast(n)orum cuius (nt) libet et illi sunt sicur anni erant (m) minores. (G, f. 91b)

P. Anonymous translation of De questionibus.
Plures aspiciens in numero dierum fast(n)orum cuius (nt) libet et illi sunt sicur anni erant (m) minores. (E, f. 39b)

Q. Anonymous translation of De questionibus.
Plures aspiciens in numero dierum fast(n)orum cuius (nt) libet et illi sunt sicur anni erant (m) minores. (G, f. 91b)

R. Anonymous translation of De questionibus.
Plures aspiciens in numero dierum fast(n)orum cuius (nt) libet et illi sunt sicur anni erant (m) minores. (E, f. 39b)

S. Anonymous translation of De questionibus.
Plures aspiciens in numero dierum fast(n)orum cuius (nt) libet et illi sunt sicur anni erant (m) minores. (G, f. 91b)

T. Anonymous translation of De questionibus.
Plures aspiciens in numero dierum fast(n)orum cuius (nt) libet et illi sunt sicur anni erant (m) minores. (E, f. 39b)

U. Anonymous translation of De questionibus.
Plures aspiciens in numero dierum fast(n)orum cuius (nt) libet et illi sunt sicur anni erant (m) minores. (G, f. 91b)

V. Anonymous translation of De questionibus.
Plures aspiciens in numero dierum fast(n)orum cuius (nt) libet et illi sunt sicur anni erant (m) minores. (E, f. 39b)

W. Anonymous translation of De questionibus.
Plures aspiciens in numero dierum fast(n)orum cuius (nt) libet et illi sunt sicur anni erant (m) minores. (G, f. 91b)

X. Anonymous translation of De questionibus.
Plures aspiciens in numero dierum fast(n)orum cuius (nt) libet et illi sunt sicur anni erant (m) minores. (E, f. 39b)

Y. Anonymous translation of De questionibus.
Plures aspiciens in numero dierum fast(n)orum cuius (nt) libet et illi sunt sicur anni erant (m) minores. (G, f. 91b)

Z. Anonymous translation of De questionibus.
Plures aspiciens in numero dierum fast(n)orum cuius (nt) libet et illi sunt sicur anni erant (m) minores. (E, f. 39b)
B. Henry Bate, De luminumibus (1292):

Dominus Deo sequitur simpliciter oris q(uam) diu in me e(st) anima mea ut in cor meum lumine(um) sua(um) in(mit) et vis(i)tatem m(i)libus(m) in(mit) et del(e)c(t)able lumine(um) eius ac bonu(m) ac(u)lis a(n)(i)m(es) ad vidend(um) et nos sicut dies illu(m)迩(ab)c(ie)ntur nec occultabu(m)t ip(s)a(m)ub r. (L. f. 30b1.29-34)

C. Peter d’Aboano, Liber luminarium:

Ego facio cadere deprecationem mea(m) ante Deum Deus(m) meum dum anima mea (n) me exsitit, ut mittat suam lucem ac veritatem in cor meum, lux enim ipsius dulcis est valde et bona ira(ce)ps ad videndum et nocte cum die resp(ite)siet, nec(que) ipsam nubem obtregent. (Venice 1507, 71b1)

11. 1Olam 1
A. Hebrew original (1148):

Amen sancte super altissimus JHVD qui artibus multiplicis et multiplici(n) tur egressus es et filii filium tuorum in multitudinem et singulari numero et omnibus, quod fecit ex munere tuum, et in multis innumera(m)i(n) tur. Amen. (Ed. Fleischcr, p. 38)

B. Henry Bate, De mundo vel seculo (1281):

Si tu invenieris Librum Albus(um)ar(um)is de coni(i)nctionibus planetarum, non acquiscas et nec audias ipsum, sustentatus enim est super coniunctiones planatarum e(ce)ndum medium cursum vel equalem. Non est autem sapiens aliquis qui haec consentat. Verum(n) a(n)q(u)er est planet(e) esse coniunctiones e(ce)ndum(um) orbe(m) signorum. (Venice 1507, 77b2)

106 E. addes fuerit.
107 E. deinde.
II. Treatise created in Latin under Ibn Ezra's direction

INCIPIT

13. Liber de nativitatis (1154)

Dixit quo(u) Abraha(m) Iude(as): Optimu(m) instrumento(rum) ad
inventiendu(m) gradu(m) orientem in
nativitati(us) est astrolabiu(m), q(uo)d
qua(n)o t(ero) effectuus fuerit ta(n)o meli(us).

13. Liber de nativitatis (1154)

Post astrolabium aut(um) optimu(m) et(st)
instrumentu(m) q(uo) ad appellatu(um) quarta
circuli. Post hec umbrar recta. Post hec
umbra transversa. Post hec mensura p(era)
aqua(m) facta. (Venice 1485, a2)

EXPLICIT

Saturn(us) de asinis iudicat. Mars de multis,
siclicit filii asini et equo. Sol de equis.

Mercurius de brutonibus scilicet filii equi et
eiae. Luna de bo(u)bo(um) q(uo) ad
statu(m) suu(m), nam si male luna fuerit
disposita, ex p(ar)te bo(um) vel egu(tatu)
bo(na)bo(um) vel p(ertius) sione mulu(m)
continget. Venus de camellis. Iuppiter de
dromedariis. Andruca: Dominus primu
tripliscitas duodecim de inimices.

Secu(adu)bo de angustiis. Ter(um) de
pecori(um) et pecudibus iudicat singuli
s(ecundu)m proprio(m). (Venice 1485, c4b)

III. Treatises originally Composed in Hebrew but Extant in Latin Translation Only

14. Liber nativitatum
Anonymous translation:

In n(omin)e illu(sus) q(uis) scit res futuro(s),
icpia(a) L(iber)m n(ativitatis) au(m). D(eci)t
Ah(r)ahum additor: O(portet) me log(uai)
(s(ecundum) vias c(ommunum)es i(n)
o(mni)b(us) nat(ivitati)bus sig(n)o(rum) eo
q(uos) ego loquar sup(er) nativitati(us) et
e(um) revolutio(ni) et h(oc) q(uos) ego
d(eo) dicam(um) i(no) ei(e) r(i) bon(um) et
n(ei)ci(i)ei(s)ei(m) i(no)
int(e)rrogaci(i)ob(us) et elec(tio)nib(us)
et in revolutio(ni)bon(um) a(n)o(m)u(m)
di et h(oc) docet(ur) in .10. capitulis. (E, f. 63a)

14. Liber nativitatum
Anonymous translation:

Et sic(u) locut(u)m fui t(ibi) a(p) loca
stella(rum) im facies in v(er)bis
asp(es)enue(m) in g(ra)lib(u)s equalis(hus)
(s(ecundum) b(oc) q(uos) eran(t) in
nativitate et s(ecundum) asp(es)enue(bos)
(v(er)bis) malos, sic(u) et scrip(tu)m
(st) in P(rio) L(ibi) de Seneca. Suan(e)
t(err)ea(ju) et iudicia nativitatis. Lann
no(min) illus(is) ca(u)s(is) unius bonitatem.
Explicit. Am(m). Deo g(ra)ca(s) per om(n)i.
(E, f. 68b)

M. f. 138a
15. Liber revolutionum
Anonymous translation:
In n(omin)e ill(is) c(nibus) n(on)em est admirabile et c(cipia)n Libr(n)m revolutionum. Cum sol rev(ertit)ur ad g(radum) et ad minim(m) n(i) q(uib(us) fuit n(i) n(avit)ta t(u)a(n) per Nghịtet nato a(n)n(um) integer et t(a) factus de a(n)n(um) a(n)n(um) usque ad finem(n) a(n) ni nati, et h(oc) pot(ere)s scire via b(ve) vi sciicet qu(o)od accepi cuilibet(um) a(n)n(um) n(om) et n(a)t(n)a(n)se(c) is id est dies(n)m et 5. horas e(x)uale(s). (E, f. 69a-b)

16. Liber lectionum
Anonymous translation:
Incipit(m) Libr(n)m el(ec)c(i)c(n)io(n)um. C(ommu)nnes[25] sunt et s(emple)r(r) a(n)dati(m) succedentes et sc(ent)ia eo(r)um est fidel(is). Sc(ent)ia a(n)atem si(q)ui(g)i(larum) el(ec)c(i)c(n)ionum qua(n)n)n(on)um stabiles in 1. p(unc)t(i)um, qu(e) er una (c)om(pu)ta(c)ione(n)on est sc(ent)ia, eo qua(s) us d(p)a div(eri)ficat(ur) (eccundum) div(eri)sitatum(m) eo(r)um [ ]. Et [ ] in el(ec)c(i)c(n)io(n)um sui(s) et vo(h)i(ta(t)e eo(r)um) n(on) en(c)i(m) pos(um)ut mutare el(ec)c(i)c(i)mum) suo(m) n(ec) ci(s)um su(is)um, na(t)um forte(ni)o(ni) et el(ec)c(i)c(i)mum) ded(it) ei(s) c(i)n(oi)netu(dem) qu(aum) n(on)um qua(uum) t(i)ra(n)sub(u) (E, f. 39b)

17. Liber interrogacionum
Anonymous translation:
In n(omin)e ill(is) c(n)i(n)um scire absco(n)dia et ap(er)ia, incipit Libr(n)m Interrogac(i)nion(um). Et divis(er)un se sunt capi(clavium)m ad ess(e) g(radus). 2002 et sign(um) ut(date) 2000. Russus cent(a)e et 30 et 1. et (c)um [-720. mode[-720] c(o)(n)li(m) (n)om(um) pl(a)(e)anitium et in pr(inc)ipio(um) q(uorum)liber 75. a(n)n(om)um) et conuentionum Saturni c(um) Marte in sign(um) Centri(um) 6 7 00) et in signo secuni in finis de c(u)r(us) toti(um) a(n)ni et p(erges) et ducit(us) et iura sing(ti)ri(n)m (um) dis(positio)(ne) sign(i)n as(c(end)(en)ts et rex(m)pori(n)ati(n)ati(s) c(um) revolutionum)hus a(n)n(om)um nati et ducit(us) et p(erges). (E, f. 19b)

17. Liber interrogacionum
Anonymous translation:
Et si n(on) interrogat[25] do(m)us suus, sed ip(s)e dic(om)mum suum accep(te) loco(m) dom(in)um septime et co(n)te(n)e 700m e(n)n contre sign(um) asc ende(n)is in pun(ctor)i inter(e)rogaci(n)is, qu(o)a d(ons) a p(r)i(n)ci(pium) g(radus) asc ende(n)is usque(que) ad p(r)i(n)ci(pium) quart(e) do(mus) ad ori(clae(m) et a p(r)i(n)ci(pium) quarte usq(e) ad p(r)i(n)ci(pium) septi(m)te ad p(r)i(n)ci(pium) deci(m)e ad occidit(n)e(m) et a p(r)i(n)ci(pium) deci(m)e usq(e) ad p(r)i(n)ci(pium) p(r)ime ad m(eri)die(m) Di(ect) A(n)a(ha)m m(uc)ltum honora(n)er(tur) v(eri)ba [Pte(homelom) in Libr(n)]. C. V(e)ro(bo)run de te et de ill(is), c(i)m(um) radix mag(na)(m). (E, f. 30a18-25)

98 V non ostendetur.

99 faciet.


101 Possibly without knowing this, Peter d’Abano and Arnaud de Quinquepoix translated the end of this book as part of the Tractatus particulares, which they attributed in its entirety to Ibn Ezra.

102 V probably reads “et est 120 modis.”

103 V interrogaret.

104 Lacking in V.
(18a.) Excerpta quaedam ex Libro iudiciorum Abraham deprompta (part one)
Anonymous translation of a work by Ibn Ezra?

Hec est nati(vitas) q(ua)da(m) ad instruend(um) te i(n) aliis nativitati(ue) et [est] de Iudicia Abraham(i). Dom(um) pr(m)ma: Q(uia) v(ero) M(ier)c(eri)us e(st) i(n) domo sua et est dom(um) honoris sui, e(st)um i(o) et so(n)e est unus(es) me(dia)te sui cui(ur) us sign(us) sae(s) se(re)n(a)n(s)a(m) et sui(s) bil(i)s) et usu(s) et acc(essor)e valorem(m) suum(i) in(s)usus sig(norum) q(u)i suspendit(ur) i(n) sole. (E, f. 73a)

(18b.) Excerpta quaedam ex Libro iudiciorum Abraham deprompta (part two?)
Anonymous translation of a work by Ibn Ezra?

Qui(e)nque nascit(ur) in Capite Arietis qui pars d(iector) Syriaca Alnaiti106 hora pr(m)ma bona i(o) et e(re) et q(ua)do dest(iti) accepit s(u)b(n) et machinaci(n) ob(us) magicis moriet(ur) aut q(ue)te(m) vexabit(ur) maligno, p(r)n) et erit p(e)pi(i) aut p(e)ne et e(re) (et)ci. (E, f. 76b)

Appendix B
Index of Hebrew Manuscripts

This index has been drawn up on the basis of the information gathered from the Collective Catalogue of Hebrew Manuscripts of the Institute of Microfilmed Hebrew Manuscripts (= IMHM) in the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem (card and on-line catalogues). The catalogues of Steinschneider (Berlin, Munich, Leiden, Zotenberg (Paris), Reif (Cambridge), and Neubauer (Oxford) have also been consulted. The following abbreviations of Ibn Ezra’s astrological treatments are used:

Ho: horoscope.
Me: Menorot
Mi: Misharim
Mo: Moladot
Mz: Mispets Ha-Mazzalot

The index includes references to horoscopes that, although transmitted anonymously, are commonly ascribed to Ibn Ezra. More information on these is given below. Numbers after an abbreviation refer to the Table of Incipits and Explicits. Manuscripts studied by me personally are marked with an asterisk. Since I inspected only a limited number of manuscripts.

106 V alnaiti(us).
manuscripts, the exact redactions of the various treatises could be identified only in a limited number of cases. Future closer investigation will have to determine whether more redactions of the same works can be identified in the manuscripts listed here.

Some explanatory remarks are required with respect to Še’elot 1. In the manuscripts this treatise often occupies the closing part of a five-part work likewise called Sefer ha-Še’elot. This larger work, I believe, is a compilation, which, as the long quotations from Resit bokmah suggest, was probably put together after 1148 by either Ibn Ezra or (and this would seem more plausible) by an anonymous scholar, who may have written several parts himself and/or drawn material from sources unconnected to Ibn Ezra. Therefore, whenever two ranges of folios are cited below with respect to Še’elot 1, the folios mentioned between brackets refer to Ibn Ezra’s original treatise as defined in Appendix A. Otherwise the manuscript simply retains the same core treatise only. The annotation “Pseudo-Ptolemaic interrogations” refers to the last section of part three of the wider composition Šefer ha-Še’elot.

1) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 219 [Or. Fol. 1618]
   Me     ff. 1–3
   Ol     ff. 4–10
   Mi     ff. 11–17

2) Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 220 [Or. Qu. 679]*
   Rh     ff. 1a–31b
   Te2    ff. 1b, 2b–3a, 4a, 8b, 16b (fragments)
   Te1    ff. 1a, 1b–5a, 5b, 16b–32a (not complete)
   Mz     ff. 33a–40
   Te2    ff. 33a–35a (other fragments)
   Mo     ff. 41a–54a
   Te2    ff. 51b–54a (other fragments)

   Mi2    ff. 55a9–60b
   Mi1    ff. 55a1–9, 55b–59b (not complete)
   Me     ff. 61a–64b
   Ol1    ff. 65a–71a
   Ho     f. 72a (introduction)

3) Cambridge, University Library [=UL], Add. 481 *
   Rh     ff. 55b–102a
   Mo     ff. 102a–127a
   Mi2    ff. 127a–134b
   Sh2    ff. 134b–142b (but title: סמר משלות וספרות)
   Te2    ff. 143a–157b (beginning is lacking)
   Ho     ff. 158b–168a
   Ol2    ff. 168a–175a (سفر יום המשנה)

4) Cambridge, UL, Add. 1186 *
   Rh     ff. 3a–36a
   Te1    ff. 36b–51b
   Mo     ff. 52a–71a
   Ol2    ff. 73b–79b (see also the section below on a variant ending of 'Olam 2)
   Te2    ff. 87a–100a (سفر יום המשנה)

5) Cambridge, UL, Add. 1501 *
   Rh     ff. 1a–33b (large columns, beginning is lacking)
   Te1    ff. 1a–33b (small columns, beginning is lacking)
   Sh1    ff. 33b–45b (large columns)
   Mo     ff. 45b–66b (large columns, end is lacking)
   Mi1    ff. 67a–73a (large columns)
   Ol1    ff. 74a–57a (small columns)
   Ol2    ff. 57b–74a (small columns)
   Mi2    ff. 77a–85b (end is lacking)
6) Cambridge, UL, Add. 1517°
Rh  ff. 1a–15a (beginning is lacking)
Mi2  ff. 15a22–40 (at least 22–31 taken from the introduction of Mi2) (small fragment)
Te1  ff. 15b–21b
Mo  ff. 22a–30b
Ho  ff. 30b–34a (ספר משפתי תומולריה)
Sh1  ff. 34a–38b
Mz  ff. 39b–44b
Me  ff. 45a–47a (not. 47b, as probably erroneously indicated in this manuscript)
Mi2  ff. 47b–50a
Ol1  ff. 50a–53a
Ho  ff. 53a

7) Cambridge, UL, Or. 2281
Rh  ff. 1a–44b

8) Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Eb 384
Rh  ff. 8a–29b
Te  ff. 32a–41a
Ho  ff. 41a–42b
Mo  ff. 42b–54b
Sh  ff. 54b–60b
Me  ff. 61a–64a
Mi  ff. 65a–69a
Ol  ff. 69b–74a (probably Ol1)

9) Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut.88.30
Rh  ff. 127b–141a (end missing)

10) Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale 2
Mi, Sh

11) Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale 27
Ol (tenth item)

12) Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Magl. III.36
Mi  מחברות שפחיים, Sh, Me

13) Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Magl.107 III.139
Me  4ff.
Ol  ff. 103b–109b
Sh  ff. 109b–118b
Te  ff. 118b–133b
Mi  ff. 133b–139b
Mo  ff. 139b–162a

14) Jerusalem, Benyahu 1317
Mi  ff. 1a–11b
Ol  ff. 24a–27a

15) Jerusalem, Benyahu 1327
Sh

16) Jerusalem, Benyahu 1337
Rh  ff. 1a–29b
Te  ff. 1b–31a (starts with the introduction to Te2 but continues with the text of Te1)
Mz  ff. 31a–42b

107 “CL” according to the card catalogue.
Tc   ff. 31b–35a (probably continuation of Te2)
Mi   ff. 432–49a
Sh   ff. 49a–56b
Mo   ff. 57a–65b
Ol   ff. 66a–69b
Me   ff. 70a–76a

17) Jerusalem, Makhon Ben Tzvi 280

18) Jerusalem, Rabbi Yosef Qafah 36

19) Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Scal. 14°

20) London, British Library, Or. 5560 E

21) London, British Library, Or. 10243

22) London, British Library, Or. 11900
Rh   ff. 1a–47a

23) London, London School of Jewish Studies, Asher Myers 4
    Mz (third item)

24) Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia 7

25) Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Gaster 59°
Rh   ff. 2a–59a
Mo   ff. 59b–90b
OlI  ff. 91a–91b (fragment from the beginning, on the mathematical
     explanation of the possibility of a maximum of 120
     conjunctions)
Ol2  ff. 91b–99a
Me   ff. 100a–107a

26) Manchester, John Rylands University Library, Gaster 1775°
?

Cf. also below Jerusalem, Schocken Institute 10/16143.

Following card catalogue 8.
Rh ff. 41a–45b (the opening sentences are lacking, ends within chapter 2/Taurus = L/C xii 9)
Mz ff. 48a–57a\(^{110}\) (including tables; a quick glance does not reveal that this text is interspersed with that of another book, as the title to this text appears to promise)
Mo ff. 61a–74a (complete, despite change of hands and blank pages)

27) Moscow, Russian State Library, Günzburg 274
Rh ff. 37a–84b (only the first eight chapters)

28) Moscow, Russian State Library, Günzburg 338
Sh

29) Moscow, Russian State Library, Günzburg 414
Mo ff. 1a–25b\(^{111}\)
Me ff. 26a–31a
Rh ff. 40a–97a
Te ff. 97a–114b

30) Moscow, Russian State Library, Günzburg 421°
Rh ff. 2a–12b (from beginning to chapter 3 and possibly a small part of chapter 9)
ff. 21a–23a (chapter 9, first lines lacking)
ff. 23a–26b (chapters 7 and 8)
ff. 26b–28a (chapters 5 and 6)
Te1 ff. 13a–20b (of which 14a–20b correspond to chapters 4–10)
Sh2 ff. 28a–32b
Mi2 ff. 32b–36a
Ol1 ff. 36b–39b (not complete)
Mz ff. 41a–50b (including the astronomical tables)
Mo ff. 54a–75b (different hand)

31) Moscow, Russian State Library, Günzburg 712
Rh ff. 1a–167a [sic!]

32) Moscow, Russian State Library, Günzburg 840
Rh ff. 8a–9b (fragment)
Mz ff. 10a–b (fragment, possibly part of Mz, המבותאש社会责任)
ff. 11a–13a (fragment)
ff. 13a–17b (fragment, המבותאש社会责任)
Ol ff. 17b–18a (fragment)

33) Moscow, Russian State Library, Günzburg 1745
Rh ff. 9b–13a

34) München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek (= BS), Cod. Hebr. 45°
Rh ff. 379a–422a
Mz ff. 422b–437a (astronomical tables lacking)
Mo ff. 437b–460b
Te2 ff. 461a–477b
Sh1 ff. 478a–509b (500b–509b)
Mi1 ff. 510a–517b

35) München, BS, Cod. Hebr. 202°
Rh ff. 1a–37a
Te2 ff. 37a–52a
Te1 ff. 52a–67a (title: תועובא אביוודא)
Ho ff. 68a–70a
Mo ff. 70a–91a

\(^{110}\) Somewhere in the middle the title changes to תועובא אביוודא, though the same text is continued.

\(^{111}\) Atribution to “Abraham.”
Sh1  ff. 91b–101b  
Me  ff. 101b–108a  
Mi1  ff. 108b–116a  
Ol1  ff. 116a–124b  
[Sh1  ff. 130a–137b] (pseudo-Ptolemaic interrogations)  
Ol2  ff. 138a–143b  
Mi2  ff. 144a–150a  
Mz  ff. 150a–163b  

36) München, BS, Cod. Hebr. 261  
Ol  ff. 95–96 (fragment)  

37) München, BS, Cod. Hebr. 304  
Ol  ff. 1–10  
Ho  ff. 10–13  
Sh  ff. 13–29  
Te  ff. 30 ff.  
Rh  ff. 55 ff.  
Mi  ff. 116b–228  
Ol  ff. 136–145112  

38) Napoli, Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele III, III.F.12  
Sh  ff. 79b–83b  

39) New York, Columbia University Library, X 893 Ib 53  
Rh, Te, Mz, Mi, Sh, Mo, Ol, Me (47 folios, probably Sh1)  

40) New York, Columbia University Library, X 893 Ib 55113  
Rh, Mo, Mi, 3Mz114 Te, Ho (73 folios)  

41) New York, Jewish Theological Seminary [= JTS], Elkan N. Adler 747  

Mi  

42) New York, JTS, Mic 2349  
Rh (sixth item)  

43) New York, JTS, Mic 2553  
Rh (first item)  

44) New York, JTS, Mic 2558115  
Rh  ff. 3a–18a  
Mo  ff. 19a–39a  

45) New York, JTS, Mic 2623  
Rh, Te, Sh, Mo, Mi  

46) New York, JTS, Mic 2625  
Rh, Te, Mo, Me, Mi (probably Mi2)  

47) New York, JTS, Mic 2626  
Rh  ff. 33a–75b  
Mz  ff. 75b–91a  
Mo  ff. 91b–116b  

112  Ol1, Te1, Mi1, Ol2? Cf. Steinschneider, Die Hebräischen Handschriften der K. Hof-  
und Staatsbibliothek in München, 2nd ed. (Munich, 1895), p. 166.  

113  According to a note added to the description of MS Cambridge, UL, Add. 481 in the  
IMHM computer catalogue, MS New York, Columbia University Library, X 893 Ib  
56 contains “Olam” in what is probably the first version.  

114  The title is “יהוה,” according to the IMHM computer catalogue.  

115  Cf. MS New York, JTS 2611, which preserves an English collection of astrological  
writing, among them a number of texts written by Ibn Ezra.
Sh  ff. 117a–126a, 140b–142b
Ol  ff. 126b–133b
Me  ff. 134a–140a
Te2  ff. 143a–160a

48) New York, JTS, Mic 2629
Ol  ff. 77–88
Te  ff. 91–122
Mi  ff. 123–135
Mo  ff. 137–175 (title רמלה זאדרס)\(^{116}\)

49) New York, JTS, Mic 2631
Sh  ff. 16b–23b
Rh  ff. 35a–66b
Sh2 ff. 67a–74a (title: ספר סדר זמנים ושבות cf. Cambridge, UL, Add. 481 above)

50) New York, JTS, Mic 2636
Sh  ff. 111a–121b
Te  f. 127a–b (fragment)
Me  ff. 144a–149b
Ol  ff. 151a–159a (probably Ol1)
Te  ff. 160a–196b

51) New York, JTS, Mic 2639 (?)\(^{107}\)
Mo? (רמלה זאדרס)

52) New York, JTS, Mic 2731
Mi  ff. 71a–72b
Ol  ff. 71b–72(2)

53) New York, JTS, Mic 8197

Sh  ff. [1]a–[8]a
Mi  ff. [8]a–[12]b (end is lacking)

54) New York, JTS, Mic 9531
Te  f. 1a–b (fragment from the end of chapter 3 to the beginning of chapter 4)

55) New York, JTS, Mic 9537\(^{118}\)
Mo (27 folios, not complete)

56) New York, Lehmann BR 180
Rh  50ff.

57) New York, Lehmann D 59
Rh  121ff.

58) Nürnberg, Stadtbibliothek, Cent. V\(^{119}\).app.4

\(^{116}\) Binyamin Richler has kindly provided me with the incipit and explicit of this text, which correspond with those of Moladot.

\(^{117}\) Cf. Y. T. Langermann, “Some Astrological Themes in the Thought of Abraham ibn Ezra,” in I. Tewsky and J. M. Harris, eds., *Rabbi Abraham ibn Ezra: Studies in the Writings of a Twelfth-Century Jewish Polymath* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1993), pp. 28–85: “In this manuscript [i.e., MS New York JTS Mic 2639] the text is called *Sefer Molad ha-Adam*; it remains to be seen whether this is a different version of *Sefer ha-Moladot*” (p. 81, n. 78). This manuscript turns out to be in poor condition due to acid damage and is almost illegible. However, a printing error may have been made and Langermann actually intended to refer to manuscript 2629. But see above.

\(^{118}\) New York, M. Lehmann 134 preserves a text תהלת יראות attributed to Ibn Ezra.

\(^{119}\) Or: B.
Rh  ff. 1–125
Tc  ff. 129–187
Mo  ff. 188–259
Sh  ff. 260–300
Me  ff. 301–327
Mi  ff. 328–356
Ol  ff. 358–392

Rh  ff. 95–154 (up to beginning of chapter 8)

60) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mich. 56 [Neubauer 1662]*
Te1  ff. 18a–34a

Rh or Mz (ff. 18–59)

Mo  ff. 1a–34b
Mi1  ff. 35a–48b
Ol1  ff. 49a–61b
Me  ff. 72a–82a

63) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mich. 45 [Neubauer 2024]*
Te1  ff. 3a–28b
Ho  ff. 29b–32a
Rh  ff. 33a–87a

64) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Opp. 707 [Neubauer 2025]*
Rh  ff. 1a–46b
Mz  ff. 48b–65a
Mo  ff. 65b–90b

Te2  ff. 91b–113a
Sh1  ff. 114a–155b (141b–155b)
Mi  ff. 156a–165a

65) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hunt. 606 [Neubauer 2026]*
Mi1  ff. 3a–9a
Ol1  ff. 9b–16a

66) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mich. 144 [Neubauer 2027]*
Ol1  ff. 1a–9a (end is lacking)

67) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Mich. 221 [Neubauer 2246]*
Te1  ff. 99a–116a

68) Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add. Qu. 160 [Neubauer 2518]*
Rh  ff. 13a–65a
Te1  ff. 65a–87b
Mo  ff. 88a–117b
Me  ff. 118a–126a
Mi1  ff. 128b–140a
Ol2  ff. 140b–153b
Ho  ff. 162b–164b
Ol1  ff. 165a–167b

69) Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France (= BnF), héb. 189*
Te1  ff. 72b–87b
Mo  ff. 87b–109a
Sh1  ff. 109a–120a (?–120a)
Me  ff. 120a–125b
Mi1  ff. 125b–133b
Ol1  ff. 134a–142b (ca. ff. 135b–137a also some Ol2 and Rh passages)
70) Paris, BnF, héb. 259°
Rh    ff. 54a–93b
Mo    ff. 94a–119b (with its second part presented as a separate
treatise, ff. 115b–119b)
Me    ff. 120a–126b
Ol2   ff. 127a–136b
Te2   ff. 137a–153b

71) Paris, BnF, héb. 979°
Mo    ff. 82b–107a

72) Paris, BnF, héb. 1031120
Rh    ff. 102–130a

73) Paris, BnF, héb. 1044°
Rh    ff. 132b–192b
Te1   ff. 192b–217a
Te2   ff. 217b–239b
Mi2   ff. 240a–249a
Ol2   ff. 249b–258b

74) Paris, BnF, héb. 1045°
Rh    ff. 89a–117a
Te1   ff. 117b–127a
Mo    ff. 127b–146a
Sh1   ff. 146a–155b (?–155b)
Me    ff. 155b–161a
Mi1   ff. 161a–168b
Ol1   ff. 168b–177b
Ol2   ff. 196b–200b

75) Paris, BnF, héb. 1047

Rh    ff. 223–253

76) Paris, BnF, héb. 1051°
Mo    ff. 66a–92b
Sh2   ff. 95a–106b

77) Paris, BnF, héb. 1055°
Rh    ff. 1b–27a
Te1   ff. 27b–37b
Sh1   ff. 41a–48a
Me    ff. 48b–52a

78) Paris, BnF, héb. 1056°
Rh    ff. 3a–33b
Te1   ff. 34a–43b
Mo    ff. 44a–61b
Sh1   ff. 62a–69b
Me    ff. 70a–73b
Mi1   ff. 74a–79a
Ol1   ff. 80a–86a

79) Paris, BnF, héb. 1057°
Rh    ff. 1a–36a
Mi1   ff. 36a–36b (fragment from the introduction; see also below)
Ho    ff. 37a–45b
Te1   ff. 46a–63b
Mz    ff. 68a–81b

120 On ff. 165a–206b, the astrological work יָשְׁרֵי חֵן has been attributed, though by
another hand, to Ibn Ezra. This text was probably written in 1311. See Zotenberg
catalogue, p. 28.
Mi2    ff. 82a–87b
Me     ff. 88a–93b
Ol1    ff. 95b–103a
Ho     f. 103b

80) Paris, BnF, héb. 1058*
Sh2    ff. 1a–8b
Mi2    ff. 8b–13b
Mz     ff. 13b–26a
Te2    ff. 26a–38b

81) St. Petersburg, Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian
    Academy of Sciences [= IOSRAS] A82
Sh     ff. 137b–148a

82) St. Petersburg, IOSRAS A185
    Ho?

83) St. Petersburg, IOSRAS B70
Rh     ff. 36a–75a
Mz     ff. 76a–89b
Mo     ff. 90a–111a
Sh     ff. 114a–121b, 136a–137b
Ol     ff. 122a–129a
Me     ff. 130a–135b
Te     ff. 138a–152b

84) St. Petersburg, IOSRAS B117
Rh     37 folios

85) St. Petersburg, IOSRAS B118
Sh     ff. 7a–17b

86) St. Petersburg, IOSRAS B131
Rh     ff. 1a–32b
Mo     ff. 33a–54b
Ol     ff. 55a–61a
Me     ff. 61b–66b
Mi     ff. 67a–68a

87) St. Petersburg, IOSRAS B150 *
Rh     ff. 104a–140b
Mz     ff. 141a–153b (astronomical tables lacking)
Mo     ff. 153b–180a
[Sh1  ff. 180b4–181b21 (237)] (pseudo-Ptolemaic interrogations)
Sh1    ff. 181b–186a2 (from within place seven)
Ol2    ff. 172a–176b (opening lines lacking)
        f. 190b (opening lines)
        ff. 191a–193b (rest of Ol2)
Me     ff. 196a–202a
Sh2    ff. 202a–204b (from place twelve)
Te2    ff. 204b–220a

88) St. Petersburg, IOSRAS B185
Mo     f. 4b (fragment from the introduction)
Ho     On or after f. 47a

89) St. Petersburg, IOSRAS B228
Sh     ff. 119a–124a (starts in place seven)
Me     ff. 124b–130b
Sh2    ff. 131a–133a

121 According to the computer catalogue this is the same text as that preserved in Cam-
    bridge, UL, Add. 481.
90) St. Petersburg, IOSRAS B294\textsuperscript{122}
Mz  ff. 1a–16a
Te  ff. 17a–31a (f. 20a–b blank folios, lacuna)
Mi  ff. 32a–38a
Mo  ff. 38b–60a

91) St. Petersburg, IOSRAS B447\textsuperscript{9}
Rh  ff. 5a–49b
Ho  ff. 50b–52a
Mz  ff. 53a–67a (including astronomical tables)
Te1  ff. 69a–83b (most of chapter 2 is lacking)
[Sh1  ff. 85a–95a] (pseudo-Ptolemaic interrogations)
Mi2  ff. 97a–103a
Mo  ff. 105a–126b
Sh1  ff. 129a–141a

92) St. Petersburg, IOSRAS C5
Rh  9 folios (up to halfway through chapter 4)

93) St. Petersburg, IOSRAS C76
Ho  מסכת יאכלה
Ho  ff. 135a–ב

94) St. Petersburg, Russian National Library, Evr. II A245\textsuperscript{123}
Sh  ff. 1a–9b
Mi  f. 10a–16b
Me  ff. 17a–24b
[Sh  ff. 29a–36a] (pseudo-Ptolemaic interrogations (?), end lacking)

95) Roma, Biblioteca Casanatense 222
Mo\textsuperscript{124}

96) Roma, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele II, Or. 54
Rh  ff. 1a–36b

97) Sassoon 189
Rh  (fragments)

98) Sassoon 789\textsuperscript{10}
Rh  ff. 202–286
Mi2  ff. 286–291 (up to beginning of place four)
Sh2  ff. 291–304 (opening lines lacking, up to place eight)
Mz  ff. 304–340 (including astronomical tables)
O11  ff. 340–346 (not complete)

99) Sassoon 823\textsuperscript{125}
Rh  ff. 25–60
Mi2  ff. 61–62 (fragment, up to near the end of place one)
Sh2  ff. 63–68 (opening lines lacking; up to place eight)
Mz  ff. 69–86
O11  ff. 86–92 (about first half of the text)
Me  f. 93 (fragment, the end of the text)

100) Strasbourg, Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire 4024
Sh  10 ff.

\textsuperscript{122} Cf. St. Petersburg, IOSRAS B446, f. 92b–91b ויאכלה ascribed to Ibn Ezra. This may be a fragment from one of his introductory treatises.

\textsuperscript{123} Belongs to the second Firkovich collection.

\textsuperscript{124} According to Binyamin Richler, director of the IMHM, this manuscript retains only a few quotes from Ibn Ezra’s astrological works.

101) Tel Aviv, Bill Gross 326
Mz ff. 1a–11b

103) Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [=BAV] 47
Rh, Te, Ho, Mi, Mi, Te, Me, Mo

104) Vatican, BAV 202
Me ff. 217a–218b (only the beginning)

105) Vatican, BAV, ebr. 390
Rh ff. 1a–57a
Sh1 ff. 58a–76a (starts in the “third” part according to the
computer catalogue of the IMHM)
 Mi ff. 76a–84b
 Te1 ff. 85a–108a
 Mo ff. 108a–138b
 Me ff. 138b–146a
 Ol1 ff. 146a–157b126

106) Vatican, BAV, ebr. 4770
Rh ff. 22a–23a (fragment from chapter 9)
Sh2 ff. 53a–b 5 (fragment)
 Mz ff. 67b–85b
 Ol2 ff. 86a–94b
 Mi1 ff. 97a–108a
 Ol1 ff. 108a–121a
 Te2 ff. 121b–140b

107) Warszawa, Żydowski Instytut Historyczny 112127

Rh ff. 1a–28a
Mo ff. 28b–42a
Ol ff. 42b–46b
Me ff. 47a–51b
Mi ff. 52a–53b

108) Warszawa, Żydowski Instytut Historyczny 255
Rh ff. 1a–25a
Te ff. 25b–37a
Mo ff. 37b–50a
Mi ff. 50b–55a
Ol ff. 55b–60a (probably Ol1)
Me ff. 64b–68a

109) Warszawa, Żydowski Instytut Historyczny 282
Te ff. 18a–31b

110) Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 38
Rh

111) Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 60
[Schwarz 183]
Rh 35ff.

112) Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 65
[Schwarz 169]
Mo 21ff.

126 Ed. Fleischer, p. 34.
127 Cf. MS Warszawa, Żydowski Instytut Historyczny 253, ff. 21a–85b, which contains an
adaptation of some of Ibn Ezra’s astrological writings.
113) Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 67
Rh       ff. 192a–240b

114) Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 132
 [Schwarz 185]
Mz       ff. 1–2 (end lacking)
Oli      f. 3a–3b (incomplete)
Mi       ff. 4a–5b
Sh       ff. 5b–10b
Rh       ff. 11a–18a
Te       ff. 18a–19b

115) Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. Hebr. 195
 [Schwarz 196]
Sh       f. 94a (incomplete)
Sh       ff. 95a–96a (incomplete)\(^{128}\)
Rh       f. 107b (chapter nine)
(Me)     f. 113a (notes to this treatise)
Ho       ff. 117–118

\(^{128}\) Finally, Binyamin Richler has informed me that PH 6548 contains two astrological fragments that were originally in secondary use as wrappers in the Archivio di Stato, one with places 5–7 of what may be one of Ibn Ezra’s treatises on interrogations, and the other with places 6–9, also possibly Ibn Ezra’s.
Summary

- Preserved fully or partially—Preserved fully if the manuscript
- Preserved partially

Columns Te, Mi, Sh, and OI are used whenever the exact reedition

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of the relevant treatise remains to be determined with certainty.
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Horoscopes

In this section, the horoscopes mentioned above have been grouped according to the year in which they purport to have been cast. The 1143 horoscope may well have been drawn up by Ibn Ezra, perhaps for someone born in Verona. This “horoscope” is in fact a technical astrological treatise, in which the horoscope serves only as a mathematical example and is never interpreted. The second horoscope, drawn up for a boy in Narbonne, is probably spurious. It cannot be ruled out that other manuscripts preserve horoscopes in addition to those mentioned here.

1) 4 Marheshvan 4904 (תפשמכ חטבא=14 October 1143) at 2 pm is preserved in at least:
   - Cambridge, UL, Add. 481°, ff. 158b.124–168a
   - Cambridge, UL, Add. 1517°, ff. 30b–34a: the text seems to read 14 Marheshvan 4904, but this must be a copying error
   - New York, Columbia University Library, X 893 Ii 55
   - Paris, BnF, hcb. 1057, ff. 37a–45b
   - St. Petersburg, IOSRS C76, ff. 136a–141b

Incipit according to the second Cambridge manuscript:

יהד תודלות בחהל השפעת השפעת מość אשת יי"א לפנישת תעת חקיד

Explicit:

הנתמסה כתובין נבובים על ידם ונתמסה עדין עיד אשת זה פרקינוןalm

2) 13 Marheshvan 4921 (תפשמכ חטבא=15 October 1160) is preserved in at least:
   - Berlin, Staatsbibliothek 220 [Or. Qu. 679°], f. 72a (introduction)
   - Cambridge, UL, Add. 1517°, f. 53a (introduction and horoscope)
   - Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Eb 384, ff. 41a–42b
   - München, BS, Cod. Hebr. 202°, ff. 68a–70a

Incipit according to M2:

טולח ילדות בחול ותחושם ונתמסה ושתי עיד רשע ושתי עיד יי"א

Explicit:

גמ אנותל אל וניי ממי ויתסמה יתר עול עינו עיניים שומא והרי השם

3) Horoscopes, for which the dates have not yet been identified, are been preserved in:
   - München, BS, Cod. Hebr. 304, ff. 10–13
   - St. Petersburg, IOSRS B185, on or after f. 47αa: הממשת תודלות

for the year . חקできます two versions according to the computer catalogue of the IMHM

On both horoscopes see Smithuis, “Abraham Ibn Ezra,” pp. 13542

According to the IMHM computer catalogue this is the same text as in MS Cambridge, UL, Add. 481.

Sic! But, for example, the first Cambridge manuscript reads: רכש.
- St. Petersburg, IOSRAS C76, f. 135a–b:

Astronomical Prognostication for the Year 1166

Various manuscripts preserve an interesting astronomical prognostication written in 1153/4 based on the Saturn-Jupiter conjunction in 1166. Goldstein has rejected the possibility of Ibn Ezra's authorship of this text (I believe rightly so).\(^{132}\) The text has been preserved at least in the following manuscripts:
- Cambridge, UL, Add. 1517\(^a\), f. 47a–b, where it appears as a separate fragment following Me'orot, with the remark בוטח, however, occurring at the end of the prognostication.
- Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Eb 384, f. 64a.
- Jerusalem, Ha-Rav Yosef Qafah 36, ff. 164a–165b.
- Paris, BNf, heb. 1057\(^b\), f. 94a–95a: same comment as with respect to the Cambridge manuscript.

Incipit:

שא מורם עיניכם וארא מי ברא אלול תרצו ממסר לבראollah

Explicit:

��ומות עבור תרטומת שיא ברא ברא ברא ממסר עיניכם לבראallah זה

More Material: Goralot

Numerous geomantic treatises and compositions of a magical nature have been attributed to Ibn Ezra. In the Collective Catalogue of the IMHM they are often listed under the title Goralot, though also under a number of other titles, such as Se'ilot. The great majority of these texts have been preserved in manuscripts other than those retaining Ibn Ezra's astrological writings. Since it can be assumed that most of this material is not strictly astrological in the way that would require in-

clusion in this article and, second, that these texts are probably spurious, the relevant manuscripts have not been studied. Future investigation will have to establish whether or not these manuscripts also contain astrological texts written by Ibn Ezra. On the other hand, a few manuscripts listed above preserve what are in fact excerpts from an astronomical-astrological treatise, which, based on its incipit, catalogues inappropriately designate Goralot. This composition, which apparently belongs to Ibn Ezra's astrological corpus,\(^{133}\) has so far been identified in the following manuscripts:
- Cambridge, UL, Add. 1517\(^a\), f. 38b–39b
- Paris, BNf, heb. 1057\(^b\), f. 66a–68a

Another manuscript that may contain this text is MS Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale 2. According to the Cambridge manuscript, the incipit of Goralot reads:

"אלול לתירבל של חכמה בין כל דבר ש🌚יון ואלך הנון של חכמה בין כל דבר ש☼יון ובין הנון

This work, transmitted anonymously, consists of two fragments. The first is an almost literal excerpt from the ninth chapter on lots (goralot)


\(^{133}\) For arguments in favor of such an attribution see Smithuis, “Abraham Ibn Ezra,” pp. 142–44.
in *Reiit hokmah*, regarding the lots of water and various foodstuffs (L/C, pp. lxxiii 16–lxxxiv 23). The second fragment, which has no connection with the foregoing, though it follows it immediately, starts with (f. 39a10–1 of the Cambridge manuscript):

גטט הכותב בשעה שלシェיא או הלאק החטי הלאנערו לברז מHora מהאצוף בצוק על שיווד המקול

והשדח לאשת שמיים מעלהך יפה אתך.