



The Latin Translations of Astrological Works by Messahala

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Source: *Osiris*, Vol. 12, (1956), pp. 49-72

Published by: Saint Catherines Press

Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/301708>

Accessed: 14/05/2008 21:58

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# The Latin translations of astrological works by Messahala

In 1893 MORITZ STEINSCHNEIDER wrote that almost no work by MESSAHALA (Māshāllāh) was preserved in the original Arabic, and that the bibliography of the Latin translations had not yet been determined by modern research, because they occurred under different titles in the manuscripts, or were extracts to which new titles were given (1).

It is the purpose of the present paper to distinguish between the astrological treatises which are found under the name of MESSAHALA in the Latin manuscripts. His purely astronomical writings, of which only two seem to be extant—that on the astrolabe and *De scientia motus orbis*—are better known and more readily distinguishable. MESSAHALA died in the second decade of the ninth century and is practically the oldest authority in the field of Arabic astrology. He was a Jew.

Of the four main departments or sub-divisions of astrology : conjunctions and revolutions, interrogations, elections, and nativities, more treatises are ascribed to MESSAHALA in the second part of interrogations or questions as to the future or unknown put to the astrologer. We shall therefore begin with it.

## INTERROGATIONS

In the field of astrological interrogations there appear to be four different texts which have been attributed to MESSAHALA. These may more readily be distinguished by their incipits than by various appellations and titles which have been given to them in different manuscripts, such as *De cogitationibus*, *De intentione et cogita-*

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(1) *Die hebräischen Uebersetzungen des Mittelalters und die Juden als Dolmetscher*, Berlin, 1893, 34, 1077 pp., at pp. 599-600.

tione, De intentionibus secretorum, Liber intentionum, Libellus interpretationum de interrogationibus, De interpretatione (or, interpretationibus) cogitationum, De inventionibus occultis, De occultis, De receptione, De receptione planetarum, and De secretis astronomie. Their four distinctive incipits are :

Cum astrorum scientia difficilis fuerit...

Invenit quidam vir ex sapientibus...

Precepit Messahala ut constituas ascendens...

Scito quod aspiciens id est astrologus...

Since the text which open, *Cum astrorum scientia difficilis fuerit..* appears to be a late compilation, not made by MESSAHALA himself, but based upon treatises by him and by DOROTHEUS and others, it will be discussed last. The other three, which may be regarded as by MESSAHALA, will now be considered in the alphabetical order of their incipits. In one manuscript of the thirteenth century, Latin MS 16204 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (2), these three texts immediately succeed each other in that order.

*Invenit quidam vir...*

Judging from the manuscripts, the preferable form of title for the treatise by MESSAHALA which opens, *Invenit quidam vir ex sapientibus...*, is *Liber coniunctionis et receptionis*, or, *Liber receptionis et coniunctionis*, or *Liber receptionum*, or, *de receptionibus*, as it is cited in *Speculum astronomiae*, cap. 9, *Liber Messehallah qui de receptionibus inscribitur et sic incipit, Invenit quidam.*

BN 16208, late 12th-13th century, fols. 88va-91va : rubric, *In nomine domini piissime (sic) misericordissime (sic) receptionis et coniunctionis Messealat liber incipit.* The rest of the column is left blank and the text opens at fol. 88vb, *Secretorum iudiciorum* (3) *invenit quidam vir ex sapientibus librum ex libris secretorum astrorum...* At fol. 91va the text breaks off, ... *cumque pervenisset coniunctio (?) ad Venerem (?) ...* Fols. 91vb and 92r are blank.

(2) Henceforth the abbreviation, BN, will be used to denote Latin MSS of that library. BM will similarly be used for Latin MSS in the British Museum, London.

(3) As will be seen from the MSS which follow, the two words, *secretorum iudiciorum*, should go with the preceding rubric rather than open the incipit.

BM Harley 13, 13th century, fols. 221va-231vb (or, 218-228): rubric, In nomine domini pii et misericordis incipit liber coniunctionis messahalath astrologii (*sic*) in interrogationibus scilicet (?) secretorum iuditorum; incipit, Invenit quidam vir ex sapientibus librum ex libris secretorum astrorum...; desinit, ... eo quod mercurius redibat ad iovem et ipse erat levior utriusque stelle ideoque iungebatur ad hoc nutu vero dei (reading of last four words uncertain); rubric, Finit liber astrologi messehala quod interpretatur quid deus voluerit in coniunctione et receptione.

BN 16204, 13th century, pp. 404a-422b: rubric, Messehalle arabis liber receptionum incipit; incipit, Invenit quidam vir de sapientibus librum ex libris secretorum astrorum de illis quos thesaurizaverant reges...; desinit, ... Ideoque cogebatur ad hoc nutu dei,

Madrid 10053, 13th century, fols. 77rb-84ra (as described by MILLÁS VALLICROSA, *Las traducciones orientales*, 1942, p. 194): 77rb, top margin, in hand of ALVARO OF TOLEDO, circa 1270-1290, In nomine Domini pii et misericordis incipit liber coniunctionis uel receptionis Mehsalah astrologi in interrogationibus; below it in a 16th century hand, Interprete Ioanne Hispano; rubric, Incipit liber Messehallah astrologi. Capitulum secretorum iudiciorum; incipit, Inuenit quidam vir ex sapientibus liber ex libris secretarum astrorum de illis quos teaurizauarant reges...; desinit, ... et noli dubitare nec dimittas hoc que dico tibi et proferas aliud et inuenies, si Deus voluerit. Explicit. Despite ALVARO's having given the form of title which we have preferred, MILLÁS clings to De receptione planetarum with STEINSCHNEIDER.

Madrid 10009, 13th century, fols. 47ra-55va (MILLÁS, *op. cit.*, p. 173): incipit, Inuenit quidam ex sapientibus librum ex libris secretorum astrorum de illis quos thesaurizauerant reges exposuitque eum et patefecit eius intentionem in omnibus quibus indigent homines in rebus suis de interrogationibus...; desinit, ... et ipse erat levior utrisque stellis ideoque iungebatur ad hoc nutu dei. Explicit liber. Deo gratias. Amen. Here MILLÁS gives De interrogationibus or De receptione planetarum as the title.

Venice, St. Marks VIII, 9 (Valentinelli XI, 103), 14th century, fols. 43r-59v; top margin fol. 43r, in a different hand from the text, Incipit liber Mesalach de receptione interpretatus a Iohanne Hyspalense de arabico in Latinum; incipit, Invenit quidam vir ex

sapientibus librum ex libris secretorum astrorum...; desinit, ... et ipse erat levior utrisque stelis ideoque iungebatur ad hoc nutu dei. Finitus est liber Mesehallah.

BN 7316A, 14th century, fols. 71vb-86(?) (4) : rubric, In nomine domini nostri Ihesu Christi pii misericordis hic est liber coniunctionis et receptionis Messehalle astrologi in interrogationibus; heading, with illuminated initial, Capitulum secretorum iudiciorum; incipit, Invenit quidam vir ex sapientibus librum...

Vatican, Palatine Latin MS 1369, 15th century, fols. 120ra-127va : rubric, Messehalla de receptionibus; incipit, Invenit quidam vir ex sapientibus librum ex libris secretorum astrorum de illis quos thesaurisauerunt reges. Exposuit eum et patefecit eius intentionem...; desinit, ... ideoque iungebatur ad hoc nutu dei etc.

Cod. S. Marco Florent. 194, Biblioteca Laurenziana, 14th century, fols. 107v-114v (as described by BjÖRNBO in *Bibliotheca Mathematica*, 3 Folge, VI (1905), 236-37): Uberschrift, In nomine domini peritissimi et misericordissimi receptionis et coniunctionis liber incipit; Anfang, Capitula secretorum iudiciorum. Invenit quidam vir ex sapientibus librum ex libris secretorum...; Schluss, ... ideoque cogebatur ad hoc nutu dei. Finit liber astrologi Mesehallah qui interpretatur quem deus uoluerit magistri uel uolerim coniunctionem ac receptionem (diese Stelle unsicher!). Explicit liber.

Despite his quoting twice the form of title which we have preferred and his having seen four other manuscripts, including two of those described above, BjÖRNBO gave the title as *De interrogationibus*.

Milan, Ambros. A. 183. inf., vellum folio, 14th century, ornate with colors and some illuminations, fols. 56vb-64va : rubric, Incipit liber Mesahalla de receptione et coniunctione interpretatus a

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(4) Messahalla de interrogationibus is written in the upper right hand corner of the recto of each leaf from 72 to 88 inclusive, as if the text extended that far, but the following items would seem not to belong to it: fol. 86vb, Capitulum de eodem (i.e. thesaurus) Omar autem Tibias Sirus (for Tiberiadis?) hoc artificium hoc ordine instituit; fol. 87rb, Capitulum de eodem. Alchindus vero post doctissimum Messealam ad hunc modum, Cum queritur inquit ...; fol. 87vb, Capitulum de eodem. Maiores huius artis magistri dicunt posse invenire locus thesauri absconditi quod veteres discrete obmiserunt; fol. 88ra, Capitulum de eodem. Messehala Indorum (for Iudeorum?) in iudiciorum opere solertissimus dicit posse inveniri quid sit quod celat querens. Alkindi and Omar were later than Messahala.

Iohanne Hyspalensi ex arabico in latinum; incipit, Invenit quidam vir ex sapientibus librum ex libris segretorum astrorum...; desinit, ... cogebatur ad hoc nutu dei. Explicit.

In this manuscript the above text is immediately followed by MESSAHALLA on the revolution of years of the world, opening, Custodiat te deus... and by the Epistola in twelve chapters on eclipses and conjunctions.

BN 7282, 15th century, fols. 40va-42ra : rubric, Liber coniunctionis et receptionis Mesehalath; incipit, Invenit quidam vir de sapientibus librum ex libris secretorum astrorum de illis quos thesaurizaverunt reges in secretis suis...; desinit, ... que signis solidis dividuntur. Explicit.

*Precepit Messahala ut constituas...*

For the text which opens, *Precepit Messahala ut constituas ascendens per gradum suum...*, the form of title favored by the earlier manuscripts is *De cogitatione*, or, *De interpretatione cogitationis*.

BN 16208, late 12th-13th century, fols. 51vb-, *Tractatus de cogitatione vel determinatione et refertur ad Messealae*. Precipit Messeallach ut constituas ascendens per gradum suum atque minutum et xii domos certissime et dixit quod interrogationes sint tribus modis... At fol. 52vb, *Tractatus Dorothei in occultis*. Dixit Dorotheus Cum interrogatus fueris ..., which BJÖRNBO, *Bibl. Math.* 1905, p. 236, note 2, regards as opening the second part of the text by MESSAHALA which opens, *Scito quod aspiciens...*

BN 16204, 13th century, pp. 422b-424a : rubric, *Incipit liber Messehalla de interpretacione cogitationis*; incipit, Precipit Messehallah ut constituas ascendens per gradum suum atque minutum...; desinit, ... et iam exposui tibi superius qualiter misceas significationes planetarum significationibus signorum; rubric, *Explicit liber Messehalla de interpretacione cogitationis*.

BM Harley 13, 13th century, fol. 174ra-vb : rubric, *Incipit Messehalath de interpretatione cogitationis*; opening paragraph, *Precepit Messehalach ut constituas ascendens per gradum suum atque minutum et domos certissime et dicit quod interrogationes fiunt tribus modis, primo qua de causa venerit interrogator ut scias et de quo interrogat, secundo ut scias que fuit causa eius interrogationis, tertio ut scias utrum perficiatur aut non et quem*

finem habebit; desinit, ... Et iam exposui tibi superius qualiter misceas significationes planetarum significationibus signorum. Explicit liber Mess. de interpretatione cogitationum.

Oxford, Bodleian Digby 51, 13th century, fol. 133v: Tractatus de cogitacione vel de intencione et refertur ad messeallah; incipit, Precepit Messehalla ut constituas ascendens per gradum suum...; desinit, ... qualiter misceas significationes planetarum significationibus signorum. The text opening, Scito quod aspiciens... follows immediately.

Madrid 10053, 13th century, fol. 86ra-va (as described by MILLÁS, *op. cit.*, p. 195): Tractatus de cogitatione uel de intentione et refertur ad Messehalla. Precepit Messehalla ut constituas ascendens per gradum suum...; desinit,... et iam exposui tibi superius qualiter misceas significationes planetarum significationibus signorum. It is preceded in this manuscript, but not immediately, by the other two texts.

Cod. S. Marco Florent. 194, Bibl. Laurenziana, 14th century, fol. 102r-v (as described by BJÖRNBO, *op. cit.*, p. 136): Ueberschrift, Tractatus de cognitione uel intentione et refertur ad Mes.; Anfang, Precepit Mesehalla ut constituas ascendens...; Schluss, ... et iam exposui superius qualiter misceas significationes planetarum significationibus signorum. It is immediately followed in this manuscript by the text opening, Scito quod aspiciens..., and, a little later, by that opening, Invenit vir quidam...

BN 7282, 15th century, fols. 39va-40va: rubric, Incipit tractatus de cogitatione; incipit, Precepit Mesealach ut constituas ascendens (*sic*) per gradum suum...; desinit, ... et sic de reliquis 12 signis. This text immediately precedes that opening, Invenit quidam vir... in this manuscript.

In cap. 9 of *Speculum astronomiae*, Precipit Messehala... is given as the incipit of *De interpretatione* (interrogatione in another manuscript) cogitationis by Messahala.

### *Scito quod aspiciens...*

In the same chapter, *Scito quod aspiciens*, is given as the incipit of the book of Messahala *De inventione* (or, *inventionibus*) occultorum. In manuscripts of the work itself, however, *Libellus interpretationum* is the preferred form of title.

BN 16208, 12-13th century, fol. 52rb-va, rubric, liber interpretationum incipit; incipit, In nomine domini... (etc. as in BN 16209).

BN 16204, 13th century, pp. 424a-426a; rubric, Explicit liber Messehalla de interpretatione cogitationis. Incipit liber eiusdem de occultis; incipit, In nomine domini. Incipit libellus interpretationum quem puto esse Messehalla. Inveni enim eum extractum de libro suo interroga (424b) cionibus. Scito quod aspiciens id est astrologus poterit errare quatuor modis...; rubric, De inveniando significatore; p. 425a, rubric, Divisio loci in quartas; p. 425b, rubric, Divisio ipsius quarte; desinit, ...et ubicumque fuerit dominus hore ibi erunt res intellige. At p. 426a, rubric, Secundum Dorotheum; incipit, Tractatus Dorothei in occultis. Dixit Dorotheus, Cum interrogatus fueris de thesauro... At p. 427a, rubric, Secundum Ptholomeum: incipit, Dixit Ptholomeus, Si aspexerit significator ascendens, erit genus rei occulte de natura ascendentis...; p. 428a, desinit, ... a ceteris qui in hac arte minus docti erant; rubric, Explicit liber Messehalla de occultis. Here the excerpts from DOROTHEUS and PTOLEMY de occultis are combined with MESSAHALA's Libellus interpretationum, and the title, De occultis given to the whole, but, it would seem, erroneously.

Very similar, however, is Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 149, 13th century pro maxima parte, fol. 201: Liber eiusdem de oculis, followed by the same formula, In nomine domini incipit interpretationum <liber> quem puto esse Messehalle, inveni enim eum extractum de libro suo de interrogacionibus, but variant incipit, Scito aspiciens quod astrologus poterit errare 4 modis... Then, at fol. 202 the same tracts ascribed to DOROTHEUS and PTOLEMY, and, ad calc., Explicit liber Messehalle de oculis.

Oxford, Bodleian, Digby 51, 13th century, fol. 134: Libellus interpretationum quem puto esse Messeallah, inveni enim eum extractum de libro suo in interrogationibus; incipit, Scito quod aspiciens id est astrologus poterit errare iiii modis... On fol. 135 follows Tractatus Dorothei in occultis with the same incipit as above, but not PTOLEMEUS de occultis. The same was true of BN 16208, fol. 52vb.

Cod. S. Marco Florent. 194, 14th century, fols. 102v-105v (as described by BJÖRNBO, *op. cit.*, p. 236): Ueberschrift, Incipit liber interpretationum de occultis; Anfang, In nomine domini



incipit libellus interpretationum de interrogationibus quem puto esse Mesehallah. Inveni enim exemplar extractum de libro suo in interrogationibus. Scito quod aspiciens id est astrologus...; desinit, ... sit luna penitus ab infortuna libera. Explicit. BJÖRNBO adds in a note: Hier fehlt der zweite Teil des Buches mit dem Anfang, Dixit Dorotheus, Cum interrogatus fueris...

BN 7316, 14-15th century, fol. 82v: rubric, Liber interrogationum; In nomine domini incipit libellus interpretationum quem puto esse Mesehallah. Inveni enim eum extractum de libro suo in interrogationibus; and usual incipit. At fol. 83r, before the two aforesaid tracts of DOROTHEUS and PTOLEMY with the usual incipits intervene a Capitulum in occultatione anuli sive alicuius secundum Dorochium, and a Capitulum in quadrante hoc est figura extractionis occultorum secundum regulas hyles. Also BN 16204, p. 425.

In all the afore-listed manuscripts the text opening, Scito quod aspiciens... immediately follows that which opens, Precepit Messahala ut constituas...

This is likewise the case in Digby 194, 15th century, a manuscript which, like Digby 149, once belonged to T. ALLEN but differs from it in not giving the title, De occultis, but opening immediately at fol. 138r with the usual formula, Libellus interpretationum quem puto de Messealach etc. and the more usual wording of the incipit, Scito quod aspiciens id est astrologus poterit errare quatuor modis... Its desinit is the same as that in BN 16204 before the DOROTHEUS in occultis begins with the usual incipit, but without the tract attributed to PTOLEMY.

In Venice, fondo antico 343 (Valentinelli XI, 102), 14th century, fols. 148-150, our text is neither preceded nor followed by others of MESSAHALA. According to the catalogue's description, it opens with the usual formula, Libellus interpretationum etc., but is in three parts, which suggests addition of the tracts ascribed to DOROTHEUS and PTOLEMY, and has the variant incipit, Scito quod caespicians in astrologia poterit errare quatuor modis...

*Cum astrorum scientia difficilis...*

The treatise on interrogations which opens, Cum astrorum scientia difficilis fuerit..., is in twelve chapters, and the form of title which is favored by the four manuscripts of it which I have examined is Liber de intentionibus secretorum astronomie. All

four manuscripts are at the Bodleian, Oxford, two in the Ashmolean and two in the Digbean collections, and are of the fourteenth or fifteenth century : Ashmole 191. II, fols. 145r-150r; Ashmole 393, fols. 54r-55v; Digby 93, fols. 186r-191r; and Digby 57, fol. 178 (192)v, which has only eight lines of the introduction, the next leaf being another text in a different hand on astrological medicine. The work is seemingly referred to in the condemnation of 1493 by the Faculty of Theology of Paris of certain manuscripts in the possession of the astrologer, SYMON DE PHARES, where the twenty-second item of the fourth manuscript is characterized thus :

Vicesimus secundus superscribitur : Incipiunt secretorum astronomiae 12 capitula valde secreta in hac arte quam compilavit Guydo venerabilis Bonati de Bononia super interrogationibus & judiciis. Incipit : Cum astrorum scientia difficilis sit (5).

The ascription to GUIDO BONATTI appears to be erroneous, there being no such text in the treatment of interrogations in his *Decem tractatus astronomiae*, printed at Augsburg in 1491. I know of no other manuscripts of the twelve chapters as a whole, but parts of it bear a close resemblance to other texts which we have mentioned. This will become the more manifest from the appended edition of portions of it : the introductory paragraph giving the titles of its twelve chapters, a portion of the first chapter, and tituli, incipits and desinits of the other chapters. In indicating variant readings the aforesaid four manuscripts will be cited by the sigla : BLA 191, BLA 393, BLd 57, and BLd 93.

#### Liber de intentionibus secretorum astronomie (6)

Cum astrorum scientia (7) difficilis (8) fuerit (9) cordetenus inspicienti (10), licet ex compositione (11) veterum philosophorum

(5) DU PLESSIS D'ARGENTRÉ, *Collectio judiciorum de novis erroribus*, 1755, I, ii, 327a.

(6) This form of title appears, as will be seen, in the explicits of all three complete texts, except that BLA 191 omits the last word. It is similarly entitled at the beginning, in a later hand, *Liber de intentione secretorum*; while BLd 93 has as its title, also in a later hand, *Libellus de intentionibus secretorum astronomie*. BLd 57 has only *De secretis astronomie* as the title; BLA 393 adds to this, *Liber Messa halach de interpretatione cogitationum*, which, as we have seen, is the title of the text opening, *Precepit Messahala ut constituas ascendens...*

(7) BLA 393, scientiam.

(8) BLA 393, difficile; BLd 93, difficilior.

(9) BLd 93 omits.

(10) BLA 191, inspicientibus; BLd 57, inspicienti; BLA 393 adds *retinere*.

(11) BLA 191 omits *licet* and *compositione*.

plures libros habeamus, istum propter (12) hoc (13) composui (14) libellum in quo omnia istius (15) scientie secreta ex doctrina (16) omnium (17) philosophorum in unum breviter collegi quem (18) in 12 capitula compendiosa (19) divisi. Quorum primum docet de significatione interrogationis scilicet (20) de qua re interrogabit interrogator. Secundum capitulum de causa interrogationis, id est, unde orta (21) est (22) interrogatio. Tertium capitulum (23) quem finem habebit res illa de qua facta (24) fuit (25) interrogatio, et (26) de universali exemplo omnium iudiciorum (27). Quartum capitulum (28) de errore ipsius astronomi scilicet qualiter et quot modis poterit astronomus errare. Quintum capitulum (29) de significatione intentionis secundum dicta (30) diversorum auctorum. Sextum capitulum (31) de occultatione cuiuslibet (32) rei secundum Dorotheum. Septimum capitulum (33) de figura extractionis rerum occultarum secundum regulas hyles (34). Octavum capitulum (35) de re perdita vel occulta (36) utrum inventa erit an (37) non. Nonum capitulum (38) de scientia Dorothei (39)

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- (12) BLa 393, ad; BLd 93, per.  
 (13) BLa 393 adds tum.  
 (14) BLa 191, composuit.  
 (15) BLd 57, illius.  
 (16) BLd 57, 93, doctrinis.  
 (17) BLa 191 omits.  
 (18) BLa 393 adds etiam.  
 (19) BLa 383, breviter.  
 (20) BLa 191, id est.  
 (21) BLa 393, oritur.  
 (22) BLa 393 and BLd 57 omit est.  
 (23) BLa 393 omits capitulum.  
 (24) BLd 93, fuit interrogatio facta.  
 (25) BLa 393, fuerit.  
 (26) BLa 393 omits the rest of the sentence.  
 (27) BLd 57 breaks off here.  
 (28) BLa 393 omits capitulum.  
 (29) BLa 393 omits.  
 (30) BLa 393, diversos auctores.  
 (31) BLa 393 omits.  
 (32) BLa 393, cuiusque; BLa 191, cuiuscumque.  
 (33) BLa 393 and BLd 93 omit.  
 (34) BLa 191, yles; BLa 393, elegii. In the text of cap. 7 BLd 93 has the correct spelling, hyleg; BLa 191, ylegis.  
 (35) BLa 393 and BLd 93 omit.  
 (36) BLd 93, occultata.  
 (37) BLa 393, vel.  
 (38) BLa 393 and BLd 93 omit. (39) BLa 191, Doratheii.

scilicet in quo loco fuerit res occulta (40). Decimum capitulum (41) de divisione domus in quatuor partes scilicet in (42) orientalem occidentalem (43) meridionalem et septentrionalem. Undecimum capitulum (44) de natura rei occulte (45) secundum Ptholomeum. Duodecimum capitulum (46) et ultimum de inventionibus rerum occultarum et de earum complexionibus (47) naturis coloribus formis et (48) earum similitudinibus (49) vetustatibus (50) atque novitatibus.

Primum capitulum (51) de significatione interrogationis, hoc est, de qua re interrogabit interrogator. Ad quod sciendum precepit (52) Messahalla (53) ut (54) constituas ascendentem per gradum suum atque minutum et 12 (55) domos certissime. et dixit quod interrogationes fiunt (56) tribus modis. Primo (57) ut scias qua (58) de causa (59) venit interrogator quod (60) scies (61) per capitulum presens. Secundo ut scias que sit causa interrogationis (61) eius (62) et hoc tibi demonstrabit capitulum 2<sup>m</sup>. 3<sup>o</sup> ut scias (63) utrum perficietur (64) res illa (65) aut non, et quem finem habebit, et (66) hoc (67) tibi patebit in capitula 3<sup>o</sup> (68).

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(40) BLd 93, occultata.

(41) BLa 393 omits.

(42) BLa 191 omits.

(43) BLa 393, meridionalem occidentalem.

(44) BLa 393 omits.

(45) BLd 93, occultate.

(46) BLa 393 omits.

(47) BLa 393, questionibus. BLd 93 adds de.

(48) BLd 93 adds de.

(49) BLa 393 adds et.

(50) BLa 191, vestustatibus.

(51) BLa 191 and BLd 93 add est.

(52) BLa 191 and BLd 93, precipit.

(53) BLa 191, Missahalla; BLa 393, Messahalach.

(54) BLd 93 omits.

(55) BLd 93, equa.

(56) BLd 93, fuerunt.

(57) BLa 191 adds modo.

(58) BLa 393 omits.

(59) BLa 393 adds per quam.

(60) BLa 393, et hoc tibi demonstrabit primum capitulum.

(61) BLa 191 scias.

(62) BLd 93 omits eius.

(63) BLa 393 omits ut scias.

(64) BLd 93, perficiatur.

(65) BLa 393 omits res illa; BLa 191 omits illa.

(66) BLa 393 omits. (67) BLd 93, hic. (68) BLa 191 adds, si deus voluerit.

Cum igitur ista scire volueris, scito primo significatorem secundum quod narrabo (69) tibi cuius scientia certa est ut aspicias ascendentem et domum eius et lunam et domum eius et dominum quoque eius et dominum hore et partem fortune et operare per eum qui habuerit plures auctoritates et in meliori loco fuerit...

(cap. i ends) ... Et scito quod veracior est illa intentio (70) quam habuerit interrogator in corde suo per unum diem aut plus si (71) deus voluerit.

Secundum capitulum de causa interrogationis et unde orta est interrogatio. Cum igitur inveneris significatorem et volueris scire causam... (this chapter is only a few lines long).

Tertium capitulum (72) quem finem habebit res illa de qua facta fuit interrogatio et de universalitate (73) omnium iudiciorum. Interrogatio facta fuit cuius ascendens fuit decimus gradus Tauri .../... de sompno. Et iam exposui tibi superius qualiter miscebis significationes planetarum cum significationibus signorum.

Quartum (74) capitulum de errore ipsius (75) astronomi scilicet (76) qualiter (77) et quot modis poterit astronomus errare. Scito igitur quod error (78) ipsius astronomi poterit quatuor modis contingere... (79) (This chapter is also only a few lines long)

Quintum (80) capitulum in scientia significationis et intentionis secundum dicta diversorum auctorum. Scito quod patebit intentio .../... de filio infirmo et sic de reliquis 12 domibus, si deus voluerit.

Sextum capitulum de occultatione cuiuscumque (81) rei secundum Dorotheum. Dixit itaque Dorotheus, Cum aliquis (82) occultaverit tibi anulum vel aliquid (83) aliud .../... donec venias ad locum occultationis (84).

(69) BLa 191, narrabitur; BLA 393, tibi narrabo.

(70) BLA 393 omits.

(71) BLA 191 omits si deus voluerit.

(72) BLA 393 adds docet.

(73) BLA 393, universis; BLA 191, universali.

(74) BLA 191, Capitulum quartum.

(75) BLd 93 omits.

(76) BLA 393 omits.

(77) BLd 93, qualiter poterit et quot modis.

(78) BLd 93 omits.

(79) Instead of this incipit, BLA 393 has, Et hoc potest 4 modis contingere...

(80) BLA 191, Capitulum 5m.

(81) BLd 93, cuiuslibet.

(82) BLA 393 omits.

(83) BLd 93, quodlibet. (84) BLA 393 adds, si deus voluerit.

Septimum capitulum de quadrante hoc est de figura extractionis occularum secundum regulam (85) hyleg (86) inveniunturque per eam .../... res illa non fuerat furata nec (87) abscondita sed casu cecidit.

Octavum capitulum est (88) de re perdita vel occulta (89) utrum inventa erit... (This chapter is also only a few lines long).

Nonum capitulum secundum Dorotheum. Si interrogatus fueris in quo loco sit (90) aliquid occultum.../... indicabit que (91) sit illa res, si deus voluerit.

Decimum capitulum de quadrupla (92) domus divisione. Post predicta namque domum divide.../... aliquid sepultum (93) in loco (94) si deus voluerit qui est fundamentum totius astrologie (95).

Undecim capitulum est (96) de nature (97) rei occulte secundum Ptholomeum dicentem, Si aspexerit significator ascendentem, erit genus rei occulte ex natura ascendentis.../... qui in hac arte minus experti (98) erant.

Duodecimum capitulum et (99) ultimum est (100) de regulis ad inveniendum res occultas (101) et earum complexiones.../... res illa erit (102). Perfectus est modo (103) iste liber de (104) intentionibus secretorum astronomie quem veterum philosophorum quamplu-

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(85) BLa 393, regulas.

(86) BLa 191, elegis; BLA 393, elegii.

(87) BLd 93, sed aliquo casu cecidit neque est res illa absconsa etc.; BLA 191, sed aliquo scecidit nec est absconsa.

(88) BLA 393 omits.

(89) BLd 93, occultata.

(90) BLd 93, aliquid fuerit occultum.

(91) BLA 393, quid sit, and omits the rest.

(92) BLA 393, quadruplo.

(93) BLA 393 omits.

(94) BLA 393 adds forti.

(95) In BLA 191 the chapter ended several lines earlier with the words, ...cubiti in longitudine sua vel latitudine[m] et invenies, si deus voluerit.

(96) BLA 191 and BLd 93 omit.

(97) BLd 93, nota.

(98) BLA 393, docti.

(99) BLd 93 omits; BLA 191, et ultimum capitulum.

(100) BLd 93 and BLA 191 omit.

(101) BLd 93 adds et furtivas.

(102) BLd 93, erit res illa; BLA 191, erit ista res.

(103) BLA 393, igitur and omits iste; BLA 191, modo iste liber est.

(104) BLd 93 adds omnibus.

rimi (105) volebant suis caris consortibus demonstrare. Presens igitur opus (106) finem suum sibi (107) assumit, si deus voluerit qui est principium et origo totius scientie, qui sit benedictus in secula Amen. Explicit liber de intentionibus secretorum astronomie (109).

In the foregoing text the incipit, Precepit Messahalla ut constituas,, occurs soon after the opening words of the first chapter, and the desinit which went with it in the manuscripts listed above, is practically duplicated at the close of the third chapter, ... miscebis (instead of misceas) significationes planetarum cum significationibus signorum. Similarly the incipit, Scito quod aspiciens id est astrologus poterit errare quatuor modis..., is roughly equivalent to, Scito igitur quod error ipsius astronomi poterit quatuor modis contingere... at the beginning of the fourth chapter, which, however, is much shorter than the separate text, nor at the close of the following fifth chapter do we find a desinit corresponding to that of the separate text. The sixth chapter parallels the Capitulum in occultatione anuli sive alicuius secundum Dorochium, which we noted above in BN 7316 at fol. 83r. (110) and the seventh chapter is on the same subject as its Capitulum in quadrante hoc est figura extractionis occultorum secundum regulas hyles (111). The eighth, ninth and tenth chapters do not find corresponding texts in other manuscripts known to me. But the eleventh cites the incipit, Si aspexerit significator ascendentem (instead of ascensens, as before) of the tract attributed to PTOLEMY.

#### EPISTOLA

Quite different from this compilation is the genuine work of MESSAHALA in twelve chapters which is commonly briefly designated as his Epistola and is concerned not with astrological interro-

(105) BLa 393, quamplures.

(106) BLa 393, liber.

(107) BLd 93, ibi.

(108) BLa 393 adds astronomie.

(109) BLa 191 omits.

(110) See also at Cambridge, Emmanuel College MS 70, fol. 65r: De occultatione anuli vel alterius rei secundum Dorotheum.

(111) Both Capitulum also occur in BN 7282, but that De quadrante comes first at fol. 42ra, that concerning the hidden ring, at fol. 42rb, but both followed at 42va and vb by the other tracts attributed to DOROTHEUS and PTOLEMY.

gations but with eclipses, conjunctions and revolutions of the planets. In its seventh chapter the *Speculum astronomiae* says that the subject of astrological revolutions is divided into three parts, of which the first deals with 120 conjunctions of the planets and their eclipses and which is treated

apud Messehalla in quodam libello qui 12 capitula continet vocaturque Epistola Messehalla et sic incipit, Quia dominus altissimus.

The form, Dixit Messahala quia dominus altissimus..., is also found; sometimes quia is omitted or quod substituted for it. The work was printed several times and BJÖRNBO knew of 25 manuscripts of it but did not list them. In addition to those mentioned under the various forms of the incipit in *A Catalogue of Incipits* (112), the following may be noted :

BN 16208, 12-13th century, fols. 49va-50va, Incipit epistola Messehallach in rebus eeclipsis lune, where its presence is unnoticed either in the fly-leaf table of contents or in DELISLE's catalogue.

BN 16204, 13th century, pp. 387b-391b : rubric, Liber Messehalla in radicibus revolutionum. Primum capitulum est de ratione circuli et stellarum et qualiter operantur in hoc seculo (and so on for the other chapters); cap. i incipit, Dixit Messehala Quia dominus altissimus fecit terram...; desinit, .. Intellige hoc etiam est ultimum eorum que protulimus in hoc libro et est ex secretis scientie astrorum. Et perfectus est Messehalla translatus a Iohanne Hispalensi in lunia ex arabico in latinum. It is immediately followed by MESSAHALA, *De revolutionibus annorum mundi*, and then by the three tracts opening, *Invenit quidam vir...*, *Precepit Messahala ut constituas...*, and *Scito quod aspiciens...*, of which we have already treated.

Madrid 10012, 13th century, fols. 1r-2v (as described by MILLÁS VALLICROSA, *op. cit.*, p. 226) : Messehalla. In rebus eclipsis lune et in coniunctionibus planetarum et de revolutione annorum. De ratione celi et stellarum et eorum que operantur. Dixit Messehalla. Dominus altissimus fecit terram ad similitudinem spere.../... in coniunctione pfeuerit sit fortuna. Intellige hoc ad ultimum eorum que protulimus in hoc libro. Translatus est a Iohanne Ispalensi.

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(112) LYNN THORNDIKE and PEARL KIBRE, *A Catalogue of Incipits of Medieval Scientific Writings in Latin*, Cambridge, Mass., 1937.



Basel F. IV. 18, 14th century, fols. 55ra-57va : Incipit epistola Messahallach in rebus eclipsis lune et in coniunctionibus planetarum ac revolutione annorum breviter elucidata et sunt in ea XII capitula; contents and incipit as usual; desinit, "... et ex secretis scientie astrorum. Perfectus est liber Messehalla translatus a Iohanne Hispalensi ex harabico in latinum sub laude dei et eius auxilio. Explicit.

Cod. S. Marco Florent. 194, 14th century, fols. 101r-102r (as described by BJÖRNBO, *Bibl. Math.* (1905), 235-36) : Ueberschrift, Epistola Messehalla; Vorwort and Schluss, as in Basel F.IV.18.

Florence, *Bibl. Nazionale Centrale*, convent. soppr. J.III.28, late 14th century, fols. 73r-74r, is described by BJÖRNBO, *Bibl. Math.* (1912), 109, very similarly.

BN 7307, 13-14th century, fols. 33(bis) v-35v, is also similar in its opening and closing.

BN 7316, 14-15th century, fol. 181r, has almost the same foreword, Incipit astronomia Moyssaalha in rebus eclipsis lune et solis et omnibus (sic) planetarum ac revolutionibus annorum breviter elucidata et sunt in 12 capitula, but a differently worded incipit, Dixit Moyssalha Creator creavit terram ad modum rote... This suggests another translation than that by JOHN OF SEVILLE which occurred in all the manuscripts previously listed.

BN 7443, 15th century, fols. 130r-132v : no titulus, but the usual table of the twelve chapters and incipit, Dixit Messehalla quod dominus altissimus fecit terram ad similitudinem spere...; desinit, Perfectus est liber Messehalla translatus a Iohanne Ypallensi. Explicit.

The Epistola appears to be referred to as the twenty-seventh item in the fourth manuscript of SYMON DE PHARES described in their condemnation by the faculty of theology at Paris, but the wording of the incipit is unusual :

Vicesimus septimus superscribitur : Incipit liber Messahali de rebus et eclipsibus lunae et solis et coniunctionibus planetarum et revolutionibus annorum. Incipit : Quia prima causa fecit terram perpetuam (113).

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(113) DU PLESSIS D'ARGENTRÉ, *Collectio iudiciorum de novis erroribus*, 1755, I, ii, 327a.

Oxford, Bodleian, Canon. Misc. 396, end of 14th century, fols. 88-(93?). As COXE's catalogue is rare (Columbia University has only a microfilm made from my personal copy), I repeat his description: titulus, Incipit epistola Messehallah in rebus eclipsis lune et in conjunctionibus planetarum ac revolutionibus annorum breviter elucidata, et sunt in ea xii capitula; incipit, Primum capitulum capitulum de ratione circuli stellarum et qualiter operantur in hoc mundo. Dixit Messehallah, Quia dominus altissimus fecit...; desinit, ... que protulimus in hoc libro, et est ex secretis scientie astrorum.

In the same manuscript the treatise by MESSAHALA opening, *Invenit quidam vir...* begins at fol. 93, and his tract on how to grow rich, at fol. 110v.

BN 7282, 15th century, fols. 33va-34va: is called Messahallach *praecepta ad astrologiam judicalem spectantia* in the printed catalogue of 1744, but turns out to be the last eleven chapters of the *Epistola*: rubric, *Tractatus Mesehallach*; incipit, *Dixit Messahallah Scito quod sit planetis opus secundum diversitatem...*; but the usual *desinit*, ... *Hoc est ultimum eorum que protulimus in hoc libro et est ex secretis scientie astrorum. Perfectus est liber Mesehalle translatus a Iohanne Yspalensi in Lunia ex arabico in latinum sub laude dei et eius auxilio.*

BN 7316A, 14th century, fols. 51ra-52vb: what at first glance seems to be an unfamiliar translation into Latin by JOHN OF SEVILLE of a tract on weather prediction by MESSAHALA, opens, *Si vis scire quid accidat mundo de ventis et pluviis et cetera. Dixit Messehalla Constitue ascendens hora introitus solis in ipsum initium Arietis...* However, the chapter headings which follow at fols. 51rb. va. vb, 52ra, rb and va are identical with those of the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth of the *Epistola*, and the work has a similar ending. In the top margin of fol. 51rb was written, *Messahalla de imbribus*, but in that of 52rb, *Messahall' de coniunctionibus*.

The headings of these twelve chapters of the *Epistola* as found in BN 16208, 7307, 7443 and Basel F.IV.18, are:

1 De ratione circuli (114) et stellarum et qualiter operantur in hoc seculo

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(114) Celi in Basel F. IV. 18.

2 De diversitate vestigii id est (115) operis stellarum in plaris (116) terre

3 In signis et naturis eorum calidis scilicet (117) et frigidis et que sint (118) ex eis fixa vel (119) mobilia, diurna sive (120) nocturna

4 In (121) revolutione anni (122)

5 In (123) eclipsi lune et eius significatione

6 In (124) mutatione temporum per (125) mutationes planetarum in signis planetarum ponderosorum

7 In eclipsi solis et eius significatione

8 In (126) coniunctione planetarum et eius (127) opere (128)

9 In coniunctione planetarum (129) altiorum (130)

10 In coniunctione maiori (131)

11 In coniunctione (132) media

12 In coniunctione (133) minori (134)

*Custodiat te deus...*

The second part of astrological revolutions, according to the *Speculum astronomiae*, is concerned with revolutions of the world,

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(115) Et for id est in BN 7443.

(116) Plaris in BN 7307.

(117) BN 7443 and 16208 omit scilicet.

(118) Sunt in BN 7443 and Basel F. IV. 18.

(119) Et in BN 7443 and 16208.

(120) Vel in BN 7443.

(121) De in BN 16208.

(122) Annorum in BN 7443.

(123) De in BN 7443.

(124) De in BN 7443.

(125) In BN 7316A the rest of the chapter heading reads, per planetarum mutationem scilicet ponderosorum; in BN 7443, et permutatione planetarum ponderosorum; in BN 7443, et permutatione planetarum ponderosorum; in BN 7307, et in permutatione planetarum in signis planetarum scilicet ponderosorum; in Basel F. IV. 18, et permutationum planetarum ponderosorum.

(126) De in BN 7443.

(127) Eorum in BN 16208, and 7316A.

(128) Affectu in BN 7316A.

(129) BN 7307 omits planetarum.

(130) Maiorum in BN 7443.

(131) Maiorum in BN 7443 and Basel F. IV. 18; minorum in BN 7307.

(132) BN 7443 omits coniunctione.

(133) BN 7443 omits coniunctione.

(134) Minorum in Basel F. IV. 18.

and one of the books on it is by MESSAHALA and opens, *Custodiat te deus...* It was printed in 1493, and is found in many manuscripts of which the following may be added to those given in A Catalogue of Incipits, col. 168.

Madrid 10053, 13th century, fols. 132r-136ra (as described by MILLÁS VALLICROSA, *op. cit.*, p. 200): incipit, *Custodiat te deus et augeat tibi vitam. Patefaciam tibi, sublimet te deus, reuolutionem annorum cuius sciencia et dispositio est...*; desinit, ... *et si iunctus fuerit planeta, fortuna minuet ex gravitate eius.* ALVARO OF OVIEDO towards the close of the 13th century added: *Explicit cum auxilio dei. Puto tamen quod plus fecerit M quamquam plus inuentum non fuerit in exemplari arabico.*

BN 16204 (once Sorbonne 979), 13th century, pp. 391b-404a.

BN 7316, 14-15th century, fols. 76v-80v: *Messehallah in reuolutione annorum mundi*; incipit, *Custodiat te deus et augeat.*

Vienna 3124, 15th century, fols. 140r-145v: *Incipit tractatus de reuolutione anni mundi ad iudicandum secundum Messahalach Indum (Iudeum?)*; incipit, *Custodiat te deus et augeat tibi vitam. Patefaciam tibi reuolutionem annorum...*; desinit, ... *fortuna minuet eius gravitatem. Explicit liber Messahala de reuolutionibus annorum mundi. Deo gratias.*

In BN 7324, for which A Catalogue of Incipits gives only the opening page, fol. 52r, the treatise extends to fol. 58v.

#### WEATHER PREDICTION

Under the third part of astrological revolutions, which is concerned with weather prediction, the *Speculum astronomiae* does not cite a treatise by MESSAHALA. We saw above that what seemed at first glance to be a translation of a tract on weather prediction by MESSAHALA by JOHN OF SEVILLE was really the last half of the *Epistola*. In the same manuscript, however, we presently encounter the following text:

BN 7316A, 14th century, fols. 69va-71vb: *In nomine pii et misericordis dei Epistola Messehalle in pluuiis et ventis a magistro Drogone translata de arabico in latinum*; incipit, *Dixit Messehalla, Inspice planetas inferiores et partes suorum celorum...*; running head in top margin of fol. 70rb, *Mexahalla de imbris*; desinit, ... *Et quando recesserit luna in fundamento questionis a planeta*

superiori et applicuerit planete inferiori vel econverso, significabit pluvias etc. (135).

Berne 483, the date 14th century in HAGEN's catalogue has been corrected to 15th century, fols. 69r-70v: In nomine dei pii et misericordis incipit epistola Messehalu in pluviis et ventis a magistro Drogone translata de arabico in latinum; incipit, Dixit Messehal' inspice planetas inferiores et partes...

Despite the common title, Epistola, this treatise appears to be a different text from the Epistola in twelve chapters, and not merely a different translation by DROGO (136).

#### DE MERCIBUS, ETC.

STEINSCHNEIDER very briefly grouped together from several manuscripts a text or texts by, or fragments from MESSAHALA, on market prices, found with varying titles and incipits, which may be set forth here somewhat more fully.

Erfurt, Amplon. Q.372, late 14th century, fols. 56-60: Ueberschr. Messehallach in scientia que res quolibet tempore erunt care et que viles; Anf. Attende ad ea que dicam...; Ende, ... erit hoc utile venditori. Expl. At fols. 127v-134v: Uebersch. De testimoniis lune et orientis domini de recepcione similiter pro negociorum effectu discernendo Messehallae (et Albenahait); Anf. Luna quia columpna stellarum...; Ende, ... loco ad quemlibet. This latter item was not noted by STEINSCHNEIDER, who later under the title, De testimoniis lunae, and incipit, Luna quia columpna..., mentioned only DIGBY 149, item 31, which, however, does not have that incipit but opens, at fols. 205-216, Celestis circuli forma spherica..., and is an extract from De novem iudicibus, of whom nine judges MESSAHALA is one.

Oxford, Bodleian, Canon. Misc. 396, end of 14th century, fols. 110v-112: Messehalae liber de ratione ditescendi (manu

(135) At fol. 68ra, Modus alius Mesehalla de aeribus, Inspice in revolutione anni... appears to be part of the treatise of Alkindi on weather prediction and is found in it in the edition of 1507 by PETRUS LIECHTENSTEIN.

(136) HASKINS, *Studies in Medieval Science*, 1924, p. 77, says that "Drogo or Azogo ... has been conjectured to be Hugo" (of Santalla). But it seems unlikely that two such common names as Hugo and Drogo (19 bearers of which are listed by Chevalier) would be confused.

recentiori); titulus, Hunc librum scripsit Mesala propter unum ex amicis suis qui mercator erat fecerantque ambo societatem in lucro et lucrati sunt in parvo tempore magnam pecuniam; incipit (given by COXE as part of the titulus), Intende ergo ad hoc quod dicam et secundum hoc operare in quacunque villa fueris...; incipit (according to COXE) Constitue igitur bene Alchahale...

Canon. Misc. 517, 15th century, fols. 17v-(20 ?) : Liber Messahallah de abundantia et charistia.

Oxford, Hertford College 4 (formerly Aula B. Mariae Magdaleneae 2), 15th century, fols. 96-(100 ?)—the leaves have been renumbered and I think that our text is found somewhere between fol. 101 and 110 : Messahalae libellus de mercibus; incipit, Intende ergo ad ea...

The following manuscripts were not noted by STEINSCHNEIDER.

Cambridge, Emmanuel College 70, 15th century, fols. 147v-149r : Messehalla de mercibus; incipit, Attende ergo ad ea que dicam...; colophon, Explicit liber Messehalle completus.

Dijon 1045(1116), 15th century, fols. 191-(195 ?) : Messehala, Liber de annona; incipit, Actende ergo ad ea que dicam...

Wolfenbüttel 2841, anno 1432, fols. 378-380vb : Liber Massealach de gravitate et levitate annone; incipit, Hunc librum scripsit Messealach propter unum ex amicis suis qui mercator erit (erat?)...

Paris, BN nouv. acq. 398, anno 1473, fols. 36v-38v.

In Munich, Latin MS 11067, double columns on paper, 15th century, written all in one hand, (contents listed by MAXIMILIAN CURTZE, Petri Philomeni de Dacia in Algorismum Commentarium, Copenhagen, 1897, pp. vi-ix), at fols. 118-119r, ascribed not to MESSAHALA but DOROTHEUS, De gravitate et levitate pretii venalium per singulos menses.

#### NATIVITIES

No work on either astrological elections or nativities by MESSAHALA is cited in *Speculum astronomiae*, and no work on elections by him appears in the Latin manuscripts, although the work by ZAEL (Sahl b. Bischr) which opens, *Omnes concordati sunt...*, has sometimes been erroneously attributed to MESSAHALA. On nativities, however, at least three treatises exist in Latin manuscripts under his name. *Super significationes planetarum in nati-*

vitatibus, in 26 chapters, opening, *Cum Saturnus fuerit...*, was noted by STEINSCHNEIDER and is to be found in Vienna 3124, 15th century, fols. 59r-67v. HASKINS called attention to a translation by HUGH OF SANTALLA of a work by MESSAHALA in 14 chapters on nativities in manuscript Savile 15, fol. 177v-, at the Bodleian, Oxford, hitherto "unknown to the bibliographers," and printed HUGH's prologue: incipit, *Libellum hunc Messehale de nativitatibus ...* (137) and the opening words of the text, *Quamvis librum istum ex ordine a libro secretorum assumpto...*

Yet a third text is found at Paris in BN 7324, 15th century, at fols. 73r-76r: heading in top margin of fol. 73r, *De 12 domibus; titulus, Incipit liber Mesellae de nativitatibus. Et primo an sit puer ablatus aut non; incipit, Dixit Messeallah quod inter omnes libros astronomie non invenitur utilior libro nativitatum neque tam bonus in iudiciis...*; fol. 73v, rubric, *Quando fuerit yles in nativitate vel non, Capitulum de yle in scientia vite; rubric, De notitia temporis ex alcoden, Capitulum ex alcoden per quod scitur computatio vite; fol. 74r, Capitulum ad sciendum quid addunt planete vel minuunt; Capitulum ad sciendum voluntatem nati; fol. 74v, Capitulum ad sciendum fortunium et infortunium nati; fol. 75r, Exemplum Messeallah, followed by three figures of horoscopes, by six more on fol. 75v, and three more in col. a of fol. 76r. At fol. 76rb another text begins.*

The same manuscript, BN 7324, opens at fols. 1ra-24va with a work on the revolutions of nativities which it ascribes to MESSAHALA: 1ra, top margin in small letters, *De nativitatibus Mesalle incipit liber*; then in large letters across the page above both columns, *Hic incipit liber Mesahale (de nativitatibus seu has been crossed out) de revolutionibus nativitatum*. But the incipit of the following text, *Sole nativitatis tempore in loco aliquo...*, is that of the work usually assigned to ALBUMASAR.

#### PROPERTIES OF THE STARS

At the Bodleian, Oxford, in Digby 47, 14th century, a treatise on fourteen properties of the stars is ascribed to MESSAHALA at fols. 84r-99v: rubric, *Incipit liber Messahala de 14 proprietatibus*

(137) *Studies in Medieval Science*, 1924, p. 76.

stellarum que videlicet generationi et corruptioni omnium rerum deserviunt; incipit, Primo igitur ante cetera omnia hoc attendendum extimo...; desinit, ... cum fortunatis bonum cum periculosis e contrario promittit. Explicit liber quem Messahala compilavit de 14 proprietatibus stellarum que videlicet rerum omnium generationi et corruptioni deserviunt. But in the text ALBUMASAR, who was later than MESSAHALA, is cited together with him. Opinions of ALKINDI and ZAEL are also given, so that the work seems a late compilation. The following is a list of its rubrics :

- Hec nomina stellarum habitudinis
- De accessu et recessu et applicatione
- Sententia Messahale (margin)
- Sententia Alkindi (margin)
- De separatione stelle
- De translatione luminis
- De collectione luminis quomodo fortunatur et corrumpitur
- De speciebus prohibitionis
- De modis receptionum stellarum
- De renuntione sive frustratione (margin, Sententia Zaelis)
- De reditione et speciebus eius (margin, Sententia Zaelis)
- De dono potentie et virtutis (margin, Sententia Albumasar)
- De dono consilii et dono nature
- De fortitudine stellarum et eius speciali divisione
- De debilitate stellarum
- De hiis que supradictis adduntur secundum Messahala
- De aliis quinque que adduntur supradictis secundum sententiam Albumasar
- De impedimentis lune secundum Albumasar
- De proprietate Saturni secundum Albumasar
- De proprietate Martis ex aspectu aliorum
- De significatis planetarum ex aspectibus et coniunctione
- Claves que per singulas domos singula pandunt iudicia et primum de solis et lune proprietatibus secundum Messahala
- De proprietatibus solis ex sententia Messahala
- De proprietatibus lune secundum Messahala
- De testimoniis lune pro negotiorum effectu secundum Messahala (138)

(138) We have noted a separate text *De testimoniis lune* in Erfurt, Amplon. Q, 372.



Que sunt testimonia questionis et etiam benivolarum secundum  
Alb'naar

De lunari effectu atque potentia secundum iusta naturalem  
signorum ordinem ex dictis Aristotilis

De signis lune secundum tropica et bicorporea signa sententia  
Alkindi

Recipe de potentia lune et planetarum coniunctorum cum ipsa  
luna ut signi respectus (sic) et configuratio lune ad singulos  
per ordinem tam questionibus electionibus evidenter apparet.

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