

The Third Distinction of Michael Scot's *Liber quattuor distinctionum*: a window into the social world of astrologers in the early thirteenth century

by

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Author's Declaration

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this thesis. This is a true copy of the thesis, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my examiners.

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Abstract

Michael Scot remains an under-studied figure of the early thirteenth century, in particular with regard to his main original work, the *Liber introductorius*. This work has never been comprehensively edited, although several partial editions do exist. Scot's translations have received scholarly attention and their importance has been recognized, however, his original work has received a fairly negative assessment from scholars. A close look at one section of the *Liber introductorius* (*Liber quattuor distinctionum*, third distinction, CLM fols. 118rb-120ra), although it does conform to what scholars have found in other sections of Scot's work, offers another avenue of study; namely, the social historical aspects of astrology and astrologers in the early thirteenth century. Through his practical instructions to fledgling astrologers in matters such as their house, comportment, and dealings with customers, Scot provides us with a window into the social world of the astrologers of his time.

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Table of Contents	
Introduction	1
Section 1: Context	3
Michael Scot: His Biography and Importance in the Transmission of Knowledge.....	3
Michael Scot's Main Original Work: the <i>Liber introductorius</i>	8
<i>Liber quattuor distinctionum</i> : CLM 10268.....	14
Section 2: Transcription of CLM 10268 fols. 118rb-120ra	17
Section 3: Practical Concerns for an Astrologer	38
Conclusion	48
Appendix: Summary of Meier's Partial Edition	50
Bibliography	74

Introduction

Michael Scot, court astrologer to Frederick II and influential scholar, particularly as regards his work in translating parts of Aristotle into Latin, is one of the under-studied figures of the early thirteenth century. His main original work, the *Liber introductorius*, is still to a large extent unknown: most of the *Liber quattuor distinctionum* remains unedited. Michael Scot is worth investigating more fully, however, for many reasons. Almost all the studies done on him or his work so far have concluded with the assertion that more questions have been raised than answered, and further study is needed. Scot's unedited work is illustrative of astrology and astrologers in the thirteenth century, and can potentially shine a light on many questions, such as the social history of the early thirteenth century, what sources Scot had at his disposal and which ones he relied on the most, and so on. Therefore, for my thesis I have chosen a selection from the unedited portion of this work, the beginning of the third distinction (CLM 10268, folios 118rb-120ra), and prepared a transcription and commentary on it. In the process of deciding on a section to transcribe, I also looked at the previously existing partial editions of the *Liber quattuor distinctionum*--especially that by Hans Meier, which is by far the longest. The Meier partial edition is a collection of unfinished notes, and so I created a summary of its contents, which is, as far as I know, the most complete one in existence.

The content of my thesis falls into three sections. In the first, I focus on the context of my transcription, giving brief descriptions of Michael Scot's biography; his importance in the transmission of knowledge from Arabic sources to the Latin West; his main original work, the *Liber introductorius*; and the manuscript of the *Liber quattuor distinctionum* that I have used. The text of my transcription follows as the second section. In the last section, I focus on the information we can glean from the specific section of the *Liber quattuor distinctionum* that I

have studied, namely the beginning of the third distinction. The summary of the contents of Meier's partial edition of the *Liber introductorius* is included as an appendix.

Through this progression, I hope to show that Scot's work is indeed worth investigating more fully. Scot's practical turn of mind with his blunt statements as to what wise astrologers should and should not do, how they should dress, where they should live, etc. results in many assertions that reveal aspects of the social historical world of the astrologers in the early thirteenth century. Even, for example, an apparently off-hand instruction that the astrologer should not live in too busy an area, lest his potential customer feel ashamed at the thought of passersby seeing him and making assumptions about his reasons for consulting the astrologer, can tell us a lot about the social situation of a professional astrologer at this time period.

Section 1: Context

Michael Scot: His Biography and Importance in the Transmission of Knowledge¹

Not much information survives regarding Michael Scot's life, yet more biographical information survives for him than for many of his contemporaries,² which speaks to Scot's importance both during and after his lifetime. The details of Scot's life that we do know are easily and fairly quickly stated. He was born in Scotland, although the specific place and time are unknown.³ The earliest date in Michael Scot's life that is known with certainty is 1215 CE, when he was with the Archbishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, at the Fourth Lateran Council.⁴ He may perhaps have been in Toledo as early as 1208, as there is an "M. magister scholarum" who at that time signed a document in the Toledo Cathedral charters; however, the initial "M." is hardly conclusive proof.⁵

From a dated manuscript, we know that by August 18th, 1217 Scot had completed, in Toledo, a translation of *Kitab al-hai'a* by al-Biṭrūjī, Latinized as *De motibus celorum* by Alpetragius.⁶ Although he must have, of course, studied prior to this, as he needed to have acquired the skills to complete the translation, the details of when and where are unknown to us.⁷ It is likely that Scot had a Master's degree and probably had taught as well, since he is often referred to as Magister.⁸ In addition, Lynn Thorndike believes that Michael Scot's major original

¹ Note: a previous version of this segment and the following, "Michael Scot's Main Original Work: the *Liber introductorius*," was written for CLAS 601, Fall 2011.

² Kay (1985, 2-3)

³ Thorndike (1965, 11)

⁴ Pick (1998, 95)

⁵ Burnett (1994, 104-105), Pick (1998, 96)

⁶ Burnett (1994, 102)

⁷ Thorndike (1965, 11)

⁸ Thorndike (1965, 11)

work, the *Liber introductorius*, contains several references and allusions to student life, personal touches Scot intentionally included in his work.⁹

The year 1220 marks the next well-established date in Michael Scot's life, again found in a dated translation. At that time, Scot was in Bologna and had completed his translation of a section of Aristotle's corpus, namely: *Historia animalium*, *De partibus animalium*, and *De generatione animalium*.¹⁰ Scot's translations were extremely influential, and this 1220 translation appears to be the first Latin translation of the works of Aristotle, was still used in universities in the fourteenth century, and "all abbreviations and summaries of the Aristotelian zoology stem from" it.¹¹ The importance of Scot's translations is also attested by the fact that there are many more manuscripts of his translations surviving than of his original work. In addition, his work was very important for the transmission of knowledge, since Scot's translations of Arabic sources brought contemporary Arabic thought to the Latin West: al-Biṭrūjī was still alive at the time when Scot translated his *De motibus celorum*;¹² Scot also translated several commentaries on Aristotle by Averroes, another close contemporary (d. 1198).¹³

However, more so than being renowned for his translations, important as they are to the transmission of knowledge to the Latin West, Scot is famous for being court astrologer to the Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II. When precisely Scot entered into the service of Frederick II is unknown, but Frederick II was also in Bologna in 1220, and so it is possible that this is when Michael Scot joined the imperial court.¹⁴ There is divided opinion as to whether or not a 1220 date is plausible for Scot becoming Frederick II's court astrologer, with some scholars suggesting

⁹ Thorndike (1965, 12)

¹⁰ Thorndike (1965, 29)

¹¹ Thorndike (1965, 24)

¹² Thorndike (1965, 22)

¹³ Thorndike (1965, 24)

¹⁴ Pick (1998, 95)

that the papal benefices Scot received in subsequent years are proof that he was not yet under the patronage of Frederick II, since if he were he would have no need for the money from the benefices, and therefore Scot entered into Frederick II's service only once the papal benefices ceased.¹⁵

The papal benefices lasted from 1224-1227, and included the offer of one in Ireland which Scot turned down on the grounds that he did not speak Irish and therefore did not feel right taking a benefice there.¹⁶ However he did accept the other benefices, and held all of them *in absentia*. The argument that Scot's holding of papal benefices precluded his being in the service of Frederick II loses further weight when the relationship between Frederick II and the popes during the years 1224-1227 is considered. Pope Honorius II (1216-1227) had been Frederick II's teacher, and the two men remained on good terms with each other.¹⁷ By contrast, the succeeding pope, Pope Gregory IX, was not long on good terms with Frederick II. And although Pope Gregory IX praised Scot as proficient in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Arabic,¹⁸ the latest that Pope Gregory IX writes in support of Scot is April 28th, 1227.¹⁹

However, by 1228 Scot was certainly employed by Frederick II as court astrologer. We can confirm this date because Michael Scot's *Liber introductorius* was written for and dedicated to Frederick II, and while this work is difficult to date internally, it does contain a reference to St. Francis of Assisi. St. Francis of Assisi was beatified July 16th, 1228, and therefore the reference to him as a saint provides a temporal reference point.²⁰ Personally, I see no reason why an earlier date for Scot joining the court of Frederick II should not be possible, given Frederick II's

¹⁵ Pick (1998, 95)

¹⁶ Thorndike (1965, 32-33)

¹⁷ Thorndike (1965, 32)

¹⁸ Thorndike (1965, 28)

¹⁹ Thorndike (1965, 32)

²⁰ Thorndike (1965, 35)

relationships with the popes during the time period under consideration, but from the evidence we have it is impossible to say for certain specifically when Scot joined the court of Frederick II.

The last point in our brief outline of the chronology of Scot's life is his death. Information about his death, rather like his birth, is absent, but we do at least know that it had to have been before 1236. We know this because in 1236 Henry of Avranches, court poet to Frederick II, writes a poem that mentions Scot in the past tense. The poem can be dated with certainty to 1236 because of its internal references: it is written to Frederick II after he had decided to launch a war against the Lombard cities, but before he had actually done so, and this was in 1236.²¹ Therefore if Scot is referred to in the past tense in 1236, he must have died sometime before.

There are some legends attached to Michael Scot,²² and a tradition that Scot was an alchemist or a magician. I have glossed over these for a few reasons. First, simply because it is unlikely that Scot ever did practice magic,²³ although he was certainly interested in a wide range of subjects and his reputation as a magician probably stems from this diversity;²⁴ second, although the more legendary view of Scot results in some texts being misattributed to him, thereby making it difficult to ascertain which texts and translations are or are not authentically his, this is not a problem for the *Liber introductorius*, the specific work I am focusing on;²⁵ third, because the tradition of Scot as magician is not indicative of any truth to the legends so much as it is a sign of his importance and influence in the scholarship of his period and to the

²¹ Thorndike (1965, 38)

²² For example, the legend that Michael Scot invented the cervelliera, or skullcap (a metal cap worn by infantry to protect their head from blows from cavalry), in order to protect his head because he had prophesied that he would die from a stone of a particular weight falling on his head. According to this legend his prophecy came true when he took off the skullcap during Mass, was hit on the head by a small stone from the Church roof, and died of the wound. Muendel (2002, 93; 110)

²³ Thorndike (1965, 116)

²⁴ Thorndike (1965, 7)

²⁵ Although there are different problems and questions regarding the authorship of the *Liber introductorius*: for more on this, see the following section.

transmission of knowledge, which only points yet again to the need for further study on Michael Scot.

In sum, that is all the biographical information thus far known about Michael Scot. Evidently there are many holes which further study of Scot and his work may help to fill, especially if Thorndike is correct in thinking that there are personal touches contained in the *Liber introductorius*.

Michael Scot's Main Original Work: The *Liber introductorius*

The terminology used to designate Michael Scot's main original work can be somewhat confusing.²⁶ Indeed, there is some uncertainty as to which work(s) the name "*Liber introductorius*" applies. The work under question consists of three books. The second and third, *Liber particularis* and *Liber physiognomiae*, were shorter and more popular than the first and circulated independently. The *Liber physiognomiae*, for instance, was reprinted several times during the fifteenth century.²⁷ The first book is sometimes called *Liber introductorius* and sometimes *Liber quattuor distinctionum*; the latter by those who take *Liber introductorius* to comprise *Liber quattuor distinctionum*, *Liber particularis*, and *Liber physiognomiae*.²⁸ This second method of entitling Scot's works seems to be the more precise method.

This thesis focuses on the *Liber quattuor distinctionum*, but a brief summary of what Scot's other two books contain will be useful. The *Liber particularis* is a shorter work which contains many cross-references to the *Liber quattuor distinctionum*. It is a companion to the latter, treating on many of the same subjects, and would have furthered the knowledge of the fledgling astrologer who had worked through the first volume.²⁹ The *Liber physiognomiae*, sometimes called *De secretis nature*, is short and is the most accessible and popular section of Scot's work. Its popularity is prominently attested by the twenty incunabular editions that were made of this work. In this book, Scot first discusses gynecology and generation, and then various ways of predicting the future: for example, through the significance of sneezes; through the

²⁶ I focus only on the *Liber introductorius*. For more on Scot's other work, see Olga Weijers, *Le travail intellectuel à la Faculté des arts de Paris: textes et maîtres (ca.1200-1500) VI. Répertoire des noms commençant par L-M-N-O*, Brepols Publishers: Turnhout, Belgium, 2005. pp. 124-132.

²⁷ Edwards (1979, xxxviii)

²⁸ For example, Edwards (1979, xxii-xxiii) calls them *Liber introductorius*, *Liber particularis*, and *Liber physiognomiae*; although he does point out that modern scholars tend to view them as three separate works whereas Michael Scot viewed them all as one large work.

²⁹ Edwards (1979, xxxvii-xxxviii)

interpretation of dreams; and, as the title says, through physiognomy, e.g., skin complexion, thinness or fatness, etc.³⁰

The *Liber quattuor distinctionum* contains, as the title states, four distinctions, of which the fourth has been for the most part lost.³¹ The surviving material consists of a long prohemium, and the first three distinctions.

The prohemium is an introduction to Scot's work (including the *Liber particularis* and the *Liber physiognomiae*) and the overall theme is the supremacy of astrology over the other arts, and how astrology benefits man.³² There are many digressions and tangential discussions, such as the orders of angels and demons, and an overall theological and reverent tone, including a chapter on the essence of God. At the end of the prohemium, Scot includes an astrological history from Noah to Gerbert.³³

The first distinction is astronomical. It is very definition-heavy, as Scot explains the various terms and concepts that an astrologer would need to know, such as the planets, the spheres, the zodiac, and so on. Some examples of specific subjects Scot treats are: motion of the firmament, of the stars, of the planets; the signs of the zodiac, with each one being given its own heading; eclipses; and the distances between each of the heavenly bodies. This distinction also includes a long digression in question and answer format into music, leading from the explanation of the music of the spheres.³⁴

The second distinction is astrological. For example, it discusses the humours, and the properties (such as wet or dry, hot or cold, associations of colours, etc.) of each sign and planet.

³⁰ Edwards (1979, xxxviii)

³¹ One chapter, *De anima*, survives interpolated in the prohemium of one manuscript. It describes the rational human soul. Two other chapter titles, *De arte cyromantie* and *De elementis*, are known from cross-references throughout the surviving distinctions. In general the fourth distinction was probably a catch-all for whatever ideas Scot wanted to include but did not fit into the first three distinctions. Edwards (1979 xxxvi-xxxvii)

³² Edwards (1979, xxxii)

³³ Edwards (1979, xxii-xxxiii)

³⁴ Edwards (1979, xxxiv)

In this distinction there is a large part devoted to astrological medicine, a topic which seems to have been dear to Scot's heart.³⁵

The passage I have transcribed for this thesis comes from the start of the third distinction.³⁶ The third distinction takes the theoretical astronomical and astrological knowledge contained in the first two distinctions and puts it to practical application. Included in the third distinction are such details as where an astrologer should live, how he should act, and especially how he should answer various questions he is likely to be asked. Some examples of questions that Scot coaches the novice astrologer through answering, telling him which planets' positions he ought to note, are: if a sick person will recover or not, or if buried treasure will be found.³⁷ This focus on practical guidelines for fledgling astrologers is what led me to select a portion of the third distinction for my transcription, as I wanted to look more at the social historical aspects of astrology than the scientific, technical ones.

That is a brief synopsis of the *Liber quattuor distinctionum*. However, it has not been comprehensively edited, so this knowledge comes from my own examination of the manuscript, from the partial editions that have been done, and from scholars such as Thorndike and Edwards who have studied the manuscript.

Although there has not been a complete edition produced, there has been some work done already on the *Liber quattuor distinctionum*. Edwards, in his doctoral dissertation from 1979, edited the prohemium, representing folios 1-19v of the Munich manuscript I have used for the transcription in Section 2 below.³⁸ Morpurgo has edited a section in "Il capitolo 'De informatione medicorum' nel 'Liber introductorius' di Michele Scoto," which corresponds roughly to folios

³⁵ Edwards (1979, xxxv)

³⁶ See Section 2.

³⁷ Edwards (1979, xxxv-xxxvi)

³⁸ MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, lat. 10268, abbreviated as CLM 10268.

115va-116rb. Paolo Lucentini also edited two small sections, folios 108rb-vb and 112vb-113vb, in his article "L'ermetismo magico nel secolo XIII."³⁹

By far the most substantial of the existing partial editions, however, is the work begun by Hans Meier and left unfinished at his death in 1941. It contains folios 1r-78r, though it ends abruptly about 11 lines before the end of folio 78r, and folios 6v-10v and 14v-18v are missing. Folios 1r-4r are done quite completely, in printer's proofs with footnotes that indicate the sources of all quotes and references in the text, and a critical apparatus started. The rest is a mix of handwritten and typewritten pages, done to various stages of completion but none so completely as the first four folios. For instance, some pages have certain words underlined, indicating that they will need an entry in the critical apparatus, but the apparatus itself has not been started; some pages have handwritten corrections noting typographical errors but most do not, particularly further into the text; some of the figures and the charts in the manuscript have been noted, but some have not been; marginal corrections are included in the transcription throughout; etc. Meier's working transcription used all four manuscripts in the first, more completely done, pages--the prohemium--but it appears that he was working either primarily or exclusively with CLM 10268 for the rest.⁴⁰

If a complete edition of the *Liber quattuor distinctionum* were to be undertaken, Meier's partial edition would speed along work on the first half considerably. His readings would still have to be checked, since I noticed a few places where he skipped a line or two--generally places

³⁹ There has also been some work done on the astrological images contained in CLM 10268. For more on this, see Ulrike Bauer-Eberhardt, *Der Liber introductorius des Michael Scotus in der Abschrift Clm 10268 der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek München*, München, Tuduv-Verlagsgesellschaft, 1983.

⁴⁰ Though I cannot state this with certainty as I have not examined any of the other three MSS myself, it seems likely since the pages with a partial or complete critical apparatus indicate variant readings between the MSS whereas the pages that are only transcribed are almost entirely faithful to CLM 10268. Moreover, the number of blank spaces left for words that are illegible due to fading etc. makes it seem that, with the exception of the prohemium, Meier had not had the chance to check the text of CLM 10268 against the other MSS.

where there were two similar phrases close together and the eye skipped to the second, missing the phrase in between--or where there were some typos.

There is considerable need for a complete edition of Scot's *Liber introductorius*. A primary issue such an edition could resolve is the state Scot left the *Liber introductorius* in at his death. Possibly it was unfinished, or possibly Scot left more than one draft of it.⁴¹ This question leads into another major unanswered question about Scot's work, namely, whether or not it was corrupted at a later time, and if so, what the extent of the corruption might be. The question has been raised because Bartholomew of Parma is known to have edited the *Liber introductorius*, and Bartholomew's own work is quite similar to Scot's, which inspires doubt as to how much is genuinely by Scot and how much Bartholomew might have added or changed.⁴² If this question can be resolved definitively at all, it certainly will not happen before Scot's work has been fully edited. Pick highlighted a few specialized vocabulary words--*natura naturans*, and *natura naturata*--that Scot uses which evidence links with Toledo and the other intellectuals who were there at the same time as Scot;⁴³ if more such links can be found, that would help to differentiate which parts of the *Liber introductorius* Bartholomew of Parma may have changed and which parts are more likely Scot's original version.

Another example of a question that has been raised and seems likely to stand unanswered without a more complete understanding of Scot's work is the question of Scot's philosophical leanings and sources, as the few studies that have been done so far on this subject have raised more questions than they have answered. In his Commentary on the *Sphere of Sacrobosco*, for example, Scot has ninety-five references to Aristotle, but only seven to Plato--which might not

⁴¹ Thorndike (1965, 5)

⁴² Burnett (1994, 111-114)

⁴³ Pick (1998)

seem surprising given how much work Scot did with Aristotle, translating both Aristotle's works as well as commentaries on Aristotle, except that the *Liber introductorius* contains a Neoplatonic angelology and uses Neoplatonic terms.⁴⁴

The last aspect of the problems surrounding Michael Scot's main original work that I would like to highlight particularly is the problem of reception. His work has the reputation of being rambling and digressive, and the tone of the scholars who have reported on the contents of the *Liber introductorius* is often rather dismissive and derogatory of Scot's work. Thorndike, for example, describes the prohemium of the *Liber introductorius* as "rather a lumbering composition."⁴⁵ However, until a complete edition of Scot's work has been made, it is premature and potentially harmful to make such value judgments about his work while it is still not easily accessible, since what appears as a rambling digressive narrative when looked at chapter heading by chapter heading may often have a larger organizational pattern when looked at overall, as Edwards says in his 1979 dissertation.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Pick (1998, 116)

⁴⁵ Thorndike (1965, 7)

⁴⁶ Although even Edwards' tone is somewhat derogatory: "Both Haskins and Thorndike have complained about [the prohemium's] diffuse character, and they may have been substantially right; but they missed the organization (admittedly loose) that a close scrutiny reveals." Edwards (1979, xxiii)

***Liber quattuor distinctionum*: CLM 10268**

There are four surviving manuscripts for the *Liber quattuor distinctionum*. The manuscript I have used for my transcription is the Munich manuscript, CLM 10268, but I include as well a very brief description of the other three:

MS M: Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cod. lat. 10268, abbreviated as CLM 10268: a colour reproduction can be found online at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek website.⁴⁷ It is a manuscript on parchment, dating to approximately 1320,⁴⁸ and consists of 146 folios, using catchwords. The script is compact Italian book Gothic, in two columns of sixty lines, with three different hands. The first hand is from folios 1-20, the second from 21-99, and the third from 100-146.⁴⁹ The manuscript has some damage; the first folio has substantial water damage, and the ink on several other folios is very faded. In some places the most faded text has been written over by a later hand. The overall small number of corrections as well as the precise writing and high amounts of rubrication and colour in the illustrations show that the text was done with care.

MS B: Oxford, Bodlean Library, Bodley 266: a manuscript on paper, dating to the third quarter of the fifteenth century, and consisting of 222 folios.⁵⁰

MS P: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouv. acq. latin 1401: fols. 11-128;⁵¹ a manuscript on parchment, and represents the earliest surviving copy, dating fairly securely to 1279.⁵²

⁴⁷ <http://daten.digitale-sammlungen.de/~db/bsb00002270/images/>

⁴⁸ Dated both by the Italian script which places it in the first quarter of the fourteenth century, Edwards (1979, x-xi), and by a reference to the year 1320 in a chart written by the same hand as the main text in the bottom margin of fol. 76v. Edwards (1985, 331)

⁴⁹ Edwards (1985, 331)

⁵⁰ Edwards (1985, 332)

⁵¹ fols. 129-162v are an incomplete *Liber particularis*. Thorndike (1965, 5)

⁵² Edwards (1985, 331)

MS E: Escorial, El Real Biblioteca de San Lorenzo, f. III. 8: 126 folios, on parchment and paper, dating to the third quarter of the fourteenth century.⁵³

M and B are much longer than P and E, suggesting either that there was an early, short redaction, or else that the original work was expanded at a later stage.⁵⁴ The former seems more likely, as according to Edwards the information which is included in the longer two manuscripts but not in the shorter two is the type of information one would expect to be excluded from a summary or abridgement, such as redundancies.⁵⁵ See below for the *stemmae codicum* illustrating the two scenarios: Figure A shows the first, more likely, scenario, where the original work is subsequently shortened; and Figure B shows the stemma for the alternate theory, where a shorter original work is later expanded. Although I follow Edwards in believing the first scenario (Figure A) to be more plausible, the second stemma cannot be disproven.⁵⁶

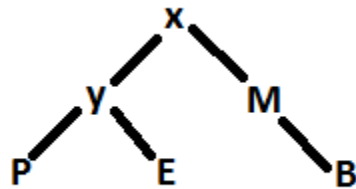


Figure A:⁵⁷ where x is the lost original; y is the condensed version, also now lost; and P, E, M, and B are the surviving MSS.

⁵³ Edwards (1985, 331)

⁵⁴ The longer version is sometimes called *Introductorium maius*, and the shorter *Introductorium minus*, Weijers (2005, 128)

⁵⁵ Edwards (1979, xx)

⁵⁶ For more on the relationships between the two groups of MSS, see Edwards, "The Two Redactions of Michael Scot's 'Liber introductorius,'" *Traditio*, Vol. 41 (1985) pp. 329-340.

⁵⁷ Edwards (1979, xix)

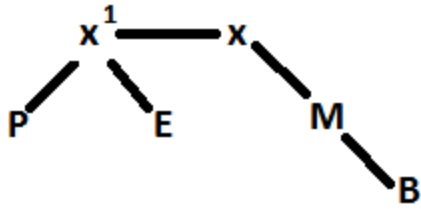


Figure B.⁵⁸ where x^1 is the lost original; x is the lost expansion; and P, E, M, and B are the surviving MSS.

I have chosen to produce a diplomatic transcription, remaining codicologically faithful to the Munich manuscript. Thus, I have kept the line breaks, punctuation, spelling or letter variation (e.g. u or v, i or y) as they appear in the manuscript. The main paleographical problem I encountered with the section I transcribed is that folio 119v, most particularly 119va, is fairly heavily damaged in places, with the result that there are several uncertain readings or completely illegible words for that portion.

⁵⁸ Edwards (1979, xix)

Section 2: Transcription of CLM 10268 fols. 118rb-120ra

(fol. 118rb)

[*Rubricated:*] Explicit secunda distinctio primi libri.

nunc incipit tertia, in qua continentur multa capitula de iuditiis multarum rerum, scilicet quod diversi auctores huius artis sentiunt. Et de noticia artium arismetrice, geometrie, cyromancie, geomancie et prophecie, prohemium 3e distinctionis primi libri. [*end of rubricated title*]

Desideranti peruenire ad intentionem huius artis astronomie que est scientia de inueniendis iudiciis multarum rerum et principaliter futurarum que spectant ad homines et ad loca ipsorum. et hec est nobilior pars ceteris partibus ipsius expedit sapienter

(fol. 118va)

considerare omnia capitula eiusdem artis et intentionem eorum memori mente apprehendere, postea negotium quod homo intendit aggredi et preuidere summo opere ad quod prestare ipsum factum pertineat, et si sit conueniens tempus illud intromittere cum omnia suum tempus habeant, et non unum tempus omnia simul habeant Etiam cupiens habere fructum huius artis debet examinare sagaciter si ratione negotium sit possibile, graue an facile

⁵⁹certum, certum et tutum quo generetur utilitas, lucrum,
amor, et non scandalum, uel infamia, Hiis preuisis
facile quis poterit agnoscere diem et eligere horam
incipiendi negotium peroptatum sui uel alieni cum
uicinitate puncti. Et si negotium fuerit causa amo-
ris uel de amore planetas ad amorem debet inuestigare
suo ordine, scilicet bono aspectu qualis est sextius
aut trinus, uel commodo corporis ad corpus, ut lunam uel uenerem
aut Iouem et hii sint in loco alicuius sue dignitatis
et cetera, sciendo quod iupiter est melior planeta ad negotium amo-
ris boni, ut legitimi⁶⁰ matrimonii, quam cetera planeta, et ue-
nus utilior ad amorem mali amoris ut illi-
citi coytus quam luna, licet luna studiose inquiratur
ab ydiotis in augmento et parium dierum, quod nichil
est, potest enim luna esse tam bene disposita per aspectus
laudabiles in diminutione⁶¹ et dispari numero quam in
augmento et paritate dierum, uerum est quod luna increscente
quedam sunt tutius facienda, quam ui decrescente ut
seminationes ortorum et camporum, plantationes uinearum et ar-
borum, ova supponenda gallinis et cetera, uelut etiam in
defectu, ligna sunt incidenda ut citius desicceretur
et solida perseuerent et cetera, non enim tanta est uis in augmento
et diminutione lune, quanta est in bona dispositione ipsius

⁵⁹ Beginning here, the next 18 lines have decorative squiggles (in black ink) along the margin, as a nota bene.

⁶⁰ "Legitimus" is consistently spelled with two Ts

⁶¹ *nota pocius ---ctem di boni aspectus. paritas dierum Lune vel eius augumentum* add. in marg.

et hoc habetur in cognitione bonorum aspectuum sicut †commodis†
corporis, ad corpus, uel trini, aut sextilis, ac portionis hore
cum quelibet hora naturaliter diuidatur, in 3 partes, scilicet, in primam
mediam et ultimam, id est, caput, uentrem, et caudam, Unde secundum
contradictionem rei faciende, pars hore, et pars fortune
omnino eligitur⁶² ab astrologo. Et de predictis⁶³ sufficienter
est doctrina per certa capitula huius libri, si uero ne-
gotium fuerit alterius materie, planetas ad hoc debeat
astrologus indagare, nec errabit in facto si deus uoluerit
Et est sciendum quod cum homo sit deo creatori similis, habet
liberum arbitrium eligendi bonum et malum ac fa-
ciendi utrumque sicut uult, Unde si negotialiter ui-
uat de grosso et bona fide, tunc non habet in eo locum doc-
trina alicuius artis qua faciat, nec factus sit aliquod
sed si uice aliqua aplicauerit⁶⁴ animum suum ad doctrinam
alicuius artis qua debeat ^ut⁶⁵ aliter facere [*blank space of ~4 chars.*] quam fecisset
libero arbitrio iam tenetur obseruare consilium inquisitum
eiusdem artis ut astronomie et cetera, quod si non fecerit ca-
det in errorem nisi sit priuilegio dei omnipotentis qui omnia
potuit. Et sic qui uadit ad consilium astrologi obser-
uet illud dum sibi datum fuerit rectum, et tunc est tu-
tus quod melius prosperabitur quam⁶⁶ fecisset, cum a deo da-

⁶² *eligere* in MS

⁶³ *perdictis* in MS

⁶⁴ Corr. al. man. ab *plicaverit*

⁶⁵ add. al. man.

⁶⁶ *fecit* del. per subpunctionem

ta sit omnis doctrina scientie et sapientie ne homo ignarus sit
et male se regat in negociis causa ignorancie qua
homo dicitur esse cecus. [*Rubricated:*] de noticia regiminis astrologi tam
in habitando domum et vivendo quam in audiendo questiones peten-
tium ex industria huius artis et satisfaciendo sibi. [*end of Rubricated title*]

Omnis astrologus dignus est laude et honore quia
inuenit gratiam apud deum factorem suum, cum per ta-
lem doctrinam qualis est astronomia probabiliter sciat
multa secreta dei et que pauci sciunt †respectu† inscium
unde doctrina eius est speculum ignorantium res exper-
tas eorum que sunt in occulto et que possibles
sunt ad inueniendum suo loco et tempore †condecenter†, habent
quidem astrologi locum apud magnates et barones
eo quod tales domini frequenter agrauantur negotiis
secularibus, Unde non facile possunt per se uidere in
rebus futuris que spectant ad eos suo honore, et

(fol. 118vb)

ideo defectus sue preuidencie que sibi esset de nec-
cessitate habenda suppletur per astrologum peritum
unde astrologus ex ipsius fama tante preuidencie
scientiarum et secretorum penitus reputatur philosophus inter gentes
illiteratas, nec est scientia de liberalibus artibus 7 que †totaliter†
faciat hominem esse famosum omni scientia uelut est astro-
nomia. Et ideo te astrologum oportet ualde ui-
uere secreto cibus et potibus, ac te abstinere ne ha-

bites in domo que sit in uia multum publica so-
llicitate populi euntis et reddeuntis per illam tota die
sicut est sitata que currit per medium ciuitatis uel burgi longi
et cetera. C Sed debes tibi eligere domum bene dispositam in-
terius et exterius ^ut^ ibi habeas caminatam placitam.
cameram secretam ad loquendum de negotiis per-
sonarum querentium consilium, et possis hora diei
uidere solem ex aliqua parte, et tollere ascentem in die
per radium solis et in nocte per aspectum stellarum fixa-
rum, igitur sit domus tue habitationis in angulo du-
arum uiarum quarum una sit breuis extensionis, uel ambe
sit breuitatis, que quasi sit in loco priuato remota infa-
mia, qualis esset pro stabuli taberne, et cetera. C Sit etiam
locus conuenienter notus et famosus ut apud ecclesiam
et cetera. Ideo dixi in loco priuato quasi ne multitudo populi
tota die habitent in facie domus, quia quando gentes sunt
foris, et querentes⁶⁷ consilium inuenit populum in uia stantem
et uidentem introitum et exitum uerecundia timet et
timendo ne uideatur et de se dicatur se absti-
net quandoque intrare domum consulentis, putans quod
omnis qui est foris uideat suum introitum et exitum
ac presumat quare intret et talem sapientem uisitet
In hoc etiam plus peccat mulier quam uir et iuuenis quam
senex, et nobilis quam uilis et clericus quam laycus

⁶⁷ Corr. ab *querens*

et bene uestitus quam male. Unde astrologus frequen-
ter dampnificatur et medicus, Uita est astrologi
et medici physici cum fratre suo qui dicitur cyrugicus
est uita multorum et sanitas, Mors uero ipsius est
mors reliquorum et principaliter diuitum ut baronum, imperatorum
regum episcoporum, et cetera. Debet etiam astrologus sapiens
se abstinere in uiis a conuictu communalium hominum et etiam⁶⁸
ceterorum ne multiloquio uilipendatur ab eisdem
et ex dictis eius apud eos infamis efficiatur cum ne-
mo se possit omni uice sic abstinere quando dicat ma-
gna scientie que uidentur impossibilia ydiotis, ut
iam esset extrahere uinum de aqua quando est bene limpha-
tum seu aqua †mixitur cum †, et uelut esset extrahere salem
liquefactum in brodio lebetis et cetera. Debes etiam ui-
tare ludum allearum et scachorum in publico sed in loco
secreto ut in propria domo uel in domo⁶⁹ magnatis communiter potes ludere
ad utraque et competenter cum nobili, uel meliore te, aut tuo
consimili gradu persone uel scientie, ne usquam dicaris esse †siluester†
et nullius alterius ualoris quam scientie. Non oportet hominem semper
phylosophari uelut nec fabulari solaciando. Non
omni homini debes uelle respondere per artem nec te ponere
studiosum ad satisfaciendum sibi de omni questione, licet te
quis petat deleui et sapienter, uel blande. Quia cum
omnibus uult redolere, omnibus debet olere, Nam gemme sunt

⁶⁸ *quod †sapiens† astrologus non debet ludere †---† add. in marg.*

⁶⁹ *uel in domo add. in marg.*

Rare precio, et preciose reputantur, quia sunt planeti coloris et pauce reperiuntur, ac rari sunt qui habeant eas. C Debes ire toto tempore bene uestitus uidelicet uestimentis honestis et que sint parissibilis coloris ut sapientior uidearis et ubique recipiaris cum maiori reuerentia, Unde dixit quidam et bene, hunc homines honorant quem vestimenta decorant,⁷⁰ alius dixit, vir bene uestitus pro vestibus esse peritus, cum dicitur a mille, quamuis ydiota sit ille.⁷¹ C vitam solitariam debes facere in camera tue domus et sepe studere in libris phylosophorum ut efficiaris sapientior memoria doctrine preuise, ac bonum nomen habeas inter gentes, Unde

(fol. 119ra)

dicitur sapientia per studium acquiritur, nomen bonum plaudabilem moralitatem exercitatam in publico. Item dicitur qui parum legit parum adiscit, melius enim quod dicaris in populo satis legere quam ludere ad aleas uel ad scachos. tamen observandum est preceptum catonis⁷² qui dicit sic Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis, Ut possis animo quem uis sufferre laborem. C debes etiam esse pulcre receptus ad omnes personas et letam faciem ostendere unicuique superaduenientium tibi cum mollibus uerbis et blandis sur-

⁷⁰ Latin aphorism, cf. Guiseppe Pitrè, *Biblioteca delle tradizioni popolari siciliane*, vol.4: *Proverbi siciliani raccolti e confrontati con quelli degli altri dialetti d'Italia*, Palermo 1880, p. 129.

⁷¹ Latin aphorism, cf. Emanuel Strauss, *Dictionary of European Proverbs*, vol. 2, New York: Routledge, 1994, p. 658

⁷² *Disticha Catonis* III.6: Interpone tuis interdum gaudia curis / Ut possis animo quemvis sufferre laborem

gere de sede pro omnibus et reuerentiam facere conuenienter, secundum gradum personarum, ut sibi seruias et captes beniuolentiam cunctorum C⁷³ debes etiam libenter audire uerba uolentium tibi loqui cum honestate benigni uultus, et talis moralitas inflammat animos gentium ad amorem, Unde se amor est ortus inter personas postea sequitur honor et lucrum per tempora successive C debes tenere domum bene mundam et conuenienter dispositam in locis ubi personas es recepturus et ornatam herbis uiridibus aut floribus et cetera, secundum conuenientiam temporis, Nam talia letificant suo aspectu corda hominum et odore. Postquam uero intellexeris personam de omnibus que tibi uoluerit recitare, sibi responde benigne siue dixerit bonum siue malum, et si ei uelis inde seruire uel non seruire, facta sibi responsione⁷⁴ prospera uel aduersa, ipsum debes assonare usque ad januam camere uel ad caput scalarum uel usque ad exitum domus, et eum uel eam debeas honeste commeari et humili stillo uerborum, ne sibi uidearis superbus et malus, cum ex superbia et praua moralitate omnis homo despiciatur, sit odiosus⁷⁵ et infamis. C debes etiam raro ire ad conuiuia inuitatorum te, et rarius sumere questiones ad soluendum ex industria huius artis nisi forte sint facte tibi a tali persona cui non sit deneganda,

⁷³ The paragraph markers are consistently rubricated, with this one exception.

⁷⁴ *respositione* in MS

⁷⁵ *odiolus* in MS

responsio per causam efficientem que potest esse multis modis
⁷⁶inducta. C Quare sciendum est, quod cum interrogatus fueris
ab aliquo uel ab aliqua super quoquam et ei questionem uo-
luens soluere secundum debitum suo loco et tempore habito consi-
lio tue discretionis in omnibus, primo debes in manu de-
stra accipere instrumentum,⁷⁷ quod dicitur astrolabium uel quadrantem
postea debes inspicere gradum solis altificati si sit ante
meridiem uel infimati si sit post meridiem, hora, gradu,
et puncto, postea debes considerare quod signorum tunc sit ascens.
Dicimus enim altitudinem solis, cursum eius, per quem ille
a primo suo ortu paulatim, quasi per gradus inpetu mundi
contrahente a terra redicens⁷⁸ ad alciora ascendendo spatio
celi, uel descendendo ad inferiora procedit, inuento
quidem ascente per gradum solis non sit dies clara, uel per ali-
quam stellam fixarum si sit nox serena debes altitudinem
ipsius, uidelicet solis, aut stelle fixe sapienter inuestigare.
secundum quod conuenit et eleuare domos 12 per figuram qua-
dratam in tabula uel in carta, et eam sapienter disputa-
re, ac probatam bene interpretari iuxta conditionem ipsius questionis, scilicet,
persone interrogantis et rei petite conuertendo corpora superiora ad
inferiora sagaciter, id est, signa 12 et planetas 7 et postea uerificare
in scriptis quid ex suis motibus in locis notis,
habeant in rebus per se omnino significare, nam filum pendens

⁷⁶ Another decorative nota bene starts at this line and continues for 8 lines.

⁷⁷ *de inueniendo signo assendenti* add. in marg.

⁷⁸ *recedes* in MS

in quadrante nobis designat horam presentem et altitudinem solis, et altitudo solis designat signum quod ascendit omni uice, et per ascentem nobis designantur cetera signa celi, quibus inuentis habetur noticia planetarum in eis. quorum inuentio est manifesta doctrina iudicii questionis ammote per querentem. Et est sciendum quod sicut duo sunt puncti iuditorum in cognoscendo⁷⁹ arte cursum fortune, uidelicet priuatum et publicum, priuatum ut conceptionis publicum ut naturis, et cetera, sic est de questionibus personarum, quantum unum est ascens priuatum et alteri publicum, priuatum ut quod est in puncto motus animi siue cordis ad questionem faciendam, publicum ut acceptio principaliter ascentis cum aliquo instrumento, Quare sciendum est quod signum ascens quando quis nouiter mouetur uelle

(fol. 119rb)

scire per artem ueritatis aliquod sui facti uel alieni signat plenius ueritatem futuri facti quam signum acceptum postea cum inducia temporis cognitum uel acceptum, nisi sit idem et in eadem hora, et puncto, Quare prius ascens uerius est quam secundum si posset dignosci, nam signum ascens quando peruenit uoluntas uidendi arte quod sit in rebus futuris omnino signat plenius ueritatem, quam aliud, et ideo dicitur, quod quam cito uenit uoluntas in corde persone uolentis aliquod preuidere uellet tolli ascens cum diligencia et plena uoluntate ueritatem sciendi ne mutetur propositum uoluntatis ex inducia temporis prolongantis in mittendo

⁷⁹ *cognoscedo* in MS

pro astrologo, uel pro inquisitione astrolabii. Et ob hanc causam quisquam astrologus semper deberet portare secum astrolabium uel quadrantem uelud notarius pugilare et calammum. Quando autem questio eleuatur per acceptum ascens illud signat rem querentis prout est in sua uirtute, uidelicet proprii officii terminatum. Et nota, quod initium omnis rei proprie tollit a luna⁸⁰ repugnantia uero a domino 7e domus fortuna prosperitatis a domino 10o tertio, finis non cuiuslibet rei tollitur a domino 8e domus, pars uero fortune ubi finitur numerus graduum de 30, id est, 30 ab ascen- te usque ad locum solis et lune, cum autem luna fuerit in scor- pione aliquod non incipias, nec affirmatiue diffinias, et principaliter si scorpio sit ascens, uel angulus terre, nec quando ipsa est cum marte, quia scorpio nimis est signum falsidicum et mars, falsus, quorum malitia, luna efficitur falsa, Unde du- bium est, in omnibus que tunc potest significare tam boni quam mali. O- portet enim quamlibet questionem habere radicem sui principii super quam fundetur uerus intellectus indicatoris, hoc est in intellectu astrologi si debeat solui ab eo partem stellarum. Et super hoc Messehalla,⁸¹ Oportet quemlibet astro- logum de necessitate habere radicem note questionis super quam fundetur dispositio signorum, cursus planetarum et similitu- do ymaginum, firmamenta, uerbi gratia, Quidam querit de fortuna potestarie⁸² ad quam electus est, Igitur ab astrologo que-

⁸⁰ Another decorative nota bene starts at this line and continues for 11 lines; *de parte fortune* add. in marg.

⁸¹ Ref. to Messahalla, Latinized form of Māshā'allāh, non inveni.

rendum est, quando ille recepit honorem presentatione
litterarum communis, postea quando exiuit de domo preparatus ad regi-
men ciuitatis, quia secundum uigorem signi ascentis tempore receptio-
nis litterarum facte electionis et primimotus preparationis ad re-
gimen exitus, domus et introitus ciuitatis cuius populus
ipsum uocauit in potestatem est manifeste iudicium inqui-
rendum. Debet⁸³ etiam peritus astrologus signa uniuersa-
lia huius uiri, scilicet, mensem sue natiuitatis, diem et horam
expositio, mensem, id est, ad introitum, uel exitum, Diem, id est,
nomen, illius diei, horam, id est, bono arbitrio, tam diei, quam noctis. Et
eius natiuitas fuit in 7o mense, uel in nono, aut, in 10o
quod raro alicui contingit, Hiis auditis in ueritate si bene
predicta preuideantur in generali poterunt reduci ad speci-
alia, Unde tunc sapiens astrologus, debet notare domos et si-
gna in eis facies, gradus facierum per totam rotunditatem
spere, ac fortitudines planetarum, in eisdem generalibus, ut domo
exaltatione triplicitate, Nota facie et communionem radii et corporis
debet etiam habere in memoria uirtutem planetarum, ponderosorum siue
superiorum ad differentiam leuium siue inferiorum ut probatur
a multis hoc esse inuestigandum. Cognouit quidem
omnia hec sapiens alchandrinus⁸⁴ quando constituit libel-
lum fortune faciens mentionem de 3bus faciebus signorum

⁸² potestaria: the office of a podesta. A podesta is a chief magistrate in Italian medieval cities. This word is a sign of Italian influence on Scot.

⁸³ Some textual corruption here as there is no infinitive to go with "debet"; the missing infinitive can most likely be understood to be "notare," from the similar construction seven lines further down.

⁸⁴ Ref. to Alchandrinus as author of a *Libellus fortune*. For more see David Juste, *Les Alchandreana primitifs*, pp. 282-3.

et planetis regnantibus in eisdem propria dignitate sciendo.
quod tunc poteris querenti respondere securius de omnibus
deo uolente, et hic est unus modus soluendi.
quamlibet⁸⁵ questionem et principaliter habite questionis motum, sciendo quod
maior uis est in dispositione signorum et presentia regiminis
solis quam lune, licet multi affirment noticiam lune,
in signo, et eius testimonia ut per bonos aspectus illius
aucta lumine et numero dierum, quod faciunt propter uniuersalem
significationem sui motus et influentie, quem et quam
omnino demonstrat omnibus. Et talis modus qualem
alchandrinus⁸⁶ ostendit in generali seruatur inter arabes
et aliquos indorum ut patet in uicis et stratis Messine,⁸⁷ et
tonisti,⁸⁸ in quibus sunt mulieres docte que inuitant

(fol. 119va)

nouos mercatores inquirere de statu illorum de do-
mo sua, de fortuna sue mercationis et cetera, hic autem est seculis
modus alteri respondendi, sed prior modus est naturalis
Secundus uero artificialis. Et nota quod 4 sunt signa omni
tempore questionis que apprehenduntur pro ascente, uidelicet ascens
domini anni, signi solis pro die signi lune pro nocte et signi
ascentis †imprimerent† a gradu regnantis hore quando questio ele-
uatur cum astrolabio uel quadrante. Item nota quod qui

⁸⁵ *quanlibet* in MS

⁸⁶ Ref. to Alchandrinus saying that the method of divination among Arabs and Indians as shown in Messina and Tunis is similar to his; for more see David Juste, *Les Alchandreana primitifs*, pp. 282-3.

⁸⁷ The city of Messina in Sicily

⁸⁸ The city of Tunis in North Africa

querit ascentem causa questionis alicuius quam discrete assum-
 pserit, hoc est institutione artis, non tantum unum ascen-
 dentem consideret, scilicet inuentu per astrolabium uel quadran-
 tem, sed 4 inter que duo ad minus uidelicet unus genera-
 le, et aliud speciale, generale dico, scilicet, illud in quo sol per-
 manet cursu presentis mensis, cuius †natura⁸⁹† est satis
 plana et apta, omni terti anni, simili autem modo † ----lo† in
 hiis duobus quia sicut sol et luna sunt planete naturales conti-
 nue influentes sic et eorum signa influunt generaliter
 deorsum cum eis, speciale uero dicimus uidelicet quod semper
 oritur in parte orientis celi super terram, †Et sic presentiam†
 eorum large et stricte quisque astrologus iudicet in
 †communi--- --anda,† cum unum eorum sit uerum testimonium
 †indicationem alterius†, et e contrario, Ex generali tum astrologus
 †previdet† generalia uelut ex speciali ascente, specialia nam
 si specialis ascens influit, uel attendere promittit in se-
 quentibus horis cum oritur, et generalis influit ac pro-
 misit sibi non tam que ipse specialis affirmat sua uirtute
 sed scilicet sui naturam et †officium ----generalis a† primo motore of-
 feriorum seu distributorum ipsorum ordinis rationis, Oriendo
 quidem signum in quo sol currit et sol cum †ei -- promittit†
 †circa† influere seu quedam neccessitatis †-----derit†
 in actu proprii principii intromissi †exulta--- --sed† finito
 cursu diei unius ad influendum, quedam incipient sequen-

⁸⁹ The next c. 25 lines are badly smudged.

ti die alia influere partim eidem generis facte promissionis
ab eo cum sole exeunte †uest---† naturaliter subiacet dominio
eius, quo diversa signat †ra-----† per illud quod toto tempore
probatur deuenire seu †in experimento† rerum in diebus men-
sium et annorum, Quapropter mixtura diversorum concessa de-
super transcurrit uniuersali motu nature in uita perseue-
rante uniuscuiusque nati et rei alterius deo uolente. Nunc
in premissa pauci obseruant, causa est, quia hic ignorant so-
lo defectu doctrine scripte in libro huius artis, Signum etenim
in quo sol currit hoc modo notari debet qualitate sui
tantum, ut si illud sit mobile uel fixum, aut commune cuius qua-
litas et dispositio gradibus⁹⁰ et aspectibus esse rei signo mani-
feste, Et si in eodem signo reperiatur dignitas ita
quod planeta sit ibi officialiter signat bonum rei cui testimonium
reddit presencia sui, Et nota quod in quolibet ascende signo-
rum 12 sunt multe stelle uarie significationis quarum
quedam sunt et possunt esse multe contrarietatis uelut consen-
timentis,⁹¹ et ideo status uniuscuiusque nascentis, non est unus, id est, unius
et eiusdem rei sibi promisse, ymo est multe mixture, et ideo
in diuersis etatibus et temporibus annorum multa et diuersa
contingunt unicuique, ut modo prosperitatis, modo aduersita-
tis, et cetera, Cum autem, 7 planete sint generales procuratores et
significatores omnium negotiorum que fiunt ab hominibus
et per homines ipsi continue influunt, et diuerse, quia diuersi

⁹⁰ *gradlibus* in MS

⁹¹ *consentimenti* in MS

sunt et ad diuersa officia deputati, qua de causa planeta contradicit planete, et signum signo, scilicet stella stelle, Et sicut celestia corpora sibi per causam repugnant et contradicunt, ita sibi consentiunt et possunt uirtualiter consentire, ut patet per aspectus bonos et malos, seu conclusiones et cetera. C Item sciendum est, quod unicuique interrogationi seu rei quesite inuenimus inuitam significationem diuersarum rerum sicut unius rei significate⁹², et ipsas notauimus inter diversas, ea planeta huius libri, quibus sufficienter significatur quicquid boni uel mali fuerit determinandum in interrogatione recepta, Et hoc peregrimus cum grandi labore spiritus et ingenio animi in gratiam dei, a quo procedit omne

(fol. 119vb)

donum optimum scientie salutaris, Dicimus enim quod qui uult habere honorem inter gentes mundi, aut ipsum habebit diuina prouidencia sicut est esse episcopum, abbatem, patriarcham, et cetera perfectam electionem et cetera, vel ex opere perfecto quod habetur ingenio nature uel artis, ut est esse approbatum magistrum alicuius facultatis, Quare cupienti habere in hoc mundo lucrum multe utilitatis, uel honorem expedit prius habere gratiam desuper qua homo se regat sapienter, Hanc ingenium et capacitatem apprehendendi artem, †uel --⁹³† gratiam desuper qua sit for-

⁹² al. *significare*

tunatus inter gentes et adiuuetur a potentibus siue
subleuetur quando casus incurrit alicuius facti quo sit
maior et cetera. C Insuper notum facimus uniuersis
et singulis ut nouimus esse uerum, quod nemo est qui
possit legitime facere questionem astrologo de quoquam
nisi res proprie pertineat ad eum ut pro se, et de hiis que
sibi ipsi pertineant omnino, vel nisi interrogatio interroget astro-
logum secundum intentionem suam quam citius potest, dum ueniret in cor-
eius, quia motus cordis est naturalis habens similitudinem mo-
tus celestis spere, vel nisi petat secundum intentionem alterius
cui pertineat eadem res suo nomine et ex institutione
illius cum plena uoluntate animi quia interroget astrologum
sicut ipsemet faceret uel facere posset, et non debet illum
interrogare de alieno facto auctoritate sui, Quod si quis
faciat, questio est abusiue facta, et solutio secundum propositi
firmitatem, Unde si aliquis uult interrogare astro-
logum pro altero siue de alieno facto, sibi debet esse sapien-
ter impositum, id est, cum magno affectu cordis, ut ipse actor
per ipsum procuratorem uere sciat quod sit de illo
fallit enim hoc in uno casu, quia filius potest legitime
interrogare pro patre et pro matre, scilicet, ut sciat de
suis negotiis, eo et ea nesciente, et e contra, id est, pater
et mater possunt legitime interrogare pro filio et pro filia
ut sciant uere de suis factis, vir pro vxore, vxor pro

⁹³ Badly smudged.

marito, potestas ciuitatis pro communi eiusdem terre
cuius est rector electus, et syndicus⁹⁴ vel procurator ad
hoc factus sollempniter pro communi a quibus debet et potest, abbas
pro monasterio⁹⁵ seu pro fratre monasterii, prior monasterii
pro abbate loci, et pro generali negotio mansionis,
ex sui auctoritate, clericus pro ecclesia sua et parochi-
anus, Causa est quia tales persone principaliter sunt rei conne-
xe, Unde proprium negotium filii est, et ad se pertinet sci-
re si uult, quamuis ¶uid--- --- esse¶⁹⁶ alterius, et non sui, Nec
in una questione ¶debet p- -----ime¶, seu diuerse postula-
ri, sed de una ¶i-----m¶ questio, unde dixit philosophus aristoteles⁹⁷
non contingit ¶--- multa¶ simul intelligere, quamuis
multa ¶---int¶ inquiri per illam seu in illa, verbi gratia, Si
de ¶statu- --s¶ fiat questio usque ad certum tempus dierum uel mensium
uel annorum, solutio est in prima et eius sororibus, que, sunt 4
videlicet, 4a, 7a, et 10a, sed hiis proprius est prima, quia ibi significa-
tur querens, et res quesita, Si autem fiat questio de substancia
habita uel sperata significatur in secunda domo, de fratri-
bus et sororibus, in 3a de patre et hereditate, in 4 et cetera
et sic ratione auctoritatis phylosophi non est licitum alicui
interrogare astrologum in una questione de duabus rebus

⁹⁴ syndicus: (gr.) a syndic, a city magistrate's proctor

⁹⁵ moasterio in MS

⁹⁶ Beginning here, a smudge affects 2-3 words for 6 lines.

⁹⁷ Aristotle, *Topica* II.10 114b32-4: οἷον εἰ τὸ ἐπίστασθαι διανοεῖσθαι, καὶ τὸ πολλὰ ἐπίστασθαι πολλὰ διανοεῖσθαι· τοῦτο δ' οὐκ ἀληθές· ἐπίστασθαι μὲν γὰρ ἐνδέχεται πολλὰ, διανοεῖσθαι δ' οὔ.

uel amplius, sed de una tantum questio sufficit, nec etiam astrologus
si bene fuerit sapiens, debet omnem interrogationem recipere
ad soluendum facile nec pro omni questione alterius querere
ascentem uelle cognoscere dominum ascentis, et eleuare
figuram artis cum ratione sui, nisi eam forte faciat
ut adiscat, Que dum semel facta fuerit sapienter per
interrogantem et soluta per soluentem non debet amplius
repeti, id est, fieri. [*space left blank ~28 chars.*]
quia prior est magis uera sequentibus et contra hoc multi
errant sicut geomantici qui omni uice qua memo-
rantur alicuius negotii sui uel alieni, punctant
et figuram elevant, etiam studiose alique prestolantur⁹⁸

(fol. 120ra)

facere questionem sub certa hora diei uel noctis, ut ex hoc
habeant bonum signum pro ascente, ac dominum ascentis
bone significationis et errant, quia temptatio est et fra-
us, et res in questione non exeunt nisi secundum intentionem querentis
Unde querens non debet querere per scientiam alicuius rei pre-
uise, sed per ignorantiam tanquam cecus in uia querens
semitam rectam, ut per illam uadat quo ire intendit
necessario. Quare sapiens astrologus modo consilio non
affirmat soluere questionem cuiuslibet interrogatoris, ut est
questio de futuro, de homicidio, de latrone et cetera, quamquam
omnis homo desideret scire natura uel arte omnia siue multa que

⁹⁸ *facere questionem* in inf. marg.: catchwords correspond to the beginning of a new quire at fol. 120r, proving that the MS was bound in the correct order here.

sciuntur et sciri possunt diuersis modis, Unde phylosophus ait
in principio libri metaphisice,⁹⁹ Omnis homo natura scire desiderat, et
nisi sit questio legitime facta a quo debet cum sua ratione, Que
dum facta fuerit et accepta per astrologum rationabiliter
figuretur, uidelicet secundum debitum terminorum domus 12 et graduum
signorum, atque secundum conpotum adequationis planetarum suffi-
enter ad uotum querentis respondebit si deus
uoluerit, nec unquam deuiare inquiras ad aliud
signum viso priore quod dicitur ascens, et eius oppositum quod
per gradus et minuta ceciderit fortunate ad lineam
spere, Neque causam super temetipsum ponas de qua non
fueris interrogatus debito modo, Neque ipsam causam con-
misceas de qua tu interrogaris cum causa non petita
ex tuo argumento uel ex defectu petentis causam quam
non te decet in tali casu defectum alterius emendare. Si
est nec insinuare alteri horam in qua tibi debeat fa-
cere questionem, Unde si uis respondere alicui sapienter
eius interrogationem recipias et eam sapias sapienter
Iste enim sunt ille res quas debet sapiens astrolo-
gus in usu habere et magis questiones debet recipere uiol-
lencia multarum precum uel instantia longa uerborum quam
per subitanam uoluntatem, Unde aut sit tibi tempore questionis
uiolentia precum neecessitatis, aut amor uel fructus
lucri cum honestate, Sed si quis uenerit ad te quasi iam

⁹⁹ Aristotle, *Metaphisicæ* 1.980a: πάντες ἄνθρωποι τοῦ εἶδεναι ὀρέγονται φύσει.

sciens de facto, cum sit temptator pessimus, et homo
male presumens, ac tu noueris eundem aliquo signo,
suam questionem penitus non affirmas, Causa est, quia res omnino
exit secundum quantitatem¹⁰⁰ sollicitudinis interrogatoris
videlicet in re de qua sit questio, quod nichil aliud est dicere, quam
res questionis exit secundum plenam intentionem querentis.

¹⁰⁰ *quatitatem* in MS; al. *qualitatem*.

Section 3: Practical Concerns for an Astrologer

In looking at a previously unedited section of the *Liber quattuor distinctionum*, one of the first questions that must arise is whether or not the section conforms to our expectations of Michael Scot and his work. That is to say, whether the section agrees with the conclusions and observations drawn from other partial editions and studies of the work, or whether it challenges them. The section I have transcribed--see Section 2--corresponds to ff. 118rb-120ra from the manuscript CLM 10268. I begin my transcription at the start of the third distinction, the section of the *Liber quattuor distinctionum* where Scot turns to the practical application of the theoretical astronomical and astrological knowledge he has laid out in the first two distinctions. When looking at this section, we do indeed find that it meets our expectations in many ways--but is also fairly unique for the social historical details we can extract from Scot's practical instructions.

The beginning of the third distinction challenges our expectations and broadens our understanding of Scot's mental universe. Generally speaking, there exist few useful sources about many of the social historical aspects of the practice of astrology in the medieval period. Issues such as the socio-economic level of the astrologer's clientele, what the experience of consulting an astrologer for answering a question was like, what sort of business practices and professional concerns a working astrologer would have had, and so on are sometimes answered or partially answered by reading between the lines, but rarely addressed head-on in most sources. For instance, in the book *Ancient Astrology*, Tamsyn Barton has an entire chapter titled "The Social World of the Astrologers," yet even this fails to paint a clear picture of what that social world actually might have looked like. Barton's method is to take several horoscopes and then discuss some of the social information we can extract from them, such as people's occupations, and what sorts of questions they were predominantly concerned with having answered.

In the beginning of the third distinction, however, Scot gives quite precise information about some of the practical business concerns for an astrologer. These include such subjects as the positioning and layout of the astrologer's house, his social life, and what amounts to ethical guidelines for customer relations. These types of precise instructions are quite rare in astrological treatises: for instance, there are no such practical instructions in the *Picatrix*,¹⁰¹ nor in the work often attributed to Albert the Great, the *Speculum astronomiae*,¹⁰² thereby making Scot's inclusion of this material all the more indicative of his intent to create a manual for apprentice astrologers.

One of the primary concerns for a fledgling astrologer that Scot addresses is the location of their practice. Some sources say that astrologers practiced their art in the marketplace,¹⁰³ but that cannot have been the only arrangement, because Scot goes to considerable lengths to advise his audience as to how an astrologer should choose his house. Most interestingly, he specifically states that the astrologer should make sure that his house is not on too busy of a street, lest all the people on the street make someone feel ashamed to visit the astrologer and think that all the bystanders in the street will be making assumptions about why the person is consulting an astrologer.¹⁰⁴ This exhortation tells us two things. First, that the act of consulting an astrologer did have, or could have, a certain stigma or embarrassment attached to it, since Scot's imaginary customer feels shame at the idea that many people would know of his visit. Second, that the astrologer obviously expected clients to come to his house for their consultations. Whether the

¹⁰¹ The primary practical handbook of astral magic during the later medieval period. For more on the *Picatrix*, see: *Picatrix: The Latin Version of the Ghâyat Al-Hakîm*, ed. David Pingree. Warburg Institute: London, 1986

¹⁰² For more on the *Speculum astronomiae*, see: Paola Zambelli, *The Speculum astronomiae and its enigma: astrology, theology, and science in Albertus Magnus and his contemporaries*, Kluwer Academic Publishers: Dordrecht, The Netherlands, 1992

¹⁰³ French (1996, 454)

¹⁰⁴ Ideo dixi in loco priuato quasi ne multitudo populi tota die habitent in facie domus, quia quando gentes sunt foris, et querentes consilium inuenit populum in uia stantem et uidentem introitum et exitum uerecundia timet et timendo ne uideatur et de se dicatur se abstinet quandoque intrare domum consulentis, putans quod omnis qui est foris uideat suum introitum et exitum ac presumat quare intret et talem sapientem uisitet. (fol. 118vb)

difference between this picture and that of astrologers practicing their art in the marketplace is one of class or social rank--Scot was, after all, court astrologer to the Holy Roman Emperor, and therefore it is likely a very safe assumption that his experience of clients was with the most affluent members of society--or one of location is uncertain, since Scot does describe the "learned women" of Messina and Tunis as being "in the ways and streets" asking questions there.¹⁰⁵

Scot's other instructions concerning what an astrologer should take care of with his house are ones that would no doubt sound like common sense to any professional with an office that receives clients: the house should be in an accessible place, not too far away, and it should be well-maintained, decorated with flowers or plants according to the season, and so forth.¹⁰⁶ Scot also has much to say on the subject of what can only be called the social life of an astrologer. He states that an astrologer should not play either dice or chess in public, and also should not accept party invitations, but instead should read and study continuously so as to remember astrological doctrine better.¹⁰⁷ He does, however, make allowance for the situation in which an astrologer is invited to a dinner by someone of high enough social standing that he cannot offend them by refusing, and so has no choice but to attend the party, further proof that Scot was used to riding in elite circles. He is firm, though, that an astrologer should not accept an invitation from anyone of lesser rank than himself, only from his peers or superiors.¹⁰⁸ Scot also enjoins the astrologer, if he has been obliged to attend a social event, never to answer

¹⁰⁵ Ut patet in uis et stratis Messine, et tonisti, in quibus sunt mulieres docte que inuitant nouos mercatores inquirere de statu illorum de domo sua, de fortuna sue mercationis et cetera. (fol. 119rb-119va)

¹⁰⁶ Debes tenere domum bene mundam et conuenienter dispossitam in locis uerbi personas es recepturus et ornatam herbis uiridibus aut floribus et cetera. (fol. 119ra)

¹⁰⁷ Debes etiam uitare ludum allearum et scachorum in publico sed in loco secreto ut in propria domo vel in domo magnatis communiter potes ludere ad utraque et †competere † cum nobili, uel meliore te, aut tuo consimili gradu persone uel scientie. (fol. 118vb)

¹⁰⁸ Uel meliore te, aut tuo consimili gradu persone uel scientie. (fol. 118vb)

astrological questions there--again, unless the questioner is someone whose rank the astrologer cannot offend: "You should also rarely go to parties of those inviting you, and more rarely accept questions to solve from the industry of this art unless they are strongly made to you by such a person who must not be denied."¹⁰⁹ Analogously, when Scot outlines a place and time that the astrologer should not answer questions, he also gives the astrologer some guidelines for other situations in which it is or is not appropriate to answer a client's question. These are in effect ethical guidelines, though it is very easy to see why they would be in a professional astrologer's best interests. Two of the situations Scot deals with are who can legitimately--and legitimately is the word Scot consistently uses--ask a question on behalf of or concerning another person, and how many questions a person can ask. Regarding the first point, Scot states that the legitimacy lies with whoever has authority over, or a very close connection to, the absent person to whom the question relates. Scot gives many examples to make this relationship clear. For instance, a father or mother can ask a question on behalf of their children; an abbot on behalf of his monastery; a ruler on behalf of the people he rules, and so on.¹¹⁰ Thus the understanding is that some people can legitimately ask questions that concern other people or that are on the behalf of another person, but otherwise your question has to be about yourself.

Scot answers the second question, essentially, with an emphatic "only one." A practical or cynical mind will quickly turn to the conclusion that this is only sound business practice, as refusing to answer more than one question at one time forces the client to return again if they want more answers, and thus ensures a repeat income for the astrologer. Scot does not justify it

¹⁰⁹ Debes etiam raro ire ad conuiuia inuitatorum te, et rarius sumere questions ad soluendum ex industria huius artis nisi forte sint facte tibi a tali persona cui non sit deneganda. (fol. 119ra)

¹¹⁰ Pater et mater possunt legitime interrogare pro filio et pro filia ut sciant uere de suis factis, vir pro vxore, vxor pro marito, potestas ciuitatis pro communi eiusdem terre cuius est rector electus, et syndicus vel procurator ad hoc factus sollempniter pro communi a quibus debet et potest, abbas pro monasterio seu pro fratre monasterii, prior monasterii pro abbate loci, et pro generali negotio mansionis, ex sui auctoritate, clericus pro ecclesia sua et parochianus, Causa est quia tales persone principaliter sunt rei connexe. (fol. 119vb)

this way, naturally, but leaves it as a blunt statement that an astrologer should not answer more than one question at a time because it is simply not allowed for anyone to ask the astrologer in one question two things or more.¹¹¹

Those examples are only a sampling of the sorts of practical instructions found in the start of the third distinction, giving us a window into the social world of astrologers at Scot's time. This feature of his work is fairly unique among similar texts, and broadens the scope of what we have come to expect from Scot and his work based on the view of scholarship on Scot thus far. However, this section of the third distinction does also conform to many of the conclusions reached by previous scholars who have studied Scot.

What, then, are some of the features of Michael Scot's work that we might expect from the conclusions of those scholars? First and foremost, Scot's usage of language has been criticized, both his Latin turns of phrase and his compositional abilities. No lesser figure than Roger Bacon condemned Scot, along with other translators of Scot's generation, for their improper understanding of the languages they were using.¹¹² Roger Bacon's damning words concerning Michael Scot are a foretaste of what many modern scholars also have to say about Scot: "nec scientias nec linguas sciverunt, etiam non Latinum."¹¹³

Among modern scholars, Haskins and Thorndike in particular are not especially flattering towards him, as this one exemplary quote from Haskins illustrates: "[Scot's] own writings show him to have been pretentious and boastful, with no clear sense of the limits of his knowledge."¹¹⁴ Thus, Scot has not enjoyed a particularly positive reception throughout the years, especially concerning his linguistic and compositional abilities. He is criticized for being too rambling and

¹¹¹ Non est licitum alicui interrogare astrologum in una questione de duabus rebus uel amplius. (fol. 119vb)

¹¹² Thorndike (1965, 30)

¹¹³ Roger Bacon, *Opus Tertium*, cap. XXV, ed. Brewer (1859, 91)

¹¹⁴ Haskins (1922, 672)

digressive--his long digressions into angelology or into music in the prohemium and first distinction, respectively, of the *Liber quattuor distinctionum* often being the examples cited for this quality--and the general scholarly opinion seems to want to validate and extol his translation work while negating his original work, while all along maintaining that a full judgement of the qualities of Scot's original work must await a more complete study than has hitherto been done.

From this not especially encouraging foundation, we must turn to the section under consideration here: the opening folio and a half of the third distinction of the *Liber quattuor distinctionum*, and pose the question of whether or not it falls in line with the impression we are given from such a negative reception. And in many ways, yes, this section does meet our expectations. Scot's writing is not as clear as it could be: he does not directly lay out any sort of agenda or outline for the third distinction, and although each topic he touches on is fairly clearly explained, the transitions between the points he discusses are not often evident. More often, one topic will simply morph into the next without much in the way of distinction, as for example at the end of fol.118va and start of 118vb where what had been a discussion of the religious aspects of astrology--free will etc.--becomes a discussion of the astrologer's house. Such features of the text do make it more difficult to work with, and so the negative reception of Scot's writing is understandable.

However, the ways in which the opening of the third distinction conforms to our expectations are by no means all negative. Indeed, this section accurately reflects the attitude of the Church and of learned men towards astrology at that time period. As the works of Aristotle became more known and accepted throughout the thirteenth century, Aristotelian cosmology meshed, or was made to, quite nicely with the Christian view of the universe. A prime mover gave motion to the heavens, and each lower sphere is affected in turn by the one above until the

motion reaches Earth. However, this Aristotelian cosmology was entwined with astrology from Ptolemy onwards, and thus in supporting one, the theologians could not really deny the other. The theologians reached an acceptable understanding by looking to Augustine, who had acknowledged that the stars did have an influence over humans, but insisted that humans still had free will.¹¹⁵

This compromise, or way of adding astrological beliefs to Christian ones, can be seen in Scot's writing. For he is a great advocate of astrology, but he is very careful to address the question of free will, and to leave no doubt that man still has free will over his actions: "It is known that since man is similar to the creator God, he has free will to choose good and bad and to do both as he wishes."¹¹⁶ Nor was Scot the only author being careful to include such statements about free will. Alexander Neckham, an English scholar and a contemporary of Scot's, also states that although the superior bodies do have an influence over inferior ones, yet free will does remain.¹¹⁷ That Scot's views on a delicate matter such as integrating astrological doctrines with theological ones should match so closely with his close contemporaries is not surprising, given that he was evidently part of a very learned circle of scholars both in Toledo and at the court of Frederick II.

A third way in which the section I have edited and translated matches what we would expect to find in Scot's work is how he uses the sources he references or quotes. Even leaving aside the question of unreferenced sources, where authors have taken material from other authors

¹¹⁵ Wedel (1968, 63-65)

¹¹⁶ Et est sciendum quod cum homo sit deo creatori similis, habet liberum arbitrium eligendi bonum et malum ac faciendi utrumque sicut uult. (fol. 118va)

¹¹⁷ Wedel (1968, 62) Cf. also William of Auvergne, another contemporary with the same position regarding free will. However, he is overall critical of astrology, very much unlike Scot. The fact that both authors maintain the same stance regarding free will, despite having differing views on astrology itself, shows the importance of this point to the medieval worldview. See William of Auvergne, *Guilielmi Alverni Opera omnia*, Frankfurt am Main, Minerva, 1963, esp. pp. 628-9.

without noting the fact, there is plenty to comment upon. The sources Scot references in folios 118rb-120ra are: Cato, Aristotle twice, Alchandrinus twice, and Messehalla (Scot's rendering of Māshā'allāh). This list agrees nicely with what we know of Scot's biography, in that he was active in translating the works of Aristotle, therefore we would expect to find him using Aristotle as well, and his translations were done from the Arabic, so his knowledge and use of Arabic sources is not surprising. The fourth source he references, Cato, is not surprising either. It refers not to Cato the Elder but to the author of the *Disticha Catonis*, an extremely popular text in the medieval period which consisted of proverbs and morals written in couplets.

When we compare this to the sources Scot used in the first section of the *Liber quattuor distinctionum* (folios 1-78, transcribed by Meier), we find much the same pattern on a larger scale.¹¹⁸ Aristotle is referenced by name at least four times, and as *phylosophus* at least eight times. Other extremely common sources are: the Bible (e.g., Genesis, Ecclesiastes at least twice, Salomon three times, the psalms or the psalmista eight times, Job, etc.); Alphagranus or Alfagranus (eleven times, roughly equal to Aristotle); Pythagoras (six times); Ptolemy (five times); and *poeta* or Vergil (four times). There are also a host of references that appear only once or twice, for example: Seneca, Ypocras, Cato, Albumassar, Plato, Guido, Boecius, Sanctus Nicholaus, Nembroth, Macrobius, Donatus, Dyonisius, Alexander Magnus, Hermes, Messehalla, St. Basil, Prophete Iosue, Anatholius grecus episcopus, Beatus Antistes Ambrosius, Galienus,¹¹⁹ Socrates, Averois, Porphyus, Ysidorus, Beda (both with and without his "Venerable" epithet), and Raby Moyses magnus phylosophus. In addition, Scot sometimes references someone by their profession, as in *poeta*, *phylosophus*, (as we have seen already for Vergil and Aristotle

¹¹⁸ Note that the list of sources that follows makes no claim to be complete or comprehensive; it is simply a compilation of those references and quotations which I found while reading through Meier's transcription of folios 1-6, 11-14, and 19-78. I have kept Scot's spelling of the names.

¹¹⁹ Scot quotes Galienus as saying "vita brevis, ars longa." (fol. 70r)

respectively) or *propheta*, or groups of people, as in *poetas* or, much more commonly, *phylosophi*.¹²⁰

Overall in this brief look at Scot's sources, we can see that he leaned heavily on the Bible and on Arabic knowledge--especially if we consider Aristotle in the same category as his Arabic sources, since Scot's knowledge of Aristotle came through the Arabic translations and commentaries he worked with. The smaller sample of his sources from the start of the third distinction is very similar to the larger sample; Aristotle, Messehalla, and Cato appear in both, and although Alchandrinus does not appear in the larger sample of Scot's sources, many other sources of a similar type, such as Abumassar, do. Indeed, the sources which Scot uses in the beginning of his third distinction only differ from the larger sample in one regard, namely, that there are no biblical references. However, this is due far more to the small sample size than to any lessening of Scot's reliance on the Bible, because his tone is overtly religious throughout large portions of the first part of the *Liber quattuor distinctionum*.

A final way in which the beginning of the third distinction lends further weight to previously compiled information is that it supports what we know of Scot's biography. Scot's position as court astrologer to Frederick II has been discussed above, and in this section we find Scot using the word *potestarie*.¹²¹ *Potestarie* is a word specifically used to designate the office of a *podesta*, an Italian high magistrate, and so Scot's use of it ties him to Italy, and to the ruling elite there. Another example of Scot's connections to Italy, especially Sicily, is his use of an aphorism that is known to be a Scicilian proverb. The proverb, "men honour this man whom

¹²⁰ Twice Scot gives a list as examples of the *phylosophi*: one includes Habraam, Neroth, Alexander, Ptholomeus, and Magnus Gafar (fol. 47v); the other includes Ptolemy, Alexander, Demetrius, Theodosius, Dorotheus, Iathar, Thebith Bencorath, Altagrani, Epedocles, Eucliden, Aristotiles, and Averoy's (fol. 48r).

¹²¹ Fol. 119rb

clothes adorn,"¹²² is listed in Giuseppe Pitrè's *Biblioteca delle tradizioni popolari siciliane*, vol.4: *Proverbi siciliani raccolti e confrontati con quelli degli altri dialetti d'Italia*.¹²³

In examining these opening pages of the third distinction of the *Liber quattuor distinctionum*, we can therefore see several aspects in which our expectations of Scot's work are upheld: in his language and writing structure, in his view of astrology which falls strictly in line with the Church's position on astrology, and in his range of sources. However, there are also ways in which this section broadens our understanding and represents a rare survival among medieval astrological texts, by giving direct, business-like information as to how a professional astrologer should and should not act; and these directives in turn can tell us quite a bit about the "social world," to use Barton's term, of the astrologers.

¹²² Hunc homines honorant quem vestimenta decorant. (fol. 118vb)

¹²³ Hunc hominem decorant, quem vestimenta decorant. (Pitrè 1880, 129)

Conclusion

In sum, I hope this study has shown not only how the opening folios of the third distinction of Scot's *Liber quattuor distinctionum* corroborate information about his life, his work, and his position in the transmission of knowledge, but also how this section broadens our understanding of the social history of astrology. Further reading of the third distinction, or the entire *Liber quattuor distinctionum*, would no doubt prove a fruitful continuation along this path of research. A more thorough comparison of Scot's views with his contemporaries' could also be a route worth investigating.

It could be that the value of studying Michael Scot's original work is not found so much in the technical astrological and astronomical information; or if so, more to confirm and corroborate what we already know from other astrological treatises, given that Scot's rendition of this information is less clear than those found in other authors. But perhaps the value of studying Scot's *Liber introductorius* can be found more in the personal touches and social information that can be gleaned from passages such as the start of the third distinction.

Another important aspect of Scot's work that deserves further study is his sources, because seeing which authors as well as which of their works Scot was referencing and quoting can tell us a great deal about what authors and works were available at this point in history to be studied by a learned man in one of the most vibrant intellectual communities of the time.

I am forced to end my own study of Scot's work, albeit only a small section of it, in a similar manner to both Charles Burnett's and Lucy Pick's respective articles.¹²⁴ Namely, that my conclusions more point to the need for further and more complete study of Michael Scot and his *Liber introductorius* than put forward any positive conclusions or answer any questions. However, there are still the issues of negative reception to contend with, as well as the

¹²⁴ Burnett (1994, 121); Pick (1998, 115)

difficulties of the text itself, not least of which is length--my transcription of roughly 1.5 folios became twenty pages typed, and there are 146 folios in the manuscript CLM 10268--and the accessibility of the writing, with its digressions and tangents that perhaps stem from the work's incomplete state at the time of Scot's death.¹²⁵ Nonetheless, hopefully this small addition to the proportion of the *Liber introductorius* that is edited will help at least to some degree to advance the study of Scot's *Liber introductorius*.

¹²⁵ It is possible that Scot left more than one draft. Thorndike (1965, 5)

Appendix: Summary of Meier's Partial Edition

The most substantial partial edition of Scot's *Liber introductorius* is Hans Meier's. His work was unfortunately left unfinished due to bombing during the Second World War. What remains is a mix of near-complete pages (printer's proofs), typewritten, and handwritten pages, bound together in four volumes housed in the Warburg Institute in London, England. The first few pages use all four manuscripts of the *Liber introductorius*, and have a critical apparatus and footnotes indicating the source of Scot's references, but the edition becomes less complete as the text progresses until it is only a transcription of the Munich manuscript (CLM 10268). The transcription breaks off partway through folio 78r. The contents of folios 1-78r as well as their page numbers and condition in Meier's partial edition are summarized in the table that follows.

In the "Condition in Meier" column, PP stands for printer's proofs, TS stands for typewritten pages, and MS stands for handwritten pages.

Fol. #	pp. in Meier	Condition in Meier	General Content
1r	p. 1-4	PP. uses all four MSS; critical apparatus; done thoroughly, would need proofreading; footnotes indicate sources of quotes, but some have been left empty.	introduction - what student must learn (e.g. quote from Seneca); origins/foundations - philosophical (<i>prima causa, secunda causa</i> etc.), theological (e.g. quote from Genesis)
1v	p. 4-7	PP. uses all four MSS; critical apparatus; done thoroughly, would need proofreading; footnotes indicate sources of quotes, but some have been left empty. Critical apparatus unfinished in some places (a few missing entries; pencilled in notes or corrections on top of others).	introduction continued - some discussion of zodiac; theological continued. New chapter heading, discusses two part nature (human/divine) and <i>natura naturata, natura naturans</i>

2r	p.7-10	PP. uses all four MSS; critical apparatus; done fairly thoroughly, would need proofreading/some correction. Critical apparatus not finished; source footnotes appear to be finished.	10 orders of angels; creation story (1st day etc); number 22; animate vs inanimate
2v	p.10-13	PP. uses all four MSS, critical apparatus. Done fairly thoroughly, would need proofreading/some correction. Critical apparatus not finished; source footnotes unfinished. Extensive handwritten corrections on p.13.	3 magi; Sibylline prophecies, omens etc. at Rome when Christ was born; how/what different things (e.g. plants, water, wind, brute animals) sense
3r	p.13-17	PP. uses all four MSS; critical apparatus; done thoroughly, needs proofreading. Footnotes seem finished pp. 14-17; critical apparatus seems more finished than previous folio.	creation continued (what was created each day of the week); sermonizing/moralizing section - good/bad; 3 ways of knowing the heavens (? Corporal, spiritual, intellectual). Overall question and answer format, questions like what is the substance of God, is God everything, etc.
3v	p.17-20	PP. uses all four MSS; critical apparatus; done thoroughly, needs proofreading. Footnotes seem finished; critical apparatus seems more finished than previous folio	numbers (10ths, 3rds, one); light; angels
4r	p.20-22, 35-38	PP section ends p.22, midline at 4rb line 9. Next page in Meier is numbered 35 but continues with no break from where PP section left off. P.35 MS with crit. app. using all four MSS, seems to be done thoroughly just not typed up. P.36-37 MS with crit. app., crit. app. maybe unfinished. p. 38 TS	angels
4v	p.38-51	TS. P.38 is in three different versions, one with no crit.app and two with unfinished crit. app. with extensive handwritten notes. 3.5 lines missing between p38 and p39; p.39-40 have no crit. app.; p.41 missing; p.42-45 repeat the text of p.38-40, with missing lines included, with partially finished crit. app.; p.46 crit. app. started; p.47-51 no crit. app.	more on angels; e.g. naming of angels, the fallen angels

5r	p.51-59	TS. Two p.55s, the second is the one that continues from p.54; the first p.55 continues from the second p.55 (bound in wrong order); p. labeled 58 and 58/59 - it's 58/59 that follows after 57, p.58 is a repeat of p.35	good and bad angels
5v	p.59; p.60-68	TS. p.59; MS p. 60-68; p. 60 repeats lines from p.59; crit. app. started, in some places source footnotes started. (p.60-68 bound after 6r)	angels continued - nature of angels etc.
6r	p.69-75; p.68;	MS. P.69 starts 15 lines down 6ra; p. 75 stops 14 lines from bottom of 6rb. Some crit. app. started, overall unfinished - still notes about uncertain readings of the text etc. Meier pages bound in wrong order - goes from p.59 to 69-75 then to 60; the missing lines from the start of 6r are on p.68.	
6v	missing		
7r	missing		
7v	missing		
8r	missing		
8v	missing		
9r	missing		
9v	missing		
10r	missing		
10v	missing		
11r	p.159	most of this folio also missing. TS p.159 starts 10 lines from the bottom of 11rb. No crit. app.	naming of angels
11v	p.159-168	TS 159-164; MS 164(2nd)-168. Two p.159s, 2nd follows after 1st with no break in content. P.163 has reproduction of the chart from the bottom margin of the folio, showing the orders of angels. Two page 164s with same content, second one more complete than the first. Crit. app. started throughout, source footnotes started.	orders of angels - from seraphim to the sixth order.
12r	p.168-176	MS. Crit. app. started throughout; done thoroughly, no gaps.	orders of angels continued, the 3rd hierarchy

12v	p.176-185	MS. Crit. app. started throughout; done thoroughly, no gaps; source footnotes started.	angels continued.
13r	p.185-193	MS. Crit. app. started throughout; done thoroughly, no gaps; source footnotes started.	angels
13v	p.193-201	MS. Crit. app. started throughout; done thoroughly, no gaps; source footnotes started.	angels; the devil
14r	p.201-204	MS. Crit. app. started throughout; cuts off two lines from bottom of 14ra. Next page is 263.	demons, malign angels
14v	missing		
15r	missing		
15v	missing		
16r	missing		
16v	missing		
17r	missing		
17v	missing		
18r	missing		
18v	missing		
19r	p.288-290	MS. Crit. app. started; begins 20 lines down 19rb.	Alexandria, Egypt, Ptolemy
19v	p.290-	MS. Crit. app. started; only has the first 11 lines of 19va; leaves a blank space where the picture is in LI.	Magister Gilbertus; <i>explicit prohemium</i>
20r	p.295-302	TS. Starts at beginning of folio with rubricated title. No crit. app., but source footnotes started on p.295; for the others, only some textual corrections handwritten over typed page.	first distinction begins

20v	p.302-310	TS. Entirely transcribed, no crit. app. or footnotes started (some things underlined, indicating they will need a crit. app. entry); handwritten corrections for typos and errors in transcription are started but not complete. P.309 has a handwritten page inserted after it with the heading "Alphragranus ch.5" and a Latin quote -- start of source footnote for the Alphragranus quote/reference Scot uses? The Latin is not exactly the same as in LI but has the same vocabulary and ideas in the same order.	creation; <i>de noticia creationis celi et de mundi...</i> ; <i>forma mundi</i> (hemispheres etc); <i>motus celi</i> (Alphragranus quoted/referenced)
21r	p.310-319	TS. Entirely transcribed, no crit. app. or footnotes started, handwritten correction stop after p. 310, typos/misreadings are left uncorrected; there are a few places left blank where a reading was uncertain, no more than a word or two (e.g. TS page says "fort et" manuscript says "fortior et" p.317)	stars, <i>motus stellarum</i> ; <i>Expositio Rota</i> ; 4 divine virtues/4 winds; start of a chapter on revolution of the firmament and 7 planets in opposition to the 12 signs (p.316)
21v	p.319-328	TS. No crit. app. or footnotes started, no handwritten corrections, some typos etc.; marginal corrections included but not marginal notes; spaces left blank for uncertain readings, each page has ~4 of these gaps, p.326 has a lot.	right part/left part, why you can't see some stars; greeks call firmament "mithac"; 12 signs, 43 (?) <i>ymagines</i> ; mansions; 12 signs, 30 <i>gradus</i> , 6 <i>septentrionalia</i> (Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo) the rest are <i>meridionalia</i> ; more terms and ways of dividing the signs - 6 <i>recte ascendencia</i> , 6 <i>tortuose</i> ; which signs obey which; moves on to planets

22r	p.328-337	TS. No crit. app. or footnotes started, no handwritten corrections, some typos etc.; marginal corrections included but not marginal notes; spaces left blank for uncertain readings, but far less than previous folio, 0-2 gaps per page, 0 more common. Beehive-like drawing middle of column a not included or noted in Meier.	planets turn in contrary to firmament (Arabic + Latin writing reference, non-specific); <i>de noticia circulorum planetorum</i> (p330); <i>virtutis regentis celum: athalas</i> ; names of winds + their substance/virtue; winds - 12, names them, gives each a month, bastard winds; definition of wind: <i>vapor siccus et agitatione aeris purificatus</i> ; 16 species, 4 principle + cardinal
22v	p.337-346c	TS. No crit. app. or footnotes started, no handwritten corrections, some typos etc.; marginal notes not included; ~1 blank for uncertain reading per page. There are 3 page 344s; p.345 follows with no break after the first one. Three page 346s; the third follows from p.345 with no break in the text.	<i>cursus venti</i> (and mutations); <i>venti habent rectores</i> ; wind is invisible to men and most animals (but not <i>bos, gatta, anser, ??, galline</i>); wind shakes the earth; clouds; mixed winds (?)
23r	p.346c, 344b-c, 346a,b, 347-348, 349a-b, 350-351, 352b	TS. No crit. app. or footnotes, no handwritten corrections, blanks for uncertain readings. Pages very out of order. 10 lines from 23ra missing between 344c and 346a.	<i>materia venti</i> , mostly <i>flatus</i> , a little <i>pluvie et frigide aure</i>
23v	p.352b, 352a, 353-359	TS. No crit. app. or footnotes, no handwritten corrections, blanks for uncertain readings. 1st p.352 follows 2nd p.352 with one word missing. No text missing otherwise from this folio.	<i>de austro; tempus aquilonis</i> ; 4 cardinal winds: <i>subsolanus, auster, zephyrus, septentrio</i>
24r	p.359-367	TS. No crit.app or footnotes, no handwritten corrections, blanks for uncertain readings. Missing ~4 lines from p.365, middle of 24rb. Marginal corrections included.	Greek and Latin names of the world; the four parts of the world; <i>regionem aeris</i> (sublunar) (rarification).

24v	p.367-374	TS. No crit. app. or footnotes, no handwritten corrections, blanks for uncertain readings. Missing 16 lines starting 8 lines from the top of 24va, p.367b. Two page 369s and 372 but they follow in normal order	vapor, hot/cold, rain
25r	p.374-381	TS. No crit. app. or footnotes, no handwritten corrections, blanks for uncertain readings. Missing 3 lines (lines 4-6 25ra); 2 page 375s that follow normally; 2 lines missing ~2/3rds down 25rb (2 "et econtrario"s, skipped from the first to the 2nd. Most of the missing lines are mistakes like this - I don't think I caught them all by any means, but it shows the level of work that has been done, a fairly complete transcription but not much beyond that).	<i>materia tonitrualis; de lampa; colores coruscationum</i> ; regions of thunder; different coloured clouds and their properties
25v	p.381-388	TS. In the same state as previous. Two page 384s in reverse order (1st one follows from 2nd); ~5 lines skipped (2 sentences both begin "Omne") middle of 25vb.	<i>nubes zalla (pestifera); nubes alba (non pestifera); 7 regionum aeris</i>
26r	p.388-396	TS. In the same state as previous. Line skipped (or deliberately cut, MS repeats itself) at the very start; a few skipped words between 389a-b.	cont'd from before; Ypocras; <i>vita brevis ars longa; de regione roris</i>
26v	p.396-404	TS. In the same state as previous. Didn't notice any missing lines.	<i>de regione nivis; Olympus; de regione grandinis; de regione pluvie; de regione mellis</i>
27r	p.404-412	TS. In the same state as previous. The odd word missing.	<i>mel</i> cont'd; <i>zuccaro + zachara; de regione laudani; de regione manne</i>
27v	p.412-420	TS. In the same state as previous.	earth (<i>tumor terre</i>); "assafac"?; orientations? Rising/setting? (lots of orient/occident etc.); eclipses; <i>tellus immobilis est</i> ; earth at center of firmament (example of people on poles seeing stars equally far away (as people on equator?)??); Alphagranus quote/ref

28r	p.420-428	TS. In the same state as previous. Marginal corrections included in transcription. Some odd formatting (notes? editorial choice?) e.g. exclamation point not in MS; a line all in capitals.	zones; biblical references (Noah, Adam); seat of God, seat of Satan; <i>oriens</i> + <i>occidens</i> (in general, the effects of the sun + the earth, I think - e.g. sun stops us from seeing half the stars (?))
28v	p.428-435b	TS. In the same state as previous.	sun, moon, stars; <i>luna est sexta pars terre, terre est octava pars solis</i> ; tides
29r	p.435b-444a	TS. In the same state as previous. A few words missing between p.436-7	mention of Frederick II; <i>phylosophus</i> references; reproduction/semen, properties
29v	p.444a-451b; Vol. 2 starts p. 451a	TS. In the same state as previous. Missing word.	astrologers lying/reception of astrologers?; Romana dampnat; phylosophus, Cato, Psalms quoted; 7 arts because 7 planets, matches arts with planets; water (freezing and thawing?); hot/cold/wet/dry properties of 4 elements, mixing of properties and bad things that come from e.g. too much hot, " <i>distenperantia naturalium humorum</i> "
30r	p.451b-459	TS. In the same state as previous.	water, hot/cold/sweet/salt (sun and moon's effects on it?)
30v	p.459-466	TS. In the same state as previous. Word repeated p.464 (not rep. in MS).	god created all animals; virtue, odour of fruit; overall religious/theological; nothing is impossible for God; " <i>de duplicibus temporis in anno solis</i> " - seasons (some places there are two springs, two summers, etc. in a year??)
31r	p.466-473	TS. In the same state as previous. Part of last line of folio skipped.	zodiac; how long it takes the planets to orbit and therefore how many degrees they move through; Hermes ref. 31rb ~1/3rd down; also ref'd: phylosophus, Nembroth, Salomon; sun through the hours; stars

31v	p.473-481a	TS. In the same state as previous.	Bible references; masculine superior, feminine inferior; the great year; vocabulary differences between stellam, astrum, sidus, signum, ymaginum, planetam; the stars distinguished by Aristotle; Albumassar and Alphagranus ref'd
32r	p.481a-487b	TS. In the same state as previous. Marginal corrections included. 16 lines missing middle of 32rb.	Sun and Moon in signs, and elongation by their movement under firmament; Alphagranus re: eclipse; very astrological (ascending, in conjunction, coleric/sanguine), detailed examples
32v	p.488-495	TS. In the same state as previous. Skips ~3 lines bottom 32va; column break not marked.	Almagesti; <i>quantitate corporibus sol, luna, terre</i> ; day is masculine, night is feminine; saturn naturally cold + dry, his influence, etc. for others: Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon; ' <i>angulorum celi per 4 signa fixa</i> '
33r	p.495-502	TS. In the same state as previous. Marginal corrections included. Skips ~2 lines towards the bottom of 33ra. Manuscript has chart, Meier has "Den Raum von 20 Zeilen füllt die Zeichnung aus."	conditions of the seven planets and " <i>eorum esse naturali</i> "; starts with the Moon, facts about the Moon (e.g. its colour is solid silver); Mercury (e.g. not masc./fem./day/night, other associations); Venus; Sun
33v	p.502-510	TS. In the same state as previous. Marginal corrections included.	Sun cont'd; Mars; Jupiter; Saturn; <i>capud draconis</i> ; aspects of planets through signs: 1st aspect, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, 5th, (with degrees)
34r	p.510-518a	TS. In the same state as previous. Some typos. Marginal corrections included. Some misreadings; big blank space left for chart.	6th, 7th aspects; conjunction of planets through " <i>puncta et gradus</i> " of signs; e.g. when <i>luna</i> is in <i>cauda draconis</i> ; " <i>de noticia fortitudinis planetarum in suo esse</i> "
34v	p.518a-	TS. In the same state as previous. Missing word.	estates of the Moon (4)

	525a		
35r	p.525a-533a	TS. In the same state as previous.	<i>regio angelorum</i> ; rays; <i>de noticia intelligentie testimonium planetarum</i> (e.g. "planet's testimony is false when..." Venus; Mercury; Moon; fixed signs); conditions of the stars which are always over or under the earth; several Psalm references (" <i>qui numerat multitudinem stellarum</i> " has been referenced at least three times by now...)
35v	p.533a-539b	TS. In same state as previous. Missing words. No space left for chart this time.	falling stars; religious - Psalms, Salomon, Ecclesiastes, etc.; humans can't perfectly know <i>aliqua ultra octavam speram</i> ; Paul, Katarine, Stephan; <i>capitis & caude draconis</i> ; <i>de noticia umbre que omni tempore apparet in luna</i>
36r	p.539b-546a	TS. In same state as previous. No space left for chart. Marginal corrections included.	Moon; when it's clearer; when exalt; " <i>equitature solis</i> " and " <i>occasu</i> " of this and the rest of the planets.
36v	p.546a-552	TS. In same state as previous. Marginal corrections included.	myths about the Sun, 4 horses drawing Sun, names them & interprets them; Sun in estate; vetullus? (<i>dixit enim vetulla</i>); Psalms x2; <i>cauda scorpionis</i>
37r	p.552-555b	TS. In same state as previous. No space left for picture (or note about it).	paradise; Sun goes from/to(?) paradise on a river (see picture)
37v	p.555b-563	TS. In same state as previous.	<i>derivationis celi solo nomine et de eius difinitione ac ipsius armonia</i> ; <i>celum</i> comes from verb " <i>celolas</i> "; revolution of <i>celum</i> makes sweetest harmony; harmony of 7 orbs (doesn't come to our ears); different tones etc. relating to music

38r	p.563-570	TS. In same state as previous. Mislabeled 38v (38v also labeled 38v). Hand chart noted: "den Raum von 12 1/2 Zeilen ds. Spalte nimmt die Darstellung der Hand ein." little drawings in-line marked in Meier with "S."; other drawing a few lines down not marked.	continues with music, notes. Left hand/right hand; hand chart. Roundness of the orb, <i>mundus architipus</i> . Alphagranus ref: 9 spheres, Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, firmament, <i>celi emphyrei</i> . Center of earth is prison for damned souls. Psalms, Job refs.
38v	p.570-576b	TS. In same state as previous. Diagram in LI, no note or space in Meier. Some typos e.g. "juilibet" for "quilibet". Space left blank for arsis/thesis example picture but nothing there.	movement of the spheres; Psalm ref.; zodiac: 1 oblique circle in 12 equal parts, names them; <i>cardines</i> ; again sweet melody/tones; " <i>tramontana</i> " (?); tones, Moon's tone is inferior and doesn't descend because of spissitude of air and because far away from our ears (?); 1029 voices and stars; earthly music, 9 tones; art of music: <i>arsis</i> and <i>thesis</i> (crescendo/decrecendo - pitch not volume); derivation of name ' <i>musica</i> '
39r	p.576b-582	TS. In same state as previous. 16-17 lines missing 2nd half of 39rb (see note for 39v).	poet/Vergil ref; D/M section (q & a), how music was invented, cause of music, who invented it (giant named Tubal), Greeks say Pythagoras invented it (?); Pythagoras; musical terms e.g. <i>claves</i> , <i>tonus</i> , <i>semitonus</i> , <i>dipret</i> , <i>semitipus</i> , <i>diatesso</i> , <i>diapente</i> , <i>dyapasson</i> ; Pythagoras again; Plato quote
39v	p.582-590	TS. In same state as previous. Marginal corrections included. No note in Meier that some points are illustrated with little line drawings. **out of order part: partway through p.582: "dya,, 583 est cavum" - doesn't follow; the text of 39v continues on p.583b four lines down: "-tesson et cetera" from there it continues with no break. The part between dya--tesson is the missing lines from 39rb, complete (p.582, 583a-b).	Ecclesiastes; 3 parts of music: harmony, <i>rithmica</i> , <i>metrica</i> (epic, iambic, elegiac etc); <i>diastema et diasis</i> ; <i>consonantia</i> (another big D/M section, 7 species); descriptions of all the types of tones/consonances

40r	p.590-597a	TS. In same state as previous. Chart included. Skipped 1 line p592. Marginal corrections included. Side chart with letters matching with Roman numerals not noted. Space left blank in LI, Meier has this note: Lücke von 2 3/4 Zeilen.	explanation of Greek vocab; the number 8: 8 notes in music, parts of speech, beatitudes, etc; do re mi; more definitions: appositive, suppositive, propositive, <i>mixte</i> , <i>abusive</i> (5 genera distinctionum); <i>monocordus</i>
40v	p.597a-602a	TS. In same state as previous. In D/M section Meier put in at least 3 "M"s that are not in LI; Meier has added several exclamation marks; figures in LI, Meier has blank spaces and note: Den Raum von 5 Zeilen nimmt folgend Figur ein: Den Raum von 6 Zeilen füllt folgende Zeichnung aus. Still the occasional blank word. p. 600 left almost all blank for large picture/figure but no note. Skipped ~2 lines.	simple/composite; definition of <i>argumentum</i> ; more on <i>tonus</i> ; D/M section continues; " <i>poeta</i> " - margin says Vergil;
41r	p.602a-609b	TS. In same state as previous. Missing word. Little boat figure/example not noted in Meier. Occasional handwritten corrections. Mistake, sexta written when MS has the symbol for 4. Again the Ds and Ms have been edited, not just straight transcription.	" <i>plaga prota</i> "; continues D/M definitions/explanations of musical terms/intervals
41v	p.609b-617a	TS. In same state as previous. Mixed up order, no break in content but jumbled order in Meier p.609-611. Chart in LI transcribed in Meier. Very smudged out bits in LI are blank in Meier with no note.	7 tones matching with 7 <i>littera</i> ; differences between <i>musicorum</i> and <i>cantorum</i> ; chart that matches tones with names e.g. <i>auctentus protus .i. primus tonus</i>
42r	p.617a-623b	TS. In same state as previous. Musical notation in LI noted in Meier: Den Raum von 16 Zeilen d.Hs. füllt folgende Zeichnung aus. p.618a blank, all it says is Zeichnung.	different types of voices, <i>aspera</i> , <i>levis</i> , <i>ceca</i> etc; Guido and Boecius referenced
42v	p.623b-631a	TS. In same state as previous. Same word left blank more than 3 times. Missing word. Marginal corrections included. Music figure in LI noted in Meier: Die fünf letzten Zeilen der Spalte füllt folgendes Diagramm aus. // marker for 2nd column are in wrong place (end of line instead of start of line)	<i>cantantium</i> continued, <i>simplex/compositus</i> ; internal reference to 3rd distinction, chapter ' <i>incipit secta grece etc</i> '; more definitions of terms with examples; Greek and Latin metre, <i>carmen</i> , <i>versus</i>

43r	p.631a-639b	TS. In same state as previous. Meier has edited/added D/Ms again. Marginal corrections included. LI has ". . ." Meier has noted: Lücke von 7 Buchstaben. Extra // for 2nd column in wrong place. Meier transcribes large note in bottom margin (I can't see the matching insertion marker at the spot where he has inserted it) with note: Unter d.Spalte findet sich von anderer Hand (Jh.) folgender Nachtrag.	definitions: <i>cantus, vocis</i> ; Phylosophus says all animals lacking lungs lack voice, e.g. fish, crab, worm, <i>musca, sagittarius, parpalio, aranea</i> , ant, <i>pulex</i> , etc; definition of <i>accentus</i> - Greek and Latin vocabulary; <i>positura: cola, coma, et periodus</i> ; punctuation section, when to use them; without break into section about malign spirits/demons, they flee from <i>armonie/dulcedine cantus</i> ; marginal note: very religious, <i>devocionum dei, Sancti Nicholai; de axe celi</i> , definition of axis; <i>propheta</i> referenced twice; <i>de noticia circulatorum spere celestis et terrestres; motus planetarum</i>
43v	p.639b-647	TS. In same state as previous. Big bottom marginal note not transcribed/noted. Marginal corrections included. ~5 lines skipped (end of 5th clima, beginning of 6th), similar phrases.	poles/boreas/arctic; lunar eclipse; <i>de partium orbis terre que dicunt plage; de 7 climatum orbis terre</i> ; 7 climates in different languages; 1st clima, stats about it (<i>gradus</i> etc); same for 2nd-6th climates (5th incl Gog & Magog)
44r	p.647-655a	TS. In same state as previous. Randomly breaks in middle of 2nd column to transcribe note from bottom margin of first column, but doesn't transcribe or note the 3 rubricated lines; note: Unter der Spalte hierzu folgender Nachtrag. Note in middle of transcribed note: labi dch. Punkte getilgt.	7th clima; climates + <i>tabula astrolabii</i> ; rising and setting of the signs and planets and their movement/motion; <i>poetas</i> says rightly there are three kinds of <i>ortus: cosmicus, cronicus, elyacus</i> (?), example with the Sun; Alphagranus quote re: centre of sphere of earth; motion of planets: Saturn, Jupiter & Mars are slower, then Venus and Mercury; revolution of planets in their spheres and <i>in orbe signorum</i>

44v	p.655a-662a	TS. In same state as previous. Folio change not marked. Large marginal note at bottom of both columns not mentioned.	each planet and how long their orbit takes, e.g. Moon in 27d. 13h. + 1/3rd h roughly; revolution of fixed stars; <i>motibus lune</i> ; 5 zones ' <i>tam celi quam terre que etiam dicuntur paralleli</i> '; Vergil, Georgics
45r	p.662a-666c	TS. In same state as previous. Big chart has note: Den Raum von 25 Zeilen füllt die Zeichnung aus [blank space left] Nachtrag: Unter den bd.Spalten von 44v und der ersten 45r findet sich folgender Nachtrag. Then Meier goes into transcription of the big note (bottom margin 44va, 44vb, 45ra) p663b-664c; note is all degrees/longitude/latitude of zones and climates; the odd mistake e.g. 28 for 48; p.665 returns to main text. Pages bound in wrong order: bound 665, 666, 665, 666; content goes 665bc, 666ab	still on 5 zones; Alphagrano; division of the habitable zones, Asia, Africa, Europe
45v	p.666c-670a	TS. In same state as previous. **NB: From here on there seem to be at least 2 pages for every page number, often 3.	still zones; religious tone, paradise, Adam, Eve; <i>fons</i> and four rivers of paradise
46r	p.670a-673b	TS. In same state as previous. Chart in LI noted and blank space left: Den Raum von 20 Zeilen himmt die Zeichnung ein	designating the zones according to philosophers; <i>de gallaxie in celo</i> ; definition of galaxy; <i>de noticia divisionis ymaginum celi quas confitiunt stelle fixe et non planete</i>
46v	p.673b-676b	TS. In same state as previous. No 46v marker.	<i>causa prima movet celum</i> ; Greeks/Aristotle referenced; <i>celum = planos</i> in Greek; paradise/God, inferno/Satan; definition of <i>substantia</i> , Porphyry referenced.
47r	p.676b-679c	TS. In same state as previous.	<i>substantia</i> continued; definition of alchemy; religious theology, trying to know the secrets of the heavens, many Bible references

47v	p.679c-682c; Vol.2 ends p.679c ~5lines into 47v	TS. In same state as previous. Chart at top of 2nd column, space left blank with note: Die ersten 17 Zeilen der 2.Spalte füllt folgende Zeichnung aus	Habraam, Neroth, Alexander, Ptholomeus, Magnus Gafar, etc. (all listed together as philosophers); no one able to comprehend amplitude (?) except by medium of ymagines e.g. signs like Aries; difference between ymagines and signa, and zodiac and <i>circulum signorum</i> ; <i>tacuinus cleopatre</i> (?)
48r	p.682c-686b	TS. In same state as previous. Some typos. Marginal corrections included. Big inclusion: .//. Marker sends to the bottom margin, note is very hard to read (many blanks in Meier's transcription), continues under both columns, Meier separates these columns with // as well. Space left blank for chart about planets, but no note. Skipped section ~6 lines on 'megura spere' (meguar?)	<i>tacuinus</i> (?); characters of planets, chart 'tabula karacterum et nominum 7 planetarum'; 'spere et circulorum eius' according to many philosophers: Ptolemy, Alexander, Demetrius, Theodosius, Dorotheus, Iathar, Thebith Bencorath, Altagrani, Epedocles, Eucliden, Aristotiles, Averoy; definitions: spere, circle, diameter, semicircle; <i>orbis septentrionalis</i> , <i>orbis tropicus estivalis</i> , <i>orbis equalitatis</i> , <i>orbis tropicus hyemalis</i> , <i>orbis meridianus</i> ; <i>orbe orizontis</i> ; <i>circulis medii diei</i>
48v	p.686b-689c	TS. In same state as previous. Marginal corrections included. Chart starts 48vb, blank space left for it and note: 18 Zeilen der 2.Spalte füllt die Figur	definition of sphere (again); sphere divided; orizon (<i>recta</i> and <i>obliqua</i>)
49r	p.689c-693a	TS. In same state as previous. Space left for chart with note: Den Raum von 17 Zeilen der ersten Spalte füllt die Figur. Space left for drawing with note: Den Raum v. 13 Zeilen nimmt folgende Figur ein.	<i>cenith capitum</i> ; <i>celi et mundi mixtim</i> : <i>celum emphyreum</i> , angels created there; <i>mundo terrestris</i> , <i>mundo celestis</i>
49v	p.693a-696c	TS. In same state as previous. Marginal corrections included. Page break in wrong place by one word (modis // instead of // modis).	<i>celum</i> is threefold: <i>emphyreum</i> , <i>christallinum</i> , <i>sydereum</i> ; high mountains that have tops in the clouds: <i>caucasum</i> , <i>Olimpus</i> ; 7 orbs, 7 planets

50r	p.696c-700a	TS. In same state as previous.	<i>celum trinitatis</i> ; equinox; parts of body the planets rule; active/passive; there is water under <i>celum empyreum</i> and over <i>celum sydereum</i>
50v	p.700a-703b	TS. In same state as previous. Skips ~3 lines in 50vb (similar phrases).	<i>aqua</i> continued; " <i>ut ait Ysidorus, Beda et ymago mundi</i> "; difference between aer/ether
51r	p.703b-706a	TS. In same state as previous. ~31 lines missing middle 51ra. Note in bottom margin not transcribed, no note.	<i>vita corporali/vitam spiritualem</i> , religious, Bible refs.; Macrobius, poles; definitions: <i>evi, temporis, mundi, seculi, anni, mensis, edomade, necuon</i> (Meier), <i>forme, spere, zodiaci</i>
51v	p.706a-709c	TS. In same state as previous. Marginal corrections included.	many Bible references; definitions: <i>tempus, athomus, momentum, untia, pars, minutum, punctum, semis, bissa, hora, gradus, quadrans, annus, etas, dies</i>
52r	p.709c-713c	TS. In same state as previous. Column change not marked.	<i>dies</i> continued, artificial and natural, Donatus ref.; quite religious; night; <i>ebdomada</i>
52v	p.713c-717a	TS. In same state as previous. Example of typo/misreading: <i>amorum</i> for <i>annorum</i>	<i>ebdomada</i> continued; 7 ages; flood, Noah's ark, various disasters through the ages; definitions: <i>mensis, vicissitudo, ciclus/circulus, annis solis</i>
53r	p.717a-720c	TS. In same state as previous.	months continued, lunar months; Venerable Bede
53v	p.720c-724a	TS. In same state as previous. Some typos.	astrolabe; phylosophus ref x2; zodiac; Ptolemy (? " <i>secundum tholomeum</i> "); <i>seculum</i>

54r	p.724a-727a	TS. In same state as previous. Chart in LI noted in Meier: "Den Raum v.23 Zeilen füllt eine Figur aus."	content continued; " <i>de mensura numeri milliariorum</i> " (big rubricated title); vocabulary differences (Greek, Gallic, Egyptian, Persian); "via"; Alfagrani, Pytagore; " <i>raby moyses magnus phylosophus</i> "; "thou" and "bohu" (bobu?); Pythagoras on the sphere; Ptholomeum in Almagesto (earth turning); Pythagoras (earth to Moon = 126 milia stadia)
54v	p.727a-730b	TS. In same state as previous. Marginal corrections included. Note and blank space left for the chart in LI: "Die folgenden 20 Zeilen der Spalte füllt die Figur aus." ~10 lines missing near the bottom of 54vb.	phylosophus, distances between Moon & Earth, Moon & Mercury, Mercury & Venus, Venus & Sun, Sun & Mars, Mars & Juppiter, Juppiter & Saturn, Saturn & zodiac, zodiac & <i>emphyreo</i> , <i>emphyreo & decimum celum</i> (with God); Alphagranus, distances from Earth to Moon, Earth to Mercury, Earth to Sun, etc., latitudes (<i>celi lune</i> , <i>celi mercurii</i> , etc), chart.; Why the signs are named after animals
55r	p.730b-733c	TS. In same state as previous. End of 55r/start of 55v not marked.	zodiac continued; what people are like born under certain things; Aries (each has explanation, then ' <i>alia opinio</i> ' then more)
55v	p.733c-737a	TS. In same state as previous. Marginal corrections included. Bottom of 55va missing words, folio in rough shape.	Taurus, Gemini, Cancer
56r	p.737a-741a	TS. In same state as previous. Marginal corrections included. P.740 b and c are bound in the wrong order, content goes p.740acb.	Cancer continued, Leo, Virgo
56v	p.741a-744b	TS. In same state as previous.	Virgo continued, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius
57r	p.744b-747c	TS. In same state as previous. Marginal corrections included. Some typos.	Sagittarius continued, Capricorn, Aquarius

57v	p.747c-751b	TS. In same state as previous.	Aquarius continued, Pisces; elements - " <i>elementorum quo notatur quod unum elementorum</i> " - animals that live in 1 element
58r	p.751b-754a	TS. In same state as previous. Ex. of the odd misreading: <i>hiket</i> for <i>licet</i> . Bottom of 58ra has a note, included in Meier with this: "Die letzten 1 1/2 Zeilen der 1.Spalte sind unbeschrieben Unter der Spalte: [transcription of note]". Marginal corrections included. Figure marked with note but no blank space left for it: Die ersten 25 Zeilen der 2.Spalte füllt die Figur.	content continued; <i>hora/punctus</i> ; animals + elements, e.g. bird + air; 4 animals live from 1 element: <i>calpa</i> (earth), <i>alec</i> (water), <i>camaleon</i> (air), <i>salamandra</i> (fire); position of 7 planets under <i>firmamento celi</i> and their course
58v	p.754a-757b	TS. In same state as previous.	motion of planets continued; how long it takes for planets to complete their courses; <i>domo naturalis/artificialis</i> ; <i>cicli 12 signorum et de ipsorum varietate per 4 estates anni</i> : spring, summer, autumn, winter
59r	p.757b-760c	TS. In same state as previous. Marginal corrections included.	seasons continued; verse to know which months are in which season; solstices/equinoxes - dates and seasons; zodiac signs at certain times (?)
59v	p.760c-764a	TS. In same state as previous.	mutation of the year, can say first year, second year, etc. up to 19 (seems to have to do with the Moon): <i>primus anno, secundus, tertius, quartus, quintus</i> , 6th, 7th, 8th (longer description than others), 9-19th all short entries
60r	p.764a-767c **several //	TS. In same state as previous. Skips ~3 lines. Marginal corrections included. Marginal note 60ra transcribed in Meier in text between <i>//..//</i> (where it's supposed to go). Some missed words. Big marginal correction bottom 60ra marked in Meier with <i>//..//</i> too.	golden number (continued from the end of 59v); <i>cicli solis</i> ; <i>prognosticationis solis ex sui demonstratione in ortu vel occasu aut meridie dicit enim phylosophus</i> ; "if the sun..." time/appearance

60v	p.767c-770d	TS. In same state as previous. Skipped two of the verses.	verses on <i>pronosticis solis; de noticia eorum que de sole investigantur a phylosophis cursu magnitudine natura et defectu</i> ; Boetius; eclipse of the sun - Alphagranus
61r	p.770d-774b	TS. In same state as previous. E.g. of typo: -irum instead of -orum. Missing word. A few words repeated. A few uncertain blanks left. Skipped a line.	eclipse continued, epicycles, <i>quantitatis que est inter horas eclipsis</i> , refs: Alphagranus, Vergil, Aristotle, Psalmista, Dyonisius
61v	p.774b-777c	TS. In same state as previous. Correction written in later hand, hard to read - left blank in Meier. A few other hard to read words left blank. Marginal corrections included. Two missing lines (one case both start with "in", other both with "corporis enim"). Large marginal note across the bottom of both columns not transcribed.	Ref. to Alexandri Magni, Ptolemy, St. Basil
62r	p.778a-781c	TS. In same state as previous. Charts in MS included.	letters (a-g); charts; <i>de concurrentibus</i>
62v	p.781c-785a	TS. In same state as previous.	Prophete Iosue; calendar cont'd (feast of St. Matthew); leap day; 5 circles of the world or 5 zones
63r	p.785a-788c	TS. In same state as previous. Second table, two columns not transcribed.	ref. to Dionisius philosophus
63v	p.788c-794	TS. In same state as previous. A few words missing (bottom ~7 lines of both columns very faded)	ascension of the Moon; Vergil ref.; <i>Anatholius grecus episcopus</i> ref.; <i>quo scitur quot horis luna luceat super terram</i>
64r	p.794-799c	TS. In same state as previous. Drawing noted: Den Raum v. 24 Zeilen d. Spalte nimmt die Figur ein. Last ~11 lines in both columns very faded, gone over in later ink, hard to read.	hours Moon shines for cont'd e.g. "Moon in fourth day shines five hours"; <i>prognoscticationis lune secundus quod in signis et apparet in celo tam in etate defectus quam augmenti</i>

64v	p.799c-803b; Vol.3 ends p.800c, Vol.4 starts middle first column 64va	TS. In same state as previous.	cont'd.
65r	p.803b-807b	TS. In same state as previous.	Moon cont'd; when Moon is prone/supine/erect; <i>de notitia effective potentie lune</i> , ref. " <i>beatus antistes ambrosius</i> " x2, ref. <i>canticis Salomon; lune pro incisione</i>
65v	p.807b-811c	TS. In same state as previous.	planting; <i>concordie maris et lune; saltus lune</i>
66r	p.811c-816a	TS. In same state as previous. Marginal corrections included. Transcribed same half line twice.	<i>saltus lune</i> cont'd
66v	p.816a-820c	TS. In same state as previous. Missed ~1 line.	<i>embolismus, embolismalis</i>
67r	p.820c-825a	TS. In same state as previous. Missed ~2 lines, ~1.5 lines.	<i>lunatio</i>
67v	p.825a-829c	TS. In same state as previous. Missed ~.5 lines	cont'd.

68r	p.829c-833	TS. In same state as previous.	Moon (<i>etatem, kalends</i> , months); verses on: 4 seasons according to church/astrologers/physicos, 7 days of the week, 12 months of the year, 12 <i>signorum celi</i> , concordance of 12 signs with 4 elements, 4 <i>reuniorum anni que dicuntur 4 tempora</i> , solstice and equinox, number of days in the months, # <i>nonarum yduum + kallendarum mensium anni</i> , which letter begins each month, Egyptian days (start and end of months), <i>hora puncti dierum egyptiacorum, principii signorum in regimine mensium</i>
68v	p.833-836b	TS. In same state as previous.	verses on: <i>sperre celi cursus planetarum et ymaginum, ordinis mensis</i> , why the months have their names, Egyptian days through 12 months and <i>officiorum mensium</i> ; a section for each month Jan.-Dec.
69r	p.836b-838a	TS. In same state as previous. Whole 2nd column blank in folio, big blank space left in Meier (picture never put in?)	verses on: <i>bisexti + festum apostoli celebrandi</i> , in which year ' <i>bisextus currit</i> ', <i>litere que currit pro dominica omni anno solis que sunt 28, terminum septuagesime/claudenti alleluia</i> , resurrection of Lord, names of the 4 evangelists, Christ before the cross, days in which shouldn't eat ' <i>anser nec floboto mari nec ad mercatum quis ire</i> '; <i>Noticia phylosophorum antiquorum de virtute dierum quarti anni</i>
69v	cut out	N/A (no note about this in Meier)	N/A

70r	p.838b-842c	TS. In same state as previous. Marginal corrections included. Spaces left blank in LI (pictures never finished?) no note about this in Meier. Note on bottom margin in LI, doesn't seem included anywhere in Meier.	waxing and waning of moon; <i>dicit enim Galienus 'vita brevis, ars longa'</i> ; phases of Moon; Yssidorus; <i>cursus luni per signa celi</i>
70v	p.842c-847a	TS. In same state as previous. Some corrections. p.844s out of order, content goes 844bca	Moon continued - lots of numbers, multiplication, technical; <i>principii anni secundum situs regionum mundi + mores diversarum gentium totius orbis terre</i>
71r	p.847a-852a	TS. In same state as previous. Chart transcribed in Meier.	continued from 70v: <i>apud hebreos, apud egyptios, apud numa + cumanos, apud romanos, apud archades, apud archanos, apud ianines, apud quosdam; egyptii diem, romani diem, athenienses diem</i> ; times of festivals e.g. Easter (?); table: <i>inveniend parca secundum indeos cum per suum pasca facile inveniatur nostrum</i>
71v	p.852a-857b	TS. In same state as previous.	<i>brevis cognitionis 12 months and quare sunt attributi 12 signis celi</i> , why they're named; section for each month, some have a lot more explanation than others (e.g. January, 2 modis: <i>sub ydolo + sub re</i> , explanations of both; July - Julius Caesar; August - Octavian; October " <i>dictus ab octo et ymbre</i> "); starts months over again at March + Aries, goes through with the signs; <i>notula doctrinalis</i> ; months according to: Latins, Greeks, Hebrews, Egyptians, English (<i>anglicos</i>), Arabs.

72r	p.857b-862a	TS. In same state as previous. Column change not marked.	<i>inquisitionis divisionum temporis per minutias conpoti</i> ; very technical - <i>athomos, puncti, momenti</i> , like in the astrolabe section earlier; divisions of time: 14 from <i>athomos</i> to <i>seculum</i> ; Ysidorus; " <i>de notitia prognosticorum</i> " (really long rubricated title, not signed like other titles, has " <i>Rubrica ita scribes</i> "; Plato, Socrates, Aristotle, Averois, Pitagoras, etc.; knowing the future; geomancy, alchemy (denouncing them?))
72v	p.862-867	MS. Two p.862s, one TS and one MS, with doubled information. MS has source footnotes started but not completed, e.g. psalms ref with no note.	<i>malum capud</i> (?); religious, Bible references e.g. Abel and Cain
73r	p.867-872	MS. Critical apparatus not started for any of the MS pages, no notes about different MSS, some source notes and lots of correction notes. No more double or triple page numbers in MS pages. MS pages have side margin with the mini titles from MS in the margin too.	<i>portentis futuorum per certa signa</i> : Sun, Moon, stars, air, water, earth, men, birds, beasts, fish, trees and herbs; when a <i>stella caudata</i> appears, comets; portents of fertility; portents of danger
73v	p.872-876	MS. Missed ~1 line.	signs/significance in hours (?), phylophys; stars/signs; <i>ortu pliadum, ortu canis, ortu orionis</i> ; astrology is often wrong: astrologer didn't consider the influence of ymagines; goes through the months starting with March, April, May
74r	p.876-882	MS. Blank space end of 74ra noted in Meier. Figure at bottom of 74rb not noted.	months continued, June; <i>theorica planetarum: pars eccentrici circuli, duo loca circuli, arcus zodiaci, motus soli, equatio solis, augmentum solis</i>

74v	p.882-886	MS. Blank space at bottom of 74va, no note in Meier. Start of critical apparatus p.883-4. Big chart/figure end of 74vb, no note or space in Meier.	Moon, <i>epicycles, excentricus; medio motu</i> (Moon)
75r	p.886-893	MS. No comment/space in Meier for figure in 75ra. Rubricated title not transcribed (x2). Column break not marked. Paragraphs stop being marked with C; end of folio not marked. 2 little notes in bottom margin not transcribed (as far as I can tell).	geuzaar ?; <i>caput/cauda draconis</i> ; Saturn, Jupiter, Mars (3 superior planets); <i>epicycles; medio motu</i>
75v	p.893-897	MS. Space left blank where chart is in 75va but no note. No column break marker. Little symbols not included in Meier, no note. No end of folio marker. No note or space left for chart at end of 75vb.	epicycles continued; Venus and Mercury
76r	p.897-906	MS. No more column or folio break markers from here to the end. Rubricated title not transcribed but space left for it. No note or space for the chart bottom of 76ra. Blank space left at the bottom of 76rb, no note.	epicycles etc. continued; <i>de medio motu</i>
76v	p.907-911	MS. No space or note regarding large chart at beginning of folio. Nothing about large table/note at bottom of folio.	retrograde motion
77r	p.911-922	MS. Marginal corrections included. P.913 is an insert - content goes from p.912 to 914 with no break, p.913 is an incomplete transcription of the table at the bottom of 76v. Two p.915s, first one has a bit more on it, p.916 continues from where the first 915 leaves off. Two p.916s, p.917 continues from the second one. All information is there with some doubled.	content continued from 76v; how to use astronomical tables (?)
77v	p.922-932	MS. Heavily damaged folio. Rubricated title not transcribed. Interlinear notes (77vb) noted.	<i>explicit rethorica planetarum</i> ; order of the fixed stars and ymaginum and constellations; which part of the sky the ymagines are in; <i>ordo stellarum</i> , 1st-6th; ymagines, ursa minor/maior, draco, hercules, etc., up to 26
78r	p.932-939	MS. The odd word missing. Rubricated title not transcribed. Ends completely randomly in the middle of a sentence 11.5 lines before the end of 78r	ymagines continued, 27-36; spirits tempting souls; ymagines and signs

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