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WARBURG INSTITUTE
SURVEYS AND TEXTS

XVIII

THE ALCHEMICAL CORPUS
ATTRIBUTED TO RAYMOND LULL

BY

MICHELA PEREIRA



THE WARBURG INSTITUTE
UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

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Edited by Jill Krayer and W. F. Ryan

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1989

IN MEMORIAM
CHARLES B. SCHMITT

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Preface

In 1983, while I was at the Warburg Institute as a Frances Yates Fellow, I began a new research project on the corpus of alchemical writings attributed to Raymond Lull. The late Charles B. Schmitt showed great interest in this work and before my departure from the Institute suggested I attempt to do a complete survey of the corpus. His idea has now become a reality, but too late for him to see it fulfilled. He had patiently followed my long—and sometimes discouraging—work, helping me in many ways and eventually reading the first draft of the Introduction, which he annotated with dozens of suggestions. A few weeks after receiving his last letter, I learned that he had died suddenly in Padua. It is with gratitude and sorrow that I dedicate this book to his memory.

Many people have helped me during the years this work has taken. Chiara Crisciani has energetically discussed with me so many passages and ideas that I cannot thank her for each detail separately. Fernando Dominguez y Reboira generously gave me material and suggestions which have made the Catalogue of Works much more complete. Lola Badia, Barbara Spaggiari Perugi, Paola Zambelli and Stefano Zamponi read the first draft of the Introduction and gave me their friendly assistance and valuable advice. The editors of the series Warburg Institute Surveys and Texts, Jill Krave and W. F. Ryan, revised and typeset the text with great care; and the Director of the Warburg Institute, J. B. Trapp, has given his unfailing support. I cannot mention here the names of all the friends and colleagues who have discussed individual points with me, often giving valuable answers to my uncertain questions; but to each of them I offer my deepest thanks.

I owe a great deal to many librarians, but I especially want to thank those of the Warburg Institute and the Wellcome Medical Library in London, and of the Facoltà di lettere e filosofia of the University of Florence. This research has been supported by grants of the Italian Ministero della pubblica istruzione (Stanziamenti 60%) for the years 1983–4, 1984–5 and 1985–6.

Florence

Michela Pereira
1989

Introduction

The pseudo-Lullian alchemical corpus is a large and complex collection of writings, many of which are attributed to Raymond Lull by old and well-established manuscript traditions. A considerable number, however, seem to have been drawn into the corpus by a variety of different factors: similarity of the alchemical procedures described, the use of alphabets or figures, or even the mere fact of being copied together with pseudo-Lullian works in one or more manuscripts. Though we can tentatively trace the processes through which this corpus of writings expanded to 143 works (the number discussed below in the Catalogue), it is much more difficult—in fact, at the moment impossible—to find the source of the original nucleus of writings.¹ Indeed, as we shall see, it is not even certain that the works from which the pseudo-Lullian alchemical corpus derived were originally ascribed to Lull intentionally.² However such attributions came about, they were made quite early: we find pseudo-Lullian manuscript miscellanies from the very beginning of the fifteenth century.³

This survey is not—nor can it be—a complete history of the origin and formation of the pseudo-Lullian alchemical corpus.⁴ It is an attempt to reconsider the subject, but it cannot fill in many of the large gaps in our knowledge which result from the absence of historical documents and in particular from the lack of critical editions of a number of important texts in the collection. I have assembled all available data concerning individual works, manuscript miscellanies, printed editions and historical testimonies in order to bring together and make available to scholars as much material as possible. I shall also offer some tentative hypotheses about the formation of the corpus.

None of the alchemical writings traditionally attributed to Lull can now be plausibly ascribed to him. After the research done by nineteenth-century scholars such as F. Weyler y Lavinha, J. R. de Luanco, M. Menéndez y Pelayo, M. Littré, B. Hauréau and F. de Bofarull y Sans, there is no longer any question of the works being authentic.⁵ These authors, as well as their more recent followers, based their conclusions primarily on Lull's negative attitude towards alchemy.⁶

¹ The idea of an 'original nucleus' was launched by Thorndike, *History*, IV, ch. 38; recently Halleux, *Les Textes*, pp. 107–8, has drawn attention to Thorndike's views.

² It is difficult to apply the distinction drawn by Halleux, *Les Textes*, pp. 97–100, between 'pseudépigraphe intentionnelle' and 'pseudépigraphe accidentelle' to the pseudo-Lullian corpus. Not only is the status of works in Sections II and III in the Catalogue for the most part uncertain, even the *Testamentum* and *Liber lapidarii* cannot be securely assigned to one or another of these categories (see below, p. 7).

³ Hitherto the most complete sources for pseudo-Lullian alchemical manuscripts have been: Hauréau and Littré, 'Raimond Lulle', pp. 64–5, 271–92, 370–86; Singer, *Catalogue*, I, pp. 221–59 and III, pp. 1143–56; Thorndike, *History*, IV, pp. 619–52. Some valuable observations may also be found in Luanco, *La alquimia*.

⁴ In addition to the studies cited above (nn. 1 and 3), this problem is discussed by Luanco, *Ramon Lull*; Carreras y Artau, *Filosofía*, II, ch. 4; García Font, *Historia*, pp. 128–41.

⁵ See Weyler y Lavinha, *Raimundo Lulio*, pp. 361–479; Luanco, *Ramon Lull*; Menéndez y Pelayo, *La ciencia*, III, pp. 240–1; Hauréau and Littré, 'Raimond Lulle'; and Bofarull y Sans, *El testamento*.

⁶ Since the publication of Luanco, *Ramon Lull* (based on the eighteenth-century polemics of Sollier and Custerer against pseudo-Lullian alchemy: see below, Chapter 4.1 and 4.3), attention has been drawn to many passages in Lull's authentic works in which alchemy is sharply criticized. The most relevant of these are: *Liber principiorum medicinae* (1273–5), VI.20; *Felix* (1278–9), VI.33 and 36; *Quaestiones per artem demonstrativam solubiles* (1289–90), qq. 165–6; *Ars generalis ultima* (1305–8), XI, 5.11. ch. 52; *Liber de ente*

Another argument generally used to deny that Lull could have written these alchemical works is their dating: with one exception, all the dated works are ascribed to the years after Lull's death in 1315. It was on this ground that eighteenth-century scholars based their severe criticism of pseudo-Lullian alchemical texts.⁷ This argument has, however, to be briefly reconsidered: not to reopen the debate about their possible Lullian authorship, but rather so that it can be used as evidence for the various stages of the formation of the corpus. Thorndike has argued that since there could no be logical motive for a forger to give a treatise attributed to Lull a date *after* his death, the dated treatises 'are perhaps the work of some other Raymond, who has become confused with Lull, or of followers of Lull, who applied his Art to alchemical problems in the decades immediately following his death'.⁸ If, however, we attempt to classify the dated works, a more complex picture emerges. First of all, the majority of them are clearly forgeries, written late in the sixteenth century.⁹ Yet these works give, in detailed colophons, dates which are near to that found in the *Testamentum* (1332).¹⁰ The date of the *Liber de secretis naturae seu de quinta essentia*, whether it is 1319 or 1330/33, as given in a smaller number of manuscripts, is a patent forgery since the text is clearly dependent upon John of Rupescissa's *De consideratione quintae essentiae*, written about the middle of the fourteenth century.¹¹ Also suspect is the date 1309 which appears in the colophon of the *Liber de investigatione secreti occulti*, for the alchemical *Codicillus* is cited within it, which means that it must have been composed after the appearance of the first alchemical titles attributed to Lull.¹² In all these works (others are dated, but not in as many manuscripts) we note the conjunction of an explicit attribution to Lull with a date which is more or less in accordance with facts known about his life and works. I suspect, therefore, that this ought to be considered as a sure sign both of intentional forgery and of rather late composition. As we shall see, there is no evidence that Lull was considered to be an alchemist before the 1370s.¹³

reali et rationis (1311), ch. 'De metallo'; *Liber de novo modo demonstrandi*, dist. V, III, q. 10. More subtle opinions are, however, expressed elsewhere. Lull was aware of the work of alchemists and seems at times to have taken it into account: see *Liber contemplationis* (1271–3), ch. 31.23; *Liber demonstrationum* (1273–5), II.12, 17 and 22; *Arbor scientiae* (1296), q. 56; *Tractatus novus de astronomia* (1297), 3.1.3 (21), 3.1.6 (25), 5.2.(9); *Quaestiones magistri Thomae Atrebatensis* (1299), qq. 25 and 28. For editions and/or manuscripts of the works cited, see Platzeck, *Raimond Lull*, II, pp. 3*–118*; and Bonner's catalogue in his translation of Lull, *Selected Works*, II, pp. 1257–1304. Lull's negative attitude towards alchemy has been stressed by Llinarès, 'Les Conceptions', who focuses on the passage concerning alchemy in the *Felix*. On the other hand, Yates, 'Art of Ramon Lull', p. 37, suggested that this passage was parallel to the polemics against 'falsos astronomos' in the prologue to the *Tractatus novus de astronomia*. Having carefully considered both sides of the argument, I feel that I must reject her view. Although Halleux, *Les Textes*, p. 100, warns that a negative attitude to alchemy in the authentic works is 'un critère qu'il faut utiliser avec prudence, car il refuse au savant médiéval la possibilité de changer d'avis au cours d'une existence qui fut souvent longue', the slight changes found in Lull's writings indicate not a conversion to alchemy but, on the contrary, an increasing, or at any rate increasingly explicit, rejection of it.

⁷ See below, Chapter 4.1.

⁸ Thorndike, *History*, IV, pp. 13–14.

⁹ See below, Chapter 2.5.

¹⁰ Thorndike, *History*, IV, pp. 11–13.

¹¹ See below, Chapter 1.3.

¹² See below, Chapter 1.5.

¹³ See below, Chapter 3.2.

One work, however, contains a date without an explicit attribution to Lull: the *Testamentum* is dated in a lengthy colophon to 1332,¹⁴ although a part of it, the *Liber Mercuriorum*, is said to have been composed in Milan during 1333. The year 1332 is confirmed by several manuscripts, whose extended colophons refer to its translation into Latin in 1443 and 1455.¹⁵ The contents of the *Testamentum* do not contradict this dating: it contains only a few quotations from early-fourteenth century alchemical works, though an exception might be the citation of the *Rosarius* attributed to Arnald of Villanova and the references to 'Arnaldian' alchemical teaching.¹⁶ There are no traces of the legend of Lull the alchemist, nor any other element which might lead us to believe that Lull himself had already gained fame from the spread of alchemical writings under his name. On the other hand, we know that alchemy was flourishing at the time in England, where the work was composed, according to its colophon,¹⁷ as well as in Catalonia, to which the Catalan text points.¹⁸ King 'Edward of Woodstock' could be Edward III (1327–77), who protected many alchemists during his long reign.¹⁹ Nonetheless, there is no sure evidence for the date 1332, and no fourteenth-century manuscript of this work has been found. In fact, as Bohigas rightly noted, for the moment the only date about which we can be certain is 1443, when the

¹⁴ The colophon is printed in Manget, *Bibliotheca*, I, p. 822, where the last book of the *Testamentum* is erroneously printed as the second part of the *Testamentum novissimum* (see below, Chapter 1.1): 'Factum habemus nostrum Testamentum per virtutem de A in insula Angliae Terrae, in ecclesia sanctae Catharinae apud Londinenses, versus partem castelli ante cameram, regnante Eduardo per Dei gratiam, in cuius manibus ponimus in custodia per voluntatem de A praesens Testamentum, anno post Incarnacionem millesimo trecentesimo trigesimo secundo cum omnibus suis voluminibus, quae nominata sunt in praesenti Testamento, cum Cantilena quae sequitur ad praesens'. The text is confirmed by most of the fifteenth-century manuscripts, with some slight differences and two important variants: 'ante cameram' is often 'ante Tamisiam'; and the king is named 'Eduardo de Woodstock'; but see below, n. 19.

¹⁵ See MS Oxford, Corpus Christi College 244, fols 80^v-81^r; the colophon is given in both Catalan and Latin, as is the text itself; the Latin colophon is followed by these words: 'Translatum fuit presens Testamentum de lingua cathalonica in latinam anno gratie 1443 sexto Junii per Lambertum [blank space] apud Londonium in prioratu Sancti Bartholomei. Et quoniam predicta translacio mihi Johanni Kirkeby in multis non placuit, conscripsi manu mea proprie capitulatum Testamentum in utraque lingua ad maiorem lucem veritatis percipiendam et finivi anno gratie 1455 secundum computationem Romane ecclesie mensis Marcii die VII incompleto hora quasi undecima ante meridiem'. Lambert's translation is also recorded in the later MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1483, fol. 260^r: 'Translatum fuit presens Testamentum de lingua cathalonica in latinam anno domini 1443 6 Junii per Lambertum G. apud Londonium in prioratu Sancti Bartholomei. Finis libri'. See Bohigas, 'El repertori', pp. 28–36. The enlarged colophon was first noted by Batista y Roca, *Catàlech*, p. 46. See *Alchemy and the Occult*, III, p. 88: the reference to the translation in the colophon of MS Yale, Beinecke Library, Mellon Collection 12, fol. 132^r, runs: 'Translatum fuit presens Testamentum de lingua catalanica in latinum anno domini 1443 6^o Junii et cetera'. See also Singer, *Catalogue*, I, p. 244.

¹⁶ Whether or not one accepts Arnald as author of the *Rosarius* (see below, n. 22), the origin of this text dates back to a fourteenth-century tradition; see Berthelot, 'Sur quelques écrits', p. 354; and also Payen, 'Flos florum', who denies the attribution to Arnald. To these views, I can add: first, the alchemical practice of the *Rosarius* is very similar to that described in the *Testamentum*; and second, the latter's unknown author recognizes his debt both to the *Rosarius* and to Arnald as an alchemist.

¹⁷ The activity of alchemists in fourteenth- and fifteenth-century England is discussed by Singer, *Catalogue*, III, pp. 777 ff.; see also Thorndike, *History*, III and IV, passim.

¹⁸ In addition to Luanco, *La alquimia*, see Beaujouan, *La Science* and, for the activity of Catalan alchemists, Rubió y Lluch, *Documents*, I, p. 239 (Mestre Angel de Francavilla from Tortosa) and p. 319 (Bernardus and Joannes de Ulzinellis and Gabriel Mayol).

¹⁹ The spelling of the king's birthplace varies in the manuscripts: apart from Woodstock, we find Mridenstot (MS Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, II iii 27), Windstot and Windstot (MS Barcelona, BC 1728), Wodestoke (MS Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 244). Carreras y Artau, *Filosofía*, II, p. 51, do not fully accept the identification with Edward III; but, according to a personal communication by Linda Voigts, whom I thank, Woodstock was a royal hunting lodge and residence going back at least to Henry II, and Edward's sister was known as Mary of Woodstock.

work was translated into Latin in England. But 1332 is probably not far off from the true date of composition of the original Catalan *Testamentum*, since it is cited in the *Liber de secretis naturae seu de quinta essentia*, written during the second half of the fourteenth century.²⁰ This does not, however, imply anything about the original attribution of the work to Lull, as I shall demonstrate more fully below.

We must therefore conclude that neither the dated works nor the statements about alchemy in Lull's genuine works can give us much help in understanding how the pseudo-Lullian alchemical corpus took shape. Some recent scholars have argued that it emerged during the fourteenth century in the circles of the Valencian Beghards and Spirituals who adopted Lullian philosophy and theology, producing several apocryphal works on these subjects.²¹ The link between pseudo-Lullian alchemy and the corpus of writings attributed to Arnald of Villanova would seem to reinforce this hypothesis—but the state of our knowledge about the alchemical writings which circulated under Arnald's name is too limited to enable us to affirm anything on these grounds.²² There is, however, an argument which strongly contradicts this account of the origin of pseudo-Lullian alchemy: the silence of Nicolas Eymeric on the supposed alchemical activities of fourteenth-century Lullists.²³ Although Eymeric conducted a fierce polemic against Lullists and alchemists, nowhere in his works does he connect these two groups.²⁴ We do not in fact know which alchemists his late *Contra alchimistas* was directed against.²⁵ But it seems unlikely that they can be identified with those Lullists of Valencia who resisted his attacks and opposed his inquisitorial activity. If there had been even the slightest suspicion of alchemical interests on their part, why would he not have made a similar charge against them?

The approach of recent historians who have studied the pseudo-Lullian corpus *per se* may not have yielded immediate results, but it is potentially fruitful. I shall therefore follow their lead, focusing on the following factors which until now have been underestimated: the role of the *Liber de secretis naturae seu de quinta essentia* at the beginning of the pseudo-Lullian alchemical tradition and its

²⁰ See below, Chapter 1.3.

²¹ This is the opinion of Carreras y Artau and García Font. On the original Catalan text see Bohigas, 'El repertori', p. 34.

²² By linking pseudo-Lullian alchemy with the name of Arnald of Villanova we risk falling into a circular argument; for, as Halleux, *Les Textes*, p. 105, states: 'la tradition indirecte qui fait d'Arnaud un adepte repose presque exclusivement sur le témoignage du corpus lullien'. Scholarly views concerning the corpus attributed to Arnald may be grouped into two opposing trends: (1) that of accepting a few works, including the *Rosarius*, as authentic (see Diepgen, 'Studien'); among those who seem to incline towards this opinion, which is based on manuscript attributions, are Thorndike, *History*, III, pp. 52–84; García Font, *Historia*, pp. 103–22; and Halleux, *Les Textes*, pp. 105–6; (2) that of denying that Arnald wrote anything alchemical: see Paniagua, 'Notas'; and also Payen, 'Flos florum'.

²³ Nicolas Eymeric, author of the famous *Directorium inquisitorum*, was the Inquisitor for the Crown of Aragon during the last decades of the fourteenth century. A great part of his activity was directed against the followers of Lull; see his *Contra Lullistas* (MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 1464, fols 73^{ra}-96^{ra}); *Fascinatio Lullistarum* (fols 96^{ra}-100^{rb}); and his letter to Pope Clement VII concerning Lull's doctrinal errors (fols 38^{vb}-72^{rb}). See also Madre, *Die theologische Polemik*; and Ivars, 'Los jurados'.

²⁴ There is a record of a quarrel between Eymeric and a Valencian citizen, Galcerandus Cesfabregues, who had reproached him for having delivered a sermon against scholastic doctors renowned as alchemists: 'die dominica transacta predicastis publice in sede Valentiae de trinitate et reprobastis Aristotilem, Beatum Thomam et Vincentium de ordine predicatorum et Albertum Magnum et plures alios philosophos super alquimia...'; the absence of Lull's name even on this occasion should be emphasized. For the text, see Puig y Oliver, 'El procés'.

²⁵ See Crisciani, 'The *Contra alchimistas*'. The text has now been edited in Matton, 'Le Traité'.

relation to the Lullian attribution of some already existing alchemical works, such as the *Testamentum*, *Liber lapidarii*, *Codicillus* and *Epistola accurtationis* (Chapter 1); the paths by which the corpus was diffused, as witnessed by extant manuscript testimonies of the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which also show how, from a relatively small number of works, the corpus grew and became increasingly more complex (Chapter 2); the gradual appearance of the legend of Lull the alchemist (Chapter 3); and finally, the history of the critical debate surrounding pseudo-Lullian alchemy (Chapter 4).

Chapter 1: Background

1.1 The *Testamentum*

Whatever its actual date of composition, the *Testamentum* is by far the oldest and most important of the alchemical writings attributed to Lull. In printed editions the text is either incomplete or dismembered into separate works. Thus, the *Testamentum* properly so-called consists of only the first and second parts of the complete work (*Theorica* and *Practica*);¹ the *Testamentum ultimum* or *novissimum* contains a first part, which does not belong to the original composition, and a second, the *Practica de furnis*, which does;² while the *Liber mercuriorum*, also part of the original, was printed separately.³ From an analysis of several fifteenth-century Latin manuscripts,⁴ however, it can be established that the *Testamentum* was originally divided into four parts: first, *Theorica*, which was subdivided into *Formae maioris*, corresponding to the prologue and chapters 1–3 of the printed editions, and *Formae minoris*, corresponding to chapters 4 and following; second, *Practica*; third, *Liber mercuriorum*; and fourth, *Practica de furnis*.⁵ These were followed by the *Cantilena*, complete with an alchemical stanza, in which the practical parts of the text are defined according to the moral virtues of prudence, love and patience.⁶ Between the *explicit* of the *Testamentum* and the opening of the *Cantilena*, we find the colophon discussed above in the Introduction.

The author of the *Testamentum* was an experienced alchemist searching for the elixir, the marvellous agent of transmutation and healing, which even fertilized plants and stimulated their growth (*Practica*, chapter 31). He says that the practitioner of alchemy can make gold (*Practica*, chapter 28), not referring at all to the polemics which attacked alchemy as a type of forgery.⁷ Also worth noting

¹ Editions: Köln, 1566 (Rogent and Duràn, *Bibliografía* [hereafter RD] 106); Köln, 1573 (RD 119); Rouen, 1663 (RD 247); in Zetzner, *Theatrum chemicum*, IV; in Manget, *Bibliotheca*, I.

² Editions: Köln, 1566 (RD 107); Basel, 1572 (RD 116), 1600 (RD 147), 1610 (RD 164); Frankfurt, 1630 (RD 202); in Manget, *Bibliotheca*, I. The composition of the Latin text of the *Testamentum* was first discussed by Singer, 'The Alchemical Testamentum'; she changed and corrected her views in her *Catalogue*, III, pp. 1143–56.

³ Editions: Basel, 1561 (RD 99); Köln, 1567 (RD 109).

⁴ Thorndike, *History*, IV, pp. 28–31, discussed Singer's analysis of the work (n. 2 above) and continued it on the basis of the following MSS: Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Palat. 792; Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 5487; Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek 3076; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5846. I have based my own discussion on these, as well as the following MSS: Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, II iii 27 (BR 52); Yale, Beinecke Library, Mellon Collection 12; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 396.

⁵ In at least two manuscripts—Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, II iii 27 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 396—*Practica de furnis* is subdivided into two parts: *Practica de furnis* and *Liber brancharum testamenti* or *Brancae de tinctura*.

⁶ The Catalan text was published by J. Rosselló in his edition of Lull's *Obras rimadas* (Palma de Mallorca, 1859), p. 397. In manuscripts the Latin text follows the colophon of the *Testamentum*; but in printed editions it generally comes after the *Testamentum novissimum*: see above, Introduction, n. 14. In MSS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 465 and Digby 85, the *Cantilena* follows the authentic Lullian *Liber principiorum medicinae*; in the first manuscript this work is said to have been 'compilatus ad inveniendum medicinalis scientie et nature secreta et vocatur apertorium Raimundi'. *Apertorium*, however, is the title of an alchemical work falsely attributed to Lull.

⁷ See Crisciani, 'La *Quaestio de alchimia*'; and Ogrinc, 'Western Society'.

is the absence of any link with the alchemy of John of Rupescissa, although Roger Bacon's theory of the fifth essence is mentioned. It is important to emphasize that our alchemist was not trying to convince his readers that he was Raymond Lull. Although he cites two authentic Lullian works, the *Arbor philosophiae desideratae* and the *Liber principiorum medicinae* (or *De gradibus medicinae*), he never suggests that he was the author of these treatises, claiming rather to have written two other alchemical works, the *Liber de intentione alchemistarum* and the *Liber lapidarii*. The *Testamentum* does, however, employ figures and alphabets similar, though not identical, to those used by Lull himself in his *ars*.⁸ These figures and alphabets are presented as devices for the memorization of the alchemical opus (*Practica*, chapter 2)—a use of Lullism as an 'art of memory' which was already important before the sixteenth-century revival of Lullian philosophy.⁹

The author of the *Testamentum* also shared Lull's desire to reform his own field of knowledge. He was strongly opposed to those who operated empirically, without understanding the reasons behind their work. This attitude was not, however, restricted to Lull; it was common to many natural philosophers—in particular, Roger Bacon—and physicians of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, especially at the medical school of Montpellier. Other themes typical of Montpellier are also present in the *Testamentum*: for example, the explanation of vegetative powers in terms of the action of the *humidum radicale* and *humidum nutrimentale*,¹⁰ as well as discussions of elementary gradation in compound medicines, the void in nature and the influence of the stars on terrestrial affairs, including medicine and alchemy. These all point to a connection with Montpellier and, of course, with Arnaldian medical themes.¹¹ Arnald's name does in fact occur in the *Testamentum*, but it is linked to the *Rosarius* and alchemical processes.

Although I am not going to consider the problem of the authorship of the *Testamentum*—which would, of course, require studying the Catalan text—I would like to point out one feature which might be useful for this purpose. Besides admitting that he is the author of the two alchemical works already mentioned, our alchemist claims to have written a *Liber de reformatione hebraica*.¹² This reference together with the supposed early date of the text and

⁸ This fact led Singer, 'The Alchemical *Testamentum*', p. 45, to wonder 'whether this very close similarity in the form of treatises dealing with such widely dissimilar themes does not suggest dual rather than single authorship, for the alchemical works are almost a parody of the philosophical writings'. The most beautiful examples of figures in the *Testamentum* are found in MSS Yale, Beinecke Library, Mellon Collection 12; Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, II iii 27; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 396; London, Wellcome Medical Library 445.

⁹ Yates, *The Art of Memory*, ch. 8.

¹⁰ The first term is also used in the pseudo-Lullian *Codicillus*, ch. 49, in Manget, *Bibliotheca*, I, p. 894; in the alchemical text *Studio namque florenti* (see Thorndike, *History*, III, pp. 183–4); and, of course, in several later texts. See McVaugh, 'The *Humidum radicale*'. For the use of the second term in Lull's authentic works, see Pereira, 'Le opere mediche', p. 27.

¹¹ See McVaugh's 'Introduction' to Arnaldus de Villanova, *Aphorismi de gradibus*.

¹² This information is given in a passage of the *Practica de furnis* (see below, Catalogue, I.61e) which does not appear in the printed text. See Manget, *Bibliotheca*, I, p. 812, ch. X of the so-called second part of the *Testamentum novissimum*: 'fuit iste proditor, iniquus, reprobus etc. De quo plura verba et scripturas leguntur'. The words I have italicized replace a long tirade against the Jews which occurs in all the manuscripts I have seen (except MS Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 5487, where its absence is indicated in a marginal note); the following quotation from the *Liber de reformatione hebraica* appears in it: 'Sed illa oratio quam

its composition in Catalan may provide valuable evidence for identifying the author.¹³ Another piece of evidence which should be taken into account is the description, in chapter 87 of the *Theorica*, of an alchemical experiment in Naples, where the names of the witnesses are recorded.¹⁴

1.2 Works Closely Associated with the *Testamentum*

As has already been noted, the author of the *Testamentum* cites two of his other alchemical works, the *Liber de intentione alchimistarum* and the *Liber lapidarii*,¹⁵ both of which probably originated in Catalonia or in Southern France, since they appear to have been translated into Latin from Catalan.¹⁶ The first of these texts, the *Liber de intentione alchimistarum*, does not have typically Lullian features. It is a summary of various kinds of *practica*, observed or heard about by the author, who claims to have travelled far and wide in search of the true alchemical science. The sixteenth-century copyist of a pseudo-Lullian alchemical manuscript, who also commented on its contents, expressed doubt concerning the attribution of this work to Lull.¹⁷ In another manuscript, written in Bergamo

faciunt quolibet die contra omnes christianos quam ipsi appellant *Ros asana* sit secundum ipsos. Quia in hac non sunt nisi magnae abusiones quas faciunt per iram condempnatam in eorum mosaica contra nos alios omnes et propterea quia de omnibus istis nos large locuti sumus et fuimus et de omnibus delinquentis ipsorum et de omnibus erroribus ipsorum evidentibus in *libro reformationis* ubi invenies mirabilia per que stat totum secretum eorum condempnatum decelatam. Quapropter apparet quod cum lumen claritatis eis deficit propter defectus eorum proprios tales pagani non possint intueri ad plenum res nature que multum mixtim sunt in scripturis supradictis: MS Oxford, Corpus Christi College 244, fol. 71^r. The parallel Catalan text has been published by Batista y Roca, *Catàlech*, p. 46; the title of the work there is *Libre de reformatio ebraica*. A *Liber de reformatione hebraica* is cited by Sollier and Custerer in *Acta Sanctorum*, V, p. 704, as one of three polemical writings of Lull against the Jews. The work is unidentified: it is not cited from other sources, nor is it listed in the catalogues in Platzeck, *Raimond Lull* and Bonner's translation of Lull, *Selected Works*. See Williams, *Adversus Judaeos*, p. 256. Millás Vallicrosa, *Els manuscrits*, pp. 207–8, gives the Latin text of the passage cited above from MS Toledo, Biblioteca del Cabildo 22–3, fol. 57^r, classifying it as part of a Latin fourteenth-century commentary on biblical texts (I am grateful to F. Dominguez for this reference).

¹³ In 1323 the general chapter of the Dominicans in Barcelona excommunicated alchemists; this fact could shed some light on the fact that an alchemical text composed in Catalan was written (or said to have been written) in London. See *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, II, p. 143; Hauréau, 'Hervé Nédélec', p. 312.

¹⁴ In Manget, *Bibliotheca*, I, p. 758: 'Et pro certo in praesentia et voluntate certorum sociorum argentum vivum vulgare congelavimus per suum menstruale et alias uni de sociis nostris, in cuius eramus societate expresse, quasi ad duas leucas prope Neapolim, in loco in praesentia physici regis et unius fratris de sancto Joannis [sic] de Rhodis et Bernardi de la Bret et aliorum congelari fecimus argentum vivum per suam menstrualement naturam'. Bernard de la Bret is not identified as an alchemist in Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, Thorndike, *History*, etc.; however, the text of the *Testamentum* does not necessarily imply that he was an alchemist.

¹⁵ Both works were published under Lull's name: the first by G. Gratarol in *Verae alchemiae...doctrina*, pp. 139–55; the second in the *Ars aurifera*, but the text does not fully correspond to that found in the oldest manuscripts.

¹⁶ For the *Liber de intentione alchimistarum* see *Verae alchemiae...doctrina*, p. 139: 'Liber Raymundi, ut puto, de intentione alchimistarum et totum continens, ex Gallico in Latinum versus, relictis aliquot verbis Gallicis ex toto ut erant'. Some Provençal terms are in fact found in the text, e.g., an exclamation also used in the *Testamentum*: 'hoc nec ficum valet' (it is not worth a fig). For the *Liber lapidarii* see Thorndike, *History*, IV, p. 45.

¹⁷ MS London, Wellcome Medical Library 384, fol. 63^v: 'Liber de intentione alchimistarum, sed puto non esse Ramondus'. The manuscript was written about 1565 by the friar Johannes Baptista de Assisio. See Moorat, *Catalogue*, I, p. 248.

about 1500 by a certain Octavianus de Spino, the work is ascribed to Bernardus de Grava, the author of a commentary on the Arnaldian *Rosarius*.¹⁸

Both the *Liber de intentione alchimistarum* and the *Testamentum* are cited in the *Liber lapidarii*, apparently a third work by the same author, who also refers to the *Liber mercuriorum*, which he describes as part of the *Testamentum*.¹⁹ The *practica* set out in the *Liber lapidarii* concerns the production of precious stones using *aquae subtiles* and mercury, presided over by celestial influences. The processes described in this work seem to be consistent with the *Practica Testamenti*, where alchemy is defined as having three functions: transmutation, healing and gem-making.²⁰

The production of precious stones is a notable feature of pseudo-Lullian alchemy, at least in its earliest manifestations. It is the focus of such works as the *Compendium animae transmutationis metallorum* and the *Liber de investigatione secreti occulti*. A chapter of the first book of the *Liber de secretis naturae*, which has no parallel in the work of John of Rupescissa, is dedicated to this activity and echoes the *Liber lapidarii*.²¹ William Sedacer, probably the first alchemist to cite Lull explicitly as an alchemical authority,²² devotes a good deal of space in his *Summa sedacina* both to glass-making and to the fabrication of artificial gems. These techniques, although already known to the Egyptians,²³ do not seem to have been discussed as often in other medieval alchemical treatises as they were in the pseudo-Lullian ones.²⁴

As soon as the *Testamentum* began to be accepted as a work by Lull, a number of summaries and commentaries appeared: *Epistola accurtationis*, *Elucidatio testamenti*, *Compendium animae transmutationis metallorum*, *Liber lucis*

¹⁸ MS London, Wellcome Medical Library 758, fol. 65^r: 'Opus magistri Bernardi de Grava de Avinione apud flumen Rodani qui laborabat artem in fenestra ut a nullo comprehenderetur magisterium. Vivebat anno 1419'. The manuscript was copied c. 1500 by 'Octavianus de Spino Bergomensis' (see fols. 26 and 86). The text (fols 65^r-86^v) has also been attributed to Bernardus Trevisanus: see Thorndike, *History*, III, p. 56; IV, pp. 335 and 638; and Thorndike and Kibre, *A Catalogue of Incipits* [hereafter TK] 434. For Bernardus de Grava's authorship of a *Rosarius* commentary, see TK 351. Another Bernardus is the author of a *Gloss* to an unidentified pseudo-Lullian alchemical work: see MSS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 7164 and Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 942. According to TK 624, this *Gloss* is a commentary on the *Compendium animae transmutationis metallorum*; but I think, on the basis of a quick perusal of the manuscripts, that it might instead be a commentary on the *Liber de secretis naturae seu de quinta essentia*.

¹⁹ *Liber lapidarii*, MS Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria 20 (12 busta I cod.9), fol. 12^r: 'prout est declaratum in dicto Testamento et de alchimistarum intentione tractatu, quod brevis composui secundum dictum Testamentum'; at fol. 12^v the *Liber mercuriorum* is cited. There is also a reference to King Edward; see Thorndike, *History*, IV, p. 46.

²⁰ *Testamentum*, 'Practica', ch. 1, in Manget, *Bibliotheca*, I, p. 763: 'mundare et purificare omnes lapides preciosos'; 'omnia humana corpora lapsa et infirma restituere'; 'transmutare omnia metallica corpora in veram lunam, postea in verum solem'.

²¹ *Liber de secretis naturae seu de quinta essentia*, ed. 1518, sig. a v^r.

²² See below, Chapter 3.2.

²³ See *History of Technology*, II, p. 358.

²⁴ This point is not brought out either in Thorndike, *History*, III-IV, or in recent histories of Western alchemy. Pazzini, *Le pietre*, pp. 65-72, emphasizes the connection between the making of artificial gems and glass-making, and also states that 'many treatises' on this subject appeared during the Middle Ages (p. 67); but the only example he cites is one falsely attributed to Thomas Aquinas. A reference to precious stones occurs in Dastin's epistle to Pope John XXII (see below, Chapter 3.2, n. 36), where he compares gold to rubies: Josten, 'The Text', p. 36. See also *Liber alchimalis quem frater Helya edidit apud Fredericum Imperatorem*, MS Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 119, fol. 171^v: 'Incipit liber sextus alkymie fratris Helie quomodo tingantur lapides preciosi et quomodo clarificentur et quomodo ex pluribus...': Patin, 'Un Recueil', p. 104. According to Berthelot, *La Chimie*, I, p. 71, books concerning precious stones are preserved in two alchemical manuscripts of the beginning of the fourteenth century.

mercuriorum, Lucidarium testamenti, Practica medicinalis secundae partis testamenti, Clavicula, Liber artis compendiosae qui vademecum nuncupatur and *Testamentum ultimum* or *novissimum*. These works had different origins and levels of diffusion: some, such as the *Epistola accurtationis*, were relatively early; others, for example the *Clavicula*, although written later, soon became famous and were frequently printed. By far the most important, however, was the *Testamentum ultimum* or *novissimum*.

This work is clearly an attempt to explain (*intelligere*) the ancient *Testamentum* and appears to parallel the 'philological' treatment of pseudo-Lullian writings, which will be discussed later.²⁵ The author takes into account a wide range of writings, some agreeing with the *practica* described in the *Testamentum*, others following the Rupescissan theory and practice of the fifth essence.²⁶ The *Testamentum novissimum*, which attempted to bring together these divergent approaches, became the cornerstone of pseudo-Lullian alchemy in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Perhaps the most famous of the pseudo-Lullian alchemical works is the *Codicillus*. Its author, who cites the *Testamentum* and the *Liber de intentione alchimistarum*, but not the *Liber lapidarii*, as his own works, produces a compendium of the secrets of nature already revealed in the earlier books, giving details, from chapter 12 onwards, of the four stages of the alchemical opus, which is described in terms of the generation of the human body. More important, however, are the theoretical themes dealt with in the preceding chapters: the correspondence between microcosm and macrocosm; the bond of love which ties the entire world together; the need for a *reformatio materiae*; and the spiritual character of the true alchemist who receives illumination from God. Several autobiographical notes, scattered throughout the text, agree for the most part with those found in the *Testamentum*.²⁷ Unlike the *Testamentum*, *Liber lapidarii* and *Liber de intentione alchimistarum*, the *Codicillus* seems to have been originally written in Latin (although, like many pseudo-Lullian works, it was translated into various languages at the end of the fifteenth century and later).²⁸ It appears in the earliest manuscript collections of pseudo-Lullian works, always connected with the *Testamentum*, and its recommendations for practice do not include Rupescissan themes, such as the distillation of the fifth essence of wine. Although generally consistent with the *practica* of the *Testamentum*, no interest is shown in the *pars lapidifica*. Lullian devices (figures and alphabets) are used, but they seem to derive from the *Testamentum* rather than from genuine Lullian works, none of which are cited. The author does not identify himself as Lull in the text. It therefore seems that the *Codicillus* was either a later work by the author of the *Testamentum*, who here included Hermetic themes not explicitly expressed in his previous works, or else the product of someone who accepted

²⁵ See below, Chapter 2.3.

²⁶ See the opening passages in Manget, *Bibliotheca* I, pp. 790–2.

²⁷ See ch. 63, in Manget, *Bibliotheca*, I, p. 908, where the author refers to Arnald of Villanova as his teacher; he also describes himself as imprisoned (*adstrictus vinculis*) and forced to speak, or rather to write, in a foreign language (*aliena lingua*).

²⁸ But see the previous note. Translations of alchemical works written in Latin have not been taken into consideration in this survey.

the type of alchemy expounded in the *Testamentum* but had a somewhat different range of interests.

1.3 The *Liber de secretis naturae*: Main Features

The central work of the pseudo-Lullian alchemical corpus is the *Liber de secretis naturae seu de quinta essentia*. Written before the beginning of the fifteenth century, as the manuscript tradition clearly shows, the *Liber de secretis naturae* consists of a collection of materials, mostly from the *Liber de consideratione quintae essentiae* of John of Rupescissa, which makes 1351–2 the *terminus post quem* for its composition.²⁹ Its text varies considerably in manuscripts and printed editions, and we do not possess a vulgate nor *a fortiori* a critical edition.³⁰ Any attempt to base a hypothesis on the present state of our knowledge must therefore be approached cautiously. I shall nevertheless try to indicate the work's fundamental role within the pseudo-Lullian corpus, as well as its interest for the history of alchemy.³¹

To begin with, the *Liber de secretis naturae* presupposes the existence of a group of alchemical works attributed to Lull, which includes the *Testamentum* and related works,³² along with the *Epistola accurtationis*, a brief piece dedicated to King Robert. Also mentioned are the alchemical *Liber experientorum*—which is not the same as a later text published under Lull's name—and a *De gradibus*. Moreover, the author cites genuine Lullian treatises as works of his own: *Liber principiorum medicinae*, *Liber de regionibus sanitatis et infirmitatum*, *Ars compendiosa medicinae*, *Ars generalis* and, somewhat surprisingly, the lost *Libre de plasent visió*.³³ If we follow the guidelines provided by such citations, we are led to the conclusion that the *Liber de secretis naturae* is the starting-point for the second stage of the formation of the pseudo-Lullian alchemical corpus, a stage characterized by two major features. First, the alchemical practice elaborated in the *Testamentum* and related works was now

²⁹ The oldest known manuscript is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 645; Singer, *Catalogue*, I, pp. 255–6, dates it to the fourteenth century. For the date of Rupescissa's work, see Halleux, 'Les Ouvrages', p. 245.

³⁰ The composite character of the *Liber de secretis naturae* has been recognized by all who have studied it. See the analysis in Thorndike, *History*, IV, pp. 37–45; Halleux, 'Les Ouvrages', pp. 270–3; and Pereira, 'Filosofia naturale', pp. 757–60. The text can, for convenience, be broken down into five parts: (A) prologue; (B) first book; (C) second book; (D) third book or *Tertia distinctio*; (E) epilogue. E was unpublished until 1986: see Pereira, 'Filosofia naturale'. The older printed editions contain the following defective versions of the text: A+B+C edd. Venezia, 1514 and Augsburg, 1518; B+C edd. Strasbourg, 1541 and 1616, and Venezia, 1542; B+C+D edd. Nürnberg, 1546 and Köln, 1567.

³¹ The importance of this work was clearly recognized by the eighteenth-century scholars who investigated pseudo-Lullian alchemy; see below, Chapter 4.3. More recently Cruz Hernández, *El pensamiento*, pp. 313–4, has stressed the difference between the *Testamentum* and the *Liber de secretis naturae* and has pointed out the Lullian features of the latter.

³² See above, Chapter 1.1–2.

³³ Medical works by Lull are cited in the first book, while the *Ars generalis* is referred to in the *Tertia distinctio*. All these books are quoted correctly. The *Libre de plasent visió*, or *Placens visio* as it is called in the opening page of Book V of the *Liber de secretis* (ed. 1518, sig. a iii^r), usually appears in Lullian catalogues as a lost Catalan work. But it is cited only once by Lull, in the *Felix* (VIII.57), and not in the way he usually referred to his own works, but rather as an ideal encyclopedia composed mainly of illustrations. The other references to this treatise appear in the works of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Lullists or in the alchemical catalogue in MS Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 273—where it clearly derives from the text of the *Liber de secretis naturae*. See Bonner, 'Notes', pp. 71–3, who does not mention the passage in the *Liber de secretis naturae*.

united with that based on the fifth essence of wine, recently introduced into Western alchemy by John of Rupescissa. Second, although the legend of Lull the alchemist had yet to arise, alchemical works began to be explicitly attributed to him, provoking an interesting discussion, developed in the Epilogue of the *Liber de secretis naturae*, about the consistency of alchemy with Lull's authentic philosophy of nature.

The *Liber de secretis naturae seu de quinta essentia* has five parts: Prologue, Books I and II (which are parallel to Rupescissa's *De consideratione quintae essentiae*), *Tertia distinctio* and Epilogue. The *Tertia distinctio* includes a section of *Quaestiones*, which is sometimes treated as a fourth book.³⁴ I shall briefly analyse each of these parts, showing that the author intended to impose a unitary structure and flavour on his heterogeneous material.

The Prologue (*incipit*: 'Contristatus erat Raymondus') and Epilogue, or *Disputatio monachi*, provide a kind of framework, the main purpose of which appears to be the insertion of alchemy into the Lullian system. This aim is pursued by means of two dialogues between 'Raymond' and a Benedictine monk. The first, which occurs in the Prologue, presents alchemy as the means to accomplish Lull's programme of converting the infidels;³⁵ while the second, in the Epilogue, demonstrates that alchemy may be considered a part of, or a subsidiary discipline to, Lull's philosophy of nature.³⁶ Both dialogues are written in a genuine Lullian style.³⁷ Although the style of the text as a whole varies somewhat, from the outset one notes continual evidence of an attempt to imitate

³⁴ See MSS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 645 and Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 5509.

³⁵ *Liber de secretis naturae*, ed. 1518, Prologue, sig. i 03^r: 'Multo igitur gaudio affectus est monachus, eo quod Raymundum viderat, quem tanto tempore videre affectabat. Et ait ei monachus: "Iam diu est quod ego audivi te magna scientia esse peritum et arte et etiam tuam artem multum proficere, maxime ad infidelium conversionem, et etiam ad notitiam quamplurimorum secretorum nature que via medicinali ac philosophia attingi possunt. Rogo te igitur Christi amore, ut nobiscum magnam misericordiam facias, ut ex tua arte sive scientia habeamus fructum et ut facias nobis secretissimum compendium de infirmitatum remediis, quoniam noveris nos hic diversimode fore gravatos diversisque generibus infirmitatum torqueri. Insuper, si placet tibi, ut per te reveletur si ars alchimie sit vera, an non, ut homines non cadant de honore suo ad paupertatem et ultimam desperationem. Nam finis artis tue hec est, ut scilicet extirpentur secte et errores ac etiam falsitates... Si tu hoc, quod a te postulo, opere compleveris, ne dubites quod scientia tua consequetur finem propter quem est. Nam et istud oratorum erit forsitan initium illius quod optas."'

³⁶ *Liber de secretis naturae*, Epilogue, in Pereira, 'Filosofia naturale', pp. 766–7. Raymond replies to the monk: "'Nam rogatus a te, ut super ista arte voluissem veritatem declarare, illud iuxta possibilitatem, prout principia naturalia ingrediuntur practicam huius artis, declaravimus. Quae vero est ens et aliquid..." "Raymonde", dixit monachus, "possibile est hoc quod tu dicis. Sed quid dicemus? quia tua ars asserit contrarium, ut patet per *Felicem* et per *Librum entis realis et rationis* et per *Artem magnam* et per *Arborem scientiae* et per caetera multa alia volumina, in quibus asseruisti contrarium huius, quod hic dixisti. Sed scis tu bene, Raimunde, quod ille qui contrariatur arti suae non audiri debet nec sua arte canonizari". Respondit ei Raimundus: "Si tu utique cognovisses principia naturalia et elevasses utique intellectum, scires tu quod in libris artis meae nihil contrarii huius, quod hic designavimus, in eis scribere. Si igitur respiceres discursus huius artis et principiorum meae artis, invenies triangulum viridem inter ambas artes existere sine contrarietate finium principiorum, ut satis per questionarium videre poteris"'.

³⁷ This was recognized by Wadding, *Annales Minorum*, XV: '...Liber autem de secretis naturae et quinta essentia rerum, qui huc etiam spectat, et Lullo falso tribuitur, habet in aliquibus exemplaribus prologum suppositivum a quodam sciolo praefixum, valde similem ei, quem habet liber, cui titulus *Arbor scientiarum*, vere a Raymundo composito...'. This fact, however, seemed to Wadding an insufficient basis for attributing the work to Lull: see below, Chapter 4.1. See also the subscription by Custurer which follows the dialogue between 'Raymond' and the monk in MS Madrid, Biblioteca de la Academia de la Historia, 9–31–8–7117, fol. 111^v: 'Utrum vero ex styli similitudine et principiorum Lullianorum apta conexione, ut volunt Dusseldorpienses Salzinger et Buchels, recte probetur Raymundus huius tractatuli auctor, ac proinde chimiae defensor, peritis iudicandum relinquo'. See Pérez Martínez, 'Fondos lulianos en bibliotecas españolas' (1972), p. 78.

Lull's *modus scribendi*,³⁸ as well as the recurrence of terms and modes of expression used in the Prologue and Epilogue.³⁹

Other features of the text suggest that the author had an institutional medical education: the arrangement of the material; the theoretical explanations presented as necessary preliminaries to the exposition of Rupescissa's findings about the fifth essence; the occasional use of the question-and-answer format between the author and his disciple, who is called *filius*;⁴⁰ the citations (albeit infrequent) of medical *auctoritates*;⁴¹ the author's refusal to adopt the mystical tone characteristic of Rupescissa; and, most importantly, the long passage about the gradation of compound medicines.⁴² It is well known that during the fourteenth century physicians and surgeons began to concern themselves with the use of *aqua vitae*; so an interest in this alchemical practice by a physician would not be unusual.⁴³ We also know that Lull's works on medicine were read and discussed in the medical circles of Catalonia and Southern France during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It is not surprising, therefore, that a physician should have been well trained in the Lullian art.⁴⁴ It should be noted, moreover, that the medical portions of the *Liber de secretis naturae* were the first to be published, as part of a medical collection, in a period when printers did not yet consider alchemy to be an interesting or profitable subject.⁴⁵

Medicine was not, however, the only interest of the author of the *Liber de secretis naturae*. From the very beginning of the text he shows a marked affinity for theories of transmutation, towards which even the use of the fifth essence of wine is ultimately directed. This constitutes the main difference between Book I of the *Liber de secretis naturae* and the first book of Rupescissa's treatise. For

³⁸ *Liber de secretis naturae*, ed. 1518, sig. a iii^r. The opening lines are in the typical style of Lullian *incipits*: 'Deus gloriose, cum tue sublimis bonitatis ac infinite potestatis virtute incipit liber secretorum nature seu quinte essentie'. Six lines down, the *Liber de secretis naturae* is defined as 'imago omnium librorum super his [i.e., alchemical and medical secrets] tractantium', in the same way that the *Ars brevis* was called the *imago* of all books on the Lullian *ars*.

³⁹ E.g., *ibid.*, sig. c i^r: 'Omne elementum vel quecumque alia res appetit esse in maiori perfectione, quam sua natura capere potest, cuius ratione elementorum quodlibet in elementatis appetit quantum punctum simplicem, ut suum contrarium reprimat, vel saltem ei adequetur per resistantiam, ut esse suum non privetur ab individuus. Si igitur aqua per naturam non invenitur in individuus in quarto gradu, sicut in primo, secundo et tertio, aqua non appetit maiorem perfectionem simplicitatis, quam in individuus habere potest, et sic similitudo sue simplicitatis in maiori gradu multiplicata esset ei per naturam odibilem et suum contrarium esset illi amabile, quod est impossibile.' Cf. Epilogue, in Pereira, 'Filosofia naturale', p. 770: 'Praeterea, Raimunde, si alchimia est ens, ens videretur habere maiorem appetitum ad esse peregrinum quam ad esse suum, cuius ratione ens appeteret magis esse aliud quam esse hoc quod est; ratione cuius suum esse esset ei odibile et privatio sui esse esset ei amabile, quod tu, Raimunde, scis bene fore impossibile'. Such arguments cannot be fully developed until we have a critical edition of the entire text.

⁴⁰ See Agrimi and Crisciani, "'Doctus et expertus'". The term *filius*, however, is commonly used in Latin alchemical texts: see Crisciani, 'La *Quaestio de alchimia*'; its use goes back to the tradition of natural *problemata*: see Lawn, *Salernitan Questions*.

⁴¹ *Liber de secretis naturae*, ed. 1518, I, sig. a vi^v: 'Galenus in glosa prognostice'; 'per Joannem Damascenum in libro de simplicibus medicinis'. Lullian medical works are cited at sigs. c iv^v and e iii^r.

⁴² *Ibid.*, sigs. c ii^r-d i^r.

⁴³ See Jacquart, *Le Milieu*, p. 224: 'Un des domaines qu'aborderent sans doute des médecins fut l'alchimie, mais le caractère hermétique et clandestin de la littérature qui lui fut consacré ne permet que de citer hypothétiquement quelques noms, sans aucune certitude'. Among the names one might cite, drawing on Wickersheimer's *Dictionnaire* and Jacquart's *Supplément*, are: Arnald of Villanova, Guillaume de Baufet, William Fabri, Jacques Albin, Jean Saulnier, Philippe Elephant, Thomas de Pisan and Valrand de Busrobert.

⁴⁴ See Pereira, 'Le opere mediche', pp. 20-1. Lull's theory of compound medicines was discussed by the Catalan physician Antonio Ricart.

⁴⁵ See Hirsch, 'The Invention of Printing'; and Thorndike, 'Alchemy'.

Rupescissa the fifth essence was a medicine. Even when he mentioned gold, it was only to reinforce the recognized medical virtues of the fifth essence.⁴⁶ Pseudo-Lull's main interest, however, was in transmutation;⁴⁷ and he seems to have been particularly attracted by alcohol as a means of performing the processes described in the *Testamentum* and related works without having to resort, at least during the first stages, to the always dangerous use of fire.⁴⁸ This method is said to be valid whatever substance is taken as the point of departure, in other words, all organic matter, whether vegetable or animal, is considered effective.⁴⁹ Two elements appropriated from the *Testamentum* introduce further substantial differences from Rupescissa's *De consideratione quintae essentiae*: the claim that the fifth essence is composed of a perfect balance of the four elements, and the frequent replacement of the Rupescissan term *caelum* by *menstruum* or *noster Mercurius* to denote the first agent of the alchemical opus.⁵⁰

Although Rupescissa's second book, dealing with the application of the fifth essence to human healing 'a capite usque ad pedes', forms the basis of the second

⁴⁶ John of Rupescissa, *Liber primus de consideratione quintae essentiae*, canon secundus, p. 22: 'Imago solis [i.e., of gold] ad influendum principium vitae in nobis et ad ornandum caelum nostrum [i.e., the fifth essence of wine]'.

⁴⁷ *Liber de secretis naturae*, ed. 1518, I, sig. a v^v: 'Hoc est in quo omnes laboraverunt inquirentes rem creatam aptam ad finem, qui principaliter possit humanum corpus a corruptibilitate et a putrefactione servare et diminutione, quia hoc est quod omnes naturaliter affectant, numquam mori. *Secundarium ut magisterium transmutationis metallorum et lapidum sit secundum rei veritatem revelatum, cum in quinta essentia vini consistat totum*'. See also sig. b iⁱ: 'Tunc habebis, fili, nostram quintam essentiam, que aliter dicitur mercurius vegetabilis ad tuum libitum, ut applices in magisterio metallorum transmutationis...hec quidem vocatur a philosophis clavis totius artis philosophie.' Both this passage and the italicized sentence in the preceding one have no parallel in Rupescissa's text.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, sig. b iiⁱ: 'Et sic quoque facies in metallis, prius cum nostro menstruo illa resolvere facies sub fimo per unam ebdomadam, et quod menstruum sit acutum cum vegetabilibus, que inferius in questionario dicemus. Postquam vero fili metalla fuerint dissoluta, pone ad distillandum in igne primi gradus et exhibit menstruum, et manebit calx metalli in fundo. Post hoc vero reitera super feces metalli de novo menstruo ad pondera metalli, et pone ad putrefaciendum per mensem cum dimidio, et post hoc distilla, sicut fecisti de vegetabilibus, sed qualibet vice adde novum menstruum super feces. Fili, multe fuerunt opiniones philosophorum in extractione elementorum a mineralibus, sed hic ponere non curamus, quia diversimode tractabimus in tertio libro'. The *Tertia distinctio*, ed. 1546, sig. 62^r, shows that 'menstruum' had two meanings, the first of which is used in the previous passage: 'Menstruum quod est in vegetabilibus est liquor cum quo dissolvuntur metalla, et menstruum quod est in mineralibus dissolvitur a vegetabili. Primum dicitur aqua ardens acuata, secundum quod dicitur argentum vivum de essentia metallorum'.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, sig. b i^v: 'Canon quartus, qui docebit te extrahere quintam essentiam ab omnibus plantis, fructibus et radicibus et carnibus, ovis et sanguine.' Cf. *Testamentum*, 'Theorica', ch. 40, in Manget, *Bibliotheca*, I, p. 732, where the use of gold and silver is clearly preferred to that of organic substances, which are mentioned nowhere else in the text. Organic substances had been used in Western alchemy since the thirteenth-century *Liber sacerdotum*, ed. Berthelot, *La Chimie*, pp. 179–228; see also Ruska, 'Studien'. They were also used in the 1330s by Walter of Odington in his *Icoedron*: see Thorndike, *History*, III, pp. 129 ff. A fierce polemic was directed against them by the author of the *Correctorium alchemistarum*, in Manget, *Bibliotheca*, II, pp. 165–71 and 266–75; see also Thorndike, *History*, III, p. 107. A special case in this 'organic' trend is the pseudo-Lullian *Liber de investigatione secreti occulti*, where urine, and urine alone, is used as the base-matter for the alchemical opus.

⁵⁰ *Liber de secretis naturae*, ed. 1518, I, sig. a vi^v: 'Hanc vero naturam aliqui dixerunt non esse calidam neque humidam nec frigidam nec siccam, ex eo quia de sua natura cum omnibus concordantiam habet, qui vero in hoc erraverunt, contra quos nos formamus hanc rationem [the author attacks Rupescissa, *De consideratione quintae essentiae*, 'Canon secundus', pp. 16–20]... Est igitur quinta essentia composita ex quatuor elementis et in ipsa sunt actualiter omnia elementa cum omnibus suis actibus. Sed omnia in ipsa sunt aggregata in tam subtili materia et in forma tam subtili et tam simplicitati propinqua respectivo modo, sicut in oculo basilisci... Hanc verum naturam philosophi, fili mi, vocaverunt coelum quoniam sicut coelum influit in nobis aliquem calorem, aliquam humiditatem etc., sic quinta essentia in corporibus humanis ad artiste placitum. Et quidam naturam istam ad unum contractam dixerunt menstruum, quia menstrui proprietatem retinet, ut in libro tertio dicemus. Scimus namque istam naturam modernis esse occultam et ipsos poenitus de eius veritate nihil perpendere'.

book of the pseudo-Lullian treatise, the author makes frequent modifications. For instance, he gives a much briefer account of the plague than Rupescissa had done.⁵¹ He also speaks of the surgical use of the fifth essence and of a medicine made by combining it with *cornus unicorni*, neither of which motifs is found in Rupescissa.⁵²

The true originality of the pseudo-Lullian work only becomes evident in the third book, the so-called *Tertia distinctio*, whose difference in character from the Rupescissan parts of the text has led some scholars to consider it an independent text. This is not the case, however, even though many later manuscripts contain only this section.⁵³ There are internal links between the *Tertia distinctio* and the rest of the *Liber de secretis naturae*: explicit citations and implicit reappearances of themes and terms. These provide indisputable evidence that the treatise was intended to be a unified work. Moreover, the oldest extant manuscript and all the most important fifteenth-century alchemical collections contain the complete text.⁵⁴ One problem remains, however, and this concerns the existence of two versions of the *Tertia distinctio*.

The *Tertia distinctio* has two main features. The most obvious and generally known is the use of genuine Lullian devices: figures, such as the tree or *arbor philosophicalis* and the circular *figura S* and *figura individuorum*; alphabets, where each letter corresponds to one alchemical principle; and tables, where the letters are arranged so that the practitioner can find (*invenire*) the true alchemical processes.⁵⁵ This is the most clearly Lullian feature of the entire alchemical corpus which went under his name. The author of the *Liber de secretis naturae* shows a thorough familiarity with the main texts of the *ars combinatoria*, along with a truly Lullian use of its techniques and devices for heuristic purposes, not merely as an aid to memory. Less known, indeed previously unnoticed, is the fact that these devices are applied to two different alchemical procedures. The part referring to the *arbor philosophicalis* is devoted to the alchemical opus accomplished through the fifth essence of wine and, secondarily, through the other organic substances listed in the *figura individuorum*. The part referring to *figura S* describes a more traditional way of preparing the *lapis philosophorum* by means of minerals and metals. These two processes are defined, respectively, as *opus maius* or *regale*, and *opus minus*,⁵⁶ and their arrangement varies in different manuscripts—a clear indication that two versions of the *Tertia distinctio* existed.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, II, canon xiv; cf. Rupescissa, *De consideratione quintae essentiae*, II, canon ix.

⁵² *Liber de secretis naturae*, II, canon xvii and canon viii.

⁵³ For a list of these manuscripts, see Thorndike, *History*, IV, appendix 39, pp. 649–51. In my entry for the *Liber de secretis naturae* (see below, Catalogue I.39), I have not systematically distinguished complete manuscripts from those containing only the *Tertia distinctio* because I was not able to examine all the manuscripts myself.

⁵⁴ See MSS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 645; Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 5485; Cambridge, Trinity College O.3.27; Yale, Beinecke Library, Mellon Collection 12; and Oxford, Corpus Christi College 244. The indexes in MSS Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, II iii 27 and Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 5509 confirm that they contain the complete text. See Pereira, 'Filosofia naturale' and 'Sulla tradizione testuale'.

⁵⁵ Outstanding examples of such figures can be found in the following MSS: Yale, Beinecke Library, Mellon Collection 12; Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, II iii 27; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5847; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 395; Oxford, Corpus Christi College 244. A comparison between the alphabets of the *Liber de secretis naturae* and that of the authentic Lullian *Liber principiorum philosophiae* is set out in Vat. lat. 5847, fol. 67^v.

⁵⁶ *Tertia distinctio*, ed. 1546, fols. 58^v and 72^r.

1.4 The *Liber de secretis naturae*: Textual Problems

There are other textual problems in the *Liber de secretis naturae*, apart from the existence of two versions of the *Tertia distinctio*. The work was transmitted within the relatively linear manuscript tradition of the large collections which, throughout the fifteenth century, formed the standard corpus of pseudo-Lullian alchemical writings.⁵⁷ Outside this tradition, there is scattered evidence of various stages of contamination between Rupescissa's *De consideratione quintae essentiae* and various other alchemical texts: for example, the lost manuscript described by Luanco;⁵⁸ the manuscript once owned by Arnald of Brussels;⁵⁹ and a manuscript in which the first two books are formed by Rupescissa's text, followed by the pseudo-Lullian *Tertia distinctio*.⁶⁰ Halleux, in his careful investigation of the alchemical works by Rupescissa, describes the *De consideratione quintae essentiae* and in particular its 'Lullian' version as a 'texte mouvant'.⁶¹ My own research confirms this and, moreover, leads me to conclude that the pseudo-Lullian text, as preserved in the main fifteenth-century collections, represents one extreme of the variations undergone by this work; but it nevertheless forms a relatively stable branch of the tradition. It is only relatively stable because of the existence of two versions of the *Tertia distinctio*, both copied early in the fifteenth century by the English scribe John Kirkeby,⁶² and because, about a century later, the text was usually copied and printed in a more or less dismembered form. While this latter observation tells us something about the *fortuna* of the *Liber de secretis naturae*, Kirkeby's colophon to MS Oxford, Corpus Christi College 244 sheds light on its origin. For, besides showing that both versions existed from the first half of the fifteenth century, it demonstrates once again, in a way parallel to the colophon of the *Testamentum*, that there was some connection between the Iberian and English alchemical groups. Both versions of the *Tertia distinctio* were also copied in MS Firenze,

⁵⁷ See below, Chapter 2.3.

⁵⁸ Luanco, *La alquimia*, I, pp. 109–38. This manuscript, copied by the otherwise unknown Gonzalo Rodrigo de Passera, contained the pseudo-Lullian *Epistola accurtationis*, preceded by the first two books of Rupescissa's *De consideratione* and a 'liber tertius qui se continet plures tractatus', and followed by various other alchemical texts dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Formerly at the University Library of Oviedo, it was destroyed by fire in 1934: communication from the Director of the Library, Dr Herminia Rodríguez Balbin. According to Luanco, I, pp. 134–7, this manuscript was similar to a Portuguese manuscript dating from the first half of the fifteenth century, owned by Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, which unfortunately now also seems to be lost or unidentified, according to information from Dr Manuel Revuelta Sañudo, Director of the Biblioteca Menéndez y Pelayo at Santander.

⁵⁹ MS Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, Lehigh University Library 1, written 1436 and 1473–90, described by Wilson, 'Catalogue', p. 473 and 'An Alchemical Manuscript'.

⁶⁰ MS Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5847. See Thorndike, *History*, IV, p. 621; and Pérez Martínez, 'Los fondos...Roma'. A similar case is found in MS Mantova, Biblioteca civica, E II 35 (570), written in the fifteenth century: see Agrimi, *Tecnica*, pp. 68–9. The same is probably true for the lost manuscript of the College of Cuenca at Salamanca: see Beaujouan, *Manuscrits scientifiques*, p. 36.

⁶¹ Halleux, 'Les Ouvrages', pp. 242–5 and 268–73. See also Thorndike, *History*, III, pp. 356–7.

⁶² See his note to the text in MS Oxford, Corpus Christi College 244, fol. 107^r. These words follow the explicit of the *Liber de secretis naturae*: 'Finitur hic quantum habere potui de libro quinte essencie transcriptus non parvis expensis de bibliotheca [blank space] Episcopi [blank space] de Regno Portugalie, mihi et alio amico meo transmissum. Et subsequenter addo tertiam et quartam eius distinctiones, prout reperi eas in Anglia, sub forma qua tradebantur regi Edoardo. Nec cuiquam videatur sic me fecisse superfluum, quoniam una trium distinctionum aperit alteram et inter eas, quantum ad multa, est clarioris immo exudentia mutua'.

Biblioteca nazionale centrale, II iii 27. Although the folios containing the first two books of the *Liber de secretis naturae* and the first version of the *Tertia distinctio* have been lost, a very detailed index shows that the scribe, like Kirkeby, had found and copied two different exemplars of this part of the text.⁶³

The second version of the *Tertia distinctio*—I refer to them as first and second merely according to the order in which they appear in the index of the Florentine manuscript, without implying the priority of either—corresponds to that copied by Kirkeby from the ‘exemplar...de regno Portugalie’. It gives a shorter text than the first version and inverts the order in which the elements of the *arbor philosophicalis* and the *figura S* are introduced.⁶⁴ There are also slight discrepancies in the series of questions, which are arranged somewhat differently.⁶⁵ Furthermore, a short treatise called *Liber septem rotarum*, which follows the *Tertia distinctio* in manuscripts of the first version, is completely absent from the second.⁶⁶ Finally, the dialogue between Raymond and the monk is also found in two different versions: one which regularly follows the second version of the *Tertia distinctio*; and another found once following the first version and on its own in four manuscripts.⁶⁷

The difficulties which the *Liber de secretis naturae* raises for the contemporary researcher seem to mirror the whole range of problems presented by the pseudo-Lullian alchemical corpus: its obscure origin; its probable link with Catalan or Southern French alchemical circles; its early diffusion in England; and its complex textual tradition. There is, however, a significant difference between this treatise and other pseudo-Lullian alchemical works: the *Liber de secretis naturae* is explicitly attributed to Lull within the body of the text, as well as in the introductory and concluding sections. For this reason a thorough study of the work is urgently needed, as is a critical edition, or at least a reconstruction of the text at the crucial point of its evolution in the beginning of the fifteenth century.

1.5 Pseudo-Lull and John of Rupescissa

Up to now I have been considering the *Liber de secretis naturae* in terms of its pivotal role within the pseudo-Lullian corpus. It is well known, however, that this work was also the main vehicle for the advocacy of the alchemical use of the fifth essence of wine and thus played a significant part in this important chapter in the history of medieval science, alchemy and medicine.⁶⁸ The interest this text had for physicians as well as alchemists and in particular for the sixteenth-century

⁶³ See Pereira, ‘Sulla tradizione testuale’. The manuscript is described in Pereira, ‘Quintessenza’, pp. 50–2.

⁶⁴ The printed text corresponds roughly to the first version.

⁶⁵ This has a parallel in the printed text: the 1567 edition contains a fuller series of questions than the 1546 edition—both, however, refer to the questions of the first version. Besides the differences between the two manuscript versions, there is at least one case in which the pseudo-Lullian questions are contaminated by the *Quaestiones tam essentielles quam accidentales* attributed to Arnald of Villanova: MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 112 (9).

⁶⁶ This text, whose *incipit* is: ‘Protinus ut ars et scientia transmutatoria, de qua in precedenti volumine disseruimus...’ (TK 1145), appears as an independent text in MSS Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, B 44; Bruxelles, Bibliothèque royale 3751; Canterbury, Cathedral Library 50; München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 10576; and Mainz, Priesterseminarbibliothek, 220 (2).

⁶⁷ See Pereira, ‘Filosofia naturale’.

⁶⁸ Among historians of alchemy, special interest in the pseudo-Lullian writings on the fifth essence is shown by Ganzenmüller, *Die Alchemie* and Taylor, ‘The Idea’. See also Halleux, *Les Textes*, p. 273.

followers of Paracelsus is clear from the great number of manuscripts and printed editions, far more numerous and widely diffused than those of the original work by John of Rupescissa.⁶⁹ Even when both texts were known and their affinity clearly perceived, Lull's name was generally placed before Rupescissa's. This reversal of importance occurred not only within the pseudo-Lullian tradition,⁷⁰ but also outside it. Thus, while Conrad Gesner alleged that Lull had copied from Rupescissa, Hermann Conring, taking into account that Rupescissa lived after Lull, claimed that he had plagiarized the Lullian text.⁷¹ Neither Gesner nor Conring, of course, considered the possibility of a Pseudo-Lull.

The connection between the two alchemical writers is reinforced by several manuscript witnesses. Twice we find Rupescissa's *De consideratione quintae essentiae* presented as an abstract from the *Liber de secretis naturae*,⁷² while in a Venetian manuscript Rupescissa is described as Lull's nephew.⁷³ In MS Salamanca 2018, Rupescissa's *De consideratione quintae essentiae* and his *Liber lucis* are introduced as if they were a three-book version of the pseudo-Lullian *Liber de secretis naturae*.⁷⁴ Rupescissa's *Liber lucis* is often attributed to Lull, frequently going under the title *Octo operationes*.⁷⁵ In MS Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 5487, the confusion is complete: the text is introduced at fol. 105^r as 'Accurtata libri lucis Reymundi, qui incipit, Consideravi tribulationes electorum etc., compilata per Joannem de Rupescissa'. Finally, another character

⁶⁹ See below, Catalogue, 1.39. For pseudo-Lullian alchemical collections edited by followers of Paracelsus see: RD 96; RD 116 (Michael Toxite); RD 124 (Jannos Huernii).

⁷⁰ Lull and Rupescissa are linked by Bernard de Lavinjeta in his *Explanatio compendiosaque applicatio artis Lulli* (Lyon, 1523): see Pereira, 'Bernardo Lavinjeta'. The last representative of the pseudo-Lullian tradition, Ivo Salzinger, described Rupescissa as 'the best exponent of Lull' and listed him among his 'first class Lullists': see below, Chapter 3.4.

⁷¹ Both are cited by Halleux, 'Les Ouvrages', pp. 241–2.

⁷² In MS Boston, Medical Library 21, 15th c., described by Wilson, 'Catalogue', p. 150, a later hand added at fol. 1^r: 'Hic codex manuscriptus continet: Remedia et Experimenta excerpta ex libro de secretis naturae seu de quinta essentia Raymundi Lulli per venerabilem theologum d. Joannem de Ripescissa [sic] Ordinis Minorum.' This manuscript is not mentioned by Halleux, 'Les Ouvrages', in his 'liste de manuscrits' containing works by Rupescissa. In MS Venezia, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, lat. VI.40, there is a similar confusion on the part of the fifteenth-century scribe: following the end of the *Liber de consideratione quintae essentiae*, I, fol. 100^v, he wrote: 'Quantum magisterii veritas per quemdam librum excellentissimi doctoris magistri Raymundi de Iulio quia michi venit ad manus in tribulatione carcerum michi est revelata minime revelabo quia de alchimis operationibus religioni nostre pertractare non licet...'; fol. 116^v: 'Expliciunt certa remedia et experimenta que extracta fuerunt ex libro Raymundi de Lullo per venerabilem fratrem et theologum dominum fratrem Joannem de Rupescissa abatem de Brogundia, ordinis Minorum, in civitate de Canth. ill. F. ducis Brogundiae, 1466, die 18 novembris. Iste liber est mei Johannis dicti lanelli, olim domini Pezoli de Cochis de Martinengo'; see Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca*, V, p. 94; and Obrador, 'Ramón Lull', p. 311. In MS Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 190, fol. 1^r, the *Liber de consideratione quintae essentiae* is entitled *Liber aureus seu Quinta essentia Raymundi ordinis Sancti Francisci*.

⁷³ MS Venezia, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, lat. VI.282, fol. 1^r. The title of the *De consideratione quintae essentiae* is partially erased but can still be read with the help of special lighting (the recovered words are in square brackets): 'Divinum opus doctissimi [et sanctissimi] Joannis de Rupescissa [Nepotis M. Raimundi Lullii Maioricensis Pauperibus Viris et Evangelicis] De Philosophiae Famulatu ac de consideratione [Christi et est de] quinta essentia (corr. in: quintae essentiae) foeliciter incipit'.

⁷⁴ See Beaujouan, *Manuscrits scientifiques*, pp. 112–15. This sixteenth-century manuscript contains a Catalan version of the pseudo-Lullian *Ars intellectiva* and various other alchemical works. The first two items are the *Liber de consideratione quintae essentiae* and *Liber lucis* introduced by this note: 'In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi eiusque gloriose virginis matris Marie, primus liber est de consideratione quintae essentiae omnium rerum transmutabilium, secundus est generalis de remediis diversorum generum infirmitatum, tertius est de practica arboris philosophiae et de metallorum transmutatione per reductionem ipsorum ad quintam essentiam secundum Magistrum Raimundum Lullii, presentis scientie principalem transmutationis in omnibus expertem et interpretem. Et vocatur liber iste de famulatu philosophiae'.

⁷⁵ See below, Catalogue, II.36.

enters the plot, a minor alchemist called Paulus Romanus de Ursinis, who wrote a treatise on Arnaldian alchemy, entitled *Lilium philosophorum*, which has the same incipit as the *Liber lucis*. At least once, in a late German translation, this work too was attributed to Lull.⁷⁶

Other examples could be cited, but they would all point in the same direction: the false attribution of every alchemical treatise concerning the fifth essence of wine and its uses to Raymond Lull. Clearly, in the alchemical and Hermetic tradition Lull's name carried more weight than Rupe-scissa's. This was largely due to the *Liber de secretis naturae*, which took over and fully developed the new alchemical technique concerning the fifth essence of wine, unifying it with the complex alchemical system—alchemical medicine, transmutation of metals, artificial production of precious stones—developed in the *Testamentum* and related texts. It also reinforced, if not initiated, the tendency to attribute alchemical texts to Lull, whose philosophical system offered a suitable background for the ideas on nature expressed or implied in these works.

The number of writings on alchemy attributed to Lull increased rapidly during the last decades of the fourteenth century and the first of the fifteenth. Many of them were apparently written after the *Liber de secretis naturae*, although at least one, the *Epistola accurtationis*, preceded it. They included alchemical treatises, such as the *Ars intellectiva* and *Epistola accurtationis*, which described practical processes similar to those set out in the *Testamentum* and often cited it explicitly. Other texts, such as the *Compendium animae transmutationis metallorum* and the *Compendium animae artis*, proposed the use of the fifth essence of wine for gem-making or magico-alchemical operations. Medico-alchemical works, using 'waters' in the manner of the Arnaldian tradition, also spread under Lull's name: the *Ars operativa medica*, for instance, and the *Ars conversionis* or *Liber quatuor aquarum*. The *Liber de investigatione secreti occulti*, which has a prologue that deliberately employs Lullian concepts, explains how to use distilled urine to accomplish the processes for the creation of artificial gems described in the *Liber lapidarii* (which used instead 'aquae subtiles') and the *Compendium animae transmutationis metallorum* (which used wine distillates). All these titles are listed in early catalogues of pseudo-Lullian alchemical works,⁷⁷ and most of them contain an explicit attribution to Raymond in the title, colophon or within the text itself, together with citations from the *Testamentum* and related works, and/or from the *Liber de secretis naturae*. Some of these works also have royal dedicatees: sometimes it is King Edward, to whom the *Testamentum* is addressed, sometimes a King Robert, whose identity is still unclear.⁷⁸

It is important to keep in mind that the *Liber de secretis naturae* predates all known testimonies of the alchemical corpus attributed to Lull. As we shall see, Lull's fame as an alchemist grew from the fifteenth century onwards, leading to the formation of one of the richest and most interesting streams of alchemical

⁷⁶ MS Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Chym. F 6, fols 397^r-403^v; see Boeren, *Codices*, pp. 22-6. Even Roger Bacon was sometimes confused with Lull: his *Liber de retardanda senectute* is attributed to Lull in MS Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ross. lat. 576, as is the *Speculum alkimie* in MS Palma de Mallorca, Biblioteca del Convent de San Francesch, 17. Glorieux, *Répertoire*, (mm 1) lists among Lullian alchemical works the *De consideratione quintae essentiae*, attributing it to Roger Bacon!

⁷⁷ See below, Chapter 2.3.

⁷⁸ See below, Chapter 3.1.

literature before Paracelsus. Was the unknown author-compiler of the *Liber de secretis naturae* responsible in large measure for this spurious fame?

1.6 Pseudo-Lull and Raymond of Tarrega

The name Raymond has been used as an Ariadne's thread by those seeking to explore the complex question of the attribution of alchemical works to Lull. Without sharing their hopes, I shall try to consider the problem once again, starting from Thorndike's work on the subject.⁷⁹ He considered the possibility of several Raymonds who obtained fame as alchemists between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries—Ramón Gaufredi, Raymundus de Terminis, Raymundus de Marsilia—but firmly dismissed the idea that 'the alchemical texts ascribed to Lull might have been the work of Raymond de Tarrega'.⁸⁰ His only explanation for this rejection was to say: 'It hardly seems that another Raymond's work has been confused with that of Lull, since such a work as the *Tertia distinctio* is distinctly Lullian in manner and evidently intended to pass as his. Moreover in his works of undisputed authenticity Lull speaks of himself simply as Raymond.'⁸¹ The name of Raymond of Tarrega, however, has the weight of tradition on its side.⁸² Moreover, Menéndez y Pelayo, following Luanco, identified him as Pseudo-Lull.⁸³

Some information about this Raymond can be gleaned from Spanish scholarly literature.⁸⁴ He was a Jew born in the town of Tarrega, near Lerida, about 1335. At the age of eleven he converted to Christianity and afterwards entered the Dominican Order. In 1351 he was sent to the convent of Saint Catherine in Barcelona, where in the following year he studied logic. A man of very considerable intellect, he wrote works containing ideas alleged to be subversive, which led to his being examined by the Inquisitor Nicolas Eymeric.⁸⁵ He was imprisoned in Saint Catherine's in 1368, dying there in 1371 before the inquisitorial procedure had been completed. We know from the records that he wrote a treatise *De invocatione daemonum*, also described as *Conclusiones variae ab eo propugnatae*. And we learn from Theodor Rupprecht that he wrote works entitled *De secretis naturae* and *De alkymia*.⁸⁶ This side of his activity, however, has not yet been studied in detail. Coll, his most recent biographer, is

⁷⁹ Thorndike, *History*, IV, pp. 15–18.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 15. He himself had formerly accepted this 'suggestion': *ibid.*, II, p. 864.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, IV, p. 15.

⁸² The sources are listed by Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, II, p. 54. For a brief summary of the question see García Font, *Historia*, p. 129. More recently the attribution has been supported by Patai, 'An Unknown Hebrew Alchemist', but he does not add any new evidence. (Oddly enough, Patai is the most recent example of the confusion between Lull and Rupescissa, for he claims, p. 309, that Rupescissa, at the end of the fourteenth century, 'relied heavily on the *Liber de secretis naturae*'.) The Hebrew text on the fifth essence edited and translated by Patai is a very interesting piece which deserves to be more thoroughly studied; its relationship with the texts of Pseudo-Lull and Rupescissa should also be carefully investigated.

⁸³ Menéndez y Pelayo, *Historia*, I, pp. 496–7 and 521; III, p. 237. The name of Raymond of Tarrega does not appear in Menéndez y Pelayo, *La ciencia española*, III, pp. 240–1, where he gives a brief survey of medieval alchemists from the Iberian peninsula.

⁸⁴ See Torres Amat, *Memorias*, s.v., pp. 615–16; and Coll, 'Ramón de Tarrega', p. 21, who denies that Tarrega could have been connected with pseudo-Lullian alchemy.

⁸⁵ Coll, 'Ramon de Tarrega', pp. 10 and 20–5.

⁸⁶ Cited in Torres Amat, *Memorias*, p. 616.

strongly opposed to this attribution, but his position as an apologist is too marked for his argument to be completely reliable.⁸⁷

Without giving undue emphasis to the similarity between the titles of the works cited by Rupprecht and the pseudo-Lullian *Liber de secretis naturae*, it should be noted that Raymond of Tarrega's life coincides with the period in which explicitly pseudo-Lullian alchemical writings began to appear. As yet, however, there is no documentary basis for assigning any of these works to him; and the silence of Nicolas Eymeric on the latter's activity as an alchemist or writer on alchemy does not favour this attribution. Nevertheless, the question still remains open. It is useful to recall here that E. W. Platzeck concluded his analysis of the *Ars operativa medica* by stating that it is 'necessary to find out more about Raymond of Lerida', whom he considered to be the author of this short treatise.⁸⁸ No one of this name has been identified among the medical practitioners from Lerida involved in alchemical theory and practice.⁸⁹ It is not impossible that the Raymond who wrote in Lerida using Lullian concepts was the Dominican friar Raymond of Tarrega, who in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was renowned as 'Raymundi Lulli nepos' and 'Raymundus Lullus neophytus'.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ While this book was in press, a new article by Patai, 'Raymund de Tarrega', raised this issue again by attributing to him the *Liber de secretis naturae*. Although Patai relies largely on superseded bibliography and data, his study does at least seem to indicate, at p. 28, that Tarrega showed an interest, similar to that of Lull, in the use of the theory of elementary degrees in theological matters.

⁸⁸ See his introduction to the reprint of Lavineta, *Explanatio*.

⁸⁹ See Cardoner y Planas, *Historia*, pp. 81–2; Lladonosa y Pujol, *Noticia*; Rubiò i Lluch, *Documents*.

⁹⁰ See below, Chapter 2.3, nn. 39 and 40; and Chapter 4.1.

Chapter 2: The Spread of Pseudo-Lullian Alchemy

2.1 Pseudo-Lullian Alchemy in Fifteenth-Century England

No known pseudo-Lullian alchemical manuscript dates back to the fourteenth century. Singer considered MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 645 to be an exception, but it now seems preferable to assign it to the very early years of the fifteenth century.¹ None of the manuscripts I have seen can be dated before the early fifteenth century. This is true not only of the pseudo-Lullian corpus itself, but also of most Latin medieval alchemical works, which survive only, or mainly, in fifteenth-century manuscripts. These are, however, quite numerous and are found throughout Europe.²

This seems to reinforce what was said in Chapter 1: it is unlikely that Lull's name was associated with alchemical literature before the last decades of the fourteenth century.³ Having shown how alchemical works were attributed to Lull, perhaps for the first time, in the *Liber de secretis naturae*, I can now add that this work appears in nearly all the oldest pseudo-Lullian manuscripts. It is the main item in most of the early fifteenth-century pseudo-Lullian manuscripts, including MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 645, which also contains the *Compendium animae transmutationis metallorum*.

John Kirkeby's testimony (1455) provides early evidence for the existence of two versions of the *Tertia distinctio*, which, as we have seen, survived in the later tradition of the text.⁴ One of the versions was already known in England when the other arrived from Portugal, or at any rate from the Iberian peninsula. There is also other evidence pointing to the early spread of pseudo-Lullian alchemical works from Iberia or Southern France to England. The translation of the *Testamentum* from Catalan into Latin, which is said to have been made in

¹ See above, Chapter 1.3, n. 29. MS Bern, Bürgerbibliothek, A 78, dated to the fourteenth century in the catalogue of that library, is in fact of the fifteenth century: see Thorndike, *History*, III, p. 631. A London MS of a brief *practica* containing the *De distillationibus et sublimationibus* can be traced back to the end of the thirteenth century, but it has no internal attribution to Lull: see Thorndike, 'A Study'. The brief *Alchymia I* occurs without attribution in two fourteenth-century manuscripts: see below, Catalogue II.2; and Singer, *Catalogue*, I, pp. 254–5. There is a reference, which unfortunately I have not been able to verify, to a fourteenth-century pseudo-Lullian manuscript written partly in Latin and partly in Spanish (or perhaps Catalan?): see Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, II, p. 56, citing C. G. v. Murr, *Litterarische Nachrichten* (Leipzig, 1805), pp. 8–12.

² See Halleux, *Les Textes*, p. 90; and the example he gives of the Rupescissan manuscripts in 'Les Ouvrages'.

³ Other details lead to the same conclusion: the name of Lull is absent from the *Icoedron* (about 1331), although the letter D is used: see Thorndike, *History*, III, pp. 128 and 135; on the other hand, a *Libellus de distillatione philosophica contra vulgarem modum* (14th/15th c.) found in MS Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek 3284, fol. 30^r, contains a reference to Lull: 'de qua melius refert magister Raimundus Lulli': cited in Thorndike, *History*, III, p. 643; and a note appended to the *Speculum alkimie* in MS Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Conv. Soppr. C.2.567 (1491), described in *Catalogo dei manoscritti filosofici*, III, pp. 26–7, reads as follows: 'Et auctor hic in fine suadet quod cupiens artem istam debet habere infrascriptos libros, videlicet *lapidarium* Raimundi Lulii, item *artem magicam*, item *codicillum*, item *testamentum* Arnaldi de Villanova'. No pseudo-Lullian alchemical manuscripts are recorded in the catalogue written by Amplonius Ratinck (1412): see Thorndike, *History*, IV, p. 339. A 'Raymundus' is cited in the alchemical *Epistola* written by Bernardus Trevisanus to Thomas of Bologna, but Thorndike considered it to be an interpolation and stated, *ibid.*, III, p. 623: 'it is doubtful if the Lullian alchemical collection was yet in circulation during the life of the genuine Bernard of Treves'.

⁴ See above, Chapter 1.4.

England in 1432 or 1455, can be adduced to support this view.⁵ It is worth stressing that when the *Testamentum* is cited directly, for instance in the *Compendium animae transmutationis metallorum* and the *Epistola accurtationis*, it is frequently from the Catalan text. This Catalan-English connection is further exemplified by MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 396, which is written in various Catalan hands,⁶ and was once owned by Robertus Greene de Welbe, an English alchemist, who added four treatises at the end of the manuscript.⁷ This is one of the oldest pseudo-Lullian manuscripts and contains a beautifully illustrated Catalan treatise on *lunaria* grass, which was often used in alchemical procedures,⁸ and which also crops up in pseudo-Lullian works, in particular the *Testamentum* and its derivatives, as well as the *Liber de secretis naturae*.⁹ It also contains material on the fifth essence: Rupescissa's treatise in two books and, following two short treatises written in Catalan (the *Lunaria* and *Astrologia*), the *Tertia distinctio*. It seems reasonable to assume that the Iberian copyist(s) of this manuscript recognized that the first and second books of the pseudo-Lullian *De secretis naturae* were derived from Rupescissa and therefore thought it unnecessary to copy them. The resulting text was thus a compromise between Rupescissa's original work and the 'Lullianized' version of it in the *Tertia distinctio*, very like the lost manuscript described by Luanco, where a similar connection was made.¹⁰

It would therefore seem that the initial transmission of pseudo-Lullian alchemy to England occurred at the beginning of the fifteenth century after the formation of a distinct corpus explicitly attributed to Lull. It is, in fact, in England that we find: the oldest known manuscripts of these works; the first organized miscellanies of pseudo-Lullian writings (MSS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 112 and Yale, Beinecke Library, Mellon Collection 12); the persistence of a somewhat less extensive corpus than that found in continental manuscripts of the first century of alchemical pseudo-Lullism; and the popularization of pseudo-Lullian alchemical doctrines by George Ripley in the 1470s.¹¹ Finally, there is the

⁵ See above, Introduction.

⁶ See James, *Catalogue*, pp. 258–9. It also contains an astrological treatise written in Catalan.

⁷ Works by this English alchemist can also be found in MS Yale, Beinecke Library, Mellon Collection 12. See *Alchemy and the Occult*, III, pp. 79–80 (a signature 'Robertus Greene de Welbe anno 1506'), 81 and 89 ff. Greene de Welbe is cited by James, *Lists of Manuscripts*, pp. 22–3, as the owner of MS T 66, later owned by John Dee; this seems to be the Yale MS mentioned above. See also Watson, 'Robert Green', who lists a series of manuscripts owned by him: four out of eight contain alchemical texts.

⁸ *Lunaria* grass, belonging to the family Cruciferae, is mentioned in Pseudo-Avicenna, *Declaratio lapidis physici*, in Zetzner, *Theatrum chemicum*, IV, p. 881; together with *saponaria* and *pompia maris*, it is one of the sources of the *lapis vegetabilis*, according to the *Testamentum* attributed to Arnald of Villanova, in Manget, *Bibliotheca*, I, p. 706. The same type of grass, with *saporaria* (*saponaria*?) and *portulaca*, is used for the same purpose by the alchemist Alanus: see Thomdike, *History*, III, p. 140; IV, pp. 338–9; his works are often found in Italian manuscripts together with pseudo-Lullian alchemical works.

⁹ *Liber mercuriorum*, in *Verae alchemiae...doctrina*, p. 183: 'Tu accipe de liquore lunariae...' See *Testamentum*, Theorica, ch. 40, in Manget, *Bibliotheca*, I, p. 732: '...et magna lu(mi)naría, quae est succus vitalis'; and *Tertia distinctio*, ed. 1546, fol. 91^r.

¹⁰ See above, Chapter 1.4, n. 58.

¹¹ On Ripley, see *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v.; Thomdike, *History*, IV, pp. 351–3; and Brann, 'George Ripley'. Notes on Ripley and his works can be found in MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 14012 (about 1585–1601): see Corbett, *Catalogue*, I, pp. 202–7. Ripley's *Opera omnia* was published in Kassel in 1649.

legend of Lull's visit to England at Abbot Cremer's invitation, which may be an indication, albeit fictional, of this same trend.¹²

During Chaucer's lifetime, the alchemical writings attributed to Arnald of Villanova had gained popularity in England; Arnald was *the* alchemist to judge from 'The Yeoman's Tale' and other literary records.¹³ It is not surprising, therefore, that the works of a follower of Arnaldian alchemy should have been received with enthusiasm in English alchemical circles and attributed to another famous Catalan writer, Raymond Lull. Lull's genuine writings had not yet reached England. The first century after his death had seen a decline in his reputation outside Mallorca, with the exception of minor episodes, such as the development of Valencian spiritual Lullism and the compilation in France by Thomas Le Myésier of a Lullian encyclopedia entitled *Electorium maius*.¹⁴ It was thus probably not too difficult, at least outside the restricted circles where Lull's name was well known and where his works continued to be read, to attribute to him coherently organized and compellingly written treatises, which contained apparently efficacious alchemical procedures.¹⁵

In the second half of the fifteenth century the number of manuscript copies of pseudo-Lullian alchemical writings increased dramatically. Pseudo-Lullian alchemy also flourished during this period in Italy, especially in the Northern and Central regions,¹⁶ as well as in Germany.¹⁷ According to M. Batllori, the legend of Lull the alchemist originated in England and spread from there to the Veneto, where authentic Lullian philosophy was already known and had some influence: one might mention, for example, Santa Giustina at Padua, which was one of the sources of Cusanus's Lullism; the Catalan masters Joan Bulons and Joan Ros; and the Lullism of Fantino Dandolo.¹⁸ Batllori cites MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc. 312, a manuscript from Feltre, as a clue to this development. There are, however, other possibilities. One such is based on the frequent appearance of the *Ars operativa medica* in Italian manuscripts of pseudo-Lullian alchemy. This text, of Catalan or Southern French origin, was the first to be formally accepted as Lull's by a Lullist, Bernard de Lavinheta. It is therefore possible that Catalan masters travelling to Italy during the fifteenth

¹² See below, Chapter 3.1.

¹³ See Duncan, 'The Literature of Alchemy'.

¹⁴ For Valencian Lullists, see Carreras y Artau, *Filosofia*, II, ch. 3; and their 'Dues notes'. For Le Myésier, see Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull*, ad indicem.

¹⁵ The English pseudo-Lullian alchemical tradition was formed by the *Liber de secretis naturae*, the *Testamentum* and related texts. The *Liber de investigatione secreti occulti* seems to have been unknown to English alchemists and the *Ars operativa medica* not widely known in England.

¹⁶ See the studies by Batllori listed in the Bibliography below. To the manuscripts recorded by him should be added: MSS Rimini, Biblioteca Gambalunghiana 88; Poppi, Biblioteca comunale 59; and Savignano sul Rubicone, Accademia dei Filopatridi 27, which contains authentic Lullian medical works: see *Catalogo dei manoscritti filosofici*, I, pp. 139-143 and 84-102.

¹⁷ The Innichen collection includes no alchemical manuscripts, but the manuscript now in Dresden, MS Landesbibliothek 101, was once owned by Nicolaus Pol: see Rubió y Balaguer, 'Los códices', pp. 306 ff., who makes many general remarks about German manuscripts containing Lullian or pseudo-Lullian works (not only alchemical ones). In his view one cannot rely on the manuscripts now in Munich (clm), especially the Palatine manuscripts of various provenance, as evidence for the spread of such works in German-speaking areas. One ought to begin instead with those in Bern, Wolfenbüttel and in particular Vienna, where the libraries are also rich in alchemical manuscripts.

¹⁸ Besides Batllori and Carreras y Artau, *Filosofia*, II, ch. 5, see also the recent research of Veronese Ceseracciu, 'Spagnoli e portoghesi'.

century might have been responsible for the spread of this medico-alchemical work directly, without an English intermediary.

The second possibility also points to an international connection, this time between German and Italy. Many of the manuscripts found in Northern Italian libraries have links with German-speaking areas: German *exemplaria* are mentioned, for example, in MS Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Palat. 792: 'habui a Conrado Teutonico'; works of the German alchemist Alamannus or Alanus of Bohemia are often found in pseudo-Lullian alchemical manuscript miscellanies; the beautifully illuminated MS Venezia, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, lat. VI.215 (similar in many respects to MS Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, II iii 27) was copied 'per me Theodoricum Ghisiberti de Lunenburgo de Saxonia'; and the scribe of MS Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 191 was 'Cornelius Boscarinus de Alamania'. A good number of pseudo-Lullian alchemical manuscripts originally from German-speaking areas date from the fifteenth century; and those of Wolfenbüttel, Vienna and Bern are particularly interesting.¹⁹ An important witness to the spread of alchemical pseudo-Lullism in Germany is the famous physician Nicolaus Pol.²⁰ He himself owned alchemical and medical manuscripts,²¹ and in one of these he compiled a list of libraries and scholars in possession of Lullian and pseudo-Lullian works.²²

2.2 Alchemy and Alchemical Medicine in Italy

Italian pseudo-Lullian manuscripts of the same period are found mainly in Florence, but some particularly interesting ones are now in London (MSS British Library, Sloane 75; Wellcome Medical Library 117, 443-4, 520 and 758) and Oxford (MSS Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc. 195 and 312). In some of these the *Ars operativa medica* is followed by notes which refer to a Florentine named Laurentius Bistichius or Bisticus (Lorenzo da Bisticci),²³ a goldsmith who took

¹⁹ These miscellanies have not been studied since Thorndike, *History*, IV, Appendix 39. For MS Bern, Bürgerbibliothek B 44, see Thorndike, 'Two More Manuscripts'.

²⁰ On Pol, see Ferrari, 'Doctor Nicolaus Pol'; and Frisch, *Nicolaus Pol*.

²¹ These are listed by Lehmann, 'Ein Deutscher'. They include MSS Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek 5485 and 5487, containing pseudo-Lullian alchemical texts, and 5510 which contains, among other treatises, works of Christopher of Paris, here called 'Parusinus': see below, Chapter 3.4. He also owned MS Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, N 101 (Rubió y Balaguer, 'Los códices', p. 311; Batllori, 'El pseudo-Lull', p. 446), which seems to include alchemical works; it is impossible, however, to identify them on the basis of the data provided by Schnorr von Carolsfeld and Schmidt, *Katalog*, II, p. 45.

²² MS Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Series nova, 230+298, fol. 244'; see Lehmann, 'Ein Deutscher', p. 240: 'Magister Hans Lünsen, plebanus in Kentzingen sub Freyburg, qui est vicarius Sancti Petri Argentinensis, debet habere codicillum Reymundi et alios libros alchimie. Her Lasle von der Trib 8 meil von Prün in Mehem habet codicillum Reymundi, qui est distinctus per differentias, et similiter habet alios libros Reymundi et librum de aquis condimentalibus etc. Helmster habet codicillum, qui fuit antea in Augspurg nunc in Admund. Decanus in Gurck habet Platonem in quartis, librum de conservacione humane vite, librum experimentorum atque magicam naturalem Reymundi et alios. Episcopus Lavantinus habuit codicillum et eius laborans dicebatur Geyer... Item Magister Joannes, procurator consistorii Bambergensis, habet Reymundum in alchimia... Veneciis apud duo pontes, id est fra delo do pont, est civis dictus Cristoferus habet multos libros Reymundi [Christopher of Paris?]. Cf. p. 239: 'Parisius... Similiter ibidem in monasterio Sancti Caelestini li. in alchimia et fortassis in aliis monasteriis similiter'.

²³ MS London, Wellcome Medical Library 117 (1462), which contains Rupescissa, *De consideratione quintae essentiae*; Pseudo-Lull, *Ars operativa medica*; L. Bisticus, *Receptae*; F. Ariosto, *Superadditio*. The scribe acknowledges copying from a manuscript owned by the same Bisticus. It was in turn copied in 1521 by the

to treating the sick, apparently with remarkable results, by using the waters described in the *Ars operativa medica* and *Liber de consideratione quintae essentiae*.²⁴ In 1462 Bartholomeus Marcellus de Ripa Romea, the Italian copyist of MS London, Wellcome Medical Library 117, wrote at the end of Rupescissa's *De consideratione quintae essentiae*: 'Raimundi doctissimi et sanctissimi divinum de philosophiae famulatu opus explicit, quo duce Bistichius florentinus cum esset aurifex et sublimationes experiretur, quas opus hoc copiosissime docet, mirabilis supra ceteros huius etatis physicos doctissimos medicus evasit, ut non empiricus videretur, sed summus physicorum monarcha.' Aside from being a further example of the confusion between Pseudo-Lull and Rupescissa, this colophon makes an important point about the use of these texts in medical practice. Other notes in the same manuscript praise the wonderful results of Bistichius's activity as a medical practitioner, surpassing every other scholarly physician of his time.²⁵ But where and how did Bistichius get hold of these medico-alchemical texts?

The *Ars operativa medica*, although not well represented in English manuscript miscellanies, survives in an English manuscript dated 1440 (MS Yale, Beinecke Library, Mellon Collection 8), along with various medical recipes. It

scribe of MS Venezia, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, lat. VI.282. In MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canonici Misc. 195, the *Ars operativa medica* has the colophon: 'Que primo Bisticus, ut ipsum pluries narrasse dixit eius scriptor, a quo hec Raymondi opera, que scriptor Bisticus furatus fuerat, habui. Empericus fecit et adhuc cum operaretur aurificiis magisteriis utebatur'. See Batista y Roca, *Catàlech*, p. 16; and Batllori, 'El pseudo-Lull', p. 453.

²⁴ See Thorndike, *Science and Thought*, pp. 41–3. Bistichius's name is mentioned by John of Arezzo at the beginning of the 'Disputa delle arti'; see MS Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Plut. 77.22, fol. 5^r: 'Bisticus quidam florentinus faber argentarius atque homo litterarum ignarus repente summus in tota urbe evasit medicus'. See Hill Cotton, *Name-List*, p. 21. In Hill Cotton, *Register* (an unpublished card index I was permitted to consult in the Wellcome Medical Library) the item 'Lorenzo da Bisticci' is given in section B 3–7. Lorenzo was the son of Jacopo da Bisticci. He had some connection with Alessandro Sermoneta; see Sermoneta's letter to Lorenzo de' Medici, dated 10 September 1473: MS Firenze, Archivio di stato, M.A.P. XXXI, 413 (from Siena).

²⁵ See MS Venezia, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, lat. VI.282, fol. 57^r (after the passage just quoted): 'Adeoque a nobilibus omnibus et Italiae dominis et principibus, tanquam Apolinis oraculum, suo cum lucro maximo observaretur, ut in eo vetustissimi ac sanctissimi Hippocratis anima ac ratio esse videretur. Et ego Bartholomeus Marcellus abiat cirra furtim hoc exemplum ex Bisticii corrosis ac fumo tinctis codicibus excerpti et diebus octo transcripsi currenti admodum calamo. Quare quicumque leges, si emendosum invenies, non me sed temporis angustiam et exemplar ab aurifice conscriptum culpabis. Nihil tamen defficere scito quod te, quicumque sis, sicut Bisticium medicum ex aurifice facere possit. Vale, 1462, Septembris XXVII. Erro magis ego qui nunc exemplum sumo 1521, Septembris 23, emendosius scitum ex tuo reddere conor exemplari'. At fol. 77^r, after the *Ars operativa medica*: 'Et scias, candidissime lector, quod, quemadmodum mihi narravit scriptor huius operis, qui a Bisticio id ipsum furatus fuit, ipse Bisticus adhuc laborabat in aurificiis magisteriis cum has medicinas exerceret. Sed cum sibi omnia artis operative remedia bene ac feliciter successissent, animo alacriori sublimationes expertus, Christum secundum canones operis de philosophiae famulatu magnum, ac pene quidem divinum et nostris temporibus incognitum aggressus, enixe indagatus fuit et, Deo volente et favente fortuna, Christum rerum medicinalium contra omnes desperatissimas aegritudines natus [*lege nactus*] est. Indeque nostrae tempestatis medicorum monarcha habetur; etsi nihil habet quod in his operibus modo contineatur. Ego Bartholomeus Marcellus abia cirra haec cursim opera scripsi, que a scriptore exorato habui. 1462, kalendis octobris, Burgis'. At fol. 82^r, after Bistichius's *Receptae*: 'Bisticii florentini superadditae receptae feliciter finiunt, quas ipse suis scripserat manibus, cum opere de philosophiae famulatu, quod in duos distribuitur libros, et cum arte operativa Raimundi, et ipse quodam chirographo profitetur se perpauca scripsisse, quarum non viderit experientiam, qua animadverterat re ipsa plura medico feliciter successisse, cum laude sua maxime et lucro non parvo et aegrotantis salute, quam Raimundus scriptis suis nobis polliceretur. Quare si quis hoc contemnet, non Raimundi opus, aut Bisticii assertionem spernet, sed seipsum ignaviae ac dementiae culpavit. Quare, si sapis, cura ut hac culpa vaces'. Thorndike, *Science and Thought*, p. 43, called Bistichius 'a sort of forerunner of Paracelsus in his close association of chemistry, especially that of metals, with medicine'.

does not, however, appear in the Cambridge miscellany mentioned above (MS Corpus Christi College 112), nor in MS Canterbury, Cathedral Library (Christ Church) 50, with which it is associated. The *Ars operativa medica* does not in fact seem to have been particularly attractive to English followers of Pseudo-Lull. It is therefore unlikely that this work could have passed from England into the hands of the Florentine goldsmith, as Batllori believed. English interest in pseudo-Lullian alchemy was mainly oriented towards transmutation, whereas this text, as we have seen, was concerned only with alchemical medicine. There was considerable interest in fifteenth-century Italy in the medical use of distillates, a famous example being the public dispute about the doctrines of Rupescissa held at Padua in 1463.²⁶ The *Ars operativa medica* could therefore have reached Italy as part of a wave of medical interest.²⁷ And the identification of its author Raymond with Lull perhaps helped draw attention to other 'Lullian' works, arriving by different paths but similarly linked with the name of Arnald of Villanova. The *Liber de secretis naturae* also contained medical themes, but in conjunction with an interest in transmutation, combining Rupecissan/Arnaldian distillates with the alchemical practices of the *Testamentum, Liber lapidarii* and *Codicillus*.

Of particular interest are two manuscripts originating in Naples or Southern Italy, both dating from the first half of the fifteenth century: MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, nouv. acq. lat. 1293, and the pseudo-Lullian section of one of the manuscripts owned by Arnald of Brussels.²⁸ Naples was at that time connected, both politically and culturally, with the Crown of Aragon. So once again we are confronted with the likelihood of Catalan sources or origins, despite the claim of the Carreras y Artaus that pseudo-Lullian alchemy originated outside the Iberian peninsula.²⁹ A Catalan origin is not, however, the same as a Lullian origin: it does not imply that alchemy had any foundation in Lull's works, or that his genuine followers, like Thomas Le Myésier, were interested in it. It might well mean, however, that Lull's natural philosophy was quickly accepted in alchemical and medical circles; and it would not be particularly surprising if this had happened in Catalonia and Southern France.³⁰ Quite soon, however, some

²⁶ This information is supplied by Hyeronimus Brunschwig, *Liber de arte distillandi de compositis* (Strassburg, 1512); and P. Ulstadius, *Coelum philosophorum* (Strassburg, 1551); both are cited by Wilson, 'Catalogue', pp. 11–12 and n. 8. Techniques for distillation, which were to gain popularity in Italian medicine during the sixteenth century, were already widely known before 1500. Palmer, 'Pharmacy', pp. 114–15, includes 'the tradition of medicine borrowing on alchemy, which owed so much to Ramon Lull, Arnaldus of Villanova and John of Rupescissa' among the ways in which unorthodox practitioners of chemistry, aside from those of Paracelsian sympathies, made an impact on pharmacy. It is possible that the popularity of distillation for medical use was related to the failure of traditional Galenic remedies against the plague: see Patai, 'An Unknown Hebrew Alchemist', p. 317.

²⁷ Medical waters are fully treated in the *Liber Compostellae* (see Patten, 'Un Recueil', pp. 102–4) and in MS Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5377, studied by Thorndike, 'Vatican Latin Manuscripts', p. 91. For an *aqua vitae* of Taddeo Alderotti, see *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, 7 (1913), pp. 381–9. See also Thorndike, 'Alchemical Writings' p. 91. There were generally thought to be twelve waters: Thorndike, *History*, II, 797–8; Wilson, 'Philosophers', pp. 192–9.

²⁸ Both manuscripts contain Catalan alchemical items. See Corbett, *Catalogue*, I, pp. 64 and 112; Wilson, 'Catalogue', pp. 473 ff., and his 'An Alchemical Manuscript'. On the manuscripts owned by Arnald of Brussels see Pouille, *La Bibliothèque*.

²⁹ Carreras y Artau, *Filosofia*, II, p. 49.

³⁰ A similar fate is suggested for Roger Bacon by Thomson, 'The Text', p. 529, who draws attention to the presence of various alchemical abstracts from Bacon in the San Procolo alchemical library at Bologna. He argues that alchemists and physicians, in 'the freedom of the Italian atmosphere', might have adopted Bacon's

genuine Lullian disciples were involved in the attributions, as we have seen in relation to the *Liber de secretis naturae*. Certainly, less than a century later, Catalans copied, or at any rate owned, alchemical miscellanies attributed to Lull.³¹ I have shown elsewhere that at this time alchemical doctrines were beginning to be accepted by Lull's followers in the Lullian schools of Mallorca and Valencia.³² Moreover, as we shall see, about a century after the emergence of the corpus, the list of books ascribed to Lull included a great many alchemical works, which were accepted without question during the Renaissance revival of Lullism.

2.3 Manuscript Testimonies of the Sixteenth Century

Lull's name was widely known and highly regarded in Italy, France and Germany during the Renaissance. His *ars combinatoria* was considered by many thinkers to be a useful approach to the encyclopedic organization of knowledge—all the more attractive because of its Neoplatonic flavour—while the mystically inclined were fascinated by his Hermetic image. Following the fifteenth-century tradition, Lull was also renowned as an alchemist and alchemical writer. It is impossible to say exactly what role alchemy played in the Renaissance revival of Lullism. It was not, one suspects, a minor one, especially among Italian humanists. About twenty years before Pico delivered his judgement on the Lullian *ars*, we find the image of Lull the alchemist extolled in a beautifully illuminated Florentine manuscript (MS Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, II iii 27, written in 1475). The Mallorcan philosopher, dressed in a Franciscan habit and with a long beard (to which he owed his nickname 'Barbaflorida') is represented as a Hermetic *magus*, investigating the secrets of nature and revealing them to both king and pope.³³ Alchemy was defined in the prologue to the *Liber de secretis naturae* as a means of expanding the knowledge of natural secrets and of accomplishing the apologetic aims of the Lullian *ars*. By the middle of the fifteenth century it had become a characteristic feature of Lull's philosophy, one whose authenticity no one attempted to deny.

During the sixteenth century, pseudo-Lullian alchemy flourished mainly in Florence and Paris. English interest was represented by translations and commentaries, written in both Latin and English. This trend is clearly illustrated by most of the Bodleian manuscripts described by J. M. Batista y Roca and P. Bohigas.³⁴ A similarly rich collection of sixteenth-century German and Czech

ideas, which had been virtually neglected in the 'somewhat more oppressively theological circumambiance of Paris and Oxford'. Although Lull could well have found followers in medical and alchemical circles in Catalonia, the comparison should not be pushed too far, because, unlike Bacon, Lull did not himself favour alchemy.

³¹ See MS Palma de Mallorca, Biblioteca del Convent de San Francesch 17 (3/9), written in 1492, with the subscription 'Romae per me Petrus Ripoll catalanus de diocesi Vicensis de villa Cervariae', owned by Antonio Pasqual in the eighteenth century.

³² See Pereira, 'Bernardo Lavinheta'.

³³ See Pereira, 'Quintessenza alchemica'. The central image of this manuscript (fols 114^v-115^r), which represents the distillation process, is investigated analytically by Szulakowska, 'The Tree', although her treatment of the pseudo-Lullian texts she cites is somewhat confused.

³⁴ For a summary of this research, see Carreras y Artau, *Filosofía*, II, pp. 55-6. As well as Elias Ashmole, who copied the pseudo-Lullian MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1508, the names of Robert Walton and Thomas Robson also crop up in Batista y Roca's study. The English MS, Yale, Beinecke Library, Mellon

translations can now be found in Leiden.³⁵

The names of many alchemists are found in Italian manuscripts, providing evidence of the considerable dissemination of pseudo-Lullian alchemy even in minor centres, especially in the Marche.³⁶ Among sixteenth-century Florentine manuscripts, the most relevant is surely MS Riccardiana 984, in which the Hermetic poet and philosopher Ludovico Lazzarelli treats the main themes of pseudo-Lullian alchemy, assisted by a Flemish alchemist, Johannes Rigaud (or Ricardus) de Branchiis,³⁷ who was probably responsible for the attribution of the *De lapidis investigatione* or *De lapide physico minerali* to Lull.³⁸ Readers of the Riccardiana manuscript were told that it was dedicated by Lull to his nephew ('ad nepotem suum'). This 'nephew' had made an earlier appearance: John of Rupescissa was described as Lull's nephew in a Venetian manuscript.³⁹ In the scholarly literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Raymond of Tarrega was also called 'Raymundus Lullius neophytus' and 'Raymundi Lullii nepos'. This recurrent motif, clearly connected with the use of parental terms in alchemical literature, reappears again in one of the later versions of the legend of Lull the alchemist.⁴⁰

Collection 12, is supposed to have been owned by Robertus Greene of Welbe and by John Dee, according to a manuscript note by Denis Duveen, to whom it belonged before entering the Mellon Collection: see *Alchemy and the Occult*, III, p. 81; and above, Chapter 2.1, n. 7. An English abstract of the *Testamentum*, with the title *Golden Chain*, was apparently highly valued by sixteenth-century English alchemists and occurs very frequently in manuscripts.

³⁵ See Boeren, *Codices*, pp. 7–13, on the collection of Czech translations of pseudo-Lullian writings in MS Leiden, Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit, Voss. Chym. F.3; and p. 215, on the alchemist Jan Lékar or Johannes Medicus, who wrote a treatise on alchemy based on the *Liber de secretis naturae*: Voss. Chym. Q.48. Emperor Rudolf II annotated in his own hand MS Leiden, Q.31 B, which includes alchemical abstracts from Pseudo-Lull by the Spanish physician Petrus Lopicus Xinovius, who lived at Naples in 1573.

³⁶ See the following MSS: Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Palat. 854 (*Indici e cataloghi*, IV, 2, pp. 365–6); Palat. 1019; Palat. 739; Palat. 1022; Palat. 1043, dedicated to Cosimo I by Orazio Rosselli da Sassoferrato. Other Italian followers of pseudo-Lullian alchemy are the Florentine Cortile; L. Tassoni (Batllori, 'Records', pp. 8–15); Nicolino Merula (MS Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Magl. 16.64); Johannes Baptista Frater de Assisio (MSS London, Wellcome Medical Library 383, 384 and 385, and Yale, Beinecke Library, Mellon Collection 34, 35 and 36); Antonio ab Abbatia (MS Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 923; see Thorndike, *History*, IV, pp. 336 and 356); Petrus Valeacius Ragusensis (MS London, British Library, Sloane 3457; see Singer, *Catalogue*, I, p. 258). Other manuscript testimonies of pseudo-Lullism—not only of the alchemical variety—in Italy (e.g., Modena) are mentioned by Batllori, especially in 'El seudo-Lull', pp. 451–3.

³⁷ This manuscript was described by Thorndike, 'Two More Alchemical Manuscripts', pp. 373–4; see also Lopez, 'Descriptio', 3 (1910), p. 358. At fol. 2^r Lazzarelli writes: 'Breviter igitur celestem magiam pretermittendo quam sancti improbant patres, agemus in hoc libro Vade mecum. Primum de Alchimia que est naturalis magia, et ab Arite vocatur Astrologia terrestris, cuius secretum huius a Joane Ricardi de Branchiis de belgica provincia, que nunc vulgariori vocabulo dicta Laburgundia, qui in hoc fuit magister meus currente ab incarnatione verbi anno MCCCCXCV. Ipse vero per libros Raymundi de insula Maioricarum et Arnaldi de Villa Nova, et perlongam habueram exercitationem; Raymundus vero ab Arnaldo, Amaldus autem habuerat a quodam magistro Petro'; transcription by P. Zambelli, whom I thank. Rigaud was in Siena in 1494 and performed alchemical experiments there with 'magister Albertus perusinus phisicus', using 'succum lunarie': *ibid.*, fols 33^v–34^r. On Lazzarelli's Hermeticism, see Brini Savorelli, 'Ludovico Lazzarelli'. For another manuscript with works by Lazzarelli and Rigaud de Branchiis, written in Italian, see Corbett, *Catalogue*, II, pp. 60–5 (MS Chantilly 419).

³⁸ This work (*incipit*: *Materia est res una vilis precii...*), although also extant in fifteenth-century manuscripts, was never attributed to Lull before 1500. On Lazzarelli and alchemy, see Thorndike, 'Alchemy'; and Brini Savorelli, 'Ludovico Lazzarelli'. Florentine interest in pseudo-Lullian alchemy was also remarked upon by Pier Leoni, physician to Lorenzo de' Medici, who owned a manuscript of the *Liber de secretis naturae*: see Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull*, pp. 278–81.

³⁹ See above, Chapter 1.5, n. 73.

⁴⁰ See below, Chapter 3.6.

Early sixteenth-century Parisian Lullism certainly did not focus on alchemy, but pseudo-Lullian alchemical writings soon arrived to fill the general category that Charles de Bovelles had appended to his Lullian bibliography: 'liber alkimie'.⁴¹ Many of these may have come from Italy: MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat.14007, for instance, was copied in Italy in 1493–6, as is indicated by a series of notes at the end of the volume; but it was in the possession of 'Marc Nicholas apothiquaire a Paris' early in the following century.⁴² Pseudo-Lullian alchemy flourished in Paris during the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries. Dozens of copies of the more important works were made. These were read and annotated by many scholars and/or adepts, as can be shown by an analysis of a group of manuscripts now found in the Biblioteca universitaria at Bologna but formerly in Paris.⁴³ The collection was assembled during the first half of the sixteenth century and continued to be added to until 1639. During the years 1625–39 they were also carefully collated with other manuscripts and/or printed editions; this is generally indicated at the top of the first page in a very minute French hand. These notes often give the names of the owners of the manuscripts used for collation, so they can be used to identify the entire group of adepts.⁴⁴

These names, or at least those brought to light by the patient work of C. Frati, are not those of the known followers of Lull.⁴⁵ Here too, as in Florence a century before, pseudo-Lullian alchemy seems to have preceded the wider dissemination of Lullian philosophy. In fact, when a circle of followers of the authentic Lull arose in the seventeenth century, they unquestioningly accepted the traditional attribution of the pseudo-Lullian alchemical writings, even when they did not find it corroborated in the older collections of Lullian manuscripts in Paris and elsewhere. In MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 15096, owned by the Lullist friar Charles Sauvage (late sixteenth to early seventeenth century), we find at fol. 1^r a list of the library of Saint Victor, which does not include any alchemical works under Lull's name. But Sauvage was aware of several printed editions of pseudo-Lullian alchemical treatises, which he cited, on fol. 5^v, together with the authentic works. Moreover, he copied two medico-alchemical works, *Ars operativa medica* and *Liber de conservatione vitae humanae*, as well as the completely alchemical *Epistola accurtationis* (MSS Paris, Bibliothèque

⁴¹ See Victor, 'Charles de Bovelles', p. 325; and Pereira, 'Bernardo Lavineta'.

⁴² See fol. 54^r, and Corbett, *Catalogue*, I, p. 54.

⁴³ Some, however, seem to have been in Italy before Paris: for example, MS Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria 168, copied by Ste[phanus?] de Genua in the early sixteenth century. Carbonelli, *Sulle fonti*, p. VIII, described this collection as one of the oldest in Italy, but he wrongly thought it originated in Bologna. In reality it was brought there late in the seventeenth century by the scholar and bibliophile Count Alberto Caprara, who bought it in France in 1664–5. On the Caprara family, see Frati, *Dizionario*, p. 142. On the collection see also Della Vedova and Galligani, *Regesto*, p. 11, n. 6, who refer to Frati, *Codici francesi* (typescript in the Biblioteca universitaria, Sala manoscritti) where a brief history of this alchemical collection is sketched.

⁴⁴ This information is found in Frati, *Codici francesi*, where the following names of former manuscript owners are given: Monsieur de la Barre; M. de Champigny; M. Bisret chyrurgian; M. Guy de la Brosse; M. Gabriel Joly; M. Geoffroy du Bois; M. de Brignoles; M. Angelinae; M. Maltan de Tours; M. de Ragane. Guy de la Brosse (d. 1641) was the founder and first director of the Royal Botanic Garden in Paris: *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, VII, pp. 536–41. About a century earlier, in 1545, an alchemist with a similar surname, Debrosses, wrote an alchemical treatise, *Traité pratique sur la composition du sulphur et menstuel vegetal et l'or potable selon l'intention de Raymond Lulle*, which is now in the Caprara Collection: MS Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria 142 (109).

⁴⁵ The Parisian Lullist circle has been studied by Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull*, pp. 294–311.

nationale, lat. 15095 and 15096).⁴⁶ A century later, we find a bibliographical survey of Lulliana in MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 17829, which at first glance appears to indicate that there were no alchemical works in the library of M. de Melian nor in those of the Fathers of Christian Doctrine or the Irish Franciscans in Rome. In the bibliography at fols 533^v-35^r, however, we find a section of *Libri medici*, including medico-alchemical works, and another of *Libri chymici*, which is a careful catalogue of forty-nine pseudo-Lullian alchemical treatises.⁴⁷

2.4 Early Catalogues of Alchemical Writings Attributed to Lull

This list of alchemical works put together by an anonymous Lullist in MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 17829 was probably the last of the series of such catalogues before those compiled by Salzinger and the Bollandists, which provided the bibliographical basis for the work of M. Littré, B. Hauréau and later scholars.⁴⁸ It was not, however, the first list to be made by a follower of Lull. There is, for example, a list of alchemical works attributed to him at the end of the edition of the *Ars generalis* produced in 1515 by the Spanish humanist

⁴⁶ On Sauvage see Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull*, p. 307. The alchemical editions listed by Sauvage are: 'De secretis nature sive de quinta essentia 1. 1 argentine apud Balthazar Bahl; de alchymia libri 3; apertorium; Magica naturalis; de conservacione vitae; Norimbergae 1546 in 4^o alchymia nunc primum editi': MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 15096, fol. 5^v. At fol. 306^r the text of the *Liber de conservacione vitae humanae* is introduced by the following note: 'De conservacione. Ce petit traite ma este communique par monsieur de la Riviere de Goubis Angevin Gentilhomme d'honneur et de condition qui a accompagne la Reine deffunte Marie de Medicis dans son esloignage de France jusque a sa mort'.

⁴⁷ See fol. 53^v (medical works): 'De conservacione vitae; De aquis condimentalibus; Liber de aquis et oleis [= *Ars operativa medica*]; Modus accipiendi aurum potabile'; fols. 534^r-535^r: 'Libri Chymici: Liber septem rotarum; Liber de quintis essentiis...Contristatus erat R.; Liber luminis naturae lapidis; De quaestionibus super eo motis; Quaestiones inter R. et Monachum de possibilitate transmutationis metallorum; Liber Testamentum...Deus gloriosissime; Elucidatio Testamenti; Liber dictus de numero philosophorum...Praesens compendium; Diadema Ruberti...Fulgeat diadema; Novissimum testamentum, Coloniae; Clausula Testamenti...Sciatis quod sapientes; Clavicula Testamenti; Codicillus; Liber de lunaria; Lapidarium...Domine Deus incipio; De secreto secretorum; Liber dictus Magica naturalis ad Regem Angliae Eduardum; Magica naturalis parva...Multi sunt errantes; Origo materiae nostrorum mercuriorum; Liber dictus Apertorium...In veritate Aqua nostra; Liber de furnis; Liber Experimentorum; Tractatus atramentorum; De inventione secreti occulti...Quoniam homo est; Liber dictus Ars accurtatoria; Epistola accurtationis lapidis benedicti ad Regem Robertum; Liber dictus proprietarium; Libellus de medicinis secretissimis; Liber dictus Amphorismorum; Lignum vitae; Theorica et practica; Repertorium; Ars intellectiva super Japidem philosophorum; De transmutatione metallorum; Liber mercuriorum; Liber de mercurio solo; Liber de intentione alchymistarum; Practica alchymiae Raymundi...Corruptio et depuratio; Lux mercuriorum; Vademecum Raymundi; Compendium animae transmutationis metallorum; Epistola accurtata [add: *alia manu*]; De compositione lapidum preciosorum; [from this point to the end, the list is written in a different hand] Liber de quingentis sententiis sive secretis naturae et de quaestionibus super eo motis; De compositione mercuriorum et elixiriorum impress. Coloniae; Medicina magna sive de medicinae secretis Coloniae; Expositio Raymundi Lulli super libro Gebri citat. in fine praecedentis; Compendium artis magicae; Liber de quatuor experimentis elixiriorum; [the three titles which follow are crossed out] Logica Cathalana rithmice; Logica parva impressa; Logicae epitome; Fragmentum de gradibus sanitatis continens multa medicinae documenta ad figuram medicinae relationem habentia.'

⁴⁸ Salzinger, *Catalogus*, in Raymond Lull, *Opera*, I, pp. 47-74. Sixty-six alchemical works are listed at pp. 50-1, 'Pars secunda continens titulos librorum practicoorum', and pp. 66-72, 'Pars quarta continens initia, divisiones, citationes et fines librorum secundae partis'. This catalogue was the work of Ivo Salzinger and Anton Büchels; an earlier version of it had been published separately in 1714: see Gottron, *L'edició*, p. 32. Even Sollier and Custerer, the compilers of the *Acta sanctorum*, who denied the attribution of alchemical works to Lull, none the less listed about forty of them: *Acta sanctorum*, V, June 30, pp. 707-9: 'Libri Chymici, B. Lullo perperam imputati'. See below, Chapter 4.2-3.

Alonso de Proaza, who does, however, express some reservations about them.⁴⁹ The difference between these two alchemical catalogues shows the extent to which the corpus of works bearing the name of Lull had grown during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, even though it had already acquired its main features in the early sixteenth century.

The same process of expansion can also be observed in the lists of pseudo-Lullian works found in alchemical sources from the middle of the fifteenth century onwards. There are seven titles in MS Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya 1727 (fifteenth century);⁵⁰ twelve in MS London, British Library, Sloane 75 (fifteenth century);⁵¹ nine in the treatise *Conversatio philosophorum* (1475);⁵² twenty-six in MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 7162 (after 1432);⁵³ thirty-six in MS Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Ashburnham 190 (end of the fifteenth century);⁵⁴ seventy in MS Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 130

⁴⁹ Proaza was a humanist disciple of Jaime Janer: see Carreras y Artau, *Filosofía*, II, pp. 256–7; and McPheeters, *El humanista*). His list includes eighteen pseudo-Lullian alchemical works: 'Liber de aquis et oleis; Alius de medicina theorica et practica... Liber de quintis essentiis; De quaestionibus super eo motis; Liber testamenti; Liber dictus de numero philosophorum; Diadema Ruberti; Clausula testamenti; Codicillus; Lapidarius; Liber dictus magica naturalis ad regem Angliae Eduardum; Magica naturalis parva; Liber dictus Apertorium; Liber experimentorum; De inventione secreti occulti; Liber dictus ars curatoria; Liber dictus proprietarius; Liber dictus amporismorum. Verum enimvero quos de arte transmutatoria libros novissime a nobis connumerata legis ideo certis Raymundi libris associamus quia in quibusdam illorum volumina Raymundi non secus allegata comperimus quoniam auctor ipse suos libros citare ac repetere consuevit. Ceterum an ascripticii an legitimi sint iudicio eorum relinquimus discernendum, qui sensu utrorumque penitissime coluerunt': Lull, *Ars generalis* (Valencia, 1515), sig. q ii^{r-v}. In the period between Proaza and the compiler of MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 17829, a list of alchemical treatises was often, although not invariably, appended to the catalogues of Lullian works: e.g., the Catalogus Ambrosianus and the catalogues of Johannes de Sancto Antonio and Arce de Herrera. Alchemical writings are totally absent, however, from the catalogues of Cisneros, Poblet, Vileta, and fra Barceló. Where alchemical titles are present, they are roughly the same as in the Paris catalogue. On the catalogues of Lullian works see Blanco Soto, *Estudios*; and Alós Moner, *Los catálogos*.

⁵⁰ See fol. 51^r: 'Raymundus lullij fecit omnes istos libros infrascriptos artis [alchimiae]: testamentum; codicillum; artem magicam; quintam essenciam; acur[tationis]; lapidarium; apertorium. Sunt in numero septem. Libri vero eciam... philosophie dicti magistri Raymundi sunt valde necessaria in ista arte' [the page is damaged and some words are illegible; my conjectures are in brackets]. The scribe then adds: '[Dico] tibi quod contemptis omnibus libris alkimie solummodo habeas omnes practicos libros magistri Raymundi lullii ex eo quia in ipsis continetur [tota] ars. Quos habet magister Simon in Valencia et Johannes bon [cum ria?]. Et etiam habeas librum lii et maioris [magisterii], illud opus quod scis, necnon Sedacinam, quia opus modernum est. De aliis libris non curas quia muti sunt et in aliis libris de extra nolo pen[... ..] Vincentium, quia sunt cum amisione bonorum et temporis. Hec custodi et serva quia bonum erit tibi'

⁵¹ See fol. 185: 'Istos libros composuit Raymundus Lully de insula Maioricarum. Testamentum scilicet theorica cum practica; Codicillum vel clausula Testamenti; Apertorium quod dicitur clavis omnium librorum scilicet magicam naturalem; Questiones; Tractatum ad regem Robertum qui incipit: Fulgeat regis diadema; Librum de quattuor aquis, qui habet quattuor partes... Arborem philosophiae desideratae, cuius quartum capitulum incipit: Errores et sismata; Artem magnam generalem ad omnes artes; Artem brevem consimiliter generalem. Et multos alios libros de philosophia, de astronomia, phisica, gramatica et de omnibus scienciis liberalibus. Item librum de conservatione vite humane; item terciam distinctionem cum figuris. Et pro maiori parte omnino libri quos composuit sunt apud Universitatem de Padoa...'

⁵² MS Venezia, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, lat. VI. 215, fol. 156^r: 'Raimundus Lulius... in hac scientia composuit diversa volumina que sic sunt intitulata, idest Liber quinte essentie cum 3a distinctione; Apertorium et vademeum [sic]; Ars magica naturalis; et codicillum; epistola accurtationis; et testamentum; de alchimisitarum intentione; et secreti occulti investigatione; de lapidum preciosorum compositione; arbor phylosophicalis et figura individualis'.

⁵³ See fol. 141^{r-v}, in Corbett, *Catalogue*, I, Appendice 1, p. 291, and also pp. 107–16.

⁵⁴ See fol. 67^r: 'Opera a Raymondo Julio edita quousque modo reperi sunt hec: libri tres quinte essentie; 2 Tabule super eysdem; 3 Testamentum; 4 Tabule super eodem; 5 Codicillus; 6 Apertorium testamenti; 7 Magica parva et 8 magna; 9 Anima lapidum preciosorum; 10 Anima metallorum; 11 Liber lucis; 12 Liber mercuriorum; 13 Lapidarius; 14 Vademeum; 15 Theorica; 16 Cronica; 17 practica sermocinalis; 18 practica lapidis maioris in tres partes distincta; 19 Experimenta abbreviationis; 20 Epistola accurtationis; 21 Liber de causis; 22 Liber philosophorum; 23 Liber aureus; 24 Bellator; 25 Liber conservationis vite humane; 26 tractatus

Inf. (sixteenth century);⁵⁵ and eighty-seven in the alchemical catalogue of MS Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 273.⁵⁶ The fact that these titles are found in the catalogues does not, however, indicate that they describe or derive from an actual pseudo-Lullian corpus. On the contrary, these lists—and other similar ones—are the result of attempts to define and organize pseudo-Lullian writings into a compact corpus. Such attempts were made in various places by various devotees of pseudo-Lullian alchemy during the second half of the fifteenth century, but all had similar results.

The basic texts accepted in all fifteenth-century catalogues, as well as in the most important manuscript miscellanies,⁵⁷ are: *Testamentum*, *Liber de secretis naturae* and *Epistola accurtationis*. Almost always present are: *Apertorium*, *Codicillus* and *Liber lapidarii*. And in most of the catalogues and miscellanies one finds the following works: *Ars conversionis Mercurii et Saturni in aurum et conservationis humani corporis*, *Ars intellectiva*, *Ars operativa medica*, *Compendium animae transmutationis metallorum*, *Compendium artis alchimiae*, *Liber de intentione alchimistarum* and *Liber de investigatione secreti occulti*.

In MS London, British Library, Sloane 75, the alchemical works are subdivided into two groups, one at the beginning and the other at the end of a list which also contains some of the most widely known authentic Lullian works. The texts at the end are medico-alchemical, as are the three pseudo-Lullian works or fragments copied in the preceding folios of the manuscript. This corresponds to the arrangement of these texts in some of the most significant manuscript miscellanies of pseudo-Lullian alchemy of the same period.⁵⁸ The alchemical works attributed to Lull are arranged around two central treatises, the *Testamentum* and the *Liber de secretis naturae*. The first is generally found with the *Codicillus*, *Liber de intentione alchimistarum*, *Liber lapidarii* and often with the *Aphorismi*; the second is commonly in conjunction with the *Epistola accurtationis*, *Compendium animae transmutationis metallorum*, *Liber de investigatione secreti occulti*, *Ars operativa medica* and/or other medico-alchemical treatises.

The attempt by the compilers of pseudo-Lullian alchemical manuscripts to organize the works into a unified corpus, despite their obvious differences, is clearly indicated in the dedication of MS Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale,

aquarum medicinalium; 27 figura arboris; 28 Logica; 29 tabule [add. fermentorum]; 30 figura [add. tinturationis]; 31 littere alphabetales; 32 figura tribulationis; 33 liber novi luminis; 34 Speculum operis philosophalis; 35 anima artis; 36 de natura metallorum'.

⁵⁵ See fols. 212^r-215^v. The pseudo-Lullian items are part of a general alchemical bibliography, very similar to that in MS Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 273 (n. 56 below).

⁵⁶ The Lullian section of the list in MS Barb. lat. 273, which is a general alchemical bibliography, was published in an abbreviated and not entirely accurate form by Pérez Martínez, 'Los fondos...Roma', pp. 404-8. Some of the eighty-seven titles are not alchemical treatises: numbers 40, 51, 54, 63, 71-3, and 80-1 are authentic works by Lull; number 79, *Janua artis*, is an exposition of the Lullian *ars* by Pere Dagui; number 82 is the previously mentioned *Libre de plasent visió*, which is referred to as having been cited in the *Liber de secretis naturae*. At the end of the list there is a series of alchemical alphabets from pseudo-Lullian works and from Ludovicus Rigijs, *Voythia*.

⁵⁷ These are listed in n. 58 below.

⁵⁸ Such as MSS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 112; Yale, Beinecke Library, Mellon Collection 12 (with Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1483 and 1484 from the following century, which repeat and enlarge its contents); Bern, Bürgerbibliothek A 78; Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, II iii 27; Palma de Mallorca, Biblioteca del Convent de San Francesch 17 (3-9), although it contains a smaller number of texts; Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 5846-5847.

II iii 27. The editor claims to have brought together widely scattered works,⁵⁹ supplying their complete texts and even including both versions of the *Tertia distinctio*.⁶⁰ Another feature which this manuscript shares with the most complete miscellanies is the use of figures and tables. Here, as in the Cambridge and Yale manuscripts,⁶¹ the figures referred to in the *Testamentum*, *Liber de secretis naturae* and *Liber de investigatione secreti occulti* are accurately drawn and serve as a useful aid to the understanding of the texts. It is worth noting, however, that from the textual point of view fifteenth-century editorial activity was not always beneficial. The Florentine manuscript, for instance, has a very corrupt text, and the Yale one suffers from abrupt and frequent changes of style, as well as explanatory glosses. While these miscellanies are important historical witnesses of the dissemination of the pseudo-Lullian alchemical corpus, their value for critical editions of individual works should not be overestimated.⁶²

Another interesting element in the fifteenth-century manuscript tradition of these alchemical texts is the way in which the patterns of dissemination of some of the works vary in different countries. The *Ars operativa medica* and the *Epistola accurtationis* were particularly widespread in Northern Italy—despite the doubts as to Lull's authorship of the former expressed in a marginal note in the Florentine manuscript mentioned above.⁶³ The *Testamentum* and its commentaries were copied everywhere, but English alchemists continued to be particularly interested in them, as is clear from the Bodleian miscellany.⁶⁴

2.5 Later Expansions of the Pseudo-Lullian Corpus

As we have seen, the pseudo-Lullian corpus expanded from the last decades of the fifteenth century onwards. Besides the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century manuscript miscellanies already discussed, there are others found in Montpellier

⁵⁹ See fol. 5r: 'Aurea opera viri magni Raymundi, que fragmentata dilacerataque undique penitus erant, maiori ex parte instauramus. Nam et alia sunt que aut ignota sunt aut imperitorum manibus tenentur. Erant enim operis mirabilis complementum cathene auree sue. Quorum librorum nomina inferius enumerabimus. Que vero cepimus veluti basis, sive edificii fundamentum eius totius sunt. Cum quibus studiosi ad rem grandem magnique precii dimissis multorum fabulis lectitando philosophandoque pervenire poterunt.'

⁶⁰ See Pereira, 'Sulla tradizione'.

⁶¹ For a description of the latter manuscript, see *Alchemy and the Occult*, III, pp. 79–93. The Florentine manuscript is described by Pereira, 'Quintessenza', pp. 50–2. A beautiful figure of the 'arbor philosophicalis' from the *Liber de secretis naturae* is reproduced in Yates, 'The Art of Ramon Lull', fig. 17b. Several other manuscripts also contain diagrams and figures, although fewer do so in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. On such alchemical figures and their meaning, see also Szulakowska, 'The Tree' and 'Thirteenth-Century Material Pantheism'. The latter article, which appeared while my book was in press, would merit a lengthy discussion. In it the author suggests an original way of looking at pseudo-Lullian alchemical figures, although her method is somewhat fanciful and her knowledge of the texts to which the figures are related is scanty: e.g., she considers the *Tertia distinctio* to be a part of the *Testamentum*; she relates the *figura individuorum* to the *Testamentum*, rather than to the *Liber de secretis naturae*, to which it belongs; she treats the *figura A* of the *Liber principiorum philosophiae* as if it were part of an alchemical treatise, etc.

⁶² See Thorndike, *History*, III, p. 154: 'Belief in alchemy and the capacity for textual criticism have seldom been found together in the same person.'

⁶³ MS Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, II iii 27, fol. 281r: 'Iustinianus dicebat hunc librum non esse Raymundi'. See also the note to the alchemical *Soliloquium philosophiae* in MS Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 942: 'Non puto hoc soliloquium esse opus Raymundi Lulli'.

⁶⁴ An English commentary to the *Compendium animae transmutationis metallorum* is attributed to the monk (or abbot) Cremer, whose name appears in the legend of Lull the alchemist: see below, Chapter 3.1. See also Batista y Roca, *Catàlech*, n. 45; and Carreras y Artau, *Filosofia*, II, p. 55.

and in the Gayangos collection in Spain.⁶⁵ Many recent studies have drawn attention to the Hermetic features already present in the most famous piece, the *Codicillus*. Hermetic themes are also central to the *Testamentum novissimum* or *ultimum* and the *Clavicula*, both probably not written before the end of the fifteenth century (the earliest manuscripts are from the sixteenth century). Although copied in only a small number of manuscripts, they were soon included in printed miscellanies, or were even printed on their own, as their reputation and authority increased. They are listed alongside the earliest works of Lull in MSS Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, D 139 Inf., Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. lat. 273 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, lat. 17829.

There is, however, one group of works not listed in these late catalogues and extant in only a few manuscripts dating from the very end of the sixteenth century up to the eighteenth. They form a clearly defined group, with detailed prefaces which seem to be based on the legend of Lull the alchemist in its most elaborate version,⁶⁶ and with colophons which, as already mentioned, imitate the *Testamentum*. It is to this group which I shall now turn.⁶⁷ Thorndike did not discuss them because they are late compared with the original pseudo-Lullian corpus. They offer, however, an excellent perspective from which to test my hypothesis that the corpus passed through at least three stages: the appearance of alchemical books attributed to Lull in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries; the expansion of the corpus during the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries; and its final form, represented by these late miscellanies containing works which in their titles and contents appear to be closely related to the previous stages.

These miscellanies, although composed at the end of this growth process and never very widely diffused, are in a paradoxical sense the only real pseudo-Lullian alchemical corpus that we possess.⁶⁸ They were clearly assembled by one author, or several authors working in collaboration, in order to cover the entire field of alchemy. They are attributed explicitly and in great detail to Raymond Lull, to whose legend they refer. They also have other features in common, for

⁶⁵ For the manuscripts in the École de médecine at Montpellier see Corbett, *Catalogue*, II, pp. 96–126. To these should be added MSS 300 and 469 (information kindly provided by F. Domínguez Reboiras), which, together with the manuscripts listed by Corbett (474, 479, 482 and 493), come from the Albani library. The manuscripts collected by Pasqual de Gayangos and other members of his family are now in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid. See Pérez Martínez, 'Fondos lullianos en bibliotecas españolas' (1971), p. 233, and the essay by J. Roca cited there. According to Rubió y Balaguer, 'Los códices', Guillermo de San Clemente, 'caballero de la orden de Santiago de la Espada', to whom Giordano Bruno dedicated his *De specierum scrutinio* and *De lampade combinatoria lulliana* in 1588, was a devotee of pseudo-Lullian alchemy.

⁶⁶ See below, Chapter 3.5.

⁶⁷ I provisionally include in this group texts which are found in at least three manuscripts: MSS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 10493; Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, II iii 28; and either Magliabechi XVI, 43–58, Pesaro, Biblioteca Oliveriana, 1595 I–IV or Graz, Universitätsbibliothek 42 (see *Catalogue*, s.v.); and the list of works in the letter by Cortile to L. Tassoni: Batllori, 'Records', pp. 11–15). The titles are: *Angelorum testamentum secretum*, *Apertorium animae*, *Commentum super lapidem philosophorum*, *Compendium et liber lumen luminis de intentione alchemistarum*, *Liber angelorum de conservatione vitae humanae et de quinta essentia*, *Liber angelorum testamenti experientorum*, *Liber de secreto occulto naturae caelestis*, *Liber de secreto secundo lapidis philosophici*, *Secunda magia naturalis*, *Fons scientiae divinae philosophiae*, *Liber ad serenissimam reginam Leonoram*, *Liber caelestis*, *Liber de modo sublimandi vivum argentum*, *Liber de sacra scientia Beati Joannis Evangelistae*, *Liber sponsaliti* and *Thesaurus sanitatis*.

⁶⁸ For further details see Pereira, 'Stratificazione dei testi'.

example, angels and angelic activity are frequently mentioned in the texts.⁶⁹ They emphasize the Hermetic elements already present in pseudo-Lullian alchemy and place the search for alchemical secrets within a religious framework, with prayers, oaths and holy secrets. They define alchemy as a sacred, God-given science;⁷⁰ and the alchemist is said to be a *homo divinus* and *verus Dei sacerdos*,⁷¹ who would never risk exposing his holy books to an impious reader.⁷² These works all derive from the *Testamentum novissimum*, the first of the pseudo-Lullian works to be dedicated to Prince Charles, the third member of royalty to figure in this tradition. Charles appeared on the scene quite late, in the *Historia quando Raimundus Lullus maioricanus comes, scientiam transmutationis didicerit et quando ac qua de causa traiecerit in Angliam ad regem Robertum*, a text closely related to the miscellanies considered here.⁷³

It is not difficult to see why these miscellanies were of interest to late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century alchemists. The emphasis on medical alchemy,⁷⁴ the link with religion and the suggestion of a society of alchemists⁷⁵ are characteristic features of the composite tradition (Hermeticism, Neoplatonism, alchemy, Lullism) which often formed the basis for the spread of Paracelsianism.⁷⁶ What is interesting from our point of view is that these texts seem to reflect, albeit in terms of a fable, the process by which pseudo-Lullian alchemy developed. They can therefore help us to identify the stages through which it passed. The author (or authors), reviewing dozens of minor works, draws attention to the most relevant titles and assigns them to various periods of 'Lull's' alchemical activity. Basing himself mainly on the *Testamentum novissimum*, he tries to place the alchemical works attributed to Lull in order. He distinguishes three phases, each corresponding to Lull's work for different kings, whom he arranges genealogically: father, Robert; son, Edward; and grandson, Charles. The diversity of the books composed by 'Lull' is explained by the

⁶⁹ *Liber angelorum de conservatione vitae*, MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 10493 d, p. 4 (=fol. 80^v): 'Appellamus hunc librum Angelorum, quia participat cum illis et est de secretis caeli caelorum'; the alchemist must 'custodire secreta, quae...Deus...ab Angelis nobis manifestari fecit'.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 'Deus dedit hanc nobilissimam scientiam Patribus antiquis et plures Patres istam fecerunt, cum qua templa honorata fabricaverunt Deo et plures civitates et castra erexerunt. Et probamus, testimonio beatissimi et sanctissimi viri Thomae de Aquino, necnon etiam sancti Joannis Evangelistae, servi et amici Dei, templum Salomonis et arcam Noe fuisse fabricatam mediante ista scientia'.

⁷¹ *Liber angelorum testamenti*, MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 10493 b, p. 9; see also *Liber angelorum de conservatione vitae*, *ibid.*, p. 4.

⁷² *Liber angelorum de conservatione vitae*, *ibid.*, p. 59: 'et apud mortem tuam debes eos ponere in manus unius filii tui, si bonus erit; si non, reponere in loco secreto, quod nullus eos videat, nisi oculi tui, et in nomine Jesu Christi sic dimitte, quoniam iustus et benignus Deus et Jesus Christus dabit alicui, si sibi placuerit, et si Maiestati suae placuerit, revelare alicui fideli in sanctitate devoto viro Evangelico'.

⁷³ To support the introduction of Charles into the story and to validate itself, the *Historia* gives a version of the legend which reorganizes all the elements known at that time: see below, Chapter 3.5.

⁷⁴ In addition to Arnaldian and Rupescissan medicine, the theme of potable gold is fully developed.

⁷⁵ See Pereira, 'Stratificazione dei testi', p. 94.

⁷⁶ See Galluzzi, 'Motivi', pp. 43 and 61. These alchemical texts, whose place of origin or early dissemination seems to be Florence, are possibly connected with the activity of the physicians and alchemists Jacopo and Giovanni Macolo (McCull), who were followers of Robert Fludd: *ibid.*, p. 57. The interest of Paracelsians in pseudo-Lullian alchemy is shown by some sixteenth-century editions: see above, Chapter 1.5, n. 69. Lull is mentioned as a precursor of Paracelsus by Giambattista Della Porta in his *Thaumatalogia*: see Galluzzi, 'Motivi', p. 59n. The Paracelsian Gerhard Dorn used the pseudo-Lullian *Liber de secretis naturae* in his commentary on Paracelsus, *De vita longa*, in Zetzner, *Theatrum chemicum*, I, pp. 399 ff.; according to Berthelot, 'Sur Quelques Écrits', p. 352, he was also the author of some (unspecified) pseudo-Lullian alchemical works.

difference in his attitude towards these three kings, which is expressed in terms of the amount he was willing to reveal to each: 'Diximus aliis in libris nostris Regi Roberto dedicatis sub cooperta clavi, sed illustrissimo et serenissimo Regi Eduardo Patri tuo diximus aliquid veritatis. In hoc autem brevi tractatu, Fili, volumus tibi dicere omnia realiter et fideliter.'⁷⁷ The pseudo-Lullian works are therefore divided into three groups,⁷⁸ confirming my account of the various stages through which the corpus evolved.

⁷⁷ *Liber angelorum de conservatione vitae*, p. 28.

⁷⁸ *Angelorum testamentum secretum*, MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 10493 a, p. 30.

Chapter 3: The Legend of Lull the Alchemist

3.1 Two Themes from Different Sources

Even though a biography of Lull was written as early as 1311, legends about him soon proliferated.¹ His life was so eventful and his writings so extraordinary in the context of the thirteenth century that the biographical details fabricated about him—such as his love for a woman with a cancerous breast or his being stoned to death in the land of the Saracens—readily gained credence.²

One of the influential legends about Lull arose, according to Tomás and Joaquín Carreras y Artau, as early as the fourteenth century. This is the story of his conversion to alchemy through contact with Arnald of Villanova, who was also thought to have taught him the true method of the transmutation of metals.³ As I have shown elsewhere, there is an apparent relationship between Lull's genuine scientific works, particularly those concerning medicine, and Arnald's medical writings.⁴ But there is no connection between the authentic works of Lull and Arnaldian or pseudo-Arnaldian alchemy.

It is easy, however, to find elements in the early pseudo-Lullian alchemical works which are related to, or clearly depend upon, alchemical treatises attributed to Arnald.⁵ Two of the earliest works, the *Ars operativa medica* and the *Codicillus*, mention Arnald by name and refer to his teachings;⁶ and many points in the *Practica Testamenti* are based on Arnaldian practice. The author of the *Ars operativa medica* claims to have received Arnald's teaching on distillation through the mediation of King Robert,⁷ whose name also appears in the *Liber de secretis naturae* and the *Epistola accurtationis*. Although in the fuller versions of

¹ A critical edition of this biography is now available in R. Lull, *Opera latina*, VIII, pp. 272–309; see also Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull*, p. 46, n. 2; and Domínguez Reboiras, 'Idea'.

² Such episodes were accepted in early sixteenth-century biographies of Lull; see Victor, 'Charles de Bovelles', pp. 313–46.

³ Carreras y Artau, *Filosofía*, II, p. 47, n. 75, and 'Dues notes', pp. 235–9.

⁴ Pereira, 'Le opere mediche', pp. 28–30.

⁵ The problems arising from the attribution of alchemical writings to Arnald are, as I have stated in the Introduction, even more complicated than those concerning the pseudo-Lullian corpus. While I have not attempted to solve any of these problems, I hope that by clarifying the Lullian side of the equation, some light will be shed on them as well. On Arnaldian alchemy see Crisciani, 'Exemplum Christi' and 'Note'.

⁶ *Ars operativa medica*, ed. 1523, prologue, fol. 175r: 'Tractatus iste in quattuor partes dividitur, sive distinctiones: quarum prima et quarta non fuerunt mihi Raimundi revelate, sed solum secunda et tertia; ipsas autem recepi et habui a serenissimo rege Roberto sub sigillo secreti, que quidem secreta habuerat ab expertissimo doctore magistro Arnaldo de Villanova, qui merito fons scientie vocatur: quia pre ceteris hominibus in omnibus scientiis floruit, cuius scientiam libenter amplector; a quo quidem doctore multa experimenta didici et de eius doctrina confisus illa que dicta sunt in hoc libro ad laudem tanti doctoris catholici apposui, ut eius recolibilis memoria a filiis meis recoli possit in vita perenni.' *Codicillus*, ch. 63, in Manget, *Bibliotheca*, I, p. 903: 'Cum sola praesumptione et temeritate scientiae alterius naturam firmiter intelligere credebamus idem ullo modo nec intellexeramus donec tempus fuit in quo spiritus non immediate sed mediate per M. Arnoldum de Villa Nova qui immediate sua largitate immensa reficenter inspiravit in nobis.' In the Arnaldian tradition, the story of Arnald teaching alchemy to Lull was accepted by the Genoese physician Tommaso Murchi in his prologue to Arnald, *Opera medica* (Lyon, 1504); by Symphorien Champier in his biography of Arnald; and by Janus Lacinius in the *Dialogus praefatorius* to his edition of *Pretiosa margarita novella* (1546). I thank Chiara Crisciani for bringing these texts to my attention. See also Crisciani, 'La *Quaestio*', p. 150n.

⁷ See above, n. 6.

the legend King Robert is usually said to be English, there is some evidence that he may have been Robert of Anjou.⁸ The link between pseudo-Lullian and Arnaldian alchemy still remains strong in a later treatise of the corpus, the *Experimenta*. Besides telling us the same tale about Arnald teaching Lull, its author makes a claim which also occurs in the *Quaestiones tam essentialia quam accidentales* ascribed to Arnald: 'Mare tingerem, si mercurius esset', an assertion of the remarkable results which can be achieved by alchemy.⁹

The second element of the legend is the well-known story of Lull's journey to England at the invitation of Abbot Cremer. Once in London, he was supposed to have performed marvellous transmutations for King Edward; however, being deceived by the king as to the use to which the money made from the alchemical gold was put, he protested and was consequently put into jail.¹⁰ The primary source for this story is the so-called *Testamentum Cremeri*, a small alchemical *practica* with an introduction relating Cremer's experiences before he met Lull and the subsequent adventures of the two adepts.¹¹ Lull's visit to England, but not his final imprisonment, is recorded in a passage of the *Compendium animae transmutationis metallorum*, together with the name of King Edward.¹² This king, whose name appears in the *Testamentum*, *Liber lapidarii* and many other works,

⁸ Platzek, 'Einleitung', in Bernard de Lavinheta, *Explanatio*, pp. 13–14. The *Epistola accurrationis*, dedicated to King Robert, is entitled, in MS Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1484, *Epistola accurrationis ad Robertum Siciliae regem*. Robert's name also appears in the *Liber de secretis naturae*, ed. 1518, sigs. a iv^r and b ii^r. On Robert of Anjou (1278–1343), see Baddeley, *Robert the Wise*; Léonard, *Les Angevins*; Frede, 'Nel regno di Roberto d'Angiò'.

⁹ *Experimenta*, 34, in Manget, *Bibliotheca*, I, p. 848. See *Quaestiones tam essentialia quam accidentales*, q. IX, in Manget, *Bibliotheca*, I, p. 701: 'Si esset possibile quod tota aqua maris esset argentum vivum mundum calefactum vel corpus imperfectum fustum, et si parum huius medicinae desuper ponetur tota illa aqua convertetur in solem vel lunam.'

¹⁰ The various versions of the tale have different endings, as will become evident in what follows. In hermetic literature the more classical form of the legend is told by Nicolas Lenglet Du Fresnoy, *Histoire*, I, pp. 44–184; II, pp. 6–10, with an illustration of the coin made with alchemical gold, called the 'rose-noble'; and III, pp. 210–25.

¹¹ *Testamentum Cremeri, Abbatis Westmonasteriensis, Angli, Ordinis Benedictini*. This work was published by Michael Maier, *Tripus aureus* (Frankfurt, 1518), p. 535; and in *Musaeum hermeticum reformatum*, pp. 535–44, see especially p. 535: 'Quantoque magis legi, tanto magis erravi, usque dum in Italiam divina providentia me contulerim, ubi Deo optimo maximo visum fuerit, me in sodalium unius viri non minus dignitate, quam omni genere eruditionis praediti, Raymundi nomine destinare, in cuius sodalitate diu remoratus sum, sicque favorem in conspectu huius boni viri nactus sim quod ille aliquam partem tanti mysterii aperuerit, propterea illum multis praecibus ita tractavi, quod necum in hanc insulam veniret, necumque duos annos manserit. In cuius temporis tractu, sum absolute totum opus consecutus. Posteaquam hunc virum egregium in conspectu inclitissimi Regis Edovardi deduxi, a quo merita dignitate recipitur et omni humanitate tractatur, ibique multis promissis, pactis, conditionibusque a rege inductus, erat contentus Regem pro missione divina sua arte divitem facere. Hac solummodo conditione, ut rex in propria persona adversus Turcas, inimicos Dei, bellum gereret impenderetque super domum Domini, minimeque in superbia aut bello gerendo adversus Christianos: sed (proh dolor) hoc promissum erat irritum a rege violatumque, tum ille vir prius in spiritibus penetralibusque cordis sui afflictus hinc trans mare lamentabili miserabilique more aufugit, quod cor meum urit non mediocriter.' Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, I, pp. 184–5, described Cremer, a little-known alchemist, in terms taken mostly from his *Testamentum*. Elias Ashmole placed a portrait of him at the beginning of *Hermes' Bird in Theatrum chemicum Britannicum* (London, 1652); see also pp. 443–67. But Olaus Borrichius, who was firmly convinced of the authenticity of every other aspect of Lullian alchemy, was doubtful about the story of Cremer and the visit to England: see his *Conspicius scriptorum chemicorum illustriorum* (1697), reprinted in Manget, *Bibliotheca*, I, pp. 38–53 (44).

¹² *Compendium animae transmutationis metallorum*, in Manget, *Bibliotheca*, I, p. 789; see also the slightly different version at p. 863. The author claims to have seen special kinds of shells 'in Cypro prope civitatem Famagustae et in regione Portugaliae prope civitatem Lisbonae in ripa maris. Et in quadam villa, quae dicitur Conilla et in alio loco, qui dicitur Portus Sylvenae usque ad Sanctum Vincentium de finibus mundi. Vidimus enim omnia ista dum ad Angliam transivimus, propter intercessionem domini Regis Eduardi Illustrissimi.'

is said to have been the dedicatee of one of the versions of the *Liber de secretis naturae*.¹³ His name comes up again in the events described by William Fabri,¹⁴ as well as in all later versions of the legend. Although there is a fantastic element here, the story is sufficiently factual to throw further light on the links between English and Catalan alchemists during the fourteenth century. The unhappy ending of the story with Lull's imprisonment seems to agree with the data presented by Singer in her research on English medieval alchemy: from 1329 until the middle of the fifteenth century, English kings were interested in alchemical transmutation; unsuccessful alchemists were, however, often imprisoned.¹⁵

There are two main differences between the part of the legend concerning Arnald and the part which centres on Cremer. First, Arnald's teaching focused on the alchemical elixir and the processes of distillation, while Cremer and his 'Lull' were interested only in the transmutation of metals to make gold.¹⁶ Moreover, although Arnald was a well-known alchemist in fourteenth-century England, his name is totally absent from the *Testamentum Cremeri*. The second difference is, of course, the name of the king: Robert in one, Edward in the other. As we have already seen and shall see again, later variants of the legend tried to gloss over this difference; but it was clearly there from the beginning.

The Carreras y Artaus dated the origin of this legend to the fourteenth century on the ground that Pierre de Brantôme, on whose version of the story they relied, had apparently taken it from the commentary on the canon *De falsa moneta*, written—according to Brantôme—by Oldrado da Ponte, a jurist who died in Avignon in 1335.¹⁷ But this commentary was already lost in Brantôme's time. Among Oldrado's other works the only one dealing with alchemy is a *Consilium*;¹⁸ but Lull's name appears nowhere in it, nor is the legend about him mentioned.¹⁹ It is worth noting that Brantôme was not so much a scholar as a man of letters and that his story was second-hand. Although he cited the precise source (Bovelles) for other episodes of the legend, his notions of alchemy are so paradoxical and confused that they inevitably arouse suspicions in the reader.²⁰ Brantôme's evidence cannot, therefore, be taken as proof (indeed the only proof)

¹³ In the colophons of MSS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 112, and Oxford, Corpus Christi College 244; see above, Chapter 1.4.

¹⁴ See below, Chapter 3.2.

¹⁵ Singer, *Catalogue*, III, Appendix II: 'Some References to Alchemy and Chemical Craftmanship in Legal Archives', pp. 777–97.

¹⁶ This element has been emphasized in the traditional histories of alchemy. Money coined by King Edward using the alchemical gold prepared by Lull was identified with the so-called 'rose-nobles'; but these did not in fact come into use until well into the fifteenth century. See Waite, *Lives*, p. 82; and Amadou, *Ramon Lulle*, p. 21. For a drawing of the rose-nobles, see John Selden, *Mare clausum* (London, 1636), pp. 436–40; and Elias Ashmole, *Theatrum chemicum Britannicum*, p. 443. See also Samuel Reyher, *Dissertatio de nummis... ex chymico metallo factis* (Kiel, 1692) cited in Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, II, p. 55. On 'rose-nobles' see most recently Karpenko, 'Coins and Medals'.

¹⁷ Carreras y Artau, 'Dues notes', pp. 236–7.

¹⁸ See Migliorino, 'Alchimia'.

¹⁹ Lull is not cited by the oldest juridical sources on alchemy. See J. C. Faniano, *De iure artis alchimiae*, in Manget, *Bibliotheca*, I, p. 210; his name appears for the first time in the sixteenth-century *Responsum* by Thomas Arsoncinus.

²⁰ For example, Brantôme claimed, supposedly relying on Oldrado, that Lull transmuted gold into iron in order to do what other alchemists were not able to do. But why would such an episode have figured in Oldrado's commentary on the activity of forgers?

of the early origin of the legend of Lull the alchemist. We shall have to rely upon less suspect testimonies.

To deny the early origin of the legend does not oblige us to do the same with regard to the alchemical works. The Carreras y Artaus argued for an early formation of the pseudo-Lullian alchemical corpus and noted that alchemical works in Catalan or Provençal, some of which had a Lullian flavour, were in existence before 1357.²¹ But even if the earliest pseudo-Lullian alchemical works did appear during the first half of the fourteenth century, there is no proof—quite the contrary—that they were from the outset attributed to Lull.²² I shall try, therefore, to demonstrate that the legend came into being relatively late; that its two elements existed separately for a long time; that the still incomplete legend was not very influential in the formation and diffusion of the corpus during the fifteenth century; and finally, that it became increasingly important in the sixteenth century and later.

3.2 Lull, Arnald and John Dastin in William Fabri's Alchemical Dialogue

Lull's name appears for the first time in a list of alchemists in William Sedacer's *Summa sedacina totius artis alkimie*, written during the second half of the fourteenth century.²³ In his prologue, Sedacer claims to have been persuaded of the truth of alchemy by his long, deep and diligent study of the following books: 'libros Hermetis, Aristotelis, Avicenne Habuali fratris Calith, Turbe philosophorum, Rosarii, Rudiani, Ricardi, Alberti, Damasceni, Ortulani, Archelay, filie Mide, Marie sororis Moysi, Gilberti cardinalis, Vincentii, Thome de Aquino, Jacobi de Sancto Saturnino, Rogerii Baconis et etiam Raymundi Lullii'.²⁴ This long list shows that the attribution of alchemical compositions to Lull had already begun by about 1378,²⁵ although neither here nor elsewhere in the *Summa* is there any hint of the later legend. It is interesting to note that in the list we find the name of Jacobus de Sancto Saturnino, whose treatise was included, along with pseudo-Lullian and other alchemical works, in the lost Oviedo manuscript described by Luanco.²⁶ The *Summa sedacina*, moreover, shows a strong interest in that part of alchemy, *lapidifica* (the making of precious stones), which is characteristic of many of the earliest pseudo-Lullian works.²⁷

About the same time that Sedacer was active as an alchemist and alchemical writer, the second pivotal work of pseudo-Lullian alchemy, the *Liber de secretis naturae*, was being written. Not only is the legend of Lull the alchemist absent from this treatise, it is even contradicted in it.²⁸ In the final dialogue the questions asked by monk and the replies given by Raymond preclude any possibility of a

²¹ Carreras y Artau, 'Dues notes', p. 235. This had already been noted by Berthelot, 'Sur quelques écrits', p. 352, who stated that 'ces écrits ont été composés par des gens qui se croyaient ses [i.e. Lull's] disciples'. Although he was only putting forward a hypothesis, I am inclined to take the same view: see above, Chapter 1.

²² See above, Chapter 1.2–3.

²³ See Thorndike, *History*, III, pp. 628–32; and IV, p. 22.

²⁴ Sedacer, *Sedacina totius artis alkimie*, MS Firenze, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Gaddi rel. 181, fol. 1^v.

²⁵ See Thorndike, *History*, III, pp. 629–30 and 633. See above, Chapter 2.1, n. 4.

²⁶ See above, Chapter 1.4.

²⁷ Sedacer, *Sedacina* (n. 24 above), fols 6^v–8^v and 32^r–33^v.

²⁸ See below, Chapter 4.3.

conversion to alchemy brought about by Arnald, not to mention the journey to England. There may be an adumbration of this journey in the *Compendium animae transmutationis metallorum*,²⁹ but it consists only of a bare reference to a sea-voyage, with no mention of transmutation, betrayal or imprisonment.

After Sedacer, we find an interesting mention of Lull in the alchemical dialogue *De lapide philosophorum et de auro potabili* by the physician William Fabri de Dya.³⁰ Fabri wrote the work for the antipope Felix V (1439–49), who had requested him to show ‘quid possit esse huius pestis angustia que manum et pedem adeo violenter detinet ut moveri nequeat’. Fabri begins by reminding him of the dispute between Italian and French physicians. We then learn that Felix thought the shallow Italian physicians followed the common path, while in France there was ‘aliud medendi genus...de quo Arnaldus de Villanova in sua epistola *De retardanda senectute* multum tetigerat’.³¹ After some further discussion, Felix finally comes to the main point of his request: alchemy and potable gold. He wants to know Fabri’s opinion about the medicine named *ixir* or elixir, on which the fame of the French physicians rests.³² He asks Fabri to write a treatise in Aristotelian terms concerning the truth of alchemy and its medical use, which Fabri does, presenting a summary in the style of the scholastic *Quaestio de alchimia*,³³ enriched with a chapter on potable gold and another on the alchemical terms *ixir* and *talchem*.

I am only going to discuss those passages in this brief but interesting work which relate to Raymond Lull, the first of which occurs in the latter part of the work entitled *De ethica philosophia morali*. Fabri describes the qualities necessary for the practice of alchemy: not only a good knowledge of natural philosophy, but also moral wisdom and virtue, and the ability to resist royal pressure. He reproaches kings for having driven their alchemists to the point of desperation and extols Edward’s entirely different attitude, ‘quia in habitu heremite pro hac arte erravit orbem terrarum. Et quomodo tractavit Arnaldum, Raymondum et Joannem de Testym, reperiuntur cronice laudabiles’.³⁴ Lull’s work as an alchemist, together with that of Arnald and John ‘de Testym’ or Dastin, seems to have been considered remarkable.³⁵ Oddly enough, although

²⁹ See above, Chapter 3.1, n. 13. Other travels are recorded in the *Epistola accurtaionis*, in Manget, *Bibliotheca*, I, p. 863: ‘Ego cum Vienna transivi’; and p. 864: ‘Deinde Salernum ivi’. Note that the journeys are considered by Halleux, ‘Le Mythe’, p. 250, as ‘une composante obligée du récit alchimique’.

³⁰ On Fabri see Carbonelli, *Sulle fonti*, pp. 84–93; Thorndike, *History*, IV, pp. 342–4; Wickersheimer, *Dictionnaire*, s.v. Carbonelli’s dating of *De lapide* to 1447–9 has been generally accepted. The text is found in MS Bologna, Biblioteca universitaria I38 (104), fols 245^r–253^v: ‘Guillermi Fabri de Dya medicus pape Felicis in Sabbaudia... Incipit liber Gylielmi [sic] de Dya de lapide philosophorum et de auro potabili ad summum pontificem. Gratulanti michi dudum is quem christiani sanctissimum dicebant...’

³¹ Fabri, *De lapide* (n. 30 above), fol. 245^r.

³² *Ibid.*, fol. 245^v: ‘Successive post multos circuitos devenit ad aurum potabilem et ad artem transmutatoriam dicens: “Quid ais tu de illa medicina philosophorum, quam ixir dicunt?”’

³³ See Crisciani, ‘La *Quaestio de alchimia*’.

³⁴ Fabri, *De lapide* (n. 30 above), fol. 249^v.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, fol. 253^r: ‘[alchemists] habent quicquid desiderant, ut patet de Arnaldo, Raymondo et Jo. de Testym, cum quibus rex Odoardus completo opere et inter eos divisio voluit dividere regnum suum. Sed dixerunt regi, quod regnare et philosophari essent duo incompatibilia’; fol. 253^v: ‘Et nonne ultramontani habuerunt eodem tempore concurrentes Arnaldum de Villanova, Raymundum Lullii et Johannem de Testym qui cum rege Odoardo Anglie domino insularum inhabitantium mare oceanum opus peregerint et libros scripserunt.’ The pseudo-Lullian *Testamentum* is cited twice: at fol. 251^r, ‘Raymundus in fine practice Testamenti’; and fol. 252^v, ‘Est nam yxir recte factum fortuna quia divitias largitur ad plenas quadrigas ut dicit Raymondus in Testamento’.

Fabri is aware of the wretched fate of many unfortunate alchemists, he does not mention Lull's imprisonment. King Edward, the dedicatee of *Testamentum* and related works, is seen as a benevolent protector, who was prepared to divide up his kingdom between Arnald, Raymond and Dastin. This king is clearly very different from the impious Edward of the legend, who wanted to use alchemical gold to fight against the French, his Christian neighbours, rather than fulfilling Lull's desire for a new crusade.

Fabri consistently presents the trio of alchemists, Arnald, Raymond and Dastin, as firmly connected with one another. It should also be noted that the *Donum Dei*, attributed to Dastin, summarized themes developed in the *practicae* of the *Testamentum*, *Codicillus* and the Arnaldian *Rosarius*, and that the pseudo-Lullian *De intentione alchemistarum* is entitled *Donum Dei* in several manuscripts.³⁶ Fabri is the first writer, so far as I know, to bring together the two parts of the legend—Arnald and the visit to England. His addition of Dastin's name, moreover, provides further evidence of the Catalan-English connection, which seems to be so important for the origin of pseudo-Lullian alchemy.

3.3 The Legend in Other Fifteenth-Century Texts

The first element of the legend, the conversion of Lull to alchemy through Arnald's teaching, appears in another brief work of the fifteenth century, the anonymous *Conversatio philosophorum*, written before 1475.³⁷ The *Conversatio* is a short piece on alchemy, written for 'aliquos nobiles forenses vel doctores, cives ceterosque scolares teorice, sed non practice conversari cupientes'. It deals with the art of transmutation, which is here ranked below astronomy.³⁸ This theoretical dissertation opens with an outline of the history of alchemy, beginning before the Flood and continuing with Hermes and many other famous wise men and alchemists of antiquity.³⁹ The last honest alchemist among the *moderni* is said to have been Raymond Lull. After him came a new sect, wicked and mendacious, who filled the world with fraudulent books falsely ascribed to good

³⁶ See Thorndike, *History*, III, pp. 101–2; and IV, p. 635. In MS Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Magl. XVI.133, the Arnaldian *Rosarius* is attributed to all three authors. Dastin wrote an epistle to Pope John XXII: see Josten, 'The Text'; and he dedicated some alchemical treatises to Napoleone Orsini (1288–1342): see Thorndike, *History*, III, pp. 85 ff.; on Dastin, *ibid.*, ch. V; and *Dictionary of National Biography*, s.v.

³⁷ It is found in MS Venezia, Biblioteca nazionale Marciana, lat. VI.215, fols 155^r–158^r. The colophon given by Valentinelli, *Bibliotheca*, I, p. 120, is incorrect due to a confusion with MS VI.214. The colophon actually reads as follows: 'Dignissimum hoc presens volumen quamplurimum et diversorum librorum ornatum partis occulte phylosophie quorundam philosophorum scriptum exstitit per me Magistrum Theodoricum Ghysiberti de lunenburgo de Saxonia. Ad instantiam et petitionem artium medicine eximii ac famosissimi viri Marci Butii Senuvini de ferrantis de perusio. In civitate fulgini. Die quarta mensis Decembris. Anno M^oCCCC^oLXXX^o. Finis'. This manuscript contains at fol. 262^v the same figure which appears on fols 114^v–115^r of the pseudo-Lullian miscellany MS Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, II iii 27. In the Venetian manuscript the figure is outlined in ink, without colours, and is followed by the treatise *Aristotelis spera octo figurarum de lapide philosophico liber*, which begins: 'Hec est figura celi que spera nuncupatur...': ed. in *Veræ alchemiæ... doctrina*, II, pp. 102–3; Zetzner, *Theatrum chemicum*, II, pp. 495–8; and Albertus Magnus, *Opera omnia*, ed. A. Borgnet, 38 vols (Paris, 1890–9), XXXVII, pp. 574–6. The figure is closely related to this pseudo-Aristotelian, or pseudo-Albertian text, where the process of distillation is described. See Pereira, 'Quintessenza', p. 40; Schmitt and Knox, *Pseudo-Aristoteles Latinus*, p. 79; and Szulakowska, 'The Tree'.

³⁸ *Conversatio* (n. 37 above), fol. 155^r.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, fols 155^r–156^v.

philosophers.⁴⁰ It may seem odd to us that Lull's works were considered to be uncontaminated by forgers. This argument needs to be evaluated, however, in terms of, first, the stratification of the pseudo-Lullian alchemical corpus (and perhaps of other such collections) and, second, the 'philological' activity of the fifteenth-century compilers of pseudo-Lullian alchemical miscellanies.⁴¹ But if Lull is presented in the *Conversatio* as having been converted to alchemy through the influence of the holy master Arnald of Villanova, after having resisted it in his previous works, no mention at all is made of his voyage to England and his subsequent misfortunes.

The voyage to England is, however, found as an isolated episode in a fifteenth-century French treatise, where Lull is cited as example in order to show that alchemists can only avoid danger by rigorously guarding the secrecy of their research.⁴² It therefore seems that, although the legend had begun to spread during the fifteenth century, it was neither widely known nor completely developed. It should be recalled, by way of verifying this point, that the legend is mentioned nowhere in the large pseudo-Lullian alchemical miscellanies described in the previous chapter.⁴³ In one of these miscellanies there are two manuscript illuminations depicting Lull together with a king and Arnald; but these illustrations are, as I have shown elsewhere, closely related to the content or dedications of the individual works.⁴⁴ And although the compiler of this collection was aware of the presence of Arnaldian themes in pseudo-Lullian alchemy,⁴⁵ he never connects Lull and Arnald nor does he speak of Lull's conversion to alchemy.

3.4 Christopher of Paris and the Legend of Lull

As in the dialogue of William Fabri, the two elements of the Lullian legend are individually present in the alchemical works of Christopher of Paris: *Elucidarius*,

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 156^{r-v}: 'Raymundus lullius qui hanc scientiam ignoravit et rationibus fortissimis improbavit. Sed per tantum doctorem catholicum et experimentatorem maximum phylosophum sacratissimum magistrum Arnoldum de Villanova cathellanum medicorum peritissimum experientia convividus [*sic for: convictus*] et operationibus instructus, a doctore edoctior fuit factus...[The preceding passage was noted by Valentinelli and is cited in Hauréau and Littré, 'Raimond Lulle', p. 272.] Iam sequitur alia secta, cuius multitudo est infinita, re vera maledicta, mendacis plenissima...decipiendo et falsos libros componendo sub vocabulo bonorum phylosophorum intitulando...'

⁴¹ See above, Chapter 2.4.

⁴² MS Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 291, fols 57^v-58^r, in Corbett, *Catalogue*, II, p. 153. This manuscript, copied in 1516 by Pierre Bureteau, contains an alchemical text written by Jean Saulnier in 1432 (fols 57^r-68^v), which gives an account of Lull the alchemist, maintaining that he studied at Paris with Richard, son of the English king (it is worth noting that Richard's name is nowhere else mentioned in the pseudo-Lullian tradition; perhaps it is a merely mistake for Robert). It goes on to describe how Lull revealed his alchemical skills to Richard and asked the king to assemble an army to fight against the Saracens, promising to produce as much gold as was needed for the enterprise. The king agreed, but after having obtained the alchemical gold from Lull, threw him in jail and organized an expedition against France. See also MS Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 290 (15th-16th century), cited in Corbett, *Catalogue*, II, p. 143: 'quidam novus philosophus qui Raymundus Iulii de insula Maioricarum nominatur et qui secundum testimonium plurimorum hominum omnium nationum dicunt quod ipse composuit in Anglia tempore Eduardi magni lapidem philosophorum'.

⁴³ See above, Chapter 2.4.

⁴⁴ See Pereira, 'Quintessenza', pp. 36 and 40.

⁴⁵ MS Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, II iii 27, fol. 5^r: 'Incipiunt aurea opera viri magni Raymondi...cum quibus studiosi ad rem grandem magnique precii dimissis multorum fabulis lectitando philosophandoque pervenire poterunt. Inveni item duos libros celeberrimi Raynaldi, quorum alter Rosarius, alter Rosinus inscribitur. Quibus ex libris divus Raymondus in suos multa traduxit.'

Sommetta or *Violetta*, *Apertorium alphabetale* and *Cithera*, all written in the 1470s.⁴⁶ According to Thorndike, Christopher wrote about alchemy at a 'popularizing repetitive level' and was an earnest follower of Pseudo-Lull,⁴⁷ although he was also well informed about other branches of the alchemical tradition, which he realized it was sometimes necessary to follow.⁴⁸ In the second book of his *Elucidarius* he used the alphabetical series in a way similar to the *Tertia distinctio*; for that reason his book is also named *Arbor sapientiae* or *Arbor scientiae philosophalis*.

In his account of the illustrious followers of Lull, Salzinger included Christopher, together with John of Rupescissa, among the 'Auctores primae classis'. He praised Christopher's books because they threw considerable light on Lull's alchemy.⁴⁹ Christopher did in fact know some of the main constituents of the pseudo-Lullian corpus in the second half of the fifteenth century: *Liber de secretis naturae*, *Testamentum*, *Epistola accurtationis*, *Compendium animae transmutationis metallorum*, *Codicillus* and *Liber de investigatione secreti occulti*. He was clearly both a true Lullist and an alchemist; and, significantly, he either came from or was in some way connected with Northern Italy.⁵⁰

Christopher of Paris speaks of Lull as a disciple of Arnald, who at times contradicted his master: 'Contrarium autem a Raimundo Lulio, Arnaldi de Villanova discipulo, asseritur'.⁵¹ He in no way, however, connects this point with Lull's visit to England, which is recounted in order to demonstrate that alchemists were mistaken when they thought that the gold they produced was needed to restore Christendom and defend it from the Saracens. Lull's misfortunes showed, on the contrary, that alchemists could be easily deceived about the use to which their gold was to be put and, furthermore, that they risked becoming victims of the arrogance of the mighty.⁵² The end of Christopher's tale

⁴⁶ On Christopher of Paris see Thorndike, *History*, IV, pp. 349–51 and 645; Carreras y Artau, *Filosofía*, II, pp. 56–7; Vasoli, 'La cultura'; Carbonelli, *Sulle fonti*, pp. viii, 27 and 29 (where he cites MS Pavia, Biblioteca universitaria 341). Although he was called 'from Paris', he seems to have been Italian or at least close to Italian (in particular Venetian) circles: see his letters to the Venetian patrician Andrea Ogniben, written in Italian in the years 1472, 1476, etc. He also acknowledged as masters 'Paulo dela pergola peramatissimo fratello nostro', who taught him alchemical theory, and 'Angelo bazaveno da Murano cum la practica': MS Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2581, fol. 70^r. In MS Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Serie nova 230+298, once owned by Nicolaus Pol, Christopher is described as 'Parusinus', which might also mean 'from Perugia': see above, Chapter 2.1, n. 21. His *Elucidarius* is edited in Zezner, *Theatrum chemicum*, VI, pp. 195–266; the Latin text seems slightly abridged by comparison with the Italian one in MSS Firenze, Biblioteca Riccardiana 2581 and Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, II iii 25. No Latin manuscripts are known. A curious note written on a slip of paper inserted between fols 96 and 97 of the Riccardiana manuscript speaks of a magical translation into Italian: '1574 6 luglio N. Nel Lucidario scritto di mano di Jo. Gerolamo da Riva del 1488, che furono li anni proximi al tempo di Xstoforo da Parisi et de Andrea Ogniben et che le opere sue non tanto erano in vulgare repassate come si dice per magari...'.

⁴⁷ Thorndike, *History*, IV, p. 615.

⁴⁸ Christopher of Paris, *Elucidarius*, p. 196: 'Ex quibus omnibus [i.e., alchemical authors] epitomem quamdam sumemus. Imprimis vero Raymundum Lullium tamquam patronum et patrem nostrae artis, secundum cuius praecepta per multos annos laboravimus, sequemur'; p. 199: 'Quamvis ordinem Raymundi Lullii mihi proposuerim non tamen illum solum sequor in omnibus. Si quid enim experientia nostra praeter illa quae apud Hortulanum, Albertum Magnum et alios extant, nobis suppediavit; ex illo Elucidarium nostrum fecimus ditorem.'

⁴⁹ Salzinger, *Testimonia virorum illustrium*, in Lull, *Opera omnia*, I, pp. 199–200 at 199: 'magnam lucem praebet libris practicis B. Raymundi'. See also Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull*, p. 316n.

⁵⁰ See n. 46 above.

⁵¹ Christopher of Paris, *Elucidarius*, p. 203.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 207: 'Deus omnipotens plures alias liberationis vias habet et alchymicis opibus non eget. Quas si Raymundus Lullius Eduardo regi in immensa auri summa in illum finem subministravit, ut in Barbariam

differs not only from Fabri's account of King Edward's generous offer of gifts to the trio of alchemists, but also from the unhappy ending of Cremer's *Testamentum*. According to Christopher, Lull was not imprisoned but rather left England in anger (*iratus*) or, as the Italian manuscripts say, prudently (*cautamente*).

This reinforces what has previously been said about the legend of Lull the alchemist, namely, that before the later part of the fifteenth century it was not widespread among his followers nor had the two components of the story been joined together. In the *Lignum vitae* of John Bracesco, for example, there are no allusions to the legend, although Lull himself is introduced to speak about transmutation, which is said to be based on iron or a by-product of its refining called *joppa*.⁵³

3.5 The Whole Story

It was only during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that the legend began to be considered an important feature of pseudo-Lullian alchemy, and, as we shall see, it remained so for the first scholars who denied the attribution of alchemical works to Lull. To the best of my knowledge, there are three versions of the legend in the later pseudo-Lullian manuscript tradition (not taking into account the many references to it elsewhere): two of these are interesting only as curiosities, but the third was apparently more widely known and represents the most complete elaboration of the tale.⁵⁴

The *Historia quando Raimundus Lullus* opens with a brief account of Arnald's teaching and of the years which Arnald and Lull spent together 'in studio Parisiensi' studying the secrets of nature and searching for a universal medicine to cure all diseases. Lull, speaking in the first person, claims to have been a subject of King John of Portugal, whose daughter had married King Robert of England. When Robert became involved in a war against the king of France, John, fearing for the lives of his daughter and son-in-law, sent Lull, an accomplished alchemist and maker of gold, to help them. He was received with honours and made alchemical gold for Robert. He also produced his first books, in which he concealed rather than revealed the secrets of alchemy. But although Robert had been converted to alchemy, he did not treat Lull with respect and, being unable to obtain his books and the secrets of his art, arrested him. After the wretched death of Robert, however, his son Edward offered Lull protection, and

proficisceretur, et totum illum regnum ad religionem Christianam converteret, res tamen non ex voto successit, quamvis se Deo rem acceptam et gratam praestare putarit. Nam praefatus rex multorum navium classe Galliam appulit et illam sibi prius subiugare volebat, multumque sanguinis Christiani fudit, Raymundo vero se quamprimum domum redire Barbariam petitem promisit et plus auri conficere iussit. Raymundus autem super hac re multo animi dolore affectus et iratus ex Anglia se subduxit.'

⁵³ The text, originally written in Italian, was translated and edited by G. Gratarolus in *Veræ alchemiae...doctrina* and is reprinted in Manget, *Bibliotheca*, I, pp. 911–38, at the end of the Lullian subsection.

⁵⁴ *Historia quando Raymundus Lullus, Maioricanus comes, scientiam transmutationis didicerit et quando ac qua de causa traiecerit in Angliam ad regem Robertum*: see below, Catalogue I.23. The earliest manuscript, so far as I know, is MS Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Magl. XVI.50, fols 1^r-15^r (17th century); it is one of the manuscripts in the series Magl. XVI. 43–58, which contains the alchemical miscellany referred to above, Chapter 2.5.

in return the philosopher wrote 'multa volumina' for him. Eventually Edward's son, Charles, became even fonder of Lull than his father had been. To this gifted young man Lull offered all his knowledge and the key to his secrets, writing for him his last and most explicit books—that is, the series of works which form the final stage of the formation of the corpus.⁵⁵

The main part of the legend ends here, but some manuscripts give a fuller account, providing more details about Robert's treachery and the friendship between Lull and Edward.⁵⁶ This elaborated version of the legend is not merely the result of literary embellishment; there clearly must have been some intermediate stage or stages between the story told by Christopher of Paris and this more complex narration. One of these stages may perhaps be the version of the legend found in Brantôme; but I have found no evidence of it within the pseudo-Lullian alchemical tradition.

The *Historia* has lost one element contained in the older testimonies: Lull's desire to make alchemical gold so that it could be used for fighting the Saracens. This problem worried Bernardus de Lavineta in 1523. Also, the *Historia* refers to three kings, only two of whom appear in the earliest works and in the manuscript tradition up to the end of the fifteenth century. The third, 'Carolus serenissimus princeps', appears for the first time as the dedicatee of the *Testamentum novissimum*, a work preserved only in manuscripts of the sixteenth-century or later.

Echoes of this version are found in Olaus Borrichius, *De ortu et progressu chemiae dissertatio*, written in 1668.⁵⁷ Borrichius, who was convinced of the authenticity of pseudo-Lullian alchemy, attempted to give an historical explanation of the three kings: Edward was Edward I of England, who fought against the French, while Charles and Robert were the Angevin kings Charles II (d. 1282) and Robert (d. 1309). Borrichius was therefore led to the supposition that Cremer lived during Edward I's reign, thus placing Lull's alchemical activity and the related legend at the very beginning of the fourteenth century, that is, during Lull's own lifetime—quite impossible, of course, as we have already seen. Borrichius does, however, offer another, more interesting suggestion. Using an English source, he writes that George Ripley for many years sent money to 'Equitibus Rhodiensibus ad sustentandum bellum adversus Turcas [sic]'.⁵⁸ This passage seems to emphasize the importance of Ripley for the development of the

⁵⁵ See above, Chapter 2.5.

⁵⁶ The text is published in Pereira, 'La leggenda', pp. 155–63.

⁵⁷ This text is reprinted in Manget, *Bibliotheca*, I, pp. 1–37; his analysis of pseudo-Lullian alchemy appears at pp. 32–5. See also Borrichius, *Conspectus scriptorum*, *ibid.*, pp. 43–4. Borrichius's account of Lull shows the extent to which seventeenth-century scholars subjected vague and legendary stories to historico-chronological criticism. Nevertheless, his treatment of pseudo-Lullian alchemy is neither complete nor reliable since he clearly started from the mistaken premise that Lull's authorship of these works was undeniable. Cf., however, Halleux, *Les Textes*, p. 51. About a century before Borrichius, Robert Duval (Vallensis) gave a much more concise account of Lull's role in the history of alchemy; see *Verae alchemiae...doctrina*, p. 5: 'De Chemya vel Alchymia sic scribit Robertus Constantinus in suo Nomenclatore insignium scriptorum Parisiis edito 1555:...Raymundus Lullius scripsit (praeter multa) de secretis naturae sive quinta essentia. Hunc ego inquirendo comperio, apud Anglos re quidem vera praestitisse, quod suis libris pollicetur, et in arce Londini, iussu Regis, probatissimum aurum confecisse, mihiq[ue] genus numi ostensum est, quod adhuc appellat Nobile Raymundi, auri videlicet puri, et obrizi, summeq[ue] indicaturae. Ipse in libro, quod Testamentum vocat, fatetur se hanc artem ex Arnolde de Villanova coaevo suo didicisse.'

⁵⁸ Borrichius, *Conspectus scriptorum*, ch. xxiii, p. 41. The source cited is Theodorus Mundanus, *In responsis ad Edmundum Dickinson* (Oxford, 1686).

English episode of the legend; Ripley, like his contemporary Christopher of Paris, regarded Lull as a major alchemical author and as his teacher.⁵⁹

3.6 The Triumph of Romance

Less well known but also interesting are two other versions of the legend found in Milan and Florence.⁶⁰ The first was written by the Milanese physician Ettore Ausonio, a fervent follower of pseudo-Lullian alchemy, active around the middle of the sixteenth century. At the end of 1551 he wrote a *Trattato sopra l'arte dell'alchimia*, in which he evaluated the validity of alchemy and set out the two components of the Lullian legend separately.⁶¹ Both elements have an original flavour found nowhere else. Lull is described as the disciple of Arnald, who taught him the practical secrets of alchemy. Lull, for his part, gave Arnald a theoretical understanding of the art of transmutation. The result was a complete alchemical science, combining theory and practice.⁶² Ausonio was aware of the similarity of the two authors, citing as proof of this the *Rosarius*. He also shows an acute critical sense regarding the twofold character of the alchemical works attributed to Arnald.⁶³

The part of the legend concerning King Edward and transmutation is introduced by a pseudo-Lullian alchemical motif not found in other versions of the legend. Ausonio claims that Lull learnt the secrets of transmutation from a book with seven seals written by King Solomon, which he had seen in Athens.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ See above, Chapter 2.1, n. 11.

⁶⁰ MS Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Q 118 Sup., fols 9^r-10^v; and MS Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Magl. XVI.50 (which also contains the *Historia quando*), fols 55^r-81^v.

⁶¹ E. Ausonio, *Trattato sopra l'arte dell'alchimia*, fols 4^r-31^r, which is said in the manuscript to have been 'cavato da Raimondo Lullo ma di mano di Ettore Ausonio'. At least three other Ambrosiana manuscripts are connected to Ausonio's activity as a Lullist: Q 119 Sup.; D 130 Inf.; D 216 Inf. (see Ottaviano, *L'Arts compendiosa*, pp. 18 and 21-2). Other manuscripts written and/or owned by Ausonio are listed in Kristeller, *Yter Italicum*, I, p. 308. There is no article on Ausonio in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, nor is he mentioned in Hill Cotton, *Name-List*.

⁶² Ausonio, *Trattato* (n. 61 above), fol. 13^r: 'Il terzo essemplio Raimondo Lulio et Arnaldo di Villa nova huomini dottissimi nel suo tempo li quali per esser vestiti prima degli habiti della comune philosophia, l'uno non cognosceva la possibilita dell'arte; l'altro quantunque per isperienza la mostrasse a Raymondo non sapeva però assignarli fondamento veruno.' See the following passage from the pseudo-Lullian *Testamentum*, published as *Testamentum novissimum. Secunda pars*, in Manget, *Bibliotheca*, I, p. 815: 'Sicut videmus per opus cuiusdam socii, quem invenimus eundo per mundum, qui notificavit multa pulchra miranda, sed post fuit contrariatus in sua arte, cum nos plus scivimus per sensualitatem, quam ipse non cognovit nec per artem intellexit.'

⁶³ Ausonio, *Trattato* (n. 61 above), fol. 13^r: 'et nelli libri di Arnaldo si vede doi andamenti: nelli primi dove è piu peripatetico dice molte cose che in questo mio discorso le troverai redarguite come nel libro da lui intitolato *Novella* et in altri luoghi. Nel *Rosario* poi tiene non solo il medesimo fondamento di Raimondo, ma usa spese fiute le medesime parole.'

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, fol. 9^{r-v}: 'A questa credenza et intelligentia fussemo mossi dall'autorità di Raimondo Lulio maioricano che dice Salomone haver scritto uno libro in lingua chaldaea dell'Arte della Sapienza, lo quale Raimondo lauda sopra di ciascun'altro libro, et si può credere le cose di Raymondo esser tutte di Salomone perche confessa et ne fa testimonio di haverlo veduto in Athene riserbato sotto sette sigilli d'oro... Se vorremo dar fede al detto di Raimondo veramente varrà assai il cognoscere questo titolo et il vedere nelli scritti di Raimondo quanto chiaramente confessi d'haver fatto oro, argento, pietre pretiose di quella forma et grandezza che volle, et con quanta diligentia habbi cercato di mettere Hierusalem in mano de Christiani affine che potesse fare quello che Salomone intendeva nel suo titolo. Per questo Odoardo Re d'Inghilterra fu fatto compagno di questa impresa, et per questo compose Raimondo il *Libro del modo di pigliar Hierusalem*.' The reference to Solomon shows a clear connection with Rupescissa, *De consideratione quintae essentiae* (incipit: Dixit Salomon in Sapientia...) and may be taken as yet another example of the confusion between Pseudo-Lull and

On this basis, Ausonio asserts that 'Lullian' alchemy updates the wisdom of the ancient world and may be used to explain passages in the Bible, such as those concerning the heavenly Jerusalem. Why then is Lull's memory 'deleggiata et riputata pazia da molti sopra la terra'? The answer is the tribulation which he suffered when King Edward, instead of conquering Jerusalem, took up arms against the French.⁶⁵ Ausonio's mention of Solomon, his references to the Hebraic tradition and his claim that alchemy can be used to explain the literal truth of the Bible—for instance, Revelations 21: 19–20, where the heavenly Jerusalem is described as built upon precious stones—are completely original elements within the pseudo-Lullian alchemical tradition. It is perhaps relevant to note, however, that less than a century earlier, the Venetian physician Pietro Mainardi had approached the genuine Lullian *ars* by way of the Kabbalah.⁶⁶

The latest version of the legend is found in the treatise *Lumen claritatis et flos florum*. The account is much the same as that in the *Historia*, except that it is rhetorically embellished and purports to have been written by a first cousin of Lull, no less: 'Ladislaus Lullus...consobrinus Raymondi'.⁶⁷ This Ladislaus, after fruitless experimentation with false alchemy, claims to have travelled to London to join Lull, who was already caught up in his problems with King Robert. The two alchemists shared the same experiences in England and also in France, where they performed a transmutation for King Philip.⁶⁸ Although this story has no particular relevance for the tradition of pseudo-Lullian alchemy, it gives a good indication of the taste for fiction and the marvellous characteristic of the later adepts and also shows the charisma which surrounded the figure of Lull.

This charisma is very apparent in late surveys of alchemy and in hermetic repertoires, where Lull invariably stands out as an extraordinary character. For instance, in the treatise of David de Planis Campy, *L'Ouverture de l'école de philosophie transmutatoire* (Paris, 1633), he is depicted as travelling to North Africa to fight against the infidels, taking the place of the perfidious English king.⁶⁹ Other elements of the legend, such as Lull's exceptionally long life, also appear in the hermetic treatises and histories of alchemy which have helped to shape the literary treatment of this fascinating figure.⁷⁰

Rupescissa: see above, Chapter 1.5. The title: *Libro del modo*, appears to be an echo of the authentic Lullian *Liber de acquisitione Terrae sanctae*, written in Montpellier in 1309: Platzeck, *Raimond Lull*, n° 165.

⁶⁵ Ausonio, *Trattato* (n. 61 above), fol. 10^r: 'Odoardo re d'Inghilterra che tutto l'usufrutto che ne trasse sotto promessa di fare l'impresa di Hierusalem convertí in satiarsi del sangue de francesi, onde Raimondo ne fu molto tribolato.'

⁶⁶ On Mainardi see Zambelli, 'Il *De auditu kabbalistico*'.

⁶⁷ *Lumen claritatis*, MS Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, Magl. XVI.50, fol. 55^r.

⁶⁸ This fourth king, mentioned nowhere else in the pseudo-Lullian legend, is the dedicatee of the Amaldian *Testamentum novum*: MSS Edinburgh, University Library 131, fols 29^v-33^v (see Singer, *Catalogue*, I, 251); Poppi, Biblioteca comunale 59 (see *Catalogo dei manoscritti filosofici*, I, pp. 84–102).

⁶⁹ Cited by Amadou, *Ramon Lulle*, p. 15.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 14–18, where various examples drawn from hermetic literature are summarized; the quotation from the *Pretiosa margarita novella*, p. 17, actually refers to Lacinus's *Introduction*: see above, Chapter 3.1, n. 6. For two randomly chosen examples of the belief in Lull's extremely long life see Pazzini, *I santi*, p. 408 (a scholarly collection of hagiographical and folklore material); and Jean Ryeul, *La Légende de Raymond Lulle* (a verse drama). Lull's great reputation among hermetists is shown by the extensive diffusion of manuscripts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; most of those now in the USA are of late hermetic origin: see Wilson, 'Catalogue'. Lull's enduring renown in hermetic literature is exemplified by the entry 'Raymond Lulle' in Pernety, *Dictionnaire mytho-hermétique*, p. 426: 'Philosophe hermétique, l'un des plus sçavants, des plus subtils, et dont la lecture est des plus recommandées, comme ayant le plus pénétré dans les secrets de la Nature.'

Chapter 4: Scholarly Disputes and Critical Assessment

4.1 First Protests Against the Attribution of Alchemical Works to Lull

The first critical examination of the legend of Lull the alchemist is to be found in Gabriel Naudé's *Apologie pour toutes les grands personnages qui ont été faussement soupçonnés de magie*. (1625).¹ Naudé gives a cursory account of Lull's life, in which he writes scathingly about his 'art' ('un larrecine manifeste de l'Arabe Abezebron'), his miracles ('impostures'), his fight for the reformation of the Christian military orders, and—last but not least—his supposed alchemical activities. Without referring to Arnald's teaching or to the voyage episode, Naudé notes briefly that, according to alchemical writers, Lull had found the philosophers' stone. There is, he says, an historical explanation for this belief: King Edward acquired a huge sum of money (six million gold coins) by levying a tax on the wool exported from England to Brabant; and this tax became, through a 'simple metamorphose', the philosophers' stone!² Naudé's derisive account was not enough to undermine Lull's fame as an alchemist, which continued in the scholarly literature of the seventeenth century, as well as in hermetic circles.

But the efforts to destroy the legend of Lull the alchemist made in the mid-seventeenth century by the Mallorcan scholar Vicente Mut and the Irish Franciscan Luke Wadding were eventually successful.³ Although Mut's opinion met with immediate rejection by Olaus Borrichius, who accepted the legend,⁴ the arguments which he and Wadding put forward were influential with later Mallorcan Lullists, as well as with eighteenth-century critical historians.

Vicente Mut was heir to the Balearic tradition, in which pseudo-Lullian alchemy and the related legend had never been fully accepted. In the fifteenth century Iberian followers of Lull had begun to attach importance to his natural philosophy. One of these, Jaume Janer, had even invoked alchemists as witnesses to the validity of Lull's conception of the natural world.⁵ But Janer taught Lullian philosophy in Valencia, not Mallorca. Although his attitude influenced Alonso de Proaza and Bernard de Lavinheta, it does not seem to have carried much weight with prominent Mallorcan Lullists, such as Nicolas de Pax, or with his French

¹ Naudé, *Apologie*, pp. 246–85.

² *Ibid.*, ch. XIV, pp. 265–7: 'Car pour ce qui est de Raymond Lulle...je trouve...que les Chymistes lui attribuent la connoissance de la pierre philosophale par une simple metamorphose de l'impost qu'Edouard fit mettre sur les laines que l'on transportoit d'Angleterre en Brabant, à la somme de six millions d'or, somme qui lui fut donnée par ce chymiste pour faire la guerre contre le Turc et les autres infidels'. See also the long anonymous footnote added to the 1712 edition.

³ See Vicente Mut, *Historia del Reyno de Mallorca*. On him see Antonio, *Bibliotheca hispana nova*, II, p. 328. Although few copies of Mut's *Historia* can be found outside Mallorca, the section which deals with Lull is translated in *Acta sanctorum* V, 30 June, pp. 657–60, and is extensively cited by Borrichius, *De ortu* and *Conspectus scriptorum*, in Manget, *Bibliotheca*, I, pp. 32–5 and 43; Salzinger, *Perspicilia*, pp. 216 and 251–2. See also Wadding, *Annales*, V, pp. 13–15. During the years 1638–45 Wadding worked for the canonization of Lull. See Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull*, pp. 298–9; and the text cited in n. 10 below.

⁴ See above, Chapter 3.5.

⁵ See Pereira, 'Le opere mediche', pp. 32–3, and 'Bernardo Lavinheta', pp. 252–9. Janer is cited as an authority on Lullian alchemy by Salzinger, *Perspicilia*, p. 243.

correspondent, Charles de Bovelles.⁶ The Mallorcan Lullists' main interest was at that time—and remained for centuries—the canonization of Lull; alchemy was thus played down for apologetic reasons. Also, of course, those thoroughly familiar with Lull's authentic writings were less easily induced to accept the alchemical works as genuine.⁷ Significantly, none of the pseudo-Lullian alchemical manuscripts originating in Palma is earlier than the seventeenth or eighteenth century—that is, the period when, as we shall see, the scholarly discussion about Lull's alchemy was in full swing.

Vicente Mut's discussion of Lull in his *Historia del Reyno de Mallorca* therefore represents a consistent Mallorcan tradition of either ignoring the alchemical works attributed to him or denying that he could have written them. Mut, taking the latter position, marshalled the following arguments: first, the dates of some of the alchemical writings did not coincide with Lull's lifetime; second, it was chronologically impossible for Lull to have been acquainted with Edward III of England; third, in his genuine works Lull was opposed to alchemy. Mut, moreover, maintained that Hebraic terms were used in the alchemical works, although Lull knew no Hebrew.⁸

Similar arguments were used by Wadding, who dealt extensively with Lull in his scholarly *Scriptores Ordinis Minorum* (1650). Wadding spent a long time working in the Franciscan convent of San Isidro in Rome, where a rich collection of Lullian manuscripts, mostly originating in Spain and not including any alchemical items, was—and still is—to be found. Although library catalogues of sixteenth-century Spanish Lullists contain few alchemical writings, indicating that there was not much interest in them,⁹ Wadding could not ignore the existence of the many alchemical books ascribed to Lull, which were repeatedly printed and widely disseminated in manuscript. But, following the Balearic tradition, he denied that they had been written by Lull and also rejected the tale of his transmutation for the king of England. In his view the alchemical books

⁶ They each wrote biographies of Lull, which do not include the 'alchemical' episodes, but nevertheless contain some references to alchemy: Pax lists Arnald of Villanova among famous Lullists, while Bovelles adds the *Liber alkimie* to his catalogue of Lullian works, the main source of which was the *Vita coetanea*. See Victor, 'Charles de Bovelles'.

⁷ See, however, Pacifique de l'Escale, *Relation du voyage de Perse*, a traveller's diary, which shows that even at the heart of the Lullian cult in Mallorca his renown as an alchemist was not entirely denied but was rather accommodated to his fame as a saint. In a passage from this work, quoted in Latin translation in Ludovicus Combachius's prefatory epistle to G. Ripley, *Opera omnia chemica*, Pacifique states that, after seeing Lull's shrine in the Church of the Franciscan Minorites in Mallorca: 'didici vigere ibi facultatem quandam Theologicam, ut Parisiis est Sorbona, in qua Raimundi Lullii scripta praelegerentur, ut in Gallia S. Thomae opera, eiusque professores Raymundinos et Lullistas sese appellare. Sed nondum eo modo satis contentus, optavi ut videre illos possem, quod cum Lector Facultatis illius intellexeret, praevenit votum meum honorifica omnium doctorum illius collegii visitatione, qui fere omnes Canonici sunt, et de doctrina Sancti huius viri mecum contulerunt etc. Et paulo post: Regessi penes nos Lullium pro Alchymista haberi, sed illi responderunt, quod dubio procul et veracissime ex illuminatione divina cognitam habuerit perfectionem totius naturae, et quod mediante hac cognitione inveniit Medicinam universalem per aurum quoddam potabile, qua sanitatem suam ad annum aetatis 145 produxerit, quo quidem anno martyrium subierit, eamque rem potius commendationem quam opprobrium aliquod ipsius memoriae afferre debere'.

⁸ See *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 658, where Sollier translates Mut's words: 'In libris quibusdam, Raymundo attributis, leguntur textus Hebraici. At certum est Raymundum Hebraice nescisse, neque scire vocationi eius intererat'. It is tempting to connect this odd assumption on Mut's part to Wadding's attribution of the pseudo-Lullian works to Raymond of Tarrega: see below.

⁹ See, e.g., that of Arias de Loyola (1594), ed. Blanco Soto, *Estudios*, pp. 38–59; Biblioteca Cisneros and Biblioteca Poblet, ed. Alós Moner, *Los catálogos*, pp. 55–67 and 83–9; Biblioteca Vileta, MS Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. lat. 6197, fols 233^r-235^v.

attributed to Lull were actually written by Raymond of Tarrega. He argued that Lull was strongly opposed to alchemy and that the dates of the alchemical works and of the reign of Edward were not within Lull's lifetime—although he was well aware of the exceptionally long life claimed for him. Wadding further maintained that the prologue to the *Liber de secretis naturae* was forged in imitation of the prologue to the genuine *Arbor scientiae*.¹⁰

Neither the arguments of Wadding nor those of Mut made an immediate impact. On the contrary, in Paris, where Lull was very influential in the seventeenth century, pseudo-Lullian alchemy began to be widely accepted, even by orthodox followers of the *ars*, at roughly the same time as Mut and Wadding were voicing their criticisms. The Lullist M. de Montarcis, for example, possessed alchemical manuscripts,¹¹ while Antoine Perroquet inserted the alchemical legend into his life of Lull.¹² After the appearance of the earliest alchemical writings and their attribution to Lull some time before the end of the fourteenth century, the organization of a standard pseudo-Lullian alchemical corpus, transmitted all over Europe, during the fifteenth century and its expansion, combined with the emergence of the complete legend, in the sixteenth century, the various issues finally culminated in the seventeenth century with an important debate about pseudo-Lullian alchemy. On the one hand, Lull's alchemy was now unquestioningly accepted, not only in alchemical and hermetic circles, but also by the heirs to the genuine Lullian tradition both in Paris and in Germany, resulting ultimately in Salzinger's astrological and alchemico-hermetical interpretation of Lull's thought at the beginning of the eighteenth century. But, on the other hand, it was precisely at this time that the attribution of alchemical books to Lull began to be discussed and explicitly rejected by Mut and Wadding. Their arguments would later be taken up not only by the Jesuits Sollier and Custurer,¹³ but also by Rafael Barceló. In his unpublished *Rationalis astraea*, Barceló placed the critique of Lullian alchemy in a hagiographical context, maintaining, for instance, that alchemy was contrary to the holy purpose of Lull's life and that, 'teste Eymerico', the art of transmutation was

¹⁰ Wadding, *Annales*, V, pp. 13–15: 'His qui vituperant [Lull] illud subesse videtur efficax argumentum, quod libros plane haereticos et Orco dignos composuerit, de invocatione daemonum, de secretis naturae, de alchemica et metallorum metamorphosi. Sed hic indigne certe traducitur: qui daemona docet invocare, opus est non huius sed alterius Raymundi, cognomento Neophyti, Hebraeorum Rabbinii, fide ad fidem conversi et postea religiosi cuiusdam instituti... eiusdem enim temporis et nominis concordia ducti plerique... Raymundo Lullo tamquam notiori affixerunt huius Raymundi neophyti errores, et quos hic scripsit perniciosos codices, Lullo adscribunt. Manifestis autem rationibus convinco illos, qui de alchimia inscribuntur, et qui quoquam modo ad fallacem hanc artem et praestigiosum tendunt laborem, nullatenus esse Lullianos. Nullus Lullo magis invehitur in huiusmodi falsos divites et veros pauperes nec artis huius apertius ostendit fallacias... Sed et ipsi Alchimiae codices abunde probant alii Raymundo non Lullo esse tribuendos... Quomodo ergo opera scripta anno 1330, 1332 et 1333 poterunt esse hominis defuncti anno 1315?... Eduardus autem hic, cui supra dixit suum se tradidisse testamentum anno 1332, tertius est huius nominis, qui regnare coepit anno 1327, aetatis 14, obiitque anno 1377, regno 51°, aetatis 65°. Cum ergo hic cognoverit et allocutus sit Eduardum in senectute, necesse est ut pervenerit ad annum Christi 1370 vel circiter, et certe sub hoc Eduardo meminit Thomas Walsinghamus cuiusdam medici Sarraceni in partibus Walliae thesaurum effodientis... Atque hic prodiit error illorum, qui vitam Raymundi protrahunt ad centum et plures annos... His apertis temporum computatis calculis manifestum relinquitur, nihil Raymundo Lullo commune esse cum libris alchimiae.'

¹¹ Now MSS München, Staatsbibliothek, clm 10573 and 10576. According to Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull*, pp. 301–2, MSS clm 10573–10585 are from Montarcis's collection. On Montarcis, *ibid.*, pp. 303–10 and *passim*.

¹² Perroquet, *Apologie* (RD 257); see Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull*, pp. 303–4 and *passim*.

¹³ See below, Chapter 4.2 and 4.3.

dishonourable. He also claimed that Lull did not learn any science from anyone, least of all from Arnald, who was younger than him.¹⁴

Wadding's discussion of pseudo-Lullian alchemy was also used by the founder of the critical history of philosophy, Jakob Brucker, from whose *Historia critica philosophiae* (1743) it passed into later historiography. Brucker, examining the likelihood of the legend, recognized in it a mixture of fiction and historical truth. He therefore began his biographical entry on Lull with an explicit injunction to scepticism about the entire story ('unde naso opus est in examinanda Lullii historia').¹⁵ With regard to alchemy, Brucker, after first recounting the legend as told by Borrichius and then considering the contrary arguments put forward by Wadding, concluded: 'non inviti eorum subscribimus sententiae, qui totam narratiunculam explodunt, et inter fabulas medii aevi referunt, ipsam quoque eius peritiam artis chemicae negantes, inter quos Waddingus, ut famae Lullii consulat, contendit, totam illam librorum chemicorum farraginem, quae Raymundo Lullio tribui solet, Raymondo Neophyto deberi, Lulliumque adeo istis nugis non desipuisse, ut in scriptis potius genuinis salse Alchemistarum stultitiam derideat'.¹⁶ As for the tale of Arnald teaching Lull, Brucker considered it to be a deliberate deception.¹⁷

4.2 Ivo Salzinger: Alchemy as the Core of Lullian Philosophy

The problem of alchemy divided the early eighteenth-century followers of Lull. Two scholarly works, written by the Jesuits Jean Baptiste Sollier and Jaime Custurer, came out almost contemporaneously with the edition of Lull's *Opera omnia* produced by Ivo Salzinger under the auspices of the Elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm.¹⁸ A few years later a number of Lull's minor works were published in Palma.¹⁹ All these various enterprises were connected, as were the circles of Mallorcan and German Lullists.²⁰ But the problems of attribution of the alchemical works provided grounds for disagreement between, on the one hand, Sollier, Custurer and Barceló, who denied that Lull had written anything other than attacks on alchemy, and Salzinger, on the other, who wrote a treatise entitled *Perspicilia lulliana philosophica* against 'impugnatores nostros alchimiae Mutum, Waddingum, RR.PP. Barceló, Custurerium et Sollerium', demonstrating that 'Illuminatus Doctor noster illam [i.e., alchimiam] sciverit, practice exercuerit et in suis libris docuerit'.²¹

Salzinger began by showing, through reasoned arguments and *auctoritates*, that alchemy was a science of nature ('haec scientia est ens reale'). It was his belief in the validity of alchemy and the authenticity of the alchemical works

¹⁴ R. Barceló, *Rationalis astrea raymundistica et alchymistica ad dialogeticum convocans luctamen ut iuxta allegata ac utriusque probata ineluctabilem ferat crism;* on him see Carreras y Artau, *Filosofía*, II, p. 358.

¹⁵ Brucker, *Historia critica philosophiae*, IV, pp. 9–16, especially pp. 13 and 15.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 16: 'incertum...demonstrant per multo incertius...ut auro viros potentes emungant, magnorum virorum nomina inanissimae arti praetendunt'.

¹⁸ See Custurer, *Disertaciones históricas* (1700); and Sollier, *Acta B. Raymundi Lulli* (1708). See also Gottron, *L'edició*, pp. 9–18 and 32–8.

¹⁹ Lull, *Opera parva* and *Opera medica*.

²⁰ See Gottron, *L'edició*; and also Carreras y Artau, *Filosofía*, II, ch. 22.

²¹ Salzinger, *Perspicilia*, pp. 213–52 at pp. 218 and 251.

attributed to Lull which, he claimed, inspired his publication of the Latin works.²² Salzinger invoked many famous medieval authors to prove that alchemy was a genuine science, as well as to define its essential features: Albert the Great, Thomas Aquinas, Arnald of Villanova, Petrus Bonus and Roger Bacon. In particular, he thought that Arnaldian medicine contained within it the whole of alchemy expressed metaphorically, just as the pseudo-Lullian *Testamentum* contained, conversely, the whole of medicine hidden within its alchemical terminology.²³

In Salzinger's view, 'rationes ac demonstrationes ex arte generali B. Doctoris nostri' were used to conceal alchemical secrets from the unworthy, while at the same time revealing them to those who understood the Lullian language. He was certain, moreover, that such arguments were superior to any other kind of demonstration: 'demonstrationes artis Lullianae sunt maiores omnibus demonstrationibus geometricis'.²⁴ Alchemy, therefore, was to be interpreted according to the sixteen *dignitates* of the original Lullian *ars*: *Bonitas*, *Magnitudo*, *Duratio*, *Potestas*, *Sapientia*, *Amor*, *Virtus*, *Veritas*, *Gloria*, *Perfectio*, *Iustitia*, *Largitas*, *Misericordia*, *Humilitas*, *Dominium* and *Patientia*.²⁵

In the third chapter of the *Perspicilia* Salzinger attempted to prove that Lull practised alchemy and wrote alchemical books. The first proof he adduced was the existence of a Catalan text of the *Testamentum*, whose style showed that it was written by Lull and not 'alicuius deceptoris catalani', such as Raymond of Tarrega.²⁶ He compared many passages of the *Testamentum* with genuine Lullian works and also tried to demonstrate that, whenever Lull seemed to be engaging in polemics against alchemy, his words conveyed a hidden meaning which actually agreed with it. Furthermore, he maintained that Lull's natural philosophy could be interpreted alchemically, thus revealing his deeper intentions.²⁷ The real sense of the genuine medical works could not, therefore, be grasped without the help of alchemy, which provided the key to Lull's union of nature and art.²⁸

²² Ibid., p. 214: 'Nam ego persuasione veritatis alchimiae et librorum alchimicorum B. Raymundi inductus laborem plus quam viginti annorum subire non subterfugi, ut opera huius subtilissimi philosophi et sapientissimi ac piissimi theologi in lucem proferrem'. See also Hillgarth, *Ramon Lull*, p. 313: 'The Lull he [i.e. Salzinger] discovered at Reichersberg was the mysterious figure of the alchemical treatises, and Lull's great interpreter was—and always remained for Salzinger—Lavinheta, an express believer in Lullian alchemy. These facts help to explain Salzinger's later defence of alchemy and Lull's authorship of alchemical works.'

²³ Salzinger, *Perspicilia*, p. 217: 'Totus hic liber Speculum Medicinae Arnaldi sub una continua metaphora complectitur totum alchimiae et medicinae magisterium, ut hic ipsemet Arnaldus se lucidissime pandere profitetur: unde sicut hic liber in *sensu literali* est medicus et in *sensu metaphorico* alchimicus, sic totum Antiquum Testamentum, quod infra probabimus esse opus B. Raymundi Lulli, in *sensu literali* est alchimicum et in *sensu metaphorico* est medicum, quasi ad literam correspondens Speculo Medicinae Arnaldi, eiusque ordini ad unguem inhaerens...' (Salzinger's italics); see also p. 232.

²⁴ Ibid., pp. 219–20.

²⁵ These are the *dignitates* as they appear in the *Ars compendiosa inveniendi veritatem* (1273–5), in Lull, *Opera omnia*, I, p. 433–81, with some slight differences: *Duratio* here replaces *Aeternitas*, and *Amor* appears instead of *Voluntas*.

²⁶ Salzinger, *Perspicilia*, pp. 225–6.

²⁷ Ibid., pp. 227–8 (textual comparisons); pp. 249–50 (discussion of the texts adduced by Barceló). After rebutting Barceló's interpretations, Salzinger asked him, p. 50: 'Dic Raymundista, contradicite sibi Raymundus? nequaquam, sed assero de ipso quod...non contradicit Raymundo, sed non intelligentibus Raymundum.'

²⁸ Ibid., p. 283, where Salzinger affirms that 'ablatis libris chemicis neminem posse perfecte et plenarie intelligere libros philosophicos B. Raymundi et medicos...[et] libros medicos non posse intelligi et ad utilitatem practicam reduci sine intima cognitione chimiae et librorum chemicorum...[F]ateri compellimur ipso sensu, medicinam numquam perfectionis suae apicem obtenturam, nisi artis adminiculo suffragium recipiat, quod sola

Salzinger resolved, although rather superficially, the difficulties posed by the fact that pseudo-Lullian alchemical books were not cited in Lull's genuine works and by the discrepancy between the dates of these books and the known facts of Lull's life. To the first objection, he responded by asserting that the connection between the two classes of works was so obvious that such proof was unnecessary. The second objection was equally invalid, he maintained, since the year of Lull's death was not known for certain. These are not very compelling arguments, especially compared to the detailed investigations of Lull's life, travels and works carried out by Sollier and Custurer.

Salzinger, who was primarily interested in the philosophical connections between Lullian philosophy and pseudo-Lullian alchemy, proceeded, in the fourth chapter, to attack the position of the two Jesuit scholars—regarding Mut and Wadding as their primary sources—and above all that of Barceló, whose negative evaluation of alchemy he completely rejected. After dismissing his arguments against authenticity, Salzinger went on to analyse some of the anti-alchemical Lullian texts cited by Barceló, revealing their secret meanings.²⁹ In them, he said, Lull speaks of true and false alchemists, calling the latter *alchimistae*, while referring to true adepts as *artifices*. Furthermore, according to Salzinger, all the genuine works displayed a link between *ars* and *natura*, fundamentally similar to that developed in 'Lullian' alchemical writings and practice. Therefore, he concluded, the philosophical and alchemical books were to be read together, since they represented the theoretical and practical sides of the same subject.³⁰ In accordance with this belief, Salzinger divided his catalogue of Lullian books into *libri theorici* and *libri practici*, roughly corresponding to the genuine Lullian works and the pseudo-Lullian alchemical writings.³¹

The *Perspicilia* shows in exhaustive detail how a true follower of Lull should read his works. Salzinger, who discovered Lull and his *ars* by reading the *Liber de secretis naturae*, exemplifies the last stage of European Lullism, in which the *ars combinatoria* and alchemy were brought together. In a certain sense this way of reading Lull throws some light on the historical reasons for the adoption by late medieval alchemists of Lullian concepts, language, devices (alphabet, figures, tables) and eventually even Lull's name for their works. They felt that there were affinities between their own ideas about nature and its relationship to *ars*, and Lull's elaboration of the same concepts in his genuine works. Salzinger's arguments could not, however, stand up to a full factual analysis, nor were Sollier and Custurer as easy to defeat as Barceló. The failure to publish the

praestat alchimia'; and p. 284: 'Si, inquam, intelligimus talem medicinam esse, statim intelligimus, alchimiam esse; non enim sola natura nec sola ars, sed utraque simul iuncta supremum opus artis et naturae consequi valet.'

²⁹ Ibid., pp. 240–1.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 247: 'libros illos perpetua concordia associant libris chemicis *Testamenti, Codicilli, Quinae essentiae* et aliorum, ut simul theoriam et praxin ex illis hauriant; nam liber librum aperit, et quod in uno est diminutum, est completum in altero'.

³¹ Salzinger, *Catalogus librorum magni operis lulliani*, pp. 47–74. The catalogue is subdivided into six parts: 'Pars prima, continens titulos librorum speculativorum' (authentic works and theological, logical, etc. pseudepigrapha); 'Pars secunda, continens titulos librorum practicorum' (alchemical works); 'Pars tertia, continens initia, divisiones, citationes et fines librorum primae partis'; 'Pars quarta, continens initia...secundae partis'; 'Pars quinta, continens titulos librorum adhuc desideratorum'; 'Pars sexta, continens chronologiam operum Illuminati Doctoris'.

seventh and eighth volumes of the Mainz edition of Lull may even have been a consequence of this debate.³²

4.3 Critical Considerations: Sollier and Custurer on Lull's Alchemy

The problem of the alchemical writings attributed to Lull first came to the attention of Sollier and Custurer when they became acquainted with the circle of Lullists at the court of the Elector Palatine Johann Wilhelm after the publication of volume V of the *Acta sanctorum* (1709), which reproduced their historical studies on Lull.³³ Wishing to obtain their assistance, the Elector wrote to Sollier on 25 November 1710. Among other problems, he sought the answer to a question immediately relevant to alchemy: he wanted to know the significance of the term *materia prima* in Lull's philosophy.³⁴ This question, which Sollier was not able to resolve immediately, shows that alchemy was one of the main focuses of interest at the Mainz court. This is confirmed by Sollier's detailed and rather sceptical account to Custurer of the situation regarding Lullian studies at Mainz (9 January 1711). At the court a team formed by Anton Büchels and Salzinger was working on the collection and interpretation of Lullian manuscripts. The Elector and his collaborators wanted Sollier to write a supplement to the *Acta sanctorum* based on their material, which he agreed to do. But they also wanted him to prove that Lull had written the alchemical manuscripts, and this presented a problem for Sollier. The Elector, he told Custurer, was addicted to alchemical research, but Sollier was uncertain whether to consider it an amusement or a real search for the philosophers' stone.³⁵

Whichever was true, Johann Wilhelm and his *équipe* accepted Borrichius's account of Lull's alchemy, although they realized that there were some uncertainties regarding the legend. They therefore wanted Sollier to state precisely what the problems were in the story of Lull's *iter Anglicanum* and in particular to identify the king in whose reign the events had occurred.³⁶ Sollier was amused, although not openly, and promised to re-examine the entire problem. The Elector gave him a small book, containing a dialogue which stated that Lull had practised alchemy and in which alchemical principles were definitely associated with the principles of Lull's art. This was undoubtedly the Epilogue of the *Liber de secretis naturae*.³⁷ The research to be carried out by

³² This is not the opinion of Gottron, *L'edició*, p. 35; but he gives no explanation for the fact that these volumes were never published. Moreover, he himself, albeit reluctantly, hints at the deep interest in alchemy shown by Salzinger and his patron: see pp. 12–15 and 22–32; and, as we shall see below, the debate between Salzinger and the Bollandists Sollier and Custurer focused almost exclusively on the authenticity of the alchemical writings—precisely the sort of problem which might influence the fate of an edition.

³³ Gottron, *L'edició*, pp. 18–32; the collection of letters illustrating the relationship between Sollier and Custurer and the Mainz Lullists is published in an appendix, pp. 41–75.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 46.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 47: 'Audiveram aliunde Serenissimum Electorem chimiae pridem in paucis deditum, idne recreationis gratia faciat an lapidis philosophici indagandi studium exploratum non habeo. Vellent itaque viri illi (ita equidem opinor) vellent, inquam, libros chymicos B. Raymundi plane vindicare.'

³⁶ *Ibid.*: 'Eo enim spectabat praedictus Olaus Borrichius atque item notata accuratissime loco lulliana omnia, in quibus alchimiae favere videtur. Atque id inter alia insinuat, peregrinationem ferunt a me ordinatam non esse extra controversiam: utpote cum iter Anglicanum omnino expunxissem quod tamen videtur Lullo tribuendum, tametsi non satis constaret, sub quo Angliae rege factum fuisset...'

³⁷ See above, Chapter 1.3, n. 37. MS Madrid, Biblioteca de la Academia de la Historia, 9–31–8–7117, which contains the Epilogue of the *Liber de secretis naturae* with notes by Custurer, is entitled: 'Extractum ex litteris

Sollier and Custurer was thus to focus on two main elements of pseudo-Lullian alchemy: the story of Lull's journey to England and a detailed examination of the final dialogue of the *Liber de secretis naturae*. Concerning the *iter Anglicanum* Sollier wrote to the Elector on 4 June 1711, stating that although the journey would have to have occurred during the reign of Edward I (d. 1306), the first English king to coin gold money was Edward II in 1326, many years after Lull's death. Therefore, he concluded: 'omnino statuendum nobiscum est, numquam in Anglia fuisse Raymundum, saltem numquam ibi aurum aut aureos nummos conficere potuisse'.³⁸

Sollier and Custurer joined forces against the prevailing view favourable to pseudo-Lullian alchemy.³⁹ Custurer in particular added important arguments drawn from the final dialogue of the *Liber de secretis naturae*, where he found clear evidence contradicting the *fabella* of Arnald's instruction of Lull and Lull's subsequent conversion to alchemy. The dialogue, he argued, showed that Lull's natural philosophy, if we look for its deeper significance, contained nothing contrary to alchemy; indeed, it presented Lull as a firm believer in alchemy, without a word about his previously antagonistic attitude or his conversion. So, if the conversion story was true, the dialogue could not be genuine. But if the story was false, then Lull never changed his hostile attitude towards alchemy, which destroyed the whole foundation of the legend.⁴⁰ There was, he concluded, no solid evidence, untainted by forgery, to connect Lull with alchemy.⁴¹

The examination of the dialogue between Raymond and the monk, however, persuaded Custurer to read the main books of the alchemical corpus, having already perceived the importance of the *Liber de secretis naturae*, on which he based his discussion.⁴² He came to the conclusion that the works were not genuine, relying on the usual chronological argument to support his position: although forgers had tried to deceive their readers by citing Lull's genuine works together with the alchemical ones and by imitating his style, the historical dates

Serenissimi Electoris Palatini ad P. Joannem Baptistam Sollerum...Dusseldorpi datis 25 Novembris 1710'. See Gottron, *L'edició*, pp. 45–6, beginning with the words 'Perlegi quantum'. The Epilogue, which is added after the end of the letter, is not printed by Gottron.

³⁸ Gottron, *L'edició*, p. 50.

³⁹ The most important letters are the following: Custurer to Sollier, 24 September 1711 (Gottron, *L'edició*, pp. 55–60); Custurer to Sollier, 25 October 1711 (pp. 61–3); Sollier to Custurer, 12 January 1712 (pp. 65–6).

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 57: 'Vel Lullus in hac re mutavit sententiam vel non? Si primum, quod vides a chemicis asseri et confirmari textibus Lulli, dialogus iste non est Raymundi, siquidem in illo plane asseritur, nihil in suis libris esse contra artem chemicam, quod certe libris Raymundi non convenit: non idem est huius et eorum auctor. Deinde non est liber Raymundi, qui, si mutavit sententiam, non debuit illo cap. 4 fraudulenter et mendose suam celare ignorantiam antiquam, quod eius aequitati, ingenuitati et modestiae non congruit; nec ita icivne lectores ad quaestionarium remittere debuit, imo se aperte retractare, quod merito laudatur in Augustino, et plane explicare, quid in suis scriptis cohaeret, quid non cohaeret cum olim a se reiecta arte chimica, quam tunc in senectute tradendam et patrocinandam suscipiebat. Ultra non est liber Raymundi, qui si mutasset sententiam etiam quoad aliqua, quae in *Arte Magna* tradidisset, non inique cap. illo 6 garrulitatis et sophisticationis crimine accusasset eos, qui saltem aliqua agnovissent in *Arte Magna* contraria arti chimiae. Si autem contra chemicorum placitum et effugium eligatur secundum, nempe Raymundum non mutasse sententiam, ruit omnino tota illa de Arnaldo Villanovano historiola, in qua praetensa Raymundi alchimia nititur; siccantur etiam illi eiusdem chimiae fontes libri *Codicilli Lulli*, *libri de experimentis* et *Testamenti*, unde fabella ista videtur habuisse originem'. Even the Prologue to the *Liber de secretis naturae*, which Custurer read in the 1514 edition, was shown to be self-contradictory for chronological reasons: *ibid.*, p. 58.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*: 'Verumtamen res haec huiusmodi est, ut nihil novi producat in favorem alchimiae Lulli, in quo statim non deprehenditur figmentum.'

⁴² Custurer's letters (n. 39 above) focus on several problems arising from this text.

contradicted their efforts.⁴³ Salzinger and Büchels tried to resist the attack of Sollier and Custurer;⁴⁴ and, in so doing, Büchels presented some interesting information about fifteenth-century Italian alchemical manuscripts.⁴⁵ But he and Salzinger lost the argument; and this, as I have suggested, may be the reason why the Mainz edition does not include the contested alchemical writings.

Nevertheless, the most prominent Lullist of the following generation, the Mallorcan Cistercian Antonio Pasqual, hesitated between the solid, scholarly arguments of Sollier and Custurer and Salzinger's intriguing alchemical interpretation of Lull's thought. Pasqual's solution to the impasse was not very impressive. After consulting some alchemical manuscripts (including the dialogue between Raymond and the monk),⁴⁶ he concluded that Sollier and Custurer were correct as far as chronological and objective arguments were concerned, but was still inclined to accept Salzinger's view, at least as a working hypothesis.⁴⁷ Indeed, for Pasqual, Lull had not produced alchemical writings 'ob famem auri...sed ad optimas medicinas obtinendas et praecipue medicinam universalem'. Hagiographical considerations, always at the heart of the Mallorcan attitude towards Lull, were still very relevant.

4.4 Beyond the Idea of Forgery

The nineteenth-century revival of interest in Lull and the Lullian tradition had to come to terms with the alchemical question. The universally accepted solution was to deny firmly that Lull had any interest in alchemy and to emphasize the difference between the critical approach of scholars and the continuing belief in Lull as alchemist found in the hermetic literature.⁴⁸ Scholars, from Mallorca and elsewhere, have for the most part accepted and developed the arguments which

⁴³ Gottron, *L'edició*, p. 63: 'Fit inde fictores librorum de alchimia attributorum Lullo, etsi affectaverint citare opus B. martyris tamquam ipsorum auctorum opera et permixtim alios libros chemicos attributos Lullo, immo et huius stilum imitari, ut hac fingendi arte deciperent lectores; incaute tamen processisse in admiscendis aliquibus ad chronologiam et historiam pertinentibus, ex quibus innotescit fictio.'

⁴⁴ See the following letters: Salzinger to Sollier, 22 January 1712 (Gottron, *L'edició*, pp. 67–8); Büchels to Sollier, 6 January 1713 (pp. 71–2); Salzinger to Sollier, 24 January 1712 (pp. 74–5).

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 71: 'Discesseram hic Florentiam et Romam Aprilis tertia anno MDCCXI, Serenissimi Electoris iussu conquisiturus ibidem manuscripta Lulliana, quae secretiora nominavit autor incomparabilis: illorum inveni quinquaginta duo notae melioris in variis locis et curiosorum scriniis latitantia, pars eorum potissima circa annum MCCCCLX et sequentes in membrana fuit scripta, et figuris artificiosissimis, quae diversis sunt adumbratae coloribus exornatae, compositionis locus, annus, in multis quoque dies ipse designatur, quae multa possunt in B. martyris vita illustrare. Abstrusioris doctrinae sunt hi tractatus et omnes chimici...'. The manuscripts described might include MS Firenze, Biblioteca nazionale centrale, II iii 27, which entered Magliabechi's collection before 1714: see fol. III^r: 'Ex libris Antonii Magliabechi 4 Non. Julii 1714'.

⁴⁶ Various alchemical fragments can be found in the working papers of Antonio Pasqual now in Mallorcan libraries. See MS Palma de Mallorca, Pontificio Colegio de Nuestra Señora de la Sapiencia, Legajo 7: (Pérez Martínez, 'Los fondos...Mallorca' (1961), p. 347), containing the *Codicillus* and other alchemical manuscript fragments, bound together with the *Liber de secretis naturae* (Nürnberg, 1546); MS Palma de Mallorca, Biblioteca Vivot, s.n. (Papeles varios, 4), contains the dialogue between Raymond and the monk (this manuscript is described in my edition of *Tractatus novus de astronomia*, in Lull, *Opera latina*, XVIII, pp. xxv–xxviii).

⁴⁷ Pasqual, *Vindiciae lullianae*, Diss. I, ch. 34.7, pp. 437–9: 'adeoque eius auctoritate cogor fateri B. Lullum edidisse eos libros alchimicos, de quibus agit, cum per meipsum eos habere non potuerim, et conferre cum aliis; et eadem sinceritate cogor dicere eos ab antiquo tempore fuisse interpolatos et falsa esse ea, quae in ipsis asseruntur, de mansione Raymundi per multos annos in Anglia.'

⁴⁸ See Ferguson, *Bibliotheca Chemica*, II, p. 54. After a list of the alchemical works attributed to Lull, Ferguson gives a brief biography, in which he states that the legend cannot survive a critical examination and, following Luanco, ascribes the pseudo-Lullian writings to Raymond of Tarrega.

we have seen taking shape from the time of Mut and Wadding onwards. Fernando Weyler y Lavinha and José Ramon de Luanco insisted that Lull had rejected alchemy. More recently, Tomás and Joaquín Carreras y Artau, Armand Llinarès and Juan García Font have also adopted this position.⁴⁹ In general these scholars consider the pseudo-Lullian writings to be forgeries. But the sharp distinction they draw between genuine Lullian ideas and alchemy does not help us understand the reason why forgers should have deliberately chosen the name of Lull to give credibility to their writings. The most complete list of works attributed to Lull is to be found in the article on him by B. Hauréau and M. Littré in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, where the authors' main intention seems to have been to prove how unconvincing these forgeries were.

The theme of deliberate forgery is still dominant in the work of D. W. Singer and that of Lynn Thorndike, although their research on manuscripts provided a new foundation for the study of this problem. From an entirely different point of view, Robert Amadou, in a short monograph, examines the oldest pseudo-Lullian alchemical writings in the light of late medieval alchemy, neatly distinguishing the myth of Lull the alchemist from the historical figure. Amadou's book is something of a bridge between the continuing belief of latter-day hermetic adepts and the critical conclusions of scholarly researchers. He too, however, is persuaded that 'cette légion anonyme', that is, the writers of the earliest pseudo-Lullian alchemical works, 'se disait Raymond Lulle'.⁵⁰

I hope that I have demonstrated that it is time to abandon the notion of forgery, as well as the belief in a single origin of the alchemical corpus attributed to Lull. Much of the basic research still remains to be done. We have to ask: what was the origin of the earliest pseudo-Lullian texts and how were they related to one another? When and why were they attributed to Lull and what was the place of the *Liber de secretis naturae* in this process? Answers to these questions would not only provide valuable information for the history of Lullism but would also have wider relevance. The pseudo-Lullian corpus was an important component of the medieval and Renaissance alchemical tradition, and a solution to the main problems connected with it would shed light on other alchemical traditions, especially that associated with Arnald of Villanova, on the history of hermetic thought and ultimately on the background of Paracelsus and his followers. In this work I have attempted to identify the problems and to collect the material necessary for their eventual solution. Considerable work is still required, but I hope I have made a solid beginning.

⁴⁹ See above, Introduction, nn. 1 and 2.

⁵⁰ Amadou, *Ramon Lulle*, p. 14.

Catalogue of Alchemical Works Attributed to Raymond Lull

This catalogue is intended as a tool for historians of the Lullian tradition, as well as for historians of alchemy. It contains a list of the alchemical works, dating from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century, attributed to Raymond Lull and provides basic information on each of them. Completeness is impossible in such a project, but I hope I have provided a basis for future work on this subject. The catalogue is divided into three sections:

I. *The Pseudo-Lullian Alchemical Corpus*. This section includes alchemical and medico-alchemical works from every stage of the formation of the corpus which are attributed to Lull in manuscripts, printed editions and modern scholarly catalogues of Lull's works (Salzinger, Hauréau and Littré, Glorieux and Thorndike). No attempt has been made here to identify all the alchemical titles cited in the early catalogues; for these, see above, Introduction and Chapter 2.3–4.

II. *Works Occasionally Attributed to Lull*. These include: (a) works not listed in modern catalogues (with the possible exception of Thorndike) and witnessed by only one or a few mutually related manuscripts; after a closer examination, it might be better to reassign some of these to Section I, as for instance II.33 and II.34, which are not listed by Salzinger etc., but seem to be part of, or related to, the miscellany described in Chapter 2.5; and (b) works generally known under another author's name, but attributed to Lull in one or only a few manuscripts. Single recipes under Lull's name have not been included.

III. *Works to be Excluded from the Corpus*. Works listed in this section have been attributed to Lull in one or more of the catalogues examined, but are either (a) not supported by a manuscript tradition or, (b) compilations of pseudo-Lullian alchemical texts by known authors; or (c) contained in manuscripts of pseudo-Lullian works, but not clearly attributed to Lull.

Entries give: title(s); incipit; references to catalogues; printed editions; known manuscripts of individual works (only Latin manuscripts have been included); an explanatory note. Entries differ slightly in form from section to section. In Section I they are more detailed, including the explicit and a note summarizing the main features of the work. Parts of the text which circulated as independent works are listed under the main item (e.g., I.39a, I.61a), but their titles and incipits are indexed separately. Section II has fewer explanatory notes. Section III provides the reasons for the exclusion of the works considered, but does not list manuscripts containing them.

For printed editions I have used the bibliography of Lull by Rogent and Duràn. In checking all their entries, I have noticed that their numbers 74, 118 and 149 do not in fact include pseudo-Lullian works. The text of the *Liber de secretis naturae* printed in 1520 (RD 74) belongs to the Arnaldian tradition, according to Thorndike, *History*, III, p. 75. The alchemical miscellany *Artis auriferae quam chemiam vocant*, printed in 1572 (RD 118), does not include any of the pseudo-Lullian works which were to be included in the final edition (1610). This miscellany was not printed in 1601 (RD 149), which is perhaps a misreading for

1610. I have not been able to find any further information on RD 64, 70, 107, 114, 126 and 248, which Rogent and Duràn listed as dubious. These editions may be ghosts and therefore have not been included in the entries.

Information on manuscripts has been drawn primarily from Hauréau and Littré, *Histoire littéraire de la France*, XXIX; Thorndike, *History*; Thorndike and Kibre, *Incipits*; Glorieux, *Répertoire*; and from the catalogues of alchemical manuscripts by Corbett, Singer and Wilson. This information has been checked as far as possible. Additional manuscripts and some secondary titles have been included after examination of: (1) catalogues of manuscripts of Lullian works and studies of Lullism; (2) catalogues of alchemical and scientific manuscripts; and (3) general catalogues of libraries with special sections for alchemical and scientific manuscripts (K. Figala has given me valuable suggestions concerning German libraries). General catalogues of other libraries have not been used at this stage of the work. In the Bibliography I have only included those catalogues in which I have found pseudo-Lullian manuscripts, omitting those which, on inspection, failed to provide new data. About thirty per cent of the manuscripts have been checked *de visu* or in photographic reproductions. About sixty manuscripts were added owing to the kindness of Fernando Domínguez Reboiras of the Raimundus-Lullus-Institut of the University of Freiburg im Breisgau; his annotations to my entries (1984) added much valuable information concerning manuscripts and individual works.

I hope I have made it sufficiently clear that this catalogue is nothing more than a provisional instrument for the next stage in the study of the alchemical writings attributed to Lull. Even in this early state, however, it provides data about the most relevant features of the corpus, the phases of its formation and the essential texts which make it up. Moreover, it offers a new basis for future critical editions and for a thorough study of the main pseudo-Lullian alchemical writings which are important witnesses to the Hermetic tradition of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance.

List of Abbreviations

B	Biblioteca, Bibliothek, Bibliothèque, etc.
BC	Biblioteca de Catalunya
BdL	Bodleian Library
BF	Biblioteca del Convent de San Francesch
BL	British Library
BLMC	Beinecke Library Mellon Collection
BML	Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana
BN	Bibliothèque nationale, Biblioteca nacional, etc.
BNC	Biblioteca nazionale centrale
BNM	Biblioteca nazionale Marciana
BR	Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit
BS	Bayerische Staatsbibliothek
BU	Bibliothèque universitaire, Biblioteca universitaria
CCC	Corpus Christi College
CMFBI	<i>Catalogo dei manoscritti filosofici delle biblioteche italiane</i> , ed. C. Leonardi (Firenze, 1980-)
CPL	Causa Pia Luliana
D	Domínguez, <i>Adiciones al catálogo...Pereira</i> (MS notes)
HAB	Herzog August Bibliothek
GI	P. Glorieux, <i>Répertoire des maîtres en théologie de Paris au XIII^e siècle</i> , 2 vols (Paris, 1933)
HLF	M. Littré and B. Hauréau, 'Raimond Lulle' in <i>Histoire littéraire de la France</i> (Paris, 1885), XXIX, pp. 1-386
KB	Kongelige Bibliotek
MOG	R. Lull, <i>Opera omnia</i> , 10 vols (Mainz, 1721-42)
ÖNB	Österreichische Nationalbibliothek
RD	E. Rogent and E. Duràn, <i>Bibliografía de les impressions lul·lianes</i> (Barcelona, 1927)
ROL	R. Lull, <i>Opera latina</i> (Palma de Mallorca, 1959-63; Turnhout, 1967-)
S	I. Salzinger, <i>Catalogus librorum magni operis lulliani</i> in R. Lull, <i>Opera omnia</i> (Mainz, 1721), I
TK	L. Thorndike and P. Kibre, <i>A Catalogue of Incipits of Medieval Scientific Writings in Latin</i> , revised ed. (Cambridge, Mass., 1963)
WML	Wellcome Medical Library

I: The Pseudo-Lullian Alchemical Corpus

I.1 Angelorum testamentum secretum artis caelestis de lapide minerali magno.

Alternative titles: Liber de lapide minerali; Testamentum ultimum secretum angelorum.

Incipit/Explicit: In nomine Domini Iesu Christi Virginisque Mariae...Carole fili mi dilectissime cum ad me venisti.../...ab omni periculo et aperto ut tibi descripsi[mus].

References: S 3, 69; *HLF* 274; Gl me; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 26; TK 279.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.46; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.53; Firenze, B. Riccardiana 923; Mainz, Priesterseminarbibliothek, s.n.(1); München, BS, clm 10493a; München, BS, clm 11031; Pesaro, B. Oliveriana 1595 II.

Note: Divided into four books: 'de carbunculo magno, de creatione quintae essentiae vegetabilis, de rectificatione elementorum et de compositione limorum, de ultima confectione duarum magnarum radicum'. Includes a catalogue of alchemical writings attributed to Lull. Without alphabet or figures.

I.2 Apertorium

Alternative titles: Apertorium abbreviatum; Liber lunariae.

Incipit/Explicit: Sapientes nostri asserunt quod tantum sit unus lapis compositum solum ex quatuor elementis (Sapientes dicunt quod non est nisi unus lapis).../...secundum suam maneriem cuius causam quaeras in Testamento.

References: S 6; *HLF* 106; Gl kt; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 51, 627–8; TK 1377; Singer, *Catalogue*, 258.

Editions: Nürnberg 1546 (RD 94); Basel 1561 (RD 99); Köln 1567 (RD 109).

Manuscripts: Barcelona, BC 1740; Bern, Bürgerbibl., A 78; Bologna, BU 142 (109); Bologna, BU 169 (181); Bologna, BU 270 (457) XXIII.3; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.77; Leiden, BR, Voss. Chym. Q 33; London, BL, Sloane 1091; London, WML 384; Madrid, BN 17714; Milano, B. Ambrosiana, D 130 Inf.; Milano, B. Ambrosiana, P 148 Sup.; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 356; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 364; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 368; München, BS, clm 10590; München, BS, clm 10600; München, BS, clm 27000; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1484; Paris, BN, lat. 14007; Torino, BU 1314; Wien, ÖNB 2474.

Note: A theoretical and practical treatise in which the generation of the philosophers' stone is compared to human generation. The alchemical *magisterium* is claimed to be effective not 'per incantamentum magicae figurae', but 'per naturam et de natura et etiam cum natura'. Without alphabets or figures. King Robert is mentioned.

I.3 Apertorium animae et clavis totius scientiae occultae in omni transmutatione metallorum

Incipit/Explicit: In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, o Domine Iesu Christe, ego Raymundus, miser peccator.../...tibi dato et care laudem Domini nostri Iesu Christi.

References: S 5; *HLF* 269; Gl ma; TK 491.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI. 58; Graz, Universitätsbibl., 42; Mainz, Priesterseminarbibliothek, s.n. (1); München, BS, clm 10493d; München, BS, clm 11032; Pesaro, B. Oliveriana 1595 III.

Note: Alchemy has three parts: transmutation, medicine and making artificial gems. Its basic principle is *succum lunariae*. The last chapter describes a circular figure: 'De rota in qua est universum principium magisterii et de planctu naturae'.

I.4 Ars conversionis Mercurii et Saturni in aurum et conservationis humani corporis

Alternative title: Liber quatuor aquarum.

Incipit/Explicit: Reverendo B. salutem et pacem iuxta ritum Salvatoris. Intuita namque littera tua breviter cognovimus paupertatis te vinculo (Reverendo patri salutem...; Venerando amico salutem...).../...si ibi non ponatur apud silvestrem oleandrum cardinalem visci squillam etc.

References: HLF 264; Gl Iv; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 629; TK 1358; Corbett I, 159.

Manuscripts: Bern, Bürgerbibl., A 78; Bologna, BU 270 (457) XII.6; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1484; Paris, BN, lat. 12969; Wolfenbüttel, HAB 3076; Yale, BLMC 12.

Note: A brief treatise on alchemical waters, perhaps related to the *Liber de secretis naturae*. Divided into four parts: 'de aquarum confectione; de modo practicandi cum eis ad aurum et argentum; de confectione basilisci; de applicatione earum ad corpora humana'. Without alphabet or figures.

I.5 Ars intellectiva

Alternative titles: Ars magicalis super alchimiae artem; Magica lapidis philosophorum; Magica parva.

Incipit/Explicit: Sunt plures nimis errantes per universum mundum (Sunt multi errantes in hoc mundo universali...; Multi sunt erratici...).../...si scis probare per rationem quae venit de sua proprietate secundum cursum naturae (S:...ergo sublima cor tuum ad omnipotentem Deum).

References: S 10; HLF 119; Gl kc, ok; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 46, 629; TK 1542, 887; Corbett I, 190.

Editions: Basel 1561 (RD 99); Köln 1567 (RD 109).

Manuscripts: Bologna, BU 270 (457) V.1; Bologna, BU 270 (457) XXXVI.3; Bologna, BU 524; Firenze, B. Riccardiana 942; London, WML 384; Madrid, BN. 17714; Madrid, BN 18341; Mainz, Priesterseminarbibliothek, 220 (2); Milano, B. Ambrosiana, G 66 Inf.; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 134; Montserrat, B. del Monastir 205; München, BS, clm 10599; Palma, BF 16 (2/32); Palma, CPL 36; Palma, B. Ferran Capdebou, s. 18; Paris, BN, lat. 14008; Wien, ÖNB 12857

I.5a Practica artis intellectivae

Incipit: Corruptio et depuratio fiunt simul abstrahendo partem causae...

References: HLF 122; Gl lj; TK 271.

Manuscript: London, WML 384.

Note: A theoretical and practical treatise, within a conceptual framework similar to that of the *Testamentum*, with alphabet and tables. The author shows how to 'acquirere multas artes reales occultas in natura' and warns the reader that 'naturam non poteris videre nec realiter possidere in forma nec in materia sine operatione'. The second part is cited as

Cathalanica practica in an alchemical French treatise of the fifteenth century: Batista y Roca, *Catàlech*, p. 15.

I.6 *Ars operativa medica*

Alternative titles: *Ars operativa de aquis condimentalibus et medicinalibus; Liber de aquis et oleis.*

Incipit/Explicit: Cum ego Raymundus Ilerdae existens essem rogatus a quibusdam caris amicis (*Prologue:* Domine Iesu Christe qui est vere...).../...item hoc sperma bibitum alleviat hominis membra aggravata.

References: S 11; *HLF* 89; Gl jx; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 22, 631; TK 296; Singer, *Catalogue*, 1004; Corbett I, 108.

Editions: Lyon 1523 (in: Bernardi de Lavinheta, *Explanatio*, RD 78); Basel 1561 (RD 100); Basel 1597 (RD 143); Köln 1612 (in the second edition of Lavinheta, RD 168).

Manuscripts: Bologna, BU 142 (109); Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 202; Firenze, BML, Ashb. 1448; Firenze, BNC, II iii 27; København, KB, Gl. kgl. S 1713; Liège, BU 354; London, BL, Add. 9351; London, BL, Harley 5399; London, BL, Sloane 75; London, BL, Sloane 1091; London, WML 117; London, WML 520; Madrid, BN 17714; Milano, B. Ambrosiana, D 130 Inf.; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 356; Montserrat, B. del Monastir 482; München, BS, clm 10599; München, BS, clm 10601; Orléans, B. municipale 1031; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1444; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1484; Oxford, BdL, Canon. Misc. 195; Palma, BF 17 (3/9); Paris, BN, lat. 7164; Paris, BN, lat. 15095; Poppi, B. comunale 59; Toledo, B. del Cabildo 96–32; Vaticano, Ottob. lat. 561; Vaticano, Pal. lat. 1187; Vaticano, Ross. lat. 576; Vaticano, Vat. lat. 4093; Venezia, BNM, lat. VI.282; Verona, B. comunale 606; Yale, BLMC 8; Yale, BLMC 12.

Note: A brief treatise on the medical virtues of the fifth essence, without alphabets or figures. The author introduces himself as a disciple of Arnald of Villanova and writes of a vision in which St Gilles, one of the four patron saints of the road to Compostella, revealed medical secrets to him.

I.7 *Cantilena*

Incipit/Explicit: Amor me facit hoc rimare.../...quae sunt prudentia et charitas.

References: *HLF* 128bis; Gl jw; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 632; TK 92; Singer, *Catalogue*, 805.

Editions: Basel 1572 (RD 116); Basel 1600 (RD 147); Basel 1610 (RD 164); Frankfurt 1630 (RD 202); Genève 1702 (RD 285) (all at the end of the *Testamentum novissimum*).

Manuscripts: Oxford, BdL, Bodl. 465; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1479; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1508; Oxford, BdL, Digby 85; Palma, B. publica 1025; Paris, BN, esp. 280. See also the manuscripts of the *Testamentum*, to the ‘*Practica*’ of which it is generally appended.

Note: The Catalan text of the *Cantilena* lacks the last, alchemical stanza, which refers to the *Practica Testamenti*; see Carreras y Artau, *Historia*, II, pp. 53–4. In MS Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1508, the text is followed by a commentary written in English; see also MS Ashmole 1483; and Batista y Roca, *Catàlech*, pp. 27–8 and 33–4.

I.8 *Clavicula quae et apertorium dicitur*

Incipit/Explicit: Nos appella[vi]mus hoc opus nostrum claviculam, quia sine hoc presenti libro.../...faeces semper abiiciendo, antequam ponatur in opere etc.

References: HLF 117; Gl lf, oh; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 632; TK 924; Corbett I, 123; II, 96–7.

Editions: Köln 1579 (RD 124); Leiden 1598 (RD 145); Frankfurt 1599 (RD 146); Ursell 1602 (RD 151); Leiden 1602 (RD 152); Strassburg 1613 (RD 174); Strassburg 1659 (RD 239); Genève 1702 (RD 285).

Manuscripts: London, WML 512; London, WML 3557; London, WML 3563; Milano, B. Ambrosiana, D 130 Inf.; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 357; Montpellier, B. de l'École de médecine 474; Montpellier, B. de l'École de médecine 482; München, BS, clm 25110; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 766; Paris, BN, lat. 314; Paris, BN, lat. 7165; Vaticano, Urb. lat. 1444; Venezia, BNM, ital. IV.55 (5097).

Note: A theoretical and practical treatise referring to the *Testamentum*, with a strong religious flavour (the alchemical *nigredo* is compared to Christ's death). Without alphabet or figures.

I.9 Clavicula secreta

Alternative title: Clavis aurea de transmutatione metallorum.

Incipit/Explicit: Rex et fili, oportet ut habeas Mercurium duorum luminarium (S: Rex serenissime et fili carissime, volo tibi declarare altum et admirabile magisterium...).../...occultando scientiam istam et a propriis eorum filiis (S:...cum patre et matre sua in saecula saeculorum amen).

References: S 16; HLF 270; Gl mb; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 633; TK 1360, 1361.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.47; Montpellier, B. de l'École de médecine 300.

Note: Salzinger was perhaps referring to a different text with the same title, of which no manuscript is known today. This a brief alchemical *practica*, followed by 'nomina philosophorum in libro Turbe descriptorum in laudibus que dixerunt de creatione menstrui'.

I.10 Codicillus

Alternative titles: Clausula Testamenti; Compendium Testamenti; Thesaurus infinitus; Vademecum de numero philosophorum.

Incipit/Explicit: Deus in virtute trinitatis qua unitas divinitatis non laeditur.../...facere potes dum tamen intelligas magisterium.

References: S 18; HLF 103; Gl kq2, kq3, ny; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 633; TK 409; Singer, *Catalogue*, 252.

Editions: Köln 1563 (RD 101); Köln 1572 (RD 115); Frankfurt 1630 (RD 202); Rouen 1651 (RD 232); Rouen 1663 (RD 248); Genève 1702 (RD 285).

Manuscripts: Barcelona, BC 1728; Bern, Bürgerbibl., A 78; Bologna, BU 270 (457) XII.8; Bologna, BU 270 (457) XVI.5; Bruxelles, B. royale 3751; Cambridge, CCC 112; Firenze, BNC, II iii 27; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XV.22; Firenze, BNC, Pal. 792; Firenze, B. Riccardiana 691; København, KB, Gl. kgl. S 236 F; London, BL, Harley 5399; London, WML 444; London, WML 3563; Madrid, BN 17721; Madrid, BN 18341; Milano, B. Ambrosiana, R 94 Sup.; Milano, B. Ambrosiana, R 98 Sup.; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 364; München, BS, clm 10600; München, BS, clm 25110; Nantes 523 (franç. 357); Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1483; Palma, Pontificio Colegio de N. Señora de la Sapiencia, Legajos 7; Palma, BF 16 (2/32); Palma, BF 17 (3/9); Paris, BN, lat. 7163; Paris, BN, lat. 14007; Roma, B. Casanatense, 657; Torino, BU 1051; Vaticano, Vat. lat. 5846; Wien, ÖNB 5485; Yale, BLMC 12.

I.10a Quid sit materia lapidis

Incipit: Materia siquidem nostri lapidis vel sulfuris est humor seminalis...

References: Thorndike, *History*, IV, 647; TK 851.

Manuscript: Firenze, BNC, Pal. 792.

Note: One of the most important alchemical works attributed to Lull. The basic principle of nature is love, and matter is bound by 'amoris foedere'. On the basis of this universal sympathy, the author explains alchemical practice by means of *theoremata* (principles). Chapter 7 presents the two central themes: the analogy between human generation and the alchemical opus, and the need for a *reformatio materiae*, which is the ultimate goal of the enlightened *artifex*. From chapter 12 on, the four stages of the opus are described. In chapter 63 there are some remarks which are probably autobiographical. Pseudo-Lullian texts are cited (*Testamentum* and *Liber de intentione alchimistarum*) along with other alchemical authorities and the Hermetic *Tabula smaragdina*, whose fourth proposition is extensively commented upon. The alphabet and circular figures are used, with Lullian terminology concerning the human cognitive faculties. I.10a is a chapter of the *Codicillus*: see ed. 1702, p. 897.

I.11 Commentum super lapidem philosophorum

Incipit/Explicit: Precor te, omnipotens aeternae Deus, clemens.../...sicut iustum et aequum est in omnibus et per omnia.

References: S 19; *HLF* 263; Gl lu; TK 1082.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.58; Graz, Universitätsbibl., 42; München, BS, clm 10493d; München, BS, clm 11032; Pesaro, B. Oliveriana. 1595 III.

Note: A brief discussion of the principles of alchemy; for some alchemists there are two, for others three, according to the threefold composition of man (*corpus, spiritus, anima*).

I.12 Compendium animae transmutationis metallorum

Alternative titles: Anima artis; Compendium super lapidarium; Compendium codicilli; Lapidarius.

Incipit/Explicit: Fulgeat regis diadema Ruberti...Iam saepe et saepius elocuti recolimus in multis et diversis modis.../...largitor existens, regnans per omnia saecula. Second part: Tu in virtute de A... Third part: Opus namque margaritarum... Second version: Quaesivisti quis trium lapidum.../...elige ergo ex ea intentum.

References: S 4; *HLF* 115, 266; Gl ld, ld1, lx, oi; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 626–7; TK 650, 1016, 1591; Singer, *Catalogue*, 253, ii, xi-xii; Corbett I, 186, 121; II, 126.

Editions: Nürnberg 1546 (RD 94); Frankfurt 1550 (RD 96); Basel 1561 (RD 99); Köln 1566 (RD 106); Basel 1572 (RD 116); Köln 1573 (RD 119); Basel 1600 (RD 147); Ursell 1602 (RD 151); Strassburg 1613 (RD 174); Frankfurt 1630 (RD 202); Strassburg 1659 (RD 239); Rouen 1633 (RD 247); Genève 1702 (RD 285: two slightly different versions).

Manuscripts: Bern, Bürgerbibl., A 78; Bologna, BU 164 (153); Bologna, BU 168 (180); Bologna, BU 169 (181); Bologna, BU 270 (457) V.1; Bologna, BU 270 (457) XXXIV.2; Bruxelles, B. royale 3751; Cambridge, CCC 112; Cambridge, CCC, 396; Cambridge, Trinity College O.3.27; Cambridge, Trinity College O.8.14; Cambridge, Trinity College O.8.32; Canterbury, Cathedral Library 50; Firenze, BML, Gaddi reliq. 174; Firenze, BNC, II iii 27; Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.105; Firenze, B. Riccardiana, 942; Leiden, BR, Voss. Chym. O.8; Leiden, BR, Voss. Chym. Q.11; Leiden, BR, Voss. Chym. Q.33; London, BL, Harley 5399; London, BL, Sloane 419; London,

WML 444; London, WML 525; London, WML 526; London, WML 3563; Mainz, Priesterseminarbibliothek, 220 (2); Milano, B. Ambrosiana. D 130 Inf.; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 134; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 356; Montpellier, B. de l'École de médecine 493; München, BS, clm 10599; München, BS, clm 25110; Oxford, BdL, Bodl. 645; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1441; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1471; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1484; Oxford, CCC 244; Palma, CPL 19; Paris, BN, lat. 7150; Paris, BN, lat. 7164; Paris, BN, lat. 14007; Paris, BN, lat. 14008; Ravenna, B. Classense 388; Vaticano, Pal. lat. 381; Vaticano, Vat. lat. 5847; Wien, ÖNB 2474; Wien, ÖNB 5487; Winchester, The Warden and Fellows Library 39; Yale, BLMC 12.

Note: One of the most complex textual traditions of any pseudo-Lullian work. Its main focus is the *pars lapidifica*, to which it applies the fifth essence of the *Liber de secretis naturae*. Cites the *Testamentum* both in Catalan and Latin, and uses the alphabet, figures and alchemical devices described in the *Liber de secretis naturae*.

I.13 Compendium artis alchimiae et naturalis philosophiae

Alternative titles: Ars magica naturalis; Compendium artis magicae; Compendium de secreta transmutatione metallorum; Compendium quintae essentiae; De vero lapide; Magia minor; Magia naturalis; Parva magia; Practica magistri Raymundi de compositione lapidis philosophorum; Superadditio totius operis Raymundi Lulli.

Incipit/Explicit: Scias, carissime fili, naturae cursum esse reformatum (Incipit compendium artis magicae secundum cursum naturae reformatum...)/...secundum quod medicinae fuerint in illis, vel ad album vel ad rubeum. Third chapter: Accipe (Recipe) nigrum nigrius nigro...

References: S 21, 22; *HLF* 123, 127, 282; Gl lk, lp, mm, mm2, of; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 48, 630–631; TK 22, 674, 1385.

Editions: Nürnberg 1546 (RD 94); Köln 1567 (RD 109); Basel 1610 (RD 164); Genève 1702 (RD 285).

Manuscripts: Barcelona, BC 1740; Bern, Bürgerbibl., B 44; Bologna, BU 142 (109); Bologna, BU 270 (457) V.1; Bologna, BU 270 (457) XXXVI.3; Cambridge, Trinity College O.8.32; Firenze, BML, Ashb. 190; Firenze, BML, Gaddi reliq. 174; Firenze, BNC, II iii 27; Firenze, BNC, Pal. 792; Firenze, B. Riccardiana 390; Firenze, B. Riccardiana 942; København, KB, Gl. kgl. S. 3498; Leiden, BR, Voss. Chym. O.8; London, BL, Sloane 1091; London, WML 443; London, WML 444; London, WML 526; London, WML 3563; London, WML 3574; Madrid, BN 17714; Milano, B. Ambrosiana, D 130 Inf.; Milano, B. Ambrosiana, G 66 Inf.; Orléans, B. municipale 291; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1484; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibl., HB XI 48; Toledo, B. del Cabildo 96–39; Wien, ÖNB 5487; Wien, ÖNB 12834; Wolfenbüttel, HAB 3107; Yale, BLMC 12.

Note: A brief alchemical *practica* on the extraction of the fifth essence, which is defined as 'magic' at the beginning of the text. Cites the *Testamentum* and *Compendium animae transmutationis metallorum*. Without alphabet or figures.

I.14 Compendium de secretis medicinis

Incipit/Explicit: Rex serenissime et illustrissime, pluries a me flagitasti.../...omnes autem pauperes tibi commendo.

References: S 20; *HLF* 277; Gl mh; TK 1361.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, XVI.49; Firenze, B. Riccardiana 803; Oxford, BdL, lat. misc. 40.

Note: Medico-alchemical secrets based on the fifth essence.

I.15 Compendium et liber lumen luminum de intentione alchimistarum

Incipit/Explicit: Rex serenissime et amantissime fili, cum hoc arcanum occultae philosophiae sit secretum Dei.../...de proiectione quomodo dicemus.

References: S 48; *HLF* 276; Gl mg; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 13–14; TK 1361.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.55; München, BS, clm 10493b; München, BS 11031; Pesaro, B. Oliveriana 1595 I.

I.15a De parva radice

Incipit: Rex serenissime ac fili carissime volo tibi declarare radicem...

Manuscript: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28.

I.15b Practica de calcinatione solis

Incipit: Accipe Rex serenissime solem purum et mundum de minera...

References: S 15; *HLF* 275; Gl mf.

Manuscript: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28.

Note: A brief *practica*. Cites many alchemical authorities, including Plato, St Thomas and 'magister Arnaldus'. I.15a and I.15b are presented as different texts only in MS Firenze, BNC, II iii 28.

I.16 Conclusio summaria

Alternative title: Repertorium ad intelligendum Testamentum et Codicillum.

Incipit/Explicit: Aqua ergo (vero) nostra philosophica tribus naturis componitur.../...in hoc latet practica apud plures.

References: S 23; *HLF* 104; Gl kr; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 51, 648; TK 118; Singer, *Catalogue*, 250 xi, 259.

Editions: Basel 1561 (RD 99); Köln 1567 (RD 109).

Manuscripts: Bern, Bürgerbibl., A 78; Bologna, BU 168 (180); Bologna, BU 270 (457) II.1; Cambridge, CCC 396; Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.59; London, BL, Sloane 1255; London, WML 384; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 364; München, BS, clm 10600; München, BS, clm 25115; München, BS, clm 26059; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1483; Paris, B. de l'École de pharmacie 33; Paris, BN, lat. 634; Paris, BN, lat. 11202; Torino, BU 1051; Vaticano, Vat. lat. 5847; Yale, BLMC 12.

Note: A brief *practica* without alphabet or figures. Does not cite any other pseudo-Lullian work.

I.17 De medicinis secretissimis

Alternative title: Medicina magna.

Incipit/Explicit: Proponimus namque (profecto) tibi in praesenti libro (Recipe aquae benedictae quae alio nomine aqua vitae vocatur...).../...et repletionem si dicta medicina bibatur.

References: S 51; *HLF* 88; Gl jz, km, kn; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 56; TK 1138–9.

Editions: Basel 1572 (RD 116); Basel 1600 (RD 147).

Manuscripts: Cambridge, Trinity College O.8.28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.43; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.76; Milano, B. Ambrosiana, D 130 Inf.; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 134;

Montserrat, B. del Monastir 482; München, BS, clm 10599; Napoli, BN, Fondo San Martino Aggiunti 13; Oxford, BdL, lat. misc. e. 40; Paris, B. du Musée Condé à Chantilly 332; Paris, BN, lat. 7150; Roma, B. Corsiniana 129; Überlingen, Leopold-Sophien Bibliothek 160; Vaticano, Ottob. lat. 1853; Vaticano, Vat. lat. 5847; Venezia, BNM, lat. Z 325.

Note: A medico-alchemical treatise related to the *Liber de secretis naturae*. Contains a *panacea* with dozens of ingredients.

I.18 De viginti quattuor experimentis totius naturae creatae

Incipit: Raymundus volens se contristari...(not seen).

References: S 33; *HLF* 308; Gl nm; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 636; TK 1316.

Manuscript: München, BS, clm 10590.

Note: The only known manuscript of this text also contains authentic works, according to Salzinger, who also states that authentic works are cited within it.

I.19 Elucidatio Testamenti

Incipit/Explicit: Quam (Quamquam) plurimos libros diversarum operationum.../...claudit et aperit, cuius nomen sit benedictum.

References: S 29; *HLF* 105; Gl ks; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 24 n. 69; TK 1162.

Editions: Basel 1572 (RD 116); Basel 1600 (RD 147); Genève 1702 (RD 285).

Manuscripts: Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibl., N 177; Firenze, B. Riccardiana, 942; Leiden, BR, Voss. Chym. F 29; Leiden, BR, Voss. Chym. Q 33; London, WML 3557; London, WML 3563; Montserrat, B. del Monastir 482; San Marino (California), Huntington Library, s.n.; Wolfenbüttel, HAB 3144; Wolfenbüttel, HAB 3641.

Note: A brief treatise, whose author claims to simplify the theoretical part of the *Testamentum*. Insists on the uniqueness of the stone and the simplicity of the alchemical opus. Not to be confused with the *Lucidarium Testamenti*.

I.20 Epistola accurtationis

Alternative title: Epistola accurtatoria lapidis ad Robertum Anglorum regem.

Incipit/Explicit: Cum ego Raymundus de insula Maioricarum.../...cuius nomen benedictum sit in aeternum.

References: S 31; *HLF* 112; Gl kz; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 24, 623, 625; TK 296; Singer, *Catalogue*, 250; Corbett I, 190, 270.

Editions: Köln 1567 (RD 110); Basel 1572 (RD 116); Basel 1600 (RD 147); Genève 1702 (RD 285).

Manuscripts: Bern, Bürgerbibl., A 78; Bethlehem (Penn.), Lehigh University Library 1; Bologna, BU 138 (104); Bologna, BU 142 (109); Bologna, BU 164 (153); Bologna, BU 270 (457) V.1; Bologna, BU 270 (457) XXXIII.3; Bologna, BU 270 (457) XXXVI.3; Boston, Medical Library 18; Cambridge, CCC 112; Cambridge, Trinity College O.3.27; Edinburgh, University Library 141; Firenze, BML, Gaddi reliq. 174; Firenze, BNC, II iii 27; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.25; Firenze, BNC, Pal. 792; Firenze, BNC, Pal. 1051; Firenze, B. Riccardiana 390; Firenze, B. Riccardiana 942; Kassel, Landesbibl., Chem. Folio 13; København, KB, Gl. kgl. 1713; København, KB, Gl. kgl. S 3498; Leiden, BR, Voss. Chym. O.5; Leiden, BR, Voss. Chym. O.8; Leiden, BR, Voss. Chym. Q.2; Leiden, BR, Voss. Chym. Q.33; London, BL, Sloane 1118; London, BL, Sloane 3457; London, WML 384; London, WML 385; London, WML 444; London, WML 450; London, WML

3563; Madrid, BN 7443; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 364; München, BS, clm 10590; München, BS, clm 10600; München, BS, clm 24111; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1471; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1480; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1484; Paris, BN, lat. 14008; Paris, BN, franç. 2019; Paris, BN, franç. 19960; Poppi, B. comunale 59; Reggio Emilia, B. municipale, MS vari E 10; Rimini, B. civica Gambalunghiana 88; Toledo, B. del Cabildo 96–32; Vaticano, Vat. lat. 5847; Wien, ÖNB 2474; Wien, ÖNB 5230; Wien, ÖNB 5487; Wien, ÖNB 5509; Wien, ÖNB 5510; Wolfenbüttel, HAB, 3076; Wolfenbüttel, HAB 3284; Wolfenbüttel, HAB 3641; Yale, BLMC 12; Yale, BLMC 19.

Note: One of the most famous and widely distributed works of the pseudo-Lullian alchemical corpus. A brief *practica*, concerning three kinds of *lapis*: (*mineralis*, *vegetalis* and *animalis*). Shows that the only way to shorten the operative process is by means of various fifth essences: e.g., *vitrioli*, *aquae ardentis*, etc. Has an explicit attribution to Lull (see *incipit*) and is dedicated to King Robert. Contains an alphabet. Seems to cite the *Liber de conservatione vitae humanae* and is itself cited in the *Liber de secretis naturae*.

I.21 Experimenta

Incipit/Explicit: Ego Raymundus Lullus de insula Maioricarum...(I) Accipe tartarum utriusque vini, tam albi quam rubei.../...praesens opusculum optato fine claudatur.

References: S 32; *HLF* 110; Gl kx, ve; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 60, 636; TK 25, 491; Corbett II, 110.

Editions: Basel 1572 (RD 116); Basel 1600 (RD 147); Genève 1702 (RD 285).

Manuscripts: Bologna, BU 142 (109); Erlangen, Universitätsbibl., lat. 871; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.43; Kassel, Landesbibl., Chem. Quarto 34; London, WML 452; London, WML 3563; Milano, B. Ambrosiana, D 130 Inf.; Montpellier, B. de l'École de médecine 482; München, BS, clm 10590; Wien, ÖNB 11378.

Note: Thirty-four alchemical experiments, drawn from various pseudo-Lullian and Arnaldian works. Without alphabets or figures.

I.22 Fons scientiae divinae philosophiae

Incipit/Explicit: Serenissimi reges amantissimi et catholici...A me quaesivisti ut aliqua ex secretis meis.../...quoniam in illis videbitis veritatem.

References: S 34; *HLF* 285; Gl kl; TK 1438.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.45; Graz, Universitätsbibl., 42; München, BS, clm 10493d; München, BS, clm 11032; Pesaro, B. Oliveriana 1595 III.

Note: Alchemy is compared to the wisdom of Adam and the alchemical spirit to the 'Spiritus domini' which floated over the waters at the beginning of creation.

I.23 Historia quando Raymundus Lullus, Maioricanus comes, scientiam transmutationis didicerit et quando ac qua de causa traiecerit in Angliam ad Regem Robertum

Incipit/Explicit: In nomine domini Iesu Christi ego Raymundus Lullus.../...et occultaverunt omnia secreta naturae.

References: S 36; *HLF* 261; Gl ls; TK 491.

Edition: Pereira, 'La leggenda'.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.50; Graz, Universitätsbibl., 42; München, BS, clm 10493d; München, BS, clm 11032; Pesaro, B. Oliveriana 1595 III.

Note: One of the latest versions of the legend of Lull the alchemist and the most complete; see above, Introduction and Chapter 3.5.

I.24 Lapidarium ultimum secretissimum

Incipit/Explicit: O clemens Domine Deus magne qui caelum et terram.../...contra serpentes et bestias malas.

References: S 40; *HLF* 291; Gl mu.

Manuscript: Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.53.

Note: A late elaboration on the making of artificial gems. Cited in the *Liber angelorum de conservacione vitae humanae*.

I.25 Libellus de mercurio solo

Incipit/Explicit: Est lapis unus, medicina una in qua magisterium.../...et praestat ei faciem iuvenilem, ut scribitur in libro Pietatis.

References: *HLF* 109; Gl kw; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 644; TK 511; Singer, *Catalogue*, 508.

Edition: Basel 1561 (RD 99).

Manuscript: Napoli, BN, VIII.D.17.

Note: Quicksilver is the only matter required for the alchemical opus: the philosophers' stone is made by uniting *mercurium calcinatum* (hot and dry) and *mercurium sublimatum* (cold and moist). Contains no citations from other works of the pseudo-Lullian corpus and no alphabet or figures.

I.26 Liber ad faciendum aurum potabile

Alternative title: De compositione et virtutibus auri potabilis.

Incipit/Explicit: Fili doctrinae, postquam ego Raymundus Lullus vobis declaravi quod.../...atque in illius multiplicatione in quantitate in huius tractatus consummatione.

References: S 14; *HLF* 272; Gl mc; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 57, 632; TK 559.

Manuscripts: Cambridge, CCC 99; London, BL, Sloane I091; Manchester, John Rylands Library, lat. 65; Paris, BN, lat. 7150; Vaticano, Vat. lat. 5847.

Note: Potable gold is the most perfect medicine and is defined as 'humidum radicale'. Recipes to obtain it, perhaps related to this text, are noted in Thorndike, *History*, IV, 58, 632. Other similar recipes are to be found in MSS Firenze, BNC, II iii 28 (*Secretum Dei Altissimi de auro potabile*); Milano, B. Ambrosiana, C 12 Sup. (*Ad aurum potabile*). A series of brief treatises on this subject is in MS Palma, BF 17 (3/9). See below, I.54.

I.27 Liber ad serenissimam reginam Eleonoram

Incipit/Explicit: Beatissimus Deus sempiternus creator arcanorum.../...et fac magisterium narratum.

References: S 59; *HLF* 303; Gl ng; TK 174.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.56; München, BS, clm 10493b; München, BS, clm 11031; Pesaro, B. Oliveriana 1595 I.

Note: Alchemical secrets for cosmetic use and for making artificial pearls.

I.28 Liber angelorum de conservatione vitae humanae et de quinta essentia

Incipit/Explicit: Deus gloriosissimus, Deus altissimus, Deus magnus.../...viduarum ac templorum Dei sacrorum.

References: S 2; *HLF* 287; Gl mq; TK 408.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.51; Graz, Universitätsbibl., 42; München, BS, clm 10493d; München, BS, clm 11032; Pesaro, B. Oliveriana 1595 III; Wien, ÖNB 11282.

Note: A medico-alchemical work on the fifth essence of wine. The alchemical opus has religious significance and must be undertaken for the benefit of the poor.

I.29 Liber angelorum testamenti experimentorum

Alternative title: Liber magnorum experimentorum.

Incipit/Explicit: Adoro te Deus pater omnipotens.../...facies praecepta Domini nostri Iesu Christi.

References: S 1; *HLF* 288; Gl. mr; TK 68.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.54; Mainz, Priesterseminarbibliothek, s.n. (1); München, BS, clm 10493b; München, BS, clm 11031; Pesaro, B. Oliveriana 1595 I; Vaticano, Barb. lat. 215.

Note: A late reworking of the *Testamentum*, from which its experiments are generally derived. First matter is identified with urine. The religious framework is emphasized by the repeated mention of angels and by the definition of the alchemist as 'verus Dei sacerdos'.

I.30 Liber artis compendiosae qui vademecum nuncupatur

Incipit/Explicit: Tinctura ignis est melior omnibus tincturis.../...combustibile et corporale ex vi suae propriae naturae.

References: S 12; *HLF* 111; Gl ky; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 61; TK 1573.

Editions: Frankfurt 1550 (RD 96); Basel 1572 (RD 116); Basel 1600 (RD 147); Genève 1701 (RD 285).

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.47; Firenze, B. Riccardiana 923; Montserrat, B. del Monastir 482 int. VII; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1480; Paris, B. de l' Arsenal 3019 int. III.

Note: A brief summary of the *Theorica Testamenti*.

I.31 Liber caelestis

Alternative title: Thesaurus thesaurorum.

Incipit/Explicit: Fili carissime, esto semper humilis.../...ut omnia facias cum suo adiutorio.

References: S 76; *HLF* 290; Gl mt.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.50; München, BS, clm 10493c; München, BS, clm 11032; Pesaro, B. Oliveriana 1595 IV.

Note: Provides knowledge necessary for the alchemist, who makes 'spiritum vegetabilem, sicut mulier infantem in utero generat operante natura'. Contains a brief history of kings and philosophers who studied alchemy.

I.32 Liber de conservacione vitae humanae

Incipit/Explicit: Intendimus (intendo) componere rem admirabilem tactam.../...nisi in vero auro puro de minera creato iussu ipsius Dei.

References: S 24; *HLF* 91; Gl iu; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 634; TK 757.

Edition: Strassburg 1616 (RD 179).

Manuscripts: Firenze, B. Riccardiana 942; Kraków, B. Jagiellońska 839; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 134; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 354; München, BS, clm 10599; Padova, B. Antoniana, XXIII 617; Paris, BN, lat. 15096; Wien, ÖNB 11342.

Note: A medical treatise, without specifically alchemical themes. Teaches how to preserve and restore youth 'per conservacionem spirituum caloris in suo esse et temperantia'; similar to Roger Bacon, *De retardatione accidentium senectutis*.

I.33 Liber de intentione alchimistarum

Alternative title: Donum Dei.

Incipit/Explicit: Laus sit Deo qui gratiam nobis contulit...Posteaquam per valde longum tempus nostram vitam exercuimus.../...reddimus et committimus in praesentem custodiam.

References: S 37; *HLF* 107; Gl ku; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 49, 635, 638; TK 1066, 1206.

Edition: Basel 1561 (RD 99).

Manuscripts: Bern, Bürgerbibl., A 78; Firenze, BNC, II iii 27; London, WML 384; Manchester, John Rylands Library, lat. 65; Oxford, BdL, Digby 162; Überlingen, Leopold-Sophien Bibl., 160; Vaticano, Vat. lat. 5846; Wien, ÖNB 11342.

Note: The author of the *Testamentum* claims to have written it. It does not, however, include alphabet or figures. The alchemist tells of his wanderings and of the quest for the 'lapis philosophorum', which he made with three 'socii': a theologian, an 'eques et doctor in legibus' and a merchant. The alternative title *Donum Dei* recalls John Dastin's work of the same name.

I.34 Liber de investigatione secreti occulti

Alternative titles: Clausula Testamenti; Tractatus scrutationis seu investigationis secretorum; Vademecum.

Incipit/Explicit: Quia homo est magis nobile animal de mundo...Alchimia est ars artificialis ex naturalibus principiis procedens.../...de igne communi in tripode secreti. Second part: Ista est secunda pars huius libri quae est de alphabeto... Third part: Ista est tertia pars quae est de practica huius secreti...

References: S 38; *HLF* 283, 284; Gl mn, mo; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 9, 54, 638–9, 640; TK 779, 1219; Singer, *Catalogue*, 252, 254.

Manuscripts: Bern, Bürgerbibl., A 78; Bologna, BU 142 (109); Bologna, BU 168 (180); Bologna, BU 270 (457) II.1; Bologna, BU 270 (457) V.1; Bologna, BU 270 (457) XXXVI.3; Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár 202; Firenze, BNC, II iii 27; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.133; Firenze, B. Riccardiana 942; København, KB, Gl. kgl. S. 236; Leiden, BR, Voss. Chym. O 3; London, BL, Harley 5399; London, BL, Sloane 2128; London, WML 526; Milano, B. Ambrosiana, D 130 Inf.; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 364; München, BS, clm 10600; Orléans, B. municipale, 291; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1484; Palma, BF 17 (3/9); Paris, BN, lat. 7163; Parma, B. Palatina 1427; Vaticano, Capp. lat. 254; Vaticano, Vat. lat. 5847; Venezia, BNM, lat. VI. 215; Wien, ÖNB 2474; Wien, ÖNB 5485; Yale, BLMC 12.

Note: One of the earliest and most interesting texts of the corpus. Remarkable Lullian elements are present: not only figures, a tree and an alphabet, but also conceptual devices, such as the correlatives. Alchemy, understood as the *lapis* or the principle of transmutation, is a secret which cannot be produced by nature alone; it also requires human *artificium*. The philosophers' stone is vegetable, animal and mineral; its purpose is generation, and therefore it must be generated out of live substances ('de substanciis vivis'). The true principle of alchemy is man's urine. The practical part of the treatise is an *ars lapidifica*, very similar to those described in the *Liber lapidarii* and *Compendium animae transmutationis metallorum*, but using urine as first matter, instead of alchemical waters or the fifth essence of wine.

I.35 Liber de lapide et oleo philosophorum

Incipit/Explicit: Si vis facere aquam vitae.../...corporum et spirituum secundum Raymundum Lullium dicta sufficiant.

References: S 43; *HLF* 120; Gl lh; TK 1470.

Editions: Basel 1610 (RD 164); Genève 1702 (RD 285).

Manuscripts: Firenze, B. Riccardiana 390; Paris, BN, franç. 19069; Toledo, B. del Cabildo 96–39.

Note: A brief *practica*, concerning the perfect *aqua vitae*. No alphabets, figures or specifically Lullian procedures. In MS Riccardiana 390 it seems to be considered a chapter of the *Potestas divitiarum*: see below, I.56.

I.36 Liber de modo sublimandi vivum argentum

Incipit/Explicit: Omnipotens sempiterne Deus fortis et potens.../...vivit et regnat in saecula saeculorum amen.

References: S 53; *HLF* 295; Gl my; TK 944.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.58; München, BS, clm 10493c; München, BS, clm 11032; Pesaro, B. Oliveriana 1595 IV.

Note: A brief *practica*, which teaches how to extract *argentum vivum* from cinnabar.

I.37 Liber de praeparatione hominis pro maiori opere creationis totius naturae animalis

Incipit/Explicit: Fili carissime et princeps serenissime, maximum arcanum tibi volo revelare...(O Domine, Jesu Christe, qui in hoc mundo venisti).../...et erit aqua perfecta pro separatione hominis.

References: S 58; *HLF* 307; Gl nl.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.61.

Note: The stone extracted from the human body is stronger and more perfect than *lapis vegetabilis*. To obtain a pure human stone remedies and diet must be used.

I.38 Liber de sacrata scientia Beati Joannis Evangelistae

Incipit/Explicit: Carissimi fratres, Deus magnus, Deus caritatis, Deus pius et misericors in hoc demonstravit caritatem suam.../...tradi nocentium et dirum crucis subire tormenti.

References: S 61; *HLF* 273; Gl md.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.57; München, BS, clm 10493c; München, BS, clm 11032; Pesaro, B. Oliveriana 1595 IV.

Note: Mystical text on the fifth essence. Alchemy is the truest and noblest philosophy. With an alchemical figure.

I.39 Liber de secretis naturae seu de quinta essentia

Incipit/Explicit: Contristatus erat Raymundus...Deus gloriosus, cum tuae sublimis bonitatis...Ordinur namque tibi fili.../...Christi custodire commendavit. Third part: Haec est tertia distinctio...

References: S 13, 27, 66; *HLF* 114, 124; Gl jv, lc, lm, ml, oj; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 39, 648; TK 263, 408, 602, 1018; Singer, *Catalogue*, 255; Corbett I, 136.

Editions (all incomplete): Venezia 1514 (RD 50); Augsburg 1518 (RD 71); Venezia 1521 (RD 77); Lyon 1535 (RD 85); Strassburg 1541 (RD 91); Venezia 1542 (RD 92); Nürnberg 1546 (RD 94); Basel 1561 (RD 99); Köln 1567 (RD 110); Ursell 1602 (RD 151); Strassburg 1613 (RD 174); Strassburg 1616 (RD 179); Strassburg 1659 (RD 239); Epilogue edited in Pereira, 'Filosofia naturale'.

Manuscripts: Barcelona, BC 1727; Barcelona, BC 1740; Bern, Bürgerbibl., A 78; Bethlehem (Penn.), Lehigh University Library 1; Bologna, BU 142 (109); Bologna, BU 168 (180); Bologna, BU 169 (181); Bologna, BU 270 (457) V.2; Bologna, BU 270 (457) XII.6; Cambridge, CCC 112; Cambridge, CCC 395; Cambridge, CCC 396; Cambridge, Trinity College O.3.27; Cambridge, Trinity College O.8.32; Canterbury, Cathedral Library 50; Firenze, BNC, II iii 27; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XV.22; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.40; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI. 133; Firenze, BNC, Pal. 792; Firenze, BNC, Pal. 948; Leiden, BR, Voss. Chym. Q 33; London, BL, Harley 5399; London, BL, Sloane 75; London, BL, Sloane 1091; London, WML 186; London, WML 452; Madrid, B. de la Academia de la Historia, 9-31-8-7117; Madrid, BN 7443; Mainz, Priesterseminarbibliothek 220 (2); Milano, B. Ambrosiana, D 216 Inf.; Milano, B. Ambrosiana, D 512 Inf.; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 355; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 364; Montpellier, B. de l'École de médecine, 479; München, BS, clm 10573; München, BS, clm 24111; Oxford, BdL, Bodl. 645; Oxford, BdL, Bodl. 879; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1437; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1471; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1484; Oxford, CCC 244; Palma, BF 17 (3/9); Palma, CPL 2; Palma, B. Vivot, s.s. (Papeles varios 4); Paris, B. Mazarine 3501; Paris, BN, lat. 7164; Paris, BN, lat. 7167; Paris, BN, lat. 7177; Paris, BN, lat. 12969; Paris, BN, lat. 14008; Reggio Emilia, B. municipale, MSS vari E 10; Vaticano, Reg. lat. 1468; Vaticano, Ross. lat. 576; Vicenza, B. comunale Bertoliniana 328; Wien, ÖNB 5485; Wien, ÖNB 5509; Wien, ÖNB 11333; Wien, ÖNB 11342; Wien, ÖNB 12834; Wolfenbüttel, HAB 3284; Yale, BLMC 12.

I.39a De cura individuorum

Incipit: Ista est regula infrascripta datur de lineis quae oriuntur...

Reference: TK 781.

Manuscripts: Bruxelles, B. royale 3751; London, WML 443; Vaticano, Vat. lat. 5847.

I.39b Tractatus septem rotarum quarum sex sunt volubiles

Incipit: Protinus ut ars et scientia transmutatoria de qua in praecedenti volumine edisseruimus...

References: S 60; *HLF* 280; Gl mk; TK 1145; Singer, *Catalogue*, 246-7.

Manuscripts: Bern, Bürgerbibl., B 44; Bruxelles, B. royale 3751; Cambridge, CCC 112; Canterbury, Cathedral Library 50; Mainz, Priesterseminarbibliothek 220 (2); München, BS, clm 10576.

Note: Along with the *Testamentum*, one of the two basic works of the corpus. Related to John of Rupescissa, *Liber de consideratione quintae essentiae*. Deals with alchemy in terms of medicine, transmutation and gem-making. It was the main vehicle for the diffusion of alchemical practice based on the fifth essence of wine. The *Tertia distinctio* circulated as an independent text, sometimes with *De cura individuorum* (I.39a). The relation of the *Tractatus* (I.39b) to the *Liber de secretis naturae* (I.39) remains uncertain: see above, Introduction and Chapter 1.3–5.

I.40 Liber de secreto occulto naturae caelestis

Incipit/Explicit: Fili carissime et amantissime, gloriosus Dominus Deus ordinavit quod quintam essentiam.../...in mentem tuam, ut omnia facias sicut tibi praecepimus.

References: S 63; *HLF* 289; G1 ms; TK 559.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.45; Graz, Universitätsbibl., 42; Mainz, Priesterseminarbibliothek, s.n. (1); München, BS, clm 10493d; München, BS, clm 11032; Pesaro, B. Oliveriana 1595 III.

Note: On the fifth essence. Attacks wicked alchemists who ignore the true *argentum vivum*. Without alphabets or figures.

I.41 Liber de secreto occulto salis urinae

Incipit/Explicit: Rex illustrissime et serenissime.../...qui continet in se omnem perfectionem et fortissimus et super omnia in terris.

References: S 62; *HLF* 265; G1 lw; TK 1360.

Manuscript: Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI. 58.

Note: Describes distillation of urine.

I.42 Liber de secreto secundo lapidis philosophici

Incipit/Explicit: Gravissime vir Roberte...Est autem alius modus nobilior transmutandi.../... tibi dicta in annis tribus cum Dei vountate.

References: S 65; *HLF* 262; G1 lt; TK 506, 591.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI. 45; Mainz, Priesterseminarbibliothek, s.n. (1).

Note: Sets out alchemical procedures to obtain the philosophers' stone (referred to here as the *ovum philosophorum*) by means of three kinds of *sulphur*: animal, vegetable and mineral.

I.43 Liber de vasis magno magisterio opportunis

Incipit/Explicit: Fili carissime, sequens vas est illud cum quo aquam vitae facere.../...de quo habes particularem tractatum in arte maiori necessaria.

References: S 77; *HLF* 297; G1 na; TK 559.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.55.

Note: Describes vessels to be used in various alchemical operations. MS BNC, II iii 28 contains beautiful illustrations of several vessels.

I.44 Liber divinitatis

Incipit/Explicit: Laus (Laudes) Deo, sint gratiae bonitatis, pietatis et misericordiae, qui donavit nobis rem.../...fructum rubedinis et claritatis.

References: S 28; *HLF* 271; G1 kk; TK 812, 813.

Manuscripts: Modena, B. Estense, lat. 364; München, BS, clm 10600; Paris, BN, lat. 7161; Vaticano, Vat. lat. 10811.

Note: Mystical secrets of alchemy.

I.45 Liber lapidarii

Alternative titles: Liber de compositione lapidis mineralis; Practica lapidum pretiosorum.

Incipit/Explicit: Deus in veritate tua incipio in primis tractare generationem lapidum (Deus in virtute tuae sanctae trinitatis incipio tractare...)...Et primo fili tibi dicemus (Et fili primo indiges...).../...istam aquam potes custodire semper. Second part: Tu fili in virtute sanctae trinitatis accipias de aqua mercurii... Version abridged at the beginning: Omissis praeambulis necessariis...

References: S 42; *HLF* 113; Gl Ia, Ib; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 640–2, 645; TK 409, 517.

Editions: Basel 1610 (RD 164).

Manuscripts: Bern, Bürgerbibl., A 78; Bologna, BU 20 (12) I.9; Cambridge, CCC 112; Firenze, BML, Ashb. 190; Firenze, BNC II iii 27; Genève, B. publique et universitaire, lat. 82; London, WML 444; London, WML 526; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 134; München, BS, clm 10599; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1471; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole, 1483; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1484; Oxford, CCC 244; Paris, BN, lat. 7150; Toledo, B. del Cabildo 96–39; Vaticano, Pal. lat. 381; Wien, ÖNB 5230; Wien, ÖNB, 5487; Wien, ÖNB 5509; Wolfenbüttel, HAB 3076; Yale, BLMC 12.

Note: One of the oldest works in the corpus. Explicitly linked to the *Testamentum*, but without alphabet or figures. Concerned with the making of artificial gems by means of three principles: *argentum vivum*, *aquae subtiles* and *virtutes stellarum*. The chapter 'De generatione lapidis et de diversitate sui operis' presents an accurate account of the difference between alchemy as the art of transmutation and alchemy as *lapidifica*.

I.46 Liber lucidarius compositus super ultimo testamento

Incipit/Explicit: Rex serenissime et amantissime fili, pluries ac pluries me rogasti.../...completo de hoc auro potabili soluto pro medicinis creandis.

References: S 44; *HLF* 293; Gl mw; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 13–14; TK 1361.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.55.

Note: A treatise on potable gold, related to the *Testamentum novissimum*.

I.47 Liber lucis mercuriorum

Incipit/Explicit: Iamdudum rex serenissime de transmutatione metallorum locuti sumus...In virtute de A accipe B album odoriferum.../...et ad finem gaudia aeternalia possidebis.

References: S 46; *HLF* 116; Gl le, oa; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 642; TK 648.

Editions: Basel 1572 (RD 116); Basel 1600 (RD 147); Genève 1702 (RD 285).

Manuscripts: Bologna, BU 142 (109); Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, Magl. XVI.40; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.105; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.133; Firenze, B. Riccardiana 942; Milano, B. Ambrosiana, R 118 Sup.; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 134; Montserrat, B. del Monastir 482; München, BS, clm 10590; München, BS, clm 10599; München, BS, clm 25103; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1450; Padova, BU 1380; Paris, BN, nouv. acq. lat. 634; Paris, BN, franç. 14798; Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Library 1; Vaticano, Vat. lat. 5847; Wien, ÖNB 5485.

Note: A practical guide to the composition of *menstruum vegetabile*; related to the *Testamentum* and *Codicillus*.

I.48 Liber naturae et lumen nostri lapidis

Incipit/Explicit: Rex scias quod spiritus domini ferebatur super aquas.../...quoniam viso nobis me traditurum omnia secreta sibi.

References: S 54; *HLF* 298; Gl nb; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 12; TK 1361.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.51.

Note: Explains the theory of transmutation and its connections with cosmological themes.

I.49 Liber secreti secretorum

Alternative titles: Alphabetum divinum de lapide minerali et de definitione alchimiae; Practica Testamenti.

Incipit/Explicit: Rex serenissime et amantissime fili, divina potentia omnia ordinavit.../...et sic est finita specificatio primae tabulae ad laudem Dei.

References: S 64; *HLF* 129; Gl lz; TK 1361.

Edition: Köln 1592 (RD 139).

Manuscripts: El Escorial, g.II.5; München, BS, clm 25105; München, BS, clm 27434; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1451; Palma, BF, (3/25); Reggio Emilia, B. municipale, MSS vari F 82; Roma, B. Casanatense 3567.

Note: A miscellaneous text, related to the *Liber de conservatione vitae humanae* (I.32) and to various Hermetic works. In some manuscripts it is confused with the second part of the *Testamentum*; see also below, II.45.

I.50 Liber sponsalitii

Incipit/Explicit: Fili, omnes sapientes occultaverunt secreta naturae.../...per Christum dominum nostrum.

References: S 67; *HLF* 296; Gl mz; TK 560.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.57; Graz, Universitätsbibl., 42; München, BS, clm 10493d; München, BS, clm 11032; Pesaro, B. Oliveriana 1595 III.

Note: The alchemical *nuptiae*, concealed by the wise men of antiquity, are revealed. Contains a list of alchemists beginning with Adam.

I.51 Lucidarium Testamenti ad regem Edoardum

Alternative titles: Elucidatio Testamenti ad regem Angliae; Practica quae dicitur secunda pars apertorii.

Incipit/Explicit: Tu in virtute Dei (de A; ipsius A) recipe solem calcinatum vel foliatum.../...in perpetuum et secum tingere in infinitum.

References: S 45; *HLF* 294; Gl mx; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 636; TK 1590–91.

Edition: Basel 1610 (RD 164).

Manuscripts: Bologna, BU 169 (181); El Escorial, f.I. 10; London, WML 3557; London, WML 3563; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 364; Montpellier, B. de l'École de médecine 469; Montpellier, B. de l'École de médecine 474; Montpellier, B. de l'École de médecine 493; München, BS, clm 10600; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1490; Toledo, B. del Cabildo 96–39; Vaticano, Vat. lat. 5847; Venezia, BNM, lat. VI.215.

Note: Often confused with the *Elucidatio Testamenti* (I.19), from which it is quite different. A practical treatise which describes four ways to obtain the philosophers' stone, referring to various chapters of the *Testamentum*. At the end of the text, there are two recipes for *tincturae particulares*, one of which begins: 'Recipe nigrum nigrius nigro'.

I.52 Lumen claritatis et flos florum

Incipit/Explicit: Tempore serenissimi Roberti Anglorum regis.../...et paratus sum semper oboedire mandatis tuis.

References: S 47; *HLF* 267; Gl ly; TK 1559.

Manuscript: Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.50.

Note: A late version of the legend of Lull the alchemist (see Introduction and Chapter 3.6), with a dialogue on the validity of alchemy.

I.53 Magna clavis

Alternative titles: Magnum apertorium; Noli ire sine me.

Incipit/Explicit: Ad reddendum gratias...Nos volumus incipere et ponere in scripto scientiam et artem praesentem.../...cum modica parte corporum imperfectorum fiunt lapides pretiosi.

References: S 17; *HLF* 268; Gl lz.

Manuscripts: Barcelona, BC 686; Montserrat, B. del Monastir 205; Montserrat, B. del Monastir 482; München, BS, cIm 10493c; München, BS, cIm 11032; Palma, B. Ayamans, s.n.; Palma, BF 16 (2/32); Palma, CPL 16; Palma, CPL 18; Palma, CPL 19; Palma, CPL 36; Pesaro, B. Oliveriana 1595 IV.

Note: A practical treatise concerning the fifth essence and the *terra azoquea*.

I.54 Modus accipiendi aurum potabile

Incipit/Explicit: Dico igitur primo quod aurum potabile.../...sanitatis conservationem exhibuit.

References: *HLF* 120; Gl lo; TK 423.

Edition: Basel 1610 (RD 164).

Manuscripts: Toledo, B. del Cabildo 96–39; Vaticano, Pal. lat. 381.

Note: A treatise on potable gold; see above, I.26: *Note*.

I.55 Opus abbreviatum super solem et lunam

Incipit/Explicit: Deus qui in trinitate semper gaudes...Fili regimen primi operis est ut tu accipias de argento vivo vegetabili.../...sicut dictum est in libro angelorum et aliis libris secretis.

References: S 55; *HLF* 299; Gl nc.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.55.

Note: The alchemical process according to nature is opposed to that described by an author referred to as *paganus*.

I.56 Potestas divitiarum de compositione lapidis philosophici

Incipit/Explicit: Dixit (dicit) philosophus: Accipe (sume) lapidem nostrum benedictum qui non est lapis.../...et prosequere sicut in argento docuimus.

References: HLF 121; Gl li; Thorndike, *History*, III, 686–8; IV, 645; TK 456, 20; Corbett I, 146–8; II, 41–2.

Editions: Basel 1610 (RD 164); Genève 1702 (RD 285).

Manuscripts: Bologna, BU 169 (181); Bologna, BU 747 (1492); Firenze, BNC, Pal. 887; Firenze, B. Riccardiana 390; London, WML 526; Madrid, BN 2151; Paris, BN, lat. 7165; Rimini, B. civica Gambalunghiana 88; Toledo, B. del Cabildo 96–39.

Note: A practical treatise, thematically similar to the *Codicillus*. Often attributed in manuscripts to Hortulanus.

I.57 Praxis quintae essentiae de conditionibus vini

Alternative title: Effectus aquae vini et quintae essentiae.

Incipit/Explicit: Rex illustrissime, vinum igitur ex quo aqua nostra.../...huic nulla paria esse dicebat, cuius rei testis sum ego Raymundus.

References: HLF 310; Gl nn; TK 1360.

Manuscripts: København, KB, Gl. kgl. S 1713; Paris, BN, lat. 17829.

Note: A short text on distillation, without alphabet or figures.

I.58 Prima magia naturalis

Incipit/Explicit: Sciendum est rex serenissime.../...et in triginta diebus poteris componere lapidem.

References: S 49; HLF 305 (1); Gl ni; TK 1396.

Manuscript: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28.

Note: Alchemy has four main purposes: the transmutation of metals, the provision of remedies for human health, the making of gems and the softening of glass ('quartum omnem vitrum facere malleabile').

I.59 Secunda magia naturalis

Incipit/Explicit: Fili iam dudum me rogasti.../...quos homines (carnales) invenire non poterunt.

References: S 50; HLF 305 (2); Gl nj; TK 560.

Manuscripts: Graz, Universitätsbibl., 42; München, BS, clm 10493d; München, BS, clm 11032; Pesaro, B. Oliveriana 1595 III.

Note: The wine to be used for distillation should be red: 'vinum nigrum quod Regi Roberto diximus nigrum nigrius nigro, illud aenigmatibus illudendo'. The author gives instructions on every stage of wine-making, beginning with the best location for the vineyard. *Aqua vitae* is praised.

I.60 Summaria lapidis consideratio et eius abbreviationes

Incipit/Explicit: Cum ita sit quod natura per suum continuum cursum.../...parum de dicta aqua mercurii etc.

References: S 25; HLF 118; Gl lg; Tk 313.

Edition: Basel 1561 (RD 99).

Manuscript: Paris, BN, franç. 14798.

Note: Four possibilities for shortening the alchemical opus from one year to six weeks. The alchemical oven is a symbol of the sky and the vessel a symbol of the mine. Without alphabet or figures. No reference is made to any other pseudo-Lullian alchemical work.

I.61 Testamentum

Incipit/Explicit: Deus qui gloriose omnipotens existis, propter amare, intelligere et recolere...Entia realia stantia in suis primordialibus (Principia naturalia primordialia).../...gubernata cum cultivatione non te privabit suo fructu. Second part: Alchimia est una pars occultae philosophiae naturalis...

References: HLF 103; Gl kq, kq1, nv; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 651–2; TK 77, 410; Singer, *Catalogue*, 244; Corbett I, 191, 240, 274.

Editions (all include only the first and second books): Köln 1566 (RD 106); Köln 1573 (RD 119); Ursell 1602 (RD 151); Strassburg 1613 (RD 174); Strassburg 1659 (RD 239); Rouen 1663 (RD 247); Genève 1702 (RD 285).

Manuscripts: Barcelona, BC 1726; Barcelona, BC 1728; Bern, Bürgerbibl., A 78; Bernkastel-Kues, Hospitalbibl., 83; Bologna, BU 270 (457) V.8; Bologna, BU 270 (457) XXIII.1; Bologna, BU 523 (927); Bordeaux, B. municipale 530; Budapest, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár 201; Caen, B. municipale 143; Cambridge, CCC 112; El Escorial, g.II.5; Firenze, BML, Gaddi reliq. 174; Firenze, BNC, II iii 27; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.59; Firenze, BNC, Pal. 792; Glasgow, University Library, B.C.10b.5; Leiden, BR, Voss. Chym. O 5; London, BL, Harley 3369; London, BL, Sloane 419; London, BL, Sloane 976; London, BL, Sloane 1255; London, BL, Sloane 3457; London, WML 445; London, WML 452; London, WML 526; London, WML 1041; London, WML 3563; Madrid, BN 18341; Madrid, BN 18361; Milano, B. Ambrosiana, N 223 Sup.; Milano, B. Ambrosiana, P 148 Sup.; Milano, B. Ambrosiana, R 94 Sup.; Milano, B. Ambrosiana, D 130 Inf.; Montserrat, B. del Monastir 205; Napoli, BN, VIII D 19; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1480; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1483; Oxford, CCC 244; Palma, BF 16 (2/32); Palma, BF 17 (3/9); Palma, BF (3–25); Paris, B. de l' Arsenal 3024; Paris, BN, lat. 7166; Paris, BN, lat. 14008; Paris, BN, franç. 2019; Praha, Universitní knihovna, Lobk. 249; Roma, B. Casanatense 657; Sevilla, B. Capitular y Colombina 5–3–26; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibl., HB XI 48; Vaticano, Vat. lat. 5846; Wien, ÖNB 5487; Wien, ÖNB 12834; Wolfenbüttel, HAB 3076; Yale, BLMC 12; Yale, BLMC 39.

I.61a Brancae de tinctura

Incipit: Fili, si tu volueris facere vel scire artem...

References: TK 561; Singer, *Catalogue*, 253 xx.

Manuscript: Cambridge, CCC 396.

I.61b De clausuris vasorum

Incipit: Cucurbitae cum alembico tinctura cum receptorii...

References: TK 275; Singer, *Catalogue*, 266.

Manuscript: Cambridge, CCC 396.

I.61c Liber brancharum Testamenti

Incipit: Nunc dicemus per viam practicae aliquot ramos...

References: Thorndike, *History*, IV, 632; TK 963.

Editions: Published as 'Liber secundus' of the *Testamentum novissimum* (I.62).

Manuscripts: Bologna, BU 270 (457) XIV.3; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.77.

I.61d Liber mercuriorum

Alternative titles: Liber ad faciendum mercuria et elixires ex illis; Tractatus ad faciendum...

Incipit: Fili, oportet ut (necesse est quod) intelligas operationes...Tu accipies de liquore lunariae vel menstrualis...

References: S 52; *HLF* 108, 301; Gl kv, ne; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 643–4; TK 560; Singer, *Catalogue*, 246.

Editions: Basel 1561 (RD 99); Köln 1567 (RD 109).

Manuscripts: Bern, Bürgerbibl., B 44; Bologna, BU 270 (457) XIV.3; Bologna, BU 524 (928); Firenze, BML, Ashb. 190; London, WML 384; London, WML 444; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 364; München, BS, clm 10600; Padova, BU 1380 I; Paris, BN, nouv. acq. lat. 634; Vaticano, Pal. lat. 381; Wien, ÖNB 5485.

I.61e Practica de furnis

Alternative titles: De furnis et vasis; Liber patientiae; Liber tertius Testamenti.

Incipit: Fili ad componendum dictam (summam) medicinam, matrem et imperatricem omnium medicinarum... In hoc magisterio tres fornaces...(Fili tu debes intelligere quod omnia elementa...).

References: S 35, 56; *HLF* 312–3; Gl np, nq, nx; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 31, 637; TK 559; Singer, *Catalogue*, 248.

Editions: Published as part of the ‘Liber secundus’ of the *Testamentum novissimum* (I.62; see also I.61c).

Manuscripts: Bologna, BU 270 (457) XIV.3; Cambridge, CCC 396; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.77; London, BL, Sloane 1091; London, WML 444; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 364; München, BS, clm 10599; Paris, BN, nouv. acq. lat. 634.

I.61f Theorica Testamenti

Alternative title: Forma minor Testamenti.

Incipit: Dispositiones corporis mobilis sunt tres...

References: S 71; *HLF* 300; Gl nd; TK 438.

Manuscripts: München, BS, clm 27000; San Juan de Capistrano (Calif.), The Honeyman Library, ms. B.

I.61g Tractatus de creatione mercuriorum ad faciendum tincturam rubeam

Incipit: Nunc dicemus creationem mercuriorum rubeorum...

References: S 26; *HLF* 302; Gl nf; TK 963.

Manuscript: München, BS, clm 10600.

Note: The basic text of the corpus, using alphabets and figures as mnemonic devices and citing two authentic Lullian works (see above, Introduction and Chapter 1.1). One of the most important alchemical treatises of the fourteenth century, developing a threefold conception of alchemy as *ars transmutatoria*, *medica* and *lapidifica*. The complete text is formed by I.61, I.61d, I.61e and I.61c, generally followed by the *Cantilena* (I.7); I.61a, I.61b, I.61f and I.61g are parts of the main text. MS Oxford, CCC 244 contains the text in both Catalan and Latin; MS Paris, BN, franç. 2019 is also bilingual (Latin-French): see Bohigas, ‘El repertori’, p. 36.

I.62 Testamentum novissimum

Alternative titles: Testamentum ultimum; Declaratio Raymundi in artem chymicam.

Incipit/Explicit: Cum ad nos venisti, dilectissime fili ac princeps invictissime in tali passu.../...cum omnibus suis circumstanciis diffusam ac claram.

References: S 70; *HLF* 128; Gl lq; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 26; TK 279.

Editions (all include, as 'Liber secundus', I.61e and I.61c, and are followed by I.7): Basel 1572 (RD 116); Basel 1600 (RD 147); Basel 1610 (RD 164); Frankfurt 1630 (RD 202); Genève 1702 (RD 285).

Manuscripts: Brescia, B. civica Queriniana, J.III. 23/4; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.43; Firenze, BNC, Pal. 1026; Firenze, B. Riccardiana 669; Firenze, B. Riccardiana 923; London, WML 3563; Milano, B. Ambrosiana, I 143 Inf.; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 364; Montpellier, B. de l'École de médecine 469; München, BS, 1040 (ital. 167); München, BS, clm 10600; Torino, BU 1314; Venezia, BNM, VI.308.

Note: The author tries to demonstrate the essential agreement of the texts in the corpus by defining the most significant alchemical terms used in the various works. The description of the practical opus employs a tree-like schema.

I.63 Thesaurus sanitatis

Incipit/Explicit: Altissime domine Deus fortis.../...tecum in saecula saeculorum amen.

References: S 75; *HLF* 304; Gl nh.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.48; München, BS, clm 10493a; München, BS, clm 11031; Pesaro, B. Oliveriana 1595 II.

Note: A treatise on the fifth essence extracted from human blood and its medical use.

I.64 Tractatus de duabus nobilissimis aquis

Alternative title: Apertorium.

Incipit/Explicit: Fili, duae sunt aquae extractae.../...demonstratio huius operis cum capitulo sequenti.

References: S 7,8; *HLF* 125; Gl ln; see TK 559.

Edition: Köln 1567 (RD 110).

Manuscripts: London, WML 452; Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibl., HB XI 48; Vaticano, Vat. lat. 5847; Wien, ÖNB 2474.

Note: On alchemical waters. This text is often confused with the *Apertorium* (I.2) and may be a summary of its contents.

I.65 Tractatus de investigatione lapidis

Alternative title: Experimentorum apertorium.

Incipit/Explicit: Scito quod sapientes in miraculo lapidis posuerunt multas operationes.../...quoniam in cognitione causarum universalium sapiens et ignorans aliquando adaequantur.

References: S 39; *HLF* 278; Gl mi; TK 1410.

Manuscripts: Firenze, B. Riccardiana 984; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 362; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 364; München, BS, clm 10600.

Note: An alchemical *practica* similar to the *Apertorium*, with which Salzinger seems to confuse it. Related to the alchemical teaching of Johannes Rigaud de Branchiis: see above, Chapter 2.3.

II: Works Occasionally Attributed to Lull in Manuscripts

II.1 Ad amicum suum

Alternative title: Methodus directus.

Incipit: Pater mi clementissime, dixi ergo tibi...

References: Thorndike, *History*, IV, 625; TK 1029.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BML, Ashb. 191 (123); Modena, B. Estense, lat. 365; München, BS, clm 10601.

Note: Some parts identical to the Arnaldian *Semita semitae* (Thorndike, *History*, III, 71). See also the *Epistola* by Geraldus de Morangia (Thorndike, *History*, IV, 334).

II.2 Alchimia I

Incipit: Iste est modus absconditus a sapientibus...

References: Thorndike, *History*, IV, 62–3; TK 785; Singer, *Catalogue*, 254–5.

Manuscripts: Oxford, BdL, Fairfax 22; Oxford, CCC 136.

II.3 Alchimia II

Incipit: Furnus magnus Raymundi Lulli cum duobus furnellis...

References: TK 574; Singer, *Catalogue*, 268.

Manuscript: London, BL, Add. 10764.

II.4 Alchimia III

Alternative title: De quinta essentia.

Incipit: Oleum benedictum philosophorum unum ex secretis...

References: TK 978; Singer, *Catalogue*, 978; D 102.

Manuscripts: London, BL, Arundel 251; Oxford, BdL, Canonici Misc. 195; Wien, ÖNB 5511.

Note: In MS Arundel 251 this text is a chapter of the *Tractatus de oleis* attributed to Geoffrey of Vinsauf (*incipit:* Et accipe tegulas novas de fornace quas aqua non tetigerit...not included in TK).

II.5 Apertorium cum clavibus

Incipit: Appetitus naturalis est... Clavis prima: Scias fili quod omnis elementa sunt creata...

Manuscript: London, WML 1298.

II.6 Aphorismi

Incipit: Aurum philosophorum est lapis tactu (cautus) rarus...

References: Thorndike, *History*, IV, 628; TK 168; Singer, *Catalogue*, 262.

Manuscripts: Barcelona, BC 1728; Bern, Bürgerbibl., A 78; Bologna, BU 270 (457) XXXIII.3; Cambridge, CCC 112; Leiden, BR, Voss. Chym. Q 33; London, BL, Sloane 419; London, WML 447; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 364; München, BS, clm 10599; Nantes

523 (=franç. 357); Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 273; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1483; Oxford, CCC 244; Palma, BF 17 (3/9); Paris, BN, franç. 2019; Praga, Universitní knihovna, Lobk. 249; Vaticano, Vat. lat. 5847.

Note: This brief treatise, without any Lullian features, is often copied together with the *Testamentum* in fifteenth-century manuscripts. Included in the catalogue of Lull's works compiled by Alonso de Proaza: see above, Chapter 2.3.

II.7 Apparatus

Incipit: Apparatus iste dividitur in quatuor principales...

References: Thorndike, *History*, IV, 628; TK 115.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II iii 27; Wien, ÖNB 5487.

II.8 Apparatus secundus Testamenti

Alternative title: Practica Testamenti.

Incipit: Tu prevedeas de liquore luminarium in virtute de A...

Reference: TK 1591.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II iii 27; London, WML 443.

II.9 Apparatus tertius

Incipit: Prima est dissolvere, secunda lavare, tertia congelare...

Manuscript: Firenze, BNC, II iii 27.

II.10 Catalogus omnium philosophorum

Incipit: Reges serenissimi et amantissimi fili, me pluries rogastis...

Manuscript: Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.47.

II.11 Codicillus magnus

Incipit: Fecimus praesentem codicillum seu librum artis et fontem scientiae...

Manuscripts. Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.52; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.55.

II.12 Compendium artis Raymundi

Incipit: Homo cognoscens uxorem vel per somnium vel actualiter lapidem generare non potest...

Reference: Singer, *Catalogue*, 240–1.

Manuscripts: London, BL, Sloane 2128; Milano, B. Ambrosiana, D 248 Inf.; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1483; Yale, BLMC 12.

II.13 Compositio solis potabilis

Incipit: Aurum potabile quod est maximum secretum...

Reference: D 18.

Manuscript: Palma, BF 17 (3/9).

II.14 De distillationibus et sublimationibus

Alternative title: Liber determinationis omnium distillationum.

Incipit: Omnes distillationes debent fieri...

Reference: TK 985.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, Pal. 981; Klagenfurt, Bischöfliches B., XXIX d 24; London, BL, Add. 41486; Vaticano, Pal. lat. 1339; Vaticano, Ross. lat. 576.

Note: An anonymous work, attributed to Lull only in MS Ross. lat. 576.

II.15 De generatione lapidum

Incipit: In virtute sanctae trinitatis accipe de aqua menstrui quam aquam tibi dixi...

Reference: TK 721.

Manuscript: Firenze, BNC, Pal. 933.

II.16 De gradibus magnae medicinae

Alternative title: Thesaurus Raymundi. Also attributed to Arnaldus de Villanova under the titles: Rosinus Arnaldi; Rosa aurea.

Incipit: Ex quolibet non fit quodlibet sed determinatum...

References: Thorndike, *History*, IV, 637; TK 537.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II iii 27; Firenze, B. Riccardiana 1165; Palma, BF 17 (3/9); Vaticano, Vat. lat. 5847; Wolfenbüttel, HAB 3721.

II.17 De lapide

Incipit: Accipe aquae benedictae partes sex corporis solis...

Manuscript: Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.43.

II.18 De lapide phisico minerali

Alternative title: Compendium codicilli de lapide minerali. Also attributed to Paulus Ursarum (Romanus) de Ursinis (Vesinis) and to Ludovicus Cornelius.

Incipit: Materia lapidis est res una vilis pretii ubicumque reperibilis...(Est enim materia lapidis res vilis...)

References: Thorndike, *History*, IV, 623; TK 508, 850.

Manuscripts: Firenze, B. Riccardiana 942; Firenze, B. Riccardiana 984; Mainz, Priesterseminar 220 (2); Modena, B. Estense, lat. 357; München, BS, F 673; Paris, BN, nouv. acq. lat. 1293; Vaticano, Pal. lat. 1332; Venezia, BNM, lat. VI.283.

II.19 De lapidis animalis principio

Incipit: Lapis animalis et magnum elyxir...

Manuscript: Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI. 47.

II.20 De vinis

Incipit: Sane et semper victoriose regiae maiestatis vester humilis servulus...

Manuscript: Firenze, BML, Ashb. 1448.

II.21 Epistola ad Eduardum Regem Angliae

Incipit: Tu in virtute Dei serenissime princeps accipe vinum album...

Manuscript: London, WML 452.

II.22 Epistola de auro potabili et de lapide philosophico missa ad Summum Pontificem

Incipit: Praesentium ordinatorum atque...

Reference: D 47.

Manuscript: Palma, BF 17 (3/9).

II.23 Epistola de lapide maiori

Incipit: Praeparacionem huius operis vos sequenti modo facietis...

Manuscript: London, WML 758.

II.24 Epistola de plumbo et antimonio

Incipit: Requisti me dilecte fili ut verbum secretum a philosophis occultatum...

Manuscript: London, WML 443.

II.25 Epistola de virtutibus lapidis

Incipit: Audiant secreti quae loquor...

Reference: D 48.

Manuscript: Palma, BF 17 (3/9).

II.26 Epistola Raymundi philosophi

Incipit: Interrogacioni tuae de secretis naturae amice dilectissime...

Reference: TK 771.

Manuscript: Oxford, CCC 185.

II.27 Imago vitae

Alternative titles: Imago artis alias praxis universalis; Imago mundi.

Incipit: Ars nostra secreta continet unam medicinam factam ex uno corpore...

Reference: Singer, *Catalogue*, 269.

Manuscripts: London, BL, Sloane 1091; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1484; Yale, BLMC 12.

Note: In MS London, WML 446 there is a French translation of this work (end of the 15th c.).

II.28 Investigatio secretorum

Incipit: Nunc rex serenissime est tempus si me intelligas...

References: Thorndike, *History*, IV, 640; TK 966.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.105.

II.29 Lapidarius magnus

Incipit: Sciens igitur quod omnes decoctiones...

References: Thorndike, *History*, IV, 642; TK 1400.

Manuscript: Bologna, BU 270 (457) V.3.

Note: This treatise is not, as Thorndike claims, the same as the *Liber lapidarii*, although the contents of both works are related.

II.30 Liber denudatorum super lapidem philosophorum

Incipit: Caelum continet duo luminaria magna...

Reference: D 63.

Manuscript: Palma, BF 17 (3/9).

II.31 Liber experimentorum

Incipit: Naturalem evacuationem corporum a suis spiritibus...

Reference: TK 902.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.61.

Note: Not to be confused with I.21 nor with the astrological *Liber experimentorum* attributed to Lull in MS Wien, ÖNB 12834.

II.32 Liber intelligentiarum

Incipit: Raymundus in libro Vademecum fili...

Reference: TK 1316.

Manuscript: München, BS, clm 25115.

II.33 Liber proprietarius

Incipit: Fili in nomine Jesu Christi oportet quod tu intelligas operationes per quas creantur nostra argenta viva...

Manuscript: Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.56.

Note: Although not listed in the catalogues of Salzinger and later compilers, nor mentioned by Thorndike, this work seems to be related to the texts with 'angelorum' in the title (see Introduction and Chapter 2.5), many of which are cited in it. The same appears to be true for many of the texts in Section II preserved in the Magliabechi manuscripts of the BNC in Florence.

II.34 Liber quartus practicalis

Incipit: Intentio huius quarti et ultimi practicalis principii est figere album sulphur...

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.60.

II.35 Liber trium verborum

Incipit: Philosophi omnes dixerunt aquam mercurialem esse clavem...

Reference: TK 1041.

Manuscripts: Bologna, BU 270 (457) II.1; Modena, B. Estense, lat. 365.

Note: Not to be confused with the *Liber trium verborum* attributed to Kalid (TK 768).

II.36 Octo operationes

Incipit: Materia lapidis est res vilis pretii ubique reperibilis quia est aqua viscosa...

Reference: Thorndike, *History*, IV, 620–1.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BML, Gaddi reliq. 174; Wien, ÖNB 5487.

Note: According to Thorndike, *History*, IV, 640 and 645, this text is John of Rupescissa's *Liber lucis* without the prologue. See also above, II.18, which has a similar *incipit*.

II.37 Opus ad album et rubeum

Incipit: Philosophi naturales scilicet Plato...

Reference: TK 1041.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, Magl. XV.3; Firenze, BNC, Pal. 867.XII.

II.38 Parvus vademecum

Incipit: Hoc est commune in omni digestionem quod aereus humor...

Manuscripts: Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1483; Yale, BLMC 12.

II.39 Practica de formatione et compositione lapidis

Incipit: Ad dandum intelligentiam super illud quod declaravimus de effectiva potestate sulphuris...

Manuscripts: Leiden, BR, Voss. Chym. F 1; Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1483; Yale, BLMC 12.

II.40 Practica medicinalis secundae partis Testamenti

Incipit: Nunc dicemus compositionem aquae potabilis...

References: TK 963; Singer, *Catalogue*, 247.

Manuscripts: Bern, Bürgerbibl., B 44; Firenze, BNC, Pal. 792; London, BL, Sloane 419; Yale, BLMC 12.

II.41 Primum testamentum

Incipit: De facto totius artis in summa universali dicimus nos debere...

Manuscript: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28.

II.42 Pro compositione lapidis philosophici

Incipit: Quamvis pro labore et compositione formae lapidis...

References: TK 1166; Singer, *Catalogue*, 252–3.

Manuscript: London, BL, Add. 10764.

II.43 Repertorium

Incipit: Rex aqua nostra physica tribus naturis componitur B E et H...

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.60.

II.44 Secreta secretorum

Incipit: O rex, alchimia est pars occulta philosophiae naturalis...

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.55.

II.45 Secretum de auro potabili

Incipit: Deus sua sapientia constituit in sole mirabiles virtutes...

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.55.

II.46 Semita recta

Incipit: Serenissime rex scias quod in omnibus libris nostris...

References: Thorndike, *History*, IV, 12 n. 31; TK 1438.

Manuscripts: Firenze, BNC, II iii 28; Firenze, BNC, Magl. XVI.61.

II.47 Soliloquium philosophiae

Alternative title: Opus perfecti magisterii quod appellatur soliloquium philosophiae secundum Raimundum Lullium.

Incipit: Primo de coniugio matrimoniali...

Manuscript: Firenze, B. Riccardiana 942

II.48 Testamentum abbreviatum

Alternative title: Rosarius.

Incipit: Primum vel primum ergo regimen lapidis est dissolvere siccum grossum in argentum vivum (Regimen lapidis est)...

References: Thorndike, *History*, III, 56 n. 15; TK 1121, 1344; Corbett I, 212, 277.

Manuscripts: Oxford, CCC 238; Paris, BN, nouv. acq. lat. 1293.

Note: The same text, written in Provençal, is preserved in MS Paris, BN, nouv. acq. franç. 4141, with the title: *Rosarius alkymicus Montispessulani*: see Berthelot, 'Sur quelques écrits'.

II.49 Tractatus de lapide philosophico

Incipit: Summa ex lapide ubique repertus qui vocatur...

Reference: D 114.

Manuscript: Palma, BF 17 (3/9)

III: Works to be Excluded from the Corpus

III.1 Annotatio utilis ad intelligendum praxes compendii magices, animae artis, ultimi testamenti, epistolae accurtatoriae de lapide minerali

Incipit: In praedictis libris videtur author innuere duas aquas...

Reference: Gl og.

Note: Brief notes referring to an unidentified pseudo-Lullian manuscript. Perhaps compiled by Ettore Ausonio.

III.2 Carmen de lapidibus pretiosis

Incipit: Evax rex arabum...

Reference: Gl nr.

Note: Not a pseudo-Lullian text, but rather Evax, *Epistola secunda*: see TK 530.

III.3 De lapide vegetabili

Incipit: Recipe in Dei nomine vinum album odoriferum...

References: Gl mv; TK 1325.

Note: This text consists only of a recipe, attributed to Christopher of Paris in MS Paris, BN, franç. 19071.

III.4 Enumeratio specierum

Incipit: Si vis figere virtutes cuiuslibet syrapi...

References: S 30; *HLF* 236; Gl mp; TK 471.

Note: A fragment from John of Rupescissa, *De consideratione*.

III.5 Liber lapidarius abbreviatus

Incipit: Infinita bonitas Dei benigni sit recognita, amata et honorata...

References: S 41; *HLF* 292; Gl mv; TK 743.

Note: No manuscript of this work is known. It is not the same as the *Accurtatio lapidis* in MS Oxford, BdL, Ashmole 1494.

III.6 Opus bonum atque perfectum

Incipit: Accipe corpus quodvis vel corpus quod scis et dissolve...

References: Singer, *Catalogue*, 234; TK 17.

Note: A collection of recipes, attributed to 'Magister hospitalis Jerosolimitani' in MSS Cambridge, CCC 396 and Montpellier, B. de l'École de médecine 493.

III.7 Opus Raymundi secundum humanae generationis modum

Alternative title: De consideratione lapidis philosophorum.

Incipit: Sperma viri miscetur spermate mulieris et contra...

References: Gl nz; TK 1016; Singer, *Catalogue*, 256.

Note: A compilation of pseudo-Lullian works.

III.8 Practica abbreviata in opere minerali

Incipit: Recipe duas partes optimi D et unam partem de C et extrahe...

References: S 57; HLF 311; Gl nv; TK 1323.

Note: Consists only of a recipe.

III.9 Praxis alia de lapide philosophorum

Incipit: Finis alchimiae est lapis philosophorum...

Reference: Gl ob.

Note: Although preserved in a manuscript along with pseudo-Lullian works, it is not attributed to Lull nor does it have any characteristic pseudo-Lullian features.

III.10 Quaestio de lapide philosophali

Incipit: Pulveratio metallorum est unum ex principiis huius artis...

Reference: Gl nt.

Note: A compilation from pseudo-Lullian works, written by Ettore Ausonio.

III.11 Quanam ratione potestas fieri possit conformis voluntati cupienti invenire medicinam quam docuit Raimundus Lullus

Incipit: Quicumque cupit aliquid invenire primo debet precognoscere...

Reference: Gl od.

Note: A compilation from pseudo-Lullian works on the fifth essence, perhaps written by Ettore Ausonio.

III.12 Reformatorium magnum lapidis philosophorum

Incipit: Quoniam omnis res tam naturalis quam artificialis... (Quemadmodum Aristoteles loqui solet...).

References: TK 1189, 1291; Singer, *Catalogue*, 273.

Note: A work written by Petrus Valeacius Ragusensis 'ex dictis magistri Raimundi Maioricani'.

III.13 Scala sapientiae

Incipit: Ut dicit venerabilis philosophus Raymundus Lullius: Intentio naturae ad faciendum nostrum magisterium...

Reference: Thorndike, *History*, IV, 622.

Note: A work written by Guy de Montanyer.

III.14 Semita recta Beati Thomae

Incipit: In nomine Domini Dei Jesu Christi...

Reference: S 74.

Note: No manuscript of this work is known. The title clearly indicates that it is attributed to Thomas Aquinas.

III.15 Testamentum Beati Thomae de Aquino

Incipit: Conditor caeli et terrae, rex regum...

Reference: S 72.

Note: A text modelled on the *Turba philosophorum*, attributed to Thomas Aquinas in MS München, BS, clm 10493c.

III.16 Testamentum primum Arnaldi de Villanova Catalani

Incipit: Divina potentia insuperabilis et gloriosa...

Reference: S 68.

Note: Attributed to Arnald of Villanova. In MS München, BS, clm 10493d there is an illustration of Arnald teaching alchemical secrets to Lull.

III.17 Thesaurus abbreviatus Sancti Thomae de Aquino

Incipit: In nomine Dei...

Reference: S 73.

Note: No manuscript of this work is known. It is clearly attributed to Thomas Aquinas.

III.18 Tractatus de duabus nobilissimis aquis

Alternative titles: Apertorium; Compendium artis magicae; Tractatus de aquis super epistola accurtationis ad Regem Robertum.

Incipit: Fili, sunt duae (duae sunt) aquae extractae ab una parte...

References: S 7,8; *HLF* 125; Gl ln; Thorndike, *History*, IV, 48, 51, 628; TK 559; Singer, *Catalogue*, 257; Corbett I, 187; II, 109.

Note: A commentary on the *Epistola accurtationis*. It is not attributed to Lull: see the title of the 1567 edition (RD 110): *Tractatus de aquis, collectus a quodam studioso artis ex scriptis passim librorum Raymundi Lulli, super epistolam eiusdem, quae accurtatoria nuncupatur, et primo de aquis mineralibus*.

III.19 Tractatus de septem aquis ad componendum omnes lapides pretiosos

Incipit: Demonstratio practicae huius operis perficiendi est quando septem corpora metallica fuerunt resoluta...

References: S 9; *HLF* 279; Gl mj; TK 400.

Note: No manuscript of this work is known.

III.20–8 The following titles are listed by Glorieux, without any reference to manuscripts or to other catalogues:

III.20 De alchymia et lapide philosophorum (Gl om)

III.21 De arte alchymiae (Gl ol)

III.22 Dialogi duo (Gl or)

III.23 Disputatio (Gl ot)

III.24 Mercurium liber apertorium (Gl oo)

III.25 Praxis universalis (Gl ov)

III.26 Repertorium artis intellectivae (Gl op)

III.27 Super mysteria in lucem producta (Gl oq)

III.28 Theoria practica (Gl os)

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 Materia siquidem nostri lapidis vel sulfuris est humor seminalis I.10a
 Multi sunt erratici I.5
 Naturalem evacuationem corporum a suis spiritibus II.31
 Nos appella(vi)mus hoc opus nostrum claviculam, quia sine hoc I.8
 Nos volumus incipere et ponere in scripto scientiam et artem I.53
 Nunc dicemus compositionem aquae potabilis II.40
 Nunc dicemus creationem mercuriorum rubeorum I.61g
 Nunc dicemus per viam practicae aliquot ramos I.61c
 Nunc rex serenissime est tempus si me intelligas II.28
 O clemens Domine Deus magne qui caelum et terram I.24
 O domine Jesu Christe qui in hoc mundo venisti I.37
 O rex alchimia est pars occulta philosophiae naturalis II.44
 Oleum benedictum philosophorum unum ex secretis II.4
 Omissis praecambulis necessariis I.45
 Omnes distillationes debent fieri II.14
 Omnipotens sempiternus Deus fortis et potens I.36
 Opus namque margaritarum I.12
 Ordinum namque tibi fili I.39
 Pater mi clementissime dixi ergo tibi II.1
 Philosophi naturales scilicet Plato II.37
 Philosophi omnes dixerunt aquam mercurialem esse clavem II.35
 Posteaquam per valde longum tempus nostram vitam exercuimus I.33
 Praeparationem huius operis vos sequenti modo facietis II.23
 Praesentium ordinatorum atque II.22
 Precor te omnipotens aeternus Deus clemens I.11
 Prima est dissolvere, secunda lavare, tertia congelare II.9

- Primo de coniugio matrimoniali II.47
 Primum vel primum ergo regimen lapidis est
 dissolvere II.48
 Principia naturalia primordialia I.61
 Proponimus namque (profecto) tibi in praesenti
 libro I.17
 Protinus ut ars et scientia transmutatoria de
 qua I.39b
 Pulveratio metallorum est unum ex principiis
 huius artis III.10
 Quaesivisti quis trium lapidum I.12
 Quam (Quamquam) plurimos libros
 diversarum operationum I.19
 Quamvis pro labore et compositione formae
 lapidis II.42
 Quemadmodum Aristoteles loqui solet III.12
 Quia homo est magis nobile animal de
 mundo I.34
 Quicumque cupit aliquid invenire primo debet
 praecognoscere III.11
 Quoniam omnis res tam naturalis quam
 artificialis III.12
 Raymundus in libro Vademecum fili II.32
 Raymundus volens se contristari I.18
 Recipe aquae benedictae quae alio nomine
 aqua vitae vocatur I.17
 Recipe duas partes optimi D et unam partem de
 C et extrahe III.8
 Recipe in Dei nomine vinum album
 odoriferum III.3
 Recipe nigrum nigrius nigro I.13
 Reges serenissimi et amantissimi fili me pluries
 rogastis II.10
 Requisisti me dilecte fili ut verbum secretum a
 philosophis II.24
 Reverendo B. salutem et pacem iuxta ritum
 Salvatoris. Intuita I.4
 Reverendo patri salutem I.4
 Rex aqua nostra physica tribus naturis
 componitur II.43
 Rex et fili oportet ut habeas mercurium duorum
 luminarium I.9
 Rex illustrissime et serenissime I.41
 Rex illustrissime vinum igitur ex quo aqua
 nostra I.57
 Rex scias quod spiritus domini ferebatur super
 aquas I.48
 Rex serenissime ac fili carissime volo tibi
 I.15a
 Rex serenissime et amantissime fili, cum hoc
 arcanum I.15
 Rex serenissime et amantissime fili, divina
 potentia I.49
 Rex serenissime et amantissime fili, pluries ac
 pluries me rogasti I.46
 Rex serenissime et fili carissime, volo tibi
 declarare altum I.9
 Rex serenissime et illustrissime, pluries a me
 flagitasti I.14
 Sane et semper victoriosae regiae
 maiestatis II.20
 Sapientes dicunt quod non est nisi unus
 lapis I.2
 Sapientes nostri asserunt quod tantum sit unus
 lapis I.2
 Scias carissime fili naturae cursum esse
 reformatum I.13
 Sciendum est rex serenissime I.58
 Sciens igitur quod omnes decoctiones II.29
 Scito quod sapientes in miraculo lapidis
 posuerunt I.65
 Serenissime rex scias quod in omnibus libris
 nostris II.46
 Serenissimi reges amantissimi et catholici I.22
 Si vis facere aquam vitae I.35
 Si vis figere virtutem cuiuslibet syrupi III.4
 Sperma viri miscetur spermate mulieris et
 contra III.7
 Summa ex lapide ubique repertus qui
 vocatur II.49
 Sunt multi errantes in hoc mundo
 universalis I.5
 Sunt plures nimis errantes per universum
 mundum I.5
 Tempore serenissimi Roberti Anglorum
 regis I.52
 Tinctura ignis est melior omnibus
 tincturis I.30
 Tu accipies de liquore lunariae vel
 menstrualis I.61d
 Tu fili in virtute sanctae trinitatis accipias de
 aqua mercurii I.45
 Tu in virtute de A I.12
 Tu in virtute Dei (de A; ipsius A) recipe solem
 calcinatum I.51
 Tu in virtute Dei serenissime princeps accipe
 vinum album II.21
 Tu prevedeas de liquore luminarium in virtute
 de A II.8
 Ut dicit venerabilis philosophus Raymundus
 Lullius: Intentio I.13
 Venerando amico salutem I.4

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