

New Contributions to the study of pseudolullian
Liber de secretis naturae
por
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I. *Introduction.*

In a recent monograph, divided into eight different studies, I have analysed the origin and early development of the alchemical texts attributed to Ramón Llull.¹ I refer to these eight works because they reveal unknown data, original documents are edited, and the most important problems of the corpus are analysed from new and different angles. In addition, the gathering of all of them achieves a final overall solution that has a historical coherence, harmonises the elements of the different sources and provides an orderly chronology with three fundamental stages: origin of the corpus (1330-1340), origin of the Lullian pseudepigraphism (1360-1390) and multiplication of texts and legends (1400-1500). The examination I have also made of the *Liber de secretis naturae seu de quinta essentia* cannot be understood without all these new contributions.² I will therefore summarise them here.

My starting point is the extensive research conducted over many years by Professor Michela Pereira.³ Basically until she published her findings, the whole corpus was thought to be a late 14th and early 15th century forgery, with later additions. However, she revealed an earlier textual matrix, dated around 1332, which has no pseudepigraphic intent in its genesis. It is an original production of an unknown personage, whom she calls *magister Testamenti* in reference to his most emblematic treatise.⁴

Pereira explains that this alchemist uses Catalan from the first half of the 14th century, introduces biblical quotations in Hebrew with the transliteration of that period and, above all, quotes characters linked to the English court in the 20s and 30s. Pereira's study of the sources indicates that the author had some medical training at the University of Montpellier.⁵ Michael Mcvaugh underlines the use of Arnaldian criteria such as the

¹ It is number 9 of the electronic journal Azogue. <https://revistaazogue.com/numero-9/>

² JOSE RODRIGUEZ GUERRERO, 2023, "Nuevos Aportes para el Estudio del *Liber de secretis naturae* pseudo-Luliano", *Azogue*, 9, pp. 284-415.

³ A first and decisive step in his work was the cataloguing of the entire textual set: M. PEREIRA, (1989), *The alchemical corpus attributed to Raymond Lull*, Warburg Institute, London. Pereira's catalogue is currently maintained and expanded by the project *Base de Dades Ramon Llull (Llull DB)*: <http://www.ub.edu/llulldb/index.asp>.

⁴ M. PEREIRA & SPAGGIARI, (1999), *Il Testamentum Alchemico attributo a Raimondo Lullo: edizione del testo latino e catalano dal manoscritto Oxford, Corpus Christi College, 244*, Edizioni del Galluzzo, Tavarnuzze.

⁵ MICHELA PEREIRA, (2005), "Maestro di segreti o caposcuola contestato? Presenza di Arnaldo da Villanova e di temi della medicina arnaldiana in alcuni testi alchemici pseudo-lullienne", *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics*, 23-24, pp. 381-412.

expression *colligare* in its medical-philosophical sense, the adaptation of the medical concept of *humidum radicale* to alchemical reasoning, or the medical doctrine of the *neutrum* between illness and health expressed in language identical to *De intentione medicorum*.⁶ Subsequent research has also determined that he uses terminology exclusive to surgeons related to Henry de Mondeville (1260-ca.1325).⁷

His original works would be the *Testamentum*, *Vademecum* (=Codicillus); *Liber lapidarii* (=Lapidarius abbreviatus); *Liber de intentione alchimistarum*; *Scientia de sensibilibus* (=Ars intellectiva); *Tractatu de aquis medicinalibus* (=De secretis naturae 1^{as} versions); *De lapide maiori* (=Apertorium); *Questionario*; *Liber experimentorum* and an early version of the *Compendium animae transmutationis metallorum* (=Compendium super lapidum, Lapidarium). In many cases the *magister Testamenti* would make several versions of the same treatise.

Pereira's solution solves problematic questions. For example, it could not be understood that someone would prepare a false corpus related to Ramon Llull in the 14th century itself and crudely date the texts decades after his death. Nor could it be understood that he would place them in places such as England, where Llull had never been. It makes more sense that we are dealing with an author who wrote there in 1332 and was later confused with the Mallorcan scholar.

Another problem resolved is that of the originality of the texts. The earliest set, which orbits around the *Testamentum*, does not show any attempt at harmonisation within Lullian philosophy. It does not use pseudepigraphic refutation, which is the fundamental tool by which a pseudonymous text rectifies or reconstructs the ideas of the authentic writings on which it is based. On the contrary, the *magister Testamenti* proposes his own transmutative theory without considering at all Llull's views in his authentic work. As Pereira stresses, we are not dealing here with a pseudoepigraphist, but with an independent and original author, who makes adaptive use of various sources, such as Roger Bacon, Albertus Magnus, the physician Arnau de Vilanova and the logic of Lullism.⁸

Pereira's contribution completely changes the way we approach this germinal group of treatises, because for the first time it is revealed to us with accurate data that we are not dealing with conscious forgeries, but with original works, which transmit the ideas, the personality and the biographical data of a real alchemist who lived in the first half of the 14th century. We can now focus on gathering information about this character since what he tells us, both in his *Testamentum* and in the other writings he cites as his own.

From here, I have identified the *magister Testamenti* with a man called *Raymundus de Terminis*, of whom alchemical works and recipes are preserved.⁹ He would be a

⁶ M. MCVAUGH, (2001), "Rencension to: M. Pereira, B. Spaggiari, *Il Testamentum alchemico attribuito a Raimundo Lullo*", *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics*, XX, pp. 733-734.

⁷ JOSÉ RODRÍGUEZ GUERRERO, (2010-2013), "El origen del pseudo-arnaldiano *Liber de vinis*, obra del *magister Silvester* (ca.1322-1328), y su tradición manuscrita en el siglo XIV", *Azogue*, 7, pp. 44-74, cf. pp. 56-59.

⁸ M. PEREIRA, (1992), *L'oro dei filosofi: Saggio sulle idee di un alchimista del Trecento*, CISAM, Spoleto, p. 88. 88: "...they are not a pure and simple reproduction, but present elements of diversification that are also very important and, contrary to what is found in authentic Lullian writings, they are used only as mnemonic tools, without any reference to the euristic level". The alchemist explicitly mentions two authentic works of the Lullian corpus, *Liber principiorum medicinae* and *Arbor philosophiae desideratae* but: "...è fatta in termini nettamente diversi da quelli che l'autore del *Testamentum* impiega per rinviare alle proprie opere".

⁹ JOSÉ RODRÍGUEZ GUERRERO, (2023), "Ramón de Térmenis (fl.1328) y el origen del Corpus Alquímico pseudoluliano", *Azogue*, 9, pp. 39-105. I analyse several of his documents, such as a recipe *Ad fixandum arsenicum in bona luna per dominum Raymundi de Terminis, qui fuit miles regis Roberti Sicilia* and three letters.

Mallorcan who worked as an *eques* or *miles* and trained as a *magister in artibus* or *in legibus*. This type of person tended to occupy administrative jobs, mercantile jurisdiction, diplomatic or public order posts. He served under Robert of Naples and his brother Philip I of Taranto (1278-1331) in the Principality of Achaia, the Despotate of Epirus, the Island of Corfu and the Kingdom of Albania.

In his recipe *Ad fixandum arsenicum in bona luna* he is identified as a *miles* in the service of King Robert of Naples: "...dominum Raymundi de Terminis, qui fuit miles regis Roberti Siciliae".¹⁰ The fact that it was a knight who carried out alchemical experiments at the Neapolitan court makes perfect sense, as the cases we know of have the same characteristic. Some experiments of two *milites* of Charles II of Naples (1285-1309), called Riccardo of Lucera (fl.1270-1300) and Abd al-Aziz of Damascus (fl.1280-1310) have been preserved.¹¹ They were responsible for the forces of security and public order in various places.¹² We also have among the records of Joanna I of Naples (1343-1382) a salary assigned to a court alchemist, who is named as "...magister Angelus Gualterius, dictus de Alchimia, miles".¹³

Robert designates *Raymundus de Terminis* as a "vicarium" and "ostensore fidelem nostrum", who served as a consul or procurator in the Adriatic and Ionian Seas. In 1328, he was given a licence where he appears with the rank of *capitaneo* and *comitem* in the Albanian cities of Berat and Vlorë. He also had a knowledge of Montpellier medicine, especially related to surgery. Thus, his third letter, entitled *Epistola seu practica Raymundi* [inc. *Amicum induit qui justis amicorum precibus condescendit...*], begins by

¹⁰ London, British Library, Ms Sloane 3661, 16th century², f. 242v. This manuscript is a miscellany of English origin, written around 1572 from Italian materials of various periods, some of which, according to the copyist: "...semeth to be abouffe ijc years old". Recipes and recipe books abound. It reproduces pseudolullian texts in Catalan and Occitan. Among those I have identified on on-site inspection, ff. 43r-46v: 'Septem propositiones alias proprietates magistri Ray[mun]di super arte et magisterium Alkymiae. Testimoni es a mi dieu, al qual yo no ment que en aquestes propositions alias preparacions segond los artificis dela alquimia. Qui los principis naturals sabrà, et les causes totes dels minerals, et la manera dela generació, la qual en la generació de la natura está, e los dorsos daquells hauran incurvats e no seran en moltos implicaments ni en vâries cogitacions, e Déu hauran humilment pregat...'; ff. 46v-49r: "Comensa manera de fer lo menstrual de mestre Raymond Luyl, per lo cual o ab lo cual se composta tot metall..."; ff. 49r-61r: "Tractatus Ray[mun]di Lull phi[losopho] super lapide maiore qui fit de succo lunaria maioris. Sapias que los savis [add. sabios] en lo miracle de la peyra an mes motas causas et motas manieras de operations, so es a saber [add. et intelligere] de dissolre, et de congelar, et de calcinar, et sublimar, et messes moltz vasels et moltz pessets et aysso hant fach per exorbar los ignorans et a declarar lo obratge secret sozt petitas paraulas...". There is also a curious letter in Latin, attributed to the Lullist Pere Rossell (fl.1389-1403) on ff.124v-128r: "Copia litterae destinate domino N. per religiosum et scientissimum birum dominum fratrem Petrum Roselli, artis magistri Raymundi Lullii egregium professorem ac sacratissime philosophie dilucidum et peritissimum secretorum rimatorem, anno 1397".

¹¹ Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Ms. Alpha. P.4.14, 14th century, ff. 92r-v: "Dominus Reccardus Saracenus de Lucera miles. Si vultis saturnum incalcinare...". Ibid., 92v-93v: "Dominus Reccardus Saracenus de Lucera miles. Capitulum super saturnum ad convertendum eum in calcem citrinam et per fumum vadit..."; Ibid. ff. 93v-94v: "Dominum Abenllasisium de Diamasco militi [...] Quod laborat et constringit filius domine Domne Sibilie de Spaniam (sic)... Tractatus Hermetis et Geber nobilibus (sic)...". The first two have been transcribed in: FRANCO BACCHELLI & CHIARA CRISCIANI, Bacchelli, (2010), "Filosofia, scienza e ricette. Note su una miscellanea alchemico-farmaceutica (ms Modena, Biblioteca Estense, Campori App. 186: Alpha. P. 4. 14)", in: P. Bernardini (dir), *I manoscritti e la filosofia*, Edizioni dell'Università di Siena, Siena, 2010, pp. 121-152.

¹² On these characters, see: G. LEVI DELLA VIDA, (1923-1925), "La Sottoscrizione Araba di Riccardo di Lucera", *Rivista degli studi orientali*, v.10, fasc. 2/4, pp. 284-292. J. TAYLOR, (1999), "Luceria Sarracenorum: una colonia musulmana nell'Europa medievale", *Archivio Storico Pugliese*, t. LII, pp. 227-242, cf. p. 236.

¹³ Archives of Naples, *Registri Angioini* 354, f. 58v. On the accounts of Joanna I of Naples, see: EMILE G. LÉONARD, (1920), "Comptes de l'hôtel de Jeanne Ière, reine de Naples, de 1352 à 1369", *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 38, pp. 215-278.

adapting the prologue of the *Practica Brevis* by the Salernitan surgeon Platearius (13th century). He also abounds in clinical arguments, making his own the allegory of the king affected by gout disease (lat. *podagra*), which is one of the *Allegoriae sapientum supra librum turbae*. He also gives a medicinal definition of the final product of his alchemical work as “*toxicum deinde triaca*”.

This man would have signed his alchemical treatises as *Raymundus de Terminis* or *Raymundus de Termis* in a more local environment, and as *magister Raymundus* or *Raymundus de insula Maioricarum* in more distant regions, following a very common routine in other medieval writers. This is thus an example of homonymy, which is the first cause of accidental pseudepigraphy in medieval literature. In the particular case of *Raymundus de insula Maioricarum*, it is not a question of a simple similarity of names, but of many other concomitances which ensured confusion in later readers: he has a similar rubric; his youth overlaps with the last years of Llull’s life, and his professional stage takes place at very close dates, around 1320-1350; he moves in a geographical space coinciding in kingdoms, courts and cities; and finally both mention characters (nobles, clerics, doctors, bourgeois, etc.) who may be the same or have almost identical names. Despite many inconsistencies, such as the impossible dates of the alchemical treatises or the mention of kingdoms where Llull had never been, these parallels strongly fused two different identities and supported the legend. The more coincidences there are, the more likely it is that confusion will arise. This is evident in other similar cases, such as that of Gilbertus Anglicus (ca.1180–ca.1250).¹⁴

II. *The Liber de secretis naturae seu de quinta essentia: state of the current research.*

A very important work in the corpus is the *Liber de secretis naturae seu de quinta essentia* (=DSN). Its integration into the historical chronology is essential, as it seems to be the foundational text of pseudoepigraphism.¹⁵ Michela Pereira herself, who is familiar with the whole process of analysis, comments that:¹⁶

“...the most complex research concerns the possible reconstruction of the phases of elaboration that led to the formation of a *textus receptus* of the second fundamental work of the Pseudolullian corpus, namely the *Liber de secretis naturae seu de quinta essentia*”.

¹⁴ Gilbert is usually presented as a cleric and physician to Archbishop Hubert Walter of Canterbury, author of a celebrated *Compendium medicine*. His activity would have flourished in the first decades of the 13th century and, although he was familiar with university circles, he would not have been directly involved in them. However, Michael McVaugh has argued very convincingly that the *Compendium medicine* was in fact the work of a son of his, also called Gilbert, who would have studied in Paris and arrived in Montpellier in 1240, where he would have worked as a Master of Medicine. This son also seems to have been trained as a military doctor in the Holy Land, as he claims to have cured Bertrando II di Gibelletto (†1258), a member of the Genoese family of the Embriaco, settled in the Jordanian city of Byblos during the Crusades, of an eye ailment. PIERS D. MITCHELL, (2004), *Medicine in the Crusades: Warfare, Wounds and the Medieval Surgeon*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp. 20-21. MICHAEL R. MCVAUGH, (2011), “Who Was Gilbert the Englishman?”, in: George Hardin Brown & Linda Ehrsam Voigts (eds.) *The Study of Medieval Manuscripts of England*, Brepols, Turnhout, pp. 295-324.

¹⁵ JOSE RODRIGUEZ GUERRERO, 2023, “Nuevos Aportes para el Estudio del *Liber de secretis naturae* pseudo-Luliano”, *Azogue*, 9, pp. 284-415.

¹⁶ MICHELA PEREIRA, (2023), “Presentation of *Azogue* 9, monograph on alchemical pseudo-Lullism”, *Azogue*, 9, p. IX.

Firstly, the reader should be aware that all the classical studies on this treatise predate Professor Pereira's research into the activities of the *magister Testamenti* around 1330.¹⁷ They analyse the DSN a priori as a pseudepigraphic forgery from the second half of the 14th century, produced alongside the rest of the pseudepigraphic corpus at that time. They suggest that the forgers integrated it into the *Testamentum* doctrine and its associated writings, which they also authored, connecting all this material through quotations. Based on this chronology, they concluded that the treatise *De consideratione quintae essentiae rerum omnium* (DCQ) by Johannes of Rupescissa (ca.1310-ca.1366), dated ca.1350, would have provided the pseudepigraphers with literary scaffolding. For this reason, Lynn Thorndike defines the DSN as: "...a perversion of the work of John of Rupescissa on the fifth essence".¹⁸ Classical studies, such as the excellent one by Robert Halleux in 1981, start from this premise.¹⁹

All these works were of great value at the time and have enormous merit considering the available documentation on which they were based. They also provided much new information in many areas. However, as previously explained, these conclusions became obsolete following Michela Pereira's research into the origin of the corpus in 1330-1332. Furthermore, none of the above hypotheses are supported by critical editions. The earliest manuscript textual tradition remains unexplored, as does a comparative study of the most significant copies. Instead, the works are judged based on texts printed in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions. The exact dates of composition of any of the treatises involved, whether the DSN or the DCQ, remain unknown. Halleux, the most methodical of all, can only tell us that Rupescissa's work dates from after 1348 given that it mentions the Black Death plague. However, a brief examination of a dozen DCQ manuscripts has led me to conclude that there are at least two early versions²⁰. The first has minor variants

¹⁷ A cataloguing of sources in: <http://www.ub.edu/llulldb/bo.asp?bo=MP+I.39> Important to read: MICHELA PEREIRA, (1986), "Sulla tradizione testuale del *Liber de secretis naturae* attribuito a Raimondo Lullo", *Archives internationales d'histoire des sciences*, 36, pp. 1-16. Id., (1989), *The alchemical corpus*, (op. cit.), pp. 11-20. Id., (1986), "Filosofia naturale lulliana e alchimia. Con l'inedito epilogo del *Liber de secretis naturae seu de quinta essentia*", *Rivista di storia della filosofia*, 41, pp. 747-780. Id., (1990), "*Opus alchemicum* i *Ars combinatoria*: el *Liber de secretis naturae seu de quinta essentia* en la tradicio lul.liana", *Randa*, 27, pp. 45-55. Although these articles are now 30 years old, they are still the reference works on the subject.

¹⁸ LYNN THORNDIKE, (1923-1958), *A History of Magic and Experimental Sciences* [=HMES], t. IV, pp. 3-64 and 619-651, cf. p. 37.

¹⁹ The reference works on Rupescissa's alchemy are: HMES, t. III, pp. 347-369 and 725-729. ROBERT HALLEUX, (1981), "Les ouvrages alchimiques de Jean de Rupescissa", *Histoire littéraire de la France*, 41, pp. 241-284. UDO BENZENHÖFER, (1989), *Johannes' de Rupescissa Liber de consideratione quintae essentiae omnium rerum deutsch. Studien zur Alchemia medica des 15. bis 17. Jahrhunderts mit kritischer Edition des Textes*, Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart. LEAH DEVUN, (2009), *Prophecy, Alchemy, and the End of Time: John of Rupecissa in the Late Middle Ages*, Columbia University Press, New York. Thorndike made the first collection of manuscripts and posited the pseudo-Llull's dependence on Rupescissa. Halleux accepts Thorndike's view and offers a broader view, which was an enormous advance at the time, but which today needs to be thoroughly revised. He increased the knowledge of the textual tradition, though without establishing any order. Benzenhöfer did an excellent analysis but is limited to the German tradition from the 15th century onwards. Leah DeVun studies the eschatological contents of the alchemical work in comparison with the apocalyptic. It is very relevant to see the relationship between the two sides. However, the ecdotic issues of the DCQ are not touched upon.

²⁰ The manuscripts I have used most frequently are Montpellier, Bibl. de l'École de médecine, Ms. 260, 14th c. (2nd half); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. Digby 43, 14th c. (2nd half); Cracovia, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Ms 3344, 15th c. (ca.1400); Londres, Wellcome Institute, Ms. 523, s. XV 15th c. (ca.1400); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat., 7151, 15th c. (1st half); Oxford University, All Souls College Library, Ms. 81, 15th c. (1st half).

at the beginning, bearing the date 1350 in the colophon of some copies.²¹ The second version extends the prologue, omits small sentences and extends other chapters with glosses.²² It also introduces quotations from the famous German alchemist *Bernardus magnus* (†1381).²³

To help the reader gauge the value of studies conducted prior to Pereira's time, compared to those we can conduct now, all the sources present Rupescissa as the first author to conceptually link alcohol with the alchemists' quintessence. The DSN and many other medieval alchemists were inspired by his ideas. However, this is incorrect, as it is Hortulanus's original theory in his *Liber super textus hermetis* (13th century).²⁴ This treatise has two parts. The first part is an *Expositio super textus Hermetis, pater alkimistarum, super operatione magni lapidis philosophici*, which consists of a theoretical commentary on the *Tabula smaragdina* attributed to Hermes Trimegistus. The second part is a practice on the *Spiritus quintae essentiae et in quo elemento habitat*, where he describes wine as a key material, although he conceals it under the name of *lapis benedictus* or *argento vivo*.²⁵ After a series of distillations, he obtains a highly flammable

²¹ For example, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Pal. lat. 1177, 15th c. (1447-1448), ff. 14r-28v, cf. f. 28v: "...editum ab egregio doctore et devoto religioso ordinis sancti Francisci Johanne de Rupescissa compilatum et completum anno 1350 vel circiter".

²² Professor Christine Morerod-Fattebert, editor of *Liber ostensor* and *Liber Secretorum Eventuum*, compares quotations from the second version of the DCQ and concludes that it appears to be by the same Rupescissa, who follows the same repetitive patterns in some paragraphs of his theological works. CHRISTINE MOREROD-FATTEBERT, (2016), "Un style, un homme? L'exemple de Jean de Roquetaillade", *Oliviana*, 5: "...la première phrase de la version longue se termine bien sur *revelabo, ce que confirment à la fois la version courte et le quia / ideo qui suit. Si la netteté syntaxique se dégage lentement, ou plutôt, si on se persuade lentement qu'elle existe, elle est renforcée par la présence de certains schémas répétitifs plus évidemment repérables, par exemple dans l'argumentation en deux (ou trois) temps qui intervient souvent, surtout dans le Sexdequiloquium, sur le modèle: Constat / Sed (optionnel)*". We know that there was an autograph manuscript from the 14th century, now lost, with corrections that could correspond to the additions of the second version. GIULIO PORRO, (1884), *Catalogo dei codici manoscritti della Trivulziana*, Bocca, Torino, p. 386: "Cod. Cart. in folio del Sec. XIV. [...] Le molte correzioni, cancellature e cambiamenti provano che questo codice è autografo". Professor Jeanne Bignami Odier (1902-1989) had a photographic reproduction of this document, which may be preserved among her personal papers. LOUIS BOISSET, (1990), "Hommage à Madame Jeanne Bignami-Odier", *Cahiers de Fanjeaux*, 27, pp. 159-170, cf. p. 161.

²³ RUPESCISSA, (1597), *De Consideratione Quintae Essentiae rerum omnium*, per Conradum Waldkirch, Basileae, p. 20: "...quamvis Bernardus Magnus aliter dicat in tractatu suo..."; p. 85: "...seu concoquens terram et aquam sibi comproporcionales et homogeneas in Mercurio, secundum Bernardorum"; pp. 99-100: "Nota secundum Bernardorum quod aurum nec argentum non dissoluuntur in aqua fortibus, sed corroduntur: et ideo proprie illa non appellatur solutio, sed corrosio. Nota etiam, quod nulla aqua notabiliter reductive, vere, metalla dissolvit, nisi illa quae in congelationibus remanet secundum eundem Bernardorum". This is Bernardus Magnus of Trier (1310-1381), a cleric and alchemist member of the noble family of the *Grafenschaft Mark*. He coincided with Rupescissa at the court of Avignon while he was a *scriptor* between 1347 and 1351. He left the papal court in the latter year to marry a young noblewoman for family interests. He received the Lordship of Aremberg, recognised as a small county district in the Electorate of Trier. He was also named *Avouée de Hesbaye* in the Principality of Liège. JOSÉ RODRÍGUEZ-GUERRERO, (2014-2018), "The *Correctorium alchimiae* (ca.1352-1362) of Ricardus Anglicus and the version of Bernardus Magnus of Trier", *Azogue*, 8, pp. 215-269.

²⁴ JOSÉ RODRÍGUEZ GUERRERO, (2002-2007), "Desarrollo y Madurez del Concepto de Quintaessencia Alquímica en la Europa Medieval (s. XII-XIV)", *Azogue*, 5, pp. 30-56, cf. pp. 40-45.

²⁵ Inc. *Dixit ergo philosophus verum sine mendatio. Quod est superius* [expl.] *Et hec sufficient in lapidis philosophici compositione. Sit nomen Domini nostri Ihesu Christi benedictum per omnia secula seculorum. Amen*. In most manuscripts, only the theoretical section appears. Codices that have both parts present them in an interchangeable order, either keeping the prologue or turning it into an epilogue. It makes more sense for the theoretical commentary based on the *Tabula* to come first, followed by the practical section.

alcohol which he calls *aqua ardens*.²⁶ The result is defined as an *aqua vitae, seu spiritu quintae essentiae, ad hominis vitae conservatione facere et ad omnem infirmitatis curam procedere*.²⁷ Although short, Hortulanus' work represents an important theoretical effort to establish harmony between the alchemists' cosmological concepts and the new substances they were discovering in their laboratories. According to the *Tabula*, alcohol is identified with the fire that Hermes recommends separating from the earth, i.e. the subtle part dissociated from the thick. In his argumentation, Hortulanus is indirectly endorsing the ideas of the cosmological treatise *Kitāb sirr al-halīqa*, translated into Latin by Hugo de Santalla (1119-1151) under the title *De secretis naturae*, whose central doctrine defends the existence of a primordial element in the form of heat or igneous spirit, of subtle material consistency, which would be present in the whole universe, giving it movement, communicating its parts, and which would be capable of both forming and decomposing any natural substance.²⁸ This is because the *Tabula smaragdina* is actually the epilogue to the *Kitāb sirr al-halīqa*, presented by the author as a practical synthesis of his theory.²⁹

Hortulanus is already mentioned as a firm authority in the *Textus alkimie* (inc. *Studio namque florenti*), written in Paris during the year 1325, whose third book begins with a long and complete paraphrase of the discourse on quintessence and the production of

²⁶ An early handwritten version in: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. Lat. 7156, 14th century (1st half), ff. 146r-v: "**Si vis ideo facere lapidem philosophorum hoc modo procedes: Separa spiritum quantum poteris purius, caute quia numquam separabis quin ipse retineat in se aliquam partem purioris substantie fleumatii. Iste spiritus semel separatus vocatur aqua ardens, et hoc signum est, si tinxeris in ea pannum lineum ardebit et non comburetur; si vero pluries separaveris vocatur aqua ardens rectificata, cuius signum est quia pannus intingens totaliter comburitur. Ita habes ·1· elementum factum spirituale cum spiritu quinte essentie [...]** Et tunc habebis ·4· elementa exaltata cum quinta essentia, facta spiritualia cum spiritu. Ista est aqua vite." One of the printed versions is: [ps-]JOHANNES DE GARLANDIA, (1560), *Compendium Alchimiae Ioannis Garlandii*, s.e. [Johannes Herold], Basileae, pp. 26-29: "**Si vis igitur ex hoc facere lapidem philosophorum, fac ita: Separa spiritus purius et diligentius, quam potes, quia tam subtilius hoc facere non poteris, quin in se retineat ali quid substantiae venti plegmatis. Ille spiritus una vice separatur, et vocatur aqua ardens: cuius signum est, quia si tingit in illis pannum lineum inflammat, nec tamen ardet pannus. Et si plures separaveris, vocatur aqua ardens et urens, de qua si intingas pannum, ardebit totum. Ego accipe oleum vivum spirituale, factum cum spiritu quintae essentiae. Ita expedit alia tria elementa sicut spiritualia, cum eodem spiritu retinente corporalem eorum virtutem. Iste modus separat, vel isto modo separatur omne phlegma superfluum a dicto lapide, donec videat oleum superare, nihilque remaneat phlegmaticum, et remaneat sicut pix. [...]** et tunc habes quatuor elementa cum quinta essentia, et facta spiritualia cum spiritu. Haec est aqua vitae, quae quaeritur in arte Alchimiae, et curat vel crepat omnes spissitudines, et facit intrare. Haec est aqua habens vim superiorem, id est spirituale, et habet vim inferiorem, id est corporalem. Et hoc est quod dicit philosophus, quod hoc quod est superius, est sicut illud quod est inferius, et est converso, ad faciendum mirabilia rei totius. Et expedit, quod haec essentia quinta semper retineat cum suam, et habet cum quatuor elementorum, et sic mirabilia possint inde fieri".

²⁷ Ibid., p. 30.

²⁸ The original Arabic version has known a critical edition: URSULA WEISSER, (1979), *Buch über das Geheimnis der Schöpfung und die Darstellung der Natur (Buch der Ursachen) von Pseudo-Apollonios von Tyana*, University of Aleppo, Aleppo. There is also a transcription of the Latin version, made from the oldest manuscript and accompanied by a short presentation: FRANÇOIS HUDRY, (1997-1999), "Le *De secretis naturae* du Ps. Apollonius de Tyane, traduction latine par Hugues de Santalla du *Kitāb sirr al-halīqa*. Édition et présentation par Françoise Hudry", in: *Chrysopoeia*, 6, pp. 1-154. Professor Pinella Travaglia has carried out a study of the hitherto little elucidated content, putting in order and addressing the fundamental themes. PINELLA TRAVAGLIA, (2001), *Una Cosmologia ermetica. Il Kitāb sirr al-halīqa / De secretis naturae*, Liguori Editori, Napoli, cf. pp. 58-75.

²⁹ The *Tabula smaragdina* is presented by the author of the *Kitāb* as a testament of the mythical sage Hermes Trismegistus, who relates the virtues of this elemental heat in the form of short sentences. It came to Europe in three different versions. JEAN-MAR MANDOSIO & IRENE CAIAZZO, (2004), "La *Tabula smaragdina* nel Medioevo latino", in: Paolo Lucentini et al. (eds.), *Hermetism from late antiquity to humanism. La tradizione ermetica dal mondo tardo antico all'Umanesimo*, Brepols, Turnhout, pp. 681-713.

alcohol (*elixir vel aqua vitae ad vitam hominis conservanda*).³⁰ Other alchemists of that century, such as Bernat Peire (ca.1360), attribute to Hortulan, and not to Rupescissa, the relationship between the concept of the “spirit of quintessence” and that of *aqua ardens*.³¹

III. *New findings on the DSN.*

In our monographic study, which was published in Spanish, I revealed a previously unnoticed textual tradition of the DSN. The *magister Testamenti* is believed to be the author of up to three early versions, or *strata*. The first two date to around 1332, while the third is somewhat later. At some point between 1360 and 1380, a group of Catalan pseudepigraphers modified the most extensive version to attribute it to Llull. I refer to this pseudollullian stratum as the “textus receptus” of the DSN. Since the 15th century, this has been considered the prototypical model. It is the most common version found in manuscripts and has been studied as if it were the original text, despite there being earlier versions. To understand this entire stratigraphic process, we must first break down the structure of the treatise, which can be divided into five main sections.

1. A prologue [inc. *Contristatus erat Raymundus et non modica desolatione repletus*] where Ramon Llull chats with a *frater oratorii Sancti Benedicti*, who recognises him and encourages him to write about alchemy to demonstrate the efficiency of his system. In some versions the monk is called *Monaldus* and is in Paris.³² We will identify this prologue with the letter A.
2. A short preface with two versions. The first announces the distribution of the contents into three *distinctions* and four parts. We will call it section B₁. The second version eliminates the final paragraph, without specifying the internal organisation. We will call it B₂.
3. Books I and II of the printed editions, dedicated to therapeutics, but also with some recipes on lapidific and transmutatory alchemy. We will call them section C, and we will see that it can be divided into several parts C_{I.a-b}+ C_{II}+ C_{III}+ C_{IV.a-b}+ C_V.
4. A third book or *Tertia distinctio* [inc. *Haec est tertia distinctio huius libri que est de cura corporum metallorum*] dedicated *ad artem transmutatoriam*. As Michela Pereira reveals there are two main versions, one of them shorter. We will call them D₁ and D₂.
5. Finally, we have an epilogue, entitled *De disputatione Monachi cum Raymundo*, which is a clear continuation of the prologue. Llull and the monk meet again, with the book already finished, and they talk again. There are two versions, which we shall call E₁ and E₂. The first is shorter and is dated in Paris in 1333. The second is more extensive, with a greater number of Lullian elements, bears the date of

³⁰ Compare Ortolan's original with the manuscript version of the *Textus alkimie* preserved in: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat., 7149, 15th c. (1st half), ff. 32r-63v, cf. ff. 50v-57r. Description in: HMES, III, pp. 688-691. A printed version can be found in: *Theatrum Chemicum*, t. III, 1659, pp. 53-75.

³¹ SUZANNE THIOLIER-MEJEAN, (1999), *L'Alchimie médiévale en pays d'Oc: L'obratge dels philosophes, La soma et les manuscrits d'oïl*, Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, Paris, p. 296: “...sont aucuns soustiltz et ingenieux, voulans donner aide a la cause chaulde et seiche, qui prennent ung vegetable, duquel tirent un liqueur, laquelle porte en soy esperit de quinte essence. Ortolan y adjouste et va appeller cestui esperit eaue ardant...”.

³² For example, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. MS. Bodl. 879, f. 2r: “Prologus Monaldi monachi de Abbatia sancti Benedicti Parisius consolatoris Raymundi magni”. I have not been able to determine whether these are additions by later copyists or a second version by the same author.

1319 and is expressly located in the abbey of Vauvert (s.e. *Parisiis... in Monasterio Sancti Benedicti Carturiensis extra Civitatem*), where the real Llull resided and left some of his books as a legacy.

It is also important to know how the documentary sources transmit these sections. There are three main, well-established types:

1. The first with the structure B+C. It has a markedly therapeutic purpose and is closely related to the DCQ of Johannes of Rupescissa.
2. The second type reproduces only the third book, in different versions, either D₁ or D₂. The characteristics vary greatly from codex to codex. We also find that some of its parts have variable formats, with different wordings, and occasionally circulate independently.
3. The third type has the complete structure of A+B+C+D+ E already mentioned.

The conclusions reached so far by the specialists who have studied this work are correct, as they focus on the five-part structure, which would indeed date from the second half of the 14th century and would clearly have a pseudo-epigraphic purpose. We have as documentary evidence the oldest copy, preserved in Oxford and dated around 1400³³. Accepting this theory, I have proposed an extension. The only format so far considered as a reference, in five sections, would correspond to the final stages of the work. We are going to call it *textus receptus*, as it is the main model, established by Renaissance and modern criticism, although it is not the original one. There is an earlier textual tradition, which begins with a first, simpler and shorter text, written by the *magister Testamenti*, with a date of composition close to the *Testamentum* of 1332.

Contrary to what has been thought up to now, this first writing would have served as a model for the DCQ of Rupescissa. It would also have undergone several expansions, both by the *magister Testamenti* himself and by people close to him. Finally, in the second half of the 14th century, several editors with pseudographic intentions would have successively manipulated it to generate the *textus receptus*.

III.1 - *Initial stratum* B_I+ C_{I.a-b}+ C_{II}+ C_{III}.

When reading the DSN in its longer version and comparing it with other medieval medical treatises, the most striking thing is how incoherent the whole document is. It is a conglomerate of elements with completely different objectives. This arrangement is the result of several cumulative redactions that can be ordered by stratum. As we shall now argue, the original wording would be close to, though not the same as, the version preserved in the Lat. 7177 manuscript at the Bibliothèque nationale de France.³⁴ The preface B_I announces a distribution “*in quatuor partes, in tres videlicet distinctiones vel libros*”. This is because the first distinction is divided into two parts.³⁵ We are going to identify the distinctions, looking for their equivalence in the *textus receptus* according to the two most common printed editions of 1567 and 1616:

³³ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodl. 645, 15th c. (ca.1400), ff. 1r-72v.

³⁴ Paris, BNF, Ms. lat. 7177, 15th c. (1st half), ff. 3r-65v.

³⁵ DSN, BNF, Ms. lat. 7177, lib. I, prologue: “*Primo ibi Ordinur tibi namque fili... Secunda ibi Non reputes vos mendacium portulisse, etc.*”.

BOOKS OR DISTINCTIONS		PARTS	TEXTUS RECEPTUS
1 st	<i>De intentionem et cognitionem de quintaessentia</i>	C _{I.a} [inc. <i>Ordinur namque tibi fili...</i>].	1567: Prelude. 1616: Chap. I-V.
		C _{I.b} [inc. <i>Non reputes vos mendacium portulisse</i>].	1567: Can. 1 to 6 1616: Can. 1 to 6
2 nd	<i>De extractionis et applicationis ad corpora humana.</i>	C _{II}	1567: Can. 7-42 1616: Can. 7-42
3 rd	<i>Regulam generalem ad utrumque opus lapidificum et alchimicum</i>	C _{III}	1567: Can. 43-45 1616: Can. 43-45

The first distinction has two parts, as announced by B_I. We will call the initial part C_{I.a} and it corresponds to the prelude to the *textus receptus*.³⁶ It is of a theoretical nature and deals, as the author himself says: “...*de intentione et consideratione quintae essentiae rerum*”. It uses terminology typical of the *magister Testamenti* in other of his original works, where “*consideratione*” refers to a theoretical or practical examination, and “*intentione*” to the resulting propositions.³⁷

This coincidence in language is logical when we see that the theoretical argumentation of C_I is taken literally from the *Liber lapidarii*, one of the foundational texts of the original corpus of the *magister Testamenti*.³⁸ He proposes the existence of three fundamental principles in nature *quorum cognitione artista huius artis operatur*. Their manipulation would be key in medicine as well as in metallic and lapidic alchemy. He calls them *mercurius vulgaris*, *lymphe subtiles* and *virtutibus stellarum fixarum et non fixarum*. Mercury would be the basis on which the celestial virtues act. The *lymphe subtiles* are a kind of aqueous agents that “*quiescit in virtute minerali*”.³⁹ He defines them as “*medium principale*” between the other two principles, or as he explains “...*inter dictam materiam et alteras essentias*”. He also describes them as a suitable receptacle (*conveniens*

³⁶ When making quotations, and with the reader in mind, I will consider the distribution of the DSN into books, distinctions, chapters and canons according to the *textus receptus*, as it is in the printed editions. However, the organisation of the first two strata was different. I have found manuscripts where the text is linear, as it must have been in the older versions. In some copies, the current separation by chapters and canons has been added by taking advantage of the available gaps. For example, Paris, BNF, Ms. lat. 7164, 15th century, ff. 15r-102v.

³⁷ *Codicillus*, VIII: “...*quod perfectio magisterii consistit in consideratione rerum, tam materialium quam operatum quibus ad medicinam artifex pervenit, quia ex consideratione illius dirigitur intellectus et artifex perducitur ad operis complementum*”. *Testamentum* I, 1: “*Practica vero est illa pars, in qua forma et modus recte operandi describitur, secundum exigenciam dispositionis precognite per theoricam; et ideo, quia neque dispositiones corporum supradictorum, neque sue nature possunt esse cognite, nisi per considerationem rerum*”. *De intentione alchimistarum*, prol.: “...*et iste sunt intentiones operantium quas per mundum et regiones vidimus, scilicet facere operationem notoriam cum qua possent purgare et sanare corpora infirma tam creaturarum rationalium quam corporum metallicorum*”. *Testamentum* II, 30: “*Habeas sollicitudinem ad maneriem predictorum regiminum cum exercitacionibus Practice et cum considerationibus racionalibus Theorice*”.

³⁸ Catalogued by Pereira as MP I.45. Description at: <https://www.ub.edu/llulldb/obres/MP%20I.45> The introduction of *Liber lapidarii* and the first three chapters of the DSN are almost identical texts, although the second one adapts the terminology of the discourse to a therapeutic level. JOSE RODRIGUEZ GUERRERO, (2023), “Nuevos Aportes para el Estudio del *Liber de secretis naturae* pseudo-Luliano”, *Azogue*, 9, pp. 289-302.

³⁹ It is a terminology found in other of his works: *Codicillus*, 37: “*Separatione corporis lymphati a mortuo per Z. Ab hinc vero separa aquam caute cum igne soluto per literam Z...*”.

receptibile) of the celestial influences which they generate in matter: “...perfectio et forma sicut liquide videtur per inhaerentia principia”. Logically, in his conclusions he refers to the *Liber lapidarii* together with the *Testamentum*, the *Codicillum*, the *Liber de intentione alchimistarum* and some *Experimenta*.⁴⁰ They all belong to the original core of writings written by this author around 1330-1332.

Liber lapidarii, Bologna, University Library, Ms. 20, 15th c. (1st half), ff. 11r-12v [frag.]⁴¹.

Cap. I.

Et primo tibi [var. fili] dicemus, quod necessarium est scire et intelligere proximiora principia,

a quibus res quaesita recipit suam radicalitatem immediate, et a quibus ars perficiat per sua propria instrumenta, et eitam in nostra theorica ea declaravimus.

Similiter redigenda, in summa, et punctuata ipsa ponemus clare,

et dicemus, quia ipsa suant tria effectualia cum congruo tenes ipsorum cum quibus facit totum,

quod vult

in componendo lapide sive evulgatione nostra.

Cap. II.

Unde primum principium, est cosnoscenda materia,

per quam immediate lapis recipit [var. impressionem,] et manet in substantiale esse,

Liber secretorum sive quinta essentia, BNF, Lat. 7177, ff. 4v-.

“Ordinur namque tibi fili quod necesse est scire et intelligere prima Philosophorum principia:

a quibus perita res accipit Radicalitatem Immediate, et ex quibus artista sua propria condit instrumenta.

Et cum sit quod per huius libri processum aliquid consistat declaratus, tamen in hoc cap. in summa brevi enucleare proponimus

Et dicimus quod tria sunt principaliter principia: cum quorum cognitione artista huius artis operatur hoc,

quod vult, *tam in medicina, quam in alchimia metallica, et lapidifica, ad componendum hoc vult, sive hoc quod natura elegerit.*

Primum namque principium est materia: quam artista huius artis oportet cognoscere,

per quod quidem medicina, vel lapis accipit substantiali esse:

⁴⁰ Inc. *Ego Raymundo, de insula Maioricarum natus... / Accipe tartarum utriusque vini....* Inventoried in MP I, 21 and in <http://www.ub.edu/llulldb/bo.asp?bo=MP+I.21> It is a treatise dated 1330, where the *magister Testamenti* brings together the best experiments known to him up to that date. On its belonging to the original core of the corpus: JOSE RODRIGUEZ GUERRERO, (2023), “Ramón de Tèrmens (fl.1328) y el origen del Corpus Alquímic pseudo-Luliano”, *Azogue*, 9, appendix I.

⁴¹ The title is: “*Generationem lapidum per artem, ad regem virtuosum transmissam, qui propter tuum amorem tuo se dedit servitio...*”. A later copyist noticed its similarity to the DSN and added this heading: “*De quinta essentia liber I: Lapidarius*”. have also consulted the variations of: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 1389, 15th c. (1st half), ff. 64v-74r: “*Tractatus generationis lapidum [per] arte[m], ad regi virtuosso Eduardo, qui per amorem tuo se dedit servitio*”. New Haven, Beinecke Library, Ms. Mellon 12, 15th c. (mid.), ff. 92-97: “*Deus in virtute tua et trinitatis sancte. Incipio tractare generationem lapidum per artem ad regem virtuosum qui propter tuum amorem dedit se tuo servicio*”. Also the printed edition at *Artis auriferae*, III, pp. 106-107.

quoniam si materia est talis, qualis natura petit, erit acceptabilis ad formam, quae propter defectum impressionis non debet elongari ab ipso.

Quando virtus ibi operatur, quae est medium principale inter dictam materiam et suas altas essentias, sicut tibi dicemus declarando principia supra dicta.

Cap. III.

Secundum principium est similiter materiale, quamvis multum simplex secundum primum cum sit **medicamentum** ipsius primi, qui per se immediate habet se perfectionari.

Cap. IV

Tertium principium sunt rerum essentiae quintae a quibus dependent virtutes sextae operativae et formativae in basis rerum essentiis quintis materialia media.

Cap. V.

Prima materia primi principii nominatur argentum vivum⁴², et est cum omnibus suis metallis alteratis, in illa alteratione quam dicemus insequendo practicam, et revelabimus tibi cum clara theorica quae est prima pars.

Cap. VI.

Secundum principium autem, materia ipsius sunt **aquae** subtiles, in quibus sunt resolutae limositates primi principii in substantia media, et materia subtili in qua delectatur virtus mineralis.

Cap. VII.

Materia tertii principii est **multum** essentialis, et sentit virtutes stellarum fixarum, et non fixarum, et diversum respectum ipsarum, et istae per influentias quotidianas infunduntur in materia **approximanda** cum arte secundi principii, in quo **mediocriter** delectatur virtus

Quia si materia est talis, sicut postulat natura, erit formae acceptabilis quae per impressionis defectum elongari minime potest.

Quando quippe virtus ibi operatur, quod est medium principale inter dictam materiam, et altas essentias: sicut tibi per processum huius libri dicemus.

Secundum vero principium est simplex valde, respectu primi, cum sit primi **medium**, quod quidem immediate licet perfectionari.

Tertium vero principium est essentiae quintae: a quibus virtutes sextae dependent operative, formative in quintis essentiis inferioribus: quae sunt media.

Primum namque principium, seu materia primi principii est argentum vivum, cum omnibus metallis suis alterabilibus, cum sua alteratione: quam in tertia distinctione revelabimus.

Secundo vero principium, seu illius materia sunt **limphe** subtiles: in quibus resolvuntur limositates primi principii, in substantia media, et subtili materia, in qua mineralis virtus quiescunt.

Materia quippe tertii principii est **nimum** essentialis, existentibus virtutibus stellarum fixarum, et non fixarum, et earum aspectu. Et iste per quotidianas influentias infunduntur in materia **appropriata** cum arte secundi principii, quae **immediate** quiescit in

⁴² Testamentum I, 35: "Et igitur, cum omne aliud genus veniat per successionem naturalem graduacionis a primo argento vivo, quod est generalissimum remotum a principali et propinquo medio nature, quare dicitur **materia prima** totius alterius succedentis generis. Et propterea non discrepant nec discordant in **materia primi generis**, quod clamatur generalissimum in nostra philosophia".

numeralis [var. mineralis], sicut dictum est.

Secundum principium est convenientius et acceptabile aliarum virtutum receptarum a coelis diffusarum, quae sunt profectio et forma totius causae generatae, et apparet per prima principia.

Quoniam secundum materialiter generatur a primo, a quo exit virtus mineralis, qua est essentia quinta elementalis in materia simplici, et ista perfectionatur in recipiendo formam per impressionem, quam influentia quintae essentiae coelestis imprimit in ipsa, ut prius ipsa impregnata a virtute habita artificialiter per reinfluentiam materiale perfectionat cum suis virtutibus materiam primi principii, et ponit eam in esse completo per virtutem mediam mineralem, Quae est res communis generationi lapidum, aut metalli, sicut tractavimus in nostro Testamento cum generali menerie, in prima parte in capitulo quod incipit: Nunc filii potest intelligere, etc.

Cap. VIII.

Filii tibi dicemus ex qua virtus mineralis fit communis ad lapides et metalla, causatio differentiam quam accipit ad generandum coagulum ad aliud monet ab informatione

indiget dicta virtus in creatione metallorum, aut informatione, seu transmutatione ipsorum in medicinis Elixiris,

aerisque informatio accipitur per gubernationem caloris extrinseci quae monet virtutem mineralem informativam, et in procreando motum, secundum intentionem cognitam naturalis operationis ut est declaratum in nostro Testamento⁴³, et sive [De] intentionis ut

virtute minerali. Tam in herbis, animalibus, quam in metallis.

Causat igitur secundum principium est conveniens et receptibile tertii, et omnium suarum virtutum descendenim a coelo, quae sunt omnis Rei generatae perfectio et forma sicut liquide patet per inhaerentia principia.

Ita secundum generat materialiter a primo, unde exit virtus mineralis, quae est essentia quinta elementalis, quae est in materia simplex, et haec perfectionat in accipiendo formam per essentiam quintam celestem, quanquam in ipsa influit et imprimit. Igitur haec virtus media grvida a virtute acuta, artificialiter per materiale refluentiam perfectionalem, cum suis virtutibus primi principii mapii materiam ponit in esse perfecto per virtutem mediam mineralem, quae est communis Res lapidibus medicinis et metallis, sicut plene tractavimus in nostro Testamento, cum modo generali in prima parte in capitulo quod incipit: Nunc filii obiectare potevis etc.

Referimus namque tibi, o fili mi, quod cum mineralis virtus fit comunis lapidibus, et metallis. Omnem differentiam quam accipit una ab alia, ipsa movetur ab informatione quae administratur ei diversi mode, qua una informatione

indiget dicta virtus in metallorum creatione et generatione, et eorum transmutatione,

que quidem informacio, accipitur per gubernationem caloris extrinseci, qui movet metalem virtutem informativam, secundum cognitam intentionem operarii naturalis, sicut declaravimus in Testamenti, et inferioribus declarabitur in III dictinctione. Praetera sumus De

⁴³ Testamentum I, 25: "Et hoc, quod facit natura cum calore solis et stellarum, illud idem facit cum calore ignis. Sed oportet, quod contemperetur taliter, quod non superet virtutem transmutativam et informativam,

tractavi brevius in compendio que composueram super dictum Testamentum, quia requisitus fui.

Alia informatio qua dicta virtus indiget mineralis

pro intentione mutandi materiam metallorum in pretiosis lapidibus cum leviori calore extrinseco, et eam tardiori motu qui informantur cum calore coelesti, que calorem divisum et coniunctum sicut declarabimus in arte ista.

Veruntamen fili tu non debes ignorare virtutem quae quanto creantur propter commixtionem trium supradictorum, nec diminutionem illarum connexam causam cuius habebis per prinper principalem effectum qui venit a quantitate et claritate essentiamenti, et motus coeli et stellarum, et rerum materialium, et generabilium, et corruptibilium motarum, et per alias informatarum:

non quia sit tibi necessarium te gubernare cum figuris et imaginibus, coeli propter connexam causam suorum motuum, ficut dixerunt aliqui Philosophi,

si hoc solum connexam causam quae per influentiam caloris coelestis informati, per figuram motus cæli, et stellarum influuntur virtutes coeslestes in materia apta, appropriata ad recipiendum illas per industriam naturalis operationis cum resolutione quae fit per artem assimilantem naturae, quem transformat naturam divinam ad principium naturae ad finem quod sic apta gloriatione ad

Intentione, ut breviter tractamus in compendium super Testamentum et Codicillum, qui requisiti fuimus per dominum Robertum Regem illustrem.

Reliqua vero intentio formationis, qua dicta virtus mineralis indiget ad intentionem transmutandi metallorum materiam in lapides preciosos, sit cum magis lento calore extrinseco et cum motu tardiori, qui informatur tam per calorem obrestem quam per communem coniunctae et diversae, sicut dictatum extitit in nostro Lapidario.

Reliqua vero informatio, qua dicta virtus indiget⁴⁶ ad compositionem medicinae, fit cum maiori calore, et cum repentino motu.

Item fili ignorare non debes virtutem que causantur, per dictorum trium principiorum coniunctionem, et eorum derivationem, cuius cognitio habetur per effectum principalem, qui venit a quialitate et quantitate distinctis, et etiam a motu coeli, et stellarum, et rerum generabilium et corruptibilium motarum, et per eam informatarum.

Non vero dicimus quod sit opus artiste operari cum figuris et celi ymaginibus, per cognitionem suorum motuum, sicut quamplures philosophi asserunt.

Sed sufficit tibi habere cognitionem per influentias caloris coelestis, informati per signam coeli et stellarum, quorum ratione infunduntur virtutes celestes in materia apte appropriata, et illam recipir per naturalem artistae industriam cum resolutione, quae fit per artem naturae similiter. Quae vero mutat duram materiam ad principium naturae sui ad finem quod fit apta generationem, ad

que est in materia influxa a superioribus. Quoniam in omnibus rebus, que fuerunt putrefacte et corrupte, vidimus influere virtutes stellarum accipiendo determinationem in illa re, ad quam materiam habet convenienciam. Quia virtus celestis est valde communis et accipit determinationem per virtutem sui subiecti in rebus mixtis. Et ideo, quando ipsa influitur in materia minerali, statim accipit determinationem nature in virtute minerali, et sic de vegetabilibus et de animalibus secundum genus materiale”.

⁴⁶ Typical repetition in a rewrite.

recipiendum virtutes infusas in aquis fortium mineralium prout matrix capit et recipit virtutem formativam embrionis.

Et super isto passu perceperunt Philosophi ad reprehensionem ipsorummet qui cognouerunt.

Quia cum virtus divina fit multum conveniens toti naturae propter suam magnam mobilitatem semper recipit determinationes quando influitur in rebus mixtis, tam per artem quam per naturam

*Et hoc ratione virtutum **mineralium** quae ei sunt subiectum principium naturale retinaculum. Tali modo, quia secundum connexam causam proprietatis materiae et suae speciei propriae virtutes recipiet, quia exi post*

*facit tales per naturam quae reputantur ab omnibus ad miraculum.*⁴⁴

*Item nec **natura** potest operari nisi cum successione minimarum partium, nec potest recipere alias virtutes nisi per successione suae operationis*

et non totum insimul, nec constellationes prout sufferte statione in alicuius temporis punctuatim in virtute certa, quae tam cito non diversificetur.

Et ponito quod faceret tempus constellationis, est ita paruum propter revolutionem circularem quia est transactum ab prima virtute in aliam quintam prima sine variatione alterius influatur in materia, velut ut largius monstravimus in prima parte theoreicali istius artis.

Quapropter non sine connexa causa suorum motuum cum quantitate et qualitate arti nostrae succurrimus, pro accipiendo et venerando dictas virtutes coelestes cum sint communes rebus omnibus et illas includes in aquis,

recipiendum virtutes in aquis infusas fortium mineralium virtutum, sicuti ipsam et accipit et recipit virtutem informativam embrionis.

Et in isto passu philosophi fuerunt illusi ad illorum reprehensionem, qui cognosverunt

quomodo coelestus virtus fit nimis communis omni elementae naturae sua magna nobilitate omni tempore determinationem accipit, quomodo in rebus mixtis, influitur tantum per artem sicut per naturam.

*Et hoc quippe fit ratione virtutum **naturalium**. Quae sunt sibi subiectum et proprium retinaculum tali modo, quod secundum proprietates materiae, et eius speciem proprie recipiet equam virtutem,*

quod post talia condit per naturam, quae pro miraculo reputatur.

*Item notet quilibet **artista**, quod natura operari non potest nisi ad minimarum successione, nec etiam potest recipere aliquas virtutes nisi successione suae operationis,*

nec etiam possunt simul, nec constellationes possunt sufferre alicuius temporalis stationem punctuarii in certa virtute, quae conestum non diversificetur, etiam dato quod posset.

Tempus quidem constellationis est ita minimum ratio ne circulatorum revolutionis, quod ante transit de una virtute alteram.

Cur quippe non sine cognitione suorum motuum, in qualitate et quantitate, immo per artem succurrimus ad accipiendum et venandum virtutes iam dictas coelestes, cum sint communes omnibus rebus inferioribus, et illas quoque includimus in

⁴⁴ Testamentum I, 72: "...gentes simplices reputant ad miraculum, aut factum per incantacionem cum figura magice". Id., Apertorium, p. 112: "...populus communis et ignarus aestimat pro maximo miraculo: sic quod putant tale factum esse per incantamentum magicae artis".

incoquantur virtutibus naturalibus, seu mineralibus ad finem,

ut in parvo tempore possint dare multas virtutes et insiges in quo lapis pretiosus induratur, sicut dicemus per illam practicam.

Cap. IX.

Tu fili in nomine Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis accipe de aqua mercurii facta per modum quem dicimus in practica in Libro Mercuriorum per capitulum quod incipit: Tu accipies de liquore lunariae in qua dissolve argenti 3 libras et post separa foeces per distillationem quae erunt albae et pulchrae, et eas custodi ista aqua fili est mater omnium illarum quibus indiges, quoniam est resolutive cum corporum metallorum et eorum argentum viuum virtute, cuius reformatur margaritae, per modum quem dicimus in Testamento.

Cap. X.

Recipe 3 libras de plumbo, et in aliqua quantitate dictae aquae dissolve, et post separa aquam per distillationem per filtrum et foeces proijce, quia nihil valent ad hoc, post distilla aquam per alembicum, et custodi eius foeces.

Cap. XI.

Pro faciendo tertiam aquam. Tu accipe 3 liras cupri et illam dissolve in tanta quantitate quanta volueris secundae a que distillate et in illam aquam permitte quiescere infra unam ampullam nitri in rloco frigido per diem naturalem; post separa aquam viridem per filtrum et primas foeces abiice et post distilla aquam alembicum et custodi suas foeces secundas

Cap. XII.

Tu accipes 1 libra stagno de cornoliata, quia est melius omnium, et eo dissoluto in aqua quantitatem aquae tertie, scilicet de cupro, et distilla per filtrum aquam cum sua limositate mercuriali, id est, sua cirtus mineralis quadruplicata per commixtionem quatuor planetarum. Post

aquis gravidis ex virtutibus mineralibus ad hunc finem,

qui in tempore modico possimus exhibere multas virtutes et infigere in hoc que elyxir vel medicina humana, vel lapis preciosus venit ad terminu.

proiice faeces faeces, et distilla aquam per alembicum, et custodi faeces secundas.

Cap. XIII.

Recipe 1 libra ferri, et dissolve in tanta quantitate quae sufficiat quartae aquae, post distilla per filtrum, et proiice faeces, post distilla aquam per alembicum, et custodi secundas faeces.

Cap. XIV.

Recipe libra 1 auri fini, et dissolve per modum quem dicimus in nostro Testamento, et de illa aqua accipe medictatem, et commisce cum suo pondere aquae quinte, aquae ferri immediate dictae.

Cap. XV.

Pro demonstratione practice hoc faciendum est, quod quando omnia metalla resolvuntur in aquam. Tu accipies aquam scilicet quamlibet ad suam partem, et divides quamlibet ipsarum in duas partes et unam partem cuiuslibet aquae cum suis foecibus propriis pones in uno alembico et eas sublimabis in limo deserto, quod est aer factus de duobus corporibus et ultima distillatione distillabis aquas claras et resplendentes cum pauca virtute minerali et cum magna limositate appropriata ad recipiendum virtutes per influentias coelorum et stellarum et quamlibet ipsarum aquarum peractarum pones in amphora vitri cum collo longo et fundo rotundo postea claude eius orificium cum cera communi, et post cum mastiches, et cum corio ablutae albe et quamlibet ipsarum amphorarum, cum sua aquamet pones in loco aereo, et sereno taliter, quia lapis non valcat sibi ferire, nec tangere ad securitatem amphore.

Scias fili quia predictae aquae impregnabuntur a virtutibus coelorum, et tali ingenio nos cas accipiemus, sicut murilegus accipit lardonem

quoniam cum virtus mineralis quae virtus descenderat de coelis per cursum naturae in prima materia, prodiderunt de sua propria virtute in multiplicatione

Et cum dicta virtus communis, quae in antea fuit atque devenit de coelo per cursum naturae in materia prima, admisit de sua propria virtute in multiplicatione

limpiementi terrestris, vaporabilis, sublimati per ingenium artistae ad ignem diminutuum ipsam ex post per voluntatem naturae accurtative vistualiter recipiet alias, et per nobiles potentias per quas replebunt res vacuae, et intrabir per influentiam penetrativam subtilem in aliis potentiis in materia spiritali constrictivae, subtiliata per ingenium artificii ad voluntate naturae restaurativae.

Nunc intendas quod propter hoc immediate attractiones virtutum simplicium sunt similes materialibus, quia in tanto quod operantur in locis mineralibus, non possunt trahere nisi materias concordantes, et similes in natura minerali.

Et in quam operantur simpliciter descendo per impressionem virtute influentie, ipsa descendunt in omnem rem materiale non ita diversa, et hoc propter magnam,

et potentem subtilitatem entium realium coelorum et planetarum, per quem recipiunt generalem quantitatem in natura bassa, quousquem sint influxa in dictam materiam.

Et tunc illa accipiunt certam determinationem propter causam considerationis quam recipiunt sicut spiritus animam.

Et illo tunc sequuntur naturam generationis eorum secundum materie meritum in qua influuntur.

Et si hoc intelliges non mereris si **quare basiliscus ocidit ipsum respicientes solum propter objectum visus, nec propter quia venit sulphur nitri sarrapis liquefactis diversis quando separatur super ea sine laesione bassi.**

Fili totum hoc non sunt nisi quintae essentiae aggregatae in unum acceptae et ductae in simplicem materiam elementorum: quia secundum, quia materia unius elementi dat et plus sapit alteram, scilicet homo recipit dictas virtutes operativas cum quintis spiritibus simplicibus elementorum coniunctis ad certam et propriam determinationem in

luminaris terrestris vaporabiliter sublimati cum ingenio artificiali, cum igne et diminutione ipsa per virtutem post instinctu naturali attractivo virtualiter recipiet reliquas potentias terribiles, quibus impletur caussa invacua, et ingrediuntur per influentiam penetrativam subtilem in aliis potentiis in spiritali materia subtilitatem in simplicitate per ingenium naturae, et artis restaurativae.

Item intellige, quod ista attractio virtutum simplicitum fit simul virtutibus materialibus, quia ex eo operamur in locis materialibus nullo possunt tempore attrahere nisi concordantes materias, et similes in materiali natura.

Sed in tantum in quantum operamur, et simpliciter in descensu cum impressione, et virtutis influentia in dictis materiis, descendendo iam sic quod nin fit intantum divisa, et hoc per magnam et potentem subtilitatem realium entium coeli et planetarum. Per quam vero accipiant generalem virtutem et communitatem in natura inferiori usquequaque influent in determinata materia. Tunc vero accipiunt certam determinationem per causam consyderationis, quae accipitur per materialia, quae retinent illas sicut spiritus animae. Et tunc sequendo virtutem sui generis secundum meritum materiae, un qua influuntur.

Et propter hoc Basiliscus interficit,

et fulgur nummos liquedacit sine bursae lesione.

Totum hoc non est, nisi quintae essentiae congregatae et receptae in unumiam natae in simplici materia elementorum, seccundum quod materia unius elementorum dominatur super alterum, secundum quod coadunatur per virtutes iam dictas operativas cum essentiis quintis elementorum in certa et propria determinatione potestatis, ut

posse, sicut manifestat proprietas basilici, in quod dat virtus alti elementi multum simpliciter in materia in qua dictae sextae virtutes sunt infusae, et ideo occidit hominem subito.

Propter resolutionem ignis in cremando illi spiritus vitales corporum, sive connexa causa contagionis, sive macula corporali, et incessabiliter, prout possumus tibi ostendere per experientiam ad virtutes minerales, si scias experiri scilicet, si primo posset rescipi per similem obiectum cum proprietate sui mortalis venenim erit mortuus et actatus: quoniam sicut ipse habet qualitatem excellentem ignis exaltati per altas virtutes, et remotas ab omni temperamento, sic datur hominini qualitas temperata per frigidum complexionatum, qua est ei mortale venenum si primo possit ipsum rescipi. Et si intelligis complexionem intelliges ideo vivit ita parum, quia non transit unum animum post sui creationem. Similiter et tibi ostendem proprietatem dicti serpentis per liquefactionem, quare aspectus basilici non inficit aurum et alia metalla, cum fit in qualitate similis, et illo de igne. Et ideo, quia virtus planetarum, et coeli ac stellarum quae petunt resolutionem, earum materiam per proprietatem earum visibilis actio est in subtili materia elementalibus, quae non impedit ingressum suae virtutis. Et quoniam metallum est porosum et apertum respectu dictae materiae essentialis, penetrat omnino illa sicut spiritus qui non habet locum, qui a sua via ei resistat, tamen transit ultra sine laesione corporis metalli, sicut homo per una domum apertam super condensationem et rarefactionem naturae basilici studuerunt Philosophi in natura metalli cum subtiliatione illius et inspissatione et retentione dictae essentiae inter materiam metalli, quae per eam fiebat Elixir ad complendum in novem mensibus cum medio.

Et si hoc intelligis, scies quare cremat spiritus hominem cum per eorum

patet in basilisco et fulgure quibus virtus est altioris elementi simplicissimi in materia simplici, in quibus dictae sextae virtutes infunduntur, et ideo interficiunt subito.

Etiam medicinae complexitae in subtili et proportionata materia dictis virtutibus in instanti vel quasi mutant corpora humana, vel metallica, et hoc ratione supradicta probatur:

sed super basilisci naturam multi philosophorum consideraverunt in metallis operari cum materiae subtiliatione, et penetratione, et retentione, et inspissatione dictae essentiae quintae intus in materia metalli, ut ex ipsa fiat elixir, quae vera fuit in hoc etc.

subtilitatem eam volunt retinere sine corruptione subitanea illius quae fit per excellentem qualitatem dicti igniti elementi. Et ideo quia de ista materia tractavimus ad plenum in Libro de Corporibus, similem poteris ibi videre causam, quare basilicus facit suum efectum affectionaliter actum in obiecto in simili et non cum aliis, quia sic esset longum nes facti multum ad actum nostrae praesentis curationis. Quam propter revertemur ad propositum lapidum.

Cap. XVI.

Fili tu accipies faeces naturales, a quibus revoluisti limum per sublimationem vaporem, in parte aquarum quas no fuisti secreto, et illas ponas in qualibet in sua partem, secundum genus suum metallicum intus aquandam amphoram vitri cum collo longo de duabis palmis et infra quamlibet spiicies partem suae, proprie aque, que fuit reservata ab alia limosa supradicta, post claude amphoras, cum bona capatione cerae ablutae ac mastices, ut aliae post inhumando eas infra quandam ortam in terra bene crassa in fundo unius palmi et medii, et ponendo illis ut aqua case terrae super circumstantias collorum, amphorarum, ut appareant pro reservatione earum et ibi moveatur per annum integrum.

Cap. XVII.

Fili si vis scire scientiam lapidum, necessarium est tibi, ut scias quo modo locus generatur locatum per aptitudine suae proprietatis.

Verutamen triplicem considerationem in principio secundi habemus. Primo in medicina humana. Secundo in metallorum transmutatione. Tertio in lapidibus preciosis. In primo eim non consideramus nisi aquas aereas, in duobus vero ultimis aereas et terreas.

Consideramus tamen specifico modo, ut patet per eorum libros scilicet Lapidarium, et Testamentum, et Codicillum, ut infra videbitur in Tertia distinctione,

Fili de una natura exiverunt iste aqua quae positae sunt in terra, et de alia ille quae posite fuerunt in aere. Illae quae sunt in terra habebunt nostram virtutem pro indurando et coagulando. Et illae aquae sunt in aere habebunt potestatem indurari et congelari in substantia pretiosorum lapidum.

Et quia illae quae sunt pro indurando indigent forti virtute minerali sine aliqua ignitione multiplicada per virtutes caelestes,

quae habent virtutem constrictivam se mutandi pro proprietate mixta et loci, ideo inhumentur in elemento terrestri, quia in nullo alio loco elementantur,

per experientiam videmus, coniunguntur ita uniformiter radii circulatorum omnes, sicut faciunt in terra,

eo quod est contra directum impossibile totius spem celestis possidens de natura sicut continens universale omnium elementorum.

Cap. XVIII.

Fili tanta est virtus radiorum coelorum stillantium qui influuntur in terram propter quod fieri habet, et ipsa tantarum rerum mirabilium productiva, quae non possem dicere, quia est receptaculum et generale fixatium illarum, et totum uniformiter in diversis figuris substantialibus cum auditorio informationis, quia ipse ei solum donat per virtutem sui circuitus et sui motus, qui est principale informativum in medietate totius suae naturae inferioris, qui stat divisa in omnes partes principales scilicet vegetabilem, et animale, ut declaravimus in aliis libris.

Et ideo cum terra sit locus in quo omnes radii stellarum admantur,

per quos in illa influuntur virtutes operantiae et vivificantiae ut ad centrum suarum spherarum et retinaculum

quia unius sunt naturae, quae in terra mittuntur, et alterius quae ad aerem ponuntur. Quae vero in terra mittuntur, habent virtutem fixativam et coagulativan. Et aquae aereae habet potestatem indurari et coagulari, ita in elixir sicut in lapides preciosos, secundum quod proportionatur materia vel elixir vel ad lapides iam dictos,

et quo ad indurandum, fixandum, vel coagulandum, indigent forti virtute minerali sine aliqua ignitione multiplicada per coelestes virtutes,

quae habent virtutem constrictivam et imitantur proprietatem materiae et loci, ideo ponuntur et inhumentur in loco terrestri, quia nullius alterius elementi locus ita competit,

per experientiam enim videmus, quod radii corporum coelestium non ita uniformiter congregantur sicut fit in terra.

Tanta est igitur virtus radiorum corporum coelestium, qui influunt in terram, quod per vim ipsatantum rerum terribilium est productiva, quod narrari non potest, propter hoc quod est receptivum, constrictivum, firmativum, generale omnium illorum uniformiter in figuris, et formis diversis subtilibus cum informativo auditorio, quod sol eis dat virtute suae circulationis et sui motus, quod est principale informativum immediate totius naturae inferioris, quae in partes tres dividitur principales, scilicet animale, vegetabilem et mineralem sicut declaravimus in pluribus libris, et potissime in libro De intentione alchimistarum et Codicillum.

Et propter hoc cum terra sit locus, in quo radii omnes stellarum influunt virtutes proprias, et in quo cogantur,

per quos influunt in ipsa proprias virtutes operativas, et vivificativas, sicut suarum spherarum centrum et

principale earum virtutum ipsa concordantur cum omnibus suis corporeis partibus,

quoniam propter earum exitudinem habemus que non acceperunt bene aliqui, se receperunt de aliis virtutibus ad finem, quod sua membra non remaneant mortificata, quod hoc fit, quia materia diligens ad reformationem suorum individualium, et eorum contenti, quoniam cum una pars rangatur cum ea parte, quae vel fuit vel est de sui natura virtutibus influxa in una sphaera, post in alia cum spiritu terrestre instructivae rei contente, scilicet virtutum celestium,

et iam pars revertitur in vitam per suas convicinas convirtute coeli et sui spiritus, imo tibi dicemus plus, quia quando nostrae aquae sunt in terra positae, sicut tibi dicimus, attrahunt per suas virtutes proprias fortitudines terrae, quas acceperunt a coelo cum sua propria virtute plusquam duorum tractatum arcus, sicut ferrum trahitur ab adamante et ibi retinetur.

*Quia proprietates virtutis coelestis est, quod quando descenderit in elemento terrestri, habet tam certum terminum per terram increcendo spiritum per condensationem, usque invenitur locum proprium retinaculi spissatione, causa haec sit res certa, quia nullum corpus durum terrestre morans in suo extremo est apparatus aptum ad recipiendum virtutem **in suo essentiali extremo**, nec ipsum retinere ut pertinet, quosque in essentiali medio scilicet spiritu qui secundum animam est principium corporum primo resolvatur, quia sic praecipit rationem.*

Et ideo cum iam per artem simulantem naturae materiam aptam apparatus in multo apto spiritu

per resolutionem, trahuntur et capiuntur a nostro spiritu qui intus vitrum

retinaculum principale suarum virtutum in curia scita cum omnibus suis partibus,

et iam pars illa, quae mortua est ad vitam revertitur per partes coniunctivas cum coelesti virtute et eius spiritus. Et quidem plus etiam dicimus, quod quomodo aquae nostrae in terram ponuntur, sicut tibi dicimus, ipsae trahunt suis propriis virtutibus vires terrae, quas vero accepit a coelo cum sua virtute propria plus de duobus archi protectionibus, sicut ferrum trahitur per adamantem, et hic retinetur,

*quia priorpietas coelestis est virtutis, quod quanto descendit in terrestri elemento tanto cressit per terram per spiritum increcendi, et per spiritum per condensationem usque invenitur primum in retinendo cum spissatione, cum hoc certum fit quod nullum terrestre corpus existens in sua solidatione proprie non est aptum ad recipiendum virtutem, nec illam retinere, sicut refert donec quod **in medio essentiali**, quod est spiritus, quid est subiectum animae et a corpore primo acciperet taliter quod dissolvatur.*

Postea trahatur spiritus eius a ventre eius, quoniam ita postulat ratio naturae, et propter hoc tamen per nos per artificium simile naturae materia propria et altissimo spiritu, in quibus virtutibus habent retinaculum corporis in spiritu per resolutionem trahuntur et apprehenduntur cum nostro spiritu, qui

est inhumatum, intus terram propter eorum plenum velle condensatione.

Et cum talis spiritus congelatur argentum vivum qui invenitur in terra in fimo et vero argento meliori quam de minera sive approximatione caloris ignis, qui dicitur communis, ut est declaratum in Experimentatorum liber⁴⁵, qui dicitur repertorium et principalis clavis omnium nostrorum librorum, qui fecimus ex ista arte intellige quid potest ipse facere per suam contructionem in materiis altis, cum sine igne nobiliter congelat argentum vivum quod comune, substantiae tardae, propter transitum mediocris medii.

Et cum tanta sufficientia tibi modum compositionis aquarum per artem cum quibus formabis tuos lapides isto modo.

intus est in vitro, et inhumato in terra cum suo proprio appetitu cum condensatione,

et cum tali spiritu congelamus argentum vivum vulgi in probatum argentum tam bonum, sicut de minera sine attendendo ignis calorem, qui dicitur communis, sicut declaravimus in libro qui dicitur Experimentorum, qui liber est principalis, et clavis omnium librorum, quod usquem ad istum composuimus in hac arte. Intellige igitur, quid potest ipse facere cum sua constrictione in aliis materiis, cum sine igne nobilificat argentum vivum, quod est communis et rudis substantiae per transgressum eius per medium ratione medii naturalis.

Et cum hoc sufficit tibi modus generalis, aquarum tam vegetabilium quam mineralium ad medicinam humanam, et lapides preciosos, et haec est regula generalis.

The *Testamentum* contains a lengthy paragraph discussing the remarkable healing properties of substances created by alchemists, in both mineral and vegetal forms. This is of interest to us, because it connects his ideas with those in his previously quoted work, the *Liber lapidarii*, as well as with another hitherto unidentified work of his entitled *Tractatus aquarum medicinalium*.⁴⁷ In my opinion, this is the original version of the DSN, with this structure B_I+ C_{I.a-b}+ C_{II}+ C_{III} that we are analysing.⁴⁸ The fact that it is cited

⁴⁵ MP I.21: It is entitled *Experimentorum liber Raymundi et sociorum suorum* and is dated 1330.

⁴⁷ *Testamentum* III, 19: “*Et non cures cognoscere infirmitatem, quoniam discreta natura suo instinctu dedit virtutem lapidi dissoluto sanandi omnes infirmitates et rectificandi seipsam, sicut magis large diximus in Tractatu aquarum medicinalium. Et in simili forma potes amministrare summam medicinam corpori humano. Verumtamen, cum illa sit multum digesta et depurata, tam per industriam artis quam per industriam nature ad summum temperamentum ducta, non oportet amministrare cum dictis aquis, sed solum petere ab infirmo, in quo cibo habet secundum appetitum eorum recipiendi. Et sic de illo, quamquam sit contrarius, amministra ei ad quantitatem unius grani millii semel sive pluries aut in vino vel in scutella aut in salsamentis sive in brodio aut in liquore spisso sive tenui aut claro, secundum ingenium quod scies apponere, vel habet appetitum [...] Fili, ista medicina habet respectum contra omnes infirmitates calidas et frigidas, naturales et accidentales, quia omnia reducit ad equalitatem. Quando volueris mutare ab una terra in aliam et velis portare dictam medicinam tecum, simplicem seu compositam, congela eam et post pone in vitro et porta illam tecum et utere ea, sicut diximus tibi, per dissolutionem ipsius in liquore potabili aut alio viatico, in quo volueris; unde virtutes habet tantas, que sunt incredibiles ignorantibus, iam sicut plene diximus in Tractatu lapidarii*”.

⁴⁸ Until the end of the 20th century it was speculated that it was the *Ars operativa medica* (MP. I.6). Today we know that the author of this *Ars* is a certain Ramón de Lleida (cf. *ego Raymundus Ilerdae*), who was mistaken for Ramon Llull from the 15th century onwards and wrote in the light of pseudo-Arnaldian legends already formed from 1350-1360. He has been studied in: MICHELA PEREIRA, (2005), “Maestro di segreti o caposcuola contestato? Presenza di Arnaldo da Villanova e di temi della medicina arnaldiana in alcuni testi alchemici pseudo-lullienne”, *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics*, 23-24, pp. 381-412, cf. pp. 381-393. Pereira reveals that there are at least two versions, a short one and a longer one collected in the printed editions. Ramón de Lleida cites as one of his sources Llull himself, whom he makes the author of

together with the *Liber lapidarii* makes perfect sense, since we have just shown that they are closely related, because they literally share many of its theoretical arguments. In fact, they are two twin treatises, with the same theory and differing in their practical intention, which is lapidific for the *Liber lapidarii* and medicinal for the DSN. The title *Tractatus aquarum medicinalium* also fits perfectly with the definition of contents in the DSN itself as *regula generalis* or “...modus generalis **aquarum** tam vegetabilium quam mineralium ad medicinam humanam, et lapides preciosos” (DSN, I, 3).

Once the author has finished his theoretical approach *de intentione et consideratione*, he starts another one *de eius extractione*. He focuses on aspects *tam materialium quam operatum* (DSN, I, 4). The arguments coincide with those deployed by the *magister Testamenti* in other treatises. We find his technical language and concepts very representative of his theory such as *mercurius vegetabilis*, *menstruum*, *dispositio extremorum*, *ingenium naturae*... The reflections are even. In the case of the DSN the focus is on the elaboration of *aquarum tam vegetabilium quam mineralium ad medicinam humanam* and the *Testamentum* focuses on metallic transmutation. The same is true for singular expressions for an alchemical text, such as *consimiliter*, *contrarietatis* or *appetitus*, adapted from the medical texts of his time.⁴⁹

A key theme of the theoretical and practical system organised by the *magister Testamenti* is the sun's insolation, defined as a *res secreta* known to very few, whose purpose is that the *virtus descenderat de coelis per cursum naturae*. Direct exposure to the sun is extremely unusual in alchemical texts from that period. References to the influence of the stars are, however, common in most treatises on natural philosophy. This is logical because, at the time, it was believed that the planets were involved in the formation of metals in the Earth's interior. However, the *magister Testamenti* incorporates a much rarer, and unusual, theme of insolation to achieve a “...stimulacione virtutis active”.⁵⁰

an “*aqua vivificans et de antiquo iuvenem faciens secundum Raymundum Lullum*”. This element clearly indicates that it is a work outside the original corpus of the *magister Testamenti* (1330-1340), and that the author moved in an Aragonese environment where the first treatises on pseudolullian and pseudoarnaldian therapeutics were circulating (1360-1380).

⁴⁹ *Testamentum* I, 27: “*Consimiliter dicimus quod simile est nostrum magisterium...*”. DSN, I, 4: “*Ratio namque naturalis nobis demonstrat quod corpus hominis non potest per rem minus corruptibilem a corruptibilitate sanari, quam per rem magis corruptibilem cum corruptibilitas et etiam defectus et perfectio contrarietatur, nam uno simili addito sibi simili, facit magis simile. Nulla igitur res, que ad non esse habeat inclinationem, conservari potest per consimilem rem. Sed quaerenda namque, est res, quae ad se habeat inclinationem habet ad esse, tanto minus habet in se de contrarietate et corruptione. Sed nulla talis medicina multis revelata est, in qua sit tanta perfectio appetitus ad esse...*”. *Testamentum* II, 15: “*Sic est natura appetens perfeccionem; aliter corrumpetur et remaneret inanimatus, alias inanis, locus nature, quod est certa spera unius elementi vel alterius, cum non sit minus sine virtute et sine attractione; et per consequens remaneret vacua a fine, quod numquam fuitum a natura requisitum quod ipsa remaneret sine istis proprietatibus. [...] volente natura dicti loci suo instinctu recuperare cum restauratione de materia sua perdita aut rei consimilis illi, desiderando semper venire ad suam perfeccionem, recuperat illam cum virtute attractiva et cum magno appetitu, trahendo substantiam alicuius elementorum per rarificationem illorum, quousque natura recuperaverit suum debitum, scilicet id quod perdiderat propter calorem ignis. Et quanto quanto magis locus evacuatur, intelligendo sicut iam dictum est, tanto magis natura illius propter suum magnum appetitum habet maiorem fortitudinem maioris attractionis...*”.

⁵⁰ The technique consisted in stimulating the active virtue of a substance by means of what he calls “natural heat”. Insolation supposedly brought the virtue of the sun into the flask. In his opinion, without this action, even if you lived a thousand years and distilled every day, you would never get anything. Some of his companions considered it unnecessary and ineffective. *Testamentum* I, 67: “*De noticia caloris Naturalis et loci sue dispositionis ad creandum sulphur supradictum [...] Racione ignorancie huius, quod dictum est, ignorant non scientes quid debeant dicere, an et si nostrum magisterium est verum; cum de toto ignorant operationem pororum seratorum et fortiter compactorum in stimulacione virtutis active, credunt esse impossibile cum sit in actu reali, cum per artem homo faciat cum operatione certe practice. Quod, si per*

The *Testamentum* and the DSN take up the idea that there is a subtle quintessence of igneous property and celestial origin, which is transmitted through sun's light to reach from the upper to the lower spheres. Speaking of its properties he calls it *claritas* (effect of light illuminating), *ignis naturae*, *calor solis*, *coelum* and *elementum primordiale*:

DSN, I, 4:

"...solus actus unius rei diversificatur secundum naturam recipientis, sicut calor solis [...] Actus tamen solis unus est in se, neque quantum in se contrariatur. Item fili mi dicitur fuit supra, quod spiritus iste in subtili materia elevatus, appetitum habet ad hanc complexionem, vel ad illam, que per philosophos prima materia esse rerum asseritur. Namque sicut forma universalis habet appetitum ad omnem formam, sic quinta essentia ad quamcunque complexionem, ex quo evidenter patet, quod quinta rerum essentia illiud dicitur esse complexionis cui adiungitur".

DSN, I, 4:

"...coeleste animal, quod dicitur quinta essentia: [...] humidum desiccat, siccum humectat quoquo modo una et eadem contrarias potest operationes, solus actus unius rei diversificatur secundum naturam recipientis, sicut calor solis, qui contrarias operationes habet, quia lutum desiccat, et cera liquefacit. Actus tamen solis unus est in se, neque quantum in se contrariatur".

Testamentum, I, 10:

"In isto modo remanet corpus vestitum de pulcherrima claritate, quia spiritus illius imbibitur et corpus intravit infra suum spiritum, qui illum resuscitavit et terminavit in formam pulverum multum subtilium, cum instrumentis ignis, fluencium et fundencium velut butirum sine fumo, qui est ignis ardens, quando flamma ibi tangit cum alteracione permanenti, que fit per amplexacionem amicabilem nature recipientis suam propriam naturam".

According to the *magister Testamenti*, the sun is a kind of fire, and its rays provide a natural heat with special properties:

Testamentum I, 68:

"...videlicet quod solem vocamus "ignem" et suum vicarium vocamus "calorem Naturalem", eo quod in se portat fortitudinem solis cum adiutorio caloris, sicut communis apparet per suum effectum, quia hoc, quod calor solis facit in mineris in mille annos, hoc idem facit calor naturalis in una hora".

te non intelligitur, non poterit fieri; bene poteris respicere, videre et mirari actum distillandi et redistillandi et postea revertendi et reiterandi, quare nullo tempore mundi nesciens reperire magisterium, nec cogitare, nec ad finem ducere, posito quod coram te vidisses completum, nisi intelligas Naturam, quomodo se habet ad transmutare [...] si tu similiter, qui non habes intellectum proprii modi operis Nature, te ponas ad distillandum, et arbitreris te hoc bene facere, ante posses consumere omnia tempora vite tue; et si viveres per mille annos et quotidie distillares et quod ad bonum portum ducere posses elementa, si prima illorum non intelligeres virtutes et postea omnia sua signa bene cognosceres in eorum mutacione, que non potest fieri sine propriis instrumentis, que tibi aperiemus, ita quod scias bene sensum retinere".

This natural heat could be used alone or accompanied by other sources of heat called *ignem innaturalem et contra naturam*:

Testamentum I, 22:

“...noster ignis creatur et ab illo exit lumen et claritas; et lumen est noster calor, qui multiplicatur per ignem innaturalem et contra naturam, hoc est in partibus individualibus nature mineralis, sicut experientia tibi poterit manifestare, si per artem in hac practica poteris esse imbutus”.

Exposure to heat “*naturalis, in quo est virtus celestialis*” weakens, according to him, the *fortitudo ligamenti* of matter if it is applied together with a common fire:

Testamentum III, 39:

“Et iccirco, cum ipsi ignorant per defectum cognite evidencie extraccionem et compositionem talium medicinarum, sunt multum fallentes et decepti per eorum stultas et cecas estimaciones; et iccirco, quia de toto ignorant mensuram fortitudinis ligamenti, per quam stat ligata virtus operativa cum sua materia, donec ei poterit supervenire certa entitas caloris graduati supra potenciam virtutis ligamenti. Et ideo dicta virtus disligatur et dissolvitur a suo subiecto et effugatur ab igne ardenti, qui est suus inimicus mortalis; et remanet materia sine virtute confortativa. Et causa, per quam virtus recedit ab igne, est ideo quia subiectum et suum corpus non est exaltatum cum dicta virtute, antequam ignis ei daretur ultra mensuram fortitudinis sui ligamenti, quia virtus confortativa custoditur et extrahitur cum igne communi applicato cum Naturali, in quo est virtus celestialis, quam tu requiris. Et tamen cum tali informacione informando, oportet quod ignis communis non sit superans dictam mensuram”.

This process *donec vertatur alia vice in resolutionem et putrefaccionem*:

Testamentum I, 27:

“Et quando iste calor Nature excitatur cum calore solis cum continuacione talis informacionis, dictus calor se incipit moveri in suo humido materiali, cum quo ligatur; et se movendo, calor penetrat, eciam in penetrando dilatatur, et in dilatando format, [...] et calor mortificatur per siccitatem, quam granum frumenti accipit in terminacione cum sua compatibilitate compactabilitate et durtate, donec vertatur alia vice in resolutionem et putrefaccionem”.

The action of the sun in the generation of a substance *per putrefactionem* is referred to on multiple occasions by Roger Bacon.⁵¹ The *magister Testamenti* builds on these

⁵¹ ROGER BACON, *Questiones supra libros octo physicorum Aristotelis*, II, Queritur de secunda proprietate quod cause particularis est effectus particularis et universalis est universalis: “Item, intelligentia et sol sunt cause eorum que per putrefactionem generantur et non est animal precedens per quod

ideas, giving them a more literal tone with direct exposure to sunlight. This aspect has not been studied or commented on before, but it is very interesting for identifying the original texts of the *magister Testamenti* and his immediate circle, since it is an extremely specific process. At this point, it is closer to natural magic than philosophy. It seeks to exploit hidden natural forces that were beyond the rational knowledge of the time.⁵² In his opinion, alchemists who work with this rare technique are the *filiis generatorum luminis*, but they also proclaim themselves *filium solis*, *filium ignis* and *fili Hermetis*:

Testamentum I, 68:

“...multi sunt filii Hermetis, et nos similiter [...] videlicet quod solem vocamus “ignem” et suum vicarium vocamus “calorem Naturalem” [...] Item nos et multi alii vocamus eum “filium solis” quoniam primitus per influenciam illius fuerat generatus per Naturam sine adiutorio artis [...] Tunc, postquam philosophi vocaverunt eum “filium ignis”, iccirco monstratur quod philosophi eum dederunt cum multa magna claritate...”.

If we read the whole paragraph, we will see that he is using these expressions as synonyms. In the *Liber lapidarii* he expresses the same idea, although developed in a more magical sense:

Liber lapidarii, ch. XV:

“Scias fili quia predictae aquae impregnabuntur a virtutibus coelorum, et tali ingenio nos eas accipiemus, sicut mus accipitur lardone⁵³ quoniam cum virtus mineralis quae virtus descenderat de coelis per cursum naturae in prima materia, prodiderunt de

generentur, immo idem facit sol in illis quod facit virtus patris in semine, ut dicit Commentator septimo *Methaphysice*”. Id., *De multiplicatione specierum*, VI, II: “Item si dicatur quod idem facit virtus patris in seminibus quod facit virtus coeli in materia putrefacta, ut Averroys dicit septem, et philosophi naturales et medici confitentur...”. Id., *Opus maius*, IV, Mathematicae in Divinis Utilitas: “Manifestum est igitur quod virtus coeli incorporata in materiam elementorum producit omnia inanimata, et animata per putrefactionem similiter: nam circa eorum generationem non sunt nisi coelum et elementa. Praeterea dicit Averroes septimo *Metaphysicae* quod idem facit virtus solis in materia putrefacta quod virtus patrum in seminibus, quare necesse est coelum esse causam particularem usque ad generationem rerum ex propagatione”. According to Bacon's version of the *Tabula smaragdina*, the sun is the source of the ‘prodigious virtues’ (τέλεσμα) that descend from the heavens and possess a fire-like virtue. R. STEELE (ed.), (1920), *Secretum secretorum cum glossis et notulis. Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, vol. V, p. 116: “Hinc dicitur Sol causatorum pater, thesaurus miraculorum, largitor virtutum. Pater omnis thelesmi (coelestini) totius mundi est hic. Vis ejus integra est. Mater omnis perfectionis. Potentia ejus perfecta est. Causa omnis perfectionis rerum ea est per universum hoc. Ex igne facta est terra. Si versa fuerit in terram. Si mutatur in terram. Ad sum mum ipsa perfectionem virium pervenit si redierit in humum”.

⁵² On natural and beneficent magic in the 12th to 14th centuries, I recommend the readings of: JEAN-PATRICE BOUDET, (2006), *Entre science et nigromance. Astrologie, divination et magie dans l'Occident médiéval (XIIe-Xve siècle)*, Publications de la Sorbonne, Paris, pp. 205-278. S. GIRALT, (2011), “Magia y Ciencia en la Baja Edad Media: la construcción de los límites entre la magia natural y la nigromancia (c.1230-c.1310)”, *Clío & Crimen*, 8, pp. 14-72. GRAZIELLA FEDERICI VESCOVINI, (2011), *Le Moyen Âge magique: la magie entre religion et science du XIIIe au XIVe siècle*, Vrin, Paris.

⁵³ Note the use of the same singular expressions, typical of the *magister Testamenti*, such as this one about the mouse attracted by the bacon. *Testamentum I*, 72: “Fili, in illa subtili substancia condensantur qualitates purorum elementorum et per illam capiuntur sicut m[urileg]us cum lardone, quoniam elementa sunt, que dant tantam virtutem in ista substancia, quod ipsa potest penetrare et tangere et facere res miraculosas per potenciam, quam ipsa accepit et acquisivit in gravi pugna ignis et aliorum et bassorum potencium elementorum”.

sua propria virtute in multiplicatione limpiem enti terrestris, vaporabilis, sublimati per ingenium artistae ad ignem diminutium ipsam ex post per voluntatem naturae accurtativee vistualiter recipiet alias, et per nobiles potentias per quas replebunt res vacuae, et intrabitper influentiam penetrativam subtilem in aliis potentiis in materia spirituali constrictivae, subtiliata per ingenium artificii ad voluntatem naturae restaurativae. Nunc intendas quod propter hoc immediate attractiones virtutum simplicium sunt similes materialibus, quia in tanto quod operantur in locis mineralibus, non possunt trahere nisi materias concordantes, et similes in natura minerali. Et in quam operantur simpliciter descendo per impressionem virtute influentie, ipsa descendunt in omnem rem materiale non ita diversa, et hoc propter magnam, et potentem subtilitatem Entium realium coelorum et planetarum, per quem recipiunt generalem quantitatem in natura bassa, quousque sint influxa in dictam materiam. Et tunc illa accipiunt certam determinationem propter causam considerationis quam recipiunt sicut spiritus animam. Et illo tunc sequuntur naturam generationis eorum secundum materie meritum in qua influuntur”.

What descends from heaven is an *ens reale coelorum et planetarum* that has an effective action on material bodies *secundum materie meritum*, that is, according to the characteristics of each of them, influencing their final form. This process occurs without any apparent contact between them. He gives the example of a magnet attracting iron without touching it, or the basilisk acting at a distance with the power of its gaze:

DSN, I, 3:

“...trahunt suis propriis propriis virtutibus vires terrae, quas vero accepit a coelo cum sua virtute propria plus de duobus archi protectionibus, sicut ferrum trahitur per adamantem, et hic retinetur”.

Liber lapidarii, chap. XVIII:

“...attrahunt per suas virtutes proprias fortitudines terrae, quas acceperunt a coelo cum sua propria virtute plusquam duorum tractatum arcus, sicut ferrum trahitur ab adamante et ibi retinentur”.

Testamentum III, 41:

“...quia nullum corpus sublimaretur, nisi fuerit per beneficium lapidis, qui trahit ipsum superius, sicut adamas trahit ferrum [...] Et adhuc revelamus magis, ut magis intelligas et melius notam tibi datam, quod lapis supradictus venit de argento vivo nostro, quod portat in natura sua virtutem adamantis”.

DSN, I, 3:

“Et tunc sequendo virtutem sui generis secundum meritum materiae, un qua influuntur. Et propter hoc Basilicus interficit, et fulgur nummos liquedacit sine bursae lesione. Totum hoc non est,

nisi quintae essentiae congregatae et receptae in unum iam natae in simplici materia elementorum, seccundum quod materia unius elementorum dominatur super alterum, secundum quod coadunatur per virtutes iam dictas operativas cum essentiis quintis elementorum in certa et propria determinatione potestatis, ut patet in basilisco et fulgure quibus virtus est altioris elementi simplicissimi in materia simplici, in quibus dictae sextae virtutes infunduntur, et ideo interficiunt subito”.

DSN, I, 4:

“...fit in eodem gradu et fortiori propter subtilem materiam, in qua sua forma, et actus elevati sunt, cum quibus ita operatur, sicut basiliscus et fulgur [.....] sed omnia in ipsa sunt aggregata in tam subtili materia, et in forma tam subtili, et tam simplicitati propinqua respectivo modo, sicut in oculo basilici, ut per experientiam patet in curatione morborum, et in metallorum transmutaitone et in preciosorum lapidum confectione”.

Liber lapidarii, chap. XV:

“Et illo tunc sequuntur naturam generationis eorum secundum materie meritum in qua influuntur. Et si hoc intelliges non mereris si quare basiliscus ocidit ipsum respicientes solum propter objectum visus, nec propter quia venit sulphur nitri sarrapis liquefactis diversis quando separatur super ea sine laesione bassi. Fili totum hoc non sunt nisi quintae essentiae aggregatae in unum acceptae et ductae in simplicem materiam elementorum: quia secundum, quia materia unius elementi dat et plus sapit alteram, scilicet homo recipit dictas virtutes operativas cum quintis spiritibus simplicibus elementorum coniunctis ad certam et propriam determinationem in posse, sicut manifestat proprietas basilici, in quod dat virtus alti elementi multum simpliciter in materia in qua dictae sextae virtutes sunt infusae”.

Liber lapidarii, chap. XVI:

“Si tu portes ipsum recum nullum venenum specialiter non posset tibi nocere, nec aer nec aqua quantumvis fuerit venenosa per essentiam subtilem, neque respectus basilici quantum bene sit subtilis”.

Testamentum III, 43:

“...suscipiunt subito sanitatem multum nobilem per magnam potestatem illius, quod vocatur elixir [...] Et maiorem potestatem habet contra leprositatem et omnem infirmitatem, quam naturale habet. Per hoc omnibus dicimus quod se caveant ab auro facto per artem alkimie sine appellatione nature, quia multo magis valeret eis commedere ignem ardentem cum oculis basilisci, quam applicare ignem in loco medicine per scienciam ignoratam”.

His arguments are based on pharmacological theories proposed by Jean de Saint-Amand (ca.1230-1312) in his *Expositio supra antidotarium Nicolai* (1261-1285).⁵⁴ However, the postulates of the *magister Testamenti* are more radical and directly adapt concepts from hermetic magic.⁵⁵ He presents them as if they were something natural, albeit mysterious. However, the link with the so-called natural magic of the time is evident. The fourth book of the *Picatrix* includes sunlight among the 45 most typical *ymagines et rationes* for performing prodigious operations. He breaks them down in the form of aphorisms:

Picatrix, IV, 4:

“28. *Lumen Solis et proiectio radiorum spiritus planetarum nocturnorum abscindit*”.

Sun exposures are classified among the *stellarum suffumigationes*, whose action causes unusual effects and *adiuvat ad fortitudinem et potenciam spiritualium ad terram trahendi a celo*. Sunlight, with the *Sole in Arietis vel Leonis*, is *spiritu atque vigore mundum* and divine potency:

Picatrix, IV, 6:

“*Uctio autem que sequitur inventa est in libris sapientum, que **unctio Solis nuncupatur**; cuius virtus est ad gratiam, honorem, altitudinem et regum amorem, militum et magnatorum deputata. Recipe unam fialam vitri; et oleum rosaceum optimum, purum et nitidum ponas in ea. **In die vero Martis versus Solem te in pedibus elevabis, Sole in Arietis vel Leonis signa commorante et in gradu ascendentis existente et Luna ab ipso amicabile aspectu aspecta; tunc vero dictam fialam tua dextra accipias, et tuam faciem versus Solem tenendo dicas: Salvet te Deus, planeta, repletus tuo lumine et bonitate! O quam formosus et bonus in tua existis origine et in tuo spiritu ornatus! Tu vero es Sol, et tua luce tuoque spiritu atque vigore mundum gubernas. Tu candela celi, tu lumen universi, tu omnium generabilium factor et hec potencia tibi a Deo infusa. Tu enim Sol es, qui quatuor mundi***

⁵⁴ Mesuae Graecorum, ac Arabum clarissimi medici Opera quae extant omnia, apud Vincentium Valgrisiu, Venetiis, ff. 397r-435v, cf. f. 414r: “...sicut adamas attrahit ad se ferrum, quia sicut in ferro potentia activa ad ad adamantem quae nec in se, nequem de se completur, sed cum recipit vittutem adamantis excitantis ipsam potentia, ipsa ducitur ad adamantem, et ad complementum, ita est in proposito, unde est in humore potentia ad medicinam quae per medicinam excitata vadit ad medicinam et ad complementum, un sunt”. Speaking about the way in which a virtue could be transferred, he tells us that it is certainly unusual, because “...quod est essenziale alicui non potest nec per se, nec per accidens, ab eo separari”. However, there are exceptional cases that would prove it, and he gives the example of iron, which acquires the properties of a magnet when rubbed with it. On this medieval doctor: DANIELLE JACQUART, (1998), *La médecine médiévale dans le cadre parisien : XIVe-XVe siècle*, Fayard, Paris. Id., (2006), “Médecine et pharmacie à Paris au XIIIe siècle”, *Comptes-rendus des séances de l'année - Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*, 150 (2), pp. 1013-1025.

⁵⁵ SOPHIE PAGE, (2013), *Magic in the Cloister: Pious Motives, Illicit Interests, and Occult Approaches to the Medieval Universe*, Pennsylvania State University Press, p. 32: “Scientific approaches to natural magic included the development of theories to explain marvelous effects (such as the concept of “action at a distance” to explain the murderous nature of the basilisk's gaze or the magnet's attraction of iron) and the defense of experimenta to prove and harness occult qualities”. See also: BÉATRICE DELAURENTI, (2006), “La fascination et l'action à distance: Questions médiévales (1230-1370)”, *Médiévales*, 50, pp. 137-54.

angulos in tuo celo girando perquiris. Tibi lumen et pulchritudo sunt divina potencia concessa”.

The DSN considers that its action in the flask (*in vitro*) is identical to that which it exerts on the earth:

DSN, I, 3:

“Postea trahatur spiritus eius a ventre eius, quoniam ita postulat ratio naturae, et propter hoc tamen per nos per artificium simile naturae materia propria et altissimo spiritu, in quibus virtutibus habent retinaculum corporis in spiritu per resolutionem trahuntur et apprehenduntur cum nostro spiritu, qui intus est in vitro, et inhumato in terra cum suo proprio appetitu cum condensatione”.

This is exactly the idea that the *magister Testamenti* supports when he says that the *proprietates celi, que sunt influxe in materia per radios solis* also act in *vasis artificialibus* if the alchemist knows how to use them:

Testamentum I, 25:

“...generat alterum locatum per proprietates celi, que sunt influxe in materia per radios solis et stellarum. Verumptamen id, quod virtutes elementales et celestes faciunt in vasis naturalibus, hoc idem faciunt in vasis artificialibus...”.

The concept of *vasis naturalibus* is explained in the *Codicillus*, 61, when it discusses celestial influences in the formation of metals and minerals:

*“Circa igitur illius lapidis generationem quatuor exiguntur, scilicet materia conveniens, ut est sulphur et argentum vivum, et locus expediens, id est, **matrix vel terra quae proprie vas naturae dicitur**, formativam virtutem lapidis retinens, in quo lapidea vis naturalis infunditur”.*

The same terminology is used in the *Liber Lapidarii* talking about the making of some precious stones, such as emeralds:⁵⁶

Lapidarium pp. 110-109:

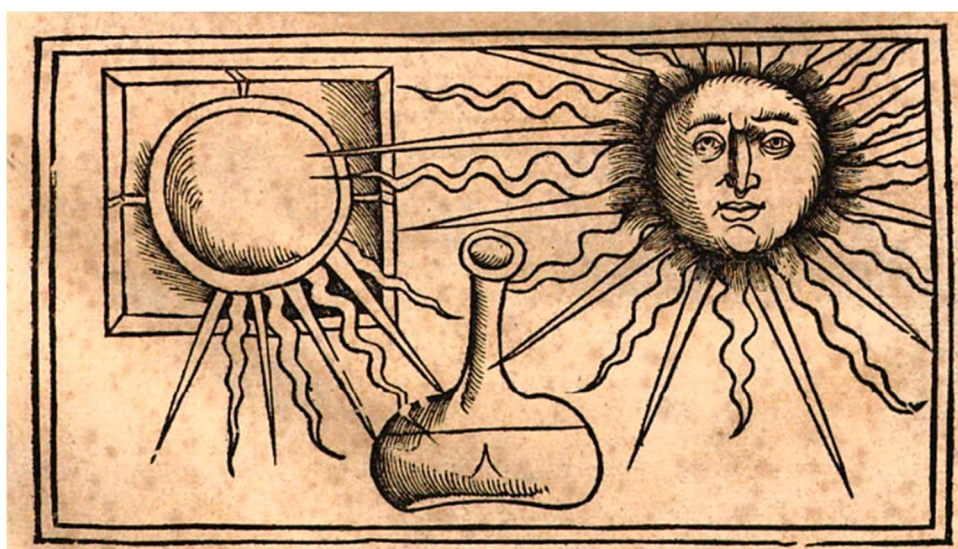
“...quando voveris formare lapide smaragdinem, accipias vas vitri, cuius forma est talis [...] si ad solem rescipias eas ratione mixtionis virtutum coelestium, mixtatum cum spiritibus, per quam mixtionem et materiam spiritativae variabiles diversarum et multarum virtuosarum potentiarum, dicit tibi dicimus in creatione lapidum [...] quia semper locus generat locatum, et hoc non fit nisi ex proprietatibus coeli qui influuntur in illis per quas virtutes minerales multiplicantur, sicut in vasis naturalibus monstrando per naturam illa qui est Philosophus aut amator veritatis....”.

⁵⁶ *Artis auriferae*, 1610, III, pp. 98-120, cf. pp. 109-110.

Sun exposure of glass vessels is explicitly commented on in many other paragraphs:⁵⁷

*“Fili tanta est virtus radiorum coelorum stillantium qui influuntur in terram propter quod fieri habet, et ipsa tantarum rerum mirabilium productiva, quae non possem dicere, quia est receptaculum et generale fixatium illarum, et totum uniformiter in diversis figuris substantialibus cum auditorio informationis, quia ipse ei solum donat per virtutem sui circuitus et sui motus, qui est principale informatium in medietate totius suae naturae inferioris [...] Et ideo cum terra sit locus in quo omnes radii stellarum adimantur, per quos in illa influuntur virtutes operantiae et vivificantiae ut ad centrum suarum sphaerarum [...] Et ideo cum iam per artem simulantem naturae materiam aptam apparatus in multo apto spiritu per resolutionem, **trahuntur et capiuntur a nostro spiritu qui intus vitrum est inhumatum**”.*

“...ipsarum aquarum peractarum pones in amphora vitri cum collo longo, et fundo rotundo, postea claude eius orificium cum cera [...] et pones in loco aereo, et sereno taliter, qua lapis non valeat sibi ferire, nec tangere ad securitatem amphore. Scias fili quia predictae aquae impregnabuntur a virtutibus coelorum [...] quoniam cum virtus mineralis quae descenderat de coelis per cursum naturae...”.



Exposure of the flask to sunlight by means of a parabolic mirror:
“Stellarum vim, quae coelo Philosophico applicantur, cuiuscumque sint complexionis, nature seu proprietatis, ipsum coelum perfectissime ad se trahit”.
 Philipp Ulsted, *Coelum Philosophorum*, Cammerlander, Argentorati, 1535.

“...et stat ibi per duos dies contra solem et pone in umbram, ubi sol non tangat per tres horas integras, et in fine tertiae horae videbis aquam congelatam quam posuisti infra modulum ad

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp. 106-107; 103 and 111.

modum gummi transparentem mollem ut pasta, et viride ut smaragdus iuvante [...] post claude dictum vas et tupa istum cum cera et pone ad solem taliter quod radius solis tangat per totum diem”.

The *Testamentum* elaborates on this matter, referring to the *Liber lapidarii* itself:

Testamentum III, 10:

“Postea accipe duas margaritas et subiungas illas in dicto liquore superius reservato; et postea statim mitte eas infra ova [...] et claude ea cum cera et pone ad desiccandum in loco aeris in umbra per VIII dies, sic quod sol ibi non tangat. Et postea pone eas ad desiccandum in sole per tres dies, girando ova predicta de uno latere in aliud de tribus horis in tres horas integraliter et uniformiter absque turbacione decoccionis margaritarum; nec aliud oportet te facere. Postmodum aperi ova et extrahe perlas; et invenies in tali lumine et claritate, quod natura non sufficeret quod eis tantam claritatem posset donare in loco sue minere, nec per naturam possent reperiri tanti splendoris, sicut fiunt per artem, si magister hoc praticare sciati. [...] sicut plenius continetur in nostro Libro lapidarii, in quo locuti sumus de aliquibus experimentis secretis”.

We also find it in his *Experimenta* of 1330:⁵⁸

“...permaneant per tres dies naturales in corpore ipsius vase [var. ovi]. Cum vero desiccatae fuerit statue eas ad solem, rotando in ternas quasque horas cum ipso filo, nihil eas attingens manibus, atque ad solem decoque, cum vero induratae fuerint [...] post pone ad solem qui calefaciet dictam limositatem, et adhaerebit dictis margaritis, et claritatem restituet...”.

“...claude vas antenotorio, putrefac in balneo per duos dies ac per duos alios dies inter cineres instar caloris solaris”.

“...facta dissolutione statue super cineres per 2 dies, qui est ignis alterationis, deinde amoto antenotorio, superpone alembicum, ac distillato per balneum igne lento instar solis, ut tota virtus ac substantia ipsius menstrui cum rege conjungatur, aqua autem distillabitur albi coloris, ac omnem fere suam vim amiserit. Cum autem totus ipse rex congelatus fuerit, tunc amoto alembico, et apposito antenotorio, constitue vas in tripode arcanorum, et inibi permaneat in igne per octo dies silorum sex...”.

⁵⁸ *Bibliotheca chemica curiosa*, 1702, I, pp. 826-849, cf. pp. 841, 846 and 848.

He also wrote letters under the name Ramón de Térmens, in which he clearly explained how to place the vessel to expose it directly to the sun's rays for an appropriate amount of time, beginning in the sign of Aries:⁵⁹

“...aptetur vas physicum [var. philosophorum] sub 3 vel 4 columnas, ita quod calor solis per suos radios possit circundare iuxta vas [add. et circa vas] et in circuitu vasis equaliter per totum ad libitum voluntatis; ponatur ergo lapis in vase physico [var. philosophorum], [in principio veris] sole existente in Ariete, apta in dicto balneo, et permittit ipsum tunc temporis in reverberatione solis donec putrescat et tota materia perfectissima denigretur...”.

“...oportet ut calor solis augmentetis secundum quod natura per virtutem dispositionis et tunc materia putrefacta in substantiam Homogenicam...”.

“...ut continuetur separatio in operatione putrefactionis cum balneo aereo 28 diebus, sole in Ariete, quia tunc tota materia erit conversa in substantiam homogeneam...”.

Returning to the DSN, the first part of the first distinction thus ends and the second begins, as stated in the preface B_I: “*Secunda [distinctione] ibi Non reputes vos mendacium portulisse, etc.*”. We will call it C_{I.b} and it corresponds to canons 1 to 6 of the *textus receptus*. These are the essential technical provisions for the laboratory, ensuring the correct extraction of the quintessence from each natural kingdom. The process is organised into well-defined stages. The first deals with the extractions of vegetables (can.1-3); the second with animals (can.4); then with an extraordinary extraction of the four elements of any substance (can.5)⁶⁰; and finally with minerals (can.6). All of these are catalogued as quintessences or *coelum nostrum*. These can be combined with simple medicinal substances to create highly potent medicines. The union of these quintessences, which are said to be of celestial origin, with their respective simple substances is compared to a sky with its stars.

Continuing with the original structure of the DSN, we come to the second distinction, which we will call C_{II}. It corresponds to canons 7 to 42 of the *textus receptus*. It is the most important for the author and is arranged for therapeutic applications, or “...modo ad applicandum quintam essentiam rerum omnium ad corporibus humanis”. The present canon 7 is a kind of introduction, which follows the typical operative of the *magister Testamenti*, where the insolation is key to increase the *active virtus activa* of the

⁵⁹ RAMON DE TERMENS, *Epistola secunda de lapide philosophorum* [inc. *Recipe gummi de India si habere poteris...*], Zwettl, Zisterzienserstift, Cod. 341, 15th c. (2nd half), ff. 8v, 9r and 9v. Variants in: Kassel, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. chem 61, 16th c. (1580), ff. 26v-27r, 27r and 29r.

⁶⁰ He defines this operation as a secret that can only be revealed “*per figuram unam*”. In his *Ars intellectiva* he explains this procedure. It consists in studying a series of mnemonic figures, which are *regula generalis operationis* revealed by God. Their understanding is *by spiritu agiographo*, i.e. by divine inspiration. We must bear in mind that the separation of the four elements was impossible according to Aristotelian and Platonic doctrine. In the *Testamentum* he also defines it as a prodigious fact, which the alchemist only achieves thanks to the will of God. *Testamentum* I, 76: “...*miraculosa divisio elementorum fuit per voluntatem Dei nature*”.

quintessence extracted from a concrete substance⁶¹. It synthesises the ideas conveyed in canons 1 to 6, using alcohol as his basic tool. It considers alcohol to be the “quintessence of wine” and uses it as a universal solvent for simple substances of vegetable or animal origin. The choice of alcohol is most likely due to how easily it can be extracted and uses it to obtain other active principles from substances through leaching and distillation. DSN assumes an affinity and balance between the solvent and the solute since, in both cases, he considers them to be quintessential principles. Thus, one substance would be drawn to the other, favouring this transfer through simple actions such as agitation or increasing the temperature to improve solubility in liquids. For minerals, he uses distilled mercury or mercury sulphate dissolved in alcohol.

Once these concepts have been clarified, he begins with a long exposition up to canon 24 on the gradations of simple medicines.⁶² It follows a Lullian model, with a direct scale from hot to cold and vice versa. These were active and differential qualities, as opposed to humidity and dryness, which would be qualitative but inactive. It does not accept the geometrical proportion in pairs, as established by the models of al-Kindī (ca.800-873) and Arnau de Vilanova, more widespread in other European pens:

DSN, I, 23:

“...destruantur multorum opiniones qui duas qualitates in una et eadem re dixerunt in eodem gradu existere [.....] contra quod fili talem fundamus rationem, quatuor massae principales, quae sunt quatuor elementa, sphaeras proprias habent, ubi natura cuiuslibet maior est quam in aliorum sphaeris, quamvis illi quodlibet elementum sit in alterius sphaera, scilicet unum per sphaeras omnium et omnia per sphaeram unius. Hoc autem fili natura orbis fabricat, ut ex mixtione eorum oriantur individua sphaerarum, in quibus elementa actualiter existans, ut supra probavimus, quae esse non velerent si mixta vicissim non essent, quoniam fili si mixtio universalis orbis deficeret elementis, deficeret que mixtio specialis, atque individuales, quoniam deficiente generali venit particulare in suiipsius corruptionem. Denique quodlibet elementum, ex eo quod iuxta sui naturam in propria sphaera sua complexio maior est, ut caliditas, que maior est in sphaera sua ignis quam siccitas nec aliqua complexionum et sic de aliis. Item fili quodlibet dictorum elementorum habet proprium subiectum in individuis specierum, in qua sua caliditas maior est quam qualitates aliorum elementorum...”

Like Llull, we observe an arithmetical gradation in our author, who considers *qualitates rerum proprias et proprietates* as being disposed “*secundum naturam*”, or “according to their birth” (Latin: *nāscor*). It is at this point that the physical characteristics and properties are determined by their tetraelemental composition. His guiding idea is that: “*Elementorum habet proprium subiectum in individuis specierum*”. To illustrate this, our author presents an ordered and hierarchical scale, comparing it to a social order

⁶¹ DSN I, 7: “*Capias igitur in dei nomine quamunque rem a qua voveris quintam essentiam separare, et mitte illam in nostram quintam essentiam vini, et pone ad fortem solem in vere, vel pone illam cum vase ad ignem levem, et infra tres horas habebis quintam essentiam rei mixtam cum quinta essentia...*”.

⁶² DSN I, 7: “*Deus coeli talem contulit virtutem generaliter quintae essentiae ut extrahas illam ob omni ligno, fructu, flore, radice, folio, lapide et metallo, carne, semine et especie, quae deus conditor naturae creavit, cuius quippe secreti magisterium tale est...*”.

of king, queen, knight and slave. Once again, it is an analogy inspired by Llull, but adapted freely:⁶³

DSN, I, can. 24:

“Et sicut diximus de igne, ita intellige de aliis qualitatibus elementorum, sicut ignis in propria sua sphaera est forma, alia elementa materia, quia calefacta, sic sua propria qualitas in individuis naturalibus existens est forma extensa, et diffusa super omnes alias elementorum qualitates. Ex his multum bene concluditur, ipsam qualitatem ignis in subiecto ignis maiorem esse, quam alteram qualitatem, et sic talis qualitas in simili subiecto et Rex, qualitas vero quae magis concordat cum propria, est Regina. Alia vero quae nunquam concordat, militem dicimus, ultima vero qualitas quae primo contrariatur ex sclava. Exemplum sibi dabimus, ut facilius possis intelligere, ad monendum te ipsum ad obiectandum. Nam piper est calidum proprium siccum appropriate, caliditatem vero oportet esse maiorem in illo, quam siccitatem, aut humiditatem, aut frigiditatem. Est ergo in pipere caliditas Rex, nunc verò quia siccitas magis cum igne concordat, quam altera aliarum, est siccitas in igne vel pipere Regina. Et quia post siccitatem humiditas cum caliditate magis concordat, est humiditas in pipere miles. Quia vero frigiditas caliditati contrariatur, est frigiditas, seu aqua in pipere sclava habet quartum gradum caliditatis. Ideo caliditas est in illo maior, ergo aliae minores illa, propriae, aliae appropriate. Et sic sequitur distinctio aequalitatum individuorum, quam aliqui asserunt esse impossibile, Nunc igitur quia regina magis concordat cum rege, quam miles aut sclava, oportet Reginam esse maiorem in regia domo, quam sit miles vel sclava. Et ideo quia regem regina sequitur, et non est tanta socia rex, ideo minor est, et uno gradu inferior, et cognominatur tertia, et est siccitas in pipere in tertio gradu, et post reginam miles maior est in domo regia. Alia maioritas dicitur alius, ergo inferior ideo dicitur secundus, et sic in pipere humiditas est in secundo gradu. Item quia post militem sclava minor est in domo regina, quam nullus alius”.

RAMÓN LLULL, *Liber de regionibus sanitatis et infirmitatis*, ROL XX, xxx i 76-79, cf. p. 77:

“...ideo siccitas in ipsa domo est domicella, et humiditas ancilla, et caliditas est Regina. In domo EF est F dominus, et E subditus, et ratio est propter duas caliditates, unam scilicet propriam per F, et aliam appropriatam per E; et quia proprium dicit plus, quam appropriatum, ideo caliditas est Regina, siccitas domicella, et humiditas ancilla; et causant in ipsa domo infirmitatem per contrarietatem inter proprium, et appropriatum, et caliditas ignis, et aeris causant sanitatem per concordantiam. In domo de BC est C dominus et B subditus, quia C causat

⁶³ A. BONNER & P. J. PLANAS MULET, (2022), “La farmacologia de Ramon Llull: de la medicina en la Figura Elemental als reticles matemàtics”, *Studia Lulliana*, 62, pp. 43-65, cf. p. 49.

siccitatem in B, et B nihil causat in C, et sic sic siccitas est Regina, et quia frigiditas causat se ipsam in C; et C vincit B, est frigiditas domicella, et caliditas ancilla, supposito tamen quod C fit in sua regione, quia in meridie C est Regina. In domo de FG, G vincit F per duas siccitates, unam propriam et aliam appropriatam; et frigiditas est domicella, et caliditas ancilla; Regina vero est siccitas ipsa. In domo CD, D vincit C, quia D est per se frigidum, et C per accidens; unde squitur quod frigiditas sit Regina, humiditas domicella, et siccitas ancilla”.

He then presents some tables according to the rules of Llull’s demonstrative art:

DSN, I, can. 24:

“...ut facilius intelligas medicinarum gradus, hic vero tibi octo figuras faciemus, per quas poteris movere intellectum tanquam medium directivum ad intelligendu hoc, quod de gradibus fuperius fecimus. In primis enim quatuor figuris continetur scientia quatuor medicinarum simplicium, in ultimo puncto quarti gradus existentium, et in aliis quatuor illarum rerum, quae sunt in quarto gradu, scilicet in tribus punctis, et in aliis quatuor de illis, quae sunt tertio, et de aliis quatuor de illis quae sunt in secundo, et sic de aliis quatuor de illis quae sunt in primo”.

These designs do not appear in the manuscripts or printed editions. Some documents left several blank folios for them.⁶⁴ The reason for not reproducing the drawings is that they are not specific designs for alchemical matters, but rather an elementary figure and several tables that can be found in the original works of Ramón Llull. These tools demonstrate how each simple medicine can be broken down into a combination of four degrees, one for each quality.⁶⁵ The arithmetic on the degrees of medicine and pharmacology, as well as the logical tools that establish magnitudes, relations of equality, proportionality or addition, are very characteristic developments of Lullism. The author of the DSN also refers to *hoc probatur per regulas duodecim* (can.23) in a clear reference to the first twelve figures of the Lullian *Ars demonstrativa*. This kind of discourse reflects the fact that, at the time of writing this C_{II} section, the *magister Testamenti* is familiar with these Lullian techniques but who has not yet mastered them, and what he does is refer to Llull’s tables. He does not establish his own principles of *proprietatibus litterarum*, nor a doctrine of correlatives adapted to his alchemical needs. The *Testamentum* does present somewhat more advanced solutions in a mnemotechnical sense, although it still does not go into the heuristic level.⁶⁶ It seems that the first version of the DSN predate the *Testamentum*, which would confirm the citation of this work as the *Tractatus aquarum medicinalium*.

⁶⁴ For example, Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. O.3.27, 15th c., ff. 22r-22v.

⁶⁵ The best explanation of this system is in: A. BONNER & P. J. PLANAS MULET, (2022), “La farmacologia de Ramon Llull: de la medicina en la Figura Elemental als reticles matemàtics”, *Studia Lulliana*, 62, pp. 43-65, cf. pp. 50-51.

⁶⁶ MICHELA PEREIRA, (1992), *L'oro dei filosofi. Saggio sulle idee di un alchimista del '300*, CISAM, Spoleto, p. 88: “...present elements of diversificazione anche molto rilevanti e, contrariamente a quanto avviene negli scritti lulliani autentici, vengono usate solo come strumenti mnemonici, senza rilevanza sul piano euristico”.

Once the degrees of each simplex have been set out, another block begins, classified according to their properties, depending on the type of ailment to be healed or prevented. These range from *res attractivae* (can.25) to *res veneno repugnantes* (can.42).⁶⁷ Our author insists that the individual virtues of each simple are multiplied when they are united with their respective quintessence. This part of C_{II} is referred to in the *Testamentum* as *Propietario* or *Propietario rerum*:

Testamentum II, 7:

“In isto est causa, quam proprietatem appellamus suo proprio nomine; et hoc est verum, quia in simplici unitate ipsa collocatur cum magna potestate, quam lucrata fuit a tribus substanciis iunctis in unam, que est virtus communis cuilibet corpori [...] sicut traditum est in Propietario nostre artis presentis. Unde tibi dicimus ut agnoscas suam virtutem...”

Testamentum II, 15:

“Fili, ratione istius vocabuli proprietates tibi dantur omnes, ad intelligendum seu cognoscendum virtutes omnium materialium, sicut declaratur in Propietario rerum istius artis”.

Testamentum II, 32:

“Unde multa sunt accidentia, que causantur per alia opera contraria, sicut tibi revelatum est in Propietario satis leviter, alias large. Quapropter, fili, vade illuc, quia hic non possumus ad plenum omnia tangere”.

In short, the section C_{II} deals in a general way with *De extractionis et applicationis ad corpora humana*, bringing together two texts by the author himself: a *Librum de simplicibus medicinis* or *De gradibus medicinarum* (can.7-24) and a *Propietario* or *Liber de medicinis quas inveneris appropriatas doloribus* (can.25-42). This very interesting section deserves its own critical edition to help us better understand its origins and development.

We come finally to the third distinction noted in prologue B. We will call it C_{III} and it corresponds to canons 43-45 of the *textus receptus* in its first book. It instructs on metal transmutation and the making of precious stones with brevity, because the author explains to us that he has expanded on these subjects in other works of his in an exhaustive manner. C_{III} begins at canon 43 with a block on *quomodo haberi potest quinta essentia de mineralibus*. He describes a very peculiar technique, which consists of extracting the quinta essentia and placing it “*in loco sereno*” for a long period. Then our author operates with it again and keeps it in a closed vessel, which is buried “*similiter in horto*” for a year⁶⁸. Such an original operation served to attract celestial influences more effectively:

⁶⁷ DSN, I, can. 25: “*Dicto de gradibus medicinarum, congruum est ut dicamus de earum virtutibus et proprietatibus...*”.

⁶⁸ A similar operation appears in the *Antidotarium* (ca.1337) attributed to Arnau de Vilanova. It is proposed to improve the qualities of a therapeutic oil with two types of exposure to celestial influences. Either by suspending it directly in the sun for forty days, or by suspending it in the depths of a well for two months. ARNAU DE VILANOVA, (1585), *Opera omnia*, ex Officina Pernea per Conradum Waldkirch, Basileae, Col. 485: “*Oleum rosaceum [...] Modus usitatio seu communior eius est ut accipias tres libras olei olivarium, soliorum rosarum ru. re. contusarum libram una, et suspendatur ad solem per quadriginta dies, vel in puteum per duos menses, coletur post, et usui reservetur: quod si ipsum efficacius facere volueris, adde ei coletum aliam libram rosarum, et expone ad solem vel in puteum consimiliter*”. In the current state

DSN, I, can.44:

*“...fili tu capies feces naturales, a quibus limum resolvisti quae sunt due feces per evaporationem sublimationis in partibus aquarum, quas simisti ad serenum locum, **et illas mitte in ampullam vitream cum collo longo, quae contineat duas palmas**, et pone intus partem fuimet aquae quae reservatur de illa aqua limosa jam dicta, et claude ampullas cum clausorio cerae et maticis et alitae, sicut alterius fecisti, **et sepelias in horto in terra bene grossa in profundo unius palmi cum dimidio**, et ponas ollam aut quamvis aliam rem in giro coli ampullarum quae appareat extra ad illius conservationem, **et stent sic per unum annum completum**. Sic etiam facies in alchimica transmutatione scilicet aerem cum terra sigliata...”*

The *Liber lapidarii* is cited as the source of argument for these procedures:

DSN, I, can 44:

“...et multi alii lapides, qui componuntur secundum hanc doctrinam, quod longum esset enarrare hic in praesenti libro [...] et diximus prolixius in nostro Lapidario per totum”.

Indeed, the introduction to the *Liber lapidarii* includes it among the most effective operational modes:

Lapidarium, Ch. IX.

*“Secundus modus est talis: recipe nobiliore aquam ardentem, et quam fortiolem poteris habere, **et pone in amphoram vitream cum longo calde collo**, et claude ostium valde fortiter cum cera, et fit dimidia vel tertia pars plena, **deinde sepelias eam totam in ventre qui praeparati**, ut supra, versam tamen, ita quod collum cum cera fit inferius et fundum superius, **ut virtute caloris fimi equini quinta Essentia superius versus fundum amphorae ita revolutum ascendat, et crassities materiei ad collum infra descendat”**.*

This is where the DSN takes it from in its first distinction, when it lists the methods appropriate to each natural realm:

DSN, I, can.3:

*“Modos namque primus namus, et omni principalior est, quem tibi superius nominavimus. Secundus autem est etiam verus, **quia capias ampullam cum collo longo**, et ex dicta aqua ardente simple duas partes, et gura collum ampullae claudendo prius ipsum cum cera, vel dicto clausorio, ac **deinde sepelies eam in loco superius deputato**, et sit ibi donec consequeris signum praedictum. Quam extrahes perforando collum ampullae, caveas*

of research, it is thought that the author was a pupil of Arnau de Vilanova called Pero Cellerer de Daroca (fl.1310-1337). He would have used some of his master's materials. In particular for the prologue and the first nine chapters. https://db.narpan.net/cerca_arnau.php?obra=2470

tamen in extractione eiusdem vasis, quoniam statum misceretur quinta essentia cum fecibus, si forte valde suavis non elevata esset a loco circulationis per artistam deputato”.

Canon 44 is incomplete in all printed editions, and 45 is absent in some of them. It is presented as a: “...*regulam generalem ad utrumque opus lapidificum et alchimicum*”. It instructs on how to increase the *vim et virtutem indurativam, cuniculativam atque fixativam* of the simples by mixing them with the metallic quintessences. It is a general procedure, divided into several operations, to compose “...*non solum ad preciosos lapides sed etiam ad lapidem philosophorum extenditur*”. Again, light exposure, either by direct sunlight or through the moon, is his key method:

DSN, I, can.44:

“...te resplendet cum modica virtute minerali, et cum magna limositate appropriata ad virtutes coelicas recipiendas, et in quacumque illarum aquarum mitte in ampulla vitra cum collo longo et cum collo rotundo, et post hoc claude eius orificium cum cera communi, et post cum mastice, et quamlibet illarum ampullarum pone in sereno loco [...] vis scire ista triplicem scientiam, necessarium est tibi qualiter locum locatum generat scire de sua propria natura”.

DSN, I, can. 45:

“...forma agit secundum dispositionem naturae, lapides autem habent diversas materias diversimode aptas ad recipiendum formas, ideo quaelibet materia actum illius recipit, secundum quod convenit suae naturae. Sicut materia terrae, vel butyri funditur ad solem, et materia argilli, quae induratur. Item motus orbis, qui movetur in generatione lapidum, et totus in quantitate temporis [...] et colores quos minerales aquae acceperunt ex influentiis coelestibus, et terminatione formae, in qua mutatur per proprietatem materiae spiritus sui aquatici in quo retinetur”.

Testamentum, I, 10:

“In isto modo remanet corpus vestitum de pulcherrima claritate, quia spiritus illius imbibitur et corpus intravit infra suum spiritum, qui illum resuscitavit et terminavit in formam pulverum multum subtilium, cum instrumentis ignis, fluencium et fundencium velut butirum sine fumo, qui est ignis ardens, quando flamma ibi tangit cum alteracione permanenti, que fit per amplexacionem amicabilem nature recipientis suam propriam naturam”.

DSN, I, can.45:

“...hoc vas claude juncturam cum pasta facta de farina siliginis, et pone at solem per tres dies, et tunc per virtutem balneationis, quam accipit lapis post suam informationem, ipse induratur virtute propria constrictiva, minerali illi, et hoc per

virtutem solis moventem virtutem naturalem informativam, que stat in elementorum qualitatibus cum suis instrumentis”.

The author states that his operational method has many applications, but that to explain them all would be long and complex. Therefore, refers to “...quod diximus prolixius in nostro Lapidario” for the precious stones, or to the *Testamentum* and *Codicillum* for the metallic transmutation.

Thus far, we can see that the first stratum of the original DSN can be found in the first book of the *textus receptus*. If we take a closer look, what is announced in the preface B_I corresponds to C_{I.a-b}+ C_{II}+ C_{III}, without references to incipits, chapters or titles of the second and third books of the printed editions. We have also established that all the contents of C are closely linked to the *Liber lapidarii* and the *Testamentum*, which are two foundational texts of the Pseudolullian corpus. Even B_I coincides in its declaration of intentions, which it repeats in the body of the treatise. The therapist is not to guide his work according to money, but to assist the poor, widows, orphans and mendicant clerics.⁶⁹

II.2 - Second original stratum B_I+ C_{I.a-b}+ C_{II}+ C_{III}+ C_{IV.a-b}+ C_V

Following the arrangement of the *textus receptus*, the present second book begins. To our surprise he announces again an “...applicatione quintae essentiae ad corpora humana”. This makes no sense, since all the content was already resolved and well organised according to the three distinctions proposed by B_I, namely: *De intentionem et cognitionem de quintaessentia* (C_{I.a-b}); *De extractionis et applicationis ad corpora humana* (C_{II}) and the *Regulam generalem ad utrumque opus lapidificum et alchimicum* (C_{III}).

The new expansion abruptly embeds a new treatise on “...omnes morbi incurabiles secundum iudicium modernorum medicorum”. It has two parts. A proem (C_{IV.a}) and a *tractatus applicationis* (C_{IV.b}), also called *De cura incommodorum*, itself divided into several canons. The proem is short but interesting. It announces a collection of special, *quasi miraculose* remedies, similar to the arguments put forward throughout group C. The author claims to understand the natural principles that unite certain “entities”, their natures and virtues, and how to use them against *infelicitatem naturae*, which gives the remedies their extraordinary properties. There is nothing to suggest that they should not be included in C_{II}, where these subjects were already addressed in the same terms. The author issues a warning that we have not seen before: he will not be ordering the remedies in this new section according to the parts of the body to be healed, from head to toe. This suggests that the content is intended for those dedicated to surgery, where texts were generally organised *a capite usque ad pedes* to enable the quick identification of a specific therapy.

After the short prologue, we find the announced *Magisterium in cura incommodorum* (C_{IV.b}). It is divided into 17 canons. It begins with the need to know the simple medicines

⁶⁹ DSN, prologue: “...vero desiderium meum et ut **artista** huius artis deum contemplantes per bona opera potius deum intelligant, recolant, et ament, pauperibus, viudis, orphanis male habentibus. Sine pretio magno succurrendo, et huiusmodi opera divina faciendo, ut non sint similes illi, qui domini talentum abscondidit, et ad finem sibi commissum non exhibuit”. Liber lapidarii, *Artis auriferae*, III, pp. 114: “Fili qui ab homine accipit pretium, suae virtutes minuuntur, quia dedimus tibi magnam rentam, **cum qua potes vivere facereque, magnas charitates, et crescent in te virtutes mirabiles, et velis maritate virgines orphanas, et pauperes, et succurrere clericis aperti intellectus, noli eos obliviscere si sint pauperes, quoniam multi sunt qui perduntur propter paupertatem, nec possunt sublimare sensus suos quos possident”.**

and refers us to “...*nostrum Librum de simplicibus medicinis, et medicinas quas inveneris appropriatas doloribus*”. Clearly, he is referring to section C_{II}, which in the *textus receptus* covers canons 7-24 (*de simplicibus medicinis*) and 25-42 (*medicinas quas inveneris appropriatas doloribus*), where the author classifies the simples exactly by degrees and ailments. If both had been written at the same time, it would have been logical to place this C_{IV} within C_{II}. The reason for the current arrangement is that it is an additional stratum, with C_{IV} appended at the end, as is the case here.

He recommends reading texts on philosophy and medicine. He refers to three kinds of texts: regimens of health (*Librum de Regiminibus sanitatis*); *Signam de contrariis* and a *Librum urinarum et pulsum*. I will discuss these later.

The content announced in C_{IV.a} on *morbi incurabiles* does not have much to do with what we will find in C_{IV.b}. Only the first canons do deal with pathologies that could be considered critical: *Suscitatione mortuorum* (can.2), *Cura leprosororum* (can.3), *Curandum Paralysim* (can.4), *Contra consumptos in toto corpore* (can.5), *Cura perfecta daemonicorum* (can.6), *Contra debilitatem post infirmitatem* (can.7) and *Contra infecti veneno* (can.8). In some of them, in particular number 6, the author returns to magical themes. He argues that demons are subject to the action of sensual things, i.e. those things that are the object of knowledge through the senses, and specifies words, stones and plants. For this reason, the physician could devise remedies to expel them or to remedy their effects:

DSN, II, can. 6:

“*Fili, multae rationes possent assignari in solutione huius quaestionis tam testibus sacrae scripturae, quam per rationem necessariam daemones fugari per virtutem medicinarum sensualium, ideo adduco ratinem sare scripturae ad solutionem quaestionis. Fili, scriptura sacra in libro Tobiae demonstrat, daemones fugari per virtute rerum sensualium in modo honesto et sancto, hoc fit cum fumigatione et sacrificio, etc. Nam in libro capite sexto dicitur, quod posuit Tobias partem iecoris super carbones, et demon fugit a tota domo. Item eo capite posuit Tobias partem cordis super carbones, et sumus illius effugavit omne daemoniorum genis. Ecce patet fili solutio quaestionis per sacra scripturam, hic autem est per credere. Sed si vis vis fili intelligere, quomodo solutio solvatur per rationem naturalem, accipias ista principia, causa, effectus iustitia. Unde facio ista ratione: omni causa remota, removetur eius effectus. Item iustitia est id, cuius ratione redditur unicuique quod suum est. Ex prima maxima fili talem rationem fundamus. Daemones ad corpora iunguntur humana propter malam dispositionem et humoris corrupti, aut infecti melancolici, qui malas figuras, nigras et horribiles format in fantasia, et intellectum conturbat, daemones autem has formas habent in consuetudinem accipere, et communiter habitare in locis obscuris, et solitariis: quidum per quintae essentiae virtutem, et aliarum medicinarum a corpore talis humor expellitur, qui est causa quare daemones ad tale corpus deveniunt tunc temporis daemones simul cum humore evanescent: Alia vero ratio talis est, sicut potestas Dei potuit et potest elementorum qualitates facere in archeronte, post diem iudicii, sine propriis suiectis erarum essentialibus ad vindictam*

suae divinae iustitiae: sic potest daemones facere pati sub actione rerum sensualium, ut veritas suae potestatis, quae cum iustitia convertitur, habeat suiectum in quo possituti suo actu secundum quantitatem suae culpae. Alias enim aequalitas veritatis esset destructa propter defectum liberi arbitrii, ratione cuius Deus non haberet potestatem utendi secundum dispositionem suarum dignitatum in creaturis, quod est impossibile. Et verum igitur quod Deus habet liberum arbitrium, ut utatur secundum dispositionem suarum dignitatum in principiis creatis, et reddat poena secundum qualitatem culpae, et meritum, et gloriam secundum suum modum. Non est ergo dubitandum quomodo Deus ad vindictam suae divinae iustitiae submittit daemones actioni rerum sensualium. Ita fili solutio quaestionis prolatur post actiones Nicromantiae Solomonis, cum qua daemones congruntur ad faciendum bonum et opera bona, aut mala, virtute verborum, lapidum et plantarum: patet ergo qualiter daemones actioni rerum submittuntur sensualium”.

The end of his argumentation is referring to a famous *quaestione de quolibet* by Vital du Four (ca.1260-1327) on this subject:⁷⁰

“De angelis malis queritur: Utrum videlicet daemones virtute verborum, lapidum vel herbarum possint fugari vel ad aliquid agendum compelli. (Et videtur quod sic) quia fumus iecoris piscis fugavit demones Thobie, cithara David alleviabat vexationem Saulis spiritu malo”.

The DSN author also makes his own the biblical story of Tobit (Tobit 6, 2-9), according to which an angel taught him how to make remedies from natural substances to cure illnesses caused by demons or evil spirits.⁷¹ Thus, he justifies that a therapist could perform similar actions. The key influence here is Nicholas of Poland (ca.1235-ca.1316), the great Montpelline authority on radical empiricism, who in his *Antipocras seu liber*

⁷⁰ VITAL DU FOUR, (1947), *Quodlibeta tria*, Pontificium Athenaeum Antonianum, Rome, pp. 103-105, cf. p. 105. Vital was educated at the *Studium generale* in Montpellier between 1292-1296, and in Toulouse from 1296 to 1307. Between 1307 and 1312 he was minister provincial of Aquitaine. He served as cardinal from 1312-1321. The *Quodlibeta* we quote is dated 1296-1297 and is based on another by Raymond Rigaud (†1296). RAIMONDO RIGAULD, *Quod.IV* (1280-1295), q. 7: “*Utrum daemones virtute verborum, lapidum vel herbarum possint fugari vel ad aliquid agendum compelli*”. The theme of David's zither is taken up in the *Allegoriae in Vetus Testamentum* (PL 175 col. 692) by Richard of St. Victor (1110-1173): “*David adhuc puer in cithara suaviter, imo fortiter canens, malignum spiritum qui exagitabat Saulem compescebat: non quod eius cithara tantam virtutem haberet, sed figura crucis Christi, per lignum et chordarum extensionem mysticae gerebat, quae tunc daemones effugebat*”. Also in: SAINT AUGUSTINE, *De diversis quaestionibus ad Simplicianum*, II, quaestio 1, 6: “*Et dixerunt servi Saul ad eum: Ecce spiritus Dei malus exagitat te; iubeat dominus noster, et servi tui qui coram te sunt, quaerent hominem scientem psalme cithara, ut quando arripuerit te spiritus Dei malus, psallat manu sua, et levius feras: non opus erat, cum rursus diceretur, quandocumque spiritus Dei arripiebat Saul, addere malum, quia notum erat de quo tunc diceretur*”. On this type of literature see: SYLVAIN PIRON, (2006), *Franciscan Quodlibeta in Southern Studia and at Paris (1280-1300)*, in: Chris Schabel (ed.), *Theological Quodlibeta in the Middle Ages. The Thirteenth Century*, Brill, Leiden, pp. 403-438, cf. 423-426.

⁷¹ Tb 6, 4 and 8: “*The angel said to him, 'Open the fish, take out its gall, its heart and its liver, and put them aside. Throw away the intestines; but the gall, the heart and the liver are an excellent remedy [...] If the heart and the liver of the fish are burnt before a man or a woman attacked by a demon or an evil spirit, the attacks cease and never recur*”.

empiricorum resorts to the same image to defend his status as an “apparent miracle worker” healing the blind, the deaf and the paralysed.⁷² His tools come “from heaven” and would be of two kinds. On the one hand, the inspiration of God through the angels, and on the other hand a *vis* that descends and is present in all natural substances:

*In medicamentis solis inhias elementis,
Absque quibus curam minime reputes valituram.
Quicquid enim texis, totum complebitur ex hijs.
Hic elementalibus tibi sepe sit exicialis.
Sed si forte velis caruisse medendo querelis,
Attende vires, quas ex bonitate dei res
In se se concipiunt, per quas miracula fiunt
Multaque portenta, quibus et parent elementa.*

Hic probat actor intentionem suam per experimentum theologicum de Thobia.

*Mortiferis telis plagata domus Raguelis
Denuo fit felix medicamento Raphaelis.
Thobiam Raphael de pisce cor et iecus et fel
Sumere precepit; pater eius felle recepit
Visum destructum, vertens in gaudia luctum.
Per fumum iecoris aufertur causa doloris
Sarre nubentis hostisque viros perimentis
Vix enervatur, quando iecur igne crematur.
Dic ergo, si scis, que sit complexio piscis,
Quo sic curatur cecus demonque fugatur;
Sicut in hoc pisce fuit, in multis quoque disce,
Vim fore celestem, Ptholomeum do tibi testem
Ac in Timeo Platonem cum Ptholomeo.*

*Vir ostenditur virtus occulta inesse multis rebus per modum
forme spiritualis.*

*Virtus nempe dei vim celestis speciei
Confert sepe sepe rei meritis sine materiei.
Hijs elementalibus non est neque materialis,
Quam terre natis sie dat bonitas deitatis,
Immo formalis ac si sit vis animalis.*

[...]

Hic ostenditur, quod in omni genere virtus occulta liabeat inueniri.

⁷² KARL SUDHOFF, (1916), “*Antipocras*, Streitschrift für mystische Heilkunde in Versen des Magisters Nikolaus von Polen”, *Sudhoffs Archiv*, 9. 31-52. The reference manuscript for researchers is: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin - Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Philipps 1672, 14th c. (1st half), ff. 23r-26r. English edition in: WILLIAM EAMON, (2014), “*Antipocras*. A Medieval Treatise on Magical Medicine. By Brother Nicholas of the Preaching Friars (c.1270)”, *Academia*, <https://www.academia.edu/6179784> pp. 2-3. For a commentary on its contents: WILLIAM EAMON & GUNDOLF KEIL, (1987), “*Plebs amat empirica*: Nicholas of Poland and His Critique of the Medieval Medical Establishment,” *Sudhoffs Archiv* 71, pp. 180-96. G. KEIL, (1992); “*Virtus occulta*. Der Begriff des empiricum bei Nicolaus von Polen”, in: A. Buck (ed.), *Die okkulten Wissenschaften in der Renaissance*, Wiesbaden, 1992, p. 159-196.

Celitus infusa virtus, in fece reclusa
Ac immensa fimo latitat sociataque limo
lungitur et lapidi, sicut sepiissime vidi.
Flumine sive mari solet ac tellure morari,
Magnis et parvis uvnitur rebus et armis.
Silvis et pratis vacat, in quibus ipsa creatis
Munera dat multa pravo medicamine fulta,
Quod velut inculta medicorum conscio stulta
Prosus devitat, simili quam munere ditat
Muscas et vermes. Ait hinc doctissimus Hermes:
“Vires in propria dat celis summa sophia,
Quas sibi re vera collatas celica spera
Confert sensatis animalibus et vegetatis
Ac condensatis, lapidali molle guatis.
Has bene qui sciret fieri sine demone, quiret
Factor mirorum, que fiunt arte magorum”.
Hermetis dicta nullatenus extimo ficta,
Namque modo simili de te miracula vili
Multociens feci, perceperunt ea ceci
Et surdi claudique viri, mihi deputo laudi
Aut alicui genti, sed perpetuetur agenti
Laus et honor primo, qui per medium vocat imo.

We find here all the clichés of the *magister Testamenti*. Nicholas claims that his works are said to be miracles, but that they are actually the result of a heavenly virtue “...*per quas fugo pestes*”.⁷³ This prodigious tool is known by experience or by divine inspiration, but it is not accessible to reason. It is poured (lat. *effundet*) on all substances, where it remains buried, hidden, and acts in a mysterious but natural way, like the magnet that attracts iron.⁷⁴ *Antipocras* reinforces his argument with a quotation from the *doctissimus Hermes*, to argue that his faculty makes it unnecessary to call demons “...*que fiunt arte magorum*”.⁷⁵ We should note that he is putting the capacities of Hermetic magic and that *virtute occulta* on the same level. The DSN does the same when he compares quintessence

⁷³ KARL SUDHOFF, *Antipocras*, (op. cit.), p. 43: “*Hij mens adiutor, mihi sum meus et mihi tutor / que colo, que telo medico sub iudice celo / Res mihi celestes astant, per quas fugo pestes / mille dabo testes, probat hoc et fama superstes*”. Id., p. 44: “*Res reor immundas stellas virtute fecundas*”. Id., p. 45: “*Auditur surdis solis dare, tale datur dijs, dat gressum claudis, si vult natura, subaudis*”.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 43: “*Dicitur empericum cui virtus insita tricum / se procul effundit, nec se minus inde refundit. [...] Hic et conferri solet idem pondera ferri / ingentis masse, magnus lapis atrahit ad se, / attracta massa dampnum non est ibi passa / virtus magnetis, hec habet minus inde quietis. Hic confirmat actor intensionem suam per magnetem. / Huc adiens tangas in frutaeque plurima frangas, / ex hoc non magnes cum perdet ut agna vel agnes. / Alterum namque preclaram conspicuamque / virtus celestis reddebat ut aurea vestis. Qua sibi subtracta confisa flet utraque fracta*”.

⁷⁵ I. DRAELANTS, (2003), “La *virtus universalis* : un concepte d'origine hermétique? Les sources d'une notion de philosophie naturelle apparentée à la forme spécifique”, en: Paolo Lucentini et al. (eds.), *Hermetism from late antiquity to humanism. La tradizione ermetica dal mondo tardo antico all'Umanesimo*, Brepols, Turnhout, pp. 157-188. According to Draelants, the *virtus universalis*, of celestial origin and hidden from the senses, which would be present in every material substance to cohere its elemental structure, has an important hermetic influence in its argumentative development and shares semantic field with similar expressions, such as *vis mineralis*, *vis celestis* and *quinta essentia*. See also: SEBASTIÀ GIRALT, (2008), “*Proprietas*: Las Propiedades Ocultas según Arnau de Vilanova”, *Traditio*, 63, pp. 327-360, cf. pp. 345-347.

to the “...actiones Nicromantiae Solomonis, cum qua daemones conguntur ad faciendum bonum et opera bona, aut mala”.

Section C_{IV.b} introduces common treatments that can be divided into two groups. A miscellaneous *Contra humores infectos* (can.9), *Cura spasmi* (can.15), *Sciatica*, *Podagra et omne genus guttae* (can.16); and a group on fevers: *Quartan* (can.10), *Tertian* (can.11), *Common* (can.12), *Continuous* (can.13) and *Pestilentiales* (can.14).

In short, this *Magisterium in cura incommodorum* (C_{IV.b}) is an obvious addition to the first stratum, to which is associated another opusculum (can.17), also embedded in a very crude way. We will call it C_V and it is dedicated to the application of quintessences to open wounds, abscesses, traumatismes and apostemas:

“Fili sumus de intentione hic in summa una brevi dare tibi doctrinam generalem in curis Chirurgiae, hoc est, qualiter potest curari cum nostra quinta essentia [...] et ista sit regula generalis in curis Chirurgiae. Et ista fili tibi sufficiant causa bonitatis”.

Again, it is a content for surgeons. This is the end of the second stratum, which corresponds to the current structure B+C of the *textus receptus*.

The complex writing by stratification or continuous enlargement is something that can be seen in other similar treatises of the same period. A clear example is the *Traité des eaux artificielles* (first half of the 14th century) of which we have a critical edition. It has two short essays and a long one.⁷⁶ The latter is composed by joining several texts on the confection of medicinal waters, their virtues and the properties of the simples used, as well as other smaller treatises on specific substances, such as the *Traité de la Mélisse* and the *Traité du Romarin*.

It is important to bear in mind that this is not a hypothetical version of the DSN based on philological analysis. At least one copy is preserved in the manuscript BNF lat. 7177. Its content is perfectly integrated with the original core of treatises of the *magister Testamenti*. He cites the *Liber lapidarii*, *Testamentum*, *Codicillum*, *Liber de intentione alchimistarum*, *Liber mercuriorum* and the *Experimenta*. We have already mentioned that he deals with themes very particular to this author, such as celestial influences, especially sunstroke, and he shows a close, albeit cautious, approach to magical themes.

The references to the *viris Evangelicis* in prologues B and C_{IV.a} suggest that the addressee of this second stratum could be linked in some way to the Franciscan clergy. It could be an individual or perhaps an institution, such as a convent or hospital.⁷⁷ This would explain its fundamentally therapeutic purpose, as well as the fact that metallic and lapidific alchemy are barely sketched out, with the reader being referred to other works if they wish. It is also possible that the text fell into the hands of the Franciscan Rupescissa (ca.1350), who may have created his own version.

In summary, the B+C structure of the *textus receptus* presents two early versions, apparently from the same *magister Testamenti*. The first consists of B_I+C_{I.a-b}+C_{II}+C_{III}, and the second attaches C_{IV.a-b} and C_V in a very hurried manner. The fact that he excuses himself for not following an order *a capite usque ad pedes* in C_{IV}, together with the final ending with a *Regula generalis in curis Chirurgiae* (C_V), gives us to understand that the

⁷⁶ DENISE HILLARD (ed.), (2012), *Traité des eaux artificielles. Édition critique. Le texte, ses sources et ses éditions (1483-1625)*, Genève, Droz.

⁷⁷ DSN, I, prologue: “...secretissimum secretorum secretorum arcanorum arcanum, vobis viris Evangelicis diximus declarandum, divina virtute inspirante...”. DSN, II, can. 1: “...in praesenti libri designamus scies remedia procurare corpori humano subito, et quasi miraculose, ut viri evangelici reddantur habiles animo adversus labores imperfectionis”.

addressee or his environment would have something to do with surgery, or demanded an application of the quintessence in that field. The result is B₁+C, as it is in BNF lat.7177, so sloppily arranged that even the order announced in the preface does not conform to the treatise.

Later copyists attempted to remedy this by amputating B₁ from its end and leaving B₂ as the result. The inconsistency of the entire final part, identified here as C_{IV} and C_V does not invite us to think that the content of this version was longer. It does not make sense to make two such simple and abrupt additions, and then write an extremely long and above all complex section such as D.

II.3 - *Original third stratum* B+ C + D₁/D₂+ Q₁/Q₂

As soon as we start reading D, we realise that it is different from everything we have seen in C, both in its conception and in its arguments and objectives. It proposes a heuristic model according to the rules of Lullian combinatorial logic.⁷⁸ The author paints it as a valid alternative in a discipline such as transmutational alchemy, with enormous theoretical problems⁷⁹.

Even the simplest questions revealed the limitations of alchemists at that time. For instance, nobody knew the natural proportions of the four elements in each metal, nor the precise conditions in which they were formed deep within the Earth. How could they be replicated if they were not understood? The most serious issue, however, was that the prevailing philosophical doctrines of the 14th century were based on Platonism and Aristotelianism. These doctrines shaped academic thought, and in both cases, solid reasoning was used to argue the impossibility of changing metallic species.⁸⁰ So much so that Pope John XXII signed in 1317 an *epistola decretalis* under the epigraph *De crimine falsi*, where he catalogues alchemy as “erroneous belief”⁸¹. It was not a capricious action.

⁷⁸ This is a subject with an abundant bibliography. For a general introduction: A. BONNER, (2012), *L'Art i la lògica de Ramon Llull, Manual d'ús*, Publicacions i Edicions de la Universitat de Barcelona, Barcelona.

⁷⁹ There are other similar attempts at the time. For example, Walter Odington (fl.1298-1330) in his *Tractatus ycocedron philosophie* (ca.1320-1330) proposes a mathematical system for recombining the four elements, based on tables of degrees, times and proportions. On this work: LYNN THORNDIKE, (1923-1958), *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* [=HMES], t. III, pp. 128-132 and 682-684. He comments on the text, describes the preserved copies and transcribes chapter XVI. For dating: JOSE RODRIGUEZ GUERRERO, (2014-2018), “The *Correctorium alchimiae* (ca.1352-1362) of Ricardus Anglicus and the version of Bernardus Magnus of Trier”, *Azogue*, 7, pp. 216-270, cf. pp. 230-232.

⁸⁰ The Aristotelian theory says that metals belong to different natural species. Thus, trying to turn one metal into another would be as absurd as trying to turn a man into a dog, a lettuce into a pine tree, or a cow into a hen. Platonism postulated that man cannot manipulate the basic constituents of matter, nor isolate them, nor work on them, as the alchemists claimed. This was the exclusive power of the demiurge as the creator of the universe. See: CHIARA CRISCIANI, (1976), ‘La *quaestio de alchimia* tra Duecento e Trecento’, *Medioevo*, 2, pp. 119-168. CHIARA CRISCIANI & CLAUDE GAGNON, (1980), *Alchimie et philosophie au Moyen Âge. Perspectives et problèmes*, L'Aurore / Univers, Montreal. WILLIAM R. NEWMAN, (1989), “Technology and Alchemical Debate in the Late Middle Ages”, in: *Isis*, 80, pp. 423-445. BARBARA OBRIST, (1991), “Les Rapports d'Analogie entre Philosophie et Alchimie Médiévales”, J.C. Margolin and Sylvain Matton (ed.), *Alchimie et Philosophie à la Renaissance*, J. Vrin, Paris, pp. 43-64. Id., (1996), “Art et nature dans l'alchimie médiévale”, *Revue d'histoire des sciences*, 49, pp. 215-286.

⁸¹ Edited in: E. FRIEDBERG, (1879), *Corpus Juris Canonici*, Leipzig, II, 1, V, tit. VI. The oldest version I have located is in: British Library, Ms. Royal sig. 7-E-X, 14th century², f. 47v. Quite a few interpretations have been made of the promulgation this papal bull, although in my opinion it has not been properly contextualised. It has generally been presented as a decree along the lines of the *Super illius specula* (1326-1327), launched against certain magical practices. However, the *De crimine falsi* is a very different resolution, for it does not condemn alchemy as heretical, superstition or magic, nor does it make it available to inquisitorial tribunals. It merely identifies it as an error that can induce sinful conduct, stressing above

According to the inquisitor Nicolas Eymerich (ca.1316-1399), the pontiff ordered a debate to be held in Avignon and invited experts in natural philosophy and alchemy.⁸² The examination determined the impossibility of transmutation by artificial means.⁸³

Thus, one thing that is evident in the period from Late Antiquity to the Middle Ages is that alchemy did not have a consistent scholarly theory. Alchemical treatises emphasised the results of laboratory experiments. However, sensible experience, experimentation or results obtained by following a recipe had no probative value in scientific demonstrations. It was possible to artificially manufacture something like gold with identical organoleptic properties that could pass contrast tests. However, medieval knowledge was based on reason and required a theoretical proposition that integrated sensory perception into the prevailing natural philosophy of the time. Theories were only considered valid if they rested on a skilfully reasoned discourse, ready to disrupt the arguments of opponents. It is an *actio* in the style of judicial oratory, which was widely practised at university, at all levels and for all disciplines, from theology to medicine. Its learning was based on mnemonics, which was one of the foundations of pedagogical thinking at a time when books and paper were scarce. Among his usual exercises were simplifications, summaries, tables and diagrams of all kinds.⁸⁴

Our author intended to use them all. However, the *ars memoriae* has no retentive purpose for him, nor is it achieved through mere repetition. His *ars* is the best possible analysis and understanding of his field of study so, in other words, it is the embodiment of authentic practical mastery. His logical developments demonstrate his ability to not only argue but also offer new hypotheses and alternatives to each proposed question. For this reason, the author of D employs this discursive form in his analysis and also deploys heuristic rules clearly inspired by Llull: definitions that distinguish between what is given and what is sought; letters that simplify the objects of knowledge and streamline their relationships; tables showing the variables of a sentence or proposition; circular diagrams that facilitate the analysis of failures and effects; and diagrams generally in the form of

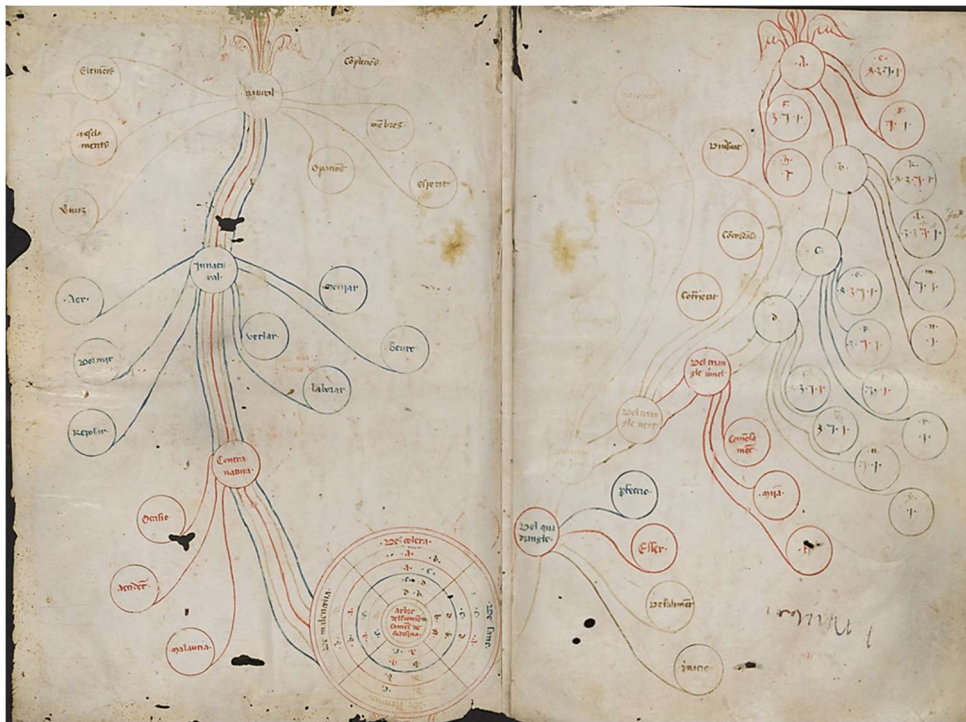
all the penalty for minting false coinage. In an article dedicated to this subject I have shown that it is a legal instrument delivered by John XXII to King Philip V of France (1316-1322), to control the very serious and repeated problems of issuing counterfeit money in the French Midi. JOSÉ RODRÍGUEZ GUERRERO, (2010-2013), “Un Repaso a la Alquimia del Midi Francés en el Siglo XIV (Parte I)”, *Azogue*, 7, pp. 75-141, cf. pp. 85-92. According to Sylvain Piron, the royal actions in monetary matters during the 14th century are due to the popular clamour for a return to a “good currency”. SYLVAIN PIRON, (1996), “Monnaie et majesté royale dans la France du XIVe siècle”, *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 51 (2), pp. 325-354.

⁸² John XXII followed an identical procedure in preparing his decree *Super illius specula* (1326-1327), against certain magical practices derived directly from the invocation of demons. He assembled during the year 1320 a commission of ten theologians and canonists to discuss the matter in depth. The complete process is published in: A. BOUREAU, (2004), *Le pape et les sorciers. Une consultation de Jean XXII sur la magie en 1320*, École française de Rome, Rome.

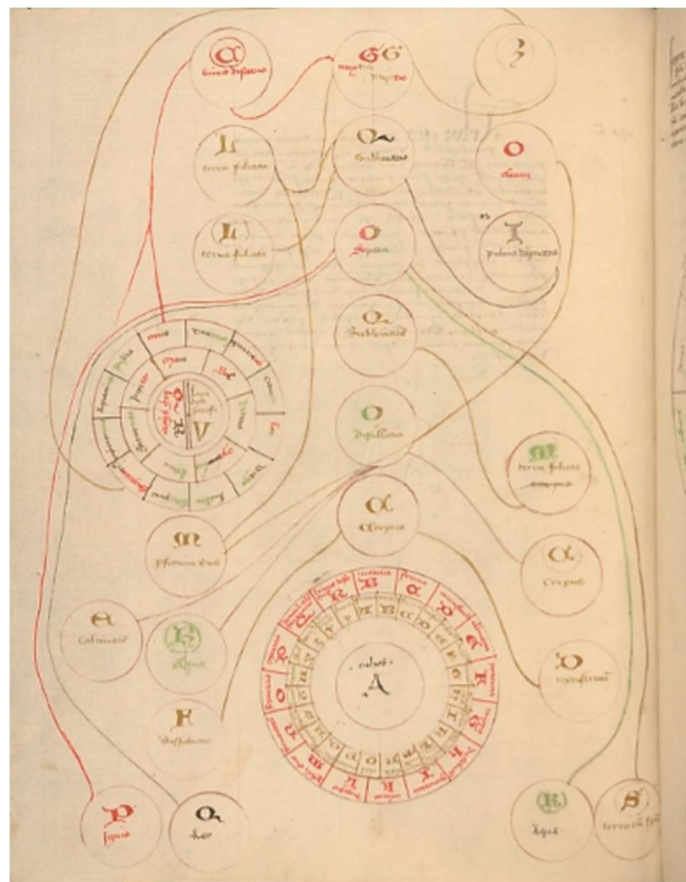
⁸³ SYLVAIN MATTON, (1987), “Le traité *Contre les Alchimistes* de Nicolas Eymerich”, in *Chrysopoeia*, 1, pp. 93-136, cf. p. 132: “Vnde dominus papa Iohannes XXII, existens in Auinione habuit omnes quos habere potuit naturales et alchimistas, et cum eis de arte alchimie an esset uera in re nec ne diligencius inquisiuit. Et alchimistis stantibus ad affirmatiuam, et naturalibus ad negatiuam, fecit uenire ad probam, et tandem laborantibus et nichil inuenientibus, dominus papa contra alchimistas condidit decretalem, que incipit Spondet, tenoris infrascripti, in qua artem illam reprobatur, et reprobando inhihet, ne quis illa utatur, certis penis inhibitionem uallando, quas incurrant si contra faciant religiosi, clerici et layci, omnes generaliter includendo”.

⁸⁴ The *ars memoriae* in medieval authors interpreted memory according to a model of cells, similar to a bookshelf. To memorise in an orderly fashion was to associate each *cellae* or space with a graphic sign, letters, figures, etc. PIERRE RICHEL, (1985), “Le rôle de la mémoire dans l'enseignement médiéval”, in: Paul Zumthor & Bruno Roy (dir.), *Jeux de mémoire. Aspects de la mnémotechnie médiévale*, Les presses de l'Université de Montréal, Montréal, pp. 133-148. MARY J. CARRUTHERS, (1998), *The Craft of Thought: Meditation, Rhetoric and the Making of Images. 400-1200*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.

colour-coded trees, recalling Llull's *Començaments de medicina* and visualising the logical structure of the information.



Diagrammatic tree from the *Començaments de medicina*
Dublin, University College, Archives, B 95, f. Iv.



Diagrammatic tree from the DSN
Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. O.3.27, f. 63v.

There are parts that mimic the so-called referential ekphrasis of Llullism to give consistency to the discourse.⁸⁵

DSN, III, practica figurae S, tab. VI:

“Artista potest regulare in magisterio operis minoris, tangendo quam libet tabulam et principia eius cum triangulo viridi, et hoc per rationes trianguli rubei mixtas cum eodem triangulo invenit qualiter principia tabularum sunt conditionata per triangulum croceum. Et de hoc dabimus breviter exemplum: pone prius angulum differentiae inter tabulas, et invenies qualiter ibi camerae differentes sunt numero, quia quaedam est, cuius prima camera est TS, alia est cuius prima camera es IS, etc. Item etiam differunt, quia quaedam est, quae circulationis lineas habet nigras, alias pallidas, alias rubeas, alia azurinas. Et aliae sunt etiam tabulae quae lineas mixtas habent de utroque colore...”

RAMÓN LLULL, *Art demostrativa*.⁸⁶

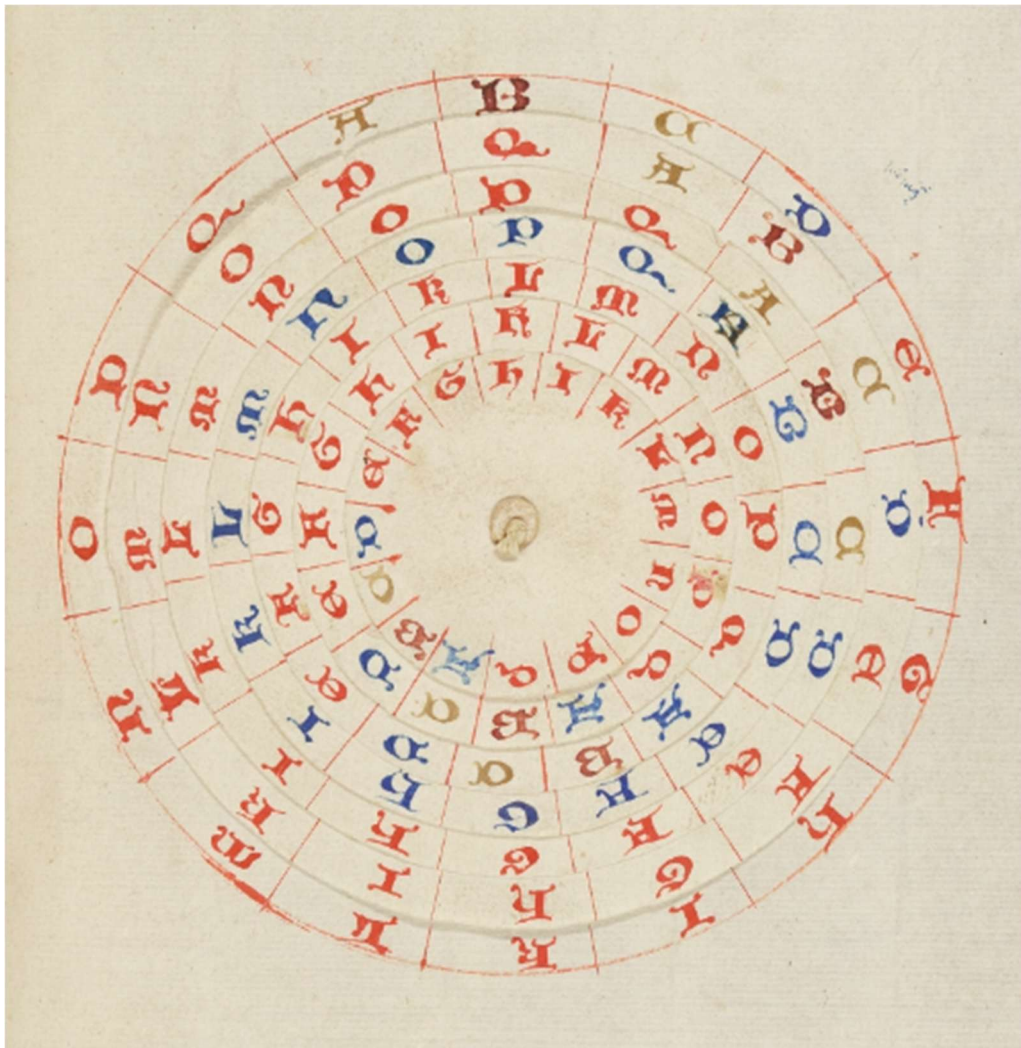
“La primera figura es circular e es conposta de de ·xiiij· cambres: les ·vij· son de vertutz, e les ·vij· son de visis, segons que apar en la circular figura, la qual es en lo comensament de la Art. Les ·vij· vertutz son: fe, esperansa, caritat, justicia, prudencia, fortitudo, trempansa; e aquestes ·vij· vertutz son anomenades en esta Art “V blava”, per so cor son de blava color. Los ·vij· visis son lo ·vij· peccatz mortals: gola, luxuria, avaricia, erguyl, accidia, enveja, ira; e son apelatz en esta Art “V vermella” per so cor son de vermella color. En esta figura a linyes blaves e vermelles, e la V està en lo mig. Les linyes blaves signifiquen que totes les vertutz se concorden en ·ij·-es maneres: La ·j·-a manera es con se concorden enfre elles metexes, l’altra es con se concorden contra·ls visis. E asò metex se seguex dels visis, los quals an linyes vermelles, concordans-se en sí metexs e contrarians a les vertutz”.

The most spectacular of these are the circular machines, which combine abstract principles in mechanical paper systems organised according to geometric figures. By operating the rotating discs, new questions, solutions and hypotheses were generated. According to his propositional logic, concepts and natural operations are simplified using

⁸⁵ A. BONNER & ALBERT SOLER, (2016) “Representació gràfica i ècfrasi en l’obra de Ramon Llull”, *Magnificat*, 3, pp. 67-93, cf. pp. 69-70: “...a la segona versió de l’Art, l’Art demostrativa [...] les figures s’agrupen a l’inici de l’obra en un quadern independent i al mateix temps escriuen minuciosament en el cos del text [...] explains not only what colours the lines should be, but also the double colouring of the letter V, in the centre, half of which is white and the other half red; this detail has been faithfully reproduced in the corresponding figure in the manuscript of Venice, the oldest manuscript that preserves the section of figures. On the other hand, the reference in the description to the graphic representation of the figure should not be overlooked: “...as it appears in the circular figure, which is at the beginning of the Art”. Similar descriptions are offered for the rest of the new main figures of demonstrative Art. The verbal description of a visual object is a classic rhetorical procedure known as ècfrasi -ἐκφρασις in Greek-, which in the Latin treatises on rhetoric is translated as descriptio”.

⁸⁶ RAMÓN LLULL, (1932), *Obres de Ramon Llull. Demonstrative art. Introductory rules. Taula general*, Salvador Galmés, Palma de Mallorca, p. 13.

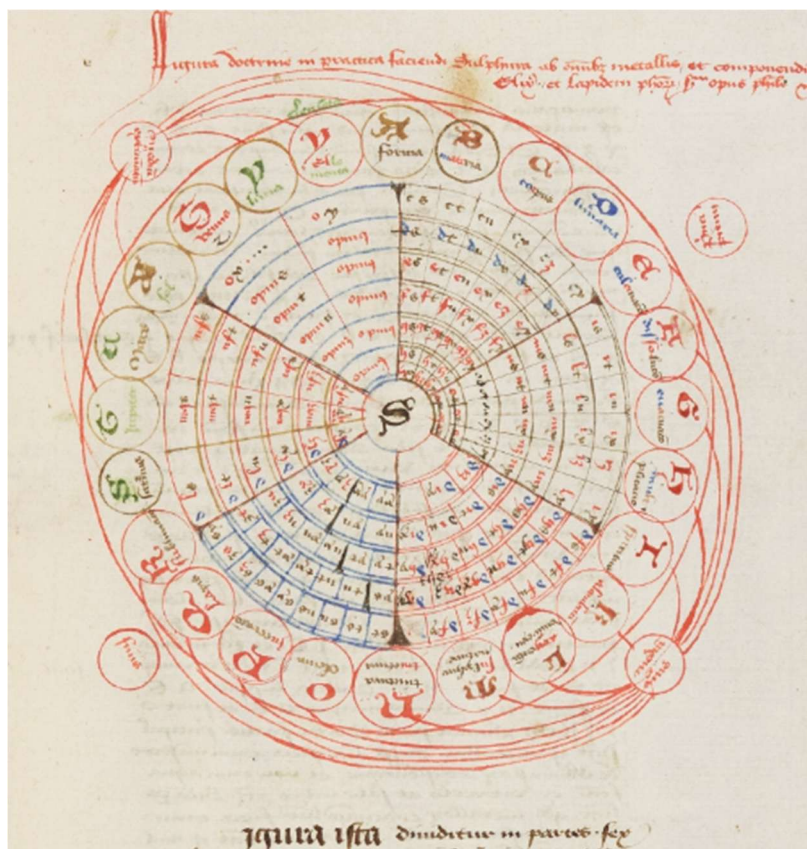
letters equivalent to *principia huius artis*.⁸⁷ They are combined in a reflexive abstraction to define actions, generate ideas, and introduce new inventions.



Circular machine from the DSN
Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. O.3.27, f. 122r

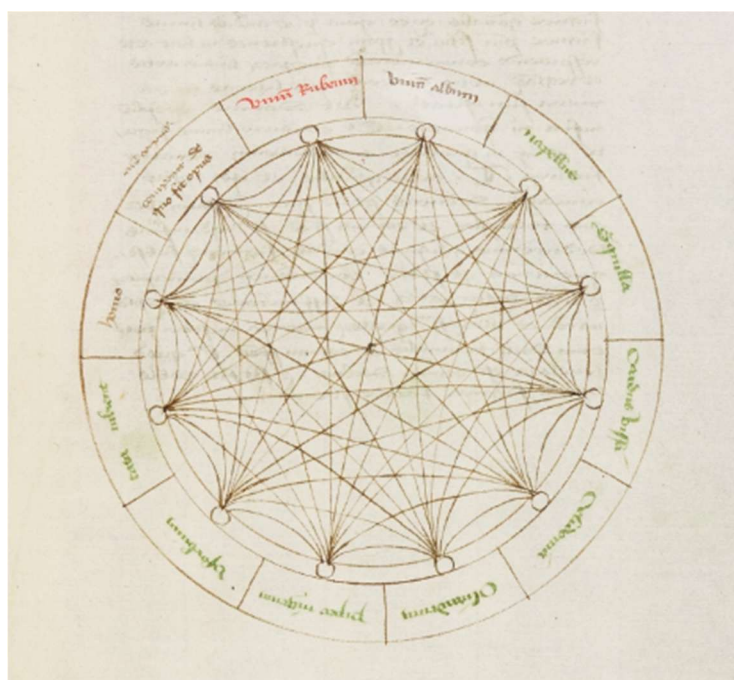
This speeds up the search for valid propositions and judgements in problematic arguments such as those surrounding transmutational alchemy. There are extraordinarily complex figures where several tables are integrated into interconnected circular systems, such as *Fundamental Figure S*.

⁸⁷ Alphanumeric models have their roots in classical cosmologies. *Timaeus* already defined the smallest components of creation as στοιχεῖον (lat. *elementum*); a word that means “simple element” in Greek, but also “letter”. κδ’ στοιχεῖα are the 24 letters of the Greek alphabet, with their corresponding numerical values, and δ’ στοιχεῖα are the four elements. A similar concept is found in *Sefer Yetsirah*, where creation is based on 10 numbers and 22 letters. For an introduction to this topic and many more examples: JUAN ACEVEDO, (2020), *Alphanumeric Cosmology From Greek into Arabic: The Idea of Stoicheia Through the Medieval Mediterranean*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen.



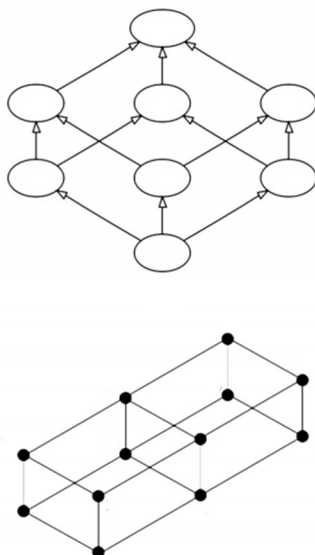
The *Fundamentalis Figure S* of the DSN combines six tables
Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. O.3.27, f. 60r

There are also two-dimensional grids in the manuscripts which can only be properly understood if the observer translates them into a three-dimensional mental model. In some cases, these grids are simple combinatorial, but with a wide range.

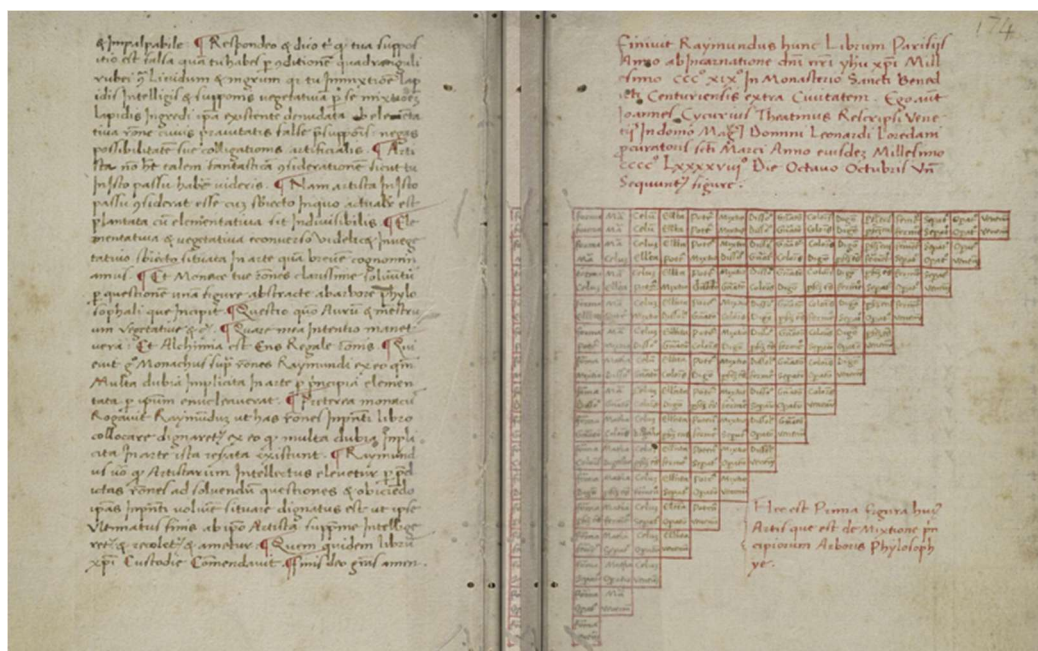


Combinatorial network of the DSN, drawn in two dimensions,
but reflecting a three-dimensional scheme in the form of a spherical grid.
Cambridge, Trinity College, Ms. O.3.27, f. 64r.

In others, they serve a mathematical purpose as *structura seu machina*, defining degrees and quantifying qualities with variables embodied in diagrams from which combinatorial tables are derived.⁸⁸



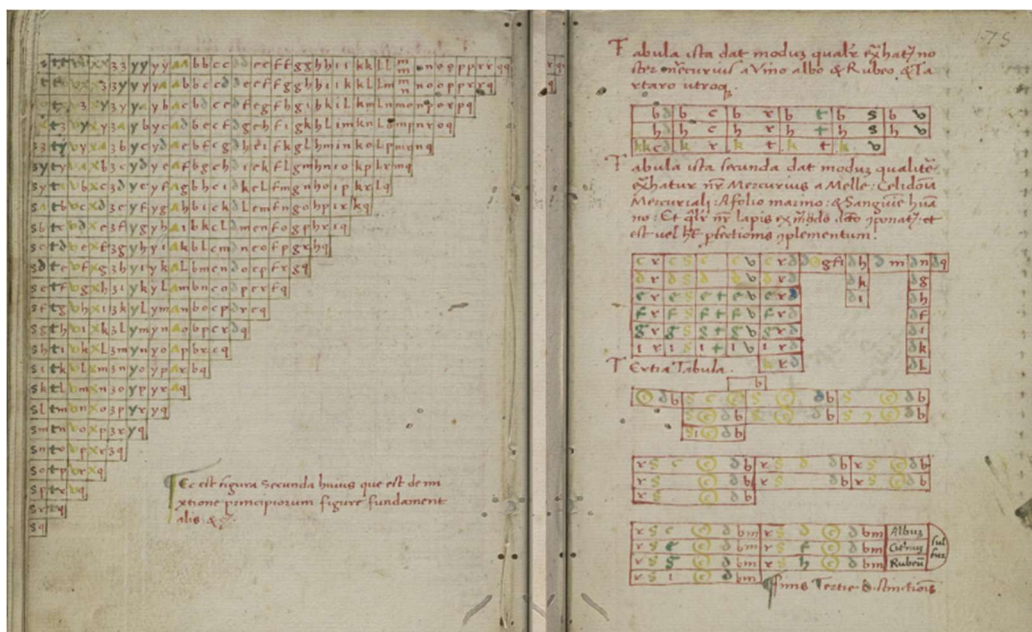
Three-dimensional reading (below) of a typical Lullian diagram (above).⁸⁹
Each point is the combination of three others and represents a degree or quantity, which can be transferred to a table.



DSN combinatorial table
Philadelphia, Chemical Heritage Foundation, Ms Othmer 7, 15th c., ff. 173v-174r.

⁸⁸ A. BONNER & P. J. PLANAS MULET, (2022), “La Farmacologia de Ramon Llull: de la medicina en la Figura Elemental als reticles matemàtics”, *Studia Lulliana*, 62, pp. 43-65.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 49.



DSN tables with grade combinations. Offers multiple variables by letters and colours.
Philadelphia, Chemical Heritage Foundation, Ms Othmer 7, 15th c., ff. 174v-175r.

Finally, D examines his own *inventiones* (i.e. hypotheses), in an experimental way, with a system of trial and error that consists of submitting them to a questionnaire, which we will identify with the letter Q. Here we find a method of analysis of knowledge like the scholastic system of *lectio* and *questio*. The difference is that the propositions of the *lectio* were normally prepared by reading texts, and our author does so according to the rules of combinatorial logic. The letters are subject and predicate for multiple propositions, and a table combines them in the form of syllogisms.

In short, having reviewed all the general content of D+Q, if anything is evident, it is its radical conceptual difference with the section B+C that precedes it. It is highly improbable that both were written at the same time, nor as parts of the same work, because they have nothing to do with each other, neither in discursive methodology, nor in argumentative logic, nor in objectives. There are sections of C where the implementation of this Lullian heuristic to define degrees in medicine and pharmacology would be amply justified. The most obvious are the parts of C_{II} called *Liber de simplicibus medicinis* (can. 7-24) and *De medicinis quas inveneris appropriatas doloribus* (can. 25-42). However, in these texts, he directs the reader to Ramon Llull's generic combinatorial tables without setting out his own principles, without creating alchemical associations of *proprietas litterarum* or inventing specific rules for the application of quintessence. But, all of this can be found in D, deployed widely. So why did he not do it in C? The answer lies in the fact that they are different strata, developed at different times. The complicated development and ambitious intention of his figures in D+Q contrasts not only with C, but also with similar tools in the *Testamentum*. For example, in his famous "*Arboris elementalis*" he barely visualises the discourse for purely mnemonic purposes.

All these differences justify the independent textual transmission of sections B+C as opposed to D+Q, which were probably added at a much later stage. There is an evident evolution in the author's thinking, but above all in his degree of mastery of Lullian logic. In D+Q he employs with greater confidence the *sciencia per figurarum cameras* and reinforces his arguments with all the tools that Ramon Llull's combinatorial logic places at his disposal.

Cleric John Kirkeby (fl. 1455) did an extraordinary job by the standards of his time. He brought together several versions of the *Testamentum* to reconstruct a basic text, and

he was also interested in the DSN. Thanks to Michela Pereira's research, we know that he was assisted by other alchemical enthusiasts in checking various versions. In a note in manuscript 244 of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Kirkeby states that he found an original two-part version in an old copy owned by a Portuguese bishop, which corresponds to the B+C stratum. The third and fourth parts (D+Q) were added in a different version dedicated to an English king named Edward.⁹⁰

In any case, despite the evolutionary differences between B+C and D+Q, which represent stages that are far apart in time, the recurring themes of the *magister Testamenti* reappear, pointing to its authorship. We have already seen some of these themes in previous strata or in the works of the original core of his corpus. For instance, there is the depiction of the ideal alchemist as a consummate physician, or the capacity to perform almost miraculous feats, a concept he frequently emphasises (DSN, III, 2, 17). The communication of faculties at a distance is also again justified by reference to the properties of the magnet, light or the basilisk.

DSN, 1546, lib. III, prol, p. 152:

"...reductibilia sunt omnia corpora ad id quod a dictis principiis ducit ortum in quod quidem attingunt perfectionem sicut compositum in simplici, ad quod naturaliter se movent sicut ferrum ad adamantem".

DSN, 1546, lib. III, p. 72:

"Nam quantumcunque medicina transit per istas rotas ad finem terminationis, tantum plus et multiplicatur in virtute propter materiam, qua ad tantam subtilitatem deducitur. Ex quo sipiritus existens in tali materia multiplicat similitudinem suam, sicut summitas ignis existens in oculo Basilici, suam similitudinem multiplicat in igne existente in animalibus, ratione cuius suffocatur calor naturalis unius cuiusque animalis, sicut lux ignis per lucem Solis extinguatur".

Their most typical expressions are found in the book, such as that of *pice fusae vel mellis*.

DSN, 1546, lib. III, f. 90r:

"...distilla aquam per balneum, donec videas in fundo vasis materiam ad modum cerae [var. pice] fusae vel mellis".

Testamentum III, 1:

"Isto modo pone istam partem predictae aque animate supra feces, que erunt in similitudine pice fuse sive liquefacte in fundo vasis".

⁹⁰ Oxford, Corpus Christi College, Ms 244, 15th c., f. 107r: "Finitur hic quantum habere potui de libro quinte essencie transcriptus non parvis expensis de bibliotheca Episcopi de regno Portugaliae, 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". Also in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 112, 15th century², f. 45v.

Codicillus, Manget I, p. 887: “...distillare cessaverit tunc in fundo videbus corpus nigrum **fusum ad modum picis nigrae fusae vel olei subnigri**”.

Apertorium, Grataroli, p. 105:

“...manebit terra in fundo vasis nigra et viscosa ad modum **previous hit picis fusae et liquidae vel crassi mellis**”.

Or the analogy of the hammer and the nail, which is another element of clear Lullian inspiration, widely used by the *magister Testamenti* in several of his original texts.

DSN, 1546, lib. III, p. 311:

“*Et cum corruptione ad privandum horum contraria vel e converso, sicut si lapis fuerit male formatus etc, quae forma movet materiam, ut ipsa influat suam naturam cum dictis duobus instrumentis, **sicut faber qui movet materiam ferri cum martello in formam clavi**, et illam corrumpit quando vult, et illam materiam format forma cultello...*”.

Testamentum I, 33:

“*Quare, fili, intellige quod **ignis est instrumentum nature, sicut instrumentum fabri, cum quo operatur, est martellus, qui movetur ad ponendum materiam ferri in forma clavi** aut alterius vel ad destruendum illum secundum intencionem fabri. Sic facit calor ignis nature in nostro magisterio, quoniam, secundum quod dirigitur per artem secundum intencionem artiste”.*

Testamentum I, 39:

“*Fili, **quando fabri** [var. *ferrarius*] **vult fabricare unum clavum, primo necesse est, quod capiat materiam convenientem, videlicet ferrum, antequam poterit facere clavum et postea cum suis martellus** [var. *instrumentis*] **habet illum figurare cum informacione**, que movetur a suo intellectu, donec veniat ad finem sui optati. Quare, fili, intellige quod **ignis est instrumentum nature, sicut instrumentum fabri, cum quo operatur, est martellus, qui movetur ad ponendum materiam ferri in forma clavi aut alterius vel ad destruendum illum secundum intencionem fabri**”.*

Ars intellectiva, *Veræ alchemiæ artisque*, 1561, II, p. 135:

“*Tu debes in te recolligere, quod **virtus formativa existens in materia seminali, est influxa in calore et spiritu**, sicut in materia simplici. Et calor cum dicta virtute est anima non sicut actus corporis organici physici portas in ipsa potentiam vitae. Sed est tanquam faber in sua fabrica fabricans suum clavum vel rem aliam secundum formam sui intellectus”.*

The section *De practica figure fundamentalis et arboris philosophie* in this current section D sets out the peculiar commandments of the *magister Testamenti* on working with sunlight, which he considers to be the conveyor of an *ignis celestis*:⁹¹

Ms. Mellon 12, f. 265v.

“Sequitur prima decoctio lapidis que fit cum calore ignis celestis, hoc est cum calore solis. Fili mi, ista decoctio ignis celestis fit dupliciter.

Primo sic fit: Quod accipies lapides tuos et ponas in ampulla vna, accipiendo ipsos cum predictis forcipibus, absque eo quod aliquo modo tangas eos cum mano tua. Et cooperi bene ampullam cum alluta et pone illam ad solem in estiuo tempore per 8 dies, in loco vbi sit ampulla segura a lapidibus. Et ibi fili fit decoctio prima cum qua lapides accedunt ad perfectionis finem. In qua decoctione apparebit multitudo colorum accidentalium in ventre nigri coloris iam dicti. Finita igitur ista decoctione per dies iam dictas, abstrahere lapides tuos cum forcipibus iam dictis ab ampulla et pone illos in vase qui ab alkimicis nuncupatur obteticum, cuius forma inferius apparebit. Et claude fortiter vas cum alluta.

Sequitur 2^a decoctio que fit cum calore ignis celestis. Secunda decoctio habet fili taliter fieri: Quod tu capias vnam ampullam magnam, factam ex vitro tali sicut de Venecia, et sit maior quam inuenire poteris, et imple illam aqua communi que sit clarissima et pone illam ad radium solis ab hora tertia vsque ad tres horas ante solis occasum. Et in parte inferior, vbi est magna claritas solis que transit per ampullam, ponatur vas obteticum et stet ibi in calore illo vsque ad tempus iam dictum. Fili oportet te ibi semper stare, vt cum sol in girum fecerit, tu gires obteticum ad claritatem illius. Et istam decoctionem continuabis per dies nouem, quibus transactis est facta 2^a decoctio”.

We have already discussed his references to this operation in section C of the DSN, which we can also compare with his explanations in the *Testamentum* or in his letters signed as Ramón de Termes:

Testamentum I, 25.

“Et hoc, quod facit natura cum calore solis et stellarum, illud idem facit cum calore ignis. Sed oportet, quod contemperetur taliter, quod non superet virtutem transmutativam et informativam, que est in materia influxa a superioribus. Quoniam in omnibus rebus, que fuerunt putrefacte et corrupte, vidimus influere virtutes stellarum accipiendo determinacionem in illa re, ad quam materiam habet convenienciam. Quia virtus celestis est valde communis et accipit determinacionem per virtutem sui subiecti in rebus mixtis. Et ideo, quando ipsa influitur in materia minerali, statim accipit determinacionem nature in virtute

⁹¹ I quote the manuscript version from New Haven, Beinecke Library, Ms. Mellon 12, mid-15th century, ff. 252r-281v: “Unde incipit 3a distincio seu tercius liber huius voluminis...”. The transcription was provided to me by Domingo Iglesias.

minerali, et sic de vegetabilibus et de animalibus secundum genus materiale”.

Zwettl, f. 8v; Kassel f. 26v-27r.

“...aptetur vas physicum [var. philosophorum] sub 3 vel 4 columnas, ita quod calor solis per suos radios possit circumdare iuxta vas [add. et circa vas] et in circuitu vasis equaliter per totum ad libitum voluntatis; ponatur ergo lapis in vase physico [var. philosophorum], [in principio veris] sole [add. existente] in Ariete, apta in dicto balneo, et permittite ipsum tunc temporis in reverberatione solis donec putrescat et tota materia perfectissima denigretur...”.

Zwettl, f. 9r; Kassel f. 27r.

“...oportet ut calor solis augmentetis secundum quod natura per virtutem dispositionis et tunc materia putrefacta in substantiam Homogenicam...”.

This is an alchemical practice typical of this alchemist, which pursues the generation of a substance *per putrefactionem* and, as we have already argued, is inspired by the ideas of Roger Bacon⁹².

As we have already explained in the previous strata, the presentation of his discourse is organised according to *intentione et consideratione rerum*. It proposes considering the principles of this art, which implies analysing by distinguishing and separating the parts of a problem. It also proposes a *ratio or intentio quare huius distinctionis artem*, to deploy the reasons that justify his aim in an orderly manner.⁹³

I found many other details are typical of the *magister Testamenti*. For example, his proximity to the theories of Hermetic and Solomonian magic. Thus, the author of the DSN tells us that he was in Athens, where he saw a *librum Salomonis scriptum litteris Chaldaicis*, which had been deposited there by Alexander the Great after he conquered Jerusalem.

⁹² ROGER BACON, *Communia naturalium*, II, 5, II: “*Nam stelle alterant materiam mundi, ad formas elementorum et mixtorum inanimatorum, et iterum ad generationes animalium ex materia putrefacta. Nam virtus solis in materia putrefacta est sicut virtus patris in seminibus, ut Averrois dicit in 7^o Methaphisice...*”.

⁹³ DSN, 1546, lib. III, prologue, f. 58v: “*...ponimus intentionem, quare quodlibet eorum positum est in arte, et illum modum tenere intendimus in principiis arboris philosophicalis...*”. Ms. Mellon 12, f. 252v: “*...ratio seu intentio quare istius distinctionis artem revelamus consistit ut in titulo presenti iam dictum est et ut per istum librum facilius intelligantur cetera librorum volumina que super hanc artem composuimus*”; f. 254v: “*Quia fili si corpora non dissoluuntur, non possunt subtiliari ut ex ipsis trahatur spiritus de consideratione alkimistarum, quod dicitur mercurius, qui dicitur prima et proxima natura metallorum considerata in hac arte. Et in ista parte cognoscit intellectus primas intentiones et secundarias in entibus naturalibus. Quia F primam intencionem habet ad destruendum STVXZY, quia F est sibi contrarium, quia dicta STVXZY ducit in privacionem. Et quia per se ipsum non potest, dat per concordantiam se ipsum D, quod est amicus dictorum. Et hoc secundum intentionem ut possit ipsa corrumpere et ducere ad privacionem esse prioris et dictum F suam in eis habeat operacionem. Sicut ignis, qui primam intentionem habet ad corrumpendum aquam dat se secundum intentionem aeri*”; ff. 255v-256v: “*Est autem necessarius corpora in oleum converti, quod si non convertantur in se ipsis, solida remanebunt et quod queris non fiet, quia sequeatur privacio omnium principiorum huius artis. Istud oleum, fili, multiplicem habet considerationem in hac arte, secundum quod multiplex fit eius applicacio ad diversos lapides secundum quod in primo libro reseramus*”.

DSN, lib. III, prologue:

"Praeter librum Salomonis, qui dicitur Liber aedificii [var. officii] altaris Sancta sanctorum, quam vidimus Athenis scriptum litteris Chaldaicis, in quod vero nulla est fallacia in hac arte, qui post adventum Alexandri in Ierusalem transportatus fuit in Graeciam civitatem Athenarum, et sub certis sigillis commendatus etc. Ex quo notare debes quod scriptura, quae vii intelligi nequit pro non scriptura censetur. Quare dico tibi, quod de eorum scripturis non cures ullo modo".

This legend is consistent with an author from the first half of the 14th century linked to the Iberian Peninsula. Similar information appears in the *Virgilio Cordubensis philosophia*, which is a treatise on magic, somewhere between natural philosophy and necromancy, dated at the end of the 13th century, where a monk of Toledan influence puts forward a series of his own ideas, but endorses them to a fictitious Cordovan sage called Virgil.⁹⁴ He narrates that Alexander the Great is said to have entered the Temple of Solomon after conquering Jerusalem. His teacher Aristotle found there *many books of omnibus scientiis* and took them, it is understood, to Athens to study them in detail.⁹⁵

"Debetis scire quod sanctus Salomon per istam scientiam sanctam, quae vocatur ars notoria, scivit omnes alias angelo docente, quia angelus Domini ita loquebatur cum eo sicut si esset homo carnalis, et sic scivit omnes alias scientias. Post magnis temporibus venit Alexander rex Graecorum et subjugavit totam terram, excepta Hispania, quae nunquam voluit sibi obedire, nec tributum aliquod reddere ; quamvis Dominus totius mundi et rex se appellaret, nunquam Hispaniam potuit subjugare, quamvis Dominus totius mundi se vocaret et licet Alexander multotiens super Hispaniam venisset, et cum Hispanis praelium frequenter habuisset, numquam eos potuit superare nec devincere, imo ipse fuit ab Hispanis multotiens devictus et superatus et nimium confusus et ex quo vidit quod ista gens ita fortissima erat, quod eos devincere non potuerat, et transivit ad partes ultramarinas et accessit ad Jherusalem, et ibi fuit receptus honorifice et benigne, et intravit in templum Salomonis et vidit ibi multa mirabilia et stetit ibi aliquantulum temporis et habebat secum quendam hominem, qui erat custos suus et magister suus et vocabatur Aristotiles, et iste Aristotiles scivit secrete quod Salomon habuerat multos libros de omnibus scientiis et ivit occulte ad illum locum et extraxit inde omnes illos libros Salomonis et coepit studere per eos efficaciter , ita quod post paucum temporis fuit inde philosophus maximus et magister, et sic Aristotiles habuit scientiam magnam cum illis

⁹⁴ First published in 1848 in the *Bibliotheca Anecdotorum seu Veterum Monumentorum Ecclesiasticorum Collectio Novissima ex codicibus bibliothecarum Hispanicarum collegit, descripsit, disposuit et edidit, I, Monumenta Regni Gothorum et Arabum in Hispaniis*, Gotthilf Heine, Lipsiae, pp. 211-244. There is a critical Latin edition in Spanish in: H. SALVADOR MARTÍNEZ, (2016), *"Filosofía" de Virgilio de Córdoba. Aristotelico-averroista del siglo XIII*, Universidad de León, León. Also relevant is the study by: FRANÇOIS DELPECH, (2014), "Virgil, Aristotle, Solomon and other sages of the heap : necromancy and notorious art in the *Philosophy* of Virgil of Cordoba", *Journal of Historiography*, Extra 1, pp. 99-137.

⁹⁵ SALVADOR MARTÍNEZ, (2016), *"Filosofía" de Virgilio de Córdoba*, (op. cit.), pp. 147-149.

libris Salomonis, quod ante parum sciebat, et a natura sua nimis rudis erat, et ideo per illos libros regis Salomonis Aristotiles illuminatus est et magnus philosophus factus est, ideo bona est scientia acquisita".

The fame of Athens as the seat of magical authors and texts is a cliché in several contemporary works of the *magister Testamenti*, which circulate among authors of the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, such as the *Liber juratus sive sacratus* attributed to a certain Honorius, master of Thebes, which describes a council of powerful Athenian, Toledan and Neapolitan magicians.⁹⁶

The theme fits perfectly with the nods to hermetic magic that we find in the original writings of the *magister Testamenti*, such as the *Testamentum* and the *Liber lapidarii*. Also, in section C_{IV} of this same *De secretis naturae*, we previously analysed a canon *De cura perfecta daemoniacorum* (canon 6), where the author defended the possibility of a therapist formulating medicines to expel or remedy the effects of a demon in the human body. In his argument he points out the "...actiones Nicromantiae Solomonis, cum qua daemones congruntur ad faciendum bonum et opera bona, aut mala". We see that he recognises in the books of Solomonic magic the capacity to generate evil actions, but also good ones, which indicates his affinity with the subject.

Moreover, the news from Athens also confirms the focus for embellishing his speeches with references to his travels in the eastern Mediterranean. For example, in the *Testamentum* and the *Ars intellectiva* he makes a peculiar analogy between the "great whirlpool of Satalia" and one of his alchemical operations:

Testamentum I, 96.

"...quia, cum noster lapis fuerat per regimen secundum mortuus et submersus in gurgite magne Satalie...".

Testamentum III, 2.

"...cave ergo quod virtus draconis non subiungatur gurgite Sathalie...".

Ars Intellectiva, p. 130:

"...generatio actionis sulfuris totaliter corrumperetur, et de facto submergeretur in gurgite sataliae".

Satalia is a medieval name for the Gulf of Antalya, which corresponds to a portion of the coast of the Menteşe beylikato. This vortex occasionally occurred there, endangering

⁹⁶ See: GÖSTA HEDEGÅRD (éd.), (2002), *Liber iuratus Honorii : A Critical Edition of the Latin Version of the Sworn Book of Honorius*, Almqvist and Wiksell International, Stockholm, pp. 60-61. A more convoluted fiction than that of *Virgilii Cordubensis* appears in a gloss to the magic treatise *Almadel*, entitled *Glosa beati Jeronimi super sancum Almadel Solomonis*. It was probably composed in a monastic environment in Northern Italy in the late 14th or early 15th century. It describes the *Almadel* as a Hebrew book of Solomonic magic, originally deposited *per angelum super altare aureum* in the Temple of Jerusalem. It would have been found in Athens by an Arab scholar named *Solinus*, who translated it into his language. Later a certain *Symmachu* would have translated it from Arabic into Greek, and finally Saint Jerome, sent to Greece to evangelise, put it into Latin to take a copy to Rome JULIEN VÉRONÈSE, (2012), *L'Almandal et l'Almadel latins au Moyen Âge. Introduction et éditions critiques*, Sismel-Edizioni del Galluzzo, Florence, pp. 18 and 171-175.

many ships.⁹⁷ The equivalences with marine elements are typical of writers who regularly travelled by boat. They used to take advantage of their long journeys, which lasted weeks or months, to write or draft, and hence these peculiar comparisons arose. These are details that we find in almost all his treatises if we read them carefully. So, in the *Testamentum* he also adapts the seafaring saying "*de vento, pluvia et procellis*".⁹⁸ In the *Lapidarium* he describes a stone of his invention to stop the storms that frightened other travellers.⁹⁹ In *Liber experimentorum Raymundi et sociorum suorum* (1330) he tells us that one of his elixirs could transmute the whole sea into gold, if the water were mercury:

Experimenta, Manget I, p. 848:

"Si mare totum esset argentum vivum, pene crederem hac mirabili medicina congelatum iri".

We can imagine the scene of a *magister Testamenti* writing these lines during a journey, with the sea before his eyes. His analogies convey the typical atmosphere of medieval legates and merchants travelling to faraway places. That is why he tells stories that are typical of travellers in Egypt and the Near East. This is evidenced by quotations such as the following, where he recounts metal transactions in two Muslim courts in that region:

Testamentum III, 42.

"Si igitur istud sal tu scias dulcificare, intrabit in corpora, ut vera natura, que vult stare interius et transformare habet illa de una specie in aliam, malis gratis regis de Mercha et Soldani [var. rex de Metha vel Soldamus de Calamia]. Quia, cum salts sint pura natura metallorum, naturata de proprietate metallina per amicitiam illius, cui coniunguntur adinvicem, cum sal non sit nisi ignis, nec ignis est nisi sulphur, nec sulphur est nisi argentum vivum reductum in lapidem, postquam est materia nature alterate et mutate de vilitate in nobilitatem..."

This *Rex de Metha* is an allusion to the Bey of Menteşe, the title of the Anatolian beylicate where the aforementioned whirlpool of Satalia was produced.¹⁰⁰ The *Soldamus*

⁹⁷ One local legend attributed its destructive power to a magical head, thrown out long ago, which appeared regularly. Other variants speak of a 'monster', or the mythical head of the Greek Medusa. The most popular account in the West is that of Jean de Mandeville (†1372) in his *Journey to Jerusalem* of 1356-1357. News about the *Attaliae gurgis* is always found in chronicles of crusaders and voyages in the Eastern Mediterranean such as the *Historia Hierosolymitana* (1095-1127) by Foucher de Chartres or the *Chronica* and in Roger de Hoveden's *De Viis Maris* (†1202). They are always framed in sailors' tales or "*ut dicunt nautae*". M. N. POLINO, (1988), "Le gouffre de Satalie: survivances médiévales du mythe de Méduse", *Le Moyen Âge*, 94, pp. 73-101. ALBERTO VARVARO, (1998), "Ancora sul "gouffre de Satalie": da Walter Map ai Templari", *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie Tübingen*, 114, pp. 651-656.

⁹⁸ *Testamentum* I, 43: "...ab aqua ventus; et de vento pluvia".

⁹⁹ *Lapidarium*, chap. XXIV: "...tempestatem temporis cum virtute Dei et ipsius, fecimus cessare, nec eramus lapsi quantumque intineravimus aut laboravimus, et adhuc probavimus ad lapsos viatores".

¹⁰⁰ The beylicate of Menteşe occupied part of the present-day Turkish province of Muğla and several islands in the Dodecanese archipelago. Its relationship with European fiefdoms varied according to its economic or political interests. They engaged in raids and many rulers paid an annual tribute to keep their trading posts and trade routes in the Adriatic, Aegean and Black Seas at peace. The traveller Ibn Battūta (1304-1368/1377) praises the beauty of his capital in 1333. He describes a luxurious court and the taste of Sultan Şücaüddin Orhan (1320-1344) to be accompanied by men of science. See: A. LAIOU, (1975), "Marino Sanudo Torsello, Byzantium and the Turks: The Background to the Anti-Turkish League of 1332-1334", *Speculum*, XLV, pp. 374-392, cf. pp. 374-384. NORMAN HOUSLEY, (1981), "Angevin Naples and the

de Calamia is Sultan Muḥammad ibn Qalāwūn (1293-1341), head of the Mamluk Sultanate of the Bahri that controlled Egypt, the Hijaz region and the Mediterranean Levant.



Eastern Mediterranean ca.1300-1330

Green: Mamluk Sultanate. **Black dot:** Whirlpool of Satalia. **Red:** Beylikato of Menteşe.

Another interesting anecdote is about the dragons that perished in the Dead Sea while trying to cross the Arabian desert:

Testamentum I, 10:

"In isto liquore rectificatur magnus draco et proicitur a magno deserto Arabie, quia statim suffocaretur pro siti et periret in Mari Mortuo. Quia iam poteris scire, quod parvus calor magnam frigiditatem expellit. Verte ipsum ad regnum Ethiopie, unde est naturale".

The Ethiopian origin of dragons, as well as their existence in Arabia and India, appear in many ancient sources and are recorded in medieval bestiaries.¹⁰¹ However, the detail of their death at the Dead Sea is a peculiar incident, reported in the markets of the Mamluk

Defence of the Latin East: Robert the Wise and the Naval League of 1334", *Byzantion*, 51, pp. 548-56. ELIZABETH A. ZACHARIADOU, (1983), *Trade and Crusade. Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Menteshe and Aydin (1300-1415)*, Istituto Ellenico di Studi Bizantini e Postbizantini, Venice, pp. 12-17.

¹⁰¹ PLINIO, *Historia Natural*, VIII, 35: "*Generat [dracones] Aethiopia Indicis pares, vicenum cubitorum. id modo mirum, unde cristatos Iuba crediderit. Asachaei vocantur Aethiopes apud quos maxime nascuntur; narrantque in maritimis eorum quaternos quinosque inter se cratium modo inplexos erectis capitibus velificantes ad meliora pabula Arabiae vehi fluctibus*". ELIANO, *De Natura Animalium*, II.21: "*Aethiopica terra vicinum bonum et egregium habet, deorum illud lavacrum, quod Homerus oceani nomine celebrat. Eadem maximos dracones ad triginta passuum longitudinem progredientes generat*". ISIDORO DE SEVILLA, *Etymologiae*, 12.4.4: "*Draco maior cunctorum serpentium, sive omnium animantium super terram. [...] Gignitur autem in Aethiopia et India in ipso incendio iugis aestus*". On other sources: WILLENE B. CLARK, (2006), *A Medieval Book of Beasts: The Second-family Bestiary : Commentary, Art, Text and Translation*, Boydell Press, Suffolk, pp. 196-197.

sultanate of Jerusalem, Damascus, Alexandria and Cairo.¹⁰² In these cities, the heads of giant Indian crocodiles (*crocodylus porosus*) were sold as if they were dragons supposedly found by merchant caravans in areas bordering the Dead Sea, such as the Arava Valley, Wadi Rum and the deserts of Syria, Judea and the Negev.

The *Liber lapidarii* comments on experiences in the Libyan region.¹⁰³ He recounts a stay in the desert of Mount Sinai.¹⁰⁴ In other texts he refers to his stay in the Cypriot city of Famagusta, which was a free port for trade with Muslims¹⁰⁵. In his *Epistola de lapide philosophorum* [inc.] *Universis et singulis in arte philosophorum studentibus...* he refers to the “wolf of the East”, the Nile, Egypt and Persia, drawing extensively on a treatise known as *Liber Mahomet*:

"Item aliud exemplum Lupus noster in Oriente invenitur et Canis noster in Occidente; iste momordit illum, et ille momordit istum, et interficiunt se ad invicem donec fiat ex eis toxicum deinde Theriaca [...] cum Nilo Egypti albescit primo, tunc cum Persia in secretis rubificatur".

This *Liber Mahomet*, studied by Didier Kahn, is cited for the first time in the *Pretiosa margarita novella* by Pietro Bono da Ferrara (fl.1323-1338).¹⁰⁶ We must realise that this author moves in the same years and geographical environment as Ramón de Térmen, since both are located in places on the Adriatic Sea during the first third of the 14th century.

¹⁰² It is mentioned by pilgrims, merchants and crusaders who travelled to the Holy Land. NICOLE CHAREYRON, (2005), *Pilgrims to Jerusalem in the Middle Ages*, Columbia University Press, p. 169-172. An example is Jacopo da Verona, who visited Israel in 1335 and describes several places where it was possible to find his bones: IACOBUS VERONENSIS, *Liber peregrinationis*, III, in: ALIM (Archivio della Latinità Italiana del Medioevo), <http://alim.unisi.it> "...valle Iosaphat solebat esse fons draconis"; "...civitatis Jherusalem. quam civitatem non intendo describere per portas et muros [...] eciam vocabatur Porta fontis draconis, quia in valle extra portam solebat esse fons draconis..."; "...civitatem Baruch ad unum miliare est ecclesia Beati Georgi, militis et martiris serenissimi, qui ibi draconem interfecit et filiam regis liberavit, et Sylenam civitatem [...] et ultra illum locum ad duo miliaria est lacus aque dulcis, distans a mari modicum, ubi draco habitabat".

¹⁰³ *Liber lapidarii*, XXVI, *Artis auriferae*, 1610, III, pp. 98-120; cf. p. 115: "...natura generatur istum lapidem in Libia in regione de Zochodia [s.e. trogloditas] ubi sunt multi crocodili...". This refers to "Inner Libya", which encompassed the Sahel, the Sudanese savannah, and other parts further south, in an extensive and ambiguous Central African strip from the Atlantic Ocean to the Ethiopian massif. It was bordered to the east by "Upper Ethiopia", where the Troglodyte people were located. A. LAMESA, (2019), "Les barbares Troglodytes: évolution de leur représentation à l'époque antique", in: S. Duhem & C. Noacco (eds.), *L'homme sauvage dans les lettres et les arts*, PUR, Rennes, pp. 37-48. Dante tells us that Inner Libya and Ethiopia were two regions infested with all kinds of reptiles and snakes: Dante, *Inferno*, Canto XXIV, (vv. 85-90): 'Più non si vanti Libia con sua rena; / ché se chelidri, iaculi e faree / produce, e cencri con amfisibena, / né tante pestilenzie né sì ree / mostrò già mai con tutta l'Etìopia / né con ciò che di sopra al Mar Rosso èe'.

¹⁰⁴ *Liber lapidarii* XXVII, pp. 117-118: "...melius aurum fecit de plumbo quam exeat de minera in sua tota virtute, prout et post probavimus in deserto montis eoreti [s.e. Monti Horeb; var. Monti foriti= Ms 12 Yale]".

¹⁰⁵ [ps-]RAMÓN LLULL, (1572), *Libelli aliquot Chemici*, Petrum Pernam, Basileae, p. 317 "Non tamen vidimus terrae partes, in quibus huiusmodi conchilia sint et reperiantur, nisi in Cypro, prope ciuitatem Famagostae".

¹⁰⁶ DIDIER KAHN, (2010), "The *Turba philosophorum* and its French version (15th C.)", Miguel López Pérez; Didier Kahn; Mar Rey Bueno (ed.), *Chymia: Science and Nature in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge Sholars Publishing, Cambridge, pp. 70-114. Cf. pp. 92-94 and 103-105. Also known as *Epistola Rasis*. A variant appears in the *Tractatus Micreris suo discipulo Mirnefindo*, Th. Ch., V, pp. 101-113, cf. p. 102. Another was printed under the title *Epistola Alexandri imperatoris* [incipit: *Quidam breviter dicunt quod ars derivata est...*]. DWS 64. TK 426.

In his *Epistola* [var. *secunda*] *de lapide philosophorum*. [inc.] *Sed ad instantiam vestri domini F. francisci....* signed as *Raymundus de Terminis*, the *magister Testamenti* describes the recipe for a very potent transmutatory elixir, made from an exotic "*Indian gummi*". The operative is inspired by a little treatise known as *Practica Mariae prophetisae*. However, he uses the version that appears in the *Allegoriae sapientum* in his *distinctio XXVII*:¹⁰⁷

Zwettl, Zisterzienserstift, Cod. 341, f. 6v:

"Recipe gummi de India si habere poteris, quod est album et clarum [var. nigrum] in manifesto, et rubrum in occulto, sin autem ipsum de hispanis accipias [...] et est in ipso masculum genus [...] et postea accipe gummi Helzarot [var. Elzarog], gummi rubeum, quod est Kibrit philosophorum, et eorum aurum, et tinctura maior, et est in ipso foemineum genus [...] matrimonifica ergo gummi cum gummi vero matrimonio quod fit aqua de ambabus naturis".

Allegoriae sapientum supra librum Turbae, Manget, I, p. 477:

"Accipe alumen de yspania, gummi albi, et gummi rubeum quod est kibrick philosophorum, et eorum aurum, et tinctura major et matrimonifica gummi, scilicet album, cum gumma scilicet, rubeo, vero matrimonio..."

Practica Mariae prophetisae, Artis auriferae, I, 139:

"Recipe alumen de Hispania, gummi album, et gummi rubeum quod est kibric Philosophorum, et eorum sol et tinctura maior, et matrimonifica gummi cum gummi, vero matrimonio..."

What is interesting is that he orientalises the themes, as in the previous epistle. So, he erases the Spanish origin proposed by his source and turns it into a "*gummi of India*", which could only be used "*...si habere poteris*", i.e. if you have travelled in the Eastern Mediterranean. It is a style reminiscent of the *Testamentum*'s fabulous ingredients from Arabian deserts, the Dead Sea and the *Regnum Ethiopie*.

All these stories only appear in the writings of missionaries, traders or crusader chroniclers who travelled by *ultramarinis partibus*. The political and commercial relations of the Catalan kingdoms with these eastern Mediterranean regions are extensively documented in the 14th century.¹⁰⁸ In administrative documentation I have

¹⁰⁷ This *distinctio* also circulated independently as *Alumen de Hispania*, both in prose and verse, especially in British sources.

¹⁰⁸ MARIA TERESA FERRER I MALLOL (ed.), (2003), *Els catalans à la Mediterrània oriental à l'Edat Mitjana*, Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona. These beylikats also had dealings with Genoese, Venetians and Montpellini. ELIZABETH A. ZACHARIADOU, (1983), *Trade and Crusade: Venetian Crete and the Emirates of Monteshe and Aydin (1300-1415)*, Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia, Venice. The Franks operated through Narbonne. To avoid restrictions in certain ports, the goods were delivered to a free port, or one with a more relaxed jurisdiction, which was often on islands such as Cyprus or Rhodes. PIERRE-VINCENT CLAVERIE, (2019), "Grandeur et décadence de la communauté narbonnaise de Chypre au Moyen Âge", *Επετηρίδα*, 39, pp. 9-127. The Arab Abulfeda (1273-1331) mentions in 1321 the usual shipments of copper and tin from English and Irish mines, which arrived in Alexandria from Narbonne. J.T. REINAUD, (1848), *Géographie d'Aboufèda traduite de l'arabe en français*, Imprimerie nationale, Paris, t. II, p. 307: "*Le fleuve qui coule au midi, la Garonne, est remonté par les navires qui viennent de la mer environnante avec de l'étain et du cuivre apportés de l'Angleterre et de l'Irlande. De Toulouse, ces métaux sont transportés à dos d'animaux à Narbonne d'où on les expédie*

recorded the presence of *Raymundus de Terminis* on the island of Corfu and in Albanian cities. He served as bailiff or in commercial operations for Robert of Naples and Philip of Tarento in the Adriatic and Ionian Seas. Moreover, I have also shown that the first commentators of the pseudo-Lullian corpus, such as Petrus Voleacius of Ragusa (s.e. Dubrovnik) and the "*Graecus Philosophus*" Guido de Montanor, appeared precisely in this Adriatic area around 1400.¹⁰⁹

Returning to the analysis of the DSN treaty, the stylistic evolution of sections D+Q in relation to B+C is perfectly consistent with the hypothesis we have proposed regarding the identity of the *magister Testamenti*. He is an alchemist who has focused on laboratory practice for many years. In his 1330 *Liber Experimentorum*, he tells us that "visible attestation" and "experimental verification" had failed to convince certain people, prompting him to seek a justification beyond experience. He realised that he needed to develop a robust theoretical framework to underpin his alchemical work. Remember that this is the Middle Ages, when experimentation had no demonstrative value. This new approach resulted in the *Testamentum* of 1332.

It is an impressive theoretical achievement, but it has all the drawbacks of being a rapid project. While he initially arranged his key texts, a later, more cumulative approach is evident, involving revisions, glosses, rearrangements and the embedding of treatises or additional sections. For example, the section D+Q integrates texts that have independent formats: *De cura individuorum* [MP I.39a], *Tractatus septem rotarum* [MP I.39b], *Praxis universalis magni operis* [MP I.39e], *Questionarium* [MP IV.66], *Arbor philosophie sive alchimia* [MP IV.9] or *Practica sermocinalis* [inc. *Diximus de modo doctrina*].¹¹⁰ Thus, in the *Testamentum*, speaking about the tingent potency of a substance, he mentions a version of the *Questionario* that must be prior to 1332, specifically to a question about the composition of the alchemical ferment:

Testamentum I, 65: "*Quapropter constat omni sapienti, ratione experientie, quod ista maioritas tincture est maior quam omnis alia tinctura lapidis creati per naturam, sicut in Tractatu questionario largius et planius denotavimus, 22 questione in fermentorum mixtione in secunda parte*".

DSN, III, 1567, pp. 308-309. "*Quaestio quomodo fit fermentum compositum? [...] per istum est perfectum compositum fermentum quod dicitur gumma, quae habet tantam potentiam convertendi, quantum sufficit suae naturae*".

We should also expect an evolution in style, given the short time periods involved. If the first set was ready around 1332, the *Codicillus* would represent an intermediate stage in the complexity of its arguments, perhaps two or three years later, while the *Tertia distinctio* would be a denser, later exposition, with a first version completed a few years later. Cross-references between his earlier and later writings would have been added in the final stages, either by the author himself or by one of his followers.

sur des navires francs vers Alexandrie". Another example is the regular export of wine to the whole of North Africa. LOUIS MAS LATRIE, (1866), *Traité de paix et de commerce et documents divers concernant les relations des chrétiens avec les Arabes de l'Afrique*, Plon, Paris, pp. 215-223.

¹⁰⁹ I have studied them in: JOSE RODRIGUEZ GUERRERO, (2023), "Las leyendas alquímicas sobre Ramón Lull interpretadas a la luz de nuevos datos", *Azogue*, 9, pp. 167-210.

¹¹⁰ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms 112, 15th c., pp. 603-662.

III.4 Fourth stratum. The pseudepigraphy: A+B+C+D+Q+E

Some time later (ca.1360-1380), in Aragonese circles, a group of pseudepigraphers would have produced the pseudolullian DSN in its *textus receptus* format, adapting a stratum of the *magister Testamenti* in the form B+C+D+Q, to which they simply attributed the name of Ramon Llull and embedded Lullian elements.

An obvious manipulation is the set formed by the prologue and epilogue of the *textus receptus* (sections A and E), in which Llull's stays at the Parisian monastery of Vauvert are dramatised. These two additions go hand in hand and were produced at the same time. Section A presents a Ramon Llull desolated by the limited repercussions of his *arbor scientiae* project. He stages his meditation during a solitary walk and his subsequent talk with a *frater oratorii Sancti Benedicti*, who recognises him and encourages him to write about alchemy to demonstrate the efficiency of his system. They both end up walking to a monastery "...ibique morat traxit per aliqua tempora, et diversa librorum volumina composuit" in reference to the abbey of Vauvert, where Llull dictated his autobiography and, in whose library, he left a good number of his works. The people involved in these alterations were familiar with Llull's literature, since they are imitating the prologue of the *Disputatio eremitaie et Raimundi* (1298).¹¹¹ The epilogue or section E, entitled *De disputatione Monachi cum Raymundo*, is a clear continuation of the prologue, since Llull and the monk meet again with the book already finished, and they talk again, admiring each other for the work they have done.

Elements are also added to the body of the treatise. We know that they are additions because the manuscripts of the second stratum do not cite Llull's texts as their own, something which will occur in the later DSN according to the *textus receptus*. Thus, canon 23 of the first book lacks the famous Lullist paragraph in manuscript lat. 7177:

DSN, BNF, Ms. lat. 7177, f. 32v.	DSN, 1541, f. 30r-v:	DSN, 1616, pp. 62-63:
"Quod tunc non potest sciri propter confusionem graduationis medicinarum simplicium; aliorum qui elementorum que qualitatem appropriatam equalem proprie qualitati faciebant quod est impossibile, et contra cursum nature.	"Quod vero sciri non potest propter confusionem graduationis medicinarum simplicium, aliorum auctorum qualitatem appropriatam equalem proprie faciebas qualitati proprie quod est impossibile, et contra cursum nature.	"Quod facile sciri non potest propter confusionem graduationis medicinarum simplicium: aliorum auctorum qualitatem appropriatam aequalem faciebas qualitati propriae, quod est impossibile, et contra cursum nature.
	Nam regen regen maiorem oportet esset, non esset esset rex, et esset destructa simplicitas rerum et dominatio, et proprietates	Nam Regem oportet esse maiorem in regno suo omibus aliis: quia su caliter Red esset, et destructa simplicitas rerum

¹¹¹ <http://www.ub.edu/llulldb/bo.asp?bo=III.31> Ramón Llull complains in this work about the passage of time and the lack of success of his *Ars*. At this time, he meets a hermit on the banks of the Seine, with whom he proves his arguments concerning Peter Lombard's *Libri Quattuor Sententiarum*.

	<i>propria, et actio et passio. Valde prolixa est haec doctrina, sed sumus de intentione plus de hac materia in praesenti non tractare, quoniam in pluribus locis plene tractavimus de hac doctrina, ad quae te remittimus, ut est Liber principiorum medicine, qui dicitur ars medicine; Liber qui dicitur De ponderositate et levitate elementorum. Item Liber de regionibus sanitatis. Item liber qui dicitur Doctrina de gradibus in quibus ista scientia est fatis diffusa, quia per ista quae hic diximus fatis poteris de hac doctrina comprehendere.</i>	<i>et dominatio, et proprietas propria, et actio et passio. Valde prolixa est doctrina: sed sumus de intentione plus de hac materia in praesenti non tractare, quoniam in plene tractavimus de hac doctrina, ad quae remittimus: ut est Liber principiorum medicinae; liber qui dicitur Ars medicinae: Liber qui dicitur De ponderositate et levitate elementorum; Item De regiminis sanitatis: Item Liber qui dicitur Doctrina de gradibus, in quibus ista scientia fatis est diffusa: Et quia per ista quae hic diximus poteris faris de hac doctrina esse instructus.</i>
<i>Quaestio: Pater, cur huis non posuistis omnes medicinas... ”.</i>	<i>Quaestio. Cur hic non posuistis omnes medicinas... ”.</i>	<i>Quaestio: Pater, cur non posuistis omnes medicinas... ”.</i>

The pseudolullian editors (ca.1360-1380) not only inserted new elements but also altered existing ones. We will see this by reviewing the first canon of this section C_{IV.b} where there are also Lullist claims in all the printed and manuscript versions derived from the *textus receptus*. However, the sources of the lat. 7177 type present a very different account. The original author invites to study the principles of medicine (*principia medicinae*) which are known by reading *auctorum medicinae*. He recommends three types of books: the regimens of health (*Librum de regiminibus sanitatis*), the so-called *Signam de contrariis* and the *Librum urinarum et pulsum*. Their recommendations fit well with the content of C as it is in these first stratum.¹¹² However, an indeterminate number of pseudepigraphic editors intervened in the second half of the 14th century, converting all these generic recommendations into a list of Llullian treatises: *De principiis et gradibus medicinae*; *De regionibus sanitatis*; *De syllogismi contrariis*; keeping the *Librum urinarum et pulsum* even though Llull wrote nothing under that title.

¹¹² The health regime is linked to parts of C such as the canons *res attractivae* (can.25), *res purgantes* (can.26), *res quae constringunt ventrem et sanguinem* (can.27) *res indurativae* (can.28), *res mollificativae* (can.29), *res quae maurant et saniem educunt* (can.30), *res corrosive* (can.31), *res conglutinativae carnis et vulnerum mundificativae* (can.32) *res aperitivae* (can.33), *res confortantes* (can.41), *res veneno repugnantes* (can.42). The *Signam de contrariis* alludes to treatment by signatures, in the style of Johannes Paulinus (fl.1290) or the already mentioned Nicholas of Poland. His recommendation of the *Librum urinarum et pulsum* is evidence that he is someone interested in the questions of the so-called “new Galenism”.

DSN, BNF, Ms. lat. 7177, lib. II, can. 1:	DSN, 1541, lib. II, can. 1:	DSN, 1567, lib. II, can. 1:
“<i>Quaestio. Pater, quomodo cognoscam gradum infirmitatum et qualitatis, cum nullus philosophorum talem doctrinam posuerit in libris suis?</i> <i>Solutio: Fili mi, recurras ad principia medicinae et ad auctorum medicinae, et ad Librum de Regiminibus sanitatis, et ad Signam de contrariis, et ad Librum urinarum et pulsum quod super artem medicinae compusimus”.</i>	“<i>Quaestio. Quomodo cognoscam gradum infirmitatis qualitatis cum nullus philosophorum talem doctrinam posuerit in libris suis?</i> <i>Solutio: Recurras ad Principia medicinae, et ad Figuram de contrariis, et ad Librum urinarum et pulsum, quos super artem medicinae compusimus”.</i>	“<i>Quaestio. Pater, quomodo cognoscam gradum infirmitatis qualitatis cum nullus philosophorum talem doctrinam posuerit in libris suis?</i> <i>Solutio: Fili mi, recurras ad Principia medicinae, et ad Librum regionibus sanitatis, et ad Figuram de contrariis, et ad Librum urinarum et pulsum, quos super artem medicinae compusimus”.</i>

The presence of this *Librum urinarum et pulsum* helps us to understand the order of the versions. A forger familiar with Lullism, as is evident from sections A and E, would not have assembled a paragraph with a non-existent title from among those left by Ramon Llull. This would only have been done by someone who came across a previous text, to which he modified some parts, which he did not know how to intervene.¹¹³

The synopsis also highlights several pseudepigraphers in successive stages. A first one modifies the original text to create two Lullian titles *Liber principiorum medicinae* (Bonner, II.A.10) and *De syllogismi contrariis* (Bonner, IV.37). A second adds the *Librum regionibus sanitatis* (Bonner, III.60). Later hands also added an *Ars medicinae*, referring to the *Ars compendiosa medicinae* (Bonner, II.B.8).¹¹⁴ The comparative study of the documentary sources shows us a gradual process of lulification, although a critical study is necessary, as well as a tidying up, to bring out the full extent of this process.

III.5 - The origin and the first pseudepigraphic steps.

Thirty or forty years after the *magister Testamenti* was written, the first pseudolullian nucleus was born in Valencia. This was around 1360-1380, and certain works were to be attributed to Ramón Llull. The most important is the *De secretis naturae* and to a lesser extent the *Testamentum* and the *Codicillo*.¹¹⁵

The Catalan alchemist and Carmelite Guillem Sedacer (†1382) was the first to treat Llull as a great authority on alchemy. He does so in his *Sedacina totius artis alkimie*,

¹¹³ Apparently the first pseudepigraphist believes he is dealing with a text of possible Lullian origin and “orients” it in some sections, as in the case of this collection of quotations. He retouches certain titles or phrases, bringing them closer to the Lullian corpus, and leaves out those which had no possible interpretation for him, as in the case of the *Librum urinarum et pulsum*.

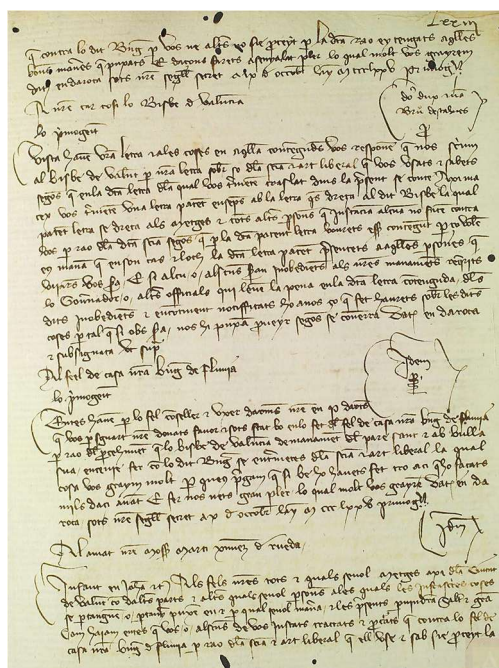
¹¹⁴ Cambridge, Trinity College, O.3.27, 15th c., ff. 1r-98r, cf. f. 31r.

¹¹⁵ JOSÉ RODRIGUEZ GUERRERO & DOMINGO IGLESIAS, (2023), “An Alchemical Epistle attributed to the Lullist Pere Rossell (fl.1376-1403)”, *Azogue*, 9, pp. 106-166.

dated in its critical edition between 1378-1382.¹¹⁶ In our study we have been able to determine that this treatise was written in Valencia around 1581-1582, while Guillem was living in the house of Constança de Vic, widow of a wealthy local merchant.¹¹⁷ The quotation is 40 years earlier than other similar ones that we can clearly date. This indicates a proximity to the pseudepigraphic focus, which would point to the Valencian kingdom as a key point in the diffusion of pseudolullian alchemy, which in its origin would be eminently medical.

A wealthy merchant named Berenguer Fluvià (fl.1317-1375) would be its great promoter, as he received in 1369 a plenary licence from the Aragonese king Peter IV to teach certain Lullian medicine, which implied knowledge of astronomy and natural philosophy “...et qualibet alia parte dicte sciencie uti libere valeatis”.¹¹⁸ This licence has so far been interpreted as forming the basis of an orthodox school of philosophical Lullism. However, we have found unpublished documentation revealing that the authorisation was granted by the king as a personal favour to Berenguer, who was not a qualified physician. The purpose was to limit the action of the official medical colleges¹¹⁹.

Indeed, local doctors in Valencia attempted to initiate disciplinary proceedings against Fluvià for malpractice, but the monarch and his son defended him in four letters written in 1375. This royal privilege is considered a unique and exceptional recognition of Peter IV for being cured of ailments in Valencia that “*alcun metge nons sabé curar*”. Fluvià is allowed to teach and practise “...la sciencia e art liberal que voos usais” because it would be a “*gran dampnatge*”, both for the monarch and for his son the infant “*que lo dit Berenguer no porie fer alcuna cura ne servey a nos*”.



ACA, Cancillería, R. 1742, f. 73r.

¹¹⁶ PASCALE BARTHÉLEMY, (2002), *La Sedacina ou l'Oeuvre au crible : l'alchimie de Guillaume Sedacer carme catalan de la fin du XIV siècle*, SEHA / Archè, Milan / Paris, t. II, p. 19.

¹¹⁷ As soon as Guillem died, Constança received a letter from the Infante Juan asking her for a list of the codices the monk had left in his house, and requesting that she not sell them. Almost a year later, on 15 May 1383, he instructed her to send the whole set to the Carmelite convent in Barcelona. ANTONIO RUBIÓ Y LLUCH, (1921), *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-eva*, Institut d'estudis catalans, Barcelona, II, p. 265.

¹¹⁸ Edited at: <http://www.ub.edu/llulldb/documents.asp?idd=260>

¹¹⁹ Barcelona, Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Cancillería, R. 1742, f. 73r-v.

In 1392, King John I renewed this plenary safe conduct in the name of a Valencian juror named Francesc de Luna or Llúria (d.1374-1395).¹²⁰ This man was another merchant dedicated to the fruit market. His licence indicates that he practised on his own account a certain “*arte medecine et chirurgie*” to cure the poor. To this licence of Francesc was added a year later a certain hermit named Pere Rossell (fl.1389-1403), of whom an epistle dated 1397 is preserved to make an alchemical elixir from the quintessence of wine. His practice is inspired by the *Testamentum* and the *Liber de secretis naturae*, and the result is to be used: “...to serve God and to exercise works of charity”.¹²¹

The descriptions of all these licences coincide with the assumptions of the *De secretis naturae seu de quintaessentia*, which is the true foundational text of alchemical pseudolullism.¹²² The evidence suggests that there was a group of Lullists in Valencia who developed a form of therapy based on certain texts by Llull and the *magister Testamenti*. Interestingly, we know nothing about this group’s Lullian medicine. There is no mention of the Lullist therapists who sought protection under the plenary licence granted by the Aragonese kings, including figures such as Berenguer Fluvià, Pere Figuerola, Pere Geronès, Francesc de Llúria, Galceran Çes Fàbregas and Pere Rossell. There is no record of their teachings, nor have any other Catalan Lullists commented on the medical texts used for decades to develop their “Lullian” and “liberal” surgery.

However, we do have well documented early pseudo-Lullian activity in the city as early as 1317.¹²³ The existence of a Lullian school of art, medicine and surgery between Valencia and Alcoy is consistent with the history of Catalan Lullism in the 14th century, for which there is little concrete data between 1330 and 1400. While a few bookkeepers and scattered centres of instruction are recorded, they are not organised through scholastic links. There were no stable, continuous bases for institutionalisation in their teaching, nor

¹²⁰ Edited in: <http://www.ub.edu/llulldb/documents.asp?idd=252>

¹²¹ “*Littere destinate domino N, per religiosum et scientissimum virum dominum fratrem Petrum Roselli artis magistri Raymundi Lullii egregium professorem ac sacratissime philosophie dilucidum et peritissimum secretorum rimatorem, anno 1397*”. Edited with Spanish translation in: RODRIGUEZ GUERRERO & IGLESIAS, (2023), “An Alchemical Epistle attributed to the Lullist Pere Rossell (fl.1376-1403)”, *Azogue*, 9, pp. 156-166. Documents of the time tell us that he founded a school of this Lullian medicine and surgery in Alcoy. In my study I have revealed that the local *consell* granted aid in 1390 to a hospital set up there by a physician, a surgeon and a *spitalera*, who gave regular assistance to the poor and “needy”. The location is strange, half a day’s journey from the city of Valencia, as the aid to the needy would have been much greater in the city, where Francesc himself lived. Alcoy was a remote and eminently agricultural place, with a rugged topography and barely 350 inhabitants in 1400. The only reason for its choice was that it was surrounded at that time by Saracens, established in farmhouses and hamlets scattered throughout the Seta and Travadell Valleys, the Sierra Mariola, the Carrascal de la Fuente Roja and the Sierra de Aitana. Thus, the motivation would be Llull’s ultimate ideal of evangelising the faithful of other religions. It is an imitation of the Miramar language school but focused on medicine. Its activity must have been very brief, as the place was abandoned in 1410. See: JOSÉ LUIS SANTONJA CARDONA, (1998), *Iglesia y Sociedad en una Villa Valenciana: Alcoi (1300-1845)*, unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Alicante, pp. 123-124.

¹²² [ps-]RAMON LLULL, (1541), *De secretis naturae*, Balthassarum Beck, Argentorati, lib. I, prologue: “*Incipit liber secretorum naturae, seu quintae essentiae, qui docet eius extractionem et applicationem ad corpora humana ad opera mirabilia et fere divina perficienda [...] quoniam vero desiderium meum et ut artistae huius artis deum contemplantes per bona opera potius deum intelligant, recolant, et ament, pauperibus, viudis, orphanis male habentibus. Sine pretio magno succurrendo, et huiusmodi opera divina faciendo, ut non sint similes illi, qui domini talentum abscondidit, et ad finem sibi commissum non exhibuit, ut scribit Matth. XXVI. capitulo. Confidens autem in illo, qui inquit per Moysen, Ero in ore tuo, et re doceam quid loquaris, hic secretissimum secretorum archanorum archanum*”.

¹²³ JOAQUIM CARRERAS ARTAU, (1972), “Dues notes sobre el lullisme trecentista”, *Estudios Lulianos*, 16, pp. 231-239, cf. p. 234. J. PERARNAU, (1985), “El lul·lisme de Mallorca a Castella a través de València. Edició de l’*Art abreuçada de confessió*”, *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics*, 4, pp. 61-172. 61-172.

any regulated, systematic collections. These characteristics always generate heterogeneity and singular movements. As Professor Jaume de Puig rightly said, it was the century of “Lullisms”.¹²⁴ Works by the mallorcan blessed originally written in different Mediterranean places arrived in Mallorca, Valencia and Barcelona, and were interpreted in very different ways. In this context of hermit readers, autodidactic training and a rain of sources, the germ of a medicine with alchemical ramifications is feasible, inspired by Ramon Llull’s own medical texts together with others from the *magister Testamenti* of Neapolitan and Adriatic origin, mistakenly taken for Lullian work.

This fact also explains the striking silence about the Pseudo-Lullian medical-alchemical tradition in the great Aragonese schools, such as Barcelona or Mallorca. Their inventories only include authentic writings by Llull up to the beginning of the 16th century.¹²⁵ Even when we go back to the 1515 inventory attributed to Cardinal Cisneros, there is no trace of alchemy in the 83 recognised works. There are no anecdotal notes or improbable suggestions on this subject.¹²⁶

Another valuable aspect is this firm and clear lack of interest amidst the explosion of alchemical pseudolullism between 1400 and 1500. Unlike the Germans, French, English and Italians, who copied alchemical texts and often expressed their reservations and were responsible for transmitting and preserving these works, the Aragonese did not do so. It was as if the fabulous origin of these works was clear and evident to them.

The anonymous protagonists of the pseudepigraphic movement seem to have worked with materials in Latin and Catalan, which they would have dispersed at the beginning of the 15th century with clearly pseudepigraphic overtones. If we use the *Base de Dades Ramon Llull (Llull DB)* of the University of Barcelona, by tracing the first alchemical documents in catalogues, inventories, bookshops or wills, the earliest are precisely three copies of the *De secretis naturae* owned by Nicolaus de Rabuazio (1418), and by the physicians Pietro Fica (1433) and Joan d’Esplugues (1430).¹²⁷ There is also an early

¹²⁴ JAUME DE PUIG I OLIVER, (2000), “El “Dialogus contra lullistas” de Nicolau Eimeric. Edició i estudi”, *Arxiu de textos catalans antics*, 19, pp. 7-296 [=DcL], p. 76: “Això confirmaria la impressió que no hi ha hagut només un lul·lisme a la Corona d’Aragó, durant els tres-cents, sinó diversos. But throughout this century a part of the auctonomous spiritualism has been linked to the lullyrian disciple”.

¹²⁵ For example, the library of the lulist Antoni Sedacer (112 titles in 1431), that of the friar Martí de Vilagrau (57 titles; 1434), the anonymous *Inventory of Perpignan* (27 titles; 1435), the collection of the presbyter Guillem Rovira (34 titles; 1436-1437), that of Bartomeu Bols (33 titles; 1439), or the two catalogues of the “*Scola del Reverend mestre Ramon Llull*” in Barcelona, from 1466 and 1488, where not a single alchemical title appears among many dozens. See: <http://www.ub.edu/llulldb/cat.asp>

¹²⁶ Edited at: <http://www.ub.edu/llulldb/cat1.asp?CIS> According to scholars, the set reflects the texts handled in Palma de Mallorca by Nicolau de Pacs (fl.1515-1560) when he settled in Alcalá de Henares to run a chair of Lullism in 1508. Some time later, the estate register of the prominent lulist Joan Bonllavi (†1526) records 71 books attributed to Llull, none of which are on alchemy. Published at: <http://www.ub.edu/llulldb/cat1.asp?JB> It is important to note that this is a private document, of an administrative nature, which accredits his total lack of interest in possessing treatises of this type.

¹²⁷ Rabuazio was a *magister in artibus* who also left as an inheritance alchemical instruments, such as a distillatory and various vessels. STEFANO RAPISARDA, (2006), “Un Frammento Alchemico in Volgare Siciliano Medievale”, *Medioevo letterario d’Italia*, 3, pp. 137-144, p. 138. An interesting detail is that both Rabuazio and Pietro Fica had residences in the Sicilian town of Sciacca. HENRI BRESC, (1969), “Les livres et la culture à Palerme sous Alphonse le Magnanime”, *Mélanges de l’école française de Rome*, 81 (1), pp. 321-386, cf. p. 345. Joan d’Esplugues also lived in Sicily, Naples and above all in Bologna, where he is documented at the university between 1408 and 1423. XAVIER ESPLUGA, (2018), “Bernat d’Esplugues, servant of two patrons? L’escrivà de la ciutat, ambaixador del Magnànim (1420)?”, *Arxius*, 23, pp. 75-83, cf. p. 81. The inventory of his books, preserved in the Arxiu de la Catedral de Barcelona, describes a codex in this way: “*Un libret scrit en pergamins de mà del dit defunct, intitulat Primus liber de consideratione quinte essentie. E comença: “dixit Salamon”. E feneix: erogatur*”. I think it can be identified with Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 395, 15th c., which contains an anonymous version of the *De secretis naturae* as written by John of Rupescissa on ff. 1r-48r. It has some tables at the end and

listing of seven works in manuscript 1727 of the Biblioteca de Catalunya, which according to the copyist were kept by a certain “*magister Simon*” in the city of Valencia.¹²⁸

In a geographical analysis, we see a period from 1400 to 1430 with clearly pseudepigraphic sources linked to Catalan materials, or of Catalan origin, which would be associated with Valencia or the Mediterranean influenced at that time by the Crown of Aragon. Thus, the earliest complete copy of the *Testamentum* in Latin, completed in 1435 by Nicolás de Cusa, was taken from a set of texts in Catalan or Occitan.¹²⁹ The oldest fragment of the *Testamentum* with an explicit Lullian attribution, which corresponds to his final *Cantinella*, is preserved in Catalan in a manuscript dated around 1390-1400 “*from the library of the Royal Convent of St. Dominic*” in Mallorca.¹³⁰ The earliest Latin copy of which we have evidence in England was completed in 1443 by a certain *Lambertus*, also from an original in Catalan. Another Latin copy in English script from 1446 is also said to have been made from a Catalan original.¹³¹

From 1400 onwards, the treatises circulated throughout Southern Italy and the Adriatic Sea with a pseudepigraphic attribution. The first commentators appeared in this region, convinced that they were reading the work of an alchemist named Lull. These commentators have gone practically unnoticed, including Petrus Voleacius of Ragusa (s.e. Dubrovnik), the “*Graecus Philosophus*” Guido of Montanor and the monk *Ferrarius*. A few years later we find the first Lullian legend in the Adriatic, namely in the *Liber de lapide philosophorum* (ca.1439-1449) by Guillaume Fabri of Dya, a jurist and physician writing from the town of Pula in Istria.¹³² From his quotations we know that he has read at least the *Testamentum*, the *Codicil* and the *Compendium animae transmutationis metallorum*. He is fully convinced that they are the work of Ramon Llull and he assembles a biographical account based on the anecdotes he finds in these readings.

In short, at the end of the 14th and beginning of the 15th century, authors from the Adriatic region would have had access to some primitive texts of the *magister Testamenti* signed as *Raymundus de insula Maioricarum*, or *magister Raymundus*, with the original colophons and dedications to Edward III and Robert of Naples. They would have been reinterpreted according to other Catalan versions, or Latin versions of Catalan origin, already modified with the Pseudolullian attribution, which would have begun to spread from the Crown of Aragon around 1400. Guillaume Fabri de Dya’s Aragonese connection is evident, for he expressly states that among the “modern” or current kings of whom he

is next to the *tertia distinctio* (60r-113r) which gives it a clear pseudolullian tone. This interesting document has comments in Catalan (49v-53r and 115r-119r).

¹²⁸ Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, Ms. 1727, 15th c. (1st half), f. 51r: “*Raymundus Lullii fecit omnes istos libros infrascriptos artis: Testamentum, Codicillus; Artem magicam [=Ars intellectiva]; Quintam essentiam; Accur[tationis]; Lapidarium; Apertorium. Sunt in numero septem libri vero eciam [...] tibi quod, contemptis omnibus libris alkimie, solummodo habeas omnes predictos libros magistri Raymundi Lullii ex eo quia in ipsis continetur [tot]a ars. Quos habet magister Simon in Valencia et Johannes Bonus in [?]ria*”.

¹²⁹ See: MICHELA PEREIRA, (2005), “Testi alchemici pseudolulliani nei manoscritti del Cusano”, in: Alexander Fidora et Ermenegildo Bidese (eds.), *Ramon Llull und Nikolaus von Kues: Eine Begegnung im Zeichen der Toleranz*, Brepols, Turnhout: pp. 205-228, cf. p. 213.

¹³⁰ Palma, Public Library, Ms. 1025, ff. 15th c. (2nd half), ff. 86r-v.

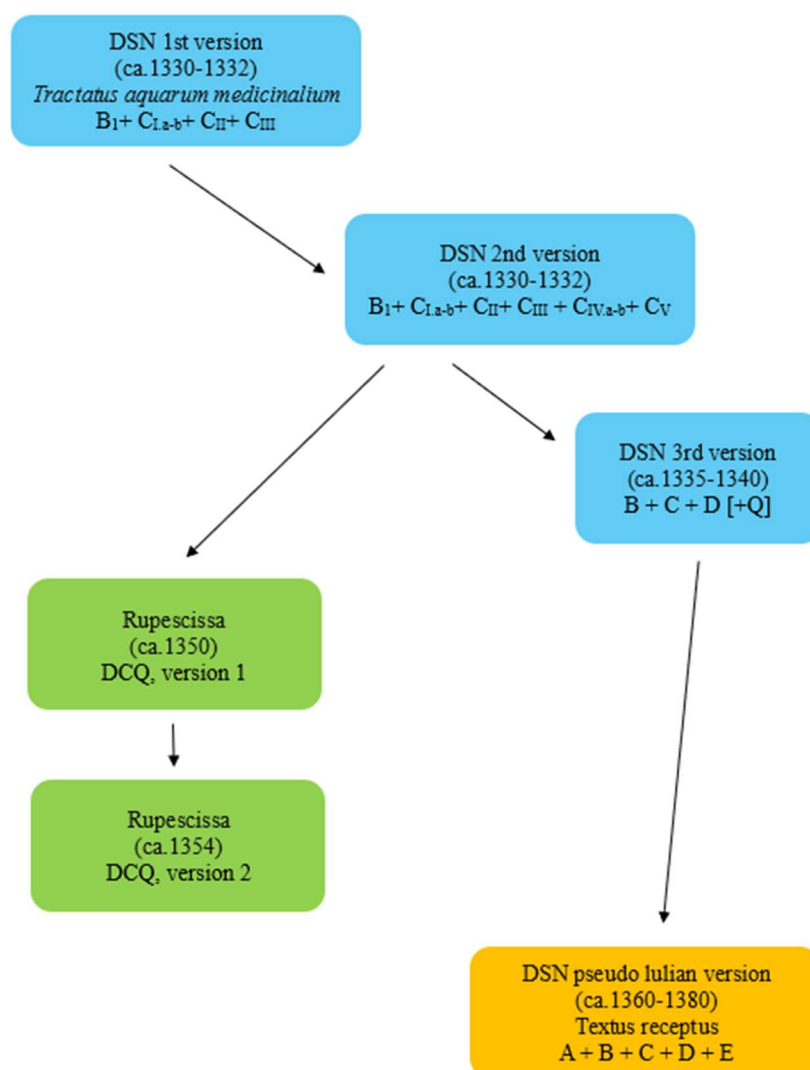
¹³¹ Yale University, Ms. 12 (15th century), ff. 7r-87r: “...*Explicit Theorica testamenti translata de hispanica Lingua in Latinam Anno 1446 Deo gracias*”. *Hispanica* refers to a language of the Iberian Peninsula.

¹³² On this author: <http://www.ub.edu/llulldb/gent.asp?id=2448> On his work and references to Llull: C. CRISCIANI, (2002), *Il papa e l'alchimia: Felice V, Guglielmo Fabri e l'elixir*, Viella, Roma, pp. 89-96, 146, 166 and 168 [=Dya.LLP].

can testify, Alfonso V of Aragon (1416-1458) is the one who most honoured the alchemists.¹³³

IV. *The relationship between the DSN of the magister Testamenti and the DCQ of Rupescissa.*

Current criticism prioritises DCQ over the DSN. To understand this, we must bear in mind that this status quo was established before Michela Pereira published her conclusions around 2000-2010. Contemporary 20th-century researchers assumed that the DSN, like the *Testamentum* and its associated texts, was a forgery from the late 14th and early 15th centuries. Classic studies such as those by Thorndike and Halleux were based on the premise of giving priority to Rupescissa. In my argumentation, I revealed that there are previous versions and Rupescissa would have been inspired by one of them, specifically the second one, as can be seen in this diagram.



¹³³ Dya.LLP, p. 146: "...modernus rex Aragonum Alfonsus semper artifices multipliciter honoravit".

Let us comment on some details that indicate this. If we look at the medical themes, the primitive strata of the DSN, which we have analysed above, place the *pestinential* fevers in the same rank as others such as *Quartan*, *Tertian*, *Common* or *Continuous*. In fact, their description is the shortest of all. The text defines them as an arbitrary imbalance in the humoral balance. The treatment consists of a simple pharmaceutical form composed from the quintessence of wine, combined with various vegetable substances. The author claims that any patient is cured in three hours and perfect in one day. It is as simple as that. There is no reference to the *pestilential plagae*, the *plague magna* or the *magna mortalitas* that ravaged Europe on several occasions since 1348. At no point does he single it out as a singular or particularly harmful epidemic, nor does he give it any greater gravity or importance than other fevers. On the contrary, he only speaks of plagues, raising the tone when dealing with leprosy (s.e. *scientia in cura leprosum*), which he considers a divine punishment, citing the disease of Gehazi (I Kings 5, 1-27) and the legend of the Roman Emperor Constantine I. This is logical in a text which, as we are explaining, must have been written in the 30s of the 14th century and ignores the events of the 50s.

The later version of Rupescissa (ca.1350-1354) completely changes the section on the *pestinential* fevers, to introduce apocalyptic terms in keeping with the disasters that had occurred since 1348, comparing their effects with the plagues sent by Moses to Egypt. The Franciscan assures us that “one can be healed” of the plague with the quintessence, but he is elusive in his arguments, as he gives no time frame, no dosage, and no precise treatment. If the DSN had been written in the second half of the 14th century, copying Rupescissa, it would still place plague very prominently among the diseases of that time. It is supposed to be a pseudepigraphic construction seeking popularity and dissemination. Such a work would never have reformed the chapter on the *pestinential* fevers to make them less serious and present them at the same level as other minor ones, since it was the plague par excellence at the time, not only because of the colossal pandemic of 1348-1352, but also because of the constant outbreaks of 1361-1362, 1373-1374, 1382-1383, 1387 and 1395.¹³⁴

There are also obvious examples of editorial fatigue in Rupescissa's DCQ. This is a phenomenon that inevitably occurs when one writer relies heavily on the work of another. For example, according to the *magister Testamenti*, gold is used to make the most excellent metallic water, and pearls (*margaritarum seu perlarum*) are used to make the best mineral water. We can find references in the third book of the *Testamentum* and in the *Liber lapidarii*. In the treatise DSN, these two waters are expressly highlighted above the rest in section C_{II}, and with an even greater emphasis on C_{III}, which is partially reproduced in canons 43 to 45 of the printed editions. I have already explained that its content is simplified or absent with respect to manuscripts such as BNF lat. 7177. In the second stratum we have also seen that the author adds two new sections C_{IV} and C_V in which he refers to these two waters as additional ingredients that enhance the healing power of any remedy. Adding them is very important because section C_{IV} deals with the most complicated diseases or *morbi incurabiles*:

¹³⁴ See the reasoning of the editor of the *Traité des eaux artificielles* for dating this text to the first half of the 14th century. DENISE HILLARD (ed.), (2012), *Traité des eaux artificielles. Édition critique*, (op. cit.), p. 11: “L'absence de tout remède contre la peste est d'une décisive importance pour la chronologie. Peut-on imaginer qu'un ouvrage de médecine, rédigé après la terrible peste noire de 1348, ne proposerait rien contre cette maladie, d'autant que cette dernière n'a cessé de servir sporadiquement...?”.

DSN, II, 1:

"...accipias quintam aquae ardentis conditionatam per modum primi librim infra quam infunde quintam essentiam auri et perlarum [...] et vino quod biberit addat quintam essentiam auri et perlarum sicut te docuit primus liber discrete et multi solerter".

Rupescissa copies the text of C_{IV} and C_V without remembering that he had reformed the previous section C_{III}, removing the prescriptions of transmutatory and lapidific alchemy for *"...obedientia quam victimae propter reverentiam statutorum ordinis nostri..."* (DCQ, I, 44). Thus, in the first book of the DCQ there is no descriptions of pearl water as something extraordinary compared to other mineral waters. The only reference is very generic. It applies to certain raw materials as *capillus veneris*, *radix lilii*, *cassia fistula*, *manna* and *cadmia aurea*. It merely states that pearl water or cadmia water can be made by pulverising and mixing them with alcohol.

DCQ I, XXXI:

"Et iam docui qualiter quintam essentiam auri affigas in caelo nostro: sed a perlis et cadmia aurea et similibus extrahes quintam essentiam sic: pulverizes ea donec efficiantur sine tactu, et tunc pulverem poice in caelo nostro: quia profecto totam pulveris virtutem et quintam essentiam associabis ibi".

In the second book of the DCQ about *morbi incurabiles*, Rupescissa copies from the *magister Testamenti* the need for pearl water at the same level of prodigious capacity as gold water:

DCQ, II, 1:

"...accipias quintam essentiam aquae ardentis in vase circulationis rectificatam [...] sicut liber primus te docuit in quam infundas auri quintam essentiam et perlarum [...] in quo sit affixa quinta essentia auri et perlarum, sicut docuit primus liber".

DCQ, II, 7:

"Recipe ergo paeoniam et herbam (vel radicem) angelicam quae aliter dicitur angelaria, et crocum et quintam essentiam auri et perlarum, et misce cum quinta essentia...".

DCQ, II, 7:

"Infunde ergo in quinta essentia qualitates contrariantes veneno et que cor confortant, ut quintam essentiam auri, perlarum, croci paeoniae, angelicae...".

DCQ, II, 18:

"Est ergo eius cura verissima, ut ministres quintam essentiam supradictam mediatam cum quinta essentia sanguinis, et cum quinta essentia auri et perlarum...".

The argument put forward in the *magister Testamenti* makes more sense, as he always highlights the special nature of these two waters. That is why they are so important to him

when treating very serious illnesses. Rupescissa goes into detail when discussing gold, but says very little about pearl water, which he does not actually comment on independently, but only refers to in a couple of lines.

Another key element already pointed out is the presence of identifying ideas of the *magister Testamenti*, which are very difficult to see in other alchemists. The most obvious one is insolation. We have already commented that for him it is a capital operation within the alchemical practice, either by direct action or by exposures to the open sky. He defines it as a *res secreta* and key *preparacio philosophicalis* to transmute *individuum in formam et speciem*:

Testamentum I, 90:

“...cum preparacione philosophicali, quousque transierit per quinque planetas et postea veniat ad Lunam; et quando transierit per sex planetas, postea veniet ad Solem, qui totum illuminat et clarificat”.

Testamentum I, 68:

“...ille debet stare in loco solis, portans in se vim patris. Pater suo filio prestavit suam potestatem: iste est noster sol et nostrum aurum influxum. Tamen est nostra anima et non in alio et nostrum es, in quo est dictus sol...”.

His experimental observations lead him to assert that the alchemist operates in a similar way to farmers (*villanorum rusticorum*), who work by complementing the action of heaven (*virtutum celestium*) and the work on the field *cum seminacione, aracione, culturacione, eciam cum impinguacione terre*. The key to this whole process is the *calore solari*:

Testamentum I, 27:

*“Igitur nos dicimus firmiter res exanimatas et esse bene et fortiter probatas, que per gentes mundi sunt tantum desiderate. Quapropter nos dicimus quod per opera villanorum rusticorum adiuvantur et succurruntur facta virtutum celestium cum seminacione, aracione, culturacione, eciam cum impinguacione terre: tali modo ipsi adiuvant naturam, ad citius expediendum et fructum meliorandum. Consimiliter dicimus quod simile est nostrum magisterium, quia primo necesse est quod substancia, que est pura natura nostri lapidis, resolvatur cum subtiliacione sue grosse substancie et postea putrefiat et humidum separetur, quod est frigidum innaturale **cum calore solari, qui vadit contra solem**”.*

This whole idea is very much integrated in section C₁ of the DSN, which we have already presented above as an adaptation of the first chapters of the *Liber lapidarii*. We have also found it in many other parts:

DSN I, 7:

*“Capias igitur in dei nomine quamunque rem a qua voveris quintam essentiam separare, et mitte illam in nostram quintam essentiam vini, **et pone ad fortem solem in vere**”.*

At the same time, Rupescisa is going to reform many elements of the textual structure. He is going to eliminate the whole of section C_{I.a} by presenting arguments on the edge of a magical text. The *magister Testamenti*'s ideas about the *Entium realium coelorum et planetarum* acting *descendo per impressionem virtute influentie* were swampy for the philosophical framework of his time. He himself was aware of this and his original corpus is riddled with warnings not to confuse his proposals with texts of magic *aut factum per incantacionem cum figura magice*.

However, insolation was such a central operation in his operative that Rupescissa cannot help but make it his own, albeit by introducing a discourse in more scholastic terms. Thus, the sun's rays are for the Franciscan an *aurum Dei* that transfers to the earth the celestial properties of the *quinta Essentia superius*:

DCQ, I, 12:

"...aurum disponatur a Sole et habeat proprietates Solis, et Sol influat radios, lumen et calorem, quae tria sunt principia naturalia vegabilium et vitae animalis. Certem hoc idem habet aurum Dei, non autem aurum hominis, ud est alchimiae. Et nunc hora est ut pandam tibi qualiter influxis radiorum auri nostri scilicet Solis, insigatur in caelo, id est in quinta Essentia superius quaesita, nec non et lux eius et calor et incorruptibilitas et bonitas omnium proprietatum illius ad vivificandum corpus nostrum..."

Continuing with his analogy, he also describes as *aurum Dei* the eau-de-vie or distilled alcohol, which would contain all the celestial virtues of sunlight:

DCQ, I, 14:

"...Deus creavit talem virtutem in aqua ardente, quod ex auro ignito extrahat omnes virtutes auri, et incorporat sibi et retinet radios, lumen, colorem, et qualitatem, incorruptibilitatem, durabilitatem, soliditatem, et omnes proprietates Solis caelestis..."

At the operative level also, the same theme appears repeatedly. For example:

DCQ, I, 14:

"...non enim eudeas extinguere laminas aureas in essentia quinta, quia perderes ea. Modo in veritate habes coelum incorruptibile, non simpliciter, sed Solem infixum in eo ad fortius influendum lumen vitae, radios virtutum, conservationem naturae, et fixationem quintae Essentiae..."

DCQ, I, 42, Ad extrahendum quintam essentiam a ferro et cupro:

"...accipe eorum limaturam et intra acetum distillatum mittas cum sale communi vel sale ammoniaco, et ad fortem Solem deserveat..."

DCQ, I, 4:

“...cum quinta Essentia et sole vis curare caput tuum infirmum, quintae Essentiae et solis eius augmentabis influxum cum stellis nostris, quae sunt generatae in influxu stellarum signi arietis...”

The alchemists who treat this subject with acceptance are very few. It is significant that almost all of them are in the orbit of the *magister Testamenti*, either as colleagues or as sources close in time. For example, Thomas Capellanus in his *Summa de essentiis essentiarum* (1306-1309) makes a radical defence, supported by the effectiveness of the elliptical paraboloid mirrors.¹³⁵

“...propter quod quando similitudo solis vel radius confortatus per continuationem solis efficitur ignis. Ergo sol habet in se naturam igneam, nam non efficitur ignis nisi sol haberet in se virtutem igneam vel natura. Hoc autem maxime patet in speculis comburentibus, potest enim fieri speculum talis dispositionis et formae...”

The fact that a late medieval alchemist, with some medical training, accepts the influence of sunlight as a causative agent is not surprising. There are medical texts in which sunlight practices are described for various purposes, such as *"macerationem"*, *"naturalis coctionem"* or *"succos densari"*. For example, the *Antidotarium* (ca.1337) attributed to Arnau de Vilanova recommends improving rose, violet, mastic or jasmine oils by means of an operation consisting of *suspendatur ad solem per quadriginta dies*, which would increase their therapeutic qualities. John of Gaddesden (1280-1361) in his *Rosa Anglica* endorses an exposure of certain brews to the sun, in order to *"remove the feculent hypostasis (underlying substance)"*.¹³⁶ There are also texts with recipes for attracting and appropriate to oneself (lat. *assumere*) the virtue of the sun's rays. One of the most famous is a cure for deafness in the *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum*.¹³⁷

De cura surditatis.
Hoc medicamentum surdis est auribus aptum:
ex sempervive succo cocliaria bina,
tantumdem sumas olei, quod prebet oliva,
hinc in ovi testa, porrorum collige succum,
lactantis puerum tantundem sumito lactis,

¹³⁵ He was also linked to King Robert of Naples as his chaplain. [ps-]THOMAS AQUINAS, (1488), *Opusculum præclarum beati Thomæ Aquinatis quod de esse et essentiis tum realibus tum intentionalibus inscribitur*, Santriter et De Sanctis, Venetiis, f. 10r.

¹³⁶ The *Rosa Anglica* was compiled between 1307 and 1314, when Gaddesden prepared his first version with prologue and dedication. He would later make successive additions. JOHN OF GADDESSEN, (1595), *Joannis Anglici Praxis medica, Rosa Anglica dicta, quatuor libris distincta: de morbis particularibus, de febribus, de chirurgia, et pharmacopoeia*, Typis Michaëlis Mangeri, Augustae Vindelicorum, p. 197: *“...colatura ponatur in ampullam vitream et suspendatur ad solem, fiat quem permissio de vase in vas, abijciendo hypostasun, vel foeculentam materiam, deinde cum instrumento aliquid illius succi instilletur oculo. Hoc enim oculum sanum conservat”*.

¹³⁷ VIRGINIA DE FRUTOS GONZÁLEZ, (2010), "Edición crítica del *Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum* Transmitido por los manuscritos Add. 12190 y Sloane 351 de La British Library de Londres", *Minerva*, 23 pp. 143-195. The recipe is found in variants from the 13th century, attributed to various authors, including Ovid. CARLOS CASCAL, (1907), *Poesia latina mediaeval, saggi e note critiche*, Libreria Editrice Concetto Battiato, Catania, pp. 100-107.

*hec tribus ad solem vitro suspende diebus,
noctibus et totidem sub aperto desine celo:
ex hiis auricule studeas infundere surde
et solis radios paciens assumat in aure.*

The *Liber de vinis* (ca.1322-1328), written by a physician or surgeon named *magister Silvester*, makes it clear that the *fili Hermetis* are those who use *ignem solis* or *calor solis* in their operations. That is the application of the term at that time and in that context, as this author writes in the same environment and years as the *magister Testamenti*:¹³⁸

De vinis, Lyon, 1586, p. 283:

"Inde est quod quidam Hermetis Filii appellaverunt ignem solem. Et quidam caloris naturalis rerum vicarium. Et dixerunt eorum aliqui in eorum quibusdam secretorum libris quod istud quod operatur calor solis in visceribus terre et mineris in centum annis possibile est fieri posse per ignem die uno".

The same explanation, in the same terms, appears in the *Testamentum*:

Testamentum I, 64 (p. 230).

"Quoniam multi sunt filii Hermetis, et nos similiter, sicut in multis locis nostrorum voluminum, specialiter in Arte compendiosa nostri magisterii ad evidentem certificationem omni filio doctrine est fortiter declaratum: videlicet quod solem vocamus ignem, et suum vicarium vocamus calorem naturalem, eo quod in se portat fortitudinem soliscum adiutorio caloris, sicut communis apparet per suum effectum".

These ideas were quite widespread and are cited in many 13th century texts. Strict naturalists such as Albertus Magnus refuted this kind of "hermetic" virtue in light *quod egreditur de sole*, as well as its action at a structural level on bodies *quae illuminantur*:¹³⁹

"Et non est verum, quod dixerunt praenominati viri; dixerunt enim illi, quod natura est vis absoluta diversificata in specie et diffusa in particularibus illius speciei per divisionem sui in ipsis et quod natura absoluta est forma et vis quaedam egrediens a causa prima per motum orbis, quae postquam egressa est, diffunditur in omnibus naturalibus et fit in eis principium motus et status. Et posuerunt simile huius in lumine, quod egreditur de sole, quod quidem unum est iuxta solem a quo egreditur, et postea descendens diffunditur in his quae illuminantur, et accipit diversitatem ex recipientibus et divisionem sic enim dixit Hermes, qui Trismegistus vocatur, ad Audimon".

"Hermes autem in libro quem de minerali virtute scribit, dicere videtur causam generativam lapidum esse virtutem quamdam, quam unam dicit esse in omnibus, sed propter

¹³⁸ JOSÉ RODRÍGUEZ GUERRERO, (2010-2013), "El origen del pseudo-arnaldiano *Liber de vinis*, obra del *magister Silvester* (ca.1322-1328), y su tradición manuscrita en el siglo XIV", *Azogue*, 7, pp. 44-74.

¹³⁹ ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *Physicorum*, Lib. II, tract. I, cap. V. Id., *Mineralia*, Lib. I, tract. I, cap. IV.

diversitatem rerum generatarum diversa sortiri vocabula. Exemplum ponens de lumine solis, quod solum omnium est generativam, et cum participatur, non per unam solam passivorum potestatem, diversa operatur in eis”.

Albertus specifically censures alchemists and followers of Hermes, who claim to work with this solar heat, light or celestial virtue as a kind of *ignis inclusus in vase*¹⁴⁰:

“...ad aliud dicendum, quod non agit nisi comburendo et disponendo, et non speciem inducendo: quia speciem inducet Deus, speciem dico quae est glorificatio elementorum et mundi. Dixerunt tamen quidam, quod ignis inclusus in vase, ageret ad inducendam speciem coeli: et dicunt hoc esse apud alchimicos expertum. Sed hoc falsum est, et alchimia non dicit nec probat hoc experimentum”.

This is exactly the idea behind the *magister Testamenti*, which we have already mentioned above, when it says that the *proprietates celi, que sunt influxu in materia per radios solis*, must act *in vasis artificialibus*, that is, in the flask, just as they do *in vasis naturalibus* (*Testamentum* I, 25; *Codicillus* 61). According to the *Testamentum*, the sun generates a special kind of fire, which he identifies with a “natural heat” of special properties. It could be used alone or accompanied by other sources of heat called *ignem innaturalem et contra naturam*.

Testamentum I, 22:

“...noster ignis creatur et ab illo exit lumen et claritas; et lumen est noster calor, qui multiplicatur per ignem innaturalem et contra naturam, hoc est in partibus individualibus nature mineralis, sicut experientia tibi poterit manifestare, si per artem in hac practica poteris esse imbutus”.

The same is stated by Rupescissa:

DCQ, I, 7:

“...videlicet calorem sine igne, et sine carbone, ut in eo nostra quinta Essentia generetur. Creavit sapientissimus orbis conditor duas res inter alias ad hoc aptas: quoniam recipies ventrem equi valde bene digestum: Volo dicere, homo Dei, fimum optimum equi, et pistabis eum infra aliquod vas vel foveam factam in terra, linitam per totum, factam ex cineribus, et in medio fimi bene pistati, collocabis vas distillatorium circulationis usque ad medium, vel plus: quia necesse est, quod totum caput vasis in aere frigido remaneat collocatum, ut illud quod per virtutem caloris fimi ascendit, ibi iterum virtute frigoris aeris convertatur in aquam, et cadat, et iterum ascendat. Et sic sine expensis habes ignem sine igne, et circulationem continuam quintae Essentiae, sine magno labore. Ex superabundanti etiam indicabo tibi calorem sine igne similem primo: ut accipias vindemiam ex

¹⁴⁰ ALBERTO MAGNO, *Super IV libros Sententiarum*, Lib.IV, dist.47, art.6.

torculari expressam, et fac per omnia sicut de ventre equi superius docui: quia calorem habet mirabilem et divinum. Tertio docebo te iterum calorem Dei, ut in aestate vas circulationis sigillatum, ad reverberationem fortem solis colloques...

This reverberation is controlled exposure to sunlight performed during distillation. We have already explained that its function was to provoke a “...*stimulacione virtutis active*”. According to the *magister Testamenti*, without such an action, even if you lived a thousand years and distilled every day, you would never obtain anything useful.¹⁴¹ The same operation is commented on, in the same terms, in his letters signed as Ramon de Térmens, dating from the twenties of the fourteenth century, before his approach to Lullism. I have analysed this question in detail in a spanish work:¹⁴²

Zwettl, Cod. 341, f. 8v; Kassel, Ms. chem 61, ff. 26v-27r:

“...aptetur vas physicum [var. philosophorum] sub 3 vel 4 columnas, ita quod calor solis per suos radios possit circundare iuxta vas [add. et circa vas] et in circuitu vasis equaliter per totum ad libitum voluntatis; ponatur ergo lapis in vase physico [var. philosophorum], [in principio veris] sole in Ariete, apta in dicto balneo, et permitte ipsum tunc temporis in reverberatione solis”.

Zwettl, f. 9r; Kassel, f. 27r-v: *“...hoc facto oportet ut calor solis augmentetis secundum quod natura per virtutem dispositionis [...] omnibus autem his completis, ut dictum, est aptetis balneum versus meridiem et fac quod radii solis intus reverberent ...”.*

Comparing the quotations, it is evident that Rupescissa is assuming original ideas from the *magister Testamenti*. He takes up in the DCQ all the clichés of the *Testamentum* and its satellite texts, because he bases his text on the DSN. In my study in Spanish I provide a multitude of references, even in minor aspects, such as the qualification of “miracles” for his operations (DCQ, I, 8; II, 13); the ideal of the quintessence extractor as “*medicus perfectus*” (DCQ, II, 13); or the example of the magnet to justify actions at a distance (DCQ, I, 4). He also assumes credulity in the effective actions of “evil spirits”, which he invites to prevent.¹⁴³ Making a general approach to the DCQ, we can determine that Rupescissa has taken as a model the DSN in its B+C version but has introduced quite a few changes. We have already explained that he eliminates part of section C_{I.a} because of its proximity to theoretical magic. He also deletes references to Hermes and hermeticism for the same reason.

Section C_{I.b} has been adapted by Rupescissa to suit the needs of his plot. The synopsis between the two versions clearly shows the priority of the DSN. We find phrases, expressions and arguments that are typical of *magister Testamenti*, which can be found in his early works such as *Testamentum*; *Liber lapidarii* or *Liber experimentorum*.

¹⁴¹ *Testamentum* I, 67.

¹⁴² JOSE RODRIGUEZ GUERRERO, (2019-2023), “Ramón de Térmens (fl.1328) and the origin of the Pseudolullian Alchemical Corpus”, *Azogue*, 9, pp. 39-105.

¹⁴³ DCQ, I, 44: “...Deo invocando in testem, quod diabolo intrigante in operationes alchimicas prolabantur, in reprobum sensum dabuntur, et scito, quia est via perditionis et mali”. *Testamentum* II, 20: “...incipimus facere nostras alterationes philosophicales isto modo, faciendo primo signum crucis + super vas, quod diabolus non te obviet”.

Rupescissa makes clear additions (highlighted in green) and repetitions (yellow) that are common among authors who are rewriting a text that serves as a model.

DSN. <i>Canon primus.</i> <i>Non reputes nos mendacium¹⁴⁴ dixisse in hoc, quod de quinta essentia praemissimus, quia nullus modernorum sciuit, nec ad eius pervenit notitiam,</i> <i>nec vidimus in diebus nostris, quod quis intelligeret de hoc quicquam secreto, et de magisterio eius, nisi unum.</i> <i>Igitur in nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi, accipe vinum album, vel rubeum, et fit</i> <i>melius quod poteris invenire, vel capias vinum, quod non sit acetosum. Quovis modo, nec parum, nec multum,</i> <i>et distilla aquam ardentem, sicut est consuetum per canones brachiales aius, et postea rectifica illam quater ad maiorem recitificationem. Sed dico quod ter tibi sufficit eam rectificare, et oportet bene claudere, ut spiritus comburens nin exhalet, quia in hoc complures erraverunt, usque ad septies arbitantes rectificandum. Est autem tibi signum infallibile, postquam pannus madefactus</i>	DCQ. <i>Cap. V.</i> <i>Non reputes me mendacium protulisse, quia nominavi quinta Essentiam aquam ardentem. Et dixi quod nemo hodiernorum Philosophorum et medicorum pervenit ad eam, cum aqua ardens communiter inveniatur ubique.</i> <i>Quia verum dici pro cero. Nam magisterium quitaie Essentiae est occultum, et non vidi nisi unum comprobatisimum Theologum, qui intelligeret quicquam ex secreto et magisterio eius, et assero pro vero quod quinta Essentia est aqua ardens, et non est aqua ardens. Et Deus caeli ponat prudentiam in corde Evangelicorum virorum, pro quibus fabrico librum istum, ut non communicent cum reprobis hoc venerandum Dei arcanum. Ecce modo aperio tibi veritatem.¹⁴⁶</i> <i>Non accipies vinum nimis aquosum, nec vinum nigrum, terrestre, insipidum, sed vinum nobile, iocundum, saporosum, et odoriferum¹⁴⁷</i> <i>melius quam inveniri possit.</i> <i>Et distilla eum in canonibus totiens,</i> <i>donec feceris meliorem aquam ardentem quam scias facere, ut</i> <i>puta a tribus vicibus usque septies eam distilles.</i>
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¹⁴⁴ Liber lapidarii, *Artis auriferae*, 1610, III, p. 112: "...dico tibi si non intelligas me, non me reprehendas, nec reputes me mendacium...". The phrase is reminiscent of the opening words of the *Tabula smaragdina* (*Verum, sine mendacio, certum et verissimum*), since the *magister Testamenti* always speaks in a context alluding to the quintessence, and the *Tabula* becomes an aphoristic compendium of reference on this subject.

¹⁴⁶ Clearly amplification of praise and commendation

¹⁴⁷ Amplification of DSN warnings.

in illa positus ad flammam comburitur, simul cum aqua,

postquam autem sic habieris aquam praeparatam, tu habes materiam, de qua quinta Essentia trahitur ad actum, quae est una principalis res, de qua intendimus in hoc libro.

Accipe igitur illam, et pone in vase quod circulationis appellatur, vel pellicanus, quod dicitur vas Hermetis, quorum forma inferius apparebit, et claude fortissime foramen cum olibano, mel mastice molli, vel calce mixto cum ovorum albumine, et ponas in fimo calidissimo per sui naturam, aut in nicacia, quibus nullus calor per accidens attribuitur; quod facere potest, si in quantitate magna posueris istarum rerum onera ad angulum domus, quae quantitas sit 30 onera gerularia hoc esse oportet, ut calor non deficiat vasis, quia si calor deficeret, corrumperetur aquae circulatorio, et quod quaerimus non fieret. Si vero calor continuus ei administratus fuerit per continuas circulationes, nostra quinta essentia a fecibus separatur in colore coeli, quod videri potest per diametralem lineam, quae partem superiorem, scilicet quintam essentiam dividet ab inferiori, scilicet a fecibus, quae sunt in colore turbido.

Est autem natura ista quasi incorruptibilis, et immutabilis ex eo, quia ad tantam glorificationem deveniet.

*Et haec est aqua ardens, ad quam hodierni medici non pervenerunt.*¹⁴⁸

Haec aqua est materia de qua extrahitur quinta Essentia, quam intendimus principaliter in hoc libro.

*Quia postquam tuam nobilem aquam habueris, fabricari facies in furno vitreariorum unum distillatorium tale, totum integrum, ex una pecia cum uno solo foramine superius, per quod ponetur et extrahetur aqua: vides enim sic mirifice instrumentum formatum ut illud quod virtute ignis ascendit et distillatur in vas per canales brachiales, iterum reportetur, ut iterum ascendat, et iterum descendat continue die ac nocte, donec aqua ardens in quintam Essentiam per Dei voluntate caelitus convertatur. Et est intellectus operationis in hoc: quoniam melior aqua ardens quae possit operatione comuni vulgi fieri, habet adhuc mistionem materialem quatuor elementorum. Et ideo est ingeniatum ita divino spiraculo quod per continuas ascensiones et descensiones separetur quinta Essentia, quam quaerimus, a corruptibili compositione quatuor elementorum. Et hoc fit quia istud quod secundo et saepe sublimatur, est magis subtile et glorificatum, et a corruptione quatuor elementorum separatum, quam quando solum una vice ascendit: et sic usque ad mille vices, et per continuum ascensum et descensum quod sublimatur.*¹⁴⁹

ad tantam altitudinem glorificationis venit, ut sit compositum incorruptibile fere sicut caelum, et de natura caeli, et ideo quinta Essentia appellatur.

¹⁴⁸ Typical repetition in a rewrite.

¹⁴⁹ Rewrite by Rupeccissa to avoid mentioning the characteristics of the “vase of Hermes”. He removes all references to hermetic names, ideas or doctrines, which were generally associated with magical practices at the time.

Nam ita se habet respectu corporis totius mundi primo modo quo artificium imitari potest naturam.

Canon II.

Facta per multos dies in vase circulationis inferius descripto, aut in vase Hermetis continuatione circulationis aperies foramen

quod cum docto clausorio obstruxisti,

et ei odor supernumerabilis exeat, ita quod ei nulla mundi fragrantia comparari valeat in tantum,

quod vas positum ad angulum domus vinculo invisibili trahat omnes intrantes, aut vase posito supra turrin trahat omnes aves, quarum cum eius odor nares attigerit, ita quod circa se ipsas stare faciat,

tunc habebis nostram quintam essentiam quae aliter dicitur Mercurius vegetabilis, ad tuum libitum, ut applices in magisterio transmutationis metallorum.

Quod si non inveneris influxum attractionis, reclude vas ut supra in loco prius assignato, et stet ibi, donec consequeris signum praedictum,

haec vero quinta essentia sic glorificata

Quia ista se habet ratione corporis nostri, sicut caelum ratione totius mundi, fere eo modo quo artificium potest imitari naturam, quasi per quoddam simile valde propinquum et connaturale.

Cap. VI.

Facta igitur per multos dies in vase circulationis superius descriptio circulari distillatione,

aperies foramen vasis

quod est in capite, quod quidem sigillatum fuisse supponitur cum sigillo composito ex luto sapientiae, facto ex farina subtilissima et albumine ovi, et ex papyro humida diligentissime carminata et mista, ne ullo modo unquam respirare possit.¹⁵⁰

et cum foramen aperveris¹⁵¹,

si odor, qui supermirabilis esse debet, ita quod nulla mundana fragrantia ei valeat adaequari,

qui dicebitur descendisse quasi de sublimitate gloriosissimi Dei, in tantum quod si fuerit vas positum in angulo domus, ex fragrantia quintae Essentiae (quod mirabile et summe miraculorum est) attrahat ad se vinculo invisibili universos intrantes.

Tunc habes quintam Essentiam quam audivisti

ad quam nulli hodiernorum Philosophorum et medicorum (quod potuerim scire) pervenerunt, nisi ille quem excepi supra.¹⁵²

Quod si non invenieres odorem et influxum attractionis hominum sicut dixi, sigilla vas sicut prius et reduc ad calorem superius descriptum,

ut per sublimationes et circulationem ipsius vasis mirifici, pervenias ad optatum. Et ut hanc quintam Essentiam sic glorificatam invenias in odorem inaeestimabilis fragrantie et odoris mirifice

¹⁵⁰ Further explanations on how to seal the flask.

¹⁵¹ Typical repetition after a gloss to reconnect the text with the original sentence.

¹⁵² Third repetition, typical of a hard rewrite.

non habebit illum ardorem in ore tuo,
sicut aqua ardens.

Haec quidem vocatur a philosophis
clavis totius physicae artis,

et tam coelum, quam nostrae quinta
essentia,

quae eius auditorio venit ad tatam
sublimitatem, nobilissimam formam,

et subtilissimam materiam habet, ut
per solam cum stellis terrenis, quas supra
diximus, faciat operator huius operis
mirabilia super terram.

glorificati et influxum attractionis supra
expressum, et non solum ut mirifice
redoleat, sed etiam ad quandam
incompactibilitatem plenius se reducat,
non habebit illum ardorem in ore tuo
quem habet aqua ardens,

nec illam humiditatem id est talem
aqueitatem fluentem: quoniam acutus
ardor aquae ardentis et eius aquea
humiditas, per sublimationes et
circulationes penitus corrumpitur, et
terreitas remanebit separata in fundo.

Et tam coelum quam stellae ex quibus
haec nostra quinta Essentia est composita
ex materia et forma, non sunt sicut illa
quae est composita ex quatuor elementis:

sed est ibi materia valde modica,
glorificata in tantum usque ad summum
nobili forma impleta,

ut potentia materiae ad ullam formam
aliam aspirare non possit; et sic remanet
incompacta donec iussu creatoris
compositio destruat. Nec quinta
Essentia, quam quaerimus, ad
incompactum caeli omnino reducit,
sicut nec artificium adaequatur naturae;
sed tamen incorruptibilis est respectu
compositionis factae ex quatuor
elementis: Quoniam si esset omnino
incompactibilis sicut caelum, perpetuaret
omnino corpus nostrum, quod fieri
prohibet conditor nature nostre Dominus
Iesus Christus. Iam multum apervi tibi de
secreto, ad gloriam immortalis Dei.¹⁵³

Cap. VII.

Et quia intendimus consilari in hoc
nostro libro pauperes Evangelicos viros,
ut orationem in hoc labore non perdant,
nec in praeparatione eiusmodi
occupentur, proferam eis de ventre
secretorum thesaurorum naturae rem vere

¹⁵³ Rupescissa undertakes a lengthy rewriting to argue that the quintessence extracted by the alchemist is composed of the four elements, so that it is extraordinarily noble compared to other material substances, but corruptible. He is contradicting his source, the DSN treatise, which maintains that quintessence has a literal celestial origin, as we are told in the *Testamentum* or the *Codicillo*. God used it to form the angels, the celestial bodies and the four elements that constitute the sublunar world. The alchemist who knows how to extract it would be capable of performing authentic wonders classified as miracles by the common people.

miram et venerandam. Videlicet calorem sine igne, et sine carbone, ut in eo nostra quinta Essentia generetur. Creavit sapientissimus orbis conditor duas res inter alias ad hoc aptas: quoniam recipies ventrem equi velde bene digestum, Volo dicere homo Dei, fimum optimum equi, et pistabis eum infra aliquod vas vel foveam factam in terra linitam per totum, factam ex cineribus, et in medio simi bene postati, collocabis vas distillatorium circulationis usque; ad medium, vel plus: quia necesse est, quod totum caput vasis un aere frigido remaneat collocatum ut illud quod per virtutem caloris fimi ascendit, ibi iterum virtute frigoris aeris convertatur in aquam, et cadat, et iterum ascendar. Et sic sine expensis habes ignem sine ignem, et circulationem continuam quinte Essentiae, sine magno labore. Ex superabundanti etiam indicabo tibi calorem sine igne similem primo: ut accipias vindemiam ex torculari expressam, et fac per omnia sicut de ventre equi superius docui: quia calorem habet mirabilem et divinum. Et tertio docebo te iterum calore Dei: ut in aestate vas circulationis sigillatum, ad reverberationem fortem solis colloces, et nocte ad dice sine tuo labore pausare dimittas.

Canon III.

Concreavit Altissimus, non solum in aqua ardente, sed in omni planta, lapide et metallo quintam essentiam quandam durabilem, atque mirabilem, atque etiam in animalibus, et serpentibus, etc.

Aperi igitur fili mi intellectum, ut intelligas **virtutem**, quia generabilis res, et corruptibilis statim **destruitur**. Postquam incorruptio rei ex elementorum contrarietate exhalat.¹⁴⁵

Cap. VIII.

Concreavit Altissimus non solum in aqua ardente quintam Essentiam, sed etiam in omni re mirabilem, durabilem, caelestem habens virtutem.

Aperias rogo te, intellectum, ut intelligas **veritatem**: quoniam res corruptibiles statim **corrumpuntur**, nisi iugiter ordinatione creatoris ab illa quinta Essentia servarentur.

¹⁴⁵ The reading of DSN makes more sense than that of Rupescissa in the context of the chapter. DNS tells us that “incorruptibility is exhaled by a substance from the opposition of the elements” and then explains how to perform this operation.

Nam huius signum a vino accipere potest, postquam convertitur in acetum, quia ab ipso ardens aqua destilari nequit, nec per consequens quinta essentia cum aqua ardente,

et spiritu combustibili trahitur, quae si quinta essentia dum est in vino, vinum in sua virtute existit. Si autem convertitur in acetum, et sic de aliis similibus istis.

Trahas ergo quintam essentiam cum aqua ardente ex quocunque vino,

similiter per canones brachiales, ut supr. diximus, quamvis turbato fundo, praeterquam de aceto, cum in aceto non sit aqua ardens, neque per consequens quinta essentia.

Summa cautela est talia vina pro modico precio habere, quae inveniuntur, et facere ut supra,

quia quinta essentia, quae incorruptibilis est, quasi propter malam vini complexionem non corrumpitur.

Modos namque primus, et omni principalior est, quem tibi superius nominavimus. Secundus autem est etiam verus, quia capias ampullam cum collo longo, et ex dicta aqua ardente imple duas partes, et gura collum ampullae

Extrahe ergo aquam ardentem a vino, quia cum aqua ardente quinta Essentia extrahitur; et quod in vase distillationis remanet, non est vinum. Et ideo nota, quod quando vinum transmutatur in acetum, hic fit quando quinta Essentia invisibiliter evaporando a dolio, ecit: et quinta Essentia recedente, nunc convertitur in acetum.

Ergo in omni vino puro, excepto acetoso quantumcunque putrido, vel turbato, vel foetido quinta Essentia reservatur. Et verum est pro certo. Cuius plena demonstratio est: quia pone in vasis distillationis vinum quod fuit bonum sed nunc turbidum vel putridum, sine omni dubio ex eo aquam ardentem et optimam distillabis.

Ergo summa cautela est Evangelicis viris pro hoc magisterio, talia vina, quae perdita sunt, quaerere quasi pro nihilo, et inde nostrum divinum magisterium extrahere. Nota bene quod dico, vinum turbidum et putrefactum ex putrefactione cuiusdam humoris aquei sic vinum corrumpentis febrili passione. Quinta autem Essentia, quia in se incorruptibilis est per naturam, per illam corruptionem vini non corrumpitur, sed solum absorbetur a maiori quantitate corrupta. Ergo secretum magisterii est, ut quintam Essentiam incorruptam a vino corrupto per sublimationem extrahas, et putrefactionem quatuor elementorum vini quasi feces in fundo vasis relinquant, et cum operationes eius sine expensis intellexeris, Deum utique; laudabis.

Cap. IX.

Modos primus et omnium principalis est ille, qui est iam superius revelatus cui non est par. Secundus modus est talis: recipe nobiliore aquam ardentem, et quam fortiolem poteris habere, et pone in amphoram vitream cum longo calde collo,

claudendo prius ipsum cum cera, vel dicto clausorio, ac deinde sepelies eam in loco superius deputato, et sit ibi donec consequeris signum praedictum...

et claude ostium valde fortiter cum cera, et fit dimidia vel tertia pars plena, deinde sepelias eam totam in ventre qui praeparati, ut supra, versam tamen...

The parts of C_{II} referred to by the *magister Testamenti* as *Liber de simplicibus medicinis* (can. 7-24) and *De medicinas quas inveneris appropriatas doloribus* (can. 25-42) are also different. Rupescissa is not interested in the mathematical doctrine of Lullism to establish the medicinal degrees. He probably does so because it was a system that had passed out of favour in the medical community. In the middle of the 14th century practically no medical school used it. Instead, he adapts the classification from the *Liber de simplicium medicinarum virtutibus* [inc. *Cogitanti mihi...*] usually attributed to Johannes de Sancto Paulo (fl. 1170-1215).¹⁵⁴ It is a relatively short and simple text, which makes it a good replacement for the two original parts, as it also has two sections: one on the degrees of simple substances and their parts, and the other on the virtues of each substance for specific human afflictions, arranged according to their curative properties (e.g. attractive, laxative, constrictive).

Section C_{III} is completely reformed as Rupescissa is not interested in the original intention of the *magister Testamenti* on *alchimica metallica et lapidifica*. The DSN in its stratum B+C was a very summary of the general methods of obtaining metals and precious stones by artificial means, referring to the *Testamentum*, the *Liber mercuriorum* and the *Compendium animae transmutationis metallorum* (=Compendium *super lapidum*). Rupescissa focuses on therapeutics and replaces everything with a series of remedies based on metals and minerals. He is faithful to the prohibition within the Franciscan Order to engage in transmutational practices, as the search for gold was considered incongruous for monks who had taken a vow of poverty:

DCQ, I, 44:

“Quia secundum Philosophiam catholicam, id est secundum scripturam sacram, melior est obedientia quam victimae propter reverentiam statutorum ordinis nostri, et obedientiam prelatoru, Ecclesiae sanctae Dei, medicinas valde mirabiles ac summe desideratas a mundo que non solum quasi miraculose corpora nostra sanarent ab omnibus morbis, sed etiam ipsa metalla imperfecta in aurum et argentum in ictu oculi transmutarent”.

Finally, section C_{IV} is also adapted to the mentality of a mid-14th century monk. He qualifies the arguments concerning the possibility of subjecting demons to the action of sensual things and gives a major place to the treatment of *pestinential* fevers, as befits someone writing during the pandemic of 1348-1352.

¹⁵⁴ This fact was first noted by Robert Halleux: HALLEUX, (1981), *Les ouvrages alchimiques de Jean de Rupescissa*, (op. cit.), pp. 256-257. The *Liber de simplicium* was also entitled *Virtus medicinarum* and *De conferentibus et nocentibus medicinis*. There is an edition in: GEORG HEINRICH KROEMER (ed.), (1920), *Johanns von Sancto Paulo, Liber de simplicium medicinarum virtutibus und ein andererer Salernitaner Traktat, Quae medicinae pro quibus morbis donandae sunt nach dem Breslauer Codex herausgegeben*, R. Noske, Borna-Leipzig. Biographical data on the author in: ANA ISABEL MARTÍN FERREIRA; ALEJANDRO GARCÍA GONZÁLEZ, (2010), “La tradición textual del *Breviarium* de Johannes de Sancto Paulo”, *Exemplaria classica*, 14, pp. 227-248.

V. Conclusion.

We present a new textual tradition for the DSN here, which aligns with the history of alchemical pseudolullism according to the model established by Michela Pereira, with her research and critical edition of the *Testamentum*. Thus, the *magister Testamenti* would be the author of several early versions or strata of the DSN with the B+C structure. At least one is preserved in the manuscript BNF, Lat. 7177, without any Pseudolullian element and perfectly integrable with the rest of his textual corpus. Rupescissa would have taken it as a model to compose his DCQ.

In a different context, a group of pseudepigraphists would have manipulated another, more extensive version of the type B+C+D+Q, to attribute it to Llull in the second half of the 14th century. This pseudolullian stratum is the *textus receptus* which later tradition has considered to be the prototypical model of the DSN. It is the majority in later manuscripts and has been studied as if it had been the basic text, with no earlier version.