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Croniche (IV, 3), but from this point on Latini deals with events not mentioned in Gilbertus, with whom all association therefore ceases. The following chapters were compiled sometime after 1268, at a date which the identification of the source chronicle would clarify. The fact that Villani's *Croniche* show word for word correspondance with parts of these chapters and yet could not be derived from them, containing, as they do, different details on certain episodes, proves that both were using a common source, and that this section of *Li Tresors* is not, as has been thought, an original composition from first-hand material of Latini himself. Chapter xcv, for instance, corresponds very closely at first to Villani's *Chroniche* (VI, 1 and 14); concerning the capture by the Pisans, the material corresponds to Martinus Polonus, copying Vincent de Beauvais (xxx, 138, 152, etc.), who may be the real source. This passage corresponds closely to Villani's *Chroniche* (v, 1). Latini has confused the two Fredericks in his compilation.

Chapter xcvi vaguely corresponds to Villani in spots (*Croniche*, VI, 17), and Chapter xcvi much more closely, though only in parts (*Croniche* VI, 37, 34, 41, 44, 45). Chapter xcvi resembles the *Croniche* (VI, 46, 73, 91, VII, 9, 23), though Villani's account is much more complete and many details differ. It is only perhaps this last chapter that may be attributed to Latini as an original composition. Chapter xcix is a mere repetition of part of chapter xciii.

Obviously the identification of the sources of Villani's *Croniche* will clarify the obscure relationship of these versions of modern Italian history.¹ At least we may say that this source contained the *Chronicon* of Gilbertus up to and through the reign of Frederick II, and probably some material from Vincent de Beauvais, all reduced to a compendium known in Florence by both Latini and Villani.

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ALCHEMICAL WRITINGS IN VATICAN PALATINE AND CERTAIN OTHER CONTINENTAL LATIN MANUSCRIPTS

BY LYNN THORNDIKE

IN this article I discuss some little-known alchemical works and manuscripts examined last summer at the Vatican, in its Palatine Collection, in a Riccardian codex at Florence, and in the Stadtbibliothek of Bern and National and University Library of Praha. The following arrangement is partly by authors and titles, partly by the manuscripts themselves as at present constituted. Units of treatment are numbered, and indices of names, manuscripts, and incipits refer to these numbers rather than to the pages of this journal.

1. A semi-anonymous and apparently hitherto unnoticed work of alchemy occurs in a manuscript of the fifteenth century whose constituent treatises are for the most part medical.

¹ Villani's analysis of Villani's sources, in *I primi due secoli* (I, 46), is unaccurate and incomplete. He mentions Thomas Tuscus and Martinus Polonus, neither being certain sources, and takes no note of Gilbertus, Gottfried, Comestor, and other works most certainly used by Villani.

Vatic. Palat. lat. 1240, fol. 111^v, 'Caritas tua amice cordialis cogit et compressit me tractare superhabundanter de operibus alchimis et diversis modis et in hoc tractatu primo doceo conficere solem et lunam bene stantes in suis iudiciis atque ex omnibus ex libellis domini Alberti Metensis . . .'

Our treatise thus professes to be largely based upon the books of an Albert of Metz. It would hardly seem that Albertus Magnus is meant. The only Albert of Metz listed by Chevalier was a Franciscan doctor of theology at the beginning of the fourteenth century.

At fol. 116^r we read, 'Alia sequitur practica desideratissime benedictique artis astrologie inferioris . . .,' and each subsequent paragraph seems an independent recipe or composition. But perhaps they are extracts from the aforesaid Albert. They end at fol. 119^v, 'Explicit de alchimia.'

2. Works on *aqua vitae* of course abound in the manuscripts. One in *Vatic. Palat. lat. 1240*, fols 97^v–100^r, is entitled, 'De virtutibus aque vite et eius operationibus.' It opens, 'Hec [*sic*] sunt virtutes aque vite primo quod omnes in corpore . . .,' and ends, ' . . . si sibi debeat. Explicit de aqua vite.' Rubrics in the text are: fol. 97^v, De modo faciendi aque vite; 98^v, De compositione aque vite; 99^r, De alia compositione aque vite, Ad faciendum aquam vite que dicitur ardens; 99^v, Formam autem vasorum monstrat presens narratio, De effectibus et operationibus aque vite. This seems the same as the text found in *Munich CLM 666*, fols 129^r–140^v, and *Vienna 2466*, fols 88^v–90^r, and edited as by Taddeo Alderotti of Florence by E. O. von Lippmann and Karl Sudhoff in *Archiv f. Gesch. d. Medizin*, VII, 381–389.

3. Works on other 'waters' than *aqua vitae* also occur frequently. Twelve seems to have been the favorite number to treat at once.¹

Vatic. Palat. lat. 1328, fols 48^v–49^v: 'Prima aqua sic fit. Accipe—?— de aqua salis communis . . . / . . . ordo precessit superius et hic finiuntur 12 aque in fixatione spirituum meliores et utiliores aliis.'

Or we find in *Vatic. Palat. lat. 1339*, fols 99^v–100^v: 'Incipit liber de XII aquis. Recipe argentum vivum et mortifica ipsum cum rebus adherentibus . . . ' The termination of this collection is somewhat confused, since after the eleventh water no twelfth is indicated, although perhaps the next paragraph is so meant. But then follow two more paragraphs each headed, 'Item alia,' and then the ending, 'Explicit liber solutionis babiloniensis soldani liber nonus de calce alba de vitro albo,' which scarcely seems to fit.

The same manuscript also has at fols 85^r–86^r a collection of ten reddening waters, but it appears to be embodied in the *Perfect Mastery* which opens, 'Cum studii solertis indagine . . . ' and which extends from fol. 74^v to 94^r.

In another manuscript a short tract on marvelous waters, which seems limited to eye-washes, opens with one for clarifying the sight and includes another of *sal gemma* or *gemme* for purifying the skin of the eyes.

Vatic. Palat. lat. 1264, fols 178^r, col. 2–178^v, col. 1: 'Ad visum clarificandum. Recipe aquam mirabilem . . . / . . . Et est finis istius tractatus de aquis mirabilibus.' Subsequently other waters are mentioned: fol. 179^r, 'Effectus aque orde'; fol. 179^v, 'Ego magister Ypo. qui feci et compilavi aquam istam aquam vite'; but these passages do not seem to constitute a recognizable treatise.

In *Vatic. Palat. lat. 1332*, 15th century, fol. 49^v, a work in six chapters on a penetrative water that dissolves all metals is ascribed to a cardinal, either of Gaul or with some such name as Galkcitus.

In *Vatic. Palat. lat. 1205* are many waters but whether they belong together as one treatise is difficult to say. At fol. 118^r a 'Capitulum de aqua auri,' opens, 'Aqua extinctionis auri candentis per hunc modum fit . . . ' Frequent rubrics for various other waters follow, until at fol. 125^r comes the caption, 'De aquis corrosivis,' opening, 'Nunc autem ponam descriptionem aque multarum virtutum . . . ' Next is an 'Aqua consolidativa,' and others go on to fol. 128^r, while paragraphs headed, 'Ad idem,' i.e. for wounds, occupy

¹ For other instances see my *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, II, 797–798.

fols 128^v–129^r. A pious incantation for this purpose rather than a water fills fol. 129^v, however. But at fol. 130^r begins a chapter on marvelous waters, 'Incipit capitulum de aquis mirabilibus et primo de aqua lassada,' opening, 'Recipe ysope gladioli saniem abrotani . . .' At fol. 143^r this text ends with its fiftieth water, ' . . . confortat caput et cerebrum.' An index of the waters follows at fols 143^v–144^v. But these last-mentioned waters are medical rather than chemical.

A tractate on artificial waters which appears anonymously in *Vatic. Palat. lat. 1264*, fols 232^r–242^r, seems to be the third *Summa* of the first tractatus of the medicinal work in eight tractates by Maino de' Maineri: see *Vatic. Palat. lat. 1213*, fols 23^r–26^r. It occurs again separately from the main work but under Maino's name ('Magninus de aquis artificialibus') in *Vatic. Palat. lat. 1229*, fols 279^r–283^v.

4. The attribution of alchemical writings to Galen perhaps grew out of a misreading of the name Geber as Galen or of *Geberi* as *Galieni*. Thus the *Perfect Mastery*, opening, 'Cum solerti indagine . . .,' which is variously assigned to Aristotle¹ and to Geber,² appears to be the same work as that opening, 'Cum studii solertis indagine . . .,' which is ascribed to Rasis³ or Galen.⁴ Or a like impulse which led to the connection of the name of Galen with collections of medical and magical 'experiments'⁵ may have led to the composition of works of alchemy under his famous name. Or there may have been a mediaeval alchemist named Galienus.⁶

In my *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (II, 783–784; III, 65) I briefly alluded to some alchemical works ascribed to Galen. It is now my intention to discuss these and others more fully, especially continental manuscripts of them not falling within the scope of Mrs Singer's *Catalogue of Latin and Vernacular Alchemical Manuscripts in Great Britain and Ireland* (Brussels, 1928–1931).

In a manuscript of the Riccardian Library at Florence a *Theorica* ascribed to Galen has the same incipit but not the same ending as DWS No. 26, Introduction of Galen and commentaries on the *Tabula smaragdina*, and as, at Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale Latin MS. 6514*, fol. 86^v, col. 1–2, 'Incipit liber Raazi in explanatione verborum Hermetis.'

Riccard. 1165, 15th century, fols 101^r–105^r, rubric, 'Hic incipit Theorica eiusdem Galieni'; incipit and explicit, 'Quoniam (de) opere in quo philosophorum doctissimi desudavere penitus tractare disposuimus veni ante ab omni latinitate interpretatam . . . / . . . tunc rubei coloris efficitur quod a nigris concluditur'; rubric, 'Hic finitur Theorica totaliter Gallieni phylosophi feliciter.'

This *Theorica* is preceded in the same manuscript by a *Practica* to which there seems to be no corresponding text in British manuscripts:

Riccard. 1165, fol. 96^v, rubric, 'Incipit practica Galieni philosophi in secretis secretorum nature'; incipit, 'Succincti sermonis eloquio corporum mineralium explicatis sufficienter in Gebro hactenus infirmitatibus complexionibus et mineralibus ut subtilius excogitare potui laboravi . . .'

This shows that our alchemical 'Galen' writes later than the Latin Geber. The *Practica* comprises 'Separations,' 'Preparations,' waters, oils, and the elixir. It closes at fol. 101^r,

¹ *University of Bologna, MS. 1062 (2082)*, membrane, 14th century, fols 60^v–79^v, mutil. in fine; Zetzner, *Theatrum chemicum*, III (1659), 76–127.

² As his *Summa minor* in the Lehigh University alchemical MS. written at Naples in 1472 by Arnold of Brussels, fols 49^v–64^v.

³ In Paris, *Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin MS. 6514*, fols 120^v, col. 2–125^r, col. 1.

⁴ In the alchemical bibliography in *Vatic. Barb. lat. 273*, fol. 282^v, as *Theorica et Practica*.

⁵ Lynn Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (1923), II, 752–761, 771–784, 809–810.

⁶ We read in *BN 6514*, fol. 58^r, col. 1: 'Magister Galienus scriptor qui utitur in episcopatu . . . est alkimista et scit albificare eramen ita quod est album ut argentum commune.' Berthelot, I (1893), 76. Berthelot, *ibid.*, p. 77, found in Quetif and Echard, I, 406, a Galienus de Orto who flourished about 1302–1306.

‘. . . quia ego ultra consilium non possum aliud.’ Then follows the rubric, ‘Explicit Practica Gallieni magni philosophi secretorum nature.’

In another manuscript in the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale at Florence which I have not seen an ‘Alchimia pura’ is ascribed to Galen: *FN Palat. 981*, 15th century, fols 94^v–125^r.

In a manuscript at the Vatican another alchemical work is ascribed to Galen which, from a reference in its opening words to the philosophical tree, would seem to have been composed after the alchemical *De secretis naturae* which appeared under the name of Raymond Lull. This would put our treatise late in the fourteenth or at some time in the fifteenth century.

Vatic. Palat. lat. 1328, fols 41^r–45^v: rubric, ‘Incipit liber secreti Galieni super elixir solis et lune’; incipit, ‘Arbor philosophica que septem decorabatur ramisculis poma varia et fructus . . .’

The following captions in the course of the text may be noted:

- 41^v De radicibus alchimie
Compositio tintar super elixir
- 42^r De elixir super lunam sublimando
- 43^r Composition elixir nostri super lunam
De lapide philosophico quomodo fiat
- 43^v De elixir supra solem et que medicine tingentes sunt solem
- 44^r De lapide auri
De lapide sulphuris
- 44^v De lapide victoli [sic] — *vitreoli* is added in the margin
Capitulum de ablutione mercurii
- 45^r Composition elixir nostri super sole
- 45^v De aqua eris quomodo fiat.

The treatise ends, ‘. . . cum hoc oleo et solvetur et coagulatur. Et ita laus sit deo qui est sine fine et sine inicio. Explicit liber.’

Galen is again represented as transmitting secret arcana of Hermes to posterity in a manuscript at Paris.

BN 7162, 15th century, fols 15^r–19^r (old foliation): Incipiunt opes (*sic*) Galieni alkymie. ‘Cum igitur corporee substantie deo condite in tria dividuntur . . . / . . . Et ita sit laus deo qui est sine fine et sine initio, amen. Explicit opes [*sic*] alkimicem [*sic*] Galieni deo gratias.’

The pious ending duplicates that in the Vatican manuscript, but the two treatises seem different.

5. *Vatic. Palat. lat. 978* appears to be for the most part of the thirteenth century, which is an early date for a Latin alchemical manuscript. It begins with a very neat and legible but unfortunately acephalous text of the *De mineralibus* of Albertus Magnus. All of its first book and part of the second are missing. Book 3 begins at fol. 7^r, col. 2; book 4, at fol. 17^v; book 5, at fol. 23^r, col. 1. After cap. 9, De electro, the fifth book and the work end at fol. 25^r, col. 2, with an amusing copyist’s jingle. ‘Explicit liber mineralium quintus. Explicit iste liber, sit scriptor crimine liber. Non videat Christum qui librum subtrahat istum. Hunc qui furetur anathematis ense necetur. Ut me furetur qui nitatur exoculetur.’

Next comes a treatise opening, ‘Cum Rasis multiloquium et brevitatis Avicenne . . .’, of which Mrs Waley Singer in her *Catalogue of Latin and Vernacular Manuscripts in Great Britain and Ireland*, Vol. II (1930), no. 546, notes another example in a manuscript at the Bodleian library, Oxford, *Digby 119*, 14th century, fols 188–193^v.

At fol. 33 follows the *Semita recta* ascribed to Albertus Magnus, which thus appears to date back at least to his century.

After it the handwriting somewhat deteriorates and may be later. Now at fol. 52^v we have the *Epistle* of Avicenna to Hasen or Hasan — a supposititious work, of course. At fol. 58^r, col. 1 begins the well-known work of Morienus, but at fols 59^r, col. 1–62^v, col. 2,

we seem to have a moral work on the soul rather than alchemy: 'Socrates in suis cohortationibus virtutem laudans . . . / . . . videt et ex hiis que accidunt que sit facta. Explicit liber deo gratias.'

With this the parchment portion of the manuscript terminates and the rest is on paper in single column and a very inferior hand of the fifteenth century.

At fols 63^r-65^r is an anonymous alchemical work opening, 'In nomine domini amen. Ad huius artis notitiam integre perveniendam non sit nobis . . .' At fols 66^r-76^v is the *Rosarius* of Arnald of Villanova.

6. *Vatic. Palat. lat. 1328* is an alchemical manuscript much of whose content is made up of well-known works but which also comprises others that are less familiar. It opens with the *Emerald Tablet* of Hermes and a commentary thereon which uses the *Turba philosophorum* a great deal.

Then, after one or two blank pages, comes at fols 13^r-22^v an alchemical work without author or title opening, 'Laus sit deo domino excellentissimo glorioso et sublimi qui celos terramque suo imperio . . .'

After more blank pages we have at fols 25^r-28^r the *Book of Thirty Words* which is commonly ascribed to Geber but here to Aristotle: 'Incipit liber Arist. qui liber triginta verborum dicitur quo melior non invenitur. Iam scis tu qui queris doctrinam hanc . . . / . . . donec ad hunc proicies numerum ut iam dictum est. Explicit liber xxx verborum.'

It is followed by the *Epistle* of Avicenna to Hasen and then, at fols 35^r-40^r, by the *Perfectum magisterium*, opening, 'Quoniam studii solertis indagine . . .' which is commonly attributed to Rasis, but is here anonymous. Then come a treatise under the name of Galen and a tract on waters of which we have already treated.

At fols 45^v-48^v is a text here attributed to Alkindi ('Incipit liber secretorum Alchindi de compositione aquarum . . .') but seeming to correspond to the first twenty-five paragraphs of what Berthelot printed as the *Liber sacerdotum* from *Latin MS 6514* of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris: *La chimie au moyen âge*, 1, 187 *et seq.*

A treatise on diverse modes of congelation occupies fols 49^v-52^r: 'In nomine domini hic incipiunt diversi modi congelandi mercurium tam in rubeum quam in album. Primus modus sic est ad rubeum . . . / . . . istius 30 partes convertit in lunam. Sic expliciunt diversi modi congelandi.' Of these modes the seventh was according to Archelaus, the tenth after Avicenna.

The next distinct treatise that I was able to make out was at fols 56^r-67^r, and it was anonymous and without title: 'Philosophi naturalium (or, *naturarum*) rerum inscii et secretorum philosophie exorbantes . . . / . . . Et propter centuplum accipietis et vitam eternam possidebitis, Amen.'

Finally another *Perfectum magisterium*, less familiar than that already noted, completes the manuscript: fols 67^r-77^r, 'Capitulum primum de elelixir super rubeo coniuncta [?]. Accipe aceti acerimi de vino distillato et pone atramenti Egyptii . . . / . . . utere eo sicut predixi, deo gratias, Amen. Explicit liber perfecti magisterii.'

7. *Vatic. Palat. lat. 1332* is a very important alchemical collection of the fifteenth century, including various works which have already been noted in the third volume of *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* from other manuscripts. Such are the *Blessed Lily Among Thorns* at fols 1^r-8^r, Thomas Aquinas to Remaldus or Reinaldus at fols 13^r-14^v, the *Novum Testamentum* and *De secretis naturae* of Arnald of Villanova at fols 20^r-21^v and 21^v-23^v respectively, the *Novum lumen* of the young expert at fols 23^v-25^v, and the *Flos regis* at fols 25^v-26^r, Ortulanus on the *Emerald Tablet* at fol. 37, followed at fol. 40^r by a commentary on it ascribed to Arnald of Villanova: 'Hic incipit expositio Ortulani secundum Arnoldum de Nova Villa. Species que conveniunt in elixiris compositione sunt sulphur citrinum fugiens, sulphur viride habens ventrem nigrum quamvis clarum videatur, sulphur album fixum . . .'

At fol. 44^r is another very brief *Novum Testamentum*, followed at fols 44^r-45^r by a tract opening, 'Ut ad perfectam scientiam pervenire possumus . . .' which is the incipit of the

Speculum alchimiae of Nicolaus de Comitibus. But in the present manuscript Iohannes Thetinenses is named as author.

At fols 46^r–48^r a work ascribed to Arnald of Villanova ('Incipit opus magnifici magistri Reynoldi de Villanova in arte maiori') would seem from its incipit, 'Est enim materia lapidis res vilis . . .,' to be the commentary upon his enigmas by Paul Romanus de Vesinis (see my III, 63, note 30).

At fol. 49^r is a version of the *Opus magistri Hospitalis* which agrees with No. 224 in Mrs Singer's *Catalogue* rather than with my III, 662.

At fols 52^r–86^v occurs the *Consilium coniugii de massa solis et lunae* which is printed in Manget, *Bibliotheca chemica* (1702), II, 235–266.

At fols 86^v–92^v is the *Lilium de spinis evulsus* which opens, 'Naturam circa solem et lunam . . .' See my III, 63.

This manuscript also includes a number of less familiar works. At fols 9^r–11^r, there is attributed to Hermes a brief tract with the odd title, *Bractawel*, and the unfamiliar opening, 'In hoc enim opere precelsa veritas . . .'

At fol. 11^v, 'Incipit liber de decem gradibus. Cum autem calcem feceris pone . . .' was another entry new to me.

The name of Orosius appears as author at fol. 37^r, but only the close of the alchemical treatise by him is given there, covering three-quarters of the page. For the existing manuscript is composite, and its fol 37 was once numbered 59 in another manuscript of which fols 59–119 form fols 37–95 of the present codex, but the first 58 leaves of which are gone. The treatise in question ends, ' . . . per hoc enim completur——[an abbreviated word I could not make out] preciosissimus explicit Orosius.'

A work of brother Calaminus of the Order of Friars and Preachers occurs at fols 50^v–51: 'Incipit opus fratris Calaminii [?] ordinis predicatorum,' opening, 'Natura solis ad quo [dlibet?] opus sic fit . . .'

8. An alchemical treatise with the picturesque title, *Theosophy* — or, *Theosophies* — of *the Palms*, occurs not only in the foregoing but in other manuscripts of the fifteenth century, which would perhaps provide a better text than that printed in Zetzner, III (1659), 834–849, where the title is given as *Auriga chemicus sive Theosophiae Palmarium*, and the incipit as, 'Laus omnipotenti deo . . .' The word consists of propositions extracted from the *Turba philosophorum*. Its introduction states that the title conceals or reveals the author's name.

Vatic. Palat. lat. 1332, fols 27^v–35: 'Incipit liber qui intitulatur liber Teosophye palmarum. Ab omnipotenti deo thesaurus sue sapientie nobis . . . / . . . prout licuit Theosophye filii absque invidia reserare cuius nomen laudatum sit in secula seculorum amen, deo gratias, amen. Explicit Theosophie palmarum.'

Vienna 5509, fols 278^r–294^r: 'Ab omnipotenti deo thesauro sue sapientie nobis reserato . . . / . . . quem ad honorem divine sapientie intitulamus Theosophie palmarum. Explicit theosophia palmarum.'

University of Bologna 303 (500), 15th century, fols 271^r–283^v, 'Extractus ex libello qui intitulatur Theosophia palmarum,' opening, 'Qui dividitur' and closing, 'invidia reserare.'

9. *Vatic. Palat. lat. 1335* is a manuscript of the fifteenth century whose contents are entirely alchemical. It opens with the work which is usually entitled *Semita recta* and ascribed to Albertus Magnus, but here the treatise is both anonymous and without title. Then we come to less familiar texts.

At fol. 37^r a work or perhaps only an extract opening, 'Recipe arsenici . . .' is attributed to Albert of Siena.

At fol. 47^r a work of master Antonius of Forli opens, 'Recipe de minio satis et accipe acetum . . .'

At fol. 53^r a *Practica* ascribed to Arnoldus de Villanova opens, 'Primo recipe salis armoniaci et salis communis . . .' But what we seem actually to have is a collection of paragraphs, recipes, and waters which finally terminates at fol. 86^v.

The next nine leaves are blank, but fols 96^r–117^v are occupied by *Secrets of James according to Hermes*, a work in eighty-seven chapters, including many calcinations, dissolutions, congelations, and the like. It opens and closes: 'Incipiunt secreta magistri Iacobi secundum Hermetem philosophum inventorem metallorum secundum transmutationis naturam Primo dicendum est quod VII sunt planete secundum cursum quorum omnia inferior reguntur . . . / . . . de luna fit sol etc. Explicit hoc totum.' From this it will be seen that the influence of the stars is recognized, especially that of the planets upon the seven metals.

Of the work's discussion of seven salts I shall treat elsewhere. Here I may further illustrate its character by quoting a few chapter headings:

6. de fixatione salis communis
7. de inceratione solis
10. preparatio arsenici
11. quomodo fit es ustum
12. preparatio salis armeniacy
18. confectio salis urine
39. Incipit de vitris et primo de vitro ferri

After this work of James or Hermes the manuscript resumes its miscellaneous and scattering character, as the following notes will show: fol. 119^r, Experimentum per monachum; 119^v, Aristoteles ad Alexandrum scripsit sic, Recipe lapidem animale vegetabilem; 121^r, Incipit glosa via universalis omnium philosophorum, Corpus lunare sic . . . ; 124^r, Secuuntur notabilia cuiusdam doctoris egregii super istam practicam philosophorum; 132^v, Cementis Michahel; 148^r, Ad album magistri Arnoldi; 151^r, Hic incipit opus veri magisterii secundum turbam philosophorum; 162^r, Tinctura Johannis Gallici, Aqua que dissolvit solem, Recipe vitrioli salis . . . ; 163^v, Tinctura magistri Arnoldi, Incipit breviarium conclusionum per philosophos et magistros factum et probatum, Preparatio 1. ad s. convertendum . . . ; 187^v, Incipiunt interpretationes vocabulorum et primo de Mercurio . . . ; 191^r, the text ends and blank pages follow until, at fols 197^r–201^v, an alphabetical index of captions is attempted, while at fols 203–204 are added alchemical notes in a later hand.

10. Of the *Liber administrationum*, for which Mrs Waley Singer has listed manuscripts in the British Isles in her catalogue, Nos 501 and 639, there is a continental copy.

Vatic. Palat. lat. 1339, 14th century, fols 2^r–4^v: 'Incipit prologus libri administrationum secundum magistrum Alquindum Iacobum. Ut ait Alquindus hec scientia quibusdam possessionis detrimentum infert . . .'

This shows that 'Ut ait Alquindus . . . ' is the incipit of the prologue of the *Liber administrationum*, which is not clear from DWS 501 and 639. And, except for its spelling of Alkindi's name, the continental manuscript gives an obviously correcter form of the incipit than Mrs Singer's, 'Ut ait Alkindus: hic disciplina quibusdam possessionis detrimentum infert . . . , ' where *hic* should be *hec* to agree with *disciplina*.

11. Following the *Liber administrationum* in the aforesaid *Vatic. Palat. lat. 1339* is a *Liber fornacum* which appears to differ from those listed in Mrs Singer's Catalogue: fol. 5^r, 'Hic incipit liber fornacum. Fornaces autem sunt quatuor. Prima est rotunda . . .'

The well-known *Liber sacerdotum* next occurs in the same manuscript, but after it come two treatises that seem unfamiliar, the first by an Isaac, the other with the common title, *Lumen luminum*, but with a new opening.

Vatic. Palat. lat. 1339, fol. 10^v, 'Incipit liber Ysaac de ba hram filius se merz de Babilonia. Rerum opifex deus et fabricator humanum genus volens regere . . .'; fol. 17^r, 'Liber lumen luminum. Circa scientiam que dicitur alchimia est determinatio nostra . . .'

Then come familiar works and authors: the *Summa* of Geber opening, 'Totam nostram scientiam . . . , ' at fol. 25^v; an 'Expositio verborum Hermetis,' at fols 68^v–69^r; Morienus, at fols 69^r–71^v (see also fol. 1^v); *Secrets of Hermes*, at fol. 72^r; and the *Perfect Mastery* opening, 'Cum studii sollertis indagine . . . , ' at fols 74^v–94^v.

An unfamiliar *Sublimation of Mercury* by Plato at fol. 94^r, opening, 'Sumatur de argento vivo abluto cum oleo . . .,' is followed by a work of Archelaus for which Mrs Waley Singer has listed several English Manuscripts under No. 27 in her *Catalogue* (henceforth cited as DWS).

At fol. 97^v, 'Incipiunt operationes salium,' with the incipit, 'Accipe salem communem albissimum quam poteris . . .'

After a work on waters already noted ensue a number of 'books' which are so brief that one is in doubt whether to accept them as distinct treatises.

fol.

- 100^v Incipit liber de calcinatione ovorum galline
 101^r Incipit liber de preparatione plumbi stagni eris ferri argenti et auri. Incipiunt calcinationes corporum. Accipe plumbum et extingue. . . .
 104^v Incipit liber congelationis argenti vivi que multis fit modis sine sublimatione et cum sublimatione et cum distillatione et mortificatione sub fimo et hec est. Accipe argenti vivi lb. x vel quantum vis. . . .
 106^r Incipit liber de modo transibili et de eius preparatione
 Incipit liber 7 (experimentorum) que posita sunt pro expensis hominum in sacratissima summa extracta de libro philosophorum. Accipe sanguinem draconis et calcem peregrinorum. . . . (see DWS III, 1138)
 107^r Expliciuunt experimenta alkimica pro expensis hominum.
 Incipit liber de duobus bituminibus vasorum. Accipe terram non zabulosam et cave tibi quam poteris de zabulo. . . .
 107^v Incipiunt operationes libri maioris tam ad solem quam ad lunam. Elixir de sanguine humana.
 Accipe sanguinis hominis rufi et divide per x cucurbitas. . . .
 108^v Explicit maioris operis expositio
 Incipit capitulum quod si intellexeris est totum capitulum cum completionem operis. Accipe sal armoniacum extractum de minera lb. ix. . . .
 109^r Explicit capitulum de lapide philosophorum
 Incipit liber duplicacionis libri ponderum. In primis pone super. . . .
 114^r . . . autem ista omne corpus et omne spiritum dissolvit. Explicit Archelaus.

This final ending makes it seem a little as if the work of Archelaus on spirits and bodies had extended clear from fol. 96^r to 114^r.

The remaining treatises in *Vatic. Palat. lat. 1339* are mostly already known: the *Secrets of Hubechar or Bubacar* at fols 114^r–131^r (see Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen âge*, I, 306–310); *Liber fiducia*¹ at fols 131^r–133^v, compare DWS No. 80; the *Epistle* of Avicenna to Hasen; at fol. 138^v the thirteenth book of the Seventy, compare DWS No. 83; at fol. 140^r the seventieth book, DWS No. 102; at fol. 141^r *De colorum diversitate*, a work found also in *MS. Praha 1765*, fols 37^v–40^r, and at Florence, *Laurent, Plut. 30, cod. 29*, fols 71^r–73, but apparently different from DWS No. 915a.

Then, after experiments for finding things, one of which involves use of chemicals and others of magical characters, at fols 144^v–145^r there begins at fol. 146^r a *Practica* attributed to Albertus Magnus which does not seem to have been hitherto noted: 'Incipit practica alkimie Alberti. Incipit liber practice in arte alkimie. Item accipe salis communis quantum vis et trite [?] quare notata in sequente libro in fine libri que in isto deficiunt quia ibi scripta sunt. De alumine accipe . . .' No end to this *Practica* was distinguishable, but the manuscript terminated with fol. 156^v.

12. An alchemical tract which is ascribed at the beginning to Alphidius and at the end to Alexander has in part the same incipit as a text attributed in DWS, No. 135, to Mirer. But in a number of other continental manuscripts a treatise with this incipit is ascribed to

¹ *Bern 525*, 15th century, fols 1^r–17^v, 'Liber fiducia Algafiky,' or, as written in an old table of contents on the flyleaf, 'Algapini,' seems a different text, devoted to herbs and drugs and use of parts of animals with magical procedure, rather than to alchemy. The writing is very hard to read.

Alphidius: see my *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, III, 43, note 7. Our present manuscript begins and ends: Florence, *Riccard. 1165*, 14–15th century, fols 163–166^v, ‘Incipit liber Alphidii philosophi. Scito fili quod hunc librum tibi scripsi. Esto ergo prout puto te . . . / . . . percipe invenies deo concedente. Explicit liber Allexandri philosophi.’

Possibly this erroneous ascription to Alexander at the close is because our treatise is immediately preceded at fols 161–163 by a work in six chapters attributed to Alexander. I have already noted the opening and closing words in my *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, II, 253, note 4, but may add here the headings of the six chapters.

1. De naturis 4 et studio vehementi in arte de masculini ac feminini observacione
2. De elementorum similitudine
3. De nominibus specierum
4. De liquefaciendorum observacione
5. De lapidibus gummosis vel elevatis
6. De configuratione septem corporum

The use of the word *configuratio* makes one suspect that the treatise was not composed before the fourteenth century.

13. The following work ascribed to Arom, in which he converses with a king concerning alchemy, perhaps has some relation to the dialogue of Aaron or Aron with Mary the prophetess or sister of Moses which forms *Distinctio xxvii* of *Allegoriae sapientum*¹ but is a different text found earlier in the same manuscript: fols 145^v–146^v, ‘Incipit liber Marie sororis Moysi. Convenit Aram cum Maria prophetissa sorore Moysi . . . / . . . per tria sunt sociata.’ *Florence Riccard. 1165*, fols 170^v–181^r: Incipit liber Arom. phy. Dixit Arom, Radix huius artis fuit visio quam deus ostendit Moysi . . . / . . . Cuius nomen gloriosum et admirabile sit benedictum in secula seculorum, Amen. Explicit Tractatus Arom et revelacio eius occultationis, Amen.’

14. An alchemical work called, ‘Questions of the Pleasure Garden of Ebubethar’ or the seventh Particula of his book which contains eleven questions said to have been extracted from twelve books of Rasis, perhaps bears some relation to the *Secrets* of Bubucar or Rasis analyzed by Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen âge*, I, 306–310, from *MS. Latin 6514* of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, and also seen by me at Venice in *Latin MS. S. Marco VI*, 214, and at Rome in *Vatic. Palat. lat. 1339*, fols 114^r–141^r. But it agrees with these neither in its incipit nor the divisions of the text, which, as described by Berthelot, consists of eight books, as found in the St Mark’s manuscript, of three parts.

Venice, S. Marco VI, 214, fol. 249^r, rubric, ‘Incipit liber secretorum bubucari Machometi magni philosophi filii zerei Arazi’; incipit, ‘Liber iste dividitur in tres partes quarum prima manifestat species, secunda vasa, tertia operationes specierum . . .’

But in our present manuscript the rubric, incipit, etc., are: *Florence, Riccard. 1165*, fols 167^r–170^v, rubric, ‘Incipiunt questiones libri Viridarii Ebubethar vii particula libri eiusdem qui continet xi questiones actuum et confectiones rerum yricarum [?]. Continetque librum anigmas qui mineraliter de iis tractavit. Prohemium.’ Opening and closing words, ‘Est liber cuius extraxi significaciones et medullas coagulavi (coagulavi?) ex 12 libris ebubechar errasy . . . / . . . nequaquam indiget probatione.’

I have not seen *MS. Palat. 981* of the Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence, 15th century, fols 141^r–149^v, Ebubacar liber, nor University of Bologna 139 (105), 14th century, membrane, pp. 149–234, Incipit liber Ebubacre, ‘Cum diversi’ . . . / . . . ‘Crucibolum.’

15. A word ascribed in our same Riccardian manuscript to the much cited alchemical author, Senior, is not found in Mrs Waley Singer’s catalogue of alchemical manuscripts in the British Isles, although other tracts attributed to Senior are listed there.

In another continental manuscript, *Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Palatine 887*, fols

¹ DWS, No. 9; Ruska, *Turba philosophorum*, 1931, p. 332; Steinschneider, ‘Die europäischen Uebersetzungen,’ *Sitzungsberichte d. philos.-hist. Klasse d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss.* (Wien, 1906), 151, 34 and 84, No. 163. Printed in *Artis auriferæ*, etc., I (1593), 319–324.

85^v–88^v, it is anonymous, according to the catalogue of the Ministero della Pubblica Istruzione.

But in *Riccard. 1165*, 14th–15th century, fols 86^v–88^r, a rubric, ‘Incipit tractatus alchimie Senioris Magni philosophphi super secreta secretorum nature,’ precedes the incipit, ‘Mundus igitur inferior est corpus eorum et cinis combustus . . .’ As in the Florence Palatine MS., the text ends, ‘. . . studeas ulterius cum diligentia.’

16. The work described as ‘B. de Florentia liber alchymiae,’ in Hagen’s catalogue of the Bern manuscripts, which I suggested in *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, III (1934), 182, note 22, might possibly be the same as the alchemical treatise that opens, ‘Studio namque florenti . . .’ turns out upon examination of the manuscript itself to be a different text with a different incipit.

Bern B 54, 15th century, paper, fol. 1^r (once fol. 305^r), ‘Est in hac scientia elixir considerandum dupliciter. Est enim elixir ad album et ad rubeum . . .’

Morienus is cited repeatedly. Captions indicating the course of the book are:

- 2^r. De compositione specierum
- 2^v. Separatio elementorum
De purgatione lapidis
- 3^r. Qualiter ignis continuandus sit. Et quomodo aqua perficitur
- 4^r. Qualiter componitur terra alba cum aliis tribus elementis
- 4^v. Secunda pars elixiris ad rubeum
- 5^v. Aqua secreta que solvit terram
- 6^v. Quomodo perficitur elixiris
- 7^v. Liber Secundus
- 9^v. De modo et forma vasis nostri
- 10^r. Liber Tertius Qualiter fit dispositio albedinis
- 12^v. Liber Quartus De dispositione incinerandi que dicitur fermentum solis.

The work ends not at fol. 16^r, as indicated by Hagen, but at fol. 17^r (old numbering, 321), ‘. . . per infinita seculorum secula excerptum (*sic*) Amen. Explicit B. de Florentia.’

17. *Bern 630* is an alchemical manuscript which seems to have been written about 1520–21. On fol. 1^r we read, ‘Anno domini 1520 undecima die mensis decembris,’ while on fol. 8^v, as Hagen notes, is a passage in German dated 1521 ‘in vigilia sancti Thome de Aquino.’

The manuscript appears to open with an acephalous treatise or collection of recipes which, beginning with fol. 2^r, are numbered from 9 to 49. They are then interrupted by other works which we shall mention, but resume at fols 31^v–33^r with numbering from 50 to 75. Since fol. 1 is mutilated, badly worn, and the margin of its verso pasted over, perhaps the missing paragraphs or recipes 1–8 were once distinguishable there.

After the *Preciosum donum dei* at fols 4^v–19^r, concerning other manuscripts of which see *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, IV (1934), 635, our MS. resembling the two Wolfenbüttel codices, come three short works that seem more novel.

At fols 19^r–20^r is a treatise in three chapters attributed to St Thomas Aquinas and opening, ‘Transmutacio metallorum ut esse unius transmutetur in esse alterius . . .’

At fols 20^v–25^r is an anonymous work in five chapters opening, ‘Ut dicit venerabilis philosophus Raymundus Lulii, Intencio nature . . .,’ which is the incipit of Guido de Montanor, *Scala philosophorum*, in Manget, *Bibliotheca Chemica* (1702), II, 134–147.

And at fols 25^r–30^v is a *Scala sapientum* which opens, ‘Ad talem ac tantam perfectionem (non) pervenitur sine scala sapientum que ex xii gradibus consistit . . .’ But only six such steps seem to have been treated, when our text breaks off or is interrupted at fol. 30^v.

Whether these last three works were composed in the early sixteenth century or ante-date 1500 is difficult to say.

18. *Praha 1765* (IX.E.9), 14th–15th century, begins with the well-known *Turba philosophorum* and then, at fol. 14^r, col. 1–14^v, col. 2, has the less-known ‘Allegories of the Second Book of the Turba’ (Incipiunt allegorie secundi libri turbe, opening, ‘Nominatur

enim in primis cum adhuc in sua forma specifica . . . ' and closing, ' . . . et vocatur a sapientibus ignis acutus.'

At fol. 14^v, col. 2 (old numbering xxvii)–21^r, is a *De exordio seminum* or *Ovum philosophorum* ascribed to Rasis, opening, 'Sicut dicit Hermes omne corruptibile metallum cum destruitur ut sua forma specifica privatur per ignem tunc non relinquit aliud post se nisi vitrum ergo vitrum est pars materie magis fixa . . .'

After the *Lumen luminum* of Rasis opening, 'Cum de sublimiori . . . ' or part of it, and the *Liber maiorum operum* of Saphirus, comes a work on colors which is also found in a manuscript of the Laurentian library at Florence, *Plut. 30, cod. 29*, fols 71^r–73, opening, 'De colorum diversitate tractaturi adjuvante divine bonitatis favore . . .', and in a manuscript at the Vatican, *Palat. lat. 1339*, fol 141^r, opening, 'De colorum diversitate tractatus incipit quomodo quilibet color artificialiter fieri possit . . .'¹

In *Praha 1765*, fols 37^v–40^r, we read in the top margin of the first page, 'De coloribus [faciendis] pictorum,' then the rubric, 'Incipit tractatus colorum,' then the incipit, 'De colorum diversitate tractare animante divino favore quomodo quilibet color fieri possit et debeat . . . ' The headings or incipits of subsequent paragraphs are:

fol.	col.	caption or opening
37 ^v	2	Cenobrium est res nobilis. . . .
38 ^r	1	Ad purgandum lazirium Ees usa sic fit
	2	Ad viride es
38 ^v	1	Ad paris rot Ad faciendum coram (?)
	2	Regimen cristalli et aliorum lapidum tingendorum
39 ^r	1	Item fustocristalli
	2	Ad faciendum margaritam
39 ^v	1	Ad idem Si vis facere colores nitidos valentes ad libros illuminandos Si vis auro scribere literas
	2	Si vis lazurium facere Ad testas sarrancenicas devitrandas
40 ^r	1	Ad communem usum Ad faciendum colorem argento similem Ad colorem smarragine emittandum in pergamento
	2	Ut plumbum vitrum fiat Ut vitrum plumbum fiat

Our manuscript then contains the *Rosarius* of Arnald of Villanova, the *Semita recta* attributed to Albertus Magnus, and the *Liber trium verborum* of Rudianus, after which the remainder of its space seems occupied by a confusion of the *Semita semitae* of Arnald of Villanova with the *Speculum alchimiae* here called *Inspiratio divinitatis*.²

19. A somewhat similar alchemical collection confronts us in *Praha 1984* (*X.H.6*) which Truhlař's catalogue dates as fourteenth century but I should say was more likely to be fifteenth. It is written on paper. The first treatise in it is anonymous and begins without titulus or rubric, 'Sciencie naturalis duplex est exitus ad operatoria . . .'

Just when this text terminated was not clear to me, but the next distinct incipit is that of *De lapide rebis* at fols 14^r–15^r, 'Cum omnis philosophia sive scientia inutilis est et vacua . . . ' (see DWS No. 28 for numerous English manuscripts of it).

Presently we have the *Semita semitae* of Arnald of Villanova and *Liber trium verborum* of Rudianus.

Then, at fols 20^v–22^r, rubric, 'Turba Senonis'; incipit, 'Senon dicit quod eadem res que

¹ DWS No. 915A, 'De colorum diversitate,' seems to be a different work.

² For these titles consult the index of my *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, Vol. III.

dealbat . . .'; ending, 'Explicit senon nucleus philosophorum,' seems to be neither a section of the text of the *Turba* as edited by Ruska nor the work ascribed to Senior which opens, 'Senior dixit in eius libro quem composuit . . .'

More familiar tracts ascribed to Gratian and Albertus Magnus follow, the latter a collection of twelve waters (see DWS No. 1063).

At fols 24^v-26^v is recorded a work of transmutation which Iohannes Trynchibalk began in the presence of the king of France and completed in four months. It opens, 'Primo fit amalgama de sole foliato . . .'

At fol. 37^r is 'a very fine tincture' which in the top margin is ascribed to Nicholas of Poland.

At fol. 46^r a treatise which I have been unable to identify begins anonymously, 'Hoc opus quatuor modis adimpletur . . .' The text ends at fol. 54^r, ' . . . vel de sanguine humano stillato per alembic'; a table of its 48 chapters follows on fol. 65^v.

Between the known works of Alphidius and Saphirus intervene at fols 63^r-71^r, *Secrets of Secrets* of alchemy: 'Incipiunt secreta secretorum multis philosophis incognita vera et certa et probata experimenta . . .' and at fols 71^v-73^v, alchemical verses, 'Fili doctrinam sanam tibi porrigo binam . . . / . . . de rerum conditione.' See DWS No. 824.

The well-known *Summa* of Geber completes the manuscript.

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 In primis pone super, 11
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 Laus omnipotenti deo, 8
 Laus sit deo domino excellentissimo, 6
 Liber iste dividitur in tres partes, 14
 Mundus igitur inferior est corpus, 15
 Natura solis ad quo [*dilibet?*] opus, 7
 Naturam circa solem et lunam, 7
 Nominatur enim in primis cum adhuc, 18
 Nunc autem ponam descriptionem aque, 3
 Philosophi naturalium rerum inscii, 6
 Prima aqua sic fit. Accipe, 3
 Primo dicendum est quod septem, 9
 Primo fit amalgama de sole, 19
 Primo recipe salis armoniaci, 9
 Primus modus sic est ad rubeum, 6
 Qui dividitur, 8
 Quoniam de opere in quo philosophorum
 doctissimi, 4
 Quoniam studii solertis indagine, 6
 and *see* Cum
 Recipe aquam mirabilem, 3
 Recipe argentum vivum et mortifica ipsum, 3
 Recipe arsenici, 9
 Recipe de minio satis et accipe acetum, 9
 Recipe ysope gladioli saniem abrotani, 3
 Rerum opifex deus et fabricator, 11
 Scientie naturalis duplex est exitus, 19
 Scito fili quod hunc librum tibi, 12
 Senior dixit in eius libro, 19
 Senon dicit quod eadem res, 19
 Sicut dicit Hermes omne corruptibile, 18
 Socrates in suis cohortationibus virtutem
 laudans, 5
 Species que conveniunt in elixiris compositione, 7
 Studio namque florenti, 16
 Succinti sermonis eloquio corporum mineralium,
 4
 Sumatur de argento vivo abluto, 11
 Totam nostram scientiam, 11
 Transmutatio metallorum ut esse unius, 17
 Ut ad perfectam scientiam pervenire possumus,
 7
 Ut ait Alquindus hec scientia, 10
 Ut dicit venerabilis philosophus, 17

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THE PRESS-MARK OF VIENNA 2133

By LESLIE WEBBER JONES

In a recent review¹ of *The Earliest Book of Tours with Supplementary Descriptions of Other Manuscripts of Tours*,² written by Professor E. K. Rand with my assistance, that eminent scholar, the late Dom D. de Bruyne, rebukes Professor Rand for interpreting the press-mark which appears on fol. b^r or *Vienna 2133* ('in a late hand, possibly of saec. XII') as 'H · e · codex mōsterij s(c̄i martini) . . . (The part in the parenthesis is in erasure)' and states that it should be interpreted 'K 4 codex . . .' etc. Whatever blame belongs to the original interpretation should be given not to Professor Rand, but to me, as my initials (L.W.J.) at the end of the description of this manuscript clearly indicate.

That Dom de Bruyne should read 'K 4 codex . . .' etc., and interpret the first two letters as an old library number ('une ancienne cote') might seem perfectly natural to one who takes but a casual glance at the entry (see Plate LIX. 2, line 1, of *The Earliest Book of Tours*). The bow at the right of the first letter breaks into two distinct parts and resembles a *K* or an *R* even more than it does a conventional *small H*. Again, the second letter might serve as well for a *4* as for an *e*. But the matter is not as simple as it seems. To begin with, the first letter is a *fairly large* initial, a particularly *ornate* one, and exercises a freedom of design

¹ In *Revue Bénédictine*, XLVII (1935), 77.

² *Studies in the Script of Tours, II* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1934).