

# RAYMUND LULLY



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ILLUMINATED DOCTOR, ALCHEMIST  
AND CHRISTIAN MYSTIC

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LONDON  
WILLIAM RIDER & SON, LTD.  
8—11 PATERNOSTER ROW, E.C.  
1922

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L969  
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# CONTENTS

## CHAPTER I

	PAGE
A PROBLEM OF PERSONALITY . . .	9

## CHAPTER II

THE ILLUMINATED DOCTOR OF MAJORCA .	16
-------------------------------------	----

## CHAPTER III

THE UNIVERSAL SCIENCE . . .	35
-----------------------------	----

## CHAPTER IV

THE HERMETIC DOCTOR . . .	41
---------------------------	----

## CHAPTER V

AN HISTORICAL RESEARCH . . .	47
------------------------------	----

## CHAPTER VI

THE SCIENCE OF ALCHEMY . . .	61
------------------------------	----

## CHAPTER VII

THE MYSTICAL DOCTOR. . .	68
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## ILLUMINATED DOCTOR, AL- CHEMIST AND CHRISTIAN MYSTIC

### CHAPTER I

#### A PROBLEM OF PERSONALITY

THERE are few names in mediæval literature and in the history of its philosophical thought, around which has gathered a more curious woof of legend confused with fact than the name of Raymund Lully. There is nothing within my knowledge at any place or period, in any bibliographical record, corresponding to the peculiar growth which arose out of that complex and the life within it during a space of some five centuries. It happens to be a growth of literature, represented by at least two and, as it may be, three cycles of books. The explanation is that we are confronted by a duality or trinity of persons subsisting under a single denomination and identified therefore as one, though when their memorials pass under examination the multiple prodigy by no means stands for unity. To the earliest cycle belongs Raymund Lully of Majorca in the Balearic Isles, an historical character about

whom we know something, and could certainly extend our knowledge by research into his own memorials and into Spanish history of his period. Something in this direction is attempted by the present monograph. He is the central figure, who has been clothed upon by all the legends, a hero of romance, a memorable Catalonian poet, an illuminated doctor, an apostle and missionary in the Name of Christ, in fine a martyr for that faith of which he was the champion. He is also a figure of some consequence in intellectual thought, and must not be ignored in the philosophical history of his age, for he devised an art of knowledge and reasoning, which was by no means neglected in his day, and was taught subsequently at certain centres for about two hundred years. It was called *Ars Magna Sciendi*<sup>1</sup> and *Ars Lulliana*, even the Universal Science,<sup>2</sup> and its title to consideration resides in the fact that it embodied a formal scheme to displace the scholastic method at the seats of learning in Europe. The historical Raymund Lully stands for more than this, as we shall find, and as I have indeed intimated, but at the moment he may be presented thus.

Some time after his death the name and fame which he left behind, brought to birth a second Lully, made in his own image, and after

<sup>1</sup> Otherwise *Ars Compendiaria Inveniendi Veritatem*.

<sup>2</sup> Compare the title of Lully's supplementary work for the elucidation of *Ars Magna*, i.e. *Ars Universalis, seu Lectura super Artem compendiosam inveniendi Veritatem*.

his formal likeness, but with other concerns and claims. The *Doctor Illuminatus* and his so-called Inventive Art, reached the completion of his cycle in the commentaries to which his works gave rise. The second Lully—who was *Doctor Alchemicus*—originated a new cycle, and by all lovers of the Hermetic Art he was accounted *ab origine* one of the Great Masters of Alchemy, a witness whose authority was unquestioned and whose word was held final on the mystery of transmuting metals. A new legend arose in this manner, was incorporated with the first, and—although exceedingly late in its final and most popular form—is now a thing of repute in the history of Hermetic Philosophy.

There is a sense in which the third Lully—if I can venture so to designate him—has been discovered by myself, for he has remained in the obscurity of various Latin texts, till, in years long past, I had the courage to evoke his shade,<sup>1</sup> though so far only by presuming the fact of his existence. Whether he was Lully of Majorca in another mood or—as I think—a third personality, it seems good that here and now I am able to give brief account concerning him, hoping perhaps that, in some spacious day to come, it may be possible to proceed further. For in truth the third Lully, who is a kind of *Doctor Mysticus*, emerges as chief of all, another and more enlightened Master, no longer discoursing on *Ars Inventiva*

<sup>1</sup> See *Doctrine and Literature of the Kabbalah*.

*Veritatis*, explaining the high art of stuffing the head with knowledge and fitting it with machinery of debate, but concerned rather with the paths and thresholds leading to that deeper mode in which the mind is emptied of images, that it may be filled with the glory of God. The third Lully is a theosophist who has drawn spiritual intimations and reflections alike from East and West, though he depends most generally on his own inward resources rather than on authorities of the past. It is not my intention to magnify the import of his record beyond its due measures, as if *Arbor Philosophiæ Amoris* and *De Amico et Amate* had sounded deepest wells of Divine Experience; but this spiritual doctor knew something at first hand of that admirable and rare state in which God enters the soul and abides therein.

The legend of the original Lully has been expanded to incorporate the personality and work of the alchemist, while—as it seems to me—the third has been joined with the others by an indiscriminate disposition to father on the first Raymund whatever was produced by his followers, or could, on any artificial warrant, be connected with his name. When *Ars Lulliana* was little more than a record on faded leaves, and the blessed doctor of the Balearic Isles remained only as a local devotion in the believing heart of Majorca, some of these mystical and semi-mystical texts were included in certain mammoth folios, denominated

*Raymundi Lullii Opera Omnia*, published at Mayence in 1734 and onward. A few others had been printed previously, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and even earlier. They were hall-marked in such manner and delivered to posterity as if with an explicit guarantee of authenticity. The explanation of this unusual literary puzzle is perhaps more simple than it seems. The original Raymund Lully was precisely one of those figures in mediæval history about whom myth and legend were almost certain to gather. He was, in particular, one on whom the unscrupulous apostolate of alchemy, which tended always to take shelter under great names of the past, was antecedently likely to fasten, either by the production of treatises under his name or by affixing his name to tracts extant already, but of obscure or unknown authorship. We shall see in due course that it is impossible for Raymund Lully of the *Ars Magna* to be the Lully of Abbot Cremer's story, and the author of those Hermetic writings which pass under his name. As regards the assumed third personality, it is more difficult to speak, but I have explained my point of view, and it will be developed further as we proceed.

The magnificent Mayence folios contain (1) the unquestioned writings of the Illuminated Doctor embodying or connected with and arising from *Ars Magna Sciendi*, including many treatises on the arts, humanities and philosophy, some of them recalling the mode

and matter of *Ars Magna* and some foreign thereto ; (2) a variety of theological tracts, as, e.g., *De Anima Rationali* and *De Deo et Jesu Christe*, together with polemical writings in defence of Christianity against infidels, e.g. *Liber de Gentili et Tribus Sapientibus*, *Disputatio Fidelis et Infidelis*, and so forth ; (3) certain exceedingly curious disquisitions on the Philosophy of Love and Love of the Good, as also Flowers of Love and Understanding, which are to be classed broadly as mystical. The alchemical texts are not included in the extant volumes of *Opera Omnia*, but it follows from one of the theses which introduce the whole collection that they were designed to appear, and I conceive that they would be found in the seventh or eighth volume, alike wanting in the only set with which I am acquainted.<sup>1</sup> In this case the three Lullys of my hypothesis are all represented in the Mayence edition, or were at least intended to be so, and, as I can observe on the part of the editors no intention to reject anything which passes under the name, I infer that the collection, had it been completed, would have ex-

<sup>1</sup> The British Museum has vols. i to vi, both inclusive, and vols. ix and x. The note of an earlier owner says that vols. vii and viii were never published, and that practically the whole Mayence collection was destroyed by fire, so that a set, imperfect as it is, must be listed as of the uttermost rarity. On the last point there is no counter-opinion possible: I have been looking for the *Opera Omnia* through all my literary life. On the other hand, why the ninth and tenth volumes should have been issued and the preceding two held over the note does not explain.

tended to a great number of volumes, supposing that texts were available. A vast proportion of these remains in manuscript, scattered through the libraries of Europe, which notwithstanding there is abundant material available for the study of Raymund Lully in the printed versions alone, both within and without the limits of that which was done at Mayence.

I propose in the present monograph to give account of the facts and legends respecting the Illuminated Doctor and his Hermetic counterpart. The historical Raymund Lully is of importance, as I have said. At a time when, under the ægis of scholasticism, Aristotle reigned everywhere, it was Lully who sounded the earliest note of revolt against the great Stagyrite and the regnant methods of the schools. The second Lully may be termed the first of two great names in alchemical literature, traditionally ascribed to the same period and under any circumstances not separated by any too considerable space of time. Behind them lies the wonderful cycle of Byzantine, Arabian and Syriac alchemy; but this was practically unknown in the West during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, except indeed by reflections in the Latin Geber and the Latinised *Turba Philosophorum*. The third Lully is a mystical exponent of the Lover and Beloved in God, the states of the soul in contemplation, and certain aspects of Divine Attainment.

## CHAPTER II

### THE ILLUMINATED DOCTOR OF MAJORCA

As regards the human personality whose tale in history and legend I am about to present, one is reminded that a brilliant but ephemeral reputation was compared by Byron to "the comet of a season." The saying has passed from the realm of poetry to that of proverb, and, as he made unquestionably a considerable figure at his period, it has been thought applicable to Raymund Lully, because his season passed and his name awakens a definite recollection now among only a few specialists in the story of mediæval thought. But it would seem that as much might be said for other reputations innumerable, all the wide world over and all the ages through. The fact is that our knowledge is in proportion to our concern. There is nothing, perhaps, more narrow in all our mundane measures than that which is called celebrity, except in so far as the latest prize-ring hero is blazed more in the common trumps of fame than ever was saint or sage. The surest shrine, however, is in the hearts or minds of a few. Raymund Lully occupies a middle place, but one that is permanent after its own kind. He carries, indeed,

many titles to remembrance. As the Illuminated Doctor he exercised no small influence on his generation, while for a considerable period afterwards it may be said that intellectual Europe was acquainted with his art or method, and the zeal of his missionary labours must have reached many ears.

According to his chequered story, he may be held to have united the saint and man of learning, the philosopher and preacher, the apostle and wandering student, the dialectician and martyr. In his youth he was a courtier and man of pleasure; in maturer years he was the discoverer and expositor of the Art to which I have referred under the denomination of an universal science, revealed to him—as he believed—by God; after his death some of his propositions are said to have been condemned at Rome, and—though the fact is doubtful—he is still classed as a heretic in a few popular chronologies of the Latin Church.<sup>1</sup> This notwith-

<sup>1</sup> According to one account the works of Lully were removed from the *Index* by a decree of the Council of Trent, but another says—as we shall see—that the condemned writings were those of a different Raymund. The question is exceedingly confused, and would not repay the long pains of investigation. It is on record that the alleged condemnation occurred in 1376, owing to Dominican influence, but that the authenticity of the Bull is doubtful. So also is the justification of Lully, for the Bull is said to have been amended in 1417; but the supposed action of the Council of Trent is referred to 1563. The Bull was “exhibited” by Nicholas Eymeric, Inquisitor of Aragon, but it is reported that “the Lullists secured his banishment, and Eymeric died in exile.” See A. S. Tuberville: *Medicæval Heresy and the Inquisition*, 1920, p. 71. Also P. Piedro Blanco Soto: *Estudios de Bibliografía Lulliana*, Madrid, 1916.

standing, the process of his beatification began, and the fact that it fell through may have been the want of sufficient influence and money at the headquarters of interest in the Balearic Isles, rather than difficulties over points of doctrine. Meanwhile, his relics were supposed to work miracles at Majorca, and colleges were founded, as I have said, there and here in Europe for teaching the *Ars Lulliana*. From beginning to end the story of his life is embedded in devotional myth and the wonder-working element of his period, so that I cannot extricate it entirely. Its verifiable and probable facts have their setting in legend, and must be left therein.

In respect of genealogy, the father of Raymond Lully was a gentleman of Barcelona who served under the banner of John I, King of Aragon, at the conquest of the Balearic Isles from the Mohammedans in 1231. He had a grant of lands in Majorca as a consideration for these aids, and there he rested on his arms. It is said that he was of an old and noble Catalonian family, and was possessed of considerable wealth. He was also married, and over this fact legend intervenes with the worn and weariful story that his happiness, and that of his wife, had been marred, because no children were born to their union. I do not read of pilgrimages, even to Compostella, but rather that husband and wife had recourse to earnest prayer, and that it was answered, *circa* 1235, by the birth of a son at Palma, who was named

Raymund, like his father. While the young Raymund grew in grace and years, his parents are pictured as in anxiety over the matter of his studies, about the last thing which would occur to a lord of the manor in Majorca towards the middle of the thirteenth century, having recollections of his own prowess in the field and sound reasons for knowing that the Moors were ever on the threshold. In any case, when the heart of the boy hankered after the life of arms, he could not have earned great displeasure; and arms he chose, though it does not appear that he took them seriously in hand, or won his spurs in battle.<sup>1</sup> From confusion to further confusion his tale goes on. I have failed to discover that the Balearics were erected into a separate kingdom soon after their conquest or that the Court of Aragon was moved for a period to Majorca. On the contrary, Don Jaime of Aragon was King of the Balearics, Catalonia and Languedoc.<sup>2</sup> But Raymund Lully is represented as "becoming page to the King," with whom he acquired such favour that he was installed, when still in his youth,

<sup>1</sup> Among the multitude of works which are attributed to him, against all likelihood and in the absence of all evidence, there are some on the art of war, but I do not find that they have been printed.

<sup>2</sup> They were under the rule of a Moslem King when they were taken in 1231. Don Jaime, for the consideration of another possession, exchanged them with Don Pedro, Infante of Portugal, but appears to have recovered them when he sent an expedition to subdue the Moslem inhabitants, who had risen up in rebellion. In 1264 he gave them to his youngest son; but this is too late for the court-life of Raymund Lully.

as Grand Provost, and then as Seneschal of the Isles. Possibly he was sent to the mainland, for the kind of biographers who made him part of their concern in the old days seem apt to take curious leaps, alike in place and time. The question does not signify. We are assured that he was somehow at Court, with his feet already on the ladder of royal patronage, and in the sun of such good fortune. But he is said to have used the advantages of this distinguished position for dissolute ends, without restraint or measure. The flower of his manhood looked like wasting in the extravagance of palace-life, and in the licence of so-called love.

Being also a great maker of verses, he won his way to favour with woman-kind in this among other ways.<sup>1</sup> His excesses have been represented as so glaring that his parents, and King James II himself, took the youth severely to task, and in fine, as a possible remedial measure, they married him to a wife at once virtuous, beautiful and wealthy.<sup>2</sup> Catherine Sabots, or alternatively Blanca Picany, is said to have gained his affections, but neither this fact nor the birth in succession of

<sup>1</sup> He has been called the most popular Spanish poet of his period, and one of acknowledged influence on Catalonian literature. Lully's *Obras Rimades en idioma Catalan-Provenzel* were edited by G. Rosselló in 1859.

<sup>2</sup> According to another story, his court-life began after his marriage, when he passed over to the mainland, and became Seneschal of the palace, not of the Isles. In this case the story of Ambrosia must be transferred to Catalonia.

three children put an end to his wanton life. I suspect here something of the exaggeration of fable, more especially as part of my material comes from French sources. There is, perhaps, some historical foundation for one episode which proved a turning-point. Señora Ambrosia Eleonora de Castello de Gênes was one of the Court beauties for whom he conceived a great passion; but it happened that her inward purity was greater than her outward graces. She was married, moreover, and—as it is said—to a man whom she loved. The story is told after several contradictory manners, the French versions being characteristically false in sentiment.

When Raymund Lully, lost to all around him, except the object of infatuation, followed her, all on horseback as he was, into a Church of Palma, where she had gone one morning to Mass, the lady took counsel with her husband, that an end might be put to her persecution and the notoriety to which it gave rise, in view of the high rank of both parties. In the end she wrote to him—as some say, in reply to a letter by which he sought for pardon, but made bad worse by a sonnet. The script of Ambrosia has been termed an exhortation to a lover, dissuading him from the profanation of love. There is more than one fraudulent version extant. He was an intelligence created for God, and how then should he rationally devote himself to the very least of God's creatures? Such is the salient point of all the

pretended letters, together with an intimation that she could undeceive him terribly if she chose. As might be expected, the lady added fuel to the fire, and still—as the legend tells—acting on her husband's advice, she called Raymund Lully into her presence, and showed him her breast, disfigured by a cancer-growth. "Look on what thou lovest, Raymund Lully," she is supposed to have exclaimed amidst tears. "Behold the state of this wretched body, in which thy heart has centred all its hopes." I have called it the turning-point. The next scene exhibits the lover embracing the feet of a crucifix, and consecrating himself henceforward to the service of God alone. The night rewarded him in vision, after the manner of the age and its fervour. "From henceforth follow thou Me," said Christ to the reconciled sinner.<sup>1</sup>

Raymund Lully at this time was about thirty years old.<sup>2</sup> He filled an honourable situation at Court, and might have aspired to any distinction for himself and his family. All this notwithstanding, he resolved to renounce the world, and is represented presently dividing his estate, so that those who belonged to him

<sup>1</sup> The *Vita* prefixed to vol. i of the *Opera* knows nothing of this story, but Lully is said to have been writing a poem about a certain lady *quam tunc amore fatuo diligebat*. As he wrote he saw the Lord Jesus Christ hanging on the cross; but this vision recurred several times before it effected his conversion.

<sup>2</sup> Compare *Liber Contemplationis in Deo, Pars IX*, in which Lully condemns himself for thirty barren years of existence.

should have what he deemed their due, while his personal needs were allotted a small portion and the rest went to the poor. In other words, his wife and children were not left so utterly in the lurch as is usual in such stories, and this may count for righteousness—to the credit at least of the legend.<sup>1</sup> Otherwise, his place among his people knew him no more. “Watch it,” said some of the crowd, as they loitered through the palace, expecting that he would return shortly to the old ways. The rest accused him of plunging headlong from one extravagance to another.

The romantic legend ends at this point in most of the versions, and we are left to put together as we can the piecemeal record of Lully's wandering life thereafter. A pilgrimage to St. John in Galicia, a retreat thereat; the habit of religion assumed, but not cloistered life; a period passed on Mount Randa,<sup>2</sup> where he had retained a small hold; an illness, and two other visions of our Saviour vouchsafed for his consolation and support,—these things stand at their value, however we sort them out. Two points of fact emerge for the shaping of his future ways. As one who had given up all for

<sup>1</sup> Another account represents him devoting years to study, till he was so overwrought that his wife and family appointed an official to administer his estate.

<sup>2</sup> Otherwise, Rauda and Aranda. An American writer has suggested that the reference is really to Mount Roda, near Barcelona; but for this there seems no warrant. The *Vita* says: *Ascendit in Montem quendam de Randa, qui non longe distabat a suo domo*—he being then in Majorca.

God, he prayed earnestly to God for light, and there is no question that—in his own view—he received it in all measures of fullness, namely, *Ars Lulliana*, a perfect intellectual illumination, otherwise a capacity for reasoning on all subjects after a new manner, before which the sun of the old school and of Aristotle its master was designed to set. This is the first fact; but, as to all that it meant, we shall see later on in a brief and summary sketch. It stood for mission enough within the scope of a single life, and even so it was a question whether firm scholastic walls would crumple at the blowing of a Balearic horn. They were not adamant, but assuredly they were not of straw. Moreover, it was the day of Duns Scotus and the great Angel of the Schools.

Now, the second fact is that of another mission, whether or not it was evolved somewhat later. The Moslem dwelt at the gates through all those strenuous times, an armed witness against Christ and the Church of Christ, preaching a rival gospel with sword and fire. But it had a philosophy also, and was making conquests with the pen. From the standpoint of Lully, the written word of Averroës was in opposition to the Word of God, yet it had been taken into the orthodox schools, and was taught therein. The seats of Christian learning were occupied by Aristotle and his expounder Averroës. It was not enough, therefore, to have conceived or received from above an Universal Science, however great its art or conclusive its

method. He must speak with the Moslem enemy, not only in his own gates but in the streets of his own cities. So grew up within him the sense of a personal mission for the conversion of Mahomet to Christ. There was a nation, a race at stake, and the crown of such an apostolate might shine as a greater glory of God than any diadem of scholastic conquest. But the *Ars Lulliana* did not include among its treasures an automatic gift of tongues, and, though his field of evangelical mission lay almost within sight, across the blue Mediterranean waters, he could not adventure thither until he had learned Arabic; he spent accordingly six years on the language. Out of this fact comes the legendary episode of another vision, in which Lully saw the leaves of a myrtle or mastic tree inscribed with characters which he took for the Arabic alphabet: as the legend would have it, his will to convert the heathen evolved out of this vision.

Meanwhile, he was not to rest idle in other respects, so we hear of him located at Paris, and there proclaiming his neo-scholastic method. Paris may have cared at the moment as much and as little as Spain, and elsewhere, in a later day, for a supposed reformation in the arts which Christian Rosy Cross brought back from the Hidden City of Damcar. But the Universal Science began to take form in books—tracts on philosophy, tracts on theology, tracts even on medicine, though it is held antecedently that these last are ascribed falsely, like those of

alchemy, and indeed with yet more reason. The life of an itinerant philosopher at that period, proceeding to hang up his theses, literally or symbolically, at various gates of learning, does not suggest an extraordinary output of considerable and elaborate works, more especially when it is complicated further by an apostolate among the heathens. Such an output, and one of colossal dimensions, has been attributed to Raymund Lully, but it is largely supposititious, as sober criticism agrees. This notwithstanding, his authentic tracts are sufficiently considerable for us to conclude that he must have written in season and out of season, almost with fevered haste.

The scheme for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts stood over, as we have seen, pending a certain development. A chronological harmony continues to baffle research, but we may picture Lully as again perhaps at Majorca, and it may be about this time that we hear of him employing a Mohammedan servant for his personal improvement in colloquial Arabic. The hireling proved a zealot of his own kind, in opposition to the zealotry of his master, and when he learned that the latter was planning to heap confusion on the Koran and its prophet, he attacked Lully with a dagger, for the glory of the faith of Islam. The Illuminated Doctor proved, however, the better man in a struggle, and the Arab was thrown into prison, where he strangled himself in wrath at his failure. The dagger had wounded

Lully, and he retired for a second time to his solitude on Mount Randa. There he remained for the space of seven months, always absorbed in prayer, and, according to the spirit of his legend, receiving ministry of angels. This retreat over, he undertook a journey to Rome, with the intention of persuading His Holiness to establish monasteries wherein monks should devote themselves to the acquisition and teaching of oriental languages, in order to spread the gospel and labour for the conversion of infidels. Hereof are the ardours begotten of strange characters seen on myrtle-leaves. Now, it has been affirmed that he had everything to hope from the earnestness of Honorius IV, and the greater the pity if so, for as Raymund Lully entered the gates of the Eternal City, the pontiff passed out through those of this mortal life. The journey came therefore to nothing. But Lully, as an illuminated doctor, could afford to wait, and so he revisited Paris, where he gave public lectures. On this or another occasion Duns Scotus was also there, and it fell out that the Balearic doctor found time on a day to listen as well as to teach. The Scotsman, who belongs to the immortals in the pantheon of the schools—I think, even as Lully outside it—had a great audience; but, as to Lully, he came, he saw and he objected to some points in the other doctor's discourse. Being also a Spaniard and a man of zeal, his *negatur* there and here was accompanied by pantomimic gestures of

dissent. The incident ruffled the Scotsman, who looked with disdain at Lully, like a master at an impudent pupil, and flung at him the question which used to be put to monastic novices in the course of a catechism: *Dominus quæ pars?*—"What part is the Lord?" The answer given in the classes was: *Dominus pars hæreditatis meæ et calicis mei*—"The Lord is the part of my inheritance and my chalice." It was a jeer of Duns Scotus, suggesting that Lully was a tyro, who ought to keep silence when elders and dialecticians laid down the law in the classes. But Lully answered quietly and clearly: *Dominus non pars est sed totum*—"The Lord is not a part, but the whole." In this manner the tables were turned on his questioner, who observed that he was dealing with another manner of man than he had supposed at first. The incident closed for the moment, but when his oration was over Duns Scotus singled out Lully from the crowd, discovered who he was, and they are reported as meeting and exchanging views frequently.

Having finished his course at Paris, the Spanish doctor went to Mount Pelin, where he also taught and wrote, thence to Genoa, where it is said that he translated his *Ars Inventiva* into Arabic. It is needless to mention that there is nothing in the shape of evidence for stories of this kind. In the adventurous life of Lully, only the salient events can be called historical—by example, his pilgrimages to

Rome and his visitation of various centres to expound and defend his system. He was presently for a second time in the city of the popes with the same object in view, and again it came to nothing, through the involved condition of affairs at the Sacred Court.

It would appear that his promised apostolate passed now into the forefront of his mind, and that he felt himself fully equipped. He was at Genoa, on another visit, and made ready to embark for Africa. His books were already on board, for he went as no common missionary but as an exponent of universal science in the Name of Christ. He was himself on the point of taking passage, when he was overwhelmed with a sense of his danger, recalled his effects, and is pictured as pursued through the streets by a crowd of vagabonds, deriding his cowardice. Through shame, according to some, through remorse as others say, most probably owing to both, Raymund Lully fell sick for a third time, and on a certain Vigil of Pentecost he was carried to a Dominican Priory, where he received the last sacraments. One biographer adds that he made his will—he who had devised already or spent all. However, he recovered and embarked on the first vessel bound for Tunis. There he is pictured as holding conferences with men of learning in the law of Mahomet. Whether he confounded them utterly or only outwearied their patience, in the end he was cast into prison, and duly condemned to death. We are told, however, of one Moslem, either

impressed by his knowledge or brought to the verge of conversion, who intervened to save him. In result Lully was released and expelled the city. He is heard of next at Naples, teaching his system till Celestine V assumed the Chair of Peter, when Lully visited Rome for a third time, and at last secured the foundation of several colleges for the study of eastern tongues. The University of Paris is said also to have adopted his Short Method of acquiring knowledge. At Montpellier he was received with distinction by a General of the Franciscan Order. In a word, he was coming into his own. He is reported also at Cyprus, preaching against Nestorians and Georgians.<sup>1</sup> He was appealing, moreover, for help in his various enterprises to the Kings of France, Sicily and Cyprus—for the most part in vain.

The city of Paris saw him once again in or about 1308, and a year later he was in Castile, entreating Ferdinand IV to join the French King, Philippe le Bel, in a new crusade for the recovery of the Holy Land. He spelt out another failure. The old prohibition notwithstanding, he ventured again into Africa, and at Bona, otherwise Hippo, once the diocese of St. Augustine, he is affirmed to have converted seventy followers of Averroës. A little later on he was converting also at Algiers, but there a bridle was fixed in his mouth—as it is

<sup>1</sup> This is most probably mythical, like a journey to Jerusalem and Egypt, which Lully is said to have undertaken at the age of eighty years.

said—for the space of “forty days,” after which he was beaten publicly, and expelled that region. He returned to Tunis, where sentence of death awaited him, and afterwards passed on to Bugia, meeting again with imprisonment and being again thrust out. He embarked in a Genoese vessel with his books and papers, but suffered shipwreck, and landed somehow at Pisa. There he fell sick once more, and once more was tended by Dominicans. The conversion of Mohammedans and the recovery of the Holy Land were still his chief ends. He sought also the institution of an Order of Christian Chivalry,<sup>1</sup> and his enthusiasm on the subject was such that it was communicated to the inhabitants of Pisa, who sent him with letters to the Sovereign Pontiff, and with a guarantee on the part of the ladies in that city to furnish considerable funds for such purpose. It was the pontificate of Clement V, and the place was not Rome but Avignon, where the Papal Court, in conspiracy with the wicked King, had a job of their own in respect of a Christian chivalry: it was the doom-day of Knights Templar. We know the kind of ears which listened—if they did listen—to this second Peter the Hermit preaching another crusade, and to this later Hugh de Payens seeking a Rule of Knighthood. It does not need to say that Lully gained nothing. He returned to

<sup>1</sup> It has been proposed that the end in view was the formation of a purely spiritual knighthood, which was to win its way by preaching, and not by force of arms.

Paris, and betook himself once more to lectures. Presumably an universal science offers consolation to those whose steps are dogged by failure, at least in particular schemes.<sup>1</sup>

There came, however, the year 1311, when a General Council of the Church was convened at Vienne, in the South of France, and thither Lully bent his steps, carrying certain theses reduced under three heads: (1) The foundation of monasteries for men willing to expose their lives in the quarrel of Christ, and to learn languages, that they might preach the Gospel far and wide. (2) The reduction of all Christian chivalries into a single Order living under one rule and inspired with one ambition, being the liberation of the Holy Places and the utter destruction of the Saracenic power.<sup>2</sup> (3) The condemnation of the writings of Averroës as opposed to the true religion and its doctrines. There is a story that the Council ordained colleges for languages and suppressed the heathen teaching; but it had hands to arm against heresies and battles to fight at home, so I think it more likely that Raymund Lully drew another blank in the lottery of scholastic, apostolic and religious favour. It was some years yet to the next and final drawing. Meanwhile he wrote and lectured, as it would seem,

<sup>1</sup> It appears otherwise to have reaped an earlier reward, for Philippe le Bel is represented as authorising a college for teaching the Lullian method at Paris in 1298. We hear also that it had apostolic approval.

<sup>2</sup> By love and prayer, Lully is reported as saying, by pouring out tears and blood.

more especially at Paris, till Europe was filled with his MSS., if there is any truth in the stories or any modicum of fact represented by bibliographical lists. He grew old also, and perhaps a day came when he had illustrated *Ars Lulliana* to his heart's content. He returned to Majorca and thence took ship to Tunis,<sup>1</sup> hoping to work secretly for the conversion of its inhabitants. He was looking for a crown perchance, the highest prize in all lotteries, as the ages of faith counted. He drew at last and won. His secret activities transpired after a certain time, as they were bound to do, or alternatively they were not secret, for according to another account he proclaimed his return boldly. In either case, there was no need for Arabian doctors or civic authorities to move against him, as the populace rose in hordes ; they pelted him out of the city, and he fell on the sea-shore, buried under a pile of stones.

Now, Raymund Lully was well known in Genoa, and it is possible that certain Genoese merchants, mentioned in all versions of his story, may have witnessed his martyrdom ; but in any case they came in the darkness to carry his body away. He was still breathing, however, and so was borne to their ship. They set sail for Majorca, and in sight of his native land the illuminated doctor carried his zeal for God beyond the fury of Mahound, and beyond

<sup>1</sup> Or to Bugia, says another story, i.e. ~~Bougia, near~~ Algiers.

the chilling preoccupations of Rome and Avignon. It was the Feast of the Martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul, June 29, possibly in 1315, possibly three years later. We do not find his record in authorised Church Calendars ; but there are other saints than those who figure in the lists of Latin Christianity. His name is treasured still in the heart of the Balearic Isles, for whom he was and will always be the Blessed Raymund Lully.

## CHAPTER III

### THE UNIVERSAL SCIENCE

WHAT was this Universal Science to which frequent allusion has been made, this *Ars Lulliana*, *Ars Magna Sciendi* and *Ars Notoria*? For either it was put forward under many names, or else there were several branches, and these were diversely entitled. Those who know anything concerning it among mystical and occult students in England have derived most probably at second-hand through Éliphas Lévi, whom I have made known by various translations. I will appeal, therefore, to him in the first instance. He affirms as follows: (1) Raymund Lully reclaimed the heritage of Solomon for that Saviour who was the Son of David. (2) He was a pre-eminent adept, the first initiate after St. John who was devoted to the hierarchic apostolate of holy orthodoxy. (3) He sought to establish an absolute and universal philosophy by substituting a fixed notion of natural actualities for the conventional abstractions of systems, and a natural simplicity of expression for the ambiguous terms of scholasticism. (4) His endeavour was to place the Christianised Kabbalah against the fatalistic *Magia* of the Arabs, Egyptian

traditions against those of India, the Magic of Light against Black Magic. (5) He foretold that the doctrine of Antichrist, to be expounded in the last days, would be a materialised realism and would be accompanied by a recrudescence of all the monstrosities connoted by the forbidden arts. (6) He sought to prepare minds for the return of Enoch, or otherwise for the final revelation of that science, the Key of which is in the hieroglyphical alphabet of Enoch, meaning that he was acquainted with the Trumps Major of the Tarot cards, and with the secret doctrine which lies behind them, according to the hypothesis of Lévi. (7) He was, therefore, a great prophet for true Kabbalists and seers. On this philosophical diagnosis we should at least agree with Lévi that Lully must be regarded as a sublime dreamer by all who can respect "exalted character and noble aspirations."

It happens, however, that the French Magus not only wrote that *History of Magic* from which I have been extracting, as well as other occult treatises, but was the author—much about the same time—of a *Dictionary of Christian Literature* in the long series of encyclopædic works under the general editorship of Abbé Migne. This volume was, as it had to be, written strictly on orthodox lines, and is exceedingly useful as such to check Lévi's occult enthusiasms, and the exaggerations into which they led him. His *Dictionary* includes an article on Raymund Lully, and he testifies as

follows therein: (1) Lully personified the mediæval search for the absolute. (2) He pretended to have invented an universal art. (3) According to his legend, he was illuminated by a ray of the universal science. (4) He preached the true religion, being that of catholic unity. It will be seen that we are on a different key, and that the Lully whom Lévi presented to the consideration of orthodox Latins is by no means the Great Master of the *History of Magic*. He is said to be an alchemist in the romance of his legend, but it is no longer suggested that he was a Kaöbalist in his presentation of metaphysical science. On my own part, but in a study belonging to the far past of my literary life, I described *Ars Magna Sciendi* as (1) a mechanical introduction to knowledge, (2) an educational method, (3) a great, vacant, pretentious system which enabled those who mastered it to hold their own in all subjects of dispute.<sup>1</sup> At this day I should not express my findings precisely in this way, but it cannot be said that those who have come after me have done more than vary the thesis, as two examples will indicate: (1) An American writer<sup>2</sup> describes *Ars Magna* as "a mechanical contrivance for ascertaining all possible categories that apply to any possible proposition." (2) The eleventh edition of the

<sup>1</sup> *Lives of Alchemystical Philosophers*, s.v. Raymund Lully.

<sup>2</sup> Samuel M. Zwerner, D.D.: *Raymund Lull, First Missionary to the Moslems*. New York, 1902.

*Encyclopædia Britannica*<sup>1</sup> characterises the philosophical treatises generally as abounding with "incoherent formulæ," to which Lully held that "every demonstration in every science may be reduced." The justification of both judgments could not fail to emerge, were it possible in the present sketch to summarise the vast system, with its digest of notions by means of the Latin alphabet arranged in circles and pillars, the revolutions of alphabetical circles, the correlation of ideas established by such devices, and the alternatives of affirmation and denial. A single example will suffice from *Ars Brevis*, which was written to facilitate knowledge of *Ars Magna*. It claims to provide an answer to all questions, on the assumption that a given name or word represents a known thing. The art discovers principles by means of definitions, so that they can be used in affirmation or negation, and it establishes all possible aspects of debate under certain comprehensive headings, as, e.g., whether the given thing is that which it is, what and why it is, where it is and when, how and whose it is, and so forward, being "about it and about for evermore," in the words of Omar Khayyam.

It follows, I think, indubitably that at this day we do not need to know more largely concerning *Ars Lulliana*, however presented, digested, or extended by its author, and those who adopted his method. As G. H. Lewes said long ago, it is "a new method of dia-

<sup>1</sup> S.v. Raymund Lully.

lectics," and the only points in which it corresponds loosely to the panegyric of Éliphas Lévi is that it sought to demonstrate the truth of Christianity on the ground of reason, and was certainly orthodox by intention. It did not substitute a natural system of expression for the ambiguous terms of scholasticism,<sup>1</sup> or, if the terminology *per se* is simpler, the advantage is discounted completely by a cumbrous and artificial method. It knew nothing of Egyptian tradition, or of magic, black or white. It had no mission concerning the return of Enoch, and knew as little of his alleged "hieroglyphical alphabet" as it did of Dr. Dee's Tablets of Enoch. Finally, Raymond Lully was not acquainted with the Jewish Kabbalah, nor with any Christian adaptation thereof. It was yet a century and a half to the birth of Picus de Mirandula, so that the putative books of Esdras, Zoharic Theosophy and *Theses Kabbalisticæ* were undreamed of in Europe, so far as Christians were concerned, while the circulation of the *Zohar* among Jews themselves belongs to the closing years of the thirteenth century. It is true that a work entitled *De Auditu Kab-*

<sup>1</sup> I append a specimen of Lullian Latinity from *Lectura super Artem Inventivam*, about the lucidity of which my readers shall judge for themselves: *Deus est illa Potestas, in quâ Concordantia est magis remota à Contrarietate, quam omnis alia Concordantia; in qua Potestate Concordantia non posset esse remota à Contrarietate si Contrarietas contrariaretur, ne Concordantia esset diffusa in illa Potestate in Possificans, Possificabile et Possificare; Concordans, Concordabile et Concordare*<sup>1</sup>; et ideo Contrarietas non potest contra Deum, qui est Potestas et Concordantia.

*balistico* passes under the name of Lully, but Antonio Pasqual showed in the eighteenth century that it belonged to another hand, being that of some later and unknown Lullist.<sup>1</sup>

But if the day of the Art has passed, this is not to say that it had no office at its period. It was approved by the University of Paris, was tolerated—as it is said—by apostolic authority, when the author was yet alive, had the King of Aragon for its patron, and at the beginning of the sixteenth century it was taught in an university founded for that purpose by Ferdinand the Catholic. In one or another form its activities continued till the advent of Descartes. Lully himself is remarkable, not only for his attempt to replace the Scholastic Philosophy, but for his crusade against the peculiar Aristotelian development connected with the name of Averroës, though it must be remembered that the Stagyrte and his Arabian expositor had suffered ecclesiastical condemnation in 1210.

<sup>1</sup> The alternative title is an *Introduction to all the Sciences*, and, *pace* the late M. Adolphe Franck, it has nothing to do with the Secret Tradition in Jewry, though it regards the word *Kabbala* as signifying “superabounding wisdom,” and as *habitus animæ rationalis ex recta ratione divinarum rerum cognitivus*. It is a kind of mental gymnastics, and follows the Lullian method of evolving truth out of alphabetical wheels.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE HERMETIC DOCTOR

As the legend of the original Raymund Lully is the growth of a considerable period, one of its stages represents the intervention of the second historical figure, and it comes about in this manner that the Universal Doctor is pictured as an alchemist in some of the later versions. It was the obvious resource of an uncritical time, which had to account, as it could, for the fact of Hermetic treatises written in the manner of a master—that is to say, with a high accent of authority—having come into general knowledge among students under the name of the Sage of Majorca, and pretending to be his actual work. It had scarcely entered into the mind of the period under notice that people are not responsible invariably for the books ascribed to them. The fact should be noted, however, that, so far as I have been able to trace, the intervention did little or nothing more than class Raymund Lully among adepts on the faith of the treatises in evidence. It did not magnify his legend by the addition of marvels embodying Hermetic motives, as, for example, representing the illuminated alchemist offering an Elixir of Life to Ambrosia

de Castello. It remained for Eliphaz Lévi to turn the tale of a scholar, missionary and saint into a much more elaborate romance, and this is how he sets to work. (1) He begins by affirming that there were two Raymunds, the first being that Seneschal of the Balearic Isles who became "famous by his ill-starred passion for Ambrosia." He was the father of the Universal Doctor, adept and martyr. (2) This distinction serves no purpose whatever in the criticism of the whole subject, and is, moreover, utterly gratuitous. Our root-difficulty arises from the fact that the alchemical tracts are later than those of *Ars Magna Sciendi* and that otherwise on textual grounds they could not have been the work of the same hand. This is not removed by postulating an amorous father, who seems, for the rest, to have written and done nothing. (3) In his version, however, of the legend Lévi presents it in the wonted form, with variations designed to identify the two writers. (4) Ambrosia replies to her admirer's letter by a gracious dismissal of his suit to the Greek Kalends, for she bids him seek the Elixir of Life—about which she has heard—come to see her when he has found it, but live meanwhile for his own wife and children, as she will continue to do for the husband whom she loves. (5) In Lévi's words, the result of this ordinance was that Don Juan became Faust, and many years passed away. Lully loses his wife and Ambrosia her husband, but the alchemist has, to all appearance, for-

gotten the past ecstasies, being "absorbed only in his sublime work." (6) At last, however, he visits her, a bald and emaciated old man, holding a phial filled with "a bright and ruddy elixir." (7) She has remained in his imagination always young and beautiful, so he fails to recognise her, who has grown old as he has. (8) Having made herself known, he offers her the draught on his knees, pleading that it represents thirty years of his life, and he has proved by experience that it is indeed the wine of immortality. (9) She holds a mirror before him, bidding him look therein and see that his elixir is powerless to restore lost youth. (10) Lully recoils, having never—as we are assured—seen himself thus in a glass during all his researches. (11) Ambrosia bears witness that she on her own part would not wish to immure him in the body of an infirm old man, and he also must spare her; his elixir prolongs only the night of the tomb, but she aspires to immortality. (12) Thereupon he casts down the phial, crying that—having drunk thereof—he must remain in prison for her. (13) She has shown him also her breast, thus transferring the period of her disease from days of youth and beauty to those of age and widowhood. (14) Raymund Lully goes away weeping, and some few months later a monk of the Order of St. Francis assists Ambrosia de Castello in her last moments, which monk is the alchemist.

According to Lévi, the romance ends at this point, and, though it has a striking dramatic

situation, I fear that some of its embroideries belong to the order of tinsel. The legend is said to follow, and "endows the repentant alchemist with several centuries of existence and expiation." When he should have died "naturally" he endures the agonies of dissolution but returns invariably to life. He had hoped something from the dagger of his Mohammedan servant, but there was no release in wounds. Indeed, at the long last the martyr of Tunis or Bugia expires only in virtue of being liberated miraculously by the act of God Himself. Those who are familiar with Éliphas Lévi's method know *a priori* that this version of "Raymund Lully's Great Elixir" is his own and no other's; but it may satisfy some if I tell them, after searching all the records, that there is no trace of its variant episodes prior to 1860, nor was Lévi acquainted with it himself when he wrote his *Dictionary*. It was invented on the spur of the moment, a little time later, for the benefit of his *History of Magic*. We must, therefore, look further, and see what can be ascertained from less fabulous sources concerning the first namesake of the Universal Doctor.

Of such, in the meantime, are occult elixirs when a French hierophant puts them up in phials of Faerie, for better for worse. It has to be said that his precursors in Lullian biography had even less scruples, but they took out their spurious licences in leaden inventions. The question before us is how it came about

that the original Raymund Lully obtained a reputation in alchemy, with texts fathered upon him which hold a position of high, almost the highest, importance in the canon of Hermetic literature. It was not that his legend, by a process of normal growth in the world of mediæval myth, collected such accretions about him, and, having clothed him in the robes of an alchemist, produced alchemical books in his name, to verify the myth. There were accretions enough collected, but they were not of metallic transmutation, and not of the great elixir. That which came to pass, on the contrary, was intervention on the part of a personality about whom we know nothing for certain, and are likely to learn nothing, except that he produced numerous alchemical works in the name of Lully, taking such precautions in their making that several uncritical generations have accepted him at his own word in the matter of the false attribution. It follows that we are not dealing with a fraudulent or blundering label, but with forged documents. In a word, Lully the alchemist said that he was Raymund Lully of the Balearic Isles. The hypothesis of a second Lully, who was a Jewish "neophyte," or what not, is very little more than reverie, or—if one prefers to say so—a gratuitous explanation hazarded in the eighteenth century. We shall see later on its modicum of ground in fact. A line of less resistance might have remembered that when the Seneschal of Majorca changed his life and

entered a particular path of illumination, he is said to have been already the father of children, and that two out of the three were boys. Having established this point of fact, it could then have brought forward the Hermetic texts, with their peculiar claim upon authorship, and offered them as proofs that there were not only sons born to the seneschal but that one of them followed in his father's footsteps by entering another path of illumination, being that of occult adeptship. We should have, in this case, a genuine Lully certifying to his name in the texts and to his Balearic origin. It is curious that this speculative possibility has not been translated into certitude and rigorous historical fact, after the manner of occult writers, but they have seen no reason to disturb the claim which identified the alchemist with the author of *Ars Magna*. The speculation itself I will leave on my own part by observing that it would have been confronted by several difficulties arising out of the texts themselves, their dates, dedications and claims; but it would have passed well in occult circles, and would have served better than the idle distinction advanced by Éliphas Lévi. It is, of course, to be ignored utterly, as there is no particle of evidence to warrant it, were other difficulties removed.

## CHAPTER V

### AN HISTORICAL RESEARCH

WHILE it has been affirmed very often that the alchemical texts are things of fabulous ascription, that they are the work of another Raymund, and so forth, I am acquainted with no serious criticism and no evidence put forward to warrant this view. The editor of the *Opera Omnia* devotes forty folio pages of preliminary expatiation to prove that there is a veritable Art of Alchemy and that the Blessed Martyr wrote the Hermetic tracts ascribed to him; but the considerations have no demonstrative value. The position in an opposite sense is almost precisely similar as regards the mammoth *Vita* which appears in *Acta Sanctorum*<sup>1</sup>: it deals exhaustively with the fraudulent ascription of alchemical writings, but has no evidential force. I propose for the first time, by an examination of the tracts themselves, to show that, whoever he was, the Lully of Hermetic fame is not the Raymund Lully who was born at Palma and earned a martyr's death at Tunis, or elsewhere, in or about 1315. It is, however, and before all

<sup>1</sup> See *Editio Novissima* (1867), vol. xxvii, pp. 581 *et seq.*

things, to be observed that his editors—on the faith of his own testimony and he therefore himself—have taken every precaution to make it appear that he was. When the time came for *Testamentum Raymundi Lullii*—a most important alchemical memorial—to appear in print, the editorial preliminaries describe its author as great in philosophy, a master in sacred theology, a divinely inspired doctor and an organ of the Holy Spirit. In a word, he was *Doctor Illuminatus*. So also the available texts, taken together, with a few unimportant exceptions, claim to be the work of Raymund Lully the Majorcan, and seek to make the point evident (1) by incidental devices, as, e.g., the exhibition of an anxious concern in the conversion of the heathen; (2) by imitating the method and reproducing the peculiar machinery of *Ars Magna* and its connections, the result being a series of texts which must be called *sui generis*, so far as alchemical literature is concerned; (3) by references to historical personalities who were contemporaries of the original Lully. The *Testamentum*, for example, quotes another great alchemist, namely, Arnoldus de Villanova, while a further tract, entitled *Experimenta Raymundi Lullii Majoricani Philosophi Doctissimi*, includes an exceedingly long process, which is said to have been discovered by Arnold. It is concerned with the fixation of a certain oil, the secret of which was communicated to Lully by his brother-adept. The

approximate dates of Arnold are A.D. 1245–1310, so that the original Raymund was alive at his birth and survived him by a few years. He is of uncertain nationality, but in the later part of his life he lived under the patronage of the King of Naples and Sicily, and the suggestion would be that the two *adepti* became acquainted with each other during the course of Lully's visit to Naples, where he remained apparently for a considerable time.

On the surface it is obvious I have been enumerating colourable grounds for the identification of the two writers, but in reality I have cleared the issues, that we may know where we are in respect of the personality who is masked in the Hermetic texts, and the class to which they belong in that problematical literature of sixteen hundred years. It will serve as a further clearance to illustrate in a few lines the position adopted by the author of *Ars Magna* on the subject of alchemy in texts the authenticity of which has not, I believe, been questioned. (1) In *Liber de Potestate Infinita* there arises a question whether alchemy is a true science, and the answer follows that it is not: *Quia creatura non est*. (2) The *Liber Proverbiorum* lays down that in any given metal no other is latent, which seems fatal to the Hermetic hypothesis. (3) According to *Liber de Ente Reali*, *alchemia figmentum est*, the reason given being that the actives and passives of elements cannot be changed from one to another species. (4) So also, according

to *Liber Chaos*, there is no artificial transmutation of one matter or form, or of one essence into another. The dogmatic attitude of the *Doctor Illuminatus* is, therefore, at complete variance with the adept findings of the *Doctor Hermeticus*.

I proceed now to a fuller consideration of the alchemical texts at large, and the first point which arises is that of their own evidence in respect of dates. We are confronted, in the first place, by the fact that, albeit the printed works would occupy a volume of considerable dimensions in collected form, they constitute only a small proportion of the entire output. In his boundless devotion the editor of *Opera Omnia* produced a *Catalogus Librorum Beati Raymundi Lullii* which, in respect of *Pars I, continens titulos Librorum Speculativorum*, extends to 205 items, and in respect of *Pars II, continens titulos Librorum Practicorum*, includes no less than seventy-seven treatises on alchemy, a few of which would seem to be commentaries on Arnold and the Hermetic St. Thomas Aquinas. It appears, therefore, that as Lully the elder had works by the score and hundred ascribed to him falsely, so had the alchemist, who wrote in his name, at least some mythical treatises foisted on him; but we cannot adjudicate, Lully alchemical MSS. being few in England. As regards those which have been printed, there are one or two minor items which may not be above challenge in respect of their attribution, but they do not happen to affect the present

inquiry. The dates of the MSS., according to their own testimony, may be collected thus: (1) [*Commentarium super*] *Testamentum Primum Arnoldi de Villanova*, said to be *datum in civitate Parisiorum, anno 1273*. (2) *Lucidarium Totius Testamenti*, the colophon of which reads: *Finitus est iste Liber in præclaro studio Montis Possulani, anno 1330*. (3) *Liber Naturæ et Lumen nostri Lapidis*, 1338. (4) *Liber Angelorum de Conservatione Vitæ Humanæ et de Quinta Essentia*; the colophon reads: *Factus est hic Liber anno 1349*. (5) *Liber ad Serenissimam Reginam Eleanoram Uxorem Serenissimi Regi Eduardi*, 1355. (6) *Quatuor Libri Angelorum Testamenti Experimentorum* (sic), *anno salutis 1357*. It will be observed that they embrace a period of eighty-four years. Among printed works the tract on Experiments is dated, the last words affirming that it was completed in 1330. So also the *Epistola de Lapide Benedicto* is said to have been transmitted to an English King in 1412, thus extending the output of Hermetic writings to nearly one hundred and forty years.<sup>1</sup> The last date may, however, be a typographical error. In any case the chronology of the texts cited is decisive on the question of authorship, for the first only is referable to a period when the original Lully was alive.

The allusion to an English Queen Eleanor

<sup>1</sup> The Latin texts will be found in several alchemical collections, e.g., in Mangetus: *Bibliotheca Chemica Curiosa*, 1702.

opens another field of research. It will be remembered that she was the wife of Edward I, who ascended the throne in 1272, and died in 1307. He was thus a contemporary of the original Raymund Lully during his entire reign. Let us mark, however, in virtue of what hypothesis an alchemical tract was dedicated to the royal lady in question. In his *Compendium Animæ Transmutationis* Lully the alchemist claims to have visited England at the request of a King Edward. The statement appears in both recensions of the text, different as they otherwise are, and there are references elsewhere to the same monarch. So also in the tract on Experiments, to which I have referred already, the writer affirms that he performed transmutation according to the method of Arnold for an English King. The words are: *Hoc operati sumus pro Rege Anglico, qui finxit se contra Turcam pugnaturum, et postea contra Regem Gallicæ pugnavit, meque incarceravit, et tandem evasi. Caveas ergo, tibi fili, ab his.* That is to say: "We performed this transmutation"—namely, that of Villanova, *a quo dicti olei fixationem percepimus*—"for the English King, who pretended that he would go to fight against the Turk, but what he did subsequently was to make war on the King of France, and cast me into prison, though I contrived to escape. Beware, my son, lest you go and do likewise." The alleged fact of a visit to England is affirmed otherwise in the colophons of three alchemical MSS. It is said: (1) In the *Liber Naturæ*:

*Fecimus in Sancta Catharina Londini, 1337*; (2) *In Liber ad Reginam Eleonoram : Factus Londini in Sancta Catharina, 1355*; and (3) *In Quatuor Libri Testamenti : Fecimus in Sancta Ecclesia Divæ Catharinæ Londini, anno salutis 1357*. If these dates are accurate it will be seen that they signify a sojourn in England of at least twenty-two years. There was further an *Opus Abbreviatum super Solem et Lunam*, which claims to have been done in St. Catharine's, but a date is not given in the colophon. The hospital in question, which stood upon Tower Hill, on the East of the Tower itself, was built originally by Matilda of Boulogne in 1148, and was not finally demolished till 1827.

Before examining the chronology established by the Lully alchemical texts, it is necessary to make a brief excursion in another direction because it happens that the memorials of the Hermetic adept are not confined to his own writings. The independent source of information is found in a tract called *The Testament of Cremer the Englishman, Abbot of Westminster and Friar of the Benedictine Order*. It was first published by Michael Maier, circa 1614, in a collection entitled *Tripus Aureus*, and there is no question that it belongs to the worst and most negligible class of alchemical texts, as well as the most pretentious in its form of presentation. It has, however, a kind of prolegomenon, sketching the history of the author in his search after the

Great Work, but apart from all dates. He affirms (1) that he wasted thirty years over books which had no other ingenuity than that of expressing thought in unintelligible language; (2) that he was inspired ultimately by Divine Providence to undertake a journey into Italy; (3) that he was accepted as a pupil by "that noble and marvellously learned Master Raymund," with whom he remained a long time; (4) that the said Raymund gave him a partial instruction in the Great Mystery; (5) that he accompanied him to England and lived with him for two years; (6) that during this stay Raymund instructed Cremer in the whole secret of the work; (7) that Cremer introduced his Master to King Edward, who received him kindly and honourably; (8) that Raymund promised inexhaustible wealth to his Majesty, on the condition that he would undertake personally a crusade against the Turks, and should refrain thenceforward from making war on other Christian nations; (9) that the King violated his part of the contract; and (10) that Cremer's Master had to fly beyond seas. The account ends by expressing an earnest longing to behold the adept once more, and by assuring the "most blessed Raymund" that the Abbot and his monastic brethren pour out their prayers daily on their benefactor's behalf.

It would seem, therefore, that we have an important independent witness to the claims of Lully the alchemist respecting his own

powers as an adept of Hermetic Science and the circumstances under which he gave proof of them in England. Moreover, there is very good reason—although it is of an indirect kind—to believe that the Testament of Cremer belongs to the genuine remains of Hermetic antiquity in this country. We know that Michael Maier had visited England early in the seventeenth century and that he returned to Germany with a copy of Norton's *Ordinal of Alchemy*, written in English doggerel verse and included subsequently by Elias Ashmole in *Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum*, 1652. Maier translated his copy into Latin, and it appeared in *Tripus Aureus*, together with the tract of Cremer, also in that tongue. I am satisfied that he carried back also the English text of the latter document and that it was almost certainly in verse, though it is extant now only in the Latin rendering of Maier. We know otherwise of Cremer, whose poem entitled *Hermes' Bird* is printed in Ashmole's collection. It claims to be translated from the French and to have been written by his Master. Cremer's version is inscribed to him in the final verse "with humble affection," beseeching him of his "mercy and pity" to be compassionate towards "this rude making," which he places under his correction. As, in Ashmole's words, Cremer was "scholar in this science to Raymund Lully,"<sup>1</sup> it follows that the

<sup>1</sup> It should be observed that Cremer never refers to his teacher otherwise than as Raymund only.

latter was the author of *Hermes' Bird*, although it is an anonymous text and there is no trace of it otherwise among his published writings. It would seem, therefore, that Cremer is not a fictitious personality, and that we have—as I have said—a valuable testimony borne in England to the truth of the story told concerning himself by a writer bearing or assuming the name of Raymund Lully.<sup>1</sup>

We shall reach a little later on what I must call a tentative conclusion about this part of my subject. Meanwhile, having put the Cremer evidence in the most favourable light, it remains to be said that no person bearing this name ever filled the position of Abbot at any period during the history of Westminster Abbey. Ashmole, who credited the ascription, had failed evidently to consult the Roll of this ecclesiastical foundation. We are in the presence, therefore, of another document which is fraudulent in respect of authorship and the connotations of this claim, whatever its consequence otherwise. Recurring to the Lullian texts, we have seen that their alleged dates exclude the idea that they were written by the author of *Ars Magna*, not to speak further of his verdict on the whole alchemical subject. Those also which specify a visit to England are to be set aside for that reason.

<sup>1</sup> The report of Lully's visit became current of course among later alchemists in England. He was supposed to have transmuted metals in the Tower itself. See William Camden's *Remains*, any edition, s.v. *Money*.

It is entirely certain that the real Raymund Lully was at no time in this country. I have given his itinerary at length, as it is laid out by those biographers who knew nothing of his alleged Hermetic connections. The two personalities are distinguished by this fact, and they are distinguished much further as we proceed to sift the texts. Edward I is the only King of that name who was married to an Eleanor, so that he and no other is intended by such allusions as *propter intercessionem domini Regis Eduardi illustrissimi*. But Edward I was never at war with France, as affirmed in the other statement, cited previously: *Et postea contra Regem Gallicæ pugnavit*. Moreover, Queen Eleanor died in 1291 and her consort in 1307: how, therefore, did he imprison the putative Raymund, or cause him to fly beyond seas, when, according to his colophons, the adept was writing alchemical texts in the Hospital of St. Catharine for the twenty years between 1337 and 1357? How came he also to address a tract to Queen Eleanor in 1355, when she had been dead for a period approaching seventy years? From confusion to worse confusion it will be seen that our quest goes on. It is complicated by other dedications, and especially to a certain Robert, who is usually described in the titles as King of the English, and who, by the testimony of *Epistola Lapidis Benedicti*, was continually writing to the alchemist. The custom of the latter was to send him texts in reply, usually depending on

the good offices of King Edward, acting as intermediary and transmitting, presumably after perusal. The *Testamentum, Codicillum* and other writings are assumed to have travelled in this way. The *Epistola*, on the other hand, seems to have been *missa ab ipso*, as if from the author direct, in the year 1412. The King Robert referred to is evidently Robert Bruce, who was crowned at Scone in 1306, and died in 1329. The relations between him and Edward I were those of a twelve-month war, ending with the death of the latter. He was succeeded by Edward II, who for seven subsequent years was rioting with his favourite Gaveston. In 1314, so far from transmitting manuscripts to Robert Bruce, he was suffering at his hands the heavy defeat of Bannockburn, after which he rioted again, till he was forced—as every one knows—to resign the crown in 1327. It is obvious that we are in a chaos of mendacity, and that there was no communication in fact between King Robert Bruce of Scotland and the alchemist who called himself Raymund Lully: the texts which testify to the contrary are lying witnesses. It remains to add that Bruce is the only Robert of Scotland who was contemporary with an English Edward. In like manner, when we find a *Testamentum Novissimum* dedicated to “King Charles” by “Raymund Lully the Majorican,” the reference is either to Charles le Bel, who reigned in France from 1322 to 1328, or alternatively Charles VII, the con-

temporary of Edward IV, each ascending his throne in 1461, and each dying in 1483.

Two things follow from this investigation : (1) That the dates and other alleged facts which are found in the alchemical texts prove that they were written subsequently to the death of the original Raymund Lully in 1315 ; (2) that they are not alone fraudulent in their claims upon the *Doctor Illuminatus*, but in their historical pretensions otherwise. Elias Ashmole states as a matter of certitude that the English King for whom Lully transmuted base metal into gold—*melius omni auro minerali*—was Edward III, but he offers no evidence, and there is none in the *Testament* of Cremer, whose story, it may be added, is at issue with that of the false Lully in one point at least. The adept affirms that he visited England at the solicitation of King Edward, but according to the *Testament* he repaired here in Cremer's company and on being introduced to the King was received kindly, but not—it would seem—as an expected guest. The long reign of Edward III would correspond with the dates in most colophons of the texts supposed to have been written at St. Catharine's. It has the air of corresponding also with the period of that so-called Jewish neophyte who has been brought forward as true author of the alchemical works. He is described as Raimundo de Tárraga, an Israelite who embraced the Christian faith, a partisan of the occult sciences, a writer on the secrets of nature, the transmutation of metals

and possibly on the invocation of demons. The authority is Fabricius.<sup>1</sup> I can find nothing extant under the name of the Israelite, and the sole evidence to connect him with the Lullian texts is apparently that more than fifty years after the death of the Illuminated Doctor he bore the name of Raymund. We can add, if we like, that the *Compendium Animæ Transmutationis*—second recension—refers to a treatise on Magic by the same author.

My conclusion is that the literary mask who produced sheafs of documents under the name of Lully may have also gone about in that name, and may have visited England. There is something, I think, behind the story of Cremer, though he is also a mask; and, behind all the inventions of their setting, it is barely possible that pseudo-Lully's reiterated allusions to this visit may not be all invention. So far back as 1555 Robertus Constantinus<sup>2</sup> affirmed that he had been shown a coin of very pure gold, under the name of a Raymund noble which had been struck from the precious metal manufactured by Lully in the Tower of London. We hear also in Stow's *Survey* of a work on alchemy written by the adept in St. Catharine's Hospital. It would look as if the last word had not been said upon the whole subject.

<sup>1</sup> See J. Ramon de Luanco: *Ramon Lull considerado como Alquimista*. Barcelona, 1870.

<sup>2</sup> *Nomenclator Insignium Scriptorum*, R. Constantino Authore. Parisiis, 1555.

## CHAPTER VI

### THE SCIENCE OF ALCHEMY

It is indubitable that works of fraudulent ascription and otherwise fictitious in story are likely to be regarded as worthless in all their claims. Assuming, let us say, on the present position of chemistry, that there is something to be urged for the dreams and even the occasional discoveries of old alchemists, those texts of the literature which come forward under false warrants must belong—it will be thought—to the dregs of the subject. There could be no more reasonable view, and yet it should be received with caution. We are dealing with a subject which is at once difficult and elusive. The history of alchemy is, in the first place, a history of fabulous ascriptions. I will not speak of those which are met with in the Byzantine literature, which, in addition to Isis—addressing her son Horus—and Hermes, include Moses, Plato, Aristotle, Democritus, Porphyry and other names by the score among “the makers of gold.” It follows that the literature began in imposture of this kind and so continued for more than a thousand years. The *Turba Philosophorum* is perhaps the earliest of Latin texts, and among

the *dramatis personæ* of its convention are Anaxagoras, Aristæus, Pythagoras, Parmenides, Socrates and Zeno, not to speak of Moses the Lawgiver, already mentioned. The Latin tracts which pass under the name of Geber, and are of highest authority by the common consent of adeptship, are also fraudulent, bearing practically no likeness to the genuine writings of the Arabian Djâber. In later times St. Thomas Aquinas, Albertus Magnus and Pope John XXII were credited as alchemists on the faith of spurious treatises, put forward under their names. The books ascribed to Nicolas Flamel are as dubious as his traditional history. But we are already beyond the epoch of Lully, the Illuminated Doctor, and the enumeration, which might be continued, would serve no further purpose. Either the ascriptions which we regard justly as fraudulent were not so considered, or there was a reason which does not appear on the surface. Alchemy was a secret science, and from the Middle Ages onward those who pursued it had to reckon, on the one side, with the hostility of official religion, and on the other with the greed of princes. I do not wish to exaggerate this aspect of the question, because I do not see that alchemy was ever in the same category as Witchcraft, Sorcery and Black Magic. Yet the professional alchemist, it is certain, paraded his *métier* at his personal peril. He had good reason, therefore, to hide himself, and this fact may account for his records appearing under assumed names. He

chose those of the past, and, the better to conceal himself, he selected great names of antiquity. Here is my first plea for suspended judgment.

We have, moreover, the evidence of the literature as to a valid reason, otherwise, for concealment. I suggest that the mediæval alchemist effaced himself because he had something to hide, and this leads to my second plea. It is not certain what was concealed under the pretence of transmuting metals. If we assume that the alchemist was at work on physics and was hoping, literally and actually, to make gold out of putative base metals, we do not know what doors he may have opened occasionally unawares; but modern discoveries indicate where they might lead and the terrible forces which he might sometimes unloose in ignorance, apart from all controlling power. But if, on the other hand, as certain texts in the literature seem to indicate, some of the alchemists were not working on physics, but following a mystic quest, there is, I suppose, no need to say that the reasons for secrecy and self-effacement might be yet more cogent. And it is notable, in this connection, that when the power of Rome, though by no means broken, was reduced at the Reformation, a change appears upon the face of Hermetic history. The texts of alchemy remain as cryptic as before, but its professors come forward, as from Paracelsus onward. To conclude on this part of my subject, I do not think that the forged ascriptions and the false history in the

writings of Raymund Lully are an adequate warrant for ruling out of hand that there can be nothing of Hermetic importance in his works themselves. I remember another and much more pregnant fact—that the head-text of Christian mystical, as apart from occult, literature in the West was not only put forward—as we should say—fraudulently under the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, but has come down to us accompanied by a letter from the same hand, embodying a mendacious claim on the writer's personal knowledge of apostolic events. And yet the Dionysian *Treatise on Mystical Theology* is the fount of Christian Mysticism and could only have been written by one who knew the deep inward states through which the soul is led back to God.

We are told by Louis Figuier<sup>1</sup> that the alchemical texts passing under the name of Lully show that we are indebted to their author for (1) the preparation of carbonate of potassium by means of tartar and wood-ashes, (2) the rectification of spirits of wine, (3) the preparation of essential oils, (4) the cupellation of silver and (5) the preparation of sweet mercury. The statements may be left to stand at their value. Figuier was a chemist, and should know; but he was an utterly inexact writer, and, if he is correct in saying that these preparations and so forth are heard of for the first time in the texts under notice, it does not follow that they, or all of them, were discovered

<sup>1</sup> See *L'Alchimie et les Alchimistes*.

by Raymund Lully. However this may be, it is not on these grounds that the pseudonymous Hermetic philosopher is enthroned so highly by the artists and amateurs who followed him, but as a great and inspired Master of their Catholic and Royal Art or Science. He was of those who expounded its principles, propounded its definitions and set forth its theory and practice with an accent of plenary authority, and therefore he carried conviction. In the absence so far of a valid canon of criticism to lift the heavy veils of symbolism which envelope the Art, we cannot establish otherwise the grounds of their respect; but the peculiar Lullian method, recalling *Ars Magna*, may have contributed thereto. Lully's *Testament* defines Alchemy as that part of natural occult philosophy which teaches how to restore human bodies to perfect health, to purify all imperfect precious stones and to transmute every metallic body into true silver, but afterwards into true gold, by means of one universal medicinal body into which all particular medicines can be reduced, the same being accomplished by one manual regimen revealed to the true Sons of Philosophy. The *Compendium* says that the Stone of the Philosophers is generated or compounded by artifice, and that the matter thereof is a metallic soul and rectified menstruum, otherwise the sperm of metals. In the *Elucidation* of an alternative *Testament* we are told that there are three stones, Mineral, Animal and Vegetable, though it is added that this

notwithstanding "the Stone of our Art is one." It is apparently a trinity in unity, or body, corresponding to the so-called Mineral Stone; soul, being the Animal Stone; and spirit, a Vegetable Stone, thus termed because it grows and multiplies. Herein, it is affirmed, there lies hidden the whole Mastery, being Sun, Moon and Water of Life. The last is that life of bodies by which the Stone is vivified, and this it is which is called by innumerable names in Alchemy. According to the *Epistola Accurationis* the Stone is Mercury, the superfluities of which are removed but nothing is added thereto. A Sulphur is conjoined therewith and therein also is the Water of Life. It follows that the Stone is no common Mercury, and this is shown in the *Clavicula*. So also the Sulphur, as explained in the *Codicillum*, is to be understood as a "seminal moisture." Finally, the generation or composition of the Stone postulates four things, being Mercury, Sulphur, natural heat and that which is termed Spirit of the Quintessence, otherwise, Soul of the Elements and the form of these.

I have collected these intimations so that those who are unacquainted with alchemical literature may have a notion of its symbolical language, as found in the Lullian texts, and that others who are students of the subject may observe that this language is like that of the chief adepts. It is impossible to pursue the subject, but, as one who has been concerned with the historical side of the literature and

sporadic points of its symbolism for a considerable number of years, I am certain that its vast body of symbolism has a real meaning behind it, that it represents a research pursued through many centuries, and that the putative Raymund Lully is one of the important witnesses. I shall hold that his position as a great Hermetic Master is affected by the mendacity of his external claims when I reject the *Tract on Mystical Theology* by pseudo-Dionysius for the same reason.

## CHAPTER VII

### THE MYSTICAL DOCTOR

LET us recur in the mind for a moment to that maker of bizarre methods and Master of Sentences, who was not Peter Lombard but the original Lully, and who has left us such samples of super-valid qualification as *possificans*, *possificabile et possificare*, which no one can put into English, not to speak of the Pandora's Box of his alphabets, with truth very much at the bottom and almost past finding out. *Ars Inventiva*, *Ars Demonstrativa* and *Ars Generalis* are colossi built up with the whole will and the whole force of him who conceived them, and woe be to those who should take them to pieces as analysts and then seek to rebuild them, amidst the scattermeal of modern distractions. It has been said by unflinching biographers that one thousand extant works stood to the credit of Lully's name in the fifteenth century; the *Acta Sanctorum* reduced them to something over three hundred; but, as one who stoops to moderation, the Mayence editor of *Opera Omnia* produces a list of 205 items, cited at length by name and excluding those on Alchemy. The things that he actu-

ally published are described as *ex omnibus terrarum orbis partibus jam collecta*,<sup>1</sup> but they do not reach a third of this conservative and yet distracted estimate. Whether the Lullian school produced all its theses under the name of its Master I do not know ; but, so far as the vast lists represent actual texts, it is certain that their allocation is fantastic.

In respect of " the whole works " and certain editions of individual tracts, my thesis is that they indicate the probable existence of yet a third personality, another Blessed Raymund, who is after the manner of a Mystical Doctor. I have no axe to grind concerning him ; he has no historical side and offers nothing to criticism on points of fact. Should anyone qualified to speak protest that this sage pseudonymous is after all the Illuminated Doctor in another mood of wisdom, he may have it that way if he please, even though I distrust the judgment. The one shall be comparable to William Sharp writing reams against time for the *Athenæum* and *Academy*, but the other shall be Fiona Macleod, of rare and fragrant memory. The texts are before us out of which both arise, and in the last resource I am concerned with their comparative content rather than how they arose and passed into printed form, having the name of Lully upon them.

<sup>1</sup> Oxford is rich in MSS., alchemical and otherwise, and also in printed texts. See J. M. Batista y Roca: *Catàlech de les obras Lulianes d'Oxford*, 1916. See also Juan Avinyó: *El Terciari Francesca Beat Ramón Lull*, 1912. An elaborate bibliography reduces the works to 125.

The prologue of *Arbor Philosophiæ Amoris*, which I will translate as the *Tree of Love* rather than of its philosophy, betrays, as I think, incautiously, the fact that it is a simulated text by saying that Raymund, sojourning at Paris in the hope of accomplishing a great good by means of knowledge, had failed to bring it about, and reflecting therefore within him it had seemed possible subsequently that he might encompass his object after another manner—namely, by means of love. Hence the Tree of his discourse, which is all of the Lover and Beloved, methodised strangely. If I speak my mind concerning it, I must call it ripples on the surface of the great subject, and it does not suggest the deeps. The Blessed Virgin Mary is enthroned as the Supreme Lady of Love. It is claimed that this book was finished in October 1298.

There is also *De Amico et Amate*, The Book of the Lover and Beloved, which is described in the sub-title as canticles of love in the form of dialogue, for the increase of understanding and devotion. There is no need to say that it is modelled on *The Song of Solomon*, and if it is rather like an imitation in wax we must remember that the simple Latin of the schools was not a very good medium for the communication of fire and ecstasy. The Beloved is Christ, and the Friend or Lover is the soul. The Queen of Heaven presents to the Friend her Divine Son, that he may kiss His feet, and commands him to dwell on the virtues of the

Mother of his Beloved—her, the very perfect Lady. I do not observe that the ordinance is obeyed outside the paragraph which records it. Of the Beloved it is said that He dwells in a House which is nobler than all the nobilities, but He is seen rather in the Lover's languishings and tears. The latter is pictured throughout in the state of desire and longing, not in that of attainment. "Say, O fool of love, which is the more apparent—the Beloved in the Friend or the Friend in the Beloved? And the Friend answered: It is by love that one beholds the Beloved, but the Friend is recognised by his sighs, prostrations and anguishes." Or again: "The Beloved demanded: Have you seen My Lover?—What is Thy Lover's token?—My Lover is bold and timid, rich and poor, sad and joyful: he proceeds tranquilly in meditation; he is sick with love." It is a spiritual sickness which carries the seeds of healing and is not to be exchanged for anything less precious than itself. "They said unto the Friend: Will you take another Beloved? But the Friend answered: Where is one better or more noble? He is the Supreme God; He is eternal and infinite in His goodness and power, His wisdom, love and affection." Perhaps the most pregnant intimation is that which I give last. "They said unto the Lover: Where go you? He answered: There where the Beloved is.—Whence come you?—I come from where my Beloved is.—When will you go back?—I will remain with my Beloved.—

How long will you tarry?—So long as my thoughts are in Him.”

It follows in the metaphysics of the ardour that the love-object is within the loving subject, that the mode of realisation is a certain thinking in the heart, that it is not a quest performed by the travelling of aspiration and desire through any intellectual distance from earth to heaven, and that the attainment—so far as Lully had conceived it—was a state reached in the soul by an inward finding of the Everlasting Presence. This is how I understand the canticle, by an inference from things that are said shortly, reaching back to implicits reposing in the writer's mind, rather than passing into expression. If the method—as I think—is valid, it has to be added that this is the root-matter of mystical experience, from which all its states unfold, and that which is highest in the records depends as much therefrom as that which is lowest. It must be added that there is nothing in *De Amico et Amate* to suggest that the witness had explored in experience the heights of his own doctrine: it is essentially a book of the path, and its characteristic in respect of the term is that of occasional intuition and not the estate of vision. The message also halts rather curiously and proceeds limping, for he who delivers it is afraid of his own symbolism. We have therefore the Friend, who is man, and the Beloved, Who is the Man Christ Jesus, whereas in the rationality of the Lover and Beloved formula the soul is

always feminine in respect of the spirit. The formula has its difficulties, and we know where it led the extravagant makers of images, of whom Francis Rouse is an example; but those who adopt it must abide by what it involves. In fine, as to this text, if we suppose for a moment that it is the work of the original Lully, and belonging as such to the last years of the thirteenth century, it is the first text in Christian mystical literature which makes use of the suggestive symbolism, or, if not the first, it was preceded only by *Arbor Philosophiæ Amoris*, a work of the same hand. The inspiration and its sacramental form belong to Sufi literature<sup>1</sup>; not that the writer drank deeply from those sources, but he had heard something, had read a little, and took a counsel of caution from its intimacies and liberal licence, as a result of which Islamic poets and mystics fell into a riot of symbolism on the analogies between Mysteries of Divine Love and the earthly union of lover and beloved in flesh.

*The Book of the Lover and Beloved* was originally one of several treatises brought into the text of a work entitled *Blanquerna*, which has been described variously as the great allegory of the Middle Ages, a predecessor of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, a social novel, a Utopia, a religious romance and the autobiography of Raymund Lully. It was written originally

<sup>1</sup> The fact is specified in *Blanquerna*, but perhaps the last person to have borrowed from Sufism was "the first missionary to the Moslems."

in Catalan and has remained therein, three treatises introduced into the narrative excepted, and these have been put into Latin. One is on Election, the second is *De Amico et Amate* and the third is an *Art of Contemplation*, comprised in two books. Part of this work is moral, didactic, theological, but substance and essence are mystic, being concerned with the ascent of the soul to God and the state of Divine Union attained by way of perfect love. It is of particular importance as alluding in fine to a mode of contemplation based on personal experience and, like all such experience, incapable of expression in language. We may compare the high intimations of this treatise with the vast *Liber Contemplationis in Deum*, which fills two great volumes of *Opera Omnia*, and is exceedingly formal, though it has its deeper moments. It belongs as such to the original Raymund Lully.<sup>1</sup>

So far concerning the Mystical Doctor. Whether or not he was distinct from him of *Ars Magna*, he is most certainly to be separated with the latter from the dubious *Doctor Hermeticus*, and is the only one of the three who has vestiges of living interest for us at this day. Beyond methodised arts of thought, the vic-

<sup>1</sup> The fact that *Blanquerna*, with the texts embodied therein, is in the language of the original Raymund offers a certain difficulty to the criticism which suggests that it is not his work. My tentative and qualified hypothesis is based on the mentality of the mystical works, contrasted with that of *Ars Magna* and the other unquestioned monuments of the Universal Science.

tories of debate, the clouds of categories and distinctions, he emerges into the light of another region, where the sun of the soul is God. It may be well for those, if any, who read and understand concerning *possificans*, *possificabile et possificare*, with the *Doctor Illuminatus*; who can say with the *Doctor Hermeticus*: *Est in Mercurio quicquid quaerunt sapientes*; but after these shibboleths there is the word of the Mystical Doctor, and that word is *Unitas*.

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