THE MAKING OF CHEMICAL MEDICINES IN VALENCIA DURING THE 16TH CENTURY: LLORENÇ COÇAR

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1. A new biography

The Valencian physician Llorenç Coçar or Cozar has been the object of various studies that have underscored his position as one of the few followers of chemical medicine in the sixteenth-century Spain. This focus stems as much from a medical work by him with clear Paracelsian affinities\(^1\), as from his two-year tenure as the holder of the only university chair dedicated to the instruction of the use of chemical medicines in Europe at the time. Furthermore, there have been studies of Coçar for his unique role as the only physician named by Philip II as *protomédico* of the Kingdom of Valencia.\(^2\) Thus the importance of Coçar for the history of Spanish Paracelsianism is an aspect that takes on particular saliency if we keep in mind that the principal responsibility of the *protomédico* consisted in visiting druggists’s shops and the control of the medicines that they dispensed. That is to say that Philip II granted the oversight of the preparation and sale of medical substances in Valencia to a physician who was an open supporter of the use of remedies substantially different than those associated with the Galenic *materia medica*. In this way, and when confronted with local institutions of control of medical practice with their origins in the Middle Ages, the monarchy yet again appears as a factor contributing to the renovation of scientific beliefs, giving its support to men who were clearly related to innovative movements away from the royal court, and attempting to give them social recognition. On the other hand, I am able to confirm that iatrochemical medicine was openly practiced, and even integrated into the academic system in the city of Valencia, during the last two decades of the sixteenth century.
Llorenç Coçar was born in Valencia around 1540. Coçar was a man short of stature, very thin, hunchbacked, and had a grey beard. He lived in the city of Valencia, on Salines street, in front of the monastery of Saint Francis. In 1560 he was married to the daughter of a weaver named Vicenta Herrera, with whom he had two children: Serafi Coçar, presbyter and doctor in theology and rector of the parish of Cofrentes and Esperança Coçar, who married a Jeroni Cotanda, who himself was a chair in medicine at the university.

Information collected by Rodrigo Pertegás, and studies by López Piñero and Pardo, show that Llorenç Coçar was born in Valencia around 1540 and that he studied medicine at the local University (the Studi General), where he was the student of noted figures of Renaissance medical humanism such as Lluis Collado, Miquel Joan Pascual y Joan Plaza. In 1584, he was proposed, upon the recommendation of the Duke of Nájera (the former viceroy of Valencia, in other words, the representative of the monarch to the kingdom), as a physician of the tribunal of the Inquisition in Valencia. From 1585 until his death, he occupied a chair in medicine at the university, first in surgery and, in the academic year 1591-1592 the chair De remediis morborum secretis. Coçar’s nomination to the post of protomédico was granted in the palace of the Escorial on October 21, 1589; this was followed by another document in which Philip II explained in concrete terms what the physician should do and how he should go about it. Among the contents of these documents, it is interesting to note that, although the rest of the responsibilities of the protomédico are rather vaguely defined, the subject of visits to apothecaries is minutely detailed and stipulates that the wages of the protomédico should be paid from the fines he imposed during these visits. It appears, then, that the inspection of druggists’ shops is characterized as the primary task of the Valencian protomédico.

According to his will and other documents related to the lawsuit we discuss below, Llorenç Coçar fell ill in the spring of 1592, when he was preparing to visit apothecaries in Orihuela, in the south of the kingdom of Valencia, at the orders of Philip II. By May of that year, he must have been quite gravely ill, given the fact that he was not named professor for the ensuing year. Because of his frail health, on June 6 he drew up his will. He died on July 27, 1592. The will provides little new information and follows the format usual at the time. He leaves the majority of his belongings to his wife and, following her death, to his son, with a small provision for his daughter (given the fact that she was already married with her dowry paid). Thirty libras were left for his funeral and for masses to be said for the salvation of his soul in the parish of San
Salvador. He requested to be interred in the monastery of the Corona de Jesús or, if this were impossible, in the parish of Sant Joan del Mercat. Because they had no young children, there was no inventory made of his belongings.

2. The legal conflict as Protomédico

In Valencia, regional control of medicine, surgery, and pharmacy was initiated in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries through territorial laws, or *fueros*. These controls, generally effected through guilds, culminated in 1499 with the creation of the Valencian university (*Estudi General*), which led to regulated university medical study. City authorities had exclusive responsibility for the regulation of all health practices. In turn, the city constituted the nucleus of a system that extended to the rest of the kingdom of Valencia, thanks to the city’s political and economic characteristics. This system continued unaltered for centuries, until the *Subdelegación del Protomedicato* was established in Valencia as part of the Bourbon policy of centralization on November 18, 1749.

The Valencian system controlled education, licensing, and practice and had three clearly differentiated parts, pertaining to physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries. Physicians attended the municipal university, while the education of surgeons and apothecaries was an apprenticeship system overseen exclusively by their own guilds and regulated by their respective colleges. The processes negotiated to assure professional competency included an examination with theoretical and practical components.

As one might guess, Coçar’s nomination to the post of *protomédico* caused a series of legal conflicts with local institutions (specifically, the colleges of surgeons and apothecaries) which effectively controlled medical practice without the help of a royally appointed *protomédico*. Specifically, there was an accusation, followed by a lawsuit that lasted from 1589 (the year of his appointment) to 1592 (the year of his death). The suit was lodged by Coçar against the colleges of surgeons and apothecaries, the medical school of the university, and the representatives of the three branches of the *Cortes*, with the simple object of being allowed to perform the job he had been designated to carry out by Philip II. During the three years that the lawsuit lasted, the king vigorously supported Coçar’s suit. Philip put his own procurador patrimonial (i.e. the person responsible for defending the monarchy’s interests in the Kingdom of Valencia) in charge of Coçar’s defense. But the king also wrote a series of letters himself, transcribed into the court records, giving concrete instructions for Coçar’s defense and answering a question posed by the
college of apothecaries insinuating that the protomédico may have been deceiving the king. Philip’s response clearly demonstrates his support of Coçar:

"Ha parecido que la defensa del ejercicio y preheminencia que pretende el doctor Coçar toca a mi regio fisco enteramente, por ser el oficio de protomédico real, y a provision mia y muy necesario para el bien universal de esse Reyno que es lo que se pretende conseguir por su medio sin que este en libertad de los boticarios, como estaria, no haviendo quien los visite, hazer el daño que o con poca habilidad o con descuydo podrian los naturales de ese Reino. Y assi os encargo ordeneyes al procurador patrimonial que salga a la defensa de esta causa, y la tome por propia y la siga como a tal, a costa del regio fisco, haciendo las instancias que fueren necesarias. Para que a mi regia corte le quede la facultad que se entiene tiene para dar al officio de protomedico el ejercicio y preheminencia que se pretende."

I will not go into details of this long lawsuit, because it was more concerned with politics than medicine, in particular the tensions between local authorities attempting to maintain their privileges and Philip II, who was trying to consolidate political authority in the territory. What is most interesting to me is that two aspects of early modern Valencian medical practice can be clearly seen in this lawsuit: first, the systems of control of medical practice; and second, the prevalence of medical pluralism, more concretely, the extra-academic medical practices at the margins of officialdom. The colleges of surgeons and apothecaries used Coçar’s support of chemical medicine as an argument in favor of having him declared unfit to occupy the post. The fact that Coçar prepared medicines at home provoked the displeasure of apothecaries. They also attempted to demonstrate that Coçar was unfit for the position because as a physician, he had no training in “farmacopolía”, which was, above all, a practical art. Still further, they accused Coçar of prescribing and making strange and unfamiliar medicines at home, insisting that these were ineffectual and even dangerous. They denounced the high prices of these medicines, prices he was able to charge because the medicines were not available in druggists’ shops and did not conform to usual practices and knowledge.

The accusations were not confined to matters of professional disagreement. Apothecaries made veiled accusations that Coçar was not an “Old Christian” (in other words, that he was a crypto-Jew) and that it was his wife who actually prepared the medicines. To demonstrate this, they turned to a tactic common in the court proceedings of the era, known as “testificales”. These consisted of a sealed questionnaire presented before a judge by one of the parties to the suit. In what followed, a series of
expressly named witnesses would answer the questions and justify their knowledge of the events. On December 4, 1590, Joseph Ridau, a notary and representative of the college of apothecaries presented such a questionnaire with twenty questions that first had to be answered by Coçar himself. The preliminary eight questions had as their common theme the long-standing, diligent, and efficacious control of druggists in the Kingdom of Valencia by the college, alluding to the excellence of the education it offered to its members. These questions were designed to demonstrate publicly that the college was and had always been entirely capable of controlling everything related to their craft and, in addition, that their oversight of practice was supported and justified by territorial laws and common usage from time immemorial. The remaining twelve questions sought to paint a picture of the unsuitability of Coçar for the job. Their end was to show him to be incapable of overseeing the manufacture and sale of medicines, not only because he was not himself a druggist, but also because he had no knowledge of the practical art of "farmacopolía," of which university-trained physicians knew, they alleged, nothing. Still further, the strange medicines that Coçar sold held no resemblance to those he was responsible for controlling. Thus, these twelve questions pointedly describe the reality of medical practice of a university-trained follower of chemical medicine in late sixteenth-century Valencia.

But in addition, these questions reveal something equally important: we find in the suit documentary evidence that makes patent Philip’s support of Paracelsianism and its practitioners away from the royal court. In other words, Philip II’s support of Coçar is not simply indicative of the monarch’s interest in widening his sphere of influence or and protecting his choice of protomédico. This helps to undercut, to a certain extent, the suggestion that Spanish Paracelsianism has a generally courtly character. On January 4, Philip wrote a second letter to the viceroy in which the monarch requests that there be an immediate end to the apothecaries’ accusations and that the viceroy attempt to have the suit dismissed. Additionally, on January 25 there arrived a royal order that the final twelve questions of the testifical be eliminated. According to this royal order, only Coçar should be asked the twelve questions; the other witnesses would be restricted to answering questions relative to the college of apothecaries, its good name, and its operation. I conclude from this that Philip II intended that there be no official record of the harsh criticisms of Coçar’s practices, which had been considered by the procurador patrimonial as irrelevant to the case at hand, prejudicial to the physician’s cause, and contrary to the expressed desires of the monarch.
3. The practice of chemical medicine

During the interrogational phases of the suit, the apothecaries relied on the authority of university physicians and Galenic medicine to establish the inefficacy and dangerousness of Coçar’s remedies. The suit noted that the physicians of the city refused to prescribe this type of medicine, deeming it harmful and, what is more, characteristic of the empirical medicine not found in the medical manuals they used. Coçar himself, as he explains in his *Dialogos veros medicinae fontes indicans*, was radically opposed to the use of Galenic *materia medica*. So, in the course of the text, there are many allusions to his adversaries and the extent to which they were mistaken with regards to his methods, comments that can be taken as responses to the accusations lodged against him. In this vein, the apothecaries also pointed to the existence of patients that had complained of the harm done them by the use of Coçar’s medicines (literally “fa i experimenta”). According to the opinions given by these former patients—who were never able to give a full declaration of their grievances—they would have been cured of their ills if they had followed the methods of traditional medicine and had taken recognized and approved medicines. That is to say, they felt sure they would have improved more satisfactorily had they turned to Galenic remedies.

These accusations without a doubt reflect, at least to some extent, the debate among Galenists and Paracelsians, although with an important caveat. During the very years that this suit was brought, Coçar held a university chair entitled *De remediis morborum secretis*, dedicated to instructing students in the proper use of chemical medicines. This meant that the very Galenists that confronted Coçar and refused to consider his opinions seriously in professional meetings were his colleagues and fellow chairs in the medical college of the University. Every indication is that his relationships with the other chairs were strained. On the one hand, they claimed, in the eleventh question of the *testifical*, that when Coçar suggested the use of his remedies at meetings of physicians, the other doctors refused to comply, considering them to be neither effective nor healthful, but rather strong, dangerous, and worthy of reprove. Besides this, they were remedies that were not based on the authority of the classics and were consequently deemed merely empirical. The reaction of Coçar’s colleagues is not surprising. Coçar included in his book, published that very year, a dedicatory epistle directed to his colleagues; Coçar begs, with a measure of sarcasm, for their help in ending these squabbles and conflicts.27
As I have mentioned, Coçar was not only accused of practicing dangerous, unorthodox medicine, but of charging his patients exorbitant amounts. Thus, there is also an accusation of bad medical practice. In fact, in several of the questions never answered by the witnesses, the druggists said that he took advantage of his patients, who trusted his chemical medicines, remedies for which patients had paid a great deal. The troubled relations between the protomédico and his colleagues were apparent here, too. Coçar defended himself by saying that he had to make the medicines himself because, although he wanted to teach others to make them, they majority of apothecaries were “enemies of anything that might cost them effort or work” (enemichs de fer cosa que tinga costa y treball). Nevertheless, it seems that he had arrived at some form of agreement with one of the apothecaries, whose name is not listed in the court documents, who was to sell (or give free of charge) these remedies to the sick. At the same time, the testimony of the apothecaries was that Coçar was illicitly enriching himself through the high prices he charged. One of the questions makes reference to a medicine called “cinnamon oil” (oli de canella), to demonstrate the vast disparity between the cost of preparation and the price Coçar charged. The apothecaries also argued that they themselves did not produce this medicine because it was not one of those found among the compounds usually sold in druggists’ shops nor was it to be found in medical texts; this meant that Coçar had an effective monopoly on the sale of olli de canella and anyone wishing to purchase it had to buy it from him. 28 In any case, in this period prepared chemical medicines were much more expensive than traditional Galenic remedies, as some have noted, due to the ways in which they were produced; this meant that they were largely associated with more privileged social groups. 29 Coçar’s answer to these criticisms was almost always the same: that in the majority of cases, he freely gave his patients the “most extraordinary” (molt extraordinaries) distillations and oils, that he made himself and that he actually lost money on the enterprise. 30

Martí Bellmont, 31 a personal friend of Coçar’s, speaking in 1631 of the conflicts between the protomedico and the physicians of the city, recounted that the other physicians had little respect for Coçar, calling him an alchemist and accusing him of “use for healing the alchemies that he prepared”. Bellmont, a member of the Inquisition, demonstrates that Coçar’s conflicts with other health practitioners were exclusively professional, never religious or doctrinal. Bellmont’s comment 32, made forty years after the publication of Coçar’s book on chemical medicine, confirms that Coçar subscribed wholeheartedly to chemical medicine, theoretically as well as practically. 33 Thus, the public practice of this
system of medicine, integrated within the academic system of the city of Valencia during the last two decades of the sixteenth century is described by a member of the Inquisition as the result of the resistance of local authorities to the imposition of a protomédico named by Philip II.

It should now be clear how medical pluralism and the control of medical practice coalesce in Coçar’s case. When one considers the accusations that deal with the use of curative strategies that do not conform to traditional Galenism—cures based, among other things, on the use of chemical medicines—it becomes clear that the suit was brought in an attempt to prevent Philip II’s designee from controlling the manufacture and sale of medicines. Local medical practitioners tried to frustrate the exercise of royal power by suggesting the protomédico’s incapacity and incompetence through reference to his unorthodox practices.

Thus, in the figure of Coçar we find, on one hand, a magnificent example of a university physician who adhered both in theory (as his book of 1589 attests) and in practice to a form of treatment different than Galenic medicine, based among other things, on the use of chemical medicines. On the other, we find someone living far from the royal court who was the very person that Philip II chose to control, through oversight of local institutions, not only the production and sale of medicines, but also the licensing of physicians, surgeons and apothecaries, and the control of empirical practices.

4. The end of chemical medicine in Valencia

To conclude, I would like to turn to the other aspect of Coçar’s biography not altogether clarified in the documentary sources recently brought to light: the question of how one of the few Paracelsans in Spain might vanish, leaving almost no archival trace. The documentary disappearing act of no less than a physician who occupied a chair dedicated to the teaching of chemical medicine has been noted by everyone who has attempted to study Coçar. This is particularly troubling, given the fact that Coçar so clearly counted on the support of Philip II and belonged to the medical elite of the city of Valencia, although he did not practice an orthodox medicine. In general, scholars have tended to explain this disappearance in the context of the ideological repression of Philip II, making Coçar little more than another sad chapter in the long history of the “Black Legend”. If we leave these concerns to one side, however, what the documentary sources clearly demonstrate is that “disappearance” of Coçar was due to his death by disease on July 27, 1592. But the striking thing it is not only the fact that he left behind so few
traces, but also that he, and Paracelsianism, had so few followers in Valencia to carry on his work. In fact, chemical medicine ceases entirely to be a subject for debate or publication for a long while after his death.

One of the possible reasons is that Jeroni Cotanda died in September, 1592, just a few months after his father-in-law. As I said before, Esperanza Coçar was married to Jeroni Cotanda. There are few reports concerning Cotanda, who was active at the end of the sixteenth century. We only know that he studied medicine at the local University (the Studi General), and in 1583 obtained a bachelor’s degree. In the academic year 1591-1592, he replaced his father-in-law in the chair of surgery, when Coçar was appointed to the chair De remediis morborum secretis, and was designated municipal “examinador”\cite{37}. As was normal in Valencia in this time, Cotanda’s will was published upon his death and, because his children were minors, an official inventory of the estate was conducted. Although the inventory document is not particularly meticulous, there appears—in addition to the equipment and furniture one would expect a doctor’s house to contain—a series of objects that could have been used in the preparation of medicines. Concretely, in a room different from the kitchen, there were found stone and copper mortars, a small furnace, different sorts of bowls and plates, several lead stills and a pitcher to cool snow\cite{38}. These objects, as well as the forty-nine inventoried medicine books without specifying titles\cite{39}, make us think that Cotanda inherited not only the chair of surgery and the examinatura from his father-in-law, but also the instruments necessary to manufacture the chemical remedies. This does not solve the mystery of chemical medicine’s fate in Valencia, but it does provide additional information. Cotanda’s death, so shortly after Coçar’s, makes it clear that the mystery is even greater than we have presumed to this point. To Coçar’s “disappearance,” we must add that of Cotanda, if we are to explain precisely why chemical medicine vanished in Valencia after 1592.
Llorenç Coçar’s will.

Valencia. 1592, july 6.

En nom de la Santísima Trinitat, Amen, sa preu per tots. Yo Lorens Coçar habitador de la ciutat de Valencia. Pensant que no y ha cosa tan certa com es la mort, no tan incerta com es la hora de aquella, per la qual raho tota savia persona deu pensar en la mort sdevenidora e dispondre e ordenar de si e sos bens. Per ço que si la mort venia sotposament con sdeve a alguns, no constreyga la persona morir interesada en e per amor de aço invocada la gracia e ayuda de Nostre Senyor Deu Jesuxrist, e de la humil Verge Maria mare sua, special advocada mia y de tots los pecadors. Stant malat de greu malaltia corporal de la qual temi morir, empero por gracia de Nostre Senyor Deu en mon bon seny, memori a, integra paraula, clara y manifesta, y en tal desposicio de ma persona, que indubitadamente puch testar, codicillar e fer ordenar qualsevol ultima y darrera voluntat mia, convocats, pregats e demanats los notari y testimonis deja scrits e en la presencial audientia. Feta primerament la solemnpnitat que per furs e bona raho del present Regne es ordenada, y aquella en res no ommissa, revocant, cessant e annullant expressament y de certa sciencia tots e qualsevol altres testaments e codicils per mi fets e ordenats per tot lo tamps passat fins en la present jornada de huy, exclusiva en poder de qualsevol notari e notaris y sots expresse de qualsevol parula, jatsia de rogatories, de les quals no son al present, recordant les quals vull haver açi per expresades.

Ara darrerament fas y ordene aquest meu ultim testament, ultima y darrera voluntat mia del qual e de la qual elegeix marmesor y executor al magnifich y molt reverent Serafi Coçar, doctor en theologia, fill meu, al qual do (sic) la facultat, ple y bastant poder tants mons bens, pendre e a mans sues ocupar e aquelles vendre, alienar, dividir e partir per obs de fer e inseguir les coses pies per mi ab la present meu ultim y darrer testament dispostes e ordenades, licencia o decret de jutge algu, axi eclesiastich com secular, no requesta ni sperada ans de la admistracio per aquell fahedora.

E primerament vull e man (sic) tots mons deutors // e injuries sien pagats e satsfets, restituhides e tornades a aquells, empero que verdaderament y clarament appareran yo esser tengut o obligat ab cartes publique, testimonis dignes de fe, o altra legitima prova tota prescripcio
apart possada e no admissa, o for de anima sobre aquestes coses benignament observat.

E apres preuch per la mia anima y de tots los fets (...) y en remissio de mos (*sic*) peccats, trenta lliures reals de Valencia, de les quals sia feta la mia sepultura a coneguda del dit mon fill y marmessor, y quen sien dits les misses de Sent Salvador ab sos passis y misereres. Y del que sobrara m'sien dites misses de requiem per la mia anima en les Sglesies e Monestir que lo dit marmessor voldra, donantli facultat per a que si dit marmessor volrra despendre mes quantitat de les dites trenta lliures ho puga fer a sa voluntat.

Ellegint sepultura al meu cos faedora en lo Monesti r de la Corona de Jesus de la present Ciutat de Valencia, en lo vas en lo qual los reverents frares de lo dit monestir soterren, demanant merce y caritat als molt reverents guardia e pares de dit Monestir, aculliguen lo meu cos a dit ecclesiastica sepultura en dit vas. E si algu impediment hi haura //lo que no crech, y la molta caritat que en dits pares se troba, en tal cas vull que lo meu cos sia soterrat en lo vas dels pobres del fossar de la Sglesia parrochial de Sant Joan del Mercat de la present Ciutat, pagant la caritat acostumada.

Item done, deixe y lege a Sperança Coçar y de Cotan da, muller del magnífich Hieroni Cotanda, doctor en medicina, y filla mia legitima e natural, deu lliures reals de Valencia per a ques p ose dol per part e per legittima. E per tot e qualsevol altre drets que en mos (*sic*) bens tinga e puixa tenir, com ja aquella estiga casada e per mi dotada, segons ma posibilitat.

En tots los altres bens meus, mobles, inmobles, sehents e semovents, deutes, drets, y accions mies e a mi pertanyents e pertanyerpodents, e devents huy, prop ara o en lo sdevenidor, qualsevol titol, causa, manera y raho do (*sic*) e leix a la magnifica Vicenta Herrera y de Coçar, muller mia, molt amada y aquella hereua mia per propia e universal, en primer loch a mi fas e instituheix per dret de institucio de vida de aquella a tan solament y apres obst de aquella, en segon loch fas e instituheix hereu meu y a la dita ma muller substituheix en tots los dits bens y herencia meu al dit mossen Serafi Coçar, fill y marmessor meu, qui dessus donantili facultat // per a que puga fer totes ses planes e llibera voluntat.

Aquets es lo meu ultim y darrer testament, ultima y darrera voluntat mia, lo qual e la qual vull e man vulga per dret de darrer testament e per dret de darrer codicilis, e per testament in meu patriu e per tota aquella millor via, forma e manera que mes de justicia valer puixa e dega, e a la mia intencio sia aplicable. Lo que es fet en la Ciutat de Valencia a sis dies del mes de juliol any de la Nativitat de Nonstre Senyor Deu Jesuxrist MD
noranta y dos. [Firma] de mi dit Llorens Coçar testador qui lo present meu ultim y darrer testament lo he ex prove de la primera linea fins a la darrera inclusivament.

Primo foren testimonis a la confectio y receptio de dit testament convocats pregats e per lo dit testador demanats, los reverents mosen Batiste Vidal y Damia Calbet, preveres, y Anthoni Manya, mercader habitadors de Valencia. Tots los quals interrogats per lo notari rebedor de dit testament si conexien al dit testador dieren tots que si. Y lo dit testador per lo semblant dix conexer als dits testimonis, nomenant aquelles per sos noms y cognoms. Y lo dit notari rebedor de dit testament tambe // conegue a dits testadors e testimonis.

Coçar’s will publication.
Valencia, 1592, july 27.

Postea vero die intitulato vigesimo septimo dicti mensis julii, anno quo supra a Nativitate Domini M.D. nonagesimo secundo, lo preinsert testament per mi Marti de la Serna, notari publich de la Ciutat y Regne de Valencia, rebedor de aquell a instancia y requesta dels magnifichs Vicenta Herrera y de Coçar y mosen Serafi Coçar en los noms en dit testament contenguts en la casa e habitacio del dit deffunct, en la qual vivia y habitava en la devallada de Sent Francesch en la present Ciutat de Valencia, lo dia apres de la mort de dit magnific testador. Ab alta e inteligible veu fonch lleit y publicat de la prime ra linea fins a la darrera inclusivament. E lleit y publicat aquell, la dita Vicenta Herrera y de Coçar // dix que aceptava la dita [herencia] ad aquella dexada per lo dit son marit, ab benefici de inventari, y sens perjuhi de sos drets. Y lo dit mosen Serafi Coçar dix que aceptava la marmesoria y tambe la substitucio de […], protestant que non teneant […] vires hereditaries presentibus, protestibus discretis Onuphrio Joanne Roure, notarius et Martinus Maiora, chirurgo, Valentia habitatoribus.

Huius modi clausula publicationis testamentis Laurensi Cosar, medicine doctoris, contenta ad calcem testamenti illius recepti die sexto julii anni MDLXXXXII,

Huius modi clausula publicationis testamentis Laurensi Cosar, medicine doctoris.
Notes

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3 The aspects of Coçar’s biography previously published are found in José María López Piñero, *El “Dialogus” (1589). del paracelsista Llorenç Coçar y la cátedra de medicamentos químicos de Valencia (1591)*, 14; José Pardo, ‘Llorenç Coçar y la Inquisición Valenciana,’ 363-373 and José Luis Fresquet, María Luz López Terrada eds., *Archivo Rodrigo Pertegás. Siglo XVI* (Valencia, Universitat de Valencia-Fundación Marcelino Botín, 2002). The new biographical information is
derived from archival documents, including his will (Archivo del Colegio del Patriarca de Valencia, *Protocolos de Martí de la Serna*. Year 1592, nº 17135) and court documents from the case we discuss below (Archivo del Reino de Valencia, Real Audiencia. Procesos, Parte 1ª, Letra S, nº 3074, year 1630)

Archivo del Colegio del Patriarca de Valencia. *Protocolos de Martí de la Serna*. Año 1592, nº 17135. Valencia. 1593. 3 march. Testamento de Serafí Coçar, prevére de la Seu de Valencia. He left all of his estate, with the exception of a donation to the church, to his mother, Vicenta Herrera de Coçar, and in the case of her death, to a niece and nephew, both minors: Vicenta Magdalena Cotanda and Hieroni Vicent Cotanda. These were siblings, the children of his sister, Esperanza.

Jeróni Cotanda died in September, 1592, just a few months after his father-in-law. Archivo del Colegio del Patriarca de Valencia *Protocolos de Martí de la Serna*. R. 17135

Cf. note 3.


José Pardo, ‘Llorenç Coçar y la Inquisición Valenciana,’ 363-373. According to Pardo, Coçar was never named physician of the Inquisition because the results of the investigation into the purity of his blood were inconclusive. Cf. Archivo Histórico Nacional, "Información genealógica de Lorenzo de Cózar". Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, *Inquisición*, 1306, EXP.13


The nominations say nothing of the responsibilities and competencies of the Protomédico in matters related to the control of medical practice or vigilance against encroachment, the essential tasks of the tribunal of the Protomedicato in Castile.

The salary was set as twenty Castilian reales for every day spent during the inspections (Archivo del Reino de Valencia. *Real Cancillería* 363, ff. 47v-48r.)

María Luz López Terrada and José Pardo, ‘El Protomédico y sobrevisitador real a la Vàlencia del segle XVI,’ 211-222.

Coçar’s will is found in the Archivo del Colegio del Patriarca de Valencia.

*Protocolos de Martí de la Serna*. R. 17135. See documentary appendix.

The last payment he received as chair was for Christmas, on January 23, 1592. José María López Piñero, *El “Dialogus” (1589) del paracelsista Llorenç Coçar y la cátedra de medicamentos químicos de Valencia (1591)*, 24.

See documentary appendix.

professional medical practice in Valencia is contained in the *Furs* granted by Alfonso IV of Aragon (1327-1336) in the *Cortes de Valencia* celebrated in 1329-1330.


Mariano Peset, ‘El Real Protomedicato y el ejercicio medico,’ in Mariano Peset (coord.), *Historia de la Universidad de Valencia. Volumen II: La Universidad Ilustrada* (Valencia: Universitat de València, 2000), 244-247.


Ibidem, 16-17. August, 1, 1590. The text, underlined in the original, is a copy of the royal letter which was included in the court documents.


Allegations that he was not a graduate of any university were repeated in the interrogation phase, despite the fact that Coçar was not only a graduate of the Valencian *Studi*, but that he held a chair in medicine there.


In fact, this does not appear in the *Officina medicamentorum* (1601), published by the College of Apothecaries, nor is it found in the 1590 inventory of the dispensary of Valencia’s General Hospital.
Bruce T. Moran. *Distilling Knowledge: Alchemy, Chemistry, and the Scientific Revolution* (Harvard University Press, 2005). The essences, tinctures, extracts, and magisteries made from spagyrically prepared chemical medicines were costly and usually far removed from the means of the average person.

Miguel López and Mar Rey, “Aguas destiladas y aguas alquímicas en la España moderna,” *Azogue* 5 (2002-2007): 151-80. In their study of the extent of the medicinal uses of distilled waters in the Hispanic monarchy, these authors find that, as in the case of Coçar, “hasta tal punto era ésta una novedad que no todos los boticarios tratan las aguas destiladas. Menos aún aquellos con un gran apego a las teorías más tradicionalistas (galenistas) y les costaba aceptar las nuevas ideas …, teniendo más predilección por las decocciones”.

At the time of his declaration, he was canon of the cathedral of Valencia, in addition to being a member of the Inquisition. From 1611-1614 and again in 1629 he was dean of the Studi. He published a sermon in a work by Gerónimo Martínez de la Vega Solenes (sic) i grandiosas fiestas, que la ... ciudad de Valencia a echo por la beatificación de... D. Tomás de Villanueva... (Valencia: Felipe Mey, 1620). See Amparo Felipo, *La Universidad de Valencia durante el Siglo XVII (1611-1707)* (Valencia: Generalitat Valenciana, 1991), 21.

This statement was made in the context of a different testimonial, held September 23 and October 17 of 1631. Five witnesses declared that they had personally met Coçar forty years before. The objective of this questioning was to discern whether Coçar had acted in the capacity of protomédico, in order to establish whether Philip IV’s 1630 nomination could be justified. In 1630, Joan Francesch Rey was attempting to occupy the post. The questions were: "I. Primerament dihuen si conegueren al doctor Lorens Cosar. Si diran que no ampluis non interrogentur. Y si diran que si, diguen de quina manera de home y aspecte tenia, si era jove o vell, baix o alt, hon tenia cassa y quanta temps vixque apres de ser protomedich. II. Item dihuen si saben que lo dit doctor Cosar, protomedich hague entrat en los examens dels doctors en medicina y bachillers, y en los del apoticaris y cirurgians com a prothomedich que era de Sa Magestat en la present Ciutat y Regne. Si diran que si ampluis non interrogatur; y si diran que no, diguen per quina causa y rahó. Y si hagues alguna sentencia o provisio real que lo y impedis per a no poder entrar a dits examens. III. Item diguen si saben que juras dit prothomedich Cossar de son offici en mans del tunc Virrey, o sino pogue arribar a jurar. IIIII. Item diguen si saben quant temps vix que dit prothomedich Cossar apres de haver obtes lo privilegi de Sa Magestat de Prothomedich”. Cf. López Terrada, ‘Llorenç Coçar: Protomédico de Felipe II y médico paracelsista en la Valencia del siglo XVI,’ 31-66.


The fact that he was one of the few Spanish Paracelsians appears in every study of Coçar’s life and work. See note 2 above; and more recently, Mar Rey, ‘Los paracelsistas españoles: medicina química en la españa Moderna’, in Víctor Navarro and William Eamon (eds.), *Beyond the Black Legend. Spain and the Scientific Revolution* (Valencia: Instituto de Historia de la Ciencia y
Documentación López Piñero, 2007), 41-55. One cannot forget that in this context the presence of Fioravanti at the court of Philip II during his trip to Spain. See William Eamon, ‘The Charlatan’s Trial: an Italian surgeon in the Court of King Philip II, 1576-1577,’ *Cronos* 8 (2005) 3-30.


37 José Luis Fresquet, María Luz López Terrada (eds.), *Archivo Rodrigo Pertegás. Siglo XVI.*


39 *Ibidem.* The first *item* is “Primo quaranta nou llibres chichs de medicina vells” (fortynine old little medicine books)