

RAMON LLULL

as a Vernacular Writer

Communicating a New Kind of Knowledge



LOLA BADIA, JOAN SANTANACH
and ALBERT SOLER

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VERNACULAR WRITER

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Tamesis

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Novell saber hai atrobat,
pot-n'hom conèixer veritat
e destruir la falsedat.
Sarraïns seran batejat,
tartres, jueus e mant errat,
per lo saber que Déus m'ha dat.

Cant de Ramon

[I have discovered a new kind of knowledge whereby one may learn the truth and destroy falsehood. Saracens, Tartars and Jews, along with many in error shall be baptized by means of the knowledge God has granted me.]

Song of Ramon



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The bibliography in this book contains a number of works already published by all three authors together: these were the starting points for *Ramon Llull as a Vernacular Writer*, thanks to a suggestion made by Lino Leonardi during a visit to Florence back in 2008. The writing of this volume, which has taken far longer than we envisaged, brings together the joint efforts of more than thirty years of trying to understand Llull's work in the shadow of the man who has been the mentor to all three authors: Anthony Bonner, a promulgator of Llull in English, the organizational brain behind the LlullDB website, and the author of a canonical work on Llull's Art: *The Art and Logic of Ramon Llull: A User's Guide* (2007).

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Abbreviations

- ATCA* *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* (Barcelona: Facultat de Teologia de Catalunya, Institut d'Estudis Catalans)
- AVOMO Arnaldi de Villanova Opera Medica Omnia, ed. Jon Arrizabalaga, Luis García-Ballester (†), J. A. Paniagua (†) and Michael McVaugh (Barcelona: Fundació Noguera, Universitat de Barcelona, 1975 to present)
- AVOThO Arnaldi de Villanova Opera Theologica Omnia, ed. Josep Perarnau (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Facultat de Teologia de Catalunya, Scuola Superiore di Studi Medievali e Francescani, 2004 to present)
- CB Col·lecció Blaquerna (Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona; Palma de Mallorca: Universitat de les Illes Balears)
- CSIC Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas (Madrid, Barcelona)
- EL* *Estudios Lulianos* (Palma de Mallorca, 1957–90)
- ENC Els Nostres Clàssics (Barcelona: Barcino, 1924 to present)
- ER* *Estudis Romànics* (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1947)
- IEC Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Barcelona
- IPM SL Instrumenta Patristica et Mediaevalia. Subsidia Lulliana (Turnhout: Brepols)
- ISTC* *The Illustrated Incunabula Short-Title Catalogue on CD-ROM*, 3rd edn, ed. Martin Davies (London: Gale Group, [n. d.])
- MOG *Beati Raymundi Lulli Opera*, 8 vols (Mainz: Häffner, 1721–40); repr. (Frankfurt: Minerva Verlag, 1965)
- NEORL Nova Edició de les Obres de Ramon Llull (Palma de Mallorca: Patronat Ramon Llull, 1990 to present)
- OE* *Obres essencials de Ramon Llull*, 2 vols (Barcelona: Editorial Selecta, 1957–60)
- ORL Obres de Ramon Llull. Edició Original, 21 vols (Palma de Mallorca: 1906–50)
- OS* *Obres selectes de Ramon Llull*, ed. Anthony Bonner, 2 vols (Palma de Mallorca: Editorial Moll, 1989)

- PAM Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat
- PC Alfred Pillet and Henry Carstens, *Bibliographie der Troubadours* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1933); repr. (New York: B. Franklin, 1968)
- PL Patrologiae Cursus Completus, Series Latina, ed. Jean-Paul Migne (Paris, 1844–55)
- RD Elies Rogent and Estanislau Duràn, *Bibliografia de les impressions lul·lianes*, introduction, additional material, and index by Ramon d'Alós-Moner (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1927)
- ROL Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina. Vols I–V (Palma de Mallorca: Maioricensis Schola Lullistica, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1959–67); vol. VI onwards in *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1975 to present)
- ROL SL Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina. Supplementum Lullianum. In *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* (Turnhout: Brepols).
- SL *Studia Lulliana*, previously *Estudios Lulianos*, Palma de Mallorca, 1991 to present
- ST *Summa Theologiae*, Latin text and English translation, introduction, notes, appendices, and glossaries, 60 vols (London: Blackfriars, in conjunction with Eyre and Spottiswoode, and McGraw Hill, 1964–76)
- SW *Selected Works of Ramon Llull*, ed. Anthony Bonner, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985)
- TOLRL Traducció de l'Obra Llatina de Ramon Llull (Turnhout: Brepols; Santa Coloma de Queralt: Obrador Edèndum, 2006 to present)

Introduction

Ramon Llull (1232–1316) is the author of a voluminous body of philosophical and theological works, though his is a figure which cannot be likened to that of a scholar operating during the latter part of the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth century. One of the characteristics which best defines his individuality is the relation he established with vernacular languages in the process of composing and disseminating his works. At a time when learned texts and university culture were conveyed for the most part using the vehicle of Latin, Ramon Llull wrote a substantial proportion of his works in his maternal Catalan, while being deeply involved in the circulation of such works in other Romance languages too. Even though no manuscript has been preserved, Llull wrote a number of works in Arabic, the language used by a large section of the non-believers he wished to convert to Christianity. That said, a significant number of the titles comprising his extensive output of more than 260 items were written directly in Latin, and he had various books which were originally conceived in Catalan subsequently translated into Latin.¹ In Llull's case, therefore, Latin and Catalan do not constitute separate categories, but rather two sides of the same coin.

Even if international familiarity with Ramon Llull stems primarily from his writings in Latin, vernacularism plays a fundamental role in his *œuvre*: this particular characteristic does not impinge solely upon his writings in the vulgar tongue, but rather likewise conditions the books he wrote in the language of learning. Moreover, although he visited the universities of Montpellier and Paris, Ramon Llull did not follow any organized course of studies. His intellectual apprenticeship was conducted above all as an autodidact and came about once he had already taken on ample baggage from Romance languages and literature as a result of his having been a member of the court of Prince James of Majorca. Llull was an atypical 'scholar' because he enjoyed a form of access to knowledge that differed from the norm and because he set about organizing the production

¹ The Llull DB website provides comprehensive information concerning the original language of every work by Ramon Llull and any translations thereof, as well as links to partial or complete reproductions of the manuscripts mentioned throughout the book.

and dissemination of his writings in an unconventional fashion. Llull's ways of conceiving, composing and disseminating his works became gradually adapted to contexts which varied according to the changes undergone by his intellectual and missionary project as well as to the surrounding circumstances.

Llull, moreover, was fully aware of the uniqueness and originality of his intellectual project and of the form his *œuvre* took. He repeatedly uses the adjective 'new' to designate the reforms he proposes with respect to the various university disciplines, ranging from logic to astronomy to rhetoric, and likewise describes his Art – namely, the technique of discovering and communicating the truth which lies at the heart of his intellectual and existential project – as a 'new kind of knowledge'.

In this book we shall focus our attention on the literary expression, style and genre of the writings of Ramon Llull, placing special emphasis upon the composition, transmission, editing and interpretation of the texts he wrote and disseminated in Catalan and other Romance languages. As such, therefore, the book considers an aspect of Ramon Llull's legacy which has received little attention within the international arena.² An exploration of the Occitan and Catalan cultural context of Llull's *œuvre*, and of the latter's reception within the field of Catalan literature up to the present day, completes our portrayal of the vernacular profile of Ramon Llull and the 'novelty' of his strategies for communicating his 'new kind of knowledge'.

In the present book we begin, therefore, by offering general information regarding the life and the apostolic and intellectual project of Ramon Llull, as well as by presenting the concept of vernacularism such as it applies to this author's complex *œuvre*.

The Life of Ramon Llull

Ramon Llull was born in 1232 and received the education befitting the heir of a well-to-do family of Catalan colonists who had settled on the new island kingdom of Majorca, which King James I of Aragon had conquered from the Muslims in December 1229.³ In contrast to what occurred after the conquest of the Kingdom of Valencia (1248), where the rural Islamic population remained

² This aspect is almost entirely absent from the most recent grand overview of Ramon Llull's *œuvre*, presented as a supplement to the thirty-three volumes of the Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina (ROL) series of the Corpus Christianorum (Fidora and Rubio 2008). In this volume, the life, works and thought of Ramon Llull are systematically described, with reference to Ramon Llull's Art, and to the Natural, Human and Divine Realms. For the absence of the vernacular dimension, see Pereira 2010.

³ *SW*, I, 1–52; Domínguez and Gayà 2008: 15–22 and 25–33. For a multilingual introduction, see the QuisestLullus website.

present until their expulsion in 1609, one cannot speak of a Muslim community on the island subsequent to the founding of the Christian kingdom of Majorca. Slavery was the general fate of the conquered population that survived the occupation yet was unable to emigrate, and it seems that contact with free Muslim artisans or merchants originating from Minorca (the island was not occupied until 1287) or from North Africa was scant.⁴ The existence of organized Jewish communities, on the other hand, was of significance.⁵ Ramon Llull thus grew up within a Christian social context, although one much closer than any other within the Europe of his times to the Semitic world. It was within such a context that, around 1263, when he was thirty years of age, Ramon experienced his ‘conversion to penitence’.

We have a quasi-autobiographical text, the *Vida de mestre Ramon*, also known as the *Vita coaetanea*, dictated by Ramon to a monk from the Charterhouse of Vauvert, close to Paris, in 1311. A deluxe manuscript version produced in 1325, enriched by twelve magnificent folio-sized miniatures, has been preserved. This version is known as the *Electorium parvum* or *Breviculum*, and was drawn up under the patronage of Thomas Le Myésier, a canon of Arras who acted as physician to the French court.⁶ The *Vita coaetanea* was prepared for the purpose of introducing the lay Ramon Llull to the Church Council which was due to be celebrated in the French city of Vienne, where he hoped to champion the chief objectives of his missionary project.⁷

As a young courtier of the mid-thirteenth century, Llull would have devoted his energies towards vigilant management of his private inheritance, service to the Crown (with its consequent proximity to princes and kings), training in the handling of weaponry and familiarity with the troubadour tradition, which idealized human love as a pillar supporting the value system of courtliness. Documents confirm that he was a married man and the father of two children.⁸

Ramon Llull radically altered his life after receiving his call from God, a call made evident by the menacing appearance of a crucifix on five consecutive occasions while he was writing a love lyric. His first contact with the written word makes of Ramon Llull a troubadour; such is also the first image of him

⁴ Burns 1984; Ibn ‘Amira 2008. The enslaved Muslim population may have numbered as many as a third of the total (Domínguez and Gayà 2008: 15–20).

⁵ Hillgarth 1991: I, 45 and 50.

⁶ For Le Myésier, see Hillgarth 1971. The Latin text of the *Vita coaetanea* can be found in Llull 1980b; the fourteenth-century Catalan version is in *OE*, I, 31–54; the English version, with commentary, is found in *SW*, I, 1–52 and Llull 2010b. For an edition, transcription and study of the miniatures, see Llull 1990. See also the multilingual versions of the texts on the QuisestLullus website under the heading ‘Miniatures’.

⁷ For the literary structure of the *Vita coaetanea*, see Domínguez 1987.

⁸ See the official documentation concerning Llull’s life in Hillgarth 2001.

brought together by the miniatures in the *Breviculum* (Plate 1). Llull understood that the powerful love he felt towards God impelled him ‘to write a book, the best in the world, against the errors of unbelievers’: this realization formed the start of his mission.⁹ One of the first difficulties that would present itself to him was the inadequacy of his knowledge of Latin; the acquisition of an academic training represented another challenge, one which Ramon Llull faced up to by devoting nine years to the cause of study on his native island. Until 1275 we do not know for sure whether he travelled to Montpellier, a city belonging to the Kingdom of Majorca and the seat of one of the oldest universities in the Mediterranean region (specializing in the study of medicine).¹⁰ According to the *Vita coetanea* it was Saint Raymond of Penyafort who advised Ramon to prepare himself in Majorca rather than to go to Paris.¹¹ This decision would put its stamp on the vernacularism of our author, a vernacularism conceived as access to knowledge outside the standard university structures. Ramon Llull, in effect, designed for himself a curriculum which included the reading, writing and speaking of Arabic, and provided it with content according to his own abilities. His teacher of Arabic language and culture was a household slave who, at the end of the process, rebelled against his master in the course of a discussion concerning religion, and tried to kill him; he later died by his own hand while in prison (Plate 2).¹²

Ramon Llull’s linguistic competence in Arabic and Latin is beyond doubt. All that we can infer about his intellectual apprenticeship during this period comes to us from the few sources cited in his earliest works, and we cannot state precisely how or where in particular he came by the basic content of natural and moral philosophy or theology.¹³

At the end of his nine years of study (i.e. between 1271 and 1274), Ramon Llull wrote his two earliest works: the *Compendium logicae Algazelis*, in Latin,

⁹ Llull 2010b: 35; ‘facturus esset postea unum librum, meliorem de mundo, contra errores infidelium’ (Llull 1980b: 275).

¹⁰ See the introduction by Jordi Gayà to ROL, XX (1995). The first university in the Kingdom of Aragon was that of Lleida (Lérida), founded by James II the Just in 1300.

¹¹ See Chapter 4, pp. 227–31.

¹² Llull 1980b: 278–80 and 2010b: 39–41. This biographical anecdote provided material for an *exemplum* in the third paragraph of Chapter 39 in the *Llibre de les bèsties* (Llull 1985c: 788). See Chapter 2, pp. 120–3.

¹³ In the *Doctrina pueril* we find a very complete list of Aristotle’s works; the *Lògica del Gatzell*, translated from the Arabic, includes extensive sections borrowed from Peter of Spain’s *Summulae logicales*; in the *Principis de medicina* we come across quotations from the physicians Avicenna, Matthaues Platearius and Constantine the African; part of the content of the *Llibre de les bèsties* has its origins in the Arabic *Kalila and Dimna*, while Ramon Llull himself explains that the *Llibre d’amic e amat* was based on the aphoristic forms employed within Sufi mysticism. For the bibliographical material available in Majorca, see Hillgarth 1960; 1963; Garcias Palou 1989. For the problem of the sources used by Llull, see Epilogue, pp. 289–305.

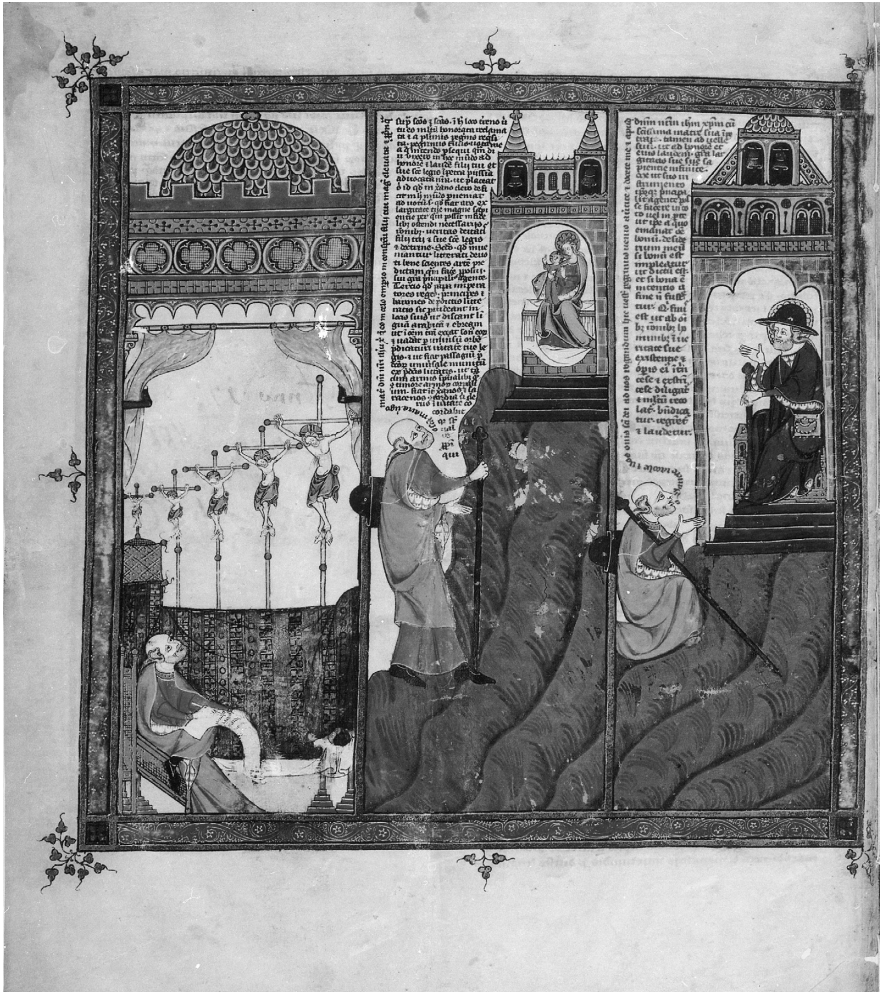


Plate 1: *Breviculum*, miniature 1, showing (from left to right) Ramon Llull writing a poem and receiving his five visions from God; on pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint Mary of Rocamadour; and on pilgrimage to the shrine of Saint James in Santiago de Compostela.



Plate 2: *Breviculum*, miniature 3, showing (from left to right) Ramon Llull learning Arabic from a Moorish slave; their argument; Llull's discovery of the slave's suicide in prison.

and the *Lògica del Gatzell*, in Catalan verse, as well as the *Llibre de contemplació en Déu*, which was written originally in Arabic and subsequently translated into Catalan and Latin. The latter work was conceived on a vast scale.¹⁴ It was after this first experience of writing that, according to the *Vita coetanea*, an ‘illumination’, received on Mount Randa, close to Palma de Mallorca, revealed to Ramon his method of discovering and communicating the truth, namely, his Art.¹⁵ The Art was a novel and original technique that Ramon insisted had been suggested to him by God, as is stated in the *Cant de Ramon*:

Novell saber hai atrobat,
pot-n’hom conèixer veritat
e destruir la falsetat.
Sarraïns seran batejat,
tartres, jueus e mant errat,
per lo saber que Déus m’ha dat.
(Llull 1988a: 75, lines 31–6)

[I have discovered a new kind of knowledge whereby one may learn the truth and destroy falsehood. Saracens, Tartars and Jews, along with many in error shall be baptized by means of the knowledge God has granted me.]¹⁶

The *Ars compendiosa inveniendi veritatem*, dating from 1274, inaugurated the series of versions of the Art we call ‘quaternary’ (i.e. those belonging to its first phase); Latin is the dominant language in this section of Llull’s output, which also includes the various applications and commentaries – or ‘satellite works’ – that surround each of the successive versions of this intellectual artefact.¹⁷ Of the *Quattuor libri principiorum*, concerning medicine, philosophy, theology and law, and linked to the *Ars compendiosa*, only the first has come down to us in its vernacular original.

Ramon Llull visited Montpellier in 1275 for the reason that Prince James of Majorca, the second son of James I of Aragon, had entrusted to a Franciscan expert the approval of the doctrines expressed in the *Llibre de contemplació en Déu*, the first large-scale book of lofty philosophical and theological ambitions to have been written in Catalan or in any other vernacular language. The former courtier turned lay monk convinced his examiner. From that moment onwards, Ramon Llull would devote himself to the dissemination of his system of thought, enflamed by the idea of converting non-believers to Christianity by rational

¹⁴ See Chapter 2, pp. 91–7, and Chapter 3, pp. 166–77.

¹⁵ Llull 1980b: 280–1; 2010b: 41–3; Domínguez and Gayà 2008: 37–45.

¹⁶ A different English translation is available in Badia 1988: 89; cf. also Vega 2003: 226–8.

¹⁷ Bonner 2007: 26–92; Rubio 2008a.

means. Based as it was upon the exercise of reason, his reformist apostolic project sought the approval of the Church and required the support of the Crown. His first success was the foundation of a school of Franciscan missionaries, financed by the King of Majorca, James II, who had recently ascended to the throne. It was in 1276 that thirteen friars began to learn Arabic as well as Ramon Llull's Art at the monastery of Miramar, situated on the north coast of Majorca, between Valldemossa and Sóller.¹⁸ The school at Miramar became a symbol of Llull's project that could be exported from Majorca to the whole of Christendom.

The will of James I of Aragon (r. 1213–76) stipulated that two of his sons should reign: the first-born, Peter (Peter the Great – Peter II of Catalonia; Peter III of Aragon), who was Count of Barcelona, as King of Aragon and of Valencia (r. 1276–85); and his younger sibling, James, who was Lord of Montpellier, as King of Majorca (r. 1276–1311), also having under his authority continental territories in Roussillon, to the north of Catalonia. The Ghibelline politics of Peter, who was married to Constance of Sicily, grand-daughter of Frederick II Hohenstaufen, Emperor of Germany and King of Sicily, led to military confrontation between France and the Crown of Aragon. After having excommunicated Peter, Pope Martin IV assigned the status of crusade to the invasion of Catalonia planned by Philip III the Bold (r. 1270–85). Peter had occupied Sicily immediately after the revolt of the Sicilian Vespers (1283) against the rule of Charles of Anjou (r. 1266–85), King of Naples and of the island itself by designation of the pope. During the preparations for the invasion, James II of Majorca, who exercised seigniorial rights over frontier territories that in tactical terms were indefensible, made a pact with the King of France and, after the failure of the invasion of Catalano-Aragonese territories, relations between the kingdoms of Aragon and Majorca became tense. Alfonso III the Liberal (r. 1285–91) occupied Majorca until the ascent to the throne of James II of Aragon (r. 1291–1327), a monarch with whom Ramon Llull maintained good relations.

The *Vita coetanea* makes no mention at all of the conflict of 1285: all we know is that Ramon Llull was absent from Majorca during those years and that after 1283 his customary place of residence was Montpellier, where he doubtless completed his intellectual apprenticeship in medicine and law. That year he produced two works which were fundamental to his trajectory as a vernacular writer, namely, the *Romanç d'Evast e Blaqueria* and the *Ars*

¹⁸ See Garcías Palou 1977. The community encountered problems during the occupation of Majorca by the King of Aragon following the war with France, although it was still active in 1300 (Dominguez and Gayà 2008: 49–53). For the closure of the monastery, which in 1301 was granted by King James II of Majorca to the Cistercian abbey of La Real, see Hillgarth 2001: 73.

demonstrativa. The former is a proto-novel addressed to readers of Romance fiction, which also contains Ramon Llull's most famous opuscle, the *Llibre d'amic e amat*. The *Ars demonstrativa* is a corrected and augmented reworking of the *Ars compendiosa inveniendi veritatem*, of which former there exists a Catalan version of considerable antiquity which is probably contemporary with its Latin counterpart.

After visiting Rome in 1287, to no effect in view of the recent death of the pope, Ramon Llull resided for two years in Paris with the aim of introducing his Art to the university. This first Parisian experience marked a milestone in his life, during which, for the first time, he came face to face with a foreign and hostile environment, despite his contacts with the court of Philip IV the Fair (r. 1285–1314), the son of a Catalan princess and of the king who had perished in 1285 during the disastrous retreat from Catalonia. We know that Ramon Llull's thought awakened the interest of Pierre de Limoges, who possessed certain of his manuscripts (Soler 1992–93). It is also clear that he readied himself to make the *Ars demonstrativa* comprehensible to the intellectuals accustomed to the scholastic way of thinking by composing a sequence of expository works and ad hoc commentaries, such as the *Lectura super figuras Artis demonstrativae*, the *Liber exponens figuram elementalem Artis demonstrativae* and the *Quaestiones per Artem demonstrativam seu inventivam solubiles*.¹⁹ The *Vita coetanea* recounts the lesson that Ramon Llull would draw from the failure of this first attempt to win the university round to his way of thinking, namely, that he had come up against 'the weakness of the human intellect' and that he would have to reformulate his Art, and to conceal its complexity, in order to turn it into a more readily accessible intellectual technique.²⁰ In Paris, moreover, he wrote a work which was not directed towards the members of the university, namely, *Fèlix o Llibre de meravelles*, which belonged to a new genre that combined novelesque narrative, a collection of *exempla* and an encyclopaedic exposition in dialogue form.

Ramon Llull always had the aim of reaching as broad a public as possible, from children and the readers of romances who came from urban or courtly backgrounds to theologians, physicians, lawyers and contemplatives, though after 1290 he reoriented his activities as a writer, insofar as he put the composition of major works of prose in Romance on hold in order to prioritize his output in Latin, as a strategy for the diffusion of his Art and of his mission. This change occurred after his first stay in Paris. Llull decided to break with his penitential anonymity and thereafter took care to sign and date his writings in the colophon

¹⁹ These were the transitional works between the quaternary Arts (i.e. those of the first phase) and their ternary counterparts (i.e. those of the second phase); see Bonner 2007: 93–120.

²⁰ Llull 2010b: 47; 'propter fragilitatem humani intellectus' (Llull 1980b: 283).

to each work.²¹ The Art we know as ternary and classify as belonging to a second phase was born at that time in Montpellier. The earliest versions of this Art are the *Ars inventiva veritatis* and the *Ars amativa*, the latter of which also exists in a Catalan version of considerable antiquity. The ternary reformulation of the Art, on which Llull would work until 1308, reduced the number of principles within his system and the number of figures in which those principles were presented – a task which involved revising the philosophical foundations for the principles themselves.²²

In 1290 Llull obtained a letter of recommendation from Raymond de Gaufredi, Minister General of the Franciscans, authorizing him to preach within the monasteries belonging to that order (Hillgarth 2001: 61–2). Ramon Llull's activity as a writer was incessant. He visited Rome in 1292, where he presented to Pope Nicholas IV the first of his works relating to the crusade. The fall of Saint-Jean d'Acres in 1291, the last bastion of the Latin Kingdoms in the Holy Land, meant that the issue of the crusade had become a topical one; hence Llull's insistence on linking his project for the conversion of non-believers (or 'infidels') to the political, military and ideological strategies implicit in a 'voyage to Outremer'. The most complete Lullian treatise on the crusade is the *Liber de fine* from 1305 (Gayà 2002).

In 1293 Ramon Llull experienced a psychological crisis in Genoa, but overcame it by deciding to throw himself personally into the evangelization of Muslims in North Africa.²³ An initial attempt in Tunis ended with his expulsion. The following stage took place in Naples, where he wrote the *Taula general*, an expanded version of the Art of the ternary phase, whose text also exists in both a Latin and a Catalan version. In 1294 Ramon Llull happened to be in Naples at the same time as Pope Celestine V, to whom he addressed a petition detailing his ecumenical and missionary plans. While resident in Rome between 1295 and 1296, during the pontificate of Boniface VIII, and in addition to addressing his petition regarding the crusade to the new pontiff, Llull produced two works of significance in his career as a vernacular writer. The first is the *Arbre de ciència / Arbor scientiae*, an encyclopaedia based upon the Art which covers all the natural, human and divine sciences, and contains an unusual literary application to preaching, namely, the 'Arbre exemplifical'. The second is the *Desconhort*, a lengthy Occitano-Catalan poem in dialogue form in which the reader's attention is directed to the public image of Ramon Llull as someone keen to promote his Art.

Llull travelled to Paris in the years 1297–99. It was a time of intense contacts with the court of Philip IV of France as well as with the university environment.

²¹ See Epilogue, pp. 266–89.

²² Bonner 2007: 121–87; Rubio 2008a.

²³ Llull 1980b: 284–9; 2010b: 47–57.

He wrote seventeen works addressed to the Masters of Arts, to the theologians and to the university authorities in order to ensure that his new method of founding knowledge – his ‘Art’ – should be accepted within the university. The most representative titles indicating this type of activity are the *Declaratio Raimundi per modum dialogi edita contra aliquorum philosophorum et eorum sequacium opinions*, the *Disputatio eremitaie et Raimundi super aliquibus dubiis quaestionibus Sententiarum Magistri Petri Lombardi* and the *Quaestiones Attrebatenses* or *Liber super quaestiones Magistri Thomae Attrebatensis*. The first is a dialogue between Ramon and Socrates wherein the Art serves to prove the falsity of the 219 philosophical theses condemned by Étienne Tempier in 1277. Once he had demonstrated that the Art was an entirely orthodox and effective intellectual tool within a university milieu, Llull considered himself to be in a position to answer the questions posed by Peter Lombard’s *Sentences*, a work which, after the Bible, commanded the highest authority within the Faculty of Theology. In keeping with the express request of Thomas Le Myésier, Llull showed in the *Quaestiones Attrebatenses* that his Art was capable of resolving quodlibetal questions or, in other words, questions posed on any subject matter whatsoever.²⁴ All the works composed during this particular sojourn in Paris have come down to us in Latin, and in many cases solely in Latin.²⁵

On his return from Paris, Llull spent the final months of 1299 in Barcelona, where he dedicated the *Dictat de Ramon*, along with the *Coment del Dictat de Ramon* and the *Oracions de Ramon*, to James II of Aragon, from whom Llull received permission to preach in all the synagogues and mosques within the former’s domains (Hillgarth 2001: 71–2). Following this, he began a lengthy visit to Majorca, after many years of absence, and there he resumed the task of finishing off a work whose first part he had started to write in Paris towards the end of the summer of 1299, the *Principia philosophiae*. In Majorca he also wrote the *Cant de Ramon* and the *Medicina de peccat* – the former a lyric poem, the latter a doctrinal one — as well as the *Aplicació de l’Art general*; in this last work, the poetic form contributes towards popularizing the Art. Llull employed prose forms, on the other hand, in three abstruse theological opuscles: the *Llibre de l’és de Déu*, the *Llibre de coneixença de Déu* and the *Llibre de Déu*, works which provide the first examples of theology written in the Catalan vernacular.

²⁴ Bonner 2007: 178–81.

²⁵ There are only three exceptions: the *Tractatus novus de astronomia* exists in a Catalan version transmitted by a single manuscript; the *Arbre de filosofia d’amor* seems originally to have been written in Catalan, although the Latin version that has been preserved is contemporary with Ramon Llull; and the *De quadratura et triangulatura circuli* offers a dual manuscript tradition.

From Majorca Llull travelled to Cyprus and to Lesser Armenia, on the coast of the Gulf of Iskenderun, during the years 1301–02, in order to make contact with the Mongols who had settled in Asia Minor, and who, prior to their defeat by and absorption into Islam, had offered themselves to the pope and to Western monarchs as allies against the Islamic states.²⁶ The *Rhetorica nova*, which was written in Catalan during Llull's stay in Cyprus, has only been preserved in a Latin version: it represents an application of the Art to a liberal discipline from the university curriculum. The *Liber de praedicatione*, dating from 1304, is the first of Ramon Llull's monographs to be devoted to this communicative activity (i.e. preaching) so characteristic of the mendicant orders, and it contains a collection of model sermons elaborated according to Llullian principles; it is preserved in a Latin version alone.

Genoa and Montpellier would be his places of residence between the years 1303 to 1305. These were years of maturity and fullness as a writer, during which transmission in the vulgar tongue is almost entirely absent, years in which Llull began to write the definitive version of his Art, the *Ars generalis ultima*, while at the same time trying out new ways of expressing his system in the *Logica nova*.²⁷ Among the important works from this period are the *Liber de ascensu et descensu intellectus* and the aforementioned *Liber de fine*. Llull was in contact with the Aragonese court during the reign of James II, from whom he received a grant, as well as with the Roman Curia, since we know that he dedicated one of his petitions to the new pope, Clement V, who was politically close to the King of France.²⁸

His second voyage to North Africa, in 1307, brought Llull to Bougie (Béjaïa, modern-day Algeria), where, according to the account given in the *Vita coetanea*, he was imprisoned for having adopted a provocative attitude in publicly proclaiming the falsity of the Islamic faith and for being prepared to prove the truth of its Christian counterpart.²⁹ The vessel which was taking him back home once he had been expelled from Bougie was shipwrecked off the coast of Pisa, a city which would welcome him during the following year and enable him to finish the *Ars generalis ultima*, along with its condensed version the *Ars brevis*, both of which were written in Latin. The *Disputatio Raimundi christiani et Homeri saraceni* was a dramatic dialogue begun in Bougie, lost in the shipwreck and rewritten in Pisa, in which Llull strove to promote the crusade, and requested economic support from the city's Senate. The *Ars Dei*, dedicated to Philip IV of France and to Pope Clement V, was an application of the Art to theology and

²⁶ See Soler 1992a and Gayà 1997.

²⁷ Bonner 2007: 188–255.

²⁸ See Hillgarth 2001: 71–6 for the grants James II of Aragon awarded to Ramon Llull.

²⁹ Llull 1980b: 297–300; 2010b: 71–7.

was written in Montpellier, a city in which Llull possibly had the opportunity of residing at the same time as did the physician and spiritual agitator Arnau de Vilanova. His writings after 1308, following the composition of the *Ars generalis ultima* and the *Ars brevis*, deal with missionary subject matter, develop political motifs and focus upon the demonstration of the basic truths of the faith by means of necessary reasons. Llull's writings from this period are characterized by greater concision, but his output itself increases, as a result of which it becomes increasingly feasible to follow him in his movements and activities on a month-by-month basis.

In Montpellier, Ramon Llull readied himself for a final voyage to Paris by writing a new work on the crusade, the *Liber de acquisitione Terrae Sanctae*, at the same time as composing opuscles on logical questions as well as theological monographs. Of his contacts with James II of Aragon, a letter addressed to the monarch has been preserved, as have the *Proverbis d'ensenyament*, of a didactic nature, which exist in a Catalan version alone.

Archival documents, the account of the *Vita coetanea* and the thirty or so opuscles Llull composed mean that we have a great deal of information regarding his activities in Paris during the years 1310–11. Worthy of comment are the approval which his *Ars brevis* gained from forty Masters and Bachelors of Arts, Medicine and Theology, as well as a letter of recommendation he received from Philip IV.³⁰ Ramon Llull's fundamental aim, however, was the polemic he led against the Aristotelians who supported the methodological separation between philosophy and theology, namely, the Latin Averroists, whom he considered to be dangerously anti-Christian.³¹ In complete contrast, the Art was based specifically upon the essential coincidence between philosophy and theology, and latterly Ramon had been leaning in particular towards post-Artistic positions, which were dominated by theological concerns and by a refashioned demonstrative logic, applicable to one's knowledge of God. The entire output of these few years has been preserved in Latin, including works that have a literary dimension, such as, for example, the *Liber lamentationis philosophiae*, the *Liber natalis pueri parvuli Christi Jesu* and the *Liber disputationis Petri et Raimundi* or *Phantasticus*.

In 1311 Ramon Llull attended the Council of Vienne, for the purpose of which he had had the *Vita coetanea* written, and where his petitions were included among the corresponding conciliar acts.³² His presence at the Council also brought forth a curious poem in Occitano-Catalan verse, *Lo concili*. Between 1312 and 1313 Llull was in Majorca, where he wrote a new treatise on preaching

³⁰ Hillgarth 1971: 106–18. The original documents are reproduced in Hillgarth 2001: 80–6.

³¹ Imbach 1987.

³² Hillgarth 1971: 118–34.

and a large number of sermons, probably conceived for the mission he was planning to undertake to Sicily and, once more, to North Africa. As it turned out, Llull indeed spent the years 1313–14 in Messina, attempting to establish contact with the court of Frederick III, who was of Catalan stock, as well as being a monarch influenced by Franciscan spirituality who had embraced the reformist ideas of Arnau de Vilanova. The opuscles Llull wrote in Messina are all in Latin, except for the *Llibre de consolació d'ermità*, which exists in both Catalan and Latin versions. Theological demonstration, now carried out in a simplified and more direct manner, forms a recurrent theme, and draws its inspiration from the final logical ramifications of the Art.³³

In the middle of 1314 Ramon Llull took himself to Tunis, a city from which he had been expelled in 1293. In 1311, however, command of the city had changed hands and the new caliph, Aba Yahya Zakariya al-Lihyani, depended upon the military support of the King of Aragon. In Tunis Llull continued working on short, theologically demonstrative monographs. The most notable text from this final period of his life is the *Ars consilii*, originally composed in Arabic and translated into Catalan and Latin, a work which considers the notion of good government at the same time as having spiritual implications, and was addressed to the Tunisian authorities. Ramon Llull maintained a correspondence with James II of Aragon, from whom he requested a collaborator in order to translate his writings into Latin.³⁴ He died in Tunis, on board the ship that was returning him to his native island, or in Majorca itself, some time before March of the year 1316. He was buried in the church belonging to the Franciscan order in Palma de Mallorca.

Ramon Llull's Apostolic and Intellectual Project

In the life and works of Ramon Llull, action always and ultimately gains the upper hand over contemplation: to see this one only has to flick through the catalogue of his works, which contains over 260 titles. The first original work by Ramon Llull was the *Llibre de contemplació en Déu*. Setting out from the stimulus afforded by the raising of the soul's faculties towards the Creator, this enormous work ends up surveying many of the theological, philosophical and natural themes capable of contributing towards man's first intention and ultimate purpose, which guides all the others within the practical realms of action: to love, serve and praise God.³⁵ The following work in the catalogue, the *Ars*

³³ Bonner 2007: 188–255.

³⁴ See the documents regarding Ramon Llull's stay in Tunis, in Hillgarth 2001: 91–100. Document 48, dating from 5 August 1315, is a letter from James II of Aragon in reply to Llull's request that friar Simó de Puigcerdà, from the Franciscan monastery in Lleida, be sent to Tunis.

³⁵ For the Lullian first intention as final cause, see Ruiz Simon 2002. For the central role of the *Llibre de contemplació* in Llull's thought, see Rubio 1997b. For the specific meaning of

compendiosa inveniendi veritatem, already represents the first formulation of Lull's Art or, in other words, of the rational method which ensures that results are achieved. In the meantime, there had been the 'illumination' on Mount Randa. As can be inferred from the *Vita coetanea*, this experience comprised a vision of – or intuition regarding – a system of relations between basic, simple concepts which enabled one to explain the meaning of all things visible and invisible. The term 'illumination' refers to the fact that Ramon Llull wished to ascribe authorship of his system to God, by presenting himself as having received a revelation. This procedure was customary in his day among innovative thinkers who sought to avoid being regarded with disapproval or suspected of heterodoxy.³⁶ Thus, in the final analysis, the contemplation that led to the Art became a form of productive activity, in which charity – or love – effected the transformation. The lofty requirement of love for God and for humanity also explains why, in the *Romanç d'Evast e Blaquerna*, the protagonist, a hero predestined to succeed, abandons the path of individual perfection as a hermit, becomes a monk and involves himself in community life. He will only be permitted to live as a hermit during his old age, after having striven throughout his entire life on behalf of the common good.

Ramon Llull, nonetheless, held in high esteem the spiritual experiences associated with a life of solitude. One of the most remarkable facets of the Art can be seen in the fact that Llull specifically contrived to apply it to contemplation in works such as the *Ars amativa*, wherein he proposes a type of thinking which is parallel to scientific knowledge (*ciència/scientia*), and which he christens with the neologism *amància/amantia*. The *Arbre de filosofia d'amor* is a treatise written in order to provide a counterweight to the philosophy of knowledge. However, in the antepenultimate part of the book, the Lover, who had withdrawn from active life in order to be closer to his Creator, decides to assume once more his place among men, disposed as he is to ensure that such men should know and love his Beloved. The Lover leaves his contemplative solitude behind and returns to the struggles of everyday life.³⁷

'The avoidance of idleness' is a formula which constantly recurs in Ramon Llull's writings, and which, at the same time as expressing a moral precept oft-repeated in thirteenth-century treatises on the virtues and the vices, ties in with a philosophical axiom of Platonic origin, an axiom according to which activity is an essential characteristic of the good in its ontological sense. The good is identified with existence and with the continuity of being in opposition to its contrary – non-being / privation / the void – which conforms with evil.

Llullian terminology, see Bonner and Ripoll 2002.

³⁶ See Chapter 4, pp. 252–63, for the case of Arnau de Vilanova.

³⁷ See Chapter 2, pp. 148–61.

Hence God, the sovereign good, is essentially active, both inwardly (*ad intra*), because He is one and triune, and outwardly (*ad extra*), because He created the universe and preserves it in existence.³⁸ The radicalism in Lull's thought means that, behind expressions linked to particular circumstances, there often lurks an allusion to the fundamental principles that govern everything. Ramon Lull's system or Art, in fact, consists in the reduction (also in its etymological sense) of all that is perceptible and comprehensible to a small number of primary abstract notions endowed with relation-forming powers.

Ramon Lull was convinced that human reason is capable of understanding all the orders of reality because these are governed by general principles which, like man himself, have their origin in God's essence. It was for this reason that one should not separate faith from reason: 'Nisi credideritis non intelligetis' ['If you do not believe, you shall not understand'] (Isaiah 7:9). These words of the prophet Isaiah constitute one of the extremely rare quotations from authority present in Lull's works.³⁹ The concordance between what is true and what is rationally demonstrable is the keystone of the method which Ramon maintained he had received on Mount Randa.

The methods employed by the Church during the thirteenth century in order to engage in disputation with members of the Jewish faith consisted of conducting debates over the interpretation of Scripture from the viewpoint held by each respective tradition. The Dominican order even proposed that the Hebrew and Arabic languages should be learnt in order to facilitate access to the sources used by non-Christians, as was the case with the expertise in Hebrew of the Catalan friar Ramon Martí and his *Pugio fidei* [*The Dagger of Faith*]. King James I the Conqueror had presided over certain public discussions between preachers and rabbis.⁴⁰ Lull considered that disputes conducted on the basis of holy books and canonical interpretations, that is to say *per auctoritates*, were destined to failure unless one could make one's opponent understand by virtue of 'necessary reasons' that Christianity was consistent with the truth. As the *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis* states, 'it is the essence of truth to be more strongly rooted in the mind than falsehood, since truth and being are in accord, as are falsehood and nonbeing'.⁴¹ This new method of religious polemic represents a harsh critique of the debating procedures in use at the time.

Miniatures 9 and 10 from the *Breviculum* illustrate Ramon's voyages to Muslim territories (Plate 3 and Plate 4). In miniature 10, we see dramatized the effects of

³⁸ For God conceived as active goodness, see Gayà 2008.

³⁹ See Solà Simon 2003 and Bonner 2005.

⁴⁰ For religious polemic during Lull's times, see Cortabarría 1987; Bonner 1989; Colomer 1997: 181–238.

⁴¹ Lull 1985b: 302; 'natura és de veritat que sia pus forment en l'ànima arraigada que falsetat, com sia ço que veritat e ésser se concorden, e falsetat e no ésser.' (Lull 2001: 207–8).



Plate 4: *Breviculum*, miniature 10, showing Ramon Llull's visit to Bougie (Béjaïa, Algeria): (from left to right) Llull arrives by boat, is attacked by the populace, debates with the Cadi, and is imprisoned.

a discussion with the Cadi, who has engaged in dialogue with him. Llull's necessary reasons have prevailed, but the uneducated populace, which has been unable to follow the discussion, attacks the preacher, who is ultimately placed behind bars. The falling rocks that threaten the safety of the figure of Ramon Llull, as well as the cudgels in evidence, are particularly expressive.⁴² The pre-eminence Ramon Llull attached to the motif of martyrdom represents one requirement of the way in which he understood love for God and for humanity. Given that there is no salvation outside Christianity,⁴³ whoever bears witness to truth at the urging of charity (i.e. love) must be prepared for complete sacrifice. Llull insists that any other attitude becomes a form of escapism, devoid of love for God. The paradigm for a martyr is clearly that of Christ's apostles, 'who were few in number' yet 'could convert so many people';⁴⁴ they were exemplary both in death and in their lives of incessant and efficacious preaching. In Llull's eyes, love for God and one's neighbour teaches one to despise danger; however, it also demands results.

Ramon Llull's Art has been described as a structural system of thought: a method of presenting the relations between the operations of a few well-known general principles, with the aim of discovering (*invenire*) and verifying by necessary reasons (*demonstrare*) the truth or falsity of these relations.⁴⁵ What we have is a conceptual framework which shares certain patterns of thought as well as presuppositions with various other areas of thirteenth-century thought, but which puts itself forward as an alternative and overarching solution to the comprehension of all things visible and invisible.⁴⁶

As a universal method, the Art provides the foundations for all the branches of knowledge: logic, metaphysics, philosophy, theology, law, medicine and the other natural sciences, the liberal and the mechanical arts, not to mention that which today we call literature. Its status as a 'method of methods', above any prior source of doctrines, bestows upon the Art a culturally neutral power as an instrument of rational persuasion. Ramon Llull's principal aim, in fact, was

⁴² The insistence on the fact that the person preaching should not fear death fed a very widespread – yet completely unfounded – legend, to the effect that Ramon Llull was a martyr for the faith, having been stoned to death in North Africa; for the origins and falsity of the legend, see Pérez 1969 and Batllori 1980.

⁴³ There is an unequivocal formulation in *Fèlix*: 'in which base condition any unbaptized person finds himself, for through lack of baptism he is condemned to damnation' (Llull 1985c: 704); 'en la qual vil condició està tot home qui no sia batejat, cor per absència de bapisme és jutgat a damnaçió.' (Llull 2011b: 128).

⁴⁴ Llull 1985c: 712; 'eren tan pochs en nombre' yet 'pogren convertir tantes de gents' (Llull 2011b: 138).

⁴⁵ The principle descriptions of Ramon Llull's Art are to be found in: Longpré 1926; Carreras 1939–43: I, 345–90; Pring-Mill 1972; 1991; Yates 1982: 9–77; Colomer 1997: 19–29; Rubio 2008a. Bonner 2007 is offered to the reader as a 'User's Guide'.

⁴⁶ For the notion of the Art as an alternative authority, see Bonner 1993a.

to disseminate the truth by making it immediately clear to – as well as operative among – believers and by imposing it upon non-believers through persuasion. One of the core features of Llull's way of understanding reality is precisely the constant dialectical relationship between *ciència* and *amància* (what one might call the philosophy of scientific knowledge and the philosophy of love), which exists alongside that between faith and reason, as presented in dramatic form in the *Disputatio fidei et intellectus* (Llull 2011a).

The Art may be understood as an organized, systematic, rational exploration of how a set of general principles – ontological reality, properly speaking – organizes creation and the human mind. These principles 'descend from the general to the particular' in all their aspects, real or conceivable; in other words, they descend from the sphere of the Creator to that of the created world in terms of its spiritual and material dimensions. The Art, however, also facilitates transit in the opposite direction, enabling one to discover on the basis of the particular the 'traces' (literally, footprints: *vestigia*) of the general. It is within this ascending aspect of the Art that Ramon Llull locates rational knowledge of visible reality or, to put it differently, the knowledge offered by disciplines which today we would call scientific: first of all, natural philosophy (in which the theory of the elements finds a strong presence), immediately followed by medicine and astronomy. Such rational knowledge of visible reality, however, from the time of the *Llibre de contemplació* onwards, was simply the first step towards attainment of authentic knowledge, the kind which leads human understanding to transcend the senses and the imagination in order to gain access to an intellectual apprehension of the divinity. In terms of this latter aspect, the Art constitutes a tool for contemplation, or a philosophy of love. Science (*scientia*) becomes *amantia*. The reader may survey this twofold process in the *Liber de ascensu et descensu intellectus*. Lullian gnoseology, which presents itself as surpassing its Aristotelian counterpart, has points of contact with the thought of Saint Augustine and of Saint Bonaventure.⁴⁷

Given that, following his illumination in 1274, Ramon Llull formulated his thought in accordance with the successive versions of his Art, with the result that the technical vocabulary he used invokes the particular meaning defined within (or deducible from) the key works in each successive phase, it has proved both practical and helpful to classify Ramon Llull's output into four chronological phases, as Anthony Bonner has done since 1985, in line with suggestions made by Robert Pring-Mill.⁴⁸ To read one of Llull's works outside the context of the version of the Art that corresponds to it, would be misleading.

⁴⁷ Gayà 1987.

⁴⁸ Pring-Mill 1955–56; 1957–58; 1972; *SW*, I, 56–7. The chronological catalogue divided into the four phases of the Art likewise constitutes the organizing principle of the Llull DB. For a technical justification of the phases of the Art, see Bonner 2007.

1. Pre-Art phase (1271–74). Ramon expresses his entire thought in the *Llibre de contemplació en Déu*, in which there appear certain attempts at the pseudo-algebraic notation of abstract principles that are capable of entering into mutual relation and combination.
2. The first (or quaternary) phase of the Art (1274–89). The *Ars compendiosa inveniendi veritatem* lays down for the first time the ‘Figures’ and ‘Alphabets’ of Ramon Llull’s method, and forms the central work within the first cycle of this phase. In the second cycle, Llull reworks his system around the *Ars demonstrativa* (1283). In these works certain series of principles occur as multiples of four, with groupings of up to sixteen principles.
3. The second (or ternary) phase of the Art (1290–1308). The *Ars inventiva veritatis* fixes the number of principles at eighteen, occurring in two series of nine, hence the name ‘ternary phase’, inspired by the lesser submultiple of these figures. Llull gradually reinforced this new formulation of the Art through the addition of the *Taula general* (1294) and the *Arbre de ciència* (1295–96), until arriving at its final formulations in the *Ars brevis* and the *Ars generalis ultima* (1305–08). With the *Logica nova* (1303) Llull initiates a new approach as regards ‘demonstration’ in theology.
4. Post-Art phase (1308–15). Llull focuses his attention upon the composition of polemical opuscles, particularly during his stay in Paris between 1309 and 1311. In Majorca, in Sicily and in Tunis he concentrates on writing homiletic works and theological opuscles.

The Arts of Ramon Llull are indistinguishable from their ‘Figures’ and ‘Alphabets’, inasmuch as these latter form the language characteristic of his method. The *Ars demonstrativa* is usually taken as being paradigmatic of the Arts of the quaternary phase, endowed as it is with a highly complex body of graphic tools, these being the figures and their corresponding alphabets.⁴⁹ The basic figures are circular, and bear the letters A S T V X, which represent respectively:

- A. God and His attributes, which during this phase amount to sixteen: Goodness, Greatness, Eternity or Duration, Power, Wisdom, Will, Virtue, Truth, Glory, Perfection, Justice, Generosity, Simplicity, Nobility, Mercy, Dominion.
- S. The human soul as an agent of cognition, which presents the powers of the soul – memory, intellect and will – and their combined actions.
- T. The chart representing the possible relations between all the principles, numbering fifteen and formed by five differently coloured triangles. Blue:

⁴⁹ A collection of images of these figures can be found on the QuisestLullus website under the heading ‘Gallery of images’.

God, creature, operation; green: difference, concordance, contrariety; red: beginning, middle, end; yellow: majority, equality, minority; black: affirmation, doubt, negation.

- V. The virtues and the vices, numbering fourteen, in two groups of seven: blue (i.e. faith, hope, charity, justice, prudence, fortitude, temperance) and red (i.e. gluttony, lust, avarice, pride, accidie or spiritual sloth, envy, ire), respectively.
- X. Opposable general concepts, of which there are sixteen in two series of eight, one blue (i.e. predestination, being, perfection, merit, supposition, immediately [*sic*], reality, power) and one green (i.e. free will, privation, imperfection, blame, demonstration, mediately [*sic*], reason, object).

Figures Y and Z, on the other hand, which represent Truth and Falsehood, have no internal divisions.

In addition to the Figures of Theology, Philosophy and Law, there is also the Elemental Figure, which has four rectangles and sets out the operations of the elements (i.e. fire, air, water, earth) and their qualities, this latter figure being applicable to medicine.

All the circular figures from the quaternary phase have a second version (or Second Figure), whose representation takes the form of a triangular table, as is found in the oldest manuscripts, the eighteenth-century Mainz edition (MOG) and the Majorcan edition dating from the early years of the twentieth century.⁵⁰ These tables contain all the possible binary combinations of the components drawn from the figures (consisting of sixteen, fifteen or fourteen principles), arranged in pairs and without repetition. Llull calls each of these combinations a *camera* (*cambra* in Catalan) or compartment, the study of which forms the principal substance of the books that expound the Art. In fact, the rules and conditions laid down by the Art enable one to assess the viability of the relations symbolized by the compartments in question, with the aim of constructing a system of argumentation.

The Arts of the second (or ternary) phase, from the *Ars inventiva veritatis* onwards, introduce a simplified version of the formalized list of components given above. The general principles from Figures A and T, numbering eighteen (there being nine in each Figure), can be found to underlie all physical and spiritual reality, as can easily be seen in the roots of the sixteen trees from the *Arbor scientiae*. Throughout all the Arts of the ternary phase, only two of the earlier figures survived, while two new ones were added:

⁵⁰ The images found in MOG I and II as well as in ORL XVI are based upon the multi-coloured illustrations which occur in the medieval manuscripts. See, for instance, the illustrations drawn from the *Ars demonstrativa* in Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, MS Lat. VI, 200 [= 2757], as reproduced in *SW*, I, between pages 318 and 319.

- A. Circular figure containing nine principles written around its rim, and designated by the letters B to K (i.e. Goodness, Greatness, Eternity or Duration, Power, Wisdom, Will, Virtue, Truth, Glory).
- T. Circular figure with nine principles written around its rim, and designated also by the letters B to K, here grouped in three differently coloured triangles. Green: difference, concordance, contrariety; red: beginning, middle, end; yellow: majority, equality, minority.

The third figure is triangular and represents paired groups of principles drawn from the first two figures.

The fourth figure represents triadic groups of principles drawn from the first two figures. In the manuscript sources and in certain early editions, this figure is presented as three physically superimposed circles, two of which have been cut out and are sewn on through their centres, so that the top two may be rotated with respect to each other as well as to the lowest (fixed) one.

Miniature 11 from the *Breviculum* shows Ramon Llull and his collaborator, Thomas Le Myésier, discussing the best way to disseminate the Art (Plate 5). Le Myésier suggests that the configuration of the quaternary Arts is too complex, at which our author hastens to explain that he has already fashioned a version that is easier to operate, namely, the *Ars inventiva veritatis*. In the same scene Llull lends his approval to the idea of creating a synthesis of his books, aimed didactically at its readership, provided that the meaning of his writings is not altered.

The Llullian Arts of the ternary phase systematize the ontological dynamism that had always been present in Ramon Llull's thought; besides the general principles, which are symbolized by letters and enter into combination within the compartments, they now incorporate another network of concepts, called correlative principles, which he had already proposed in earlier works, and which specifically express the dynamic structure characterizing the general principles (as well as all beings). Thus, inwardly every substance opens out into a triadic (or ternary) structure, which gives us activity, passivity, operation; or potency, object, act.⁵¹ To each characteristic of such a ternary structure corresponds, to use the technical vocabulary of the Art, a specific suffix: *-tivum* in Latin (or *-tiu* in Catalan) expresses activity or potency; *-bile* in Latin (or *-ible* in Catalan), passivity or the object; while *-are* in Latin (or *-ar* in Catalan), the infinitive ending from the first conjugation, signifies operation or act. In the case of the first principle from Figure A, *Bonitas* (Cat. *Bonesa*), the ternary correlative structure, gives the terms *bonificativum*, *bonificabilis* and *bonificare*, words which are just as unfamiliar in Latin as are *bonificatiu*, *bonificable* and

⁵¹ For the correlative principles, see Gayà 1979: 217–28, and Bonner 2007: 107–10, 253–4 and passim.



Plate 5: *Breviculum*, miniature 11, showing Ramon Llull and Thomas Le Myésier discussing the best way to disseminate the Art.