

did not have to defeat only the “unbelievers”, but also those who, like the averroists, favoured a philosophy that was independent of theology and, hence, reached conclusions that were conflicting with the faith. In fact, Llull fought averroists with abundant literature during his last stay in Paris (1309-1311).

It was within this context that the Art was presented by Llull, who, like the neo-Augustinians of that time, opposed the secularization process promoted by the Aristotelianization of syllabuses, as an alternative to a science, the Aristotelian science, that seemingly made synchrony between Philosophy and Theology an impossible task. The absolute generality of the Art’s principles, which, therefore, were also general regarding Theology, would lead, according to the Illuminist Doctor, not only to the synchrony between Philosophy and Theology –because of the content of these principles– but also to the subordination of the former to the latter. Likewise, Llull felt that the absolute generality of the Art’s principles made feasible the foundation of Theology as a science that would not depend epistemologically on faith (i.e. this science would just provide hypotheses to be verified or refuted) but only on a series of principles, those of the Art, which would be self-evident. Precisely, because these principles were considered as being evident and, therefore, non specifically Christian, Llull presented his Art as a neutral science capable of turning the interreligious debate into a scientific matter, although, in practice, the conclusions from his demonstrative arguments always ended up verifying the hypotheses postulated by the Catholic creed and refuting all hypotheses opposing such a creed.

In summary, the Art tried to make possible all those things that, in Llull’s opinion, were necessary, notably the concordance or synchrony between Philosophy and Theology, the subordination of the former to the latter, the foundation of Theology as a true science and, last but by no means least, the conversion of Saracens. The Illuminist Doctor never stopped thinking of his Art as a tool for massive conversion, aimed at eradicating Islam and christianising the whole of humanity. In this respect, it should be kept in mind that, while his earliest work was conceived as a handbook for a school for the training of missionaries that was located in a remote and idyllic landscape, the *Ars generalis ultima* and its portable version, the *Ars brevis*, were devised as a spiritual weapon for Croats, who had to conquer using military force, within the context of a great war operation, dominions inhabited by unbelievers. However, the success of the Art in the History of Thinking relates less to these aims than to the fact that Llull’s strange epistemologic device

provided the opportunity to “decompartmentalise” the “old science” and supercede the prejudice regarding the lack of communication between the principles and the scope of the different sciences, as well as building bridges between the realm of scientific doctrine and that of the discovery of scientific knowledge.

For a number of centuries (as evidenced by the interest elicited by Llull’s writings to many authors, such as Nicolau de Cusa, Giordano Bruno, Descartes and Leibniz) Llull’s work was considered an appealing approach, from a strictly methodological viewpoint, by those who sought to supercede the old Aristotelian science. The discourses on method that inaugurated the history of Modern Philosophy tried to reconcile science with generality, as well as the invention of demonstrative judgement. For this reason, these philosophers often mentioned Llull. Some of them even referred to Llull as a forerunner or a pioneer. Others, considering that the alleged universal science was a trifling idea, said that Llull was an impostor. However, all these authors were aware that Llull’s *Ars* was the archetype, regardless of its appeal or whether it was considered to be outrageous, for the philosophical problems put forward by modern philosophers.

Transmission of the work of Ramon Llull⁹

Albert Soler Llopart

The Lullian *scriptorium*

Ramon Llull, as an author, was deeply concerned about the dissemination of his work. When it came to ensuring the transmission of his books, the fact that he was not a cleric, belonged to no religious order or university department and was not in the service of any court was a considerable obstacle. This is, without question, the reason that he dedicated so much time and effort to the issue, going so far as to develop his own production and publication system for his works, even including translation, copying and conservation. This, however, this was never centralised in a single place or within one group of people and, thus, when we speak of a Lullian *scriptorium*, it is in a functional rather than an institutional sense.

A set of collaborators, who rarely stepped out of the shadows,

9 1. This work forms part of the joint research project, CODITECAM: Llull (HUM 2005-07480-CO3-01) financed by the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science, in the Ramón Llull Documentation Centre of the University of Barcelona (Philology Department). I would like to thank Professor A. Bonner for the observations which he was kind enough to share with me.

helped the master in all these tasks: copyists, translators, even writers. Only a scant few names have been passed down through the ages. Llull’s *Vita coetanea* was written by a monk from Vauvert. Guillem Pagès, a Majorcan priest, was a faithful copyist for the Lullian cause; six manuscripts copied by him over 25 years are extant.¹⁰ In 1315, from Tunis, Llull requested the services of friar Simón de Puigcerdà, a former disciple of his, from King Jaime II of Aragon, to help him translate the books from Catalan to Latin.¹¹ We also know of a Guillem Mestres (or Mestre), regent of the *studium* of grammar in Palma de Majorca, who translated two short works by Llull from Catalan to Latin in 1316.¹²

Llull’s desire to publish part of his work in several languages is one of the most notable features of his transmission strategies. The translation and composition processes very often intermingled, as the translated texts include new elements not found in the original. Most of Llull’s work is preserved in Latin; a small but not insignificant number of texts are in both Catalan and Latin and another yet smaller number exists only in a Catalan version. The numbers speak for themselves: of some 260 written works, 57 are extant in Catalan; 20 of these are only in Catalan and the remaining 37 have versions in both Catalan and Latin. To date no work has been found in its Arabic form.¹³

While the use of Catalan, Latin and Arabic in the composition of texts remains constant over time, attention to Occitan or French as vehicles for publication seems to be concentrated mostly in the period from 1274 to 1289. At least in the case of the *Book of Evast and Blaquerna* (c. 1283), we can be certain that there was already a version in Occitan by around 1287. This was probably ordered by Llull himself, given the proximity of this date to that of the composition of the work and the use that he made of it (We know that he used it to promote a French version which was produced between 1297 and 1289, during his first stay in Paris). The misunderstanding of the Catalan original in the Occitan version demonstrates that Ramon was definitely not the translator and the same is seen in the French version: the errors in understanding in the Occitan text lead us to believe that the translator did not have a very good command of that language. Finally, we also know that during that same stay in the French capital, he arranged a translation from

10 3. Soler, 2006.

11 3. Hillgarth, 2001, docs. 48-51.

12 4. Badia, 1992, p. 157; Hillgarth, 1998, p. 178.

13 5. However, there is no question that Llull wrote Works in this language. On this topic, see Domínguez, 1993.

Occitan to Latin of the *Book of the Lover and the Beloved*, the celebrated book within a book contained in *Blaquerna*.¹⁴ Independently of these effectively preserved texts, Llull, in many works, stated his desire to produce another version of the same work. This is certainly a notable singularity within the medieval context. It is true that similar cases can be found, but perhaps none involving such a great many texts, with such a wide range of content, genres and registers, affecting such a diversity of languages and where the author himself is the direct instigator of the translations.

Llull’s methods of composition, translation and preparation of the texts for the “fair copy” have still not been studied in depth, despite there being no lack of manuscript documents to enable it.¹⁵ As far as we know, this author’s usual procedure was dictation. The scribes who copied the master’s discourse were not always the same men, or even at the same level of their profession. Sometimes they were learned men, well versed in Latin but, on other occasions, they were humbler individuals with little knowledge of the scholarly language. After the composition of the dictation, there would be a correction process in which other people, and often Llull himself, would be involved.¹⁶

There are two codices which are fundamental to the study of this production. The first, lat. 3348A in the National Library of France, is a volume given by Llull to the Charterhouse of Vauvert in 1298; it contains a draft, showing the work of various hands, of the Latin translation of the *Book of contemplation*; the author must necessarily have worked on this joint task.¹⁷ The second is the manuscript Ottob. Lat 405 in the Vatican Library, which transmits 35 works by Llull, written in Messina between May 1313 and May 1314. This is a working codex, on very rough paper, with the intervention of several cursive hands, which prepares the text for a later

14 6. Llull, 1995, P. 30-34. The same route from original composition in Catalan and dissemination in Occitan which gives rise to a French version and Latin version is followed in the case of the *Doctrina pueril* (which dates from around 1274-76), enabling us to attribute it to a decision by Llull himself; cf. Llull, 2005. For the question of the Romanesque transmission of Llull, see Badia, Santanach, Soler, in journals.

15 7. Rubió, 1928, is a pioneer work in this field. G. Pomaro promoted a line of research in this sense and the result was his research of 2005. See also the contributions of Romano, 2001 and Soler, 2005.

16 8. Pomaro, 2005, p. 186-187. However, there are versions that are contemporaneous to Llull that present a clear deficiency that indicate that the Blessed Ramón not always check them (Llull, 2001). One of them is the Catalan version of *Lógica nova* (Llull, 1998b) or the French version of *Book of the Gentil*. Rubió had suggested before that Llull left “texts not always well finished, of his own production, in his friends and pupils hands” and that sometimes he did not “check personally his works” (1957, p. 260 and 263).

17 9. Soler, 2005. More details on this work of translation are offered in the as yet unpublished study presented by G. Pomaro at the congress for the 50th anniversary of the *Raimundus-Lullus-Institut* (November 2007); it notes with caution the possibility that one of the hands involved was Llull himself.

fair copy and final distribution. In one part of the codex (in works 2-29) we have a basis for supposing that the author himself was involved.¹⁸

The intervention of writing collaborators is facilitated in works which follow pre-set, repetitive schemas, such as those deriving from the Art, or those including long series of questions whose answers are found by reference to the preceding text. It has been noted that this could be the case, for example, with the *Liber de lumine*, *Liber de intellectu*, *Liber de voluntate* and *Liber de memoria*.¹⁹

Whatever the case, it is exceptional that a given lay writer, without professional links to a public institution such as a chancery or an ecclesiastic or university *studium*, should develop work methods typical of a scriptorium. Clearly, Llull made occasional use of the infrastructures of the scriptoria of his lordly adepts. However, it should be borne in mind that this was not a systematic and stable relationship with a single centre, nor the support of simple scribes tasked with copying the works of others, but involved people who could, to use the exact words, “*bene ordinare nec in bono dictamine ponere*” his works.²⁰ Llull reproduced scholarly forms of intellectual labour around himself, but outside the academic ambit and thus, inevitably, with innovations and particularities.

The early manuscript tradition

Little is known, as such, of the Lullian production system for copies. Light may be shed on this question by what we know of the scriptorium created at the same time in Barcelona by Arnau de Vilanova, which was dedicated to the dissemination of his spiritual works. The scriptorium was housed in the private home of the Barcelonan apothecary Pere Jutge. When it was sold after Arnau's death (6th December 1311), the executors distributed the 17 codices found in varying stages of creation among beguins and penitents:²¹ most of the volumes are parchment and six are illuminated; fourteen contain works in Latin and Catalan, and only three are entirely

18 10. Pomaro, 2005.

19 11. Gayà, 2006, p. 27.

20 12. In *Declaratio Raimundi per modum dialogi edita* (1298), Llull rethorically admits his limitations as an author in Latin; but it is one of the limitations that became the entry of collaborators: “*Et licet hoc, quod dixi, non bene ordinaui neque in bono dictamine posui, quia grammaticus non sum neque rhetoricus*” (Llull, 1989, p. 400-401).

21 13. We know this thanks to the inventory of books and other goods which Arnau de Vilanova had on 6 December 1311 in Pere Jutge's house, published by Roc Chabás (1903) and analysed by Perarnau (1978, p. 111-26) and Lerner (1994).

in Catalan. Both circumstances lead us to think that most of the potential audience must have had a certain economic and cultural level. In Llull's case, we can extrapolate the private nature of the copyist workshop, the presence of copies of works in the vernacular and in Latin, and the alternative distribution channels for bringing the books to readers.

What has come down to us from the early manuscript tradition of Llull's work is only a fraction of what once existed. Some thirty codices have been preserved which can be related directly or indirectly to Llull himself. If we add other, contemporary, codices the figure rises to fifty. We can only wonder how many copies Llull must have made, at his own expense, to ensure that 700 years later this many have survived. An exact answer is impossible, but it is certain that it is many more than one or two hundred. Llull established his own diversified methods of producing manuscripts and promoted them intensely and extensively.

The material study of these preserved manuscripts reveals some set page formatting and layout options which are repeated regularly. Opting for a certain literary model is the end of the process of composing of a work and the first of the Lullian dissemination strategies. Llull had to consider the question of which format to give his works and the disposition of a given text on the manuscript page which was to display it. These questions, which we find resolved in the manuscripts and editions in which we read his works, presented problems and uncertainties for an author who introduced as much novelty into the field of written production as Llull.

For example, the format of the oldest codices of the monumental *Book of contemplation* clearly reveal the desire to give his work the form of a true scholastic or university “bench book”, despite the radical novelty and perplexities arising from it being written not in Latin but in a vernacular language: large size and considerable volume, parchment, written in double columns with a calligraphic hand (textual lettering), table of rubrics (the table of contents at the beginning of the volume), complex division into parts reflected in page layout, numbering of chapters in the margins, etc. The exceptional nature of a book of these characteristics written in Catalan explains why, in the oldest example of the *Book of Contemplation* (which is also the oldest Lullian codex extant), the copyist added a Latin colophon, at once a certification and commemoration:

This book has been copied; blessings on he who copied it. Amen. I, Guillem Pagès, priest, and with the aid of holy grace, have copied from its original example this *Book of*

consolation [!], in the City of Majorca, 8 July of the year of our Lord 1280 and I make this rubric.²²

This same copyist, Guillem Pagès, also produced a collection of six extant manuscripts, very probably commissioned by Llull, between circa 1274 and 1301, which occupy a notable place in the early Catalan manuscript tradition:²³

1. Milà, Ambrosiana A.268 inf i D. 549 inf:²⁴ ff 1-537, *Llibre de contemplació*.
2. Munic, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Clm. 10504: ff 1-14v, *Tractatus compendiosus de articulis fidei catholicae*; ff 15-24, *D'oració*.
3. Killiney (Dublin), Franciscan Library Dún Mhuire B 95: ff 1-24v, *Començaments de medicina*.
4. Mainz, Martinus-Bibliothek 220h: ff 1-54, *Art demonstrativa*; ff 54v-55, *Regles introductòries a la pràctica de l'Art demonstrativa*.
5. Palma de Majorca, Biblioteca Pública 1103: ff 3-74, *Taula general*; ff 75-76, *Lo pecat d'Adam*.
6. Rome, Collegio di S. Isidoro 1/38: ff 1-31, *Aplicació de l'Art general*.

The most relevant formal characteristics of these volumes, which we also find in other early Lullian manuscripts, both in Latin and the vernacular (and to which we should therefore pay attention) are: the exclusive use of parchment as the only support material; text in two columns with black-lettered (gothic) calligraphy; the hierarchical ordering of various parts of the work by rubrics, initials ornamented with filigree and sometimes finished with extensions, and pilcrows; the presence of graphic elements (Lullian figures) and, in contrast, the near complete absence of purely decorative elements. Sobriety is the most remarkable element of the general appearance of the codices; they give an impression of seriousness and solemnity, suggesting study to be the final purpose of these works. To summarise, there has been an adaptation of the format of university Latin textbooks in the works Llull wrote in the vernacular.

22 14. Folio 537 of manuscript D.549 inf of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan. “*Hic liber est scriptus, qui scripsit sit benedictus. A M E N. Ego, Guillelmus Pagesii, presbiter, divina gratia auxiliante, hunc Librum consolationis in Civitate Maioricarum ab originali translatione penitus translavi. VIII^o. Idus Julii, anno domini. M^o. CC^o. / ·LXXX^o. et hoc sig- [signum] num feci.*” Pagès' mistake in naming the work should not go unnoticed! Although the volume was very probably commissioned by Llull himself, the blessed Ramón did not notice his copyist's mistake.

23 15. Soler, 2006.

24 16. The codex, originally a single volume, was split into two volumes around the last quarter of the 14th century.

Strategies of divulgation and preservation

A significant example of Llull's attention to the dissemination of his work and the peculiarities he introduced into this process is shown in the will he made in Majorca on 26th April 1313, in which several clauses manifest this concern. In this case, the initiative and funding of the operation were private: most of the testator's estate would be dedicated to the translation and dissemination of the last books he composed. The manuscripts were to be copied onto parchment, both in romance language and in Latin (“*fiant inde et scribantur in pergameno in romancio et latino*”). The spaces established to ensure the durability of the holdings were both ecclesiastical and private, and, it should be noted, had a strategically international scope: these codices were to be sent to the Charterhouse of Vauvert, in Paris, and the house of the Genovese patrician Perceval Spinola. Other books which he requested to be copied with the rest of the holdings are bequeathed to monasteries and convents in Palma de Majorca, an ecclesiastic but not necessarily scholarly ambit, and he explicitly stipulates that they should be accessible to all, not only the clergy.²⁵

The *Vita coetanea* (1311) of Ramon Llull concludes by remarking, not without a hint of presumption, “*divulgati quidem sunt libri sui per universum*” and specifying that, nevertheless, he himself has had his work gathered in three depositories, coinciding with those indicated in his will: those already mentioned in Paris and Genoa and the house of an unnamed nobleman of the City of Majorca, who we must identify as his son-in-law, Pere de Sentmenat. The measure is very ambitious, even though we can only be certain that it was carried out systematically and thoroughly in the case of the Parisian Charterhouse of Vauvert, for which an inventory has survived which by August 1311 already listed 124 titles!²⁶

In fact, some of the manuscripts bequeathed by Llull have survived, such as the original of the Latin translation of the *Book of contemplation* mentioned above, or an example of the French translation of *Blaquerna* (Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Phil. 1911), which states: “*Ce livre doit estre renduz a dant Raymond moine de Chartreuses delez Paris*” (flyleaf).

25 17. The Hill is reproduced and edited in Llull, 1991. Llull gave instructions for the conservation of the books, that had to be chained to the churches' bookcases (“*ponantur in armario cuiuslibet ecclesiae, in qua illos dabunt, cum catena*”) and be accessible to anybody who was interested (“*quilibet ipsius ecclesiae uolens illos legere, possit ipsos legere et uidere*”).

26 18. See Llull, 1980b, p. 304-309; or also, online, in the Llull database <<http://orbiba.bib.ub.es/llull/cat1.asp?EL>>

Despite this prevision, Llull never put his trust in a single conservation or distribution strategy for his books, but rather tried as many as he could. He sent manuscripts to relevant political figures, even though he had not met them; such as a collection of his works which he sent in around 1289 to the Venetian Duke Pietro Gradenigo (Venice, Biblioteca Marciana, lat. VI 200). This collection is justly famous because its title page bears a dedication which may be an autograph.²⁷ He also dedicated them to rulers so that they would keep them in their libraries and/or have copies made. He dedicated works to Kings such as Felipe IV the Handsome, Jaime II of Aragon, Federico III of Sicily, Sancho of Majorca, Popes such as Nicholas IV, Celestine V, Boniface VIII, Clement V, etc. This was true of the *Tree of philosophy of love* (1298), whose last chapter addresses the King of France, Felipe IV the Handsome and his wife, the Queen:

*E la dona d'amor dix a Ramon que presentàs Filosofia d'Amor en llatí al molt noble senyor savi e bo rei de França, e en vulgar a la molt noble, sàvia e bona reina de França, per ço que el multipliquin en lo regne de França [...].*²⁸

The effectiveness of using the influence of power to circulate his books is demonstrated in the following passage from the *Disputatio Raimundi christiani et Homeri saraceni* (1308) in which Llull reveals a distribution itinerary for his *Liber de fine* (1305) starting with King Jaime II of Aragon, who had arranged for the work to be sent to Pope Clement V:

*I d'aquesta matèria n'he parlat llargament al Liber de finis, que el senyor papa ja té, que el senyor rei d'Aragó li va enviar.*²⁹

Notes on the early and modern centres of distribution

The Ramon Llull Database at the University of Barcelona (Llull DB) lists a thousand Lullian manuscripts from all periods, which are kept in libraries in over a hundred cities throughout the world. However, the original transmission centres for the Lullian oeuvre are indubitably Paris and Majorca, consonant with Llull's provisions. However, the few indications we have seem to show that Genoa did not play a

similar role.

Paris, the pre-eminent political and university centre of the late medieval West, always had a prominent place in Llull's plans. His manuscripts were not only concentrated in Vauvert; his first contact in the French capital, Canon Pedro de Limoges (c. 1230-1306), owned at least five, all preserved, including the French version of *Blaquerna* (National Library of France, fr. 24402). Llull himself bequeathed at least two to the Sorbonne college library. One of these, now catalogued as lat. 16111 of the National Library, contains the following deeply revealing early 14th century note:

Ramon Llull wrote many other books, which are to be found in the monastery of the Charterhouse of Paris, of which any person may obtain a copy, as is the case of *Ars generalis*, etc.³⁰

Thomas Le Myésier, Llull's main direct disciple, also had a considerable Lullian library, of which six manuscripts are extant. In the margin of the inventory of books at Vauvert in 1311, Le Myésier noted which of these titles he owned himself: this amounted to over fifty.³¹ Elsewhere, the compiler of the *Breviculum* (known for its splendid miniatures) and, above all, the *Electorium*, an impressive manual of Lullism, with an extensive anthology of texts considered to be as indispensable as Llull's originals. Paris still conserves 11.32% of the Lullian manuscript holdings which have come down to us.³²

The transmission of the Lullian corpus of the Aragonese Crown (including Majorca) was strongly influenced by the fact that the name of Llull was used in Catalonia and Valencia to produce apocryphal texts in a spiritual vein, which were poorly regarded by the ecclesiastical hierarchy. This was one of the triggers for the implacable persecution of the Dominican inquisitor Nicolás Eimeric in the last quarter of the 14th century. In 1376, Llull's art was condemned by the papal court of Avignon and, in 1390, by the University of Paris. Despite the absolution of 1416, the shadow of heterodoxy lay heavily on Llull during the entire 15th century. Thus, the first important theologians, who felt themselves to be Llull's heirs, such as Ramon Sibiuda or Nicolás de Cusa, opted to silence the name of the master.

Despite everything, for more than two hundred years, from

the mid 14th to the late 16th centuries, Barcelona maintained an active Lullian school: certainly the most complete centre for Lullian studies of its time.³³ Two extant inventories (c. 1466 and 1488) show that the Barcelonan school had an extraordinarily rich library. Some of the oldest books in this collection doubtless came from the original Majorcan holdings. This would be true, for example, of the current Munich codex, Clm. 10504, copied by Guillem Pagès. However, all the Barcelonan books ended up in Germany in the early 18th century, due to the publication of the works of the blessed Ramon Llull commenced by Iu Salzinger (1669-1728), with the support of several German princes, especially Johann Wilhelm, Elector of the Palatinate.³⁴

Around 1710, Salzinger had gathered a great many Lullian books in Düsseldorf. In order to increase this collection, several trips were planned to European libraries, with the participation of various collaborators. The plan was to look for books in Italy, Paris, Barcelona, etc, and obtain them as donations, loans, purchases or copies. One P. Van Eyck was sent to Barcelona and, as a result of his negotiations, the Condesa de la Manresana, of the house of Erill and a descendant of the Llull family, permitted the Barcelonan manuscripts and some relics of the blessed Ramon Llull to be taken to Düsseldorf. On the death of Prince Johann Wilhelm (1716), Salzinger procured the patronage of the Archbishop of Mainz and the manuscripts were moved to that city in 1718. The first three volumes, in a large format, appeared there in the Mainz edition between 1721 and 1722. Despite the death of Salzinger in 1728, the new editor Philipp Wolf resumed publication and brought out volumes IV-VI and IX-X between 1730 and 1742. In around 1761, the codices entered the Palatine library at Mannheim, except for some which have remained in Mainz to this day (this is the case for manuscript 220h of the Martinus-Bibliothek, another of Guillem Pagès' copies). In 1803, the Lullian manuscripts of Mannheim, along with most of the Palatine library, were moved to the Biblioteca Regia Monacensis (now the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, which holds some 15.64 % of extant Lullian manuscripts). The travels of these codices (which in some cases followed the route Majorca > Barcelona > Düsseldorf > Mainz > Mannheim > Munich), including a trip to the printer, is illustrative of the

33 25. The history of this school is basically still unwritten. In its beginnings, in the second half of the 14th century, it might be more accurate to talk of schools linked to the teachings of various masters. Juan I, who began his reign in decided opposition to Lullism, in the early 90s issued various documents in favour of the movement. With the protection of the monarchy, especially of Alfonso the Magnanimous, the Lullian school of Barcelona, under the administration of the descendants of Ramón Llull, became Europe's foremost Lullian centre.

34 26. Gottron, 1915.

complex paths (which Llull would never have imagined) of the transmission of the Lullian corpus through the centuries.

The largest holding of Lullian manuscripts of any period is now in Majorca, with 30.04 % of the total.³⁵ It is closely followed by Italy with 23.32 %; however, the richest Italian holdings, those of the Vatican Library (which represents only 8.73% of the total) and the Ambrosiana Library of Milan, were created later. The former, together with that of the other Roman ecclesiastical libraries, relates to the canonical processes for the beatification of Ramon Llull and the debates concerning his orthodoxy, which took place during the 16th and 17th centuries, and comes mainly from Majorca. Thus, in the 17th century, supporters of the Lullian cause were housed in the Irish College, known as Saint Isidore and Saint Patrick.³⁶ This explains why manuscript 1/18 of St Isidore, also copied by Guillem Pagès, is found in Rome and even why manuscript B 95 in the Franciscan Library of Dún Mhuire, by the same copyist, is found in Ireland, as it was brought there in 1872 from this Roman college.³⁷ The latter, that of the Ambrosiana of Milan, originated with the collection of the Spanish Lullist Juan Arce de Herrera, defender of the Lullian cause in the late 16th century. The Lullian codex *princeps*, the *Book of Contemplation* signed by Pagès in July 1280 comes from here and ultimately from Majorca. The relevant centres of authentically Italian manuscripts are those of the Marciana Library of Venice and the Innichen collegiate (St Candid), in the Italian Tyrol.

The transmission in print of the Lullian corpus merits an independent chapter of study. Only three very relevant aspects will be highlighted. Firstly, the rapidity with which Llull's works were issued in print (we have records of over 20 incunable editions, from the *Ars brevis* printed in Venice by Gabriele di Pietro, c. 1475, to those published in Barcelona, in relation to the school mentioned above, by the printer Pere Posa). Secondly, the compilation of Lullian and pseudo-Lullian material, mixed with interpretative texts, which were to fix the official image of Llull for over a century: the anthology of Lullian works published by Lazarus Zetzner in Strasbourg in 1598 and reprinted repeatedly in the 17th century. This was used by Leibniz as one of the bases for his first work *De arte combinatoria* and Isaac Newton is also known to have

35 27. However, we should remember that the number of modern codices preserved in Majorca, as compared to the antique codices, is very large: 236 compared to 77. In antique codices, the library with the largest holdings is the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek of Munich (104), followed by the Vatican Library (77), the French National Library (59) and the Majorca Public Library (54). For these data, see Bonner, 1992.

36 28. Pérez, 1961, p. 20.

37 29. Hillgarth, 1966, p. 78.

27 19. Soler, 1994.

28 20. Llull, 1980a, p. 175. I have regularised the text according to modern standards; the italic in the quotes is mine. The Latin version specifies that the version to be presented to the Queen should be (naturally) "*in vulgari sive in gallico*", that is, in French.

29 21. Llull 1998a, 264. "Et de hac materia largius sum locutus in Libro finis, quem dominus Papa habet, quem dominus rex Aragoniae misit ad eum."

30 22. Folio 1: "*Multos alios libros fecit Raymundus, qui sunt in monasterio Cartusiensi Parisius, de quibus quilibet poterit habere exemplar, ut puta Ars generalis, etc.*"

31 23. Hillgarth, 1998, p. 228.

32 24. Bonner, 1992.

had a copy of this Lullian anthology in his library, which interested him more for its pseudo-Lullian alchemical works. Thirdly, the aforementioned Mainz edition of Salzinger, which involved a considerable movement of manuscript holdings throughout Europe, and which we should consider as the immediate precursor of modern Lullian editions.

Perhaps the only real, tangible and lasting consequence of the ambitious projects of the blessed Ramon Llull which we can discern is the extraordinary temporal and spatial distribution he was able to give his work. In this sense, it is undeniable that his innovative strategies and continual efforts could hardly have been a more resounding success.

Llull and the Jews

Harvey J. Hames

Ramon Llull grew up in an area with a relatively large Jewish presence and important Jewish communities. Though Majorca itself had recently been conquered by the count-king James I, there was an active Jewish community, and Catalonia itself had significant communities particularly in Barcelona and Gerona. These Jewish communities included immigrants who had fled from southern parts of the Iberian peninsula with the onslaught of the Almohads as well as Jews from northern Christian lands. These communities had imbibed the intellectual milieu of Andalusia and the Maghreb as well as traditions that came from the East via the trade routes. The communities of the Crown of Aragon were also closely related to the communities of Languedoc with whom they shared a common legal (Halachic) tradition and cultural and intellectual roots. These communities were also in constant dialogue with both the Muslim and Christian traditions in that they often were middle men in the transmission of knowledge, but they were also creative in themselves.³⁸

Llull's attitude towards the Jews is very evident in his copious works. Unlike many of his contemporaries and predecessors, Llull sought to engage with a living contemporary Judaism rather than one based merely on the *sacra pagina*. This in itself implies a more realistic approach towards the Jews in his milieu, as he coupled traditional Christian views of the Jews together with his own personal experiences. Llull's literary corpus reflects some forty years of creativity in changing circumstances, both geographically and politically.

38 1. Baer, 1992, p. 111-305; Pons, 1984.

Yet there is a high level of consistency in his approach to the Jews in his writings, and where there are deviations, this was often a result of some external imposition, such as the political circumstances in which he found himself, or the nature of the person or persons to whom a particular book was dedicated. It is important to remember that for Llull, above everything else there existed the Art, the tool by which he believed he would be able to convert all the unbelievers to the Christian faith. All other things, including his personal feelings, were secondary to this primary goal. If Llull's goal was to convert the *infeel* to the true faith, then any type of relationship which he developed with members of the other faiths would be a direct consequence of this mission.

It is also important to differentiate between works written for a more specifically Christian audience, and Llull's more literary and missionary works. In the latter, Llull can, in general, afford to address the Jews (as well as the Muslims) as equals; indeed it is almost an imperative, in order to demonstrate how the Art can be used in disputation. In these works we often encounter Llull's opinions concerning the teachings of the other faiths rather than his opinion regarding the members of these faiths, although these sometimes come to the fore as well. Hence, the political and social circumstances surrounding the writing of the specific work will often dictate Llull's attitude towards the Jews.

In the *Liber de acquisitione Terrae Sanctae* Llull wrote: "Jews are people lacking in science, and when a Christian disputes with them utilising reason, they do not understand the rational arguments".³⁹ This stands in marked contrast to the Muslims whom earlier in the work Llull described as being "well read in philosophy and good rational people".⁴⁰ In other places Llull refers to the Jews as being of dull intellect, and as having an "obscure and crude mind" and he blames this on their lack of utilisation of the liberal arts.⁴¹ Yet, when Llull refers to the Jews as men of little science or as being ignorant, he is clearly referring to the general population, not to the elite whom he considered men of great knowledge. This is evident because where Llull gives an example of his method for converting the Jews, he refers to his Jewish interlocutor as "very learned in Hebrew and a teacher".⁴² Furthermore, he suggests that "if the preachers of our faith would know how to give cogent reasons, which the Jew being preached to would be unable to rebut, he would become a

39 2. Kamar, 1961, p. 121.

40 3. Kamar, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

41 4. Llull, 1990, p. 16.

42 5. Kamar, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

Christian..."⁴³. In other words, giving cogent and water-tight proofs of the truth of the Christian faith is necessary when preaching to the Jewish elite, and Llull is not referring here to those Jews of little science and reason.

Whereas for the Christians, the *artes liberales* were the basis for any further study in the fields of philosophy, law, medicine and theology, Jews put more emphasis on the scriptures and Talmud as the basis for philosophical and theological speculation. Given that the study of the liberal arts included logic, and that his Art was permeated with the conceptual framework and terminology of Greek (Aristotle and Neoplatonism) philosophy, it was crucial for Llull that his Jewish interlocutors be well based in this field. This reflects Llull's call for the Christian rulers to force the Jews to study Latin and the liberal arts, so that they would be able to comprehend the truth of the Christian faith using the methods and tools of the Christians, and in this case, the Lullian Art.⁴⁴ However, the fact that Llull developed a highly complex and demanding system surely indicates that he was well aware that his Jewish interlocutors were learned in philosophy and incorporated its terminology and conceptual framework into their theology and theosophy.

Llull's polemical works also indicate his ambivalent attitude towards the Jews. Some of these works describe imaginary disputations, others depict actual debates, and yet others provide guidelines on how and what material to utilise in a disputation and provide models for preaching. Llull wanted these manuals to provide the basis for actual disputation or dialogue, and these were supposed to be illustrations of how an actual debate should take place in order to achieve the best results. In general, Llull's approach was that whatever the personal feelings of the missionary towards the Jews, if the debate was to achieve its ultimate goal, it had to appear that there was a lack of animosity towards, and equality between the participants in all aspects of the confrontation.

Llull was convinced that without a debate where everything was open to discussion, there could be no successful resolution. He was also convinced that it was possible to prove conclusively the Christian articles of faith using the Art, and that therefore, proving the truth of Christianity should also be part of any disputation. A good example of this kind of debate is Llull's famous work, the *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, written circa 1285 where there is an imaginary

43 6. Kamar, *op. cit.*, p. 127

44 7. Llull, 1954, p. 93-112.

debate between a Jew, Christian, and Muslim, each trying to prove the veracity of his faith to a Gentile searching for the truth. The Jewish wise man (as well as the Muslim) is treated with the utmost respect and the atmosphere that pervades throughout the work is one of cordiality. The Jew is allowed to present the doctrines of his faith with only the gentile being allowed to interrupt and question.⁴⁵ Although this particular debate is theoretical, and therefore more an ideal than a reality, it is clear from the records of disputations that Llull actually held that he tried to live up to his theoretical standards.

A polemical work which probably reflects a more realistic approach towards the Jews as well as the harsher realities of disputation is the *Disputatio Raymundi Christiani et Hamar Saraceni*. This work, written in 1308, is an account of a debate that Llull held with a Muslim scholar in Bougie and which ended in his imprisonment and eventual expulsion. Judaism in itself is presented positively in that without it there would have been no Christianity. However, when coming to discuss the Jews themselves he is unequivocal in his disapproval: "And thus it is that the Jews negate the blessed Trinity and Incarnation, and they say that Christ was the worst man that ever was, is and will be; and every day in secret they blaspheme and abuse Him...".⁴⁶ Hence, the reality and stress of the actual disputation lead to things being said which muddy the waters of tolerance and cordiality.

Jews blaspheming Jesus is a theme that appears time and time again in Llull's works, and given his deep feelings for Jesus, was probably influential in dictating his attitude towards the Jews as people. In the *Liber de praedicatione* written in 1304, Llull comments: "The Jews say that Jesus was an evil man, so evil, that never was there anyone so evil, nor will there ever be anyone so evil. The Christians say that Jesus was the best man that ever was and ever will be. Notwithstanding this, Christians associate themselves with these abusive Jews: they salute them on the street and trade with their merchants, as can be seen".⁴⁷ Llull's feelings about the Jews and their place in Christian society was tied up with his strong feeling of mission as one of the mainstays of his life; thus seeing the Jews tolerated in Christian society was an indication that there was something wrong with that society.

Another motif which appears in Llull's works is the notion

45 8. Llull, 1993, p. 47-87.

46 9. Llull, 1729, vii, p. 36.

47 10. Llull, 1963, p. 336.