## BEATI ILLUMINATI

MARTYRIS

TOMUS I. In quo continentur sequentes Trastatus: Ars Magna & Major feu Ars Com
Ars Magna & Major feu Ars Com
pendiofa inveniendi Veritatem.

Ars Univerfalis feu Lectura fuper Artem Compend, inveniendi Verit, 

tem Compend, inveniendi Verit, 

Liber Principiorum Juris, 

tem Compend, inveniendi Verit, 

Liber Principiorum Medicina,



Anno Salutis Domini M DCC XXI. MOGUNTIA EX OFFICINA TYPOGRAPHICA MAYERIANA,

COVER OF THE LATIN EDITION OF THE WORKS OF LLULL PRINTED IN MAINZ [1740]

## LLULL'S PUBLISHED WORKS

ANTHONY BONNER VICE-RECTOR OF THE MAIORICENSIS SCHOLA LULLISTICA

o appreciate the labours of modern publishers in view of the shortage of Lullian texts available to readers or scholars at the beginning of this century, a brief history of modern Lullism is necessary. Ramon Llull was a well-known and much debated figure everywhere during the Renaissance and the Baroque. This means that we find his works published with some frequency in Italy, Germany, France and Spain during the two centuries following the first publication of a work of his in Venice in 1480. His books, thereeasily accessible were readers of that time. European interest in the mystic culminated in an edition of

eight magnificent folio volums published in Mainz between 1721 and 1742. The immediate effect of this edition was to stimulate local Mallorcan patriotism into publishing some twenty works by Llull between 1735 and 1755. But although these publications in Mainz and Mallorca were the culmination of European Lullism, they in fact arrived when he had already begun to be a forgotten figure. The statistics speak for themselves. Apart from these editions, in the two centuries between 1670 and 1870, only two genuine works were published outside Mallorca and only four on the island itself, the last of which was the anthology of Obras rimadas published by Jeroni Rosselló in 1859.

After this publishing gap, in response to the rise of Catalan nationalism and a growing interest in Romance philology, an initial period in the publication of Catalan works by Ramon Llull opened, and lasted from the appearance of the Llibre de les bèsties, in 1872 in Munich, to the three-volume Obras de Ramon Lull published by Jeroni Rosselló between 1901 and 1903. After Rossello's death, the need was felt for a critical edition using more scientific philological methods. On the inestigation of Mateu Obrador, Miquel Ferrà and Salvador Galmés, work



ILLUSTRATION FROM THE MAINZ EDITION OF THE MAGNUS LIBER CONTEMPLATIONIS IN DEUM (1740)

started on the publication of the Obres de Ramon Lull (normally abbreviated to ORL). Between 1906 and 1950 twentyone volumes of this admirable Mallorcan edition were published, largely at the hands of Salvador Galmés. With this and the parallel edition of Llull's better-known literary works in the series Els Nostres Clàssics, in mid-century, readers and students finally had acess to a large number

of works by the master.

But there were still considerable gaps. The Mainz edition had only been able to publish 48 Latin works, and the Mallorcan edition 40, of the approximately 265 that Ramon Llull wrote. The fact that the Mainz edition had begun with the master's early works and that the great majority of the Catalan works, especially the better-known ones, date from the first period of Llull's production meant that what had been published so far corresponded mainly to the early period of his production. This not only reinforced the myth of Ramon Llull the man of letters, poet and mystic, with creative powers in evident decline after a certain point in his career, but also severely impeded study of the development of his thought on the part of the few scholars willing to tackle the subject. Works that were central to his system, such as the Ars generalis ultima, the Ars brevis and the Lògica nova, could only be consulted in old editions which were not always reliable and normally only to be found in the larger European libraries.

Consequently, when a critical edition of Llull's Latin works was planned it was rightly decided that publication should start with the last works and continue in inverse chronological order. The project was begun almost forty years ago by Fran-



PAGE FROM THE LUBRE D'EVAST I BLANQUERNA JOAN BONLLAVI EDITION, VALENCIA 1521

cis Stegmüller, who though not a specialist in Llull, realised that the immense number of his works still unpublished made much of the work of researchers into Medieval and Renaissance thought impossible. He started work in 1957, founding the Raimundus-Lullus-Institut at the Faculty of Theology of the Alberts-Ludwigs-Universität at Freiburg im Breisgau. He immediately began to collect bibliographic material from all over Europe and from the United States, especially microfilms of manuscripts, of which the Institute now has some two thousand. Two years later, publication of the Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina (always abbreviated ROL) started, of which twenty volumes have been published. The first five were printed in Mallorca and the rest at Turnhout, Belgium, by the publishers Brepols in the prestigious Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis.

The first effect of this edition was to correct the distortion which had resulted from unfamiliarity with Llull's later production. With the volumes published so far we now have almost all the works our author wrote in the last years of his life. Finally we have the Ars generalis ultima and the Ars brevis in clear and accessible editions; the complete series of his writings from the years 1309-1311 against the Parisian Averroists, more commented than familiar following Ernest Renan's 1852 book Averroès et l'averroisme; we also have the complete development of his innovatory homiletics, and his most important epistemological work, the Liber de ascensu et descensu intellectus, the book that presents his most developed political programme, the Liber de fine, and a long series of other works that are fundamental to an understanding



FROM LLULL-TAPIES (1973-1985), PUBLISHED BY DANIEL LELONG (PARIS) AND CARLES TACHÉ (BARCELONA)

of Llull's intellectual undertaking. Furthermore, these works exist not only in reliable critical editions but chronologically arranged so that we can follow the development of his thought, often surprising on account of his ability to advance on several apparently unrelated fronts at the same time. We can now also study Ramon Llull's last period and see that it was not marked by intellectual decline. On the contrary, he develops new theories of logic and knowledge as well as important aspects of his system which previously were only hinted at.

As regards the Catalan works, the situation is totally different. Far fewer works are preserved in the vernacular than in Latin and they have been dealt with more successfully in modern editions. After the twenty-one volumes of the Mallorcan edition, only some twenty works remained to be published, in a rather complex situation. These twenty works were divided into three categories: 1) work never before published, 2) work unpublished in Catalan (but previously published in Latin) and 3) work already published in Catalan but

with faulty criteria and, in view of the importance of Ramon Llull in the formation of literary Catalan, in need of new editions. The first category included works of the importance of the Començaments de filosofia and the Llibre de virtuts e de pecats; the second, the Lògica nova, the Llibre dels articles de la fe and the Art de fer e solre questions (in Latin, Lectura super Artem inventivam et Tabulam generalem); and the third, the Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis (badly edited by Jeroni Rosselló at the beginning of the century), Fèlix o Llibre de meravelles (Galmés's edition is excellent but he only had access to two of the sixteen Catalan manuscripts and was not able to compare it with the French, Spanish and Italian translations), and the Llibre de contemplació, of which more will be said later.

To remedy this situation, in 1985 the Patronat Ramon Llull was formed, made up of the Councillors for Culture of the three Autonomous Communities of Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearics, and an editorial committee was appointed, made up of Lola Badia, Father Miquel Batllori,

Germà Colon, Antoni Ferrando, Joan Miralles, Jaume Pérez, Gret Schib, Jordi Gayà, myself, the Rector of the Majoricensis Schola Lullistica, the Director of the Raimundus-Lullus-Institut and as secretary that of the Institut d'Estudis Baleàrics. This committee studied the problem at a series of meetings and finally drew up guidelines by which to simplify the task of publishing Llull's texts and bring them more into line with the criteria of other Romanists. The fruits of this labour was the first volume of the "Nova Edició de les Obres de Ramon Llull" (NEORL), edited by Fernando Domínguez. It contained the already mentioned Llibre de Virtuts e de pecats, of which the Latin version had already been released by the same schollar in volume XV of the ROL four years earlier. The second volume contained the Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis and was edited by myself. The third volume, foreseen for the end of this year, will contain three short works: the Llibre dels articles de la fe, edited by Antoni Joan Pons, the Llibre contra Anticrist, edited by Gret Schib, and the Què deu hom creure de



Déu, edited by Jordi Gayà. Later will come a volume of the Començaments de filosofia, edited by Fernando Domínguez, one of the Lògica nova, edited by myself, one of Blaquerna, edited by Albert Soler, and other volumes which will contain Començaments de medicina, the Tractat d'astronomia and the Llibre de guadra-

tura e triangulatura de cercle.

This will not be the end of the work. Apart from some other short works edited by Jeroni Rosselló, we still need to find editors with time enough to take on longer works, as, for example, the already mentioned Fèlix o Llibre de meravelles, and the Llibre de contemplació. The latter work presents one particularly serious difficulty, as it was well edited by Salvador Galmés in volumes II-VIII of the ORL, but without taking into account one of the principal manuscripts of Llull's work and possibly of the whole of Catalan literature, a copy made in Mallorca in 1280 by one Guillem Pagès and kept at the Ambrosian Library in Milan.

Apart from these projects, admirable editions continue to be published in Els Nostres Classics, the last of which was the Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria, edited by Albert Soler, who will shortly be offering us a new edition of the Llibre d'amic e Amat in the same collection. At the same time, in the Arxiu de textos Catalans Antics, Josep Perarnau has produced excellent critical editions of Llull's writings, for example Lo sisè seny lo qual apel.lam affatus and the Disputació de cinc savis.

The information on Lullian texts would be incomplete if we were only to speak of critical editions without mentioning the important work of dissemination that has taken place in recent decades. Perhaps the most important Catalan anthology to have been published was the Obres Essencials brought out by Editorial Selecta in two volumes between 1957 and 1961, which contained a large number of important writings, including works like the Arbre de ciència and the Llibre de contemplació (normally excluded from anthologies because of their length), with introductions and notes by the best specialists of the time. More restricted in scope, but containing works from Llull's Art are the Obres Selectes edited by myself and published by Editorial Moll in two volumes in 1989. I should also mention the Antologia filosòfica, a book edited by Father Miquel Batllori in 1984, and the Pagines pedagogiques edited by Lola Badia and Albert Soler in 1992. Also important are the excellent popular editions published by Edicions 62, which make key works of Llull's literary production accessible to the general public. Finally, for the Catalan reader not versed in Latin, Edicions Palestra de Fondarella have since 1993 been regularly publishing very useful translations of Llull's Latin works in a magazine called Affatus. Our century has witnessed extraordinary progress in the accessibility of Ramon Llull's works, something which has already begun to give fruits in research into aspects of his thought and literary production, which would not have been possible before. This availability of texts also allows a glimpse of other areas yet to be studied, which in my opinion are many and will offer great riches in the future.