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Bibliographic Introduction **Anthony Bonner**

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BIBLIOGRAPHIC INTRODUCTION

ANTHONY BONNER

It is arguable that, except possibly for Cervantes, no other figure of Hispanic culture has had the European impact of Ramon Llull. The degree to which his works were read, discussed, used and misused from the beginning of the 15th to the end of the 17th century is hard to believe for the modern scholar, and especially for the English-speaking reader whose only contact with Llull might have been through Martin Gardner's entertaining essay.¹ To make matters worse, Llull's system is so unusual, and the nature of his influence during those centuries so peculiar, that it is difficult at first sight not to agree with Martin Gardner and dismiss it all as a curious aberration. This indeed was the attitude of the Enlightenment, with its characteristic intolerance of aprioristic systems. And in fact it was precisely to defend him against such an attack that the Majorcan Cistercian abbot Antoni Pasqual wrote the work that has been the foundation of modern Llull scholarship.² The Romantic period, with the rise of Catalan nationalism, recovered Llull as a quixotic, impassioned genius, full of the kind of paradoxes that were both endearing and embarrassing to the tastes of the time, for on the one hand he was a mystic and literary figure of the first order, while his ventures into other fields such as logic, science and philosophy

¹ «The Ars Magna of Ramon Llull» in *Logic Machines and Diagrams*, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1982), pp. 1-27.

² Antoni Ramon Pasqual, *Vindiciae Lullianae*, 4 vols. (Avignon, 1778), written to defend Llull from the attacks of the monk and scholar, Benito Jerónimo Feijóo in his *Cartas eruditas*. See my *Selected Works*, p. 88 for more details and for the bibliography on this squabble. To call Pasqual the initiator of modern Llull scholarship is probably unfair to Ivo Salzinger, who edited the monumental *Raymundi Lulli Opera omnia*, 8 vols. (Mainz, 1721-1742; reprinted Frankfurt, 1965), and for whom see my *Selected Works*, pp. 85-6.

were plainly misguided and jejune. This was the Ramon Llull inherited and transmitted by Allison Peers, the first English-speaking scholar to translate his works³ (*Blanquerna*, 1926, the *Tree of Love*, 1926, the *Book of the Beasts*, 1927, and the *A Life of Ramón Llull*, 1927) and write on him (*Ramon Llull, a Biography*, 1929).⁴ His knowledge of Catalan was excellent, and he was a good stylist, but as Robert Pring-Mill has shown,⁵ he played too free and easy with the more systematic aspects of the basic system on which even Llull's literary or mystical works were based, thus transmitting more the feeling and charm of the works than their doctrinal underpinnings of Llull's specific message. But all the same, his translations (especially his later one of *Blanquerna*) are very readable, and still constitute a good introduction to Llull. His bigger biography, although based on Pasqual and carefully done, has by now

³ This is not strictly true. The *Book of the Order of Chivalry*, which in so many other ways had an influence in Spain and Europe unlike that of any other Lullian work, has an unusual early British bibliography. A translation by William Caxton, has been edited three times: by Caxton himself in 1484 (?), by William Morris in 1892 and by Alfred Byles in 1926. The introduction to this last edition, done for the Early English Text Society, should be consulted for further details, as well as the extant Mss. of an early Scottish translation.

⁴ *Blanquerna*, which incorporated (and improved) his earlier translations of the *Book of the Lover and the Beloved* (1923) and the *Art of Contemplation* (1925; not to be confused with the vast *Book of Contemplation*), was recently reprinted by Dedalus in England in conjunction with Hippocrene Books in New York. *A Life of Ramón Llull* is not a biography, but an English translation of the Catalan version of the *Vida coetània*, containing an appendix of the Latin version untranslated, all of which generated a certain amount of bibliographical confusion. *Ramon Llull, a Biography* was reprinted in 1982 by Brill in Leiden. His briefer *Fool of Love: the Life of Ramon Llull*, London, 1946 (reprinted 1973, Havertown, Pa.) is only interesting as an impassioned and poetic testimony of Peers' vision of Llull.

⁵ Robert D.F. Pring-Mill, «Entorn de la unitat del "Libre d'amich e amat"», *Estudis Romànics* 10 (1962), pp. 40-1.

been superseded not only in general outlook but in many important details of scholarship.⁶

Peers' attitude is even more to be lamented in view of the fact that by his time three first-rate studies taking seriously the philosophical side of Lull's thought had already appeared. They were O. Keicher, *Raymundus Lullus und seine Stellung zur arabischen Philosophie*;⁷ J.-H. Probst, *Caractère et origine des idées du Bienhereux Raymond Lulle* (Toulouse, 1912); and É. Longpré, «Lulle, Raymond (le Bienhereux)».⁸ These same years also saw the publication of a large portion of the monumental Catalan edition of Lull's works, mostly edited by Salvador Galmés.⁹

During the 1940's and 1950's two studies appeared which changed the face of Lull scholarship. One was a large two-volume work by the brothers Tomàs and Joaquim Carreras y Artau, which was the first to try to come to terms with the Art and set it where it belonged, at the center of Lull's production.¹⁰ The other was an article by Frances Yates,¹¹ which

⁶ See the strong (but absolutely justified) criticisms of Hillgarth on p. vi of the book mentioned in the next paragraph.

⁷ The title continues: *Mit einem Anhang, erhaltend die zum ersten Male veröffentlichte «Declaratio Raymundi per modum dialogi edita»*. It was published in «Beiträge zur Geschichte des Philosophie des Mittelalters» VII (Münster i. W., 1909).

⁸ Published in *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* IX, 1 (Paris, 1926), pp. cols. 1072-1141.

⁹ *Obras de Ramon Lull*, 21 vols. (Palma, 1906-1950).

¹⁰ *Historia de la filosofía española. Filosofía cristiana de los siglos XIII al XV*, (Madrid, 1939-43), the second volume of which contains an extraordinary and still indispensable history of Lullism.

¹¹ «The Art of Ramon Lull. An approach to it through Lull's theory of the elements», *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 17 (1954), pp. 115-173. Another study by Frances Yates, «Ramon Lull and John Scotus Erigena», *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 23 (1960), 1-44, has not had the same influence, and its importance is only beginning to appear as the result of studies Jordi Gayà is at present undertaking. These writings have been

tackled what had until then been considered Llull's most embarrassing divagations, namely his scientific theories, and principally those based on the four elements and on astronomy, and showed not only how they related to the rest of Llull's thought, but how in fact how they were essential to its analogical structure, at least during an important period of its development. This article was followed by the work of two other members of what has been called the group of English Lullists, Robert Pring-Mill and Jocelyn Hillgarth. The first wrote a series of articles working out Yates' original insight and applying it to aspects of Llull's thought with great intelligence and perspicacity.¹² In addition he applied this new approach to show how Llull's literary works relate to the rest of his production.¹³ The third «English Lullist» is Jocelyn Hillgarth, whose book on *Ramon Llull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1971) has by now become a classic. It is a

brought together in Frances Yates, *Lull & Bruno. Collected Essays, Vol I* (London, 1982), and translated into Catalan in Frances Yates, *Assaigs sobre Ramon Llull*, (Barcelona, 1985).

¹² His principal studies are: «The Analogical Structure of the Lullian Art», *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition. Essays presented to Richard Walzer on his seventieth birthday* (Oxford & Columbia, S. Carolina, 1972), pp. 315-326; «Grundzüge von Lulls Ars inveniendi veritatem», *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 43 (1961), pp. 239-266; *El microcosmos lul·lià* (Palma, 1961; perhaps the best introduction to Llull's thought that has appeared); «Ramón Llull y el número primitivo de las dignidades en el "Arte general"», *EL* 1 (1957), pp. 309-334; 2 (1958), pp. 129-156, (reprinted with corrections and additions, Oxford, 1963); «Ramon Llull y las tres potencias del alma», *EL* 12 (1968), pp. 101-130; and «The Trinitarian World Picture of Ramon Lull», *Romanistisch-es Jahrbuch* 7 (Hamburg, 1955-6), pp. 229-256.

¹³ «Entorn de la unitat del "Llibre d'amich e amat"», *Estudis Romànics* 10 (1962) and «Els "recontaments" de l'"Arbre exemplifical" de Ramon Llull: la transmutació de la ciència en literatura», *Actes del Tercer Col·loqui Internacional de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes* (Oxford, Dolphin, 1976), pp. 311-323. This aspect of his researches followed to a certain extent in the footsteps of Jordi Rubió i Balaguer (see below).

mine of historical scholarship on Llull's life and thought and on his Parisian followers, based on a first-hand knowledge of documents and manuscripts.

In the meantime Catalan scholarship had continued its Lullian tradition, especially in the writings of two men, Jordi Rubió i Balaguer and Miquel Batllori. The first initiated the attempt to integrate Lull's literary production and writings on rhetoric with the rest of his thought, while the second did much influential research on Llull's life and his journeys to, and influence in, Italy.¹⁴ And then both collaborated with the Carreras y Artau brothers and other scholars on an anthology which is still used by everybody in the field: *Ramon Llull, Obres essencials*, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1957-60). Finally, mention should be made of an important work on one of the basic mechanisms of Llull's thought: Jordi Gayà, *La teoría luliana de los correlativos. Historia de su formación conceptual* (Palma, 1979).

It was all these studies that I tried to sum up and interrelate in an anthology in which I did annotated translations of the *Contemporary Life* and of six works by Llull: *The Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men*, the *Ars Demonstrativa*, the *Ars Brevis*, *Felix or the Book of Wonders*, the *Principles of Medicine*, and the *Flowers of Love and Flowers of Intelligence*.¹⁵

¹⁴ Rubió's principal articles in the subject have been collected in *Ramon Llull i el lul·lisme*, with an introduction by Lola Badia (Montserrat, 1985), a series which is soon to publish a similar collection of Pring-Mill's writings. For Father Batllori there is no equivalent collection, so the reader should use the indices of Brummer and Salleras (see n. 21 below) to find out about his numerous Lullian writings. One of the best introductions to Llull is his *Ramon Llull en el món del seu temps*, «Episodis de la Història» (Barcelona, Dalmau, 1960), translated into Spanish as an introduction to his *Antología de Ramon Llull*, 2 vols. (Madrid, 1961).

¹⁵ *Selected Works of Ramon Llull* (1232-1316), 2 vols. (Princeton, N.J., 1985), recently translated into Catalan as *Obres selectes de Ramon Llull* (1232-1316), 2 vols., «Els Treballs i els Dies», 31-2 (Mallorca, Moll, 1989). Much

Since then I should say that the biggest single novelty in the field of Lullian studies has come from the continued publication of the Latin works by the Raimundus-Lullus-Institut of Freiburg.¹⁶ The initiator of the series, Friedrich Stegmüller, had the brilliant idea of starting with the last works and working forwards, since previous editors had always done the reverse, and it was therefore among the late works that there was the largest proportion of unpublished and therefore unknown material. The result has been not only the redressing of a serious imbalance in our outlook on Llull,¹⁷ but the bringing to light of important facets of his later activity, such as his activity as a preacher, or rather as a producer of model sermons for preachers.¹⁸

The two scholars who have probably contributed most to the furthering of Llull scholarship in the last years are Lola Badia and Michela Pereira. The first has redefined Llull's relationship to literature in a series of articles on Llull's views and use of literature, rhetoric and grammar.¹⁹ The second, after

of previous scholarship is summed up in the introductory sections on «Llull's Thought» and «Llull's Influence: the History of Lullism», and in a catalogue of works at the end of Vol. II, which brings up to date that found in the second volume of E.-W. Platzeck, *Raimund Lull, sein Leben, seine Werke, die Grundlagen seines Denkens (Prinzipienlehre)*, «Bibliotheca Franciscana» 5-6 (Rome & Düsseldorf, 1962-4).

¹⁶ In the series called *Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina* (abbreviated *ROL*), with eighteen volumes published so far (Vols. 1-5 Palma, 1959-67, and vols. 6 ff. in the Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, Turnhout, Belgium, 1975-90).

¹⁷ We can now see, for instance, that the vast majority of literary works in Catalan date from the earlier phases of Llull's production.

¹⁸ An activity which has been well studied by Fernando Domínguez in his long introduction to *ROL* XV (1987).

¹⁹ Her studies on these lines have been summed up and refashioned into a consistent whole in her innovative portion of the introductory book we did together, *Ramon Llull. Vida, pensament i obra literària*, «Les Naus d'Empúries. Pal

laying the groundwork in a series of articles, has published and excellent catalogue of pseudo-lullian alchemical works,²⁰ which will change many aspects of how we must envisage the history of Lullism.

Of collective volumes on Llull preceding this one, there are two the reader should know about. The first was an issue of *Randa*, with an especially important article by Ruiz Simon on Lullian cosmology and the concept of «mixture» which was at the root of the *Ars combinatoria*, and with an important bibliography by Marcel Salleras.²¹ The second was an issue of the *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* on «Raymond Lulle et le Pays d'Oc», with a particularly important article by Charles Lohr on Llull's innovative metaphysics.²²

As in any field of research, advances call forth new questions and open up new fields of investigation. With Llull I should say that having understood the centrality of the Art, the next task is to try not only to unravel its mechanisms, but to better understand their relationship to Llull's metaphysics, logic, cosmology and elementary theory. The other big challenge is to try to understand the history of Llull's influence

Major» 2 (Barcelona, Empúries, 1988), pp. 87-162, with a good bibliography on pp. 180-1.

²⁰ *The Alchemical Corpus Attributed to Raymond Lull*, «Warbug Institute Surveys and Texts» 18 (London, 1989), with a bibliography of her previous writings on p. 113.

²¹ *Randa* 19 (Barcelona, 1986). The article by Ruiz Simon is on pp. 69-99, and that by Salleras on pp. 153-198. The latter completes for the years 1974-1985 the previous bibliographies of E. Rogent & E. Duràn, *Bibliografia de les impressions lul·lianes*, (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1927) which took Lullian bibliography from its beginnings in 1480 to 1868, and of R. Brummer, *Bibliographia Lulliana: Ramon-Llull-Schriftum 1870-1973* (Hildesheim, Gerstenberg, 1976). For Lullian bibliography since then, the reader should consult the relevant section of *Estudios Lulianos* (Palma, 1957 ff.) which comes out twice a year.

²² *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 22 (Toulouse, Privat, 1987). The article by Lohr, entitled «Les fondements de la logique nouvelle de Raymond Lulle», is on pp. 233-248.

not as a series of separate strands, but to try to see it whole, which means trying to work out the various Renaissance admixtures of Lullian metaphysics, cosmology, elementary theory and combinatorics with pseudo-Lullian alchemy and cabbala, and to try to clarify the thread that led from him to Giordano Bruno and finally to Leibniz.²³ Yet another area which needs further investigation is that so brilliantly initiated by Hillgarth of Llull's interventions in the politics of his day.²⁴ But this is only a small portion of the topics which still need study regarding a writer and thinker whose position in his own day and in succeeding centuries is unlike that perhaps of any other.

ANTHONY BONNER

MAIORICENSIS SCHOLA LULLISTICA

²³ Individual aspects of the history of Renaissance Lullism have been admirably treated: that of his influence on Nicolas of Cusa by Eusebio Colomer in his *Nikolaus von Kues und Raimund Llull, aus Handschriften der Kueser Bibliothek*, «Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte der Philosophie» II (Berlin, Walter de Gruyter, 1961); and that of his influence on Renaissance metaphysics by Charles Lohr in his chapter on «Metaphysics» in the *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 537-638 (for Llull see pp. 539-57 and 586). Many other individual aspects still badly need research, such as for instance that of Llull's influence on Bruno, which Frances Yates hoped to study, but it is Llull's role in that general Renaissance mélange of magic, science, philosophy and theology that needs clarification.

²⁴ See Hillgarth's book mentioned above, as well as his article on «Raymond Lulle et l'utopie», *EL* 25 (1981-3), pp. 175-185. Also important in this connection is Fernando Domínguez's study, «“In civitate Pisa, in monasterio Sancti Dominici”: algunas observaciones sobre la estancia de Ramon Llull en Pisa (1307-1308)», *Traditio* 42 (1986), pp. 389-437.