

Imaging Ramon Llull's Words and Deeds in Thomas Le Myésier's *Breviculum*

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"The soul never thinks without a mental image"
Aristotle, *De anima*

The 13th century theologian Ramon Llull (1232-1316), who evocatively labeled himself as a "*christianus arabicus*,"¹ was geographically, intellectually and spiritually between two worlds, the Christian western world and the Islamic Arab world.² Llull's vast literary and philosophical work reflects, in a variety of ways, the cross-fertilization among the three religious cultures of the Iberian Peninsula. Although his works, however, dialogue with Arab-Muslim texts, and he is at the crossroads of different types of knowledge and influences, a close examination of a text containing his biography, the *Vita coetanea*, and the pictorial rendering of the latter by his disciple Thomas Le Myésier in the *Breviculum* will show not only that Llull's purported interculturality is subverted, conceptually and visually, but also that the material interplay between words and images coalesces to manifest not the anecdotal biography of an eccentric medieval Majorcan thinker but a consciously polemic secular hagiography.³

Llull was born, probably in 1232 or early 1233, in the island of Majorca, which had been wrested from the Muslims by the Aragonese king, Jaume I, in 1229, that is, only three years before Llull's birth. His father was a relatively wealthy citizen from Barcelona and, after the conquest of Mallorca, he received as war booty several properties in Palma de Mallorca and some lands in the island, which raised Llull's father social status considerably (Domínguez Reboiras 2016; Hillgarth 1971).⁴ In 1257 Ramon Llull married and had two children.⁵ Then, probably in 1263 when he was 30 years old, he experienced a vision which prompted him to leave his family and worldly ways and to convert to a life of service to God. At this time, Llull conceived the three evangelical goals that became his life-long passion: writing a book against the errors of the infidels, promoting the creation of schools to train Christian missionaries in Oriental languages and urging missions abroad among unbelievers.

After confirming his vow with several pilgrimages, Llull devoted nearly a decade to private study and meditation in Mallorca. He bought a Moorish slave to teach him Arabic and studied and read assiduously texts of Islamic and Christian theology and philosophy. During this period, he also received the inspiration for his famed "*Art*." During the next forty years, Llull traveled

¹ Llull does so in several of his works, particularly in his *Liber de fine*, I 2 (1305; ROL IX 256). See Charles H. Lohr for a thorough discussion of this moniker (1984).

² Llull's upbringing in the island of Mallorca, a commercial hub recently conquered by the Christians, exposed him to a multicultural society. See David Abulafia (1994 and 2002) and Djamil Aïssani for detailed descriptions of the commercial and political relationships between the Crown of Aragon and the Maghreb. Tomás Carreras y Artau labelled Llull's philosophy of religion as a frontier philosophy (p. 635) and Josep María Ruiz and Albert Soler (2008) assert that Llull's threefold conversionary plan "arose out of a particular social situation: that of Majorca, a frontierland, where the existence of three different cultures (Christian, Muslim and Jewish) was a tangible reality" (49).

³ I am obviously not the first scholar to pinpoint the hagiographical elements in Llull's text. Among many others, I refer the reader particularly to J.N. Hillgarth (1971), Pamela Beattie, Ryan Szpiech, and Antonio Cortijo-Ocaña's extensive introduction to his edition and translation of the *Vita coetanea* (2017) as well as his 2018 article.

⁴ *Códex català del llibre de repartiment de Mallorca*. Ed. R. Soto i Companys. Palma de Mallorca, 1984, 47.

⁵ For documentation regarding those years around 1257 see J. N. Hillgarth 2001 and 1991.

constantly, presenting his plans at the courts of Aragon, France and the papal Curia and making missionary trips to North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean. In late 1315 he traveled to Bugia (or Bougie) where he was imprisoned, and after his release he died in early 1316 probably while returning to Majorca.⁶

Most of the biographical information about Ramon Llull comes from the extraordinary document entitled *Vita coetanea* or *Vita Beati Raimundi Lulli*,⁷ which was recorded by a Carthusian monk from Vauvert, outside of Paris, probably at the end of the summer in 1311, and, after Llull's death, was included in an anthology called *Breviculum seu parvum Electorium* that was produced by his disciple Thomas le Myésier.⁸ Llull himself dictated the *Vita coetanea* to his monk friend.⁹ The first version was in Latin because the work was conceived as a way of presenting Ramon to the Church's general council, which was to be held that year in the city of Vienne.¹⁰ The author of the anthology, Thomas Le Myésier (d. 1336), a canon at Arras and physician to the French court, also produced an illustrated version of the *Vita coetanea* containing twelve magnificent miniatures preserved in a codex called the *Breviculum*, now at the Badische Landesbibliothek at Karlsruhe (HS St. Peter perg. 92).¹¹

Alison Stones argues that the illustrations commissioned by Le Myésier, who was the personal physician of Mahaut of Artois and her daughter, Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne-Artois (c. 1291-1330), can be stylistically connected to the medicine schools of Paris and Montpellier. Furthermore, she contends that several of the *Breviculum* debate miniatures recall similar pictorial models linked to, on one hand, the Italian medical *milieu* and, on the other, to preachers from the Midi region in France.¹²

⁶ For more detailed information about Ramon Llull's life see the various contributions by Lola Badia et al. (2016); Mark D. Jonhston (2019, 3-17), Anthony Bonner and Lola Badia (1988), Josep Maria Ruiz and Albert Soler (2008), Alexander Fidora and Josep E. Rubio (2008), and Fernando Domínguez-Reboiras (2016).

⁷ Although this text is mainly known by the title of *Vita coetanea*, Joan Santanach i Suñol (2018) has persuasively suggested that a more appropriate title would be *Vita magistri Raymundi*.

⁸ Anthony Bonner (1993, 10).

⁹ Scholars agree that Ramon Llull did not compose the text but only dictated it to a monk. Mario Ruffini, in particular, has analyzed the style of this anonymous copyist or composer and how it differs from Llull's. Both Fernando Domínguez Reboiras (1987) y Alvaro Santamaría (1989) believe that the composition of the work responds to Llull's interest in communicating his exemplary biographical accomplishments to the dignitaries congregated at the Council of Vienne (1311) in order to influence their decisions regarding the conversion of infidels. As Carla Compagno states (67-68), Pope Clement V wished the Council of Vienne to focus on three main issues, the Knights Templar, the reconquest of the Holy Land and Church reform, and Llull will write several texts, including a *Petitio in concilio generali*, expounding on his opinions on the three main subjects debated at the Council. Both the *Vita coetanea* and his petitions must have made an impression because the Council issued a number of bulls that were in part enacting some of Llull's proposals.

¹⁰ There is a Catalan translation of the *Vita* but it was composed much later, at the end of the 14th century, and introduced a number of changes from the original.

¹¹ Their first encounter took place during Llull's first visit to Paris in 1287-1289 and they met there again in 1309-1311. Ten years after Llull's death Le Myésier compiled the *Electorium magnum* (BNF lat. 15450), a compendium of many of Llull's writings, and he also wrote an abridged version of it, now lost, the *Electorium medium* as well as a very abridged version, the *Breviculum* or *Electorium parvum* (Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, St. Peter perg. 92). The latter work was addressed to the Queen of France and contains 12 miniatures. For more information about Le Myésier see Hillgarth (1998, 194), Vega (113), Cortijo-Ocaña (*Vita* 2017, 3-4), Stones (189, 194-5).

¹² Alison Stones (195). For more information about the miniatures' iconography and decorative traits, see Hillgarth (1971, 463-467). See also Charles Lohr (1988) for the sources of all passages in the *Breviculum* and Pere Villaba i Varneda for one of the most comprehensive studies of the *Vita* with translations to Catalan including all captions included in the *Breviculum*. The miniatures with all captions translated to several languages can be found in <http://orbita.bib.ub.es/llull/ms.asp> and <https://lullianarts.narpan.net/miniatures/index.HTM>.

There is already a vast bibliography devoted to analyzing these miniatures from the *Breviculum*.¹³ My objective here is to engage in a different reading with the aim of offering a few reflections that can further corroborate the intense link between, on one hand, the act of imagining and “imaging” Llull’s utterances materially on the folio, and on the other, the dissemination of the exemplary teachings of the master and visionary.¹⁴ My approach slightly departs from others insofar as my interest lies on aspects of the materiality of Ramon Llull’s words and example as “imaged” visually by a contemporary reader and admirer, Thomas Le Myésier. Thus, my focus is not solely on Llull’s theological ideas but, instead, on the way in which Le Myésier imagined and “imaged” them (that is, rendered them visually on the folio), and, more pointedly, on how such conscious iconographical strategy can be linked to debates about iconoclasm and the efficacy and power (be it religious or political) of images.

Therefore, although the text of the *Vita coetanea* has been mainly utilized as the source of Llull’s biographical information, I aim to illustrate that its aim is the opposite, namely, to eschew the literal domain, that which is individual, and concentrate instead on the allegorical. Such a critical stance will serve to underscore to what extent the words and images of this interesting document conjoin to manifest not a mere biography but the hagiographic trajectory of a militant missionary or *miles Christi* and ultimately, the representation of the Word of God incarnate. Llull’s *Vita* becomes thus, a tangible and visual homiletic *exemplum*. A close reading of the text, linking the illuminations and their narrative content to the medieval controversy about images reveals an added layer of readings and hermeneutic interpretation. Furthermore, this document evinces not only Llull’s interest in Provençal poetry but also, at a deeper level, Ramon’s debt to Provençal secular literature as a generic model, since his *Vita* clearly mirrors the widely known *vitae* of the troubadours which often accompanied poetic anthologies from the 11th to the 13th centuries.¹⁵

Raimundus (...) dum iuuenis adhuc in uanis cantilenis seu carminibus componendis et aliis lasciuia saeculi deditus esset nimis, sedebat nocte quadam iuxta lectum suum paratus ad dictandum et scribendum in suo uulgaris unam cantilenam de quadam domina quam tunc more fatuo diligebat. Dum igitur cantilenam praedictam inciperet scriber respiciens a dextris uidit Dominum Iesum Christum tanquam pendentem in cruce. Quo uiso timuit, et relictis quae habebat in minimis lectum suum ut dormiret intrauit (*Vita coetanea*, 74).¹⁶

¹³ I cannot do justice here to all the important contributions that analyze these miniatures from the *Breviculum* but I will mention a few of the more relevant for my project: Jordi Rubió i Balaguer, Ramon d’Alòs-Moner, Rolf Hasler, Gerhard Stamm (1989), Pamela Beattie, and Alison Stones. There are, however, many other contributions so I refer the interested reader to the University of Barcelona “Base de dades Ramon Llull” (<https://www.ub.edu/llulldb/>) which includes comprehensive bibliographies of all Llull’s output.

¹⁴ For the purposes of this study, I define “imagining” as a creative process that involves recalling past experiences and reshaping them into new ideas, concepts, and theories while “imaging” is the process of rendering imagined thoughts into visual and graphic images, that is, the ability to generate and transform mental representations with visual and/or spatial characteristics.

¹⁵ See M. de Riquer and J. Boutiere & H. Schutz for more detailed information about the *Vidas* in the troubadour tradition. Although some scholars insist that Ramon Llull’s narrative conversion in the *Vita coetanea* implies a rejection of courtly culture, Alexander W. Ibarz contends that Llull does not condemn courtly love or troubadour poetry *per se* and sees his literary praxis as a natural extension of troubadour ideas of literary composition (338-9).

¹⁶ All passages from the *Vita coetanea* come from Antonio Cortijo-Ocaña’s 2017 edition (John Benjamins Publishing) which includes the original text in Latin, the 14th century translation of the original text to Catalan as well as the editor’s own translations from Latin to English and Spanish. Cortijo-Ocaña’s edition also contains an excellent and extensive introduction to the *Vita* as well as a comprehensive bibliography and useful appendices.

[Ramon (...) while still a young man, was very given to composing vain songs and poems and to doing other dissolute and wordly things. One night he was sitting by his bed, all set to compose and write in his vulgar language a song about a lady of whom he was enamoured with a foolish love. And as he began to write this song, he looked to his right and saw [our] Lord Jesus Christ as if hanging on the cross. He remained in awe at this vision, and abandoning what he was doing, he climbed to bed and went to sleep] (*Vita coetanea*, 75).

This strange occurrence takes place on four more occasions, always as Ramon is engaged in composing his love song (5 in total as depicted in Figure 1).

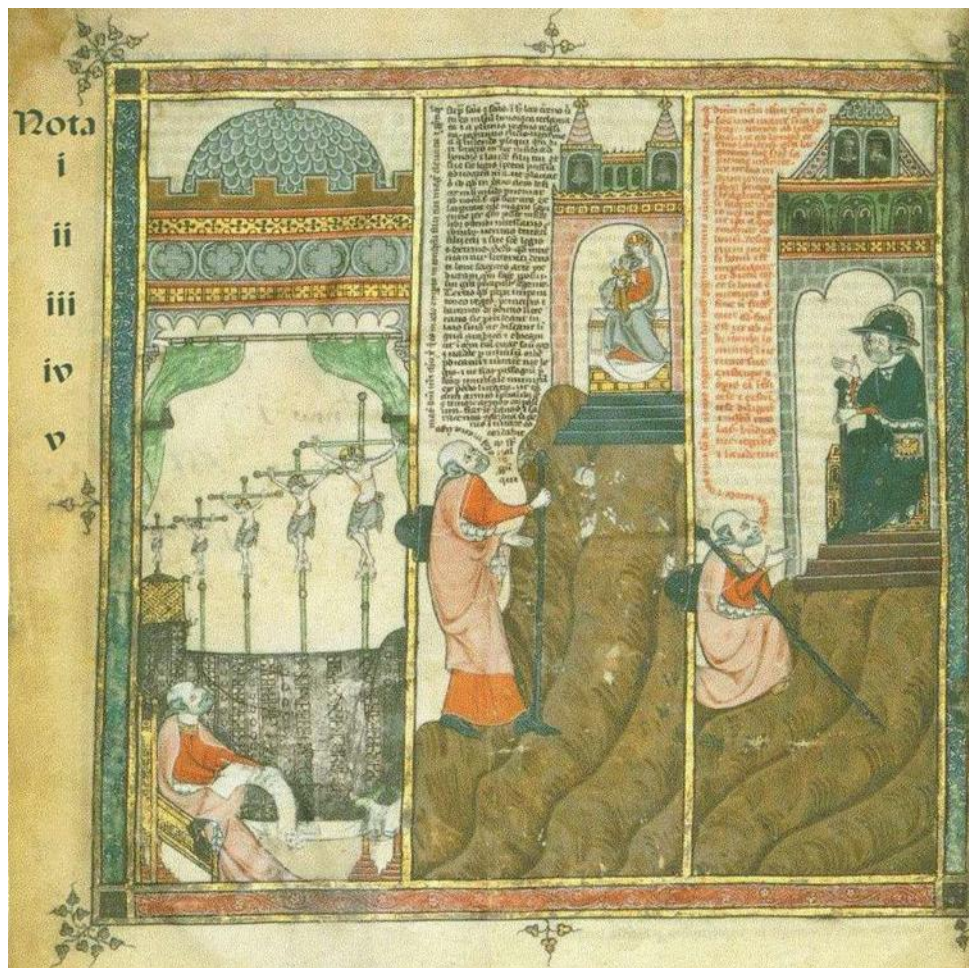


Figure 1. *Breviculum*. Plate I

Finally, Ramon decides to forfeit his poetic inclination and devote his life, instead, to the service of God. To do so he determines to carry out the task of converting the Saracens to the Christian faith:

Sed inter haec ad se reuersus intellexit ad tantum negotium nullam se habere scientiam, utpote qui nec etiam de grammatica aliquid, nisi forte minimum, didicisset. Unde mente consternatus multum coepit dolere (...) intrauit cor eius uehemens ac implens quoddam

dictamen mentis, quod ipse facturus esset postea unum librum, meliorem de mundo, contra errores infidelium (80).

[(H)e realized, that he lacked sufficient knowledge for this task, since he had learned but the basic rudiments of grammar. He felt greatly aggrieved when meditating about this sad thought (...) Suddenly (...) a vehement and sweeping idea entered his heart, that he should write a book afterwards, the best in the world, against the errors of unbelievers] (81).

As we see from the passages just quoted, it is the performative act of writing a love poem for a lady, very much in the Provençal guise, that will lead, first to the visions, and then to the writing of his “book, the best in the world,” which is, precisely, Lull’s life’s work, his mission or quest, his performance, manifested not only in his gargantuan written output but also on his indelible imprint and effect on the literary and theological works of other writers and thinkers, such as his disciple Thomas Le Myésier.

The *Breviculum seu parvum Electorium*’s miniatures go to great lengths to underscore this often. In the first illumination, for example, the narration of events is presented in three different vignettes illustrating the process of Ramon’s conversion. In the first vignette on the left, we see Ramon writing his mundane love poem on a piece of parchment while having the vision of the crucified Christ; the recurrent dream is illustrated through the use of five crucifixes symbolizing the number of visions. The vignettes to the right illustrate the initiation of Lull’s mission with his two pilgrimages: first to Rocamadour and then, to Santiago de Compostela.

In both cases, the scene is composed of three highly symbolical elements. First, the protagonist, Ramon, is depicted as a pilgrim and penitent venerating his newly found “idols” (the Virgin and a saint, Saint James). In both instances, Ramon is standing on top of a rock as if to emphasize the strength of his conviction and equate him to Saint Peter as the rock of the Church, and holding the staff of a penitent and wanderer, which also links him to the staff of Moses. Secondly, in these two vignettes we see the images of the Virgin with Child and of Saint James. These images or sculptures are positioned at a higher level than the pilgrim, atop three steps in a sort of little chapel, as is customary with images of cult in the Christian tradition. Thirdly, the rest of the space in these two left columns of the miniature is completely filled with words that seem to flow from Ramon’s mouth, unlike the first vignette, which dramatizes the act of writing but, surprisingly, has no words on it at all.

Thus, a highly deliberate difference is iconographically established between Ramon’s early dissolute and empty life and Ramon’s life after conversion, literally and figuratively full of words, thoughts, purpose and commitment. Ramon’s devout and active gazing of the three most emblematic, and also controversial, images of cult, the Passion of Christ and the images of the Virgin and the saints, will prompt his change of course. Clearly opposing the iconoclasts, Ramon’s experience substantiates the efficacy of images to persuade unbelievers. It is upon adoring these images that Ramon will become the wise thinker, philosopher and missionary capable of engaging in a reform of the Church and acquiring sacred traits himself, which will almost equate him to a saint and bring him closer to God. The contemplation of the images will lead Ramon to the same path of conversion to penitence and sanctity as that of Lull’s fictional character, Blaqueria (Mark Johnston 1990).¹⁷

¹⁷ As Jordi Gayà details in his 1987 article and Ruiz and Soler summarize (2008, 49) this conversion to penitence in the *Vita* alludes to the way of living of certain laymen who do not wish to enter the religious life but nonetheless wear a type of religious vestment and lead lives of piety, charity and penitence modeled after Saint Francis.

In the *Llibre d'Evast e Blaqueria* Ramon Llull relays the *exemplum* of a pilgrim that began to throw rocks at a three-dimensional crucifix inside a church. When the cardinal asks the pilgrim why he does such a thing the pilgrim responds:

(...) costuma era ca anrera que les gents adoraven ydoles, e en aquest temps en que son moltes gents qui adoren les ydoles, e los sserrayns e los jueus reprehen nosaltres, crestians com adoram les ymages cor ymages entayllada e embotida és pus prop en figura a ydola que ymage plana. A significar que les ymages planes són pus cuvinables que les enbutides, e presa en costuma com destroescha totes les ymages entallades qui són sobre l'altar semblants a ydoles (Ramon Llull, *Obres completes*, 429-430).

The pilgrim's remarks underscore the fact that even in the West there existed a heated debate about the legitimacy of icons and religious images.¹⁸ The Muslims and the Jews but also the followers of various Christian heresies accused mainstream Christians of idolatry for adoring images of Jesus, the Virgin Mary and the saints. From the early Middle Ages, however, the Church in the West had tolerated physical likenesses of God the Father, Christ, the Virgin Mary, the martyrs and the saints, primarily because it facilitated the cult of Christ among uneducated people, who were better able to understand the mystery of the Incarnation through the image. This conviction was thus expressed at the synod of Arras of 1025 held by Gerald of Cambrai: "the simplest people in the Church and the illiterate contemplate, through the traces of paint, what they cannot perceive via the Scriptures. When they venerate these images (species), it is Christ they are worshipping...The wooden trunk is not adored, but through this visible image, the inner spirit of the man is stimulated. The Passion is the death that Christ has suffered for us, engraved on the heart as if on parchment" (*Patrologia Latina* 142, 1304 s.).

Nevertheless, despite the different positions on the legitimacy of images most medieval thinkers adamantly argued that the word was always superior to the image. Thus, Rabanus Maurus affirms: "Writing is more valuable than the vain profile of an image, and gives the soul greater beauty than the false painting that inadequately shows the shapes of things" (*De institutione clericorum*, III, 18, *Patrologia Latina* 107, cols. 395-396).

Therefore, in the early Middle Ages the doctrine prevailed which, following Saint Augustine's semiotic theory, considered the image as a sign in which the relationship between the significant (the object) and the significance (the sacred prototype) depended on the arbitrary imposition of a title. By contrast, the principal theologian of the Byzantine iconodules (those who "serve images" or venerate them as opposed to iconoclasts), John Damascene, said that when the onlooker pronounced the name of the person represented in an icon, it meant that the icon ceased to be a mere material object and was filled with the grace of the subject represented (this position also being the one espoused by the Council of Nicaea but rejected by the Carolingians in the *Libri Carolini*, whose main writer was Theodulf of Orleans).¹⁹ The Second Council of Nicaea asserted: "Many of the sacred things available to us do not need a consecrating prayer, because their very name tells us they are holy and full of grace." In fact, the Nicene Fathers established a subtle distinction between worship (*latreia*), which was reserved for God, and veneration (*proskynesis*), of which images were worthy. Veneration offered images *transitus* towards their prototype,

¹⁸ For an excellent discussion and contextualization of this debate, see Alejandro García Avilés (2021).

¹⁹ *Libri Carolini*, IV, 16, ed. Ann Freeman, *Opus Caroli regis contra synodum*, Hanover 1998, p. 528-529; See as well Michael Camille (1985) and Liz James (2005).

according to an old formula of Basil of Caesaria, postulated by John Damascene and accepted at the Nicene Council.

The Byzantine iconodules developed a theory of the image predicated on the degree of participation in its respective prototype, headed by Christ himself, an image consubstantial with God. There is no doubt that the Incarnation was at the center of the discussions of the image during the Middle Ages and this is the one tenet which Muslims and Jews reject more vehemently, making Llull's attempts to unite the three religions futile, and the differences between Muslims and Christian irreconcilable. What follows is the Council of Nicaea formulation of the function of images:

Figurative representation (...) is in accordance with the evangelical proclamation and confirms the Incarnation of the word of God; a true incarnation not an imaginary one (...) This representation provides a benefit similar to the evangelical story, as things that allude reciprocally to one another undoubtedly bring with them the reflection of one another.²⁰

At the end of the 12th century, the work of John Damascene was translated into Latin and its impact would be immediate. In about 1225-1228 Philip, Chancellor of Notre Dame of Paris would take up the Damascene's conception of image and distinguish an ontological concept of the image (*in essendo*) from a different semiotic one (*in significando*). The image of Christ is not Christ, but it manifests him. Likewise, the images in the *Breviculum* are not Llull but manifest him.

Nevertheless, it would be the authority of Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas what would establish, albeit controversially, a new path in Western theology of the image, explicitly justifying the cult of images. The image must not be worshipped as a material object. Instead, the honor of the worship is transferred to the model. The old formula of the *transitus* is, thereby, legitimized by the leading theologians of the period. As Thomas Aquinas puts it:

The movement of the soul towards the image is a double one; partly towards the image itself as an object and partly towards the image as an image of something else (...) in the second case, the movement towards the image as an image of something else is identical to the movement towards the thing; (...) it follows from this that the same reverence is due to the image of Christ as to Christ himself. Just as Christ is worshipped as *latria*, his image must therefore be worshipped as *latria*.²¹

Thus, the image can no longer be thought of as a mere representation. Instead, like relics or the Eucharist, it is a manifestation of the presence of the sacred. As is clear from the miniature (Figure 1) discussed above both Ramon Llull intradiegetically within the frame of the miniatures and his extradiegetic follower and composer of the *Breviculum*, Thomas Le Myésier, concur with this assessment of the role and effectiveness of images. What is more, as Le Myésier and the illustrator place Ramon within the various landscapes of the Majorcan *peripeteia* the "imaged" or depicted Ramon *transits* into a sacred prototype and "becomes" his work, his message, his "Art."

The correspondence between the *Vita coetanea*'s written account and the images depicting Llull's life in the *Breviculum* was, in that regard, unique and remarkable and ran counter,

²⁰ Luigi Russo (1997, 147).

²¹ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologicae* III, q25,a3. *Dulia* is the veneration accorded to saints in the Roman Catholic and Eastern Churches, as opposed to *perdulia* and *latria*. *Latria* is the supreme worship, which may be offered to God only.

in fact, to the ideas of medieval thinkers as well as to modern definitions of the relationship between text and images in hagiographic texts. Leslie Ross, for example, affirms that in pictorial hagiographies “the written texts themselves still serve as a primary source of information about the saints. Pictures may indeed serve to instruct the faithful, but the explanation of the visually depicted scenes surely most often resides, at whatever degree of removal, in some form of written text or oral delivery of this material” (22). The originality of Le Myésier’s pictorial program, however, lies precisely in the fact that in the *Breviculum* he conjoins the written text and the images by drawing inside the picture frame the actual words uttered by Ramon and written on the text of the *Vita coetanea*. In this work, the written word does not have primacy over the images. They are truly and visibly fused.

The fourth illumination of the series (Figure 2) further underscores that Ramon’s message, and his *Art* have become sacred, sanctioned by God himself. The *Vita* tells us that after the death of Llull’s Muslim slave around 1274, Ramon ascended a mountain near his home (Puig de Randa), so that he could contemplate God in peace. One day, while he was raptly gazing upwards to the sky, God illuminated his mind and inspired him to write the book to refute the infidels’ errors. After thanking God, he descended from the mountain and proceeded in earnest to write such book, which Ramon first titled *Art major* (*Art abreujada d’atrobare veritat*, o *Art compendiosa inveniendi veritatem* in Latin) and later renamed *Art general* (*Ars generalis ultima*) (Bonner and Badia 1993, 20).



Figure 2. *Breviculum*. Plate IV

The illumination clearly dramatizes this process of enlightenment that Ramon receives from God with the image of a hand and an arm suspended from the air right above Ramon’s head, representing the moment Ramon is receiving a divinely infused grace. Likewise, the next vignette

in the same frame portrays the shepherd who is none other than an angel visiting Ramon when he decides to live in a hermitage in Randa after completing some of the books of his “*Art*”:

[U]enit ad eum quidam pastor ouium, adolescens, hilaris facie et uenusta, dicens sibi sub una hora tot et tanta bona de Deo et de caelestibus, de angelis scilicet et de aliis quot et quanta ut sibi uidebatur unus quicumque alius homo uix per duos dies integros fuisse locutus. Vidensque pastor ille libros Raimundi, deosculatus est eos flexis genibus lacrimis suis rigans eosdem. Dixitque Raimundo quod per illos libros multa bona Christi ecclesiae prouenirent (96).

Um jorn li vench hun pastor d’ouelles jove, ab la cara molt plasent e alegre, lo qual dins vna sola hora li recompta tanta singularitat de la essencia diuina e del cel, e singularmente de natura angélica, com hun gran home de sciencia em dos dies aguera puscut splicar. E vahlen el pastor los dits llibres que lo dit reuerend mestre hauia ordonats, besals ab los genolls en terra e ab lagremes dix que per aquells sa sagueria molt de be em lasglesia de Deu.²²

The shepherd’s emotional blessing and oracular praise confers *auctoritas* to Llull’s *magnum opus* and operates as a “prophetic authorization of Llull’s *Art* as divinely inspired,” (Szpiech 246) despite the fact that it is not based on textual authorities.²³ Therefore, Llull is not represented as the author of the *Art* but the receiver of a divinely inspired grace. Nevertheless, this does not serve to belittle him, on the contrary, his use of what Lola Badia describes as self-legitimation procedures commonly linked to saints, mystics and prophets (1997, 13) has the effect of associating Llull to other crucial biblical and religious figures who have benefited from such grace: Moses, Jesus, Mohammed. Llull has become a prophet and, as such, he incarnates the word of God. As Bonner and Badia maintain “per a Llull, ell depenia de l’*Art* i estava al seu servei, en el sentit que la seva tasca era modelar, explicar i divulgar aquest do diví” (1993, 22).

At this juncture in the philosopher’s biography the reader and the viewer can easily equate the *Vita coetanea* and the *Breviculum*’s image-text to a conventional hagiographic *vita* where the saint begins his journey as a mundane sinner, undergoes several trials and temptations and perhaps martyrdom, participates in a pilgrimage, and, finally, as Ryan Szpiech notes, “receives some kind of divine mandate, often through a conversionary ‘peripety’ or reversal, authorizing his future career and mission as a saint” (246).

Ramon Llull is an example, as Michela Pereira suggests, of a lay author who writes vernacular philosophy addressed to a lay audience (21-44). According to Harvey Hames (2003, 43-56), the originality of Ramon Llull lies in his search of a universal or common tongue which would be susceptible of affecting every reader, no matter their level of education or social standing.²⁴ This conceptualization is germane to that effected by Bernard McGinn in his formulation of a “vernacular theology,” in which “vernacular” does not solely allude to the use by a theologian of a vernacular language but refers also to the intended audience of a theological text, the widening of its modes of dissemination and their preference for the Agustinian maxim of “*credo ut intelligam*” (I believe to understand). According to McGinn, medieval theology

²²This passage is taken from the 14th century Catalan translation (Ramon Llull, *Vita coetanea*, 96).

²³ Harvey Hames (1994) has interpreted the scene as referring to a Kabbalistic authorization by prophetic visitation.

²⁴ See also Lola Badia et al. *Ramon Llull as a Vernacular Writer*, 29-30.

encompasses three separate spheres: monastic theology, scholastic theology and vernacular theology (12).

Ramon Llull and his work can clearly be ascribed to the latter domain, which emerged in the 12th century and developed more fully through the 13th and the 14th centuries. In his inexhaustible search for this ideal common tongue or language of expression to convey his exemplary message Ramon Llull and his disciple Thomas Le Myésier forged a novel way of preaching which imbricated Llull's life, his words and a visual rendering of both to stimulate in his readers and listeners the same conversion and understanding that he himself had experienced.

Despite the fact that imagination and its power were viewed with distrust in the Middle Ages, in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries theories of cognition invested the faculty of imagination with renewed authority. Drawing from Aristotelian philosophy of the soul and on Arabic commentaries on it, medieval philosophy came to regard imagination as centrally positioned "in every act of knowledge acquisition" (Michelle Karnes, 3). In Aristotelian thought, knowledge originates with the senses and it is the imagination what makes that sensorial knowledge available to the intellect. Thus, imagination was the bridge linking sense and reason and its most important cognitive task was the discovery of truth (4). Aristotle distills such epistemological dynamic in his maxim quoted above: "The soul never thinks without a mental image" from his treatise *On the Soul* (III, 176-177).

The work of Ramon Llull and his disciple's explication of it in his pictorial *Breviculum*, as we will see, is very clearly informed by Aristotle (and his commentator, Avicenna)'s positive assessment of imagination as a cognitive tool as well as the idea that images (tangible pictorial artifacts as well as mental images) can lead readers and viewers to the ascending ladder of understanding and the highest level of knowledge.²⁵

In his introduction to the *Breviculum* entitled *Introductio in Artem Raimundo* Thomas Le Myésier explicitly summarizes and makes intelligible Llull's ideas about how to attain knowledge "through the virtue of the imagination elevated above the senses" (*Vita coetanea*, 186) As Le Myésier explains "where sensual knowledge fails, the imagination takes over by reaching beyond the senses, and when the imagination fails, the intellect takes over and reaches above the imagination by attaining truths through rational discourse"(189) and goes on to illustrate this hierarchical ordering using Llull's mirror analogies and descriptions of the ascent and descent of the spheres from the ninth heaven (191-192). In Llull's universe God set a gradual ascending order among creatures, whereby they can attain the end of perfection and the Godhead.

Thus, images of ladders and of the allegorical ascent of the mind such as the one depicted in Figure 3 (Plate V) are pervasive in Ramon Llull's works and, frequently, such references are linked, explicitly or implicitly, to Sufi theology or Arabic texts. In the novel *Llibre d'Evast e Blaqueria* (1283), for instance, Ramon Llull narrates the vital trajectory of a husband and wife, Evast and Aloma, who wish to abandon the world and devote their life to God, and of their son, Blaqueria, who will fulfill his parents' plan, will eventually achieve saintly qualities and even

²⁵ In addition to his many contributions to astronomy, physics, chemistry, and music, Ibn Sina (or Avicenna as he was known in the West), was one of the most noted commentators of Aristotle (together with Al-Ghazali and Averroes). One of Ibn Sina's revisions of some of Aristotle's tenets had to do with the number of senses humans have. In contrast to Aristotle's five external senses and three internal senses (common sense, imagination, memory) Ibn Sina proposed seven hierarchical internal senses (in ascending order: common sense, retentive imagination, composite animal imagination, composite human imagination, estimative power, the ability to remember outcomes of lower processes, the ability to use that information). His major departure from Aristotle, however, involved the active intellect: for Aristotle, the active intellect served to comprehend universal principles beyond the scope of empirical observation; for Ibn Sina, instead, the active intellect was used to understand God, the highest level of knowledge.

become a Pope. In this book, Llull uses the pretext of the narrative plot to expound on the theory of a ladder of beings (commonly used in Christian, Jewish, and Muslim cultures). Ramon Llull's fictional narrative productively employs this ladder trope and repeatedly displays, with a variety of strategies, the consequences of doing good and doing evil. Figure 3 depicts the Tower of Faith and Eternal Truth, love and science where the three powers of the soul (intellect, memory and will) hang by ropes held by the hand of God. All three are represented as human figures, but Intellect is larger, in a higher location, and endowed with angel's wings. This rope represents the rational soul that firmly believes in the true faith and therefore transcends the subject. The seven virtues are pictured as well as human figures in the lower part of the tower while the seven vices (tellingly depicted as mere labels) are located much lower, beneath the tower (Bonner 2007, 84; Cortijo-Ocaña 2017, 32).



Figure 3. *Breviculum*. Plate V. Ascending the Tower of Faith

The *Llibre de contemplació en Déu* provides as well an exhaustive account of this epistemological method based on an ascent through various stages from sensual perception to the knowledge of intellectual things, as formulated in the title of Chapter 169: “Com hom apercep amb les coses sensuais quals coses són les coses intel.lectuals”(483) [How man perceives through sensual things what intellectual things are]. In this chapter Ramon Llull equates the empirical knowledge achieved through the senses both to a mirror and to a ladder through which we can ascend to intellectual and spiritual understanding:

Car enaixí com lo mirall representa e demostra la figura o figures estants en la sua presència, enaixí les coses sensuais són escala e demostració per les quals puja hom a haver

coneixença de les coses intel·lectuals...Com los senys corporals, Senyer, qui són coses sensuais usen de lur ofici, adoncs per l'usament que hom fa d'elles en les coses sensuais, se muda hom a entendre e a coneixer en les coses intel·lectuals (*Llibre de contemplació en Déu*, 483).²⁶

In the *Llibre d'amic e amat* (inserted within the *Llibre d'Evast e Blaquerna*) Blaquerna fondly recalls the words of love uttered by Muslim Sufis which contribute to the elevation of the mind and an increase in devotion:

Dementre considerava en esta manera Blanquerna el remembra una vegada com era apostolic li recontà .i. sserray que los sserrayns an alguns homens religiosos e entre los altres e aquells qui son mes preats entre ells son unes gents qui han nom sufies. E aquells han paraules d'amor e exemplis abreyuats e qui donen a home gran devoció (4-5).

[While Blaquerna was meditating in this manner he remembered a time when a Muslim told him that Muslims have religious men and that among them the most highly esteemed above all are those who are named sufis. And these suffis use words of love and brief examples which incline men to great devotion] (my translation)

Blaquerna's recollections about the Sufis and their methods to elevate "lenteniment" (the mind or understanding), and to elevate the will towards devotion will prompt him to compose a book within a book, the *Libre d'amich e amat*: "preposa fer lo libre segons la manera damunt dita" [proposed to make a book in this manner] (5).

Furthermore, in the *Libre de contemplació en Déu*, the narrator claims to have been inspired by the "esposició moral la qual és apellada en lengua aràbica 'rams'" [moral exposition which is called *rams* in the Arabic language] (II, 1181). It is precisely in this same paragraph where Llull expounds on the previously discussed Aristotelian understanding of the senses and the intellect and provides a description which echoes the Greek philosopher. Llull declares that this type of moral exposition akin to the *rams* is equivalent to an allegorical or anagogical exposition and further states that "la qual exposició és composta de sensualitat e entel·lectuïtat per ço car per la sensualitat se forma l'enteniment a entendre la moralitat per tal que puig entendre la simple entel·lectuïtat de son Déus gloriós" [which exposition is composed of sensuality and intellect because it is through the senses that the intellect is capable of comprehending the moral teaching necessary to understand the simple intellectuality of glorious God] (II, 1181). Moreover, in *Cent noms de Déu* (ca. 1292) Llull not only acknowledges his familiarity with the Qu'ran when he affirms that "los sarraïns dien que en l'Alcorà són noranta e nou noms de Déu, e qui sabia lo centè sabia totes coses" [the Saracens state that in the Qu'ran there are ninety-nine names of God, and whoever knows the name that makes number one hundred knows everything] but even purports to have improved upon it.

Llull's own reference to alleged Sufi and Arabic models have attracted considerable attention among scholars but, as Dominique Urvoy (326) has amply demonstrated, Islamic influence on Llull's thought is generally more discernible implicitly than explicitly. Llull claims in his works that he has read a number of texts written in Arabic, specifically Al-Ghazali's *Maqasid al-Falasifa*, the *Apologia al-Kindi* and *Contrarietas alfolica* (the latter two, although written in

²⁶ In this same section, however, Llull also cautions us about the perils of distortion and confusion that can stem from the senses when sensual things are 'desordenades' like a crooked mirror.

Arabic, are Christian apologetic texts). Scholars of Islam have detected other influences from Arabic texts not mentioned by Llull. Charles Lohr, for example, has argued that Llull's *Art* was inspired by Ibn Sabin's *Budd al-arif*. Llull's borrowings from Islamic texts have also been examined by Julián Ribera, Miguel Asín Palacios, Anthony Bonner, Miguel Cruz Hernández, Anna Akasoy, Akasoy and Fidora, Thomas Burman, José Bellver and Robert Simon. Nicolau Roser, on the other hand, argues that the absence of references to Llull and his works in Muslim documentary sources indicates that Llull had very little contact with Muslim intellectuals and that he probably was not very familiar with Arabic texts, if at all.

In the *Vita coetanea* and the *Breviculum* there are several instances where Llull's debt to Islamic thought or culture is acknowledged, pictured, praised and critiqued and, ultimately, subverted. Plates III, IX and X of the *Breviculum* reenact Ramon Llull's encounters and interaction with Muslims and, despite the fact that Llull is often credited with possessing a very respectful outlook regarding his Muslim associates or opponents, the pictorial illuminations reveal exchanges that are fraught with tensions and challenges.

Plate III (Figure 3) constitutes an iconographically interesting but troubling narrative. The miniature is divided in three vertical partitions, each of them illustrating one of the stages of Ramon Llull's relationship with the Muslim slave that he purchased for the purpose of learning the Arabic language so that he could read the Qu'ran and learn about the Muslim faith. On the left column Ramon and the slave appear to be relaxedly talking about the book set on the table between them, but, in fact, they are engaged on a bitter religious disputation. The words depicted above Ramon's head assert that the Qu'ran admits that Jesus is the son of God and that Mary is a virgin and saint. Furthermore, Ramon asks the Muslim slave why he is blaspheming about Christ but not about Mohammed, who had promised to his followers that in the afterlife they would enjoy plentiful food and drink, coitus with queens and virgins and "many more repugnant and dishonest things."

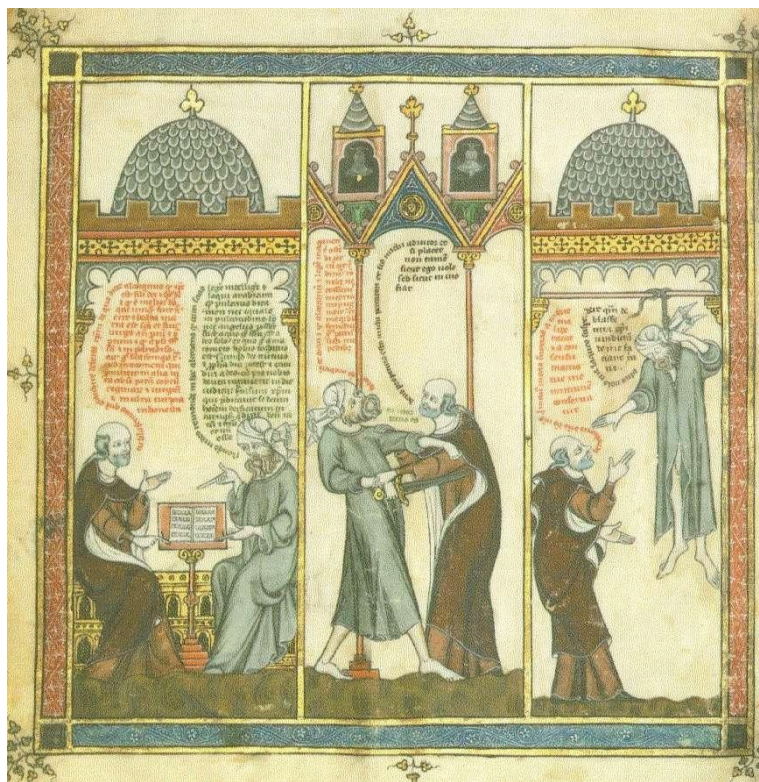


Figure 3. *Breviculum*. Plate III. Ramon Llull and his Muslim slave

The Muslim slave, in turn, replies that now that Ramon can read, understand and speak the Arabic language he must see that it is false that Christ is God made flesh and that God cannot be one and three at the same time. After their heated verbal exchange, the slave decides to kill Ramon and raises a sword to him exclaiming: “Tu mortuus es” [You are dead!]. In the central column we read and hear the slave’s anguished words relaying that he now regrets having taught Arabic to his master, chastises Ramon for attempting to refute the Qu’ran with his “raons necessaries” (necessary reasons) and ends stating that he himself, on the other hand, has never blasphemed against Christ and all he has ever gotten from Ramon are beatings and kicks.

Ramon, however, repels the attack and orders the slave not to be killed, but to be put in prison instead. Perplexed by the events, Ramon retreats to an abbey for three days to meditate about what to do about it. Upon his return, he finds out the slave has hanged himself in his prison cell. The written text very eloquently contrasts Ramon’s *maestus* (sadness, sorrow) when he returns from the abbey to his subsequent *laetus*, (elation or state of happiness) upon discovering that God has kept Ramon’s hands innocent of the death of the slave.

A comparison between the Muslim slave’s despairing words on the *vellum* of the *Breviculum*’s miniature and Ramon’s initial perplexed reaction, profusely expressed in the narration of the episode (*perplexvs, perplexitate remanente, a perplexitate*), revealingly sabotages Ramon Llull’s alleged deference for his Muslim counterparts, calls attention to his state of *aporia* and foreshadows, in turn, modern readers’ perplexity to Ramon’s egocentric lack of empathy toward his, until then, collaborator and teacher.

As for the other miniatures which illustrate Ramon Llull’s actual encounters with Muslims, Plates IX and X in the *Breviculum* (Figures 4 and 5 here) depict Ramon Llull’s two expeditions to the North of Africa, the first one to the city of Tunis (modern Tunisia) and the second one to Bugia (currently Béjaïa, in Algeria). In the first instance, Ramon offers to dispute about religion with Muslim sages and promises that if they manage to convince him then he will convert to Islam. The *Vita coaetanea* narrates that when Ramon was close to persuading the Muslims of the truthfulness of the Christian faith, a Saracen denounced him to the King of Tunis and Ramon was imprisoned, and almost executed, for subverting the Muslim religion. The king of Tunis finally decided to release him from prison but expelled him from the kingdom and, even after he left the city, the animosity against him was such that the populace almost lapidated another Christian who looked like Ramon Llull. The second missionary trip (illustrated in Plate X) to Muslim lands takes him to Bugia in 1307 where Llull begins his preaching by loudly proclaiming in Arabic: “Lex christianorum est uera, sancta et Deo accepta; lex autem Saracenorum falsa et erronea. Et hoc sum paratus probare” [The law of the Christians is true, holy and acceptable to God, [and] the law of the Saracens is false and stands in error, and this I am prepared to prove” (*Vita coaetanea*, 141)

The citizens of Bugia, not surprisingly, reacted to his speech by violently assaulting and throwing stones at him. The illumination very effectively and dramatically pictures the violence of the attack, with big stones flying around Ramon’s head, several Muslims brandishing menacing clubs, arms grabbing and enveloping Ramon, and four different depictions of his body indicating the different stages of manhandling he suffered (one of which has him laying on the ground, while the furious crowd unceremoniously shoves him and steps on him). Consequently, by his own admission in the *Vita coaetanea*, Ramon Llull’s forays into Muslim lands to put in practice his missionizing methods were thoroughly unsuccessful, despite his vehement attempts to learn about Muslims and their beliefs. For Christian audiences, however, these events not only reinforce their

prejudices against the ostensible savagery and obstinacy of Muslims but introduce in Ramon Llull's biography the necessary element of the martyrdom of the hero.

The *Vita coetanea* stands, thus, as a cogently articulated apology and vindication of the life, thought, and accomplishments of Ramon. From the time of his conversion to that of his journey to the Council of Vienne the dynamic narration as well as its imaged complement in the *Breviculum* present Llull "as a being guided at all moments by a higher will" (Charles Lohr, Theodor Pindl and Walburga Büchel 1990, 34) and it dramatizes on the parchment a sort of *Bildungsroman* which transforms the secular biography of the aristocratic and idle young Ramon into a hagiographical account or, in Thomas J. Heffernan's terms, a "sacred biography" whose primary social function is "to teach (*docere*) the truth of the faith through the principle of individual example"(19).



Figure 4. *Breviculum*. Plate IX. Ramon Llull in Tunis

All of Ramon Llull's efforts, his travels and pilgrimages, his proselytizing and diplomatic exchanges in Montpellier, Paris and Rome, and the missionary journeys figuratively and pictorially traverse the parchment, more or less chronologically, although they seem to ultimately converge on the culminating moment of the text, namely the discourse spoken by Ramon before the King of

Tunis, in 1293 (pictured in Figure 4) which focuses on persuading the king about the veracity and superiority of Christianity by means of the Art (also dramatized in Llull's visit to Bugia in Figure 5).



Figure 5. *Breviculus*. Plate X. Ramon Llull's visit to Bugia

As Dominique de Courcelles suggests in her study *La parole risqué de Raymond Llull: entre le judaïsme, le christianisme et l'Islam* the *Vita coetanea* is a text which invites the reader to reflect about the processes of textual composition jointly with the author. The reader must interpret or open up the text (82). This dynamic between the text and the reader mirrors the dialogue of Llull with Jews and Muslims. This type of self-reflectivity, this constant reference to the composition of the texts themselves will repeat itself in many of Llull's works and will invariably bring attention to the fact that the written text is one of the most persuasive tools for conversion. For example, in chapter 48 of the *Libre d'Evast e Blaquerna*, after Blaquerna convinces the emperor to protect and praise Valor he affirms:

e tot l'emperi vull ordenar e comanar a homens qui amen Valor, per ço que satisfaga a Valor, segons he promes. D'aquest ordenament vull fer un llibre, e aquest joglar e molts

d'altre vull trametre per lo mon, per ço que recompten Valor en les corts on es plasmada (125).

Likewise, in the last chapter Blaquerna gives the *Llibre d'Evast e Blanquerna* to a jongleur o troubadour:

e portats aquests romanç *d'Evast e Blaquerna*, en lo qual son significades les raons per les quals foren atrobats los començaments damunt dits...Lo joglar...l·ligia en les places e en les corts e en los monestirs lo romanç *d'Evast e Blaquerna* (352).

Lastly, it is worth recalling the *Libre d'Amic e Amat*, which is inserted within the *Llibre d'Evast e Blaquerna* and it is actually written by the fictional character, Blaquerna (237). This same emphasis on the importance of composition and textual exegesis as well as dissemination and oral delivery of the intent and Word of God through Llull's divinely inspired "Art" is graphically and very explicitly displayed in the pictorial program of the *Breviculum seu parvum Electorium* as designed by Thomas le Myésier (and executed by the anonymous illuminator).²⁷

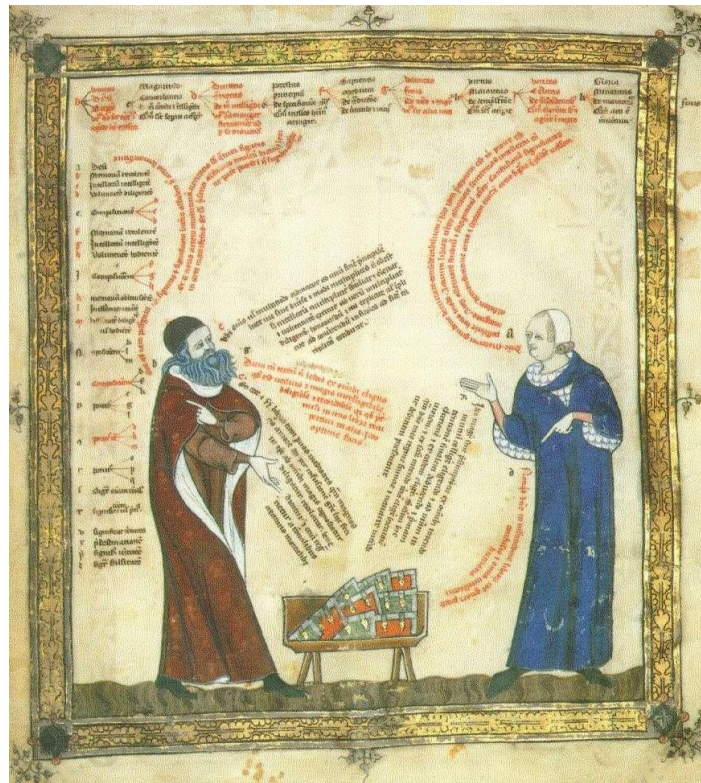


Figure 6. *Breviculum*. Plate XI

²⁷Gerhard Stamm edited a facsimile edition of this manuscript: *Raimundus Lullus - Thomas Le Myésier, Electorium Parvum Seu Breviculum: Faksimile Der Handschrift St. Peter Perg. 92 Der Badischen Landesbibliothek Karlsruhe*. 1988. There is, however, a more recent one (2020) edited by Domínguez-Reboiras and Vega Esquerra: *Ramon Llull Electorium Parvum seu Breviculum, Facsimile edition of Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Codex St. Peter perg. 92*. Eds. by Fernando Domínguez Reboiras and Amador Vega Esquerra. Madrid: Millennium Liber, 2020.

In the last two illuminations (Figures 6 and 7) of the *Breviculum* this process of bestowal of grace on Ramon Llull is again reenacted, but this time between two different characters: here it is Ramon who transfers the *Art*, “el millor llibre del món” (the best book in the world) to his disciple Thomas Le Myésier by donating his works to him, while in the last miniature Thomas offers in turn his *Electorium*, which is a compendium of his master Ramon’s life and works (155 of them, no less) to his patron, the queen of France, Jeanne de Bourgogne-Artois, wife of King Phillippe V.²⁸

The fact that the program of miniatures closes with such an impressive dedication-page portraying the presentation of three manuscripts by Thomas Le Myésier to Jeanne de Bourgogne (Figure 7) is quite remarkable, particularly when one notices that only women are portrayed as recipients in the scene, right behind the Queen.

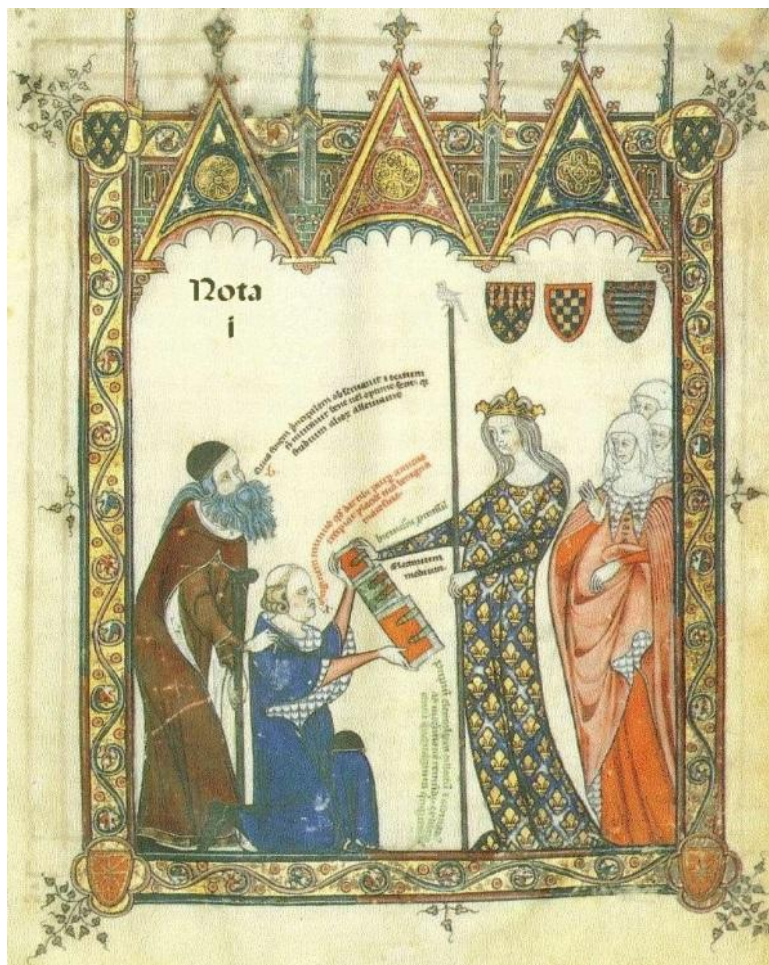


Figure 7. *Breviculum*. Plate XII

²⁸ Jeanne II, Countess of Burgundy (15 January 1292 - 21 January 1330), also known as Jeanne de Bourgogne, Jeanne, Comtesse de Bourgogne and Joan, Countess Palatine of Burgundy, was the eldest daughter of Otto IV, Count of Burgundy and his wife Mahaut, Countess of Artois. She was the heir to both the county of Bourgogne and the county of Artois and therefore, one of the most important noblewomen of her times. She was married to Philippe, Count of Poitiers, the second son of King Philip IV, in 1307, who later became king of France as Philippe V. Jeanne bore him at least seven children, of whom only four daughters survived.

At the end of his physical life and his literary *Vita coetanea*, Ramon Llull, who had tirelessly communicated, appealed and tried to persuade innumerable kings and popes in all the courts in Europe, ends up offering his life's work to a group of women. This illumination stands in opposition, as in a mirror image, to an earlier one (Figure 8, Plate VIII) where Ramon is depicted addressing his words to two different groups, the Roman curia and a royal court but, as he well knows now (as he recites his life to the Carthusian monk at Vauvert), with very little effect.

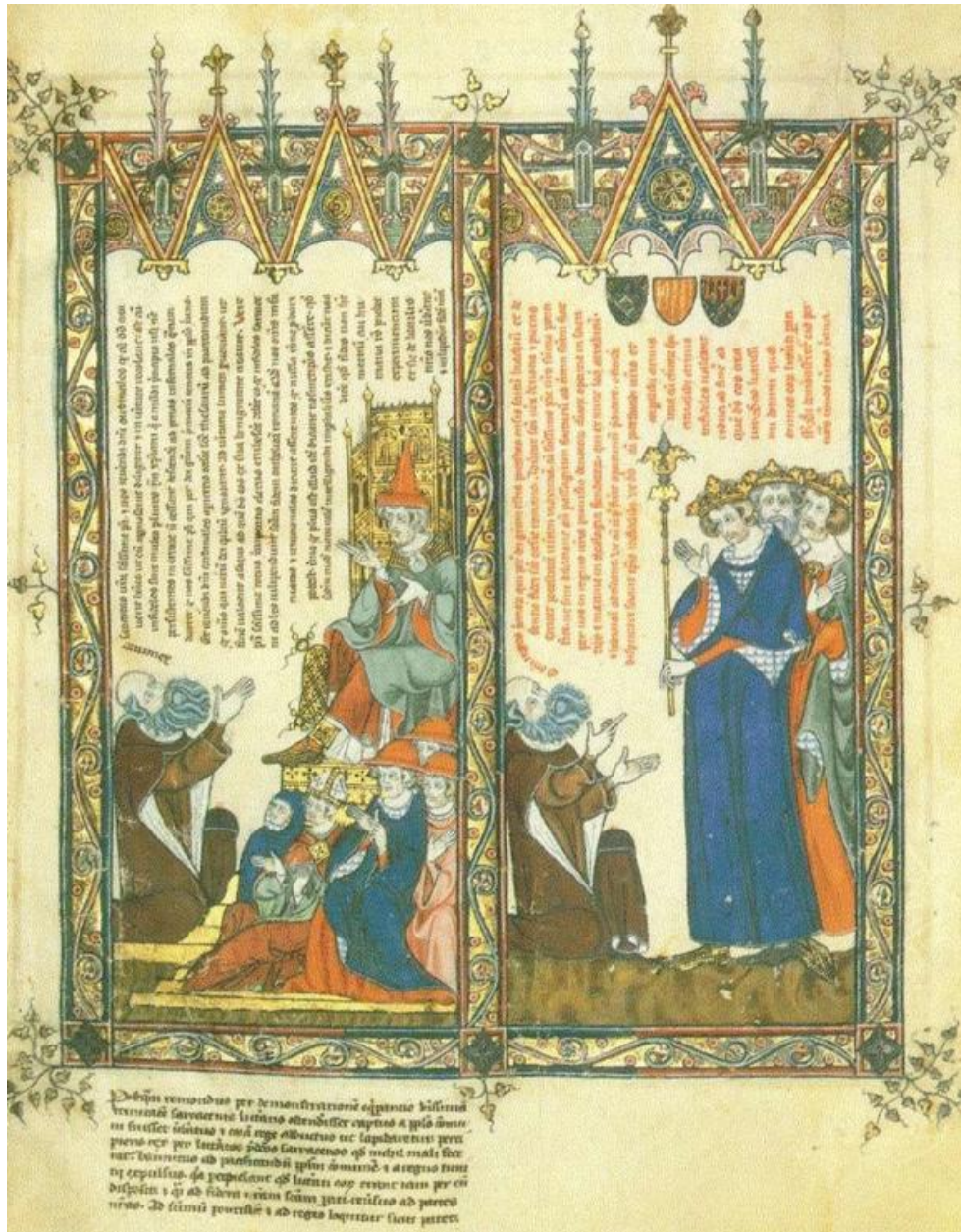


Figure 8. *Breviculum*, Plate VIII

Returning then to Le Myésier's work, in the last miniature of the series (Figure 7), it is Ramon (not God or an angel) who, anachronistically of course, since he was dead by then, towers behind his disciple's back touching his shoulder and utters the words which validate the disciple's work: "As he was true to the prime intention and did not alter the text, he did excellent good work

in making the study easier for others.” As a matter of fact, in the previous miniature (Figure 6) the artist depicts Llull surrounded by his uttered and incessant words detailing many of his postulates while he points at his books by his feet. Facing him, by contrast, his disciple expresses, perhaps a bit impertinently, his desire to curtail the master’s prolixity:

Master, modern people like to keep things brief; therefore, I have prepared to make, as much as possible, a good abridgement of the content of your books while keeping the sense intact, so as to alleviate the students’ eye fatigue, and the confusing meaning of the alphabet of the Demonstrative Art and its sixteen figures that confuse the intellect. Therefore, Master, I intend to gather all into one selection in keeping with your final intention, and from this I intend to make another, more concise selection, and then from the second I intend to select a third, even more abridged selection, which I intend to duly present to her majesty, the Queen of France and Navarre.²⁹

Thus, Thomas Le Myésier, literally and figuratively, by synthesizing Llull’s *Art* in his compendium and rendering it more visible pictorially in the illuminations of the *Breviculum* has accomplished his master’s desired objective of making religious doctrine more understandable to all and propitiating the conversion of the infidels.

The last image in the *Breviculum* thus enacts words in two senses: Ramon’s words materially and sensorially flow on the vellum of the illumination and the written words of Llull, distilled and recreated by Thomas le Myésier in the *Electorium* are flowing in the intradiegetic parchment inside a gift offered to Jeanne, Queen of France.³⁰ These telling images serve to bring Thomas le Myésier closer to the echelon of sacred and religious figures and closer to God himself.

As in the *Breviculum*’s miniatures, the words of Ramon Llull continued to flow, never ceased. The *beatus*’s ideas echo in the pages of many of his followers. But his words are also materially realized for all to see, acted out, present and powerful in the drawings of a pictorial biography which evolved from a Provençal *Vita* into a hagiographic *Vita* and ultimately, professed to be an image of the *logos*, the Word of God incarnate.

²⁹ Ramon answers to that: “So long as you do not distort the text...,” clearly manifesting the thinker’s supreme confidence in the righteousness of his message as well as his preoccupation about preserving intellectual property.

³⁰ Pamela Beattie (2022) rightly notes that there is abundant evidence of interest in secular hagiography and lay sanctity amongst the Capetian descendants of Saint Louis of France and that this supports the argument that the *Breviculum* was indeed intended for Queen Jeanne (169), as pictorially illustrated in the manuscript.

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