did not have to defeat only the “unbelievers”, but also those who, like the averroists, favored a philosophy that was at odds with the realm of scientific and doctrinal that and of the discovery of scientific knowledge. 

For a number of centuries (as evidenced by the internal 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 generalisation, as well as the invention of demonstrative judgement. For this reason, these philosophic procedures were dialectically and 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 number of speculations, 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. 

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 the Gentils and Blauses (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 had a manuscript printed in Paris, 1297 and 1298, 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 of Occitan to Latin of the Book of the Lover and the Beloved, the celebrated book within a book contained in Blauses. Independently of these effectively preserved texts, Llull, in many works, stated his desire to produce another version of the same work. This is certainly the case 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 with the author himself is the direct instigator of the translations.

Llull’s methods of composition, translation and preparation of the texts of the “fair copy” have still not been studied in depth, despite there being no lack of manuscript documents to enable it. As far as we know, this author’s process of composition and transmission of the master’s discourse were not always the same, or even at the same level of their profession. Sometimes they were learned men, well versed in Latin but, on other occasions, they were humble 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.13

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 Chartres province 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 most necessarily have worked on this joint task.14 The second is a manuscript Ott. Lat. 405 in the Vatican Library, which transmits 35 works by Llull, written in Moscissa between May 1313 and May 1314. This is a working codex, very rough work, with the intervention of several cursive hands, prepares the text for a later

Transmission of the work of Ramon Lull15

Albert Soler Llopart

The Lullian scriptorium

Ramon Lull, 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 did not hinder 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, so far as to develop its own production and publication system for his works, even including translation, copying and conservation. This, however, was never centralised in a single place or within one group of people and, thus, when these works were written on a scriptorium, it is in a functional rather than an institutional sense.

A set of collaborators, who rarely stepped out of the shadows, 151. The work forms part of the joint research project, CODITECAM: Llull (IX-XIV) (2005-2008) (CSO05-0291-C02-01) financed by the Spanish Ministry of Education and Science, in the Ramon Llull Documentation Centre of the University of Barcelona (Philosophy Department). I would like to thank Profs. Giner and Barner for the observations which he has kind enough to share with me.

16 5. However, there is no question that Llull wrote works in this language. On this topic, see Dominquez, 1990.
18 7. Soler, 2005. More data on this work on translation are offered in the yet unpublished study presented by G. Pomerol at the conference for the 50th anniversary of the Ramon-Llull-Ludovisi Foundation (2005) (Notes with caution: the possibility that one of the hands involved was Lull 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 schemes, some of 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 ecclesiastical or university school, should develop work methods typical of a scribalery. Clearly, Llull made no use of one of the infrastructures of the scribalery of his lordly adapters. 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, “dene ordinaire nec in bone dictamine ponere” his works.20 Llull reproduced scholarly forms of intellectual labour for 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. Little can be said on this question by what we know of the scribalery created at the same time in Barcelona by Arnau de Vilanova, which was dedicated to the dissemination of his spiritual works. The scribalery was housed in the private home of the Barcelona apothecary Pere Jade. When it was sold after Arnau’s death (6th December 1291), the executors distributed the 17 codices found in varying stages of creation among beguins and penitents21 most of the volumes are parchment and six are illuminated; a number contain works in Latin and Catalan, and only three are entirely 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 some 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 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 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 “written 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), complete 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., Guilelmus pops, privatus cum the aid of hoi grace, have copied from its original example this Book of consolatio [1] in the City of Majorca, 8 July of the year of our Lord 1280 and I make this rubric.22

This same copyist, Guillem Pags, also produced a collection of 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 infra i d. 549 infra ff. 1-5.37, Lilium de contemplation.
5. Palma de Majorca, Biblioteca Pública 1103: ff. 3-74, Tavula general; ff. 75-76, Lo picat d’Alben.

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 adorned with extensions, and pilchures; 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.

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 wealth was to be given 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 (“faire indé et scribantor in pergamo in romanice et latinae”). The spaces established to ensure the durability of the holdings were both ecclesiastical and private, and, it should be noted, among them was a strategically international one: these codices were to be sent to the Charterhouse of Vauvert, in Paris, and the house of the Genovese patron Perceval Spínola. 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.24

The Vita coetanea (1311) of Ramon Llull concludes by remarking, without a hint of presumption, “divulgat 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 anonymous nobleman of the Paris region; he must identify as his son-in-law, Pere de Sentemant. The measure is very ambitious, even though we can only be certain that it was carried out systematically and thoroughly in the territory of the Parisian Charterhouse of Vauvert, for which an inventory has survived which by August 1311 already listed 124 titles.25

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 Rásyana (Berlin, Staatbibliothek Phil. 1911), which states: “Ce livre doit estre rendu a dant Raymondo mine de Chartresse delles Paris” (translated).

20. 12. In Dictionnaire Rorschach et modul du lang du sud (1296), Llull re- frontricly admits his imitators as an author in Latin (but it is one of the imitations that the text of the entry of collaboration: “23 best too, quod toti non bene ordinariem” (Sul, 1980, p. 430-431).
21. 13. We know this thanks to the inventory of books of the codices which Arnau de Vilanova had on 6 December 1311 in Pere Jade’s house, published by Schuchard, (1909) 1976, analyzed by Paramau (1976, p. 111-26) and Lainer (1994).
22. 14. Folio 537 of manuscript C.549 infra of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan, a copy of a previous copyshop edition, indicates: “Ad G. N. Pagalis, Pagalis’ provider, done gratis anciente: hic unus libri compilaciones in Christianis recitaciones perfecto translatatio: AP. in hunc codex domini AP. 570 C. 2400 in hoc xgreg. digitorum sui fas.” Pagalis missury in naming the work’s copyshop. Although the volume was very poorly com- missioned by Llull himself, the blessed Ramon did not notice its copyist’s missery.
24. 16. The codices, originally a single volume, were split into two volumes around the end quarter of the 14th century.
25. 17. The vita was reproduced and extended in Llull, 1891. Llull gave instruc- tions for the conservation of the books, that had to be handed to the church’s bookshop (potenter in annum sanctum ecclesiae. in quia duobus silet, sine eire) and be accessible to anyone who was interested (“qulquier xpoles eccessit zilx xcrip, non per quesc pase de xulz”).
26. 18. See Llull, 1803a, p. 364-365; or online, in the Llull database <http://orbita.bib.ub.es/lull/appf/>.27

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187 ENGLISH TEXTS
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 them as such; 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 is an instrument 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 Kings of France, Felipe IV the Handsome and his wife, the Queen: 

E la dona d’amor dia a Ramon que posseïa Filosofia d’Amor en lat. a molt noble senyor sax i bo rei de França, e en volgir a la molt noble, sàvia e bona reina de França, per ço el multipliqui en la regne de França [...].28

The effectiveness of using the influence of power to circulate his books is demonstrated in the following passage from the Duxipatii Raimundii christiani et Henrini saraceni (1308) in which Llull reveals a distribution itinerary for his Liber de l’Amor (1305) starting with King Jaime II of Aragon, whose brother had arranged for the work to be sent to Pope Clement III: 

I d’aquesta manera n’es parlat l’argoment del llibre de fins, que el senyor papa ja és, que el senyor rei d’Aragó li va enviar.29

Notes on the early and modern centres of distribution

The Ramon Lulli Database at the University of Barcelona Lulliana offers a wealth of 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, consequent with Llull’s provisions. However, the few indications we have seem to show that Geneva did not play a similar role.

Paris, the pre-eminent political and university centre of the late medieval West, had always 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 Llimoges (c. 1230-1306), owned at least five, all preserved, including the French version of Biquerna (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:

Ramón Llulli 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 Moyal, Lulli’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 Moyal noted which of these titles he owned himself: this amounted to over fifty.31 Elsewhere, the compiler of the Brevisculem (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 Lulli’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 apocalyptic texts in a medieval vein, which were a part of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. This was one of the triggers for the implacable persecution of the Dominican inquistor Nicolas Emèric in the last quarter of the 14th century. In 1376, Llull’s art was condemned by the papal court of Avesnoen and, in 1390, by the University of Paris. Despite the abolition of 1416, the shadow of heterodoxy lay heavily on Lullian during the entire 15th century. Thus, the first important theologians, who felt themselves to be Llull’s heirs, such as Ramon Sibudís 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 Barcelona 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 Barcelona books ended up in Germany in the early 18th century, due to the publication of the works of the blessed Ramon Llulli commenced by lu 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, and 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 Pi Vayn Ethernet was sent to Barcelona and, as a result of his negotiations, the Condesa de la Manresana, of the house of Eiril and a descendant of the Llull family, permitted the Barcelona manuscripts and some relics of the blessed Ramon Llull to be taken to Dusseldorf. 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 Peter Wolthus resumed publication and brought out volumes IV-VI and I.X.X between 1730 and 1742. In 1761, the codices entered the Palatinate library at Mannheim, except for some which have remained in Mainz to this day (this is the case of the Codex 120 of the Martinus-Bibliothek, another of Guillem Pagès’ copies). In 1803, the Lullian manuscripts of Mannheim, along with most of the Palatinate library, was transferred to the Bibliothek Mannheim (now the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich, which holds some 15.64% of extant Lullian manuscripts). The travails of these codices (which in some cases followed the route Majorca>Basilicata>Dusseldorf>Mainz > Mannheim (or Munich), including a trip to the printer, is illustrative of the 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 in the National library of Venice, which was opened to 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.35 This explains why the majority of the manuscripts also copied by Guillem Pagès, is found in Rome and even why manuscript B 95 in the Franciscan Library of Dün Mhure, by the same copyist, is found in Ireland, as it was brought there in 1872 from this Roman college.36 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 codices printed, 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 Innsbruck college (St Candia), 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 incunabula editions, from the Ars brevis printed in Venice by the legendary Aldo Manuzio, etc.). Secondly, the Irish College and its connection to the Lullian works. The most important and the official image of Llull for over a century: the anthology of Lullian works published by Lazarus Zetzner in Strasburg 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

27. 52. Saleri, 1994.
28. 50. Llull, 1985, p. 275. I have registered the text according to Latin orthography, the text in the vulgar is lost. The Latin version speaks that the version to be presented to the Queen should be (naturally) “in vulgar dissoci gaitum”, that is, in French.
29. 51. Llull 1996a, 264. “El de fac res legamus seguns el locutor, quien donaria Papa fidel, quien donaria rei Aragones ind el ad venir.”
30. 52. 6. Folio: 1 “Mellisola ulora hostis facta Romana, qui sunt in manu nostra Cardamoniensis, de quibus e publico jecit nullam exemplar, ut pari Ars generalis, etc.”
32. 54. Bonne, 1942.
34. 25. The history of this school is basically still unknown. In de bibliothecis in the lead. 16th century, it might be more accurate to talk of a “school” in the 14th century.
35. 27. However, we should remember that the number of modern codices preserved in Majorca, as compared to the antique codices, is very large. As compared to 77 in antique codices, this library with the largest holdings is the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (114), followed by the Venice Library (77), the French National Library (59) and the Majorca Public library (54). For these data, see Banner, 1999.
36. 28. Piron, 1901, p. 20.
37. 29. Hilleberg, 1846, p. 78.
had a copy of this Lullian anthology in his library, which interested him more for its pseudo-Lullian alchemical works. The third, the aforementioned Malnitz 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. Nemes

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 court of 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 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.

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 the Jewish community 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 liturgical corpus reflects some forty years of creativity in changing circumstances, both geographically and politically.

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 persons 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 infiel 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 Christian audience and for a more specifically Jewish or Muslim audience, in that they would be more likely to be able to understand the truth of the Christian faith using the methods and tools of the Christians, and in this case, the Lulian Art.2 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 utilize 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, Lullian’s approach was that whatever the personal feelings of the missionary towards the Jews, one had to train himself to achieve his 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 Lull’s famous work the Libre del gentil o el libro de tres savis, written circa 1285 when there is an imaginary 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 gentle being allowed to interrupt and question.34 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 Disputado Raymundi Christiani et Namar Sasau. This work, written as a demonstration 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…”35 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 Libre de predicacione written in 1304, Lullim comments: “The Jews say that Jesus was an evil man, so evil, that never there was 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 those abuses Jews: they salute them on street and trade with their merchants, as can be seen.”36 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 of...