

Ramon Llull and Lullism at the Institute for Catalan Studies, 1907–2015

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Summary. The study of the life and work of Ramon Llull is an important aspect of the study of the Medieval European philosophy because the religious, moral and even scientific faces of this relevant figure. Since its early years, the Institute for Catalan Studies (IEC) has engaged in the study of some particular aspects of Llull and Lullism, with a different dedication due to the historical facts affecting its own existence, has been one of the main institutions devoted to this intellectual work. Works on Llull's bibliography from different libraries, on the understanding of his thought, on his relationship with other Medieval philosophers, and on his importance in the European Medieval philosophy—written by members and no members of the IEC—have been published in the IEC journals almost since the beginnings of the institution. The final (or at least, the last) result of its effort has been the publication, in 2015, of *Ramon Llull: Vida i obres*. Vol. 1: *Anys 1232-1287/1288. Obres 1-37*, an enormous and astonishing work made by Pere Villalba that is only the first of the three scheduled volumes on the Catalan writer and philosopher. [Contrib Sci 12(1):35-46 (2016)]

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Ramon Llull (1232–1315/16) is one of the greatest figures of the Catalan literature, but also one of the main authors in medieval philosophy. Consequently, Llull has been extensively studied and commented by many other authors since the Middle Ages, but specially in modern times. We present in this article the studies made by Members of the Institute for Catalan Studies (IEC) and/or published by the IEC on Llull's life and work. We divided the studied period into three stages: the first covers the period from the foundation of the Institute for Catalan Studies (Institut d'Estudis Catalans, IEC) to the Spanish Civil War (1907–1936); the second covers the

years 1947–1973 during which the existence of the IEC was tolerated; the third begins with the renewal and reorganization of the IEC to date (1975–2015).

The origin of the Institute for Catalan Studies (IEC) and the Lullism

The modern interest for Llull—born in Mallorca just three years after the conquest of the island by the King of Aragon, Jaume I (in 1229)—started in Mallorca, where the lullists

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Fig. 1. Ramon Llull (1232–1315/16).

launched an initiative that attempted to overcome years of isolation and hesitant initiatives: the critical edition of the works written in Catalan by Ramon Llull (1232–1315/1316n). Twenty-one volumes of this edition appeared from 1905 to 1950, the importance of which has been, and is, enormous.

The first generation of the IEC, therefore, found that one of its possible objectives had been covered already by others. From the beginning, the IEC directed its interests towards the most insufficiently treated critical aspects of Lullian works: to establish a reliable bibliography of the editions of Llull's texts, the study of European Lullism and the catalogue of Llull's manuscripts dispersed outside the Iberian Peninsula.

When the IEC was born, the Mallorcan publisher's committee for the Llull's Catalan texts requested assistance for the copy of the Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek manuscript of *Blanquerna*, and the IEC subsidized the trip of Mateu Obrador (1852–1909), asking him for the translation of the others Llull's manuscripts in that library. As he travelled through Munich, Obrador had time to peruse the Ambrosia-

na Library in Milan to study Llull's manuscripts in Catalan, especially the *Llibre de contemplació de Déu* that was copied in 1280¹.

The first two generations of the IEC created the *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* (EUC), which was not only an erudite journal, but the project of an active Catalan university facing an outdated Spanish university. From the EUC cathedra of history of Catalan literature, between 1906 and 1910 Antoni Rubió i Lluch (1856–1937) updated the Lullian studies in Catalonia. The work had been inspired, and facilitated, by the appearance, in the volume XXIX of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, of the study started by Maximilien-Paul-Émile Littré (1801–1881) and finished by Barthélemy Hauréau (1812–1896) on the life and works of Llull (1885; 386 pages). The merit of the article was the control of the bibliography and the knowledge of the collection of Llull's manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris (BNP) and the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek. Some manuscripts from Venice, and another library in Paris, were cited, but it was obvious that, apart from the edition of the ancient inventories of Llull's works in the BNP Latin manuscript 15450 (pages 80 and 90, written around 1311 and 1314 respectively), the authors did not intend to provide any definitive catalog. They based their analysis of the Llull's thinking on the available printed works (313), even knowing that many of them were not authentic, but simply attributes of the publishers, the manuscripts or the bibliographers.

In 1910, Rubió i Lluch offered a *summary*, or educational program of lessons, given on Llull in 1906². His summary was the first clear and ordered list of all the problems related to Lullian bio-bibliography, which added a "summary exhibition of his scientific opus" and a "summary exhibition of Llull's vulgar opus", i.e., a first inventory of Lullian manuscripts written in Catalan. However, the cataloging of Llull's manuscripts remained open, although limited to the Catalan manuscripts since Littré and Hauréau had demonstrated: a) that it was impossible to explain Llull without the Latin manuscripts, and b) that Lullian manuscripts were something like a bottomless pit.

In his critical studies on Llull, Jordi Rubió i Balaguer (1887–1982), son and disciple of Rubió i Lluch, never abandoned his interest in the problems with the Lullian manuscripts. In addition to cataloging, join with Jaume Massó i Torrents (1863–1943), the first manuscripts arrived at the recently created Library of Catalonia, in 1910 he was already interested in

¹ The favorable report for the grant was signed by A. Rubió i Lluch and Miquel dels S. Oliver: Cf. *Anuari*, II (1908): 16-17, 30-32; III (1909–1910): 15-16. Notes taken by Obrador in Munich and Milan were extracted by Estanislau Aguiló and published in *Anuari*, II (1908):598-613.

² A. Rubió i Lluch (1910) *Ramon Llull en els Estudis Universitaris Catalans*. EUC, IV:282-298.

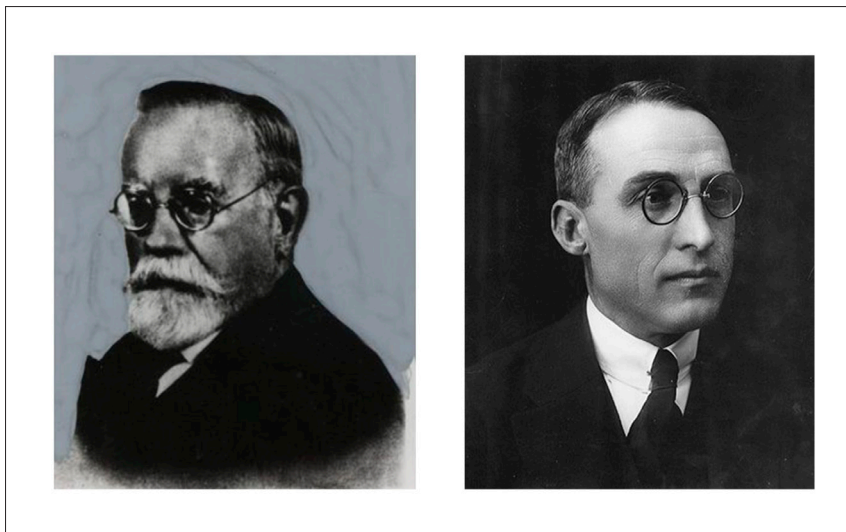


Fig. 2. Antoni Rubió i Lluch (left) and Ramon d'Alòs-Moner (1885–1939) (right)

some fragments contained in the ACA (Archive of the Crown of Aragon) or *Ripoll n. 129* manuscript³. In 1912 Balaguer proposed to the IEC the systematic cataloging of the Lullian manuscripts, including the Latin ones, and offered to undertake the project of cataloging the Latin ones in Munich⁴. The Rubió i Balaguer proposal, entitled *Sobre bibliografia lul·liana*, summarized the previous work of Obrador on the Catalan Lullian manuscripts and advocated for the completion of a systematic catalog of all the Lullian manuscripts and prints from the European libraries. He, incidentally, affirmed that the Lullian manuscripts in Rome had been catalogued by Ramon d'Alòs-Moner (1885–1939), who was actually in Rome serving an internship between 1910 and 1913⁵. Unfortunately the results of the work of Alòs remained unpublished. Later, other scholars undertook the same task, ignoring the work of the IEC⁶. The same has to be said about the cataloging of Lullian manuscripts from Munich, carried out by Rubió i Balaguer.

Indeed, Alòs and Rubió were heard, at least in part. They asked for the creation of a commission on Lull's historical studies and the necessary means for the publication of five volumes of *Estudis bio-bibliogràfics lul·lians*⁷. The first number of the proposed work came out in 1915, and covered Adam Gottron's (1889–1971) *L'edició maguntina de Ramon*

Llull: amb un apèndix bibliogràfic dels manuscrits i impresos lul·lians de Maguncia. In this work, apart from the Lullian texts of Mainz, the researcher of the German Lullism during the 17th and 18th centuries also presented the correspondence between the bollandists and the Lull's editor in Mainz. This was one of the few documentary pieces of evidence of that adventure, undoubtedly treated with great reserve by everyone because of doctrinal, economic and political implications involved. The second volume of the series was *Bibliografia de les impressions lul·lianes*, written by Elies Rogent i Massó (1893–1924) and Estanislau Duran i Reynals (1894–1950), published in 1927 with a foreword, indexes and some additions by Ramon d'Alòs-Moner. Promoted from the EUC by Rubió i Lluch, this work was the most notable fruit of the IEC on Lullian bibliography during its early years. The work had been preceded by three articles from the same authors on the Lullian editions from the Library of the University of Barcelona (BUB), published in the *EUC* in 1912, and then continued in the Mallorcan libraries, in December 1913⁸, and in the BNP⁹.

None of the three following expected volumes—the catalog of the Lullian manuscripts from Mallorca, commissioned to Estanislau Aguiló (1959–1917)¹⁰; the catalog of the Lullian manuscripts from Rome, made by Alòs-Moner, and the cata-

³ *EUC*, IV (1910):124-129.

⁴ *EUC*, VI (1912):378-383. It is on record that he spent two months: *Anuari*, VI (1913–1914):XXXIII-XXXIV.

⁵ *Anuari*, III (1909–1910):20-21; IV (1911–1912):XIII; V-I (1913–1914):X, XXXIII.

⁶ *Anuari*, V-II (1913–1914):5.

⁷ *Anuari*, VI (1915–1920):VIII.

log of the Lullian manuscripts from Munich, made by Jordi Rubió—were published, surely due to the World War I and the General Primo de Rivera (1870–1930) dictatorship.

Which was the reason for the lack of continuity of the initial impulse? It was not decreasing interest because, in 1915, Rubió i Balaguer published *La Lògica del Gazzali posada en rims per Ramon Llull*¹¹, and the same year, joining with Alòs, wrote the report presented by the IEC to the chairman of the Provincial Council and to the Mayor of Barcelona on the commemoration of the 6th centenary of the death of Ramon Llull¹², and made the chronicle¹³, consisting in reporting on the ongoing works about manuscripts and prints. In 1916, he published, in the *Butlletí de la Biblioteca de Catalunya (BBC)*, *El Breviculum i les miniatures de la vida d'en Ramon Llull de la Biblioteca de Karlsruhe*¹⁴, another of the pending studies—the Lullian iconography—indicated by Rubió in the report on the 6th centenary¹⁵. Alòs included in the chronicle of the 6th centenary of the death of Llull, written for the 6th volume of the *Anuari*, news on the publication of the *Catàleg de les obres lulianes d'Oxford*, by Josep M. Batista Roca (1895–1978)¹⁶, already reviewed by J. Rubió in the BBC¹⁷. Jointly with another Lullian scholars, Rubió “flooded” the BBC with works about Lull: *El P. Jaume Custurer i els seus catàlegs lul·lians*¹⁸, by Joseph M. March (1875–1952). In 1925 appeared the last work of Gottron published in Catalonia: *El Catàleg de la Biblioteca lul·liana del convent dels Franciscans de Mallorca*¹⁹, contained in the manuscript II 438 of the Staatsbibliothek of Mainz and written by the Mallorcan Franciscan Rafael Barceló (1648–1717), author of several works of Lullian themes. It is possible that the diversification of the Rubió-Alòs bibliographic interest towards the study of the Capitular Library of Tortosa²⁰, and Rubió’s own interest towards the study of the *Crònica* of Bernat Desclot (?–1287) prejudiced the publication of the Lullian catalogues and the continuing in the second volume of his father’s *Documents per l’historia*

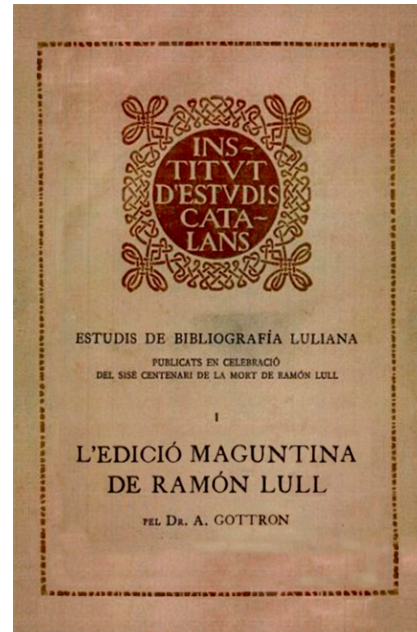


Fig. 3. The Mainz’s edition by A. Gottron (1889–1971)

de la Cvltvra catalana mieg-eval, added to the slowness of the publications of the IEC for political and budgetary reasons.

In 1921, Rubió encouraged Pere Bohigas (1901–2003), a disciple of him and Ph.D. student in Madrid, to catalogue the Catalan author manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional (BN) and other libraries in Madrid. Bohigas continued the task of inventorying the Catalan manuscripts in the BNP and those in the Arsenal, Mazarine and Sainte Geneviève libraries. In Easter 1927, he moved to England for two months to visit the library of the British Museum, the Bodleian Library and the libraries of the Oxford and Cambridge Colleges. Returned to Catalonia, Bohigas undertook the study of manuscripts of the BUB, i.e., those of the Spanish ecclesiastical

⁸ It is on the record that he worked on request of the IEC in 1915. *Anuari*, V–I (1913–1914):XXXIV.

⁹ *Anuari*, V–I (1913–1914):311-354.

¹⁰ *Anuari*, V–I (1913–1914):XXX–XXXIV.

¹¹ *Anuari*, V–II (1913–1914):5-9.

¹² BBC, III (1916):73-88

¹³ *Anuari*, V–I (1913–1914):XXXIV.

¹⁴ Published in the *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, VIII (1916):204-228.

¹⁵ BBC, II (1915):181; IV (1917):150-152.

¹⁶ BBC, V (1918–1919):32-44.

¹⁷ BBC, VI (1920–1922):146-224.

¹⁸ *Anuari*, VI (1915–1920):IX, XV.

¹⁹ Cf. EUC, XI (1926):121-130; XII (1927):411-457; XIII (1928):530-535; XV (1930):92-139; XVI (1931):82-111, 213-310.

²⁰ The review published by Alòs in *Anuari*, VIII (1927–1931):526-527 on the *Repertori de Manuscrits Catalans*, is explicitly eulogistic and hopeful.

confiscation (*Desamortització*) by Mendizábal, 1836-1837. In this way was formed—sponsored by Patxot—the *Repertori de Manuscrits Catalans*²¹. We are convinced that the initiative of the *Repertori de Manuscrits Catalans*, and its first results, led Rubió to do not precipitate in the publishing of his catalog of Munich nor the Alòs catalog of Rome, hoping that Bohigas works should give a perspective, and particularly some possibilities of analysis that neither he nor Alòs, nor anyone else, had been able to dream while inventorying bibliographic collections from Roma and Munich separately²². We see no reason for which Rubió could not have undertaken the publication of his catalog of Lullian manuscripts and that of Alòs. Rubió had no qualms in publishing, on the *BBC* of 1920s and 1930s, the catalog of manuscripts of the Biblioteca Episcopal de Vic (BEV)²³ and the collections of the ACA in Sant Cugat²⁴.

On the other hand, it caused a similar effect to that caused by the study of Littré-Hauréau on Lull, which was published in the second part of the 9th volume of the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique (DTC)* cols. 1072–1141 (1926), the work of Ephrem Longpré (1890–1965), in which the author showed his knowledge of the current work of the IEC on Lull and of the abundant Lullian bibliography pu-

blished until then in Catalonia and other places. However, the confirmation of this was in the Carmelo Ottaviano's (1906–1980) article *Ricerche Lulliane*, published in *EUC* in 1929²⁵, in which the Italian made a formal review of the catalog of Lullian manuscripts of the Ambrosiana Library in Milan, published by Mateu Obrador in the second volume of the *Anuari* of the IEC. Ottaviano said that Obrador had inventoried only twenty-two Lullian manuscripts from a library having fifty-one in total. Moreover, Obrador attributed to manuscript N 259 Sup. the much less numerous and important Lullian of the next manuscript, N 260 Sup., and eliminated the forty-eight Lullian works contained in the manuscript N 259 Sup., which contained an unknown work. In the same article, Ottaviano announced that he will publish, in a collection directed by Etienne Gilson (1884–1978), a chronological inventory of the Lull's works, indicating date of composition, exact title, classification by subject, incipits, the significant editions, and the manuscript sources.

The task of Rubió and Alòs was pioneering. From the Bohigas *Repertori de Manuscrits Catalans*, it was unthinkable to responsibly edit a catalog which, from a perspective of rigorous research, would have raised more questions than it would have solved. It is symptomatic that from 1929 Rubió

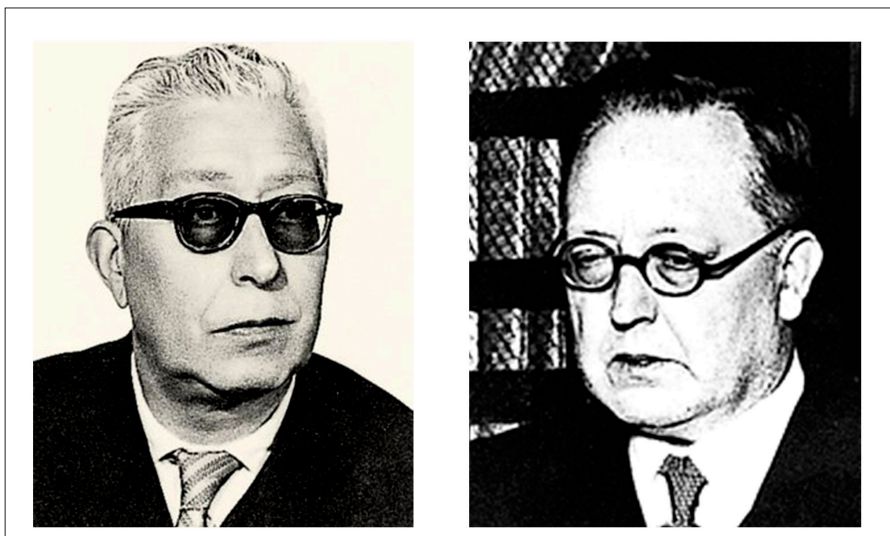


Fig. 4. Joaquim Carreras i Artau (1894–1968) (left) and his brother Tomàs Carreras i Artau (1879–1954) (right)

²¹ Josep Gudiol, *Catàleg dels llibres manuscrits anteriors al segle XVIII del Museu Episcopal de Vic*. *BBC*, VI (1920–1922 [1925]):50-97; VII (1923–1927 [1932]):59-154; VIII (1928–1932 [1934]):46-120.

²² Francesc X. Miquel Rosell, *Catàleg dels llibres manuscrits de la biblioteca del Monestir de Sant Cugat existents a l'Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó*. *BBC*, VIII (1928–1932 [1934]):143-240.

²³ *EUC*, XIV (1929):1-13.

²⁴ *Anuari*, VII (1921–1926):373-379; VIII (1928–1931):525-542.

²⁵ *EUC*, XVII (1932):166-183.

did not publish any further Lullian study in the IEC books.

This does not mean that neither the IEC nor Rubió disregarded Llull, quite the contrary. Alòs-Moner published, in the volumes of the *Anuari*, detailed reviews of the Lullian bibliographic²⁶. Often the review was critical, and it noted the shortcomings in the reviewed works or the relationship between independent works. And, perhaps, it is significant that the Lullian studies driven by the IEC were published in the EUC. To get started, the *Notes per al catàleg d'alguns còdexs lul·lians de les biblioteques de Palma de Mallorca*, by Obrador²⁷, published as a homage and, especially, because “some of these manuscripts no longer appear today in the collections where Obrador saw them.” In the same volume, Salvador Galmés (1876–1951) published *Ars infusa*, work that Ottaviano presumed lost although it existed in two manuscripts²⁸. In another volume of *EUC*, Josep Tarré (1884–1957) published the *Avendo Noi* decree of Pope Benedict XIV (1675–1758), written in 1751, in which he gave instructions to the promoter of the faith on the question of worship to Ramon Llull and the review of his works²⁹. This first epoch of the Lullian studies by the IEC ended with the volumes of the miscellaneous in honor of Antoni Rubió i Lluch, in which Manuel de Montoliu (1877–1961) studied the persistence of the troubadour element in the Ramon Llull’s *Llibre d’amic e amat*³⁰; Tomás Carreras i Artau (1879–1954) started the study of the Lullian philosophical terminology³¹; Anthony Pons (1888–1976) presented friar Mario de Passa, representative figure of the Lullism at the end of the 15th century³²;



Fig. 6. Miguel Batllori (1909–2003).

and Josep Sebastià Pons (1886–1962) was studying the *Plant de nostra dona santa Maria*³³ from the literary point of view.

At the end of that period, just before the Spanish Civil War (1936–1939), the priest Miguel Batllori (1909–2003) started a Lullian campaign with the work *Records de Llull i Vilanova a Itàlia. Part I: Per la història del lul·lisme als ducats de Ferrara i Mòdena*³⁴. The year on Llull was completed with *Relíquies manuscrites del lul·lisme italià*³⁵, with news on Italian Lullian manuscripts from Bergamo, Florence, Genoa, Milan, Modena, Padua and Pesaro, and *Al margen de un incunabile luliano*³⁶. In an apparently unremarkable review of *Les obres autèntiques del beat Ramon Llull. Repertori bibliogràfic*, by Joan Avignó (1871–1939)³⁷, Batllori wrote “It is a pity that the author... has not been encouraged to make a bibliographic catalog, if not definitive, at least as comprehensive as the current state of the Lullian research permits, adding to his thorough reviews of the different works of Llull the complete list of all known manuscripts, of all versions and of all the studies of each work, collecting into a consultation corpus the huge amount of bibliographic material, dispersed, here and there, in a number of magazines and publications which can hardly be covered.” In 1936 he published *Un lul·lista bolonyès del segle XVII: Luigi Sabatini*³⁸, prelude of one of his greatest contributions to the history of Lullism.

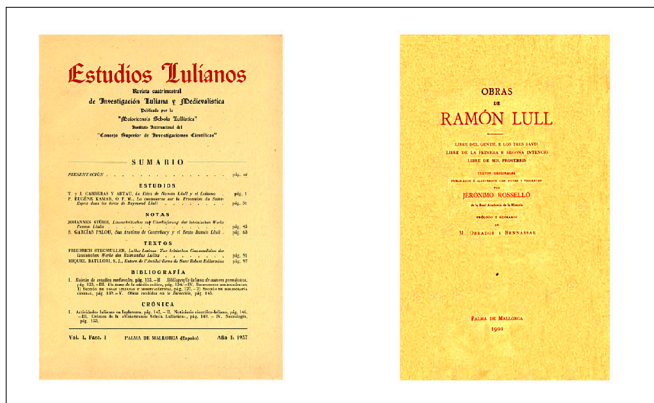


Fig. 5. Covers of the *Estudios Lulianos* (EL) (left) and *Obras de Ramón Lull* (ORL) (right) journals.

²⁶ EUC, XVII (1932):291-301. ²⁷ EUC, XX (1935):142-161. ²⁸ EUC, XXI (1936):363-398. ²⁹ EUC, XXI (1936):545-552. ³⁰ EUC, XXII (1936):317-337.

³¹ EUC, XXII (1936):109-113. ³² AST, 10 (1934):11-25. ³³ AST, 11 (1935):129-141 (= Miscel·lània Finke d’història i cultura catalana).

³⁴ Razón y Fe, 108 (1935):443-450. ³⁵ AST, 11 (1935):587-588. ³⁶ AST, 12 (1936):191-216. ³⁷ EUC, XIX (1934):263-269.

We need now to make a reference to the work of Cramer von Bessel (?–1948), *Une correspondance du XVIII^{ème} siècle en marge de l'Editio Maguntina*³⁹. In this contribution was published a handful of documents—previous to those of Gottron—in which it was clearly demonstrated that the search for Lullian manuscripts in Barcelona, to serve for the Mainz edition, was active at the time of the Spanish Succession War (1701–1713).

It would not be fair if we forget, even in retrospect, that Gottron published, in 1913, the study *Ein lullistischer Lehrstuhl in Deutschland um 1600?*⁴⁰, and later, in 1923, another study on the same issue, *Die mainzer "Lullistenschule" im 18. Jahrhundert*⁴¹. In those early years, Gottron was the most notable foreign researcher to establish contact with the IEC. Already in the second volume of the *Anuari* (1908) it appeared *Contributo agli studi Lulliani*, by Pier Enea Guarnerio (1854–1919), from the University of Pavia, edition and study of the *Doctrina dels infants*, a poorly known Lullian catechetical text different from *Doctrina pueril*⁴².

Tolerated existence of the IEC

After the Spanish Civil War, many members of the IEC had to take the road to exile, and the most eminent of them all, Pompeu Fabra i Poch (1868–1948), died plunged into misery. Throughout this period, the initiatives and many of the brightest fruits of the Catalan study of Lull and the Lullism were born and raised outside the IEC.

In 1944, Joaquim Carreras i Artau (1894–1968), who, with his brother Tomàs (1879–1954), co-authored *Historia de la filosofía española. Filosofía cristiana de los siglos XIII al XV*—already completed before the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War—, joined the IEC. The first volume was published in 1939 and the second towards 1947—although it is dated 1943—as a publication of the *Asociación para el progreso de las ciencias*. The monograph on Ramon Llull in the first volume of this work was a milestone. Little concerned about the issue of Lullian manuscripts, in the beginning of each work (243) the authors referred back to the catalogs of Littré-Hauréau, Longpré and Joan Avinyó⁴³, and to the chronological table of

the Llull's works proposed by Ottaviano⁴⁴. They also reviewed the lost works (12) and the apocryphal or attributed ones (44). On this basis, the study of the formation of the Lullian *Ars*, and its evolution in various writings and applications made by Llull, could be undertaken. The results of Tomàs Carreras in the study of the “genetics” of Llull's thought have been the basis for all subsequent studies on Llull's philosophy and the irreversible projection of the Lullian work beyond the fence of the strict literature.

For his part, Joaquim Carreras wrote a first history of Lullism which, as a synthesis, has not yet been surpassed⁴⁵. The main merit of their *Historia de la filosofía española. Filosofía cristiana de los siglos XIII al XV* is that it avoided the corset of the defense of the “Spanish science”, promoted by Menéndez Pelayo (1856–1912) and Bonilla San Martín (1875–1926) in the late 19th century, and rightly placed the Hispanic medieval philosophy in the context of the current concerns in the European philosophy at that time.

The Carreras brothers' work transpires everywhere the

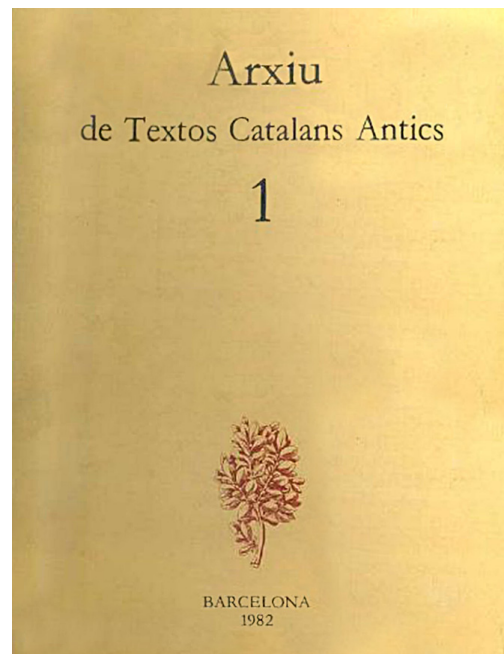


Fig. 7. Cover of the *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics* (ATCA) journal.

³⁸ EUC, VII (1913):221-223. ³⁹ *Anuari de la Societat Catalana de Filosofia*, 1 (1923):227-242. ⁴⁰ *Anuari*, I (1908):497-519.

⁴¹ Cf. *Les obres autèntiques del Beat Ramon Llull. Repertori bibliogràfic*, Barcelona 1935, previously cited.

⁴² Cf. *L'Ars compendiosa de R. Lulle avec une étude sur la bibliographie et le fond ambrosien de Lulle*. Paris 1930:31-95.

⁴³ Later, he remade it partially, in 1957, in *Ramon Llull. Obres essencials, vol. I*, cited below.

⁴⁴ *Revista de filosofía*, 2 (Madrid 1944):253-313, 479-537. ⁴⁵ *ER*, 1 (1947–1948):75-88.

initial spirit of the IEC and the project of Enric Prat de la Riba (1870–1917) (the “Pratian” project) to study the realities with scientific rigor and without prejudice. Regarding Llull, this work clearly demonstrated—not a small thing—that Llull was an unavoidable chapter in the history of philosophy.

The stay of Joaquim Carreras in Italy allowed him to quickly publish *El lulismo en Italia (ensayo de síntesis)*⁴⁶, in which offered new details about Llull’s stays in Italy. He clearly differentiated the authentic Italian manuscripts—those responding to aroused Italian interest on Llull—from those belatedly imported, and divided the Italian Lullism into five periods: 1316–1480, 1480–1563, 1563–1700, the 18th century, and the 19th and 20th centuries.

Another decisive fact produced outside the IEC was the appearance, in 1957, of the journal *Estudios lulianos (EL)*—then *Lullian Studies* and finally *Studia Lulliana*—initially created and directed by Sebastià Garcías Palou (1908–1993) and, later, by Anthony Bonner. The journal appeared sheltered by the “Maioricensis Schola Lullistica”, which was also in charge of the project, from the 1959, of the edition of the Latin works of Ramon Llull. This project came to be the complement of the great work *Obras de Ramon Llull (ORL)*, initiated by Obrador, continued by Salvador Galmés, and culminated in 1950. The real driving force behind the project was Friedrich Stegmüller (1902–1981), who had spent a few years working at Spanish Research Council (CSIC) in the *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*. The project took shape in five volumes of the ORL, published in Mallorca, but was suddenly broken in 1967.

However, the IEC did not forget Llull. In the first issue of the *Estudis Romanics (ER)* journal, published in 1947, and later converted into the prowl of the works of the Philological Section, Salvador Galmés published the first post-war critical Lullian study, *Ramon Llull no és l'autor del llibre “Benedicta tu in mulieribus”*⁴⁷. Three years later, Joaquim Carreras i Artau published *El lul·lisme de Juan de Herrera, l'arquitecte de l'Es-*

*coria*⁴⁸. The inaugural lecture of the 1951–1952 course, read by Antoni M. Badia i Margarit (1920–2014), was *Els orígens de la frase catalana*⁴⁹, in which he showed that Ramon Llull had led the Catalan language to maturity, elegance and logic. Ramon Aramon i Serra (1907–2000) took up the slack from Ramon Alòs in monitoring the Lullian bibliography⁵⁰, reporting the published studies, editions of texts and translations of Lullian works.

Batllori continued the studies on Lullism in Italy and in the rest of Europe, while it was engaged in critical studies on Llull’s biography and edited *Vita coetània*⁵¹, with a great amount of notes⁵². Joaquim Carreras gave an account of the publications of Philip Anton Brück (1913–1984) on the German Lullism of the 18th century⁵³, the work of Erhard-Wolfram Platzeck (1903–1985)⁵⁴, and those by Frances A. Yates (1899–1981), Helmut Hatzfeld (1892–1979) and Robert Pring-Mill (1924–2005)⁵⁵.

Three conspicuous members of the IEC, Jordi Rubió i Balaguer, Joaquim Carreras i Artau, and Miquel Batllori, and another one that could/should have been, Martí de Riquer (1914–2013), constituted the advisory committee for the publication of the two volumes of *Ramon Llull. Obres essencials* (the first in 1957 and the second in 1960). In the absence of new editions, they were annotated and republished as a series of Lullian works of the Mallorcan edition of the ORL. For many students, teachers and readers of the dark years of Franco’s regime, these two volumes were the first opportunity to read Llull and the first approach to the solid knowledge of their thinking and their national significance. And, for those generations it also represented the opportunity to make contact with the survivors of the former teams of the IEC.

Of the few Lullian studies then published in *ER* it must be emphasized two works of Friedrich Stegmüller. The first was *Raimundiana Americana*⁵⁶, and the second study was *Eine neue Handschrift der “Taula general” von Ramon Llull*⁵⁷. New perspectives were also opened by the work of Ramon Sugra-

⁴⁶ Miscel·lània Puig i Cadafalch: *Recull d'estudis d'arqueologia, d'història de l'art i d'història oferts a Josep Puig i Cadafalch per la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics*, vol. 1 (1947–1951):41-60.

⁴⁷ Anuari IEC 1952:43-54; and, in a separate edition, Barcelona IEC 1952, 124 pages

⁴⁸ Cf. Publicacions lul·lianes. Butlletí de la Societat Catalana d'Estudis Històrics, 2 (1953):90-92. It must take into account that Batllori will publish: Miquel Batllori (1954) *Introducción bibliogràfica a los estudios lulianos*. Palma de Mallorca, 24 pages, linked with the former bibliographical works of the IEC.

⁴⁹ Ramon Llull en el món del seu temps. *Episodis de la història*, 79. 60 pages. Barcelona 1960; *Certes i dubtes en la biografia de Ramon Llull*. *EL*, 4 (1960):317-320; La “*Vita coetània*” encapçala el volum Ramon Llull. *Obres essencials*, vol. 1, Barcelona, Editorial Selecta 1957:31-54.

⁵⁰ Batllori also wrote the general preface for the volume: *Raimundo Lulio. Obras literarias*. Madrid, BAC 1948:XVII-XIX, in which he also included an introduction to the Spanish edition of “*Libro de la orden de caballería*”, made by Ramon de Luanco and published by the Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona (RABLB) in 1901.

⁵¹ *ER*, 2 (1949–1950):296-297. ⁵² *ER*, 3 (1951–1952):313-317. ⁵³ *ER*, 5/2 (1955–1956):260-266.

⁵⁴ *ER*, 9 (1961):29-48. ⁵⁵ *ER*, 10 (1962–1967):91-97.

nyes de Franch (1911–2011), *Ramon Llull i l'islam*⁵⁸, in which, regarding Llull, he reviewed the thesis of Américo Castro (1885–1972) on the historical vital approach of Semitic root common to all the Spanish. Towards the end of the period, appeared another work, *Raimund Llull and Lullism in fourteenth-century France*, by Jocelyn Nigel Hillgarth⁵⁹, that was a milestone in the study of the history of Lullism.

Reorganization and resumption of the IEC (1975–2015)

In 1975 the political and administrative situation of the IEC partially stabilized and the IEC engaged a slow renovation.

At the beginning of this period, there were three events which had a decisive influence for the future. The first event was the resumption of *ROL*. Stegmüller, after the Mallorcan failure, convinced the publishers of the *Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis* (Brepols) to publish the volumes of the work produced by the Raimundus Lullus Institut of Freiburg im Breisgau (Germany). Thus, in 1978 it brought out the first edition which, at the time of this writing, has reached the 37th volume. Finally, were the Germans who crowned the edition of the works of Llull, initiated by Salzinger (1669–1728) in Mainz, a university center that had gathered all known Lullian manuscripts microfilmed, and the essential textual corpus to adequately study Llull was accessible.

The second event was the appearance, in 1982, of *Els manuscrits lul·lians medievals de la "Bayerische Staatsbibliothek" de Munic. I. Volums amb textos catalans. Apèndix: Inventari d'obres lul·lianes en català*, followed by the second part, in 1986, *Volums amb textos llatins*, written by Josep Perarnau i Espelt. A proof of the quality of Perarnau's work is the fact that the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek has adopted his two volumes as its own catalog of Hispanic manuscripts, in spite of the fact that they are not written in Tedesco.

That same year, 1982—and this was the third fact—, appeared the first issue of the annual journal *Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics (ATCA)*, first published by the Jaume Bofill Foundation (vols. I–III), later, by the same Foundation joined with the IEC (vols. 4–5) and, finally, by the IEC and the Faculty of Theology of Catalonia (vol. 6 and on), always under the direction of Josep Perarnau, who, in 1990, entered the Philo-



Fig. 8. Josep Perarnau.

sophy and Social Sciences Section of the IEC. The annual journal offered a follow-up of the bibliography from anywhere, written in Latin characters, on texts and works of Catalan authors of any subject and of authors who have written about Catalonia until the end of the 18th century. In addition, the annual journal intended to promote the editing of Latin texts of Catalan authors and of authors who have written about some aspects of the Catalan life in any language. Nowadays, the annual journal has published 23,411 abstracts or “bibliographical news”, besides several reviews. Needless to say, therefore, that, until now, the student of Llull and Lullism has had, periodically, a great, if not exhaustive, Lullian bibliographic content. Moreover, the annual journal aimed to study a section of the Catalan literary production—that written in Latin. The work of putting into scholarly hands critical editions of Catalan authors, generically called ancients, fully entered into the perspective of the first IEC and, with the *ATCA*, this kind of research was normalized.

In *Consideracions diacròniques entorn dels manuscrits lul·lians medievals de la "Bayerische Staatsbibliothek" de Mu-*

⁵⁶ ER, 19 (1962–1967):17–31. ⁵⁷ Immediately reviewed by Batllori in *Boletín de Estudios Hispánicos*, 51 (1974):311–318.

⁵⁸ ATCA, 2 (1983):123–169. ⁵⁹ ATCA, 5 (1986):231–267.

nic⁶⁰, Perarnau expanded the data set by Hillgarth on the Lullism of the 14th and 15th centuries, and suggested that, in addition to Paris, the other places on which Ramon Llull wanted to concentrate complete series of his work also had been fruitful centers for the dissemination of the Lullian ideas. If Paris worked in an effort of synthesis, Genoa showed its concern for the logic and the mechanisms of the Lullian *Ars*, and Mallorca, connected to Valencia, worked in the catechetical and pastoral orientation. Perarnau also demonstrated that, unlike Paris and Genoa, the Lullism in Catalonia by the mid-16th century was linked to spiritual movements, as also was the first Valencian Lullism. Finally, that study revealed that there existed a 15th century Bavarian Lullism more related to the line of Genoa and Padua than that of Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464). Encouraged by Perarnau, Francesco Santi published *Osservazioni sul manoscritto 1001 della biblioteca Riccardiana di Firenze, per la storia del Lullismo nelle regioni meridionali dell'Impero nel secolo XIV*⁶¹, in which he demonstrated that there was a history of the 14th century Lullism in the southern extremes of the Empire and that the Italian monastery of San Girolamo della Cervara (Santa Margueritha Ligure, Liguria) was one of the centers, characterized by Franciscan ideals, to which the Genoan lullists seem to be related, in connection with Milan, Parma and Padua.

Among the Mainz manuscripts there are texts on which so crucial an issue in the work of Llull as the rational demonstration of the truths of faith, were treated according to the classical method of scholastic university dispute. In the passage from the 14th to the 15th centuries—and surely gravitating around the Lullian school of Barcelona—there was the concern to relocate the Lullism into certain normality, even accepting some convenient sacrifices. This fact was confirmed by the publication of the Perarnau's *Política, lul·lisme i Cisma d'Occident. La campanya barcelonina a favor de la festa universal de la Puríssima els anys 1415-1432*⁶² in which there are ten edited writings formally referring to the controversy of the Immaculate Conception of Mary, with the particularity that the author—a lullist from Barcelona—attempted to homologate that point of Lullian doctrine and to make it acceptable to the theologians of other schools.

Another field of study opened by Perarnau was that of

the Castilian medieval Lullism. He showed that the first Valencian Lullism depended on Mallorcan one, and that this last followed the Llull's works and concerns expressed during his last stay in Mallorca during the years 1312–1313. Llull had already distanced himself from the spiritual ones in Naples in 1294 and, after his death, appeared a normalized lullist current, supporter of the concealing of the aspects that could seem annoying and unconventional. However, from 1317, in Valencia the opposed way is followed, and throughout the 14th century Valencian Lullism was grafted of arnoldism and spiritualism, and this was the current that entered Castile. This was why Perarnau urged scholars to study the extent to what the reformist Lullism spread throughout Castile during the Renaissance. The conclusion of all this was that the works of Perarnau induced a qualitative change to the image that the medieval Lullism had acquired since Joaquim Carreras i Artau, with a final acquisition: the Lullism was active, polycentric and able to connect with other doctrinal currents after the death of Ramon Llull⁶³.

The debellation of Eimeric's Lullian condemnation was another of Perarnau's battlefields. The question was addressed ex-professo by Perarnau in *De Ramon Llull a Nicolau Eimeric. Els fragments de l'ars amativa de Llull, en còpia autògrafa de l'inquisidor Eimeric integrats en les cent tesis antilullianes del seu Directorium inquisitorium*⁶⁴ work in which the author pointed out several irregularities of Eimeric's transcripts of the Lullian texts, thus invalidating their inclusion on a list of theologically erroneous propositions as if these were made by Llull. The inquisitor Bernat Ermengol had already studied, jointly with other theologians, some articles of the *Art amativa* that Eimeric attributed to Llull, articles that did not fit when compared to the original texts of Llull, and Perarnau was who documented the legal force that the king gave to the conclusions of Ermengol's commission.

During the first years of that third period, Michael Batllori published three remarkable studies on the Llull's biography. The first one was on *L'entrevista de Ramon Llull amb Ramon de Penyafort a Barcelona*⁶⁵, the second one treated the issue of Llull's martyrdom⁶⁶ and the third one compared the two recent editions of the *Vita coetanea*, that of Baudouin de Gaiffier (1897–1984), published in 1930, and that of Hermò-

⁶⁰ ATCA, 3 (1964):59-191.

⁶¹ The works of Perarnau on the manuscripts of Mainz and the studies related with Llull and the Lullism in the first five volumes of ATCA were not unnoticed: Cf. Francesc J. Fortuny (1988) *Vers una revisió de la història del lul·lisme*. Anuari de la Societat Catalana de Filosofia, 2:200-206.

⁶² ATCA, 16 (1997):7-129.

⁶³ King Joan I gives legal force to the copy of the dictum of the Ermengol commission on the Ramon Llull book "*Arbre de Filosofia d'Amor*" (Barcelona, Arxiu Reial [ACA], Canc. r. 1892, f. 217v). ATCA, 28 (2009):629-633.

genes Harada (1928–2009), published in 1980. Batllori was also the curator of the volume *Ramon Llull. Antologia Filosòfica*, edited by Ed. Laia in 1984, in whose introduction he offered a synthesis of the Lullian philosophy focused on the artistic methodology, on cosmology, on anthropology, on sociology and on Lullian aesthetics. Some years later he studied the educational ideas of Llull⁶⁷.

Besides Batllori, another Catalan Jesuit, Eusebi Colomer (1924–1997), member of the IEC since 1968, continued the way of the Carreras brothers in *De la Edad Media al Renacimiento: Ramon Llull – Nicolás de Cusa – Juan Pico de la Mirandola*⁶⁸. With that work, Colomer placed Llull into a specific current of the European philosophy. He shortly published *De Ramon Llull a la moderna informàtica*⁶⁹, a suggestive study which made fortune. Colomer followed promptly the foreign Lullian studies and dedicated several works to the interreligious dialogue in Ramon Llull and the comparison between Lullian apologetics and that of Ramon Martí (ca.1220–ca.1284)⁷⁰. These and other of his works on Llull were rearranged in *El pensament als Països catalans durant l'Edat Mitjana i el Renaixement* (Barcelona, IEC-PAM 1997, 14-31, 86-216), which can be considered his capital work on the history of Catalan philosophy.

From the decade of 1980, the works published by the IEC have reflected quite well the diversification of interests in Lullian studies. The Raimundus Lullus Institute of Freiburg has been the undisputed leader in the study of the Llull's manuscripts. With this, the project of Rubió should be considered finished in regarding the Latin Lullian manuscripts, but not for the Catalan manuscripts. Jesús Alturo i Perucho gave news of *Un nou manuscrit (incomplet) del Libre de l'Ordre de Cavalleria de Ramon Llull*⁷¹, and Albert Solé initiated a series of studies on the older Lullian manuscripts and their environment: *Els manuscrits lul·lians de Pere de Llemotges*⁷², *Estudi històric i codicològic dels manuscrits lul·lians copiats per Guillel Pagès (ca.1274-1301)*⁷³ and *Els manuscrits lul·lians de*

*primera generació*⁷⁴. It has recently appeared the Massimo Marini's study "*Sanctissimus mandavit responderi, ut tandem quiescat*". *Sulle tracce di alcuni manoscritti Lulliani conservati a Roma*⁷⁵, in which he tried to explain the presence of some Lullian manuscripts in the "eternal city". The work of Josep Hernando i Delgado *Obres de Ramon Llull en biblioteques privades de la Barcelona del segle XV*⁷⁶, shows that, when compared with the previous century, in the archives of Barcelona there were more readers and more works of Llull, meaning that the Eimeric's campaign against Llull roundly failed.

Some historical lullists have also been studied, such as Ramon Sibiuda, Salvador Bové (1869–1915) and Salvador Galmés. However, most of the studies published by the IEC in that third stage referred to the thought of Ramon Llull, based on the works of the pioneers (the Carreras, the foreign lullists), on the accumulated bibliography and on the number of titles of the *ROL*. It should be noted, moreover, that the study of Llull was diversified in all directions.

It seems appropriate to specially note two contributions about the "scientific" Ramon Llull, an aspect in which the IEC had done virtually no article to date. These contributions are two works of two different authors. The first one is the work of Lola Badia, *La ciència a l'obra de Ramon Llull*⁷⁷, in which the results of searches of Yates, Pring-Mill, Bonner, Ruiz Simon and others, are sorted and summarized. In Badia's work, Llull's writings on medicine and astronomy received an especial treatment, and were collected with the mathematical and technical data, scattered here and there in the Lullian work, including a particular analysis of *De arte electionis*, in which Llull proposed a method of voting similar to that proposed by Nicolas de Condorcet (1743–1794) in 1785, with the inherent mathematical implications. The second referred work is that of Michela Pereira *Per una història de l'alquímia a la Catalunya medieval*⁷⁸, in which it is clearly disproved that Llull was an alchemist, with the enumeration of the Lullian

⁶⁴ Cuadernos/Quaderns d'història econòmica de Catalunya, 21 (1980):9-11.

⁶⁵ *Un problema agiografico intorno a Ramon Llull (Raimundo Lullo): il martirio, Agiografia nell'Occidente cristiano, secoli XIII–XV*. Roma 1980:115-128.

⁶⁶ *El Pensamiento pedagógico de Ramon Llull*. In: Bernabé Bartolomé Martínez et al, *Historia de la Educación en España y América. La educación en la Hispania antigua y medieval*. Madrid 1992:345-370.

⁶⁷ Herder, Barcelona 1975:19-43.

⁶⁸ EL, 23 (1979):113-135.

⁶⁹ *Ramón Llull y Ramón Martí*. EL, 28 (1988):1-37; *La controversia islamo-judeo-cristiana en la obra apologética de Ramón Martí, "Diálogo filosófico-religioso entre cristianismo, judaísmo e islamismo durante la Edad Media en la península ibérica"*, Brepols 1994:229-257.

⁷⁰ ATCA, 7/8 (1988–1989):223-240. ⁷¹ Llengua i Literatura, 5 (1992–1993):447-470.

⁷² ATCA, 25 (2006):229-266. ⁷³ ER, 32 (2010):179-214. ⁷⁴ ATCA, 30 (2011-2013):483-525. ⁷⁵ ATCA, 25 (2006):267-345.

⁷⁶ O. c., vol. I, Valencia 2004:403-442. ⁷⁷ Ib., 455-482.



Rubén Duro

Fig. 9. Pere Villalba's book *Ramon Llull. Vida i Obres. Volume I*. Published by the Institute for Catalan Studies with the support of the Elsa Peretti Foundation.

arguments against alchemy. Finally, the author studied the reaction of Francesc Eiximenis (ca. 1330–1409) and Nicolau Eimeric against alchemy and the alchemists.

These works only give a very pale idea of the multiple directions and interests that characterize the contemporary Lullism. And Lullism, since the time of Littré-Hauréau, remained as a movement unceasingly vivified from outside. In this regard, it must be recognized that the IEC, along its whole existence, has not led to any fundamental Lullian initiative with continuity. The result is that, except the efforts made by ATCA to keep updated the scientific bibliography about Llull since 1982, to date, the IEC cannot present any research project as a solid point of reference for all lullist scholars.

It would be very unfair not to take into positive consideration the efforts made by the IEC on the bibliographic issues

during its first stage and it is undeniable that, since 1975, the IEC has been completely opened to all the Lullian studies.

Lately, at the door of the 7th centenary of the death of Ramon Llull, the IEC has published the first volume of a biography that is destined to play a role in the future Lullian study. It is the work of Pere Villalba, professor at the Autonomous University of Barcelona (UAB) and editor of the three-volume book *Arbor Scientiae* in ROL.

The biography, entitled *Ramon Llull: Vida i obres. Vol. 1: Anys 1232-1287/1288. Obres 1-37*, has been sponsored by the Elsa Peretti Foundation, thanks to the effort of Alessandro Tessari, professor at Padua and former Italian deputy, fervently interested in the cultural and political significance of the figure of Ramon Llull for today's world.

The whole work will include three volumes and will analyze each step in Llull's life and every one of his works, as Llull was writing them, in a diachronic succession. Since the first moment that the IEC was aware of the existence of this work—by its scientific secretary Ricard Guerrero—showed a great interest, culminated by the agreement with the Elsa Peretti Foundation for the publication and dissemination of the work. This work wants to be a book of reference, with the aim of providing all the known information about any aspect regarding Llull's bio-bibliography; it wants to be a basic introductory work to the advanced understanding of Llull's work and thought; and it expects to open a new stage in these studies, thanks to the meticulous analysis of each work of Llull. Because that this analysis does not elude the comparison between the Lullian ideas on certain issues and the today's scientific ideas, the work of Pere Villalba also provides a solid anchor point to the modern reader, allowing him to measure the distance between our time and Llull's time in certain aspects, and its proximity in others. ■

Competing interest. None declared.