EVANGELIZATION, REFORM AND ESCHATOLOGY:
MISSION AND CRUSADE IN THE THOUGHT OF RAMON LLULL

by

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A Thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Centre for Medieval Studies in the University of Toronto

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Ramon Llull is justly famous as a philosopher, mystic, and a missionary. He is perhaps less well known as an advocate of crusade and a writer of crusade plans. This thesis seeks to reconcile the opposition between missionary efforts and crusade activities in the late Middle Ages by examining Llull’s crusade and missionary ideology and placing them in the context of his thought as a whole. The results of this investigation demonstrate that these two starkly different approaches to the question of how to deal with those outside of the religious and political boundaries of the western Christian Church were in part born of identical religious inspirations and concerns.

Chapter One surveys the history of western Christendom’s attempts at crusade from the time of the II Council of Lyons in 1274 until approximately 1330, and also traces the emergence of a particularly medieval missionary ideology during the same period. Crusading efforts against the Muslims in the east, against Christians in Europe, and against Muslims in Spain and North Africa are all discussed briefly. The nature, character, and enduring popularity of the crusade ideal are demonstrated by way of specific examples from efforts to launch various crusades. In addition, it is shown that, although occasionally missions were embraced as a replacement for crusade, usually crusade and missions were viewed as complementary activities.

In chapter two, Llull’s own ideas about mission and crusade
are placed into the context of the actual crusading and evangelization efforts described in chapter one. This chapter shows how Llull's plans for mission and crusade were intensely personal in inspiration, how they developed and changed in the face of external events (e.g. the fall of Acre in 1291), and how they were united in the overall context of his thought, particularly his desire that the Christian faith be exalted throughout the world.

Chapters three and four tie Llull's specific plans for mission and crusade to some of his overriding religious concerns. Chapter three deals with Llull's view of the purpose for which mankind was created: to honor and glorify God. Llull sees participation in evangelization and in crusading as concrete ways of fulfilling this purpose. Chapter four looks inward and relates mission and crusade to Christian reform. If all the world is to be brought to its appointed end then Christendom itself is in need of reform as well. Llull reworks the relationship between failure in mission and crusade efforts and the sinfulness of Christian society along both traditional and strikingly original paths.

The fifth and final chapter provides the eschatological context of Llull's ideas of mission and crusade. It provides an introduction to Llull's Latin treatise Liber Contra Antichristum (originally written in Catalan) and shows how profoundly eschatological concerns shaped Llull's thought on mission and crusade. This chapter also demonstrates how careful Llull was to stay on the path of orthodoxy: he never ventures into apocalyptic prophecy despite repeated calls for reform.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is no small miracle that this thesis was completed in the spring of 1995 and I wish here to thank all those who helped me accomplish this feat by providing both personal and intellectual support. I am especially grateful to my supervisor, Professor J.N. Hillgarth for his abundant patience and for his assistance which went far, far beyond the bounds of duty. Anthony Bonner, of Majorca, Professor A. Soler of the University of Barcelona, and Professor Charles Lohr of the University of Freiburg receive my deep gratitude for making available to me texts and copies of manuscripts without which this thesis would have been impossible to complete. Above all, I wish to thank my family, and especially my husband Blake, for hours and hours of limitless support, help, and encouragement. It is to Blake, and our two small sons, Alexander and Aidan, that I wish to dedicate this thesis.
### LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>ENC</td>
<td><em>Els Nostres Clàssics</em> (Barcelona: Editorial Barcino)</td>
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<td>MOG</td>
<td><em>Raymundi Lulli Opera omnia</em>, ed. Ivo Salzinger, 8 vols. (Mainz, 1721-42; reprint Frankfort, 1965)</td>
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<tr>
<td>NEORL</td>
<td><em>Nova Edició de les Obres de Ramon Llull</em> (Palma, 1990ff)</td>
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<td>OE</td>
<td><em>Ramon Llull, Obres essencials</em>, 2 vols. (Barcelona, 1957-60)</td>
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<tr>
<td>ORL</td>
<td><em>Obres de Ramon Lull</em>, ed. Salvador Galmés et al., 21 vols. (Palma, 1906-50)</td>
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INTRODUCTION

Most medievalists are familiar with the literary portrait which Thomas of Celano painted of St. Francis before the Sultan al-Kamil at Damietta in 1219 during the Fifth Crusade. It is a striking picture. In his account of this famous meeting, Thomas declares that before Francis even entered the Sultan's presence, "he had been seized by the Sultan's associates, insulted, and beaten, yet he was not afraid, nor feared the threat of torments, nor blanched at the menace of death." The words which St. Francis spoke apparently amazed the Sultan who, in Thomas of Celano's words, gazed on Francis as "like a man unlike almost all men." Reportedly the Sultan was deeply stirred by Francis' words and he listened willingly. But at the end of the story Thomas concluded, "But in all this the Lord did not fulfill St. Francis' desire [for martyrdom]."¹ This is indeed an astonishing story. However, it is more striking that over two hundred years later, when the kind of exploration and adventure that had accompanied the crusading activities which filled St. Francis' lifetime had been largely replaced by new kinds of western expansion, exploration, and adventure, the evangelistic aspect of this

¹Nor, it is worth noting, did the Sultan convert. But that is not the main point of the story; the effort was what made Francis holy. On Francis's missionary presentation to the sultan and his desire for martyrdom see Thomas of Celano, Vita prima, n. 55, Analecta Franciscana 10 (Quaracchi, 1926-41) p. 42 and Thomas' Vita secunda, n. 30, ibid., p. 149. For Francis's journey to Egypt see L. Lemmens, "De sancto Francisco Christum praedicante coram sultano Aegypti," Archivum Franciscanum Historicum 19 (1926), pp. 559-78.
enterprise remained. Thus, Vasco da Gama explained the presence of his men in the east to an Indian official by saying, "We have come to seek Christians and spices." In some ways, these brief words accurately sum up the motivation for several hundred years of European activity in the east.\(^2\) The link between evangelization and other, less spiritual activities, proved to be an enduring one.

From the very beginning, European interest in other cultures, peoples, and lands was tied up in a web of alternately complementary and conflicting motivations. During the Middle Ages, this interest was expressed in two specific types of activities: crusading and evangelism. The juxtaposition of these two activities is starkly apparent in the history of medieval Spain. This is not to say that crusade and mission encompassed every aspect of western European expansion, commercial interest, and exploration—far from it. But mission and crusades were unique expressions of the cultural factors that shaped Europe, and can not be easily separated from them. By looking at the relationship between mission and crusade in terms of the cultural ideas which contributed to their shape, we can gain insight into the character of these activities themselves as well as learn about the ideals which gave them impetus.

The relationship between mission and crusade during the

period from the mid-thirteenth to the mid-fourteenth century, can be conveniently discussed under the headings of theory and practise. We can find out about these activities by examining documents such as papal mandates to missionaries, crusade decretales, the writings of theorists and propagandists for both endeavors, canon law texts, and sometimes even treatises composed by critics of the church and its activities. Through these documents it is possible to ascertain what the theoretical relationship was between missions and crusades. Reports from the missionaries and travellers to non-Christian lands, and chroniclers' accounts of missionary activity and crusades during this period, give us insight into how these activities were practised. The career and writings of the Catalan missionary-philosopher, Ramon Llull, provide unusually rich insight into both the theoretical and actual relationship between mission and crusade in all its complexities. What is the context for his ideas?

The theoretical relationship between mission and crusading activities was only superficially straightforward. For a start, violent confrontation with non-Christian nations was in stark opposition to the methods of peaceful evangelism. Some medieval Christian authors recognized the incongruity, although they did not write extensively on the subject. Indeed, more members of Christian society were involved in the crusade than were in missions. Moreover, the crusade was almost always given a redeeming evangelistic complexion in the
propaganda literature. For example, Norman Housley has convincingly argued that throughout this period two clear ideals of crusade were persistently evoked in its "promotional literature": namely the defensio Christianae fidei and the dilatatio fidei. The first of these ideals acted as a powerful rationale and emotional rallying cry from the time of the very first crusade. This motive for crusading was not too difficult for anyone to understand; indeed, it would have been difficult to argue against the suitability of sending Christian armies to defend the holy places of their religion, and in so doing to protect the Christian faith itself. The second concept, that of the expansion of the Christian faith, was also present from the earliest expeditions to the east although a bit more ambivalently. Early chroniclers and influential advocates of the crusade (such as Bernard of Clairvaux) voiced this additional goal of the crusade. In addition, some crusade sermons suggest that the goal of dilatatio fidei could also be directed inwards, at Christians. Ramon Llull furthers the idea of the salutory effect which comes from participation in missions and crusade.

The sections of canon law which address the subject of

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5Riley Smith, The Crusades, p.96.
the interaction between Christians and non-Christians, both under Christian political jurisdiction and those clearly outside it are our richest source for clear statements on the relationship between crusades and missions. From the beginning, there were very clear scriptural prohibitions against the forcible conversion of non-believers; the legal terms used in these discussions were *coactio absoluta* and *coactio conditionalis*. However, there were equally clear scriptural indications of ecclesiastical responsibility for non-Christians; this was based on the argument that all humans were potential members of Christ’s flock. Most canonical pronouncements were derived from the practical experience gained in regions where a symbiotic relationship had developed between different religious cultures; Spain and Sicily are good examples of areas in which practical experience led to the clarification of ecclesiastical law. Most canonists were quite successful in their attempts to find a balance between

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6Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers and Infidels*, has a lengthy discussion of this, pp. 45-48. Innocent IV was the main initiator of this legislation. Muldoon points out that he was interested in whether Christians could justifiably seize land occupied by non-Christians, *Popes, Lawyers and Infidels*, p.7; the legality of the crusade had already been established via the just war theory. See also Kedar, *Crusade and Mission*, pp. 72-74, where he concentrates on the issue of whether Muslims subject to reconquest in Spain could be forcibly converted and discusses the validity of such baptisms. Kedar concentrates on the canonists Alanus Anglicus, Gratian, Innocent III, Hostiensis and Johannes Andreae.
the main legal principles of responsibility and non-coercion.\textsuperscript{7}

By the time of Innocent IV more extended contact was being made between the West and non-Christian cultures. Simultaneously a real possibility for European expansion into lands that had never been "Christian" possessions emerged. Thus, canonists faced new challenges when they tried to apply these principles to new situations. It was not difficult to find legal support for holy wars of defense, but what of expansion? Arguments in support of the latter were based on theories of papal primacy and man's accountability to natural law. Moreover, in Innocent's linkage of crusade and mission, it was always permitted to fight to provide preachers with access to the mission field.\textsuperscript{8} It is easy to see how the


\textsuperscript{8}See Kedar, Crusade and Mission, pp. 159-203; Muldoon, Popes, Lawyers and Infidels, pp. 29-71.
basically clear theoretical relationship between mission and crusade, became murky in practice. Ramon Llull is a good example of a new type of theorist who sought in a very practical manner to address these increasingly complex issues.

The theological and spiritual links between mission and crusade which arose in this context are particularly interesting because they reflected current streams of Christian piety and religious ideals. The broad range of theological principles and spiritual concerns which these ideals encompass include a desire to imitate Christ and to mirror the Apostolic life, the desire for martyrdom, and the idea that crusade and mission were acts of love for those outside the church. Additional motivations arose out of concerns for penitence, salvation, and other relevant theological principles. Because Ramon Llull's ideas about crusade and mission are so clearly tied to the religious principles that inform his thought as a whole, his writings make a felicitous starting point for the examination of such relationships.

Thus, this thesis traces the relationship between missionary theory and crusade ideals in the writings of Ramon Llull. It attempts to place these ideas in the larger context of his thought as a whole, pointing out how specific theological concerns, spiritual aspirations, and religious principles came together to define this relationship and shape Llull's theory. Finally, this thesis makes some preliminary
suggestions on where Llull's ideas on these subjects fit into the context of his age and how his thought and action can be used as a mirror of various aspects of late medieval religious culture. The results of this examination of Llull's work should help to further our insight into three of the basic questions which remain unanswered concerning mission and crusade in the late Middle Ages. First, how were missions and crusades both contradictory and complementary manifestations of Christian attitudes towards non-Christians? Second, can one find evidence in Llull's writings of a widespread enthusiasm for crusade which endured into the late Middle Ages? Third, related to this, did support for missions replace that for crusades during this period?

There is a tendency in some recent scholarship to look at Llull as a kind of medieval "everyman," perhaps because in his vast corpus of writings he touches upon almost every imaginable subject. There are dangers inherent in such an approach, the greatest of which hinges upon the inescapable fact that Llull was beyond any doubt a visionary. He even calls himself a phantasticus.⁹ On the other hand, some

⁹The most famous occurrence of this is in the treatise known variously as Phantasticus or Disputatio Petri et Raimundi, edited in ROL v.16. Llull repeats this characterization of himself in various poems and as asides in other treatises. The idea of the phantasticus is no doubt related to the character of the Fool which appears in his romance Blaquerna. The philosophical usage of this term as a medium for truth as it applies to Llull should also be investigated although it is beyond the scope of the present work; I am grateful to Professor E. Synan for this suggestion.
historians have tended to either dismiss Llull’s ideas on some subjects entirely, or regard them simply as a curiosity worth noting, precisely because of this eccentricity. But one of the main things that makes Llull’s thought unusual is that it is very clearly influenced by a broad range of social, religious and cultural factors. Therefore, if we evaluate Llull’s thought carefully, and try to situate it in the context of his cultural and intellectual environment his ideas can serve as an effective tool for investigating the questions which I have set out above.

We should begin by looking briefly at some biographical factors which contribute to Llull’s suitability as a subject of investigation for our topic. First of all, there are many things historians do not know about Llull. The documents that would shed light on his life and actions are scarce. We do not even have a precise birth or death date for Llull. He

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himself tells us repeatedly about his public proclamations of his ideas, his preaching, and his attempts to gain support from the highest political and ecclesiastical courts of Europe. But little evidence exists that can prove his proposals were even received.

On the other hand, there is a lot we do know about Llull, and many of the influences upon his thought can be traced. Aspects of Llull's preconversion life contributed to his appeal as an author and influenced both the form and the content of his written works. For example, Llull had been a flamboyant figure in the royal Catalan household, a proficient troubadour, and a notorious womanizer. Being a Majorcan in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries gave Llull certain advantages for attaining a practical knowledge of the world. The powerful Catalan-Aragonese confederation contributed to the importance of Llull's birthplace, Majorca, as a cosmopolitan centre housing communities of merchants originating from all around the Mediterranean. The large Jewish and Muslim populations of Majorca, from whose ports it was a short journey to North Africa, provided the backdrop of "mixed races and conflicting creeds" against which Llull's

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12 This may be a broad interpretation of the term preaching, but it seems clear that preaching is what Llull saw himself doing. For support for this idea see J.N. Hillgarth, "Some Notes on Lullian Hermits in Majorca, Saec. XIII-XVII," Studia Monastica 6 (1964) 299-328.
thought developed. The influence of Islam and of the Jewish cabbalistic system upon Llull has also been studied, and definite relationships can be discerned.

While the precise school in which Llull received his education is unknown to us, we do know that he did not study at Paris, but remained in Majorca at the advice of Ramon of Penyafort, learning Arabic from one of his Muslim slaves. Consequently Llull's philosophical and theological outlook bears a very different imprint than that of the Aristotelian scholasticism of Paris. Llull relies instead upon more traditional theological formulations. But this would have been the case with most contemporary educated members of the laity as well as with clerics who had not studied at leading universities. It is possible then to see Llull's thought as

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14 For examples of such studies see among his several works on the subject, Dominique Urvo, "Ramon Lull et l'Islam," *Islamochristiana* 7 (1981), 127-146; for Llull and the Cabala see Anthony Bonner, "El lul.lisme alquimic i cabalistic i les edicions de Llatzer Zetzner," *Randa* 27 (1990), pp.99-117; and works on the subject by Moshe Idel.

reflecting some very basic religious ideals. One can also surmise that Llull was part of a spiritual movement that incorporated a revival of basic Augustinian doctrines into its religious expressions. Thus Llull's education itself renders him more representative of mainstream theology, than his rather esoteric philosophical system would suggest.

And finally, there is the matter of Llull's lack of formal affiliation with a religious order. Llull did not join the Dominicans, with whose ideas on education of missionaries he had close affinities, or the Franciscans, who were clearly his spiritual parents. The Vita Coetanea suggests that neither order would have him as he was too eccentric. It is possible, however, that Llull himself was not too eager to become tied down to any institutional supervision. He sought, and needed, the support of the mendicant orders, but his program and his philosophical system did not fit neatly into the outlook of either order. On the contrary, in this area too, it is possible to trace some definite influences from each mendicant order as well as from other current theological and devotional ideas in Llull's thought. One is left to imagine that, if Llull's plans had ever received substantial support from any of the leaders of Europe, and if any of their goals had been

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16 See Vita Coetanea, I.5-II.11; pp. 274-8. For more on the effect of Llull's non-Parisian training see Bonner, pp. 18-21 and R. Sugranyes de Franch, Raymond Lulle Docteur des Missions (Fribourg, 1954) pp. 11-23; and A. Oliver, Lull en sus relaciones con la Escuela franciscana," cited above in note 16.
accomplished, he would have retired to a life of contemplation of God as a hermit, much like the hero of his romantic novel Blaquerna.

Thus, while caution must be used against regarding Llull as a late medieval Catalan "everyman", his biographical backdrop and the wide ranging influences which can be traced in his works, serve to demonstrate that the study of his thought is indeed a suitable way to further our understanding of the relationship between mission and crusade and the spiritual and theological ideals which informed them.
CHAPTER ONE

MISSION AND CRUSADE FROM 1274-1330

In order to appreciate fully Ramon Llull's contributions to contemporary crusade planning and missionary theory, it is necessary to make a brief tour through the history of crusading and missionary activities during Llull's lifetime, since these events obviously provided the backdrop and stimulus for Llull's work on the subjects. Such a survey raises several historiographical questions.

The incongruity between missions, or peaceful evangelization, and violent crusade is inescapable and obvious to present-day scholars.¹ It was not lost on medieval authors either. However, they largely wrote texts rationalizing such activities, or explaining the legal constraints surrounding "forcible conversion," or unashamedly endorsing both crusades and missions.² The relationship between crusade and mission


²For examples of these writings, see the authors and texts cited in chapters one through three of James Muldoon, Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels, (Philadelphia, 1979); Kedar deals with the relevant texts in Crusade and Mission, ch. 2-4. For the voices of those who criticized the violence of crusade and advocated missions instead, see P. Throop, Criticism of Crusade. A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda,
as differing expressions of a common religious devotion and piety has not received nearly the same amount of scholarly attention as have the more precise canonical issues involved, although the two are certainly related.

One of the main reasons for this neglect has been the opinion, persistent in the academic world that popular enthusiasm for the crusade waned during the later middle ages, particularly after the fall of Acre in 1291. Historians have tended to consider calls for crusade from the papacy or from secular leaders after this watershed date to be largely propaganda or "fronts" for other, usually more secular, goals. A common view related to this sees the popularity of peaceful evangelism increasing in direct proportion to the

(Amsterdam, 1940) and E. Siberry, Criticism of Crusading.

3In early discussions of the crusade in the later middle ages, these factors were used to explain the failure of the west successfully to launch a full scale crusade during this period. Figures such as Philip IV of France were especially suspect because of their repeated endorsement of crusade, their dutiful collection of crusading tithes, and their subsequent failure to embark on crusade. The appropriation of crusade tithes for royal purposes bothered contemporaries. Some popes became reluctant to grant permission to levy such tithes. Nevertheless, plans for crusades kept being submitted throughout this period. See Sylvia Schein, Fideles Crucis, ch.6, for a discussion of these plans under the pontificate of Clement V; C. Samaran, "Projets français de croisade de Philippe le Bel à Philippe de Valois," Histoire Littéraire de la France 41 (1981) pp. 33-74; and C.J. Tyerman, "The Holy Land and the Crusades of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," in Peter Edbury, ed., Crusade and Settlement (Cardiff, 1985) pp. 105-112.
growing cynicism about the motives of crusaders. But by the middle of the fourteenth century, for a variety of reasons, optimism about obtaining converts to Christianity by peaceful means had also foundered—a fact which necessitates a re-evaluation of the validity of this view that mission replaced crusade in popular esteem. And finally, there are good reasons for the opinions which I have summarized. On the one hand, there is a supposed dearth of sources proving that crusade and mission remained popular during the late Middle Ages. On the other hand, one has a preponderance of sources which indicate the less than spiritual initiatives behind both crusade and mission.

In view of all this, it may seem surprising to argue for the enduring significance of crusade and mission in late medieval religious culture. Recently, however, some historians have shown that despite the many failures suffered by proponents of missions and crusade throughout the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, sincere and effective advocates continued to reflect popular support for

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crusades as well as (perhaps even more than) for peaceful evangelization.\textsuperscript{6}

Several factors have made it difficult to arrive at an accurate assessment of the role of crusade and missions in popular religious culture during this period if one relies on traditional sources such as papal letters or royal proclamations. For one, the secular ambitions of the most powerful leaders in Christendom during this period are well known. This often makes their ostensibly religious motives suspect. For another, it is difficult to gauge from official documents the level of widespread response to their ideas.\textsuperscript{7} Moreover, because propagandists of this period so rarely addressed the theological underpinnings of the crusade ideal, it is necessary for us to extrapolate their religious ideals


\textsuperscript{7}An appropriate comparison could be the difficulty in discerning to what extent conciliar reforms and legislation were followed. An example from Spanish history could be the legislation concerning distinctive garb for Muslims and Jews. Such stipulations were consistently repeated. See Peter A. Linehan, "Councils and Synods in Thirteenth Century Castile and Aragon," Studies in Church History 7 (1971), pp. 101-11.
from their context. The work of Ramon Llull serves us well in this regard because the general theological principles and ideas which support his specific crusade proposals can be found in his other works.8

Llull's life and works provide one of the clearest illustrations of the fact that crusade and mission were linked by more than their target. In turn, his thought is clarified by a look at the crusading activities and attempts at evangelization which occurred during his lifetime. These circumstances contributed nuances to Llull's proposals, and in fact, caused his opinions on these topics to develop throughout the course of his life. Llull and his contemporaries had to deal with the failure of Christian missionaries to accomplish large scale conversions. They had to account for the striking inability of the machineries of kings and popes to launch any effective crusades after Louis IX's expedition to Tunis in 1270.9 The attempts of

8Such treatises may include a pious prologue or epilogue but usually focus on the nuts and bolts of crusade planning. Even the more theoretical plans are skimpy on spiritual discussions. Of course, this was not their purpose. For examples of such treatises see Pierre Dubois, De Recuperatione Terre Sancte, trans. W.I. Brandt, The Recovery of the Holy Land by Pierre Dubois, (New York, 1956); Marino Sanudo Torsello, Liber Secretorum Fidelium Crucis, in Gesta Dei per Francos, v.2, ed. J. Bongars, (Hannau, 1611, reprinted Jerusalem, 1973). Schein, Fideles Crucis, pp. 269-70, lists Llull's crusade treatises.

9It is worth noting that some conversions were achieved among Muslims in Majorca and Valencia in the thirteenth century; see R.I. Burns, "Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West: the Thirteenth Century Dream of Conversion," American Historical Review 76 (1971) pp. 1386-1434. How many
contemporary authors to explain these failures are important because they demonstrate that the crusade ideal was an enduring expression of medieval Christian religiosity in a world in which intercultural exchange was becoming an increasingly significant problem for a Europe which defined its boundaries according to the practice and precepts of its Christian religion.

I. CRUSAADING FROM THE COUNCIL OF LYONS (1274) TO 1330

In her recent book, Fideles Crucis, Sylvia Schein argues rather convincingly that, far from losing its central role in medieval culture between 1274-1316, the idea of crusade maintained a prominent position in both the rhetoric and the daily life of Christian Europe. Her research focuses on attempts to recover the Holy Land and therefore does not give a detailed discussion of plans for crusade in other regions. Crusade activities directed towards regions other than the Holy Land have, however, received recent attention from other authors.\textsuperscript{10} Crusading in Spain has not been studied in a concentrated way for this period, although it is frequently mentioned in the context of the economic and dynastic goals of

\textsuperscript{10}See above, note number 6.
the rulers in Spain, or in treatments of the multicultural character of the Iberian peninsula. The chief reason for this is that the greater part of the reconquest had been accomplished by Llull's lifetime.\footnote{A convenient introduction to the history of the reconquista can be found in Lomax, The Reconquest of Spain (London, 1978); C.J. Bishko, "The Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest 1095-1492," in K. Setton, et. al. eds., A History of the Crusades, v.3, (Madison, 1975), pp. 396-456.} Moreover, our understanding of crusading in the late Middle Ages has been clouded by some historiographical controversies concerning the definition of a crusade; some scholars claim that the only true crusades were those directed to the East, towards the recovery of the Holy Land, and others argue that a wider definition of crusade is necessary to encompass the medieval crusading experience.\footnote{This is an ongoing discussion. For a brief overview of some of the main authors and works involved see Schein, Fideles Crucis, 1-13, especially pp. 5-6.} Apparently, this is not a new discussion--critics and advocates of crusading in various arenas were arguing about this during the late Middle Ages as well. In this thesis, I accept a broad conception of crusading because Llull, the papacy and canon lawyers did so.\footnote{Llull's crusade treatises discuss expeditions to the Holy Land, to Granada, to North Africa, and to Byzantium. Likewise, he advocated Christian evangelization of all these regions. Crusading away from the Holy Land has received recent attention in N. Housely, The Italian Crusades: The Papal-Angevin Alliance and the Crusades Against Christian Lay Powers, (Oxford, 1982); and E. Christiansen, The Northern Crusades: The Baltic and Catholic Frontier), 1980, to mention just two such studies.} Another factor obscuring our picture of crusading in the late Middle
Ages has been the enduring misconception that this period was characterized by abundant yet sterile planning with no noteworthy attempts to realize a major crusade to the Holy Land. Recent scholarship, as I have pointed out, has made great strides in dispelling these clouds. Hence, although a thumbnail sketch of crusading activity during Llull’s lifetime is necessary here in order to provide the proper context for understanding his thought, I shall follow the accounts of the others who have so competently waded through the necessary sources, rather than re-invent the wheel.

The debacle of St. Louis’ general crusade to Tunis in 1270 had a profound effect on the planning of the crusade in subsequent years. It may have had an even greater influence on the general shape of European crusading than the disastrous fall of Acre some twenty years later. Crusade strategists began to appreciate more fully the logistical problems inherent in the passagium generale, as well as to recognize some of the military advantages held by the West. Hence the emphasis in crusade planning shifted towards utilization of naval superiority against the land based armies of the Mamluks, towards commercial embargos and naval blockades in order to weaken the enemy forces, and towards securing convenient ports from which to launch smaller professional forces rather than large unwieldy armies composed of pilgrims and non-professionals along with experienced combatants. These concerns are apparent in the memoirs submitted to Pope Gregory
X in preparation for the Second General Council of Lyons, and become even more pronounced in the decade prior to 1291.\textsuperscript{14} By the time of the fall of Acre, the major innovations in crusade strategy had already occurred--their implementation had merely become all the more urgent.\textsuperscript{15}

Despite the strategic adaptations which gradually became incorporated into both papal and secular plans for crusade after 1274, it seems that basic crusade ideology endured without major alterations. For example, the treatise \textit{Opus Tripartitum}, which Humbert of Romans submitted to Gregory X in response to the pope's request for advice on the topics of crusade, church reform, and reunion with the Byzantine Church, contains an eloquent recapitulation of the reasons why the Church should continue to be involved in the crusade movement.\textsuperscript{16}

One question did receive unprecedented emphasis from the time of the failure of St. Louis' crusade in 1270 to the early

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{14}Humbert of Romans submitted his \textit{Opus Tripartitum}; Gilbert of Tournai, the \textit{Collectio de scandalis ecclesiae}; William of Tripoli, the \textit{Tractatus de Statu Saracenorum}; Bruno, Bishop of Olmutz also submitted a memoir which focussed on the northern crusade. For details see Schein, \textit{Fideles Crucis}, pp. 22-36. These works, among others gave rise to Gregory X's own \textit{Constitutiones pro zelo fidei}, reprinted in M. Purcell, \textit{Papal Crusading Policy: 1244-1291}, (Leiden, 1975), Appendix A, pp. 196-9.
\item \textsuperscript{15}This is Schein's main argument in \textit{Fideles Crucis}; see especially pp. 15-50.
\end{itemize}
fourteenth century: whether it was appropriate for Christians to engage in crusade. This gave rise to the notion that mission and crusade were in opposition. Some elements of late medieval religious culture help to explain this. Among them was a renewed emphasis on the apostolic lifestyle and on preaching by word and deed, that is, by holy example and martyrdom. The popularity of the mendicants, who particularly embraced these ideals, is evidence of the pervasive attraction they held. There was also an increased introspection on the part of western intellectuals who were beginning to come to grips with the idea that Christendom actually occupied only a small part of the world. These scholars were searching for new ways to relate to peoples and cultures they had previously only known of through myth and legend. New approaches were taken to deal with the practical problems surrounding a major crusade to the Holy Land. And finally, this period saw an unprecedented optimism about the possibilities of gaining converts for Christianity by peaceful means. This optimism was partially inspired by the promising diplomatic relations with

17For the sources, see Palmer Throop, Criticism of Crusade: A Study of Public Opinion and Crusade Propaganda, (Amsterdam, 1940; reprinted, 1975); E. Siberry, Criticism of Crusade; B. Kedar, Mission and Crusade, pp. 99-112. Humbert of Romans, Opus Tripartitum, prima pars, pp. 185-206, discusses these objections to crusade in the context of traditional crusade theology; Ramon Llull also deals with this issue; see below, chapter four. Others, such as Roger Bacon also expressed concerns about crusading during this period, and suggested that missions might be more profitable. While these objections and concerns should not be underestimated, it is clear that these authors did not rule out crusades completely.
the Mongols. However, this was only one side of the story. At the same time as one sees this growing optimism about peaceful conquest, one also sees a growing appreciation of the size of the task the missionaries are engaged in. For example, Humbert of Romans declared that, although formerly the world was converted to Christ by way of preaching, miracles and examples of holiness, not one of these methods was successful with the Muslims; they would continue to increase in number until they were cut down by Christians or someone else; since they lived by the sword, they should die by the sword. Hence, he advocates sending preachers throughout Christendom to rekindle zeal for the crusade.18

It is important to recognize that the innovations in crusade strategy which were institutionalized during the pontificate of Gregory X and his successors came about gradually. For example, the idea for smaller, more professional armies, engaged in what came to be called a perpetual crusade or a passagium particulare during the pontificate of Boniface VIII, had already been put into

18Humbert of Romans, Opus Tripartitum, ch. 20, ed., Brown, Fasciculus rerum, p.200: "Notandum est, quod mundus fuit conversus olim ad Christum partim per praedicationem, partim per miracula, partim per sanctitatis exempla quae visa sunt in praedicatoribus. Sed Saraceni excuserunt a se viam praedicationis....Item, tempus miraculorum non est modo...Item, sanctitatis exempla Christianorum non movent Saracenos...Relinquitur ergo, quod non est aliqua spes de conversione eorum secundum cursum solitum. Quare oportet quod semper durent in mundo, cum sine modo multiplicentur, nisi per potentialiam aliquam Christianam vel Barbaricam destruantur. Unde solet dici, quod sicut Mahumetus per gladium acquisivit mundum, ita per gladium destruetur."
practice quite effectively from 1254. Such smaller scale expeditions were often promoted as precursors for a general crusade. Eventually these specialized expeditions became part of the actual crusade plans. 19 It is interesting that Gregory X himself seemed reluctant to incorporate the new strategic thinking put forth by his lay advisors into his own plans. 20 Instead, he tried to organize a general crusade to depart for the Holy Land in 1280 and declared that he himself would accompany the crusaders to the Holy Land. 21 Like Humbert of Romans' recapitulation of traditional crusade theology, Gregory X's intention to launch a traditional general crusade in which all Christians could participate reflects the persistence of classic crusade ideology in western Europe.

But Gregory X was not simply an impractical dreamer. Several factors seemed propitious for such a large scale enterprise. Among the chief of these was the official union of the western and eastern churches achieved at the fourth session of the Council of Lyons. The recent overtures from the Mongol il-khans of Persia, offering an alliance against the

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19 See Riley-Smith, pp. 173-176, 179-207.

20 Schein, p.50.

Mamluks, also looked promising. Moreover, Gregory X had been successful in marshalling support for the crusade from the monarchs of Europe. He encouraged them to set aside their differences and arranged for effective treaties amongst them. By 1276 he had established an impressive anti-Muslim league including most of the major rulers in Christendom. But the promising steps Gregory X had made towards launching a new passagium generale faltered when he died. Although the preaching of the crusade and the collection of the tenths continued after Gregory's death, it soon became apparent that aspirations for such a large scale expedition were simply ephemeral dreams.

Despite favourable circumstances in the east, such as the death of Baibars, which helped create excellent conditions for the recovery of the Holy Land, European resources and interests were focused elsewhere at this time. And,


24Both Schein, p. 49, and Riley-Smith, p. 178, cite Salimbene de Adam's Chronicon, which claimed that Gregory's death made it obvious that it was not God's will to recover the Holy Land at that time.

25Schein, Fideles Crucis, p.62.
although crusade rhetoric continued to be very much alive in Europe, effort to implement plans for a crusade to the Holy Land faded into the background between the pontificates of Gregory X and Nicholas IV (1276-1288). Apart from a sum of money pledged by Hadrian V in 1276 to the patriarch of Jerusalem for building galleys (money which did not reach its destination until 1286), no other aid was offered by the papacy to Outremer between 1276-1290.\textsuperscript{26} Popes and secular rulers in Europe were busy instead with crusades of another sort—against Christian enemies of the papacy such as Aragon, Byzantium, Sicily and the Colonna.\textsuperscript{27}

Modern historians argue about whether these intra-European campaigns can justly be considered crusades and some contemporaries criticized the church for spending resources meant for the Holy Land on these "false crusades." But substantial evidence shows that the traditional instruments of crusade (that is, taking crusading vows, granting indulgences, preaching) were also employed in connection to these campaigns. And there was no shortage of people willing to receive indulgences for participating in these crusades.\textsuperscript{28}

\textsuperscript{26}Schein, p. 51.

\textsuperscript{27}For an introduction to these see J. R. Strayer, "The Political Crusades of the Thirteenth Century," in K. Setton et al., eds., \textit{A History of the Crusades} v. 2 (Madison, 1969), pp. 343-375; Norman Housley, \textit{The Italian Crusades}.

\textsuperscript{28}For internal criticisms of the practise of spending crusade tithes on papal projects in Europe see P. Throop, \textit{Criticism of Crusade}, passim. Christiansen, \textit{The Northern Crusades}, pp. 138-40, points out that there was no shortage of
The Italian chronicler Giovanni Villani's account of the crusade against Castruccio Castracani in 1328, gives a vivid description of both the scope and magnitude of participation in these "political" crusades. Moreover, there was some undeniable truth to the papacy's claim that the pacification of Europe, and by extension the successful conclusion of the *crux cismarina*, was the *sine qua non* for the successful launching of a new eastern crusade. In addition, the political environment in Europe was such that any pope hoping to realize a crusade to the Holy Land would have somehow to assimilate the political aspirations of secular rulers into his plans. Ramon Llull took these factors into consideration when formulating his crusade proposals as well.

Whether or not these crusades *cismarinae* were considered 'true' crusades or not, the reality was that they influenced the experience of crusading during Llull's lifetime. Thus a brief summary of them is useful. It is certainly legitimate for us to examine the contemporary criticism of the popes, interest in the northern crusade, and suggests that perhaps people joined the crusades to these other regions because the opportunity to join a crusade to the Holy Land did not exist.


30For an example from a slightly later period see the *consilium* of Giovanni Orsini on the crusade, April 1323, ed. Fayen, #1707.
such as that voiced by Llull; it is anachronistic to condemn them for wielding the great secular power which they possessed.

The aspirations of Charles I of Anjou to the Byzantine throne constituted one of the most important political issues to be assimilated into papal crusading plans.\textsuperscript{31} Simon of Brie, who had been Gregory X's legate in charge of preaching the crusade in France, capitulated to these royal ambitions when he became pope as Martin IV. In 1281 he sanctioned Charles' crusade against Constantinople and disrupted the Union of Lyons by excommunicating the Byzantine Emperor.\textsuperscript{32} Even when Nicholas IV, and initially Clement V, were reluctant to bow to the ambitions of the Angevins, the support of the French monarchy was so necessary for the successful launching of a crusade to the Holy Land that gradually a crusade against Constantinople became incorporated into \textit{De recuperatione} treatises as a matter of course.\textsuperscript{33} This was not a full-fledged capitulation to the Angevins, however. Byzantine

\textsuperscript{31}For example in 1277 Charles bought the rights to the crown of Jerusalem from Maria of Antioch. For Byzantine Greeks and the Crusaders see K.M. Setton, \textit{The Papacy and the Levant}, (1976-84).


\textsuperscript{33}For example, even Llull included a crusade against Constantinople in his plans. French crusading proposals naturally tended to be sympathetic to these aspirations as well. See below, chapter two.
cooperation held many strategic advantages for the crusaders. Moreover, thinkers like Llull considered the main goal of crusade to be the union of the whole world in obedience to Christ. For them, it was impossible to leave the Greeks out of the crusade proposals.

Even Charles I of Anjou's crusading ambitions experienced setbacks in face of the papacy's European concerns. His planned crusade against Constantinople was postponed in 1282 when Peter of Aragon conquered Sicily during the Sicilian Vespers. The anti-Aragonese and Sicilian crusades sparked by these events would endure into the next century. Preaching for the crusade which Martin IV proclaimed against Sicily in 1283 was gradually extended into France, and by 1285 Philip III was able to commute his vow to go to the Holy Land into a promise to crusade against Aragon instead. This crusade was not without its practical repercussions on the career of Ramon Llull, whose patron, the king of Majorca, decided to throw in his lot with the more formidable forces of France and the papacy against his elder brother, the king of Aragon.\(^{34}\)

The kingdom of Aragon had been declared a papal fief and promised to Charles of Valois. His father, Philip III, accepted the crown of Aragon on his behalf in 1284 and in the spring of 1285 Philip invaded Spain with a huge army. However, the Aragonese successfully held the papal and French forces

\(^{34}\)See Bonner, *Selected Works of Ramon Llull*, pp. 20-23; Llull stayed away from Majorca for a goodly amount of time, remaining in Italy and France (Montpellier and Paris) instead.
off at Gerona until their fleet could be recalled from Sicily. When the navy did arrive, French supply lines were cut off. Philip III died during the forced French retreat which followed.\textsuperscript{35}

This disastrous crusade against Aragon had several implications for the future of crusade planning. Some have seen this as a "mile-post in the decline of the leadership of the Church."\textsuperscript{36} The Catalan chroniclers Muntaner and Desclot claimed that Philip the Fair had opposed his father's decision to attack Aragon. It is possible that the failure of the crusade shaped Philip IV's attitude towards the crusade in general. At first he was reluctant to be drawn into papal crusade plans; later, he attempted to control the enterprise.\textsuperscript{37} After 1285 the emphasis in crusade planning shifted back and forth between France and England, and later, the Crown of Aragon. Each monarch was eager to gain the popular support engendered by being the leader of such a Holy

\textsuperscript{35}For some introductory accounts of this crusade see J. R. Strayer, "The Crusade Against Aragon," Speculum 28 (1953); and his "The Political Crusades of the Thirteenth Century," in Setton, ed. A History of the Crusades, v. 2 (Madison, 1969), pp. 343-375; and Housley, The Italian Crusades.

\textsuperscript{36}Strayer, "The Crusade Against Aragon," p. 102.

\textsuperscript{37}Philip was not alone in his opposition. When the pope sent Cardinal Jean Cholet to France to secure the support of Philip III for an organized crusade against Aragon, he met with opposition from some French ministers and the Abbot of St. Denis, Matthew of Vendôme. France delayed its participation, trying to maximize its possible financial gain; Strayer, "The Crusade Against Aragon," p. 105.
expedition. There is evidence that Peter III had been planning to become involved in the Sicilian revolt at least as early as 1281—the circumstances leading to Aragonese possession of the island were not nearly as fortuitous as he claimed. A great deal of the papacy’s consequent reluctance to believe in Aragon’s crusading plans, even after James II’s reconciliation with the Holy See, can be explained by the lengthy Sicilian struggle.

The crusade against Aragon did not end in 1285, although there was no further serious fighting along the French-Aragonese border. Philip IV managed to obtain a papal grant of a tenth to carry on the war and the Aragonese raided Languedoc until 1290 but for the most part the crusade continued in Sicily and Southern Italy where the Aragonese had advanced as far as Salerno. Despite the professed desire for peace on

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39 Control of Sicily would certainly further Aragon’s policies with respect to North Africa. Hillgarth, Problem, p.24, points out that Peres’s policy towards North Africa was much more ambitious than his father’s.

40 Evidence of this problem can be seen in the activities of Pedro III, who claimed that his military preparations were directed towards the Muslims of North Africa. His army went there and then skirmished fitfully until an embassy from Sicily was sent to ask for his help. Martin IV was justifiably angered by this and proceeded to open Sicily up to occupation by any zealous Catholic in a pronouncement of 21 March 1283. For the crusading indulgences against Peter, see Martin IV, reg. #301. Strayer, "The Crusade Against Aragon," p. 104.

41 Strayer, "The Crusade Against Aragon," p. 111.

42 Housley, The Italian Crusades, p. 30.
the part of all the combatants, the Sicilian crusade was not finally concluded until the Peace of Caltabellotta in 1302. Thus it had a profound influence on the ideology of crusade in general. Critics of the popes claimed that their selfish and worldly ambitions were hindering the eastern crusade; the popes countered these attacks by declaring that, on the contrary, it was their secular opponents, whom they compared to the Muslims as enemies of the faith, who were harming the position of the Church in the east.43

One of the major effects of the Sicilian crusade, was that the pacification of Italy became another sine qua non for launching an eastern crusade. Crusades against the Colonna and other enemies of the Church under Boniface VIII, for example, merely intensified the problem. And although the achievement of peace within Europe had always been considered both a prerequisite for and a felicitous result of crusade, the need to pacify Europe began to carry even greater weight as an obstacle to the recovery of the Holy Land during this period.

Related to this was the issue of the turbulent situation in the east itself. The feudal principalities which made up the remnants of the Latin Kingdom in the east were constantly at war. They were at odds about military strategy, treaties and alliances. In addition, the disputes between the Italian cities, which were each pursuing their own commercial goals,

43See Schein, pp. 140-199, for the intricacies of the politics of crusade during this period and for an introduction to the sources.
spilled over into the Christian fortresses of the east. The influence of this situation on western crusade ideology has not been adequately examined. However, we know that popular crusading fervour increased upon the news of all too infrequent military success in the east. Hence, it does not seem unreasonable to conclude that the political turmoil of the Holy Land in turn cast a damper on crusade enthusiasm.  

In view of these problems, it is not surprising that the Iberian kings were reluctant to become involved in an eastern campaign that would serve the goals of others. In particular, this context helps us understand James II's eagerness to focus crusading enthusiasm and resources in areas that would be beneficial to his commercial as well as religious interests.

Contemporaries were certainly aware of these problems. It

44 This concern shows up in crusade treatises such as that of Fidenzio of Padua, Liber Recuperationis Terrae Sanctae, in G. Golubovich, Biblioteca bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francese, v. 2. (Quaracchi, 1906-27). See also S. Schein, "From Milites Christi to mali Christiani: The Italian Communes in Western Historical Literature," in B.Z. Kedar and G. Airaldi, eds., I comuni italiani nel regno crociato di Gerusalemme (Genoa, 1986). For the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, see J. Richard, The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, 2 vols. (1969-70); and J. Prawer, The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem: European Colonialism in the Middle Ages, (London, 1972). It could also be argued that the heroic defense of Acre prior to its fall in 1291 was inspirational; subsequent crusade plans were not simply in response to its loss.

45 See Norman Housley, "Clement V and the Crusades of 1309-10," Journal of Medieval History 8 (1982); and below, pp. on crusading in Spain during this period. A coherent study of James II and his crusading policy is needed.
is popular to cite Bartholomew of Neocastro's *Historia Sicula* as an example of this. Bartholomew recounts how a messenger to Nicholas IV from the Templars predicted the fall of Acre if the pope did not immediately stop deflecting resources to the Sicilian crusade and assist the Latins in the east.\(^{46}\) And, in fact, under Nicholas IV the question of the Holy Land received renewed emphasis. Contemporaries thought him sincere in his concern for the Holy Land. Although he too wanted the question of Sicily settled, he simultaneously attempted to revive Gregory X's policies regarding the eastern crusade. The fall of Tripoli in 1289 caused him to transfer crusading funds to the patriarch of Jerusalem and in 1290 he tried to organize a *passagium particulare*. The response to his call for crusade primarily came from Venice and other northern Italian communes who recognized the dangers to their commercial interests.\(^{47}\)

The result of this expedition is well known. The quarrelling crusaders provoked the sultan Qalawun to revoke the truce with Acre and ultimately caused the fall of the city.\(^{48}\)

Just prior to this, the Treaty of Brignoles had settled


\(^{47}\)The Italians in general had a favourable response to the eastern crusade, even when they could have earned equal crusading indulgences against Sicily. This fact has been used to argue that the crusade *transmarina* was considered a more worthy enterprise by western Christians. See Schein, p. 69. For Nicholas IV, see J.D. Ryan, "Nicholas IV and the Evolution of the Eastern Missionary Effort," *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae* 19 (1981), pp. 79-95.

\(^{48}\)Riley-Smith, p.206.
the question of Sicily. Upon that occasion, Nicholas IV declared a new general crusade in addition to the smaller expeditions. He planned for this crusade to depart in 1293 under the leadership of Edward I who, in July of 1290, had already dispatched to the Holy Land a preliminary force which consisted primarily of pilgrims. This expedition was commanded by Otho of Grandison. In preparation for this crusade, various European leaders signed advance treaties with the sultan of Egypt in order to safeguard any possible gains made in the Holy Land.

Schein argues that the fall of Acre did not fundamentally transform the concept of crusade. Her careful analysis of crusade planning from the II Council of Lyons to the Council of Vienne supports this thesis. However, it is difficult to believe that the loss of the last major outpost in the Holy Land did not have a profound influence on western popular opinion about the crusade. Even if the loss of the Holy Land was regarded as a temporary rather than as a final event, the truth of the matter was that after 1291 crusade strategy, whether innovative, or not, had to deal with a new situation in the east and adaptations in planning became all the more urgent.

Nicholas IV seemed to recognize this. He continued to express his hopes for a general crusade but he also tried to

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50 Schein, p.72.
meet the urgent situation in the east by adopting some of the ideas that had been repeatedly put forth since the pontificate of Gregory X. For example, high on the agenda of the provincial church councils which Nicholas IV called was the question of the unification and reform of the military orders. These orders became more important when the west lost its outposts in the Holy Land. They became the key to success for any future crusades. This was recognized by both secular and ecclesiastical rulers in Europe. The military orders were gradually transformed from enclaves of land-based knights into naval powers. Unfortunately for the goals of a crusade, this transformation brought them into conflict with the other naval powers in the eastern Mediterranean and forced them to deal with the competing ambitions of secular rulers in regions where they hoped to establish strategic naval bases. This was especially the case in Cyprus.51

Related to the increased significance of the military orders were new efforts to enforce the blockade against Egypt. This blockade was undertaken as a preliminary measure to ensure success for an eastern crusade. Because the main goals of the crusaders after 1291 included the defeat of Mamluk

Egypt as a prerequisite for the reconquest of Palestine in the long term, and the defence of the remaining Latin settlements in the east in the immediate present, "crusading moved to the sea."\textsuperscript{52}

Thus, Cyprus, Lesser Armenia, and the Latin settlements in Greece gained increased significance as the focus of the \textit{subsidium terre sancte}. Constantinople received renewed emphasis as a destination for the crusade because of its strategic importance and also owing to the designs of Charles of Valois, whose ambitions concerning the kingdom replaced those of Charles of Anjou in western crusading plans. However, immediate efforts to aid the kingdom of Lesser Armenia at this time basically failed. For example, the aid brought by the papal fleets under Tedesio Doria and Manuel Zaccaria of Genoa came to nothing more than serving to irritate the sultan al-Ashraf Khalil.

The willingness to negotiate seriously a real alliance with the Mongols--something that had been a possibility since at least the time of King Louis IX--was another novelty in crusade plans of this period.\textsuperscript{53} The possibility of such an

\textsuperscript{52}Riley-Smith, p.224.

alliance, together with Nicholas IV's decision to wait with the crusade against Aragon until the Holy Land was recovered, made it look as though a crusade to the east would actually be launched. Unfortunately for his goals, Nicholas was unable to bring about a general European peace.

Nicholas IV brought new vigour and energy to plans for an eastern crusade. Perhaps the greatest effect of the fall of Acre was the increased momentum it gave to the crusade movement as the papacy actually tried to realize its plans for crusade. A mark of this new momentum can be seen in the birth of a new literary genre during this period: the De recuperatione terre sancte treatises.54

The fact that Nicholas IV's death in 1292 had such a strong impact on plans for the crusade, reinforces the impression left by Gregory X's death. It demonstrates how closely the fate of the eastern crusade was tied to the policy of individual popes. Just as the papacy was forced to rely upon the goodwill and material support of the secular rulers of Europe for their crusade goals, the kings of Europe were dependent on the popes. Hence it is possible to argue that, although the papacy made no serious attempts between 1292 and 1305 to launch a crusade to the Holy Land, there was no break in general crusade enthusiasm. In addition, crusades within Christendom, such as that of Boniface VIII against the Colonna and Sicily, continued to receive attention. The fervour

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54 Schein, p. 91-111.
generated in Europe by the success of the Mongols in the Holy Land c.1300 supports this contention. Finally, it can be argued that during this period, focus shifted from the papacy to the monarchs of Europe as instruments to organize the crusade.  

The period between the death of Nicholas IV and the passagium finally launched by Clement V in 1308-9 was indeed one of "sterile planning" in terms of the eastern crusade. One of the reasons why both contemporary and modern commentators on the crusade were so skeptical about the intentions of leaders of church and state to engage in a crusade to the east lies in the dichotomy between litterae and gesta of figures such as Boniface VIII and Philip IV. English chroniclers, for example, reported that Boniface intended to go on crusade himself, if only peace could be achieved in Europe. He even appointed James II of Aragon as "general Standard-Bearer, Captain and Admiral of the Church" in preparation for such a crusade, although this may have been more directly related to Boniface's plans for Sicily. Moreover, during Boniface's reign, the number of allowable commutations and redemptions of crusading vows was diminished. This would suggest a serious intention to launch a crusade. In addition, from the time of Boniface VIII on, the papal curia "promulgated decrees of

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55 Schein, p.144.

increasing severity on the blockade."\(^{57}\)

Perhaps surprising, in light of all the other problems he faced, was Clement V's concern with a crusade to the east. He revived dreams for a *passagium generale* to the Holy Land as is evident from his agenda for the council of Vienne. When it became clear to him that this could only be pursued as a long term goal, much like Nicholas IV he turned to a *passagium particulare*. The enterprise he planned was less ambitious and more practical because he attempted to accommodate the goals of secular participants in order to ensure the crusade's success.\(^{58}\) In 1309-10 a small expedition of about 5,000 knights under the leadership of the Hospitaller master-general set off to protect Cyprus and Cilician Armenia and to enforce the blockade. The plan called for the crusaders to remain in the area for five years while preparations for a general crusade were carried out. Although little was accomplished by this *passagium* except for the consolidation of the Hospitallers' conquest of Rhodes, it is significant that the

\(^{57}\)Riley-Smith, p.224. Needless to say, these decrees had a great effect on the Crown of Aragon, particularly because it was an important trading partner of Egypt and North Africa. For an introduction to these relationships see A.S. Atiya, *Egypt and Aragon: Embassies and Diplomatic Correspondence between 1300 and 1330 AD*, (Leipzig, 1938); and Charles Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIII et XIV siècles*, (Paris, 1966); interesting for our purposes is, Dufourcq, "La Méditerranée et le Christianisme: cadre géopolitique et économique de l'apostolat missionnaire de Ramon Llull," *Estudios Lullianos* 24 (1980), pp. 5-22.

plans were actually put into action this time. The large numbers of people from across Europe who showed up at Brindisi in July of 1309 hoping to take passage to the Holy Land, even though a general crusade had not been preached, is evidence that general public opinion was still enthusiastic about the crusade. Simultaneously, James II of Aragon was preparing a crusade against Granada which also set sail in 1309, but with disastrous results. Even the reluctant Philip IV became involved in planning a crusade during this period. His involvement culminated in his taking the cross at a great assembly in Paris in 1313.

The fact that monarchs such as these felt an obligation to carry on the crusading traditions of their respective royal houses, even if their efforts were directed towards European "enemies of the Church" rather than the Muslims, suggests that crusade rhetoric and epithets such as 'defender of the faith' still had significant propaganda value and emotional force. It points to the enduring popularity of the crusade idea at the very least. This conclusion can also be supported by more

59 Apparently 30-40,000 people. See Housley, "Clement V and the Crusades of 1309-10."

60 See below, section II.

tangible evidence; financial gain was possible when an expedition was declared a crusade since it allowed the king to levy and collect crusade tithes. In addition, the designation of particular expeditions as crusades doubtless held some attraction for possible recruits. People would not have sought the crusade indulgences unless they really believed the indulgences to be effective. Moreover, trends towards using mercenaries for the eastern crusade did not necessarily imply a manpower shortage, but reflected changes in strategy. The abundance of small "private" expeditions to the Holy Land, especially after the fall of Acre, reinforces this picture. And finally, appeals to defend Christendom from the Muslims, the Mongols or the northern pagans had a power to fan crusade fervour, even during this late period, which has not yet been taken seriously enough by modern historians. The realities of the situation may be clear to us, but to contemporaries, those outside the bounds of Christendom presented a very real danger in both religious and political terms.

Although the crusade plans of Vienne were not enacted, the Council was important because it restated classic crusade ideology. Despite the fact that the Avignonese papacy began under Clement V, his crusade policies and general concerns indicate that he belongs to the tradition preceding that of Avignon. As it slowly became clear that the sojourn of the

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62 The eagerness of the Iberian kings to gain crusade status for their enterprises against Granada and the North African coast is a good example of this.
papal curia at Avignon would endure longer than originally thought, the concerns of the popes naturally focussed more upon the pacification of Italy than on the eastern crusades. Nonetheless, the plans for a crusade, the machinery for collecting tithes, and the proclaiming of indulgences continued. Small relief expeditions were sent to Cilician Armenia, for example, and the desecration of the Holy Land remained a vivid image in the rhetoric of medieval sermons. The problems which had hindered the launching of a successful large-scale expedition between 1274 and 1314 lingered; they were only intensified in the period of the Avignonese papacy. As national rivalries between nations such as England and France simmered slowly to the boil of the Hundred Years' War, the problem of the pacification of Europe as a prerequisite to an eastern crusade only grew worse. If the papacy was unable to bring about peace in Italy so as to return the curia to Rome, how could it hope to organize a successful international venture like a crusade to the Holy Land? In many ways, this period was one of consolidation. The military orders tried to secure their holdings in the east, particularly in Cyprus and

63Housley, The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades; Tyerman, England and the Crusades; Tyerman, England and the Crusade, points out that in some ways crusade fervour was transformed into incipient nationalism during this period. For the pacification of Italy, see Blake R. Beattie, The Legation of Cardinal Giovanni Orsini, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, (Toronto, 1991).
Rhodes. The Catalan company ranged about trying to gain power in regions that had formerly been part of the Byzantine empire. Crusading continued unabated on the northern fronts. And in Castile, unremitting border skirmishes between Christians and Muslims characterized the period until Alfonso XI came of age. In 1320, a significant and widespread outburst of crusade fervour occurred in Europe; this is known as the Pastoureaux movement. All this is evidence that the patterns in crusade planning and enthusiasm which developed during the late thirteenth century, endured into the fourteenth, along with the power of crusade rhetoric to move the hearts of the people. On October 1, 1333, Philip VI of France took the cross in a great ceremony in Paris just as Philip IV had; he too was planning a crusade to the Holy Land. By this time, Llull was long dead. However, it seems that the problems surrounding the planning of a crusade to the Holy Land and which Llull’s proposals reflected, remained.

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64 For the discussions about how to reform the military orders, see A.J. Forey, "The Military Orders in the Crusading Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries," Traditio 36 (1980) pp. 317-345.


II. CRUSADING IN SPAIN TO 1340

In his recent survey of the crusading movement, Jonathan Riley-Smith suggested that, for Spain "this extraordinary period [1229-1291] has never been studied enough from the point of view of crusading: we can identify particular Spanish crusades and we can trace their developing features, but we cannot yet reach firm conclusions about them."\(^6^8\) The same claim can be made about the period after 1291, until renewed campaigning by Alfonso XI of Castile. This is partially because, after the successful conquest of the kingdom of Valencia by James I of Aragon 1232-53, the completion of the Portuguese reconquest by 1250 and the conquest of Seville by St. Ferdinand of Castile in 1248, the pace of the reconquest slowed.\(^6^9\) There was a lack of spectacular progress in the reconquista during this period. However, there are indications that crusade ideology continued to have a strong influence in the Spanish kingdoms. One of these indications consists in the claims by both contemporary and modern authors that the reconquista in Spain deprived the potential crusade to the

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Holy Land of both human and financial resources.  

One reason for the continuing popularity of crusade ideals in Spain could be the difference in the nature of the two crusades. The Council of Lyons had made it clear that the Spanish experience to that point had been one of "progressive successes as opposed to the recurrent failures in the east." Indeed, Housley characterizes this period of the reconquest as one of the most ambitious and optimistic in the sense that the Christians hoped to conquer Granada and carry the crusade across the straits of Gibraltar into North Africa. Although ideologically the enemy, Islam, was the same in Spain as in the east, this experience of success in contrast to the struggle of the Latin Kingdoms to hold on in the east, gave a different emphasis to the crusade planning in Spain. These differences often led to suspicions that the Iberian rulers were being less than sincere in their crusading fervour--especially the King of Aragon. In the Spanish kingdoms, attention was given to the other side of crusading--namely

70See above, p. 42

71Housley, The Later Crusades, p.267. For the reconquista during this period see The Later Crusades, ch. 9; Lomax, The Reconquest of Spain; C. J. Bishko, "The Spanish and Portuguese Reconquest," in Setton, A History of the Crusades. v.3 (Madison, 1975), pp.396-456; J. Goñi Gaztambide, Historia de la Bula de la Cruzada en España (Vitoria, 1958); A. Huici Miranda, Las Grandes batallas de la Reconquista durante las invasiones africanas (Madrid, 1956). A lot of attention has also been given to the activities of the Catalans in Greece, and to the relationship between the Crown of Aragon and North Africa.

72Bishko, pp.435-439.
problems concerning the assimilation of the subject culture, consolidation and settlement of conquered territories, and bringing an end to the internal disunity amongst the Christian rulers. Of course, Christians in the east also had to contend with such issues, but there they were much more on the defensive; their situation was much more critical. Hence the sense of competition for limited resources arose between the two crusading theaters. Peter Linehan points out that, when pursuing ecclesiastical support for the reconquista, "for foreign consumption it was politic for a peninsular prelate to stress the international dimension of the national venture in order to derive benefit from the papally inspired crusading movement." However, it seems possible that by the turn of the century, when crusade theoreticians and strategists began paying more attention to questions of political organization

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73Housley, Later Crusades, p. 268. There are numerous works on these questions: see the many works by R.I Burns on the subject. Very interesting and useful, as well, are the new documentary studies such as those group projects spearheaded by Maria Teresa Ferrer i Mallol, Els sarrains de la Corona catalano-aragonesa en el segle XIV: Segregació i discriminació (Anuario de Estudios Medievales, anex 16), (Barcelona, 1987); eadem, La frontera amb l’Islam en el segle XIV: Cristians i sarrains al pais Valencia, (Anuario de Estudios Medievales, anex 18) (Barcelona, 1988); and eadem, La frontera terrestre i maritima amb l’Islam, (Miscellania de Textos Medievals, 4), (Barcelona, 1988).

74See the stimulating studies of the Latin Kingdoms in the east cited above, note number 44.

in the east they were influenced by the Spanish experience.\textsuperscript{76}

In 1260 Alfonso X of Castile had intended to attack North Africa. A fleet successfully took Salé but then returned home without garrisoning it. It was eventually lost. Alfonso was furious and two years later prepared for a renewed attack but his plans were derailed by Mudejar uprisings instigated by Granada. Alfonso's home front was simply not secure enough to enable him to proceed with such ambitious plans. This was particularly true in view of the changing situation in the Maghrib where a resurgence of Islamic unity was occurring under the rising Marinid dynasty. The Muslim leader Abu Yusuf Ya'qub was dedicated to the Holy War against the Christians.\textsuperscript{77}

This period of the reconquest saw interesting political configurations in the peninsula. In 1275, the ruler of Granada went so far as to risk independence by calling in the Berbers to help them raid Christian lands. These raids reached as far as Seville. A complicated series of alliances was established

\textsuperscript{76}These topics include the idea of the Bellator Rex, the way to utilize the military orders more effectively, the missions, education, and the organization of the subject population. Llull was not the only theorist to address these issues. I have not seen any studies of how the Spanish experience influenced the east--perhaps because the eastern kingdoms were in too precarious a position--but it is true that more attention is paid in later treatises to questions of how the conquered territory should be administered.

\textsuperscript{77}Lomax, p. 175, points out that the Berber period (1086-1349) was one of religious fanaticism under which influence examples of forced conversion to Islam can be found. In light of this, the concerns of the Spanish rulers were not so superficial.
between Christians and Muslims while Aragonese and Castilian alliance was rare.\textsuperscript{78} Under such circumstances, papal skepticism about the motivations of the Spanish kings was understandable, as was papal reluctance to grant the kings crusade indulgences for apparently personal expeditions.\textsuperscript{79} The reconquest seemed not to warrant such attention, especially in view of the urgent situation in the east.\textsuperscript{80}

James II of Aragon seemed torn between his ambitions to expand the Aragonese sphere of influence in North Africa and his commercial (and religious) interests in the east. This may explain his somewhat schizophrenic attitude towards crusading in general.\textsuperscript{81} As king of Sicily, prior to the fall of Acre, he had made known his intention to participate in a crusade to the east and had embarked on a series of diplomatic negotiations with the Mongols and the kings of Cyprus and Armenia to that end. After 1291 he continued with such activities; in 1294 he agreed to arm an Aragonese fleet to

\textsuperscript{78}Housley, The Later Crusades, p.276. See also J.N. Hillgarth, The Spanish Kingdoms, v. 1, p. 325, 326f.

\textsuperscript{79}Housley, The Avignon Papacy and the Crusades, p.53-54.

\textsuperscript{80}For example, in 1294, Sancho IV used old crusade bulls of Innocent IV and Clement IV prior to a siege of Algeciras. Housley, The Later Crusades, p.277. Bishko, p.438, describes the nature of the reconquest along the Castilian border: the large part of the defense resting on the shoulders of the great Andalusian nobles and their private armies, local troops only willing to serve a short time; he thinks that aside from flare ups of fervour, it seems hard to envision this as a crusade. However, compare this to the Latin kingdoms.

\textsuperscript{81}Hillgarth, Problem, p.43, describes James' policy towards the eastern crusade as one of non-involvment.
depart for the Holy Land under the leadership of Boniface of Calamandrana or Roger Lauria. In 1295, he was reconciled with the Church and his position as possible leader of an eastern crusade was enhanced in 1297 by the title of 'general Standard Bearer, Captain and Admiral of the Church,' granted him by Boniface VIII.\(^8^2\) It is striking that so many of James II's crusading plans focused on the east. In 1296, he tried to establish a protectorate over eastern Christians and holy places in Palestine. In 1300 he entered into a new alliance with the Mongols—in accordance with the upsurge of European optimism about the Holy Land. Later, with his brother Frederick III of Sicily, he seemed to be attracted by the plan to use the conquest of Constantinople as the stepping stone to Jerusalem. From 1309-1315 he even attempted to negotiate his way to the crown of Jerusalem; at one point Arnau of Villanova was engaged to help him pursue this goal. Next, he tried to gain access to the throne through marriage into the royal family of Cyprus.\(^8^3\) Despite his consistent interest in the east, James just as consistently refused to be drawn into papal crusade plans although during the reign of Clement V he did attempt to link his own plans with Clement's.\(^8^4\)

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\(^8^2\)See Schein, pp. 188-193; Acta Aragonensia, v. 1, no. 10, pp. 14-15. In 1296 this fleet ended up being used against the Sicilian enemies of the papacy.

\(^8^3\)Schein, 190-2.

\(^8^4\)This position of James II is not surprising—one may recall that during this period the papal and French forces were crusading against Aragon and Sicily. This dispute was not
The Crown of Aragon was still interested in southwards expansion and when Castile offered substantial shares in potential territorial gains in North Africa in return for the assistance of their fleet in securing the ports along the straits of Gibraltar, the Aragonese were quite eager to participate. To this end, the agreements of Monteagudo in 1291 and Alcalá de Henares in 1308 partitioned North Africa between Castile and Aragon and even guaranteed Aragon a sixth of the kingdom of Granada. Some scholars have suggested that Aragon’s plans for a Spanish crusade against Granada and North Africa in 1309 were deliberately aimed at ruining Clement V’s planned Hospitaller passagium particulare. Whatever the case, in 1308 a three-way agreement was made between Aragon, Castile and the Marinid Sultan in order to attack Granada. Aragon would assault Almería, Ferdinand IV Algeciras. The Sultan hoped to recover Ceuta. Clement V reluctantly granted this expedition crusade status, and even allowed the kings to levy a tenth on their clergy to finance it. But the crusade

settled until 1302 and then only very reluctantly by Boniface VIII. See Schein, pp. 188-90. For James’ crusade plans, see Housley, "Clement V and the crusades." Moreover, it seems reasonable that James would hesitate in pledging money and men to one of his great rivals, the king of France.


86Schein, Fideles Crucis, p. 190, and ch. 7. Interestingly, no one discusses Castile’s goals in this crusade. Was Ferdinand IV equally intent on ruining Clement’s plans? It should be noted that James II raised some very legitimate and realistic objections. See Schein, pp.228-29, 233, 237-8.
was a fiasco, leaving both Castile and Aragon demoralized and embarrassed. After that, Aragon was content to concentrate on interests in the western Mediterranean and attempted to expand via trade and treaty instead. James II sought to use this method in the east as well, signing numerous treaties with the sultan of Egypt throughout his reign. Occasionally, Aragon assisted Castile in moments of crisis, and at the Council of Vienne the Aragonese submitted a proposal which would link a crusade against Granada with a crusade to the Holy Land, but for the most part, after 1308, the papacy remained skeptical concerning Spanish proposals for crusade. And although James II was puzzled about the survival of the "petty" king of Granada and felt that it reflected badly on Christendom, Granada was able to survive because of Christian weaknesses, the help of the Marinids, the mountainous landscape, up to the minute fortifications, and a shrewd diplomatic ability to play off Morocco, Castile, Portugal and Aragon against each other. Moreover, on their side too, the Muslims of Granada were able to draw on the same "embattled, defensive ethos which lent support to Holy War" that the Christians used in the east.

For a decade after the council of Vienne, little effort,

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88 Housley, The Avignon Papacy and the Crusade, pp. 53-5; idem, The Later Crusades, p. 277.
89 Housley, The Later Crusades, p. 278.
not to mention progress, was made to further the reconquest in Spain. This is a period of border raids and skirmishes, one during which the main focus of the Iberian rulers continued to be that of consolidation, assimilation and settlement. Indeed, some authors stress the endemic and popular nature of Christian-Muslim warfare in which the few traces of peaceful traffic between the two cultures were outstripped by violent actions and raids. Lomax goes so far as to say, "One must discount the view that the peaceful coexistence of the ordinary people was occasionally disturbed by warfare provoked by the religious and political establishment; it would be truer to say that the kings made occasional ineffectual attempts to limit the endless warfare enjoyed by their subjects." 90

Serious attempts to pursue the reconquest of Granada were made again by the Castilians between 1316 and 1319 when the Infantes leading the troops were killed in another disastrous struggle. Efforts at reconquest were only intensified after Alfonso XI of Castile reached the age of majority in 1325. He turned out to be the most successful leader of the reconquest between Ferdinand III and the Catholic Kings. In 1329-30 there was renewed widespread interest in crusading throughout Europe which spilled over into Spain. Philip VI even considered planning an expedition to Spain instead of going to the Holy Land. Whatever the reasons for this, in 1329-31 it seemed as

90 Lomax, p. 174-5.
Land. Whatever the reasons for this, in 1329-31 it seemed as though a large force from across the Pyrenees would come to help Alfonso XI conclude the reconquest. The successful Salado crusade of 1340 was able to tap into this outside interest. It was preached throughout Europe and a stream of nobles from France, Germany and England arrived at Algeciras where they made valuable contributions to reconquest efforts.\(^9^1\) Alfonso XI continued to be successful until he was struck down by the plague when besieging Gibraltar.\(^9^2\) The chronicler of Seville who recorded his death made only a laconic statement concerning the death. It would be interesting to know whether Alfonso’s death encouraged the same interpretations regarding God’s will for the reconquest as Louis IX’s death had engendered regarding the eastern crusade almost one hundred years earlier.\(^9^3\)

The history of the reconquest during Ramon Llull’s lifetime, and for some decades after his death, makes it apparent that, owing to Aragonese interests further east (Sicily, Sardinia, Tunis, Greece and even Palestine), "conditions in Castile were really the hinge on which the

\(^9^1\)This is the era of Chaucer’s knight who accompanied crusading armies in every crusade theatre of the period.


\(^9^3\)See Riley-Smith, *The Crusades*, 221-22.
pursuit of the reconquista hung."\textsuperscript{94} However, several external factors demonstrate the enduring appeal of the crusade throughout all of Iberia during this period: for example, the persistent need for the papacy to deal with plans for the Spanish reconquest, and the claims that crusading endeavours in Spain were competing for resources with the eastern crusades.

Ramon Llull's lifetime was a period during which a new political configuration emerged in Iberia.\textsuperscript{95} For Housley, the chief interest of this period thus lies in the consolidation of conquest. The consolidation included problems of settlement in conquered areas, the question of acculturation and its implication for crusading, and the matter of the relationship between crusading and convivencia—or, in other terms, the relationship between crusading and Christian evangelism.\textsuperscript{96} But Peter Linehan rightly points out that there are elements of thirteenth century Spanish history which prevent us from regarding the "history of the Reconquest, whether an exclusively religious phenomenon or not, as a total account of the history of Christian Spain in the Middle Ages."\textsuperscript{97} Thus, we should not underestimate the interest of the Iberians in

\begin{footnotes}
\item Housley, The Later Crusades, p. 281.
\item Housley, The Later Crusades, p.267.
\item Housley, p.268
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crusading to the east, despite the only sporadic outbursts of enthusiasm by James II, for example, who seemed to be perpetually teetering on the threshold of intervention in the east. Part of the story of crusading fervour in the Crown of Aragon necessitates evaluation of crusade activities in the east as well as on the home front. In rhetoric, organization, action, and above all, ideology, crusade to the Holy Land and the reconquista were inextricably related.

III. MEDIEVAL CHRISTIAN EVANGELISM

The history of the development of Christian missions in the mid-thirteenth century is fascinating and gives rise to three general questions that have a bearing on our subject. The first two have been the subject of some debate: did enthusiasm for evangelism replace crusade fervour? A second question related to this is whether interest in missions increased as a result of the repeated failure of any large scale crusade endeavours during this period. And third, just how widespread was interest in evangelism to the Muslims, Jews and other non-Christians?

A brief survey of some of the main developments and characteristics of Christian evangelism during Llull’s lifetime can provide us with insight into these questions and provide us with the context necessary for understanding
Llull's innovations in this area.  

One of the key characteristics of Christian evangelism was its emphasis on unity. This stemmed from Europe's own conversion experience. During the early period of Christian expansion, Rome insisted on Latin as the sole liturgical language of the West. This initial emphasis on unity, first of liturgy and later of doctrine, proved enduring. It shaped Rome's policy towards early heretical groups such as the Arians, it determined the course of events at the time of schism in 1054 between Rome and Byzantium, and continued to influence Rome's relationship with all those outside the fold of the Roman Catholic church, both schismatic Christians and unbelievers, right up through Llull's lifetime. The advantage of this was the creation of a real unity in the Western world, a sense of Christian identity in western Europe, and a shared sense of purpose which was significant for enterprises such as the crusades. Another result of this emphasis was a Christendom which defined itself in religious terms. However much of a fictional construct this notion of a Christian Europe is, there is no denying that medieval authors such as

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98It is perhaps of interest to note that in a recent volume of Studies in Church History entitled The Mission of the Church and the Propagation of the Faith not a single article is devoted to the period between St. Boniface and the German Mission and a discussion of the missionary at home from 1000-1250, and the sixteenth century.

Llull who wrote on subjects such as crusades, missions and conversion, utilized this construct in the expression of their thought. ¹⁰⁰

Another characteristic of Christian evangelism was its understanding of conversion. Although in its Latin origins the word for conversion meant "a way of life," initially conversion to Christianity on the part of the Germanic peoples in Europe implied simply an acceptance of a certain set of doctrines and a prescribed liturgical practise. Although this basic understanding of conversion sufficed for mass conversions during the ages of Constantine, Clovis and Charlemagne, almost immediately a more personal comprehension of the Christian faith was demanded in order for the conversions to be meaningful. Christian missionaries from the start turned to the example of the expansion of the Apostolic church as a model for evangelism by both word and deed. Hillgarth stresses the importance of the living saint during this period, arguing that without living saints the greater part of Western Europe would have remained permanently alien to the new religion of Christianity. ¹⁰¹ Citing Martin of Braga, he argues that real conversion entailed not only rejecting the pagan past but adopting a new life of duties


towards God and charity towards one's neighbour. This emphasis on living and on preaching by deed, which was exhibited by the first missionaries—bishops, clergy and living saints—in Christian Europe, persisted to the thirteenth century when it became especially significant in the activities of the Franciscans both at home and abroad in non-Christian lands. In Ramon Llull's thought, and particularly in his life, we find the Apostolic missionary ideal and the stress on a conversion which entailed a new way of life, expressed in a remarkably strong and consistent fashion.

Not surprisingly, another characteristic of Christian evangelism from the start was its emphasis on preaching by word. Bede, for example, in his Ecclesiastical History stresses preaching more than miracles and focuses upon monasteries as important centres for evangelization. Conversion could be effectively brought about by debate and discussion. This aspect of missionary technique came to be stressed by the Dominicans, whose office of preaching bestowed upon them the responsibility for furthering the education of Christians in doctrine and practise, as well as the desire to create intellectual tools for combating the religious doctrines of non-Christians, Jews and Muslims in particular.

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Preaching, debate and disputations were methods well utilized throughout the Middle Ages; one of the most famous of these exercises was the Disputation of Barcelona in 1263, but many other such debates occurred in less formal settings.104 One of the most innovative developments of Christian missionary technique had its origins in Spain in the *studia linguarum*, special schools most frequently established and run by the Dominicans and designed to provide prospective missionaries with an education in the basic languages and doctrines of non-Christians (especially Muslims).105 The question of language was a vital one especially in view of the insistence

104 Most recently see Robert Chazan, *Barcelona and Beyond. The Disputation of 1263 and its aftermath*, (Berkeley, etc., 1992), and its useful bibliography. Of special interest for our purposes is the Disputation of Majorca, 1286; I have consulted the critical Latin edition in Ora Limor, *The Disputation of Majorca, 1286: A Critical Edition and Introduction* (in Hebrew with Latin text), (Jerusalem, 1985); a new edition of the text is available in Ora Limor, ed., *Die Disputation zu Ceuta (1179) und die Disputatio zu Mallorca (1286): Zwei antijudische Schriften aus dem mittelalterlichen Genua* (Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Quellen zur Geistesgeschichte des Mittelalters), (Munich, 1994); and has also been edited by Gilbert Dahan, *Disputatio contra Iudeos, Controverse avec les juifs*, Introduction, Edition critique et traduction, (Paris, 1993). We know of efforts to employ the same techniques with the Muslims (see below, ch. 2).

foreign languages was indispensable for the translation of liturgical works. The *Codex Cumanicus* is an example of this.\textsuperscript{106} Again, Ramon Llull was an avid champion of such missionary *studia*, although his aspirations for such institutions were unique in that he intended for them to instruct students in his Art.\textsuperscript{107}

Finally, another characteristic feature of early missionary activity which persisted throughout the Middle Ages was its cooperation with the political, or secular sphere. In the beginning, Christianity grew with the aid of the local king or nobles.\textsuperscript{108} Without the support of rulers who had converted to Catholicism, the missionaries would have had little hope of effecting large scale conversions. This aspect of medieval evangelization was especially pertinent during Llull's lifetime, when a concerted effort was made by segments of the Church to bring about the conversion of Muslims in North Africa, Eastern Europe, the Latin Kingdoms in the East,

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\textsuperscript{106}Bishoff, p.223. The sources for Christian missionaries to the Far East are filled with fascinating stories about the problems of language interpretation. One such example is the story of the four Franciscan martyrs of Thana (India) recounted by their Dominican interpreter Jordanus; see "Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum," *Analecta Franciscana*, 3 (1897), pp. 597-613. For the *Codex Cumanicus*, see G. Golubovich, ed., *Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell'Oriente francescano*, v. 3 (Quaracchi, 1913), pp.1-28. This volume is a gold mine of source materials for Franciscan missions in the east during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries.

\textsuperscript{107}See below, chapter two.

\textsuperscript{108}Hillgarth, "Modes of Evangelization," p.314.
of the Church to bring about the conversion of Muslims in North Africa, Eastern Europe, the Latin Kingdoms in the East, and beyond. ¹⁰⁹ For example, the famous Franciscan John of Monte Corvino, a missionary to the Far East, had aspirations for massive conversions in the Mongol kingdom, if he could only convert the Great Khan. ¹¹⁰ A significant by-product of the early cooperation between secular leaders and missionaries was the use of this idea in crusade propaganda. The extension of the Church via the crusade, the *dilatatio fidei* became a consistent element of medieval theology of crusade. ¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ The intersection between politics, economics and mission is seen very clearly in the east. For example, a travelling missionary friar from Italy, Odoric of Pordenone took care to travel in politically stable and safe territories; his *Relatio* is edited by A. Van de Wyngaert, *Sinica Franciscana*, v. 1 (Quaracchi, 1929), pp. 381-495. For what could happen to missionaries who got off the beaten track, see the reference to the Martyrs of Tana, above, note 106. Moreover, some knowledge of the cultural traditions of the people a missionary was encountering was necessary. During the early phases of evangelism in Central Asia, the khans thought that the "hostess gifts" brought by diplomats and missionaries were tribute!

¹¹⁰ For the eastern mission and its close ties to diplomatic relations between eastern and western rulers, especially the il-khans of Persia, see the texts in Anastasius Van den Wyngaert, *Itinera et Relationes Fratrum Minorum Saeculi XIII et XIV*, *Sinica Franciscana* I, (Quaracchi-Florence, 1929). John of Monte Corvino's letters can be found, *ibid*, pp. 345-355. These letters, dated 8 January 1305 and 13 February 1306, were carried back to Europe by merchants and missionaries respectively. For English translations and an introduction to eastern Christian missions, see Christopher Dawson, ed., *The Mongol Mission. Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, (London, 1955).

¹¹¹ B.Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission. European Approaches towards the Muslims*, (Princeton, 1984), p.159, calls this "crusading for the advancement of missions." For the canonical
A related problem, which the Church at large as well as Christian missionaries had to deal with, was that of non-
Christians living under Christian rule. The communities in question were almost exclusively Jewish or Muslim and were concentrated most heavily in the Mediterranean areas. Special methods of evangelization had to be developed to address these special communities, and these methods developed rapidly during Llull's lifetime. Relationships between Christians and the unbelievers living in their midst were increasingly regulated by canon and civil law. Canonical arguments concerning the jurisdiction of the Church over the unbelievers who lived amongst Christians, were by Llull's lifetime being stretched to apply universally. By extension, new strategies needed to be developed to address groups of schismatic Christians. These consisted of the Byzantines in particular, but also the communities of Jacobites, Nestorians, and others who lived in the East. We shall see that Ramon Llull was unusual in that he attempted to differentiate his texts, see James Muldoon, "Extra Ecclesiam non est imperium: The Canonists and the Legitimacy of Secular Power," Studia Gratiana 9 (1966), pp. 551-80; and his Popes, Lawyers and Infidels, (Philadelphia, 1979), passim. Humbert of Romans, Opus Tripartitum, ch. 20, p.200, clearly states that crusade is necessary because the Muslims have "closed off the avenue of preaching."

missionary approach according to whom he was addressing, although for him the basic tool of evangelization, the Art, remained the same.\textsuperscript{113}

The story of St. Francis and the Sultan at Damietta, which I recounted in the introduction to this thesis, marks the beginning of a new era of concerted evangelization on the part of the Christian Church. Several factors contributed to this. Both mendicant orders were able to adapt and transfer the ideals which had inspired the creation of their orders, and which had originally been focussed on Christendom and the dissenters within it, and devote their energies to unbelievers as well. Thus, the vocations of preaching and living exemplary lives were translated according to missionary strategy and zeal.\textsuperscript{114} Moreover, it is no coincidence that as the major heresies within Christendom were being successfully extinguished--one thinks of the Cathars, for example--and as Christians themselves were becoming much better versed in the

\textsuperscript{113}See below, chapter two.

basic doctrines and liturgical practises of the Church, some
Christians now had the opportunity to address the infidel
outside their borders. In addition, it is probably no
coincidence that interest in missions grew as did Christians’
awareness of the lands and peoples around them. The
Christendom which defined itself religiously sought to spread
into those areas which were becoming known via crusading,
exploration and trade.\textsuperscript{115} Again, a conjunction between
political and religious expansion is obvious. And finally, in
such a climate of expansion and discovery, it should come as
no surprise that among the motives for missionaries such as
Odoric of Pordenone, a Friulian who travelled widely
throughout the east, were clearly those of curiosity and
adventure.\textsuperscript{116}

It is fair to say that crusade took these contributing
factors and focussed them in a new and sharper way. Through
the crusade new contacts were made with Muslims, and with

\textsuperscript{115} For Christian knowledge of these lands see J.K.
Wright, \textit{The Geographical Lore at the Time of the Crusades},
(London, 1965); John Black Friedman, \textit{The Monstrous Races in
Medieval Art and Thought}, (Cambridge, Mass., 1981); Jacques Le
Goff, "The Medieval West and the Indian Ocean: an Oneiric
A. Goldhammer, (Chicago, 1980), pp. 189-200; Rudolf Wittkower,
"Marvels of the East: A Study in the History of Monsters,"
159-97. Of course, nothing can substitute for the travellers’
accounts themselves, many of which are edited in Colubovich,
\textit{Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica}, and Van den Wyngaert, \textit{Sinica
Franciscana}, v. 1.

\textsuperscript{116} For Odoric's Relatio, A. Van den Wyngaert, \textit{Sinica
Franciscana}, v. 1 (Quaracchi, 1929), pp. 381-495.
potential allies against the Muslims, such as the Tartars or Mongols. Not only did Christians become aware of such peoples, but they gradually became aware of the vast number of these non-Christians. The characteristics of evangelization during Llull's lifetime emerged both as an optimistic response to the wonderful possibilities of extending God's kingdom, and as an urgent defensive stance to protect Christendom against so very many unbelievers. Just as for crusade, missions were promoted both for defensive purposes as well as for the extension of the Christian faith.

If the crusade helped give birth to a new chapter in Christian evangelization, can we also say that it was replaced by its child? Those who argue that enthusiasm for missions replaced interest in crusade tend to base their arguments on a relatively small collection of documents which fall into several categories. First are those treatises which voice opposition to the violent crusade and instead endorse the peaceful methods of evangelization. Second are the authors who have seen the repeated failures of crusade expeditions and suggest that missions might be a more effective means to deal with the Muslims. Sir Richard Southern discusses these ideas

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in the context of what he saw as a new age of optimism regarding the possible conversions of Muslims. While one must be careful not to underestimate the force of the arguments presented by critics of crusade, nor the extent to which champions of peaceful discourse vs. the violent--and perhaps unchristian--crusade, we should be careful likewise not to underestimate the deep theological roots of the just war theology in crusade propaganda. In Christian practice, as in Christian theology, the choice between violence and peace was very clear, but it was not always applicable in medieval society. The same religious ideas about devotion, penitential practice, and expressing one's Christian belief in action which crusade preaching disseminated, had existed in Christian missionary practice prior to crusades and continued to exist simultaneously with them. In the late thirteenth century, crusade and mission were two different, but often complementary approaches to the pressing issue of the existence of groups, larger than anyone had dreamed, of infidels on the borders of Christendom. The failure of crusades quite likely stimulated interest in alternative solutions; but just as likely, the failure of Christians to convert even the Muslims and Jews in their midst contributed to the enduring popularity of crusade.

Finally, what of the popularity of Christian missions?

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Was the enthusiasm for evangelization ever so widespread as to make it possible for mission to replace crusade? Evangelization could only be carried on by a relatively small group of people, primarily members of the mendicant orders, who needed a good deal of training in Christian doctrine, in foreign languages, and missionary techniques. It seems obviously impossible for missions to gain as many adherents and supporters as did the crusades, an enterprise in which large numbers of laymen could participate whether educated or not. Llull is unusual in that his missionary plans called specifically for the education of laymen and merchants in basic Christian doctrine, in the methods of religious disputation, and in his Art, so that they too could participate in missions.120

Did Christian evangelization of the infidel, at home and abroad, receive popular support during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries? That is a question which cannot be answered conclusively here. Ramon Llull’s frustration at the deaf ears upon which his plans fell, the apparent neglect of ecclesiastical provisions for language schools such as those endorsed in Canon 11 of the Council of Vienne, the scanty results of missionary efforts to achieve conversions amongst

120Llull was not unique in these concerns; see Ora Limor, "Missionary Merchants: Three medieval anti-Jewish works from Genoa," Journal of Medieval History 17 (1991), pp. 35-51. Pierre Dubois was also interested in such issues; see his De Recuperatione terre sancte, ed. W.I. Brandt, The Recovery of the Holy Land by Pierre Dubois, (New York, 1956).
the Muslims, and the repeated calls of bishops in the Far East for people to help them, all suggest a negative response.
CHAPTER TWO

AD EXALTATIONEM SANCTE FIDEI:
LLULL’S PLANS FOR MISSION AND CRUSADE

Much in the same way as various authors had submitted treatises to Pope Gregory X on the crusade and church reform prior to the II Council of Lyons in 1274, others, hoping to influence Clement V concerning the crusade and other matters, submitted treatises on similar subjects prior to the Council of Vienne in 1311. Ramon Llull was amongst these figures. His treatise was entitled Petitio Raymundi in concilio generali ad acquirendam Terram Sanctam. By 1311, Llull was an old man who seems to have been beginning to feel his mortality. This is suggested by the fact that also in 1311, Llull finished dictating his Vita to the Carthusian monks at Vauvert in Paris. In this context, it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that the treatise which Llull submitted to the council expresses the ideas closest to his heart and the main kernels of his thought. This is borne out by the fact that the other works written at this time, including the Vita, share the same key ideas: the establishment of missionary studia, the merging of the military orders for more successful crusading in the

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Holy Land, and the creation of a "remedy" against Averroism. 2

The Vita tells us that, "knowing that the holy father, Pope Clement V, was to celebrate a General Council in the city of Vienne during the calends of October of the year 1311, he (Ramon) decided to go to this council to see if he could obtain three things for the restauration of the orthodox faith."3 Unfortunately, the Petitio in concilio generali does not mirror this neat threefold division; here Llull presents his ideas in ten different "ordinationes." This text, like the Vita, implies that Llull planned to present these plans to the Council in person, claiming that they impinged upon the "general exaltation of the holy Catholic faith and the good state of the whole universe."4 Of these ten propositions, the first discusses the establishment of missionary studia; the second, third and fourth deal with the crusade, and especially the merging of the military orders. These three proposals include a strong element of church reform; Llull is very concerned with redirecting the wealth and energies of the


4Petitio Raymundi in concilio generali, ed. Longpré, p. 149: "Distinctio ista in decem partes est divisa, quae sunt de aliquibus generalibus ordinationibus quas Raymundus proponit praesentare in concilio generali eo quia in ipsis implicatur generalis exaltatio sanctae fidei catholicae et bonus status totius universi."
church towards the more laudable goals he is mentioning.\(^5\) The fifth and seventh ordinatioes also deal with reform—one of clerical clothing and the other of usury. The sixth, ninth and tenth discuss problems of knowlege and learning: whether philosophy can disprove the holy Catholic faith (Llull suggests that no philosophy which speaks against theology should be taught),\(^6\) that the science of law should be reduced to its main principles as is set out in Llull's own Ars iuris,\(^7\) and finally, since the science of medicine is so obscure (absconsa), mostly because the ancient authorities are followed more than the intelligible principles, like law it should be broken down into its basic principles (as in Llull's Liber Principiorum medicinae). Ordinatio eight proposes that the Jews and Saracens who live under Christian rule, especially in Spain, be subject to hearing Christian preachers

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\(^5\)For crusade and reform, see below, chapter 3.

\(^6\)Petitio in concilio generali, 6, p. 152: "Hoc pro tanto dico quod bonum esset quod Dominus Papa et reverendi domini cardinales ordinarent cum praetatis quod nulla philosophia legeretur contra theologiam sed legeretur philosophia naturalis quae concordaret cum theologia, quae philosophia esset vera et necessaria...Omnes falsae philosophiae destrui possunt. Qui autem talem ordinationem facere potest et non facit, vel ipsam impedit, ipse est contra finem ratione cujus Deus agit, et talis autem non potest Deum decipere neque cogere neque a manibus suis evadere in die judicii. Qui habet aures audiat et qui non habet conscientiam habeat." The importance Llull places on this subject is evident.

\(^7\)The parts of this treatise which are relevant to the relationship between mission and crusade are edited by B.Z. Kedar in Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims, (Princeton, 1984), appendix 7, pp. 225-228.
on their holy days until their minds, influenced by the sermons which are composed of syllogisms and rational principles according to Llull’s Ars Praedicationis, are open to conversion.\(^8\)

I have outlined the contents of the Petitio in concilio generali at some length for several reasons. First, I believe the treatise sets out the main ideas with which Llull was concerned throughout his life: missions and preparation of missionaries, the crusade as a means of bringing the whole world together to honour God, the relationship of philosophy and theology and their role in persuading others of the truth of the Christian faith, reform of church and laity, and related to that, the reduction of complex sciences to their basic principles. These topics, with the possible exception of crusade, are ubiquitous in Llull’s works. Second, it demonstrates how Llull’s concerns were all intertwined; in the Petitio in concilio generali, he constantly relates the subsequent proposals back to the first three regarding

\(^8\)Petitio in concilio generali, 8, p. 153: “Multi Judaei et etiam Sarraceni sunt subjecti christianis et maxime in Hispania, et ideo bonum, magnum et verum esset quod Judaeis praedicantur in die sabbati et Sarracenis in die veneris, quia in illis diebus est festum eorum, et quod sermones reducantur ad syllogismos et ad intelligibile...et si talis praedicatio sit perpetua, necessario sequeretur quod Judaei atque Sarraceni venirent ad viam veritatis quia intellectus magis se delectat et se impinguat per intelligere quam per credere. Ad talem praedicationem autem unum librum feci..."
mission, crusade and reform. This sense of context is essential to understanding Llull's plans for mission and crusade which I outline here. Llull's crusade plans in particular only make sense in the context of his overall thought. And third, this treatise demonstrates the underlying consistency of Llull's ideas. Again and again, he returns to the same concerns: the conversion of unbelievers, the rational means by which to accomplish that conversion, and the need for reform within Christendom. Of course, Llull's thought develops throughout his life. For this reason, his later works include plans for crusade which were largely absent in his earlier writings. But Llull's crusade plans are always discussed in the context of his missionary goals. In fact, Llull never discusses crusade without also calling for evangelism. Because of this development, it is useful to trace the development of Llull's plans for mission and crusade during the course of his life. For example, how did Llull come to concern himself with issues such as the fate of the Templars by the time of the Council of Vienne?

Benjamin Kedar is correct when he states that Llull's opinion of crusading changed throughout his lifetime. But

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9For example, Petito in concilio generali, 10, pp. 153-4: "Per hoc autem bonum, magnum, etc., sequi posset, ut patet in prima, secunda et tertia distinctione. Qui autem contra talem ordinationem esset contra suam sanitatem esset et possible est quod Deus dicat ei in die Judicii: 'Nescio vos', ut in evangelio exemplificatum est."

10Kedar, Crusade and Mission, p. 189.
he is not entirely correct when he implies that Llull was inconsistent. The issue is one of emphasis. For Llull, crusade was a tool, a means to a greater end rather than an end in itself. More importantly, the religious ideals underlying Llull’s plans for crusade and mission and giving them unity are consistent. The ideals and theology behind the plans will be discussed later. Now let us turn to an examination of the plans themselves and their development.

Llull’s concerns with mission begin at the time of his conversion which was inspired by a series of visions. Llull refers to this conversion as "conversio ad poenitentiam." After pondering for some time what service he could best offer to God in living out this life of penitence, Llull decided upon three things: to accept dying for Christ while trying to convert unbelievers, to write a book, "the best in the world," against the errors of unbelievers, and to convince the papal curia to establish missionary studia in which appropriately selected monks and others could be taught the language of the Saracens and other unbelievers, so that there would always be missionaries ready to be sent out to preach the holy Catholic faith. Anthony Bonner suggests that Lull’s zeal for mission may partially be accounted for by the Disputation of

11Vita Coaetanea, ch. 5-8; pp. 274-276, esp. p. 276: "His igitur tribus articulis supra dictis in animo suo firmiter iam conceptis, uidelicet de morte toleranda pro Christo, conuertendo ad eius servitium infideles, de libro supra dicto, si daret Deus, etiam faciendo, necnon de monasteriis impetrandis pro diversis linguagiiis addiscendis, ut superius est praetactum..." Cf. Bonner, p. 12-13.
Barcelona, which also occurred in 1263.\textsuperscript{12} By this time as well, the Dominicans had already established language studia in Spain.\textsuperscript{13} Whatever inspired Llull with these ideas, his version of them was unique. For example, Llull was unusual in giving to the papal curia the responsibility for creating and maintaining these schools as part of a cohesive missionary program.\textsuperscript{14} Crusade was conspicuously absent from Llull's initial goals, so let us begin by looking at his missionary program.

Once he had passed through an initial phase of lukewarm fervour, Llull turned to his new life with remarkably singleminded enthusiasm. He devoted all his energies, previously employed in worldly pursuits, to God's work—consciously redirecting his troubadour eloquence and passion towards the love of God.\textsuperscript{15} The core of Llull's missionary

\textsuperscript{12}For the disputation, see Robert Chazan, \textit{Barcelona and Beyond: The Disputation of 1263 and its aftermath}, (Berkeley, 1992).


\textsuperscript{14}See Burns, p.1412.

\textsuperscript{15}See Llull's \textit{Libre de Contemplació en Deu}, Book 3, ch. 118, no. 30: ORL v. 4, p.103: "Com lo vostre servidor el vostre sotsmès aja estat, Sènyer, sá enrere fals loador e mintet maldeidor; pus que vos lavets esguardat ab los vostres ulls piadosos plens de misericordia, daquí avant proposa, Sènyer, que sia vertader juglar, en donar laor vertadera de son Senyor Deu."
program was undoubtedly the establishment of the missionary studia. Closely related to this was Llull's desire to write a book aimed at the conversion of unbelievers. In this, as in other things, he was guided by his own experience—especially his realization that he needed education in both the languages of the unbelievers and in the methods by which they could be converted.\textsuperscript{16} Llull set about augmenting his personal experience of Muslim culture by purchasing a Muslim slave to teach him Arabic. His Vita tells us that Ramon of Penyafort convinced Llull to remain in his native Majorca to study, probably at a local Dominican studium Arabicum, rather than go to the University of Paris.\textsuperscript{17}

Despite this non-traditional philosophical training, Llull’s thought exhibits a scholastic’s confidence in the God-given powers of the intellect to persuade. He recognized that Jews, Muslims and Christians all shared philosophical roots and optimistically argued that by drawing on what he called "necessary reasons" he could persuade all unbelievers of the

\textsuperscript{16}At each step along the way of his conversion path, Llull realizes the need for education. \textit{Vita Coaetanea}, ch. 5, tells us that Llull had "scarcely learned more than a bare minimum of grammar." Ch. 6 tells us that Llull "could conceive neither the form nor manner of writing such a book (the best book ever)." Ch. 7 tells us that "he was totally ignorant of the Arabic language." See \textit{Vita Coaetanea}, p. 275. Quotations are from Bonner, v.1, pp. 12-13.

truth of the Christian faith. Llull elaborated these necessary reasons through his Art, his great system for organizing knowledge and demonstrating essential truths.\textsuperscript{18}

Significantly, Llull claimed that he had received the form and method for the Art by way of divine illumination while he was engaged in solitary contemplation on Mt. Randa in Majorca.\textsuperscript{19}

In the goals which Llull embraced at his conversion and in his initial attempts to prepare himself for realizing these goals, we can see the key influences of the mendicants: the Franciscan zeal to imitate Christ is apparent in Llull's willingness to die while trying to convert unbelievers and the Dominican emphasis on persuading with educated polemics and apologetics is apparent in Llull's concern with obtaining the proper education for his task. This ability to synthesize different approaches and ideas about missions into a coherent


\textsuperscript{19}Note that the intellectual inspiration occurred after some nine years of study. See Vita Coaetanea, ch. 14. Here Llull himself describes the system as "explaining general principles by applying them to more specific things, in accordance with the capacities of simple people." Quotation from Bonner, v. 1, p. 18. This illumination was followed by a mysterious visit from an unknown shepherd youth who told Llull much about God and "heavenly matters" and praised Llull's books then disappeared (ch. 15). Obviously the Vita is trying to emphasize the God-given nature of the Art.
program is what makes Llull's ideas unusual. Moreover, this also allows us to look at his ideas as what "may well be the most effective presentations of most of the opinions then current."20

What then is probably most unique about Llull's program for missions is its eclectic and flexible nature. On the other hand, Llull's missionary ideas were entirely consistent in their essential elements. As mentioned above, they centred around the concept of educating potential missionaries in the languages, cultures and philosophical ideas necessary to bring about the conversion of unbelievers and schismatic Christians as well. In some treatises, such as the Liber de acquisitione Terre Sancte, Llull discusses Jews, Muslims, heretics, pagans such as the Tartars (Mongols), Greeks, Nestorians, and Jacobites.21 He sought to adjust his missionary approach according to the group he was addressing. For example, since Tartars or Gentiles are a uncultured people and have no law, therefore, it is necessary to have recourse to moralia, namely the virtues and the vices, in disputation with them. Once they have been illuminated, then recourse can be made to the divine reasons and to their acts, after they (the Tartars) have been taught about the law, without which virtues are not sufficient for attaining the way of paradise or avoiding the way of hell."22

20Quotation is from Kedar, Crusade and Mission, p. 190, although this is certainly not the point he is trying to make.


22Liber de acquisitione Terre Sancte, Paris, B.N. lat 15450, f. 547ra: "Tartari siue gentiles sunt homines rudes et non habent legem. Et ideo in disputatione cum ipsis recurrendum est ad moralia, videlicet ad virtutes et vicia. Et
Of course, for Llull, "law" is equated with religion. His sensitivity towards the different tactics necessary to debate effectively with varying groups of people seems to have been uncommon amongst his contemporaries. It is frustrating that the sources for our knowledge about the techniques used by missionaries in the lands of the Mongol empire, for example, are largely silent on these more theoretical points. For now, though, Llull seems unique in this approach. As a result, his concept of these missionary studia was unusual in that they were to educate missionaries who would be directed towards a much broader audience than simply Muslims and Jews. There were other characteristics that made Llull's ideas about these studia unique. I have already referred to the fact that they were to be under the care of the papal curia. Llull seems to have a somewhat broader curriculum in mind as well, suggesting that the culture as well as the languages of the unbelievers be studied by the prospective missionaries. And finally, the ultimate factor that set Llull's plans apart from those of others, was that the main tool for these missionaries, once they had acquired the necessary languages, was to be Llull's Art: this tool was flexible enough to be adjusted to different audiences, it broke human knowledge about God and the world down into its most basic components, and allowed the

ipsis illuminatis recurrendum est ad diuinas rationes et ad actus earum postmodum inducere ipsos ad legem sine qua virtutes non essent sufficientes ad acquirendum viam paradysi nec ad euitandum viam inferni..."
missionaries to teach the truths of Christian doctrine with necessary reasons rather than with unconvincing authorities from the Christian tradition. Llull’s insistence on the inclusion of his Art as one of the main elements of the curriculum in the missionary studia was likely what led to his request that these facilities be under the guidance and sponsorship of the papal curia rather than the local religious authorities or mendicant convents.

While Llull’s emphasis on the preparation of missionaries by educating them in languages and rational arguments bespeaks Dominican influence, his stipulations as to the character of the potential missionaries reflects contemporary Franciscan ideals of *imitatio Christi*. Absolutely essential was their willingness to undergo torture and even death for Christ’s sake at the hands of those they were attempting to convert. Llull describes these missionaries and the way the schools would function in the *De Acquisitione*:

The Lord Pope and his reverend college should establish three monasteries, namely one in Rome, another in Paris and the third in Toledo, in which wise and devoted men might study various languages, and after that go to preach the gospel throughout the whole world, just as has been commanded; and these men should be desirous of dying for Christ’s sake, just as the apostles did. And these monasteries should have a perpetual income from which students can live and thus, having been instructed, they can be sent out two by two, and when two have been sent, then another two can be taken in (to study), until a certain number have been sent out.23

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23 *De Acquisitione*, f. 546r: "Pars ista erit de ordinatione, videlicet quod dominus papa et suum collegium reverendum facerent tria monasteria scilicet unum Rome, alid Parisius et tercium Toledo, in quibus studerent homines"
While some elements of this proposal vary over the course of Llull’s lifetime, the variations are always in terms of the locations for the schools or the number of schools he is proposing the curia should establish. The essential characteristics of the missionaries remain constant. They must always be willing to die for Christ and they must always seek to follow the apostolic example. Llull enjoys recounting his personal experience of such trials in order to emphasize his point. For example, in De Acquisitione, he refers to his incarceration in Bougie and the type of religious disputation he engaged in with the Muslims there. A fuller account of this event is found in his Disputatio Raymundi Christiani et Hamar Saraceni.24

The attention Llull pays to careful preparation of missionaries and his sensitivity to the differences in the religious doctrines and cultures of non-Christians argues that he did not support the idea that missionaries should go out and deliberately provoke martyrdom by their actions. In this, sapientes deuoti in variis linquis, et postea irent predicaturi euangelium per totum mundum, sicut est preceptum, desiderantes mori pro Christo, sicut faciebant apostoli; et quod illa monasteria habent redditus imperpetuum de quibus possest studentes viuere, et sic instructi mitterentur bini, et quando missi essent duo quod alii duo essent recepti usque ad certum numerum deputatum [sic]."

24De Acquisitione, f. 546ra: "Et istum modum disputationis tenebam ego cum ipsis (the Muslims) dum eram in carcere Bugie, faciendo eis propositiones insolubiles et solvenndo quas mihi faciebant contra sanctam trinitatem et incarnationem." See also Disputatio Raymundi Christiani et Hamar Saraceni, prologus; MOG v. 4, p. 431.
Llull would have been in agreement with orthodoxy. On the other hand, Llull's own experience and his criteria for selecting missionaries clearly indicate the importance Llull places on this aspect of missioning. The power of holy example can never be underestimated.\(^\text{25}\) Llull even suggests that such holy examples as the missionaries would be beneficial for Christendom itself.\(^\text{26}\)

What were these missionaries to do once they had received the appropriate training? Obviously, Llull envisioned them taking part in organized disputations. The missionaries would state the basic Christian doctrines and then proceed to both explain them and prove them by using the "necessary reasons" of Llull's Art. Because of his flexible approach to evangelism, Llull probably would have been willing to follow the patterns of both the more organized and royally sponsored disputation at Barcelona in 1263 and the more informal disputation of Majorca in 1286 in which Inghetto Contardo, a merchant, disputed religious doctrine with a Jew. In fact, Llull repeatedly called for merchants to be educated in the


\(^{26}\)See Llull's Petitio ad Coelestinum V, MOG v. 2, p.175, col. 2. A Catalan version of this text has been edited by Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "Un text català de Ramon Llull desconegut: La Petició de Ramon a Papa Celestí V per a la Conversió dels Infidels," Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics, 1 (1982), pp. 9-43.
Art, so that when they found themselves in situations such as Inghetto’s, they could do their part in converting unbelievers. Llull also cites the great damage done to the Christian faith when laymen such as merchants come into contact with infidels and are unable to even explain their own beliefs, let alone try to convince a non-Christian of the truth of Christian doctrine.27

Llull’s primary dependence on intellectual persuasion shows us that his intended audience was primarily the intelligentsia. Llull believed that well educated Muslims did not really believe that Mohammed was a prophet because the Koran contained many things that were indicative neither of sanctity nor of true prophecy. Moreover, these educated Muslims know little about the essence of God and his dignities. Therefore, if only some "bene litterati" Christians would dispute with them, and explain these things, these Muslims could easily be converted since they are such rational beings. Once they are converted, they can in turn convert illiterate Muslims.28 In this plan again, Llull demonstrates

27 De Aquisitione, II, 2, f. 546rb; also III, 2, f. 547rb.

28 De Aquisitione, f. 546rb: "Sarraceni bene litterati non credunt vere quod Machometus sit propheta. Nam in alcoranus, in quo est lex eorum, inveniunt multa inconvenientia contra sanctitatem et veram prophetiam....Et ideo tales sarraceni philosophi manent sine lege. Vnde si catholici bene litterati diputarent cum ipsis tenendo modum prelibatum, tales converterentur ad fidem nostram....Et talibus conversis, per ipsos converterentur alii sarraceni illiterati." See also f. 546ra: "Sarraceni sunt aliqui in philosophia bene litterati et sunt homines bene rationabiles, sed de essentia Dei et
his reliance on a shared neo-Platonic and Aristotelian philosophical tradition, particularly when addressing the Muslims and Jews. The question of textual authority arises repeatedly. Llull is therefore very concerned with the subject of the "law" as it related to the scriptural authority of the various religions. This is the reasoning behind his polemical treatise entitled Liber per quem poterit cognosci quae lex sit magis bona, magis magna, et etiam magis uera.

It is important to notice that, for Llull, education must work both ways. Not only do the unbelievers need to be educated in Christian doctrine and have it proven to them by necessary reasons which rely on the divine dignities in Llull’s system, but Christians of all kinds must also be educated so as to be able to provide this knowledge to unbelievers. Missionaries obtain this specialized training in the studia, but ordinary laymen, such as the merchants mentioned above also need to be educated.29 Crusaders should be educated so that when on campaign they can convert their enemy rather than kill them.30 Llull’s educational manual, dignitatibus suis parum sciunt."

29See text cited above, in note 28.

30For example, see Llull’s Blanquerna, ed. M. Batllori, et al., Obres Essencials, v. 1 (Barcelona, 1957), ch. 80, pp. 231-2, where he suggests that knights should be educated with brief arguments for the faith (from Llull’s Art of course) so that they could go to the kings and princes of unbelievers and challenge them by arms or learning. When put into practice in the story, both methods were necessary and ultimately successful.
Doctrina Pueril, contains the information necessary for this task and indicates how Llull believed these ideas could be inculcated in Christians from the time of their youth. Most importantly, however, it was necessary for Christians themselves to provide a united front against the Muslims and Jews. Llull was painfully aware of the great damage done to the prestige of the Christian faith by the presence of so many schismatic groups and especially by the Byzantine church. Llull presents the lack of unity amongst Christians both politically and doctrinally as one of the main reasons why Muslims, Jews and pagans just did not understand what Christianity was all about.

Some of these last ideas, especially the ones about the missionary knights, begin to give some sense of the possible relationship between force and persuasion in Llull’s thought. One of the first manifestations of this relationship occurs in Llull’s plans for the compulsory education of Jews and Muslims living under Christian rule. This is another example of Llull’s great confidence in human reason and optimism about


the potential success of education. Llull thought that Muslim and Jewish children should be compelled to learn the rudiments of the Catholic faith in the hope that they would voluntarily convert. Indeed, Llull was concerned with the education of children in general. It seems possible that one of the reasons he wrote the *Doctrina Pueril* was in response to Jewish criticism about how Christians brought up their children and failed to educate them in Christian doctrine. Moreover, Llull admired the Muslims who were able to raise their children to be prepared to die for their faith.

Llull's proposal to educate non-Christian children under Latin rule does not seem quite as startling when viewed in the context of his wider concern for the education of all children. The goal is the same: to create a society of Christians dedicated to the love and glory of God.

Llull also advocated that Jews and Muslims who were living in regions under the jurisdiction of Christians be forced to attend sermons aimed at their conversion. This was the substance of one of his *ordinationes* submitted to the Council of Vienne in 1311. There he suggested that since so

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33 *Doctrina Pueril*, ch. 83, no. 4; pp. 194-5.

34 Llull usually mentions this in the context of education of the Assassins in the Muslim world. He contrasts the worldly quests of Christian men who work so hard to acquire transitory goods, kings and princes who work so hard at war and risk life and limb for their kingdoms, and the Assassins who are so dedicated to a higher cause, albeit the wrong one. Llull asks why Christians, particularly rulers, cannot be equally fervent for God's sake. See, for example, *Petitio Raymundi ad conversione infidelium*, ed. Longpré, pp. 148-9.
many Jews and Saracens were subject to Christians, especially in Spain, they should be preached to on the days of their own religious feasts (namely, Fridays and Saturdays) with syllogistic and intelligible sermons. If this were done perpetually, the Jews and Saracens "would come to the way of truth since they prefer the intellect and are compelled more by understanding than by believing." Here again the notion that Christianity is more reasonable than the other two religions surfaces. Such methods of evangelization were to be supervised by the Church with the cooperation of the secular rulers, and, it should be noted, had already been instituted in Aragon by King James I a generation before Llull was writing.

An educational strategy more palatable to the modern mind but probably almost inconceivable to his contemporaries was that advanced by Llull in the *Liber de participatione christianorum et saracenorum*, written in Majorca in 1312. Here Llull put forth a proposal to Frederick III of Sicily, possibly in collaboration with Arnau de Vilanova, which

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35 *Petitio Raymundi in concilio generali*, p. 153; see text cited above in note 8. Hillgarth, *Lull and Lullism*, p. 130, note 351, cites the *Liber per quem poterit cognoscì quae lex*, of February 1313 in Majorca, where Llull requests Christian princes to force Muslims to listen to Christian preaching. For other texts in which Llull advocates the same thing, see *Dictat de Ramon* (1299), *ORL* v. 19; and *Liber de novo modo demonstrandi* (1312), *MOG* v. 4, pp. 595-610. Chazan discusses compulsory sermon attendance in his *Barcelona and Beyond*.

suggested that Frederick and the King of Tunis, Ibn al-Lihyani, should arrange for learned Christians accustomed to speaking Arabic to go to Tunis to demonstrate the truth of the Christian faith to Muslims there. Simultaneously, educated Muslims should be sent to Sicily to dispute with wise Christians about their faith. Llull expressed his wish that through such peaceful exchanges of persons and ideas peace could be achieved between Christians and Muslims; such an exchange would obviate the need for Christians to try to destroy the Saracens and vice versa. This text has been used to argue for a turning point in Llull's thought away from crusade and back to a sole dependence on missions. However, because Llull continued to allude to crusades as an integral aspect of Christian life and devotion in later works, this

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37 *Liber de participatione christianorum et sarracenorum, prologus;* ROL v. 16, p. 246: "Dum sic Raimundus considerabat, proposuit uenire ad nobilissimum uirtuosissimum dominum Fredericum regem Trinaciae, ut ipse, cum sit fons deuotionis, ordinet cum altissimo et potentissimo rege Tunicii, quod christiani bene litterati et lingua arabica habituati uadant Tunicium ad ostendendum ueritatem de fide, et quod saraceni bene litterati ueniant ad regnum Siciliae disputatum cum sapientibus christianis de fide eorum. Et forte per talem modum posset esse pax inter Christianos et Saracenos, habendo talem modum per uniuersum mundum, non quod christiani uadant ad destruendum saracenos, nec saraceni christianos." For earlier incarnations of this idea, see Blanquerna, ch. 80, p. 230; *Petitio Raymundi* (to Boniface VIII), p. 148. For Llull's possible collaboration with Arnau de Vilanova on this, see Hillgarth, *Lull and Lullism*, p. 131, which discusses Arnau's *Informatio espiritual*.

seems unlikely.\textsuperscript{39} On the other hand, there is no doubt that at this time Llull was experiencing a new rush of optimism about peaceful conversion. This was undoubtably tied to Ibn al-Lihyanī’s professed willingness to convert to Christianity after he had seized power in Tunis with the help of Catalan mercenaries and Sicilian seamen.\textsuperscript{40} If the ruler did convert, it would no longer be necessary to crusade in North Africa in order to secure a hearing for Christian missionaries. Such circumstances indeed would be sufficient cause for Llull to stop his crusade planning.

Llull believed that two of the main obstacles to conversion lay in first, the inability of Christians to provide logical demonstrations of the truth of Christian doctrine, and second the existence of schism amongst Christians. Sometimes, Llull complained, Christians were unwilling to provide logical arguments to support Christian

\textsuperscript{39}Llull even mentions the crusade unapologetically in the Liber de participatione, p. 246, where he mentions the successes of the Council of Vienne in terms of distributing the goods of the Templars to the Hospitalers after the dissolution of the former order. This would enable the Hospitalers to battle with arms against the Saracens in perpetuity with soldiers and ships. This was in the same breath as Llull’s relation of the support his ideas for missionary studia received at the Council. Compare De locutione angelorum, ROL v. 16, pp. 216: “Et quia istae duae petitiones sunt concessae (regarding the studia and the Templars), Raimundus quamplurimum est gauisus, ex eo quia cum praedicta ordinatione saraceni faciliter capi poterunt et deuinci; et ipsis deuictis, convuetetur facilius totus mundus, nam ipsi sunt, qui impediunt uniwersum.”

\textsuperscript{40}See Charles Dufourcq, L’Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIII\textdegree et XIV\textdegree siècles (Paris, 1966), pp. 488-94: “La Manoeuvre et les espérances religieuses des catalans.”
doctrine, saying that belief should come as a result of faith, not reason. This was the essence of Llull’s disagreement with the famous Dominican missionary Ramon Martí. In numerous works Llull recounts the story of Martí’s mission to Tunis to engage in a religious disputation with the emir. Martí managed to prove to the Muslim ruler by way of mores et exempla that Muslim law was erroneous. However, when the ruler asked him to then go ahead and prove the truth of Christianity, the missionary refused, saying that the Christian creeds were meant to be believed, not proven. The king was furious at having been made to abandon his own faith without having been given a new one as a substitute.41 This story is significant for several reasons. First, because Llull recounts it so many

times, we should recognize that it was a very important issue to him. Second, it focuses on the central role of necessary reasons in evangelism to Saracens and Jews who had their own set of rational beliefs, their own law. Third, it points to Llull’s two-fold solution to the problem by establishing an educational system to prepare both professional and lay missionaries, and by developing the Art as the tool for providing the necessary arguments that demonstrate the rationality of the Christian faith.

The problem of schism in the Christian Church was even more complex and had political ramifications of which Llull was certainly aware. If the Christians could put aside schism, many unbelievers who were waffling over conversion would be more convinced of the truth of Christianity. In De Acquisitio, Llull tells the story of a certain Saracen who wanted to become a Christian, but because of the scismaticos, he did not know whether he should join the Greeks, the Jacobins, Nestorians or the Catholics or Romans. Then, seeing that the Jews had no such sectarian divisions in their religion, he decided to become a Jew, propter dubium euitandum.42 The problem of schism was urgent and

42De Acquisitio, f. 547rb: "Adhuc accidit quod quidam sarracenus esse voluit christianus sed propter scismaticos nesciebat utrum se faceret grecum, iacopinum aut nestorianum, uel se faceret catholicum seu romanum. Postea, videns quod iudei non sustinent plures sectas, fecit se iudeum propter dubium euitandum. Hoc autem dico quia bonum esset habere contra scismaticos rationes, sicut in secunda distinctione superius est expressum." Compare De Fine, I.4, pp. 260-266, where Llull points out that he has already written a work on
The union of the Byzantine and Roman Churches was essential both for crusade strategy and for purposes of conversion. Again, Llull was convinced that necessary reasons and sensitive discussion could accomplish unity between the schismatics and Rome. But Llull was also wary of the Greeks, and was therefore willing to use the force of a crusade against them if necessary. In one crusade treatise, Llull even suggests that the Latins should hold hostages in order to ensure that the Greeks would cooperate with the crusading armies.\(^{43}\) The unity of Christian believers was absolutely essential for carrying out the task of converting the rest of the world.\(^{44}\) Again, we see in Llull's missionary plans more than a suggestion of the relationship between persuasion and force.

The urgency of Llull's plans for missions intensifies throughout the course of his career. Just as with the Greeks, Llull is willing to follow his ideas to their logical conclusion and use compulsion if necessary. Nowhere does Llull

the subject of *quid credere de Deo homo debet*, but that here he wishes to speak further on the subject.

\(^{43}\) *Tractatus de modo convertendi infideles*, p. 101.

\(^{44}\) See *Petitio Raymundi* (to Boniface VIII), ed. Longpré, p. 147 for another articulation of this idea. Llull seems to be borrowing current rhetoric here. Compare the bull of Clement V dated January 14, 1306, *In superne preeminentia*, ed. *Regestum Clementis Papae V*, v. 1 (Rome, 1885), p. 40, col. 2. This bull describes the schismatic Greek empire as "ab unitate christianae fidei deviantes dannabiliter occupatum, multo nimirum merore replemur et ad subueniendum ei de illo remedio, per quod ad fidem reduci valeat orthodoxam."
ever stray from orthodoxy and suggest that someone could be forced to convert. However, he does concede that force may be necessary in order to gain a hearing for his methods of intellectual persuasion. Likewise, in De Acquisitio, Llull is willing to say that if the Jews refused to attend missionary sermons and let their minds be illuminated by divine reason, they should be offered the choice of conversion or banishment. 45 Llull’s sense of urgency, of last ditch efforts, is perceptible in such stringent ultimatums. But nowhere is his increasing sense of urgency more apparent than in his discussions of the Tartars. Like many others of his time, Llull expressed optimism about the possibilities of reaching an alliance with the Mongols in the East—an alliance which would ultimately crush the Muslims in the Holy Land and beyond. But as the years went by with little evidence of success in the matter of converting the Mongols to Christianity, Llull became more pessimistic about the possibilities. He pointed out that the Tartars had become exceedingly powerful in a very short span of time. 46 Moreover, they were a people without a religion. If they were

45 De Acquisitio, II.3, f. 546va.

46 See De Fine, I.5, p. 268: "Et oh, ecclesia sancta catholica, uides, quot inimicos habes et habebis, si in tua otiositate permanes, et aliud non pertractas. Nam septuaginta anni sunt elapsi, quod Tartari a montibus descenderunt; et habent plus de dominio in hoc mondo, quam inter Saracenos et omnes etiam christianos. Et ideo, ecclesia, quare dormis, et non laboras, postquam tantus thesaurus est tibi commendatus per spiritualem gladium et etiam per gladium corporalem?"
to convert to Islam, rather than Christianity, the Christian world would be in a dangerous predicament, surrounded by hostile forces. Clearly, Llull was aware that Muslims were also engaging in missions to the Mongols. And in this context, it must be remembered that although Llull sought the conversion of the Mongols in order to bring the world to its proper state, unified in worship of God, another important reason for their conversion lay in their value as potential allies against the Muslims, particularly in the Holy Land.

Again, we can see that the relationship between peaceful persuasion and compulsion was multi-faceted and existed on many different levels. We have seen that on many occasions, Llull was not unwilling to advocate the use of force--both political and military--to accomplish his goals. As time went

47See De Acquisitione, III.2, f. 547v: "Tres sunt imperatores tartarorum qui de terra plus possident quam inter christanos et omnes etiam sarracenos, et tamen non preterierunt anni octoquinta quod ab eorum montibus exierunt. Et talis subita infidelium multiplicatio multum periculosae est nauicule Sancti Petri. Nam unus ex illis cum tota sua militia factus est sarracenus et dominus persarum qui Carbenda nominatur. Et sic ille magis posset impedire acquisitionem Terre Sancte quam aliquis homo vivens." Llull continues in this vein for several more lines. See also Devin Deweese, "The Influence of the Mongols on the Religious Consciousness of Thirteenth Century Europe," Mongolian Studies 5 (1978-9), pp. 60-71, where he traces the development of Llull's approach to the Mongols and cites most of the relevant texts.

48Note that Llull actually travelled to Cyprus in 1301-2 when he heard that the Mongol Khan of Persia, Ghazan, had conquered the Holy Land for the Christians. Although disappointed when he found that the news was false, Llull simply changed his plans and spent some time in Cyprus engaged in missionary activities. See Vita Coaetanea, 33-35, trans. Bonner, pp. 32-34.
on, several important facts became clear to Llull. The first of these was the disappointing progress of Christian efforts at evangelism. No large scale conversions were being accomplished. To Llull, this made the adoption of his--he believed much better--proposals more urgent. We have already seen the results of this realization on Llull’s calls for the conversion of the Tartars. But the second fact which became clear to Llull was that the situation of Christendom in the world was worsening. Not only were Christians unsuccessful at large scale missions, but they were even losing ground to the Muslims. The devastating fall of Acre was a striking example of this. History was marching on to its final destination and much remained for Christians to do to prepare for Christ’s second coming. Llull seemed to admit that perhaps some use of force was necessary to accomplish God’s will. Thus, Llull developed some plans for evangelism which were to be carried out in conjunction with the crusade.

In order to understand how Llull’s missionary plans relate to crusading, we should first look at his own perception of the character and purpose of the crusades. Unlike many of the critics of crusade in the late thirteenth century who complained that they were being turned away from their original goal, Llull was willing to acknowledge a broad definition of the crusade. For example, in De Fine, his most

49For the eschatological context of these plans, see below, chapter five.
extensive treatise on crusade planning, he clearly states that the main goal of the crusade is to recapture the Holy Land. But this was not to be its exclusive purpose. According to Llull, all lands which the infidels had taken from the Latins should be recovered. Thus he advises that at least five routes should be considered as possible battle grounds against the pessimos Saracenos in order to recapture the lands which the Christians have lost: one via Constantinople, the lands of the Turks, Armenia and then Syria; a second via the Greek islands and then Alexandria; a third via Cyprus and Armenia; a fourth by way of Tunis (which Llull suggests is not the best route because of what happened to King Louis of France); and the fifth, most praiseworthy and most pleasing route is through Spain, namely Andalusia. Llull gives a great many reasons why the route via Spain is the best, most of which are actually examples of sound military strategy. Llull recognizes the importance of Iberian sea power and the necessity of providing the soldiers with abundant supplies. Indeed, in this brief passage, Llull accurately describes the current course

\[50\text{De Fine, II.1, p.269-70: "Per angelos, qui in paradiso sunt, et per sanctos, et etiam per Latinos, desiderabile est, quod recuperetur Terra sancta, et terrae etiam aliae, quas infideles detinient a Latinis....et quia intentio principalis talis regis bellatoris debet esse ad Ierusalem acquirendum."}
\[51\text{De Fine, II.3, pp. 276-7.}
of the reconquista.\textsuperscript{52}

Llull’s other crusade treatises contain the same broad understanding of crusade although they differ in their emphasis on the best route to take. In \textit{De Acquisitione}, for example, the crusade against Constantinople is presented as one of two necessary routes; the other was to be through North Africa after Granada had been captured by Spanish forces. Llull argued that in earlier times, Rome and Constantinople had been victorious allies in the Holy Land. Thus it was only fitting that they should cooperate now. Constantinople should submit to Rome "as a daughter to her mother" in order to destroy schism and regain the Holy Land. Llull did not exhibit much confidence in the voluntary accomplishment of this plan. His next sentence speaks of the Latin "acquisition" of Constantinople.\textsuperscript{53}

Llull’s willingness to change the emphasis in his crusade plans from one location to another, bespeaks both his flexibility in pursuit of his overall goals and his realistic

\textsuperscript{52}\textit{De Fine}, II, 3, 5, pp. 276-7.

\textsuperscript{53}\textit{De Acquisitione}, I.2-3, f. 545\textsuperscript{tb}: "Figuratnum est quod ciuitas Romana et Constantinopolitana se debent habere contra infideles, quoniam olim Imperator Romanus cum ciuitate Constantinopolitana habebat victoriam de inimicis, et sic necesse est concordare ambo imperia ad acquisitionem Terre Sancte, ita quod ciuitas Constantinopolensis Romane ecclesie submittatur, sicut filia sue matri, et quod scisma grecorum destruatur, que destrucio est possibilis causa scientie intellectus et fortitudinis ensis et venerabilis domini Karolis [sic] et reverendi Magistri Hospitalis....Per acquisitionem Constantinopolis potest Terra Sancta acquiri bono modo et feliciter, sed sine ipsa, grauiter et tarde."
grasp of the politics of crusade. In *De Acquisitio*ne Llull blatantly adapted his plans to accord with the ambitions of both the Angevins and James II of Aragon, without whose support it was doubtful a crusade could ever be launched by Clement V.\(^5\) On the other hand, more than ten years earlier, Llull had already argued for a crusade against Constantinople if the Greeks obdurately continued their schism.\(^5\) Although Llull’s crusade plans have been characterized as "extravagant and extreme," they simultaneously demonstrate his practicality and flexibility in the face of political reality.\(^5\)

The details of Llull’s crusade proposals reflect many contemporary aspects of crusade planning. This was a time of prolific output in the genre of crusade propaganda, and much of the content of Llull’s proposals incorporates these current ideas. For example, Llull touches on military strategy and

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55*Tractatus de modo convertendi infideles*, ed. J. Rambaud-Buhot, *Beati Magistri Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina*, v. 3 (Mallorca, 1954), pp.100-101. Compare also Llull’s *Petitio Raymundi* (to Boniface VIII), p.147; and *Petitio in concilio generali*, p. 150, where Llull suggests that the pope and his cardinals should see to it that "...omnes milites religiosi uniantur in uno ordine et quod una pars eat ad acquirendum Constantinopolim, quia per hoc posset acquiri successive Turquia et dare passagium per terram ad Terram Sanctam, et alia pars eat ad Hispaniam ad acquirendum quamdam civitatem, quae vacatur Septa, quae est in Barbaria; ipsa acquisita posset acquiri regnum Marrochi et etiam tota Barbaria..."

shows a firm grasp of the key developments of the period such as an emphasis on naval power, economic embargoes, and other military advantages the Christians had over the Muslims. One of the key issues in Llull’s plans for crusade was the question of leadership. Llull proposed the unification of the military orders and the institution of the office of the Bellator Rex.

Crusade and mission were related very directly in Llull’s proposals. He promoted the crusade in order to open up lands under Muslim rule to Christian preachers. Llull insisted that crusading armies should be accompanied by preachers who had been trained in missionary techniques, particularly Llull’s Art. In De Fine, he argued that these preachers could take care of the spiritual welfare of the crusaders, that they could write and translate communications between the armies, and most importantly, they could educate captives, who, whether they converted or not, could be used to engage in


58For Llull’s view of the role of the military orders as compared the views of his contemporaries, see A.J. Forey, "The Military Orders in the Crusading Proposals of the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries," Traditio 36 (1980), pp. 317-45.

59For an example of this approach and some variations on the basic plan see, Blanquerna, chs. 80-82, OE, v. 1, pp. 232-37 and ch. 87, pp. 246-7.
rational disputations concerning the Christian faith with the Muslims. Some preachers could even be sent to the rulers of Muslim territories and offer material wealth, castles and cities, if they agreed to convert. Such missionaries could even be used as spies! Meanwhile, they could preach conversion throughout all the lands in which the crusaders travelled.⁶⁰

Llull’s geographically broad conception of the crusade was matched by an equally broad ideological understanding. Some aspects of this we shall discuss in a subsequent chapter. Here, however, we shall examine the purpose of crusade. What does Llull consider to be its rationale?

In his *Opusculum Tripartitum*, Humbert of Romans spoke out against those critics of the crusade who complained that it was not fitting for Christians to spill the blood even of wicked infidels, that it was against the teachings of Christ himself. Drawing a comparison between Christ’s dominion over the world and a farmer’s care of a vineyard, Humbert argued that sometimes something is brought into being one way, at a given time, but in order to conserve it, another way is necessary. Just as a vineyard may be brought into being by planting, watering and sunshine, it may need to be conserved by the sword. In the case of the Church, what was promoted by miracles, the passions of the saints, and holy doctrine, and

⁶⁰De Fine, II.6, pp. 282-4. Compare Tractatus de modo convertendi infideles, pp. 100-1. It is interesting to note the scorn Llull has for Muslims who offer bribes to Christians as inducement for their conversion in De Acquisitione, f. 547va.
not by (earthly) power, now must be defended from its enemies by the sword. Otherwise, the Lord would not have given the Church this power.\textsuperscript{61} What Humbert is describing here is a Christian society in which the modern idea that power corrupts is absent. On the contrary, to most medieval Christians, power was a sign of God’s favour—indeed, it was a gift from God. It should not be astonishing that in a society which considered the fact that Jews were subjugated to Christians to be proof of their error, the temporal power of the Church and of Christendom as a whole gained polemical force.\textsuperscript{62}

Llull’s understanding of the crusade falls very much in line with the theological presuppositions behind Humbert’s argument. If peaceful methods are ineffective in bringing about a united Christendom, then recourse can be made to force. We have seen this in Llull’s approach to the Greeks. If they refuse to be convinced by his powerful arguments and continue in schism, the harm they do to the Christian faith far outweighs any harm that would be done by using force to persuade them. Llull is marginally more subtle when it comes to the Muslims. Here, even more clearly, crusade is to be conducted in the service of missions. Muslim unwillingness to convert to Christianity is the only factor which justifies the crusade. In fact, in De Fine, Llull argues that crusade is an

\textsuperscript{61}Humbert of Romans, Opusculum Tripartitum, p. 191-2.

\textsuperscript{62}For one example of this, see Felix, I, trans., A. Bonner, Selected Works of Ramon Llull, v. 2, pp. 710-11.
act of love. Quoting from Matthew 22:37, he writes:

It is written in the first commandment, "You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart and with all your soul and with all your strength. And therefore, the Lord Pope, and also the lord cardinals should concede an ecclesiastical tithe for the recovery of the Holy Land. And since they can do this, and it is good, *illud bonum* is prefigured in the commandment mentioned above.°³

Llull concludes this section of his crusade treatise by arguing that this *ordinatio* is good, possible, and it should be done, according to the precept of God mentioned previously. "And if it is not accepted, the danger is extremely great, because it was commanded by God."°⁴ Taking the command to love God with all your strength quite literally then, Llull goes on to plead eloquently for the pope and his cardinals to carry out his proposals.

Llull’s *De Fine* is his lengthiest and most detailed treatment of the crusade. In his prologue to the work, Llull indicates the relationship of crusades to peaceful Christian evangelism. He tells the reader (at this moment he is actually addressing God) that he has demonstrated to the Pope, his cardinals, and the other princes of this world, both

°³*De Fine*, II.1, p. 271: "Legitur etiam in primo mandato legis, *Dilige Dominum Deum tuum ex toto corde tuo et ex tota anima tua et ex totis uiribus tuis*. Et ideo dominus papa, et etiam domini cardinales concedant decimam ecclesiae quo ad praesens ad recuperandum Terram sanctam. Et quia hoc possunt, et bonum est, in praeceto supra dicto figuratum est illud bonum."

°⁴*De Fine*, II.1, p. 271: "Ordinatio praedicta est bona et possibilis et etiam debita secundum praecptum Domini ante dictum. Et si accepta non est, est periculum ualde magnum, eo quod praecptum praecipit."
personally and in writing, as best as he could, the means through which they could, if they wanted, convert the infidel and restore unity to the catholic faith by recovering the Holy Sepulchre together with Jerusalem and the Holy Land."65 Structurally, as well, the crusade plays second fiddle. In the first distinction of this work Llull carefully reiterates his plans for missionary studia and outlines the different arguments, all based on his Art, by which all schismatics and unbelievers can be rationally convinced of the doctrinal truth upheld by the Roman Church. Crusade occupies the second distinction, and the topic is introduced only after Llull has expounded very eloquently the great urgency of the situation of Christendom. Llull does not apologize for the use of force against unbelievers here. He, like Humbert of Romans before him, views power as a legitimate tool of the Church. In fact, he introduces the distinction on the crusade in the following manner: "And this distinction (on missions) signifies the spiritual sword, namely truth against falsehood, ignorance and error. Now follows a discussion of the second sword, namely the corporal one. And since man is composed only of body and

65De Fine, prologus, p. 251: "Et hinc in die iudicii me excusabo coram summo iudice, sic dicendo et etiam cum digito demonstrando: Domine, iudex iustus. Ecce illos personaliter, quibus dixi, et per scripta, ut melius potui, demonstravi modum, per quem, si uoluissent, potuissent convenire infideles, et reducere ad nostrae fidei catholicae unitatem, recuperando uestram uerissimam sepulturam una cum ciuitate Ierusalem, et Terram sanctam."
soul, these two swords suffice.\textsuperscript{66}

Although it may appear to be merely rhetorical artifice, this idea of the two swords is important for understanding the relationship between mission and crusade in Llull’s thought. It is obvious from an overview of Llull’s thought on the two subjects that he considers crusade to be in the service of mission, or, to use Benjamin Kedar’s terms, "crusading for the advancement of missions."\textsuperscript{67} This is clear in Llull’s treatise \textit{Phantasticus}, written at the time of the Council of Vienne.

For the universal church of the catholics has two swords, as was said in the gospel; namely a corporal sword, that is, literally, a sword, and a spiritual [sword], that is knowledge and devotion. And with these two swords, the church has sufficient to lead all infidels to the path of truth. First, the pope should send wise and learned men, prepared to endure death, to the Saracens, Turks and Tartars, to show the infidels their errors and to open up for them the truth of the Holy Catholic faith, so that they might come to the holy cleansing of regeneration. Then, if they resist, the pope ought to use the secular sword against them. This \textit{ordo} is both permitted and required, and he who is against it in any way is fantastic and culpable.\textsuperscript{68}

\textsuperscript{66}De Fine, I.5, p. 269: "Et ista distinctio gladium spiritualem significat, uidelicet ueritatem contra falsitatem, ignorantiam et errorem. Modo sequitur de secundo gladio, uidelicet corporali. Et quia homo non est compositus, nisi ex corpore et anima, gladii sufficiant isti duo."

\textsuperscript{67}For Kedar’s discussion of Llull in this context, see his \textit{Crusade and Mission}, pp. 189-199.

\textsuperscript{68}Phantasticus, IV, p. 28: "Nam universa catholicorum ecclesia duos gladios habet, ut in evangelio dictum est, scilicet gladium corporalem, ensen uidelicet, et spiritualem, scilicet scientiam et deuotionem. Cum istis autem duobus gladiis sufficeret ecclesia omnes infideles ad uiam reducere ueritatis. Primo, si papa sapientes et discretos, mortem sustinere paratos, apud saracenos, turcos et tartaros mitteret, qui infidelibus suos errores ostenderent et sanctae fidei catholicae ueritatem aperirent, ut ipsi infideles ad
Kedar uses this passage to argue that Llull came to believe in forcible christianization. But this view needs to be modified. For Llull, the relationship between peaceful persuasion and force is more subtle than that and must be understood in the wider context of the ideals which inform his thought. In fact, both mission and crusade were activities to be carried out in the service of a greater good. Llull the idealist, who had so much confidence in the potential of his Art for intellectual persuasion, would clearly prefer to advance the Christian cause only by peaceful methods. But Llull the realist recognized that earthly power was sometimes necessary and considered the availability of that power to the Church as a gift from God. This is the significance of his use of the metaphor of the spiritual and corporal swords in De Fine and other works. Indeed, in the beginning of De Fine Llull very purposefully uses scriptural citations to link several key ideas for the comprehension of the relationship between mission and crusade in his thought: the complementary use of persuasion and force against unbelievers, the urgency of the situation of Christendom, and the notion that these

sacrum regenerationis lauacrum uenirent; deinde si resisterent, tunc papa contra ipsos procurare deberet gladium saecularem. Licitum et debitum est talem esse ordinationem, et qui in aliquo contra ordinationem est, phantasticus est et culpabilis, atque per consequens inordinatus." It should be noted that several of the figurative meanings for the word ensis include 'war' and 'royal sway.'

69 Kedar, Crusade and Mission, pp. 197-8.

70 See below, chapter three.
activities are carried out as an act of love.

And then the apostles said to Jesus Christ (Luke 22:38): Behold, here are two swords. And he responded, they are enough. And through this it is prefigured that you ought to fight (bellare) with preaching and with arms against the infidels. And do you not know that Christ said (Matth. 12:30): He who is not with me, is against me. And that he commanded this task (negotium) figuratively, in so far as he said (Matth. 22:37): Love the Lord your God with all your heart, [and soul and strength].

The notion that the corporal and spiritual swords are divine gifts is intensified by the fact that Llull also refers to these swords as the two treasures--both corporal and spiritual. This is the terminology Llull uses in his petition to Pope Celestine V concerning the conversion of the infidels. In this brief work, Llull requests the pope to open the treasury of the Holy Church so that all who are in error might come to the light of truth and follow the end for which they were created. The spiritual treasure consists in the preparation of missionaries and in preaching; the corporal in the collection of tithes for conquering the lands of the infidel and the Holy Land by force of arms. Both tasks should

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71 De Fine, I.1, p. 255: "Et iam dixerunt apostoli Iesu Christo (Luc. 22,38): Ecce, hic duos gladios. Et ipse respondit: Sufficiunt. Et per hoc fuit figuratum, quod bellare deberetis cum praedicatione et cum armis contra homines infideles. Et nescitis vos, quod Christus dixit (Matth. 12,30): Qui non est mecum, contra me est? Et quod ipse praecipit dictum negotium figurativum, in quantum dixit (Matth. 22,37): Dilige Dominum, Deum tuum, ex toto corde tuo, etc.?" A study of contemporary medieval exegesis of this passage would be interesting in this context.
be pursued until the whole world is Christian. In *De Acquisitio*
ne*, Llull introduces a further distinction into this metaphor. Here he speaks of a threefold *thesaurus*: monetary, corporal and spiritual. In the body of the text, the corporal treasure is subdivided into arms and tithes. Llull’s refinement of this metaphor in the *De Acquisitio* is another indication that the notion is an integral part of his thought on the problem of violence rather than just a literary device. Moreover, his allusion to the wealth of the church, which should be directed towards the cause of mission and crusade, points to the integral relationship between these endeavors.

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72 See *Petitió de Ramon al Papa Celestí V per a la conversió dels infidels*, ed. Perarnau, pp. 32-35: "Aquest trezor de sancta esgleya conciram en dues maneres: trezor espiritual i trezor corporal. Espiritual, quels sants hòmens religiozes e seglars, qui per nostre senyor a honrar desígien pendre mort e qui són de doctrina sacra illuminats, aprezessen diuerses lengatges qu anassen prehiciar los euangelis per tot lo món....Lo trezor corporal és que uós, pare sant apostoli, e vós, seynors cardenals, assignàssets per tots temps la dècima de la esgleya, e que n fos feta decretal, a conquerre les terres dels infeels e la sancta terra d’oltramar. E assó per forsa d’armes."

73 *De Acquisitio*, II.6, f. 547ra: "...datus est modus et doctrina per quam totus mundus potest reduci ad bonum statum. Posito quod ecclesia Dei viriliter et festinanter aperiat thesauros suos, scilicet pecuniale, corporale, et spirituale sicut supra iam est tactum." It is possible that this further subdivision of the treasury of the church reflects a social reality of Llull’s time, namely the rising middle class. During this period, crusade indulgences were granted in return for monetary contributions for the crusade. In fact, this financial aspect was increasingly important as the church depended more and more upon paid professional soldiers to carry out the crusade. Financial donations could be the middle class’ contribution to the *negotium Dei* while knights fought, and the religious preached.
and the reform of the Church. Finally, medieval theology allowed for the interpretation of the metaphor of the two swords to include the notions of spiritual admonishment, material punishment and coercive power. Such a broad interpretation gives added support to the idea that crusade could be an act of love.  

In *De Acquisitio*, Llull claims that the three things which are needed most for the recovery of the Holy Land are wisdom, power, and love. Many other such instances of his casual recognition of the role of power in accomplishing the task of bringing the whole world to embrace the truth of the Christian faith could be noted. However, it is important to realize that the question of the relationship between peaceful persuasion and the use of force did occur to Llull and on more than one occasion he addressed the problem directly. For example, in the *Liber super Psalmum 'Quicunque Vult'* , Llull's characters ask each other whether conversion by the apostolic method or frightening unbelievers into conversion by force of

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74See below, chapter four.


76*De Acquisitio*, prologus, f. 544vb: "Ad acquirendum Terram Sanctam tria maxime requiruntur, videlicet sapientia, potestas et caritas..."
arms is more beneficial to the Church. Significantly, Llull leaves the question unanswered.\textsuperscript{77} In Blanquerna, the Sultan sends a messenger to the papal court to marvel that Christians use force to convert unbelievers just like the Muslims. This inspires the pope to organize a large scale missionary enterprise.\textsuperscript{78} But the same work, only two chapters later, tells about a knight who goes to fight some Muslims who have already martyred a philosopher and a preacher. The knight also suffers martyrdom, "having praised God in the office of arms." The question is then raised as to who served God best, the philosopher, the preacher or the knight. Because the ensuing discussion generates so much devotion, the curia decides not to answer the question.\textsuperscript{79}

Related to this is the question of the failure of crusades during Llull's lifetime. He also addressed this question directly. In the \textit{libre de contemplació}, Llull wrote:

\begin{quote}
I see many knights go to the Holy Land beyond the sea thinking to conquer it by force of arms, and in the end they are all destroyed instead of accomplishing the goal they sought. Hence, it seems to me that the acquisition of the Holy Land ought rather to be done in the manner of you, O Lord, and your apostles, namely with love and
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{77}\textit{Liber super Psalmum 'Quicunque Vult' sive Liber Tartari et Christiani}, pars 35, "De baptizazione Tartari," n. 10, MOG, v. 4, p. 376.

\textsuperscript{78}Blanquerna, ch. 80, p. 229.

\textsuperscript{79}Blanquerna, ch. 82, pp. 236-7. Another work which directly addresses this question is the \textit{Ars iuris}. See the excerpts edited by Kedar, \textit{Crusade and Mission}, pp. 225-8.
prayers, and the pouring out of blood and tears.\textsuperscript{80}

But this statement is made in the context of a discussion concerning the proper role of knights in the world. One of their duties is to "fight against infidels and heretics who wish to destroy the holy Roman faith." Llull argues that just as the role of a cleric is to praise God and pray on behalf of the people, a knight has the office to fight for the faith.\textsuperscript{81}

It seems clear that although the preferred method of evangelism is the apostolic method, the use of force cannot be completely overlooked.

How then does Llull explain the failure of the crusaders to recover the Holy Land, not to mention the fact that there are so many more unbelievers in the world than Christians? In Phantasticus, Llull gives a number of reasons. It could be because those who go to the Holy Land are trying to acquire it

\textsuperscript{80}\textit{Libre de Contemplació}, v. 3, ch. 112, no. 10; ORL v. 4, pp. 58-9: "Molts cavallers veg que van en la sancta terra d'outramar e cuyden aquella conquerre per forsa d'armes. On, com ve a la fi tots si consumen sens que no vanen a fi de so ques cuyden. On parme, Sènyer, que lo conqueriment daquella sancta terra nos deja conquerir si no per la manera on la conqués vos els vostres apòstols, qui la conquerís ab amor e ab oracions e ab escampament de lagremes e de sanc."

\textsuperscript{81}\textit{Libre de Contemplació}, ch. 112, no. 29; ORL v. 4, pp. 62-3: "Los cavallers, Sènyer, se combaten ab los infeels e ab los heretges qui volen destruir la sancta fe romana. On, benauirats son tots los cavallers qui son obedients a sanc Esgleya: car enaxí, Sènyer, com los clergues an offici de vos a loar e a pregar per lo poble, enaxí los cavallers an offici ques combaten per la fe romana." Compare the \textit{Libre del Orde de Cavalleria}, II., ORL v. 1, pp. 212-223, where Llull declares that just as clerics are chosen by God to maintain the holy faith with scripture and reason, so God chooses knights to vanquish wrongdoers by force of arms.
for themselves rather than for God, that their motives are wrong. It could be that the crusaders are not properly prepared for their task. Moreover, even the missionaries are often not prepared—they don’t even know the proper languages. In sum, according to Llull’s *De Consilio*, the reason for the backward state of the world, with the infidels ruling the Holy Land, and the failure of the crusaders to regain it was a great defect on the part of princes and prelates who followed bad advice and allowed themselves to deviate from their true purpose. In *De Acquisitio*, Llull is even more blunt: failure is the result of sinful behaviour.

We have seen that Llull’s desire to convert unbelievers arose from the first impulses of his conversion. From the beginning, his missionary ideas included several key elements: a confidence in the power of human reason to understand Christian doctrine, a conviction that rational proofs could be used successfully to convert Muslims and Jews, and the

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83 *De Consilio*, prologus, ROL v. 10, p. 120; and *ibid*, II.6.186, p. 214. Compare *De Praedicatione*, 37.II.2; ROL v. 5, pp. 145-6; and *Liber Clericorum*, "Hec ait Remundus" (after ch. 50), ORL v. 1, pp. 385-6.

84 *De Acquisitio*, II.2, f. 546va.
development of the Art and the establishment of missionary studia to provide the means of peaceful persuasion. Also present from the start was Llull’s belief that a willingness to die in the attempt at converting the whole world was an essential quality for Christian missionaries to have. Llull was flexible in his approach to missions; he embraced a wide variety of methods, from peaceful disputation to the accompaniement of crusade armies by missionary preachers. This flexibility carried over to his crusade plans which gave evidence of his realism, political astuteness, and grasp of military strategies and other aspects of current crusade propaganda. Like missionaries, crusaders also had to be willing to suffer martyrdom for Christ’s cause. The religious ideals which informed Llull’s proposals dictated that he embrace a broad conception of crusade, both geographically and ideologically. And finally, we have seen that in Llull’s mind, mission and crusade were related in a variety of ways. Llull never discussed the crusade without also advocating peaceful evangelism. Moreover, although he called for crusade in the service of mission, his thought is more complex and subtle than this single idea can encompass. Llull’s plans for crusade and mission were determined by the theological and religious presuppositions which shaped his thought as a whole. Thus it is in the context of Llull’s understanding of the purpose of mankind and his view of Christian society that we must look for further insight into the relationship between mission and
crusade.
CHAPTER THREE

'USQUE TOTUS MUNDUS ESSET CHRISTIANORUM': EVANGELIZATION AND THE PURPOSE OF MANKIND

It should be clear from the preceding chapter, that Llull was interested first and foremost in mission; crusade was incidental to this greater goal and basically served as an additional tool to provide opportunities for the work of conversion. He was interested in the salvation of souls rather than in secular conquest, and although the recovery of the Holy Land was to be a physical acquisition, it was more important for its symbolic value--Llull lived by the dictum "our world belongs to God"--and for the expansion of Christendom in an abstract sense, than it was for territorial expansion. We have seen that Llull was rhetorically flexible in his efforts to get this goal accomplished. J.N. Hillgarth has pointed out that Llull advocated his ideas in many forms: in scholarly philosophical treatises, in "doggerel verse," undoubtedly born from his troubador days, in mystical works, in succinct petitiones, and in personal letters.1 Moreover, it is abundantly evident that Llull was also flexible concerning the tactics and techniques of evangelisation. His willingness to promote crusading as well as methods of peaceful persuasion is the most obvious example of this flexibility. Thus, he very practically tried to incorporate the secular aspirations of the rulers of Christendom into his

moral and spiritual appeals in order to make his proposals more palatable and more possible.\textsuperscript{2} Llull's creative and varied efforts to evangelize no less than the whole world, in Mark Johnston's words, frequently led to a synthetic correlation of ideas by which Llull often confected new doctrines.\textsuperscript{3} But Christian evangelization was not an end in itself even though participation in it conveyed its own blessings. For Llull, evangelization was a task carried out by faithful Christians in the service of yet a greater good—the purpose for which humanity was created. A true understanding of Llull's ideas about mission, not to mention crusade, is dependent on understanding how missionary efforts relate to this greater good. In simpler terms, where does mission fit into Llull's view of the scheme of salvation history? This shall be the focus of the present chapter.

The question of how Llull associated Christian missions to salvation history can be broken down into several constituent issues: what is the purpose of humanity, how is the purpose to be accomplished, what are its implications for society, politics, the church, and culture, and finally, what is the extent of an individual Christian's responsibility to

\textsuperscript{2}A concrete example of this is Llull's willingness to appeal in various texts alternatively to both James II of Aragon's and Philip IV of France's desire to be seen as the logical leaders of a potential international crusade.

help to accomplish this goal? The answers to these questions go a long way towards explaining Llull’s great emphasis on mission throughout his life, his flexibility, and his willingness to use compulsory methods of proselytisation (methods which included the crusade, but were not limited to it).

Several points should be made at the outset. First, Llull’s efforts at evangelism were not exclusively directed to infidels; he expended great energy in promoting the reform of Christendom, at all levels, in the service of the same goal. This topic will be addressed in a subsequent chapter. Second, just as I have argued that Llull’s Art was the crucial tool for mission, it can be demonstrated that the Art both in its simplicity and its universal application neatly encapsulates the main themes of all the questions I have outlined concerning missions and salvation history. Let us begin then, with Llull’s Art.  

Sometime about 1283, Llull wrote a work entitled Ars Demonstrativa. This was not the first incarnation of his intellectual masterpiece. Rather, it was a new edition of the

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4 Of interest for the subject of Llull’s Art, is a short book written by a well-known writer on scientific questions for Scientific American, among other such publications. Although the author includes in his discussion of Llull a number of outdated biographical details and calls Llull’s Libre de Contemplació "a massive, dull work," he nicely situates Llull’s Art in the history of the development of mechanical logic and provides a convenient introduction to Llull’s logic for the "logically challenged." See Martin Gardner, Logic Machines and Diagrams, (New York, 1958), pp. 27.
Art and Llull had great hopes for it. This reformulation was designed to facilitate its role as the key tool for Llull’s proselytism. Distinction Three of the Ars Demonstrativa "treats of intention"; that is, it discusses the goals of the Art and its different applications. According to Llull, the primary intention of the Art is to learn to know and love A. In the mechanics of the Art, A is Llull’s figure for God. Humanity can achieve this goal by contemplating God Himself, or by learning about God through creation and created truths. Llull believed that not only could his Art teach someone how to contemplate God, it could also provide access to the vastly complex expanse of human knowledge, including knowledge about the world and how it worked. This is the reason Llull imbued the Art with its encyclopedic nature. In part seven of this distinction, which is on "Guiding", Llull elaborates:

The intention of this Art is to guide those subject to error who lack art and doctrine by which they could be guided toward the path of truth; for this Art is common to all Gentiles, Jews, Christians and Saracens alike, and to all people no matter to what religion or sect they belong. This is because the principles of the Art are completely general, and they can be used to judge clearly

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5For example, see De Fine, III.1, p. 286: "Ars generalis eo dicitur generalis, quia decem et octo principia generalissima et decem quaestiones siue regulas generalissimas ipsa habet. Ex quibus figureae quattuor et sua tabula componuntur, cum quibus omnes quaestiones, de quacumque materia faciendae sint, possunt solui. Compendiosa dicitur, quia breuiter est tractata. Inuentiua uero, quia docet plurima inuenire. Sed demonstratiua dicitur, ex eo quia conclusiones necessitat seu demonstrat." Also, III.2. p. 289: "Praeterea: Cum praedictis Artibus de nouo inuentis et cum aliis antiquis artibus intellectus potest esse artificialiter magis altus, et in tanto, quod omnes errores mundi destrui cito possent et mundus in bono ueroque statu poni."
which people are on the true path and which are in error. Moreover, this art provides instruction as to how a
people on the true path can, with the help of God, lead
to the truth a people whose errors have blinded them
against that truth.\footnote{Ars Demonstrativa, III.7.1; MOG, v. 3, p. 47, trans. A. Bonner, Selected Works of Ramon Lull (Princeton, 1985), pp. 425-6.}

According to the Ars Demonstrativa, these errors have
dire consequences—they will lead to the torments of the
everlasting fires of Hell.\footnote{Ars Demonstrativa, III.7.2, MOG, v. 3, p. 47; trans. Bonner, p. 426} The work of guiding those who are
in error to the true path involves some careful planning and
practical preparations. These include the study of foreign
languages and the translation of the Art itself into these
languages. Moreover, Llull stipulates the spirit in which
this guiding should be conducted: joyfully, in a friendly
manner, not frightening, proud, thoughtless, nor unjust, nor
using vile words.\footnote{Ars Demonstrativa, III.7.6, MOG, v. 3, p. 48; Bonner, p. 427.} And finally, to aid these efforts, the
guide will require God’s grace, the Christian virtues, the
truth, and the benefits that come from knowing and loving God.

Above all, if one is on the true path and recognizes that
someone is in error, it is acting contrary to the truth not to
attempt to guide them.\footnote{Ars Demonstrativa, III.7.4, MOG, v. 3, p. 47; Bonner, pp. 426-7.} And this attempt should be made
without regard or worry about death, hardship or the
abandonment of earthly pleasures, "since error against Y (Truth) is worse than anything else in the world and to remove doubt and demonstrate the truth is better than anything else beneath the heavens." 10

This particular excerpt from this restructured version of the Art is significant. First, and most obviously, it neatly encapsulates the main lines of Llull’s ideals for evangelization: courteous rational debate. It is interesting to compare the guidelines set out in the Ars Demonstrativa with the extended model for religious disputation that Llull provides us with in the Llibre del Gentil. Such a disputation should be conducted by learned representatives of the religions involved (the three wise men); it should be based on shared philosophical principles (the dignities and elements of Llull’s Art, in this work portrayed by the trees); and it should recognize common doctrines (for example the belief in one God and the doctrine of the resurrection) as its starting point. Above all, the participants should conduct the disputation courteously and with mutual respect. The positions of the disputants should be set forth clearly and concisely. And of course, Llull’s own Art should provide the methodology for the disputation. Ideally, the discussion itself, the act of seeking to know and love God better, should be beneficial to all the participants whether conversion results or not. And

finally, a striking literary touch in view of Llull's confidence in rational proofs of Christian doctrine, room should be left for God's grace in accomplishing the final conversion.\footnote{I have relied upon the English translation of the work by Anthony Bonner, Selected Works of Ramon Llull, v. 1 (Princeton, 1985) who established a critical Catalan text for the project because the text edited by G. Rosselló at the turn of the century and used in the OE edition was inadequate. Bonner has recently published his critical Catalan text in Nova Edició de les Obres de Ramon Llull (Palma de Mallorca, 1992) which, although I have looked at it, I have been unable to consult directly for this discussion.} In the course of this model disputation, Llull used the character of the Gentile to question the Jewish and Muslim presentations of various doctrines, anticipating the superior Christian exposition. This is not surprising in a work that was intended to teach missionary method, maybe even at the studium Llull founded at Miramar.\footnote{See Bonner, Selected Works, v. 1, pp. 98-99.} But it is also evidence of Llull's supreme confidence that Christian doctrine really was more reasonable and intellectually attractive than any other doctrine.\footnote{For example, see Llull's arguments against the Jacobins in De Fine, I.4.2, p. 264: "Per istas praedictas rationes et per multas alias possunt Iacobini deuinci. Et quia intellectus naturaliter appetit uerum, eo quia ueritas est suum proprium obiectum, per arduam et continuaum disputacionem Latini ad fidem catholicam possunt reducere Iacobinos."} It is easy to see how, given this premise, Llull thought that if Christians were provided with (or seized) opportunities to teach unbelievers what Christians really believed and clear up any erroneous views about this doctrine, it would not be such a difficult task to convert
Muslims, Jews, and others. Moreover, he sincerely believed that the calm application of his Art would effectively demonstrate how Christianity more perfectly fulfilled the goals for which man was created. The *Llibre del Gentile* together with the *Ars Demonstrativa* show that Llull considered the Art to be indispensable. In effect, the soul-searching Gentile in *Llibre del Gentile* serves primarily as a fictional construct with which to demonstrate how the Art could answer all queries and confound all objections. Llull only implies here what he states outright elsewhere: although other

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14 In *De Fine*, I.1, p. 254, Llull ties the problem of misunderstanding Christian doctrine to the lack of knowledge of necessary languages on the part of Christians. Llull's proposals for the *studia* in which languages and the Art as a missionary tool will be taught can remedy this problem.

15 The fact that the *Libre del Gentil*, epilogue, trans., Bonner, pp. 300-1, leaves the reader hanging as to which one of the three religions the Gentile chooses, indicates that Llull is leaving room for the power of God's grace in the work of conversion. The structure of the work and the type of arguments contained point very clearly to the superiority of Christianity in this work. For the accomplishments of the Art, see *Libre del Gentil*, prologue, trans. Bonner, p. 116: "Ah! What a great good fortune it would be if, by means of these trees, we could all--every man on earth--be under one religion and belief, so that there would be no more rancor or ill will among men, who hate each other because of diversity and contrariness of beliefs and of sects! And just as there is only one God, Father, Creator, and Lord of everything that exists, so all peoples could unite and become one people, and that people be on the path to salvation, under one faith and one religion, giving glory and praise to our Lord God."

16 It is interesting to compare this brief outline of the main parameters of how missions should be conducted with the much more elaborate example of this Llull presents in his *Book of the Gentile*, especially in the epilogue (see Bonner, p. 303) where the disputants take leave of each other with "exquisite courtesy."
missionary methods may not be effective, faithful application of the Art will lead to intellectual illumination that is undeniable.\textsuperscript{17}

These works also illustrate the unique and personal nature of his thought. The chief example of this again is the centrality of the Art in all Llull’s plans. However, other factors, especially in the excerpt from the Ars Demonstrativa, also point to this characteristic of Llull’s ideas about mission. Although this passage describes an ideal—for example putting aside all mundane concerns in order to pursue the goal—it has the ambience of autobiography. Llull’s own conversion experience and his donning of a life of penitence—even leaving his wife and children behind in order to pursue this goal—left unmistakable imprints upon the ideology of the Art. Thus its parameters, which Llull outlines here, are not

\textsuperscript{17}See for example the "Epistola Raimundi," which is appended to his Liber de Experientia Realitatis, written at Montpellier in 1308; ROL v. 10, pp. 220-221 (220): "Quoniam infideles litterati percipiunt a fidelibus litteratis, quod sacrosancta fides catholica non probatur, et quia fideles, instructi imperfecte in demonstratione ab antiquis, eis dicunt fidem non posse demonstrari, dubitant converti ad fidem christianam; nam respondent, quod dimittere credere pro credere non est de ratione hominis sapientis, sed dimittere falsum credere pro vero intelligere bene esset; idcirco ego Raimundus, qui multum cum eis disputando laborai, et adhuc cum sacrosancta ecclesia iam laboro, ut daretur eis uia et doctrina, per quam tales, et per consequens omnes alii, possent a lumine certitudinis uerae fidei illuminari et imprimi, dico eis, quod fides sacra potest ueraciter demonstrari, distinguendo tamen de demonstratione, ne incidam in aequiuocum demonstrandi." Llull goes on to explain how he knows through personal experience that these arguments will defeat all the cavillations, arguments and sophistries of the infidel (p. 221).
merely abstract intellectualizations for him. Rather, they were born of intense and passionate contemplation and they mirror Llull's spiritual as well as intellectual experiences.

Finally, this brief discussion of the Art and its context, provides an example of how the relationship between faith and action or, to put it in Llull's own terms, between knowing and loving God, is crucial to understanding his thought. Llull leads us to the unmistakable conclusion that it is not enough to know about the Art but one must also use it; it is not enough to know about the doctrines of the Church but one must live in accordance with them. This relates to Llull's understanding of conversio as meaning more than an intellectual assent to a set of beliefs; rather, it entails a way of life grounded in a specific set of principles. These observations on the relationship between faith and action in Llull's thought are supported by numerous other texts in his multifaceted corpus. But an example from his own Vita can also serve to illustrate this relationship. Although his divine illumination on top of Mt. Randa was intellectual in nature, and the fruit of almost a decade of study, Llull very actively set about promoting the results of this illumination and used them extensively himself on his own missionary trips. In

18 See above, pp. 116-117.

19 See the Vita Coetanea, ch. 14, 18, 25-28, 34, 36-40; ROL v. 8, pp. 271-309, passim. The last we know about Llull's life is a missionary expedition he made to Tunis in 1314. It is probable that he died sometime between December 1315 and March 1316, on his way home from North Africa. See A. Bonner,
his own life, Llull sought to embody the medieval notion of preaching by both word and deed.

The Art is Llull's primary tool for evangelism. He was convinced that it could bring the world back to its proper state and lead all people to fulfill the purpose for which they had been created. What then, according to Llull, is this purpose? Llull's mystical work, *The Book of the Lover and the Beloved*, is a clear expression of this goal: to know and love God. This work falls into the tradition of positive mysticism in which nature and the world are seen as a book from which one can learn about God, or a mirror in which one can see God's image and has obvious ties to Llull's Art.* Llull's *petitio* to Pope Celestine V, which seeks papal endorsement and concrete support for his plans to establish missionary studia, gives another eloquent statement of Llull's position. Here he declares that, above all, God created humankind in order to remember, know and love, honour and serve Him. Llull goes on to note how the world was falling grievously short of this goal. He lamented the state of Christendom, calling attention

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*See The Book of the Lover and the Beloved*, trans. Eve Bonner, in Anthony Bonner, *Doctor Illuminatus: A Ramon Llull Reader*, (Princeton, 1993) pp. 175-237. See A. Bonner's introduction to the work at p. 178, for a discussion of Llull's place in this tradition of positive mysticism. The text forms a separate entity within Llull's didactic romance *Blaquerna*, ed. Salvador Galmés, ORL v. 9, (Palma, 1914); virtually the same text is edited, also by Galmés in *Obres Essencials*, v. 1 (Barcelona, 1957). The latter is the text that I have consulted.
to the numerous infidels who did not even know they were created to love and serve God. Llull called upon Celestine V as one who with the Holy Spirit's aid had been elected pope, to use the authority and power he now possessed to open the treasury of the Church and use its treasures to remedy the situation of the world.21

Llull's understanding of the purpose of God's creation of the world is inextricably related to the activities of mission and crusade. Llull's petition to Celestine V's successor, Boniface VIII, is virtually identical to the one sent to Celestine. The chief difference between them lies in the

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21Petitió de Ramon al Papa Celestí per a la conversió dels infidels, ed. J. Perarnau i Espelt, "Un text català desconegut: la "Petitió de Ramon al Papa Celestí V per a la conversió des infidels," Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics 1 (1982) pp. 29-32: "Con Déus aya creat home principalment a membrar, conèixer e amar, honrar e seruir si mateis; e con sien tans infeels qui nol membren nil coneixen nel amen e asò depùs que acquest món fo creat entrò a aquest temps en què som, anant aquellos a foc perdurable; e encara con sien tans, que per i crestìa creu sien cent o plus qui no són crestians, molt seria couinent cosa que uòs, subirà sant auesque Celestinus quintus, qui per Sant Spirit sots elet a papa, e quels seynors honrats e descrets cardenals obrissets lo trezor de sancta esgleya a procurar con aquellos qui són en error e Déu no coneixen ni amen venguesen a lum de veritat e seguissen la fi per què són creats." It should be noted that Llull included statements about the purpose of humanity being to know and love God in all kinds of works. It also appeared in preaching manuals which were designed to help people fulfill this goal as well. See for example, Llibre de virtuts e de pecats, V, 7, 54; ed. Fernando Domínguez Reboiras, Nova Edició de les Obres de Ramon Llull (NEORL), v. 1 (Palma de Mallorca, 1990), p. 277: "Ço que Deus ha creat, toto ho ha creat a si mateix conèixer e amar e membrar. E home no pot venir a aquella fi sens caritat qui sia estrument ab lo qual hom pug a aquella fi son veer, oyr, odorar, gustar, tocar, affar, ymaginar, entendre, amar e membrar, e per çòDeus dona caritat qui es estrument de pujar a la fi...e home qui ha caritat a Deu los ret qui.ìs dona."
intensified sense of urgency expressed by Llull when he asks that his plans be enacted. Here Llull speaks of preaching the gospel to unbelievers as the *primum Dei negotium*.

Llull's crusade treatises also demonstrate this relationship. For example, Llull's *Tractatus de modo convertendi infideles*, a crusade proposal submitted along with a *petitio* to Nicholas IV, contains an explicit association between the idea that humanity was created to know and love God, and the activity both of peaceful and of more compulsory evangelism. In his treatise of 1305 on mission and crusade, appropriately entitled *De Fine*, Llull expands on this idea and

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22 *Petitio Raymundi pro conversione infidelium* (to Boniface VIII), ed. E. Longpré, "Deux opuscules inédits du B. Raymond Lulle," *La France Franciscaine* 18 (1935), 146-7: "...Sanctissime Pater...et vos reverendi domini cardinales, aperiaretis ecclesiae sanctae thesaurum ad procurandum quod omnes qui verum Dei cultum ignorant, ad veritatis lumen perveniant ut finem valeant assequi ad quem Deus eos ex sua benignitate creavit...et quod uni dominorum cardinalium hoc primum Dei negotium committatur."

23 *Tractatus de modo convertendi infideles*, 4; ed. J. Rambaud-Buhot, p. 106: "Finis quare Deus creavit mundum est ut ipse cognosceretur et diligeretur, ut sic mundus in bono statu consistere non potest nisi se habeat ad illum finem quare creatus est, reducere mundum ad predictum finem consistit in ordinatione predicta, quia in ipsa ordinatione predicta sunt principia et media que conveniunt ipsi fini, et sunt de sua natura quod probari non oportet, quia per se patet, et experientiam habebam quod, cessantibus et impeditis illis principiis et mediis, status mundi hujus a suo fine est deviatus." Llull continues to talk of the great sadness in the Christian world as a result of the loss of the Holy Land, which he cites as his main reason for writing this crusade treatise.
relates it to the public good (*bonum publicum*). Here Llull’s plans manifest a greater sense of urgency combined with a distinct pessimism about the likelihood that his plans will be adopted. Moreover, he seems more despairing about the state of the world than he had a decade earlier. Perhaps it is for this reason that he emphasizes the benefits that would accrue to the Christian world if only its leaders would pursue his suggestions. Llull is not only concerned about the souls of unbelievers. His *petitio* to Boniface VIII challenges the members of the papal curia to consider the great utility and worthiness of his plan, even though it may be a *longum negotium*. They should consider the lands the Christians have

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24 De Fine, prologue; p. 251: "Sed ego homo de hoc nihil potui impetrare. Et quare non potui, fuit cause, quia bonum publicum amicos non habet. Et si quos habet, pauci sunt, ut apparent ueritatem uniuersique intuenti. Nam deuotio et caritas quasi in omnibus sunt obitae. Et quia feci multos libros contra homines infideles et ad exaltationem ipsius humani intellectus, ad hoc, ut ad omnes scientias sit artificialiter generalis, libellus iste *Finis omnium* erit dictus... In quo libro continetur materia, per quam possent, mediante si uellent gratia Iesu Christi, ad bonum statum reducere uniuersum et ad unum ouile catholicum adunire."

25 De Fine, prologue; ROL v. 8, pp. 250-1: "Cum mundus in malo statu diu permanserit, et adhuc timendum sit de peiori, eo quia pauci sunt christiani, et tamen multi sunt infideles, qui conantur cotidie, ut ipsos destruant christianos, et multiplicando se eorum terras capiunt et usurpant, sanctissimam Dei veram et dignissimam trinitatem ac Domini nostri Iesu Christi incarnationem beatissimam blasphemant, viliter abnegando et ad dedecus celestis curiae possident Terram sanctam. Et quia christiani ad hunc statum prauiissimum et iniustum quasi remedium nolunt dare, idcirco quidam homo dimisit omnia, quae habebat, et diu per consequens laborauit, quasi per mundum eundo uniuersum, adeo ut posset protinus impetrare cum domino papa dominis cardinalibus et etiam alis principibus..." There follows a brief outline of Llull’s missionary proposals.
lost, how the res publica has been virtually neglected, and how the laity cries out against the clergy. "For this reason," writes Llull, "through the aforementioned ordinatio you have in yourselves and in your good works an exemplum for the laity as to the procuration of the public good..." The opposite is also true: if the curia does nothing, it imputes damnnum and detrimentum to Christianity.  

This idea that the activity of evangelism conveys blessings to those who are participating in it is a significant element of the medieval rationale for evangelism. It goes a long way to explain why the ideal of martyrdom was so powerful for medieval missionaries, particularly the Franciscans who so strongly stressed imitatio Dei. The good

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26Petitio Raymundi pro conversion infidelium (to Boniface VIII), p. 149: "consideretis etiam, si placet, quomodo christiani terras amittunt et audaciam quam contra Sarracenos habere solemant et quomodo pariter res publica etiam fuit fere ab omni christianano neglecta et quomodo clamant laici contra clerum. Quare ex praedictorum ordinatione haberent in vobis et vestris bonis operibus exemplum laici ad bona publica procuranda, ex quo auferretur grande onus a vobis, cum damnnum et detrimentum christianitatis pro majori parte nostrae negligentiae imputetur." Compare Llull's Petitió a Celestí V, ed. Perarnau, pp. 40-43.  

27See E.R. Daniel, "The Desire for Martyrdom: A Leitmotiv of St. Bonaventure," Franciscan Studies 32 (1972), pp. 74-87. Such a desire was not limited to the Franciscans of course. Note, for example, the lament of the famous Dominican missionary Jordanus Catalanus who, upon hearing the news of the martyrdom of his Franciscan companions at Tana in India, wept bitterly that he had not been able to share with them the martyr's crown. See the Chronica XXIV Generalium Ordinis Minorum, in Analecta Franciscana 3 (1897), pp. 609-10. In an interesting parallel to Llull's concerns about reform and worthiness, Jordanus explains that he was not worthy to receive the martyr's crown with his companions "meis peccatis exigentibus." This ties mission and crusade together in that
example provided by the dedicated missionaries is presented as a double-edged sword in this picture, provoking reform amongst Christians as well as conversion amongst the infidel. Just as crusade preachers had stressed the penitential aspects of the crusade and the spiritual rewards, epitomized by indulgences, to be won by crusaders, so Llull holds up the bonum publicum as one of the positive effects of his plans. This observation is perhaps less startling when we remember Llull’s insistence that mission and crusade are expressions of love for God and that for almost half a century papal policy had been considering missions in tandem with crusade as well. When John XXII reissued the missionary bull "Cum hora undecima" in 1321, it included the provision of crusade indulgences to the missionary friars. According to Llull, evangelism is an expression of love for God because it is so tightly connected to the reason for which humanity was created and because the missionaries so clearly were to follow the examples of the apostles and martyrs of the early Church. It is unusual to the phrase signifies the common medieval explanation for the failure of crusade as well.

28 For more on the relationship between reform and evangelisation, see below, chapter 4.


30 On this point see Llull’s Petitió a Celestí, ed. Perarnau, p. 43: "Si alcun diu que totes aquestes cozes se faran con a Déu plaurà, concirats si Déus vol la fi per què a creat home e sin a dat exempli Ihesu Christ els apòstols els màrtirs a ssegir aquela fi per què són; a qui dirà que Déus continuament no vula éser amat per son poble?"
find such clear expressions of these ideas in actual crusade proposals. But even Llull's *De Acquisitio*ne, the pared down version of *De Fine* which he adapted to appeal more precisely to the ambitions of James II of Aragon and Philip IV of France, contains an expression of the idea that following Llull's proposals would aid the public good. Here, as he did in *De Fine*, Llull adds a personal touch. He tells the reader that he felt constrained to work ceaselessly to promote his Art, and his plans for crusade and mission, so that when the Day of Judgement arrived, and he faced the Lord as Judge, he could answer that he had done what he could. If he kept silent, he could only anticipate the fires of hell.

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31 Compare, for example, William Durandus the Younger's crusade treatise, probably written around the time of the Council of Vienne although possibly not submitted until about 1317, which bears only a marginal notation that preachers ought to accompany the crusading army. See *Informacio brevis super hiis que viderentur ex nunc fore providenda quantum ad passagium*, Paris, BN lat. 7470, f. 123v, lower margin. The passage is reproduced in Kedar, Crusade and Mission, p. 201, note 148. The manuscript is an interesting collection of crusade treatises and also includes some by Llull. The rest of Durandus' text is largely devoted to preparations in Christendom for the crusade, namely tithes, protection of property and so on.

32 *De Acquisitio*ne *Terre Sancte*, Paris, BN lat 15450, f. 544v: "Sapientia disponit, ordinat, consultat, indicat et iudicat, iusticiam et prudentiam generat. Potestas possibile ponit et conservat, distribuit et habundat fortitudinem et temperantiam generat. Caritas optat, festinat, impetrat, prorpia communia facit, patientiam et humilitatem causat. Per ista tria principia primitiua et per ea que eis competunt, ut dictum est, intendimus procedere hoc in libro ad ostendendum modum et debitum per que Terra Sancta potest acquiri. Hoc dico quia bonum publicum desidero; etiam quia veritatem dico. Nam si tacerem, conscientiam haberem. Et si dico, et in factis me totum quantum possum non pono, de habitu ypocrisis me habituo et penas infernales perpetuales specto, quoniam Deus non...
Of course, the public good Llull is talking about is not relevant to Christendom alone. After all, the main goal of evangelism was to bring about conversions so that all people would come to know and love God. Llull’s belief in this universal public good and the benefits of missions for Christians and converts who no longer have to fear the fires of hell demonstrates the essential interconnectedness of his world. This points to a key difference between Llull’s missionary program and that of the mendicants. Llull insisted on the universal character of his program and the utility of the Art as its instrument. The entire world must be transformed in accordance with the basic tenets of Christianity—Llull refers to this version of the doctrine of

potest cogi atque decipi cum sit in summitate sapiens et omnipotens." This occurs in numerous other texts. For example, compare De Fine, prologus, p. 251: "Et hinc in die iudicii me excusabo coram summo iudice, sic dicendo et etiam cum digito demonstrando: Domine, iudex iuste. Ecce illos personaliter, quibus dixi, et per scripta, ut melius potui, demonstravi modum per quem, si uoluissent potuissent convertere infideles, et reducere ad nostrae fidei catholicae unitatem, recuperando uestram uerissimam sepulturam una cum ciuitate Ierusalem, et Terram sanctam. Tunc super ipsos iudicium quale erit, non est licitum mihi scire."

I do not think that Llull’s association of his own plans with the idea of the public good should be considered the self-aggrandizing claims of an egomaniac as some have suggested. Rather, he was attempting to emphasize the close relationship between the goal for which humanity was created, the work of evangelism, and benefits of that work for both unbelievers and Christians. Compare also Tractatus de modo convertendi infideles, ed. Rambaud-Buhot, p. 106-107. Here Llull identifies the public good with the good state of the world and explains how his plans will help accomplish this goal. He claims that the extension of Christendom is in accord with the will of God.

33See above, p. 126.
redemption as recreation.forg Again, the encyclopedic character of the Art, together with its universal application attests to this vision. Llull is exceptional in that he attempted to give his attention to all these areas of life within the context of a tightly conceived understanding of the divine economy.

When in De Fine Llull made a connection between successfully following his proposals for crusade and mission and bringing the world to a good state and uniting it in one catholic flock, he introduced another significant aspect of his thought on the purpose of man and of evangelism. The need for unity and harmony in the world is a consistent theme of Llull's work and an aspect of his thought which came to appeal greatly to people such as Nicholas of Cusa some of whose works bear more than a strong resemblance to Llull's. The Libre del Gentile is a good illustration of this desire for harmony. When the religious disputation is over, and the Gentile has gone away, fervently praising God, the three wise

34See Felix, I, 9, OE, v. 1, p. 338; trans. Anthony Bonner, Selected Works of Ramon Llull, v. 2 (Princeton, 1985), p. 704, where Llull mentions this doctrine of recreation in the context of a discussion in which Felix is asking why not everyone in the world is on the path to salvation. See also Llibre del Gentil, III, 6, 33; trans. A. Bonner, p. 218. This passage has a very strong Christological emphasis as befits its subject, which is basically that of redemption of the world. By calling it "recreation" Llull is drawing our attention to the all-encompassing scope of Christ's work of redemption.

35De Fine, prologue, p. 251. See above, note24 for text.

men are very impressed at his enthusiasm. Feeling that their devotion should be stronger, and believing that the disputation had inflamed the Gentile’s passion for God, they decided that they should debate regularly:

For just as we have one God, one Creator, one Lord, we should also have one faith, one religion, one sect, one manner of loving and honoring God, and we should love and help one another, and make it so that between us there be no difference or contrariety of faith or customs, which difference and contrariety cause us to be enemies with one another and to be at war, killing one another and falling captive to one another. And this war, death, and servitude prevent us from giving the praise, reverence, and honor we owe God every day of our life.37

Llull’s confidence in the power of human reason to bring about universal peace and unity as exemplified by the Libre del Gentil and his optimistic belief that reform was possible—especially if everyone would just take his advice!—has been cause for some to label him utopian. That subject we will deal with in a subsequent chapter. What is important here, is to note that Llull’s emphasis on peace and unity is closely related to his understanding that the purpose of humanity is to love and serve God. This is true not only in the concrete sense that the existence of non-Christian groups in the world is evidence that the world is not united in this activity, and that strife and enmity hinder people from concentrating on this activity. It is also true in a more mystical sense. For Llull, the contemplation of God is an expression of love and an act by which humans come to know God. Contemplation of the

unity of God can lead to unity amongst those contemplating Him.\footnote{38} Like most ideas in Llull's repertoire, the notion of unity works two ways. Again, it mirrors both God's desire for humans to know Him (intellectual) and love Him (with implications for action in service).\footnote{39} The idea of unity is also a fundamental one in Llull's Art. This can be seen in its purpose as a system designed to reconcile differences and harmonize what Llull called contrarieties as well as in its vast encyclopedic nature—it touches upon every intellectual discipline and offers information about the physical world as well as the universe of ideas.

If the purpose for which God created humanity is to be known and loved, honoured and served by his creation, and if evangelisation is the superlative act of service and love for God because it attempts to fulfill that purpose, one can readily understand Llull's singleminded devotion to his task. In addition, however, it is also important to remember that

\footnote{38}See the Book of the Lover and the Beloved, ed. Eve Bonner, as an example of this. As Anthony Bonner points out in the introduction to this work, it is important to remember that Llull's mysticism was not one of union with God (p. 179). Rather, it is one of unity. Llull's idea of unity, it should be noted, recognizes the need for diversity in society; however, there is only one God, and one correct doctrine—Christianity.

\footnote{39}See for example, Liber Praedicationis contra Iudeos, sermo 6, ROL, v. 12, p. 22: "Est ergo Deus incarnatus, ut non sit nobis Deus alienus, ut sit medium inter ipsum et nos per participationem altam et sublimem. Et cum talis participatio decens sit inter ipsum et nos, ad quam participationem summam summus creati, ergo concluditur, quod Iudaei et Saraceni sunt inobedientes, cum non teneant praeceptum ante dictum; ratione cuius sunt in ira Dei."
for medieval Christians all this was happening in a distinct timeframe. In other words, the eschatological clock was ticking. The subject of the relationship between missionary ideals and eschatology will be addressed in a subsequent chapter. However, several aspects of this subject are relevant here; first is the urgency of the situation, second is the true concern for the souls of the unbelievers, and third is the implication of the first two issues for understanding Llull's flexibility in his proposals on mission and crusade.

One did not have to be a Joachite in the Middle Ages in order to appreciate several facts about salvation history—the story of God's relationship with his world. The most significant of these for the present investigation included the belief that Christ would return at a certain, probably not too distant, point in history, and upon his return, Christians and Christendom would be judged and pass to everlasting joy or ceaseless torment. It was common in medieval thought to associate this point in salvation history with the plenitudo gentium which implied the conversion of unbelievers in the last days. That conversion of the Jews would occur in these last days was an especially well known idea, and one based on Pauline teaching in the Bible. According to Llull, Christians had a collective responsibility for bringing the world to its ordained good state which, in accordance to the idea of the plenitudo gentium, would include bringing about

40 Romans 11:25.
the conversion of the infidel.

This view of divine economy forced Llull to address several questions. If history is progressing to its divinely appointed end, how can the overwhelming presence of non-Christians in the world be explained? Llull acknowledges this situation,\(^{41}\) and repeatedly gives the same answer: it is the fault of Christians who refuse to be involved in the divinely appointed task of evangelisation.\(^{42}\) Moreover, as the desperation of the situation seems to increase with the loss of Acre and the failure to convert the Tartars, Llull voices his concern and invests his appeals for curial and secular support with increasing urgency. In De Fine, Llull notes that the world has remained in its bad state for a long time, and it is only getting worse. There are few Christians but many infidels who daily try to destroy the Christians, seize lands, multiply, blaspheme, and, the greatest shame of all, possess

\(^{41}\) For example, see De Consilio, II, 6, 186; ROL v.10, p. 214: "Quidam papa fecit quaestionem in consistorio: Quae est causa, quare sunt plures infideles, quam fideles, cum fideles conueniant cum ueritate, et ueritas cum esse; et infideles cum falsitate et falsitas cum non esse?" Needless to say, Llull was not alone in these observations. Already in 1250, Robert Grosseteste had noted this strong infidel presence in the world; see Servus Gieben, "Robert Grosseteste at the Papal Curia, Lyons 1250: Edition of the Documents," Collectanea Franciscana 41 (1971), no. 6, p. 353: "Plurimam namque mundi partem occupavit infidelitas et a Christo separavit. De parte vero dicta christiana magnam partem separatit a Christo schisma. De parte residua, quae respectu duarum praenominatorum admodum ut puto et parva est et paуча, non modicum portionem separatit a Christo haeretica pravitas."

\(^{42}\) Phantasticus, ROL v. 16, p. 29; De Consilio, prologus, ROL v. 10, p.120; De Acquisitione, f. 546va.
the Holy Land. Llull urges the pope and the cardinals to hurry and carry out the plans Llull has suggested. "Begin, for God's sake, begin. For death is coming, and a thousand years have already gone by in which a better negotium than this has not been started." Although there is a clear sense in Llull's writings that time for the work of conversion is running out, his expression of eschatological concerns should be distinguished from Joachite ideas. The Joachite understanding of apocalyptic conversion, namely that conversion will inevitably occur at the appointed time, is alien to Llull. The passage from De Fine is evidence of this. Rather than stand aside and wait, Llull intensifies his efforts to gain support for his proposals. Llull's insistence that action must accompany an upright faith means that the closer the world gets to the end of time, the more responsibility Christians have to bring it to its proper state. Another reason Llull gives for the existence of so many unbelievers is to give Christians an opportunity to display their love for God and to imitate Christ, the apostles and the martyrs by engaging in the work of evangelism. Clearly, this

43De Fine, prologus, p. 250, for text, see note 26 above.

44De Fine, I.1, p. 254: "Incipite pro Deo, incipite. Nam mors uenit, et mille anni sunt iam praeteriti seu elapsi, in quibus melius negotium isto inceptum non fuit. Non plangatis uerba atque pecuniae paucitatem, quam forte aliqui episcopi seu praelati ad Dei seruitium non expendunt. Et tamen plus, quam dictum sit, non constaret."

idea is related to the notion discussed above concerning the benefits which will accrue to Christians if they undertake this task. Again, Llull's own Vita can also be seen as an example of this. In Phantasticus, he points out to a cleric he is debating with on the way to the Council of Vienne, that he himself had given everything up in order to honour God and try to exalt the Christian faith. Llull's conscious assumption of a penitential lifestyle connected to evangelisation of infidels and efforts to reform Christendom amply illustrate the relation of these ideas in his thought. And it has already been noted Llull believes that by continuing to promote his Art and his plans for crusade and mission, he will be able to face his Maker on Judgement Day with a clear conscience.

Related to this is another question. If, indeed, it is possible to convince people of the truth of Christian doctrine by "necessary reasons," that is, by philosophical argument, why are more people not converted? In his encyclopedic novel Felix, Llull has the protagonist ask these questions. "Sir,

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46 Phantasticus, prologus, ROL v. 16, p. 15: "Homo fui in matrimonio copulatus, prolem habui, competenter diues, lasciuus et mundanus. Omnia, ut Deo honorum et bonum publicum possem procurare et sanctam fidei exaltare, libenter dimisi. Arabicum didici, pluries ad praedicandum saracenis exiui, propter fidei captus fui, incarceratus, uerberatus. Quadranginta quinque annis, ut ecclesiam ad bonum publicum et christianos principes mouere possem, laborai. Nunc senex sum, nunc pauper sum, in eodem proposito sum, in eodem usque ad mortem mansurus, si Dominus ipse dabit." Llull repeats this story frequently, especially in works written after the council of Vienne. Compare one of his last works, written on his way to Tunis in 1316, De civitate mundi, IV, ROL v. 2, pp. 200-1.
said Felix, 'I wonder greatly how it is that the Apostles who were few in number, could convert so many people, when now that we Christians are so many we cannot, among all of us, convert the unbelievers there are in the world?" Felix is told that although the Apostles were few in number, they had such devotion and charity that they were able to convert many. Felix then asks the next obvious question, "Why is there a lack of devotion in the world today?" In the *Llibre del Gentil* Llull is less cryptic. One of the wise men declares:

> It is in the nature of truth to be more strongly rooted in the mind than falsehood, since truth and being are in accord, as are falsehood and nonbeing. And therefore, if falsehood were strongly opposed by truth, continually and by many people, then truth would necessarily have to vanquish falsehood...  

Llull's reasoning here is very basic. If more people tried harder to convert the infidel, the project would inevitably succeed. All they need to do is follow his proposals for the missionary *studia* in which provision would be made for a continuous supply of missionaries armed with a knowledge of Llull's *Art* and the appropriate languages. But there is more to it. Christians do not want to try harder to convert the infidel because they are not willing to face the challenges such a task would pose. Hence the wise man in the *Libre del Gentil* continues:

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But since men are lovers of temporal possessions, and lukewarm and of little devotion in loving God and their neighbor, they therefore care little about destroying falsehood and error; and they live in fear of dying and of suffering illness, hardship, and poverty, yet they do not want to give up their wealth, their possessions, their lands, or their relatives to save those who are in error, so they may go to everlasting glory and not undergo infinite suffering.49

This passage contains yet another blatant autobiographical reference. Llull is very consciously setting himself up as an exemplum which clearly demonstrates the kind of devotion that is necessary to successfully convert unbelievers. He does not shy away from admitting the magnitude of the task and the great sacrifices necessary to accomplish it.50

Thus far, Llull’s position on the question of the failure of missions is very straightforward. Failure does not result from a defect in the intellectual appeal of Christendom (especially if the Art is used). Rather its cause is a defect in devotion on the part of the Christians who are too caught up in temporal concerns to engage in missionary efforts continually and on a large scale. But here Llull adds a twist which brings us back to the relationship between the purpose for which man was created, and the work of evangelisation. The wise man in the Llibre del Gentil is not through explaining yet:


50 This passage presents one of the messages of the Vita Coaetanea in microcosm. See Mark D. Johnston, "Ramon Llull’s Conversion to Penitence," Mystics Quarterly 16 (1990), pp. 179-192.
And they should do this mainly in order to be counted among those who praise the name of God and proclaim His virtue, for God wants it to be proclaimed among all nations, and every day He waits to see how we will honor Him among those who dishonor, despise, and are ignorant of Him; and God wants us to do what we can to exalt His glorious name among us. For if we do what we can to praise God, how much more would God do as a result of having His name praised!...But because we do not prepare ourselves to receive God's virtue and blessing, nor to be his valiant servants, who praise him, strengthened by stout hearts to face any hardship to exalt His honor, God therefore does not bestow on us that virtue which must be present in those who, through God's virtue, would destroy the error of people on the road to damnation who think they are on the road to salvation.51

Llull is voicing some profound theological ideas in this passage, the central idea being the belief that virtue is compounded when it is used. The notion that charity begets charity, for example, is one of the key elements in medieval Christology. It is the act of God's love that begets the Son, and the Father and the Son loving each other that begets the Holy Spirit. This type of reasoning occurs frequently in Llull's proofs for the doctrine of the Trinity, as well as for the incarnation.52 It is very interesting that he uses it in this context as well, with a clear application to the work of missions. And finally, the idea that people are not receiving the necessary grace from God because they are not being virtuous, is an unusual twist on the traditional argument that


52For example, see Liber praedicationis, sermones 2, p. 16 where Llull says of the Father and the Son: "Et quia inuicem se diligunt per amorem infinite et aeterne, spirant infinite et aeternaliter Spiritum Sanctum per amorem."; and 14, p. 34, where Llull uses the triads amantem, amatum and amare.
Christians are failing in their efforts as a result of their sins—peccatis nostris exigentibus.\textsuperscript{53}

The passage from the \textit{Llibre del Gentil} reminds us of another important element of Llull's missionary thought, namely his very real concern for the souls of the unbelievers. In an age such as our own, it is easy to overlook this aspect of medieval missionary thought and to underestimate the force of its appeal to potential missionaries. It is of no small significance that Llull frequently referred to himself as the procurator infidelium at the ecclesiastical and royal courts of Europe.\textsuperscript{54} Llull consistently refers to the peril to the souls of unbelievers in his mission and crusade treatises, but also in other works. For example, in \textit{Blaquerna}, he relates a story in which a layman who was a procurator infidelium attended a meeting of the Dominican General Chapter. The assembly was making a memorial tribute to the friars who had died. The layman rose up and said in the presence of all, that

\textsuperscript{53}This more traditional manifestation of the idea is also ubiquitous in Llull's works. For example, see \textit{De Acquisitione}, II, 2, f. 546\textsuperscript{a}: "sic [sarraceni] dicunt quod Deus punit christianos aufferendo ab ipsis Terram Sanctam et alias terras quas possidebant ante aduentum Machometi, et dedit eis illas, quia alcoranum et veram legem ipsi habent...Sed quantum ad hoc, quod christiani amiserunt terras, respondendum est quod in tempore Machometi siue citra, sapientia, potestas et caritas currunt habite deficiente subiecto, de quo valde est dolendum quoniam magnum dampnum et infortunium est." For Llull's conventional response to a conventional challenge, see E. Siberry, \textit{Criticism of Crusading, 1095-1274}, (Oxford, 1985), pp. 69-108.

\textsuperscript{54}For example, in \textit{Disputatio Fidelis et Infidelis}, MOG, v. 4, p. 377.
if mention were made of the deaths of the friars whose souls live in heaven, how much more should remembrance be made of the deaths of unbelievers who die in the sin of ignorance, and lose eternal life, and die in everlasting fire.\textsuperscript{55} The notion that Christians were on the right path and infidels on the path destined to hell was probably a compelling one in a time when the lines separating the spiritual realm from the earthly were faintly drawn. Moreover, Llull's portrayal of the torments of hell is vivid; it goes beyond mere literary topos.\textsuperscript{56} Again and again, both in his vernacular romances and in his philosophical works, Llull emphasizes that if one does not convert, that is accept the truth of Christian doctrine and live in accordance with it, one will suffer unspeakable torments. Thus it is true charity to engage in evangelization—all the more since one's failure to seize such opportunities will put one's own soul in peril, while the work of conversion conveys merit to the one attempting it. There is much evidence that ideas such as this permeated late medieval Christian

\textsuperscript{55}Blaquerna, ch. 90, OE, v. 1, p. 250; trans. A. Peers, p. 383. For another instance of \textit{procurator infidelium}, see Felix, V, 30, OE, v. 1, p. 361; trans. A. Bonner, \textit{Selected Works}, v. 2, pp. 758-9. This term also occurs outside of Llull's novels, in various treatises. In \textit{Liber Praedicationis Contra Iudeos}, sermo 48, p. 72, Llull also voices his concern about the souls of the unbelievers, about the burdens and trials they face as a result of their stubborn refusal to recognize the truth of the Christian faith. Compare also, \textit{sermo} 52, which refers to the damnation and error they are in.

society at every level.

If one adds to this equation the impending close of the age, this genuine concern for the souls of non-Christians is even more significant. Particularly, it helps to explain the variation in Llull's missionary plans (see chapter two above) and the gradual hardening of his tactics. Although we have seen that Llull always presented the apostolic method of evangelization through preaching, blood and example as preferable, it has also been noted that he never ruled out methods which included some elements of compulsion in order to obtain a hearing for missionaries, even in works which contained criticisms of the crusade. As time went on and Christians made few advances in this primum Dei negotium, Llull stressed the need to hurry. The De acquisitione, which was Llull's last crusade proposal, demonstrates this hardening. In it he notes the conversion of some Tartars to Islam and calls for Christians to act quickly, before it is too late. The idea of a military alliance with the Tartars is not mentioned here.57 This treatise also contains Llull's harshest words for the Jews. Here he suggests that if they refuse to allow preachers and refuse to convert, they should be banished from Christendom.58 The fact that such expulsions

57De acquisitione, III.2, f. 547va.

58De Acquisitione, II.3, f. 546va-vb: "...et si finaliter non converterentur, quod dominus papa preciperet quod nullus inter christianos remaneret. Nam magis sunt contrarii legi christianorum quam ali, quia pro certo dicunt quod Christus est peior homo, quod numquam fuit nec erit. Et cotidie
had already taken place by 1309 makes Llull’s departure from his usual approach no less striking. And finally, like the Tractatus de modo convertendi infideles, this treatise deals with crusade plans first, before discussing missionary plans. This is in stark contrast to De Fine, and most of Llull’s other works which discuss both topics.59 Llull also criticizes the state of Christendom in this text. He trots out his Ramon Martí story yet again, to show how current methods of missionizing were ineffective.60 He stresses the need for unity within the Christian church itself, and points to the damage done the faith by morally lax Christians as well as by those who are unable to explain their beliefs.61 Moreover, in this treatise, as in no other, Llull falls in with the ambitions of the leaders of Christendom without whose goodwill and support his programs would never get off the ground. In sum, De acquisitione dramatically illustrates Llull’s anxiety over perceived internal and external threats to the Christian faith. In fact, this treatise seems to manifest some blasphemant ipsum in sinagogis, et de beata Maria virgine dicunt multa turpia, et sic de apostolis; ratione cuius sapientia, potestas, et caritas affirmant: bonum esse quod, si non conuertantur, eiciantur a terra christianorum."

59See also the very brief cover letter for the Tractatus de modo convertendi infideles, which was sent to Pope Nicholas IV, and is entitled Quomodo Terra Sancta recuperari potest, ed. J. Rambaud-Buhot, Beati Magistri Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina, (Mallorca, 1954), pp. 96-8. This brief work is characterized by haphazard organization.

60De acquisitione, III.1, f. 547ra-rb.

61De acquisitione, III.1, f. 547rb and III.2, f. 547rb-va.
desperation in Llull’s efforts to prepare Christendom for the second coming of Christ.

Llull was living in a period during which Europeans were just beginning to realize the vastness of the world and to recognize the diversity of the peoples who inhabited it. Crusade, mission, adventure and trade were all contributing to this increased knowledge during the late thirteenth century. Church leaders, canon lawyers, and theologians were still in the process of sorting out questions about responsibility and jurisdiction for the great numbers of infidels who lived outside the bounds of Christendom. Llull’s writings on mission and crusade are of great interest because they are an example of how a Christian layman who had personal contact with this other world attempted to work out some of these ideas for himself. Llull’s opinions are particularly interesting because they reflect so well various strands of papal policy and mendicant ideals.  

On the other hand, the uniqueness of Llull’s resulting missionary ideology cannot be overlooked. The tension between mission and crusade in Llull’s thought is resolved by his conviction that God created all people to know and love Him; the absolutely essential nature of the task to bring this

62 The most useful work for situating Llull’s ideas in the context of papal policy towards the infidel is James Muldoon, *Popes, Lawyers, and Infidels*, (Philadelphia, 1979), pp. 3-91, and especially pp. 36-7, for how the wide scope of Llull’s plans mirrors the claims of the papacy in their statements of missionary ideals.
about justified recourse to violence or compulsion when Christian missionaries were refused a hearing. In addition, Llull always acknowledged that it is God’s grace which completes the task. In fact, it is this same gift which even makes it possible for Christians to carry out the task. Llull also recognized that this work of salvation history was to be carried out within a limited timeframe. This gave Llull’s plans an added dimension of urgency, spurred on by the sorry state of the world. Finally, Llull believed that because Christians possessed the truth, they had a responsibility to pass that truth along to unbelievers so that they might avoid damnation and receive salvation.63 One of the versicles from The Book of the Lover and the Beloved illustrates this nicely:

The lover came upon a man who was dying without love. The lover wept for the dishonor caused the beloved by the death of this man without love, and he asked the man why he was dying without love. He answered that it was because no one had ever given him knowledge of love, nor taught him how to be a lover. Therefore the lover sighed and wept, and said, "Ah, devotion! When will you be greater, so that blame may be lesser, and my beloved then have fervent and ardent followers and lovers who would

63For example, see Doctrina Pueril, ch. 83, ed. Gret Schib, p. 194: "(1) Convertir és endressar los errats ha via de veritat, per ésser participans ab los cathòlics en via perdurable. On, aytal obra, sàpies, fill, queha mester tres coses: poder, saviea, volentat, de les quals tres coses promè les dues nostro senyor Déus Jhesuchrist a sant Pere, com li dix el pregà III vegades que pasqués les sues oveylles. (2) Si Déus dix a sent Pere, en persona de Santa Esgleya, que convertí los errats, e no dava poder ne saviea, Déus hauria defalliment en ses paraules...(3) Amable fill, poder de convertir los errats està en la volentat de Déu, e cor bona cosa és convertir home errat..."
not hesitate to praise his honors."^64

This responsibility was so great, it entailed large scale reform within Christendom. It is the relationship of Llull's ideas on Christian responsibility for the conversion of the world and reform which we shall investigate next.

Perhaps the relationship between Llull's understanding that mankind was created to know and love God and his belief that this called for a large scale effort of evangelisation and reform on the part of Christendom can be best summed up by the words of his emotionally compelling poem Desconh ort:

Ramon, quan Déus volrà quel món sia convertit
adoncs darà los lenguatges per lo sant Esperit
e convertirà lo món, segons que avets ausit
de Crist e dels apòstols, d'on és fait mant escrit;
e aquell convertiment serà per tot lo món sentit
tant, quen un ovili seran li hom unit,
lo qual mais no serà en est món departit;
e aquell serà nostre e per Déu establit,
e jamais null pecat no serà consentit.\[^65\]

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^65^ Desconh ort, stanza 29; OE v. 1, (Barcelona, 1957) p. 1316.
Then Jesus came to them and said, "All authority in heaven and on earth has been given to me. Therefore go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, and teaching them to obey everything that I have commanded you. And surely I am with you always, to the very end of the age. (Matth. 28: 18-20)

Ramon Llull, along with many of his contemporaries, took what is known as Christ's "Great Commission" to heart. Like the Franciscans, who enshrined the ideal of preaching conversion to all people in their Rule, and like the great thirteenth century popes, Llull believed that Christians had a responsibility for bringing the truth of the Christian faith to all nations. For Llull, this was not simply one amongst many Christian ideals. Rather, because he believed that the very purpose of man's existence was to praise and honour God, evangelization became for him the organizing principle of a Christian world. That is to say, Christian participation in

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1For the Franciscans and the missionary ideal, see E. R. Daniel, The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages, (Lexington, KY, 1975). For an expression of the papal ideal of missionary task as being to strengthen the faith of Christians, correct false doctrines of the heretics, bring non-believers into the fold, all Lullian goals as well, see Cum hora undecima, cited and discussed by James Muldoon, Popes, Lawyers and Infidels, (Philadelphia, 1979), pp. 36-7. For a detailed discussion of the idea of responsibility in Lull's thought, see vincent Serverat, "Utrum culpa sit in christianis ex ignorantia infidelium. Un sondage dans les relations entre Raymond Lulle et Henri de Gand," Revue des Sciences Philosophiques et Theologiques 73 (1989), pp. 369-96.

2For example, see Lull's De Praedicatione, ROL v. 4, p. 318: "Iesus est unus Dominus; et ultra suam dominationem non praeiaceret alia dominatio ullo modo, immo omnes aliae sunt sub
missions was at the same time an expression of love and honour for God and also the means for extending that praise and honour in fulfillment of Christ's injunction. And, as we have seen above, this work of evangelization bestowed blessings upon both the missionaries and the converts.

Although the ambitious and all encompassing nature of Llull's missionary plans can be better understood in the context of papal and mendicant ideals, his proposals stood apart from others because they called for the mobilization of all of Christendom in the service of these missionary ideals. His practical side recognized the problems that needed to be surmounted in such a program. This was the main reason why he developed the Art as a superlative missionary tool. He believed it could easily be mastered by the clergy and laity alike. And although Llull never backed away from his claim that all Christians were responsible for this work of praising God through involvement in missions, he also acknowledged that different groups in society could fulfill different roles.

The basic premise that Christians were responsible for

ipsa. Ipse vero Dominus supremus et singularis duas dominationes constituit in hoc mundo, scilicet dominationem principum, et dominationem praelatorum; et hoc, ut ipsi essent unum cor, una anima, unum corpus et una voluntas ad serviendum Domino supremo Iesu Christo, ipsum super omnia honorando."

3See The Book of the Lover and the Beloved, versicle 143, trans. Eve Bonner, in Anthony Bonner, Doctor Illuminatus: A Ramon Llull Reader (Princeton, 1993), p. 207: "The lover was sent by his beloved as a messenger to christian princes and unbelievers to show them the Art and principles by which they could know and love the beloved."
the souls of unbelievers, or at the very least for giving them the chance to accept the Christian faith, had some significant implications for Llull's thought. The chief of these was the fundamental relationship between missions and the reform of Christendom. There were basically two sides to this relationship. First, Llull developed preaching manuals, wrote great reforming romances, and applied his Art to a myriad of subjects and issues relevant to Christendom itself. This was in accordance with the papal and mendicant interpretation of the "Great Commission" to include teaching and preaching to Christians. The other side of the relationship between mission and reform involved the question of responsibility more directly. Llull had to answer several questions. For example, if Christianity is true, why are Christians a minority in a universe of unbelievers? And, if Christians are equipped with the proper means of teaching infidels the truth of the Christian doctrine, why do their efforts seem to be in vain? The answers to these questions are identical: it is the fault of Christians who are lacking in devotion, persistence, and all the Christian virtues. An eloquent versicle from Llull's Book of the Lover and the Beloved illustrates this point.

The lover came upon a man who was dying without love. The lover wept for the dishonor caused the beloved by the death of this man without love, and he asked the man why he was dying without love. He answered that it was because no one had ever given him knowledge of love, nor taught him how to be a lover. Therefore, the lover sighed and wept, and said, "Ah, devotion! When will you be greater so that blame may be lesser, and my beloved then have fervent and ardent followers and lovers who would
not hesitate to praise his honor.\textsuperscript{4}

It is this close relationship in Llull’s thought between the work of evangelization of unbelievers on one hand, and the need for the reform of Christendom in order to bring this work to successful completion on the other hand, that is the focus of this investigation.

One of the most useful ways to explore this relationship is to examine Llull’s discussions of reform for what they say about mission and crusade. His didactic romance, Blaquerna, is particularly suited for such an investigation. First, Llull intended Blaquerna as a work for the edification of other Christians. That he wrote it in the Catalan vernacular rather than Latin suggests that he had a lay audience in mind for the work. In view of these facts, it is plausible to argue that Llull raised the subject of evangelization in the context of an extended model of Christian reform in order to convince his fellow Christians of their responsibility for the task. Second, Blaquerna provides fictional illustrations for contemporary social and cultural conditions; it very explicitly advocates reform within a broad range of human experience and at every level of Christian society, from laymen to the highest echelons of the clergy. Thus, the novel mirrors in a very concrete fashion Llull’s conviction that every person, no matter what their estate, could play a role

in the task of bringing the world to its ordained state. Third, because his goal was the reform of the whole world, Llull was concerned to paint a recognizable picture of Christendom in this work and to provide a convincing exemplum and model for Christians to emulate. This characteristic is useful because it suggests that one can look at what Llull says about mission and crusade in Blaquerna as presenting a fairly accurate reflection of contemporary opinions on missionary ideals. And fourth, although Blaquerna is not an apologetic text designed to achieve the conversion of non-Christians in a direct way, the subject of mission and crusade is ubiquitous in the work; it comprises an essential strand in the fabric of the novel as well as a necessary aspect of Llull's blueprint for reform.

Llull weaves the thread into the story in three different ways. First, he addresses general aspects of his missionary ideals and relates them to the lack of specific Christian virtues. Second, he points to specific ways in which members of various segments of lay society can experience reform and assist in the work of bringing the world to its proper state. Third, he discusses the need for reform of the clergy, all the way from members of religious orders to the highest curia of

\[5\] Just as Llull's discussion of lay piety in Book One of the romance corresponds quite accurately to our knowledge of the subject from other sources, so Llull's discussion of mission and crusade reflects contemporary ideas and opinions. See André Vauchez, *Les laïcs au Moyen Age: Pratiques et expériences religieuses*, (Paris, 1987) for an extended discussion of various manifestations of lay piety.
the Church. In each of these categories, Llull points to a two-fold relationship between mission, crusade and reform. He addresses both the benefits that accrue to Christendom and the unbelievers when the task of evangelization is faithfully pursued as well as the harm that is done to the "public good" when Christians ignore the task. Thus Blaquerna illustrates in a very concrete way the link between the actions of Christians and the state of the world as a whole. And finally, at every point, parallel texts in Llull’s non-fictional works can be found to reinforce the ideas he articulates in Blaquerna.

The centrality of the ideal of reform in Blaquerna would be striking to even the most uninitiated reader. A quick glance at the structure of the novel demonstrates the wide-ranging character of Llull’s reforming concerns. Book One, which describes the marriage and pious practices of the protagonist Blaquerna’s parents, suggests how Christian families should be ordered, how married couples can best follow a penitential way of life, and in general, how the laity can live up to the ideals of their Christian faith. Book Two discusses the religious life of nuns, monks and the secular clergy, again very concretely presenting a pattern for the devout Christian life which strict adherence to Llull’s reforming plans could achieve. In Book Three, Blaquerna is elected bishop, in which office he again demonstrates the ideals of the apostolic lifestyle and emphasizes the responsibility of prelates to live a life of service and
devotion to their flock. In Book Four, Blaquerna is elected to the office of Pope because of his devout and pious character. This section of the romance is particularly wealthy in detail about Llull’s ideas for the reform of the higher offices of the church—here mission and crusade receive their most elaborate treatment. Finally, in Book Five, in a striking foreshadowing of the actions of Celestine V, Blaquerna abdicates from the papal office and retires to a life of isolation and contemplation of God in a hermitage on the top of a mountain. At all these stages of Blaquerna’s life, Llull introduces the topic of mission and crusade.

In the course of his journey throughout Christendom, Blaquerna encounters many opportunities to discuss missions, usually in context of some area in which the Christian world is in need of reform. These discussions elaborate the ideals and principles which shape Llull’s understanding of how laity and clergy respectively ought to reform and participate in the task of evangelization.

Not surprisingly, Llull raises the first of these general principles in Book One of the novel. Here Llull describes how Blaquerna’s parents, Evast and Aloma, convert to a life of penitence. They try to arrange their affairs so that the good

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6Blaquerna, ed. Salvador Galmés, OE, v. 1, (Barcelona, 1957). Because one of the few books by Llull found in libraries throughout North America is E. Allison Peers’ English translation of Blanquerna, (London, 1926), I have included page references to this translation for added convenience.
works in which they had previously been engaged and which were dependent on their material wealth, such as almsgiving, could continue even after they had withdrawn from the world. This would leave them free to pursue lives of personal asceticism and devotion, in effect, to follow a monastic life within the estate of matrimony. Llull does not raise the issue of evangelization of unbelievers in this part of the romance. Nonetheless, it presents several conclusions about the nature of a Christian life which are relevant to our subject. First, this part of the romance clearly shows that it is possible to love and serve God in an honourable and devoted manner as a member of the laity; this estate has intrinsic value and it is not necessary to leave it in order to love and honour God. By extension, a layman could engage in the work of evangelization--this task was not limited to the clergy. Perhaps Llull is rationalizing his own activities as a layman and explaining his decision not to join a religious order at the same time as he is recognizing the value of diversity within the created world.

Second, Llull discusses the power of holy example. He asks "which sermon bears more fruit, a sermon of words, or a sermon of good works and good example?" The answer given here

7Blaquerna, I, 3-4, OE, v. 1; trans., Peers, pp. 44-60.

8For Llull's thoughts about joining both the Dominicans and the Franciscans, see Vita Coaetanea, 21-24; trans. A. Bonner, Doctor Illuminatus: A Ramon Llull Reader, (Princeton, 1993), pp. 25-27.
is that good example is greater virtue since it requires more of the doer than simple words. Proof of this is that Evast and Aloma were able to use their holy example to convert someone whom a friar had been unable to convert by preaching and exhortation. And this was not an isolated incident.\textsuperscript{9} Llull’s emphasis on the power of example in Blaquerna instructs us not to take lightly his injunctions to missionaries and crusaders concerning the power of example in his treatises on mission and crusade.\textsuperscript{10} Indeed, when he stipulates that a potential student in his missionary studia be prepared to endure death for Christ’s sake, he clearly intends that this be an integral part of a missionary’s mandate, not simply a desirable but optional characteristic.\textsuperscript{11}

A third general principle which Llull discusses in some depth is the idea of the value of suffering. This is a very significant aspect of Llull’s missionary plans and provides the basis for the ideals of imitatio Christi and martyrdom in his thought. Llull raises the subject in the context of a story about a repentant nun, and he makes two important points. First, he draws attention to the the suffering of the nun as a result of God’s justice. She sinned and thus was being punished. Significantly, Llull argued that her

\textsuperscript{9}Blaquerna, I.18.3; trans. Peers, p. 94. Compare also the texts found in II.5.3-4 and II.7.2.

\textsuperscript{10}See above, chapter two.

\textsuperscript{11}For example see Petitio Raymundi in concilio generali, ed. E. Longpré, p. 150, for one instance of this requirement.
punishment should be viewed as instruction for her fellow nuns—both as evidence of God’s justice and as an example to be avoided. These basic theological principles are also found in Llull’s thinking on mission and crusade and thus provide a link to his reform ideals. For example, in the *Llibre del Gentil* Llull explains that the Jews were in captivity as punishment for their denial of the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation. In the *De Acquisitione*, Llull responds to the arguments of the Muslims and explains that the Christians lost the Holy Land because of their sinfulness.

But Llull also gives the nun’s suffering a more positive interpretation when he has her declare that the more she suffers in her person, the more her soul is exalted in God. Here Llull stresses the benefits of penance, the value of suffering, and its power to unite a person with God. This idea that suffering has value and can simultaneously honour God and convey blessings upon the one who is suffering is a significant theme for Llull. It consistently runs through both his reforming works and his crusade and mission treatises and this is the theme that expresses Llull’s conception of martyrdom. Moreover, it too is related to the power of example. Interestingly, Llull expresses this idea through the

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12 *Llibre del Gentil*, II.5 and II.4.2 and II.4.5; Bonner, pp. 172-3, 175, and 177-8; also Blaquerna, IV.84.3, OE v. 1, pp. 240-1; trans. Peers, p. 354.

13 *De Acquisitione*, II, 2, f. 546v.

words of the Jew in the *Llibre del Gentil*. Speaking of the captivity in which the Jewish people are held, he declares: "The more we are tormented and afflicted by our captivity and have faith that this fate of ours is just, and the less our understanding knows the reason why we are in captivity, the greater is our faith, and the greater too is our justice in that we have decided to endure these tribulations from which we could flee if we wished."¹⁵ In *Felix*, Llull also discusses the benefits of suffering on more than one occasion. In one important passage, Llull suggests that sometimes those who are in the wrong will be victorious in combat. This is in order to teach chastity, patience and charity.¹⁶ It should be noted that Llull was not alone in explaining failure and suffering this way. In his *Opusculum Tripartitum*, Humbert of Romans addresses the objections of those who argue that if God wanted the Christians to win the Holy Land by crusading He would not let them be defeated. Humbert's reply is that people who argue this point do not really understand divine acts for it is not in this world that divine rewards are received but in the world to come. Although Humbert includes in this passage the idea that crusaders fail because of their sins, he suggests unequivocally that they may also fail because they are good and to give them the opportunity to suffer for Christ. This is


related to the common medieval idea that God could wipe out the Saracens if He wanted to but that He allowed them to exist in order to test the devotion of Christians.\footnote{Humbert of Romans, Opusculum Tripartitum, 17; ed. E. Brown, Fasciculum rerum fugiendarum et expetendarum, p. 197.}

Llull's account of Natana and the convent further elaborates his idea that all people can be involved in the work of evangelization. His description of the life of a nun shows that even women can become involved by way of prayer. For example, Natana instructs her sisters to pray for the pope and his cardinals, for prelates and princes, and for all Christian people, that God might give them devotion so that the world might return to the state it was in during the time of the Apostles when greater exaltation of the faith existed in the Church.\footnote{Blaquerna, II, 40, 4, OE, v. 1, p. 169; trans., Peers, p. 152.} Closely related to this exaltation of the faith is, of course, the state of unbelievers whom Natana also asks her sisters to pray for. The reason she gives is interesting: "they are of our blood and of like form to our own."\footnote{Blaquerna, II, 40, 5, OE, v. 1, p. 169; trans. Peers, p. 152.}

In this passage, Llull the universalist is drawing attention to the fact that unbelievers, like Christians, were humans and thus they too were created in order to love and praise God. Because even unbelievers shared in the goal of
mankind, their souls were under the jurisdiction of the Church. That Llull raises this point here is interesting in light of the new knowledge which was filtering into Europe about people from other lands. Slowly, this information was being incorporated into the world picture of a civilization which was still largely dependant on classical geographical texts that included tales of monstrous races and other curiosities with its more practical information about the world outside the bounds of Christendom. Lull's statement that unbelievers were physically like Christians is all the more significant in this context and even more closely relates the fate of non-Christians to the well-being of Christendom. Llull seems to be stretching the notion of reformatio in capite et membris to its limits.

Natana gives even more information about the infidel to her sisters. As far as she can tell, they are ignorant of the faith and of God because they have no teachers. Simply, their state of unbelief is due to Christian inactivity. As a result, they are unable to fulfill the purpose for which they were created, namely to know, love, believe and give thanks to

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20 For example, in medieval art, pagans, Jews, and other unbelievers were often depicted as monsters of one kind or another. See John Black Friedman, The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought, (Cambridge, MA, 1981).

21 See, for example, Scott, H. Hendrix, "In Quest of the Vera Ecclesia: The Crises of Late Medieval Ecclesiology," Viator 7 (1976), pp. 347-378.

God. Natana also points to the other side of the coin. She enumerates the blessings that would result if someone would try to bring the necessary knowledge to the unbelievers: it would be great virtue to confess the Name of God to the infidel; that act in itself would give honour to God, and God Himself would be pleased by the one who taught the infidel to give Him honour. Finally, on Judgement Day, anyone who suffered in order to teach unbelievers about the Christian faith would be clothed in garments like Christ’s.\textsuperscript{23} In this brief passage, we can see that Natana has summarized the main lines of Llull’s missionary ideals, including his belief that martyrdom was an act of love and honour for God. By referring to the Judgement Day, Llull introduces an eschatological context for this work of evangelism and distinctly relates what is done by Christians on earth to what they can expect in heaven.\textsuperscript{24}

The second part of the book of religion returns to the adventures of Blaquerna himself. As he is passing through a forest, he comes upon a palace which has the ten commandments inscribed in gold and silver over its doors. Inside the palace are the commandments personified. They begin to lament and


\textsuperscript{24}The concern about facing God on Judgement Day is ubiquitous in Llull’s writings on missions and crusade. For one example see \textit{Petitio in concilio generali}, ed. Longpré, p. 150, where Llull goes so far as to say: "Et qui ipsam ordinationem facere potest et non facit sed impedit, credo quod poenae infernales ipsum exspectant."

tell Blaquerna that the world is not in a good condition. There are people in the world who believe in idols, who make gods of the forces of nature, and even gods of earthly possessions or one’s children. Alas, they wail, where are those who love God above all things, who will lay down their lives and suffer any kind of trial for him? The commandments sorrowfully point out that the Christians can learn something even from the Jews who are blasphemers of Christ: they keep the Sabbath better than the Christians do the Lord’s Day. Once again, Llull closely links the sorry state of Christendom with the presence of unbelievers, even pointing out that some infidels could serve as an exemplum for Christians.

Llull uses his protagonist Blaquerna to raise other questions which are relevant to the missionary ideal he holds so dear. For example, he encounters Faith and Truth personified as two lovely ladies. They tell him that they have travelled together to the land of the Saracens in order to convert them to the way of salvation. Sadly, not only would the Saracens not receive them, they made opposition between Faith and Truth. Here Llull is again participating in the debate over the appropriateness of trying to prove Christian doctrine by rational argument. In this scenario, Faith,


Understanding and Truth all plan to work together to demonstrate the articles of the Christian faith by necessary reasons. This work is necessary because the Saracens will not accept the authority of the saints and in this age, miracles no longer exist. This is why God Himself has given Understanding the strength to prove the articles of the faith by such arguments. To Blaquerna's objection that Faith would lose her merits if rational proofs were used for the articles of the Christian doctrine, Faith replied that to try to convert unbelievers in order to bring greater merit to Faith was a mistake. The primary intention of conversion should be that God might be known and loved.27 These phrases are reminiscent both of Llull's Art and of his criticisms of Ramon Martí's unwillingness to use proofs in his efforts to convert Muslims.28 In fact, Understanding declares that Christians are culpable because they have the rational arguments, the science, that they need to bring about conversion, but refuse to use it. Jews are in doubt, Saracens are in doubt, and many idolators have no belief. It is time to begin. Understanding even mentions the new method of argument which can be used in disputations with unbelievers.29 Llull is clothing in


28 See above, p. 91-3.

29 This takes place in a slightly later passage, Blaquerna, II, 44, 2-3, OE, v. 1, p. 174; trans., Peers, p. 165, in which Faith returns to the question of rational arguments and points out that there are many learned Saracens
fictional raiment some of his essential arguments about the nature of missions and adding a level of urgency to the task.

The very next passage continues Llull's discussion of missions. Here too, he makes some very significant statements about the importance of missionary work. Blaquerna raises an objection that probably echoes some contemporary ideas. If God really intended unbelievers to convert, why were the friars and other men labouring in vain? It should be an easy thing for God to accomplish their conversion. Faith's answer to this point closely ties missions to Llull's Christology and the ideals of imitatio Christi which he clearly embraced.\(^{30}\) The reason God became incarnate and suffered on the cross was because He desired the conversion of all men. This is why He gave so much honour to the apostles and martyrs. In addition, God wants people to come to love Him of their own free will, not by constraint. Most importantly, God wants to give humans an opportunity to suffer trials and death for his sake, in direct imitation of Christ's own passion. And finally, the work of evangelization seems to bear no fruit because there is no perseverance or continuance in disputations against the

that neither believe in Muslim doctrine nor in Christian authorities. Again, she pleads for necessary demonstrations.

unbelievers. All this is a result of the lack of devotion on the part of Christians. Clearly, they are lacking in the possession and exercise of the Christian virtues. They are unwilling to suffer the necessary trials and therefore are closing the doors to infinite blessing. Christendom must be reformed and taught to love so that Christ will have true disciples again. Again, Llull stresses the need to hurry, saying that there had already been too much delay and it was time to preach to the unbelievers: "for souls are hastening daily to the eternal flames even as the rivers hasten ceaselessly to the sea."

One of Llull's consistent criticisms of his world was that Christians were willing to expend vast amounts of energy, money and effort all in the pursuit of worldly things. They loved their children or material wealth more than they loved God. If they would devote themselves to God's work instead, the results would be amazing. Llull has specific suggestions for how this can be done by both the clergy and the laity.

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33Blaquerna, II, 45, 3, OE, v. 1, p. 175; trans., Peers, p. 168. This passage also reiterates the idea that the work of evangelization mirrors the incarnation and the passion of Christ.

All members of the laity, from the most humble to the wealthiest and most powerful rulers, must order their lives according to the will of God. This includes participation in the task of evangelization. First, secular rulers had a role to play. That Llull recognized this fact is abundantly clear in his crusade treatise De Acquisitone terre sancte which implicitly acknowledged the pre-eminence of Philip IV in Christendom at the turn of the century. In this work, Llull adapts his plans to appeal to the ambitions of the French royal family. In one sense, this is an example of Llull’s flexibility in his approach to gaining support for his ideas. In another sense, it is an expression of the idea that princes have a direct role to play in accomplishing Christ’s work of bringing the work started by the incarnation to fruition. In a letter addressed to Philip, Llull calls him the first among princes, the anchor of Christianity and its protector. However, this position is conditional upon Philip’s participation in the task of mission (by endowing schools) and crusade (by leading an army to the Holy Land). In the Liber Natalis, written in 1311, Llull again calls Philip IV the pugil ecclesiae et defensor fidei christianae and requests his support for missionary studia.

Although Llull’s flattering words to Philip IV were


36Liber Natalis, IV, 1, ROL v. 7, pp. 69-70.
undoubtedly part of his efforts to engage Philip's support for his proposals, they are indicative of more than simple political expediency. Llull also appealed to Philip out of his conviction that the secular leaders of Christendom filled an office ordained by God—that of defender of the faith. Philip was not the only leader he appealed to. Both James II of Aragon and Frederick of Sicily received treatises with similarly styled addresses. Moreover, like many of his contemporaries, Llull equated the good state of Christendom with the good state of the Church and the world. In one incident in Blaquerna, an end to strife and war between two rival kingdoms is brought about when the rulers are convinced to go on crusade. The benefits are clear. Peace and unity are achieved in Christendom and the work of bringing the world to

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37 For example, the Liber de participatione Christianorum et Sarracenorum, prologus, ROL v. 16, pp. 246, where he addresses Frederick as "fons devotionis" and asks that he arrange an exchange of learned men with the King of Tunis.

38 See E. Kantorowicz, "Pro patria mori," pp. 474-485; and J. Leclercq, "Un sermon prononcé", p. 170: "Continet etiam summam pietatem, quod ita probatur: pax regis est pax regni; pax regni est pax ecclesiae, scientiae, virtutis, et justiciae, et est acquisitio Terrae Sanctae." While much of this can be seen as royal propaganda, that does not necessarily negate its value. The propaganda must be appealing to someone, in order for it to be used. It is difficult to know whether Llull's opinion of the elevated role that princes could play in the world is a result of his being a member of society that would be convinced by this propaganda or an example of his skillful manipulation of the idea. In any case, no one can say that the kings themselves did not believe these ideas, even if they used them for their own purposes.
love and honour God is being conducted by the princes instead. Reform and evangelization (this time in the form of crusade) go hand in hand. The importance of evangelization understood as bringing the world to a harmonious state of unity is emphasized by the fact that Llull includes this story in a chapter of Blaquerna which is devoted to that very subject.

In earlier times, the Roman Emperor would have been the defender of the Christian faith. In one of his last works, De Civitate Mundi, Llull laments that the world is in such a perverse state, due to the sins of mankind. It is wrong, he continues, that there are so few blessed people in paradise and so many sinners in Hell. Part of the reason for this is that the Roman empire is without an Emperor. This is damnable, for it is the emperor's duty to maintain justice and to defend the Roman church against infidels, schismatics, and unjust Christians.

Llull has a well-defined conception of the right order of Christendom. In De Praedicatione, he explains that the prince

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39Blaquerna, IV, 81, 3-6; trans. Peers, pp. 333-334. The concern about peace has an interesting sideline in the Tractatus de modo convertendi infideles, ed. Rambaud-Buhot, p. 101, where Llull suggests that the different military orders all go to fight in separate regions in order to maintain the peace. Of course the ultimate statement of peace and unity in this regard is his plan for the unification of the orders under the Bellator Rex. For an example, see De Fine, II, 1-2, pp. 269-275.

40De Civitate Mundi, prologus, ROL v. 2, p. 173.

is placed as Christ’s representative in the world. His duty is to maintain peace and justice so that people might be disposed to love God above all things, to understand and to worship Him. Even Llull’s understanding of the structure of Christendom lends itself to his evangelical purpose! Once again, Llull links the state of the world to the need for reform. He declares that a prince ought to be a steward for Christ in this life. But a bad (malus) prince cares more about his own dominion than he does about Christ’s, and thus he plunders, destroys and corrupts the kingdom of Christ. Gentiles, schismatics and even Saracens, who destroy the dominion of Christ, exist as a result of the dissipation of the bad prince. Because it can easily be seen that the world is in a bad state—witness the huge numbers of infidels—it is obvious that the world is being ruled by princes who are in great need of reform.

Other members of lay society also had a responsibility to participate in the work of crusade and missions. In the Libre de Contemplació, Llull explains that the role of Christian knights is to be "persecutors and captors of wicked men,"

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42 De Praedicatione, 37.II.2, ROL, v. 4, p. 145: "Princeps est positus in loco Iesu Christi, ut pacem et iustitiam teneat in hoc mundo, ut populus sit dispositus ad amandum Deum super omnia, intelligendum et etiam recolendum."

43 De Praedicatione, 37.II.2, ROL v. 4, p. 146: " Princeps debet esse Iesu villicus in hac vita. Sed malus princeps plus intendit ad dominium sui ipsius, quam ad dominium Iesu Christi; et sic dissipat dominium Iesu, destruit et corrupit. Ratione cuius dissipationis sunt gentiles, schismatici et etiam saraceni, qui quasi dissipant dominium Iesu Christi."
conservators of the world's good order, and the means of
upholding justice. Their job is to "fight against infidels and
heretics who wish to destroy the Holy Roman Faith; hence
blessed are all the knights who are obedient to the Holy
Church, for just as the clerics have the office of praising
God and praying for the people, so knights have the office of
fighting for the Roman faith. This comparison between
clerics and knights is also made in Llull's *Libre del ordre de
Cavallería*, where he argues that just as clerics are chosen by
God to maintain the holy faith with scripture and reasons, so
God chooses knights to vanquish the wrongdoers by force of
arms. In the *Ars Brevis*, Llull explains that chivalry is
the disposition with which the knights help the prince
maintain justice.

The fact that knights had been given such a noble office
to fill made it all the worse when they deviated from their

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44*Libre de Contemplació*, 3, 112, 29; ORL v. 4, pp. 62-3:
"Los cavallers, Sènyer, se combaten ab los infeels e ab los
heretes que volen destruir la sancta fe romana. On,
benahuirats son tots los cavallers qui son obedient a
santaEsglésia: car enaxí, Sènyer, com los clergues an offici de
vos a loar e a pregar per lo poble, enaxí los cavallers an
offici ques combaten per la fe romana."

45*Libre del ordre de Cavallería*, II, ORL v. 1, p. 530.
For a discussion of Llull's view of knighthood, see Martí
Aurell i Cardona, "Chevaliers et chevalerie chez Raymond
Lulle," *Raymond Lulle et le Pays d'Oc*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 22

46*Ars Brevis*, X, 94, ROL, v. 12, p. 236; trans. A.
tasks and exemplified worldly ideals instead.\textsuperscript{47} This is the criticism levelled by Llull on numerous occasions in \textit{Blaquerna} and is related to his complaint that people offer greater devotion to secular goals than to the service and praise of God.\textsuperscript{48} Llull recounts a story from his encyclopedic romance \textit{Felix}, in which a knight refuses to bow to the eucharist which a priest was carrying through the streets of the city. As a result of this dishonour, the knight lost his fief. The story continued, "And this is why the world is in error; not through any defect in Christ’s passion, but rather because people do not want to take advantage of the good habits embodied in Christ, nor of those bequeathed to the Apostles, Martyrs, and holy men."\textsuperscript{49} Llull relates the need for knights to reform to the failure of the crusade. In other words, knights failed to win back the Holy Land because they set off with the wrong intentions, namely to win glory and riches for themselves, rather than for God. But sometimes, even if they did set out with the right intentions, they failed because they did not have enough money or supplies. This points to a defect on the part of the rest of Christendom who should be supporting the

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\item It is possible that Llull was hard on knights because he was one by birth himself. Hillgarth, \textit{Spanish Kingdoms} v. 1, p. 60, points this out and makes reference to chapter 112 of the \textit{Libre de Contemplació}, where Llull calls knights the Devil’s ministers and asks who does as much harm as knights.
\item This complaint occurs too often in \textit{Blaquera} to cite every instance. See especially Book Two.
\end{enumerate}
crusades. In the same way as missionaries failed because they were not properly prepared with the necessary languages and arguments, so knights too could fail as a result of lack of preparation.\footnote{See De aquisitione, II. 2, f546\textsuperscript{va}; De Fine, I.1, p. 254; and Phantasticus, V, ROL, v. 16, p. 29: "Ait Raimundus: Possibile est, Petre, eos magis propter se ipsos quam propter Deum ad recuperationem Terrae sanctae contendisse; quae quidem intentio diuinam non intrat ordinationem, quoniam in ea non est ordo. Quod si profecti sunt ordinata intentione, sed aliquem defectum in pecunia, commeatibus et huiusmodi passi sunt, eis quod intentionem non defuit ordo, et ideo meritum acquisiere, sed ordo defuit papae, cardinalibus et alius christianis, qui sufficiens adiutorium non subministrauerunt."}

It should be noted that Llull has a second, somewhat contradictory answer to the question concerning the failure of the knights to win the Holy Land. For example, in the Libre de Contemplació, he wrote:

I see many knights go to the Holy Land beyond the sea, thinking to conquer it by force of arms and in the end they are all destroyed instead of accomplishing the goal they sought. Hence, it seems to me that the acquisition of the Holy Land ought rather to be done in the manner of you, O Lord, and your Apostles, namely with love and prayers, and the pouring out of blood and tears.\footnote{Libre de Contemplació, 3.112.10, ORL v. 4, pp.58-9: "Molts cavallers veg que van en la sancta terra d'outramar e cuyen a quella conquerre per forsa d'armes. On, com ve a la fi tots si consumen sens que no venen a fi de so ques cuyen. On parme, Sènery, que lo conqueriment daquella sancta terra nos deja conquerir si no per la manera on la conqueres vos els vostres apòstols, qui la conquerirís ab amor e ab oracions e ab escampament de lagremes e de sanc."}

In Blaquerna, the Sultan sends a messenger to the papal court to marvel that the Christians use force, just like the Muslims, instead of the apostolic method to convert
unbelievers. Somewhat later in the same book, Llull sets up a scenario in which a philosopher, a preacher and a knight all become martyrs after fighting the Saracens according to the methods of their respective offices. The question is posed which person served God best. Llull tantalizingly leaves the question open by having the members of the papal curia decide not to answer the question because devotion was being increased by the discussion itself. The pope hopes that the example of these holy men will inspire others to praise God and suffer martyrdom on His behalf. Moreover, this passage (part 11 in particular) stresses again the great power of example. In this context, Llull also points out that great miracles were accomplished as a result of the martyrdom of the philosopher. In the Liber Tartari et Christiani Llull continues to explore the relationship between violence and evangelization. Here Llull’s characters ask directly whether it is better to convert unbelievers by the apostolic method or to frighten them into conversion by force of arms.

The great appeal to Llull of the apostolic example is

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54 Liber Tartari et Christiani (also known as Liber super Psalmum 'Quicunque Vult'), part 35.10, MOG v. 4, p. 376.
significant both in his reforming works and in his proposals for evangelization. It is clear that he intends the devotion and selflessness of the Apostles to be a powerful source of inspiration for Christians. Ideally, Christians could follow this example and bring Christendom to its proper state as well as convert the whole world. In Felix, Llull declares that, "Whoever is in the Order of the Apostles should not fear death, and should go forth to show the path of salvation to unbelievers who are in error. And he should spread the doctrine of the holy life, by example and by preaching, to Christians who are in sin."\textsuperscript{55} Later in the same passage, he asks, "Where is the holy fervor and devotion there once was among the Apostles, who for the sake of loving and knowing You, never hesitated to suffer hardship or death."\textsuperscript{56} Llull's idealization of the apostolic model forges a link between his calls for reform and his plans for evangelization and unites them in his attempt to bring the world to fulfill the purpose for which it was created.\textsuperscript{57}

\textsuperscript{55}Felix, 7, OE, v. 1, p. 371; trans. A. Bonner, v. 2, p. 781. In the context of this passage, Llull is referring directly to the sect of the Apostolic Bretheren, a radical Franciscan/Joachite group founded in about 1260 and condemned by the Church in 1286 and again in 1290. However, the ideals these brethern espouse are a consistent element of Llull's discussions of the power of the apostolic life in general. See Bonner, v. 2, p. 780, note 1.


\textsuperscript{57}See Petició de Ramon al Papa Celestí V per a la Conversió dels Infidels, ed. J. Perarnau, p. 43: "Si algun diu que totes aquestes cozes se faran con a Déu plaurà, concirats
Of course, knights and princes were not the only members of the laity who could participate in this great endeavour. We have seen how Llull included the training of merchants in the skills of the Art and necessary arguments for the doctrines of the Christian faith so that when they encountered unbelievers in the course of their work or were challenged by them concerning matters of faith they would be prepared to engage in the attempt to convert them. In *De Fine*, in a chapter entitled "De mechanicis," Llull points out that the *Bellator Rex*, the leader of the crusading armies, will need to be accompanied by praecptores, who can be in charge of finances, and those who know the mechanical and servile arts. In addition to these specific offices, Llull implies that laymen can participate in this activity simply by living a life of devotion to God as befits their station and occupation. Even in such an indirect manner, the cause of converting the world can be aided by the laity.

Finally, the clergy have their role to play in this task. Llull’s crusade plans and his requests to various secular rulers to help the pope establish missionary studia, make it

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59 *De Fine*, II.7, ROL v. 9, pp. 284-5.
clear that it is the Church, and more specifically, the pope and his cardinals, which has both the ultimate responsibility for the work of evangelization and the ultimate authority over the enterprise. However, they are to work in close cooperation with the secular leaders. In Llull's ideal reformed world such cooperation would have no obstacles. In the present state of Christendom, their goals are often in conflict. However, if everyone could work together, the world would be brought to its bonum statum. Llull described the relationship of Church and State in his De Praedicatione. Here he plainly set out the right order of power:

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60 For example of papal leadership, see De Acquisitione, I.4, f. 545va. Although it was designed to appeal to Philip IV, De Acquisitione addressed Clement V as the leader of the whole enterprise. See f. 544vb "Omnibus istis declaratis et ostensis supplico licet indignus quantum possum summo patri sanctissimo domino Clementi quinto et dominis cardinalibus reverendissimis omnibus..." De Fine (1305), was presented to James II of Aragon to give to Clement V. In works addressed to secular leaders, they are requested to aid the pope and the cardinals, and even to put pressure on them to begin the task, but they are not singled out as the ultimate leaders. For example, see Liber Natalis, IV.1, ROL v. 7, p. 70 (addressed to Philip IV).

61 See De Consilio, prologus, ROL v. 10, p.120: "Quidam homo mirabatur de christianis, quare non magis exaltabantur super infideles, qui terras eorum acquirebant; et quare inter christianos auaritia, guerra et alia peccata tantum uigebant. Quoniam uidebatur ei, quod propter hoc, quod fidem ueram et sanctam habent, infideles uero non, omnes alias nationes deberent suppeditare, et in magna caritate et aliis uirtutibus ad se inuicem permanere. Dum sic cogitabat, uidebatur ei, quod omnia ista essent propter defectum magnatum, uidelicet principum et praelatorum, eo quia maxime pruui sunt, et malum consilium habent. Quoniam si boni essent, et bonum consilium haberent, totum mundum possent reducere in bonum statum." Doubtless Llull had his own good counsel in mind for the rulers of church and state to follow.
Jesus is the only Lord, and no rule can surpass his rule in any way; no, rather, all others are under his. And the supreme and singular Lord himself established two dominions in this world, namely the rule of princes and the rule of prelates; and this that they be one heart, one soul, one body and one will in serving the supreme Lord Jesus Christ, to be honoured above all.\(^{\text{62}}\)

Llull is even more specific about this in the *Doctrina Pueril*, where he states that the work of conversion is to gather those who are in error to the path of truth so that with the Catholics, they may share in eternal life. For this task, power, wisdom and will were necessary. The will was God’s, but the power and wisdom were given by Jesus Christ to Saint Peter, the Church, whose duty it was to convert those who are in error.\(^{\text{63}}\) Just as secular rulers filled a special office given by God, so did prelates. They were to be Christ’s vicars and as such they were in charge of the temporal goods of the Church. These were to be used in acquiring the Holy Land.

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\(^{\text{62}}\) *De Praedicatione*, 80.II.2, ROL, v. 4, p. 318; see above, note 2. Compare this thought to Llull’s theory of the two swords, in chapter two above.

\(^{\text{63}}\) *Doctrina Pueril*, ch. 83, ed. Gret Schib, p. 194: "(1)Convertir és endressar los errats ha via de veritat, per ésser participans ab los cathòlics en via perdurable. On, aytal obra, sàpies, fill, que ha mester tres coses: poder, saviea, volentat, de les quals tres coses promès les dues nostro senyor Déus Jhesuchrist a sant Pere, com li dix el pregà III vegades que pasqué les sues oveylls. (2) Si Déus dix a sent Pere, en persones de Santa Esgleya, que convertís los errats, e no dava poder ne saviea, Déus hauria defalliment en ses paraules...(3) Amable Fill, poder de convertir los errats està en la volentat de Déu, e cor bona cosa és convertir home errat, segons bonesa, justícia, misericòrdia, pietat, larguea divina, la volentat divina cové que o vulla; e cor ho vol, per açò ha donat poder al papa e als cardenal e als altres prelates e clerques de riquees e de gens e de sàvies persone qui han lo saber."
Thus, the good prelate could give praise and glory to Jesus Christ by fulfilling this task. Obviously, a bad prelate would use these goods for this own ends. In this passage, Llull again joins the work of obtaining the Holy Land to the other good works of a reformed Church.\footnote{De Praedicatione, 37.II.3, ROL v. 4, p. 146-7: "Iesus legat et dimittit bona ecclesiae praelato, scilicet bona temporalia et terrena, ut cum istis bonus praelatus det laudem et gloriam Iesu Christo, et ut Terra sancta acquiratur et a Saracenis auferatur, et ut fiant eleemosynae pauperibus et egenis; et sic de alis suo modo....Habetis etiam, quod propter hoc habet bona ecclesiae temporalia, ut fiant eleemosynae propter Iesum; et ut illis mediantibus acquiratur Terra Sancta."}

In Blaquerna, and elsewhere, Llull emphasized the benefits that would accrue to the church if it were to undertake this task. For one thing, it would renew the confidence of those who had become cynical about the ideals preached by the Church and its blatant disregard of those ideals in practise.\footnote{For an example of this rhetoric see, Petició de Ramon al papa Celestí V per a la Conversió dels Infidels, ed. Perarnau, p. 42.} Here Llull is echoing the criticisms of the worldly church which were made by a great many of his contemporaries. Book IV of Blaquerna in which the pope orders and disposes the whole Christian world both acknowledges the exalted office of the papacy and recognizes the need for its reform. Although Llull's political ideas and his understanding of papal primacy have been considered to be old fashioned, it is possible that instead, his thought was on the cutting edge, mirroring ideas that were not so uncommon in the fourteenth
For example, despite their criticism of the papacy, and specific popes such as Boniface VIII in particular, the Spiritual Franciscans' interpretation of papal primacy reflected a very exalted understanding of the *suprema potestas* of the papal office. The standards of holiness which such ecclesiastical leaders were to attain were very lofty indeed. On the other hand, although Llull shared some of these ideas with the Spirituals, he used them to arrive at different conclusions.

It is impossible to engage in an extended discussion of Llull's relationship to the Spirituals here; suffice it to say that while he mirrored their criticisms of the worldly Church, and his depiction of the holiness of Pope Blaquerna would be in accord with the ideals of the Spirituals, Llull's ultimate goals differed and so did his ecclesiology. While Llull painted a picture of the *vera ecclesia* and celebrated the holy

66 For example, see Hélène Wieruszowski, "Ramon Llull et l'idée de la Cité de Dieu: Quelques nouveaux écrits sur la croisade," in *Politics and Culture in Medieval Spain and Italy*, (Rome, 1971), pp. 147-71; she interprets Llull's political thought as somewhat anachronistic and more reflective of concerns from the era of the Gregorian Reform. In contrast, see Heiko A. Oberman, "Fourteenth Century Religious Thought: A Premature Profile," *Speculum* 53 (1978) pp. 80-93.

example of the Apostles as the Spirituals had done, he was holding them up as models for Christians to emulate. The Spirituals, on the other hand, stressed the unattainability of such ideals and focussed instead on the true Church which would emerge in the Age of the Spirit. Llull seems to fit better in the tradition of Roger Bacon who used apocalyptic ideas to reinforce a concern for reform.

Llull raises at least two other themes that relate to the work of evangelization in Blaquerna. The first of these expresses the idea that the more responsibility and power someone is given, the more culpable he is if he does not carry out his task. When Blaquerna is unexpectedly elected pope while on a trip to the Holy City, he demurs. At the heart of his reluctance are his ideas about the responsibility and authority of the papal office. Llull has Blaquerna explain by saying that it was known throughout the world that the pope and his cardinals could order the whole world if they desired it. Since the world is in such discord and disorder, it is a dreadful thing to be Pope. Moreover, the Pope will be greatly culpable if he does not use his power to order the world properly; namely, the power which God has given to the Papacy

for the ordering of the world."\(^{70}\). In the *Llibre del Gentil*, Llull makes a parallel argument: "And if the Christian, who has better grounds for subduing his ire by reason of his beliefs, does not do so, God's justice is better suited to increase punishment in him rather than in a man of different beliefs.\(^{71}\) Somewhat later in the same work, Llull declares that Christians who sin against Christ are greater sinners than infidels who sin in ignorance of Him.\(^{72}\)

After much futile protestation, Blaquerna agrees to take on the awesome responsibility for the reform of the world which the office of pope entails, but only after he obtains an equal proportion of authority with which he can make the reforms demanded by his office.\(^{73}\) Through Blaquerna's words of acceptance to the curia, Llull expresses his own view of the role of the papacy in Christian society. The newly elected pope addresses his cardinals with these words: "I beg of you aid that through our united will and knowledge we may use the power that is given to me and cause God to be known and loved, and His people to have happiness through Him."\(^{74}\)

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\(^{71}\)Llibre del Gentil, II.6, trans. Bonner, v. 1, p. 223.

\(^{72}\)Llibre del Gentil, Bonner, p. 254-5.


In order to accomplish this goal, the pope must reform the curia drastically. Pope Blaquerna's reforms address the wealth and luxury of the curia, the duties of the cardinals, and the general comportment of the Church. Interestingly, the effect of this reform on the world at large was substantial. Llull writes, "Great was the good and the utility which resulted from the establishment aforementioned; and the princes and the barons had such good example thereby that in their courts they likewise established [similar reforms]." Llull is the only thirteenth-century reformer who makes the Church's responsibility for unbelievers such a central and essential element of his reform program. To this end, the establishment of studia for instruction in language and missionary techniques, cross-cultural exchanges, remembrance for the souls of unbelievers, ensuring by means of treaty or war that non-Christian rulers permit preaching by Christian missionaries--all these activities--become the responsibility of the papal curia and an integral part of Llull's plan for ecclesiastical reform. The whole world was created to praise and honor God; unless the curia ensures that unbelievers are instructed in the Christian faith, they will continue on the

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75 It is interesting to compare Llull's plans for the reform of the curia in Blaquerna to actual attempts at reform by the papacy. Not surprisingly, some overlap exists. See Norman P. Zacour, "Papal Regulations of Cardinals' Households in the Fourteenth Century," Speculum 50 (1975), pp. 434-455.

path to eternal torment.

In Blaquerna and other texts, Llull's plans for reform are broad in scope and wide in application. In them, one can plainly see Llull's belief in the interconnectedness of all levels of Christian society. It seems as though Llull imagines a kind of domino effect of reforms, working from both directions. That is, if the members of the local church redirect their lives according to Llull's reforming ideas, that change will in turn embarrass the local clergy into reform, and on up the line, with the bottom ranks holding the upper ranks accountable for right Christian living and devotion. Likewise, Llull places great emphasis on the power of good example on the part of the upper ranks of the Church to influence and bring about increased devotion to the will of God amongst the people. The well-ordered Christendom that will result from this reform will be able to fulfill its goal to love and honour God. In addition, it will be able to engage in the work of successfully evangelizing the whole world. This is why Llull's reforms emphasized the apostolic virtues to such a great degree. As the devout hermit Blaquerna told Felix, "In the time of Christ there were a few holy men called Apostles, and they were all inflamed with holy grace and divine inspiration; and God gave them ways to multiply charity and devotion, while they, with all the power of their souls,
struggled to make God loved and known." Llull's dream is to rebuild Christendom so that each level of society can mirror those virtues as appropriate to their station.

Llull's insistence on action reflects his theological understanding of the doctrine of the incarnation in which God actively became man in order to redeem his people. Likewise, followers of Christ should become equally engaged in furthering this work of redemption by evangelization. The importance of living one's faith as well as believing the doctrines of the Christian church which is ubiquitous in Llull's writings also mirrored a changing conception of what it meant to be a Christian during Llull's lifetime. The work of the Church in preaching to and instructing its members, particularly via the mendicants in the thirteenth century, was part of this change. Christian profession and practice were becoming more structured.

This conception of the life of a Christian tended to stress ethics over right dogma, especially for the lesser educated strata of society, an emphasis also apparent in Llull's thought.

In the final chapter of the third book of Blaquerna,

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Llull describes a quodlibetal discussion which occurred in the chapter meeting of the bishop’s curia. Here ten questions were raised for debate, six of which directly reflect aspects of Llull’s missionary thought: first, whether Christians were to blame for the ignorance of unbelievers; second, whether Catholics have greater opportunity to convert unbelievers to the way of truth, or unbelievers to drive Catholics into error; third, if Christians were to blame because the Saracens were in possession of the Holy Land; fourth, whether the articles of the Christian faith could be understood through necessary reasons; fifth, whether faith is diminished when these articles are understood intellectually; sixth, what is the chief reason for which man was created.\textsuperscript{79} The devotion at the Bishop’s court was greatly increased as a result of the discussion of these questions. Hence, it was resolved to take them to the papal court so that the pope and the cardinals could give the authoritative answers. Unfortunately, the pope died, so no direct answers were given.\textsuperscript{80} Like the companions in the story, the reader of Blaquerna has to wait until the bishop becomes pope and reforms his curia to find out what Llull’s answers are.


CHAPTER FIVE

THE LIBER CONTRA ANTICHRISTUM: CONVERSION AND ESCHATOLOGY IN LLULL’S THOUGHT

"Incipite pro Deo, incipite. Nam mors uenit et mille anni sunt iam praeteriti seu elapsi, in quibus melius negotium isto inceptum non fuit."  De Fine, I.1

I. CONVERSION AND ESCHATOLOGY

Careful study of Llull’s plans for the reform and evangelization of the whole world illuminates our understanding of the religious culture that provided the context for his ideas. The reverse is also true. In the case of the eschatological context for Llull’s plans for mission and crusade, some knowledge of his cultural context is helpful. The late medieval Christian world was an eschatological one in the sense that a common understanding of the course of history saw events unfolding towards a definite goal. In the intellectual world, various patterns of scriptural exegesis led to a theology of history in which biblical clarification of past events lead to prophecy about the future.1 This type of exegesis in turn lead to a division of history into various ages. These could be different according to individual exegetes. Joachim of Fiore’s understanding of the divisions of history had great implications for a radical understanding of present and future

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events in the history of the Church. But more traditional divisions also existed. For example, it was St. Augustine's division of the ages which influenced St. Bonaventure's understanding of history. Llull too participated in this discussion; in the Doctrina Pueril, he too sets out the ages of the Church, following a fairly traditional path. Llull's historical understanding can also be seen in statements that the age of the apostles is past, and that in this new age, Christians are falling short of the example which the apostles set. This is not only true in crusading, but also in the Christian way of life which, we have seen, was so gravely in need of reform. What is important for the present subject, is to recognize that Llull lived and worked in a milieu that was strongly influenced by eschatological ideas. In other words, one can argue that Llull's plans for mission and crusade contain an element of eschatology because he inhabited the eschatological world of medieval Christendom.

However, we have seen that Llull's plans had a more

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3Doctrina Pueril, ed. G. Schib, pp.

4See Felix, I.12 (The Apostles), trans. Bonner, p. 712-13, for an example of this thought in Llull's writings.

personal expression of eschatological concerns, than simply imbuin a "context" or "mentalité" would suggest. Llull's view of the purpose of creation and the idea that with the intervention of Christians this goal can be sought (though maybe not reached) within historical time, is an expression of the ideals which he embraced at the time of his conversion. By relating these ideas to the work of evangelization, Llull gives them a definite context. The notion that time is running out is strongly conveyed by the progression in Llull's writings on crusade and mission from the exclusion of violence to the promoting of crusades, from hopes for an alliance with the Tartars to a warning that they are expanding their territories quickly, from an acknowledgement that the world should be reformed to an emphasis on its lamentable state. The increasing sense of urgency in Llull's plans and his growing despair at the failure of his ideas to gain significant support suggest that Llull was conscious of the passing of time in salvation history. The time for intervention was now. However, unlike some of his contemporaries with similar concerns about reform and imitation of the apostolic life, Llull did not place his plans into a definite timetable of eschatological events.6

Certain aspects of Llull's thought such as his emphasis on

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reform, his idealization of apostolic poverty, his stress on the *imitatio Christi*, and the eschatological framework for his ideas all point to a certain affinity between Llull and the Spiritual Franciscans. However, more detailed examination demonstrates that although Llull does indeed share some of these ideals, he forges them, together with a wide range of more traditional influences, into a unique program. In fact, Llull’s *Liber Contra Antichristum*, which follows its very own path, is a good example of this. Llull’s interactions with various Spiritual Franciscans can be traced. However, just as with any other group in the society in which he lived, Llull managed to share some of their ideas but remain distinct from them.\(^7\) A detailed comparison of the eschatological ideas, terms, expressions, and so on used by Llull with those current during his lifetime is thus necessary in order to fill out our picture. Unfortunately, such a detailed examination is beyond the scope of the present thesis. A brief look at the *Liber Contra Antichristum*, however, will help to start such an investigation.

In his *Liber Contra Antichristum*, Llull was addressing a topic of general concern during his lifetime and particularly within his intellectual milieu. More importantly, by relating the eschatological context of the Antichrist and the work of mission and crusade, he was drawing upon a pool of commonly

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held theological ideas about the conversion of all peoples at the appropriate time in history. It was well known that in the end of the ages, the Jews would convert and the unbelievers would enter the church in the *plenitudo gentium*. By putting his ideas about necessary reasons, and indeed, his Art into the context of this discussion, Llull was simultaneously displaying his understanding of the gravity of the task and appealing to a new group of possible supporters for his ideas.

II. EVANGELIZATION AND THE *LIBER CONTRA ANTICHRISTUM*

Despite this eschatological context, Llull's *Liber Contra Antichristum* is not what one would expect. One looks in vain for a direct reflection of Spiritual ideas about the Antichrist in this work. A quick overview of the content and structure of the text makes this immediately apparent. In the prologue, Llull introduces his subject by reiterating the purpose for which God called the world into being from nothing: to know and love God. But error arose in the world out of perversity and this error is contrary to this final intention for which the world was created. For this reason, Llull has invented his Art and come up with doctrines to combat the dangerous and damnable error which the Antichrist has planted. And this is why Llull has written *Liber Contra Antichristum*, so that in the time of this adversary, wise, holy and devoted men might find the material with which to use necessary reasons to conquer the erroneous opinions with which
the Antichrist corrupts men and leads them to the path of damnation. Although the traditional medieval Antichrist as the root of all evil and the corruptor of men is recognizable here, it is clear that Llull is veering off in an unusual direction in his discussion. The prologue plainly indicates that this work, like so many others by Llull, is a vehicle for him to explain the significance and the working of his Art. 

Llull divides the work into three distinctions. The first establishes the principles of the Art, the second discusses the works of the Antichrist, and the third deals with holy life and doctrine. Llull intends for the principles which he sets out in the first distinction to be used to destroy the works of the Antichrist which he outlines in the second. The works of the Antichrist embody the greatest possible "falsity," in the sense of error, falsehood, evil. Because these terrible works, and the actual working itself, of the Antichrist in the second distinction are not in accord with the truth established by the principles in the first, therefore the works of the Antichrist are revealed for what they really are--contrary to the will of God.

The third distinction is more interesting for our subject. In it, Llull strives to help prepare Christians to resist the Antichrist before he comes. Here Llull sounds more apocalyptic. He points out that errors and scandals (some of

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8*Contra Antichristum*, prologue, lines 5-15.

9*Contra Antichristum*, p. 219
which he has described in Blaquerna) are multiplying in this world, so great is the malice and falsehood of this enemy, and so lacking is the devotion and charity which Christians should have towards God, that unless defenders of the truth and faith are prepared ahead of time, they will be unable to resist the machinations of the Antichrist. Such preparation can be found in the Liber Contra Antichristum.\textsuperscript{10}

This brief overview of the structure of the treatise shows that the third distinction is most relevant to Llull’s ideas about mission and crusade. But the first two distinctions indicate several general principles of Llull’s thought which are equally relevant. They should be surveyed briefly. For example, Distinction one, which outlines principles which he feels contain the greatest possible truth according to the mechanics of Llull’s Art, displays Llull’s confidence in reason to overcome most odds. Just as he is certain that his necessary reasons can successfully demonstrate the truth of the Christian faith to unbelievers, he is equally convinced that the power of the intellect can overcome the false teachings of the Antichrist. The confluence of these ideas is not accidental. Identical methods can be used towards the conversion of unbelievers and the defeat of the Antichrist. For example, like Llull’s polemical and

\textsuperscript{10}With respect to the idea of preparation, Josep Perarnau remarks upon the coincidence between Llull and Arnau de Vilanova in his edition of Arnau de Vilanova’s De mysterio cymbalorum ecclesiae, Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics, v. 7-8 (1988-9), pp. 86-88, 96, and 99.
apologetic treatises aimed at Muslim and Jewish audiences, this text too contains proofs for the basic Christian doctrines of the Unity of God, the Trinity and the Incarnation.¹¹ Here he outlines his proofs by manipulating the principles of the sixteen dignities of God according to the Art.¹² Llull combines these dignities in a myriad of ways to prove that the truth which these combinations arrive at is in direct contradiction to the false teachings of the Antichrist.¹³

It is interesting, but not surprising to find that these false teachings mirror some of the objections raised by Muslims, Jews, and schismatic Christians against Roman Catholic doctrine. For example, one of the issues he raises is whether there can be a plurality of persons in God beyond the Trinity. Here he is clearly replying to the Muslim claim that

¹¹Contra Antichristum, pp. 220-260, clearly the bulk of the treatise.

¹²It is Llull’s use of sixteen dignities in this work that helps to date it to what Bonner terms the Quaternary Phase of Llull’s Art. However, compare Perarnau, "Ramon Llull: Libre qui és contra Anticrist," p. 60, notes for lines 67-9.

¹³For parallels between this text and other works by Llull it is helpful to consult the Catalan edition of the Liber Contra Antichristum, edited by Josep Perarnau, "Ramon Llull, Liber qui és Contra Anticrist," Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics, 9 (1990), pp. 55-158. I am grateful to Anthony Bonner for so generously making this text available to me. Unfortunately, I was not able to consult Perarnau’s introduction to the Catalan text. Another critical edition of the text is being prepared for publication by Gret Schib. I am grateful to Professor Albert Soler of the Universitat de Barcelona for making this edition available to me in its preliminary form.
if Christians are going to worship three gods, why not four or even more.\textsuperscript{14} Llull also addresses the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, the \textit{filioque}, in response to arguments from the Greek Church.\textsuperscript{15} An interesting point that Llull raises in the course of his discussion of God’s unity is that the Antichrist actively attempts to persuade people of his errors.\textsuperscript{16}

In the section containing his proofs of the Trinity, Llull reiterates that he is trying to provide devoted catholic persons with the proofs necessary for resisting the works and deeds of the Antichrist. Again, Llull stresses the intellectual nature of the attack by the Antichrist who tries to deny (\textit{abnegare}) the holy trinity of God in human intellect.\textsuperscript{17}

In view of Llull’s emphasis on the \textit{imitatio Christi}, his proofs for the incarnation are interesting because they stress how Christ’s humiliation and suffering on the cross functioned to unite humans to God. Christ’s passion is a significant

\textsuperscript{14}\textit{Contra Antichristum}, p. 226

\textsuperscript{15}\textit{Contra Antichristum}, pp. 226-229.

\textsuperscript{16}\textit{Contra Antichristum}, p. 229.

\textsuperscript{17}See below, p. 230. Perarnau, "Llibre qui és contra Anticrist," notes many parallels between these arguments and those in the \textit{Liber Contemplació}, the \textit{Liber del Gentil}, and the \textit{Oracions}. This insistence on the intellectual danger of the Antichrist helps to understand Llull’s fervour in combatting the errors of the Averroists at the University of Paris towards the end of his life in what can only be called an intellectual crusade.
element here, just as it is in his works on reform where he also discusses recreation.\(^{18}\) This emphasis on the work of recreation provides another link between Llull’s understanding of the dangers of the Antichrist and his concern to further the recreation of the world by reform. The final section of distinction one shows that just as the works of Christ correspond to the virtues, the works of the Antichrist correspond to vices. In ethical terms, Llull seems to be equating the exercise of the virtues with proper belief and the ability to resist the persuasions of the Antichrist.\(^{19}\) Again, this ethical emphasis implies a clear parallel between Llull’s plans for reform, evangelization, and the defeat of the Antichrist.

Here too, Llull makes some interesting points concerning the type of activities in which the Antichrist engages in order to suborn Christendom. He notes that the Antichrist attempts to destroy the faith through false miracles, with fantastic ideas, false mental images and illusions. Llull’s stress once again is on the intellect, for the result of these false miracles is to turn minds away from intellectual acts and towards sensual acts. For Christians, this signifies ignorance.\(^{20}\) In his discussion of the Christian virtues which concludes this distinction, Llull continues to draw relational

\(^{18}\)See below, p. 242, 249, 250-251

\(^{19}\)Contra Antichristum, pp. 253-260

\(^{20}\)Contra Antichristum, p. 259
lines between resisting the Antichrist and the theological principles he himself holds dear. For example when Llull discusses the virtue hope, he stresses both the extrinsic act of God in connection with the incarnation and the passion of Christ as salvific works. The virtue caritas, is clearly related to final intention, and therefore Llull presents the other virtues as a medium through which caritas can move the world towards its created purpose: to love and serve God.

Llull offers further insight into the workings of the Antichrist in the section on temperance. Llull links the great rewards of temporal goods, the miracles (sensual), and the fear which the Antichrist instills in humans with the loss of the virtue. Once temperance is lost, the Antichrist can easily destroy the other virtues as a direct result. Llull believes that an intellect which is illumined and fortified by the virtues will show that the Antichrist is not God, but rather the opposite to God.

In his summary of this section on the virtues, Llull outlines some general characteristics of the Antichrist. Through his false errors he thinks to strip away human virtue; he destroys the greatness of the virtues through which the just are called to perpetual glory and he multiplies the greatness of the vices which are the pathways to perpetual

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21Contra Antichristum, pp. 255-6

22Contra Antichristum, pp. 256-7

23Contra Antichristum, pp. 259-60
damnation; because his works are so clearly contrary to the work which God, through Christ pursued in the world, he plainly shows himself not to be God.\textsuperscript{24}

The second distinction of the work elaborates upon the work of the Antichrist. Here Llull divides the various manifestations of this infernal activity into five subsections: reasons, miracles, gifts, promises, and torments. Through each one of these five categories of the Antichrist's activities, he tries to turn the world away into error.\textsuperscript{25} Llull shows how all these activities are contrary to the principles he set out in distinction one.

What kinds of rationes does the Antichrist use? First, he tries to demonstrate that he is God. He plants false ideas and opinions in human intellects. Llull points to some errors of the Saracens as examples of the false reasons of the Antichrist. These include the idea that no one can sin without the will of God and the belief that the world is eternal.\textsuperscript{26}

\textsuperscript{24}Contra Antichristum, p. 260

\textsuperscript{25}This categorization of the deeds of the Antichrist was not unique to Llull. Compare Adso Dervensis, \textit{De ortu et tempore Antichristi}, ed. Verhelst, CCCM v. 45, (Turnholt, 1976), pp. 24-5. See also the text by Jacobus de Benevento, cited by Perarnau, "Libre qui és contra Anticrist," p. 115, note corresponding to lines 942-3 of the Catalan text. Llull gives a different list of deeds in his \textit{Doctrina Pueril}, ch. 96, ed. Gret Schib, \textit{Els Nostres Clàssics}, v. 104, (Barcelona, 1972), pp. 230-31. Here he includes the work of preaching, false miracles, and gifts on the one hand and torments on the other, if people fail to believe in him or obey him.

\textsuperscript{26}Contra Antichristum, pp. 261-263. This idea about the eternity of the world was one which Llull tried to combat in his anti-Averroist treatises. For a discussion of this idea
Next Llull engages in an interesting discussion of miracles. He draws a parallel between the special power (*virtus*) which the Christ received via the Holy Spirit to perform miracles beyond the course of nature, and the power (*potestas*) which the Antichrist received through the work of the evil spirit to perform miracles which would harden the hearts of sinners and tempt the just. Llull divides the types of miracles into three groups and ranks them. The first group of miracles includes the incarnation and the eucharist, in which the bread and wine are the true body and blood of God as man. The second group of miracles includes the creation of something from nothing. Llull’s examples here are God’s work of creation, the resurrection of the dead, making the blind to see, lifting up the downtrodden. The third group of miracles is based on illusions and apparitions, the arts of magic and the invocations of spirits; these are not true miracles.\(^{27}\)

Llull tells the reader that the Antichrist will arise in the world as a very powerful king. He will bestow many different kinds of gifts upon humans in order to attract them to his errors. These gifts will cause the virtues to slowly die out and the vices to become exalted. The rewards of the

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\(^{27}\) *Contra Antichristum*, pp. 263-265. The are only a few other places in his *corpus* where Llull talks about miracles and those discussions are usually in the context of the days of the apostles which have passed.
Antichrist will help to seduce the intellect to sensual things and will cause people to be concerned about worldly possessions rather than the blessings of eternal life. It is interesting that these criticisms mirror those levelled by Llull against Christians who did not help to further the cause of evangelization. Finally, Llull complains that these falsa dona of the Antichrist are in direct opposition to the necessary principles through which man was created, and recreated, and sustained in the present life and eternity. That these gifts cause humans to deviate from their purpose makes plain that the Antichrist is neither God, nor a prophet, nor even a son of justice and love.

Although Llull does not directly address the question of evangelical poverty and worldly possessions here, it is quite obvious that his sympathies lie with those who would claim that poverty helps one practise the necessary virtues while wealth and possessions hinder these attempts. It is easy to see why interpretations such as these would appeal to the Spirituals and their lay followers. It should also be noted that this idea was a consistent element of Llull’s reform plans. Moreover, Llull points to several ideals which are very important for his missionary theology when he contrasts

\[\text{\textsuperscript{28}}\text{See above, chapter 4.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{29}}\text{See Blaquerna, IV.79, where the new pope Blaquerna reforms the papal curia and tries to re-oriente its concerns away from worldly issues, for another example of this type of thinking.}\]
the sensual gifts of the Antichrist which include wealth, castles, cities and other similar things to true Christian gifts, such as the virtues. In addition, Llull states that the Antichrist does not give himself the gifts of poverty, torments, patience, and death on account of the salvation of his people. All these, although they refer to Christ in this instance, are also desirable characteristics for Christians who are engaging in evangelization in imitatione Christi.\(^{30}\) Llull implies that just as the salvation of mankind resulted from Christ receiving these "gifts," so benefits will arise if Christians emulate Christ.

Llull returns to the topic of temporal vs. spiritual goods in the following section "On promises." To those who love temporal pleasures, the Antichrist promises things like healthy bodies, long life, honours, riches, and a manyfold recompense for labours. But the Antichrist is not only crass; he is also subtle. To those who love the glory of eternal life he promises the highest knowledge of the being of God and revelations of His highest glory. Such promises are patently false. It is impossible to give the glory of God to any man, and Jesus Christ promises glory through the virtues; he

\(^{30}\)For this mystical element of Llull's thought compare The Book of the Lover and the Beloved, versicle 177, trans E. Bonner in A. Bonner, ed. Doctor Illuminatus: A Ramon Llull Reader, (Princeton, 1993), p.212: "Tell us, fool, do you have money?" He replied, 'I have a beloved.' 'Do you have towns, castles, cities, counties, or duchies?' He answered, 'I have love, thoughts, tears, desires, harships, and suffering which are better than empires or kingdoms.'" For more on suffering, see also versicles 178-182.
promises greater glory through poverty than through riches, and eternal glory to those blessed people who suffer on account of the truth. Therefore, Christ's promises are true; the Antichrist's false.\textsuperscript{31} Again, the contrast between the promises of the Antichrist which reflect worldliness and those of Christ which reflect the Christian virtues is highly reminiscent of Llull's plans for reform.

Llull sets up Christ and the Antichrist as opposing models for Christians in "De tormentis." While the Antichrist afflicts and kills those who resist him, Christ patiently desired to be afflicted and killed so that his people would believe in him through love. The Antichrist tries to make people believe in him out of terror. Christ preaches humility so that fear and love concord in the habit of liberty. The Antichrist makes horrible threats in order to remove love and justice from the hearts of man. Through good works, Christ shows himself to be God in truth; through works of malice, the Antichrist shows himself to be a false god.\textsuperscript{32}

Llull concludes this section on the five types of activities of the Antichrist by making several general observations which are relevant to our subject. First, Llull associates cruelty and violence with the Antichrist and the expectation of penitence and conversion through the acts of the virtues with Christ. This comparison has very clear

\textsuperscript{31} Contra Antichristum, pp. 266-267

\textsuperscript{32} Contra Antichristum, pp. 267-268
implications for Llull's doctrine on reform and evangelization. Second, he emphasizes the virtue that is connected to the desire for death compared to a lack of virtue which only hopes for life and fears death. The act of virtue is greater, therefore in those whom the Antichrist kills, than those who are obedient to him out of fear of death. This line of thought helps illumine Llull's emphasis on martyrdom and responsibility in his thought on evangelization.\textsuperscript{33}

The third distinction of Contra Antichristum contains much material that is relevant to Llull's view of Christian society as a context for his thought on mission and crusade. Here he argues that in order to suppress universal injury, providence requires holy men, armed with devotion, faith and love, leading an active and contemplative life.\textsuperscript{34} These qualities sound very much like those that Llull requires of missionaries in his proposals for studia. Llull divides this distinction into two parts along the lines of an active and a contemplative life. He discusses the latter first, under the rubrics of prayer and affliction.

Llull's personal attraction to the contemplative life and the emphasis he gives to the role of prayer in his works on reform are augmented by his consideration of this role as a means of combatting the errors of the Antichrist. Just as he wanted his potential missionaries to be selected from the best

\textsuperscript{33}Contra Antichristum, pp. 268-9

\textsuperscript{34}Contra Antichristum, 269
men, so too should these men, whose office is prayer, be chosen from amongst others of upright life; they should have knowledge and understanding of God. These intellectual qualities are necessary so that they can receive from God the influence and grace for contemplating Him in Himself and in His works.\textsuperscript{35} In addition, Llull gives a brief description of where these contemplatives should live and how they should be provided for. Again, just as he had written works which would help the missionaries in their task, so the contemplatives could benefit from his book which explains the way of praying and of forming prayers.\textsuperscript{36} This act of contemplation will lead to increased understanding of the unity, trinity, and incarnation of God, all doctrines which are relevant to the work of missions. This work is joined to that of evangelization because both aim at bringing humans to love and know God, which is the reason for which they were created.\textsuperscript{37}

By passing through all the levels of contemplation which Llull sets out in this passage, the intellect is able to receive grace from God and aid from the blessed virgin Mary and the angels so that the prayers of the contemplatives will have strength against the works of the Antichrist.\textsuperscript{38}

\textsuperscript{35}Contra Antichristum, p. 170

\textsuperscript{36}Contra Antichristum, pp. 270-1. Llull is probably referring to his work entitled Oracions.

\textsuperscript{37}Contra Antichristum, p. 272, line 1310.

\textsuperscript{38}Contra Antichristum, pp. 273-4
of the virtues will help to destroy the errors of the Antichrist in the world.\textsuperscript{39} This section of Llull's treatise displays in a remarkable way his understanding of the interrelatedness of all the elements that make up creation and the ways in which God is involved in his creation.\textsuperscript{40} Llull sums up this passage of the treatise by saying that the contemplation of God in the seven grades he has set out will have the result that God will defend his people from the errors of the Antichrist; it was a result of this love that God willed to become incarnate and to suffer death. Moreover, the prayers of the contemplatives will help to stop the scandals and dangers which accompany the advent of the Antichrist.\textsuperscript{41}

The second part of Llull's treatment of the contemplative life discusses the seven grades of affliction. In essence, Llull provides a little subtreatise on benefits that arise from contemplating the passion of Christ and the sufferings of the apostles and the martyrs. Llull wonders where the people are today who are burning with love and preach like the apostles; where are those who are willing to imitate Christ and suffer death on account of His death?\textsuperscript{42} Here Llull links qualities necessary to defeat the Antichrist to the ideal of

\textsuperscript{39}Contra Antichristum, p. 274

\textsuperscript{40}Contra Antichristum, p. 275-276

\textsuperscript{41}Contra Antichristum, pp. 276-7

\textsuperscript{42}Contra Antichristum, pp. 277-278
the *imitatio Dei*, just as in his missionary treatises he links them to evangelism. Thus this ideal unites the defeat of the Antichrist to the evangelization of the world and helps us further understand the motivations for Llull’s concerns about mission.

Several other important themes are touched upon by Llull in this passage. He notes how the contemplation of the vices helps to cause bitterness of spirit and affliction of the heart and will lead to greater prayer. This suggests a parallel between the value of suffering and the defeat of the Antichrist. In addition, Llull acknowledges the power of fear which arises when the torments of hell are considered. In the battle against the Antichrist, fear is intended to spur Christians on to obedience to God; in the work of evangelization, fear of damnation and hell which unbelievers face is intended to spur Christians to help them. Llull also describes how a life of poverty in all respects can help Christians to focus on the precious gifts of God which are contrary to all these worldly treasures. Finally, the fact that the world is in a bad state, filled with works that are contrary to the reason for which God created humans, is a cause for sorrow and tears and should inspire renewed devotion to God. This plainly relates to Llull’s idea that God has allowed the infidels to exist so as to test Christians and give them an opportunity to express their love and devotion by

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43 *Contra Antichristum*, 278-9.
trying to convert unbelievers to the path of truth.

The final section of Llull's treatise Contra Antichristum treats of the active life and is directly relevant to Llull's missionary ideals. First he discusses preaching, then war and battle. Here for the first time in the treatise, Llull forges a very concrete bond between evangelization and the defeat of the Antichrist. He begins his discussion of preaching by restating his plans for missionary studia in which foreign languages can be learned and preachers can be equipped with the necessary reasons to convert the unbelievers to the way of truth before the persecution of the Antichrist arrives. For if the Antichrist finds them tied up in errors against the holy catholic faith of the Christians, great will be the injury and danger to this faith, which, if it follows Llull's plans, could be fortified by the conversion of those in error.44

This passage is significant for several reasons. First, as was already indicated, it draws an explicit relationship between evangelization and the defeat of the Antichrist. Second, this is the only place in Llull's writings where he places this work of evangelization in a definite eschatological timetable, namely before the advent of the Antichrist. Not only is the responsibility to convert unbelievers great but the work must be accomplished as soon as possible. This approach, which focuses on the participation of Christians in bringing the world to its appropriate state is

44Contra Antichristum, p. 281, especially lines 1520-1524
in direct contrast to Joachite thought which treats the entry of the *plenitudo gentium* into the Church as an inevitable aspect of the last days.\(^{45}\)

Third, this passage makes a distinction between unbelievers and the person of the Antichrist which contrasts to earlier passages in this treatise wherein the intellectual errors of the Saracens and Averroism are described as manifestations of the work of the Antichrist. Of course, there is no reason why the two interpretations must be mutually exclusive. Once again, Llull is demonstrating his ability to incorporate diverse streams of thought into a unique whole.

Llull elaborates on the qualities these preachers should have. Most notable is that they should desire to endure torments and even sustain the anguish of death for God’s sake. They should dispute with unbelievers using the methods of the *ars inuentiua et amatiua*, which should be taught to the infidels. This union of philosophy and theology will prove the truth of the articles of faith. Llull stresses that this activity must be undertaken with great perseverance and for a long time in order to bring about the conversion of the infidel. The preachers should not be chosen exclusively from the members of religious orders, but also from amongst wise secular men who would be well fitted for the office. Although Llull is probably referring to members of the secular clergy

in this latter category, it should also be remembered that elsewhere he suggested that merchants could engage in diputation and preaching to unbelievers; moreover, he himself was a lay preacher. Thus, it is not entirely implausible to infer from this passage that Llull is referring to laymen who are willing to follow the "rule" of a missionary. In an interesting parallel to his interest in raising children in accordance with Christian standards which may have been influenced by Jewish and Muslim practises, Llull suggests that these missionaries be taught and nourished in the desire for martyrdom and the exaltation of the faith through preaching and witnessing to the truth of the faith.\footnote{Contra Antichristum, pp. 281-285, and chapter two, above.}

Llull makes some interesting proposals to the pope who is in charge of this work of evangelization. For example, he suggests that the pope send nuncios to the rulers of the infidels to ask them to send wise men to learn Latin and to show them books which contain the truth of the Catholic faith. The infidels should be given gifts and treated very well, and once they have been instructed they can return to their homelands with the ability to convey what Christians really believe.\footnote{Contra Antichristum, p. 283}

Another plan is to select both \textit{by force or by friendship}, suitable men from amongst the Jews and Muslims who live under
Christian rule, and to introduce them to the Christian faith through books and teachers. These should be given special privileges and freedom. If they do not freely agree to this, it should be legislated. Moreover, if time passes and they remain obstinately ignorant of the reasons of the faith, they should be punished. Finally, Llull expresses his wish that schismatic Christians be reunited with the Latin Church so that together they can preach the faith to the Muslims.

These plans all express consistent elements of Llull's missionary thought: the desire for unity, the confidence in reason, the desire for cooperation in terms of educational exchanges, the willingness to use the blandishments of wealth and even compulsion in view of the passing of time and the gravity of the situation. He explicitly states here what he only implies elsewhere: these missionary preachers should preach by both the example of holy life and by sermons based on necessary reasons, "for the example of holiness begets devotion in the will and necessary reasons illumine the intellect." In addition, these two forms of preaching will spur the people to a holy way of life which is especially necessary for Christians so that they will have sufficient devotion and illumination of their intellects to combat the

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48 Contra Antichristum, p. 283-4
49 Contra Antichristum, p. 284
50 Contra Antichristum, p. 284
Antichrist. And finally, Llull again assures the reader, as he does in his missionary treatises, that this work is possible if the Christian people and the patrimony of the holy Church come together to accomplish this exaltation of the faith. Llull concludes by noting that spiritual benefits will accrue if this plan is followed, and great damage will result if it is ignored.

The last topic which Llull addresses in Contra Antichristum is wars and battles (De guerris et preliis). His discussion here is significant for an understanding of the context of his missionary theology in several ways. First, Llull laments the violence and discord which result from the diversity of faiths. He argues that it damages the holy Church because it does not follow the method through which the Church achieved principium et exaltationem. He despairs that the original means of preaching and converting unbelievers to perpetual beatitude and eternal glory has all but vanished.

Here Llull is somewhat obliquely repeating the criticism of crusade and the call for a return to the apostolic way of preaching which he makes in the Libre de Contemplació and elsewhere. He points out that such methods were more appropriate to the wars of the Jewish people against infidels,

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51 Contra Antichristum, p. 284
52 Contra Antichristum, pp. 284-5
53 Contra Antichristum, p. 285, lines 1600-1607
54 See above, chapter two
than they were to Christians. The reason for this is the passion of Jesus Christ, which provided a new model of holy suffering that should be emulated by Christians in their work of evangelization. In other words, Christian missionaries should imitate Christ because they were participating in his work of recreation by extending to all peoples knowledge of the salvation which can be attained through Christ.  

Llull contrasts the violence of crusade to the example of the martyrs and the apostles, whose efforts were to convert people "from the shadows, into the perpetual light of truth." He argues that the experience of the fighting and battles which kings, princes and other Christian leaders in lands across the sea have conducted against the Muslims, demonstrates that the apostolic method should be considered the more excellent and noble way to acquire the Holy Land. He points out how such a *bellum sensuale* was the means by which the Muslims multiplied their sect and the Tartars and other infidels killed men with iron swords. It was more appropriate for Christians to use the weapons of the virtues.  

Although Llull does not rule out crusade entirely, he is distinctly unenthusiastic about it, especially since the apostolic method of conversion is obviously preferable. It is interesting that Llull bases part of his argument for this on the experience of the crusaders in the east. Here Llull seems to share some of

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55 *Contra Antichristum*, p. 285, lines 1608-1617

56 *Contra Antichristum*, p. 285-6
the objections to the crusade raised by Humbert of Romans who addressed the argument that the failure of the crusaders could be attributed to the fact that God was not in favour of this approach.57 However, we know that in other texts, Llull explains the failure of the crusade to be a result of a sinful and unreformed Christendom.

Aside from the whole discussion about whether Llull supported crusade or not in this text, a more important element of his thought emerges in this passage: above all, Llull desires a peaceful and harmonious world which is united in its fulfillment of the purpose for which God created it—to love and know Him. A world in this state, which has been achieved by the pouring out of sacred blood, by the way of the martyrs, and by the triumph of spiritual weapons which are comprised of the virtues, is a world best prepared to meet and defeat the challenges of the Antichrist.58

III. THE TEXT

This preliminary edition of the Latin text of the Liber contra Antichristum is based upon the two earliest extant manuscripts of the text: Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 15450, f. 534v-541v (E), which is a fourteenth century manuscript, the Electorium, compiled by one of Llull’s

57Humbert of Romans, Opusculum Tripartitum, ed. E. Brown, pp. 185-229.
58Contra Antichristum, 286-88
disciples\textsuperscript{59}); and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm. 10497, f. 167r-174\textsuperscript{v} (M) from the fourteenth or early fifteenth century.\textsuperscript{60} Textual variants have been provided in the \textit{apparatus criticus}. The differences between the two texts are minimal and usually consist of the inversion of phrases and orthographical variations. I have tried to reproduce the orthography of the \textit{Electorium} which, it should be noted, is not consistent. The contents and character of the \textit{Electorium} have been thoroughly described in J.N. Hillgarth, \textit{Lull and Lullism}; the Munich manuscript is described by Josep Perarnau, in his edition of the Catalan text of this work, published in \textit{Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics}, 9 (1990), pp. 1-159, where he also refers to his complete study of the Munich manuscript. Although the Latin text appears to be a translation of the Catalan original, the date of the work is uncertain. The work was once thought to belong to a later stage of Llull’s literary production (1289-90), but that opinion has now been revised. Josep Perarnau i Espelt, "El \textit{Llibre contra Anticrist} i la butlla de Joan XXI a favor de Miramar (1276)" \textit{Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics} 9 (1990), pp. 233-239, not entirely

\textsuperscript{59}See J.N. Hillgarth, \textit{Lull and Lullism}, pp. 348-97, for an extended discussion of this manuscript.

\textsuperscript{60}This is according to the manuscript list which Charles Lohr of the Raimundus Lullus Institut of the University of Freiburg included with the photocopies of the Munich manuscript he was so generous to send to me to consult. Josep Perarnau, "Consideracions Diacròniques de Mss. Lul·lians," \textit{Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics}, pp. 128-9, thinks that the Munich manuscript is earlier.
convincingly links the text with the foundation of the missionary *studium* at Miramar. Anthony Bonner, in the revisions of his chronology of Llull's works in *Estudios Lullianos* 24 (1986), dates the text in the "quaternary stage" of Llull's career, namely the period from 1274-83 during which Llull incorporated the dignities of God into his Art in groups of sixteen. Further codicological work and research will be necessary to resolve the question. For the time, it is clear that the work dates prior to 1291 and the fall of Acre due to Llull's position on the crusade in this text.
Deus, qui summa pulcritudine cum perfectione tuorum actuum excellentium dignitatum uerificas, ad laudem et honorem tui, seruus tuus, pauper et peccator, hunc librum incipit contra Antichristum.

Prologus.

Omnipotens Dominus Deus noster, cuius nomen benedictum in eternum, amen, ad se cognoscendum et diligendum mundum, qui non erat in esse, produxit. Sed ex homini peruersitate surrexit error in mundo non modicus contra finalem intencionem ad quam mundus creatus est. Hic igitur error medium deuiat quod inter principium et finem esse deceret; quamobrem principium consistit impeditum suum finem debitum obtinere. Et ideo ipsius altissimi Domini gratia, qui est ipsum summum bonum unde venit omne bonum, conamur vt compendiosis possimus artem et doctrinam elicere ad retundendum nimis periculosum errorem et damnosum quod Antichristus futurus radix malorum omnium seminabit. Quo circa presentem librum compilamus, ut in tempore huius adversarii, viri sancti, sapientes et deuoti, resistendi materiam inueniant et conuincendi necessariis rationibus erroneas eius oppiniones quibus gentes in damnationis uiam perueret.

Diuiditur igitur iste liber in tres distinctiones, quarum prima est de principiis, secunda de operibus Antichristi, tercia de sancta uita et doctrina. Intentio prime distinctionis est destrui secundam distinctionem, per antecedens et consequens contradictionis modo. Nam in credulitate et in intelligentia hominum conabitur Antichristus destruere principia significata in distinctione prima, ut in errores, in prauas sectas, in falsas opiniones, et in omne uero contrarium eos inducat. Idcirco predicta necessaria principia ponimus et probamus, ut in tempore huius aduersarii, summa ueritate confundantur eius dicta et opera, necessitati ipsorum principiorum contraria quibus scilicet principii dicta et facta illius artificialiter scrutabuntur in arte ueritatis inuentiua, prout ipsa principia consistent antecedens destruencia illos errores, qui predictorum principiorum stabunt contrarii consequenti.

Intentio secunde distinctionis ergo stat ut prime contradicat; quoniam Antichristus adeo peruersus erit inimicus ueritatis quod sicut erit amator et promulgator maioris falsitatis et erroris, sic in eius dictis et operibus conabitur maioris ueritatis et \( \text{directionis esse aduersarius et destructor. Cum ergo in ipsis principiis prime distinctionis contineatur maior ueritas que potest esse, continebitur} \)
idcirco in secunda distinctione maior falsitas que poterit esse, quia Antichristus in secunda distinctione contrariabitur prime.

Tercia distinctio est ut priusquam iste publicus uenerit inimicus habeatur eidem preparatio resistendi. Nam adeo multiplicantur in mundo errores et scandala, et tanta erit malitia et falsitas istius inimici, et tam exigua est deuotio et caritas que nunc habetur erga Deum et proximum, quod nisi priusquam uenerit iste preparati fuerint ueritatis et fidei defensores ad eidem et suis consequentibus resistendum, consequentur utique maxima dampna hiis qui uenturi sunt in tempore ipsius Antichristi, et nobis non impendetur pro meritis gloria quam possimus adipisci restaurando magnam incommodorum partem quam habet inferre Antichristus, nisi ante tempus illius ipsa preparatio fiat que continetur in hoc libro. Et quoniam error et falsitas ratione sui nichil possunt aduersus veritatem, caritatem, et deuocionem, bonum est ergo nos preparari et sequi ordinationem que continetur in hoc opere aduersus Antichristum.

Incipit prima distinctio.

Prima distinctio huius libri diuiditur in quatuor partes que sunt vnitas, trinitas, incarnatio, virtutes. In prima quidem parte contradicemus operibus Antichristi probando diuinam vnitatem cui contrariabuntur opera ipsius Antichristi.

59 inferre] imferre M  63 sequi] om. M
In secunda vero parte contrariabimus eidem et suis operibus probando trinitatem esse in Deo. Et hoc eodem modo in diuina incarnatione et in uirtutibus procedemus ducentes secundam intentionem ad impossibile contra primam.

De unitate Dei.

In Deo sunt dignitates existentes Deus, que sunt bonitas, magnitudo, eternitas, potestas, sapientia, voluntas, virtus, veritas, gloria, perfectio, iusticia, largitas, misericordia, humilitas, patientia, dominium. Omnes iste divine dignitates sunt vna essentia, videlicet vna diuina unitas, vnum Deus, absque unitatis divisione seu distinctione in essentia, in dignitatibus in Deo et diuinitate. Et nisi hoc ita esset, sequeretur imperfectio in diuina unitate et in diuinis dignitatibus, quod est impossibile; cui scilicet impossibili concordabunt false rationes Antichristi quas ipse opponet unitate et dignitatibus Dei. Quare manifestum est? Quoniam probando unitate vnum Dei in dignitatibus, in unitate, et esse Dei absque distinctione poterit Antichristus reprehendi in hiis que unitati Dei contraria dicet.

Manifestum est Deum esse purum actum et intantum oportere esse actum in Dei unitate; quantum in eius bonitate, magnitudine, et cetera, quod si non bonitas quidem, et magnitudo, et cetera maiorem haberent perfectionem virtutis, potestatis, et iusticie quam ipsa Dei unitas inquantum

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bonitas haberet bonificare, et magnitudo magnificare, et cetera, non autem unitas vnire; sed quoniam impossibile est unitatem Dei concordare minoritati in absentia sui actus et ceteras Dei dignitates habere maioritatem; in presentia suorum actuum ultra ipsam Dei unitatem, manifestum est quoniam Dei unitas habet infinite et eternaliter actum suum, scilicet vnire.

Quod siquidem vnire non posset esse in divina unitate purus actus nisi distincte personas seu distincte proprietates personales quilibet earum existente Deo et unitate tota Dei et tota Dei essentia atque tota divina bonitas, magnitudo, et cetera, vnirentur eternaliter et infinite atque simpliciter in esse unius uniatatis unius Dei unius essentiae infinite et eternalis vniendo per omnes actus dignitatum Dei. Et quoniam hoc necesse datur ideo regula et doctrina huius necessitatis querendi ab ipso Antichristo quid intelligat ex unitate Dei predicta, quoniam falsis rationibus et apparentibus argumentis nitetur destruire demonstrationem predictam, que indestructibilis est necessitate sui. Vnde per eam sunt destructibiles false oppiniones uel oppositiones quas dabit Antichristus demonstrationi predicte.

Si secundum senonimitatem tamen bonitas, magnitudo, et cetera, in Deo sunt unum idem, impossibile est unitate Dei habere in se actum uniendo proprietates distinctas in bono et

Tunica et caputium sunt unum idem in panno sunt vero diversa in figura, quoniam alia est figura tunice alia vero figura capucii, quamuis tamen iste figure sint diverse nichilominus tunica non est alius pannus a caputio nec econuerso, quia diversificarentur in tantum figura quantum habet diversificare forma quod est impossible. Vnde methaforice significatur in unitate Dei dignitates non esse essentia et natura distinctas, quoniam sic essent plures dignitates et plures dii non unti in eadem essentia et natura, et haberent tunica et caputium maiorem conuenentiam in unitate panni et natura quam divinae dignitates in essentia et natura deitatis, quod est impossible. Vnde significatur quod ita et multo melius sine comparazione sicut tunica et caputium diversificatur in panno figura nec autem forma panni distinguuntur actus dignitatum Dei in Deo proprietatibus personalibus non autem unitate et essentia et natura

119 concordat | concordat M 121 predicationibus | falsis predicacionibus antechristi | 122 actuum | actum E 135 unitate - quae | unitate et natura panni quae | 138 diversificantur - panni | diversificantur figura non autem forma panni M
diuininitatis, bonitatis, et cetera, qua siquidem distinctione concordant ita et multo melius actus ipsarum dignitatum cum actu magnitudinis in unitate divinae essentiae et nature sicut tunica et caputium in unitate et natura panni.

Quantum Dei unitas est amabilis tantum oportet eius maioritatem esse affirmabilem alias esset maior actu bonitatis quam actu magnitudinis quod est impossibile. Cum ergo unitas et unum in quo sint unius, vnire, et unum magis concordet magnitudini, eternitati, et infinitati quam unitas et unum in quo non est unius, vnire, et unum, oportet necessario affirmari ratione maioritatis predicte in bonitate, magnitudine, et cetera, unitatem et unum in quo sint unius, vnire et unum in quibus distincte personae in Deo significantur.

Alia est forma illa quam anima intellectiva per se habet, alia vero illa quae anima est corporis humano, et alia est illa quam ipsum corpus per se habet. Et omnes iste tres forme unuuntur una hominis forma, et quoniam ista est quod unitas humane forma maior est in homine, eo quod habet actum videlicet vnire informando in seipsam concordantiam et proportionem predictarum trium formarum, et quia etiam esset ipsa unitas forme humane minor in homine sine predictis tribus formis inquantum esset sine vnire in informando nec esset forme actio naturalis sed potius passio, manifestum est ideo.
quoniam diuina vnitas vniendo supposta magnitudine infinita et eternalia concordat magnitudini in esse vnum essentiam infinitam et eternam vnum Deum. Et nisi habeat in se vnire predicta supposta ut per antedictam methaforam significatum est, concordat quidem minoritati, quod est impossibile ergo et cetera.

In unitate essentie et nature infinite, eternalis, et iuste, in bonitate, potestate, sapientia, et cetera, in qua vnum essentialis infinitus, eternalis, et iustus generat in bonitate, potestate, et cetera vnum alium essentialem infinitum, eternalem, et iustum, ita quod de gignente et genito procedat vnum alius infinitus essentialis eternalis et iustus in bonitate, potestate, sapientia, et cetera, istis tribus existentibus eadem vnitate et eadem essentia et natura infinita, eterna, et iusta in bonitate, potestate, sapientia, et cetera, oportet esse maiorem actum vnitatis quam in vnitate in qua non predicta generatio nec predicta processio. Et quoniam maior actus diuine vnitatis est affirmabilis cum ratione iusticie, maior vritas sit in Deo amabilis, oportet neccessario in Deo esse illum actum qui per maioritatem in Deo denotatur; quod si non vnitas quidem Dei per maioritatem esset in infinitate amabilis sed actus ipsius vnitatis odibilis per maioritatem in actu voluntatis Dei, quod est impossibile et contra actum iustitie Dei, ergo et cetera.


184 actum) actuum M
In unitate hominis nihil est primum nec ultimum tempore
quoniam simul eodem tempore ex conjunctione corporis et anime
fit homo. Et cum ipsa anima a suo corpore recedit eodem
tempore, priuatur homo propter anime et corporis separationem.
Vnde si negat Antichristus in Dei unitate paternitatem et
filiationem et processionem negando primum et ultimum,
respondendum est per similitudinem antedictam, quoniam si in
unitate anime et corporis qui constant unus homo non est
primum nec ultimum unius ad alterum et ipsa anima et ipsum
corpus cum ipso homine sint creature finite, quanto magis ergo
infinita potestas in perfectione potest unire patrem et filium
et spiritum sanctum esse unam essentiam et naturam unum Deum
sine prioritate et posterioritate paternitatis, filiationis,
et processionis. Si autem Antichristus affirmet in Dei unitate
actum ipsius unimitatis esse in quattuor uel in
plures quam in tribus, tum necessario ipse Antichristus
affirmabit unum Deum non sufficere esse unum Deum tantum sicut
una paternitas et una filiatione et una processionem non sufficiunt
dicto suo in numero et in magnitudine actui unimitatis Dei; et
hoc idem sequeretur ex multis deis infinitis numero, quod est
impossibile, et processus in infinitum.

Si autem negauerit Antichristus in Dei unitate actum

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193 paternitatem et] om. M et 196 qui constant] que constat M 204
in - quatuor] in iiii M 204/205 uel - quam] uel in plures personas
quam M 207 paternitas et] om. M et
paternitatis et filiationis et processionis, oportet eum probare actum nobiliorem in divina natura, quod probari est impossible; quia sequeretur quod esse melius concordaret generationi contra privationem per aliquod quod non est magis; contrariarum corruptioni per processionem in generatione quam ipsa generatio, et sequeretur quod paternitas et filiatione et processio non concordarent generationi, quod est impossible et contradictio, quare et cetera.

Si autem Antichristus negaverit in unitate Dei intrinsecam operationem propter compositionem, oportet affirmari in Dei unitate simplicitatem et eius actum scilicet simplificare actu quod est bonificare et magnificare et cetera, quo scilicet simplificare magis impossible est in Dei unitate esse compositionem quam si in ea non est generans actus simplex in bonitate et est alium actum simplicem genitum in infinitate, eternitate, et cetera. Et quoniam actus divini voluntatis et iusticie oportet necessario esse in infinitate et eternitate, oportet necessario id esse in Deo per quod magis impossible est in Deo eius unitatem compositio. Et ideo manifeste constat quod in Dei unitate oportet generari simplicem de infinitate et eterna simplicitate bonitatis, magnitudinis, et cetera, quod si non actus quidem divini voluntatis et iusticie contrarius esset divina simplicitati et concordans
compositioni, quod est impossibile, quare et cetera.

Si etiam Antichristus negauerit in Deo personarum productionem negando augmentum in divina essentia, respondendum est eidem quod Deus in unitate essentiae et nature est infinitus, perfectus et immensus, et inquantum ipse est infinite perfectus et immensus in unitate essentiae et nature sue intantum est infinite perfectus et immensus in unitate ipsius essentiae et nature sue; cum Deus tantus sit in agere suo, quantus est in existere suo, ut in divina natura maioritas et minoritas non implicentur, quod est impossibile ratione immense perfectionis in bonitate, magnitudine, et cetera, ipsius divinae unitatis et essentiae et nature Dei. Ergo Deum oportet esse intantum unitatem ex unitate sua, quantus ipse est. Istud autem tantum non potest recipi in unitate, cum ipsius unitatis unitas non possit recipere augmentum cum infinite perfecta sit et immensa in bonitate, et cetera, in ipso unitate. Necessario ergo istud tantum resultat in alium unitatem totum infinite perfectum et immensus ex una eadem metique unitate essentiae et nature unitatis. Et quoniam istam productionem oportet esse intantum quam est ipsum unitatis et unitatis nec unitatis possit recipere augmentum ut dictum est et eodem unitatis quia in immense perfectionis bonitatis, et cetera, est unitatis, oportet istud tantum ex utroque procedere in alium ex utroque, tantum quam est utroque in immensa

242 ipsius essentiae] essentiae ipsius M
perfectione; bonitatis, et cetera, unitatis essentiae et
nature Dei; nec oportet alium tantum producere vel procedere
ex ista processione quoniam istud tantum est ipse unitas seu
productus a predicto vniente, ut productio sit processio perfectio et econuerso in immensa perfectione bonitatis,
magnitudinis, eternitatis, et cetera. Et in hoc demonstratur
manifeste trinitas benedicta in eadem unitate essentiae et
natura Dei.

Per has igitur decem rationes antedictas et per multas
alias poterunt Antichristi rationes contradici, quas falsas
contra ponet divina unitate, ut possit homines a veritate
peruertere in errorem. Nam quemadmodum erit maiorum errorum
amator sic erit maiori veritati divinae unitatis contradictor,circa quod perpendi poterunt eius errores et quomodo signi-
ficabit se Deum per minora sed non Deum per maior quia
maioribus semper erunt eius rationes opposite contradictionem
multiplicem implicantes.

De trinitate Dei.

Ad probandum in Deo trinitatem esse, intrinsecam
operationem in Deo probari per divinas dignitates; tali namque
probatione possibile est in Deo probari personarum
pluralitatem sine qua non est intrinseca operatio in ipsarum
actibus dignitatum. Probatis autem personis in Deo possibillie
est probari eas in numero trinitatis tantum distinctas
distinctione paternitatis, filiationis et processionis
existente quaelibet earum per se in sua proprietate personali
vna eadem diuina essentia et natura cum qualibet aliarum. Vnde
breuius quo poterimus quasdam proponemus rationes
significantes diuinam trinitatem per generationem et
processionem in actibus dignitatum ad resistendum factis et
operibus Antichristi per viros catholicos et deuotos. Quoniam,
cum diuina trinitas sit summa veritas et ipse sit summe
veritatis futurus adversarius principalis, ipsam Dei
sanctissimam trinitatem conabitur humanis intellectibus
abnegare. In hiis autem rationibus procedemus isto modo.

Manifestum est bonum et malum esse contraria. Aliter, non
esse impossibile malum esse in bono vel econuerso. Manifestum
est etiam quoniam bonum plus distat a malo bonificando quam
non bonificando magisque contrariatur eidem. Sed cum summan
impossibilitatem oportet esse necessario quod malum sit in
summo et immenso bono, quod est Deus, et summan distantiam et
contrarietatem oportet esse neccesario ipsius summi boni a
malo, oportet neccesario ipsum bonum sumnum bonificare sumnum
bonum per infinitam et eternam bonitatem, resultante summo
bono ex bonificante et bonificato, quoniam sine tanto et tali
opere non esset malicia in summa impossibilitate ipsi summo
bono nec ipsum sumnum bonum esset summe distans a malo et
contrarium malo, quod est summe impossibile. Ergo in Deo est
predicta operatio summi boni, qua significatur sumnum bonum
generari a summo bono generante et sumnum bonum procedere ex
summo bono gignente et genito per omnes dignitates et actus earum. Hec autem generacio et processio esse non possunt sine distinctione proprietatum personalium, quia sequeretur quod relatio et non relatio essent idem quod est contradictio. Ergo, et cetera.

In Deo intellectus et intelligere non differunt realiter, neque voluntas et velle. Et quoniam impossible est quod divinum intelligere et diuinum velle minoritati concordent, oportet necessario voluntatem velle quod suus intellectus intelligat perfectiorem, maiorem, et meliorem operationem, que in potestate infiniti intelligere in bonitate, magnitudine, et cetera, intelligi possit et econuerso, oportet intellectum intelligere quod sua voluntas predictam operationem uelit. Sed si infinitum et eternum bonum, magnum, et cetera, de tota sua infinita et eterna bonitate, magnitudine, et cetera, infinite et eternaliter generet infinitum et eternum bonum, magnum, et cetera, procedente ab utroque infinite et eternaliter infinito et eterno bono, ipsis scilicet gignente et genito et procedente permanentibus vna eadem essencia, numero, et natura \( \text{essencia - numero} \) diuinitatis. Est utique ista operatio illa que perfectior, maior et melior potest a diuina sapientia et voluntate intelligi et diligi in potestate infiniti intelligere et diligere. Ergo ipsa est necessario, et per consequens diuina trinitas manifesta est ut diuina voluntas non diligat et

\[\begin{align*}
315 \text{ neque} & \text{ nec} \quad E \\
327 \text{ essencia} & \text{ - numero} \text{ numero essencia et natura} \quad E
\end{align*}\]
diuina sapientia non intelligat plus priuationem quam esse et plus infinitam et eternam cessationem in bonitate, magnitudine, et cetera, quam infinitam et eternam actionem in bonitate, et cetera, quod est impossibile. Ergo et cetera.

Oportet neccesario id esse in Deo per quod diuina virtus et potestas maiorem habent concordantiam cum actu et per quod diuina iustitia magis distat a suo opposito. Sed, si in Deo infinitum et eternum suppositum de tota sua infinita et eterna bonitate, et cetera, generat infinitum et eternum suppositum, procedente supposito infinito et eterno de tota infinita et eterna bonitate, et cetera, utriusque, scilicet gignentis et geniti, ipsis tribus suppositis existentibus eadem numero diuina essentia et natura, est, utique, id in Deo per quod diuina virtus et potestas magis concordant cum actu et per quod diuina iusticia magis distat a suo opposito, quia sic est infinita et eterna operatio in eterna et infinita bonitate, et cetera, veritatis potestatis et iustitie Dei et infinita et eterna existencia in bonitate, et cetera, virtutis potestatis et iusticie Dei. Ergo, et cetera. Quod si non, magis concordant virtus et potestas Dei cum potentia quam cum actu et ratione istius summe priuacionis concordat diuina iusticia summe cum iniuria, quod est manifeste falsum. Ergo, et cetera.

Impossibile est quod diuina essentia, cum sit infinita et

345 numero] una E
eterna in bonitare, et cetera, conuertatur cum infinita et eterna occiositate bonitatis, et cetera; per oppositum, ergo, neceesse est quod conuertatur cum infinita et eterna actione bonitatis, et cetera, quod est impossible, nisi in ea sit infinitum et eternum suppositum existens tota ipsamet essentia agens infinitum et eternum suppositum de tota ipsa essentia existens totum tota ipsamet essentia, procedente inde infinito et eterno supposito acto toto ab utroque de tota ipsamet essentia et existente toto ipsamet essentia. Ergo predicta supposita sunt in divina essentia; quod si non, divina essentia non conuertitur cum infinita actione bonitatis, et cetera, sed cum infinita cessatione bonitatis, et cetera, quod est impossible. Ergo, et cetera.

Maior aptitudo naturalis operacionis que sit in proprietatibus sub una ; specie distinctis est produci alium de alio per proprietatem paternalem et per proprietatem filialem atque per proprietatem processionalem. Nam pater de suamet entitate producit filium, et condecens est actum amoris, caritatis, iusticie, et cetera, procedere ab utroque. Cum, ergo, in Deo sit divinae nature operatio, cum naturaliter non sit in seipso occiosus et ista operatio sit maior et nobilior que possit esse, oportet eam esse necessario in maiori aptitudine que possit sciri. Set maiore aptitudo que sit est de bono ita produci bonum et de magno magnum et de eterno
eternum quod Filius bonus, magnus et eternus, et cetera, generetur de Patre bono, magno, eterno, et cetera, et quod spiretur ab utroque Spiritus Sanctus bonus, magnus, eternus et est amor vtriusque, et hoc in infinita et eterna bonitate, et cetera, sine distinctione essentie et nature Dei. Ergo in Deo sunt Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus, vnus Deus sine quibus impossible esset ratione minoritatis esse operationem divinam, de Deo in Deum, de bono in bonum, et cetera. Ergo, et cetera.

Maior perfectio que est numeri in substantia et substantie in numera est vnius | in tribus et trium in vno, ita quod vnum in se habeat tres proprietates personales, scilicet tria supposita personalia, et sint illa tria tota vnamet numero essentia seu substantia per se stans tota ratione cuiuslibet totius ipsorum trium, ita quod aliud eorum non potest esse sine reliquis duobus, ipsa essentia, nec ipsa essentia sine ipsis tribus, nec econuerso. Hoc autem est numeri in essentia et econuerso denotatur in operibus naturalibus, intellectualibus, et sensualibus, quoniam omnis substantia creata in tribus consistit, vna et tria consistunt vnum. Forma enim et materia et coniunctio constant vna substantia et una substantia consistit in forma et materia et coniunctione illarum. Si autem in vnaquaque substancia creata non esset tanta perfectio numeri vnius et trium quanta vnius
et quatuor vel amplius, esset utique defectus in quolibet ipsorum quatuor inquantum vnum non sufficeret duobus ad perfectionem ipsius substantie et sequeretur processus in infinitum. Ita quod constituetur substantia ex priuantibus perfectionem habens defectum in seipsa. Si vero substantia esset vna in duobus tantum esset quidem defectus in quolibet ipsorum duorum, quia deficeret eis illud tercium, in quo equaliter proportionarentur et sic etiam constaret defectiuam substantia. Si etiam ipsa substantia esset vna tantum numero vnius non haberet quidem in se actionem, quia priuaretur activum et agibili in proportione vtriusque et sic non esset id quod est ipsa substantia, quod est contradictio. Quare ex predictis exemplariter denotatur numerus vnius in tribus et trium in vno esse in Deo decentior omni alio numero. Ergo, numerus vnius in tribus et trium in vno est in eo. Quod si non est utique minoritas et defectus in divina potestate, virtute, veritate, iusticia, perfectione, et cetera, quod est impossibile et sequeretur quod magis decens esset minus decens et econuerso, quod est contradictio. Ergo, et cetera.

Vimaginatio attingit ; hominem esse vnum in tribus, scilicet in forma, materia, et coniunctione, et intelligit intellectus mundum vnum in tribus constantem, scilicet in sensualitate, intellectualitate, animalitate, et intelligit

Intellectus humanus attingit in negatione id quod Deus non est sciens quoniam Deus non est malum, nec paruum, nec defectus, nec ignorantia, nec priuatio, et sic de alius huius; ergo necessario oportet intellectum cognoscere affirmare Deum esse unitatem, bonitatem, magnitudinem, eternitatem, potestatem, sapientiam, et cetera, et vnire, bonificare, magnificare, eternare, posse, intelligere, et cetera, in summa perfectione unitatis, bonitatis, et cetera. Cum ergo proprius sit intellectum scire id quod est per actum dignitatis et per ipsam dignitatem quam per ipsam dignitatem tantum, proprius quidem est intellectum plus scire in Deo et ex Deo sciendo Deum esse bonificare, magnificare, | eternare, posse, scire,
diligere, vnire, et cetera, et sciendo Deum esse vnire essendi, et bonificare magnificandi, et magnificare possendi, et sic de aliis, quam sciendo negatione id quod Deus non est et quam sciendo etiam affirmatione Deum esse tantum bonitatem, magnitudinem, et cetera. Cum autem oporteat in Deo esse id per quod intellectus humanus altius attingit in Deo et ex Deo, oportet necessario predictos actus in summa perfectione, ut dicti sunt, esse Deum in ipsa deitate, per quod neccessario sequitur Deum esse vnire et bonificare, magnificare, et cetera, supposta in eadem diuina essentia et distinguere et bonificare, magnificare eadem in proprietates personales. Aliter autem non essent predicti actus in summa perfectione, quod per se patet intelligenti; ergo in diuina essentia sunt supposta personalia, videlicet tria, in ipsa diuina unitate, ut supra probatum est.

Deus tantum intelligit et diliget seipsum ratione sue existentie quantus ipse existit Deus. Sed ipse existit suppositum personale perfectum et in infinita et eterna bonitate, et cetera, et se intelligere et diligere se habet ad tantum quantus ipse est intelligens et diligens. Ergo se habet ad suppositum personale intellectum et dilectum tantum quantus est ipse intelligens et diligens suppositorum personale. Aliter Deus non intelligeret nec diligeret se tantum quantus ipse est, quod est impossible. Ergo de tota essentia et natura
suppositi personalis, quod est Deus, intelligendo et diligendo producitur suppositum personale, Deus. Quod siquidem produci est generari, quia totus idem in esse et natura nascitur alius ab alio eodem essentia et natura et procedit ista idemptitas utriusque aliud suppositum ab utroque, ut ista generatio in tantum quantus Deus existit distet ab accidente et minoritate et sic neccesario habetur in Deo benedicta trinitas personalium suppositorum.

Tantum est bonificare, magnificare, et cetera, in Deo quantum est intelligere et amare cum impossibile sit in Deo maioritas et minoritas, prima intentio et secunda. Ergo, quia Deus intelligit et diligit seipsum totum magnificat, bonificat, eternificat, et cetera, seipsum totum. Seipsum autem, cum sit perfectum suppositum bonum, magnum, eternum, et cetera, bonificans, magnificans, et cetera, non potest bonificare, magnificare, et cetera, et oportet necessario quod bonificet, magnificet, et cetera, totum seipsum et quia non potest maior esse in existere quam in agere, ideo de neccesitate intelligit et diligit et bonificat et magnificat, et cetera, seipsum totum in alium suppositum personale tantum quantus ipse est in supposito personali. Et ita Deus, existens suppositum personale bonum, magnum, et cetera, bonificans et

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477 in esse - natura] in essencia nascitur et natura  
486/487 magnificat, bonificat] bonificat magnificat  
491/492 totum - existere] quia intelligit et diligit totum se ipsum et quia non potest maior esse in existere  
494 alium] aliud  
496 bonificans et] om.  
M et
magnificans, et cetera, generat de toto seipso aliud
suppositum personale, in quo totus ipsemet Deus consistit
totus bonificatus, magnificatus, eternificatus, et cetera. Et
procedit inde aliud suppositum tercium personale ab utroque
necessario, in quo totus ipsemet Deus bonificans, magnificans,
et cetera, et bonificatus, magnificatus, et cetera, consistit
fruits toto generante, scilicet Patre, fruente toto Genito,
scilicet Filio, et econuerso, in toto ipso procedente
supposito personali, scilicet Spirito Sancto. Aliter
bonificare, magnificare, et cetera, essent maiiores actus in
generatione quam in ipsius generationis fruitione, quod est
impossible; et sic per consequens demonstratur mediante
gratia Dei diuinorum suppositorum personalium trinitas
benedicta.

Hiis igitur decem rationibus antedictis et in multis etiam
aliis potest resistentia fieri Antichristo in eius falsis
rationibus quas diuine contraponet trinitati. Nam per ipsas
rationes, quibus ipsa gloriosa Dei trinitas probabilis
consistit, sunt destructibles ipsius Antichristi erronee
rationes, quia demonstrabilitati veritatis ipsius diuine
trinitatis per consequens contradicet.

De incarnatione.

Quoniam Antichristus, fidei catholice persecutor, nitetur
totis viribus errores promulgare aduersus incarnationem filii
Dei benedicti, ideo iuxta posse nostrum confisi Dei gratia conamur ipsam Dei incarnationem probare neceessariis rationibus, ut ille falsitates violentur quas de divina incarnatione ipse inimicus publicus seminabit. Hanc autem probationem per diuinas dignitates facimus contrahendo illas ad Dei magnitudinem infinitam in exemplificatione actus cuiuslibet earum in ipsa magnitudine, ut artem et regulam habeamus demonstrandi ipsam Dei incarnationem per actus diuinarum dignitatum. Et primo incipimus ad diuinam bonitatem.

De magnitudine et bonitate Dei.

Deus et infinitum bonum sunt vnum idem numero, et ideo sunt bonitas et magnitudo Dei vnum idem numero, et bonitas infinita bonificando infinite bonum magnum et magnitudo infinita magnificando infinite bonum ; magnum in infinitate eternificandi, possificandi, sciendi, volendi, et cetera. Hoc autem ita oportet esse ut non finiretur infinitas in bonitate et magnitudine et econuerso, ratione minoritatis et defectus. Vnde sequitur ex predictis quod ipsa Dei infinitas in bonitate, magnitudine, et cetera, in bonificare, magnificare, et cetera, nec intra se in natura sui nec extra se in effectu suo limitari potest. Et ideo sequitur, quod si Deus creauerit bonum finitum et vniuerit illud secum in eadem persona, est utique illud bonum creatum adeo magnum in increato bono et in

seipso quod nec bonum increatum potest vti maiori bono creato
nec bonum creatum a bono increato potest maiorem recipere
bonitatem et influentiam. Quocirca fit concordantia in
majoritate magnitudinis inter bonum increatum et bonum
creatum, eo quod bonum increatum in bonum creatum tantum
infundit quantum ipsum bonum creatum recipere potest. Et ex
hoc tam magno bono consistit in maiori actu bonum increatum in
bono creato et econverso, quam si predicta unio boni increati
et boni creati non esset, scilicet ipsa Dei incarnatio, que
maior est omni alio bono creato. Quare oportet eam necessario
esse ut ipsa bonitas Dei non sit magnitudine limitata in
actione super effectum suum et in receptione effectus ab
eadem, quod est impossibile. Ergo, et cetera.

De magnitudine et eternitate Dei.

Magnitudo durationis melius concordare potest majoritati
in eternitate quam in duratione non eterna. Et ideo durans
inceptum durabilius esse potest in eternali quam extra
eternale, et ipsum eternale potius vti potest actu eterno in
ipso durabili incepto sibi vnito quam in durabili incepto sibi
non vnito. Si igitur ipsum eternale magnum non vnisset sibi
durabile inceptum cum maioritas aptitudinis et proportionis
maiorem habeat possibilitatem in magnitudine eternitatis in
vnione eternals et incepti. Esset vtique maiore possibilitas
aptitudinis proportionis concordantie et congruitatis sine
actu inter eternale et inceptum; et sic esset  ille maior actus in priuatione cum minoritate contra magnitudinem et eternitatem in posse et velle Dei, in quibus abesset actus iusticie, liberalitatis, et caritatis contra bonitatem, magnitudinem, perfectionem, et cetera, Dei, quod est impossible, quo ipsa Dei incarnatio reuelatur.

De magnitudine et potestate Dei.

Maiorem potest habere diuina potestas concordantiam magnitudini possificanti in Deo quam possificanti in creatura que, cum sit finita, non potest recipere infinite quantum est ratione sui actum infinite potestatis Dei. Potestas etiam diuina plus influere potest et infundere gratie et virtutis in hominem quam in brutum et plantam cum homo plus ex eis possit recipere quam brutum siue planta. Si ergo Deus vniuerit sibi ipsi hominem in eadem persona Dei constat inde maior concordantia que possit esse inter magnitudinem et potestatem in Deo et in creatura. Nam quemadmodum homo plus potest recipere a Deo quam brutum, sic homo existens Deus plus potest recipere magnitudinis in potestate quam homo non existens Deus, et per ipsum  hominem Deum potest homo non Deus maiorem habere potestatem cognoscendi et diligendi Deum; ac etiam ipse homo Deus existendo vna persona cum Deo maiorem habet inde potestatem intelligendi et diligendi Deum et seipsum et omne id quod est amabile et odiendi odibile. Ergo propter maiorem

577 quantum] quam N
concordantiam predicte potestatis et magnitudinis in Deo et in
creatura manifestatur diuina incarnatio in magnitudine quam
diuina potestas habet in sapientia, voluntate, iustitia,
virtute, et veritate Dei, cui siquidem magnitudini potestatis
esset in iusticia, sapientia, voluntas et libertas Dei si
incarnatio predicta foret odibilis voluntati et perfectioni
diuine.

De magnitudine et sapientia Dei.

Sapientia et magnitudo intelligendi concordant;
discordant autem in minoritate intelligendi, ut ergo sapientia
diuina magnitudini multum concordare posset. Voluit Deus
multiplicare sapientiam creatam in increata sapientia per
unionem vtiusque sapientie sine qua, scilicet vnione utraque
sapientia, non possent tam vehementer concordare magnitudini
intelligendi. Itaque foret absentia illius magnitudinis per
quam siquidem absentiam nullus esset intellectus in creatura
qui posset intelligere perfecte ipsam sapientiam quam Deus
pater habet generando Deum filium et quam Deus pater et Deus
filius habent producendo Spiritum Sanctum et quam Deus etiam
habet sciendo seipsum et creaturas nec aliqua creatura sciret
perfecte magnitudinem illam, quam sibi et aliis creaturis
oporeret creari, ut Deus sciret eam magnum in sapientia sua
et in sapientia creaturarum. Cum ergo tanta priuatio et ex
parte Dei et ex parte creature ratione magnitudino iusticie in

596 iusticia] iusta M    610 Deus etiam] eciam Deus M    611/612 sciret
perfecte] perfecte sciret M
ipsa Dei sapientia et voluntate sit impossibilis, necessarium est eis oppositum. Vnde benedicta Dei incarnatio esse declaratur.

De magnitudine et voluntate Dei.

Plus vult divina voluntas in Deo quam voluntas creata. Ergo, oportet quod plus sit in Deo ratione divina voluntatis quam voluntas creata velle possit. Quare oportet quod magnitudo divina voluntatis in magno velle perficiat quod t-tum illum magnum bonum sit quod potest in Deo creatura diligere. Creatura vero non potest maius bonum diligere de creatura in Deo et econuerso quam quod volens in-creatum et creatum sint una persona in Deo, ut ipsum volens creatum tantum diligat volens increatum quod non possit diligere amplius a creatura et ut ipsum volens increatum non possit extra se amplius velle. Quare necessario oportet esse ipsam Dei incarnationem in homine, ut creatura non velit plus in Deo quam divina voluntas, quod est impossibile.

De magnitudine et virtute Dei.

Maior actus virtutis qui sit est Deum virtuosum esse actum Dei virtuosi, existente alio virtuoso distincto ab alio virtuoso, eisdem existentibus eadem numero divina essentia infinita in virtute infinite bonitatis, magnitudinis, et cetera. Post autem istum actum est ipse maior qui sit et iste est de Deo ad creaturam, si virtuosus creatus cum virtuoso
increate eadem persona in Deo consistat per infinitam
virtutem bonitatis, magnitudinis, et cetera. Vnde, si
incarnatio Dei nihil esset, abesset quidem maior virtutis
actus, quem extra se Deus habere potest. Hoc autem esset
defectus infinite virtutis in bonitate, magnitudine, et
cetera, quod est impossibile. Per quod declaratur incarnatio
Dei in qua Deus maiorem habet actum virtutis in magnitudine
bonitatis, quam potest habere in creatura et creatura recipere
ab ipso Deo.

De magnitudine et veritate Dei.

Veritas increata deficeret magnitudini bonitatis,
eternitatis, potestatis, et cetera, si non haberet actum
infinitum in magnitudine bonitatis, eternitatis, potestatis,
et cetera, ex quo oriatur verum infinitum in magnitudine
bonitatis, eternitatis, potestatis, et cetera. Cum autem
predictus actus sit ipse maior actus quem verum creatum possit
sumere pro obiecto. Oportet necessario secundum actum
veritatis increate in actu bonitatis, magnitudinis, et cetera,
actum veritatis create esse tam magnum in bonitate, et cetera,
quod intelligendo et diligendo possit sumere pro obiecto actum
veritatis increate prout convenit magnitudini quam ipsa
veritas increata potest habere per bonitatem, magnitudinem, et
cetera, in ipsa veritate creatas, et quam ipsa creatas veritas
recipere potest ab influentia actus increati, quem veritas
increata habet in bonitate, magnitudine, et cetera. Vnde per predicta patet secundum actum iustitie et veritatis in magnitudine bonitatis, et cetera, incarnatio Dei per quam consistit actus necessarii magnitudini in veritate increata et creat.

De magnitudine et gloria Dei.

Gloria summa et ultima super omnes glorias est illa quam Deus habet in seipso Deo glorianto in Deo dante Deo gloriam Deo per infinitam gloriam vnius divine essentie in bonitate, et cetera. Vnde, si non esset qui huius summe glorie recuperet in creatis magnitudinem glorie que conueniens est acceptari, concordaret quantum ad hoc in Deo gloria minoritati glorie contra magnitudinem glorie in actu bonitatis, et cetera, quod est impossibile. Quare ratione iusticie oportet predictam magnitudinem glorie concordare effectui, ut ipse effectus habeat illam maiorem cognitionem et dileccionem summe glorie quas habere potest. Quod tantum esset impossibile absque vnione divine nature et humane in vna persona Dei, ut in eadem persona fruantur anime beate deitate in gloria et sensus beatorum corporum humanitate Dei, Deo homine perficiente gloriem toti supposito humano cuiuslibet beatorum.

De magnitudine et perfectione Dei.

Cum infinita perfectio sit in actu cuilibet diuinarum dignitatum per distincta supposita personalia perfecta

667 necessarii| sic E et M 674 creatis| creaturis M 675 glorie| om. M 682 deitate| diuinitate M
habentia actum infinitum perfectionis et existentia vna eadem numero essentia ; perfecta et infinita in bonitate, et cetera. Sicut igitur habet infinite actum perfectum in ipsa intrinseca operatione, sic oportet eam habere perfectum actum in extrinseca operatione, ut summus defectus extrinsecus non priuet magnitudinem actus diuine perfectionis in creatura et magnitudinem actus perfectionis create in Deo. Iste autem perfectus actus in extrinseca Dei operatione est ipsa Dei incarnatio, scilicet vnio diuine nature et humane, ut actus diuine iustitie non desit diuine magnitudini in bonitate, et cetera, perfectionis paternitatis, filiationis, et processionis in effectu, que significantur per ipsam personam vnam increatam et creatam, in qua perfectio tanta est in unitate, quod superfluum esset Dei filium incarnari in pluribus hominibus. Sicut ; esset superfluum in Deo plures esse patres et plures filios et plures spiritus sanctos, quod scilicet superfluum in Deo est impossibile. Si enim Deus pater multos homines vnisset filio suo ratione perfectionis operis in maiori magnitudine requireret ipsa maior magnitudo perfectionis operis processum in infinitum, scilicet numerum infinitum hominum, quod numquam consequeretur. Et sic sequeretur imperfectio. Quare, ratione maioris magnitudinis operationis, oportuit necessario vnum hominem vniri persone filii Dei, ut tantum uirtutis intellectualis et sensualis quantum infiniti hominum habere possent vnuiuerit sibi Deus in vno homine tantum. Et hoc cum creatura tantam possibilitatem
perfectionis in intelletualitate et sensualitate possit recipere unitate in entitate Dei per communicacionem in unitate persone infinite et finite. Et ob hoc necessario oportuit esse ipsam incarnationem; quod si non, posset Deus plus communicare perfectionem suam creature et plus esset in non esse perfectionis et unitatis in bonitate, magnitudine, et cetera, effectus quam sit in esse, quod est summum inconueniens et contra magnitudinem perfectionis divine iusticie. Ergo ipsa Dei incarnation est.

De magnitudine et iustitia Dei.

Tantam habet in Deo iusticia magnitudinem quod ratione illius divine bonitas bonificat et divine magnitudo magnificat, et cetera. Hanc autem magnitudinem non posset habere ipsa Dei iusticia, si ipsa consistaret absque iustificare, quod est actus eius in bonitate, magnitudine, et cetera. Cum ergo actus divine iusticie sit in Deo maximus oportet hunc ipsum actum quem iustitia habet in Deo esse tantum in creatura quantum decet esse, secundum aptitudinem et concordantiam summe cause et effectus in magnitudine bonitatis, et cetera. Hec autem magnitudo aptitudinis et concordantie inter summam causam et eius effectum nihil esset nisi esset Dei incarnatio, quam ob hoc necessario esse oportet ut divine iustitia habeat magnitudinem in actu, quem eam habere oportet in creatura, secundum quod habet eum in

magnitudine bonitatis, et cetera. Quoniam, si ipsa incarnatio non esset, non haberet iusticia diuina magnitudinem sui actus in creatura, eo quod creatura non esset tantum subjecta nec tantum obediens actui divini iusticie, nec Deus tantum remunerari posset seu punire hominem, si non ipsa est incarnatio, quantum si ipsa est. Quare oportet eam necessario esse.

_De magnitudine et largitate Dei._

Largitas diuina ratione largientis non potest dare maius donum quam si det donum Deum, sine quo dono largitas Dei et donum; non concordarent esse eadem numero, essentia, et natura in infinita magnitudine actus bonitatis, eternitatis, potestatis, et cetera. Et quoniam Deus extra entitatem suam non potest dare donum ex largitate sua, quod non ex propria natura sui habeat inclinationem ad non esse et defectum, vnde creatum est. Voluit, ideo, Deus benedictus incarnari, ut humane nature nostre daretur filius Dei, qui nullam ad defectum et non esse habet inclinationem. Quo circa, si ipse Deus non fuisset incarnatus actu quidem largitatis sue, non donasset donum idem et equale magnitudini sue in eadem numero, essentia, et natura. Itaque defecisset magnitudo actui ipsius largitatis concordanti minoritati, que siquidem concordantia impossibile ratione actus iustitie, perfectionis, bonitatis, voluntatis, et cetera. Vnde ipsa incarnatio necessario

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742 non ipsa est| non est ipsa M  747 donum Deum| doni tui E  749 natura| natura et M  757 voluntatis| om. M
De magnitudine et misericordia Dei.

Largitas et misericordia equalem habent in Deo magnitudinem. Ideo habet misericordia Dei tantum actum in magnitudine quantum largitas eius. Sed cum in Deo nulla possit esse culpa siue peccatum nec aliqua indigentia, non habet in Deo misericordia actum parcendi seu miserendi, et ideo ipsam Dei incarnationem esse oportuit, ut ipsa misericordia miseretur et parceret in creatura equaliter cum largitate in infinita magnitudine equalitatis earum, miserente et parcente misericordia in filio Dei dato humano generi ad deliberationem et redemptionem generis humiliandi per infinitum donum largitatis in bonitate et magnitudine, et cetera, sine quo actus misericordiae et largitatis non possent concordare in equalitate bonitatis, eternitatis, potestatis, et cetera.

De magnitudine et humilitate Dei.

Quamuis humilitas et Deus sint idem numero, propter hoc tamen non oportet humiliare, quod est humilitatis actus, esse in intrinsecum Dei opere. Sed quoniam inconueniens est secundum justiciam perfectionis divinae bonitatis, et cetera, humilitatem Dei esse sine humiliari equali siue ipsi in magnitudine perfectionis, bonitatis, justicio, oportuit Dei incarnationem necessario esse. Vt humilitas filii Dei ipsum filium humiliaret ad assumendum naturam nostram, in qua

scilicet assumptione, humilitas et humiliare fuerunt equales in magnitudine. Ipsam autem humilitas est ipsem Dei filius, eius autem humiliare fuit ipso Dei filio volente se sine fine se esse Deum hominem, qui scilicet Deus homo diuinam humilitatem obedienti fecit in hoc mundo paupertati, cruciatibus atque morti, in qua scilicet morte hominis Deo unit humiliavit se ipsum ipse Deus homo in suam et humanitate in paupertate, cruciatibus et morte, ut ipsa divina iusticia in magnitudine bonitatis autem remoueret actum humilitatis a superbia. Vnde necessario patet quod actus diuine humilitatis non tantum distaret a superbia nec tantum concordarent ipsa humilitas et eius actus sine incarnatione et morte predicta quantum per ipsam incarnationem et mortem. Quare necessario oportuit Deum incarnari in hominem et illum hominem mori.

De magnitudine et dominio Dei.

Quanto servus seu subjectus maior est in bonitate, potestate, sapientia, et cetera, tanto actus dominii potest in domino maior esse et actus servitutis in subjecto. Sed cum diuinum dominium non possit concordare tanto actui suo in subjecto qui non sit Deo unitus, quanto concordaret in subjecto qui eadem persona esset cum Deo. Ideo justificat divina iusticia in voluntate Dei hominem esse Deum, ut in illo homine divina iusticia et voluntas facerent diuinum dominium

788 se] om. E
810 concordare magnitudini se decenti; quod quidem fieri non potuisset absque unitate persone et Dei et hominis in quo Deo homine creatum fuit genus humanum redemptione eterna, ut ipse Deus creatione et recreatione Dominus esset, concordante eius dominio inde maioritati iusticie, potentia, et perfectionis.

815 Hoc autem esse non posset sine predicta incarnatione, eo quod actui divini dominii abesset materia receptiua tante formae subiectionis quantam esset divinum dominium, ut divina iusticia, et misericordia, et potestas magnitudinem vsur sui actus habeant inde in illa magnitudine perfectionis que conuenit eiio.

De magnitudine et patientia Dei.

Actus patientie est pati, et quoniam patientia et maioritas concordant contra impatientiam et eius actum voluit, ideo diuina patientia esse patiendo magna per diuinam incarnationem, sine qua magnitudo ipsius patientie, non posset tantum actum habere quantum decet eam in iusticia et etiam perfectione. Nam ipsa iustitia et perfectio essent contrarie magnitudini suorum actuum si in divina voluntate non facerent velle concordari magnitudini patientie, sine quo quidem concordari esset divina voluntas contraria magnitudini sui actus, quod est impossibile in actu divina iusticie et perfectionis. Ergo oportet esse ipsam Dei incarnationem in qua

810 concordare| concordet M 812 creatum| recreatum M 814 inde| om. E 817 esset| decet M 818/819 sui actus| actus usus M 820 eiio| sic ambo MSS
et per quam patientia et eius actus maiorem habent concordantiam quam habere possint in aliqua magnitudine, virtute increata et virtute creata existentibus una eadem numero persona Dei per quam scilicet vniorem divina patientia magis sufficere potest per hominem et in ipso homine et magis habere patientiam in peccatoribus. Quare necessario oportet ipsum Deum esse incarnatum.

Per predictas sexdecim dignitates seu attributa Dei cum suis actibus, probauimus incarnationem filii Dei, que est ipsa maior operatio quam divinae dignitates habere possint in omni creatura. Et quoniam Antichristus fingit se esse Deum, qua fictione erit summus aduersarius veritati concordans falsitati, ob hoc in maiori congruitate et concordantia divinarum dignitatum et earum actuum sequendo regulam antedictam possunt destrui false rationes et errores que sequerentur si iste perfidus esset Deus. Quoniam, si ipse fuerit Deus, sequeretur concordantia minoritatis et dignitatem Dei et suorum actuum contra maioritatem et perfectionem. Et quoniam maioritas et esse et perfectio concordant, et minoritas et non esse et defectus, manifestabitur ideo falsitas ipsius Antichristi falsi Dei per ipsarum maioritatem actuum dignitatum.

De virtutibus creatis.

Virtutes create sunt fides, spes, caritas, iusticia,
prudentia, fortitudo, temperantia. Et per quamlibet istarum septem poterunt destrui false rationes et opiniones quas Antichristus aduersus Dominum Iesum Christum adducet 

860 operibus Antichristi concordantibus viciis. Operibus uero Domini Iesu Christi concordantibus ipsis virtutibus. Vnde Antichristi opera per concordantiam cuiuslibet virtutis cum magnitudine denotabimus prout breuius poterimus, iuvante ipso Domino Iesu Christo, ut in maiori concordantia virtutum et magnitudinis agnoscatur ipsa contrarietas, quam Antichristi opera habebunt aduersus magnitudinem actuum septem uirtutum predictarum, que sunt similitudines diuinarum dignitatum in opere extrinseco, ut homines per illas virtuosi valeant ad diuinam beatitudinem feliciter peruenire.

870 De magnitudine fidei.

Actus maior fidei est hominem credere in unitate, trinitate, incarnatione, et ceteris articulis, et in sacramentis atque preceptis sancte fidei catholice. Et ideo quod Antichristus magis aduersabitur maiori actui quam minori fidei, cum fides sit maior uirtus in suo maiori actu quam in minori. In maiori quidem concordantia magnitudinis et fidei confundende sunt Antichristi errores quas opponet fidei maioritati, in qua scilicet maioritate contrariabitur ipse Antichristus maioritati actuum diuinarum dignitatum, affectans inclinare homines minori fidei sine forma contra maiorem fidem
regulam et formam habentem. Per falsa enim miracula conabitur destruere fidem in actibus fantasticorum intellectuum; hominum in falsis imaginationibus et illusionibus, declinans in suis falsis miraculis humanos intellectus ad actus sensuales contra actus intellectualis. Vnde quia fides in hominibus creata est ad hoc quod intellectus in presenti vita non sufficit ad apprehendendum intantum intellectualia quantum sensualia. Et quoniam ipse Antichristus inclinabit humanos intellectus in ignorantiam, vehementius in intellectualibus quam in sensualibus, existente fide excellentius in intellectualibus quam in sensualibus, erit ideo Antichristus contra fidei maioritatem.

De magnitudine spei.

Spes, qua speratur in tanta magnitudine quanta est ipsamet qua Deus Deum generat, vnde procedit Deus in infinitate, magnitudine bonitatis, eternitatis, et cetera, gignente et genito et procedente, existente vno Deo tantum in ipsa infinita magnitudine bonitatis, eternitatis, et cetera, non potest esse maior in actu suo. Atque spes qua speratur in eo, qui Deus voluit esse homo et qui uoluit esse hominem ut homo mori propter maiorem actionem diuinitatis in sua humanitate et passionem humanitatis sub sua deitate, procedente inde maius parcere misericordie ad homines non
potest esse maior in opere aliquo extrinseco, quod Deus agat. Cum ergo spes sit maior secundum hec antedicta nec ultra possit in aliquo alio esse maior nec equalis contra predicta, in hoc quidem maiori actu spei patebunt manifeste errores Antichristi contra magnitududem spei, ipso inclinante homines ad minorem actum spei contra maiorem.

De magnitudine caritatis.

Caritas actus magnus est in magnitudine habitus fidei, spei iusticie, prudentie, fortitudinis, et temperantie, et econuerso, propter earum concordantiam. Et ratio quare actus caritatis magis concordat magnitudine bonitatis quam fidei, spei, et cetera, constat in hoc, quod fides, spes, et cetera, sunt habitus et materia per quos caritas in earum magnitudine de potentia et habitu habeat suum actum. Et ideo, cum caritas pure constat actu, tunc ceterae virtutes sunt vnus actus habitualis vel vnus habitus actualis, de quo caritatis actus viuit. Et quoniam caritas tunc particulariter obtinet suum actum, habet ideo finalem intentionem et tunc ceterae virtutes sunt eidem medium, per quod ipsa caritas mouetur ad actum finalem de principio usque ad finem, ut in ipsa caritate suus actus concordet maioritati et in ceteris virtutibus minoritati. Hoc idem, etiam, quod dictum est de caritate constat de vnaquaque aliarum existente particulariter actu.
Secundum igitur hanc regulam et ordinationem dictam caritatis et aliarum uirtutum poterit Antichristus temptari in hiis in quibus contrariabitudin maiuoritati actuum caritatis et aliarum virtutum secundum predictam habitudinem mutuam uirtutum. Et quoniam actus diuinarum dignitatum non sunt magnitudini actus caritatis contrarii sed concordes potius, poterit Antichristus reprehendi in hiis in quibus aduersabitur magnitudinem caritatis et actus illius.

De magnitudine iusticie.

Tanta est conjunctio et concordancia quam habet iusticia cum fide, spe, caritate, et cetera, quod inquanta iusticia plus iustificat actum fidei, spei, et cetera ; tanto vehementius auget et multiplicat iusticia suum actum in fide, spe, et cetera. Et ideo Antichristus homo malignus et iniustus conabitur destruere magnitudinem iusticie, destruens actus fidei, spei, caritatis, et cetera. Et quoniam eius opera contrariabuntur magnitudini quam iusticia potest habere et ordinabitur habere, ut dictum est, significabitur ideo in operibus Antichristi iniuria, que in Deo est impossibile, per quam scilicet impossibilitatem ipse Antichristus significabit se non Deum quamuis se Deum esse dicat.

De magnitudine prudentie.

Magnitudo prudentie constat in potentia memorie, intellectus, et voluntatis in habitu et in actu sui ipsius et
De magnitudine fortitudinis.

In fortitudine, fidei, spei, caritatis, et cetera, consistit actus fortitudinis, et prout in ipsis virtutibus consistit fortitudo, magna sequitur fortitudinis et magnitudinis concordantia. Vnde secundum ista potest Antichristus temptari in hoc quod principiis istis opponet; nam cum sensuali fortitudine delebit hanc fortitudinem
intellectualem in hominibus, destruens in eis fidem, spem, et cetera, quae sunt semina, radices, et rami in quibus virtus maius et nobilis habet opus quam in sensualibus. Cum ergo Deus ordinauerit predicta principia ad magnitudinem in fortitudine multiplicandam, et Antichristus habeat dissipare illa ad multiplicandum magnitudinem in contrarium fortitudinis, poterit ideo Antichristus reprehendi cum se finget Deum esse, quod impossibile est esse contrarium sui operi, scilicet magnitudini, fortitudini, et aliarum virtutum, ne sit contra magnitudinem sue sapientie, voluntatis, bonitatis, et cetera.

De magnitudine temperantiae.

Temperantia est uirtus in medio duorum extremorum existens contrariorum actibus fidei, spei, caritatis, et cetera. In quorum scilicet actuum magnitudine et conjunctione unius in alterum insimul multiplicatur temperantiae magnitudo, cui adversabitur Antichristus. Quoniam tanta erunt munera que temporalium bonorum impendet, et tanta erunt in sensualibus illius miracula, et tantus etiam timor quem inferet hominibus quod eorum temperantiam in medio destruet extremorum, multiplicans distemperantiam in illis, et propter hoc destruet in fide credere, et in spe sperare, et in caritate amare, nec iusticia iustificabit in hominibus, nec prudentia cognoscet, nec fortitudo erit contra vicia, quo circa destruet
temperantiam in ceteris virtutibus et econuerso. Vnde patebit intellectibus illuminatis fortibus iustis in magnitudine fidei, spei, et caritatis illum perfidum non esse Deum immo in eius falsis operibus se manifestabit in opposto cognitio magna Dei.

Per iam predictas sepetem virtutes significamus artem et modum destruendi falsos errores Antichristi quibus cognabitur hominum priuare virtutes. Antichristus enim destruens magnitudinem in principiis antedictis uirtutum per quae iusti ad perpetuam gloriam sunt vocati, erit Antichristus causa multiplicandi magnitudinem in .vii. viciis mortalibus, que sunt tramites ad perpetuam damnationem. Et quoniam istud opus erit contrarium operi Dei et illi operi quod Dominus Ihesus Christus in mundo prosecutus est, ob hoc Antichristus in suomet opere manifestabit se non esse Deum.

**Incipit secunda distinctio**

Antichristus gesta seu opera multis speciebus consistenent.

Nos autem aliquam illarum sub paucis speciebus narrabimus ut breuius modum significemus per quem Antichristus in suis operibus poterit reprehendi. Hec autem species sunt iste: rationes, miracula, dona, promissa, et tormenta. Per has enim quinque species operis maxime conabitur iste perfidus mundum peruertere in errorem. Vnde hec opera nitentur ducere ad
inconveniens, prout illa principia de quibus in prima distinctione tractauimus antecedens esse oportet.

De falsis rationibus.

Antichristus se Deum esse demonstrare nitetur. Hec autem demonstratio est impossibilis quoniam verorum tantum est demonstratio vera; sed propter maximam sui ingenii acutiam per opus maligni spiritus non demonstrationem faciet demonstrationem gentibus apparere. Idcirco innuit huius libri doctrina falsitatem demonstrationis Antichristi manifestare per tres species demonstrationis, velut denotatur in ipsis principiis ex quibus prima distinctio constat. Harum enim specierum alia est demonstrare unidatem Dei et beatissimam eius trinitatem per equiparantiam diuinam dignitatum et actuum earum. Alia vero demonstrationis species est cum per causam; probatur effectus, et ista demonstratione demonstratur divina incarnatio per actus diuinam dignitatum in magnitudine effectus. Sed alia est cum per effectum causa demonstratur, et ista demonstratione demonstratur actus diuinarum dignitatum per ipsam incarnatione Dei et ipsa incarnatio per actus virtutum creatarum. Vnde hiis tribus demonstrationis speciebus poterit Antichristus reprehendi et in suis falsis argumentationibus quo opponet conueniencie primorum principiorum ex quibus vere formantur demonstrationes secundum artem inuentiuam veritatis. Aliquam vero dabit

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1025 tantum est] est tantum M 1038 demonstratur] demonstrantur M
Antichristus congruitatem sermonibus suis per actum unum alicuius divinarum dignitatum seu alicuius virtutum creatarum aut etiam alicuius operis naturalis. Ista quidem congruitas humanis intellectibus representabitur veritas per falsam imaginationem aut falsam opinionem vel per obstinationem quibus intellectus fantasticos fieri contingit et a veritatis noticia deviari.

Secundum quod patet apud sarracenos dicentes quod ratione perfectionis in posse divino, nemo peccare potest absque velle Dei. Et secundum etiam quod patet apud quosdam philosophos dicentes mundum esse eternum demonstratiue ratione continuitatis motus et processus de nunc in nunc a parte ante et post. Peccant quidem sarraceni eo quod ignorant concordantiam actus iusticie et perfectionis et actus potestatis et voluntatis Dei. Et falluntur naturales in eternitate mundi, eo quod non aduertunt ad illos actus, quos divine dignitates habent super naturam et in natura effectus non attingentes ultimum finem quare mundus est. Et ideo est eorum error manifestus affirmantium mundum eternum secundum cursum nature quod natura nequit vti absque iustificato actu bonitatis, magnitudinis, et cetera in opere naturali. In hiis ergo, que dicta sunt, data est exemplariter doctrina per quam Antichristus poterit reprehendi in suis falsis rationibus ex eis, namque sequitur contrarietas inter actus dignitatum vel

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1055 demonstratiue] demonstratione M
1064 quod] quo M
uirtem vel nature, quod est impossibile secundum principia supradicta.

Multas quidem falsitatis rationes et cauillationes ponet Antichristus in scriptis suis, que sunt destructibles per demonstrationes neccessarias concordantibus principiis antedictis demonstratiuis et demonstrabilibus neccesario. Per ipsam enim demonstrationem eorum destructabilia sunt omnia illis contraria, Quod si non, sequeretur quod veritas non concordaret demonstrationi necessarium principiarum sed potius impossibilium, quod est manifeste falsum et contra diuinarum dignitatum actus.

Si autem Antichristus per credere supponi dicat aduentum suum, affirmans de suo aduentu demonstrationem dari non posse, respondendum est ei secundum illam impossibilitatem que in supra prepositis principiis sequeretur, si ipse esset Deus, contra que principia nulla ratione potest eius aduentus esse in natura Dei, quoniam sequeretur in diuinis dignitatibus necessario esse actus adinvicem contrarios, quod est summe impossible. Quare impossibile erit illum esse Deum.

De falsis miraculis.

Sicut per opus Sancti Spiritus in diuina bonitate data fuit uirtus Domino Iesus Christo miracula faciendi ad dandam demonstrationem perfectionis diuini actus in potestate et voluntate Dei super currsum nature, sic per opus maligni spiritus dabitur Antichristo potestas faciendi miracula ad indurandum peccatorum corda et ad temptandum iustos, ut per
prudentiam et fidem in fortitudine meritum magnum; acquirant intelligentes illa miracula esse contraria divinae iusticiae, veritati, bonitati, perfectioni, et cetera, quibus Christi miracula concordarunt. Quamobrem incredibilia sunt et neganda ipsius Antichrasti miracula fallentia, eo quod necessariis principiis aduersantur.

Tres quidem sunt miraculorum species, quarum prima super cursum naturalem gradu consistit altiori quam secunda, et secunda quam tercia.

Prima enim est in substantia hominis Deum esse hominem, cum ipso homine existens una eadem numero persona Dei, et iterum in figura et specie panis et vini esse veram carnem et verum sanguinem hominis Dei. Hec autem miraculi species est illa maior quam Deus habere potest in actibus suarum dignitatum super naturale cursum, quod est quia hec in increata natura et creatas alia istarum unitas alii in esse unius personae.

Secunda species est creari esse de non esse, scilicet creari mundum et animas rationales de nihilo, et mortuos suscitari, et cecos illuminari, et contractos releuari, et cetera huiusmodi similia.

Tercia est in illusionibus et apparitionibus nigromantcie artis per spirituum invocationes. Hec autem species vera miracula non continet in realitate. Apparent autem hominibus...
esse miracula quia realitatem et modum per quem a spiritibus tales effectus fiunt non attingunt.

In hiis, ergo, tribus miraculorum specibus poterit Antichristus reprehendi, cum sua miracula faciet contra supradicta principia et contra sacramenta. Et quoniam tota actio illius stabit peruersa in malicia, falsitate, iniuria, et huiusmodi et prima species et secunda miraculorum concordat bonitati, veritati, iusticie, et cetera, nunquam miracula prime speciei et secunde facere poterit, sed tercie tantum per effectus et apparitiones spirituum malignorum.

De donis.

Antichristus rex erit in mundo potentissimus, largieturque diuersimoda dona hominibus, ut eos alliciat ad errores. Per illa quidem dona libertas fidei, spei, caritatis, iusticie, et cetera mortificabitur in habitu voluntatis, et inclinabuntur actus uirtutum ad priuacionem. Vnde exaltabuntur actus viciorum in habitibus anime rationalis.

Et ideo quod Antichristi munera erunt causa priuate libertatis in recolere, intelligere, et amare, erit quidem intellectui vehementius ymaginatio subiecta ad sensualia quam caritas, iusticia, et cetera, ad intellectualia, et obiectabuntur vehementius recordationi proprietates et possessiones mundane quam beatitudines eterno vite. Vnde poterit Antichristus capi in suis muneribus per opera

1137 intelligere] et intelligere M
maliciosa, que contra actus divinarum dignitatum et virtutum
creatarum sequentur. Et quoniam eius opera erunt contra illa
necessary principia per quae omnis homo creatus est et
recreatus et sustentatus in presenti uita et eterna, idcirco
manifeste patebit Antichristum non esse Deum nec prophetam nec
filium iusticie et caritatis.

In ipsis donis Antichristi oportebit recordari dona que
in hoc mundo dedit Dominus Iesus Christus. Nam Antichristus
dabit census, castra, ciuitates, et cetera dona sensualia hiis
similia, sed non dabit fidem, spem, caritatem, et cetera, nec
dabit seipsum paupertatis, tormentis, patientie, et morti
propter sui populi salvationem. Dominus enim Iesus Christus
dedit semetipsum paupertati, humilitati, iusticie, caritati,
et cetera. Et quoniam dona sui ipsius dedit Iesus Christus
actibus virutum in fide, spe, caritate, iusticia, et cetera,
sunt quidem eius dona ad celestem beatitudinem pertingendam,
sed illa dona que | dabit Antichristus erunt contraria donis
Iesu Christi et uite interminabili, per quam siquidem
contrarietatem poterit Antichristus in suis muneribus
reprehendi.

De promissis.

In presenti vita et eterna promittet Antichristus multa
et magna credentibus in eum. Diligentibus enim delectationes
temporales promittet corporis sanitatem, vite longitudinem,

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1152 spem| script. bis E 1157 spe| spe et M
honores, diuicias, et de perpessis laboribus multiplicem
recompensacionem. | Diligentibus eterne vite gloriam promittet
cognitionem entitatis Dei et nature increate et create
manifestationem atque summe Dei glorie reuelationem. Sed
quoniam opera illius et promissa erunt contraria diuine
veritati unitatis, trinitatis, et incarnationis alio modo
falso per quem impossible est alicui homini dari gloriam Dei,
quocirca illius promissa manifeste falsa patebunt per ipsam
veritatem, que denotatur in principiis illius glorie, qua
beate unitate, trinitate et incarnatione Dei fruentur. Iesus
Christus per virtutes gloriam promisit. Antichristus per vicia
beatitudinem promittet. Iesus Christus maiorem gloriam per
paupertatem quam per diuicias promisit. Antichristus maiorem
felicitatem promittet in diuiciis quam in paupertate. Iesus
Christus beatis persecutis propter veritatem promisit gloriam
eternam. Antichristus beatis, quos persequetur contra
veritatem, promittet penam eternam. Ergo, quia Iesus Christus
veritatem promisit et Antichristus promittet falsitatem,
poterit quidem vinci Antichristus per promissa Domini Iesu
Christi, cum ipsa promissa Iesu Christi dignitatibus diuinis
et actibus earum concordent. Et promissa Antichristi
contrariantur eisdem.

De tormentis.

Affliget quidem et occidet Antichristus eos qui non
credunt in eum resistentes eidem. Iesus Christus autem patienter affligi et occidi voluit semetipsum ut amore populus suus crederet in eum. Antichristus vero impatien ter affliget et occidet homines ut terrore populus credat ei. Iesus Christus caritatem predicauit humiliter ut timor et caritas in libertatis habitu concordarent. Antichristus vero comminabitur horribiliter ut a cordibus hominem caritatem et iusticiam aufferat, multiplicans sine amore timorem. Ergo secundum opera bonitatis in iusticia significauit Iesus Christus se Deum in veritate. Antichristus autem per opera malicie in iniuria demonstrabit se Deum in falsitate. Quare impossible est eum affuturum Deum.

Antichristus se dicet esse Deum. Eius autem opera illum non esse Deum ostendent. Nam occisio hominum illi non credentium significabit eum propter hominem nolle mori sicut Christus fuit mortuus. Ideoque sua mors ingrata sibi accusabit eum non esse Deum. Quoniam si ipse foret Deus, ad mortem utique gratis accederet non coactus. Coactio etiam mortis illius ostendetur quia ipsi vacuus pietate occidet homines sine remissione aliqua. Itaque nec fides, nec spes, nec iustitia, nec caritas poterit libertatis actum habere, tantus erit timor et terror mortifere pestis illius et tormenta. Et quoniam Dominus Iesus Christus caritate plenus predicando homines occidi non precepit, sed pocius ad conversionem et penitentiam expectari, saluans in virtutum actibus libertatem, poterit ideo Antichristus reprehendi, quoniam sic manifeste
patebit eum esse crudelem et nequissimum persecutorem quem summe impossibile est esse Deum.

Plus est in virtute actus desiderii mortis caritate et

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iusicia quam actus caritatis optando viuere et quam actus
timoris timendo mortem. Actus igitur virtutis maior erit in
eis quos Antichristus occidet quam in eis qui timore mortis
illi fient obedientes. Vnde significatur manifeste in
maiortitate actus uirtutis Antichristum non esse Deum. Quoniam,
si ipse esset Deus, actus quidem virtutis per timorem pocius
quam per caritatem concordaret ; maiortati, quod est
impossibile, et contra ipsum actum quem virtus habet in
iusticia, perfectione, et cetera.

Per has igitur quinque species predictas, per quas maxime

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Antichristi discurrent opera, significatur contrarietas que
inter hanc distinctionem et primam consistit. Hec autem
secunda distinctio per primam destructibilis est, ut supra
etiam dictum est, cum prima distinctio ex neccessariis
principiis constet et ordinatur huius secunde distinctionis
destructio in distinctione tercia consequenti.

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Incipit tercia distinctio.

Ultimum est valde que necessarium uti prouidentia
resistendi priusquam iniquitatis filius publicus venerit
inimicus. Prouidentia namque auget futura commoda et futuris

De oratione.

Oportet igitur primo homines sanctos et deuotos in oratione stabiliri, quos exaudiat Dominus ad mortificandum errores et duritiam cordis et ad multiplicantam sapientiam et deuotionem priusquam venerit Antichristus. Hos autem eligi oportet approbate uite inter alios bonos, qui electi scientiam habeant et cognitionem Dei. Homo namque cuius intellectus in diuinis operibus illuminatus non est, in altum gradum orationem suam extollere non potest. Hos igitur orationi deputatos, oportet esse magne scientie in celestibus et terrenis ut actus intellectuum et voluntatem eorum multum sint decentes recipere influentiam et gratiam Dei ad multum excellenter contemplandum Deum in seipso et in operibus eius.

Isti etiam sic altitudine intellectus et ardore deuotionis iuxta proportionem intellectus et voluntatis illustrati habituare debent sine terrenorum impedimento in
locis orationibus ydoneis, scilicet in locis solitariis aut in monasteriis a populo separatis ut sensualia intellectualibus non inferant nocumenta, nec oportet ut necessaria corporis eos impediant. Prouidendum enim est eis ad sufficientiam in victu et vestitu, et in hiis que studio pertinent, ac in ceteris que necessaria sunt ad orandum. Et insuper ars et tractatus fieri debent vbi contineatur ; modus orandi seu formandi orationes.

Hanc autem artem seu tractatum adeo bene ordinatam esse oportet, quod oratio in tantum eleuari possit quantum possibile est contemplationis actum sustinere ut anima ad contemplandum totas vires suas exponat.

Primo igitur incipiendum est diuinam essentiam contemplandi intelligendo et diligendo super ymaginationem per intelligere ab ymaginari denudato, quia ymaginatio purum intellectualis attingere non potest. Hec autem benignissima Dei essentia contemplabilis est in se ipsa per actus suarum et dignitatum, que sunt bonitas, magnitudo, et cetera, quos actus contemplandum est, scilicet alios eorum in aliis, et eos simul, et quilibet etiam esse vna eademque numero diuina essentia, que est ipsamet vnitas actuum personalium proprietatum distinctarum, que constant simul, et quilibet tota ipsamet numero tota diuina essentia in bonitate, magnitudine, et cetera, | ut per eas attingantur Pater et Filius et Spiritus Sanctus ipsamet diuina essentia numero,
toto quolibet istorum existente illa eadem numero toto. Secundum hunc iam dictum modum contemplandum est essentiam Dei ut intellectus intelligat et voluntas diligat perfectionem essentie et dignitatum in unitate et trinitate per actus communes et proprios in opere intrinseco Dei, sine quibus non potest intelligendo et diligendo perfecta fieri contemplatio in divinis. Nam ad perfectionem contemplationis huius oportet intelligi et amari quomodo Pater, existens tota divina essentia in bonitate, magnitudine, et cetera, generat de semetipso Filium, existentem totam eadem et essentiam in bonitate, et cetera, et quomodo ex Patre et Filio procedit Sanctus Spiritus, existens tota eadem et numero divina essentia in bonitate, et cetera. Et pariter sunt iste tres persone ipsa eadem et numero divina essentia unus Deus tantum.

Si igitur homo contemplans et adorans Deum in unitatis essentia et in personarum trinitate per infinitas dignitates, intantum quantum uires humani intellectus et voluntatis adorando et contemplando extendi possunt, gratiam recipit et influentiam ex hoc quod intelligit et diligat de divina essentia, opere, et actuum divinarum dignitatum, per quam siquidem influentiam et gratiam exauditur in precibus suis apud Deum, et hoc ut Deus cognoscatur et diligatur ab homine,
cum ipse homo creatus sit ad cognoscendum et diligendum Deum in sua essentia et opere.

Deus est suamet perfectio. Perfectionem autem habet Deus in bonitate, magnitudine, eternitate, et cetera. Et incarnatio Filii Dei est illius perfectionis demonstratio quam Deus habet in bonitate, magnitudine, et cetera. Nam sine incarnatione nullus esset actus in creatura qui, ex perfectione quam Deus habet in seipso et in opere suo intrinseco, cognitionem et dilectionem perfectam recipere posset. Ob hoc igitur oportet voluntatem et intellectum exaltari contemplantis ad ipsam divinam incarnationem contemplandum, cum in vtero gloriose virginis Marie voluit incarnari. Ialsa vero beatissima virgo Maria contemplabilis est in illo preciosissimo opere, quod in ea factum est a Filio Dei ex dignitatibus et uirtutibus ipsius Filii et gloriose virginis matris eius, Filio Dei vniente sibi filium hominis, existens cum ipso filio hominis ita Deus homo Iesus Christus, sicut corpus et anima sunt vnus homo, natura diuina et natura humana permanente inconfusa in Iesu Christo, ita sicut natura anime et natura corporis in homine permanent inconfuse. Cum autem intellectus hec modo dicta sic intelligit, elevatur quidem in intelligibilitate sua ad contemplandum opus divine incarnationis et voluntas ad diligendum illud. Dum igitur intellectus et voluntas in tam
excellenti gradu contemplationis existunt, tunc apti sunt
recipere exauditionis gratiam et influentiam, et isto modo
merentur sic contemplantes per gratiam exaudiri.

Descendentibus humano intellectu et voluntate a summo
contemplationis gradu de divina essentia trinitate et
dignitatis divinis ad gradum divinae incarnationis, qui est
altior in quo potest esse opus Dei in creatura, descendere
debent etiam ex gradu ipsius incarnationis ad illum
contemplationis gradum in quo beata Dei genitrix et angelii
sancti superne glorie contemplantur essentiam et trinitatem
Dei in actibus divinarum dignitatum diligente voluntate et
intelligente intellectu eorum contemplationem et gloriam et
fraternitatem eorum, propter enim altitudinem contemplandi
secundum predicta poterunt contemplantes recipere gratiam Dei
et auxilium a beata virgine Maria et a supernorun civium
societate. Vnde habeant eorum preces valitudinem contra opera
Antichristi.

Post hos quidem gradus supremos contemplabilis est Deus
per fidem, spem, caritatem, et per ceteras virtutes. Per actus
enim fidei, spei, caritatis, et cetera, extollitur intellectus
et voluntas ad contemplandum Deum credendo fide ulterius quam
prudentia intelligeri possit; et sperando spe in actu
misericordie et iusticie Dei; et diligendo caritate id quod
fide creditur et spe speratur; iustificante iusticia

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1351 Post] per M 1356 Dei] om. M
intellectum ad intellegendum et voluntate ad diligendum fide, spe, caritate, et cetera; et habente prudentia scire in hiis que possunt actum intellectus et voluntatis in actum fidei, spei, et cetera, iustificare; et fortificare fortitudine actum suum in actibus aliarum virtutum; et optinente temperantia suum actum in medio duorum extremorum suo actui et aliarum virtutum actibus contrariorum.

Confestim igitur postquam contemplator cum predictis actibus virtutum contemplacionem suam ad Deum et ad eius opera direxerit, inclinabit suum intelligere et velle ad misericordiam Dei ut directionem et virtutem influat, per quas damnificentur in mundo errores Antichristi. Et quoniam diuinam iusticiam oportet iustificare id quod iusticia contemplantis et adorantis iustificat in predictis actibus virtutum, oportet utique istos sicut dictum est contemplantes in suis orationibus exaudiri.

Contemplantibus Deum secundum quod oportet, conueniens est desiderium celestis glorie et eos mundanas despicere vanitates, nam recolenti, intelligenti, et diligenti gloriam sempiternam et odienti vanitates mundanas nascitur occasio perfectionis per actus est recipere gratiam et benedictionem et sue orationis exauditionem. Et quanto vehementius extollentur actus memorie, intellectus, et voluntatis in contemplatione, tanto diuina iusticia et misericordia in ipsa

1361 iustificare\ precarious multiplicare M 1378 per - recipere\ precarious per quam paratus est recipere M
contemplatione exauditioni concordabunt.

Cogitando quomodo prima causa per effectum significatur et demonstratur in bonitate et cetera, et econuerso, oritur causa exaudibilis orationis. Nam intellegendo et diligendo summam causam per effectum suum, et econuerso, se inclinabit ipsa causa ad effectum per actum caritatis, iusticie, et humilitatis, recolente memoria magnalia que Deus creauit in mundo, videlicet angelos, celos, animas, elementa, maria, terras, vegetabilia, animalia, metalla, et horum genera, et species, et istorum omnium actus. Nam per istam recordationem speculatur intellectus quomodo Deus consistit magnus et in operibus suis per actum bonitatis, magnitudinis, et cetera. Et per hanc speculationem extollit voluntas actum suum ad multum diligendum summam causam in mirabilibus suis. Vnde, sic contemplando ipse tres potentie anime contemplantis per predicta, formant exauditionis habitum qui per predictam contemplationem de potentia uenit in actum.

Secundum hos septem gradus orationis antedictos debet contemplatio fieri adorando Deum tota virtute memorie, intellectus, et voluntatis, ut ipse Dominus Deus noster populum suum defendat ab erroribus Antichristi, secundum quod amore huius populi sui incarnari voluit et mortem pati. Secundum autem magna scandala et pericula aduentus Antichristi debent orationes sanctorum contemplantium esse altissime et

1399 gradus orationis] orationis gradus M
1403 huius] om. M
deuotissime ut exaudiantur a Domino Deo nostro, et hoc ut exauditio earum sit multorum malorum et scandalorum cessatio in mundo perturbabili turbatione Antichristi, et altissime perfectionis fructus et commoda largiatur.

1410 De afflictione.

Sicut apud Deum debet oratio fieri in exultatione voluntatis secundum septem gradus predictos, sic etiam in afflictione et in conpunctione voluntatis secundum septem gradus afflictionis, quos decet esse in actu memoriae, intellectus, et voluntatis, prout oportet actui iusticie sequendo regulam et condiciones orationis sensualis et intellectualis, ut orationis et afflictionis exauditio concordet in habitu et in actu contra Antichristum.

In passione Domini nostri Iesu Christi oportet afflictionem dari potentiis anime ut cor tristiciam sensiat et lacrime ab occulis fluant. Et enim recolens memoria et intelligens intellectus affectuose tormenta grandissima et summe angustiferam mortem crucis Domini nostri Iesu Christi propter nos tante passionis sue indignos et pietatem suam qua grauiorem quam potuit propter nos voluit ferre mortem, qui indigni sumus minimo sue sacratissime passionis, sunt antecedens consequentis voluntatis se conuertentis in contricionem et cordis amaritudinem promouentem occulis lacrimas ad dandum anime et corpori afflictionem, ut sic

contemplantium preces in cordibus contritis Deo placabiles exaudiantur adversus Antichristum.

Considerandum est apostolorum et martirum uitae sanctissima, qui predicando laudem et veritatem Domini Dei nostri propter Deum et fidei exaltationem diris occuredabantur tormentis. Ex tali namque consideratione contritio debet oriri, quoniam mortua est caritas et deuotio que solet esse ad ostendendum laudem Domini et cognitionem et dilectionem Iesus Christi saluatoris nostri. Sed etiam, vbi sunt modo similes predicatores amatores feruidi? Vbi sunt, qui occiduntur propter occisum in cruce Dominum Iesum Christum?

Hic est ortus conterrentis afflictionis feruenter contemplantibus. In suspiriis namque et lacrimis occulorum contristetur anima feruenter contemplantis, quia caritas et deuotio sui gradus excellentiam perdiderunt.

Sicut actus voluntatis septem uirtutes diligentis confert exultationem, sic actus voluntatis odientis septem vicia mortalia dare debet passionem et afflictionem recordante memoria et intelligente intellectu quomodo ipsa septem vicia fuerunt amabilia non autem odabilia in actu voluntatis diligentis illa. Nam actus gule contrarius est actui temperantie in actu iniurie, diffidentie, desperantie, ignorantie, debilitatis, vbi formantur actus luxurie, auaricie, superbie, inuidie, ire. Cum ergo virtutes valde sint

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1432 Considerandum} consideranda M  1445 diligentis} diligentes M
amabiles et vicia valde odilibia, plorent et suspirent vehementer feruidi contemplantes quia cessat bonum in priuatione actuum virtutum et quia tanta mala per multitudinem actuum viciorum in tot hominibus sortiuntur. Isti quidem sic contemplantes in afflictione cordis et anime ; amaritudine apti sunt in suis orationibus exaudire.

Cum quis considerat magnitudine infernalium tormentorum et timet ea, recordando suas culpas et peccata et intelligendo et diligendo magnitudinem iusticie Dei, tunc afflictio propter timorem debet oriri, qui scilicet timor et afflictio crescit secundum multiplicationem considerationis penarum infernalium et peccatorum que ipse peccator aduersus Dei iusticiam perpetrauit, et secundum magnitudinem diligendi actum divine iusticie. Tali namque multiplicatione considerationis, vnde contractio et afflictio nascuntur diligendo actum divine iusticie et misericordie, oritur orationum exauditio apud Deum.

Paupertas in diviciis et prosperitatibus mundi est afflictionis occasio maxime in amatoribus et filiis paupertatis. Paupertas enim macres et modicos cogit habere cibos, contra varias et deliciosas epulas inuitat ieunia, prestat humilia et vetera vestimenta, preparat dura et aspera cubilia, et suadet queque mundana spernere preciosa; omnibus hiis rebus surgit afflictio in odientibus ea et diligentibus
preciosa Dei contraria illis. Vnde in humili, patience, et iusto velle oratio exauditur.

1480
Improperia derisiones et despectus passi ab hominibus et solitudo locorum ab hominibus separatorum, vbi non timetur corporalis neccessitas, prestant anime et corporis afflictiones, cum propter Deum absunt illa que humana natura diligere consueuit. Vnde, talia patientes per actum diuine iusticie et pietatis apti sunt in suis orationibus exaudiri.

1485
Sed quid dicemus per singula? Utique dolere et tristari ex inordinatione mundi, per quam Deus summe intelligibilis et amabilis non est cognitus nec dillectus et per quam in mundo sunt opera contraria operibus antedictis, est summum principium et origo summe afflictionis et doloris in cordibus feruenter contemplantium summum finem. Vnde, frequentia suspiria et lacrimarum rivus insatiabilis oriantur, tales namque principaliter apti sunt in suis precibus exaudiri, quoniam actus diuine iusticie in caritatis et pietatis maxime collocauit.

1490
Dictum est de uita contemplatiua, quam valde excellenter deuotissimis orationibus et afflictionibus geri oportet, prout artem et doctrinam dedimus in predictis, ut in filiis Dei catholice prouidentia fiat ad Antichristi perfidi errores impugnandos quos opponet veritati fidei et aduentui Domini Iesu Christi.
De vita actiua.

Ad resistendum erroribus Antichristi uitam actiuam in sublimi perfectione ordinari oportet. Vitam actiuam quo ad presens opus diuidimus in duas partes quarum quaelibet multas continet sub se species, harum quidem prima est de predicacione, secunda vero de guerris et preliis. Primo autem de predicacione procediumus in isto modo.

De predicacione.

Artem et modum in predicacione esse oportet, unde magna predicacionis perfectio in actiuam uitam procedat. Quo circa ordinandum est quomodo predicacioni detur omne quod sibi in habitu conuenit, ut ea que ratione predicacionis sunt in potentia in actum uite procedunt valde sancte. Vnde diuersorum ydiomatum studia in regionibus ad hoc ydoneis a fidelibus stabiliri oportet in quibus uiri magne perfectionis in philosophia et theologia instructi doceantur, ut ipse linguas infidelium docti uadant ad predicandum illis necessariis rationibus, ut in viam veritatis conuertantur priusquam persecutio uenerit Antichristi. Quoniam, si Antichristus eos in errores inuolutos invenerit aduersus catholice fidei christiane veritatem, maximum erit dampnam et periculum ipsius sancte fidei christiane que, si ordinatio predicta fiat, fortificabitur ab errantium conuersione.

Hos quidem predicatores oportet adeo martirio esse
deuotos quod nec carnalia tormenta nec mortis angustias sustinere timeant propter Deum et Dominum Iesum Christum. Hos autem utile erit infidelibus super articulos fidei disputare sequendo modum artis inuentiue et amatiue que infidelibus doceatur. Per eam namque communis philosophia et theologia sub breuibus principiis manifestabuntur illis, ut per effectum in philosophia veritas articulorum fidei ut prime cause in theologia demonstretur. Hec autem doctrina et modus predicandi et docendi seu etiam disputandi secundum predictam artem in longa perseverantia et continuatione erit causa conversionis infidelium propter actum iusticie in dignitatibus Dei, et nascetur inde magna resistentia operibus et persecutionibus Antichristi.

Predicatores predicti non solum etiam ex religiosis viris eligendi sunt immo ex secularibus viris sapientibus conuenientibus huic sanctissimo officio iam predicto. Ista quidem induci debent et nutriri ad desiderium gloriosissime mortis propter Deum et exaltationem fidei christiane predicantes et attestantes summam ipsius veritatem fidei. Hos autem ad infideles legari licet a sancto patre nostro domino papa et a maioribus rectoribus ecclesie sancte ut ostendant modum et uiam ipsis infidelibus quo fideles in articulis fidei catholice credunt, cum ipsi infideles modum et veritatem ignorant per quem christiani credunt in unitate et trinitate

1535 longa] longua M  1544 veritatem fidei] fidei ueritatem M
Dei et incarnatione Domini Iesu Christi.

Hanc etiam ordinationem esse oporteret, videlicet ut summus pontifex sanctissimus pater noster regibus infidelium nuncios mittat ut mitterent ei homines in suis sectis sapientes quibus latinum doceretur, et ostenderentur eis libri per quos veritas fidei catholice revelatur. Istis autem gratis seruiri oporteret et dari in munera nobilia, et post eorum instructionem ad natales terras remiti contenti ex moribus christianis et ex ipsa fidei veritate percussi. Hoc autem pertinet ad artem et modum convertendi infideles ut isti in scientia lesi nec non in suis intellectibus illuminati recitent et significant affinis suis fidei catholice neccesitatem.

Ex illis iudeis et sarracenis qui subiecti sunt christianis eligendi sunt vi vel amicitia, subtiliores et magis apti ad introducendum in veritatem fidei per libros illis traditos et doctores. Et istis aliqua danda est libertas et privilegium super alios sue secte. Et nisi gratis ad hoc condescenderint, statuendum quidem est ei certum tempus, quo spatio se doceri et scire poterunt catholice fidei rationes. Et si ob culpam sue obstinationis datum tempus preterierint ignorantes fidei rationes tanquam ex delicto maximo sunt puniendi.
In regionibus infidelium seu sarracenorum sunt christiani religiosi aliquas habentes diuersitates a latinis, circa quos prouideri oportet sic, videlicet ut nostri religiosi propter caritatem, iustitiam, prudentiam et fidem cum illis longa perseverantia societatem et fraternitatem habeant, ut dirigant illos a cisme illorum in ueram concordiam fidei, ita quod isti et illi pariter sarracenis predicent fidei veritatem. \\
Post predictas quidem constitutiones oportet predicatorum nostros in sanctis ordinibus constitutos predicare christianis exemplo sancte vite et sermonibus in neccessariis rationibus fundatis. Exemplum namque sanctitatis in voluntate deuotionem generat et rationes neccesarie illuminant intellectum. Hiis enim duobus occasionatur populus ad uite sanctitatem que christianis valde neccesaria est ut Antichristus non inueniat illos inheremes intellectu illuminato et deuotione.

Omnès predicte constitutiones et ordinationes possibiles sunt potestati et sapientie et voluntati populi christiani et patrimonio sancte ecclesie, ad cuius exaltationem fieri conuenit hec predicta. Que, nisi adhuc exsequantur, priuabitur virtus in habitu liberii arbitriii in caritate fidei christiane, quia in ipso habitu non erunt opera virtutum in excellentia que de potentia moueantur ad actum. Hec autem priuatio valde formidabilis est a facie persequentis inimici futuri. Dampnosam namque minatur ruinam populis christianis et dedecus

1575 prouideri oportet sic] sic prouideri oportet M
eis etiam qui regunt populum christianum, prout figura crucis passionem representat Domini Iesu Christi.

De guerris et preliis.

In diuersitate et discordia sectorum et credulitatum generantur guerre et prelia quibus sancta ecclesia depremitur in fide, spe et caritate. Quoniam modus per quem sacrosancta romana ecclesia sumpsit principium et exaltationem necnon et perfectionem quasi conuersus est in guerras et prelia. Immo etiam quasi oblitus est ipse primus modus qui olim fuit predicationis et conversionis infidelium ad perpetuam beatitudinem et gloriam sempiternam.

Ante adventum Domini Iesu Christi filii Dei, multo melius conueniebant oppugnationes et prelia populo iudaico aduersus infideles quam modo conueniant populo christiano. Et ratio huius est quoniam Dominus Iesus Christus in sua sacratissima passione deuotionis et caritatis exemplo honerauerit sanctos et iustos et fideles suos ad subiciendum seipsos amore illius sine mortis formidine, angustiferis laboribus \* et penis et tormentabili morti. Ut infideles cognoscant et diligant illum, qui pro omnibus hominibus occisus est in cruce, scilicet Dominum Iesum Christum.

Experientia est operis demonstratio, quod recordatam igitur et intellectam et dilectam experientiam sancte vite apostolorum et martyrum, qui in bello patientie, caritatis,
humilitatis, deuotionis, fortitudinis, afflictionis et mortis vicerunt mundum et conuerterunt homines in tenebris in lumen perpetuum veritatis, manifeste dinoscitur quis modus neccesario conuenit ad exaltandum et sustentandum fidem catholicam. Huic namque exaltationi et sustentationi necessario conuenit suum principio et suum medium et suus finis.

Per experientiam impugnacionum et preliorum que reges et principes et ceteri barones christiani in ultramarinis partibus gesserunt aduersus sarracenos, manifeste perpendi potest alium modum excellentiorem et nobiliorem esse ad sarracenorum acquisitionem et ad subiugationem ultramarine terre. Non enim est bellum sensuale per arma ferrea super bellum intellectualem per arma deuotionis et desiderii martirii, vincendo inimicos christiani fidei veritate. Est autem modus predicti belli sensualis ipse per quem sarraceni sectam suam multiplicauerunt et tartari et alii ; infideles gladiis ferreis homines occidunt, non autem vincunt eos armis fidei, spei, caritatis, iusticie, prudentie, fortituidinis, temperantie, veritatis et patientie.

Per predicta patet que guerre et que prelia sunt in habitu vnde veniat mundus ad conversionem et perfectionem que conueniunt ei prius quam venerit summus fidei persecutor Antichristus. Oportet enim ut magnam inueniat resistentiam ut

1623 dinoscitur] dignoscitur M
minus deprimere possit sanctam ecclesiam per deuiatum populum a fidei veritate. Ergo hiis supradictis intellectis seu cognitis, o uos omnes, supreme veritatis amatores, filii sancte romane ecclesie, estote hoc optimi negocii executores, date initium multiplicationis fidelium et exaltationis fidei ad deprimendum futuros errores Antichristi perfidi per impugnationes et prelia veritatis in effusione sacrati sanguinis per viam martyrii triumphantes armis iusticie, deuotionis, et karitatis et sancte spei et gladio veritatis milites regis omnipotentis Dei.

Tales namque fidei defensores et auctores requirit totus orbis terrarum, ut in actibus diuinarum dignitatum manifeste significatur. Aliter non recipert mundus illam perfectionem ad quam creatus est, que est vehemens dilectio et cognitio Dei in dignitatibus suis. Et deficeret Deo actus sapientie, caritatis misericordie, et pietatis in actu iusticie in effectu suo, quod est impossibile. Vnde patet manifeste adhuc tempus affuturum, quo sancti viri ardores deuotionis et dilationis Dei pleni erunt sanctitatem supradicte vite gerentes. Beati ergo primi incipientes, quoniam in conspectu Dei fient suis meritis graciosi.

Explicit tercia distinctio et per consequens totus liber qui dicitur contra Antichristum sub breuibus principiis et sermonibus; compilatus ad dandam doctrinam resistendi
operibus et erroribus Antichristi, et ad habendam artem et
audatiam destruendi falsitates illius ne durabilia sint illius
dampna, sed ut etiam sacrosancta ecclesia catholica inde
vehementius illuminetur et ordinetur pocius in suis fidelibus
pugnatoribus ad fortificandum et exaltandum eam
demonstrantibus fidei veritatem ad cognitionem et amorem
Domini Iesu Christi qui viuit et imperat per infinita
seculorum secula verus Deus. Amen.
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