

# LANGUAGE AND ORTHODOXY: THE LATIN TRANSLATION OF LLULL'S *LLIBRE CONTRA* *ANTICRIST*

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## Abstract

The approximately fifteen-year gap between the original Catalan version of Llull's *Llibre contra Anticrist* and the Latin translation/redaction breaks the more usual pattern of composition, revision and translation of Llull's works, and therefore raises important questions about Llull's engagement with contemporary religious, political and social issues related to the dissemination of vernacular religious texts. The eschatological framework for Llull's missionary ideas as articulated in the *Llibre contra Anticrist* embodied a powerful argument about the significance and value of Llull's Art itself; its eschatological concerns, not to mention its distinctly anti-crusade sentiments, were both timely but also potentially subversive. By surveying Llull's engagement with medieval theories of translation; providing a brief analysis of the content and goals of the treatise itself; placing the treatise in the context of both late thirteenth-century concerns about the relationship between vernacularity and heresy on the one hand, and the eschatological ideas of the Spiritual Franciscans (and other groups) on the other, and highlighting some crucial differences between the Catalan and Latin versions of the text, this essay argues that one important reason for producing the Latin version of the *Llibre contra Anticrist* was to emphasize Llull's orthodoxy. This strategy gained Llull a broader audience while simultaneously allowing him to capitalize on the sensationalism of the topic to gain attention and support for what he really cared about, namely his missionary proposals. Moreover, study of the bilingual transmission of this treatise demonstrates how Llull and his *oeuvre* participated in the overlapping textual communities of his time. It especially offers insight into intensifying contemporary concerns about possible associations between vernacular religious texts and heresy in the European Mediterranean during this period.

**T**he *Liber contra Antichristum* is the Latin version of Llull's original Catalan *Llibre contra Anticrist* written about 1274-1276. The Latin translation/redaction of this short treatise is important for a number of reasons, not the least of which is the fact that it apparently breaks the pattern of Llull's approach to multilingual versions of his texts. There seems to be a lengthy gap of about fifteen years between the composition of

the original and the new Latin version (produced ca. 1290-1292).<sup>1</sup> The *Llibre contra Anticrist* was written early in Llull's career and reflects some of the awkwardness of Llull's first articulations of his Art in the quaternary phase of its development. As is well known, Llull revised his Art ca. 1283 (*Ars demonstrativa*) and again in 1290, when, based on his somewhat frustrating experiences in Paris, he presented a more streamlined version in the *Ars inventiva veritatis*, ushering in the ternary phase of his thought. The considerable amount of time that passed before Llull (or his followers) produced the Latin version of this short treatise<sup>2</sup> therefore raises important questions about how Llull (or again, his followers) viewed the text, about its target audience, and about why it was considered the right time to translate a treatise which couched Llull's first comprehensive proposals for his missionary *studium* in a distinctively eschatological framework. It was precisely in the decade of the 1290s that the apocalyptic ideas of those groups who are now collectively known as Spiritual Franciscans were coming under intensified scrutiny both within and outside of the Franciscan Order.<sup>3</sup> Consequently, it seems clear that one important reason for producing the Latin version of the *Llibre contra Anticrist* was to emphasize Llull's orthodoxy and put distance between his relatively traditional representation of the threats of the Antichrist and the more radical apocalyptic ideas of some of his contemporaries. Somewhat paradoxically, but as an added benefit for the transmission of Llull's ideas, the Latin translation would ensure a wider audience for this treatise while its eschatological context could both generate interest in Llull's proposals and lend them historical significance.

An examination of the *Llibre contra Anticrist* / *Liber contra Antichristum* as exemplary of Llull's strategies for the dissemination of his ideas and methods of textual production has implications for medievalists that go beyond simply understanding Llull. His colorful life and the unique character

1. For the dating of the Catalan treatise, vid. *Llibre contra Anticrist* (NEORL III: 107-108) and Perarnau's edition (1990: 45-52), Santanach (2000: 33-34) and Bonner (1986: 84-85); for a full discussion of the dating of the Latin treatise, vid. *Liber contra Antichristum* (ROL XXXVI: 31-43).

2. Interestingly the later Latin version preserves the quaternary formulation of the Art but substitutes the *Ars inventiva veritatis* and *Ars amativa* for the *Art abreujada* that is referred to in the Catalan version. Vid. *Liber contra Antichristum* (ROL XXXVI: 44).

3. There is extensive literature on this subject; to contextualize Llull, vid. Burnham (2008: 7-93), Burr (2001), Guadalajara Medina (2004), Manselli (1989), McGinn (1994) and Reeves (1993).

of his central intellectual project, the Art, have often served to disguise the degree to which his particular interest in questions concerning language, theology, preaching, reform, and conversion reveal the preoccupations of an educated laity that had been nourished by the pastoral practices instituted by the measures of Lateran IV and inspired by mendicant spirituality. The extraordinary qualities of Llull can, in other words, gloss over his very “ordinariness”, a quality of great value for understanding the complex relationships between Latinity and vernacularity in the later medieval period. Study of the bilingual transmission of Llull’s treatise against the Antichrist also demonstrates how Llull (as a vernacular writer) and his *oeuvre* participated in the overlapping textual communities of his time.<sup>4</sup> This essay will introduce one aspect of this topic, namely the question of the relationship between language and orthodoxy raised by the Latin version of this text.

The argument that the motivation for the Latin translation of the *Llibre contra Anticrist* is tied to the question of language and orthodoxy hinges on a combination of several general factors. First is Llull’s interest in translation and his keen awareness of audience (specifically his flexibility about crafting his message in a manner suitable to reach a wide range of different audiences); second is the unique combination of themes and the goal of the *Llibre contra Anticrist* itself, and third is the complex relationship between language and orthodoxy/heresy, especially in connection with the groups variously referred to as Beguins, Spirituals, Fraticelli and Tertiaries. Limitations of space allow me only to sketch the broad outlines of the argument and suggest how the factors work together.

## 1. LLULL’S ART, AUDIENCE AND TRANSLATION

The first consideration centers on medieval theories of translation. Incarnational notions of “the Word”, with all of its attendant theological, philosophical, and even practical considerations had significant implications for medieval discussions of language and religion, something that is evident in the juxtaposition of the Old Testament Biblical story of the Tower of Babel with the New Testament account of Pentecost. Indeed, the very textu-

4. For Llull vid. Badia, Santanach & Soler (2016: 227-263) and Johnston (1996); in general vid. Blumenfeld-Kosinski, Robertson & Warren (2002), Newman (2003: 294-304; 2012), Stock (1983) and Waters (2004).

al basis of the three western monotheistic religions demanded consideration of issues of language, authority, and translation. In many respects medieval Latin Christendom was to an unusual degree a culture of translations; this is even more the case for Llull's corner of the world.<sup>5</sup>

The *Vita coetanea* and the images of the *Breviculum* point to the centrality of Llull's preoccupation with these very issues. As a reflection on his life's work, the *Vita* itself is a translation that interprets "Ramon Llull" and establishes him as a man of words: a poet and then someone who wants to "write a book, the best in the world". The account of the intellectual illumination received in his hermitage atop Mt. Randa provided a narrative of authority for the methodology of his Art which could function as a type of meta-language and transcend the discourse of traditional apologetics and polemic during his time. Because the Art was the result of divine revelation (and nine years of intensive language study and immersion in the monastic and mendicant curriculum), it granted Llull's arguments an authority that did not have to rely on other revealed holy texts. His persistent modifications of the Art's structure and consequent "necessary reasons" show Llull grappling with fundamental questions of translation and intellectual communication. However, there was a risk in religious originality or innovation that Llull needed to take into account throughout his career.<sup>6</sup>

Although the Art transcended some of the problems inherent in interfaith dialogue, it still needed to be explained and applied, both of which required the use of conventional languages. Moreover, Llull directed his efforts at conversion not only *ad extra*—to non-Christians—but also *ad intra*—to the reform of Christendom itself. Hence the multilingual transmission of his works. On the other hand, if Llull hoped to garner support for his projects from political and ecclesiastical leaders, he would have to make

5. Vid. the discussion and references in Burman (2012) and Szpiech (2012).

6. For these episodes vid. *Vita coetanea*, I, 1-8; III, 14-15 (ROL VIII: 272-276; 280-281); *Breviculum* (Supplementum Lullianum I) and Hillgarth (1971: 449-451 and plates I, II, IV). However disturbing, the third image from the *Breviculum*, recounting the episode of Llull's Muslim slave who taught him Arabic, also testifies to Llull's concerns with language and audience. Hames (2003) discusses the Art as a vernacular language; Beattie (2016) surveys Llull's strategies for translation and reaching a wide range of audiences.

his ideas accessible in the language of power and authority, namely Latin.<sup>7</sup> Badia, Santanach and Soler have written extensively on the practical and theoretical complexities of Llull's approaches to the composition and dissemination of his texts.<sup>8</sup> The multilingual tradition of Llull's works provides ample proof that Llull thought about audience in practical terms and also about language in an instrumental way. On the other hand, the brief and scattered statements that he does, in fact, make about language and translation also indicate that he also thought of language use in theoretical terms. For example, he shows an awareness of the relationship between language and gender (such as when the allegorical Lady of Love in the *Filosofia d'amor*, advises Ramon that he should present his book in Latin to the King but in the "most noble vulgar [or common] tongue" to the Queen).<sup>9</sup> Llull's statement in the *Llibre dels articles de la fe* about having his book "put in Latin, not letter for letter but sense for sense"<sup>10</sup> echoes St. Jerome's approach to his Vulgate translation of the Bible. Such echoes give his Art legitimacy in the absence of overt reliance on Biblical and patristic authorities. At least early in his career, Llull "translated" his ideas from one literary genre to another, couching his pastoral/reformist ideas in the narratives of *Blaquerna* and *Felix*, presenting his Art in crusade treatises such as *De fine*, or even mixing genres by including narrative elements in otherwise philosophical texts, such as *Phantasticus*. And finally, Llull's texts on rhetoric and preaching contain extensive references to problems of signification, communication, interpretation, and so on. Llull's theory of speech as a kind of sixth sense (*affatus*) encapsulates many of these ideas.<sup>11</sup> These points emphasize the close ties in Llull's mind between language, contemplation and intel-

7. For more extensive discussion on Latinity, the vernacular, and rhetoric in the Middle Ages, vid. Copeland (1991), Watson (2012) and Minnis (1984, 2009).

8. The most recent overview of their collective research is in Badia, Santanach & Soler (2016: 163-209).

9. *Arbre de filosofia d'amor* (ORL XVIII: 227).

10. *Llibre dels articles de la fe*, epilogue (NEORL III: 70). Although this treatise was written in Rome in 1296, after Llull had already presented petitions supporting the crusade to Nicholas IV, Celestine V, and Boniface VIII, Llull also writes in the preceding sentence of the epilogue that: "E per aço seria bell ordenament que major força feés hom a conquerre los ifeels e examplar la fe crestiana per força de rahó que per força d'armes" a sentiment that dovetails nicely with the *Llibre contra Anticrist*, III, 2 (NEORL III: 158-159; *Liber contra Antichristum*, III.2.2 (ROL XXXVI: 122-124).

11. *Rhetorica nova* (ROL XXX: 1-77). Vid. also Johnston (1996: 48-59).

lectual enlightenment which would be essential components of the course of study in Llull's proposed missionary schools.

Llull's interest in language and translation should be understood as an essential (even foundational) element of his thought. Therefore the decision to produce a new, Latin version of the *Llibre contra Anticrist* must be seen as deliberate rather than arbitrary, and is all the more striking in light of the lengthy interval between the original and the translation. This falls outside Llull's normal practice. Generally, the Latin versions of his texts were produced close in time to the originals; that is, the different versions seemed to be part of a unified program.<sup>12</sup> In light of all these factors, we must conclude that the decision to translate the *Llibre contra Anticrist* after so much time had lapsed was rooted in a specific set of circumstances.<sup>13</sup> Here the contents of the treatise help us speculate about what those circumstances may have been.

## 2. CONTENT AND GOALS OF THE *LLIBRE CONTRA ANTICRIST* / *LIBER CONTRA ANTICHRISTUM*

The central aim of the *Llibre contra Anticrist* is to provide intellectual and spiritual ammunition for the inevitable (and possibly imminent) battle against the Antichrist. Despite its intriguing subject, Llull's treatise has been little studied. Perhaps this is because its contents do not deliver what the somewhat sensationalist title (at least for the third quarter of the thirteenth century) seems to promise, rendering it less interesting for scholars analyzing the apocalyptic spirituality of that era. However, the text is vital for unravelling the complicated strands of the early development of Llull's thought, which are firmly embedded in the conversion experience narrated in his *Vita coetanea*. The *Llibre contra Anticrist* combines for the first time a systematic proposal for a missionary or language *studium* with an explication of his Art.<sup>14</sup> The presentation of this combination as the best way to combat the

12. For a detailed account of contemporary translations of Llull's works, vid. Pistolesi (2009); for an important discussion of translation and multilingual versions of texts in the dissemination of Llull's thought, vid. Soler (2006).

13. For Llull's adept navigation of the powers of his time, vid. Hillgarth (1971: 46-134).

14. Perarnau and Schib in their respective editions of the Catalan text both associate the treatise with the foundation of Miramar. For a comparison of the description of the pro-

Antichrist potentially makes the proposal even more compelling. In short, the treatise integrates key elements of Llull's intellectual and evangelical enterprise, balancing his contemplative/scholarly with his penitential/evangelical interests. Indeed, the treatise represents Llull's first attempt to sketch out a clearly delineated path towards the realization of all three intentions of his conversion: to accept dying for Christ in converting unbelievers, to write the best book in the world against the errors of unbelievers, and to procure the establishment of monasteries in which languages could be learned by prospective preachers to these unbelievers.<sup>15</sup>

A brief summary of the contents of the treatise allows us to better appreciate the ingenuity behind this initial attempt to link the Art with Llull's evangelical goals. The treatise is comprised of three *distinctiones* whose organization accentuates the book's purpose. This is ostensibly to combat the terrors and seductive falsehoods of the Antichrist, whose dangers are described in the central *distinctio*. The first *distinctio* provides the necessary reasons for proving the unity, trinity and incarnation of God and offers an explication of how Christian virtues can be used to defend both the individual soul and the whole community against the Antichrist's blandishments. The third *distinctio* unites the complementary roles of the *vita activa* and the *vita contemplativa* in the defense of Christian truth and the Church. Llull proposed that the site of that union could be found in the type of monastic college that he was advocating—a center for spiritual contemplation and missionary preparation.

Llull refers to the Antichrist in several other works, all composed between 1274/1276-1296. These include the *Doctrina pueril* / *Liber de doctrina puerili*, *Llibre de meravelles*, and *Arbor scientiae*.<sup>16</sup> In addition, his didactic romance *Romanç d'Evast e Blaqueria* contains many elements that reflect reformist eschatology. Although the view of the Antichrist contained in any of these texts is in line with contemporary orthodox teaching on the subject,

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posed missionary studium contained in Llull's treatise with the papal bull for the actual foundation of Miramar; vid. Perarnau (1990).

15. *Vita coetanea*, I, 7-8 (ROL VIII: 275-276).

16. *Doctrina pueril*, cap. 96 (NEORL VII: 268-269); *Liber de doctrina puerili*, cap. 96 (ROL XXXIII: 528-530); *Llibre de meravelles*, book one, §§ 16-17 (NEORL X: 142-143); *Arbor scientiae*, book 16, part 5 (ROL XXIV-XXVI: 1185-1186). For more extensive discussion of parallel ideas contained in these works, vid. the introduction to the critical Latin edition of *Liber contra Antichristum* (ROL XXXVI: 15-22).

the context of his discussions is suggestive of themes of eschatological spirituality elaborated by figures such as Peter Olivi and embraced by his followers. For example, although Llull does not refer to the holy men who will both engage in mystical contemplation (prayer) and study the Art and languages in preparation for missionary activity as the *viri spirituales* of Franciscan Spiritual eschatology, the ideas are remarkably similar. Another example of “ideological affinity” can be seen in Llull’s association of Church reform with his evangelical program. And yet another is his hope for the conversion of all people to Christianity in conjunction with the evocation of “apostolic” ideas, which is suggestive of Olivi’s “peaceable kingdom” and some strains of medieval millenarian thought.<sup>17</sup> The Antichrist who appears in the second *distinctio* of Llull’s treatise embodies the qualities of rebellion, apostasy, blasphemy, deception, and evil that were common in medieval exegesis; indeed, the deeds and temptations of the Antichrist which Llull describes are remarkably similar to those set forth in the extremely influential *vita* of the Antichrist composed by Adso of Montier-en-Der in the tenth century.<sup>18</sup> Llull shows Antichrist to be a deceiver who will claim to be God and who will offer up false doctrines to prove it; he will be a worker of “false” miracles that will harden hearts and tempt the just; his temptations will be materialistic or carnal in nature—that is, besides the idea that Antichrist is manifested in false belief (for example that of Muslims and Jews) and religious error (for example that of heretics and schismatic Christians), Llull teaches that the Antichrist can also be conceived of as a powerful and wicked king who will distribute all manner of gifts to seduce people into error; Antichrist will also promise health, long life, honors, wealth and other material benefits in sharp contrast to the apostolic poverty and humility through which Christ promises heavenly glory; and finally, Llull alludes to the violent apocalyptic scenarios of the end times by warning his readers that the Antichrist will use fear to compel belief, attacking and killing those who resist him.<sup>19</sup>

17. These ideas are particularly apparent in the final *distinctio* where Llull discusses the formation of his missionary college; *Llibre contra Anticrist*, III (NEORL III: 105-160); *Liber contra Antichristum*, II (ROL XXXVI: 112-124). For a more detailed discussion of how Llull’s ideas about Antichrist map onto contemporary late thirteenth century conceptions, vid. Beattie (1997) and McGinn (1994: 114-172).

18. Emerson (1979).

19. *Llibre contra Anticrist*, II (NEORL III: 144-150); *Liber contra Antichristum*, II (ROL XXXVI: 106-112).



As I have argued elsewhere, it was a brilliant move on Llull's part to combine an explication of his Art with his proposals for a missionary college as key elements of a strategy to combat the Antichrist.<sup>20</sup> Llull's preoccupation with evangelization dovetailed with a key element of a range of eschatological scenarios of fulfillment, peace, harmony, unity and—most importantly—the conversion of all peoples to the truth of Christianity.<sup>21</sup> The Art encapsulated a language of faith, accessible to all. In the *Llibre contra Anticrist*, the Art was connected to both contemplation and evangelization and therefore could be seen as a precursor of the perfect language of the Holy Spirit at the end of time. Moreover, Llull argued that the Art was the perfect weapon to be deployed against the Antichrist. All this allowed Llull to infuse his innovative ideas with religious significance and historical meaning in one fell swoop.

### 3. VERNACULAR RELIGIOUS TEXTS, HERESY AND THE SPIRITUAL FRANCISCANS

If this was a brilliant move on Llull's part, it was not without its dangers. For our purposes, we will focus on three of these: first is the association of vernacular texts with heresy; second is the affinities between Llull's ideas and those of the Spiritual Franciscans; third is the intensifying scrutiny of the apocalyptic spirituality of various groups in Catalonia, southern France and Italy towards the last decade of the thirteenth century. Each of these subjects has received a great deal of scholarly attention during the past several decades so a suggestive rather than comprehensive overview is adequate for our purposes.

There is a large body of scholarship on the relationship between literacy and heresy in general, and vernacularity and heresy in particular.<sup>22</sup> One should also keep in mind that vernacular knowledge could also be used

20. Beattie (2016: 152-155). Vid. also Szpiech (2012: 66-67).

21. For a discussion of eschatology, history and conversion in Joachim, Bonaventure, Olivi and the assortment of people referred to as Beguins, vid. Burr (1993), Daniel (1975), Lerner (2001: 23-72), Ratzinger (1971) and Tolan (2002: 171-274). Tolan's discussion of Llull's missionary strategies (256-274) is interesting read in conjunction with Vose (2009).

22. Much of this work focuses on medieval England; the continent has not been as well studied. For a groundbreaking article, vid. Watson (1995).

as a weapon *against* heresy as is apparent in preaching and other pastoralia.<sup>23</sup> Nevertheless, there is no doubt that towards the end of the thirteenth century, church leaders were making stronger associations between heretical beliefs and vernacular expression. We can see this amongst members of communities with which Lull's ideas came to be associated in the fourteenth century, namely the Beguins of Languedoc and Catalonia. Lerner (1994) traces the development of a clear relationship between "writing and resistance", showing that these groups deliberately used vernacular texts and teaching both to disseminate and promote their ideas as well as to sustain and encourage members. Olivi's short exhortatory treatises and Apocalypse commentary circulated within these groups in vernacular translations. Interestingly, it seems that Olivi himself did not write in the vernacular but had his works translated by others.<sup>24</sup> By 1318 the archbishop and council of Tarragona prohibited Beguins (that is, third order Franciscans) from owning any theological books in the vernacular whatsoever.<sup>25</sup> Bernard Gui's manual for inquisitors confirms the association between vernacular literature and the spiritual followers of Olivi known as the Beguins. He identifies the group "vulgariter appellati" Beguins as "fratres Pauperes de penitentia de tertio ordine Sancti Francisci" and notes that many of their errors and pestiferous opinions come from the books of Olivi, which they had both in Latin and transposed into the vernacular (*in vulgari*).<sup>26</sup> Although it can be a problem to argue *ex post facto*, the fact that later Beguin groups embraced Lull's works

23. Waters (2003, 2004). Some types of religious imagery should also be considered as fulfilling a similar "vernacular" function. One is tempted to consider the use of *figurae*, including Lull's own trees and mechanisms of the Art in the same category. Vid. Bolzoni (2004).

24. Lerner (1994: 190); on heresy and literacy in general, Biller & Hudson (1994).

25. Thirteen of Arnau of Vilanova's vernacular books had been condemned as heretical two years before; nine of them were in the vernacular; vid. Lerner (1994: 195). On Arnau's Barcelona scriptorium, vid. Perarnau (1978).

26. On Gui vid. Given (2003). Gui's *De modo, arte et ingenio inquirendi et examinandi hereticos credentes et complices eorumdem* is edited and translated in Mollat (1926). For the section dealing with the Beguins vid. Mollat (1926: 108-193, quotes at 108 and 110). Gui also notes that the Beguins met in homes where they read or were read to from Olivi's books in the vernacular (but presumably others as well) on the articles of faith, the Ten Commandments, saints lives, and summae of virtues and vices. Gui refers to these groups as studying in the school of the devil under the guise of Christ (114, 116). This is an interesting reversal of the Antichrist presented in Lull's treatise. The subjects of the works also parallel the organizational structure of *Romanç d'Evast e Blaquerma*.

suggests that he probably had a good understanding of the audience for his vernacular texts already by the 1280s and 1290s when conflict between those who supported *usus pauper*, such as Olivi and his circle, and the rest of the Franciscan order was coming to a head.

A related concern for Llull could have been an increasing suspicion of mysticism towards the later Middle Ages, especially that expressed in vernacular languages by laypeople. Again, Llull may have been at the beginning of that trend and it is important not to assume inevitable conflict between mysticism and the ecclesiastical hierarchy.<sup>27</sup> On the other hand, Olivi himself granted a significant role to the contemplative life in his apocalyptic view of history, linking mysticism, Biblical exegesis, and calls for insitutional and spiritual reform in a unique and influential manner.<sup>28</sup> Authorities were particularly concerned about claims to esoteric teachings achieved through mystical experiences. The sad fortunes of Marguerite Porete can be partly ascribed to such trends. Llull's own experience of divine revelation while in his hermitage on Mt. Randa may have led to the unique formulation of the Art but it was decidedly the opposite of esoteric in that Llull intended it to be a universal teaching method. Given that the Art was to be the center of the curriculum for the contemplatives and missionaries at the monastic studium Llull proposed in *Llibre contra Anticrist*, it was prudent for him to ensure that what he was advocating was a fairly traditional monastic approach in line with that of Bernard of Clairvaux and the Victorines.

The affinities between the reformist ideas he expressed in *Blaquerna* and *Llibre de meravelles* and those of Olivi's circle could not have been lost on Llull.<sup>29</sup> The most judicious survey of Llull's connections with the Franciscans to date remains Antoni Oliver's series of essays in *Estudios Lulianos* (1965-1969). Careful to avoid attributing specific Franciscan sources for Llull's work and ideas, Oliver provides an overview of other reformist and spiritual movements whose ideas bear some relationship to Llull's. The purpose of this is to show many of the similarities are due to a shared educational background and spiritual tradition. Oliver elucidates the Franciscan

27. McGinn notes that this type of anti-magisterial heresy smoulders in the thirteenth century but breaks into flames in the fourteenth (2004: 200, 209).

28. Gayà (1999) and Burr (1976: 24-35), who also notes that Olivi associates Aristotelianism with Antichrist.

29. For the study of the historical context of Llull's life and works, Hillgarth (1971, 1998) remain unsurpassed, but to them should be added Badia, Santanach & Soler (2016).

presence in Llull's life (for example, in the *Vita coetanea*); he explores the affinities between Joachim of Fiore (both person and thought) and Llull; he outlines similarities between reformist and Franciscan groups (especially in *Blaquerna*), and finally, he examines the personal contacts between Llull and the Franciscans. In this last part of his study he highlights specific events and people, including: the examination of Llull's books by a Franciscan brother in Montpellier at the start of Llull's career; the foundation of Miramar for thirteen Franciscan brothers to study languages; Llull's connections with Raymond Gaufredi, a Master General of the Franciscan order known to sympathize with the Spirituals and who gave Llull permission to preach in Italy right at the time when Llull's *Llibre contra Anticrist* was probably translated;<sup>30</sup> Llull's connections with the Spinola family in Genoa, also associated with the reformist movement;<sup>31</sup> his hopes, and the hopes of many Spirituals for the papacy of Celestine V and their common sorrow when those hopes were dashed; his known association with Bernard Délicieux, who was prosecuted by papal inquisitors as a Beguin and to whom Llull gave a book containing several of his treatises; his association with Arnau of Vilanova and Frederick III of Sicily, another protector of the Spirituals and someone to whom Llull dedicated several works; the Council of Vienne, at which it is quite possible Llull crossed paths with Ubertino da Casale, and the later association of the Valencian Lullists with the penitential ideals of the Franciscan third order and the movement of the Spirituals.<sup>32</sup>

Other factors testifying to the affinity between Llull and the Spirituals are also important. For example, it is highly likely that Llull knew Olivi, whose time in Montpellier overlapped with that of Llull both early in his career and then again in 1289 when Olivi was reassigned to teach in Montpellier. Although no firm evidence has been found, given the shared interests and circles in which they moved, it seems not unreasonable to assume that Llull crossed paths at some point with Angelo of Clareno and Ubertino. Both men travelled to Catalonia; in addition, Ubertino was certainly in

30. For the document, vid. Hillgarth (2001: 60-61).

31. For Llull's will of 1313 commending books to Percival Spinola, vid. Hillgarth (2001: 87-90).

32. For the individual associations between Llull and the Spirituals, vid. especially Oliver (1969); for other studies of the movements of the Beguins during Llull's lifetime, vid. Burnham (2008), Field (2012), Friedlander (2000) and Lerner (2001); for Bernard Délicieux's reference to receiving a book from Llull's own hand while in Rome, vid. Friedlander (1996: 88).

Paris at the same time as Llull. There are even other points of contact; for example, Peter of Limoges, who owned a variety of manuscripts containing Llull's writing, also owned a copy of a Joachite manuscript. Finally, Llull shared an interest in using poetry and vernacular literature to express spirituality with other figures known to be associated with Spirituals in both Italy and southern France: Jacopone da Todi and Raimon de Cornet.<sup>33</sup>

With the exception of the contact with Bernard Délicieux and the provenance of some manuscripts, the evidence for connections between Llull and these groups which gradually came to be associated with heretical ideas and practices is primarily circumstantial. But to be clear, I am not interested in proving the *fontes* for Llull's ideas. Rather, I want to show that there was an audience for Llull's spiritual writings in the vernacular amongst these groups. Therefore, it was in Llull's best interest to avoid any possible taint of "heresy by association" (as happened to him posthumously). Circulating his potentially problematic book against the Antichrist in a Latin version could help to preserve what he considered an important expression of his plans and their historical significance yet avoid suspicion of heterodoxy. Llull was trying to walk a fine line.

The differences between the Catalan and Latin versions of the *Llibre contra Anticrist* supports this view. In some respects, the Latin translation differs quite significantly from the Catalan original. Some parts of the text are expanded and others are contracted. New arguments in line with the revised Art of the *Ars inventiva* are substituted for earlier ones. Only a complete synoptic reading of the Catalan and Latin versions can provide a full appreciation of these differences. In general, however, the Latin version has a more scholarly diction, reflecting the effect of fifteen years worth of learning and scholarship. The vocabulary conforms more precisely to the scholarly conventions of these late thirteenth century scholarly or "textual" communities. The Catalan text hints at Arabic phrases, is more colloquial in tone, and is less linguistically precise about theological concepts whereas the Latin contains more "qualifiers"—not just dignities of God but divine dignities—in order to emphasize orthodox theological positions. Substitutions in vocabulary from the Catalan "humanitat" to the Latin "incarnatio" serve the same purpose. Sometimes the Catalan reads more easily, but other times the Latin actually distills the argument and clarifies it. In the end,

33. For these figures vid. Léglu (2013), Vettori (2004) and Lee, Reeves & Silano (1989).

perhaps the best characterization of the differences between the Catalan original and Latin redaction of the text is that the Latin is “more careful”.<sup>34</sup>

All of this leads us to ask the question again: why a new version of the treatise now almost fifteen years later? The most important point in formulating an answer to this question is related to my previous emphasis on the question of audience (rather than *fontes*), and that is the *direction* of the translation *from* the vernacular *into* Latin—the language of the Church and the Schools. Doubtless the eschatological discourse of the late thirteenth century contributed to shaping Llull’s attitudes towards issues of language and authority, orthodoxy and reform. However, by 1290, tensions between the parties of reform and vernacular spirituality on the one hand, and the *magisterium* of the Church and the mendicant orders themselves were threatening to erupt. Llull’s return to Montpellier from Paris coincided with that of Arnau of Vilanova, appointed to a professorship at the newly minted University, and Olivi was appointed to the Franciscan *studium* there by the same Minister General, Raymond Gaufredi, who according to the *Vita coetanea* had examined Llull’s books for orthodoxy and had given him a license to preach. Arnau likely completed several of his books containing apocalyptic ideas, including the *De tempore*, before 1292; Olivi had begun work on his Apocalypse commentary.<sup>35</sup> It would have been difficult to escape discussion of the Antichrist in this context. The final catalyst may have been the impending dissolution of Miramar. The original version of the *Llibre contra Anticrist* was associated with its foundation; it was closed around 1292. It is possible that Llull’s translation was a strategy to reiterate the historical significance of his program, as symbolized by the *studium* in a last ditch effort to stave off its collapse.<sup>36</sup>

Although the Latin translation of the *Llibre contra Anticrist* could have been completed closer in time to the Catalan original, with the references to the *Ars inventiva* and *Ars amativa* were simply substituted in the later manuscript tradition, this seems highly unlikely. Around 1290-1291, the time seemed right to circulate a Latin version. Presentation of Llull’s ideas in the language of authority, the language of the schools, would guarantee a wid-

34. For a more detailed discussion of these differences, vid. the introduction to the critical edition of the Latin version: *Liber contra Antichristum* (ROL XXXVI: 51-59).

35. Lee, Reeves & Silano (1989: 28-30, 53).

36. These efforts are reflected in a variety of letters and petitions on the same subject and written around the same time; vid. Hillgarth (2001: 39-40, 50-58, 62-65).

er audience. The new articulation of these ideas would both guarantee his orthodoxy and render his ideas more persuasive (or so he hoped). Heresy was an elusive category at the turn of the century and distinctions between heterodox and orthodox belief and practice tended to be relative and fluid. Llull was correct to be prudent. On the other hand, the eschatological ideas swirling around the centers of religious learning in Montpellier coincided with Llull's reformist and evangelical goals and thus provided him with a door to opportunity. The Latin translation of the treatise against the Antichrist helped him to walk through that door with a powerful argument about the significance and value of his Art.

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