

## EXEMPLARY READING IN RAMON LLULL'S *LIBRE DE MERAVELLES*

THE extant Catalan and Latin writings of the Mallorcan lay philosopher and theologian Ramon Llull (1232–1316) are so numerous – over 200 separate titles – that most modern readers usually know well only one aspect of his work.<sup>1</sup> Readers of devotional literature celebrate the inspiration of his mystical manual, the *Libre de l'Amic e de l'Amat*, and religious novels, the *Libre de meravelles* and *Libre de Blanquerna*. Scholars of political and ecclesiastical affairs argue the practical impact of his treatises advocating new schemes for Christian missions among the infidels. Students of intellectual history debate the originality and method of the many texts expounding his idiosyncratic dialectical system, the so-called Great Universal Art of Finding Truth. Despite the seemingly diverse scope of Llull's oeuvre, his works on the moral and intellectual reform of Western European society and the propagation of the Catholic faith all comprise one great project. The reforms that he exhorts are imperative to making Christians devote themselves wholly to evangelism and this effort in turn is necessary to achieving universal love, knowledge, and service of God. The latter objective, cited by his contemporary biography as the motive of his mid-life conversion, constitutes the ultimate purpose or “prima intentio” ascribed to all beings throughout his writings.<sup>2</sup>

This moral finality appears even in the two texts most often considered works of literary entertainment by modern scholars, the *Libre de meravelles* (sometimes called *Felix*, after its protagonist) and *Libre de Blanquerna* (also named for its hero).<sup>3</sup> The following essay attempts to demonstrate how these two works promote the Lullian “prima intentio” through the interpretative exercise demanded from their readers by the exemplary narrative that they employ. Both texts were among Llull's most popular vernacular compositions and historians often cite them as the first novels in Catalan, an assessment that perhaps overstates Llull's direct contribution to the development of Catalan as a literary idiom.<sup>4</sup> The *Libre de meravelles* and *Libre de Blanquerna* certainly merit the label “spiritual romance” sometimes given to them: in each the quest-like travels of one main character organise an exhaustive review of the moral and intellectual difficulties of thirteenth-century Christian society.<sup>5</sup> The solutions to these problems typically consist in the characters' renewed pursuit of the *vita apostolica*, an ideal that Llull's own career well exemplifies.<sup>6</sup> Both texts eschew the tables, charts, and other combinatory mechanics of his Great Art in favour of narratives created by concatenating exemplary scenes through (sometimes very adventitious) dramatic coincidences. These works do far more, however, than simply organise morally edifying stories

within the format of a popular profane genre. They also offer detailed expositions of the spiritual lessons exemplified in those scenes, as well as explicit advice regarding the methods of interpretation employed in these expositions. Llull's two spiritual romances thus provided the readers with an education in exegetical skills that would fundamentally enhance their personal devotion. *Felix* and *Blanquerna* achieve this chiefly by dramatising in their narratives processes of spiritual understanding: characters personify or enact the exegetical and allegorical associations necessary to organise the *exempla* into a literary narrative. This "meta-theatre" of interpretation especially invites pious readers to recreate their own moral selves through this exegesis or allegoresis. For the pious audience of Llull's spiritual romances, imitation of the texts' Christian heroes confirms the correct interpretation or right reading of exemplary discourse. This article can only examine the most obvious illustrations of this achievement in Llull's *Felix*, but its conclusions are equally applicable to his *Blanquerna*.<sup>7</sup>

Llull composed the *Libre de meravelles* at Paris, probably in 1288–89 and perhaps as one of several works intended for presentation at the court of King Philip the Fair. Miquel Batllori has suggested that *Felix* offered an edifying alternative to the more fantastic books of marvels popular among vernacular readers in the late thirteenth century.<sup>8</sup> The work's "Pròleg" does indeed announce that its protagonist Felix wandered "per los boscatges, per munts e per plans, per erms e per poblats, e per prínceps, e per castells e per ciutats; e meravellava's de les meravelles qui són en lo món" (*OE* 1:319a). However, the "Pròleg" also formally divides the text into ten books, which largely follow the levels in the hierarchy of being as defined by Llull's Great Art: God, Angels, Heavens, Man, Imagination, Senses, Vegetation, Elements, and either Instruments or Virtues and Vices. The levels of Imagination and the Senses together correspond to Book 7 on beasts (because all animals possess these powers), while the level of Virtues and Vices corresponds to the moral theology presented in Chapters 52–115 of Book 8 on humans and in Books 9 and 10 on Paradise and Hell. Individual books of the *Felix* also display further subdivisions: in Book 8, Chapters 63–75 review the virtues and vices while Chapters 76–99 catalogue moral and natural qualities. Nearly all Llull's writings employ divisions of these kinds and they typically function like the "distinctiones" or lists of moral interpretations commonly used in theological and sermon literature.<sup>9</sup> Despite its division into ten separate books, nearly half of the *Libre de meravelles* deals explicitly with moral theology, and the entire text effectively forms a sort of moralised encyclopedia. Hence, while the geography mentioned in the "Pròleg" is appropriate to Felix as Christian *viator*, the subject categories of the text's ten books better promote exercise of spiritual exegesis and allegoresis, especially since *distinctiones* comprised inherently interpretative divisions. The diverse narrative and topical orders in Llull's text perhaps serve to illus-

trate the theoretical dichotomy of *forma tractatus* and *forma tractandi* commonly offered in Scholastic literary analysis.<sup>10</sup>

The distinctional divisions of Llull's *Libre de meravelles* provide the organising structure for an enormous number of exemplary stories, just as they commonly do in collections of *exempla* created for preachers and confessors. Llull's oeuvre unquestionably constitutes one of the most extensive adaptations of exemplary material in any vernacular literature of the thirteenth century.<sup>11</sup> After the combinatory mechanics of his Great Art, exemplification comprises his favourite discursive device. Use of *exempla* by an author promoting evangelism is hardly remarkable, since the mendicants had already made the *exemplum* the chief resource of popular preaching in Llull's day. His literary theory does not, however, differentiate *exempla* in the manner of sermon manuals by the friars or poetic and rhetorical arts from the schools.<sup>12</sup> Instead, he typically refers to any material employed for amplification (including even proverbs) with the single term "semblança".<sup>13</sup> *Exempla* are not only the preferred resource of discursive invention in Llull's writings, but the relationship of exemplarity itself is, arguably, the pre-eminent rhetorical, poetic, and dialectical instrument of all his work, from his devotional and contemplative schemes to his philosophical and theological projects. Throughout his writings, Llull attributes a fundamental heuristic function to all modes of likeness, drawing broadly on common ancient and medieval assumptions regarding the gnoseological value of metaphor, analogy, similitude, or images. In Llull's works, this function serves the pursuit of spiritual truth, and hence it is hardly surprising that his claims for the efficacy of "semblances" directly recall monastic and prescholastic models of spiritual psychology that relied on a metaphysics of similitude.<sup>14</sup> Thanks to this ontology and psychology of likeness, the reader who follows the story of Felix' journey in the *Libre de meravelles* should truly assimilate the hero's progressive training in the spiritual interpretation of *exempla*.

This journey consists basically in successive encounters with seven sages who offer a series of lessons. Five of these spiritual advisors are learned hermits, one is a rich merchant's son turned shepherd, and another is a philosopher serving as royal tutor. The format of the *Libre de meravelles* thus adapts the familiar genre of the didactic dialogue, used in so much popular moral, academic, and courtly literature.<sup>15</sup> These dialogues between student and teacher comprise the overwhelming majority of the events in narrative. Felix does observe some other events on his own, but rarely participates in these. More often he simply provides a unifying audience for the various speakers that appear in the narrative. He personifies, as it were, the syntagmatic coherence of the text or the constancy of the reader's attention to the text.<sup>16</sup> His sage masters all function as voices of exemplification: they personify the introductory phrases "it is said" or "it is written" and comments on application typically found in collections

of *exempla*. When Felix speaks, he often discourses through *exempla* too (for example, 1.2; *OE* 1:321b). These interchanges between pupil and master then resemble similar contests through stories from popular vernacular literature.<sup>17</sup>

This narrative composed of dialogues through *exempla* dramatises spiritual understanding from the very first words of the text. The "Pròleg" introduces a sad man languishing "en estranya terra", where he laments that the peoples of this world fail to demonstrate honour, love, and knowledge of God (*OE* 1:319a). This possible allusion to the famous words of Moses in Exodus 2:22 suggests both a patriarchal role and a prophetic duty, which perhaps indicates Llull's view of his own mission at Paris. To remedy this neglect, the sad man creates the *Libre de meravelles*. He then commissions a son, Felix, to wander the world, marvelling at how creatures neglect their creator. If Felix' father is like Moses, then Felix wanders the world like the Hebrews in the wilderness, whose moral sense typically includes the neglect of God that Felix must go observe.<sup>18</sup> Now Felix is, of course, the protagonist of the *Libre de meravelles*, but the "Pròleg" presents the hero and his story as two separate creations of Felix' sad father. The separate creations of the *Libre de meravelles* and of Felix dramatises as events separate authorial and narratorial roles. This division also corresponds to the two different spiritual objectives involved in Llull's missionology. The first and most obvious is restoring the world to its "prima intentio" of devotion to God, which the *Libre de meravelles* should promote. The "Pròleg" thus offers the text to the reader as an explicitly apologetic or inspirational work. The second, less often recognised by modern readers, is the penitential satisfaction sought by the character of Felix. Because neglect of God results from the inaction of Christians, Llull often treats evangelism as penitential atonement for this failure.<sup>19</sup> The "Pròleg" here emphasises almost exclusively the penitential value of Felix' journey, noting only in its last line that "en treballs e en perills se metia per tal que a Déu fos feta reverència e honor" (*OE* 1:319a). This penitential emphasis defines the personal, affective nature of the training that Felix acquires in his journey, and which the text's readers should presumably acquire as well. Moreover, since the father's sadness is spiritual, while the son's satisfaction also involves physical travail, the command of father to son perhaps allegorises the subordination of body to soul that Llull stresses as a prerequisite for right exercise of spiritual understanding.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps the reader who follows Felix on his journeys will imitate the protagonist's "treballs e perills" through some kind of ascetic meditation on the text.<sup>21</sup> Finally, it is interesting to note how a later *exemplum* argues that procreation of a child more properly defines human nature than publication of a book (1.2; *OE* 1:323). The sad man does both, but separately; Felix, on the other hand, eventually produces a successor who is also his book, as discussed below. This final convergence of the text

with a human subject best illustrates how the relationships of teller and tale or of reader and reading, which might appear simply arbitrary discursive constructions to our modern literary sensibilities, necessarily arise in Llull's text from the narrative association of *exempla* according to moral and theological issues. The reader who understands the narrative and comprehends these issues assimilates Llull's text just as Felix' successor becomes the *Libre de meravelles*.

Felix, like Dante's narrator, begins his journey in a "gran boscatge", the commonplace metaphor of worldliness.<sup>22</sup> There he meets a shepherdess who watches her flock and tells Felix that she trusts God to protect her. He marvels that she displays "tanta d'esperança e de saviesa" but marvels even more when a wolf devours one of her lambs and then the shepherdess herself (I.1; OE 1:319b). This incident evidently symbolises the threat posed to the Church and its flock by its infidel enemies. Llull's Good Shepherdess perhaps adapts the figure of the shepherd-girl from the troubadour *pastorela*, and thus illustrates neatly his divinisation of secular literary types. Pondering the fate of the trusting shepherdess as he travels, Felix begins to doubt God's existence. Greatly troubled by these doubts, he finds refuge at nightfall with a hermit, learned in theology and philosophy, and begs this sage to restore the devotion that his doubts have eroded. Again, the dramatic situation readily admits symbolic interpretation: the soul overcome by the darkness of spiritual ignorance or blindness seeks enlightenment from divine and human wisdom.<sup>23</sup> The exchange that follows establishes the didactic paradigm of the entire narrative:

-Fèlix – dix l'ermità –, en una terra havia un rei qui molt amava justícia; e sobra sa cadira reial havia fet un braç d'home qui era de peira, e en sa mà tenia una espasa, e en la punta de l'espasa estava un cor qui era d'una peira vermell, a significança que lo cor del rei havia volentat a moura lo braç que mogués l'espasa, qui justícia significava. E esdevenc-se que per una gran serpent lo palau fo jaquit, e null hom no y poc habitar. E un jorn entrà un sanct hom en aquell palau, lo qual cercava on pogués fer penitència e contemplar Déu, e viu lo braç e l'espasa, e lo cor qui en la espasa estava. Molt se meravellà d'açò que lo braç e l'espasa e lo cor significava; emperò tan longament cogità en aquella figura, d'entrò que apercebé ço per què aquella figura era feta.

- Sènyer – dix Fèlix –, aquesta semblança que vós diets, qué significa? --. – Bell amic – dix l'ermità –, considerar devets que aquest món és per alguna ocasió de bé; car sens ocasió de bé no poria ésser tan bell món com aquest. E, si Déus res no era, seria lo món per ocasió de mal, car més seria de mal que de bé. E car bé se cové ab ésser, e mal se cové ab no ésser, és semblant que ço per què lo mó és bo, és Déus [...] -- (OE 1:320).

Even if the intervention of the serpent did not identify this story as an allegory of the Fall, the hermit's exposition clearly interprets the encounter between the "sanct hom" and the emblematic statue as a rationale for the claims of natural theology in this postlapsarian world. His proof of

God's existence recalls the premises underlying Aquinas' fourth and fifth ways.<sup>24</sup> We should notice that this story illustrates the intentional assumptions of natural theology: the king created the statue specifically to illustrate a lesson and God likewise created the world to make himself known and loved, as the hermit later tells Felix (1.4; *OE* 1:326b). The intentional propriety indicated by the verb "convenir" is one of the most common of the so-called necessary reasons that Llull frequently invokes in his Great Art.<sup>25</sup> Reassured by the hermit, Felix accepts his subsequent explanation that God allowed the shepherdess to die in order to tempt Felix and thus to strengthen his faith by exercising it (1.1; *OE* 1:320b). This story and its interpretation define the general Christian ethic taught throughout the *Libre de meravelles*: faced in this world with events as puzzling or disturbing as the shepherdess' death, we must diligently seek to understand God's plan. The emphasis on strengthening devotion through struggle with temptation reiterates the penitential character of Felix' quest and justifies evangelism among the infidel with the same rationale.<sup>26</sup>

In order to establish the epistemological and psychological bases for applying spiritual interpretation to exemplary events, Felix' subsequent instruction from his first hermit master largely concerns the gnoseology of faith and reason. His sage teacher explains to him the difference between understanding the Creator through His creatures and through Himself, the respective roles of faith and reason, and the need to "sotspasar" the provability of Christian dogma through necessary reasons.<sup>27</sup> The hermit tells Felix that one cannot see God's existence: "ab ulls espirituals la pot veser. E per ço, bell amic, jo'm meravell de vós, quan vós me deïts que Déus no havets vist; car, segons que vós podets membrar, jo us he provat Déus ésser, e a les demandes que vós m'havets fetes de l'ésser de Déus e de sa unitat e trinitat, vos he satisfet complidament; la qual satisfacció no fóra complida sens vista espiritual vesent Déu" (1.5; *OE* 1:329). Passages like this underscore how profoundly all the proofs, demonstrations, and necessary reasons offered in the *Libre de meravelles* – as indeed throughout Llull's entire oeuvre – depend upon traditional Christian models of spiritual psychology.<sup>28</sup> Modern scholars who seek only a formal dialectical method in his Great Art understandably find his arguments puzzling (if not incomprehensible) and certainly mistake the contribution of his system to the development of devotional practices in the later Middle Ages.

Thanks to the efficacy of these arguments, Felix departs from his first hermit master "assats coniventment certificat" in his faith (1.7; *OE* 1:330a). He next meets a mother grieving for her recently dead son, and follows her as she travels to seek consolation from the hermit Blanquerna. The latter "per semblances responia e provava a les qüestions que hom li feïa, e per aquelles semblances adoctrinava les gents en bones costumes e en amar, honrar e conèixer Déu" (1.7; *OE* 1:335b). Through *exempla*

that “signifiquen” the Incarnation, Blanquerna even makes a “provança” of that doctrine to Felix (1.8; *OE* 1:336a). Blanquerna often reinforces one *exemplum* with another, instead of explicitly expounding it, so that Felix will better understand what he has heard (for example, 1.10; *OE* 1:340b). This understanding applies not only to the *allegoriae in factis* of real events, but to the *allegoriae in verbis* of Scripture as well. Blanquerna tells Felix that “on plus fortment los profetes parlaven escurament de l’aveniment de Jesucrist, pus ocasionat és l’humanal enteniment a exalçar si mateix en subtilitat” (1.11; *OE* 1:341a). Thus Llull’s text teaches one of the most basic and ancient principles of Christian allegoresis, namely that obscurity *per se* signals the presence of hidden meaning.<sup>29</sup>

The next hermit master reinforces this fundamental precept. Felix finds this sage reading Llull’s own *Libre dels àngels* in a church adorned with a painting of St Michael weighing souls. Felix asks for instruction about angels, and the hermit replies with a series of *exempla* (2.13; *OE* 1:344a–346a). When these begin to seem irrelevant, Felix protests, leading the hermit to insist that “cientment vos faç aitals semblances per ço que vostre enteniment exalcets a entendre; car on pus escura és la semblança, pus altament entén l’enteniment qui aquella semblança entén” (1.14; *OE* 1:346a). By appealing to this principle in his explication of the painting, the hermit underscores its broad applicability to all symbols or signs. The appearance of this claim in an episode that includes exegesis of a painting reinforces the traditional attitude toward religious art as a medium of so-called silent preaching to the common people.<sup>30</sup>

The concatenation of mutually illustrative *exempla* becomes an explicit procedure of instruction in Book 4 on the elements, where Felix observes the instruction of a young prince by his tutor. This master insists that his royal pupil repeat each lesson through a similitude (4.20; *OE* 1:353). At first, some of the *exempla* offered in response are analogies drawn from Christian ethics or theology (4.19–21) and thus reinforce the spiritual interpretation presented elsewhere in the *Libre de meravelles*. Soon, however, the prince’s repetition simply summarises the tutor’s literal explanation of scientific doctrine (for example, 4.19). By the end of Book 4, the tutor (or Felix) merely asks a question, which the prince answers literally with basic lore of medieval physics (4.24–28). The elemental relationships described in this chapter evidently provided some of the basic relational principles for Llull’s Great Art. Their rehearsal in Book 4 of *Felix* thus indirectly expounds Llull’s own system, as other arguments do more explicitly elsewhere in the narrative.<sup>31</sup>

The mingling of concatenated *exempla*, their moral interpretation, and literal exposition of doctrine continues throughout Books 5 and 6, where Felix receives instruction regarding plants and metals from a hermit philosopher. He finds this sage beneath a tree, where the hermit contemplates “la granea e la bonesa de Déu, qui en aquell arbre se representaven

per manera de creador e de creatura” (5.30; *OE* 1:361a). Felix asks a question about the great growth of this tree, which the philosopher explains with an *exemplum* about the spread of fire. Felix demonstrates his increased spiritual understanding by immediately interpreting this *exemplum* as an analogy to Christ’s power to propagate virtue among humans. From this ready reply the hermit philosopher “conec que Fèlix era hom entès e savi; e per açò esforçàs que a Fèlix digués paraules e semblances d’alta exposició e enteniment” (5.30; *OE* 1:361a). Some of these still escape Felix’ grasp and he must request an exposition (for example, 5.32; *OE* 1:364b–365a). Nonetheless, even in the most obscure similitudes, Felix grasps the exposition “segons la final intenció per la qual Déus ha creades totes coses” (6.34 *OE* 1:367b).

From this hermit philosopher Felix proceeds to observe the Council of Beasts. The account of this event in Book 7, which adapts the oriental tale *Calila and Dimna*, forms an independent intercalated story in which Felix never appears.<sup>32</sup> The beasts argue with *exempla* just as humans do, noting the application of their stories to the problem under consideration (for example, 7.40; *OE* 1:377a). The fable ends with the declaration that “Finit és lo *Llibre de les Bèsties*, lo qual Fèlix aportà a un rei, per tal que veés la manera segons la qual, en ço que fan les bèsties, és significat com rei dega regnar e’s dega guardar de malvat consell e de falses hòmens” (7.43; *OE* 1:389b). Felix’ gift dramatises the call to reform that the entire *Libre de meravelles* makes to its readers. Llull’s enthusiasm for using fictions like animal fables for moral instruction was not shared by all his contemporaries and his dramatisation of this practice in *Felix* underscores the popularising preoccupation of his own work.<sup>33</sup>

After observing the Council of Beasts, Felix encounters a shepherd who sleeps, leaving his faithful guard-dog to fight a wolf that attacks the flock. Felix reproves the slothful shepherd, arguing that God has provided humans with a soul to guard the body and the Church to guard the faithful. He likens the dog to the devout who combat infidels on the frontiers of Christendom, and chastises the shepherd for failing to heed his dog, but the shepherd scorns Felix’ words (8. Prol.; 3: 56). The dog perhaps alludes specifically to the missions of the Dominicans, since their name was popularly interpreted as a combination of the Latin words “*Domini canes*” (dogs of the Lord). The shepherd clearly corresponds to those prelates that ignore Llull and other faithful who clamour for help. The strength of this allegorical identification causes Felix to direct his interpretation of the scene to the shepherd himself, as though the shepherd were one of the guilty prelates. Perhaps the text’s readers are supposed to reverse this application and hold up the *exemplum* of the shepherd to ecclesiastics who neglect their duties. Within the narrative, however, the immediate application of the allegorical parallel to a character in the story itself suggests how readily the exemplary scenes in Llull’s text



surrender their spiritual meaning and how that meaning can determine (sometimes incongruously) the narrative action itself.

Felix next meets the personifications "Quèmdiriahom" (What-Would-People-Say-About-Me?) and "Pocmhopreu" (It-Doesn't-Matter-to-Me), who debate the value of worldly honours (Book 8, "Proemi"; *OE* 1:390a–392a). Pocmhopreu directs Felix to another wise hermit, who offers him the lengthy instruction regarding human nature that fills Book 8. Virtually all this teaching employs *exempla* and reinforces the principles of spiritual understanding already established in the *Libre de meravelles*. An especially pertinent illustration of the theory and practice of this interpretation appears in Chapters 56 and 57, which form part of a sequence devoted to analysis of corporeal and spiritual pleasures. Chapter 56 discusses pleasure in vision and therefore contrasts the eyes of body and soul. After Felix considers some *exempla* illustrating use of spiritual vision, he and his hermit master see two wandering brethren from the so called Order of Apostles. The narrator explains that their humble appearance is initially pleasing to see, because it signifies the holy life and poverty of the original apostles. But when Felix and his master consider the (presumably disagreeable) deeds of these self-proclaimed Apostles, they feel displeasure at the hypocritical contradiction between the Apostles' appearance and their behaviour (8.56 *OE* 1:405a). Llull's denunciation of the itinerant Order of Apostles founded in 1260 by Gerardo Segarelli perhaps expresses the condemnation of this group by Honorius IV in 1286 (*OE* 1:313). This encounter shows how Felix can immediately practise the theory just expounded by his hermit master. This scene thus dramatises again the manner in which the reader of the *Libre de meravelles* should apply its lessons. It displays well the pragmatic lesson often elucidated by popular preachers as a third level of meaning (beyond the literal and moral) in any *exemplum*.<sup>34</sup> The meeting with the Apostles is also the sole observed *exemplum* among the many others merely reported by Felix' hermit master. This singular narrative status may thus indicate especially immediate disapproval of the Apostles' behaviour: that is, the sin of these would-be holy men is virtually self-evident. This immediate insight extends to the spiritual eyes the primacy accorded to the sense of vision by virtually all ancient and medieval authorities, who describe it as the most reliable and noble of the five senses.<sup>35</sup>

The next chapter deals with corporeal and spiritual hearing (8.57). It begins with an *exemplum* illustrating the human weakness for listening to pleasurable sounds or viceful speech, but then returns to considering corporeal and spiritual vision with a remarkable story about lay devotional literature. A hermit leaves to his king a *Libre de plasent visió*. This work, like the famous *Biblia pauperum* or *Speculum humanae salvationis*, is full of pictures portraying the natural world and many "histories", all designed to delight readers' physical eyes while exercising their spiritual

insight (8.57; *OE* 1:405b–406a). One of the scenes depicted in the book moves the king to renounce his throne and retire to a monastery where his “sanctes hòmens” expound to him the histories in the book. The king’s response to this *Libre de plasent visió* neatly dramatises how “imaginative visualization and extemporaneous creation of sacred scenes led [...] to the threshold of a more immediate spiritual realm than hitherto permitted to laypeople”.<sup>36</sup> In this case the king actually can retreat to the quiet of a cloister, where laypersons of lesser resources might achieve only a personal, interior retreat from the world.

Book 8 continues with a long series of *exempla* illustrating the vices and virtues and natural and moral qualities (Chaps. 63–99). From this extended instruction it is perhaps inevitable that Felix (and the reader) should finally and fully master spiritual understanding of the truth hidden in similitudes. After this training, whenever Felix needed to understand an especially marvelous *exemplum*, he “levà en alt son enteniment aitant com poc, per ço que entesés, e pregà Déus que li donàs gràcia que pogués entendre”; from constant exercise of this method “s’acostumà Fèlix a entendre un semblant per altre” (8.100; *OE* 1:475b). Books 9 and 10 offer brief discussions of heaven and hell, which Felix comprehends readily since “Tant hac estat Fèlix ab l’ermità, e tant hac après ab ell, que encontinent entenia les semblances que l’ermità deïa e declarava” (10.121; *OE* 1:506a). Felix ultimately takes his leave from the hermit, having learned “moltes de semblances per les quals Fèlix hagues ciència adquisita; car per aquelles semblances s’exalça l’ànima a membrar, entendre e voler” (“De la fi del libre”; *OE* 1:508a).

In the Epilogue of the *Libre de meravelles*, Felix comes finally to “una abadia molt noble”, where he offers to entertain the monks by recounting the marvels that he has seen, because “molt gran utilitat de ciència e de devoció, contrició e satisfacció se’n porà seguir a aquest monestir” since “molt són paraules plasents a oir, e gran res hi ha de saviesa e de doctrina, e gran res hi sap hom de l’estament d’aquest món e de l’altre” (“De la fi del libre”; *OE* 1:508). Felix’ enumeration of the benefits derived from learning about these marvels mentions more spiritual gains (devotion, contrition, and satisfaction) than intellectual advances (knowledge), which suggests that his marvels do not concern simply history or natural science, but rather wisdom from moral philosophy. Felix thus acts not as a schoolmaster, but as a sort of visiting spiritual counsellor, as Llull himself evidently did at certain Franciscan houses in Italy.<sup>37</sup> The monks beg him to join their community, but he refuses, citing his father’s initial commission. He assents none the less to wear their habit and go “per lo món tots los temps de sa vida, a messió d’aquell monestir, e recontàs a uns e a altres lo *Libre de meravelles*, e que lo libre multiplicàs, segons que, anant per lo món, les meravelles multiplicarien” (“De la fi del libre”; *OE* 1:508b). In accord with Llull’s evangelical ideals, Felix’ vocation cannot

remain private, but requires public exercise: hence, he becomes an extramural monk – something like a mendicant friar. This commission dramatises the still urgent argument about the relative merits of coenobitic contemplation and evangelical action, with an obvious nod of preference to the latter.<sup>38</sup> The combination of Felix' spiritual education and efforts to advance honour, knowledge, and love of God nonetheless comprises a kind of mixed life of contemplation and action, just as does Llull's own combination of study through his Art with campaigning for overseas missions.

Felix' transformation from pupil to teacher precipitates a new narrative and a new protagonist. He dies and another monk asks to continue his commission. The character and the book called Felix would end, unless duplicated: "L'abat e tot lo convent ho consentiren al monge, e meserenli nom de 'segon Fèlix'. L'abat donà sa benedicció a aquell Fèlix, e aquell Fèlix anà per lo món recontant lo *Libre de meravelles*, e multiplicà aquell, segons les meravelles que atrobava" ("Del Segon Fèlix"; *OE* 1:509). Felix sends forth the Second Felix, just as his sad father originally sent him forth. But where his father produced both a book and a son, Felix produces a successor who virtually is his book as well.<sup>39</sup> This doubling of the protagonist thus dramatises through a literal recreation the Christian new man achieved by Felix' successful quest for penitential satisfaction.

This Second Felix may seem an oddly open conclusion to the narrative, but probably constitutes a necessary model for the reader's response to the *Libre de meravelles*. The replacement of Felix and continuation of his mission in the Second Felix dramatises the hoped-for renewal of the book's readers and their conversion to a life of penitential marvelling. That is, the new protagonist literally personifies the reader's assimilation of the text's exemplary narrative. Although modern literary theory discourages unsupported appeals to authorial intention, the broadly moral conception of literary discourse in the later Middle Ages justifies recognising some deliberate relationship of assimilation between a text's arguments and its audience.<sup>40</sup> The events of Felix' journey spiritually educate both him and the text's readers. Or, as Llull's contemporaries might say, the *Libre de meravelles* holds up a mirror of the world in which its readers must strive to see themselves.

Llull's text calls upon its readers to imitate Felix' spiritual journey to understanding, rather than his material peregrination throughout the world. The latter active vocation, so similar to Llull's own, was probably an impractical choice for most of his readers, and itinerant evangelism faced increasing ecclesiastical and civil restrictions in the later thirteenth century, as the condemnation of the wandering Apostles indicates.<sup>41</sup> Rather, the spiritual value of Llull's book lies in the contemplative skills that it promotes. The exposition of *exempla* practised by Felix and his teachers readily serves the needs of lay personal piety. On the one hand,

it is clearly an individual task: Felix must strive to understand for himself and apply to himself each situation that he confronts.<sup>42</sup> The degree of self-examination that *Felix* promotes falls somewhere between the complete self-refashioning advocated by Thomas à Kempis in his *Imitatio Christi* and the aphoristic rules for behaviour collected as personal memoranda.<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, *Felix* very much concerns life in the world: one modern editor praises the “quadro mogudissim de l'època” provided by its abundant *exempla* concerning secular activities.<sup>44</sup> The practice of marvelling taught in Llull's *Libre de meravelles* would especially promote the mental devotion on quotidian occasions taught in so many late medieval spiritual guides for laypeople.

Llull's also text contributes to our larger historical understanding of the socio-cultural values, practices, and institutions that organised later medieval piety. The exemplary reading taught in *Felix* suggests high expectations for vernacular literacy and lay education. It assumes the existence of an intermediate public of religious laypersons eager to read vernacular devotional literature.<sup>45</sup> The popularity of Llull's vernacular spiritual writings testifies to the role that such works must have played in fostering cultivated literacy among the laity.<sup>46</sup> Where historians typically conclude that increased literacy helped spread new modes of private piety in the later Middle Ages, it might be equally plausible to argue that the development of individual devotion helped promote vernacular literacy.<sup>47</sup> Finally, the overtly popularising character of Llull's entire enterprise – his Great Art offers a facile alternative to school curricula – suggests that he belongs to the intermediate cultural class who acted as agents of transgression within the general social order of their era. His writings mediated between institutionalised and non-institutionalised practices and especially between lay and clerical claims to intellectual or spiritual authority.<sup>48</sup> Ramon Llull's *Libre de meravelles* specifically suggests how popular spiritual texts promoted that mediation by bringing literary skills previously available only in the cloister or classroom into the palace or townhouse.<sup>49</sup>

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> The best comprehensive survey of Llull's life and work remains Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, *Ramon Llull and Lullism in Fourteenth Century France* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); for further studies, consult Rudolf Brummer, *Bibliographia lulliana. Ramon Llull-Schriftum 1870–1973* (Hildesheim: H. A. Gerstenberg, 1976) and Marcel Salleras i Carolà, “Bibliografia lulliana (1974–1984)”, *Randa* 19 (1986), 153–98.

<sup>2</sup> This corresponds broadly to the principle of *caritas ordinata* established by early Scholastic authorities; see my *The Spiritual Logic of Ramon Llull* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 16–18 and Robert Javelet, *Image et ressemblance au douzième siècle de Saint Anselme à Alain de Lille*, 2 vols (Strasbourg: Université de Strasbourg, 1967), Ch. 10. Among earlier theologians, compare

especially Anselm, *Monologion* 68 or *Cur Deus Homo* 11–15, ed. F. S. Schmitt, *Opera omnia*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: T. Nelson, 1946), 1: 78–9 and 2: 68–74.

<sup>3</sup> All references, hereafter incorporated parenthetically into my text, indicate book and chapter with volume and page from *Libre de meravelles*, ed. Miquel Batllori and *Libre d'Evast e d'Aloma e de Blanquerna*, ed. Joan Pons i Marquès in Ramon Llull, *Obres essencials* [= *OE*], 2 vols (Barcelona: Selecta, 1957–60), 1:309–511 and 1: 111–308. The original spelling of the titular hero's name was evidently "Blaquerna", but the traditional form remains more commonly recognised.

<sup>4</sup> *Felix* exists in at least six Catalan, one French, one Italian, and perhaps one Castilian versions from the Middle Ages; see Salvador Galmés, *Libre de meravelles*, 4 vols, *Els Nostres Classics – Col·lecció A*, 34, 38, 42 and 46–47 (Barcelona: Editorial Barcino, 1931–1934), 1: 17–20. *Blanquerna* exists in two Catalan and four French medieval versions. By comparison, Llull's contemplative encyclopedia, the *Libre de contemplació*, exists in some ten medieval Catalan copies. For a summary of related data, see *OE* 1:119–22, 1:315–16, and 2:93–4. On Llull's role in literary use of the vernacular, see for the older view Helene Wieruszowski, "The Rise of the Catalan Language in the Thirteenth Century", *Modern Language Notes* 59 (1944), 9–20 and now Modest Prats, "Ramon Llull, 'Creador del català literari'", *L'Avenç* 49 (March 1982), 27–30.

<sup>5</sup> Both display features of the "visionary quest" described by Barbara Nolan, *The Gothic Visionary Perspective* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 124–55. On the debt of *Blanquerna* to the chivalric genre, see Rudolf Brummer, "Sobre les fonts literàries del 'Blanquerna' de Ramon Llull", *Iberoromania* 9 (1979), 1–11.

<sup>6</sup> See Vicente Servera, "Utopic et histoire: Les postulats théoriques de la praxis missionnaire", in *Raymond Lulle et le Pays d'Oc*, *Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 22 (Toulouse: E. Privat, 1987), pp. 191–229. Duane Lapsanski summarises the development of this popular ideal in *Evangelical Perfection: An Historical Examination of the Concept in the Early Franciscan Sources* (St Bonaventure: Franciscan Institute, 1977), pp. 6–50.

<sup>7</sup> G. R. Owst suggested many years ago that medieval vernacular writers fashioned literary characters from sermon stereotypes: *Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England* (Oxford: Blackwell, rev. edn, 1966), pp. 278–9. Mary Braswell analyses one type in *The Medieval Sinner: Characterisation and Confession in the Literature of the English Middle Ages* (Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1983). On related aspects of *Blanquerna*, see Wolfgang Schleicher, *Ramon Lulls Libre de Evast e Blanquerna, eine Untersuchung über den Einfluss der franziskanisch-dominikanischen Predigt auf die Prosawerke des katalanischen Dichters* (Geneva: Droz, 1958); Miguel Arbona Piza, "Los exemplis en el Llibre de Evast e Blanquerna", *Estudios Lulianos* 20 (1976), 53–70; and Roberto González-Casanovas, "Predicación y narrativa en Ramón Llull: De imagen a semejanza en *Blanquerna*" (Ph.D. Diss. Harvard, 1990).

<sup>8</sup> *OE* 1:312–13. Llull also attempts to make Marian miracle stories more edifying; see Paul Bétérus, "Ramon Llull et le renouvellement du thème des miracles Mariaux au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Cultura Neolatina* 38 (1978), 37–47.

<sup>9</sup> On the theory and practice of "distinctions", see Judson Boyce Allen, *The Ethical Poetic of the Later Middle Ages: A Decorum of Convenient Distinction* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 142–51 and Richard H. and Mary A. Rouse, "Biblical *Distinctiones* in the Thirteenth Century", *Archives d'Histoire Doctrinale et Littéraire du Moyen Age* 41 (1974), 27–37. Juan Tusquets has suggested that the sequences of some episodes in *Felix* follow the order of treatment of their subjects in Vincent of Beauvais's *Speculum naturale*; see "Relación de Ramón Llull con San Ramón de Penyafort y con la Orden de Santo Domingo", *Escritos del Vedat* 7 (1977), 177–96 (pp. 192–4). Jordi Gayà finds a cosmological order in the organisation of the work's main divisions in "Sobre algunes estructures literàries del 'Libre de Meravelles'", *Randa* 10 (1980), 63–69.

<sup>10</sup> On these categories, see Alastair J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic literary attitudes in the later Middle Ages* (London: Scolar Press, 1984), pp. 118–59.

<sup>11</sup> Major studies devoted to this aspect of Llull's work include J.-H. Probst, *Langage imagé et symboles du B. Ramon Lull* (Palma de Mallorca: Maioricensis Schola Lullistica, 1955); Robert D. F. Pring-Mill, "The Analogical Structure of the Lullian Art", *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition: Essays Presented to Richard Walzer* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1973), pp. 315–26; and Lluís Cabré, M. Ortín, and J. Pujol, "Conèixer e haver moralitats bones. L'ús de la literatura en l'*Arbre exemplifical* de Ramon Llull", *Estudios Lulianos* 28 (1988), 139–67.

<sup>12</sup> See D. L. D'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985); Carlo Delcorno, *Giordano da Pisa e l'antica predicazione volgare* (Florence:

Olschki, 1975); Jean Longère, *La Prédication médiévale* (Paris: Etudes Augustiniennes, 1983). The best guides to the vast scholarship on these subjects are Claude Brémond et al., *L'exemplum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982) and James J. Murphy, *Medieval Rhetoric: A Select Bibliography*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989).

<sup>13</sup> As noted by Jordi Rubió i Balaguer, "La 'Rhetorica nova' de R. Llull", *Estudios Lulianos* 3 (1959), 5–20 and 263–74 (p. 265). Compare the equally flexible usage of Vincent Ferrer: Vincent Almazan, "L'Exemplum chez Vincent Ferrer", *Romanische Forschungen* 79 (1967), 288–332 (pp. 299–300).

<sup>14</sup> See Robert Javelet, *Image et ressemblance and Psychologie des auteurs spirituels du XII<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Strasbourg: Société Nouvelle d'Impression, 1959). For a summary of the postulates commonly cited by Llull see the aphorisms regarding similarity and dissimilarity in Chapters 156–7 of his *Proverbis de Ramon*, *Obres Originals*, Vol. 14 (Palma de Mallorca: Diputació Provincial de Balears & Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1928), pp. 163–5.

<sup>15</sup> See Cesare Segre, "Le forme e le tradizioni didattiche", *Grundriß der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters* 6.1 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1968), pp. 58–145. The superlative example from the Iberian Peninsula in Llull's era is the collection of exemplary tales compiled by the Castilian nobleman Don Juan Manuel, *El conde Lucanor*, ed. J. M. Blecua (Madrid: Castalia, 1971). On his use of *exempla* see Karl-Wilhelm Kreis, "Don Juan Manuel und die dominikanische Denktradition. Zur Struktur und Bedeutung des 'Exemplo Quinto' aus 'El Conde Lucanor o Libro de los enxiemplos del Conde Lucanor et de Patronio' (1335)", *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift* 35 (1985), 279–300.

<sup>16</sup> On development of plot in this way, see G. T. Sheperd, "The Emancipation of Story in the Twelfth Century", *Medieval Narrative: A Symposium* (Odense: Odense University Press, 1979), pp. 44–57 and Jonathan D. Edwards, "Episodes in Analysis of Medieval Narrative", *Style* 20 (1986), 126–41.

<sup>17</sup> In contemporary Castilian literature a well-known instance is the debate with fables between Trotaconventos and Doña Garoza in the *Libro de buen amor* (stanzas 1344–1484) of Juan Ruiz.

<sup>18</sup> See Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones dictionum theologialium*, s.v. "desertum" (PL 210: 764D–765C).

<sup>19</sup> See Richard Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls: Fourteenth-Century Saints and their Religious Milieu* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), pp. 97, 118 and my "Ramon Llull's Conversion to Penitence", *Mystics Quarterly* 16 (1990), 179–92.

<sup>20</sup> As in his *Libre de contemplació* (Ch. 39–46) of 1273, *OE* 2: 180a–198b or *Liber de ascensu et descensu intellectus* (8.1 or 9.1) of 1305, *Opera Latina*, Vol. 9, *Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis*, Vol. 35 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1981), pp. 128, 139–40.

<sup>21</sup> See Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls*, pp. 51–88.

<sup>22</sup> See Rabanus Maurus (attrib.), *Allegoriae in Universam Scripturam*, s.v. "silva" (PL 112: 1054).

<sup>23</sup> On this commonplace sense of night, see Alan of Lille, *Distinctiones*, s.v. "nox" (PL 210: 876).

<sup>24</sup> *Summa Theologiae* 1a.2, 3.

<sup>25</sup> See my *Spiritual Logic of Ramon Llull*, pp. 117–20.

<sup>26</sup> See Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls*, pp. 60–1.

<sup>27</sup> This supposition is a crucial stage in Llull's explanation of how understanding enhances belief; see my *Spiritual Logic of Ramon Llull*, pp. 128–32 and 296–304.

<sup>28</sup> The *locus classicus* on spiritual vision is Augustine, *De Genesi ad litteram libri XII* 12.6–12 (PL 34: 458–64); Llull's arguments more often resemble those in Richard of St Victor, *Benjamin minor* 14 or *Benjamin maior* 3.9 (PL 196: 10 and 119C) and Alcher of Clairvaux, *De spiritu et anima* 24 (PL 40: 796–7).

<sup>29</sup> See Jean Pépin, "A propos de l'histoire de l'exégèse allégorique: l'absurdité, signe de l'allégorie", *Studia Patristica* 1 (1957), 395–413 and "L'herméneutique ancienne: Les mots et les idées", *Poétique* 23 (1975–76), 291–300.

<sup>30</sup> See Louis Gougaud, "Muta praedictio", *Revue Bénédictine* 42 (1930), 166–71.

<sup>31</sup> For example, the analysis of the Divine Dignities according to the Lullian relational principles of Contrarity and Concordance (8.96). On the debt of Llull's system to medieval physics, see the classic study of Frances Yates, "The Art of Ramon Llull (an approach to it through Llull's Theory of the Elements)", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 17 (1954), 115–73 and now Josep Maria Ruiz Simon, "De la naturalesa com a mescla a l'art de mesclar (sobre la fonamentació cosmològica de les arts lul·lianes)", *Randa* 19 (1986), 69–99.

<sup>32</sup> See Edward J. Neugaard, "The Sources of the Folk Tales in Ramon Llull's *Libre de les bèsties*", *Journal of American Folklore* 84 (1971), 333-7.

<sup>33</sup> See Peter Dronke, *Fabula: Explorations into the Uses of Myth in Medieval Platonism* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), pp. 13-67 and Jacques Berlioz, "Le Récit efficace: l'exemplum au service de la prédication (XIII-XV siècles)", *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome - Moyen Age et Temps Modernes* 90.1 (1980), 113-46.

<sup>34</sup> As suggested by Susan Suleiman, "Le Récit exemplaire: Parabole, fable, roman à thèse", *Poétique* 32 (1977), 468-89 (p. 475).

<sup>35</sup> The Greeks already associated essential nature and visible image as *forma* or *eidōs*; see Jacques Derrida, "White Mythology: Metaphor in the Text of Philosophy", *New Literary History* 6 (1974), 5-74 (p. 54). Aquinas argues that vision is the noblest sense, because most spiritual; *ST* 1a.78, 3.

<sup>36</sup> Denise Despres, "Franciscan Spirituality: Margery Kempe and Visual Meditation", *Mystics Quarterly* 11 (1985), 12-18 (p. 15).

<sup>37</sup> Llull received written permission to expound his Great Art on 26 October 1290 from Ramon Gaufredi, Minister-General of the Friars Minor; see the text in Antoni Rubió i Lluch, *Documents per l'Història de la Cultura Catalana Mig-èval*, 2 vols (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1908-21), 1: 9-10 and the clarifications by Hillgarth, *Ramon Llull and Lullism*, p. 118 n. 300.

<sup>38</sup> See the debate as presented in Aquinas, *ST* 2a.2ae.179-182; John M. Bowers analyses an interesting vernacular literary treatment in "Patience and the Ideal of the Mixed Life", *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 28 (1986), 1-23.

<sup>39</sup> There is historical irony here: in his will of 1313 Llull entrusted a cache of his writings to his son-in-law on Mallorca. See Francisco de Bofarull y Sans, "El testamento de Ramón Llull y la escuela luliana en Barcelona", *Memorias de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 5 (1896), 435-79.

<sup>40</sup> As the late J. B. Allen argued in *The Ethical Poetic*, pp. 217 and 263. On this aspect of Llull's *Blanquerna*, see Michel Zink, "Quelques remarques sur le *Livre d'Evast et de Blaquerne* de Raymond Lulle", *Perspectives Médiévales* 1 (June 1975), 52-60 (p. 57) and *La Subjectivité littéraire autour du siècle de Saint Louis* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985), pp. 248-64.

<sup>41</sup> See Michael Goodich, *Vita Perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann, 1982), pp. 191-205 and Duane Osheim, "Conversion, *Conversi*, and the Christian Life in Late Medieval Tuscany", *Speculum* 58 (1983), 368-90.

<sup>42</sup> Llull's adaptations of Marian stories likewise emphasise personal application and interior affection; see Bétérous, "Ramon Llull et le renouvellement du thème des miracles Mariaux", 46.

<sup>43</sup> See W. A. Pantin in "Instructions for a Devout and Literate Layman", in *Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays presented to Richard William Hunt*, ed. J. J. G. Alexander (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 398-422, and Geneviève Hasenohr, "La Vie quotidienne de la femme vue par l'église: L'enseignement des 'journées chrétiennes' de la fin du Moyen Age", in *Frau und spätmittelalterlicher Alltag* (Vienna: Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1986), pp. 19-102.

<sup>44</sup> Salvador Galmés, "Noticia preliminar"; 1: 14.

<sup>45</sup> On Llull as author of religious literature, see François-Régis Durieux, "La catéchisme occitane ou catalane de Matfre Ermengaud et de Raymond Lulle", in *La Religion populaire en Languedoc du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle à la moitié du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, ed. M.-H. Vicaire, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 11 (Toulouse: E. Privat, 1976), pp. 217-26 and Fernando Domínguez Reboiras, "Introducción", in Ramon Llull, *Summa sermonum*, ed. Fernando Domínguez Reboiras and Abraham Soria Flores, Opera Latina 15, Corpus Christianorum: Continuatio Mediaevalis 76 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1987), pp. IX-LXIV.

<sup>46</sup> On the readership of this literature, see Michel Zink, *La prédication en langue romane avant 1300* (Paris: Honoré Champion, 1976), p. 163 and Malcolm B. Parkes, "The Literacy of the Laity", *The Medieval World*, ed. David Daiches and Anthony Thorlby (London: Aldus, 1972), pp. 555-77.

<sup>47</sup> See Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls*, pp. 112 and 151, or John Bossy, *Christianity in the West: 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 101 and the contrasting argument of Hilary M. Carey, "Devout Literate Laypeople and the Pursuit of the Mixed Life in Later Medieval England", *Journal of Religious History* 14 (1987), 361-81 (p. 369).

<sup>48</sup> See the arguments of Maria Corti, "Modelli e antimodelli nella cultura medievale", *Strumenti critici* 35 (February 1978), 3-30 (pp. 16-17) and Jean-Claude Schmitt, "'Religion populaire' et

culture folklorique”, *Annales ESC* 31<sup>e</sup> année, 5 (Sept–Oct 1976), 941–53 (p. 950). The best example of Llull’s anti-Scholastic polemic is the Prologue to his *Logica nova* of 1303; see my *Spiritual Logic*, p. 153. The anonymous account of Llull’s life composed by his Carthusian admirers at Paris in 1311 describes his Great Art as designed for instructing *simplices*; *Vida de Ramon Llull: Les fonts escrites i la iconografia coetànies*, ed. Jocelyn N. Hillgarth and Miquel Batllori (Barcelona: Associació de Bibliòfils de Barcelona, 1982), p. 17 (paragraph 14).

<sup>49</sup> See Kieckhefer, *Unquiet Souls*, p. 15 and *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England*, ed. Michael G. Sargent (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1989).