

Aufsätze und Berichte

The Trinitarian World Picture of Ramon Lull

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I

Ramon Lull, the first great mystic of the Iberian Peninsula, was born in Majorca soon after its reconquest from the Moors. He was a fine poet, and his prose includes two didactic novels — *Blanquerna* [No. 31, c. 1283, IX]¹⁾ and *Felix* [No. 36, c. 1286] — which give him a prominent place in the history of fiction; he was also a philosopher and theologian of a highly ingenious turn of mind, renowned for attempting an *ars inveniendi veritatem*²⁾ — a General Art applicable to every sphere of knowledge — which would convert Pagan, Moslem, and Jew to the Catholic faith. The theoretical assumptions which underlie this Art are often hard to disentangle from their practical application, but they influenced the entire body of his writings. Their true importance for the study of his literary works has still not been fully appreciated, although Miss Yates has done much to dispel the illusion that either *Blanquerna* or *Felix* can be properly understood without some knowledge of Lull's "science of nature"³⁾.

This article is designed to elucidate an aspect of his ideas on which his mystical and fictional writings depend no less than does his 'art of finding truth': namely the Trinitarian structure of his world-picture. It does not, however, pretend to discuss the detailed relationship between his own views and those of his predecessors; it is not, in fact, in any sense an investigation of sources. Basically, Lull's own somewhat startling views can all be fitted into the Trinitarian universe of mediaeval Augustinian tradition, which he inherited, but — given this Augustinian background — Lull went on to elaborate a strange and intricate world-picture which could not have been foreseen by those from whom his work in some sense stems. Its elucidation will involve

1) To avoid confusion, Lull's works are referred to not only by their title but also by their number in Avinyó [cf. Bibliography] and their date of composition (unless otherwise stated, this is either the year given in an *explicit* or the one accepted by Avinyó), and where a Catalan text has appeared in the "Obres" the volume-number is also given. Thus *Blanquerna* is No. 31 in Avinyó, it was written about 1283, and it has been printed in *Obres IX*.

2) The Latin title of the first version of the General Art was *Ars Compendiosa Inveniendi Veritatem* [No. 1, c. 1274 (undated in Avinyó)], but it was also called *Ars Magna et Major* (in Catalan, *Art d'atobar veritat* or *Art Major*). Mediaeval and renaissance references to the *Ars Magna* are, however, normally to the *Ars Magna Generalis Ultima* [No. 120, 1305—8].

3) Yates, pp. 136—141 and 151—155.

discussing two peculiarly Lullian doctrines in particular, the doctrine of the Dignities and that of the Correlatives (and a third, that of the relative principles, in less detail), because the cardinal assumption underlying the Lullian system — in its mature form — would seem to be the vision of a universe held together by a complex web of active relationships which is based on the threefold correlatives of his nine Divine Dignities. This assumption led him to coin a large and — at first sight — a bewildering range of terms, in both Catalan and Latin; I have discussed their linguistic implications elsewhere⁴⁾, but they cannot be entirely excluded from this article because of the close relationship between his world-picture and his special lexicon.

Lull's doctrines require to be seen against the wider background of his life and times. In his own eyes, Lull was primarily a missionary who aimed at the unification of mankind in Christendom — partly by consolidating the unity of the church (hence the anti-Averroist campaigning of his later years) but chiefly by the conversion of non-Christians to the Catholic faith. Being a philosopher and a theologian was purely incidental to this purpose. He was not interested in shaping doctrine or in devising a new philosophical system. What he wanted to do was to create a thoroughly practical art of finding truth as the basis of practical arts of conversion and salvation. In the words ascribed to Lull in the third section of the fourth illumination in the Karlsruhe Codex: „Causa quare hec scientia principaliter est inuenta stat in hoc, uidelicet ut deus a suo populo multum recolatur intelligatur et ametur, et ut errores et scismata et false alique opiniones que in hec mundo regnant destruantur“⁵⁾.

This is not the place to discuss the historical context which gave rise to these aims at any length. It will be sufficient to point out that two of the consequences of Jaume I's campaigns against the Moors had been the incorporation of Moslems into his dominions in large numbers, and an urgent pre-occupation with their conversion — as a means to national unity as well as on religious grounds. Those most concerned with proselytising were the Dominican preachers, and under St. Ramon de Penyafort they developed a technique of public disputations with Moslem and Jewish theologians. This led, in turn, to a spate of apologetic literature. Where the dispute lay between Christian and Jew, “argument from authority” could be adduced because recourse could be had to the Old Testament — there is the famous instance of the Dominican disputation with the Rabbis in Barcelona in 1263 (the year of Lull's conversion⁶⁾). Where it was a case of Christian versus Moslem, however, they had

4) *Some Lullian contributions to the Catalan technical lexicon* (awarded the *Premi Pompeu Fabra* at the Jocs Florals de la Llengua Catalana in 1956), unpublished: the basis of a forthcoming article on Lull's Trinitarian terminology.

5) *Badische Landesbibliothek*, Ms. St. Peter perg. 92, f. 4r. This Codex contains the *Breviculum ex Artis Remondi* ascribed to Thomas le Myésier (cf. CA, II, pp. 20—23), followed by a modified version of the *Ars Brevis* [No. 121, 1308] and preceded by a brief biographical introduction. The introduction is illustrated with twelve full-page illuminations, intended “ut sciretur origo a quo et quomodo orta est ars ista et alie Remondi artes et libri” (f. 1r). Cf. Rubió, *Miniatures*.

6) Cf. Roth, whose article contains a useful bibliography. Since the appearance of Roth's article, an English translation of Nachmanides' account of his disputation with Pau Crestià has been published in O. S. Rankin, *Jewish Religious Polemic* (Edinburgh, 1956). For the general apologetic context, with special reference to Ramon Martí, cf. CA, I, pp. 42—54, 147—170.

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no undisputed authority in common; techniques of argumentation based on human reason had to be developed instead.

St. Ramon de Penyafort (1175—1275), who was one of the greatest early influences on Lull, had come up against this when he resigned the Mastership-General of the Dominicans (in 1240) so as to devote the remainder of his life to converting the Moors. He had asked St. Thomas Aquinas (1225—1274) to provide a suitable text-book, and Aquinas had written the *Summa contra Gentiles* (completed before 1268) to meet his needs. This was a book on God in relation to his creatures, based on reason, not on authority. Lull, who started writing about 1272, likewise abandoned "argument from authority"; but whereas Aquinas sought only to achieve by reason a position compatible with faith, Lull strove to "prove" the dogmas of the faith by "necessary reasons". That Lull did not seek to "prove" the dogmas of the faith in the fullest sense, nor yet to base his *raons necessàries* on unaided reason, will be obvious from the later stages of this exposition; his "necessary reasons" are, as Salvador Galmés has said, in the nature of proofs of greater or lesser congruence which could not be denied without denying generally accepted principles⁷). Dogmatically, Lull was chiefly concerned with establishing the existence of the Trinity and the Incarnation of its second person, since these were the points at which Christianity came most violently into conflict with the other two "revealed" religions; he could, however, broadly presuppose a belief in the existence of God (although he devotes a good deal of space to proving it, on occasion), and likewise presupposed a general acceptance of the exemplarist position.

As a result of his conversion⁸), Lull made three resolutions which governed the rest of his life: to seek martyrdom, to seek the foundation of monastic schools of oriental languages where other missionaries might be trained, and (in the words of the *Vida coetània*) to write "books, some good and others successively better, against the errors of the infidel"⁹). Only the last of these aims concerns this article, and Lull proceeded to spend nine years preparing to write such books. This phase of his career culminated in the second crisis of his life, on Mount Randa, when he received what the Catalan biographer describes as "a certain divine illumination giving him the form and manner of making those afore-mentioned books against the errors of the infidel"¹⁰). There is a vivid picture of the scene in the fourth miniature of the Karlsruhe Codex, and the nature of this "illumination" can scarcely be phrased more simply than in the words ascribed to Lull in its lefthand section: "michi hodie principia substancialia et accidentalia omnium rerum ostendere uoluisti," says Lull to God (whose arm still stretches downwards from the clouds, the hand raised in blessing), "et ex illis duas figuras me facere docuisti"¹¹). The two parts of that

7) Proemi to *Libre de demostracions*, Obres XV, pp. xi—xii.

8) Cf. Peers for a detailed account of Lull's life.

9) "libres huns bons e altres millors succesiuament contra les errors dels infaels", Moll, p. 11.

10) "certa illustracio diuinal donant li orde e forma de fer los dits libres contra les errors del infaels", *ibid.*, p. 15.

11) Karlsruhe Codex (cf. n. 5 above), f. 4r.

statement refer to the two most striking features of the art of finding truth: the doctrine of the Dignities, and the techniques of the *ars combinatoria*.

The doctrine of the Dignities embodies certain fundamental assumptions about the nature of God and that of the universe. God — insofar as he can be known to man — consists of a series of "absolute" principles or essential attributes. These are what Lull variously calls the *praedicata absoluta*¹²), *principia transcendentia*¹³), *vertuts vertuoses essencials*¹⁴), or — most usually — *dignitats*. From about 1289 onwards, there are always nine of these in the Lullian *art general* itself (although the number varies in his other works): *Bonitas, Magnitudo, Aeternitas* (or *Duratio*), *Potestas, Sapientia, Voluntas, Virtus, Veritas, and Gloria*; and they are lettered BCDEFGHIK for combinatory purposes. These Dignities are reflected in every aspect of God's creation, and they are in fact the instruments of his creative activity; they consequently form the underlying framework of the universe. In God, these Dignities are all one essence and their actions are mutually convertible¹⁵) — each can, in other words, be 'predicated' of any and all the others¹⁶); but this is not true of their manifestations in the created universe. The relationships between the Lullian Dignities and the universe are governed by another set of principles, the *praedicata relata*¹⁷) (or 'principles of relation'), whereby all things are connected to the Dignities which they reflect, and also to each other. From about 1289 onwards, these are likewise nine in number and lettered BCDEFGHIK. They then form three triads: *Differentia + Concordantia + Contrarietas, Principium + Medium + Finis, and Maioritas + Aequalitas + Minoritas*. These two series of principles are respectively the "principia substantialia et accidentalia omnium rerum" of Lull's 'illumination' on Mount Randa.

The subordinate doctrine of the correlatives was always implicit in that of the Dignities, although it did not achieve clear formulation in Lull's early works. It grew out of the essentially active nature of the Dignities themselves. Each of these was characterized by its own appropriate *actu intrínsic*¹⁸), thus "Bonitas est ens, ratione cuius bonum agit bonum"¹⁹). As a result, Lull saw each of them unfolding into a triad of agent + patient + act. These were to become

12) E. g. *Ars Brevis* [No. 121, 1308].

13) *Introductorium Magnae Artis Generalis* [No. 115, 1306], cit. Platzeck, *Kombinatorik* n. 39.

14) *Libre de demostracions* [No. 5, c. 1275], XV, p. 55.

15) "Les divines dignitats son les unes les altres, en axí que bontat es una cosa metexa ab granea e eternitat e les altres", *Arbre de sciencia* [No. 60, 1295—6, XI—XIII], XII, p. 278; "Totes [...] son bones per bontat, e grans per granea, e eternal per eternitat, e poderoses per poder, e savies per saviea, e amades per voluntat, e virtuoses per virtut, e veres per veritat, e glorioses per gloria, e no distinctes en nombre per distinció", *ibid.* p. 279.

16) "Subiectum mutatur in praedicatum, et e converso, ut cum dicitur: Bonitas est magna; et Magnitudo est bona, et sic de aliis", *Ars Brevis* (separately paged) p. 5, in *Opera Parva*, Palma 1744, I.

17) *Op. cit.*

18) *Art demonstrativa* [No. 18, c. 1275, XVI], p. 157, No. 88.

19) *Ars Brevis*, p. 20.

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clearly differentiated in his mature terminology (e. g. *bonificativum* + *bonificabile* + *bonificare*, from *Bonitas*). Since God must be envisaged as complete in himself, and not dependent upon the act of creation for his fulfilment, these 'correlative principles'²⁰⁾ had to be inherent in the Dignities themselves — irrespective of their manifestation in the universe. This fundamental triplicity is the basis of Lull's developed Trinitarian doctrine. Imprinted on the universe by the Dignities, it gives this an ineradicably Trinitarian structure, for the correlatives turn out to be "Correlativa innata primitiva, vera, et necessaria in omnibus subjectis"²¹⁾.

These three sets of principles (absolute, relative, and correlative) form an intricate web of active relationships. It is this network which, in Lullian doctrine, constitutes both the structure of existence and the permanent underlying structure of all knowledge — a common framework to which all forms of knowledge ought to be related. This is their function in the Lullian art of finding truth, which is thoroughly Augustinian in conception: it is, basically, a means of verification and enquiry by referring all truth back to "les vérités éternelles du verbe"²²⁾, and Lull deemed his art superior to logic precisely because it related things directly to self-evident eternal truths. Although this art was primarily designed for apologetic ends, the Lullian 'principles' also furnished the basis for a systematic unification of all the mediaeval arts and sciences — giving them a common frame of reference and dictating parallel methods of development modelled on the structure of the General Art itself. For the purposes of this *art general*, the most important thing about the actual Dignities was the fact that they were strictly limited in number. A workable maximum number of relationships could therefore be established, as the basis of an *ars inveniendi veritatem* which was designed to discover all the predicates that could refer to any subject and all the possible subjects to which a given predicate could refer.

The *ars combinatoria*, although some mention of it is inevitable, is strictly irrelevant to the discussion of the basic principles. It is a side issue, to which undue prominence has often been given because the later versions of the *art general* devote more attention to working methods than to the theoretical basis on which the whole system depends. The *ars combinatoria* is really no more than a series of techniques, designed to speed up operations by introducing visual and mechanical aids and alphabetical notation. The concepts to be manipulated were represented by letters, and their manipulation was facilitated by the use of 'figures' — of which there were four in all versions of the General Art from about 1289 onwards. These 'figures' could take the form of a set of concentric but independently revolving circles (each bearing the same series of letters, which could thus be variously combined), or sets of squared 'chambers' (*cambres*) or compartments in which different combinations could be methodically arranged, or diagrams in which relationships are represented by connecting lines. The two which achieve most prominence were the

20) *Liber de Correlativis Innatis* [No. 160, 1310], ed. cit. n. 110, q. v., p. 15.

21) Op. cit., loc. cit.

22) Gilson, p. 294. For Lull's distinctions between logic and the Art, as formulated in the *Ars Magna Generalis Ultima*, cf. CA, I, p. 457.

"duas figuras" of Mount Randa, those which God had taught Lull to make out of the "principia substancialia et accidentalia omnium rerum". The first 'figure' depicts the absolute principles — the "principia substancialia". "Prima figura est de A"²³): „das symbolische A, der Uranfang alles Intelligiblen, alles Sagenbaren [...], welcher Buchstabe Gott selbst vertritt, Gott in seiner absoluten Einheit, Einmaligkeit, Einzigkeit"²⁴). It is circular, and the Dignities — placed at equal intervals on its circumference — are joined to one another by lines which represent their mutual relationships; it is the basic figure of the *ars combinatoria* because it enables one to tabulate all possible pairs of *dignitats*²⁵). The "secunda figura per T significata"²⁶) depicts the relative principles — the "principia accidentalia" — and it is based upon a set of intersecting triangles which represent the triads.

II

To clarify the underlying structure of the Lullian system, it is necessary to do three things: to divorce the principles upon which the *ars inveniendi veritatem* works from the operational techniques of the *ars combinatoria*; to disentangle the theoretical assumptions on which the General Art rests from their practical application — always bearing in mind, however, that they were developed to provide a basis for the Art as a practical apologetic instrument; and to see how Lull's doctrines developed in the course of his works until they could be formulated in the summary fashion I have used above, and could provide the basic pattern of the mature world-picture with which this article is chiefly concerned. The development of his 'alphabet' towards what I shall (with Miss Yates) be calling his BCDEFGHIK notation, and the development of his doctrine of the Dignities towards the set of nine which came to be designated by those letters, are perhaps the most important features in the evolution of the Art itself²⁷).

The first adumbration of the Dignities occurs in the *Lògica del Gatzell* [No. 43, XIX] — the rudimentary form of the idea is indeed one of the strongest arguments for placing this amongst Lull's earliest works²⁸) — and in a more developed form in the *Libre de contemplació* [No. 3, c. 1272, II—VIII]. But the

23) *Ars Brevis*, p. 5.

24) Platzeck, *Kombinatorik*, p. 35.

25) Cf. Platzeck, *Estera*.

26) *Ars Brevis*, p. 7. Cf. Platzeck, *Significaciones*.

27) The rest of this section is basically a summary of *El número primitivo de las Dignidades en el Arte general*, in: *Estudios Lulianos*, I, No. 3 (1957). I have discussed Miss Yates's views far more fully there, but I feel that I should make it clear here too that my own views on the connection between elemental theory and the doctrine of the Dignities owe everything to the stimulus of her approach to the Lullian Art through Lull's astrological and medical works.

28) For the controversy regarding its date, cf. CA, I, pp. 349—350. It has been placed as late as 1289 [Pasqual, I, p. 183] and as early as 1276 [Longpré, col. 1104; Ottaviano, p. 32]. Whilst conceding that Lull's original Arabic compilation (cf. Rubió, *Lògica*) might have been the earliest of all his works, the brothers CA assign no date to the subsequent Latin and Catalan redactions.

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crucial feature — limitation of their number — only came after the 'illumination' on Mount Randa, in the primitive *Ars Magna* [No. 1, c. 1274, cf. n. 2]. This was Lull's first attempt at a General Art, and in it the Dignities were sixteen in number, whilst the combinations were worked by seven 'figures'. In the *Art demonstrativa* [No. 18, c. 1275, XVI] — its first major revision — the basic figures were increased to sixteen²⁹), and the Dignities remained at sixteen — though not precisely the same set³⁰). But in the *Ars Inventiva Veritatis* [No. 38, 1289 (CA, I, 291)] the General Art underwent a radical and lasting simplification, for it was in this that the figures were reduced to four and the Dignities to nine³¹).

The alphabetical notation of the auxiliary *ars combinatoria* had likewise been foreshadowed in the *Lògica del Gatzell*, and it was to undergo a similar series of modifications. One has to distinguish between what Miss Yates has called Lull's ABCD notation and the BCDEFGHIK series; it is only the latter which is directly associated with the Dignities, whilst the former is used to work out "contrasts and concords" on the basis of something akin to the well-known logical 'Square of Opposition'. It was the ABCD notation which appeared in the *Lògica del Gatzell*³²), whilst the antecedents of BCDEFGHIK are to be found in the alphabets used in the *Libre de contemplació*. More complex still in the primitive *Ars Magna*, these were systematized into a single set of twenty-three letters in the *Art demonstrativa*³³), and finally reduced to the basic nine with effect from the *Ars Inventiva Veritatis*. A and T were of course retained, to denote the two main figures, but they are non-operational

29) The "primera figura demonstrativa" (cf. CA, I, p. 399) is not reproduced in *Obres XVI*, q. v., p. 18, n. 2.

<p>30) <i>Bonitas</i> is <i>bonea</i>; <i>Magnitudo</i> is <i>granea</i>; <i>Aeternitas</i> is <i>eternitat</i>; <i>Potestas</i> is <i>poder</i>; <i>Sapientia</i> is <i>saviea</i>; <i>Voluntas</i> becomes <i>amor</i>; <i>Virtus</i> is <i>vertut</i>; <i>Veritas</i> is <i>veritat</i>;</p>	<p><i>Gloria</i> is <i>gloria</i>; <i>Perfectio</i> is <i>perfecció</i>; <i>Justitia</i> is <i>justicia</i>; <i>Largitas</i> is <i>larguea</i>; <i>Misericordia</i> is <i>misericornidia</i> (15th); <i>Humilitas</i> becomes <i>simplicitat</i> (13th); <i>Dominium</i> becomes <i>senyoria</i> (16th); <i>Patientia</i> is replaced by <i>noblea</i> (14th).</p>
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31) Whilst the number of Dignities remains constant in the General Art from 1289 onwards, for combinatory purposes, it is by no means uniform in works which were not directly harnessed to the BCDEFGHIK notation. It is clear from the *Taula general de totes sciencies* [No. 51, 1293—4, XVI] that the adoption of the BCDEFGHIK series was not intended to exclude the remainder from consideration: after listing the eighteen "comensamens d aquesta Taula" (i. e. the nine absolute and nine relative principles), Lull says "Moltz son los altres comensamens generals, axí com justicia, perfecció, e los altres; mas totz poden esser aplicatz als .xviij. ditz comensamens, e la manera d aquells pot hom tenir segons la pràctica dels .xviij. comensamens, en axí com justicia qui es bona e gran, e axí dels altres comensamens generals" (p. 298).

32) *Obres*, XIX, pp. 61—62, lines 1574—1602; cit. CA, I, pp. 355—356. Cf. Yates, pp. 160—161. When the ABCD notation is used for the elements and humours, A generally denotes *aer* and *sanguis*, B *ignis* and *cholera*, C *terra* and *melancholia*, and D *aqua* and *phlegma*.

33) *Obres*, XVI, pp. 3—4.

letters; B to K, however, went on to acquire an increasing number of secondary meanings in subsequent versions, some of which are going to affect us later.

The most significant of all these modifications to the original conception of a General Art is, to my mind, undoubtedly the transition from sixteen Dignities to nine, but its true significance only emerges when it is examined against the background of mediaeval number theory. The place of numerical symbolism in Lullian thought has not yet been sufficiently examined, despite the oft-quoted passage in the prologue to the *Libre de contemplació* where Lull sets out the numbers which co-ordinate its structure³⁴). In such a case, however, the symbolism is extraneous to the substance, merely providing what Curtius calls „ein formales Gerüst für den Aufbau“ together with a somewhat superficial kind of „symbolische Vertiefung“³⁵). Where numbers are really important is where they affect the structure of the universe: „Jeder Leser mittel-lateinischer Texte weiß, daß wenige Bibelsprüche so oft angeführt und anspielend verwendet werden wie der Satz aus der *Weisheit Salomonis* 11, 21: *omnia in mensura et numero et pondere disposuisti*“, says Curtius; and he goes on to add: „Durch das Bibelwort war die Zahl als formbildender Faktor des göttlichen Schöpfungswerkes geheiligt“³⁶). This is precisely the function of number in the case of the Lullian Dignities, and I am convinced that the transition from sixteen Dignities to nine has got to be looked at in the light of “the conception of number as the pattern of the cosmos”³⁷).

The General Art takes on an immediately obvious Trinitarian pattern with the *Ars Inventiva*, thanks to its enneadic set of Dignities. The versions based on sixteen had depended upon the square of four and not the square of three, and since that number had been apparently quite arbitrary in the case of the Dignities, it is necessary to look for it in other Lullian texts to get a clue to its meaning. There are four early works, all written between the primitive *Ars Magna* and the *Art demonstrativa*, based on sets of sixteen principles which are not the Dignities: the *Començaments de teologia* [No. 6], the *Liber Principiorum Philosophiae* [No. 7], the *Liber Principiorum Juris* [No. 8], and the *Liber Principiorum Medicinae* [No. 9]³⁸). Only in one of these, however, does the number seem to have more than a fortuitous connection with the subject, and this is the *Liber Principiorum Medicinae*. Lullian medicine is founded upon traditional theories, accepting the four elements and the four humours, and each humour can be present in the first, second, third, or fourth ‘grade’ (*gradus*) — or degree — in a complexion. The sixteen ‘principles’ of the *Liber Principiorum Medicinae* are the four grades of each of the four humours, and in this and kindred works on medical, elemental, or ‘astronomical’ (i. e. astrological) subjects it is evident that the number sixteen is simply the square of the number of the elements. What immediately links the procedure of the *Liber Principiorum*

34) *Obres*, II, pp. 3—5.

35) Curtius, p. 499. Without mentioning Lull, the excursus on *Zahlenkomposition* (pp. 493—500) provides a large range of parallels for such a practice.

36) *Ibid.*, pp. 495—496.

37) Hopper, p. 89.

38) Cf. Avinyó, pp. 40—49. I have discussed their integration into the *Art demonstrativa* in *El número primitivo de las Dignidades en el Arte general*.

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Medicinae not only to the three works named with it but also to the General Art is the affirmation:

Est in hac Arte Metaphora, ut per hoc, quod *secundum Gradus* [italics mine] & Triangulos & alias Distinctiones in hac Arte dictum est, possint etiam intelligi ea, quae de aliis scientiis existunt, sicut de Theologia, Jure & Philosophia naturali & aliis, per quas intellectus exaltatur in intelligendo³⁹).

When we remember that there are, furthermore, no apparent *a priori* grounds for having sixteen Dignities, it seems reasonable to assume that it was elemental theory which had suggested their number — thereby dictating the pattern of the primitive *art general* as a whole. When one finds that elemental theory plays a prominent part in the actual functioning of the Art, the case for this becomes considerably strengthened. The *Art demonstrativa*, for instance, has two elemental 'figures', and we are told that it is very necessary to know the "segona figura elemental" because it can help one to understand the remaining figures of the Art: the combinatory operations of the elements, we are told, 'signify' the intrinsic and extrinsic operations of the Dignities, the functions of the memory, will, and understanding, and the working of the virtues and the vices⁴⁰). Lull uses the elemental pattern of the material world as a point of departure for arguing his way back to what Hopper calls "the essential archetypal pattern reproduced in both macrocosm and microcosm"⁴¹):

[...] e per asò son dades en esta Art senblanses exemplis e metàfores en diverses maneres per la elemental figura⁴²).

It was the presence of just such "senblanses exemplis e metàfores" in *Blanquerna* and *Felix* — both written in the days before the *Ars Inventiva* — which led Miss Yates to stress the importance of Lull's "elemental exemplarism"⁴³) for the understanding of these novels, previously discussed only from a literary or moral point of view. Elemental theory is used as a means to higher things for a very simple reason: because it is natural enough to start 'at the bottom of the ladder' of existence, and argue upwards from what is readily comprehensible to that which is harder to understand. Both the Lullian Art and Lullian mysticism use the material world of *sensibilia* as the point of departure for their ascent — by contemplation of the analogy of being — first to the intelligible world and ultimately to the divine.

In view of all this, it would I think be fair to describe the Lullian universe, when constructed upon the number sixteen, as one which has been erected upon the model of its elemental structure, the pattern of which has been projected upwards through the successive levels of the scale of being until it has been attributed to the very Godhead. The pattern of the Dignities — God's creative principles — has been inferred from that of their lowest manifestation; having been so inferred, it is then made responsible for its appearance at all

39) *Liber Principiorum Medicinae* (separately paged), p. 5, in *Opera R. Lulli*, I, Mainz, 1721; cit. Yates, p. 130.

40) *Obres*, XVI, p. 17; cit. *El número primitivo de las Dignidades en el Arte general*.

41) Hopper, p. 94.

42) *Obres*, XVI, p. 17.

43) Yates, p. 151.

levels of the scale of creation. From Lull's point of view, he had arrived at the structure of creation from a scrutiny of its sensible projection, and the pattern of the Dignities was to the pattern of the elements as cause is to effect; from our point of view, however, it seems more true to say that the pattern of his elemental theory had dictated that of the Dignities. Setting this in its apologetic context, it will be apparent that Lull had discovered a seemingly practical way of arguing upwards from a traditional theory regarding the physical structure of matter to the dogmatic conceptions of Christian theology. Since that theory was accepted by the savants of both the Moslem and the Jewish worlds, this whole technique will have appeared to open up a splendid vista of apologetic possibilities, but the primary apologetic function of the Art was of course masked, if only for tactical reasons, by its more general nature as a universal *ars inveniendi veritatem*.

It is, however, important to notice that despite the quaternary pattern of the Dignities, the early Art was far from being non-Trinitarian. What was non-Trinitarian was Figure A, with its series of absolute principles. Figure T, based on a series of triangles (five, not three as in the *Ars Inventiva* and thereafter), was always triadic — and Figure T was essential to the operation of the Art. Even in the *Liber Principiorum Medicinae*, if the sixteen grades are in one sense its operative foundation, its operations could only be carried out with the aid of the three triangles from the original *Ars Magna* which were to survive as the nine relative principles:

sicut enim martellus & tenaculae sunt instrumenta in arte fabrilis ita Gradus & Trianguli sunt instrumenta Medicinae⁴⁴).

When the methods of the *Liber Principiorum Medicinae* were metaphorically applied to other fields, it was "secundum Gradus & Triangulos", and the entire elemental basis of metaphorical operations in the *Art demonstrativa* depends as much upon the ternary nature of Figure T as it does upon the quaternary nature of Figure A.

When Lull went over to a set of nine Dignities, the surface pattern of the General Art becomes entirely Trinitarian: the numerical discrepancy between the Dignities and his elemental theories not only masks the intimacy of their original connection but also renders the latter less important for practical purposes. Lull eliminated the elemental 'figures' from his Art at the same time as he reduced the number of the Dignities, and this brought with it the virtual elimination of all elemental "senblanses exemplis e metâfores" from the texture of the *art general* itself. This primitive structure did not, however, wholly vanish. The number four persists, not merely coincidentally (as the number of the 'figures' from the *Ars Inventiva* onwards) but structurally, insofar as the universe continues to be based on the four elements and their sixteen 'grades' in composition, and insofar as techniques evolved upon a quaternary basis survive in a less obvious form — most notably in the treatment of the vices and the virtues. As Salzinger said:

Ars inventiva et Ars Generalis ultima ac reliquae ab illis dependentes fundantur super numero ternario, qui jam praesupponit cognitum numerum

44) *Liber Principiorum Medicinae*, p. 4.

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*quaternarium, cui superstructa est Ars Major, seu Compendiosa invenien-
di veritatem, Ars Universalis seu Lectura Compendiosae, et reliquae artes
seu scientiae illis subnixae*⁴⁵).

As to why Lull should ever have abandoned his original quaternary pattern, it seems to me that the answer must lie mainly in the inherent improbability of postulating a four-fold pattern in an avowedly triune God; after the change has been made, the quaternary structure of the elements no longer dictates the entire structure of being up to and including the Godhead — it encounters, instead, a different (a ternary) pattern of Dignities descending from above. This is a strictly Trinitarian pattern, and the encounter between the two is in accordance with what Hopper has described as “the principal Christian innovation in number science”⁴⁶), namely the identification of the spiritual-temporal duality with the archetypal numbers three and four. Hopper notes “the dominance of astrological reasoning” in “the fixed belief that there must be a congruency between these opposed categories, as between macrocosm and microcosm”⁴⁷), and we shall later see how the evolving doctrine of the correlatives enabled Lull to achieve this in a special way.

III

Just as the new Trinitarian pattern of the Dignities did not annul the quaternary structure of the elemental basis of the world, the fact that the General Art only assumes a predominantly Trinitarian pattern with the reduction of the Dignities to nine in no way implies that Lull's universe was non-Trinitarian before. I have already mentioned the triads of Figure T, and it will now be advisable to examine Lull's first world-picture from the Trinitarian point of view. In order to do so properly, it is necessary to look for this in a book which is not directly dependent on the quaternary structure of the General Art. This will also enable us to follow the genesis of the correlatives, through which Lull was to be able to reconcile the rising four with the descending three. The work in which all this can best be done is the *Libre de demostracions* [No. 5, c. 1275 (XV, x)] which fills Vol. XV of the “Obres”.

It is described as “una branca de la *Art de atrobar veritat*”⁴⁸) (i. e. of the primitive *Ars Magna*) and it is divided into four books:

lo primer es en .i. capitols a provar per rahons necessaries que l enteniment per gracia de Deu ha possibilitat de entendre los articles [i.e. de la fe]; segon es en .i. capitols on se prova per necessaries rahons Deus esser; ters es en .i. capitols per los quals se prova per necessaries rahons la sancta trinitat divina; lo quart es departit en .i. capitols per los quals se prova per necessaries rahons la encarnació e l aveniment de nostre Senyor Deus Jhesu Christ⁴⁹).

45) Salzinger (cf. Bibliography), cit. Avinyó, p. 98.

46) Hopper, p. 83.

47) Op. cit., loc. cit.

48) *Obres*, XV, p. 3.

49) *Ibid.*, p. 4.

The first of these four books is not founded on the Dignities at all. The second identifies God with "la molt excelent subirana bonea"⁵⁰), pairing *bonea* — in twelve *cambres* — with a series of twelve attributes: *granea*, *eternitat*, *poder*, *saviea*, *amor*, *vertut*, *veritat*, *gloria*, *acabament*, *justicia*, *senyoria*, and *simplicitat*. In the third, *bonea* is the first of a series of twelve (the *justicia* and *senyoria* of Book II being omitted, and *libertat* added as the twelfth). The fourth book (which I shall not be discussing) has a series of twelve which includes *bonea*, but omits *granea*, *eternitat*, *senyoria*, and *simplicitat* from the list in Book II, adding *misericordia*, *humilitat*, and *paciencia*. Clearly neither the precise list nor even the number is of great importance to the structure of this work, if such inconsistencies are possible between its various parts.

The universe of the *Libre de demostracions*, like that of St. Augustine, is "entièrement organisé selon le modèle des idées divines; tout ce qu'il a d'ordre, de forme et de fécondité lui vient d'elles, de sorte que le lien fondamental qui relie le monde à Dieu est un rapport de ressemblance"⁵¹); its metaphysical structure is equally based on "une participation complexe à la nature de l'être divin, qui se fonde elle-même sur les relations transcendantes des personnes divines entre elles"⁵²). The universe of the *Libre de demostracions* is in fact strictly in keeping with Augustinian tradition, original though it may be in some of its developments of the 'analogy of being'. It is above all thoroughly Trinitarian from the start, marked out as such by the constant recurrence of the numbers three and one: "la unitat e la trinitat que Deus ha posada en les creatures a significar la sua trinitat e unitat"⁵³).

It would be neither appropriate nor possible to enumerate all such triads, but there are two instances which are directly relevant to my theme: the traditional kinds of existence (because of their application), and the kinds of things which exist. Lull gives the three accepted kinds of existence:

Atorgada cosa es que l'esser de les creatures es en .iij. maneres: la una sí es con totes les creatures son en la saviea de Deu; l'altra es con son formalment en ànima, so es en l'enteniment qui aquelles entén; tersa es con son en elles metexes⁵⁴).

Of these three kinds of existence, that in the mind is not necessarily perfect, for if it were then the human understanding would possess the whole truth to start with and there would be no need for any kind of an *ars inveniendi veritatem*. Things exist in themselves and in God irrespective of their existence in the mind, yet the possibility of their existence in the mind is extremely important:

Deus vol que les creatures sien en l'enteniment per tal que sien mijà enfre Deu e l'enteniment, ab lo qual l'enteniment aja aparellament de conèxer Deu e ses obres⁵⁵).

50) *Ibid.*, p. 51.

51) Gilson, p. 275.

52) *Ibid.*, p. 281.

53) *Obres*, XV, p. 36.

54) *Ibid.*, p. 16.

55) *Loc. cit.*

The aim of the search for truth is perfect congruence between the three kinds of existence, whose basic structure is always the pattern of the Dignities of God, and I think that this partly explains the way in which Lull tried to ascend from the pattern of elemental composition to the pattern of the Dignities themselves. The discernible pattern in material existence was something which ought, he felt, to be a "mijà [. . .] ab lo qual l enteniment aja aparellement de conèxer Deu".

Just as there are only three kinds of existence, only three kinds of thing exist: "So qui es, o es Deu o es creatura o es obra; e so qui no es neguna d estes .iij. coses, res no es"⁵⁶). The three are in fact *Deus + Creatura + Operatio*: the first triad of the original Figure T, which was to be omitted from that figure in versions from the *Ars Inventiva* onwards. In the *Libre de demostracions*, Lull goes on to show that one can argue directly from an observable triplicity in the last two terms to the Trinity in *Deus*. Both *creatura* and *obra* can be shown to unfold into a 'trinity':

Tot so qui es creatura, o es substancia o es accident; e tot so qui es substancia creada, es en unitat e trinitat: en unitat es en quant es .j.^a substancia; en trinitat es en quant es conposta de materia e de forma e de la concordansa ab que materia e forma se covenen; e tot so qui es accident, cové esser en subject e cové esser concordansa entre ell e l subject; cor sens concordansa no s covenrien a esser lo subject continent, ni l accident contengut; e tot so qui es obra, cové esser per .iij. coses, so es a saber, per l agent e per l obrat e per lo mijà ab que l agent es obrant e l obrat es obrat, e assò s seguex en tota obra natural o artificial. On, tot so qui es en lo jusan be, roda e corre per unitat e per trinitat⁵⁷).

Two of those arguments are going to prove important later on, for the unfolding of *obra* gives the basic doctrine of the correlatives, and the doctrine of the correlatives will interlock with that of *materia + forma + concordansa* in the final integration of the Lullian world-picture. At this point, however, the triplicity in *creatura* and *obra* is simply used to justify the attribution of triplicity to Deu:

cor la unitat qui es en lo jusan be significa que ha sobre sí altra unitat pus noble, la qual es en lo subiran be, e la trinitat qui es en lo jusan be demostra que altra trinitat es qui es a ella subirana⁵⁸).

The arguments employed are generally of that nature, governed by the third condition given in the *pròlec*: "que hom atreboesca a Deu la major nobilitat qui pusca caber en l enteniment, entenent enperò que en Deu no ha major ni menor"⁵⁹). Such arguments can be of two kinds: firstly, whatever excellence can be observed in "les creatures [. . .] con son en elles metexes" is to be attributed to God in the superlative degree; secondly, whatever excellence can be postulated "en l enteniment" (even if it be lacking in "les creatures") is likewise to be attributed to God. In the first chapter of "lo segon

56) *Obres*, XV, p. 278.

57) *Ibid.*, p. 279.

58) *Loc. cit.*

59) *Ibid.*, p. 4.

libre en lo qual es encercada la molt subirana bonea⁶⁰), arguing in the first of these ways, we read:

Sabut es per necessaries demostracions que los uns bens son subirans als altres; cor los irracionals son sobiran be a les plantes en quant uzen de sensualitat, e los racionals son sobirà be als irracionals en so que uzen de rahó: doncs de necessitat se cové que alcuna cosa sia, la qual sia subiran be⁶¹).

but since "infinitat de bonea de granea de eternitat (&c.) [...] no cab ni es compresa en lo be dels racionals [...] los racionals no abasten a esser subiran be"⁶²). The highest good is infinite good, for there can be none higher⁶³), and the highest good is in fact "so qui s cové a aver les .xii. propietats essencials (i. e. including basic *bonea*) les quals apelam vertuts vertuosas essencials, qui ensems son una essencia"⁶⁴).

The proof that they are one essence in God, but not below him, and that in God — but only in God — their actions are 'convertible' (so that each Dignity both is the others and performs their 'work') is of the second kind. There is a certain stumbling impetuosity about it which is very characteristic of the *Libre de demostracions* as a whole, and its clarity is hampered by linguistic clumsiness (Lull's philosophical Catalan is still at an early stage of its development in the *Libre de demostracions*), but the argument itself is important: taking *essencia*, *poder*, *saviea*, and *volentat*, Lull argues that if they were all the same thing 'below' that thing would *essenciejar*, *poderejar*, *saviejar*, and *amar* simultaneously. By virtue of *poder* each of the others would be able to act, by virtue of *saviea* each of the others would know how to act, by virtue of *volentat* each of the others would will to act, and each of the others would be enabled to act by their common *essencia*. Consequently, any one of the four could do the work of any other, by virtue of their co-essentiality; but were this true 'below', "seria lo jusan be e sa obra en molt pus alt grau que no es", lacking corruption and sin and other observable *defalliments*. But "lo jusan be no pot esser en lo grau damunt dit", because those four are not in fact one essence. Where the highest good is concerned, however:

cor lo subiran be es sobre lo jusà, cové de necessitat que en ell sia la nobilitat per la qual lo jusan be seria més a ensús que no es, si avia aquella nobilitat per la qual seria pus noble⁶⁵).

The examination of the Dignities at work, as a means to the demonstration of the Trinity, is the object of Book III:

cor en axí con per la conexensa que avem del subiran be, avem conexensa de .j. Deu, en axí per la conexensa que hom ha de la subirana obra, ha conexensa de la subirana trinitat⁶⁶).

60) Ibid., p. 51.

61) Ibid., p. 53.

62) Ibid., p. 54.

63) Ibid., p. 55.

64) Ibid., pp. 54—55.

65) Ibid., pp. 237—238.

66) Ibid., p. 216.

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The Dignities, when examined in action in the *cambres* of the relevant 'figure', are seen to be action, agent, and patient simultaneously in God — although these functions are separated out in 'lo jusan be' (just as the Dignities were one essence in God, but differentiated here below). This triplicity of agent + patient + action is seen as an image of the relationships between the Persons of the Trinity. Just as in the *Libre de contemplació*⁶⁷⁾, so here, too, Lull's terminology is not yet adequate for the clear formulation of his Trinitarian doctrine, and this defect explains the somewhat tortuous nature of his 'demonstrations'.

Lull's discussion of love (a synonym of *volentat*)⁶⁸⁾ provides a good example of the kind of argument which he was to formulate far better once he had evolved his correlative terminology, and although I am not concerned with his sources it would be helpful to bear in mind a brief passage from St. Augustine on the same subject:

Quid est autem dilectio vel charitas, quam tantopere Scriptura divina laudat et praedicat, nisi amor boni? Amor autem alicuius amantis est, et amore aliquid amatur. Ecce tria sunt: amans, et quod amatur, et amor⁶⁹⁾.

Lull says that love, and the loving of that which is apt to be loved, and the beloved and the lover, are all necessarily good⁷⁰⁾. Yet because there cannot be a lover without love and the work of love, whereas there can be a beloved without there being love or lover⁷¹⁾, it follows that lover and love are suited to major, and a beloved who is not at the same time a lover is suited to minor⁷²⁾. Since we already know that "en Deu no ha major ni menor", it follows that there cannot be "amat qui no sia amant" in God:

si en lo subiran be avia amor e obra d amor e amant e amat, e que l amat no fos amor ni obra d amor ni amant, auria y major e menor, e assò es impossibol; per la qual impossibilitat es demostrat que en lo subiran be ha diverses subpòsits, e que la .j. es amant sí metex, e amant sí metex fa de sí metex altre amant, e cascú amant es amat per l altre e per sí metex; e amant cascú amant sí metex e l altre, son amats d altre amant ixent dels .ij. amants, lo qual es amant sí metex e ls altres .ij. amants; e aquesta amor dels .iij. amants es tan gran e tan acabada, que cascú dels amants e la amor de cascú es infinida en bonea granea eternitat e en les altres cambres de la figura, e per la infinitat d amants e amats e amors qui es en cascuna de les cambres, tots .iij. los amants e los amats e les amors e lurs obres, son .j.^a essencia infinida en bonea granea eternitat e en les altres cambres de la figura⁷³⁾.

67) Cf. CA, I, pp. 358—359.

68) Discussed in *De bonea amor* [II, v], *De amant e amor e amat* [II, l], and *De la obra de amor* [III, vi]; also in *De major amor* [IV, iiii] in connection with the Incarnation.

69) *De Trinitate*, VIII, 10, cf. Platzeck, *Kombinatorik*, pp. 386—387.

70) "De necessitat se cové que amor e amar so qui s cové a esser amat, e l amat e l amant son be" (II, v), *Obres*, XV, p. 61.

71) "amant no pot esser sens amor e obra d amor [...] e amat pot esser sens que no sia amor ni amant" (III, vi), *ibid.*, p. 245.

72) "Amant e amor se covenen ab major, e amat qui no sia amant se cové ab menor" (II, l), *ibid.*, p. 211.

73) (III, vi) *ibid.*, p. 245.

In God, then, the Dignities must be one essence, their actions must be convertible, and there must be a triadic plurality of agent + patient + action in each Dignity, but each of these functions must simultaneously be the other two. Reverting to the proof from *essencia*, *poder*, *saviea*, and *volentat*, one finds the conclusion:

cové de necessitat que lo subiran be sia .j.^a essencia, e que en aquella essencia aja pluralitat sens la qual no y puria esser la obra damunt dita, e que en essencia sien .j.^a cosa metexa lo poder e la saviea e la volentat del subiran be, e que en persones sia diferencia e concordansa en la essencia, per la qual diferencia e concordansa pusca esser la obra damunt dita; cor si en la essencia ha diferencia e concordansa de .j.^a essencia e altra, pot poderejar e saviejar e amar essenciejant la .j.^a essencia en l autre, e sens diferencia e concordansa impossíbol cosa seria esta obra damunt dita⁷⁴).

The *pluralitat* of functions — later to be called correlatives — thus serves to establish the plurality of persons in God; but this distinction of functions has also involved the entry of certain of the relative principles into the Godhead.

At this stage, the only ones to do so are difference and concord and (by implication, since *desegualtat* is excluded along with *contrarietat*)⁷⁵ equality. *Comensament* and *fi* (and therefore *mijà*, which only exists to lie between them) are excluded from “so qui es subiran be” on the grounds that they are incompatible with eternity⁷⁶). Later on, in the *Arbre de sciencia* [No. 60, 1295—6, XI—XIII], beginning + middle + end will also be made to enter the Godhead, and the six relative principles which can then be attributed to God — “la distinció de persones e la concordança d aquelles, començament mijà fi e egualtat⁷⁷) — are even numbered amongst the “dignitats de Deu” alongside “la sua essencial bonea granea eternitat poder saviea voluntat virtut veritat gloria”, thus bringing the total of Dignities up to fifteen in the “Arbre divinal”. By that time, however, it is clear that *comensament* + *mijà* + *fi* have lost all notion of the temporality which made them seem incompatible with eternity in the *Libre de demostracions*. They are not only compatible with eternity, but shown to be implicit in the generation of the Son by the Father and the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son. Beginning + middle + end are in fact inherent in any distinction of correlative functions⁷⁸), whether in the Godhead or in the created universe, and it would seem to be due solely to the incomplete elaboration of what was to become the doctrine of the correlatives that they were excluded from God in the *Libre de demostracions*.

74) *Ibid.*, p. 238.

75) *Ibid.*, p. 159.

76) This follows from „los conposts dels elements sons bens diverses e concordants en alguns individuus, mas ab eternitat no son equals, per so cor an comensament e fi, e per assò no poden esser subiran be”, p. 159, and „ab lo subiran be se descové tot so qui ha primeria e derreria”, p. 162.

77) *Obres*, XII, p. 276.

78) Cf. Platzeck, *Kombinatorik*, p. 385.

IV

Incomplete though that elaboration may have been, the essential features have already emerged. The triad discerned in *obra* — the third term of the first triad of the primitive *Ars Magna* — is a normal set of correlatives, and it provides the basic argument for working back to just such a correlative differentiation between the persons of the Trinity. It has not, however, yet been identified with the Trinitarian image found in *creatura*, nor has it yet acquired its characteristic terminology. Its terminological expression in the *Libre de demostracions* is comparatively simple and obvious. Once Lull has argued his way back from *obra* in the created universe to *obra* in God, and has been led to attribute *obra* to all God's Dignities, he finds himself equipping each of them with a corresponding transitive verb to denote its characteristic form of action:

cové de necessitat que lo subiran be aja major e pus noble obra que lo jusan be, e si ha major obra e pus nobla que lo jusan be, cové que si lo subiran be ha bonea, que aja bonejar, e si ha granea que aja granejar, e si ha eternitat que aja eternejar, e si ha poder que aja poderejar, e si ha saviea que aja saviejar, e si ha amor que aja amar, e si ha vertut que aja vertuejar, e si ha veritat que aja vertedejar, e si ha gloria que aja gloriejar, e si ha acabament que aja acabar, e si ha simplicitat que aja simpliciejar, e si ha libertat que aja liberejar; e si assò no avia, no seria subiran be a la anima qui ha fe e creure, e ha esperansa e esperar, e ha caritat e amar, e ha justícia e jutjar, &c⁷⁹).

Given the infinitives, what remained to be done was to find corresponding terms for the agent and the patient. In his first discussion of the Lullian correlatives, Platzeck points out: „Kann jedes transitive Zeitwort sein zugehöriges aktives wie passives Dingwort nach sich in der Form des *participium praesens* und des *participium passivum* benennen“⁸⁰). This is the way employed by Lull in the *Libre de demostracions* — though not in his later terminology —, and the verbs which he constructs with the suffix *-ejar* produce an agent in *-ejant* and a patient in *-ejat*: thus *gloria*, for instance, abuts in *gloriejant* and *gloriejat*. But Lull is somewhat careless in his use of this terminology: e. g. the basic noun is sometimes used as though it were a fourth term on the same level as the others, rather than their root, as when he states “es demostrat que en lo subiran be se concorden e s covenen acabant e acabat e acabament e obra d acaba-ment“⁸¹). Neither such carelessness, nor this particular method of deriving a triad of dependent terms from the parent substantive, are generally found once the doctrine has matured.

The correlatives take on their characteristic form (although not yet the name of *principia correlativa*) in another group of texts. The dating of Lull's early works — and even their order — is still obscure⁸²). Galmés has suggested that the *Art demostrativa* might have been written before the *Libre de demo-*

79) *Obres*, XV, p. 224.

80) *Kombinatorik*, pp. 385—386.

81) *Obres*, XV, p. 266.

82) *CA*, I, pp. 274—275.

*stracions*⁸³), but there seem to be two good reasons for rejecting this view: firstly, the *Libre de demostracions* is alluded to (twice) in the *Ars Universalis* [No. 2], a version of the General Art which belongs between the primitive *Ars Magna* and the *Art demonstrativa*, as Galmés had himself pointed out elsewhere⁸⁴); secondly, the Trinitarian terminology of the *Art demonstrativa* is not only more carefully used than that of the *Libre de demostracions* but also belongs to the type which was perpetuated in later works.

The *Art demonstrativa* assumes familiarity with the doctrine of active Dignities, each characterised by what Lull calls its "obra intrínseca especificativa"⁸⁵). This time, however, the characteristic infinitive is not made by adding the suffix *-ejar* but *-ificar*, e. g. *bonificar* instead of *bonejar*. It is true that this form does not entirely supersede the other, and that verbs of both types can even be found together, e. g. "*Questió es: si en Deu està gloria per bonificar qui sia gloriejar*"⁸⁶); and it is also true that most references are to basic substantive and infinitive, rather than to the latter's implied 'correlatives' agent and patient. Yet the full doctrine, whereby each Dignity necessarily unfolds into a triad of interconnected principles, is clearly implied in the *Art demonstrativa* itself, even if we have to turn to the *Compendium seu Commentum Artis Demonstrativae* [No. 24] to find that the terminological aspect of this 'unfolding' is called 'declining' the basic term, and that the characteristic forms for agent and patient are no longer the *participium praesens* and the *participium passivum*⁸⁷). The agent is normally formed, instead, by adding the suffix *-ivum* to the stem of the past participle, e. g. *bonificativum*; and the patient by adding the suffix *-ibile* to the verbal stem, e. g. *bonificabile*. These do not entirely supersede the participial approach, however, for participial forms based on the new type of infinitive are used alongside the new correlatives even in works which Lull wrote after the turn of the century, e. g. *bonificans* alongside *bonificativum* (although rarely) and *bonificatum* alongside *bonificabile*.

Implicit although this unfolding of the Dignities may be in the *Art demonstrativa* and its dependent cycle of works, one has to wait for the *Ars Inventiva* before it achieves real prominence, for it was apparently only at about the same time as he reduced the Dignities from sixteen (and the relative principles from fifteen) to nine that Lull really clarified and brought out into the open the doctrine whose origins I have considered in the *Libre de demostracions*. The omission of the triad *Deus + Creatura + Operatio* from Figure T allows for the independent development of *Operatio*, and by the time of the *Taula general de totes sciencies* [No. 51, 1293—4, XVI] — the next major revision of the

83) *Obres*, XVI, p. x.

84) *Obres*, XV, p. xiii.

85) *Obres*, XVI, p. 148, No. 20.

86) *Ibid.*, p. 146, No. 9.

87) Cf. my forthcoming article on Lull's Trinitarian terminology for a full discussion of this issue, together with the question of Lull's Arabic authority for this "declinare [...] terminos figurarum, dicendo sub conditionibus bonitatis bonificativum, bonificabile, bonificatum", op. cit. (separately paged) p. 160, in *Opera R. Lulli*, III, Mainz, 1722.

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General Art — the triad agent + patient + action has become an essential part of the doctrine regarding Figure A itself. The first paragraph of the very first Distinction, having explained the circularity of Figure A by saying that this is designed to facilitate the 'placing' of each Dignity into all the others in turn, goes on to describe this 'placing' by saying:

aquest metiment e entrament sia fet ab declinació de cascú dels comensamens, axí com declinar bonea en bonificatiu bonificable e bonificar, e granea en magnificatiu magnificable e magnificar, e en axí dels altres per orde, en tal manera, que hom veja les declinacions com se poden fer les unes en les altres muntiplicant la substancia de sos comensamens⁸⁸).

The correlatives have thus become firmly established as accessories to Figure A, and it will now be convenient to summarise the doctrine concerning them as it then stood, before going on to consider its later developments.

So far, we have a doctrine according to which *obra* necessarily unfolds into a triad of *obrant* + *obrat* + *obrar*, which is not a reflection of the Trinity merely by virtue of being three-in-one but an actual image of the relationships obtaining within the triune Godhead: in the words put into the mouth of the angelic shepherd in the fourth Karlsruhe illumination, "Nulla autem operatio potest esse sine tribus, scilicet operatiuum operabile et operari, que propter excellentiam persone in deo dicuntur"⁸⁹). Furthermore, since God is characterised by his Dignities and these are the active principles of his manifestation, each Dignity in turn unfolds into its own set of correlatives. This is the form in which the correlatives have been discussed by Father Platzek, and he sees them as a manifestation of the triad *Principium* + *Medium* + *Finis* in terms of a *Principians* + *Principiare* + *Principiatum*⁹⁰): on the one hand, they reflect the structure of every transitive relationship⁹¹); on the other hand — and this is, in his view, their primary nature —, they are the correlative parts of any proposition — the denotant, denoted, and denoting, or subject, object, and verb⁹²). Father Platzek's approach to them in terms of *la gramática especulativa medieval* suggests that this whole doctrine is fundamentally a grammatical technique of analysis⁹³), and this is the more important because the correlative unfolding of things (along with its dependent terminology) became Lull's most potent instrument for the investigation of both God and the created universe. Before it could do so, however, two further steps had to be taken: the first of these involved the development of a new technique of definition, whilst the second involved a merging of the Trinitarian distinction in *obra* (which had led to the correlatives) with the Trinitarian distinction in *substancia* which had produced the triad *materia* + *forma* + *concordansa*.

The Dignities had been defined in terms of their essential action from the first, thus *Bonitas* was "ens ratione cuius bonum agit bonum" in the primitive

88) *Obres*, XVI, p. 302.

89) Karlsruhe Codex, f. 4r.

90) *Kombinatorik*, p. 388.

91) *Ibid.*, p. 387.

92) *Ibid.*, p. 385; *Significaciones*, pp. 75—76.

93) *Significaciones*, pp. 75—77.

*Ars Magna*⁹⁴) — and is still defined in the same phrase in 1308, in the *Ars Brevis*⁹⁵). Once the doctrine of the correlatives has established the unfolding of every action into *activum* + *agibile* + *agere*, this technique of definition in terms of essential action necessarily involves the establishment of a correlative triad in every object so defined. To begin with, this technique was only applied to the Dignities, but after a while it was taken further: all created things — in other words, all nouns — become active in the same way as the Dignities because they are part of a creation which reflects the activity of the Dignities at every point, and they therefore become subject to the same type of definition. In the *Logica Nova* [No. 92, 1303], “homo est animal hominificans”:

hec diffinitio magis specifica est: et conuertit magis cum diffinitio quam ista, homo est animal rationale et mortale. Quia de genere et natura rationalitatis est etiam angelus, et de genere mortalitatis leo &c. [...] Et iccirco hec diffinitio est magis propria quia intimioris est proprietatis et immediatoris subiecti⁹⁶).

What has happened is that the correlative distinction first established in the third term of the triad *Deus* + *Creatura* + *Operatio*, and subsequently projected upwards from *Operatio* into *Deus*, has now been projected downwards into *Creatura* — the middle term. It will, however, be recalled that *Creatura* had already been found to contain a triadic distinction: “en unitat es en quant es .j.^a substancia; en trinitat es en quant es conposta de materia e de forma e de la concordansa ab que materia e forma se covenen⁹⁷”). The two triadic distinctions coalesce: form as the active principle becomes the first correlative, matter as the passive principle becomes the second, and they can only inhere in one another if bound together by an active bond — the third correlative. In this final form, the doctrine of the correlatives provides the most important part of the structure underlying Ramon Lull’s mature world-picture.

V

The reduction of the Dignities to nine brought with it a thorough revision of the *art general*, a revision which involved the formal adoption of that number as a key to the entire pattern. With this came the adoption of the nine letters BCDEFGHIK as the combinatory alphabet. The stratification of the Art on the basis of BCDEFGHIK did not, however, achieve its final and most complete form until the *Ars Magna Generalis Ultima*⁹⁸) and the *Ars Brevis*. A reproduction of the ‘tabula’ to the *Ars Brevis* will prove helpful (cf. fig. 1): it consists of nine *praedicata absoluta* (the Dignities from *Bonitas* to *Gloria*), which are grouped together as A (the Godhead — itself the trinity *Essentia* + *Unitas* + *Perfectio*), and the nine *praedicata relata* grouped together as T, balanced by nine *Quaestiones*, nine *Subjecta*, nine *Virtutes*, and nine *Vitia*. Not only has Lull extended the traditional seven virtues and vices to nine, he has also compressed the ten fundamental *Quaestiones* of his Art — which are connected

94) Cf. CA, I, p. 385.

95) *Ars Brevis*, p. 20.

96) Ed. Proaza, Valencia 1512, f. 6^v.

97) *Libre de demostracions*, p. 279 cit.

98) Cf. CA, I, p. 430.

1. Essentia
2. Unitas
3. Perfectio

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	K
Prædicata	Absoluta	Bonitas	Magnitudo	Æternitas seu Duratio	Potestas	Sapientia	Voluntas	Virtus	Veritas	Gloria
	T. Relata seu respectus	Differentia	Concordantia	Contrarietas	Principium	Medium	Finis	Maioresitas	Æqualitas	Minoritas
Q. Quaestiones	Vtrum?	Vtrum?	Quid?	De quo?	Quare?	Quantum?	Quales?	Quando?	Vbi?	Quomodo? Cum quo?
S. Subiecta	Deus	Angelus	Coelum	Homo	Imaginatio	Sensitiua	Vegetatiua	Elementatiua	Instrumentatiua	
V. Virtutes	Iustitia	Prudentia	Fortitudo	Temperantia	Fides	Spes	Charitas	Patientia	Pietas	
V. Vitia	Auaritia	Gula	Luxuria	Superbia	Acidia	Inuidia	Ira	Mendacium	Inconstantia	

Alphabetum
seu
principia
huius artis
sunt aut

Fig. 1: Tabula Artis Brevis (Opera, Strasbourg, 1617)

with the Aristotelean categories — into nine compartments. He does not drop the tenth, *Cum quo?*, for it must be there if his Art is to be exhaustive in its enquiries, but *Quomodo?* and *Cum quo?* have to share the ninth compartment and the letter K.

I have already referred to the fourth of the Karlsruhe miniatures, and it will help to look at the first four *enneads* of that 'tabula' within the context of the fifth of those illustrations: the *Quaestiones* are personified as nine philosophers asking their respective questions, and the nine *Subjecta* are presented in the form of a vertical ladder — a mediaeval chain-of-being — whose rungs are the various levels of existence⁹⁹). The questions are bracketed together and then redistributed, so that all the questions can be applied to each rung of that ladder, and this is because they are questions which can be asked regarding every level of existence¹⁰⁰).

So far, there is nothing — other than the number nine — which can be described as peculiarly Lullian. But in the illumination, Lull summons "Vos nouem domini qui dubitatis et queritis de nouem omnium rerum subiectis et de rebus eorum et operationibus intrinsecis et extrinsecis, immediatis et mediatis, substantialibus et accidentalibus, insensibilibus et sensibilibus, perpetuis et corruptibilibus"¹⁰¹), offering to solve their problems by means of his Art, out of whose principles he makes a ladder to ascend the Tower of Wisdom and Truth towards the Trinity. This second ladder is not strictly congruous with the ideas it is meant to represent. As it stands, the two sets of *praedicata* have been distributed into the nine compartments between the rungs in an *ascending order* from the letter B (for *Bonitas* and *Differentia*) to K (for *Gloria* and *Minoritas*). Neither the Dignities nor the relative principles actually stand in that kind of a relationship to one another, yet this visual illustration can still be of great help provided we modify it in one respect: those principles do not so much fashion a ladder whereby one can ascend towards the Trinity as enable one to turn that other ladder — the 'chain of being' — into an effective means of ascent. The principles should be seen as a grid, and this should be placed *horizontally* across the top of the ladder: passing down the ladder, this 'grid' informs each level of contingent being¹⁰²) with an identical pattern, which is the basic pattern of the whole Lullian world-picture.

In order to discuss this properly, we shall have to be conversant with one further phase in the elaboration of Lull's Trinitarian terminology. Lull came to endow the correlative suffixes with an autonomous existence, for convenience in the manipulation of his concepts: *tivum*, *bile*, and *are* become words in their own right, so that he can refer to *tiva*, *bilia*, or *are* when he wants to group the agents, patients, or actions of a number of subjects together (*are* has not

99) There is a vacant rung between *Deus* and *Angeli* which may be a copyist's mistake, but it might be intended to indicate the extent of the gap between the Creator and the highest of his creatures.

100) The lowest level, *Instrumentativa*, is not of the same nature as the others, but its functions — other than of completing a set of nine — need not detain us here.

101) Karlsruhe Codex, f. 5r, cf. Rubió, *Miniatures*, p. 85.

102) *Contrarietas*, *Maioritas*, and *Minoritas* are not of course present in the Godhead, but they enter into the structure of contingent being.

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got a different form in the plural)¹⁰³). It is the doctrine of the correlatives which provides the true warp-and-woof of a universe reflecting the pattern of God's Dignities, for the structure with which that descending 'grid' informs each successive level of existence is not a dead or passive structure, set there for all time, but an intricate web of permanently active relationships based on correlative principles.

The universe down which this pattern moves is divided 'vertically' into form, matter, and an active bond which links those two together. Thanks to the fusion of the triad *obrant* + *obrat* + *obrar* with the triad *materia* + *forma* + *concordansa*, the *tiva* of the Dignities produce the form of the universe, their *bilìa* its matter, and their *are* an active bond ("una conjunctio Vniversalis totius ipsius Vniversi")¹⁰⁴), and the same is true — on every level of existence within that universe — of the *tivum* + *bile* + *are* of each subject. But the scale of being down which that pattern moves is also divided 'horizontally', into the Divine World — which comprises only the highest rung of the ladder —, the Intelligible World, and the Sensible World of material existence. This traditional threefold division is important because the relationship between these three worlds is seen by Lull in terms of an Anselmian grammatical analogy: the comparison of adjectives¹⁰⁵). The sensible world is to the intelligible world as the positive is to the comparative, and the intelligible world is to the divine as the comparative is to the superlative degree. One consequence of this was that Lull was led, in the last few years of his life, to introduce this distinction into the actual terminology of the Dignities, seeing God's intrinsic *Bonitas*, for instance, not only as *Bonitas optima*¹⁰⁶) but even as *Optimitas*, with a corresponding set of correlatives — *optimans* + *optimatum* + *optimare*¹⁰⁷).

These three worlds (together with their subsidiary rungs of the ladder) are directly related to one another by the congruence of their common pattern — the pattern imposed upon them by that of the Dignities which they reflect. The nine Dignities unfold, in this pattern, into a network of twenty-seven correlatives, held together by their interaction, and we find the Dignities and their correlatives appearing on each level of existence in terms appropriate to the level itself. In God, "propter excellentiam persone [. . .] dicuntur"¹⁰⁸), and the nine *tiva* are God the Father, the nine *bilìa* God the Son, and the nine *are* God the Holy Ghost¹⁰⁹). As one moves down the scale of existence, so the *tivum* of each creature is seen to be its appropriate reflection of the *tiva* of the whole set of Dignities, its *bile* of their *bilìa*, its *are* of their *are*. To take an elemental example: *ignitivum* is the fiery manifestation of God's nine *tiva* (as well as being, of course, the form of fire), and therefore the fiery image of God the

103) *Liber de Correlativis Innatis*, passim.

104) *Ibid.*, p. 33.

105) Cf. Longpré, col. 1116.

106) *De Trinitate Trinitissima* [No. 202, 1313].

107) *Tractatus de Conversione Subiecti, et Praedicati per Medium* [No. 151, 1310], *Opera Parva*, I, Palma 1744, pp. 98—99.

108) Karlsruhe Codex, f. 4^r cit.

109) *Liber de Correlativis Innatis*, pp. 49—53.

Father; *ignibile* is the fiery manifestation of the *divine bilia* and an image of God the Son; and *ignire*, similarly, the fiery image of the Holy Ghost, made manifest through the nine *are* of the Godhead. On the basis of this doctrine, nothing could be easier than to establish the requisite congruence between the quaternary elemental world and the ternary spiritual world — BCDEFGHIK enter directly into each letter of ABCD by 'unfolding' it into a triad which reflects their Trinity.

The Trinitarian structuralisation of the universe is expressed at length in the *Liber de Correlativis Innatis* [No. 160, 1310]¹¹⁰), but there is no need to go through this work chapter by chapter. It will prove sufficient if we study the Lullian microcosm in some detail, with the aid of a diagram — presumably designed by Thomas le Myésier — from the *Breviculum* (the abridgement of Lullian doctrine which follows the biographical introduction in the Karlsruhe Codex, cf. n. 5 above). This diagram is imperfect in one respect, but it seems preferable to leave it unamended and to discuss the divergence between it and the seventh Distinction — „De Homine“ — of the *Liber de Correlativis Innatis* at the appropriate point in the exposition.

The caption and point of reparture is the statement “*Hominis constructio ex omni quod creatum est*”; the soul is to be found above that line, and the body below it. Working in from the left, the soul divides into its three faculties or powers: reading downwards, *Voluntas*, *Intellectus*, *Memoria*. *Corpus* brackets together four levels of existence: imagination, sensation, vegetation, and the elemental plane. Each of those seven items unfolds into its own correlatives: into *tivum* and *bile* in the first instance, with the *are* proceeding from them just as the Holy Ghost proceeds from Father and Son in the Godhead — the Trinitarian analogy must be borne in mind at every stage. To take an instance, *Voluntas* produces the *Volitivum* and the *Volibile*, out of which comes the infinitive *Velle*; yet the three are described as “*una mera essentia simplex*”. Each of the three faculties of the soul has this triplicity, and so has each of the four planes of bodily existence; and in each of these seven divisions the *tivum* reflects the nine *tiva* of the Dignities, the *bile* their *bilii*, and the *are* their *are*.

Below the dividing line, both the sensory and the elemental planes are subdivided. The former starts from the *Sensus communis*, which has its own correlatives, and the six external senses of Lullian physiology¹¹¹) unfold from its action, *Sentire*. Each sense again mirrors the Trinitarian structure of God by producing its own set of correlatives, e.g. *Visitivum* + *Visibile* + *Videre* from *Visum*. On the elemental plane, fire, air, water, and earth similarly proceed from the *Elementare* of the *Elementativa* — each of the four being single in essence, yet triple in its correlatives.

Reverting for simplicity to the upper half of the diagram, we find that the triple will, triple intellect, and triple memory are bracketed together at the

110) All references are to the edition in *Opera Parva* (Palma, 1744), I, in which it appears (separately paged) under the title *Tractatulus Correlativorum*.

111) The additional sense is the *Affatus*, which conceives ideas in the form of words and utters them as intelligible speech, recognising the speech of other men and reporting its meaning to the common sense (to which it also reports feelings such as pleasure and pain), cf *Lo V^{en} seyn lo qual apelam efatus* [No. 54, 1294], unpublished, Munich Cod. 64 hisp. 60.

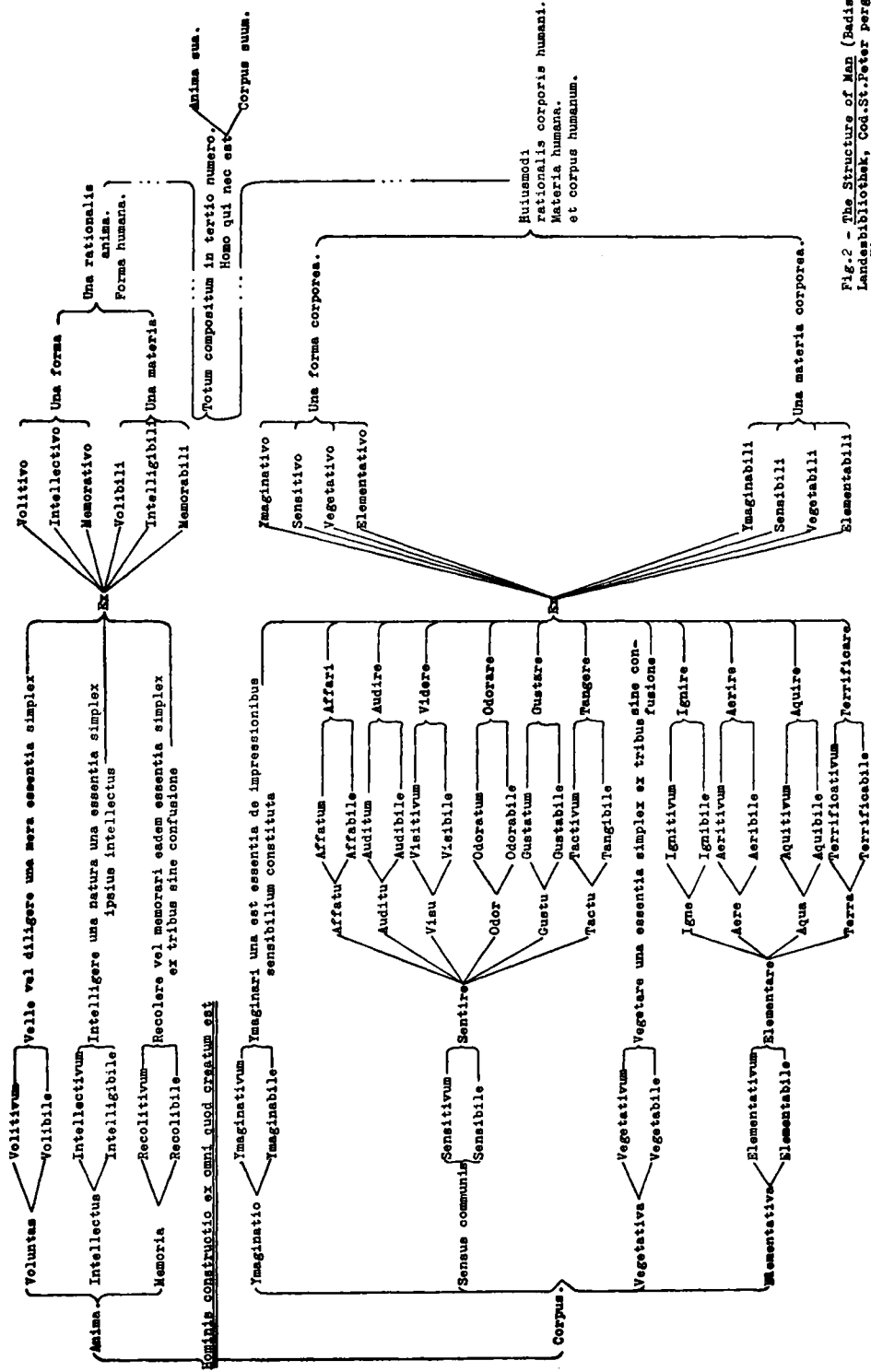


Fig. 2 - The Structure of Man (Badische Landesbibliothek, Cod. St. Peter perg. 96, f. 14v).

word "Ex", which introduces a fresh column. The correlatives of the three faculties meet, only to be split up again and regrouped, not now according to their source but according to their nature: the three *tiva* come together above, and the three *bilia* below. Together, the *tiva* combine to produce "Una forma", the formal principle of the soul; and the *bilia*, "Una materia" — its material principle. Then there is a further bracket: that *forma*, acting upon that *materia*, produces the actual rational soul — "Una rationalis anima". Thomas le Myésier has omitted the three *are*: these too should have been brought together to form the "natura connexiva" without which the soul cannot subsist¹¹²). The form of the soul, compacted out of its three *tiva*, is of course the spiritual exemplification of the *tiva* of all nine Dignities, its matter that of their *bilia*, and its bond that of their *are*. Below the dividing line, the *tiva* of the four corporeal planes similarly combine to give "Una forma corporea" and their *bilia* "Una materia corporea", whilst their *are* — omitted from the diagram — should likewise combine to give a "natura corporea connexiva"¹¹³).

All that remains to be done is to bring body and soul together to produce a living man, and Lull does this in two ways. One, which is not Lullian but traditional, is the way portrayed in Thomas's diagram — the *particularis* of the following quotation:

Homo praeterea formam habet dupliciter considerabilem, primam scilicet, & secundam. Prima *communis* est, ut supra dictum est [here, cf. below]; Secunda vero *particularis*, quae Anima est, ipsum corpus perficiens, & gubernans, atque ejus potentias movens ad actionem, ut vivat, & etiam ad passionem¹¹⁴).

According to this secondary point of view, as depicted in the diagram, "Una rationalis anima" becomes "Forma humana", and "Huiusmodi rationalis corporis humani: Materia humana et corpus humanum". Perhaps it was because he had chosen to depict this method of integrating a living man that Thomas le Myésier omitted to collect the *are* into spiritual and corporeal bonds, for this would logically have led to the postulation of a third part in man — outside both body and soul — without which the soul could not inform the body. Neither Lull nor le Myésier could go so far, and the latter, when he sums up the Trinitarian pattern of the microcosm by saying "Totum composito in tertio numero" (on the right of the diagram), makes the specific reservation "Homo qui nec est: Anima sua + Corpus suum".

The other way of looking at this question — the "*prima communis*" — is more Lullian, and it allows "Totum composito in tertio numero" to apply to man as well. It involves seeing the sum of the spiritual + corporeal *tiva* as the form of man, the sum of their *bilia* as his matter, and the sum of their *are* as his "natura connexiva":

Tivum vero spirituale, & *tivum* corporale, unam formam constituunt hominis; *bile* vero spirituale cum *bilibus* corporalibus, unam similiter materiam ipsius hominis: & *are* spirituale, & *are* corporale, unam naturam connexivam¹¹⁵).

112) *Liber de Correlativis Innatis*, p. 61.

113) *Ibid.*, p. 63.

114) *Ibid.*, p. 64.

115) *Ibid.*, p. 63.

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It is in this sense that man conforms to his Lullian definition, for "homo est animal hominificans" in that he consists of a spiritual-cum-corporeal *hominificativum* for his form, a spiritual-cum-corporeal *hominificabile* for his matter, and a spiritual-cum-corporeal *hominificare* for the bond between them. This is the final Trinitarian image, and with it man's Trinitarian structure is complete. He lives so long as this structure persists unimpaired: „Quantum igitur natura ipsa durat, homo vivit; cum vero deficit, moritur & ipse, eo quia Anima a corpore separatur"¹¹⁶). When that link is broken at man's death, his soul rises, and his body returns to the earth to be resolved into the elements of which it was composed upon its lowest level. Man participates in both the spiritual and the material worlds, and all that has been said about his correlative structure — on each level of those worlds — can equally refer to the macrocosm whose structure he reflects. It would be hard to conceive a more fully Trinitarian world-picture.

What is true of the Augustinian vision of the universe is true of Ramon Lull's, but with Lull the inherited Trinitarian structure becomes more closely integrated through the Dignities and their correlatives. It is this essentially Trinitarian *pattern* in things "as they are in themselves" which — actualised "in the understanding which understands them" — was meant to place them "between God and the understanding as a means to enable the understanding to know God and his works"¹¹⁷). The search for truth by means of the Lullian Art is always a search for congruence with God.

Oxford, October 1956

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