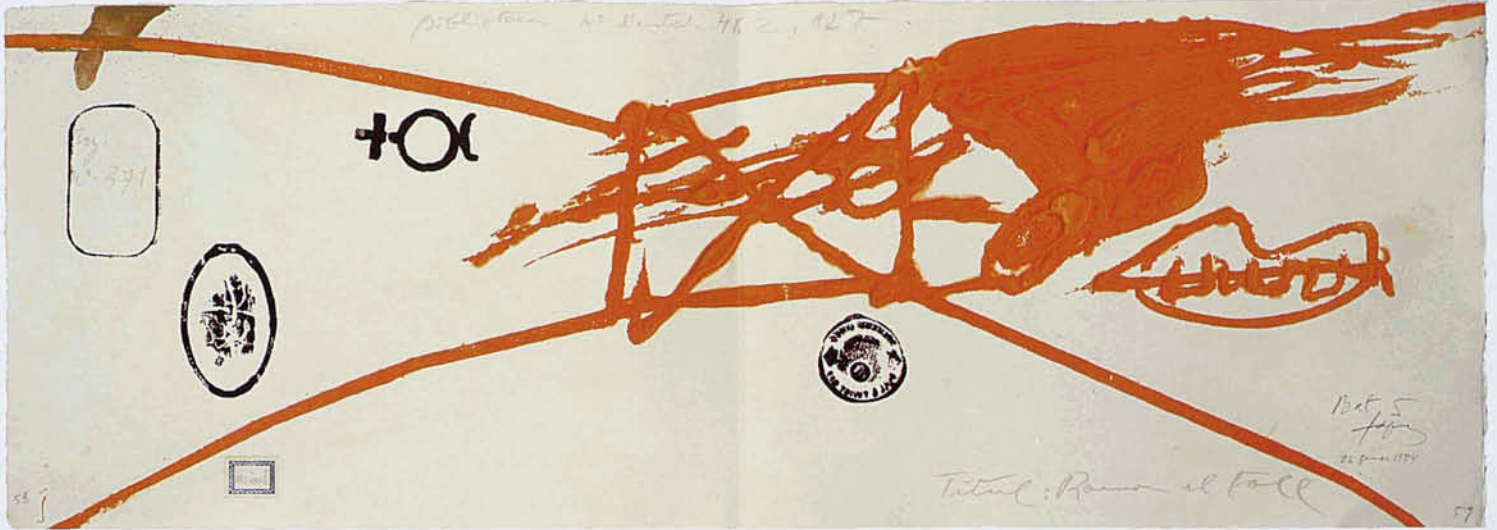


THE HISTORY OF LULLIAN RESEARCH IN THE PAÏSOS CATALANS



FROM LULL-TÀPIES (1973-1985). PUBLISHED BY DANIEL LELONG (PARIS) AND CARLES TACHÉ (BARCELONA)

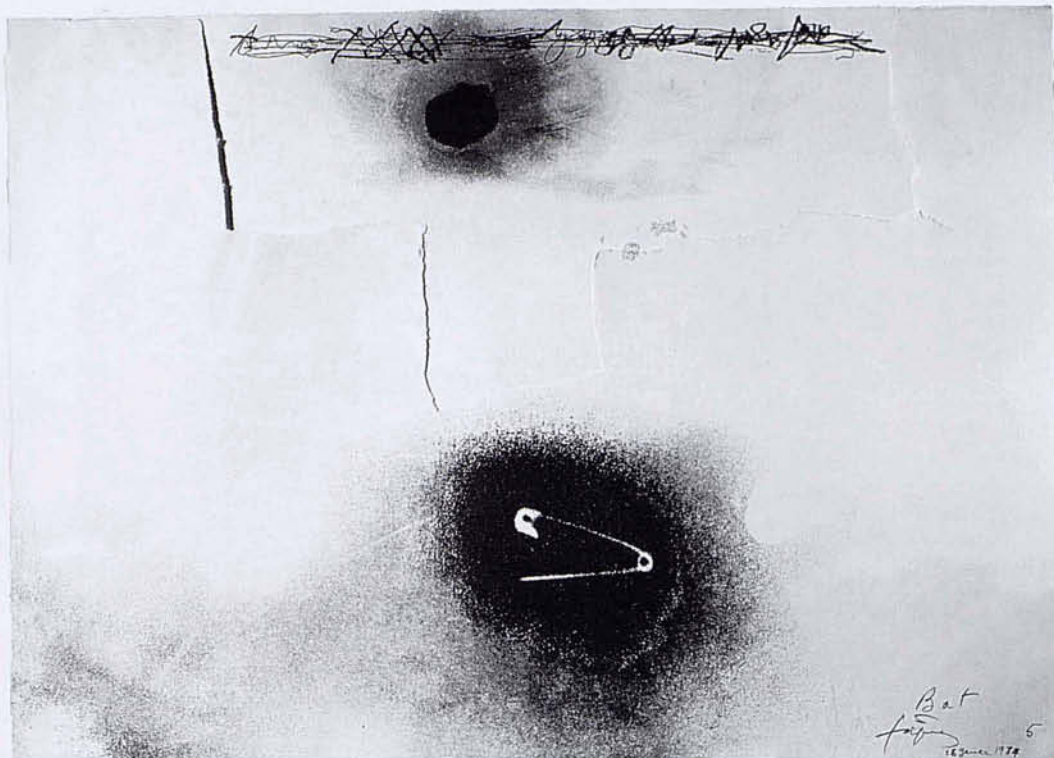
FERNANDO DOMÍNGUEZ REBOIRAS RESEARCHER AT THE RAIMUNDUS-LULLUS-INSTITUT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FREIBURG IM BREISGAU

Although the importance of Ramon Llull in the history of thought is undeniable, the fact is that the real Ramon Llull has only been known to us for a very few years. For centuries he was in essence unknown, rejected and, above all, falsified. This statement should not surprise us, being based on the very history of Llull studies, which is a long history of fraud and error. In spite of his universal dimension, interest in the man and his work developed mainly within the geographical framework of those peoples who speak the same language as Llull. In the Catalan area, the history of the reception given to Llull is a long and almost always sterile struggle between detractors and followers, between those who would belittle the personality and work of the Mallorcan and those who put him on a pedestal, calling him the "Enlightened Doctor". The extreme fanaticism of both camps was largely due to the fact that

Ramon Llull was associated with the Franciscan order and its spirituality. This fair or unfair association incurred the wrath of the representatives of other religious communities. The peaceful figure of the lay Ramon Llull, who spent his whole life searching for the unity of Christendom as the point of departure for the final unity of mankind, was drawn into the arguments, grudges and petty squabbles between the grasping interests of religious orders. Marginal aspects of his personality and his work were questioned, creating an irreconcilable climate which hindered global understanding and objective study of the man.

Behind all these ideological disputes was a genuine intellectual heritage that gave rise to the most impassioned of controversies and the boldest of lucubrations, forgetting germinal ideas and projects for human salvation of the most vibrant and perennial relevance. It's difficult to find

someone who has provoked such contradictory reactions and commentaries, earned such scorn and at the same time been so enthusiastically extolled. The lack of a precise knowledge of his ideas has given rise to all the fantasies and myths. In particular, faith in Lullian enlightenment did serious damage to the serene study of his thinking. For centuries, his followers shut themselves away with their master's work and became cut off from other intellectuals. Ramon Llull appeared as a loner, an idol to initiates, but separate from the mainstream of philosophical research because of his discouragingly obscure technicalities. The richest and most profuse part of Ramon Llull's work remained in unpublished texts, expressed in a language outside the living structures of thought. As a result of all this prehistory, writings on Ramon Llull are so numerous that anyone venturing into this field for the first time is likely to



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get lost in a labyrinth of countless books and articles of varying scientific quality. In this huge corpus we find a spate of devout literature, much of it outdated, unnecessary and useless.

In spite of the work of famous students of Llull, which has never been lacking, the figure of Ramon Llull was being gradually disfigured. Almost nothing remained except for the notion of a saint or mystic, fiercely denied by those who maintained the accusation of heterodoxy made in the fifteenth century by the Inquisitor of Girona, Nicolau Eymerich.

The stories about Ramon Llull dressed as a monk and surrounded by alchemist's test-tubes are still to be found in more or less esoteric writings. The works falsely attributed to Llull are more numerous and perhaps better known than the originals which in general were the bread and butter of some small circles and a few isolated figures.

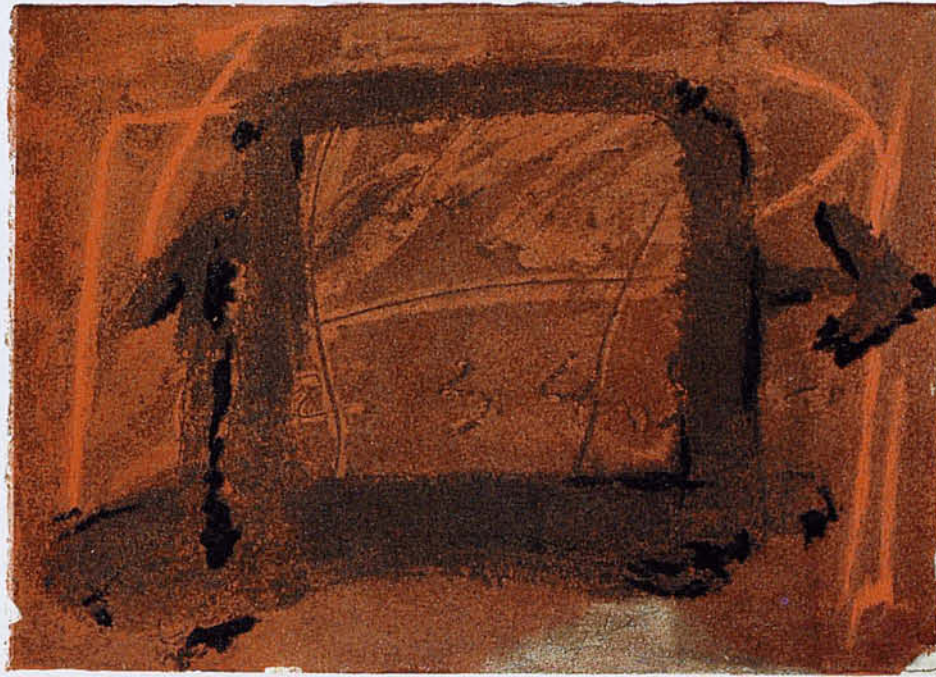
Curiously, in this complex and multiform history, Llull's contribution to Catalan literature was overlooked. The works in the vulgar tongue by the greatest writer in Catalan were left in the background and even rejected because they failed to reflect as clearly as the Latin works what his followers and detractors thought important. Nevertheless, this novel aspect was

what aroused most sympathy amongst the Catalans and, at the same time, what least lent itself to useless controversies. The rebirth of Lullian studies, which has its origin towards the middle of the nineteenth century in Mallorca and Catalonia, set out in its beginnings to defend Llull's Catalan work in the framework of the Catalan *Renaixença* as a whole. Reconstructing the history of these studies therefore involves an account of the figures who contributed to the rebirth of Catalan literature.

After the German Romanist Adolph Helfferich pointed out in 1858 how important Llull was as an initiator of Catalan literature (*Raymund Lull und die Anfänge der catalanischen Literatur*, Berlin 1858), Jeroni Rosselló, one of the founding fathers of Lullian studies, undertook the twin task of producing a critical catalogue of Llull's immense production (*Biblioteca Lulliana*, 1861. An unpublished work -Ms.13595 of the National Library in Madrid- based on his profound knowledge of the Lullian manuscripts in Mallorca) and publishing the works in Catalan (*Obras rimadas de Ramon Lull, escritas en idioma catalán-provenzal, publicadas por primera vez con un artículo biográfico, ilustraciones y variantes y seguidas de un glosario de voces anticua-*

das, Jeroni Rosselló, Palma 1859). Much later, in 1901, with the promotion of Menéndez y Pelayo and the patronage of the Archduke Louis Salvador, a series of *Obras de Ramón Lull* was begun, which, although not a model of critical labour and not getting further than the third volume, can be thought of as a decisive forerunner of Mateu Obrador's *Comissió Editora*. In 1861, Milà i Fontanals pinpointed the nature of Llull's poetry (Manuel Milà i Fontanals, *De los trovadores en España. Estudio de lengua y poesía provenzal*, Barcelona, 1861). Amador de los Ríos, in Volume IV of his *Historia crítica de la literatura española* (1864), speaks of Ramon Llull as a poet and studies some aspects of his book *Arbre de ciència*. Francisco de Paula Canalejas, for his part, managed to extract from the corpus of Llull's work a system of ideas accessible to the curiosity of the thinking of the time (*Las doctrinas del doctor iluminado Raimundo Lullio*, Madrid 1870).

The most important figure in the Lullian rebirth, outside Catalonia but with a great influence here as well, was the versatile Spanish writer Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, who -as Jordi Rubió recognizes (*Menéndez y Pelayo y Ramon Llull*, in *Conferencias pronunciadas [en la universidad de Barcelona] con motivo del*



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centenario de Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, Barcelona 1956, pp.97-103)—managed to draw attention to fundamental aspects of Ramon Llull as a thinker and as a writer. In a warm and improvised essay in *La ciencia española*, and at just twenty years of age, Menéndez y Pelayo shed light on points of special importance for the development of later research, such as the theory of the unity of science, the conciliatory harmony of Lullian thought and Ramon Sibiuda as a link between Llull and the philosophy of the Renaissance. The second important contribution by this author on Ramon Llull was written for the first volume of his *Historia de los heterodoxos españoles*, which appeared in 1880. This is an extensive dissertation, methodically developed, containing an initial attempt to arrange Lullism and anti-Lullism historically. The biography has a somewhat critical approach, though without breaking with some of the widely commented visions. Apart from philosophical questions, it does not forget either the novelist or the poet, with his profound insight.

Also at the end of the last century, the Mallorcan Marià Aguiló published two books by Llull (*Llibre del ordre de Cavalleria*, Barcelona 1879, and *Libre apelat Felix de les Meravelles del Mon*, Barcelona 1872-1904) and José R. de Luanco showed that the alchemical aura

that had surrounded Ramon Llull was false (*Ramón Lull (Raimundo Lulio) considerado como alquimista*, Barcelona 1870). To this we can add the *Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueológica Luliana de Palma de Mallorca*, which began publication in 1885 and which paid special attention to studies of Llull.

As well as straightforward literary studies, at the beginning of the century there was a crusade in Catalonia in defence of the philosophy and orthodoxy of Ramon Llull. A group of Lullian scholars, mostly clergy, launched a movement intended to restore Lullian philosophy as the national philosophy of Catalonia. This ideologically extreme movement, led by the canon Salvador Bové (*La filosofia nacional de Catalunya*, Barcelona 1902; *El sistema científico luliano*, Barcelona 1908; *Santo Tomás de Aquino y el ascenso y descenso del entendimiento*, Palma 1911), followed impassioned fighting orders rather than precepts of intellectual weight or scientific equanimity. It is not surprising, therefore, that the campaign should have provoked a contrary reaction. Even so, this movement, whose principal mouthpiece was the *Barcelona Revista Luliana* (1901-1905), gave rise to valuable publications and influenced various Catalanist circles where it generated an atmosphere of fervent defence of Ramon Llull and helped to stimulate inter-

est in Lullian thinking and provided much information for the scientific study of Llull. But the times were changing. The moment was ripe for limited monographic research and the silent, painstaking task of editing texts, whose urgency had so often been stressed. The second generation of Lullian studies in the first decades of this century followed guidelines of greater scientific efficacy. The foundations were laid on which a bibliography could be established, something essential with a work as enormous as Ramon Llull's. The commemoration of the VIth centenary of Ramon Llull's death (1915-1916) was the occasion for a series of important publications. The Institut d'Estudis Catalans began a collection called *Estudis de bibliografia luliana*, of which the most important and until today indispensable work is E.Rogent and E.Duràn's *Bibliografia de les impressions lul·lianes*, Barcelona 1927. Also worth remembering is the important monograph by Ramon d'Alòs-Moner, *Los catálogos lulianos*, Barcelona 1928), and the definitive evaluation of Llull's work in Catalan, which largely cornered the interest of Lullian studies in Catalonia. In 1906, Mateu Obrador (d. 1909) started work in Mallorca on a new series of Catalan works by Ramon Llull under the auspices of a "Lullian Publishing Committee", which continued under the chairmanship of Miquel Ferrà



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(1910) and Salvador Galmés (1911-1938) and which published a total of twenty-one volumes until 1950. This edition was brought out with severe financial difficulty, because after 1923 it lacked the support of official bodies. The second volume of the series contained the first ever printing of the Catalan text of Lull's longest and most important work: the *Llibre de contemplació*. At the same time, other Catalan texts were published separately in bibliophile or popular editions. The founding in Barcelona of the "Estudis Universitaris Catalans" (1903) allowed the institution of the Chair of Catalan Literature, until then excluded from the state university. The first holder, Antoni Rubió i Lluch, dealt amply with Ramon Llull in his lectures and not only as a Catalan-language author. From these lectures (of which a sort of summary or programme was published between 1910 and 1911) there emerged a genuine school of followers and, later, prominent Lullists.

The civil war and its aftermath, while not preventing Lullian studies, considerably reduced publications in Catalan. In spite of all the difficulties, the scientific approach initiated in Catalonia at the end of the century had a splendid flowering and apotheosis in the work of the brothers Tomàs and Joaquim Carreres i Artau, still the most profound and exhaustive study of Llull today and a first successful attempt

at a philosophical history of Lullism. The work was finished in about 1935 and its publication, foreseen in Catalan, took place in Spanish, "camouflaged" in two volumes of *Historia de la Filosofía Española - Filosofía cristiana de los siglos XIII al XIV*, Madrid 1939-43, with the support of the "Asociación española para el progreso de las ciencias". It was a pragmatic decision by the authors, forced by the political situation, which does not detract in the slightest from a study which is still important today. Between 1957 and 1960 almost three thousand pages were published in Barcelona in two volumes of the *Obres essencials* of Ramon Llull. The introductory essays and the notes were signed by the continuers of Catalan scientific Lullism: Miquel Batllori, Pere Bohigas, the Carreres i Artau brothers, Francesc de B.Moll, Llorenç Riber, Martí de Riquer, Josep Romeu i Figueras, Jordi Rubió i Balaguer... whose publications on Llull are too numerous to list here.

A decisive boost was given to Lullian studies in Mallorca by Salvador Galmés, already mentioned, and a circle of friends and collaborators who, in the thirties, just before the civil war, had founded the "Maioricensis Schola Lullistica". Shortly before his death, the rector of this college, Francesc Sureda Blanes (d. 1955), proposed Professor Friedrich Stegmüller as scientific director of the publication of

Ramon Llull's Latin works. This was the formal decision that set in motion the creation of the Raimundus-Lullus-Institut at the University of Freiburg im Breisgau (Germany). The publication of the first five volumes of the Institute's edition was financed by the Mallorcan institution. Sureda's successor as rector, Sebastià Garcias Palou (d. 1993), founded *Estudios Lulianos* in 1957, a magazine with a high scientific standard, which publishes or reviews all the national and international contributions on Ramon Llull. This *Schola*, which in 1960 and 1976 organised two international congresses on Llull, awards a master's degree for scientific work on Llull or Lullism, thus acting as a meeting-point for Lullian researchers all over the world.

The last one hundred years have brought a profound change in the way Ramon Llull is seen. The recognition of the importance of his figure in Catalan literature, thanks to the studies of four generations, is expressed as follows by Pere Gimferrer: "Ramon Llull is the greatest Catalan writer of all time, and perhaps the only one who can truly be described as a genius, a term reserved for great occasions, not more than once in any language. Llull in himself is an entire literature and the mere existence of his work dignifies universally the language he uses." ■