

# ***One God, Many Names: Llull's Hundred Names of God in its Christian and Islamic religious context\****

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## **Abstract**

Devotion to the Names of God and the theological debates deriving therefrom are pivotal in both Christian and Islamic thought and practice. Ramon Llull's *Hundred Names of God* may be considered to act as a bridge between the two monotheisms. In this paper we shall focus upon some of the specific questions in whose regard both Christian and Islamic theologians have expounded on the basis of their analysis of the Divine Names, which Names find echoes in Ramon Llull's oeuvre.

## **Key Words**

Names of God, Christian devotion, Islamic devotion, Ramon Llull



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### **Resum**

La devoció als Noms de Déu, i el debat teològic que n'ha derivat, és central en el pensament i en la pràctica dels musulmans i dels cristians. Els *Cent noms de Déu* de Ramon Llull es poden considerar com un pont entre aquests dos monoteismes. En aquest article ens centrarem en les qüestions específiques que els teòlegs cristians i musulmans van desenvolupar a partir de la seva anàlisi dels Noms divins, que tenen ressonància en l'obra lull·liana.

### **Paraules clau**

Noms de Déu, devoció cristiana, devoció islàmica, Ramon Llull

### **Summary**

1. The Names of God in Christianity
2. The Names of God in Islam
3. The Prologue to Llull's *Hundred Names of God*

*What's in a name? That which we call a rose  
By any other name would smell as sweet  
(Shakespeare 2009, 32)*

How can we assign a name to God? Does God possess a name? To understand how Ramon Llull answers these questions, I shall contextualise the general set of problems surrounding God's Names within both Christianity and Islam, in an effort to see how he attempted to create accord between both religions as well as to provide his own interpretation of the role of the Divine Names within Creation. Thus, we can read Llull's self-attributed title of *Christianus arabicus* as a bridge between the two monotheisms and construe his *Cent noms de Déu* [*Hundred Names of God*] not only as an apologetic work, but also as a way to link the Islamic veneration of the Names of God to authentic Christian traditions which circulated within Europe during the Middle Ages.

## 1. The Names of God in Christianity

In the Christian tradition, it is possible to survey three different approaches towards the relation between Creation and God's Names via the writings of Origen of Alexandria, Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, and Saint Isidore of Seville.

In his *Contra Celsum* (I, § 24), Origen quotes two affirmations of the pagan philosophers concerning the Divine Names:

The goatherds and shepherds thought that there was one God called the Most High, or Adonai, or the Heavenly One, or Sabaoth, or however they like to call his world; and they acknowledged nothing more. [...] [I]t makes no difference whether one calls the supreme God by the name used among the Greeks, or by that, for example, used among the Indians, or by that among the Egyptians.<sup>1</sup> (Origen 1980, 23)

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This paper elaborates upon my opening address at the congress *One God, Many Names*, held at the University of Barcelona on 26th-27th September 2019. The congress and the papers related thereto form part of a project which has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 Research and Innovation Programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No. 746221 *Christianus Arabicus: Ramon Llull (1232-1316): A Vernacular Writer between Christianity and Islam*.

<sup>1</sup> These names are listed in another quotation from Celsus cited in Origen's Book V, § 41: "I think, therefore, that it makes no difference whether we call Zeus the Most High, or Zen, or Adonai, or Sabaoth, or Amoun like the Egyptians, or Papaeus like the Scythians" (Origen 1980, 297). In Book I, § 24, Origen is probably summarising the position set forth in Book V, § 41 (Origen 1980, 23, n. 4).

In response to Celsus, Origen summarises the pagan philosophers' interpretation of the nature of names: for Aristotle, names were conferred by arbitrary determination, while for both the Stoics and the Epicureans such conferral arose by nature. Origen, who refused to accept any of these ideas, attributes the nature of names to a "mysterious divine science that is related to the Creator of the Universe" (Origen 1980, 24), asserting that the Divine Names enjoy special powers which are proper to them, as attested by Holy Scripture. The name Jesus, for example, possesses the power to heal, as is revealed in Matthew 7:22: "In Thy Name we have cast out daemons and performed miracles" (Origen 1980, 10),<sup>2</sup> but, of course, this cannot be connected with magic nor with the names' meaning, because, as Naomi Janowitz (1991, 363) asserts:

[...] the nonarbitrariness of language for Origen is connected with the special qualities of Hebrew, which is for him the original language. Names, and the prayers which contain them, lose their efficacy in translation.

Even if some Hebrew names possess a meaning that can be transferred through translation into another language, "it is not the significance of the things which the words describe that has a certain power to do this or that, but it is the qualities and the characteristics of the sounds" (Origen 1980, 25). This "sound" cannot be separated from the identity of the thing named:

[...] it is the Jesus identified by his own unique story whose name is powerful, and the God who is identified by his own unique actions and relationships (i.e. the God of Abraham, the God who brought us out of Egypt) whose name is powerful. (Keough 2009, 215)

In a sermon for All Saints' Day, about the Ninth Beatitude (Mt 5:11), from his *Liber de praedicatione* (1304), Lull identifies the different divine nomenclatures among languages with God's "vocal name", subsequently giving His "real name":

Nomen Dei duobus modis intelligimus, scilicet nomen vocale et nomen reale. Nomen vocale est sicut 'Deus', sic per Latinos nominatus; et apud Graecos 'o Theos' nominatur; et nominatur 'Adonai' a Iudaeis et 'Alla' ab ipsis Saracenis. Ista nomina sunt in voce ad placitum picta atque ficta. Nomen vero reale Dei est: Ens necessarium. Quoniam Deus est ens necessarium, quia ipse est infinitus et aeternus, et aliter nullatenus potest esse. (99.9, II.1, § 1-3, ROL IV, 409)

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<sup>2</sup> The Gospel passage is reused, without direct quotation, in the explanation of the power of the name Jesus in Book I, § 25: "The name of our Jesus is also connected with the same philosophy of names; for it has already been clearly seen to have expelled countless daemons from souls and bodies, and to have had great effect on those people from whom they were expelled" (Origen 1980, 25).

As regards the meaning of “ad placidum picta atque ficta”, Pistolesi (1996, 7-8 and n. 20) correctly relates this sentence to the concept of the sign, though she only hints at the lack of veracity to which these words allude in a footnote, where she quotes a passage from the *Ars brevis de inventione iuris* (1308) which serves her thesis well. In the very same work, we can discern a further passage akin to the one which occurs in the above sermon:

Veruntamen si non poterit inuenire concordantiam inter unum ius et aliud, scire tunc iurista debet, quod unum ius illorum est *reale et verum*, reliquum autem *fictum et pictum a uoce*. Sicut homo, pictus in pariete ab homine uero; et tale ius non est allegandum. (ROL XII, 341, ll. 74-78)

Thus, contrary to what Origen affirmed, for Llull the names that humanity has attributed by convention to God are simple (and unreal) given signs, constituted by the soul to signify the “real” Necessary Being, i.e. God. Of course, *Ens necessarium* is not the only name which is proper to God, as is explained in the same sermon:

Sunt enim alia nomina, quae competent Deo soli; sicut dicimus: Deus est prima causa, Deus est creator, Deus est resuscitator, Deus etiam est salvator. Cum talis nominibus in paradiso nominant ipsi sancti Deum. Et ipsi infideles sunt mentientes, eo quia negant ipsum Deum esse trinum, et negant Iesum Christum esse Deum, et etiam nomina relative abnegant supra dicta. (99.9, II.1, § 14, ROL IV, 411)

Llull’s *Cent noms* are a clear demonstration that there exists a plurality of Divine Names, both real and relative. In the prologue to this work, the Majorcan author makes reference to the power (*uirtus*) of such names,<sup>3</sup> though, as we shall see, he disambiguates this power from the inefficacy of human language itself.

In the Pseudo-Dionysian tradition, God is praised “by every name [...] and as the Nameless One” (Pseudo-Dionysius 1987, 54). These names are emanations of God, which have to be understood in order to understand Him,

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<sup>3</sup> “[8] Com Déus haja posada virtut en paraules, pedres e herbes, quant, doncs, mais l’ha posada en los seus noms! Per què jo consell que hom cascú dia diga los Cent noms de Déu, e que escrits amb si los port” (Sari & Fernández-Clot 2019, 439); “[8] Since God has lent power to words, stones and herbs, how much more so, then, has He lent such to His names! I counsel you, therefore, daily to say the Hundred Names of God and to carry them with you in written form” (Sari & Hughes 2020). Here and in part 3 I quote the Catalan text from the aforementioned modernised edition. The English translation of the text (Sari & Hughes) is available on-line on the site: <<https://manicula.narpan.net/obres/hundred-names-god>> [last visit 20/02/2020]. Further quotations of the Catalan text are taken from the base manuscript of the forthcoming edition of Llull’s *Cent noms de Déu*, Vatican, Apostolical Library, Ott. Lat. 845. See the article by A. M. Mayer in this same issue of *SL*.

i.e. God does not “need” a name for Himself, but He assigns names to the creatures so that they may have a partial understanding of Him. In this case, the effectiveness of such words does not depend upon the language in which they are uttered (i.e. the signifier), but rather upon the comprehension of their meaning. However, we should not forget that, for this particular tradition, the route towards attaining God (both by descent—i.e. from the divine unity to the multiplicity of Creation—and ascent—i.e. from the creature to the Creator) implies the negation of any definition of God. We are able to know Him only when we are in a position completely to dispense with our own knowledge:

And if all knowledge is of that which is and is limited to the realm of the existent, then whatever transcends being must also transcend knowledge. [5] How then can we speak of the divine names? How can we do this if the Transcendent surpasses all discourse and all knowledge, if it abides beyond the reach of mind and of being, if it encompasses and circumscribes, embraces and anticipates all things while itself eluding their grasp and escaping from any perception, imagination, opinion, name, discourse, apprehension or understanding? How can we enter upon this understanding if the Godhead is superior to being and is unspeakable and unnameable? (1, § 4-5, Pseudo-Dionysius 1987, 53)

Llull may possibly have read the Latin translation of the *Corpus Dionysiacum* by John Scotus Eriugena during his first trip to Paris (1287-1289), where he established contact with certain exponents of the so called “Dionysian Renaissance” whose interest in the *Visio beatifica* (Ruiz Simon 2005, 174-182) is echoed in Ch. 96 of Llull’s *Cent noms*, which chapter pertains to the invisibility of God. This work, therefore, could have been conceived as a result of Llull’s Parisian encounters, while its *terminus ante quem* is without doubt the *Arbre de ciència* [*Tree of Science*], begun on 29th September 1295 and completed on 1st April 1296, in which latter work Llull recycles certain chapters from his *Cent noms*.

It is still not clear why, before the composition of the *Cent noms*, Llull never used the term *names* itself in relation to God. In his *Llibre de contemplació* [*Book of Contemplation*], he alludes to the Name (in the singular) of God in connection with the Second Commandment and with praise.<sup>4</sup> This latter topic is treated in a different manner and it becomes clear once again that Llull

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<sup>4</sup> See Annex, which collects all the references to the Name of God I have been able to trace in the *Llibre de contemplació*. They are divided into four groups: the first collects the quotations related to the explanation of the second commandment; the second is about praying God’s Name; the third is focused on the names Jesus and Trinity; the last gathers a few allusions to Llull’s self-representation (through the voice of the penitent soul) in association with the Name of God.

equates God's "Virtues" and His "Names".<sup>5</sup> We come across a clue, however, which is of particular interest to us, namely, that Llull includes prayer to the Divine Name among what he calls *oració sensual* (i.e. sensible prayer).<sup>6</sup> It is also intriguing to note Llull's thoughts concerning the Name of Jesus and of the Trinity, which Names would recur in subsequent works.<sup>7</sup> In his *Blaquerna*, two versicles of the *Llibre d'amich e amat* [*Book of the Lover and the Beloved*] are, in fact, devoted to the name of Jesus:

[148] Blasmava l'amich los crestians con no meten lo nom de son amat, Jesuchrist, primerament en lurs letres, per ço que li faesen la honor que ls srrayns fan a Mafumet, qui fo home galiador, al qual fan honor con lo nomenen primerament en lurs letres. (NEORL VIII, 465)<sup>8</sup>

[312] Amat, qui en .i. nom est nomenat hom e Deu! En aquel nom, Jesucrist, te vol ma volentat e home e Deu. E si tu, amat, has tant honrat ton amich sens sos merits en nomenar e voler ton nom, per que no honres tants homens innorables qui cidentalment no son estats tan colpables al teu nom, Jesucrist, con es stat lo teu amich? (NEORL VIII, 509)<sup>9</sup>

In the first versicle, Llull seems to refer to the use of the phrase *bismillah* (i.e. in the name of God) at the beginning of Arabic writings, here intentionally adapted to the name of Muhammad. In the second, we read something very similar to what can be found in the *Llibre de contemplació* (Ch. 250, § 28-30 and Ch. 359, § 18).<sup>10</sup> Chapter 33 of the *Cent noms*, "De Jesús" ["On Jesus"], is principally focused upon the dual nature of Christ and it ends with an affirmation concerning the goodness of naming His name:

Jesus tu es bo a nomnar  
e a entendre e a recordar  
a servir e a enamorar.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> See Annex, 2a, in particular Ch. 359, § 13 in which he gives a full list.

<sup>6</sup> See Annex, 2b.

<sup>7</sup> See Annex, 3.

<sup>8</sup> "The Lover censured Christians for failing to place the name of his Beloved, Jesus Christ, at the start of their letters, so that they might do Him honour which the Saracens afford to Muhammad, who was a charlatan, to whom they give honour when they name him at the start of their letters" (Llull 2016, 448).

<sup>9</sup> "O Beloved, Who with a single name are called man and God! In this name, Jesus Christ, does my will desire You as both man and God. And if You, O Beloved, have so honoured Your Lover, who lacks all merit in naming You such or in desiring You be so named, why do You fail to honour those many ignorant people who have not knowingly been as guilty towards Your name, Jesus Christ, as has been Your Lover?" (Llull 2016, 480).

<sup>10</sup> See Annex, 3a.

<sup>11</sup> "[10] O Jesus, it is good to say Your name, / to understand You and to remember You, / to serve You and to conceive love for You" (Sari & Hughes 2020).

In Chapter 50, Blaquerna, while seeking his hermitage, recounts an *exemplum* to a knight who has kidnapped a young girl in order to make him appreciate the fact that spiritual strength is capable of prevailing over physical such. The mission of the protagonist of this story (which story reflects how Llull considered that his Art might genuinely succeed in converting unbelievers) includes a reference to the devotion to God's names found in Christianity:<sup>12</sup>

[...] un home molt savi en philosophia e en teologia e en altres sciencies hac devoció d'anar preycar als sserrayns veritat de la santa fe catolicha per tal que destruí la error dels sserrayns e que lo nom de Deu hi fos adorat e beneit segons que es enfre nos. (NEORL VIII, 237, § 3)<sup>13</sup>

Finally, in Chapter 83, § 1-3, we witness the foundation of a variety of religious Order devoted to blessing the Name of God:

Aquels homens han promés a cridar e a beneir Deus con se volch encarnar e con volc murir e con volch fer miracles; e con a creat parays, infern; e cor resucitará bons e mals, jutjant los bons a gloria perdurable e los mals a pena eternal. Encara deuen aquells homens cridar e beneir Deus en ssa essencia e en sa trinitat e en ses virtuts e en totes coses on pusquen significar sa nobilitat. (NEORL VIII, 370)<sup>14</sup>

The topics listed in the closing lines are all present within the *Cent noms*, thus pointing towards a possible audience/readership for the work itself. What it is crucial to glean from this collection of quotations related to the Name of God, however, is that within Llull's oeuvre prior to the *Cent noms* all reference to the veneration of God's Names in Islam is missing; in its stead, he refers to a particular Christian form of devotion, which leads us to the third theologian whose writings should be borne in mind.

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<sup>12</sup> A similar *exemplum* is recounted in Llull's *Llibre de meravelles*, Ch. 86, § 8: "Denant .i. prelat estava .i. sant religiós genollat, et molt humilment et devota pregava aquell prelat que li donás licencia d'anar enfre serrayns loar lo nom de Crist, lo qual los serrayns dien que no es Deu. Lo prelat dix al religiós que no volia que anás loar Crist als serrayns per ço que no l'auciessen et per ço cor no's pensava que aquell religiós feés negun fruyt en aquella terra dels sarrayns. 'Senyer', dix lo religiós, 'principalment es home creat per loar Deu et, per açó, yo no son escusat de anar loar Deu per temor de mort o per no fer fruyt als homens, cor obligat son a loar Deu et ha escusar Deu del blasme que les gents li donen creents que Deus sia sol o luna o alguna ydola de que les gents fan Deu'" (NEORL XIII, 193).

<sup>13</sup> "[A] man very learned in philosophy, theology and other sciences felt the urge to go to the Saracens to preach the truth of the Holy Catholic Faith so that he might eliminate the error of the Saracens and that the name of God might be worshipped and blessed amongst them as it is amongst us" (Llull 2016, 228).

<sup>14</sup> "These men have promised to proclaim and bless God for the fact that He chose to become incarnate, to be put to death and to perform miracles; and that He has created Paradise and Hell; and, likewise, that He shall resurrect the virtuous and the wicked, assigning the former to everlasting glory and the latter to eternal torment. It is the duty of such men, moreover, to proclaim and bless God as regards His Essence, His Trinity, His Virtues, and all things which may signify His nobility" (Llull 2016, 364).



Within the Christian tradition, a third way of understanding the Names of God can be found in Book VII of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologies*, a Book devoted to the names of God, of each Divine Person, of the Trinity, of the angels, of the apostles, etc. This Spanish author begins by explaining that St. Jerome had already provided the Latin interpretation of the Hebrew Names of God, whereas his own motive for treating this theme is that "[the] exposition of words often enough reveals what they mean, for some hold the rationale of their names in their own derivations" (VII.1, § 2, Isidore 2010, 153). He then provides the meaning of the ten Hebrew names by presenting not only their Latin translation but also their Greek such, e.g. the Hebrew name *El* is translated by some by means of *Deus* in Latin, whereas others prefer to convey its etymology (i.e. strong) using the Greek *ischyros* (VII.1, § 3).

Having given his explanation of the ten names, he presents a full list of other names traceable to the Bible, adducing their *ratio*, e.g. we attribute the name *perfectio* to God; however, the name *perfection* itself includes also within its meaning the completion of an act:

[...] how then is God, who is not made (*factus*), perfect (*perfectus*)? 32. But human poverty of diction has taken up this term from our usage, and likewise for the remaining terms, insofar as what is ineffable can be spoken of in any way—for human speech says nothing suitable about God—so the other terms are also deficient. (VII.1, §§ 31-32, Isidore 2010, 154)

As early as his *Llibre de contemplació* (Ch. 178, § 3), Ramon Llull expresses the problem of the inadequacy of human language, as was likewise the case with Origen:

On, com nosaltres entenem, Sènyer, vertuts en vos en dues maneres, una com les entenem segons vos, altra com les entenem segons relació e a esguart de les creatures, per assò es l'enteniment nostre endressat e entén sanament; mas *la paraula defall e no dona ver significat*. On, en aitant com la paraula defall, negam nos lo fals significat de la paraula e confessam e atorgam lo sà enteniment que la paraula significa. On deym que l'enteniment entén que totes les vertuts qui son en vos son en una manera tan solament sens null accident e sens nulla alteració; mas la paraula diu que en una manera son les vertuts en vostra essència a esguart de la vostra essència e en altra manera entenem les vertuts a esguart de les vostres obres en les creatures. (ORL V, 86)

These "Virtues" (which at this particular point represent a substitute term for names) can be divided into those which pertain solely to God and those which describe the relation He bears as Creator to His creature, namely, virtues *quoad se* and *quoad nos*. The same distinction is offered in the Prologue to the *Cent noms de Déu*, according to MS Vatican Apostolical Library, Ott.

Lat. 845, the base manuscript for our future edition of this text, and is applied directly to the Names:

[3] La manera que prepòs tenir en est libre és que parle naturalment dels noms de Déu qui simplement a él se pertaynen [*quoad se*]; e que de aquels noms qui a Déu se pertaynen segons esguardament de creatura [*quoad nos*], que parle segons so que als noms se pertayn segons Déu e creatura.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, it would be interesting to analyse Lull's *Cent noms* in the same way as Josep E. Rubio (1997, 108-123) and Annemarie C. Mayer (2011) have done with respect to the attributes of God in the *Llibre de contemplació*.

Isidore's Names form the basis of a list of 72 Names of God which circulated throughout Europe, from the Iberian Peninsula to the Southern Balkans. The list is, in fact, quoted in the form of an exorcism by Francesc Eiximenis (Viera 1994), used as a liturgical sequence in France (Rillon-Marne 2016), as a prayer in many Books of Hours (Carrisi 2006), as a talisman (Aymar 1926, Carolus-Barré 1979, Izmirlieva 2008), and was quoted, moreover, in certain literary works, e.g. in *Flamenca* and in *chansons de geste* (Sari, 2020). Without necessarily connecting this list to the Kabbalistic circles present in Provence, as René Nelli (1950) has done, and thus adding a third monotheistic religion to our discussion, we should nevertheless take into account the fact that Ramon Lull would have been acquainted therewith and that he was aiming to replace this list with his very own, itself closely connected with the Islamic lists detailing the Beautiful Names of Allah (*Asmā' Allāh al-ḥusnā*).<sup>16</sup>

## 2. The Names of God in Islam

From an Islamic viewpoint, one should first make a distinction between that which constitutes an *ism* ("name", pl. *asma'*) and that which constitutes a *ṣifah* ("attribute", pl. *ṣifāt*). The former, in fact, includes the latter because in Arabic the grammatical category of an *asma'* includes

the *maṣdar* (verbal noun), the present and past participles and the "attributes" (*al-ṣifāt al-mushabbḥah*), which is the adjective or participle of adjectival value—a situation that could hardly fail to produce a certain variation in the use of the terms "attributes" and "divine names". (Anawati 1987, 513)

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<sup>15</sup>[3] The method I intend to follow in this book is to speak naturally with respect to the names of God which pertain to Him absolutely; and concerning those names which pertain to Him as regards creation, to speak in terms of what pertains thereto in respect of both God and creation" (Sari & Hughes 2020).

<sup>16</sup> On the relation of Lull's list with the Islamic ones see Sari (2018, 221-230).

Fakhr al-Dīn Ar-Rāzī (544/1149-606/1209) explains that Muslim *mutakallimūn* (theologians) succeeded in distinguishing between a name and an attribute/quality:<sup>17</sup>

[...] toute substance en soi ou quiddité (*māhiyya*) peut être considérée soit en tant que telle (c'est-à-dire sous le rapport de son identité) (*min ḥaytu hiya hiya*), soit en tant que décrite par une qualité (*ṣifah*) déterminée. Dans le premier cas, il s'agit du nom (*ism*), dans le second cas, de la qualité (*ṣifah*). (Ar-Rāzī 2009, 66)

To give another example: the latter category (i.e. “attribute”) represents the entity residing within God’s essence which allows us to say, for example, that He consists in Power and Knowledge, whereas the names are what characterise Him as being the Omnipotent and Omniscient One (Anawati 1987, 513).

According to tradition, Allah’s attributes can be divided into two categories: “Attributes of Essence”<sup>18</sup> and “Attributes of Action”, a distinction echoed in the first tristich of the first chapter from Llull’s *Cent noms*:

O ens divinal, tu es Deus per l’obrar  
que en tu as [*Action*], axí com es Deus per estar [*Essence*]  
per que en tu nuyl accident no pot estar.<sup>19</sup>

In Islamic thought, however, there exists no univocal way of listing or dividing God’s Names. Abū Maṣṣūr Al-Baghdādī (d. 429/1037), for example, provides six different categorisations of the list of the 99 Names, some of which prove interesting for our purposes.<sup>20</sup> In his second typology, he offers the possibility of dividing the Names into intransitive and transitive such. The former group entails only the existence of God, e.g., the names *qadīm* (The Ancient/Eternal) or *ḥayy* (The Living), while the second entails a relation between God and another thing: the name *‘ālim* (The Learned) requires a *ma‘lūm* (a thing known), for instance, while the name *qādir* (The Omnipotent) requires a *maqḍūr* (a thing decreed or predestined). Al-Baghdādī’s third category once again divides the Names into two: in the first group, we find Names that can be predicated solely of God, such as *raḥmān* (The Infinitely Good) and *muḥyī* (The Bestower of Life); in the second, we find Names that may be attributed to indivi-

<sup>17</sup> As indicated by Maurice Gloton, translator of Rāzī’s book: “Nous avons traduit le terme : *ṣifah* de préférence par qualité plutôt que par attribut, afin de tenir compte des différents sens que les théologiens donnent à cette expression technique. Très souvent, dans le *Coran*, les Noms divins sont des attributs au sens de l’analyse logique” (Ar-Rāzī 2009, 66, n. 1).

<sup>18</sup> These are traditionally seven: Life, Power, Knowledge, Speech, Hearing, Sight, Will (Scarabel 1996, 105).

<sup>19</sup> “[I.1] O Divine Being! You are God by reason of the operation / You enjoy within You, just as you are God by reason of Your existence; / because in You no accident can reside” (Sari & Hughes 2020).

<sup>20</sup> I have derived Al-Baghdādī’s categorisation from Gimaret (2007, 107-110).

duals other than Him, e.g. *ḥayy*, *‘ālim*, *qādir*. These two categories are, it would seem, very close to the ones used by Llull in his *Cent noms*. Al-Baghdādī’s final categorisation (No. 6) merges the Names of God with His eternal attributes. He first lists 26 Names which pertain to God in respect of His very essence, and then goes on to present further Names categorised according to what we have previously termed “Attributes of Essence”. These Names describe God, therefore, as regards those eternal attributes/characteristics of His which are connected to His essence: e.g., the name *‘ālim* pertains to the attribute of Knowledge, while *qādir* refers to His power, *rahmān* to His will, etc. Al-Baghdādī concludes this characterisation with the names signifying the difference which exists between God and creature, ultimately appending those names pertaining to action, among which we may pause to consider the interesting case of the names *mālik* (The Owner) / *malik* (The King). If we ascribe thereto the meaning of *mulk* (to rule/reign), i.e. the implication that creation exists at God’s disposal, then such names constitute names pertaining to action; however, if we attribute thereto the synonymous sense of *qādir*, they constitute names derived from God’s attributes (in this case, His Power). If we take a look at another passage from Llull’s *Llibre de contemplació* (Ch. 234, § 25), we encounter analogous reasoning:

La vostra dretura, Sènyer, segons nostre esguardament significa en vos bonea, e la vostra misericòrdia segons nostra conexensa significa per altra manera en vos bonea. Mas segons vostre esguardament, Sènyer, en una manera metexa es la vostra bonea per la vostra dretura e per la vostra misericòrdia. (ORL VI, 79)

Both the acts of God’s justice and of His mercy pertain to the attribute (or Lullian “Dignity”) of goodness, so they depend upon a name which itself pertains to His Essence. The creature, however, understands them as separate acts (and thus as Names pertaining to action). In Llull’s *Cent noms*, we do not come across the name *dretura*, although he does discuss the synonymous name *justicia* (i.e. justice) in Chapter 28. A probable error in the rubrics of our base manuscript (Ott. Lat. 845) helps us understand how Lullian names pertaining to action depend upon God’s attributes: Chapter 37 concerns resurrection, though it opens with the following lines:

Car Deus es justicia, es just en jutjar  
per que volrà los homens resuscitar  
per so que de cascú pusca per dret usar.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Ch. 37, § 1 “Since God is justice, He is just in judging, / for the reason that He shall desire to resurrect people / so that rightfully He may avail himself of them all” (Sari & Hughes 2020).

The nature of the opening line probably explains why, instead of writing *De resurrexió*, the rubricator of our manuscript gives the title *De justicia* (a name which he had already employed earlier), corrected by a contemporary hand. At the same time, we can understand that the name pertaining to action, viz. “Resurrector”, is related to the name pertaining to essence, viz. “Justice”, thus confirming the previously described dependence.

Dominique Urvoy has proposed the most convincing explanation as far as the possible Islamic source of the work is concerned, by connecting Lull’s list with the analysis of God’s Names that Al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085) gives in his *Al-irshād ‘ilā qawāṭi ‘al-adilla fī usūl al-i’tiqād* [*The Guide to Conclusive Proofs for the Principles of Belief*], a work well-known on the Muslim Iberian Peninsula:

[...] une étude plus approfondie montre qu’il y a une logique de la modification apportée par notre auteur et que la partie musulmane reste accessible. D’une part, [...] vingt-huit termes lulliens sont une traduction exacte des termes islamiques, mais cinquante-neuf noms lulliens correspondent à soixante noms musulmans si l’on tient compte des synonymies, des variantes dans l’interprétation ou des sens allégoriques communément admis. D’autre part, il faut prendre en considération le fait que le théologien musulman dont l’œuvre a été la plus utilisée en Espagne, l’ash’arite Juwaynī (XI<sup>e</sup> s.), n’a étudié dans son *Kitāb al-irshād* que quatre-vingts noms, et les termes qu’il délaisse sont, à trois exceptions près, les mêmes que ceux que Lulle ignore, à savoir ceux qui concernent les rapports de Dieu à ses créatures (péché, grâce...), pour les remplacer par des termes propres au christianisme ou à son Art. Bien plus, malgré les transformations apportées, la liste lullienne conserve la même répartition que dans la théologie ash’arite : l’essence de Dieu, ses actes, ses attributs éternels. Toutefois, il faut aussitôt remarquer que l’œuvre prend son départ ici, où s’arrête à celle du musulman. (Urvoy 2008, 41-42)

This is the same Dominique Urvoy speaking, at any rate, who had earlier warned us that *Cent noms de Dieu* ought to be considered a “‘montage orientaliste’ uniquement destiné à un public chrétien” (Urvoy 1989, 163). This definition needs to be explained through careful reading of the work in question’s Prologue.

### 3. The Prologue to Lull’s *Cent noms de Dieu*

A prologue is always written after a text has been fully drafted, though it represents a specific moment in the life of the latter. We need to appreciate all its nuances, therefore, and to understand whether what is to be read therein still corresponds to the final version/edition of the text to which it is attached or to the copies whereby it has been preserved. It is incumbent upon us to recognise that the prologue to the *Cent noms* forms part of Lull’s campaign of self-advertisement. This work belongs to the first phase of the internationali-

sation of his mission: following his disappointments in Paris, Llull attempted to persuade the Pope to give serious consideration to the Art which, at least for rhetorical reasons if not more, had been revealed to him.<sup>22</sup> The situation may well have warranted his self-presentation via a work which acted as bridge between Christianity and Islam.

Let us now examine certain controversial parts of the Prologue:

[1] Com los sarraïns entenen provar llur llig ésser donada de Déu, per ço car l'Alcorà és tan bell dictat que no el podria fer null hom semblant d'ell, segons que ells dien, jo, Ramon Llull, indigne, me vull esforçar, amb ajuda de Déu, fer aquest llibre en qui ha *millor matèria* que en l'Alcorà, a significar que, enaixí com jo faç llibre de *millor matèria* que l'Alcorà, pot ésser *altre home qui aquest llibre pos en així bell dictat com l'Alcorà*. E açò faç per ço que hom pusca argüir als sarraïns que l'Alcorà no és dat de Déu, jassia que sia bell dictat. Emperò deïm que aquest llibre, e tot bê, és donat de Déu, segons que dir se convé.

Soplec, doncs, al sant paire apostoli e als senyors cardenals que el facen posar en llatí en *bell dictat*, car jo no l'hi sabria posar, per ço car ignor gramàtica. E si jo en alguna cosa erre en est llibre contra la fe, sotmet lo dit llibre a correcció de la santa Església romana. (Sari & Fernández-Clot 2019, 438)<sup>23</sup>

Here Llull requests that the Papal court have the *Cent noms* translated into Latin, for the reason that he “lack[s] knowledge of Latin grammar”. This passage has been used to support the assertion that Llull lacked a command of Latin, a claim which has been proved to be false (Badia, Santanach & Soler 177-179, in particular 179, n. 46). In this instance, Llull is, in fact, asking for the text to be translated into a particular rhetorical form (probably *cursus*) in order that the Latin translation itself might compete with the stylistic beauty of the Qur’ān. What has generally gone unnoticed, however, is that, in the preceding lines, wherein Llull explains that the *Cent noms* possesses “subject

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<sup>22</sup> About the dating of this work see Sari (2018, 216-218).

<sup>23</sup> “Since the Saracens attempt to prove that their Law is a gift from God, on the grounds that the Qur’an is so beautifully written that nobody could produce its like, as they say, I, the unworthy Ramon Llull, shall endeavour, with God’s assistance, to bring forth this book, wherein lies *subject matter superior* to that of the Qur’an, in order to indicate that just as I am able to write a book containing *subject matter superior* to that of the Qur’an, it is <also> possible *for someone else to write this book in as beautiful a style as the Qur’an <itself>*. And this I do so that somebody may contend against the Saracens that the Qur’an is not a gift from God, despite its being beautifully written. We assert, on the other hand, that this book, and all good itself, is a gift from God, as it is only right to say.

I beg our Holy Father the Pope and the Lord Cardinals, therefore, to translate it into *the best Latin style*, for I would not be able to do so, since I lack knowledge of Latin grammar. And if within this book I err against the faith in any respect, I will submit to its being corrected by the Holy Roman Church” (Sari & Hughes 2020).

matter” (rather than *style*) superior to that of the Qur’ān, he asks a generic “someone else” to adjust the style of his text. Thus, our Majorcan author was well aware that, even at the point he drafted the prologue, the work was not flawless, so he requested assistance in order to achieve a more effectively structured version/translation.

It does not seem likely, however, that in this particular instance Llull is requesting that an Arabic version of his text be made available, as might be expected were this work to be aimed at an Islamic audience. In two further works does he reiterate the relation this text bears to the Papal court,<sup>24</sup> so he must have presented it thereto in its extant and irregular form, a form akin to that of Islamic rhymed prose (*saj’*) though wholly extraneous to Western poetic traditions. Both the musical tones (i.e. psalmody and the melodic recitation of the Qur’ān) proposed in § 4 are perfectly suited to our text:

[4] En cascú dels CENT NOMS DE DÉU proposam posar deu versos, los quals hom pot cantar segons que els salms se canten en la santa Església; e açò fem per ço car los sarraïns canten l’Alcorà en la mesquita, per què aquests versos se poden cantar segons que els sarraïns canten.

[10] Aquests versos rimam en vulgar per ço que mills hom los pusca saber de cor. E no fem força si en alguns versos ha mais sil·labes que en altres, car açò sostenim per ço que millor matèria puscam posar en est llibre. E ha major dificultat en posar tan subtil matèria, com ha en est llibre, en rimes, que no és l’Alcorà posar en lo dictat en què és posat. (Sari & Fernández-Clot 2019, 439)<sup>25</sup>

Llull describes the form of each chapter: 10 *verses*, a term that must be interpreted as corresponding to the verses of the Psalms, rather than in the modern sense of the lines of a poem. Each *vers* is irregular (free verse), though

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<sup>24</sup> In Llull’s *Desconhort de Ramon* [*Disconsolation of Ramon*], vv. 703-708 (ORL XIX, 248-249), he first suggests the hermit with whom he is dialoguing to sing this work to the Papal court, but then he discourages him from doing so not to put blame on this work, singing it in the manner of jesters. In his *Medicina de peccat* [*Medicine for Sin*], vv. 1523-1525 (NEORL XVI, 200), he attests that he has given the work to the Pope. *Cent noms de Déu* is also quoted in the *Arbre de ciència*, XV, VI, 3-4, 7; and likewise in the prologue to his *Proverbis de Ramon* [*Proverbs of Ramon*]. In these last two works, however, he is not alluding to the Papal court, but simply confirming that he has already written the *Cent noms*. Both the *Arbre de ciència* and the *Proverbis de Ramon* were composed in Rome, during Boniface VIII’s papacy.

<sup>25</sup> “[4] In each of the Hundred Names of God we intend to include ten verses, which may be chanted in the manner of the Psalms; and this we do because the Saracens chant the Qur’an in their mosques, for which reason these verses may be chanted according to the manner used by the Saracens.”

“[10] We make these verses rhyme in the vernacular so that they may more easily be learnt by heart. Yet we do not mind if there are more syllables in certain verses than in others, for we permit this in order that we may include superior subject matter within this book. And it is more difficult to include such subtle subject matter, as is present in this book, within rhyming verse than it is to write the Qur’an in the style in which it is written” (Sari & Hughes 2020).

they are bound together by the rhymes (three per *vers*, for which reason it may be termed a tristich). These rhymes constitute the rhetorical tool whereby Llull mounts a challenge to the Qur'ān, which itself features rhyme only to an extent of 89.5% (Steward 1990, 108-111, 135-137). The above-cited paragraph 10 has been used as a means to justify the irregular versification found in Llull's poetic production as a whole, an appearance which all recent editors judge to be false. We are bound to acknowledge, at all events, however, that the *Cent noms* (and this work alone) features irregular versification, which versification presents a variety of rhythmical pattern that fails to be respected throughout the text.<sup>26</sup>

Finally, it would seem that one of the key paragraphs of the prologue, and one which it is important to bear in mind when analysing Llull's *Cent noms*, is § 5:

Aquest llibre és bo a contemplar e a conèixer Déu, e a provar la fe cristiana, segons que en ell apar; e és llibre de gran consolació e plaer. (Sari & Fernández-Clot 2019, 439)<sup>27</sup>

We are left wondering how a book based more upon Islamic tradition than upon its Christian counterpart is able to *prove* the Christian faith?

Let us conclude by summarising in an inter-religious way what has been said up to now: the Names of God originate from the Holy Scriptures of both religions, and can be attributed to Ramon Llull's own "Illumination". They enjoy profound significance in both Christian and Muslim theology, a significance which has been the subject of voluminous discussion and has given rise to certain specific considerations: e.g. the power of words (*uirtus uerborum*), as echoed in Llull's work. The question of their synonymy/polysemy represented a challenging topic for both monotheisms, which themselves produced several treatises on the matter,<sup>28</sup> and when Llull recasts his list of Divine Names in other works he introduces certain changes in the same way as did Ibn 'Arabī in his treatises on the same subject (Sari 2018, 221-230).<sup>29</sup> The Names of God were chanted as a liturgical sequence in Europe and

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<sup>26</sup> We will analyse the metrical structure of the work in future articles.

<sup>27</sup> "[5] This book is useful for contemplating and knowing God, and for proving the Christian faith, as is apparent therefrom, and it is a book offering great consolation and pleasure" (Sari & Hughes 2020).

<sup>28</sup> Al-Ghazālī is the significantly absent party when it comes to the explanation of the issues regarding the Islamic Names of God proposed above. In fact, it is not that clear that Llull could have known Al-Ghazālī's treatise concerning God's Names, for which see Garcías Palou (1981, 184-185, n. 50), Puig (2016, 38-47) and Sari (2018, 221-235).

<sup>29</sup> These works are Llull's *Proverbis de Ramon* and his *Arbre de ciència*.



they are still chanted among Muslims. Llull's work is likewise supposed to be chanted and incorporated into the Liturgy; it is organised according to the Liturgy of the Hours, in fact, in two of the *Cent noms*' medieval manuscripts (Sari & Fernández-Clot 2019, 15-36).

Devotion to the Names is particularly strong among certain groups: in Christianity, the Franciscan Order was profoundly devoted to the name of Jesus, which devotion would subsequently constitute one of the specific features of the preaching of Bernardino da Siena and of the Order of the Jesuates. In Islam, the Names of God play a central role in Sufism.<sup>30</sup> Llull affirms that he has presented the *Cent noms* to the Papal court; however, this work seems to have been conceived chiefly for private devotion. Thus, we can understand why Llull's *Cent noms de Déu* can be considered to form a bridge between Christianity and Islam, as well as between theology and popular devotion—why, in other words, it is a work which only a lay *Christianus arabicus* could have conceived.

## **Annex: The Names of God in the *Llibre de contemplació***

### **1. The Second Commandment**

Ch. 116, § 23 Los malvats mercaders, Sènyer, veem que en so que compren e que venen, que meten vostre nom en lur boca, jurans vos, per tal que pusquen per lo fals sagrament enganar los homens a qui venen o de qui compren. (ORL IV, 87)

Ch. 256,<sup>31</sup> § 1-2 Deus forts sobre totes forces, temut sobre totes temors! Com vos ajats, Sènyer, compost home de natura sensual e de natura entellectual, per assò avets manat a home que no prena lo vostre gloriós excellent marvellós nom en va, enans fassa hom sensualment e entellectualment reverencia e honor al vostre nom vertader vertuós. [2]. Com vos, Sènyer Deus, ajats fet manament a la sensual e entellectual natura qui es en home que no prenen lo vostre nom en va, per assò son los .v. senys sensuais e los .v. entellectuals obligats a obeir lo vostre dreturer manament. (ORL VI, 273)

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<sup>30</sup> In his fundamental study on the Islamic Names, Gimaret failed to include Sufi analysis of the Names, not because he despised their literature, but because he did not know it well and felt awkward when treating it (Gimaret 2007, 10).

<sup>31</sup> Ch. 256, entitled “Com nostre Senyor Deus fa manament a home que no prena lo seu nom en va”, is wholly devoted to the Second Commandment: “Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain”.

Ch. 256, § 5 On, com los homens s'adeliten en veer la bellea de les creatures e lur anima s'ublida de remembrar e d'entendre e d'amar la noblea e la saviea e'l poder e la bonea del creador qui tam belles coses ha creades e fetes com son les creatures, adoncs, Sènyer, per vista corporal e entellectual es pres lo vostre nom en va en so que hom no reeb los significats que les creatures donen a home de la alta bonea de lur creador. (ORL VI, 274)

Ch. 256, § 7 Ah sancta resplandor de totes resplandors e lugor de totes lugors! Entellectualment entenem, Sènyer, que vos avets donades a home orelles per tal que oya lo vostre nom vertuós e les vostres qualitats glorioses e les vostres paraules vertaderes e les vostres obres vertaderes. On, aquells qui oen de vos totes estes coses e no fan reverencia e honor a tot so que de vos oen, aquells prenen lo vostre sant nom gloriós en va. (ORL VI, 274)

Ch. 256, § 11-12 On, com los homens odoren les odors e per les odors s'aclinen a peccat, adoncs son desobedients al vostre manament en so que prenen vostre nom en va; car aquell pren lo vostre nom en va, qui es desobedient al vostre manament qui mana que hom no fassa peccat. [12] Humil Senyor! Entellectualment entenem que vos avets donada a alcunes coses odor horrible e mala per tal que los homens menyspreen la vana gloria mundana e remembren les infernals penes e la viltat qui es en home qui a la mort esdevé en pudor e en putrefacció, e en sa vida ixen d'ell coses pudentes e de molt mala odor. On, com los homens no remembren ni entenen la ocasió per que vos avets donada aital odor, adoncs vos, Sènyer, sots desobeít en lo vostre manament per los homens qui no reeben so que la mala odor significa e per assò prenen lo vostre nom en va; car com hom no reeb lo significat que vos volets que sia reebut, pren hom lo vostre voler e lo vostre nom en va. (ORL VI, 275)

Ch. 256, § 13-14 Ah savi Senyor, graciós, noble, meravellós! Vos havets donat a home gustament per tal que atrop sabor e plaer en les viandes que menuga. On, vos, Sènyer, volets que aquells qui atroben dousor e plaer e bon saber en les viandes que menuguen, que aquells vos fassen gràcies e us loen e us beneesquen del bé que·ls fets. On, aquells qui assò no fan, fan contra vostre voler, e qui fa contra vostre voler pren lo vostre nom en va en so que fa contra vostre manament. [14] Vos, Sènyer, avets donada a home boca e lengua e paraula per tal que hom vos lou e us beneesca e us ador e us reta gràcies e mercès. On aquells qui vos juren e us prometen e us menten e us perjuren e no us fan laors ni gràcies ni no us loen ni us honren, aquells prenen lo vostre nom en va e fan contra lo vostre manament. (ORL VI, 276)

Ch. 256, § 16-17 Sènyer ver Deus qui poblats mon cor d'amors e mullats mos ulls de plors! Vos avets donat a home sentiment per tal que com sintrà les benenances e·ls plaers d'aquest mon que do laor e honor a vos qui aquell sentiment li avets donat e que sia remembrant de la vostra gran misericòrdia, e com sintrà los treballs e·ls afanys e les penes d'aquest mon que sia remembrant la vostra gran justícia e la culpa e·l peccat qui es en ell. On, com home no fa totes aquestes coses, adoncs pren lo vostre manament e·l vostre voler e·l vostre nom en va. [17] La pus principal e la major ocasió per que vos, Sènyer, avets dat sentiment a home, es per so que home sia remembrant la vostra dousa misericòrdia e liberalitat e la vostra verdadera justícia. On, com home no fa so per que ha reebut vertut e natura e propietat en ésser sensible, adoncs es desobedient al vostre gloriós nom e ha en menyspreament aquell qui li ha dat sentiment per tal que d'ell sia remembrant e del acabament qui en aquell es. (ORL VI, 276-277)

Ch. 256, § 20 Car enaxí com a home es donada vista corporal per tal que·n veja les coses corporals, enaxí es donada cogitació a home per tal que ab ella veja entellectualment cogitant les vostres acabades qualitats. On, com home no cogita en esta manera de vostres qualitats, adoncs pren lo vostre manament e·l vostre gloriós nom en va, lo qual nom mana a la cogitació que en les vostres grans noblès sia cogitant per tal que les conega e que les lou e que gràcia e benedicció reeba d'elles. (ORL VI, 277)

Ch. 256, § 23 On, com home no vulla apercebre ni sapia apercebre so que vos volets que aperceba e pusca apercebre, e com vos, Sènyer, li ajats dada libertat de totes aquestes coses a apercebre, per assò com home no aperceb totes estes coses damundites esdevé culpable e peccador e desobedient al vostre manament gloriós e pren en va la vostra obra el vostre nom e·l vostre manament. (ORL VI, 278)

Ch. 256, § 28 Vertuós Senyor sobre tota vertut, noble sobre tot honrament! La raó ni la ocasió per que vos avets donada animositat e coratgía a home, es per tal que home vos am més e pus ferventment que nulla altra cosa. On, l'ome qui ama més sí metex o altre que vos, aquell, Sènyer, es desobedient al vostre manament e ha en va lo vostre nom. (ORL VI, 279)

## 2. Praise

### 2a. Naming God's Names and Virtues

Ch. 1, § 20 Ah Senyor! On son los ulls qui pusquen compendre a veer vostra bonea, ni quals boques purien nomenar vostres vertuts, ni quals orelles purien oir les laors qui·s pertanyen a vostra bonea? (ORL II, 9-10)

Ch. 59, § 1 Loat sia lo vostre nom e la vostra saviea qui ha ordonat l'autre seggle, en so que vos avets dada conexensa, en l'autre seggle, de la vostra gran bonea e noblea als àngels e als demonis e als homens e a les fembres: car per aver conexensa de la vostra bonea es tot l'autre seggle ordonat a ésser coneguda la vostra noblea. (ORL II, 304)

Ch. 113, § 10 Remembrat Senyor, reclamat, colt e beneyt e servit! Aquells qui us van cercar, Sènyer, si us volen atrobar, vajan vos cercar en les boques dels homens religioses enpobrits per la vostra amor, car aquí vos poràn atrobar: car los sants religioses nit e dia vos nomenen e us aoren e us preguen e us loen e us beneexen. (ORL IV, 65)

Ch. 113, § 13 Qui us vol atrobar, Sènyer, no us vaja cercar per les plasses ni per les carreres poblades, car en aquells locs no y sots vos nomenat ne remembrat, segons que s tanyeria, ni no y parla hom de vos ni no y diu hom si no quax falsies e engans e escarns e vanitats. (ORL IV, 65-66)

Ch. 118, § 26 Als juglars, Sènyer, veem que son donats cavalls e palafrens e enaps d'argent e nobles vestiments e diners d'aur e d'argent e d'altres rics dons: mas als mesquins de pobres qui tot dia us van nomenant e reclamant, a aquells veem, Sènyer, que son donats vils dons; car ab una mealla o ab una poca pessa de pa o ab una vestidura rota los cuida hom satisfacer a lur gran pobretat. (ORL IV, 102)

Ch. 120, § 13 Ah Rey dels reys, nomenat per tots los pobles, graciós sobre totes gràcies! (ORL IV, 112)

Ch. 121, § 3 On, beneyt siats vos, Sènyer Deus, qui enaxí con als lauradors avets donades moltes sements e diverses que sembren en la terra, enaxí avets donades als homens rics moltes riquèes e diverses, que pusquen donar e escampar als homens pobres qui per la vostra amor volen ésser pobres e volen acceptar en vostre nom dels homens rics. (ORL IV, 117)

Ch. 165, § 13 Nomenat Senyor per tots los principats e per totes les terres! (ORL IV, 395)

Ch. 172, § 3 On, com aquesta cosa sia axí ordonada que hom pusca apercebre so qui es fora natura ab les .iiij. coses damundites,<sup>32</sup> lo vostre servidor e-l vostre sotsmés, Sènyer, confiant en la vostra ajuda, a gloria e a reverencia e a honor

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<sup>32</sup> These four aforementioned things are: *faedor*, *materia*, *forma*, and *causa final*.

del vostre nom s'esforça aitant com pot de apercebre so qui es fora natura ab los significats que pren del vostre marvellós poder e de la vostra vertadera saviea e de la vostra beneyta volentat e del vostre gloriós acabament. (ORL V, 30)

Ch. 178, § 26 L'onrament e la noblea qui es en vos es significant, Sényer, que es en vos cosa essencial, no accidental; car de vostre honrament es que vos siats eternal e infinit; on, ja erets vos honrat en vos metex eternalment e infinidament ans que les creatures fossen en esser, lo qual honrament e la qual noblea fo coneguda en vos per vos metex ans que les creatures fossen; puxes, com les creatures foren, adoncs fo conegut lo vostre honrament per les creatures. On, jassía, Sényer, que la nostra paraula nomén lo vostre honrament e la vostra vertut, l'enteniment entén que lo vostre honrament e la vostra noblea son cosa substancial honrada eternalment e infinidament. (ORL V, 94)

Ch. 246, § 13 Pater noster! Sanctificat e glorificat sia lo teu nom e la tua glòria [...]. (ORL VI, 180)

Ch. 266, § 19 Reclamat Senyor per tots los pobles, nomenat Senyor per totes lengues! (ORL VI, 356)

Ch. 283, § 14 Humil Senyor! Com l'ome loa vostres obres sensualment e diu que vos sots tot sol creador e senyor e benefactor e tot dreturer e tot piadós e axí de les altres qualitats, adoncs la boca no pot tant nomenar com vos podets obrar; car vostres obres son en tota la totalitat dels jenres e de les espècies e de los individuus en quant reeben de vos gràcia e benedicció, e la paraula no basta a tantes coses a nomenar, axí com la ànima qui no basta a tantes coses a membrar ni a entendre ni a amar. On, com assò sia enaxí, segons assò es significat, Sényer, que si una gota d'aigua es poca cosa a esguardament de tota la mar, encara sí es pus poca sens tota comparació la laor a la qual hom pot bastar a donar de les vostres obres glorioses. (ORL VII, 136)

Ch. 283, § 17 Gloriós Senyor! Com hom parla e diu que vos no sots injuriós ni fals ne omayer ni mentider ni fornicador ni enganable, e assò metex dels altres vicis, adoncs vos loa hom, Sényer, sensualment que vos no fets negú dels peccats damundits; mas car vos segons vostra dignitat fariets a loar en tots quants peccats se fan dient e nomenant aquells afermant que vos no-n fets negú, e car null hom ni tots los homens no-l porien dir per raó de la multitut dels peccats qui-s son fets e-s fan e-s faran, per assò no es null home qui pogués bastar a loar vos segons la laor qui cové ésser dita de vos. (ORL VII, 137)

Ch. 284, § 7 Creador Senyor del cel e de la terra e de tot quant es! La segona raó d'amor se diu d'aver. On, deym, Sènyer, que sensualment sentim que en est mon més vegades ic son nomenats diners e tresors de coses movents, que no sots vos, e més son los libres on hom escriu e més son los escrivans qui escriuen e més son los comptadors de diners, que no son los homens qui vos nomenen ni los libres on vos sots escrit e los homens qui comten vostres laors. (ORL VII, 144)

Ch. 284, § 10-11 La tersa raó d'amor se diu dels plaers que hom ha mundans en viandes. On, deym que sensualment sentim que més nomena hom bon pa e bon vi e bona carn e bona salsa e bon pex e bona fruita que bon [D]eu, e més encerca hom los plaers qui s troben en totes estes coses damundites, que no fan los plaers que la ànima ha en amar vos e en moure lo cors a nomenar vos. On, com assò sia, Sènyer, enaxí, doncs per aquesta sensualitat es significat al humà enteniment que més ànimes son que remembren e entenen e amen més vegades e pus ferventment les coses damundites, que lur creador. [11] Car si més ànimes membraven e entenien Deu que les viandes damundites e si més vegades e pus ferventment lo remembravem e l entenien, lo cors més vegades nomenaria Deus gloriós que pa ne vi saborós: car axí com naturalment un cors es mogut vés la dressera on lo empeny altre cors, enaxí si la ànima molt vos remembrava e molt vos entenia e molt vos amava, més vegades vos faria nomenar e loar al cors, que no faria lo pa ne l vi ni les altres viandes. (ORL VII, 145)

Ch. 284, § 14 On, beneyt siats vos, Sènyer Deus: car enaxí com dues preposicions concordants signifiquen de necessitat la conclusió, enaxí la mia memòria com remembra e lo meu enteniment com entén les coses sentides, adoncs es significat que molt pus fortment son amats los vans delits d'aquest mon, que no sots vos qui sots acabat en tots bens; car qui comtava les paraules que ls reys e ls prínceps e ls cavallers e ls altres dien nomenants cavalls e austors e falcons e cans e balls e cansons e dons e armes e batalles e jocs e les altres coses d'est semblant, per una paraula que hom pogués comtar, Sènyer, d'aquells qui vos loen ni nomenen, ne poria hom comtar .x. d'aquells qui amen los delits temporals. (ORL VII, 146-147)

Ch. 359, § 13-14 [Q]ui les pus belles paraules que hom pusca parlar de les coses entellectuals vol nomenar, nomén un Deu en trinitat infinit eternal viu poderós savi volenterós simple gloriós acabat just misericordiós humil pacient creador recreador glorificador; car nulles paraules no s poden formar ni afigurar tam bé en nulla creatura, com fan com hom parla del creador e

de ses vertuts e propietats e obres. [14] On, beneyt siats vos, Sènyer: car enaxí com la ànima ha pus noble remembrament e enteniment e voler com remembra e entén e ama son creador e vostres vertuts e propietats, que no ha com remembra e entén e ama les creatures, enaxí la B<sup>33</sup> es molt pus bella sens tota comparació com nomena deitat e deu e essència divina e infinitat e eternitat e creador e les altres vertuts, que no es com nomena nulla creatura ni null accident ni nulla altra cosa qui no sia en creador: car enaxí com figura d'animal se demostra pus vertaderament en animal racional que irracional e mills en irracional que en la figura d'animal depinta en la paret, enaxí bellea de paraules mills se demostra en les paraules que hom parla de vos, que no fa en nulla altra cosa de que hom parle. (ORL VIII, 537)

## **2b. Naming God's Name constitutes a Sensible Prayer (Oració sensual)**

Ch. 315, § 2 On, com assò, Sènyer, sia enaxí, doncs segons assò son figurades al humà enteniment tres figures d'oració: la primera es oració sensual, axí com home qui nomena e parla adorant vostres vertuts e vostres honraments demanant a vos gràcia e perdó e benedicció; la segona es oració entellectual, axí com home qui en sa oració vos remembra e us entén e us ama e us contempla membrant e entenent e volent vostres honraments e vostres vertuts; la tersa es axí com l'ome qui fa bones obres e fa bé e usa de dretura e de misericòrdia e de veritat e de les altres vertuts. (ORL VIII, 3-4)

Ch. 315, § 4 Liberal Senyor en tots bens qui sots amor de mos enamoraments! La primera figura d'oració se diu de sensualitat. On, deym que com hom vos adora e us beneex sensualment, adoncs la boca vos nomena e us beneex e us prega e diu hom: glòria e benedicció e vertut e honrament e reverencia e honor sia feta a vos, Sènyer Deus, qui sots pare e senyor e creador de tot quant es, del qual vé gràcia e benedicció a totes creatures. (ORL VIII, 4)

Ch. 315, § 6 Gloriós Senyor! Com hom s'ajonolla e besa la terra e leva ses mans e sos ulls en vert lo cel e fa lo sant senyal de la crou, adoncs vos adora e us prega sensualment lo cors, lo qual es creat e format a fer oració e reverencia e honor a son creador e a son senyor e a son benefactor: car enaxí com la boca es creada per nomenar e per adorar vostres vertuts glorioses, enaxí lo cors del home es creat per tal que us fassa soplegant reverencia e honor. (ORL VIII, 4-5)

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<sup>33</sup> In this chapter, the letter B represents the sensible motive power (*potència motiva sensual*).

Ch. 316, § 4 Pater noster qui es in celis, del qual reeben gracia e benedicció totes creatures! Lo vostre servidor, Sènyer, forma e afigura la oració sensual ajennollant-se e besant la terra e levant ses mans e sos ulls al cel, nomenant e dient vostra sancta unitat gloriosa, confessant e atorgant que no es en ésser mas .j. deu tan solament ni no es digna cosa que sia de un deu en fora; car tants deus no serien que poguessen bastar a aver tanta de noblea ne de bonea com basta un deu tan solament. On, per assò lo vostre servidor diu sensualment que beneyta sia la vostra sancta gloriosa unitat e beneyts son tots aquells qui en .j. deu creen tan solament e en .j. deu tan solament se confien, e maleyts son aquells qui la vostra unitat neguen ni descreen ne qui més de un deu creen. (ORL VIII, 13)

Ch. 316, § 8-9 Si no fossen, Sènyer, a hom coses necessàries nomenar les coses que son sustentació de vida corporal, molt fora folla cosa que hom se le-xàs de adorar e de nomenar vostra sancta unitat e nomenàs pa o vi e carn e les altres coses semblants a aquestes; car la vostra sancta unitat es cosa infinida eternal acabada, e totes aquestes coses que hom nomena per dar sustentació al cors son coses corrompables e coses finides e termenades e coses avents defalliment. On, com assò sia enaxí, doncs, quant serà aquell temps gloriós que hom no aurà necessitat de nomenar nulla cosa al cors necessària per tal que hom pusca nomenar contínuament la vostra unitat gloriosa! [9] Subirà Senyor! Com lo vostre servidor s'aja a jaquir de nomenar e de adorar sensualment la vostra sancta unitat per raó car ha a nomenar les coses al cors necessàries, clama us mercè que com se lexa de adorar e de nomenar la vostra unitat gloriosa, que vos la oració sensual metats e conloguets e estojets en la tercera figura d'oració, enaxí com la primera e la segona figura d'amor estojats e salvats en la tercera figura d'amor en aquells qui son vostres amadors e vostres loadors e servidors: car enaxí com lo pastor qui estoja son pa en son dobler per so car no·l pot menjar en lo temps que corre a defendre son bestiar, enaxí qui savi es deu estojar la primera figura d'oració en la .iiij.<sup>a</sup> com de necessitat se ha a jaquir de la oració. (ORL VIII, 14-15)

Ch. 318, § 12-14 On, com assò sia enaxí, doncs qui bé ni acabadament vol contemplar e adorar vostra essència sancta divina, esfors-se aitant com pusca de totes ses forces sensuales e entellectuals a aver conexensa de vostres qualitats e vertuts, e ador e contemple cascuna per sí e totes ensems ab totes les forces de sos senys sensuales e entellectuals: car enaxí, Sènyer, com hom ama la dona com remembra e entén sa cara o sos ulls o sos cabells e les altres faysons, enaxí adora hom e contempla vostra essència com hom nomena e loa e remembra e entén vostra infinitat o vostre poder o vostre saviea o qual que



sia de vostres vertuts e qualitats. [13] Comensador e faedor Senyor del mon e de totes coses! La quarta manera d'oració es com hom adora vostra essència divina en so en que hom no basta a aver conexensa d'ella. On, deym, Sènyer, que per so car la sensualitat no pot veer qual cosa ni què es vostra divina essència en sí, e car la ànima no pot membrar ni entendre qual cosa ni què es vostra essència divina, per assò nos no podem nomenar aquella cosa que la vostra essència es en sí, ni la memòria no la pot membrar pus que l'enteniment no la entén, ni l'enteniment no la pot entendre pus que la memòria no la membra. [14] On, com assò sia enaxí, doncs la volentat, Sènyer, ama en vostra essència divina so que en ella no pot nomenar la sensualitat ni en ella no pot remembrar ni entendre la entellectuat. On, per assò la volentat adora e contempla amant so que la ànima no conex en la vostra essència, e la sensualitat adora vostra essència dient e escrivent aquestes paraules, e la memòria adora vostra essència divina remembrant sí metexa que ella no basta a remembrar so que es vostra essència, e l'enteniment adora e contempla vostra essència en so que entén vostra essència divina ésser tan gran e sí metex tam poc, que no basta a entendre so que la vostra essència es en sí metexa. (ORL VIII, 39-40)

Ch. 318, § 20 On, com assò sia enaxí, doncs enaxí com la volentat, Sènyer, entellectualment adora e contempla vostra gloriosa essència en so que ama aquella sobre so que lo remembrament no basta a ella a membrar ni l'enteniment no basta a ella a entendre, enaxí la sensualitat del vostre servidor adora e contempla qual que cosa la vostra essència en sí metexa [sia], dient que la ànima no pot membrar ni entendre ni voler tot so que la vostra essència sia en sí metexa, e per assò aquella cosa que la vostra essència es en sí metexa no la pot la sensualitat nomenar ni pronunciar, car no pot bastar a assò a nomenar que la ànima no pot membrar ni entendre ni voler. (ORL VIII, 42)

Ch. 320, § 7 Singular Senyor en honrament e en senyoria e en vertut! Qui vol adorar ni contemplar la vostra sancta vida gloriosa, cové que sensualment nomèn e entellectualment entellectueg los significats qui signifiquen la vostra sancta vida graciòsa: car enaxí com la ànima veu entellectualment sa vida com remembra son remembrament e entén son enteniment e vol son voler, enaxí, Sènyer, la benahuirada ànima adora e contempla vostra vida com reeb los significats qui signifiquen en la vostra vida infinitat e eternitat e poder e saviea e amor e acabament e les altres glorioses qualitats. (ORL VIII, 58-59)

Ch. 360, § 28 Gloriós Rey de glòria qui sots Sant dels sants de glòria! Qui vol conèxer ni saber la noblea e la vertut d'oració, sapia conèxer e saber la bonea de la forma sensual d'oració sensual; car com hom nomena Deu infinit

viu eternal totpoderós savi e amorós e simple e acabat e gloriós, adoncs la sensualitat nomena vostra gloriosa essència e vostres glorioses vertuts, e com hom nomena Jesu Christ e vostra passió e la saviea e-l poder e la amor de vostra humanitat e les altres vertuts, adoncs aora la sensualitat. On, enaxí com la vegetativa del animal racional es mellor e pus vertuosa en animal racional per la conjunció de la racional potencia, enaxí la sensual oració qui en vostra deitat adora e contempla, es mellor que no son totes les altres sensualitats qui en vos no adoren ni contempen. (ORL VIII, 555)

### **3. The Name Jesus and the Name of the Trinity**

#### **3a. Jesus**

Ch. 250, § 28-30 Ah Sènyer Deus al qual comán totes les forces de la mia anima! En so que lo mon es apellat mon e en so que lo mon es .j. e lo mon es de dues natures, so es, sensual natura e entellectual, per assò es significat que sia .j. nom en ésser lo qual sia ajustat de la natura del mon e de la natura del creador, lo qual nom es Jesu Christ qui es un nom de dues natures, so es, de natura divina e de natura humana. [29] On, si tant fos, Sènyer, que vos no aguessets presa carn humana, no forets concebut de Sant Espirit, e si no ho fossets lo nom de Jesu Christ no fora ajustat de natura humana e de natura divina vertaderament, e si no ho fos lo creador no pogra ésser apellat en un nom ab creatura axí com la natura entellectual qui es apellada en .j. nom ab natura sensual com es dit mon. On, com sia molt pus noble nom Jesu Crist que no es mon per so com lo nom del mon no es ajustat de tan nobles coses com es lo nom de Jesu Crist, per assò es significat en l'acabament de vostres qualitats que vos avets ordonat com dins .j. nom sia nomenat creador ab creatura. [30] Gloriós Senyor! Si vos no fossets concebut de Sant Espirit lo mon fora lo pus noble nom qui fos en creatura. On, com tots los mals qui son sien en lo mon, es significat que alcún nom sia en creatura pus noble que lo nom del mon; car per so car lo mon es corrumput per peccat no es digne que pus noble nom aja que nulla creatura. On, per assò covenc que fos nom de Jesu Christ lo qual es pus noble nom e mellor que lo mon ni totes les coses qui son en lo mon: e encara, que en so que vos volets ésser nomenat dintre un nom ab creatura, es significat que sots pus humil per so car sots creador nomenat ab creatura. On, com aquest nom gloriós de Jesu Christ no fos vertader si vos no fossets encarnat e concebut de Sant Espirit e car cové que lo nom sia vertaderament nomenat segons que avem provat, doncs per assò es significat, Sènyer, que la vostra gloriosa humanitat fo concebuda en madona Sancta María per gràcia de Sant Espirit. (ORL VI, 226-227)

Ch. 287, § 25-26 Oh vos, Sènyer Deus, qui sots comensament e fi de totes coses! Sensualment sentim e entellectualment entenem que molts homens e los demés homens com nomenen Jesu Christ que tot simplament sens altre honrament lo nomenen. On, si aquells eren molt enamorats de nostra dona, tota ora que nomenassen son gloriós Fill, honradament lo nomenarien e dirien: nostre Senyor Deus Jesu Christ; car tot lo major plaer que hom pot fer a nostra dona es com hom ama e honra son Fill gloriós. [26] Vertuós Senyor! Si en la esgleya o en los altres locs com hom ou nomenar Jesu Christ hom s'ajonollava e besava la terra a reverencia e a honor del sant Nom de Jesu Christ, adoncs seria significat, Sènyer, que amarien aquells nostra dona gloriosa, car en altra manera hom no la pot amar si son Fill no li honra e si son Fill no ama e no adora e no prega; e si los àngels e les ànimes de parays adoren e loen e honren sens null cessament lo Fill de la verge gloriosa en la glòria celestial, doncs bé seria raó que nosaltres qui som coses vils a esguardament dels àngels, en aquest mon qui es vil a esguardament de la glòria perdurable, deguessem fer reverencia al Nom de Jesu Christ com lo oym nomenar. (ORL VII, 181)

Ch. 359, § 17-18 On, beneyt siats vos, Sènyer: car pus bells vocables son anomenar les vertuts que ls vicis e los senys entellectuals que los sensuals, e pus bells vocables son anomenar les obres que hom fa per los senys entellectuals que celles que hom fa ab los sensuals, e pus bell nomenar fa la potencia sensitiva que la vejetable e la ymaginativa que la sensitiva ni la mutiva, e pus bell nomenar fa la potencia racional que no fa negunes de les altres potencies; car aitant com la potencia s'acosta més a les coses entellectuals e s lunya més de les coses sensuals, daitant la fa pus bell nomenar e pronunciar. [18] Honrat Senyor! Tot lo pus bell e l pus vertuós vocable que hom pusca nomenar, es nomenar Jesu Christ; car qui nomena Jesu Christ nomena vostra essència divina gloriosa, e nomena la vostra sancta humanitat qui val molt més sens tota comparació que no fan totes quantes creatures son. Enaprés, Sènyer, tot lo mellor e l pus bell vocable que hom pusca nomenar es nostra dona Sancta Maria verge gloriosa; car nulla creatura ni totes les creatures qui sien no valen tant ni no an tanta de vertut ni de glòria ni d'onrament com ha Sancta Maria. Enaprés, com hom aurà nomenats aquests pus excellents vocables, si vol nomenar bells vocables qui son molt bells a nomenar, nomén ma dona Sancta Anna e mon senyor Sant Joachim e mon senyor Sent Johan e Sent Jacme e Sent Pere e Sent Andreu e Sent Paul e los apòstols e Sent Francesc e Sent Domingo e Sent Bernat e Sancta Magdalena e Sancta Catherina e tots los sants de glòria. On, beneyt siats vos, Sènyer Deus: car aitant com los sants de glòria son majors e mellors en glòria que nos no som en est mon, aitant fa ells pus bell nomenar que no fa les coses qui son en est mon. (ORL VIII, 538-539)

### 3b. The Trinity

Ch. 11, § 3 Ah Sancta Trinitat beneyta! Pus que vos sots una essència, e tres persones son oydes en vos ésser, e la una persona no es l'otra, raó e ordonació requer, Sènyer, que cascuna de les persones aja son nom apropiat, per tal que per lo nom entenam nomenar cascuna de les persones, e per lo nom puscam creure e aorar e loar cascuna de les persones. (ORL II, 51)

Ch. 179, § 18-19 Com lo vostre sotsmés es, Sènyer, contemplant en la vostra eternitat, es significat a la nostra anima que en la vostra substancia ha alcuna propietat e alcuna natura segons la qual vostra substancia es eternal; car menys d'alcuna propietat e natura de eternitat, la vostra substancia no poria ésser durable eternalment. On, aquest significat que ns fa la vostra eternitat d'alcuna propietat e natura en la vostra substancia, no es los .ij. significats damunt dits, ans es altre significat qui significa en la vostra substancia altra persona, so es altra propietat e natura qui es significada per eternitat, e de les altres persones es lo significat de la una de granea infinida e l'autre significat es de vida. On, com lo nostre enteniment ha reebuts, Sènyer, aquests .ij. significats per los quals ha apercebudes en la vostra substancia tres persones, adoncs reeb per lo propri significat de cascuna nom a cascuna de les persones; car la persona qui es significada per granea infinida segons son significat significa que sia apellada persona de Pare, e la persona qui es significada per vida significa segons son propri significat que sia apellada persona de Fill, e la persona qui es significada per eternitat significa segons son propri significat que sia apellada persona de Sant Espirit. Emperò ja sia so que nos digam que cada persona ha sa propria vertut qui la significa, emperò deym que cada vertut es aitam bé en la una persona com en l'otra. [19] Ah Senyor digne de ésser honrat sobre totes honors e de ésser loat sobre totes laors! Com la mia anima es contemplant en lo vostre poder divinal e entén que vos sots poderós de ésser infinit e de ésser cosa viva e de ésser eternal e sots poderós de crear totes coses, adoncs, Sènyer, lo vostre poder significa a la mia anima que en vos ha alcuna propietat e alcuna natura de la qual es lo vostre poder; car si en vos no avia propietat ni natura de poder, no seriets cosa avent poder: car enaxí com defall a cors humà poder de ésser infinit e de ésser viu eternalment per so car no ha propietat ni natura de ésser infinit ni vivent eternalment, enaxí per contrari seny es significat que alcuna propietat e natura ha en vostra substancia per la qual sots poderós de ésser infinit e viu e eternal e creador e benefactor e tot bo. On, per aquesta propietat que vostre poder significa en la vostra substancia es significada persona de Pare lo qual nom li es significat segons la propietat de son significat. (ORL V, 102-103)

#### 4. The Penitent Soul's (= Lull's) Self-Representation

Ch. 85, § 15 Con jo, Sènyer, aja major paor aúda dels meus enemics que diligencia de donar laor del vostre nom e de la vostra sancta passió, huymés vull lexar e desemparar la paor e la manera que tenir sulía, e vull anar confiant en la vostra ajuda, donant laor de la vostra trinitat e de la vostra sancta encarnació e confiar-me tant en la vostra ajuda, tro que null hom per enemic que-m sia no-m fassa reguart. (ORL III, 141-142)

Ch. 131, § 21 Ah Senyor ajudable! Ja tro que aquest libre de *Contemplació* sia acabat, lo vostre servidor e-l vostre benvolent no porà anar en terra de sarrayns donar laor del vostre nom gloriós; car tant son ocupat per esta obra qui-s fa e-s tracta a honor de vos, que en altres coses no puc entendre: per que jo us clam mercè, Sènyer, que vos ajudets al vostre escrivà e al vostre sotsmès, en tal manera que en breu de temps aja esplegada esta obra, per tal que yvasosament pusca anar pendre martire per la vostra amor, si tant es que a vos placia que ell ne sia digne. (ORL IV, 187-188)

Ch. 208, § 29 On, com jo mesquí aja afollat e avilat e malmès e destrúit so que vos m'avets comanat per tal que ab aquella comanda donàs gloria e laor del vostre nom e dels vostres honraments, molt som, Sènyer, vergonyós e penident de mos greus falliments, los quals falliments son misatges e vies e occasions de greus penes infernals infinides si doncs la vostra dousa misericordia no es remembrable de mi peccador. (ORL V, 346)

Ch. 316, § 7 Oh vos, Sènyer Deus, qui tot sol sots digne de tota vertut e de tot honrament! Com en lo vostre servidor caia fam e set e calt e fret, e com de necessitat aja a durmir e aja a parlar e a tractar de totes les coses necessàries a les coses damundites, e com sia ocupat en les necessitats de sa muller e de sos infants e de sos amics, doncs per assò la mia sensualitat no basta a adorar continuament sens null cessament la vostra unitat gloriosa, enans cové que-s lex de loar e de nomenar la vostra unitat e que nomèn altres coses. (ORL VIII, 14)

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