

ESCHATOLOGY AND LLULL'S *LLIBRE CONTRA ANTICRIST*

Incipite pro Deo, incipite. Nam mors uenit et mille anni sunt iam praeteriti seu elapsi, in quibus melius negotium isto inceptum non fuit. De Fine, I.1¹

As Bernard McGinn and others have argued convincingly in recent years, any Christian view of history is eschatological in the sense that it must interpret both past and present events in the context of the divine economy—creation—fall—redemption—and the expectation of the Second Coming of the Messiah in some future time.² A particular strain or type of eschatology is *apocalyptic*, which focuses on a more deterministic understanding of historical events and attempts to discern specific time frames for eschatological events. A good way of distinguishing the two intellectual approaches to the «last times» alluded to in numerous scriptural passages³ is to say, again in the words of McGinn, that the distinction consists in the «difference between a general consciousness of living in the last age of history and a conviction that the last age itself is about to end.»⁴

These terms, eschatology and apocalyptic, relate most obviously to methods of biblical exegesis pursued by medieval theologians. Some patterns of exegesis led

¹ *ROL IX*, 254.

² Most relevantly, see Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (New York, 1994), pp. 12-13. From a theological viewpoint, see Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, vol. 1: *The Emergence of the Catholic Tradition (100-600)* (Chicago, 1971), p. 123 in particular. An interesting discussion of medieval historical writing with an eschatological bent can be found in R.W. Southern, «Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing 3: History as Prophecy», *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 22 (1972), 159-180.

³ The four scriptural passages referring to Antichrist all occur in the epistles of John: I John 2:18, I John 2:22, I John 4:3, and II John vs. 7. Medieval exegetes found «signs of the times» or events believed to foreshadow the end of the world in numerous scriptural passages, including, of course, Apocalypse 20. Such signs included cataclysmic events and natural disasters, wars, persecutions, and rampant unrighteousness.

⁴ Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End* (New York, 1979), p. 4.

to a theology of history in which biblical clarification of past events inspired prophecies about the future based on the division of history into various distinct ages. Joachim of Fiore, for example, divided history into three ages corresponding to Trinitarian theology of Father, Son and Holy Spirit—an exegesis which had tremendous implications for a radical understanding of the present and future experiences of the Church.⁵ Other more traditional historical divisions also existed. For example, it was St. Augustine's division of the ages of the Church which influenced St. Bonaventure's theology of history.⁶ But careful study of certain prophetic texts which circulated widely in the Middle Ages points beyond this scholarly «theology of history» to a more general cultural understanding of the relationship between current events and religious ideals which Robert Lerner has characterized as «everyday eschatological assumptions».⁷ As always, the writings of Ramon Llull afford us the opportunity to examine the point of intersection between the eschatological ideas of the theologians and exegetes and those of the educated lay public.⁸ Because Llull did not engage in systematic scriptural exegesis in general, not to mention of St. John's *Apocalypse* itself, a logical starting point for the investigation of the topic of Ramon Llull and eschatology can be found in the study of his treatise *Llibre contra Anticrist*.

Antichrist was, of course, one of the key figures in the eschatological drama of Christian history. During Llull's lifetime, there occurred an intensification of

⁵ See Marjorie Reeves, «Abbot Joachim's Theology of History», *1274 Année Charnière-Mutations et Continuités* (Paris, 1977), pp. 781-796.

⁶ See Joseph Ratzinger, *The Theology of History in St. Bonaventure*, trans. Zachary Hayes, (Chicago, 1971). For an interesting comparison of these major figures in the story of medieval eschatology, see David Burr, «Bonaventure, Olivi and Franciscan Eschatology», *Collectanea Franciscana* 53 (1983), pp. 23-40; as well as his «Mendicant Readings of the Apocalypse», in Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn, eds., *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and New York, 1992), pp. 89-102.

⁷ Robert Lerner, *The Powers of Prophecy: The Cedar of Lebanon vision from the Mongol Onslaught to the Dawn of the Enlightenment* (Berkeley, 1983), p. 2. That the question of the coming of the Antichrist exercised late medieval intellectuals can be seen by the existence of a *quaestio* by the theologian from Oxford, Henry of Harclay, edited in Franz Pelster, «Die Quaestio Heinrichs von Harclay über die zweite Ankunft Christi und die Erwartung des baldigen Weltendes zu Anfang des XIV Jahrhunderts», *Archivio Italiano per la Storia della Pietà* 1 (1951), pp. 53-81.

⁸ Similar endeavors can be seen in work of people such as Daniel Bornstein who study sermons, confessors' manuals, saints lives and other such texts as products of an encounter between learned and popular culture. For an example, see Bornstein's «Dominican friar, lay saint: The Case of Marcolino of Forlì», *Church History* 66 (1997), pp. 252-267, and p. 253 in particular.

apocalyptic eschatology which frequently resulted in the proliferation of various prophecies predicting the time of the arrival of Antichrist. Arnau of Vilanova's *De tempore et adventu Antichristi* is a good example of such a treatise. One could also cite Peter John Olivi's *Postilla super Apocalypsim*, Ubertino da Casale's *Arbor vitae crucifixae* and Angelo of Clareno's *Historia septem tribulationum ordinis minorum* among others, as examples of late medieval fascination with the arrival and identification of Antichrist.⁹ McGinn has claimed that «Antichrist haunted the late medieval imagination.»¹⁰ Antichrist imagery frequently surfaced in political and ecclesiastical rhetoric throughout this period and was also pervasive in art and literature.¹¹ However, given this cultural context, Lull's treatise on Antichrist is not what one would immediately expect. It makes no prophecies about the coming of Antichrist, it includes no timetables, and it contains no explicit identification of any particular individual or of any political or religious movement as definite manifestations of Antichrist.¹² Nevertheless, we can fruitfully examine Lull's *Llibre contra Anticrist* from a number of perspectives in order to gain insight into the eschatology of his day: we can study how this text reflects Lull's own intellectual and spiritual concerns, we can locate his ideas about Antichrist within the broader Christian Antichrist tradition, and finally, we can relate Lull's ideas to the apocalyptic themes enthusiastically embraced by some of the more radical religious figures of Lull's time.

⁹ See David Burr, «Olivi's Apocalyptic Timetable», *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 11 (1981), pp. 237-260.

¹⁰ McGinn, *Antichrist*, p. 143.

¹¹ For example, political leaders such as Frederick Barbarossa or Frederick II Hohenstaufen were identified with Antichrist. Popes Boniface VIII and John XXII shared the dubious honor of being termed Antichrist as well. See Bernard McGinn, «Angel Pope and Papal Antichrist», *Church History* 47 (1978), pp. 155-173. For many of these themes in general see, Harold Lee, Marjorie Reeves, and Giulio Silano, *Western Mediterranean Prophecy: The School of Joachim of Fiore and the Fourteenth-Century «Breviloquium»* (Toronto, 1989). A selection of essays which give an indication of the broad sweep of the influence of the *Apocalypse* in general on medieval culture can be found in Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn, eds., *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca and London, 1992).

¹² Lull also talks about Antichrist in his *Doctrina pueril*, chapter 96, and about the ages of the world in the same work, chapter 97, ed. Gret Schib, *ENC, A 104*, (Barcelona, 1972), pp. 230-5. Lull also discusses prophecy and the apostolic age in *Felix*, Book 1, chapters 11 and 12. In this context, Lull comments on a certain great clergyman who predicted the arrival of the Antichrist. Some have tentatively linked this anonymous figure to Arnau of Vilanova; I doubt whether Lull would have referred to Arnau as a clergyman, even if he were technically due the title. Another more compelling and logical possibility would be that Lull was referring to Olivi. For *Felix*, see A. Bonner, *Selected Works of Ramon Llull*, vol. 2 (Princeton, 1985), pp. 708-719.

I. The *Llibre contra Anticrist* and Llull's thought

A brief description of the treatise enables one to see how the *Llibre contra Anticrist* relates to common lullian concerns and also dispels any doubt that this is an authentic work of Llull's, even though no attribution as to authorship or date of composition can be found within the text in any of the known manuscripts. The work is a relatively brief treatise which exists in both a Catalan and a Latin version.¹³ Despite the lack of a date, the text clearly belongs to the «quaternary stage» of Llull's career, namely the period between 1274 and 1283, during which Llull incorporated sixteen divine dignities into the working of his Art.¹⁴ Josep Perarnau i Espelt has attempted to link the text to the foundation of the missionary *studium* at Miramar in 1276.¹⁵ Gret Schib supports a date of 1275/76, after the writing of the *Doctrina pueril*.¹⁶

The treatise is divided into three separate distinctions introduced by a prologue which briefly sets out Llull's purpose in writing the book. Here Llull declares that God created the world to love and know Him. But human perversity brought error into the world which leads men against this final intention. Therefore, Llull has compiled this book so that in the time of this adversary (namely the Antichrist), holy, wise and devoted men might find arguments and necessary reasons with which to combat the errors of Antichrist which turn some men towards the path of damnation.¹⁷ In his typical fashion, Llull provides the reader with a sketchy outline of the subjects he will cover in the treatise. He plans first to discuss *de començaments*, second to elucidate *les obres de Anticrist*, and third to deal with *sancta vida e doctrina*. Thus in the first distinction he attempts to prove the Christian doctrines of Unity, Trinity, Incarnation and elucidates the Christian virtues

¹³ The Catalan text has most recently been edited by Gret Schib Torra in *NEORL III* (Palma, 1996), pp. 105-160. A list of manuscripts and editions appears with a brief description of the work, its authenticity and date in the introduction to the edition on pp. 107-113. All subsequent references shall be to this edition as Llull, *Llibre contra Anticrist*.

¹⁴ Anthony Bonner, *Doctor Illuminatus: A Ramon Llull Reader* (Princeton, 1993), pp. 48-49.

¹⁵ Josep Perarnau i Espelt, «El *Llibre contra Anticrist* i la butlla de Joan XXI a favor de Miramar (1276)», *ATCA* 9 (1990), pp. 233-9. Perarnau's argument is that in distinction 3 of *Llibre contra Anticrist* on the «active life» Llull argues for the establishment of missionary *studia* as an unrealized project, so the treatise must date prior to the establishment of Miramar.

¹⁶ *Llibre contra Anticrist*, p. 107. In the *Liber de adventu Messiae*, Reims, Bibliothèque de la Ville, Ms. 500, ff. 133^r-149^r, also undated but belonging to the same period, Llull informs the reader that he is going to stop writing about the Messiah in order to work on a book against the Antichrist and his advent (f. 149^r).

¹⁷ Llull, *Llibre contra Anticrist*, p. 119.

in accordance with the principles of his Art. In the second distinction he enumerates the many and varied works and deeds of Antichrist, which are described under the headings of reasons, miracles, gifts, promises and torments. Here Lull intends to show how these acts are contrary to the principles set out in the first distinction and how those principles can be used to combat Antichrist. Or, to state it more simply, Lull argues that the principles of his Art will ultimately reveal the works and deeds of Antichrist as the falsehoods they are.¹⁸ Finally, he devotes the third distinction of *Llibre contra Anticrist* to describing the holy life which must be pursued by Christians who hope to combat and ultimately to resist the machinations of Antichrist. This section on *sancta vida e doctrina* is divided into a two-fold discussion of the contemplative life, consisting of prayer and suffering (*oració* and *afflicció*), and the active life, encompassing both preaching and armed confrontations (*prehicació* and *guerres e batalles*).

The basic divisions of this work amply illustrate Lull's overriding intellectual concerns. Although the traditional medieval Antichrist as the root of all evil and corruptor of men is recognizable here, it is clear that Lull is veering off in an unusual direction. In *Llibre contra Anticrist*, he is applying the basic principles of his Art to a topic of great contemporary interest while simultaneously demonstrating the flexibility of his unique intellectual tool as a means for combating error and arriving at eternal Truth. The prologue of the treatise plainly indicates that this work, like so many others, is a vehicle for Lull to explain the workings of his Art and emphasize its significance. Hence, the necessary reasons and theological arguments pertaining to the basic Christian doctrines in Distinction One take up by far the majority of the text.

The first distinction of *Llibre contra Anticrist* in particular displays the great confidence in reason which Lull shared with thirteenth-century scholastic culture and highlights his intellectual concerns. His emphasis on logical explanations of the Christian doctrines of the Unity or Oneness of God (monotheism), the Trinity, and the Incarnation in this text forge an obvious link to his missionary concerns. Just as he is certain that his necessary reasons can successfully demonstrate the truth of the Christian faith to unbelievers, he is equally convinced that the power of the intellect can overcome the false teachings of the Antichrist. The confluence of these

¹⁸ For example, see *Llibre contra Anticrist* II, p. 144; and II.1, p. 145: «Si Antichrist supposa per fe son advenimen[n]t, dient que hom crea ell esser Deu, dient que [a] son adveniment no's pot donar demostració, cové-li esser respost segons los inconveniens que's seguira en los començments si ell era Deu, quantra'ls quals es impossibol esser son adveniment en natura de Deu. Con si era possibol, seguir-s'ia que en les dignitats divines [a] alguns actus contraris, e açó es impossibol.»

ideas is not accidental. Identical methods can be used towards the conversion of unbelievers and the defeat of the Antichrist as even a cursory comparison of the arguments voiced here to those contained in works such *Llibre del gentil*, *Liber de fine*, *Liber de adventu Messiae* and many others demonstrates. The primary difference between this and later polemical texts lies in Llull's simplification of the mechanics of his Art, replacing with groups of nine divine dignities the sixteen he manipulates in myriad ways here, before finally losing interest in the mechanization of thought almost altogether.¹⁹ Whatever their number, combinations of these dignities consistently arrive at a truth which is more intellectually persuasive than the false teaching of Antichrist.²⁰

It is interesting, but not surprising to find that these false teachings of Antichrist mirror criticisms raised by Muslims, Jews, and schismatic Christians against the Latin Church and its doctrine. For example, one of the issues Llull raises is whether there can be a plurality of persons in God beyond the Trinity. Here he is clearly replying to the Muslim claim that if Christians are going to worship three gods, why not four or even more?²¹ Llull also addresses the doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and the Son, the *filioque*, in response to arguments from the Greek Church.²²

Consistent in Llull's thought is the balance he strives to maintain between right belief and right action. Thus the *Llibre contra Anticrist* goes beyond simple enumeration of correct doctrine and attempts to relate those beliefs to broader theological and ethical issues. Besides the conversion of unbelievers, Llull was interested in contemplative union with God as well as in *imitatio Christi* as an expression of both Christian love and love of Christ. In view of this, the proofs for the doctrine of the Incarnation contained in this treatise are interesting because they stress how Christ's humiliation and suffering on the cross functioned to unite humans to God. Christ's passion is additionally significant for Llull because it can serve as a model for human suffering, reform and renewal, and provides an important link between the of threat of Antichrist and the need for the reform of Christendom.²³ The ethical implications of such a view are clear in the last part of the first distinction, «De virtutis creades», where proper belief is equated with the exercise of Christian virtues and the ability to resist the persuasions of the

¹⁹ See Anthony Bonner, *Doctor Illuminatus: A Ramon Llull Reader* (Princeton, 1993), p. 45.

²⁰ For parallels between this text and other works by Llull it is helpful to consult Josep Perarnau, «El *Llibre contra Anticrist* de Ramon Llull». *ATCA* 9 (1990), pp. 55-158.

²¹ *Llibre contra Anticrist*, I.i; p. 124.

²² *ibid.* I.i; pp. 124-5.

²³ *ibid.*, I.iii.5; p. 132; I.iii.11; p. 137; I.iii.12-13; pp. 137-8.

Antichrist.²⁴ Lull understands right Christian action as imitative of both the extrinsic act of God in connection with the incarnation, and the passion of Christ: both salvific works.²⁵ Because the virtue *caritat* so clearly relates to final intention, Lull presents the other virtues as a medium through which *caritat* can move the world towards its created purpose.²⁶ In the section on temperance, Lull links the great rewards of temporal goods, the miracles (sensual), and the fear which the Antichrist instills in humans with the loss of the virtue. Once temperance is lost, the Antichrist can easily destroy the other virtues as a direct result. Lull believes that an intellect which is illumined and fortified by the virtues will show that the Antichrist is not God, but rather the opposite to God.²⁷ In the *Llibre contra Anticrist*, Lull draws clear parallels between successful evangelization of non-Christians (right belief), reform and spiritual regeneration within Christendom itself (exercise of the virtues), and the eventual defeat of the Antichrist.

Examination of the first distinction of this treatise illustrates some of Lull's intellectual concerns. The subsequent distinctions reinforce the idea that Lull is using the subject of Antichrist as an occasion for airing these key ideas, but they also provide additional insight into the relationship between these concerns and Lull's understanding of the dangers which the suborning activities of Antichrist represent for Christendom. Here Lull broadens his discussion of the powers of Antichrist. He does not abandon his support of the intellectual versus the sensual: noting, for example, that Antichrist will promise men the highest knowledge of the Being and Glory of God and presenting a more subtle vision of Antichrist's powers.²⁸ However, he also points to other seductive powers of Antichrist which relate directly to the everyday life of ordinary Christians. Such include promises of wealth, health, honours, and power.²⁹ In contrast, avers Lull, Christ promises greater glory through poverty than riches, and eternal glory to those blessed people who suffer on account on the truth.³⁰ The allusion to Lull's own conversion

²⁴ *ibid.*, I.iv.; pp. 140-4.

²⁵ *ibid.*, I.iv.2; p. 141.

²⁶ *ibid.*, I.iv.3; pp. 141-2.

²⁷ *ibid.*, I.iv.6; p. 143.

²⁸ *ibid.*, II.iv; pp. 148-9.

²⁹ *ibid.*, II.iii-iv; pp. 147-8. For a lovely parallel to this passage see versicle 177 from *The Book of the Lover and the Beloved*, trans. Eve Bonner, in A. Bonner, ed. *Doctor Illuminatus*, p. 212: «“Tell us fool, do you have money?” He replied, “I have a beloved.” “Do you have towns, castles, cities, counties or duchies?” He answered, “I have love, thoughts, tears, desires, hardships, and suffering which are better than empires or kingdoms.”»

³⁰ *Llibre contra Anticrist*, II.iv; pp. 148-9: «Jesús promés major gloria per pobretat que per riquesa en ço que volch que sos apostols e sos dexebls fossen pobres. E Antichrist farà tot lo contari en ço que farà richs e benuyrats en est mon aquells qui-l creuran e-l obeyran.»

experience found in his *Vita coaetanea* and his adherence to mendicant ideas of poverty cannot be missed here. Lull's personal desire «to give up his life and soul for the sake of [Christ's] love and honour»³¹ is also reflected in the last part of the second distinction, «De turmens». Referring again to the passion of Christ, Lull contrasts the affliction, death and terror which Antichrist uses against those who resist him with the willing suffering and humiliation of Christ on mankind's behalf. Cruelty and violence are associated with Antichrist; penitence and conversion with Christ.³² Once again, Lull's plans for the defeat of Antichrist are associated with his ever pervasive ideals of reform and evangelization. The Christian who pursues such ideals in the face of the persecution and threats of Antichrist displays great virtue, particularly if such a pursuit leads to death.³³

In the third and final distinction, Lull fleshes out his plans for the virtuous resistance to Antichrist, which not surprisingly leads to the expression of standard elements of his plans for reform and evangelization. Who better to lead the Christian defense against Antichrist than holy men, armed with devotion, faith and love, some leading active lives, some leading lives of contemplation?³⁴ Our understanding of Lull's personal attraction to the contemplative life and his confidence in the power of prayer is deepened by the realization that Lull considers both prayer and contemplation as effective weapons against the errors of Antichrist. Moreover, remarkable parallels can be found between the desirable qualities of potential missionaries in other writings of Lull and those of spiritual warriors against Antichrist in this text. And just as missionaries can have recourse to Lull's Art and collections of necessary reasons and arguments for the work of conversion, contemplatives can turn to Lull's own writings for guidance in the work of prayer.³⁵ In a noteworthy way, this section of the treatise displays Lull's understand-

³¹ *Vita coaetanea*, ROL VIII, pp. 271-309, especially paragraphs 1-11; A convenient English translation of the *Vita* can be found in Anthony Bonner, *Selected Works of Ramon Lull*, vol. 1, (Princeton, 1985), pp. 10-40.

³² *Llibre contra Anticrist*, II.v; pp. 149-150.

³³ Compare *Llibre contra Anticrist*, III.i, «De afflictio», p. 154, where Lull explicitly connects martyrdom to the apostolic way of life.

³⁴ *ibid.*, III, p. 150: «[Esta] distincció es de la sancta vida, en la qual deuen esser sants homens christians per tal que sien començadors a destruyr les errós que Antichrist sembrará. On, nos departim esta distincció en dues parts: la primera es de vida contemplativa, e l'altre es de vida activa...»

³⁵ *ibid.*, III.i, *De oració*; pp. 150-4. Lull may be referring here to his work entitled *Oracions*; see p. 151: «Libre e ars e tractament deu esser fet hon sia la manera segons la qual deu esser la oració: e que sia també ordonat que la oració puscha tant puyar com es possibol cosa l'actu de contemplació, per ço que la anima meta tota sa força e virtut en contemplar.»

ding of the interrelatedness of the elements that comprise creation and God's involvement with the creation.³⁶ The second half of Lull's treatment of the contemplative life outlines the seven grades of affliction, essentially providing a little sub-treatise on the benefits of contemplating Christ's passion and the sufferings of the apostles and martyrs. Lull asks, «Where are those who are burning with love for Christ, who preach like the apostles, and who are willing to imitate Christ and suffer death on his account?»³⁷

In his discourse on the active life, Lull places the works of Antichrist starkly in the context of his missionizing plans: he repeats his call for holy and inspired preachers, willing to die for Christ's sake and capable of disputing with unbelievers in accordance with Lull's necessary reasons and arguments; here he outlines the basic elements of his missionary program, including the establishment of language schools, the education of learned Jews and Muslims, and so on.³⁸ An interesting element of these plans includes Lull's willingness to recruit his preachers from outside the religious orders. Although Lull is probably referring to members of the secular clergy here, it should be remembered that elsewhere he suggested that merchants should be able to engage in disputation with unbelievers and that he himself was a lay preacher. Presumably if he could qualify for the job, so could others like him.³⁹ Lull recognizes that the work of evangelization will be of long

³⁶ See especially, *Llibre Contra Anticrist*, III.i; p. 153: «Cor per entendre e amar la causa per l'effectu s'inclina la causa al effectu per actu de caritat, justicia, humilitat, remembrant la memoria les grans coses que Deus ha creades e fetes en est mon, axí com angels, cels, animes, elements, mars, terres, vegetables, animals e los actus qui a totes coses se convenen. E per ayal enclinement ha l'enteniment conexença com Deus es gran en si matex e en la obre intrinseca e extrinseca per actu de bonea, granea, etc., per lo qual enteniment la volentat exalça son voler a molt amar la causa.»

³⁷ *ibid.*, III.1, «De afflictió»; pp. 154-6, especially at lines 166-175. The call for a willingness to endure martyrdom for Christ's sake recurs throughout Lull's works, both early and late.

³⁸ *ibid.*, III.ii, «De prehicació»; pp. 156-8.

³⁹ *ibid.*, III.3, «De prehicació», p. 157: «Los preycadors demunt dits deuen esser triats e alets de les religions e dels homens setglás convinents al sant offici damunt dit, e cové que sien nodrits a morir e a desirar morir per exelçar la fe santa...» Despite Lull's enthusiasm for training special missionaries, he also supported the idea of educating laymen such as merchants with basic «necessary reasons» which would enable them to dispute with non-Christians effectively. This is implied in *De acquisitione Terrae Sanctae* of 1309, Paris, B.N. MS. lat. 15450 (the *Electorium*), f. 546^b. In 1313, Lull dedicated a treatise, *Liber per quem poterit cognosci quae lex sit magis bona, magis magna et etiam magis vera*, to providing merchants with such basics. The several versions of the treatise are edited by A. Senellart, in *ROL* XVIII, pp. 161-193. One can't help but be reminded of the 1286 *Disputation of Majorca* in this context; see J.N. Hillgarth, «The Disputation of Majorca (1286): two new editions», *Euphrosyne*, N.S. 22 (1994), esp. pp. 408-411; and Ora Limor, «Missionary Merchants: Three medieval anti-Jewish works from Genoa», *Journal of Medieval History* 17 (1991), pp. 35-51.

duration, and stresses the need for perseverance. Llull repeats his hopes that wise infidels be instructed in the Catholic faith and then be sent home again to convey the truth about the faith to their fellows. Certain members of the Jewish and Muslim communities existing under Christian rule should be introduced to the faith and should be given privileges and freedom above their fellows to encourage their conversion.⁴⁰ This plan sounds somewhat reminiscent of Antichrist's attempts to win followers of his false teaching by holding out material rewards, but Llull does not address this anomaly. Finally, Llull expresses his wish that the schismatic Christians be rejoined to the Latin Church so as to evangelize to non-Christians more effectively.

These plans express consistent elements of Llull's missionary thought: the yearning for unity, the confidence in reason, the desire for cooperation in terms of educational exchanges, the willingness to use the blandishments of wealth and even compulsion to encourage conversion in view of the passing of time and the gravity of the situation. He explicitly states here what he only implies elsewhere: these missionary preachers should preach by both the example of holy life and by sermons based on necessary reasons, «for the example of holiness begets devotion in the will and necessary reasons illumine the intellect.» In addition, these two forms of preaching will spur the people to a holy way of life which is especially necessary for Christians so that they will have sufficient devotion and illumination of their intellects to combat the Antichrist.⁴¹ And finally, Llull assures the reader, as he does in his missionary treatises, that this work is possible if the Christian people and the patrimony of the holy Church come together to accomplish this exaltation of the faith. Spiritual benefits will accrue if this plan is followed, and great damage will result if it is ignored.⁴²

⁴⁰ *Llibre contra Anticrist*, III.ii; p. 158: «Los jueus e los sarrayns qui sons serfs e sotsmeses als christians, d'aquells jueus e sarrayns cové que sien triats e alets homens qui a temps sert ajen apreses tants de libres de nostra fe que sapien e coneguen la nostra fe e a aquells sia donada alcuna libertat e ajen alguns privilegis sobre·ls altres...»

⁴¹ *ibid.*, III.ii; p. 158: «...que los preycadors qui son en los sants hordens prehiquen los christians per paraules e per rahons necessaries e per eximpli de sancta vida; cor necessaries rahons illuminen l'enteniment e bon eximpli engenre devocióen la volentat, e per açó es lo poble ocasionat a santa vida, la qual es molt necessria esser en lo poble dels christians per tal que Antichrist no·ls trop sens illuminat enteniment ni sens devoció, justicia, fortitudo, caritat, prudencia.» The emphasis on preaching by word and example is, of course, a very mendicant sentiment; see Carolyn Walker Bynum, *Docere verbo et exemplo*, Harvard Theological Studies 31 (Cambridge, MA, 1979).

⁴² *Llibre contra Anticrist*, III.ii; p. 158.

The last topic addressed by Llull in this treatise concerns wars and battles (*De guerres e de batalles*). His discussion of whether the use of armed confrontation with non-Christians in order to attain their conversion can be beneficial, helps clarify Llull's missionary theology. Llull begins this passage by lamenting the violence and discord which result from the mere existence of a diversity of faiths. He argues that war with unbelievers damages the holy Church because it is not in harmony with the methods through which the Church initially gained «exelçament e perfecció». He despairs that the original means of preaching and converting unbelievers to perpetual beatitude and eternal glory has all but vanished.⁴³ Thus he somewhat obliquely repeats various criticisms of crusading which were circulating around the time of the Second Council of Lyons, 1274. In other works, such as the *Llibre de contemplació*, Llull combines these criticisms with a call for a return to apostolic preaching.⁴⁴ He points out that armed confrontation was more appropriate to the wars of the Jewish people against infidels than it was to Christians. The passion of Jesus Christ provided Christian society with a new model of holy suffering to be emulated in the task of evangelization. In other words, Christian missionaries should imitate Christ because they are participating in his work of recreation by extending to all peoples knowledge of the salvation which can be attained through Christ.⁴⁵

Llull contrasts the violence of crusade to the example of the martyrs and the apostles, whose efforts were to convert people «from the shadows, into the perpetual light of truth.»⁴⁶ He argues that the fighting and battles which kings, princes and other Christian leaders in lands across the sea have conducted against

⁴³ *ibid.*, III.ii; pp. 158-9, lines 314-331.

⁴⁴ Similar arguments can be found in the treatise submitted by Humbert of Romans for the Second Council of Lyons, the *Opusculum tripartitum*, ed. E. Brown, *Fasciculus rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum*, vol. 2, (London, 1690), pp. 185-229. The relationship between missions and crusading has been studied by B.Z. Kedar, *Crusade and Mission: European Approaches toward the Muslims* (Princeton, 1984). I have written on this subject with respect to Llull in «*Pro exaltatione sanctae fidei catholicae: Mission and Crusade in the Writings of Ramon Llull*», in Larry J. Simon, ed., *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages*, Studies in Honor of Robert I. Burns, S.J., vol. 1 (Leiden and New York, 1995), pp. 113-129.

⁴⁵ *Llibre contra Anticrist*, III.ii; pp. 158-9.

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, III.ii. This phrase occurs in the Latin text, Paris, B.N., lat. 15450, f. 541^{va}: «Experientia est operis demonstratio, quod recordatam igitur et intellectam et dilectam experientiam sancte vite apostolorum et martyrum, qui in bello patientie, caritatis, humilitatis, devotionis, fortitudinis, afflictionis et mortis, vicerunt mundum et converterunt homines in tenebris in lumen perpetuum veritatis...» The phrasing is slightly different in the Catalan, p. 159.

the Muslims, demonstrate that the apostolic method should be considered the more excellent and noble way to acquire the Holy Land. He points out how such a *bellum sensuale* was the means by which the Muslims multiplied their sect and the Tartars and other infidels killed men with iron swords. It was more appropriate for Christians to use the weapons of the Christian virtues.⁴⁷ In this text, Lull does not rule out crusade entirely, but he is decidedly unenthusiastic about it. The failure of crusaders in the Levant is part of Lull's argument; some contemporaries claimed that the failures of the crusaders could be attributed to the fact that God was not in favour of this approach.⁴⁸ However, we know that in other texts, Lull also attributes the failure of the crusade and missions both to be a result of a sinful and unreformed Christendom.⁴⁹

Aside from the whole discussion about whether Lull supported crusade or not in this text, a more important element of his thought emerges in this passage: above all, Lull desires a peaceful and harmonious world which is united in its fulfillment of the purpose for which God created it—to love and know Him. A world in this state, which has been achieved by the out-pouring of sacred blood, by the way of the martyrs, and by the triumph of spiritual weapons which are comprised of the virtues, is a world best prepared to meet and defeat the challenges of the Antichrist.

II. The *Llibre contra Anticrist* and the Antichrist tradition.

The *Llibre contra Anticrist* broadly reflects the basic elements of Lull's thought; it articulates ideas and proposals to which he consistently returns throughout his career. Indeed, Lull's treatment of Antichrist suggests that he was more interested in the subject as an occasion for expressing these ideas than he was in the figure of Antichrist itself. Despite this unique characteristic, the treatise is important as a late thirteenth century expression of the medieval Antichrist tradition and bears some consideration in that context.

In the last two decades, an extensive literature on Antichrist, eschatology, prophecy and apocalyptic has appeared; it includes at least two major studies of Antichrist in English, several collections of essays, and numerous journal articles. This voluminous scholarship provides a sound indication that Antichrist allusions and symbols were pervasive in medieval art, literature and thought at all levels of society. One need only visit certain European cathedrals, peruse illustrated

⁴⁷ *ibid.*, III.ii; p. 159.

⁴⁸ Humbert of Romans, *Opusculum tripartitum*, ed. E. Brown, pp. 185-229.

⁴⁹ See P. Beattie, «Mission and Crusade in the Writings of Ramon Lull», pp. 122-3.

Apocalypse manuscripts or read Dante to appreciate how vivid and detailed the medieval Antichrist tradition was.⁵⁰ Where does Lull fit in?

Bernard McGinn explains the medieval understanding of Antichrist according to two polarities, one of which distinguishes between an external and an internal Antichrist, the other between an Antichrist of dread and one of deception.⁵¹ In order to determine where a medieval author falls in the tradition, we must ask whether he perceives Antichrist as an enemy located within Christendom itself, perhaps even in the hearts of individual Christians, or whether Antichrist will attack from outside the boundaries of Christendom. Will Antichrist be a tyrannical persecutor or a consummate deceiver? These questions deal with the location of ultimate evil in the world and with the nature of that evil. Several other issues are relevant here. Is Antichrist collective or singular?⁵² And eschatologically significant: is Antichrist already present in the world or is Antichrist to be anticipated as a future danger?

Medieval Antichrist texts exhibit a huge variety of answers to these questions, some containing apparently mutually exclusive opinions without explanation or embarrassment. Lull's treatise is no exception. Lull's consistent use of the future tense suggests that he sees Antichrist as a coming threat to Christendom, not as an individual power of evil already present in society.⁵³ In one passage, Lull even refers to Antichrist as a most powerful future king.⁵⁴ In the final distinction of the treatise, Lull is concerned with preparing holy men to resist the *coming* attack of Antichrist. He resists identifying Antichrist with any individual, group or movement, present or future.⁵⁵ This is a careful treatise, devoid of speculation or prediction. Inasmuch as Lull deals with an individual Antichrist and apocalyptic eschatology, it is fair to say that he considers Antichrist a danger to be anticipated and he gives no explicit predictions about when Antichrist should be expected. Lull's opinions here are in harmony with contemporary scholars such as Alexander of Bremen, Peter Aureol and Nicholas of Lyra; following the Augustinian tradition, which

⁵⁰A good example of the breadth of recent scholarship in this area can be found in Richard K. Emmerson and Bernard McGinn, eds., *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages* (New York and Ithaca, 1992).

⁵¹McGinn, *Antichrist*, pp. 4-5.

⁵²Robert E. Lerner discusses this in «Antichrists and Antichrist in Joachim of Fiore», *Speculum* 60 (1985), pp. 553-570.

⁵³See Gret Schib Torra's introduction to *Llibre contra Anticrist*, p. 109.

⁵⁴*Llibre contra Anticrist*, II.iii.; p. 147: «[A]ntechrist serà rey molt poderós en lo mon e donarà dons als homens en diverses maneres per tal que'ls puxa metre en error.»

⁵⁵This is a striking departure from the tendency toward identification of Antichrist found in some contemporary Spiritual Franciscan writings.

discouraged eschatological speculation, they denied that the arrival of the Antichrist was near and taught instead that St. John's prophecy was straightforward church history up through the sixteenth chapter. Everything following was true prophecy.⁵⁶

What did Llull perceive as the threat of such an future Antichrist? In this text, Antichrist is painted more frequently as the great deceiver than as a figure of persecution and physical dread. Llull's categorization of the works of Antichrist under the headings of false teachings (*rahons*), miracles, gifts, promises and torments is very traditional as comparison to a contemporary text written by the Dominican Hugh of Ripelin demonstrates. Hugh's *Compendium of Theological Truth* of 1265 recounted the works of Antichrist in accordance with the standard Antichrist lore found in the Bible and in Adso of Montier-en-Der's very influential *De ortu et tempore Antichristi* (written shortly after 950). The *Compendium* speaks of the cunning persuasion of Antichrist, his working of miracles, giving of gifts and tortures. Llull's categories, even with their characteristic stress on intellectual matters, clearly belong to this tradition.⁵⁷

Llull holds out the threat of Antichrist to provide an incentive for Christians to seek out the truth more diligently, to live more faithfully, and to pursue the goal of loving and serving God more enthusiastically. In this, he also follows a recognizable medieval tradition of *reformist* eschatology; the tradition can be traced to the thirteenth century from St. Augustine and figures like Haimo of Auxerre and Ambrosius Autpertus, who primarily understood the location of Antichrist as internal. For these theologians, Antichrist should be equated with the Spirit which resists Christ in the heart of believers. Haimo and Autpertus developed a strong apocalyptic justification for the spiritual or ascetic life in accordance with this understanding, stressing the need to encourage spiritual warriors. Douglas Lumsden argues that Haimo's and Autpertus' commentaries imply «that constant efforts to reform moral conduct within the ranks of Christianity by promoting a life of asceticism will hasten the fulfillment of the greatest hopes of the faithful.»⁵⁸ Llull's

⁵⁶ For citations and a discussion of this exegesis, see McGinn, *Antichrist*, pp. 144-5.

⁵⁷ For Adso's *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, see D. Verhelst, ed. *Adso Dervensis: De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, Corpus Christianorum 45, (Turnholt, 1976). McGinn, *Antichrist*, p. 144, ties Adso's work to Hugh of Ripelin's *Compendium* and also to a treatise on Antichrist by the Franciscan Scotist Hugh of Novocastro. See also Richard K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art, and Literature* (Seattle, 1981), pp. 74-107, where the life and deeds of Antichrist are discussed, esp. pp. 77-8.

hopes for a reformed Christendom, revealed in works like *Blaquerna* and later *De fine*, and particularly his stress on the contemplative life in *Llibre contra Anticrist* clearly fall into this tradition.⁵⁹

The spiritualizing eschatology of some great medieval reformers also must have influenced Lull. For example, Gregory the Great, in his *Dialogues* and *Moralia in Job*, combines a vague sense of impending doom with efforts to promote missionary efforts and the construction of a Christian society in the West. Antichrist is used as a tool for reform in these works.⁶⁰ Lull has affinities with this tradition too; he is a missionary and he is promoting the construction of a renewed Christendom advertising his Art as the optimum tool for such endeavors. (Thus it is important that he be able to demonstrate how his Art can be used to defeat Antichrist: a goal he accomplishes in *Llibre contra Anticrist*.) Lull's text not surprisingly presents an Antichrist and an eschatology consistent with that of prominent twelfth century theologians; his ideas are reminiscent of Bernard of Clairvaux, who was guarded in his eschatology, but whose thought had indisputable ties to the re-emphasized historicizing eschatology of his day as expressed in works such as Gerhoh of Reichersberg's *De quarta vigilia noctis* of 1167.⁶¹ Bernard's eschatological understanding of the crusades and explanations for the failure of the Second Crusade in particular seem to correspond to Lull's ideas both in the *Llibre contra Anticrist* and in later works such as *De fine, Liber de acquisitione Terre Sancte*, and his *Petitio* to the Council of Vienne in 1311.⁶²

The reformist eschatology of the medieval period perceives Antichrist both as an internal enemy, corrupting the hearts and minds of believers, and as an external enemy, attacking with the lure of false teachings and physical torments. The temptation to historicize such an external enemy was almost beyond avoiding. In Lull's day, this external enemy was portrayed collectively as Muslims, Jews,

⁵⁸ Douglas W. Lumsden, «Apocalyptic Expressions of Ascetic Spirituality», *Church History* 66 (1997), p. 251.

⁵⁹ For more on reformist eschatology in Lull's time, see Kathryn Kerby-Fulton, *Reformist Apocalypticism and 'Piers Plowman'* (Cambridge, 1990).

⁶⁰ See McGinn, *Antichrist*, p. 81; H. Savon, «Grégoire le Grand et l'Antichrist, » in *Grégoire le Grand* (Paris, 1990), pp. 389-405; and texts edited and translated in McGinn, *Visions of the End*, pp. 62-65.

⁶¹ For Gerhoh, see Robert Lerner, *The Powers of Prophecy*, p. 49; and Karl F. Morrison, «The Exercise of Thoughtful Minds: The Apocalypse in some German Historical Writings», in Emmerson and McGinn, *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, pp. 352-373.

⁶² Bernard McGinn, «Saint Bernard and Eschatology», in *Bernard of Clairvaux. Studies presented to Dom Jean Leclercq* (Washington, D.C., 1973), pp. 161-185.

Mongols, or sometimes even Paris theologians.⁶³ By the late thirteenth century, some claimed that the external Antichrist existed as a particular political leader (the Hohenstaufen kings were popular candidates for such accusations) or even as the pope himself.⁶⁴ In this context manifestations of Antichrist at the very least, if not Antichrist himself, are understood as already present in Christian society. As such, Antichrist presents an immediate and urgent danger to believers. Even though Llull's treatise does not contain an explicitly historicizing eschatology, it inescapably equates the errors of Jews, Muslims, heretics and the like with the errors propagated by Antichrist. Llull's lifelong dedication to the work of evangelization and reform, leads to the conclusion that, like some of his contemporaries, he understood that Antichrist was already at work in the world.

Llull's *Llibre contra Anticrist* is an unusual example of the medieval treatment of the topic. As argued above, Llull is more eager to demonstrate the flexibility of his Art as a tool for combating Antichrist than he is interested in describing the life, appearance, or works of Antichrist, in engaging in eschatological speculation, or even in undertaking historical exegesis of relevant biblical passages. In fact, his treatise addresses only one of these subjects, the works of the Antichrist, in an abbreviated fashion. On the other hand, the treatise fits easily into the medieval eschatological traditions of Antichrist. In general, Llull's thought is frequently synthetic; his treatment of this topic provides no exception. His Antichrist is both external and internal; it is both a figure of dread and deception; it is individual (a powerful king and tormentor) and collective (false teachings of Muslims and others); it presents a danger both future and present. Llull's depiction of Antichrist in this text places him squarely in the tradition of reformist eschatology. McGinn has argued that there are three broad traditions of Antichrist in the late medieval period: one reflects the standard view of scriptural exegesis as represented by texts

⁶³ William of St. Amour accused the mendicants of being forerunners of Antichrist, in a treatise on Antichrist and his ministers which appears under the name of Nicholas Oresme in E. Martène and U. Durand, *Veterum scriptorum et monumentorum amplissima collectio*, v. 9, (Paris, 1733), cols. 1273-1446. As an example of recent scholarship on Islam and Antichrist, see David Burr, «Antichrist and Islam in Medieval Franciscan Exegesis», in John Victor Tolan, ed., *Medieval Perceptions of Islam: A Book of Essays* (New York and London, 1996), pp. 131-152. The association between Antichrist and Averroists is discussed in David Burr, «The Apocalyptic Element in Olivi's Critique of Aristotle», *Church History* 40 (1971), pp. 15-29, and in the same author's «Petrus Ioannis Olivi and the Philosophers», *Franciscan Studies* 31 (1971), pp. 41-71. Llull himself became increasingly more concerned about the Averroists in later life. See R. Imbach, «Lulle face aux Averroïstes parisiens», *Raymonde Lulle et le Pays d'Oc, Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 22 (Toulouse, 1987), pp. 262-282.

⁶⁴ See n. 11 above.

such as Adso's *De ortu et tempore Antichristi*, another applies the standard view to current events and is often reformist in orientation, the third tends more to the Joachite pattern of exegesis and consists of more literal applications of prophecy to contemporary society, as well as predicting the imminent end of the present age.⁶⁵ Llull's treatise is exemplary of both the first and second of these traditions; it remains to be seen where he fits with respect to the third.

III. Llull and radical historicizing eschatology.

It may seem a bit tendentious even to raise the question of how Llull's eschatology (such as it can be extrapolated from the texts) relates to the often radical and apocalyptic eschatology of the Spiritual Franciscans and other contemporaries, such as Arnau de Vilanova, whose exegesis was more reminiscent of Joachim of Fiore. But certain characteristics of Llull's life and thought demand that we ask the question. No single one of these characteristics in itself provides satisfactory evidence that Llull was of an apocalyptic mindset; however, taken together, they suggest that Llull evinced a distinctive eschatological understanding in his thought and by his actions.

First, we should consider Llull's preoccupation with the conversion particularly of Muslims, but also of Jews and other non-Christians. By the late thirteenth century, it was not uncommon for both Franciscan and Dominican exegesis of the *Apocalypse* to afford Islam and its leaders a special role in apocalyptic events. Certain scriptural prophetic texts were interpreted as referring to Muslims in general as well as to particular Muslim leaders such as Muhammad and Saladin. In this view, Muslims provided the last major challenge to the Christian Church in the sixth period of Church history. Joachite exegesis tended to put Muslims and Antichrist in the same period of history.⁶⁶ David Burr argues that with Olivi, we enter another world. Olivi perceived himself to be living between the fifth and sixth historical periods and understood that the sixth period was to be a period of renewal for the Church. Olivi's exegesis also betrays an increased interest in seeing Islam as having a major role in the coming apocalyptic temptations. He equated the beast rising from the sea with Islam and counted seven centuries between the rise of Islam and the coming of the Antichrist. By his calculations, the year 1323, the year of Antichrist, was significant because it figured importantly in Muslim as well as

⁶⁵McGinn, *Antichrist*, p. 144.

⁶⁶David Burr, «Antichrist and Islam in Medieval Franciscan Exegesis», pp. 131-6.

Christian chronology.⁶⁷ The precise relationship between Llull's and Olivi's thought needs to be explored and the differences between the two are quite obvious. Llull has no apocalyptic timetable, as does Olivi, and he also places more emphasis on evangelism than Olivi who thus does not share Llull's primary concern. In fact, most of the Spiritual Franciscan exegetes, particularly those influenced by Joachim's historical sequences, seemed content to wait for the inevitable conversion of Muslims, Jews and other non-Christians at the end of time when the *plenitudo gentium* would be accomplished.⁶⁸

On the other hand, placing Muslims and Antichrist in historical conjunction imbued the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries with a sense of eschatological urgency that can also be perceived in Llull's works. The *Llibre contra Anticrist* may not convey the sense that time is running out for the Christian world, but Llull's later works certainly do exude such an impression. For example, the citation from *De fine* of 1305 at the beginning of this article articulates the opinion that if Christians do not soon embark on his program of reform and evangelization their chance will be gone. Llull's confident assumption in the *Llibre contra Anticrist* that peaceful evangelism will inevitably be successful gives way in later years to a series of calls for renewed crusade efforts (1294, 1305, and 1309).⁶⁹ Llull does not abandon his missionary ideals, but they are tempered with experience, realism and political astuteness in later years. An example of his discouragement can be found in his drastic call for the banishment of Jews in the *De acquisitione* of 1309. The same treatise laments the ineffectuality of Christian attempts to evangelize the Mongols.⁷⁰

Llull's repeated emphasis on the passage of time in later works no doubt reflected his awareness that he himself was growing old and that he had had little personal success in getting his Art and other programs accepted. But his increasing sense of urgency evokes concern for Christendom as well. The late thirteenth century was a turning point in Christian thinking about Islam on a number of

⁶⁷ Burr, «Antichrist and Islam», pp. 136-8.

⁶⁸ See E.R. Daniel, «Apocalyptic Conversion: The Joachite Alternative to the Crusades», *Traditio* 25 (1969), pp. 127-154; and his *The Franciscan Concept of Mission in the High Middle Ages* (Lexington, KY, 1975). Also useful for the context of missions in this period is R.I. Burns, «Christian-Islamic Confrontation in the West: The Thirteenth Century Dream of Conversion», *American Historical Review* 76 (1971), 1386-1434.

⁶⁹ Three distinct crusade treatises are the *Tractatus de modo convertendi infideles*, *Liber de fine*, and *De acquisitione Terre Sancte*. Llull also voiced the call for crusade in numerous other works.

⁷⁰ *De acquisitione Terre Sancte*, f. 547^{va}.

different levels. The Christian loss of Acre in 1291 may not have generated an entirely new approach to crusade planning, but it certainly caused a great deal of soul-searching and self-doubt in the West. If biblical exegesis and prophecy linked Antichrist with Muslim success, it must have seemed to many that the end times were near. How did Llull and others expect the events of the «end times» to play themselves out?

Olivi and others believed that the end times would include a period of peace and «refreshment» prior to the Last Judgement.⁷¹ Olivi was an important transitional figure in the exposition of this idea in Llull's time, for he was the first to suggest that this time of refreshment would occur during the sixth age of the Church—and he saw his own age as lying between the fifth and the sixth. The interlude of renewal would be lengthy enough for the conversion of the entire world.⁷² The famous «Columbinus prophecy», which began circulating around 1300, predicted that the time of renewal, or sabbath, would begin in 1320.⁷³ In view of the increasingly urgent tone of Llull's works, the temptation to speculate as to the possible influence of such ideas on Llull is overwhelming.

Again, there is no explicit textual evidence proving that Llull embraced the notion of an eschatological sabbath. But it is evident that Llull believed that if Christians dedicated themselves to the work of evangelism and reform they would be able to attain the goal for which they were created, and that it was possible to accomplish this goal *within* history. Why else would he devote himself ceaselessly to promoting this end? His sermons, mystical writings, polemical works and romances—in short, his vast *corpus* of literature—paint a complete picture of the renewed and reformed world Llull envisioned. Despite the fact that some writers persist in referring to this vision as a utopia, it is evident that Llull truly believed such renewal could be accomplished.⁷⁴ Unlike the Spiritual Franciscans, Llull emphasized

⁷¹ See Robert Lerner's series of articles on this topic: «Refreshment of the Saints: The Time after Antichrist as a Station for Earthly Progress in Medieval Thought», *Traditio* 32 (1976), pp. 97-144; «Joachim of Fiore's Breakthrough to Chiliasm», *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 6 (1985), pp. 489-512; and «The Medieval Return to the Thousand-Year Sabbath», *The Apocalypse in the Middle Ages*, pp. 51-71.

⁷² Burr, «Antichrist and Islam», p. 136; and Lerner, «Medieval Return to the Thousand-Year Sabbath», pp. 61-3.

⁷³ Lerner, «Medieval Return to a Thousand-Year Sabbath», p. 64; see also E.A.R. Brown and Robert Lerner, «On the Origins and Import of the Columbinus Prophecy», *Traditio* 45 (1990), pp. 219-256.

⁷⁴ For an excellent discussion of this issue see J.N. Hillgarth, «Raymond Lulle et l'utopie», *EL* 25 (1981-83), pp. 175-185.

that it was the responsibility of Christians to exert the necessary efforts to reach the goal; conversion wouldn't miraculously occur by itself. However, taken together, Lull's espousal of the ideals of Christian renewal, his concern with evangelization, his equation of the doctrinal errors of Muslims and others with the false teachings of Antichrist, and his increased sense of urgency suggest that however cautiously Lull dealt with potentially explosive subjects (occasionally avoiding them altogether), he gradually internalized some of the apocalyptic ideas he was exposed to throughout his lifetime.

The evidence for Lull's theology of history (or his eschatological understanding) is sketchy and inconclusive, leading to stimulating but, for the time being at least, speculative conclusions about the influence that figures such as Olivi or other Spiritual Franciscans may have had on Lull. However, given that Lull was such a synthetic and comprehensive thinker, it is important to view him as a transmitter of a wide variety of the religious ideals of his times and to look at the question from the other direction; namely, what could apocalyptic writers find in Lull's thought that would appeal to them? Apart from his emphasis on the Art and the consistent expression of Lull's distinctive evangelical ideas, Lull's *Llibre contra Anticrist* is a careful and fairly conservative expression of reformist eschatology which betrays the only a faint echo of the historicizing trend of his day. Why then, do at least two authors of prophetic texts claim a distinctive and specific apocalyptic role for Lull? Lull's contemporary Arnau of Vilanova believed that he and Lull were the two modern messengers of the truth in an eschatological scenario arising from a Joachite apocalypticism which was also embraced by Spiritual Franciscans.⁷⁵ About four decades after Lull's death, the renegade Franciscan Jean de Rupescissa referred to Lull by name in his 1356 treatise *Liber ostensor*, where he speculated on the apocalyptic role that Lull may have filled.⁷⁶ And why were the same people who were drawn to the message of the Spiritual Franciscans also drawn to Lull? The posthumous investigation into Lull's orthodoxy by the Inquisitor General of

⁷⁵ J.N. Hillgarth, «Date de la rencontre de Lulle et d'Arnaud de Villeneuve à Marseille», *Raymonde Lulle et le Pays d'Oc. Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 22 (Toulouse, 1987), pp. 69-70. For Arnau's eschatology see Francesco Santi, «La vision de la fin des temps chez Arnaud de Villeneuve: Contenu théologique et expérience mystique», *Fin du monde et signes des temps: Visionnaires et prophètes en France méridionale (fin XIII^e-début XV^e siècle). Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 27 (Toulouse, 1992), pp. 107-127.

⁷⁶ Louis Boisset, «Un témoignage sur Lulle en 1356. Jean de Roquetaillade», *Raymonde Lulle et le Pays d'Oc. Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 22 (Toulouse, 1987), pp. 70-4.

Aragon, Nicholas Eymerich (1320-1399), associated Llull's ideas with those of at least one group of beguines in Valencia.⁷⁷

These questions demand further research and answers to them will help to shed more light on the history of Lullism in the fourteenth century. Two avenues of investigation must be followed. First, we must study in a more specific way the relationship between Llull's ideas about reform and those of his contemporaries.⁷⁸ Which ideas of Llull's were particularly attractive to communities of Beguines as well as to figures like Arnau of Vilanova and Rupescissa? Clearly the answer must lie in Llull's calls for spiritual renewal and for his invocation of the ideals of the apostolic lifestyle. Llull's own embracing of the penitential way of life was doubtless inspiring to others in western Mediterranean urban society who were seeking new and meaningful expressions of piety. Llull's constant criticisms of the wealth and laxity of the institutional church also reflected the opinions of many contemporaries, including Spiritual Franciscans.⁷⁹ Llull's calls for evangelical poverty struck an answering chord in the hearts of many. In this connection, we need to study the transmission of these ideas in places where Llull was known to have travelled.⁸⁰ What opportunities existed for Llull to come into contact with such ideas? He had known contacts with Raymond Gaufredi, Bernard Délicieux, Arnau of Vilanova, Angelo of Clareno, Philip of Majorca, and that protector of Spirituals, Frederick of Sicily.⁸¹ Did other such contacts take place?

Secondly, we must examine more closely how Llull and his ideas fit into an apocalyptic scenario such as that created by Arnau of Vilanova. Apocalyptic writers of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries saw the signs of the end times

⁷⁷ See Anthony Bonner, *Doctor Illuminatus*, pp. 57-59, 62. Eymerich's *Directorium inquisitorum* of 1376 contained a list of a hundred errors of Llull. See also J.N. Hillgarth, *Readers and Books in Majorca 1229-1550 I* (Paris, 1991), pp. 196-204.

⁷⁸ For examples of such studies, see Fernando Domínguez Reboiras, «Raimundo Lulio y el ideal mendicante: afinidades y divergencias», in *Aristotelica et Lulliana. Magistro doctissimo Charles H. Lohr septuagesimum annum feliciter agenti dedicata* (Steenbrugge, 1995), pp. 377-413; and the series of articles by Antonio Oliver, «El beato Ramón Llull en sus relaciones con la Escuela Franciscana de los siglos XIII-XIV», *EL* 9 (1965), pp. 55-70, 145-165; 10 (1966), pp. 47-55; 11 (1967), pp. 89-119; 13 (1968), pp. 51-65.

⁷⁹ See Scott H. Hendrix, «In Quest of the *Vera Ecclesia*: The Crises of Late Medieval Ecclesiology», *Viator* 7 (1976), pp. 347-378.

⁸⁰ See Martin Aurell, «Eschatologie, spiritualité et politique dans la confédération catalano-aragonaise (1282-1412)», *Fins du monde et signes des temps. Cahiers de Fanjeaux* 27 (Toulouse, 1992), pp. 191-235.

⁸¹ See Hillgarth, *Readers and Books in Majorca I*, pp. 193-196; and for placing Llull in a definite historical context, see Hillgarth's, *Ramon Lull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1971).

everywhere they looked. The rise and persistence of Islam, persecution of charismatic figures like Olivi, rifts within the Church, the prevalence of heresy, and struggles for power all signalled a new phase in the eschatological drama of church history. For example, Rupescissa saw the beginnings of the Hundred Years War as the prelude to the great Tribulation of the Church. Other prophetic writers believed that the last days would be heralded by the appearance of two new orders of spiritual men (sometimes simply two spiritual men). The *renovatio ecclesiae* also figured prominently in the events of the end times. It is easy to see how Llull, the bearded itinerant preacher, with his message of conversion and reform, with his criticisms of contemporary society, could fit into such a scheme.

The influence of the heightened eschatological awareness of his day on Llull's thought is apparent; it is difficult only to determine precisely the degree of such influence without further research. It is a bit easier to see how Llull could have been viewed as an apocalyptic figure himself. In the world of eschatological prophecy, Llull's conversion, appearance, deeds and preaching embodied the signs of the times and drew attention to the characteristics of his world which seemed to point to imminent eschatological events. Llull's depiction of the infernal enemy in *Llibre contra Anticrist* may be careful, conservative and reformist in nature—in short, unremarkable—but his unusual life, the increased urgency of his calls for evangelical renewal in Christendom, and his vision of the *renovatio mundi* are testimony to the remarkable eschatological world of the late thirteenth century reformers. The *Llibre contra Anticrist* affords us another opportunity to see how adept Llull was at synthesizing his own ideas with those of the world around him and how Llull's works can be viewed as a point of intersection between the worlds of the theologians and the educated lay communities of the Western Mediterranean.

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