The Profile and Possible Origin of Ramon Llull's Muslim Slave*

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El perfil i el possible origen de l'esclau musulmà de Ramon Llull

Abstract

As Ramon Llull recalls in *Vita coaetanea*, after his «conversion to penitence» he bought a Muslim slave in Mallorca to learn Arabic from him. Our understanding of Llull's intellectual profile and his possible debt to the Western Islamicate world is coloured by the way in which we understand the influence that Llull's Muslim slave had on the formation of Llull's views. To date, Llull's slave has received little attention. Since Mallorca was home to a population of Muslim slaves, the Mallorcan origin of Llull's slave has been taken for granted. Consequently, since Llull's tutor is believed to have been uneducated and enslaved for more than thirty years by the time he began teaching Arabic to Llull, he has not been deemed an important vector influencing Llull's thought. This article seeks to provide a hypothesis of the profile and origin of Ramon Llull's Muslim slave. It concludes that Llull's tutor was an educated Muslim slave who originated beyond the island in an active Islamic polity with urban areas and a rich intellectual life. Considering the historical context when Llull bought his Muslim slave, the most likely origin of Llull's Muslim slave and tutor is the region of Murcia.

Resum

A la *Vita coaetanea* Ramon Llull explica que, després de la «conversió a la penitència», va comprar a Mallorca un esclau musulmà perquè li ensenyés l'àrab. El nostre coneixement del perfil intel·lectual de Llull i del seu deute amb l'Occident islamitzat està condicionat per la manera d'interpretar la influència que aquest esclau musulmà va exercir en la formació del pensament del beat. Fins avui l'esclau de Llull ha rebut bastant poca atenció. Com que la població de Mallorca va ser en part esclavitzada, s'ha donat per fet que l'esclau de Llull havia de ser d'origen mallorquí. Això voldria dir que el mestre de Llull havia estat un home sense formació que, quan va començar a ensenyar l'àrab a Llull, feia més de trenta anys que era esclau; aquestes circumstàncies descartaven que hagués pogut influir ni poc ni molt en el pensament de Llull. Aquest article té per objecte construir una hipòtesi raonada per al perfil i l'origen de l'esclau musulmà de Ramon Llull. La conclusió és que el mestre de Llull era un musulmà cultivat, que s'havia format fora de l'illa en un estat islàmic actiu d'ambient urbà i de vida cultural rica. Atenent-nos al moment històric concret en què Llull va comprar el seu esclau, l'origen més versemblant per a l'esclau i mestre de Llull se situa a la regió de Múrcia.

Paraules clau

Ramon Llull, *Vita coaetanea*, Mallorca, esclavitud medieval, heterogàmia intel·lectual, islam, al-Andalus, Múrcia, revolta mudèixar, Jaume I.

Table of contents

1. Introduction

The aim of this article is to provide a portrait of Ramon Llull's Muslim slave and to advance a possible hypothesis regarding the latter's origin.[1] As is well-known, in *Vita coaetanea* Llull indicates that, after his 'conversion to penitence', he bought a Muslim slave in Mallorca to learn Arabic. Even though this information is usually mentioned in accounts of Llull's life and in the numerous studies devoted to Llull's general knowledge of Islam and to the possible influence Islamic sources had on his thought, Llull's slave has received little attention to date.[2] To my knowledge, the only exception is Bonner (1987). Our understanding of Llull's intellectual profile and his possible intellectual debt to the Western Islamicate world, particularly during his formative period and in his earlier works, will be coloured by the way in which we understand the influence that Llull's Muslim slave had on the formation of Llull's views. Was this Muslim slave educated? And, if so, to what degree? Was he proficient in theology and philosophy? Did Mallorca provide Llull the type of Muslim slave that would meet Llull's needs? If not, was Mallorca a major node in the Mediterranean slave trade at the time? Which regions were sources for the type of slave meeting Llull's needs? Can we link Llull's intellectual profile to a specific region through his slave? These questions should be answered from a variety of perspectives including the study of slavery in Mallorca in the 13th century, an analysis of Llull's intention behind his account of his Muslim slave in *Vita coaetanea* to ascertain its reliability, Llull's knowledge of Arabic and Islamic theology and philosophy to gauge the education of his tutor, and the historical context in the Western Mediterranean to venture a hypothesis of his origin.

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[1]   As Dominique Urvoy noted, «n'étant pas un spécialiste de l'œuvre même de Ramon Llull […], je ne prétendrai pas apporter ici de connaissance nouvelle, mais je me bornerai a utiliser mes recherches sur l'Islam occidental pour projeter une lumière particulière sur le penseur majorquin qui s'est voulu, avant tout, l'interlocuteur des Musulmans» (Urvoy 1979, 37).

[2]   To my knowledge, the only study about Llull's Muslim slave is Bonner (1987). For example, some of the main biographies about Llull, such as Badia and Bonner (1993, 15-16) and Domínguez Reboiras and Gayà Estelrich (2008, 44) and works on Llull and Islam, such as those by Urvoy (1980, 151-152) and Garcías Palou (1981, 28), only make very cursory references to Llull's Muslim slave. Other important works dealing with Llull's life and with Llull and Islam, such as those by Ruiz and Soler (2008), Lohr (1984) or Domínguez Reboiras (1993), do not even mention the slave. Stone (2019, 131, n. 48) only mentions him obliquely.

2. Muslim Population and Slavery in Mallorca after the Catalan Conquest

2.1. Conquest

On December 31st, 1229, Catalan forces under the command of Jaume I, Count of Barcelona and King of Aragon, captured the city of Mallorca (Madīna Mayūrqa) from the Muslims.[3] Before the Christian conquest of Mallorca, the island was ruled by Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Abī ʿImrān al-Tinmalālī, who was dependent only in name to the Almohads. Even though the Catalan forces controlled nearly all the island by 1232, there were still some pockets of Muslim resistance in the Tramuntana mountain range in 1241 (Peña 1986, 345, no. 3). The city of Mallorca's fall led to the death of large numbers of the city's Muslim inhabitants and those who had taken shelter within the city's walls. Jaume I wrote that in the first hours of Mallorca's conquest twenty thousand people were killed, while thirty thousand people were able to escape from the city (*Llibre dels fets*, no. 86; Bruguera 1991, 2:98-99; Smith 2010, 108). In turn, Ibn ʿAmīra, in his account of Mallorca's capture, indicated that approximately twenty-four thousand city inhabitants were said to have been killed during the conquest (Ibn ʿAmīra 2007, 135; Ibn ʿAmīra 2008, 129). Even though these numbers appear to be an exaggeration,[4] a significant number of the city's residents, particularly those who were not seen as valuable commodities, died. The lives of toddlers, children, pregnant women and elderly were not spared, and women were raped («I quanta muller de bona condició va veure com el seu front era arrossegat pel terra?», Ibn ʿAmīra 2008, 127). The population that had taken shelter in the city fortress agreed to abandon the city after Jaume I granted them safe passage to the Islamic world and ensured them that their needs would be covered during this process (Ibn ʿAmīra 2007, 134; Ibn ʿAmīra 2008, 128). However, when they left the safety of the fortress, the Catalan conquerors did not honour Jaume I's word and either enslaved the Muslim population who had taken shelter in the fortress or left them exposed to the elements to die of hunger and cold, such as in the case of the elderly (Ferrer 2019, 161).

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[3]   For an account of the conquest of Mallorca, see Fernández-Armesto 1987, 13-31.

[4]   Tentative estimates of the city of Mallorca's population immediately before its conquest range from 14,000 to 50,000 inhabitants. The most accepted assessment estimates the city's population to have totalled some twenty thousand inhabitants (Ferrer 2019, 157). Alomar (1976, 10-12) calculates that there were 23,000 people in the city of Mallorca in 1225, while the island's total population was approximately 49,000. Nevertheless, at the time of the siege, the population sheltered within the city walls would have been significantly greater.

Beyond the city, Jaume I also indicated in the *Llibre dels fets* that over twenty thousand sought shelter in caves and castles in the Tramuntana mountain range and in the Artà and Llevant hills (*Llibre dels fets*, no. 113; Bruguera 1991, 2:119; Smith 2010, 127). These numbers would amount to 40% of the estimated Muslim population of Mallorca at the time. Considering the fact that the city's Muslim population did not anticipate a full conquest of the island but, rather, a short-term raid and they did not gather basic supplies in the mountains (Bernat i Roca and Serra i Barceló 2001, 86), the civilians hiding in the mountains without access to the agricultural lowlands would have preferred to hand themselves over to the Catalans after a few months or, if possible, take to the sea to escape rather than die of hunger. Shortly after the city's fall, and always according to *Llibre dels fets*, two thousand Muslims were captured in the Artà hills (*Llibre dels fets*, no. 103; Bruguera 1991, 2:111; Smith 2010, 119-120). Jaume I also points out that later on and except for approximately two thousand people who chose to resist in the mountains and were later captured and enslaved, the rest, approximately three thousand armed men and fifteen thousand civilians, including women and children, surrendered to Jaume I in 1231 after the latter signed a pact with the group leader, Xuaip. This pact stipulated that those who wished to live with the conquerors could remain on the island (*Llibre dels fets*, no. 113; Bruguera 1991, 2:119; Smith 2010, 127). It is unclear if this pact was observed or broken. The numbers, though, were probably significantly lower than those recorded by Jaume I, as it would have been impossible for those who fled the city to feed half of the island's pre-conquest population for more than a year without provisions and ongoing access to arable land.

Amongst scholars who have argued that this pact was respected, Lourie (1970) believed this could be confirmed by what she perceived as the permanence of a sizeable free Muslim population in the Balearics after 1229, not only as free Muslim serfs or *exaricos* (as they were called in Aragon), but as owners of their own lands.[5] She based this on archival evidence: amongst which, the fact that sixty thousand hectares were not covered by the extant royal *Repartiment*;[6] the document dated 8 July, 1231, authorizing thirty families of Muslim serfs to settle lands allotted to the Templars in Inca; the mention of Muslims in agreements involving the payment of tithes; and con-

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[5]   For literature before Lourie on the Muslim population's presence in Mallorca after the Christian conquest, see Soto i Company 1994, 168, n. 5.

[6]   The lands not mentioned in the *Repartiment* were granted to nobles who may have kept the original Muslim labourers working those lands (Hillgarth 1976, 27).

tracts in which slaves redeemed themselves from slavery. Lourie's view was later adopted by Fernández-Armesto (1987, 21-22) and Abulafia (1994, 58). Fernández-Armesto (1987, 22) also claimed that the prevalence of the original Arabic toponomy in the poorer uplands and the central mountain region might be a good indication of areas in which the surviving free Muslim population remained or resettled.

By contrast, Soto i Company (1994, 177-179; 2012, 67) regarded the capture of the entire Muslim population as the most likely hypothesis.[7] According to the latter: there is no extant document or copy of that pact which would be the case had it existed; the conquest of Mallorca, like that of Minorca, was carried out 'manu militari', without the capital cities' capitulation and, thus, without the whole island's; and Ibn ʿAmīra pointed out that this pact was more a ruse, only allowing those sheltered in the castles to leave for Islamic lands after handing over all of their money (Ibn ʿAmīra 2007, 144; Ibn ʿAmīra 2008, 136) in addition to the pact not applying to the population sheltered outside the castles. Even though the presence of free Muslims in Mallorca during the second half of the 13th century cannot be denied,[8] probably a result of self-redemption (Soto i Company 1994, 190-191) and the *exaricos* working the lands granted to the Templars, the lack of Islamic institutions such as central mosques on the island during the 13th century after its fall to the Catalans suggests that there was no organised Mudejar society on the island (Soto i Company 1994, 174).[9]

2.2. The educated elite

Immediately after the city of Mallorca's fall and before the Catalan forces marched against those who had escaped the fall of the city, the booty and captives were auctioned and allotted to the conquerors according to the weapons carried by the squads (*quadrelles*) participating in the conquest and the wounds they sustained (Ferrer 2019, 163). The Catalan fleet was also joined by merchants, some of whom were Genoese, to fund the conquest and sell the plundered treasures across the Mediterranean (Ferrer 2019, 163). Those cap-

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[7]   Jover and Mas support Soto's position as the most likely one. See Jover Avellà, Mas i Forners and Soto i Company (2006, 23).

[8]   The number of free Muslims in Mallorca was 210 in 1275 and 227 in 1276 (Soto i Company 1978, 74-75).

[9]   A Muslim slave living in Christian lands is not a Mudejar. Mudejar refers to an organized community of free Muslims living in Christian Iberia. The remark by Domínguez Reboiras (1993, 10, n. 19) is still pertinent.

tives who could be ransomed at greater value by relatives and pious Muslims were usually sold in ports in the Islamic world or to intermediaries,[10] such as hospitals belonging to military orders where captives were held while they negotiated their ransoms (Echevarría Arsuaga 2007).[11] Consequently, the class of the educated Muslims either died in the conquest, were ransomed or sold to intermediaries, or were allowed to flee the island thanks to the pact with Xuaip. Thus, shortly after the conquest, the educated elite and any Islamic and Arabic learning were no longer present on the island.

The information recorded in the main biographical dictionaries of the period confirms this. Dominique Urvoy listed (1972, 120-122) six scholars who were mentioned in biographical dictionaries and were active in Mallorca shortly before the conquest:

(i) Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn b. Muwaffaq, known as al-Shak-kāz, died in 626/1229, approximately six months before the fall of Mallorca (Ibn al-Abbār 1995, 2:128-129, no. 334);

(ii) The judge, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Ghanī al-Ṣaydalānī originally from Granada, died in Muḥarram 627/from 20 November to 19 December, 1229, shortly before the conquest (Ibn al-Abbār 1995, 3:138, no. 336);

(iii) Abū Marwān ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ibrāhīm b. Hārūn al-ʿAbdarī, who was the preacher in the central mosque of Mallorca for twenty years and taught Arabic to the common people, was killed on 14 Ṣafar 627/2 January, 1230, upon the fall of the city (Ibn al-Abbār 1995, 3:85-86, no. 205);

(iv) Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Wadūd al-Bakrī, who was the city's judge for only one month before the city's fall and was a learned scholar of law and Arabic, appears to have been killed during the fall of Mallorca (Ibn al-Abbār 1995, 2:129, no. 335);

(v) Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-ʿAbdarī, known as al-Maṭraq and who was a disciple of al-Shakkāz and al-ʿAbdarī and the deputy preacher in the central mosque, was taken captive upon the city's fall and died approximately forty-five

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[10] An example of the composition of ransomed captives is provided by the Castilian attack on Salé in 1260, in which, according to Ibn ʿIdhārī, three thousand captives were taken to Seville. Of these, 380 people, mostly children, women and old men, were ransomed by the Muslim population of Jerez, still under Muslim rule. Rich families in Salé were able to ransom their loved ones, while alms paid by Muslims were used to ransom the poor. The Marinid sultan, Abū Yūsuf Yaʿqūb b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq (r. 1259-1286), ransomed a large number, amongst whom the judge of Salé. Nevertheless, a number of captives could not be ransomed. See See Ibn ʿIdhārī (2013, 3:560); and O'Callaghan (2011, 27).

[11] The classical study on redemption in the Crown of Aragon is Ferrer i Mallol (1985) although it focuses on the 14th and 15th centuries.

to fifty days later (Ibn al-Abbār 1995, 3:235, no. 592);[12] and

(vi) Abū ʿAlī ʿUmar b. Aḥmad b. ʿUmar al-ʿUmarī, who was a disciple of al-Shak-kāz and al-Bakrī and the judge for refugees in the mountains, died in Pollença castle (Bulānsa) in 628/1230-1231 (Ibn al-Abbār 1995, 3:158, no. 399).[13]

In addition to the above scholars cited by Dominique Urvoy, the following scholar should also be mentioned:

(vii) Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Isḥāq b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī al-ʿAbdarī, known as Ibn ʿĀʾisha, was born in Mallorca in 577/1181-2 and was a learned scholar of *ḥadīth* also interested in the field of rational theology. Upon Mallorca's fall, he was captured and ransomed and later moved to Valencia. He became the deputy-judge of Valencia and, later, the judge of Denia. After being the object of some controversy, he moved to Tunis, where he died in 642/1245 (Ibn al-Abbār 1995, 1:146, no. 452). He appears to be the only scholar recorded in the main biographical dictionaries of the period who survived the fall of Mallorca and was later ransomed. Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260), who was close to Ibn ʿĀʾisha, does not record any other case.

There is also additional, important information about Abū Jaʿfar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Qaysī, known as Abū Ḥujja or Ibn Abī Ḥuj / ja, from Cordoba. Born in 562/1162-3, he was a prominent Qurʾānic reciter, grammarian, scholar in religious sciences and ascetic. He taught grammar in Cordoba. According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, after the fall of Cordoba, he and his family were taken as captives as they fled by sea trying to reach Ceuta, and were taken to Menorca, still under Muslim rule at the time. The local population ransomed him, but he died three days later, in 643/1245-1246, because of the mistreatment he experienced during his captivity. Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī also provides a second version according to which Ibn Abī Ḥujja may have died at sea before reaching Menorca (Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī n.d.-1984, 1:484-485, no. 748). In turn, Ibn al-Abbār (1995, 1:108-109, no. 307) points out that Ibn Abī Ḥujja was taken to Mallorca instead. In Arabic, Mallorca and Menorca are written almost identically, and Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, who appears to cite different informants and had Ibn al-Abbār's work before him, corrected the latter; consequently,

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[12] Ibn al-Abbār points out that Abū l-Ḥasan ʿAlī b. Aḥmad al-ʿAbdarī died on the same day as the ruler of Mallorca, Abū Yaḥyā Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Abī ʿImrān al-Tinmalālī. Ibn ʿAmīra adds that Abū Yaḥyā al-Tinmalālī, who was captured immediately after the fall of the city, was tortured for forty-five days before he died (Ibn ʿAmīra 2007, 136-137).

[13] Urvoy also includes Ibn ʿAmīra in the list of scholars that should be taken into account to portray the intellectual life in Mallorca before the island's fall. Nevertheless, I have not been able to find any information in primary sources confirming that Ibn ʿAmīra visited Mallorca.

Menorca appears to have been Ibn Abī Ḥujja's most likely destination. Ibn Abī Ḥujja was captured when crossing the Strait of Gibraltar and was in all likelihood taken to Menorca to be ransomed together with his family. This suggests that he was captured by pirates based in Mallorca. A number of slaves appear to have been captured during the same series of raids in the Strait. In 1246, a Muslim from Ceuta and another from Algeciras were sold in Mallorca (Soto i Company 1994, 196). In November of that same year, a Muslim named Ali from Bougie was sold to Ramon Llull's father (Soto i Company 1994, 196; Hillgarth 2001, 5).

Even though the above is a small sample of the overall population and we lack any information about those educated in non-religious sciences such as medicine, it shows that the scholarly elite of Mallorca, a place which at the time was not an important centre of learning, mostly died during the island's conquest. Those who did not die during the fall were later ransomed and left the island. Nevertheless, Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī and, particularly, Ibn al-Abbār—the latter was well-informed about the whereabouts of Mallorca's scholars due to his close relations with Ibn ʿĀʾisha in Valencia and Tunis—only mention Ibn ʿĀʾisha in this latter category. Since Ibn al-Abbār and Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī were scholars who thoroughly recorded any available information about all the known scholars of the time, the number of those who survived the siege and fall of Mallorca was not significant.[14]

2.3. Slavery and the Muslim lower class

Other than the wealthier inhabitants of Mallorca who could ransom themselves and the learned class who could be ransomed, captives who could be sold as artisans or labourers were traded in significant numbers across the Mediterranean, frequently at bargain prices. During the conquest's initial phase, only a small number of conquerors settled on the island. As a result, large numbers of slaves remaining on the island would have outnumbered the Catalan forces and would have been expensive to maintain. Consequently, during the initial stage of Christian rule over the island, Mallorca became a source for the slave trade across the Mediterranean (Soto i Company 2012).

Shortly after the island's conquest, Mallorca also became a receptor of slaves. Even during the period from 1240-1243 (Soto i Company 2000, 14, n. 15;

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[14] The extant version of Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī's *al-Dhayl wa-l-takmila* is not complete. Thus, he may have included additional biographies of scholars working in Mallorca that have not come down to us.

Soto i Company 1994, 195), Mallorca began to witness the minor importation of slaves, as occurred with two from Murcia and Lorca who were sold in the city in 1242. With the capitulations in the region of Valencia in 1238, granting protection to Mudejar communities in that region and the vassalage of the Muslim polities of Murcia and Granada, by the mid 1240s, the slave trade in Mallorca had already resorted to piracy in the Alboran Sea to feed its need for slaves, as the capture of Ibn Abī Ḥujja shows. In any case, the importation of slaves during this first stage appears to have been rather minor, although slaves captured by pirates were probably not accounted for officially as imports (López Pérez 2000, 40). It is not until 1263-1273, when, according to Soto i Company (1981; 2000, p. 14, n. 15), we begin to find extant documents detailing slave imports.[15]

Verlinden (1955) was the first scholar to devote attention to slavery in medieval Christian Iberia. Before him, slavery was considered an anomaly in feudal societies of the time as serfs were thought to have met the need for labourers. Nevertheless, Iberia does not fully fit the feudal model associated to the northern regions of current-day France (Soto i Company 1994, 171). The proportion of slaves over the total population in Mallorca during the late Middle Ages is difficult to assess, and figures varied over time. After Verlinden's first estimate, who suggested that in the early 14th century 36% of Mallorca's total population consisted of slaves (Verlinden 1982, 132), other scholars have calculated that slaves represented between 10% and 50% during the 14th and 15th centuries (Soto i Company 2000, 15-17; Mas i Forners 2005, 29-37; Phillips 2014, 7).

During the 13th century, Muslim slaves in Mallorca could either live in the city or in rural areas. The city of Mallorca was the island's main economic centre, with 40% of the population living in the city and the surrounding areas. In the city, slaves were used as household servants and as labourers in sectors such as construction, manufacture and prostitution (Jover Avellà et al. 2006, 39-40). In rural areas, slaves were employed in three different ways: as labourers working in groups on large estates; as labourers, usually one or two, working in small, family-owned plots of land; and as self-governing labourers

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[15]   I wonder if the gap in the number of slaves taken to Mallorca beginning in the 1240s is indeed due to local pirate activity being registered as internal trade, at least until 1250. In 1250, there is a sudden decrease in the number of slave sale contracts, with only one registered that year (Soto i Company 1994, 199). The year 1250 is also the one in which Jaume I issued a decree curtailing freelance privateering (Burns 1997-1998, 68). The sudden increase in 1256 may be related to the fall of Lorca that year or shortly before (Bellver forthcoming). This suggests that from the early 1240s on Mallorca was a market that actively imported slaves, either through trade or piracy.

working in plots in partnership with the slaveowners so that the slaves could self-redeem with what they earned from their work (Soto i Company 2000, 22). Most Muslim slaves on the island were in the latter category because, as they aged, they became liabilities for their owners rather than assets.

2.4. The Muslim population and cultural reproduction

Based on records of the taxes free Muslims paid to the island's local adminis-tration, Sastre Moll (1988, 129-130) demonstrated that there were 1,220 free Muslims registered in Mallorca at some point between the years 1311 and 1320. Of these, 13 died, 138 remained on the island as residents and 1,069 left. The ratio between free male and female Muslims during this period was 3.5 to 1. In addition, between the 1324 and 1329, there were 705 free Mus-lims registered at some point on the island. Of these, 4 died, 135 remained as residents and 566 left. The ratio between free male and female Muslims during this latter period was 3.2 to 1. These free Muslim residents were either merchants or self-redeemed slaves (Sastre Moll 1988, 128). These numbers are, thus, indicative of the enslaved population during the period immediately preceding the years for which there is official information available. The high ratio of male to female Muslim slaves and the very low number of underage slaves (*subay*) in sales contracts led Soto i Company (2000, 19-20) to suggest that the reproduction rate amongst Muslim slaves in Mallorca was very low. In addition, by the year 1320, 93.8% of the 321 free Muslims who were re-sidents in 1311 had left the island (Sastre Moll 1988, 131), regardless of the fact that free Muslims had to pay an onerous tax and expensive boat fares to leave. All of the above—i.e., the fact that most slaves partnered with their ow-ners to redeem themselves through their earnings, the low rate of reproduction suggested, and the high rate of departure for the Islamic world after manumis-sion—indicates that, after the first generation of Muslim slaves in Mallorca (captured during the conquest and who were few in number), most Muslim slaves in Mallorca were part of a circulating population who were originally from somewhere else. They then returned to the Islamic world once they were able to redeem themselves (simply converting to Christianity was not a means of self-redemption).

Feudalism's expansion after the conquest of Mallorca was based on the substitution of the local population with peasant settlers (Soto i Company and Mas Forners 2015, 343). This involved the complete destruction of the previ-ous social and economic structure. After Mallorca's fall, Muslim communities on the island were no longer viable (Soto i Company 1994, 175; Ferrer 2019,

152). The apparent lack of a capitulation treaty granting legal status to the original Muslim population (compared to for the local Jewish community), prevented the restoration of key institutions, such as mosques, where basic teaching could have been conducted openly and thus allowed the island's Islamic communities to perpetuate themselves.[16] The obliteration of the entire class of educated elite, either killed or ransomed abroad, hampered any meaningful possibility for teaching to continue. The enslaved population's dispersion across the island and the daily constraints slaves living in the city faced would have made it impossible to have the necessary conditions for any Arabic learning outside slave households to occur;[17] in addition, it seems to have been uncommon for enslaved families to reside together. These conditions would have likely resulted in the functional illiteracy of Arabic amongst Muslims raised in Mallorca. They may have been able to read the *Qurʾān* almost mechanically; however, acquiring any learning beyond that would have been impossible under these conditions. After the small first generation of slaves originating on the island, any Islamic learning or Arabic literacy present on the island was probably due to new captives. Nevertheless, most new slaves taken to the island were probably barely literate, since the educated Muslims were probably ransomed more easily. The amount paid to keep educated Muslim slaves in Mallorca would have been much higher compared to ransoming them in Menorca or on the Iberian Peninsula.

The impossibility of any relevant Islamic cultural reproduction and the destruction of any viable community are confirmed by the circulation of books in Mallorca after the fall of the island. In the early 1990s, Hillgarth (1991) published a well-documented study about the books circulating in Mallorca between 1229 and 1550, with information gathered from inventories and purchase orders from private owners and religious institutions. In his study, Hillgarth analysed the owners and their professions, as well as the books' genres and topics to trace the island's cultural evolution in the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance. He divided this time span into different periods. The first one, which is the one that concerns us here, was the period from 1258-

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[16]   The situation in the Iberian Peninsula was quite the contrary, since Mudejar communities, depending on the capitulation treatises, still enjoyed Islamic educational institutions, such as madrasas and informal schools in mosques. See Catlos (2014, 467).

[17]   Living conditions for Muslim slaves in Mallorca became exceptionally hard when activity in the Maghribi dockyards increased due to fears of the island being attacked. Slaves were obliged to be tied up at all times, they were locked down during the night in their owners' houses, and they were forbidden to be and work in areas close to the coast. See López Pérez 2000, 45-46. Thus, living conditions in normal times would have been easier.

1400. He summarised the information gathered in a series of tables devoted to each period (Hillgarth 1991, 63-76) and grouped into sections, with Section X devoted to books in Hebrew and Arabic. The authors and titles of works in Hebrew and Arabic, as well as the references to the inventories, are listed in detail in Index III (Hillgarth 1991, 997-1002). Table I (Hillgarth 1991, 63) shows that there were 634 books in Hebrew and Arabic from 1258-1400 out of the known 1266 books inventoried on the island during that period—50.08% of the total number of known books.[18] Of these 634 books, 631 were owned by 58 Jews and *conversos* (Jews converting to Christianity), one by a (Christian) citizen, and the remaining two by royal or local authorities (Hillgarth 1991, 64-65, Table II). In addition, Index III (Hillgarth 1991, 997-1002) shows that the overwhelming majority of books in Section X (those in Hebrew and Arabic) were actually written in Hebrew, with only a handful in Arabic, though owned nonetheless by Jews and *conversos*. Those who kept the most detailed inventories and included titles of Hebrew books were of Jewish origin as they were able to read the Hebrew titles (Hillgarth 1991, 90). Arabic books may have been written in Hebrew script, or those compiling the inventories may have also been able to read Arabic. By 1347, there was still knowledge of Arabic amongst the Jewish community, since an Arabic commentary on Maimonides, later used by Hasdai Crescas, was translated into Hebrew in Mallorca (Hillgarth 1991, 237-238). After the forced conversion of Jews in 1391—limited to the cities of Mallorca and Inca—and in 1435 in remaining areas, the island's Jewish communities were destroyed. This resulted in the complete disappearance of Hebrew books in inventories. From 1400 to 1450, there were now only two Hebrew books listed (Hillgarth 1991, 66-67, Table III)—in stark contrast with the 634 books in the previous period—, and none afterwards. The Jewish community's vitality in Mallorca during the 13th and 14th centuries as evidenced by 58 Jews and *conversos* owning 631 books, mainly in Hebrew and a handful in Arabic, contrasts with the complete lack of any reference to a free Muslim owner of books, or to a convert from Islam. If, as Lourie (1970) suggests, there was a sizeable free Muslim population in the Balearics after 1229, with recognised legal status due to Xuaip's pact, and though they would have eventually converted to Christianity and merged with the Christian settlers, there would still have been a 'sizeable' number of Muslim book owners and Arabic books on Islamic topics, paralleling the case of the Jewish communities in Mallorca during the 13th and 14th centuries. The

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[18] There are important catalogues and inventories that have not come down to us, such as the medieval catalogue from Mallorca's Franciscan library (Hillgarth 1991, 20).

complete lack of such evidence shows that a community of free Muslims, who would have been the direct heirs of Muslim society on the island pre-conquest and would have been allowed to keep their belongings after the conquest, were no longer present on the island. This implies that, after the fall of Mallorca, most Arabic books were either destroyed or traded off-island.

In short, Mallorca's capture by Jaume I and his troops is a story of carnage and human trafficking,[19] one that is not particularly nice to tell. Only a small number of the original population remained on the island. Those that remained were mainly enslaved, poor, uneducated, male labourers, and they were few in number so that they could not pose a threat to the relatively small number of starving conquerors who remained on the island after the initial conquest as there was a real fear of a Tunisian reconquest. The rest of the original Muslim population either ransomed themselves and were taken to the Iberian Peninsula, were allotted as slaves to their conquerors and taken to Catalonia, were rapidly traded across the Mediterranean to avoid the costs of their maintenance, or were killed outright during the conquest or shortly thereafter if they could not be sold or ransomed. Scholarly narratives of large parts of the original population who freely remained on the island and eventually converted are self-assuring stories with insufficient evidence to support them. They are based on 14th century evidence of free Muslims living on the island.[20] These free Muslims were mainly self-redeemed slaves, who remained on the island only until they were able to gather enough money to pay the boat fares and the onerous taxes to be allowed to leave the island. They may have also waited on the island until they were able to redeem their loved ones if they were captured with them. Any possible Arabic and Islamic learning in Mallorca post-conquest could only be the result of bringing Muslim slaves from the Islamic world to the island, slaves who, at any rate, did not remain for long after their manumission.

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[19] Ibn Kathīr summarises the conquests in the following terms: «In this year [627/1229-1230], the Francs conquered the island of Mallorca. They killed in it a large quantity (*qatalū khalqan*), and captured others (*asarū ākharīn*). They brought them to the shore [of the Peninsula]. The Muslims [from the Peninsula] received them and they [i.e., the ransomed captives from Mallorca,] told them what the Francs had done to them». See Ibn Kathīr 1990, 7:127.

[20] The main example is the list of workers mentioned in the «Llibres de comptes» (accounting records) for the restoration of the La Almudaina Royal Palace and Bellver Castle in 1309 and 1310. Out of 35 entries referring to Muslim workers, nine corresponded to free Muslims. In five of these nine entries, the free Muslims were said to work with companions. In the case of Muslim slaves, both the names of the slaves and their owners are given. In the case of free Muslims, only their names and professions are provided. See Roselló-Bordoy and Sastre Moll 1982, 261. The continuity of an alleged Mudejar population living on the island since the fall of the island cannot be inferred from this document.

3. Slavery and Intellectual Cross-Pollinations

Mudejares practiced intellectual professions and participated in the intellectual life of the Iberian Christian kingdoms to various degrees. However, participation by Muslim slaves in such activities was extremely infrequent. The main intellectual activity involving Muslim slaves in Christian Iberia of which there are extant records is the copying of Arabic manuscripts. Van Koningsveld lists three extant manuscripts copied by Muslim captives in Toledo and Barcelona, already under Christian rule, with colophons in which their Muslim scribes asked God to free them from captivity (van Koningsveld 1992, 91; see also Catlos 2014, 270). The colophon of MS Escorial, Real Biblioteca del Monasterio de San Lorenzo, ár. 833 (Derenbourg 1941, 41-43, no. 833; van Koningsveld 1992, 91, 104 no. 98) is particularly telling. This manuscript is a collection of four medical treatises copied by ʿAbd al-Kabīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. ʿAbd al-Kabīr al-Ghāfiqī in Toledo with colophons dated from 662/1264 and 663/1265. Considering the dates and that ʿAbd al-Kabīr is a very uncommon name,[21] the enslaved scribe is in all likelihood the grandson of the judge, legist, traditionist and Qurʾānic commentator, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Kabīr b. Muḥammad b. ʿĪsā al-Ghāfiqī (d. 617/1220),[22] who was the judge of Ronda and deputy-judge of Cordoba during Averroes' office. Born in Murcia and finally established in Seville, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Kabīr al-Ghāfiqī was the author of numerous works on religious sciences, including a Qurʾānic commentary. He also had some knowledge of medicine.[23] The enslaved scribe, ʿAbd al-Kabīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. ʿAbd al-Kabīr al-Ghāfiqī, appears to have provided his *nasab*, his patronymic, up to his famous grandfather in the colophon as a sign of pride despite his difficult situation. This particular case, one of the very few examples in which we can trace the family origin of a slave who participated in intellectual activities, albeit as simple as copying manuscripts, involved a slave born to a family belonging to the intellectual elite of al-Andalus. Another example of a Mus-

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[21] Ibn al-Abbār mentioned only one scholar under the name, ʿAbd al-Kabīr, in *al-Takmila*, the main biographical dictionary for this period.

[22] On him, see al-Ruʿaynī 1962, 37-40; Ibn al-Abbār 1995, 3:144, no. 357; and Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī n.d.-1984, 4:232-234, no. 407.

[23] One cannot but wonder if the astronomer of Seville, Abū Muḥammad ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq al-Ghāfiqī al-Ishbīlī, known as Ibn al-Hāʾim (fl. ca 602/1205), the author of the famed *al-Zīj al-kāmil fī l-taʿālīm*, dedicated to the Almohad caliph, Muḥammad al-Nāṣir (r. 595-610/1199-1213), was a member of this family and perhaps the father of the enslaved scribe, ʿAbd al-Kabīr b. ʿAbd al-Ḥaqq b. ʿAbd al-Kabīr al-Ghāfiqī. Unfortunately, as with other scholars, we do not have biographical information about Ibn al-Hāʾim. On him, see Samsó 2020, *q.v.* Ibn al-Hāʾim.

lim slave's involvement in intellectual activities is the purchase of a white enslaved Muslim physician sold in Barcelona in 1296 (Catlos 2014, 270).[24]

Despite these examples, Llull's relationship with his Muslim slave and Arabic teacher stands out as absolutely unique in the Middle Ages. In a play of inverted mirrors, Llull's master-slave power relationship inverts the traditional teacher-disciple relationship based on authority. In addition, Llull wanted to learn Arabic to translate Christian tenets into Arabic, with proofs that he believed would be understandable and fully convincing to educated Muslims. He thus mirrored, though in an inverted fashion, the efforts of Jewish and Christian scholars who sought to translate Arabic texts into Latin in Toledo and elsewhere.

4. Llull's Early Life

As is well-known, Llull was born in the city of Mallorca in 1232 (or early 1233), shortly after Mallorca had been conquered,[25] to an affluent family of Catalan settlers related by marriage to the petty nobility and connected to the Court (Badia et al. 2016, 266-267). Llull's father, also called Ramon, participated in the conquest of Mallorca and was rewarded with various estates on the island. Llull's early life as recounted in *Vita coaetanea* is as follows: After an early life as a licentious courtier, Llull experienced a series of visions of Christ on the cross that motivated his conversion to penitence and mission. He then made peregrinations to the shrines of Saint Mary of Rocamadour, Saint James and other holy sites. After considering studying in Paris, on the advice of Ramon de Penyafort as well as his family and friends, Llull decided to remain in Mallorca where, for nine years, he studied Arabic with a Muslim slave and some Latin. At the end of this period, Llull received illumination in Mount Randa and was called to Montpellier to meet with Jaume II, crowned in 1276. The latter allowed Llull to found a monastery in Mallorca devoted to studying the languages of the infidels to convert them. Llull never provided specific dates for these events, if they ever actually occurred. Dating the beginning of Llull's nine-year study period is thus relevant to ascertain the most likely origin of Llull's Muslim slave.

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[24] Soto i Company (1994, 195) mentions the purchase of a white enslaved 'magister' in Mallorca in 1240. The term 'magister' here probably refers to an artisan.

[25] For Llull's life, see Ruiz and Soler 2008; *SW*, 1:3-52; Hillgarth 1971, 1-134; and Domínguez Reboiras and Gayà Estelrich 2008.

From legal records and documentation, we know that by 24 September, 1257, Llull was already married to Blanca Picany, with whom he had two children, as his wife is mentioned in a document granting him the right to administer her properties (Hillgarth 2001, 28). Almost twenty years later, on 13 May, 1276, the Mayor of Mallorca, Pere de Caldes, granted the request presented by Llull's wife for the family's properties and estates to be administered by Pere Galceran, a guardian and family friend, given that Llull had become too 'contemplative' and did not take care of his possessions (Hillgarth 2001, 36-37). That same year, on 15 October, 1276, the Abbot of La Real Monastery gave Jaume II an estate in the parish of Santa Maria de Valldemossa in Deià—which would become known as Miramar Monastery (Hillgarth 2001, 45)—in exchange for a number of other properties (Hillgarth 2001, 38). And, again in 1276, a papal bull by John XXI confirmed the foundation of Miramar Monastery in Deià, where thirteen Franciscans would study Arabic (Hillgarth 2001, 39-40). Beyond these dates, there is no certainty when Llull's conversion to penitence, his initial pilgrimages, his formative period or his illumination took place.

Miramar Monastery's founding in 1276 signals the end of Llull's formative period, which spans from his conversion to the beginning of his mission. Llull's meeting with King Jaume II (*Vita coaetanea*, §16) would thus have taken place in early 1276, the year Jaume II was crowned. Consequently, Llull's nine-year study period would have begun by 1265 or 1266. Thus, Llull may have bought his Muslim slave at some point early in the second half of the 1260s, ranging from 1265 to 1267, since Llull would have needed some time to find a suitable slave for his needs. As to the events before the beginning of his formative period, most scholars regard Llull's visions of Jesus, his conversion to penitence and his pilgrimage to the shrines of Saint Mary of Rocamadour and Saint James to have taken place between 1263 and 1265.

5. Llull and his *Vita coaetanea*

The main sources of information about Llull's life (Johnston 2019, 3-4) are: (i) his *Vita coaetanea*, or *Contemporary Life*; (ii) the information provided by him in other works of his—colophons of Llull's works are particularly rich when tracing his whereabouts after 1294 (*SW*, 1:37, n. 132), since he began including the city and year of composition in them—; and (iii) archival documentation mentioning him or his family, which was gathered by Hillgarth (2001). As already pointed out, *Vita coaetanea* is the only source directly mentioning Llull's Muslim slave.

At some point around September 1311, five years before his death, Llull accepted to recount his life at the urging of some monks, dictating his autobiography, *Vita coaetanea*, to a monk from the Charterhouse of Vauvert in Paris. Written in the third person, the quality of the Latin prose suggests that the original version dictated by Llull was rewritten in an embellished Latin style by an unknown monk or monks at the Abbey. *Vita coaetanea* was included in the *Electorium magnum*, a collection of Llull's works compiled by his disciple, Thomas Le Myésier, who attributed the authorship to an anonymous contemporary. Some years later, during the late 14th century, *Vita coaetanea* was also translated into Catalan. Even though the Catalan version was regarded for some time as the original, it is now agreed that the original version is the Latin one (*SW*, 1:13).

There has been some debate on the intention and the historical accuracy of the information transmitted in *Vita coaetanea*, with some authors regarding it as a hagiographic (Johnston 1996, 5) or quasi-hagiographical (Johnston 2019, 3) work. Others underscore the accuracy of the information in *Vita coaetanea*, since it agrees with the information provided by Llull in the colophons to his works (Batllori 1993). In addition, some episodes in *Vita coaetanea*, such as the one in which he mentions his Muslim slave, «do not seem particularly appropriate to a biography written in hagiographic tones» and rather resemble the tone of a book of memoirs (Badia et al. 2016, 280).

Vita coaetanea was written to present Ramon Llull before the Council of Vienne—on the Rhône river, south of Lyon. The Council met from 16 October 1311, to 6 May 1312, and Llull submitted a number of requests. Even though, as a rhetorical device, *Vita coaetanea*'s formal structure is arranged around the presentation of the Art (Domínguez Reboiras 1987), its focal point and intention is Llull's list of key requests. *Vita coaetanea* thus works as a cover letter, that is, a short biography tailored to present the applicant and his motivations before the Council of Vienne to support his application—Llull's requests—and strengthen it. It also leaves aside any elements in the applicant's biography that are not relevant to the application or that may undermine it. In addition, any aspects of the applicant's biography and motivations that cannot be externally assessed can be fabricated or may be rhetorically augmented to strengthen his application or requests. Nevertheless, a cover letter should be credible. It should take into account the Council's values and worldview, more so when the applicant presents his requests in person. Above all, a cover letter should be clarifying. It should answer the key questions that the Council might have, such as: Who is the applicant? What is the source of his authority? What is the source, type and

degree of his knowledge? What reasons motivate his requests or application? *Vita coaetanea* seeks to answer these questions.

As a medieval cover letter written in support of a series of requests, *Vita coaetanea* should be read in light of these requests to uncover the underlying intentions that shape it. The current extant version of *Vita coaetanea* includes Llull's main requests,[26] which Bonner translates as follows (*SW*, 1:46-47):

§44. After this, knowing that the holy father, Pope Clement V, was to celebrate a General Council in the city of Vienne during the calends of October of the year 1311, he decided to go to this Council to see if he could obtain three things for the restauration of the orthodox faith.

The first was the establishment of an adequate place where men of devotion and vigorous intellect could be brought together to study different kinds of languages so as to know how to preach the doctrine of the Gospel to every creature.

The second was that of all the Christian military religious orders a single order be made, one that would maintain continual warfare overseas against the Saracens until the Holy Land had been reconquered.

The third was that the pope rapidly prescribe a remedy against the opinions of Averroes, who in many ways had proven to be a perverter of the truth, so that through the intervention of intelligent Catholics, who were not concerned for their own glory but rather the honor of Christ, an opposition be made to said opinions and to those holding them, which opinions seemed to block the way to the truth and to uncreated wisdom, that is, to the Son of God the Father.

To answer the question, 'who is Ramon Llull', *Vita coaetanea* recounts Llull's early life, his conversion to penitence (*Vita coaetanea*, §3-10), his mission (*Vita coaetanea*, §5-7) and a summary of his endeavours to fulfil it. Regarding Llull's source of authority, *Vita coaetanea* presents different episodes of divine election, such as his unintended visions of Christ on the cross motivating his conversion (*Vita coaetanea*, §3) and God freeing Llull from making an unsavoury decision after his slave's attempt to kill him (*Vita coaetanea*, §13), which I explore further below. Regarding the source, type and degree of Llull's knowledge, *Vita coaetanea* recounts his illumination at Mount Randa (*Vita coaetanea*, §14), exemplifies his divinely-given knowledge based on his discussions with Muslims in Tunis and Bougie (*Vita coaetanea*, §25-27, 37) and excuses dismissing any attempt to acquire formal scholastic learning

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[26] Llull wrote a second work in Latin, *Liber de ente, quod simpliciter est per se et propter se existens et agens*, addressed to the Council with ten requests, which included the three main ones also listed in *Vita coaetanea*. For the list of these requests, see Domínguez Reboiras and Gayà Estelrich 2008, 112-113. For the edition of *Liber de ente* by H. Harada, see ROL VIII (Turnhout: Brepols, 1980), 253-257.

on Ramon de Penyafort's advice (*Vita coaetanea*, §10). And, regarding the reasons motivating his requests, *Vita coaetanea* recounts Llull's study of Arabic (*Vita coaetanea*, §11) and the foundation of Miramar Monastery (*Vita coaetanea*, §17), his mission to convert the infidels through his divinely-given knowledge, his near success with some Muslims in Tunis (*Vita coaetanea*, §28) and different episodes of coercion and violence in the Muslim ambient preventing conversion through the use of reason (*Vita coaetanea*, §28, 36, 38-40)—thus the need for unity amongst military orders to create a Christian empire and eliminate that ambient coercion so Muslims could convert to Christianity. Consequently, divine election, divinely-given knowledge, the mission to convert Muslims and Averroists, and Muslim violence and ambient coercion appear to be the main axes of *Vita coaetanea*. Any element that might undermine the main ideas that *Vita coaetanea* is seeking to convey is omitted. For instance, Llull seeks to express the idea that the Art, the source of his knowledge, was given to him by God. Consequently, except for the study of Latin and Arabic, any mention of having studied sciences other than languages, such as philosophy, theology, astronomy and medicine, is omitted, since it would undermine the idea that he received his knowledge through illumination. A normal autobiography seeking to illuminate the reader about the author's choices in life and his origins would devote some time to his formative period and studies. However, this medieval cover letter seeking to stress the divine origin of the author's authority and knowledge simply omits it. As a work addressed to the members of the Council with no prior knowledge or, at most, only loose knowledge of Ramon Llull, *Vita coaetanea* says no more, no less than what Llull wants them to know about him. Any gaps as well as any apparently disjoined episodes in the text are intentional, either to present Llull in a way that strengthens his requests or to build a narrative stressing the need to grant them.

As a text tailored to convince, historicity is less important than persuasion, and, thus, recollected events are less important than topoi and exempla. Consequently, not all the content in *Vita coaetanea* can be taken uncritically at face value. In this sense, Santamaría (1989, 97-108) has shown that, contrary to claims in *Vita coaetanea* §2, the position of King Jaume II as 'seneschal' could not be granted to Llull, a commoner. Moreover, 'seneschal' was a position which did not exist in the Crown of Aragon. Accordingly, there are no extant documents in the rich archives of the Crown of Mallorca supporting such claim (Domínguez Reboiras and Gayà Estelrich 2008, 20-22). In addition, in *Vita coaetanea* §9, the author claims that Llull, «incited by the example of Saint Francis, soon sold his possessions, reserving a small portion for the

support of his wife and children» (*SW*, 1:16, as translated by Bonner). The event in Llull's life to which this claim would refer should have taken place around 1263-1265. However, in 1276, Llull was still the owner of possessions and estates in Mallorca, although he did not pay enough attention to their administration (Hillgarth 2001, 28). These appear to be conventional topoi aimed to stress Llull's conversion after divine election.

6. Llull's Account of his Muslim Slave in *Vita coaetanea*

Bonner translates the relevant sections in *Vita coaetanea* regarding Llull's decision to study languages in Mallorca and Llull's Muslim slave as follows (*SW*, 1:17-18, 21-22):

§10. Having carried out these pilgrimages, he prepared to set out for Paris, for the sake of learning grammar there and acquiring other knowledge required for his tasks. But he was dissuaded from making this trip by the arguments and advice of his relatives and friends and most of all of Brother Ramon of the Dominicans, who had formerly compiled the *Decretals* for Pope Gregory IX, and those counsels made him return to his own city, that is, to Majorca.

§11. When he arrived there he left the grand style of life which he had previously led and put on a lowly habit of the coarsest cloth he could find. And in that same city he then studied a bit of grammar, and having bought himself a Saracen, he learned the Arabic language from him.

Nine years later it happened that, while Ramon was away, his Saracen slave blasphemed the name of Christ. Upon returning and finding out about it from those who had heard the blasphemy, Ramon, impelled by a great zeal for the Faith, hit the Saracen on the mouth, on the forehead, and on the face. As a result the Saracen became extremely embittered, and he began plotting the death of his master.

§12. He secretly got hold of a sword, and one day, when he saw his master sitting alone, he suddenly rushed at him, striking him with the sword and shouting with a terrible roar: «You're dead!» But even though Ramon was able, as it pleased God, to deflect his attacker's sword arm a bit, the blow nonetheless wounded him seriously, although not fatally, in the stomach. By means of his strength, however, he managed to overcome the Saracen, knock him down, and forcibly take the sword away from him. When the servants came running to the scene, Ramon kept them from killing him, but allowed them to tie him up and put him in jail until he, Ramon, decided what would be the best thing to do. For it seemed harsh to kill the person by whose teaching he now knew the language he had so wanted to learn, that is, Arabic; on the other hand, he was afraid to set him free or to keep him longer, knowing that from then on he would not cease plotting his death.

§13. Perplexed as to what to do, he went up to a certain abbey near there, where for three days he prayed fervently to God about this matter. When the three days were over, astonished that the same perplexity still remained in his heart and that God, or so it seemed to him, had in no way listened to his prayers, he returned home full of sorrow. When on the way back he made a slight detour to the prison to visit his captive, he found that he had hanged himself with the rope with which he had been bound. Ramon therefore joyfully gave thanks to God not only for keeping his hands innocent of the death of this Saracen, but also for freeing him from that terrible perplexity concerning which he had just recently so anxiously asked Him for guidance.

The first paragraph (§10) deals with the election of Mallorca as Llull's place to study languages. The reference to «Brother Ramon of the Dominicans, who had formerly compiled the *Decretals* for Pope Gregory IX», that is, Ramon de Penyafort, appears to be, above all, a justification (Domínguez Reboiras and Gayà Estelrich 2008, 40) before the Council of the reason why Llull did not seek formal education in Paris. It was a prior of the Dominican order who told him not to do so. This meeting may have taken place around 1264 or 1265. Bonner (1987, 12) has suggested that the reason behind Ramon de Penyafort recommending that Llull stay in Mallorca was the Dominican *studium arabicum* on the island, the first of its kind there. It was already active on the island in 1250 (Coll 1944, 121; Bonner 1987, 13; Garcías Palou 1977, 269-280; Robles Carcedo 1980, 36-40; Vose 2009, 106-107) and had eight friars appointed to study Arabic, including Ramon Martí. Nevertheless, this *studium* was already in decline by the second half of the 1250s (Bonner 1987, 13; Vose 2009, 107), although Bonner surmises that either Arabic teachers or students educated at the *studium arabicum* would still have been on the island by the time of Ramon de Penyafort's advice. Bonner (1987, 14) guesses that Ramon de Penyafort's advice to Llull may also owe to the fact that Mallorca would be more suitable for Llull than Paris since the Mediterranean missional needs would be more patent in Mallorca, where one third of the population was Muslim. As noted above, the assessment of the Muslim population's size in Mallorca greatly varies from scholar to scholar.

The reasons adduced by Bonner seem unconvincing to me. Having been raised on the island, Llull would have been well aware of the state of the *studium arabicum* in Mallorca. If what was left of it had met his needs, Llull would have not resorted to buying a Muslim slave. In addition, if the reason behind Ramon de Penyafort's advice was the presence of a *studium arabicum* with a significant Muslim community, important for missional needs, he could have directed Llull to the *studium generale* in Seville, which was founded by a privilege granted by Alfonso X on 28 December, 1254, and taught both La-

tin and Arabic (Ballesteros-Beretta 1913, LXVIII-LXX) or to the Dominican *studium arabicum* in Murcia, which was about to be founded in 1265 or 1266 (Coll 1944, 18-19). As the inclusion of his family and friends amongst those who advised him to remain in Mallorca suggests, Llull agreed to conduct his studies in Mallorca on personal grounds so as to continue to fulfil his responsibilities and tend to his family's needs. At the time of Llull's conversion to penitence, his oldest child would have been barely five years old.

After Llull's account of his decision to study in Mallorca, he recounts his relationship with his Muslim slave, with whom he studied Arabic (*Vita coaetanea*, §11-13). Llull skips any details about his education during the nine-year period studying under his Muslim slave. However, he goes into great detail regarding his account of the final episode of his relationship with his enslaved tutor. Even though this may seem puzzling for a biographer seeking to gather information about Llull's education and life, it makes perfect sense if one regards *Vita coaetanea* as a text aiming to reinforce Llull's requests before the Council of Vienne, as it brilliantly combines some of the main ideas that Llull wants to convey. Firstly, by stressing that he only studied languages during his formative period, Llull begins to build the narrative that his knowledge of the divine and the cosmos stem from illumination. Secondly, by depicting the slave's attempt to kill him, Llull begins to develop the narrative of violence and coercion exerted by Muslims against conversion and the need for unity amongst military orders. And, lastly, the rather unexpected way in which God answered his prayers reinforces the previous narrative of divine election. The isolated quality of this episode and the brilliant combination of the main ideas that Llull seeks to convey colour it with the tone of a literary exemplum aimed at persuading rather than informing.

Llull's account of the final episode in the life of his Muslim slave includes some perplexing elements that makes its historicity difficult to assess and believe. Firstly, the reason behind Llull's punishment of his slave, namely, that «his Saracen slave blasphemed the name of Christ», is puzzling. It is difficult to believe that a Muslim would speak ill of Jesus, who is revered by Muslims as an exalted prophet. By blaspheming the name of Christ, Llull probably refers to his Muslim slave publicly denying the Christian belief in the divine nature of Christ. However, such denial was a well-known Islamic tenet that should have been on the table from the very beginning and not a matter of conflict suddenly arising after nine years of enslavement. It is, of course, possible that Llull would have forbidden his Muslim slave from discussing the divine nature of Christ with Llull's family. Again, it is puzzling that this conflict broke out after nine years of study once Llull had perfected his knowledge of Arabic.

Secondly, a slave attempting to kill his master is extremely uncommon, as in all likelihood it would result in the slave's own death. In addition to Llull's account, Phillips (2014, 101-102) lists only one other case: a woman who poisoned her master in 1623. Why would a Muslim slave attempt to kill his master, since, after nine years of enslavement and having successfully taught him Arabic, he would have been very close to redemption? Was he seeking martyrdom? Llull, nevertheless, indirectly confirms in another text that he had had a heated conflict with his Muslim slave. In the *Book of the Beasts*, that is, Chapter 39 of *Felix or the Book of Wonders*, a work written between 1287 and 1289, Llull makes a thinly veiled reference to his Muslim slave when presenting an exemplum regarding loyalty. This reference, in Bonner's translation (*SW*, 2:788), is as follows:

> Dame Reynard answered, saying that in a certain land there was once a Christian who had a Saracen whom he trusted very much, and whom he did many favors; the Saracen however, being against him because of his religion, was unable to bear him any good will, but rather was continually thinking how he could kill him. «And this is why you should realize, Sir Elephant,» Dame Reynard said, «that the snake and the rooster are of a lineage so different from yours and that of your companions that, although they eat no meat, you should not trust them, but rather realize that they will consent to anything that will harm you and all your companions.»

It is worth pointing out that, in this text which precedes *Vita coaetanea* by more than twenty years, Llull's Muslim slave, who is compared to a snake or a rooster, only harbours ill-will towards Llull and thinks constantly about how to murder him. There is no reference to any actual attempt to kill Llull, despite the fact that it would reinforce the idea that this exemplum seeks to convey.

Thirdly, the statement that Llull's Muslim slave committed suicide poses some problems. In *Felix* Llull presents his Muslim slave as a firm believer in Islam by pointing out that he bore a grudge against Llull on religious grounds. However, Llull's slave ends up committing suicide, which, as one of the gravest sins (*kabāʾir*) in Islam, leads to eternal punishment in hell. It seems contradictory that a Muslim slave would finally commit suicide after attempting to kill his master on religious grounds in the search for martyrdom and paradise. He would have been painstakingly aware that suicide would inexorably condemn him to hell. As one of the gravest sins in Islam, suicide is an extremely infrequent event in medieval Islamic sources, although those same sources probably underreported them.[27] Even though suicide in prison

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[27]   The classical study about suicide in Islam is Rosenthal 1946. See also Murray (2000, 547-563), who mainly relies on Rosenthal.

is relatively common in medieval legal records and chronicles from Christian Europe (Murray 1998, 304),[28] records of Muslims committing suicide in the Middle Ages are extremely uncommon and very odd in Arabic and Islamic sources and chronicles.

In addition, the setting in the episode recounted by Llull is surprising: a prisoner hanging himself with his own ropes. Suicide is a rather private action, particularly during the Middle Ages (Murray 1998, 22). In general, suicide in medieval prisons was the result of self-stabbing (Murray 1998, 22, 100, 403) or hanging (Murray 1998, 101, 184, 209, 232, 233, 239, 397), probably with one's own clothes (Murray 1998, 184). Llull's slave being left in prison with ropes and hanging himself with them, all the while arguably sharing the same space with other short-term prisoners, sounds strange. Nevertheless, as in the episode recounted by Llull, Murray (1998, 209) mentions a case in which a tied-up prisoner, right after having been taken to prison, was momentarily left alone and, having worked the ropes loose, he hung himself. In short, accounts of Muslims committing suicide in medieval sources are extremely rare, even amongst the insane (Rosenthal 1946, 255); consequently, they are very strange in the eyes of scholars working on medieval Islam. Yet, Murray (2000, 562) takes the statement that Muslims committed suicide only very rarely in medieval Islam with caution, since religious sanctions would have not only diminished the number of suicides but also served to hide their occurrence.

Fourthly, the account in *Vita coaetanea* points out that, in his attempt to murder Llull, his Muslim slave «wounded him seriously, although not fatally, in the stomach» (*Vita coaetanea*, §12). However, shortly after, Llull «went up to a certain abbey near there, where for three days he prayed fervently to God about this matter» (*Vita coaetanea*, §13). Did he go severely wounded to a nearby abbey to pray for three days? How long did it take for Llull to recover and be able to go to the abbey to pray? Certainly not long, since his Muslim slave hung himself with the ropes with which he was taken to prison. In addition, Llull did not know about his slave's death before returning home from the abbey after three days praying.

And, last, the timeframe in which the episode with Llull's Muslim slave takes place has the quality of a scripted narrative. First, Llull's Muslim slave successfully completed teaching him Arabic, since «he now knew the language he

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[28] Baldó Alcoz (2007, 40, n. 71) mentions five suicides in prison in Navarra recorded in registers for the years 1337 and 1344. The suicide in 1337 involved three thieves who burned themselves to death in prison (Baldó Alcoz 2007, 38). Beyond Iberia, out of 39 suicides listed by Schmitt (1976, 10) between the 13th century and the beginning of the 16th century in Paris, two were committed in prison.

had so wanted to learn, that is, Arabic» (*Vita coaetanea*, §12). Only then did the slave attempt to murder Llull and later commit suicide. In addition, Llull was then granted knowledge of the Art through illumination to convert the infidels (*Vita coaetanea*, §14). Should his Muslim slave still be alive after Llull received his illumination, the first question posed to Llull by the Council committee would address whether his Muslim slave converted to Christianity with Llull's Art. A negative answer would be regarded as a counterargument undermining the divine origin of Llull's Art, since, in the case of his slave, there was no ambient coercion against his conversion to Christianity. A convenient death at a convenient time thus saved Llull from having to answer this question. However, it gives the narrative the scripted tone of literary fiction. A fictional narrative is tidy and orderly; real life is chaotic.

Even though the historicity of the episode of Llull's slave as recounted in *Vita coaetanea* cannot be categorically denied, the account has, at the very least, some fictional elements to it, such as Llull being able to go to a nearby abbey while severely wounded or a captive being left in prison and tied up with ropes for a number of days. It also contains some exceptionally uncommon events in medieval sources, such as a Muslim slave attempting to kill his master and a faithful Muslim committing suicide, which make this narrative rather unlikely and difficult to believe. Like the indirect reference to Llull's Muslim slave in *Felix or the Book of Wonders* suggests, Llull appears to have built a literary fiction upon some true elements from his own experience, such as the hatred and ill-will harboured by his slave towards him and Llull's fear of being murdered. In all, this episode should be read as an exemplum written to persuade the Council of Vienne to grant Llull's requests rather than as an accurate chronicle of events.

In addition, a less violent relationship between Llull and his Muslim slave than the one recounted in *Vita coaetanea* would not contrast so strikingly with the «exquisite courtesy of the participants towards one another» (*SW*, 1:98) shown by Llull in his *Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men*, whose Catalan version (1274-1276?) was written at roughly the same time or shortly after the conflicting episode with Llull's slave. Since Llull had no direct experience with the Islamic world when he wrote the Catalan version of the *Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men*, his enslaved tutor would have been the only model for a Muslim wise man at the time. A very traumatic experience with his Muslim slave such as the one recounted in *Vita coaetanea* would make the very polite, respectful tone and the open end of the *Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men* more difficult, although not impossible as the Muslim wise man can be the only product of Llull's imagination. Also,

if Llull had attempted to write a previous Arabic version of the *Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men*,[29] it is conceivable that his Muslim slave would have corrected the first drafts of that work, as well as the Arabic version of the *Llibre de contemplació en Déu*, whose Catalan version was written in 1271-1273.

7. Profile of Llull's Arabic Tutor

As pointed out above, even though Llull's Muslim slave is frequently mentioned in passing in biographies devoted to Llull, he has deserved little scholarly attention to date. However, this unnamed Muslim slave is Llull's teacher to have held that role for the longest period of time. As such, his impact on Llull's education cannot have been negligible.

The main reasons behind the lack of attention dedicated to Llull's Muslim slave are varied. Firstly, Llull only acknowledges him as his Arabic tutor. Even though in *Vita coaetanea* Llull only admits the study of languages—namely, Arabic and some Latin grammar—, probably as a way to not undermine the illuminative character of his Art before the Council, scholars have accepted in quite literal terms that Llull only studied Arabic with his Muslim slave. Contrarily, scholars have actively sought the Latin philosophical and theological sources of Llull's work. That notwithstanding, there are some studies devoted to tracing the Arabic sources in Llull's writings,[30] other than the specific mention of a section on Logics by al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111), with disputed results because of Llull's «life-long habit of not citing his sources» (Burman 1991, 198). Thus, the lack of quotations gives the impression that Llull was not exposed to a formal education based on Arabic and Islamic sources. Consequently, Llull's Muslim slave has been regarded as not having played a significant role in Llull's education beyond the fact that he taught him Arabic.

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[29] For a discussion on the possibility of an earlier Arabic version of the *Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men* and a summary of the previous views on the topic, see De la Cruz Palma 2016, 153-164. De la Cruz Palma argues against the existence of a previous Arabic version of the *Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men* written by Llull.

[30] For a survey of possible Arabic and Islamic sources influencing Llull's though, see Puig (2016). Previous surveys include the valuable summary by Trías Mercant (1995) with updates by Akasoy and Fidora (2008). Puig suggests a possible influence of *Shams al-maʿārif* on Llull among a few other works. Nevertheless, Gardiner (2012) and Coulon (2013) have conclusively dismissed the attribution of *Shams al-maʿārif* to al-Būnī, although this work contains some Būnīan elements. I am not aware of any influence of al-Būnī's works on Andalusī authors. This does not preclude a very likely common background shared by al-Būnī and Andalusī Sufis since, for instance, al-Būnī's teacher, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Mahdawī (d. 621/1224), was also Ibn ʿArabī's teacher.

And, secondly, as Mallorca was home to a sizeable population of Muslim slaves, the Mallorcan origin of Llull's slave has also been taken for granted. Llull's Muslim slave has thus been regarded against the backdrop of the Mallorcan intellectual milieu, which at the time of the island's fall was not particularly rich. In addition, since Llull's tutor is believed to have been uneducated and enslaved for more than thirty years by the time he began teaching Arabic to Llull, he has not been deemed an important vector influencing Llull's thought. The current standpoint regarding Llull's appraisal of Islam is rather puzzling: We have a possible transmitter who is not acknowledged for any significant transmission and a possible transmission for which no material transmitter is sought.

7.1. Could Llull's Arabic tutor have been uneducated?

To understand the profile of Llull's Muslim tutor, it is important to first underline that the linguistic situation in al-Andalus was not only one of bilingualism, that is, with two different languages coexisting in the same territory, namely Romance languages and Arabic, but also of diglossia (Corriente 2012, xi-xii). In the case of al-Andalus, although the same applies to the entire Arabic linguistic domain, Arabic was used in two main registers: namely, Classical Arabic, the standard register used in writing and in formal speaking situations and only mastered by the educated elite; and Colloquial Arabic—Andalusī Arabic in the case of al-Andalus—, known to all the population and which needed no formal training and was used in all informal situations. In turn, Colloquial Andalusī Arabic had an additional two registers: the Andalusī Arabic spoken by the educated in informal situations; and the Andalusī Arabic spoken by the masses (ʿāmma). The masses—non-educated and underprivileged—had no access to Classical Arabic and, thus, to writing.

Llull targeted his mission at the elite within the Islamicate world, since Llull believed that «if the most important Saracens convert, the less important will convert as a consequence of the [conversion of] the most important ones» (*Liber de fine*, ROL IX, 256). In addition, Llull's Art was a method to convince infidels of the truth of Christian tenets based on necessary reasons. To engage educated Muslims in a dialogue in Arabic based on necessary reasons, Llull needed to master Classical Arabic as well as the language's theological and philosophical terminology. Moreover, Llull claimed several times that he wrote books in Arabic, such as the early versions of the *Llibre de contemplació en Déu* and the *Compendium logicae Algazelis*. In a context of diglossia, Llull's claims entailed the assertion that he had mastered Classical

Arabic, the formal register of the educated Muslim elite and the exclusive language of writing, which could only be learnt through formal education. Consequently, there are two possibilities regarding Llull's knowledge of Arabic: either Llull's claims of knowing Arabic, that is, Classical Arabic, are false or Llull studied with a highly educated Arabic speaker. The possibility that Llull would have learnt Arabic from an almost illiterate Arabic speaker belonging to the ʿāmma—who would barely know how to read the *Qurʾān* and not be able to write Classical Arabic—while, at the same time, Llull was able to write an early Arabic version of the highly dense and complex *Llibre de contemplació en Déu*, is utterly unrealistic.

7.2. Was Llull exposed to the study of Classical Arabic?

Was Llull exposed to the formal study of Classical Arabic during his formative period or did he lie about his knowledge of Arabic and his ability to write in this language, that is, in Classical Arabic? Since there are no extant copies of Llull's alleged Arabic writings, we have to attempt to answer this question with Llull's extant works in Catalan and Latin. In my view, there are enough hints in his work in those languages to believe that Llull did formally study Classical Arabic.

One of Llull's most defining ideas is the theory of correlatives. The correlatives encompass three principles—namely, the active, the passive and the act in itself, the latter being the connection between the active and the passive—that pervade all beings at all levels of the hierarchy of being, including the divine Essence. Llull's correlative articulation of being and action is the basis of his trinitarian ontology.

Even though the defining idea of Llull's early works is the theory of dignities, i.e., the divine attributes, the theory of correlatives becomes increasingly important in Llull's thought by the end of the 13th century, particularly, as of *Lectura super figuras Artis demonstrativae*, written in 1285-1287 (Bonner 2007, 107). However, the first hints are already present in *Llibre de demostracions*, written in the period 1274-1276 (Pring-Mill 2006, 128). Llull's source of inspiration regarding the correlatives is unclear. Pring-Mill (2006, 126) has suggested an influence from Saint Augustine's triad of 'love', 'lover' and 'beloved' (Augustinus, *De Trinitate*, 8.10.14 and 9.2.2; Augustine 2002, 22, 26). Nevertheless, there are some differences between Augustine's love triad and Llull's correlatives, since Augustine's triad is rather a relation between two different entities, the lover and the beloved through love, whereas Llull's correlatives are rather the 'declension' (Trías Mercant 1979, 1316-1317) of one

entity, a threefold entity which is the agent, the patient and the act all at the same time. Another possible precedent is the 'intelligent' (*ʿāqil*), 'intellected' (*maʿqūl*), 'intellect' (*ʿaql*) triad which was a frequent topic amongst Neoplatonic philosophers writing in Arabic, such as al-Fārābī (d. 339/950), Yaḥyā b. ʿAdī (d. 363/974), the *Theology* of Aristotle, the Arabic *Liber de Causis*, Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī (fl. 4th/10th century), Avicenna (d. 428/1037), Ibn al-Sīd al-Baṭalyawsī (d. 521/1127) and Ibn Bājja (d. 533/1139) (Urvoy 1989, 164-165; Akasoy and Fidora 2008, 443-444). Finally, Daiber has suggested that this inspiration came from Llull's knowledge of Arabic grammar (Daiber 2004, 161-162, as quoted by Akasoy and Fidora 2008, 443).

Daiber's suggestion is built upon the fact that Llull's correlatives strongly resemble the deverbal morphology of Arabic. In Arabic, a given set of usually three letters is the basic form of a paradigm, generating several words linked to a specific verbal meaning. Numerous verbs, nouns and adjectives with connected meanings can be derived by inflecting the basic root. In addition, specific inflections affect the meaning in regular ways. For instance, from the basic triliteral verb *faʿala* (to act), we can derive the words *fiʿl* (action), *fāʿil* (acting, active) and *mafʿūl* (acted, effect, passive), amongst many others. In Arabic grammar, morphological patterns in a paradigm are expressed with the three written letters of the verb 'to act' (*faʿala*), where the letter *fāʾ* indicates the first root letter, the letter *ʿayn* the second root letter and the letter *lām* the third root letter, since vowels are not usually written. For instance, *fāʿil* can mean 'acting' or 'active' as a word used in everyday language or can indicate the abstract pattern of a present participle. In Arabic, we can thus say that the *fāʿil* form, i.e., the present participle, of *qadar*, i.e., 'to have power', is *qādir*, i.e., 'potent' or 'powerful'.

Llull's correlatives resemble the generative morphology of Arabic, since Llull creates new vocabulary to express connected concepts by adding suffixes to a single root, instead of using existing vocabulary from different roots. In Classical Arabic, newly-formed non-lexicalized vocabulary derived by applying a regular morphological pattern is perfectly correct and intelligible and is frequently used in writing.

As Pring-Mill (2006, 128) remarks, Llull begins to elaborate on the correlatives in his *Llibre de demostracions* (ed. Salvador Galmés, ORL XV) written in Catalan. In seeking to prove the Trinity, Llull points out the fact that action (*obra*), acting (*obrant*) and acted (*obrat*) being one and the same essence is nobler, higher and greater as well as more deserving to God, the Supreme Good (*subiran be*), than being disparate essences (ORL XV, 218). Throughout this work, Llull applies this triad—that is, action (*obra*), acting (*obrant*) and

acted (*obrat*)—to the divine Dignities, and thus generates new vocabulary by adding suffixes to the name of the dignity. In *Llibre de demostracions*, Llull adds the suffix *-ejar* to form infinitives. From the divine Dignities, *bonea*, *granea*, *eternitat*, *poder*, *saviea*, *amor*, *vertut*, *veritat*, *glòria*, *acabament*, *simplicitat* and *libertat*, he produces *bonejar*, *granejar*, *eternejar*, *poderejar*, *saviejar*, *amar*, *vertuejar*, *vertedejar*, *gloriejar*, *acabar*, *simpliciejar* and *liberejar* (ORL XV, 224). To form present participles, he adds the *-ejant* suffix and produces *granejant*, *eternejant*, *poderejant* (ORL XV, 322). And, to form past participles, he adds the *-ejat* suffix and produces *misericordiejat* (ORL XV, 165) and *gloriejat* (ORL XV, 262). By doing so, Llull mimics the ease with which new vocabulary is formed in Arabic and the freedom with which this newly formed vocabulary following a grammatical pattern can be used in writing.

In addition, Llull first develops the correlatives by declining the dignities with the triad, *obra*, *obrant*, *obrat*, which literally translates the Arabic triad, *fiʿl*, *fāʿil*, *mafʿūl*. For an Arabic speaker, the formation of the correlatives by declining the dignities with the triad, *obra*, *obrant*, *obrat*, reads as inflecting the verbal root of the names of the divine attributes with the abstract morphological patterns, *fiʿl*, *fāʿil*, *mafʿūl*. Consequently, the correlatives can be regarded as the theological interpretation of a grammatical operation expressed with these morphological patterns. In a sense, the correlatives are to Arabic morphology what the categories are to Greek syntax.[31]

Even though Llull further changed and refined the set of suffixes that he used to produce his new correlative lexicon, his thought and works were still received with indifference, if not disdain, by scholastic philosophers, given that the profusion of his new correlative vocabulary made his works very difficult to understand. In his *Compendium seu commentum Artis demonstrativae* written in 1289 in Paris to engage scholastic philosophers, Llull addressed this problem. Domínguez Reboiras and Gayà Estelrich provide a translation of the relevant section (*MOG* III, vi, 160: 450) in which Llull stated:

> Nor should you be disturbed by the unusual terminology, but rather learn this Arabic manner of speaking (*hunc ipsum modum loquendi arabicum*), so as to be able to rebut the objections of unbelievers. To be sure, it is not a very common way of talking amongst Latins (*non multum apud latinos sermo consuetus*), namely to decline the terms of the Figures by deriving from goodness the bonificative, the bonificable, to bonify and the bonified [...], and so on for each of the other terms

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[31] «Pour autant que les catégories d'Aristote sont reconnues valables pour la pensée, elles se révèlent comme la transposition des catégories de langue» (Benveniste 1958, 426).

which characterise this Art, as is indicated in Rule 31; however, it is necessary to decline it so, in accordance with the capacities and virtues inhering in the terms of this Art (tr. Domínguez Reboiras and Gayà Estelrich 2008, 60).

This paragraph clearly shows that Llull's correlative terminology (indicated in the original by the use of *bonitatis*, *bonificativum*, *bonificabile*, *bonificare*, *bonificativum*) is a transposition of the «Arabic manner of speaking». Even if Llull's seminal idea regarding the correlatives had its origin in Saint Augustine's *De Trinitate*, which I doubt, the development of his correlative vocabulary is directly inspired by the generative morphology of Arabic as Llull clearly acknowledges here. Rather than refraining from producing new vocabulary so as to make his works easier for scholastic philosophers, Llull encouraged them to learn (*sed addiscant*) his correlative method on missional grounds so as to engage Muslims with their own way of speaking (Pring-Mill 2006, 129). In any case, even though polyptotons—i.e., the repetition of words with the same root in a sentence—are rhetorical devices frequently used in Arabic, Llull's frequent juxtaposition of correlatives in sentences far exceeded the use of polyptotons in the «Arabic manner of speaking». Nevertheless, Llull's frequent use of that structure resembles the way an Arabic teacher would juxtapose different inflected words from the same paradigm while in class.

All of the above shows that Llull was inspired by and thus knew Arabic morphology. He not only had grammatical competence in Arabic, but also grammatical knowledge of the language as well as language awareness. Even though grammatical competence can be gained through the communicative approach to language learning, as in continuous conversations with an uneducated speaker, grammatical knowledge can only be gained through the formal study of a language and its grammar. And, more importantly, it can only be learnt from a teacher proficient in grammar who, in turn, has been exposed to the formal study of the language and its grammar. Consequently, Llull did not lie about having been exposed to the study of Arabic; nor could he have learnt Arabic morphology from an uneducated Muslim slave.

7.3. An educated Muslim slave

How, where and from whom could Llull have learnt Arabic, including Arabic morphology, in Mallorca more than thirty years after the island's fall to King Jaume I's forces? In order to answer these questions, it is important to underscore that Llull's claim that he was proficient in Arabic, probably meaning both Classical and Colloquial Arabic, entailed a long period of daily

intense study to reproduce a near-immersion learning experience. Arabic is a difficult language and cannot be fully mastered with a teaching program of a few hours per week over a rather short time span. Taking this into account, there are four possibilities to answer the above questions: The *studium arabicum* in Mallorca, a free Jewish tutor, a free Muslim tutor, or an enslaved Muslim tutor. We can dismiss the first possibility because, otherwise, Llull would have not claimed to have studied with a Muslim slave; nor would have sought to found the Miramar Monastery. The second possibility, a free Mallorcan Jew, can also be dismissed, since this option would have not granted Llull sufficient time of intense study for a long period of time so as to be able to learn enough Arabic to write complex works in this language, such as an early version of *Llibre de contemplació en Déu*. In addition, it is doubtful that a free Jew would allow himself to teach Llull, a vocal Chrisitan proselytist, any Arabic. The third possibility can also be dismissed. There are cases of free Muslim scholars working in Christian lands, but they worked under royal patronage, such as in the case of the geographer, al-Idrīsī (d. ca 560/1165), who worked for Roger II of Sicily. Considering Llull's social status, it would have been impossible for him to be the patron of a free Muslim scholar. In addition, a free Muslim would not teach formal Arabic to a Christian missionary in Christian lands for a long period of time. Consequently, the most credible possibility is that Llull studied Arabic with a Muslim slave as Llull himself claimed. Thus, Llull's Arabic tutor was in all likelihood an educated Muslim slave.

As an educated Muslim exposed to the study of Arabic, Llull's slave would have studied other disciplines in addition to Arabic philology. The study of Arabic was part of the education of religious scholars or secretaries. In both cases, educated Muslims exposed to the study of Arabic would have knowledge of the transmitted religious sciences—such as *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*—although to different degrees.

7.4. Was Llull exposed to Arabic philosophy and/or Islamic theology shortly after his conversion?

Was Llull exposed to Arabic philosophy and/or Islamic theology in his thirties shortly after his 'conversion to penitence'? This is the key question that this study on the material link between Llull and the Islamic world during his intellectual education ultimately aims to answer. This is, as well, a relevant question to narrow down the possible origin of Llull's slave.

Finding an unequivocal answer is rather difficult since there was a common Neo-Platonic background between Christian and Islamic realms and multiple paths by which ideas circulating in the Islamicate world could have potentially influenced Christian philosophers and theologians, making it difficult to reach a definitive conclusion. For instance, ideas embraced by Llull and espoused by Muslim Neo-Platonists can also be found in Saint Augustine's thought or in Christian authors influenced by translations of Avicenna's works. Consequently, it is hard to distinguish the actual source inspiring Llull. Ideally, any specific ideas and terminology circulating in al-Andalus and the Maghrib present in Llull's earlier work but not mentioned by Christian theologians and philosophers other than Llull would be particularly clarifying. This would suggest that Llull's Muslim slave transmitted Islamic theological and/or philosophical views to him and, as such, it would prove that his Muslim slave had some knowledge of Arabic philosophy and/or Islamic theology, or at least that he participated in a mystical worldview expressed with philosophical terminology. I will limit myself here to give a couple of very brief hints in Llull's earlier works,[32] which I aim to develop elsewhere by addressing the topic of the possible Islamic influences on Llull in a more thorough, detailed way.

One indication of an Islamic idea possibly influencing Llull's thought can be found in his *Liber Chaos* (*MOG* III, pp. 249-292), a book he wrote in Montpellier around 1285-1287. Llull understood the concept of *chaos* as the universe and divided it into a hierarchy of different levels. Despite his debt to Plato's *Timaeus* when referring to the universe as 'chaos', its first and highest degree, which Llull called *quoddam esse*, that is, 'a certain being',[33] appears to be an adaptation of an intellectual tradition that dates back to the *imkān* concept, i.e., 'possibility', as understood by Ibn Masarra (d. 319/931) in his *Refutation of al-Kindī's On First Philosophy*, a work formerly attributed to Ibn Ḥazm (Bellver 2020b).[34] For Llull, the *quoddam esse* was the aggregate of the four elemental essences, the *semina causalia*, the five predicables, the universal form and prime matter, as well as the substantial and accidental natural forms, majority, equality and minority, beginning, middle and end

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[32] Many of the possible Islamic influences on Llull surveyed by Puig (2016), Trías Mercant (1995) and Akasoy and Fidora (2008) may result from Llull's travels to Bejaia and Tunis at a later stage in life or from Llull's possible acquaintance in Montpellier or Paris with Arabic philosophical and scientific works in translation. Nevertheless, Puig (2016) pays particular attention to possible influences on the *Llibre de contemplació en Déu*, one of Llull's earliest works.

[33] I wonder if the *quoddam esse* is a loose translation of the 'Third thing' (*al-shayʾ al-thālith*), i.e., the thing that is neither God nor the universe. For the Third thing, see Ibn ʿArabī (1996, XXX-XLII and 16-18).

[34] For a description of the contents of this work, see Daiber (1986a; 1986b), and Bellver (2020b). For the edition of this work, although attributed to Ibn Ḥazm, see Ibn Ḥazm (1987, 4:361-405).

(Compagno 2019, 37). Lohr was the first to point out the possible Islamic origin of Llull's concept of *chaos*. Lohr (2000, 168) suggested that Llull's concept of *chaos* might have had its origin in Ibn ʿArabī's understanding of the Throne, to which Ibn ʿArabī also referred as the Cloud (*ʿamāʾ*) and the Reality of realities (*ḥaqīqat al-ḥaqāʾīq*). Ibn ʿArabī also referred to this level in the hierarchy of being with other names, such the Breath of the All-Merciful (*nafas al-Raḥmān*) or the Dust (*habāʾ*). Even though Ibn ʿArabī certainly saw the Throne as the first produced (*mubdaʿ*) entity and the origin of everything below it, he was, in fact, writing in keeping with a long-standing Andalusī tradition that stretched back to, at least, Ibn Masarra's concept of Possibility (*imkān*).[35] For Ibn Masarra, *imkān* was the possibility of everything from which everything else originates. It was the first produced thing. As such, Ibn Masarra identified *imkān* with God's Will (*irāda*). *Imkān*, or God's Will, includes all the simples within itself. These are the first causes and the four elements, which are some of the contents that Llull incorporated into his *quoddam esse*. This tradition was present in al-Andalus as of the first quarter of the 4th/10th century, at least three centuries before the Franciscan philosophers began exploring similar ideas. The Masarrian concept of *imkān*, referring to the degree of existence from which everything else originates, can be traced in later authors, such as Ibn ʿArabī (1911, 2:124, 426),[36] Ibn Sabʿīn (1965, 24)[37] and the latter's school (Ibn Sabʿīn 1965, 64). Even though the terminology in Ibn Masarra's work revolves around the concepts of causality and divine activity, with the reception of the *Rasāʾil Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ*, this tradition later adopted the philosophical concept of effusion (*fayḍ*, *fluxus*). The main difference between this theological-mystical tradition and the *falāsifa*, such as Ibn Sīnā, is that in the highest level of the effusion there is some form of the Will of God. This prevents an eternal, mechanical cosmos devoid of God's ordination and guidance. Llull provided a similar solution since effusion «follows the dictates of the divine project, namely God's *regula et linea influendi*» (Compagno 2019, 28).

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[35] For Ibn Masarra's concept of *imkān*, see Ibn Ḥazm (1987, 4:3378-379, nos. 44-46).

[36] Ibn ʿArabī consistently identifies *imkān*, possibility, with the universe, i.e., that which is not God. Yet, he also uses the concept of 'pure possibility' (*imkān maḥḍ*). This degree of reality precedes any existent other than God (Ibn ʿArabī 1911, 2:426). As such, pure possibility is neither existent nor non-existent. The degree of possibility (*rutbat al-imkān*) includes in itself the fixed realities (*aʿyān thābita*), the archetypes of everything other than God (Ibn ʿArabī 1911, 1:189), which, as Ibn ʿArabī typically states, make up the Cloud (Ibn ʿArabī 1911, 2:312).

[37] Cf. Ibn Sabʿīn's concept of 'absolute possibility' (*imkān muṭlaq*), which he identifies with the divine *fluxus* (*fayḍ ilāhī*).

A second possible influence on Llull's early work, particularly in his *Llibre de contemplació en Déu*, is the concept of *iʿtibār*.[38] *Iʿtibār* can be translated as 'crossing over', 'reflexion' or 'contemplation'. *Iʿtibār* is the reflexion or contemplation of the world to gain knowledge of the spiritual realm and, ultimately, of God. There are two main types of *iʿtibār*: rational *iʿtibār* (*iʿtibār ʿan al-fikr*), that is, ascending to the spiritual realm and gaining knowledge of God through rational means; and 'tasting' *iʿtibār* (*iʿtibār ʿan al-dhawq*), that is, ascending to the spiritual realm and gaining knowledge of God through direct spiritual perception (Bellver 2020a, 321). We cannot overstress the importance and omnipresence of *iʿtibār* in the rational and mystical schools of al-Andalus and the Maghreb, to the point that Ibn Barrajān (d. 536/1141) referred to Andalusī mystics as *ahl al-iʿtibar* or *muʿtabirūn*, that is, the people performing *iʿtibār*, rather than Sufis (Casewit 2017). By the late Almohad period, Western *iʿtibār* blended with Sufism and gave shape to our modern understanding of intellectual Sufism. As such, the *Llibre de contemplació en Déu* and, in particular, its Book III, reads like a Christian work on *iʿtibār*, combining rational theology, a Neo-Platonic cosmos and mystical perception together with Christian tenets. In Andalusī mysticism, the rationale behind this ascension by way of *iʿtibār* is based on an understanding of the cosmos as God's Self-disclosure through His attributes in a dialectic of both similarity (*tashbīh*) and incomparability (*tanzīh*). As a result, the intellect is able to ascend from the sensual to the divine. These are only some hints that deserve a more detailed analysis, which I aim to address elsewhere.

In addition to these possible influences, Llull also mentioned an Arabic term in his *Llibre de contemplació en Déu* (ed. Salvador Galmés, ORL VIII, 446; Lohr 1994, 59 n. 8), a work arguably written when he was still studying under his tutor-slave. The term Llull mentioned is *ramz*, i.e., 'symbol' or 'sign', although Llull transcribed it as *rams*. Llull translated *ramz* as 'moral interpretation' (*esposicio moral*), 'allegory' and 'anagogy'. He mentioned the term in the context of two degrees of prayer: literal prayer as it appears to the senses and an inner level of prayer in which the prayer appearing to the senses is grasped by the intellect. Llull pointed out that this inner degree grasped by

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[38] Muḥammad Kamāl Ibrāhīm Jaʿfar (1972) was the first to call attention to the concept of *iʿtibār*, attributing a treaty entitled *Risālat al-Iʿtibār* to Ibn Masarra and which he edited in 1978, although Jaʿfar's contribution passed unnoticed in the West until the early nineties. Nevertheless, it was not until the mid-2000's that the importance of this concept in the intellectual history of al-Andalus began to be fully grasped. This explains the absence of any discussion of this concept in Urvoy's *Penser l'islam* (1980). For the concept of *iʿtibār* in the Western Islamicate world, see Stroumsa and Sviri (2000), Garrido Clemente (2007), Casewit (2017) and Bellver (2020a).

the intellect was called *ramz* in Arabic. This statement is striking since *ramz* was not commonly used in this sense in theological and mystical discourses in Classical Islam. To refer to an inner layer of meaning, other more common terms were used instead, including *majāz* or *istiʿāra*, i.e., 'metaphor', *ishāra*, *kināya* or *tamlīḥ*, i.e., 'allusion', *ʿibra*, i.e., 'example' or 'teaching', and even *mathal*, 'example'. In fact, *ramz* is never used to refer to an utterance or an expression that has an obvious, literal sense, except in the expression *bi-l-ramz*, i.e., 'allegorically' or 'symbolically'. However, Arabic speakers at the time tended to use this expression, i.e., *bi-l-ramz*, together with other expressions, such as *bi-l-ishāra* or *bi-l-īmāʾ*, to give context. Except in this expression, *ramz* was only used when an utterance or a written expression had no obvious sense, it was coded or openly and unequivocally allegorical. In addition, the term *ramz*, when mentioned by itself, was rather the material realization of the symbol as it appeared to the senses. There is, though, an exception to the rather infrequent use of *ramz*, and this is in Bāṭinism and the occult sciences.[39] Bāṭinism is also the main field in which the affirmation that only a sound intellect (*ʿaql*) or a sound mind (*dhihn*) is able to grasp the *ramz* is a frequent topos. Even though the term *ramz* was not unknown to theologians and educated mystics, the fact that Llull mentioned it to refer to an allusive layer of meaning rather than other more common terms in mystical discourse, such as *ishāra*, suggests that Llull's Muslim slave and tutor was acquainted with Bāṭinism and the occult sciences, as this term is heavily connoted by its use in these fields. Llull's Art has already been linked to Bāṭinī authors and divinatory procedures based on the permutation of letters.

The profile of Llull's Muslim slave is thus one of an educated Muslim with a formal education in Arabic philology and, particularly, grammar.[40] He was

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[39] For the use of *ramz* in Andalusī Bāṭinism and by the Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ, see de Callataÿ and Moureau (2021).

[40] De la Cruz (2016, 167-181) has argued, following Urvoy (1972, 1980, 1996), that the likely source for Llull's survey of the Islamic beliefs in Book IV of the *Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men*, a work written at roughly the same time than *Llibre de contemplació*, was a hitherto unknown recension of Ibn Tūmart's *Profession of faith* (*ʿaqīda*), which would have circulated among the uneducated Muslim population of Mallorca after the fall of the island. This could be a counter-argument supporting that Llull's informant on Islam would be uneducated. It is certainly possible that a survey of Ibn Tūmart's *ʿaqīda* would have circulated among Muslims in Mallorca, even in Romance, after the fall of the island. Nevertheless, there are other more straightforward explanations, such as the fact that during the Almohad period it was compulsory to know Ibn Tūmart's *ʿaqīda* by heart, as failing to know it entailed being sentenced to death, particularly during the earlier years of the Almohad rule (Fierro 2005, 2:912). By the time Llull wrote the *Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men*, Muslims, either born in Mallorca or beyond and brought up during the Almohad period, were still middle-aged. Knowledge by heart of Ibn Tūmart's *ʿaqīda* was not a sufficient element to distinguish whether a Muslim informant was educated or not, as it was required from all walks of life. More relevant may be the answers by the Muslim wise man to questions posed by the Gen-

probably acquainted with theological-mystical cosmologies expressed using philosophical terminology and had some knowledge of Bāṭinism and the occult, arguably in the tradition of the Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ. His profile appears to be more of a learned secretary or official with interests in mystical philosophy rather than an expert in religious transmitted sciences, such as *ḥadīth* and *fiqh*, sciences which were probably less interesting in Llull's eyes. He was also probably fairly young, perhaps a student or early career official, rather than a mature scholar, since the latter would have commanded a higher ransom. In addition, the capture of a mature scholar would have been more likely to be recorded by Islamic sources, which does not seem to be the case.

8. The Possible Origin of Llull's Arabic Teacher

In order to narrow down the possible origin of Llull's Arabic tutor, it is important to bear in mind that Llull's slave was probably exposed to philosophical and theological terminology during his own formative period.

8.1. Knowledge of philosophy and theology in al-Andalus across the population

Despite the fact that al-Andalus is well-known for a number of luminaries in philosophy, it would be a mistake to infer from this that philosophy was a widely-studied discipline in this area and that those acquainted with philosophy were easily found. In the Western Islamicate world and, particularly, in

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tile regarding the Islamic set of beliefs, as it shows a degree of understanding and argumentation that would be less likely in an uneducated informant. Likewise, the final remarks by the Muslim wise man (*Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*, ed. Antoni Bonner, NEORL II, pp. 196-197) pointing out that two different groups understood the statements in the *Qurʾān* and the *ḥadīth* referring to bodily pleasures experienced in paradise in two different ways—either in a literal sense or a metaphorical one—suggest that Llull's informant was acquainted with the theological panorama of the Eastern Islamicate world. The group that understood the references to bodily pleasures in paradise in a metaphorical sense and denied the literal meaning may be an allusion to the Muʿtazila, or to philosophers such as al-Fārābī and Averroes. Llull adds that the group that supported the metaphorical interpretation over the literal one were «naturals e grans clergues». Llull's discussion is reminiscent of Averroes' *Faṣl al-maqāl*, in which the author, himself a great religious scholar and judge, pointed out that the *Qurʾān* should be understood metaphorically when it contradicts reason (Ibn Rushd 1972, 32). Averroes mentioned the existence of different groups espousing different interpretations of the verses dealing with the afterlife (Ibn Rushd 1972, 49) and pointed out that the *Qurʾān* has different kinds of discourse suitable for the different kinds of human natures, including the less gifted ones (Ibn Rushd 1972, 32). In addition, he defended the use of logic to attain a correct interpretation of the *Qurʾān* and the *ḥadīth*, whereas the Muslim wise man deemed the group espousing the metaphorical interpretation of the *Qurʾān* over the literal one as heretics, and rejected the study of logic, in what appears to be a clear rejection of the position held by Averroes in *Faṣl al-maqāl*. These are elements present in Averroes' *Faṣl al-maqāl* that Llull mentions at the end of Book IV. These remarks are thus the result of an educated informant, who provided a picture of the theological debates during the Almohad period without naming Averroes.

al-Andalus, knowledge of philosophy and, to a lesser extent, theology was very unusual amongst the learned. The Umayyad Caliphate of al-Andalus built its legitimacy on the idea that, by adhering to the Mālikī juridical school, which claimed to follow the Islamic practice as it was implemented in Medina, the city of the Prophet, Islam had been established in al-Andalus as it was during the time of the Prophet (Ibn Ḥayyān 1979, 26-27; Ibn Ḥayyān 1981, 32). The Umayyads actively dissuaded and persecuted the diffusion of any innovations in beliefs that, based on rational inquiry, would contradict the transmitted religious sciences. This attitude shaped Andalusī society and made al-Andalus a particularly conservative region whose religious elites distrusted any rational inquiry into matters divine; in addition, the uneducated population saw it as an expression of infidelity. In *Nafḥ al-ṭīb*, al-Maqqarī (d. 1031/1632) sums up the opinion that Andalusis had about philosophy in the following terms:

> [The people from al-Andalus] know all sciences deeply and cultivate them painstakingly, except in the case of philosophy and astrology. Their elites know both sciences to a very large extent, but they do not show it because of their fear of the masses (ʿāmma). Whenever somebody says «so-and-so studies philosophy» or «so-and-so occupies himself with astrology», the masses call him an unbeliever (*zindīq*) and limit his freedom. If he commits any dubiousness, either they stone him to death or burn him before the matter arrives to the Sultan, or the Sultan kills him to come close to the heart of the masses. And several times, their kings had commanded to burn books on this discipline whenever these were found (al-Maqqarī 1968, 1:221).

Episodes of persecution of rational theologians and philosophers were not uncommon in al-Andalus. To name a few: the persecution of Ibn Masarra's followers and the burning of his books during the caliphate of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III al-Nāṣir (r. 300/912-350/961) with Ibn Masarra being the first relevant rational theologian born in al-Andalus (Bellver 2020b); the burning of philosophical books from the library of al-Ḥakam II (r. 350/961-366/976) during the ʿĀmirid period; the burning of al-Ghazālī's books ordered in 503/1109 by the *qāḍī* of Cordoba, Abū ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥamdīn (d. 508/1114); the fact that Mālik b. Wuhayb (d. 525/1130-1), known as the 'Philosopher of the West', was forced to abandon the outward practice of philosophy (Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿa 1882, 2:62-63); and the fall into disgrace of Averroes (d. 595/1198) in the year 593/1197 and his forced exile to the Jewish city of Lucena to humiliate him (Fierro 2018). Still during the Almohad period, the physician, logician and poet, Ibn Ṭumlūs (d. 620/1223), who was Averroes' disciple, pointed out that Andalusī scholars had not yet pursued the disci-

pline of logics and that his contemporaries, both learned and uneducated, accused those acquainted with it of heresy (*bidaʿ*) and infidelity (*zandaqa*) (Ibn Ṭumlūs 1916, p. 8 of the Arabic section and p. 8 of the Spanish translation; Fierro 1992, 903-904).

All of the above illustrates that the pursuit of philosophy and, to a lesser extent, rational theology in al-Andalus was an elitist and risky activity, not at all common even amongst the learned. Consequently, if Llull's Muslim slave was acquainted with theological and philosophical terminology, he must have been chosen on purpose to meet Llull's needs. In addition, he may have been hand-picked from a rather large group of captives, since, otherwise, the chances of randomly finding somebody meeting Lull's requirements would have been close to none.

8.2. Did Llull's Muslim slave originate in Mallorca?

Bearing in mind all of the above, where was Llull's Muslim slave from? Considering the paucity of information in this regard, no conclusion can be reached with complete certainty; however, it is possible to venture some hypotheses.

As noted above, Llull may have bought his Muslim slave at some point early in the second half of the 1260s, probably between 1265 and 1267, more than thirty years after the island's fall.

Except for Bonner (1987), all previous scholarship has taken the Mallorcan origin of Llull's Muslim slave for granted. As shown above, slavery in Mallorca during the 13th century was an institution that expelled the Muslim learned and upper classes, as they could be ransomed more easily.[41] In addition, the number of original Muslim inhabitants who remained on the island as slaves was small since the Christian conquerors sought quick revenue and avoided having to bear the burden of their slaves' maintenance before becoming established as new settlers. This is also confirmed by the fact that new slaves were introduced in the island by pirates soon after the conquest. An uneducated Muslim slave of Mallorcan origin in his late fifties or sixties with no knowledge of Classical Arabic and having experienced exploitation for more than thirty years would be in no condition to teach Llull the complexities of Arabic morphology. As Benhamamouche (1987, 134-136, as quoted by Trias Mercant 1995, 131) rightly argues, Llull could have not learnt Classical Arabic under these conditions. Thus, Llull's Arabic teacher has to have originated beyond the island.

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[41]   The contrary was true in the medieval Islamic Mediterranean, where slaves could thrive and reach all roles in society, including the roles of governors and scholars (Catlos 2004, 52).

8.3. Military clashes and piracy in the Western Mediterranean in the mid-1260s

The timespan when Llull might have bought his Arabic tutor-slave, roughly between 1265 and 1267, matches the time of the Mudejar Revolt. As the main theatre of Christian-Muslim military clashes in the Western Islamicate world during the period Llull bought his Muslim slave, the Mudejar Revolt was the main source of prisoners and, thus, slaves. This revolt was actually a series of uprisings by Mudejar communities in territories recently conquered by Castile—roughly, the entire Guadalquivir Valley—and in Murcia, that took place between 1264 and 1266.[42] It affected two different kinds of polities: namely, territories in the Guadalquivir Valley, under direct rule by Castile, and the Kingdom of Murcia, under Muslim rule but a vassal of Castile.

The Mudejar Revolt was incited by the first Naṣrid sultan of Granada, Muḥammad I, known as Ibn al-Aḥmar (r. 629-671/1232-1273), who, despite being a vassal of Alfonso X, felt that his kingdom was imperilled by Castilian advances and sought the help of the Marinids. A few years before, Castile had conquered the upper Guadalquivir Valley and expelled the urban Muslim population from the region's major cities. In 1248 when the Muslim population of Seville was expelled upon the city's fall, many refugees relocated to Jerez, which ultimately fell to Castile in 1261. Mudejares who remained in the upper Guadalquivir Valley lived mainly in fortified hamlets. Except for Jerez, the main cities of the valley, namely Cordoba, Sevilla and Jaen, already emptied of their Muslim populations, were unaffected by the Mudejar Revolt. In late July or early August 1264, the townspeople of Jerez with the aid of Marinid troops stationed in Malaga and detachments from Algeciras and Tarifa defeated the Castilian garrison in the city and conquered the *alcázar*. Mudejares from other towns in the lower Guadalquivir Valley, such as Arcos, Lebrija and Medina Sidonia, also took up arms. In addition, Ibn al-Aḥmar led attacks on Castilian positions across the border, such as on the castles of Matrera and Chincoya. In turn, Murcia, after al-Wāthiq Ibn Hūd rose to power in late 1263 or early 1264, broke Murcia's vassalage to Castile that had been established through the Treaty of Alcaraz in 1243, paid allegiance to Granada and expelled the Castilian garrison from the city's *alcazar*. However, after Murcia's population paid allegiance to Ibn al-Aḥmar, the latter appointed Abū Muhammad Ibn Ishqalyūla as the governor of Murcia, making the role of al-Wāthiq Ibn Hūd unclear. In the summer of 1264, Alfonso X completely lost control

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[42] For the Mudejar revolt, see Martínez (2010, 164-174); and O'Callaghan (2011, 34-59). For short summaries, see also Catlos (2014, 71-73) and Harvey (1990, 51-54).

of the vassal kingdom of Murcia, including Cartagena and most hamlets and castles along the border. According to Alfonso X, Murcian forces devasted the area and killed the Castilian settlers (Martínez 2010, 167). In total, according to Jaume I, in three weeks, Castile lost control of some three-hundred towns, castles and other strongholds (O'Callaghan 2011, 37). Alfonso X thus faced three different fronts: a direct confrontation with Granada; the uprisings in the lower Guadalquivir Valley, with Jerez as the main centre of clashes; and the rebellion in Murcia.

First, Alfonso X besieged Jerez for a few months, which surrendered in October 1264 after the surviving Muslim population was granted free passage to the Islamic world. He then subdued the remaining towns in the lower Guadalquivir Valley. By June 1265, Alfonso X devastated the plain of Granada. Apparently, there was a clash between the armies of Granada and Castile that prompted Ibn al-Aḥmar and Alfonso X to establish a temporary truce by mid to late summer 1265, and a new treaty of vassalage in 1267. Al-Nuwayrī (2004, 30:69-70) dates this clash on 14 Ramaḍān 662/10 July 1264, although the dates may be off by one year.

In parallel, in June 1264 Alfonso X asked his father-in-law, Jaume I, to conquer the Kingdom of Murcia on his behalf.[43] By the time Jaume I received this request, he was already organizing a fleet against the North of Africa with galley ships from Barcelona, Tortosa, Valencia and Mallorca (Burns 1980, 169; Ayala Martínez 1987, 97-99, 102). In November 1264 (Ayala Martínez 1987, 102 n. 51), Jaume I wrote to his son, Jaume, the heir to the kingdom of Mallorca, granting him any revenues earned in Mallorca over a year so that he would be able to fund an army from Mallorca to participate in the campaign against Murcia. Hence, privateers, troops and army squads from Mallorca participated in the campaign against Murcia. After overcoming the initial opposition of the Catalan and Aragonese nobility, in the summer of 1265 Jaume I finally dispatched his son, Pere, the heir to the throne of Aragon, against Alicante and Murcia. Pere took control of the countryside of Murcia. Ibn al-Aḥmar sent an army but was defeated by the Catalan army and a Castilian contingent. On 2 January 1266, Jaume I besieged Murcia, and, after a few military skirmishes and Ibn Ishqalyūla's flight to Malaga, the population of Murcia sought to negotiate. On 31 January 1266, the city of Murcia, together with twenty-eight castles between Murcia and Lorca,

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[43] For the role of Jaume I in the conquest of Murcia and his involvement in the Castilian response to the Mudejar revolt, see Ayala Martínez (1987). The classical references for the conquest of Murcia are Torres Fontes (1967); and Ballesteros-Beretta (1963, 388ff).

surrendered to Jaume I, who returned Murcia to Alfonso X and left in March 1266. On 23 June 1266, the Mudejares of Murcia pledged their allegiance to Alfonso X and begged his pardon. Since Murcia fell with a capitulation treaty, the lives of Muslims living in the region were spared. However, the Muslim population within the walls of the city of Murcia was expelled, and those willing to remain there were only allowed to live in the suburb of Arrixaca under the nominal rule of al-Wāthiq Ibn Hūd. Despite the fact that Alfonso X spared the lives of the Mudejares living in Murcia, most of the Muslim population left the region for Granada and other parts of the Islamicate world, to the point that entire areas of Murcia became deserted and barren (Martínez 2010, 171). The general unsafe conditions in the frontier areas during this period are illustrated by the kidnapping by Christians of Ibn Rashīq's family, a scholar and literatus born in Murcia, who at the time of his family's kidnapping was living in Almeria (De la Granja 1966, 52). The dating of the kidnapping of Abū ʿAlī Ibn Rashīq's family is unknown, although it probably occurred roughly at the time of the fall of Murcia or shortly thereafter, since Ibn Rashīq's father, Abū Bakr ʿAtīq Ibn Rashīq, died in Murcia in Dhū l-Ḥijja 661/October 1263 (Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī n.d.-1984, 5:119-120, no. 232), right before the fall of Murcia, and Ibn Rashīq addressed a poem to Ibn al-Aḥmar, who died in 671/1273, seeking his intercession to free his family. In 673/1275 the remaining Mudejares in the suburb of Arrixaca were expelled and, despite having been granted safe-passage and being unarmed, they were ambushed in Huercal, women and children were enslaved and men were killed (Carmona González 1993-94, 245 and 247). The Mudejar Revolt involved numerous military clashes and skirmishes across the fluctuating border, and thus provided the ideal conditions for the capture of prisoners and the kidnapping of Muslims fleeing the newly conquered territories.

Another possible source of slaves during the period between 1265 and 1267 may have been attacks by privateers and corsairs in Muslim lands. As pointed out above, in the summer of 1264 Jaume I recruited privateers and armed a fleet. Nevertheless, after the truce with Ibn al-Aḥmar in midsummer 1265, their activities would have been limited at most to attacks along the northern coast of Africa and against the Muslim population crossing the Strait of Gibraltar. During this period, slaves introduced in the Crown of Aragon by sea were mainly the result of pirate activities and not trade, since slaves were not listed in notarial documents recording the sea trade in the Crown of Aragon (López Pérez 2000, 40). In addition, it is very unlikely that Llull's Muslim slave would have originated in the eastern Islamicate world, since maritime trade between ports in the North African coast east of Tunis and Sicily—a needed

stop on the way to Crown of Aragon ports—began to take place only after 1350 (López Pérez 2000, 40). Ultimately, the origin of any captives taken by privateers during this period would have mainly been the same regions affected by the Mudejar Revolt, namely, the coasts of the kingdoms of Granada and Murcia before midsummer 1265, and Muslims fleeing from Murcia and Jerez. The capture of a learned official or scholar yielded by rapid attacks on North-African soil would be unlikely, as they would likely dwell in fortified cities and a long siege would be needed.

8.4. Murcia, the likely origin of Llull's Muslim slave

All of the above leads me to suggest, although with no certainty considering the lack of any written records, that the most likely origin of Llull's Muslim tutor-slave was the region of Murcia. An educated Muslim with enough training to be able to teach Arabic morphology, particularly if he had certain knowledge of theological and philosophical terminology, was most likely to be found in urban areas with active circles of religious scholars and/or with a functioning administration under Muslim rule, rather than in rural hamlets under the direct rule of Castile. Before the fall of Murcia in 1266 and despite the vassalage to Castile, Murcia was a fully functioning Islamic polity, with its own court, army, administration, juridical institutions and mint, much in the same way that Granada was (Harvey 1990, 45). It had important cities, such as Murcia and Cartagena, with openings for secretaries and administrative officials and, thus, with formative circles to train students to fill these positions at the local level. Despite the fact that Murcia witnessed an important emigration of scholars and general population in the early 1240s before the Treaty of Alcaraz was signed, Murcia still offered enough opportunities to provide a rich education during the period of its vassalage to Castile, such as in the case of the aforementioned scholar and literatus, Ibn Rashīq, born in Murcia, who early in his teenage years engaged in a debate with a Christian monk on the inimitability of the *Qurʾān* and improvised a verse following the syllabic pattern of al-Ḥarīrī's *maqāma* no. 47 (De la Granja 1966), who is consistently referred to as the most difficult author in Arabic literature. Murcia also attracted students from other regions of al-Andalus, such as Ibn al-Zubayr (b. 627/1230, d. 708/1308), who studied with Ibn Rashīq's father, Abū Bakr ʿAtīq Ibn Rashīq (Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī n.d.-1984, 1:40).

During the first half of the 7th/13th century, Murcia was the main centre in al-Andalus for the study of rational theology (*kalām*) and intellectual Sufism, as well as for the study of philosophy and the sciences of the ancients. In the field of theology, the Malaga-born Ibn al-Marʾa (d. 611/1214), the main the-

ologian of the Almohad period and the author of *Nukat al-Irshād*, the main
work on Ashʿarite theology written in al-Andalus, though still unedited, fled
to Murcia shortly before or around the turn of the century (Bellver 2020a, 332;
Bellver forthcoming). In Murcia, he was the teacher of numerous students in
the field of Ashʿarite theology and Sufism, including the theologian and Sufi,
Ibn Aḥlā (d. 645/1247), who would incidentally become the ruler of Lorca. In
addition, Ibn Rashīq's father, Abū Bakr ʿAtīq Ibn Rashīq, was also proficient
in rational theology (Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī n.d.-1984, 5:119-120,
no. 232).

Murcia was also the birthplace of the leading Andalusī scholars in the fields
of philosophy and the science of the ancients born in the 7th/13th century. The
philosopher and Sufi, Ibn Sabʿīn al-Riqūṭī (b. ca. 614/1217, d. ca. 669/1270),
is perhaps the best-known author. He is relevant for Lullian studies, as Llull's
logics have been linked to Ibn Sabʿīn.[44] Considering his nisba, al-Riqūṭī, Ibn
Sabʿīn appears to have originated in Ricote, a hamlet some twenty miles north
of Murcia, from where al-Mutawakkil ʿalā Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf Ibn
Hūd (d. 635/1238), who conquered most of al-Andalus from the Almohads
and founded the Hūdid dynasty, originated. Born to a wealthy family of high-
ranking officials in the Hūdid administration, Ibn Sabʿīn left for Ceuta in his
mid to late twenties. There is no information indicating that Ibn Sabʿīn studied
outside of Murcia. Hence, in all likelihood, Ibn Sabʿīn completed his educa-
tion in the region of Murcia before moving to the Maghrib. The wealth of the
sources used by Ibn Sabʿīn in his early philosophical works, i.e., *al-Masāʾil
al-ṣiqilliyya*, and *Budd al-ʿārif*,[45] evidences the works circulating in Murcia
during Ibn Sabʿīn's early education.

Murcia was also the birthplace of three or maybe four important scientists,
namely, Ibn al-Raqqām al-Mursī, Ibn Andrās, Abū Bakr al-Riqūṭī and, perhaps
Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Riqūṭī. Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad Ibn al-Raqqām
(d. 715/1315) was an important physician, astronomer and mathematician,
born in Murcia before or ca. 635/1237 (Ibn al-Khaṭīb 1973-1977, 3:69-70;
Casulleras 2007).[46] Ibn al-Raqqām probably spent his early years and received

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[44]   A view suggested by Lator (1944) and followed by Lohr (1989), but contested by Akasoy and Fidora
(2008).

[45]   For a study of the sources used by Ibn Sabʿīn in his *al-Masāʾil al-ṣiqilliyya*, see Akasoy (2006, 177-331).

[46]   Secondary sources customarily point out that Ibn al-Raqqām was born circa 1250. The only extant
biography of Ibn al-Raqqām in primary sources is the one transmitted by Ibn al-Khaṭīb (1973-1977, 3:69-
70). Ibn al-Khaṭīb points out that Ibn al-Raqqām died at an old age (ʿan sinn ʿāliya). He only uses this
expression for people who died at the age of eighty or older. Thus, Ibn al-Raqqām would have been born in
Murcia before or ca. 635/1237. For examples of Ibn al-Khaṭīb's use of this expression, see the biographies

his education in the sciences of the ancients in Murcia.[47] He later moved to Bougie and Tunis, where he probably wrote his main astronomical tables, and then moved to Granada later in life.

Abū l-Qāsim Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Ibn Andrās (d. 674/1275-6) was a prominent physician and philologist born in Murcia (al-Ghubrīnī 1979, 75-76). Ibn Andrās left Murcia for Bougie in the decade of the 660s/1260s. In Bougie he became the official physician of the local ruler. He was later called to Tunis, where he became the royal physician and attended the advisory council to the king. He wrote a work on pharmacology. He was also a noted Sufi (Ibn Farḥūn n.d., 2:372). His son, Abū Yaʿqūb Yūsuf b. Muḥammad (d. 729/1328-9), also born in Murcia and later established in Tunis, was a physician who wrote works on logic, medicine, philosophy, astronomy and mathematics (Ibn Farḥūn n.d., 2:372).

Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Riqūṭī (fl. 2nd half of the 7th/13th century) was proficient in the sciences of the ancients, namely, logics, mathematics, music, medicine, and philosophy (Ibn al-Khaṭīb 1973-1977, 3:67-68; Samsó 1981; Díaz-Fajardo 2007). He also mastered the languages of the different communities living in Murcia, that is, Arabic and Romance and potentially Latin and Hebrew. He remained in Murcia during the vassalage period and after the fall of the city in 1266. Alfonso X, who held him in great esteem, built a school for him in Murcia to teach Muslims, Christians and Jews in their own languages. The second king of the Naṣrid dynasty, Muḥammad II (r. 671-701 / 1273-1302), called him to Granada perhaps on the expulsion of the Mudejares from the Arrixaca suburb in 673/1275.

Ibn al-Khaṭīb (1973-1977, 1:206, 3:257) also mentions a physician and philosopher, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Riqūṭī, working in Granada during the rule of Muḥammad II, whose profile is very similar to that of Abū Bakr al-Riqūṭī. As with Abū Bakr al-Riqūṭī, his nisba suggests that he had his origin in Ricote, too. Al-Dhahabī (1990-2000, 50:139) provides his full name as Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad b. ʿIṣām al-Riqūṭī, which is significantly different from that of Abū Bakr al-Riqūṭī. Both, Abū Bakr and Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Riqūṭī may be the same scholar with a mistake that may have slipped into one of the transmitted names, or they may refer to two different scholars, whose profiles have been conflated. Whatever the case, the mention of two or three relevant

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of Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr al-Anṣārī (Ibn al-Khaṭīb 1973-1977, 1:329) and Uthmān b. Idrīs (Ibn al-Khaṭīb 1973-1977, 4:79).

[47] There is no indication in Ibn al-Khaṭīb's biography suggesting that Ibn al-Raqqām moved from Murcia at a very early age.

scholars in philosophy and the science of the ancients from Ricote suggests that this locale, the birthplace of the Hūdid dynasty that ruled over most of al-Andalus during the third Taifa period, was an important centre for the study of philosophy and the sciences of the ancients in al-Andalus, probably before the Treaty of Alcaraz, and pinpoints the existence of a rich library on these sciences. During the Mudejar Revolt, Ricote would have been one of the towns conquered by Pere, the son of Jaume I, on his way to Murcia.

The profiles of Ibn Sabʿīn, Ibn al-Raqqām, Ibn Andrās, Abū Bakr al-Riqūṭī and, perhaps, Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Riqūṭī evidence the existence of one or more libraries in the fields of philosophy and the science of the ancients in Murcia and the active circulation of books in these fields. The circulation of scientific books is also confirmed by the fact that Murcia became a centre of translation activities from Arabic into Latin in the 1270s (Martínez Gázquez 1995).

In the field of intellectual Sufism, the region of Murcia was also the most active area in al-Andalus before the conquest in 1266. The main centres in al-Andalus were Lorca and Murcia, where the dominant strand appears to have been the Shūdhiyya, a form of elaborate intellectual Sufism with leanings towards the unity of existence and a highly complex theology and cosmology nurtured by a rich symbolic exegesis of the *Qurʾān* (Bellver forthcoming). The information we have is very fragmentary, as the work of the most relevant authors who did not emigrate to the East is not extant, and the available information is mostly transmitted by biographical literature with a heresiographic perspective. In any case, the Shūdhiyya—or at least Shūdhī ideas transmitting a worldview close to those of Ibn ʿArabī and Ibn Sabʿīn—seems to have penetrated the Hūdid elite of Murcia during the vassalage period. The Hūdid administration granted protection to the Shūdhiyya, if not direct sponsorship, so that Shūdhīs were able to openly preach in the Aljama mosque during the vassalage period.

In short, the conquest of Murcia by Jaume I in 1266 provided the ideal context for the capture of an educated Muslim slave meeting the conditions Llull needed at the time he was looking for one. It provided the material link between regular troops, squads and privateers from Mallorca and an active Islamic polity with an educated Muslim population living in urban areas with a rich intellectual life in the fields of Arabic language and literature, theology, philosophy and mysticism. It also provided the needed context of military clashes and skirmishes allowing for the capture of prisoners, including conscripted students, as well as the subsequent turbulent context allowing for the kidnapping of fleeing Muslim populations, including the educated elite of religious scholars, the Hūdid retinue and administration secretaries and officials.

Furthermore, it provided an opportunity for Llull to request a specific profile before the campaign against Murcia and a large amount of captives from which to hand-pick a profile needed by Llull, which would have otherwise been very difficult to find by chance, or, at least, would have taken longer. And, lastly, it provided a bilingual context of educated Muslims already acquainted with Romance, thus easing Llull's learning of Arabic. If Llull's Muslim slave originated in Murcia, Llull may have bought him around February or March 1266.

9. Conclusions

To date, Llull's Muslim slave and tutor has received little scholarly attention. Since Mallorca was home to a significant population of Muslim slaves, scholars have traditionally taken for granted that Llull's slave came from Mallorca. In light of the poor educational background of slaves in Mallorca and beyond and since Llull did not seem to quote specific sources in Arabic other than a work on logics attributed to al-Ghazālī, the influence of Llull's slave on his thought has been considered rather unsignificant.

Llull consistently claimed that he had written works in Arabic. In a context of diglossia, this claim entailed that he had mastered Classical Arabic and, thus, that his Muslim slave was educated. Llull's knowledge of Arabic or, at least, of Arabic morphology is confirmed by a statement in which he acknowledged that he built his correlative terminology following the «Arabic manner of speaking». This statement entails that Llull not only had grammatical competence in Arabic obtained potentially through conversations with an uneducated speaker but grammatical knowledge obtained through the necessary and formal study of the language and its grammar with a highly educated and proficient Arabic teacher who, in turn, would have been exposed to the formal study of the language and its grammar. In addition, Llull's first development of the correlative terminology by declining the divine attributes with the triad, *obra*, *obrant* and *obrat*, appears to mimic and translate the grammatical terminology in Arabic, *fiʿl*, *fāʿil* and *mafʿūl*. Since an education in the Arabic language could not have occurred in a vacuum, Llull's Muslim slave would have also had some knowledge of religious sciences and, perhaps, the sciences of the ancients. From Llull's earliest work, Llull's Muslim slave was probably acquainted with theological-mystical cosmologies expressed using philosophical terminology and had some knowledge of Bāṭinism and the occult, arguably in the tradition of the Ikhwān al-ṣafāʾ, although further study is needed to assess this influence.

In addition, we can rule out that a highly educated Muslim slave originated on the island given that: (i) slavery in the northern Mediterranean was an institution that expelled the Muslim learned and upper classes through ransoms; (ii) the number of original Muslim inhabitants who remained on the island as slaves was small; (iii) slaves commonly left the island for the Islamic world after self-redemption; and (iv) Mallorca did not provide conditions for the cultural reproduction of Muslim slaves or Mudejares. Thus, Llull's Muslim slave should have come from elsewhere, beyond the island. Consequently, the intellectual life on Mallorca before its fall played no role in the formation of Llull's thought.

The main theatre of Christian-Muslim military clashes in the Western Islamicate world when Llull bought his Muslim slave and, thus, the main source of captives, was the Mudejar Revolt, which affected two kinds of polities: the Kingdom of Murcia, under Muslim rule but a vassal state to Castile, and rural hamlets and the city of Jerez, under direct Castilian rule. In addition, the profile of Llull's Muslim slave—namely, that of an advanced student, an early career scholar or a learned official—was most likely to be found in urban areas with active circles of religious scholars and a functioning administration under Muslim rule, rather than in rural areas under Castile's rule. Consequently, the most likely origin of Llull's Muslim slave in the context of the Mudejar Revolt would have been the region of Murcia. Murcia, with its rich urban intellectual life during the Hūdid period, particularly in the fields of theology, philosophy and mysticism, fell to Jaume I in late January 1266, a campaign in which troops, squads and privateers from Mallorca participated. Considering the fact that the profile of Llull's Muslim slave would have made him prone to be ransomed before reaching Mallorca, it seems likely that Llull would have promised any of the Mallorcan troops or privateers participating in the conquest of Murcia—if Murcia was in fact the origin of his slave—a high price for an educated captive with a specific profile. Even though Murcia stands as the most plausible hypothesis accounting for the origin of Llull's Muslim slave, the scarcity of the available information makes it impossible to completely confirm.

In any case, it is safe to say that Llull's Muslim slave was educated and that he did not come from the island. To understand the impact of the Islamic intellectual life on Llull's early thought, we should focus on the ideas circulating in al-Andalus and the Maghrib during the mid 7th/13th century. These ideas were transmitted to Llull—if this ever happened—orally. The lack of actual quotations of Arabic sources in Llull's work does not preclude an important influence of theological, philosophical, mystical and scientific

ideas circulating in al-Andalus and the Maghrib on Llull, since this absence is congruent with an oral transmission in a context in which Arabic books were not easy to access.

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