

RAIMUNDI LULLI *OPERA LATINA 44: ARS INVENTIVA VERITATIS*, ED. JORGE USCATESCU BARRÓN, TURNHOUT: BREPOLS, 2014 (CORPUS CHRISTIANORUM. CONTINUATIO MEDIAEVALIS, 265; RAIMUNDI LULLI *OPERA LATINA*, 37), CXXII + 513 PP., ISBN 9782503552569*

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The *Vita coetanea*, the autobiography dictated by Lull himself to a monk of the Charterhouse of Vauvert, near Paris, in 1311 (probably in September), marks two distinct founding moments of the Art: the first moment can be traced back to Lull's conversion (*conversio ad poenitentiam*) when, at about 30 years of age (1263), he felt that his mission was that of converting the infidels through the best book in the world. The second moment occurred in 1274, on the mountain of Randa. There, Lull received the vision of the perfect book, a book able to demonstrate rationally the errors of the infidels and the superiority of the Christian faith. There, the form and method (*forma et modus*) of the book came alive. That illumination gave birth not only to one book, but to a monumental series of books,¹ each one more perfect than the other, following a path of progressive improvement of the divine message which was to last for more than thirty years (1275–1308). Through a continuous tension between the method of contemplation and universal science, Ramon Lull's Art progressively developed for almost forty years, from the *Ars compendiosa inueniendi ueritatem* (1274) to the *Ars generalis ultima* (1305–1308) and the *Ars breuis* (1308), becoming in its latest version a general science, the foundation of every particular science, and an instrument to access an encyclopedic knowledge (*scientia generalis ad omnes scientias*).

In such a long evolutionary path, by writing, in 1290, the *Arts inuentua ueritatis* (op. 44 of the 'Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina' catalogue) Lull took a decisive step towards a simplification of the method. This revision of the Art components and

* This review was presented at the Philosophical Review Club (University of Leuven) on 22 February 2017.

¹ Lull wrote about 280 works, a large part of them devoted to the Art and its implementation. See 'Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina' Catalogue in Fernando Domínguez, 'Works', in Alexander Fidora and Josep Rubio (eds), *Raimundus Lullus. An Introduction to his Life, Works and Thought*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2008 (Corpus Christianorum. Continuatio Mediaevalis [= CCCM], 214; Supplementum Lullianum, 2), pp. 125–242.

mechanism will be completed in the *Tabula generalis* (1294). The *Ars inuentiua* marks, consequently, the passage from the quaternary to the ternary structure of the Art.²

Volume 37 of *Raimundi Lulli Opera Latina* (henceforth ROL) provides finally the critical edition of this ‘umfangreiche und besonders schwierige Werk’ (‘large and particularly difficult work’) (p. viii), until now only available in two ancient editions: the sixteenth-century edition by Alfonso de Proaza (Valencia 1515) and the edition published in 1729 in Mainz. The text is edited by Jorge Uscatescu Barrón, a former collaborator at the Raimundus-Lullus-Institut, within a project sponsored by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (2005–2010). The preface is followed by an extensive introduction (pp. xix–cxxii), which the editor chooses to write in Latin (as was the custom in the first volumes of the series). The introduction is divided into two parts: the first part explores the text in its content and places it in the Lullian corpus, the second part is devoted to the fortune of the text and its manuscript and print tradition. Following a typical structure of ROL editions, the editor—after a brief preface (pp. ix–xi)—focuses firstly on the authenticity and structure of the work, then moves on to its manuscript and print tradition, and finally clarifies the philological choices which have been made in the reconstruction of the text. The *Ars inuentiua* is certainly authentic: it is mentioned in three other Lullian works (especially in the *Ars amatiua boni*, op. 46), and the circumstances of its composition are described by Lull himself in the autobiography dictated to a monk of the Charterhouse of Vauvert, the *Vita coetanea* (ROL 8, ch. 19, pp. 283 passim), where he also affirms that he has translated the text into Arabic. There is no evidence, however, of this Arabic redaction, and no Catalan redactions of this work have been transmitted.³

² Recent historiography divides Lull’s Artistic production into four phases: 1) the first and preparatory phase of research which culminated the *Liber contemplationis in Deum* (*Llibre de contemplacio en Déu*); 2) the quaternary phase, in which the Art is strongly linked to the theory of the four elements. In this phase, the principles of the Art (called here *dignitates*) appear as multiples of four in parallel to the quaternary rhythm which makes up the physical world, a starting point of the cognitive process that leads from the sensible to the intelligible reality and, lastly, to the divine one—the First Cause, defined precisely by the dignities; 3) the ternary phase, in which the constitutive elements of the Art and their own combination evolve in dynamic triads linked to one another (the so-called correlative principles), as a reflection of the Trinitarian God in creation; 4) the fourth phase—the post-Art phase—follows the writing of the *Ars generalis ultima* (1305–1308), which definitively establishes the method, recommended at this point as a universal instrument appropriate to every field of knowledge.

³ Lull wrote a large part of his works both in Latin and in Catalan. The translations often establish new redactions of the text. Plurilingualism and auto-translation of Lull’s texts have been deeply studied throughout the years.

As Uscatescu (p. xxiv) rightly emphasizes, the work in its very title recalls the Aristotelian *ars inueniendi* (*Topics*).⁴ Josep Maria Ruiz Simon has specifically investigated (as early as 1993) this connection between the Art and Aristotelian dialectic. Although, in fact, Lull proposes an epistemological instrument far from the Scholastic (and therefore Aristotelian) tradition, the conception of the Art as a method which allows one to reason about every matter—as well as the presentation of the Art itself as *ars artium*—corresponds to the purposes of dialectic in Aristotle's *Topics*.⁵ Also, the use of *exempla* and metaphors that characterize Lull's reasoning can be traced back to the *consideratio similitudinis* ('investigation through resemblances') which Aristotle in the *Topics* indicates as one of the four instruments of dialectic.⁶ Lull's Art, like Aristotle's dialectic, argues about everything and tries to find (*inuenire*) the principles of every science. However, the Art does not act with possibility and opinion, but looks for demonstrative certainty and necessity.

The *Ars inuentiua*, as Uscatescu has widely examined also in a previous publication,⁷ is part of Lull's project to give the Art a triple structure patterned after the three powers of the soul (*intellectus, uoluntas, memoria*).⁸ In this sense, this work is strictly linked to the *Ars amatiua* (1290), and in the prologue of the *Ars amatiua* itself we can read that the *Ars amatiua* derives for its principles and method from the *Ars inuentiua*.⁹ Both, however, have the same purpose, that is, knowing and loving God, and a clear apologetic aim: both Arts 'necessariae sunt ad ueritatem et deuotionem gentibus uniuersis, ut per eas discant atque studeant cognoscere et amare ultimum finem, qui est Deus benedictus, et gloriam acquirere sempiternam' (see p. LXI). The *Ars inuentiua* presents itself already as a universal science, the foundation of every particular science, aimed at showing

⁴ Josep M. Ruiz Simon, 'Quomodo est haec ars inventiva. L'art de Llull i la dialèctica escolàstica', *Studia Lulliana* 33 (1993), pp. 77–98.

⁵ Aristoteles, *Topica* I.1, 100a18 ff.; I.2, 101b3–4 (*transl. Boethii*), ed. Lorenzo Minio-Paluello, Bruxelles-Paris: Desclée de Brouwer, 1969 (Aristoteles Latinus [= AL], V.1-3), pp. 5, 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*, I.17, 108a7, AL V.1-3, p. 27.

⁷ Jorge Uscatescu Barrón, 'La relación entre el *Ars inventiva veritatis* y el *Ars amativa* (1290)', in Alessandro Musco (ed.), *Universalità della Ragione. Pluralità delle filosofie nel Medioevo. XII Congresso Internazionale di Filosofia Medievale della Société Internationale pour l'Étude de la Philosophie Médiévale (Palermo, 17-22 settembre 2007)*, Palermo: Officina di studi medievali, 2012, 4 vols (Biblioteca dell'Officina di studi medievali, 14.1–3), vol. II.2, pp. 1181–1196.

⁸ Lull completed the first two Arts (*Ars inventiva* and *Ars amativa*), but he did not write an art of memory. It was left to Bernat Gari to complete the Lullian program by writing the *Ars memorativa* in 1338. See Uscatescu, 'La relación', p. 1182.

⁹ Raimundi Lulli *Opera Latina 46, Ars amatiua*, ed. Marta M. M. Romano, Turnhout: Brepols, 2004 (CCCM, 183; ROL, 29), p. 120: 'hanc Artem amatiuam boni, per quam amantia quaemadmodum per Artem inuentiuam scientia demonstratur'. As the science belongs to the intellect, the *amancia/amantia* belongs to the will.

the Truth of the Christian faith, and it offers itself, in the first place, as an instrument to convert the infidels.

The work is divided into four parts: the first part is devoted to figures, the second one to principles, the third one to rules, and the last one to questions (every Artistic work usually closes with a series of questions through which Lull shows the correct functioning of the method). Also this internal division of the work follows a scheme shared by all the Artistic works. In the *Ars inuentiua* Lull presents, after the *Ars compendiosa inueniendi ueritatem* (op. 3) and the *Ars demonstratiua* (op. 27), the third redaction of the *Ars*. Written in 1290 in Montpellier, as already said, after the first unsuccessful reading of the *Art* at the University of Paris,¹⁰ the *Ars inuentiua* does not offer fundamental changes in its method, but a significant simplification of its basic elements: the letters of the alphabet are reduced from twenty-three to nine, the figures from nineteen to four. These elements will remain unchanged until the *Ars generalis ultima*. Conversely, the rules are nine here, and not yet the ten rules of the final version of the *Art*.¹¹ Among these rules, the eighth one—*de punctis transcendentibus*—is particularly relevant. With the doctrine of the transcendent points Lull speculates on the ascent (*transcensus*) of the intellect which has to follow through the various levels of reality, from the sensitive-imaginable to the spiritual-intelligible one, but also from this last one to the divine and thus transcendent one, which is then the object of theology. In other terms, knowledge for Lull is a process consisting of steps, from the elemental nature to the *uegetatiua* (vegetative), *sensitiua* (sensitive), *imaginatiua* (imaginative), *intellectiua* (intellective), *moralis* (moral), *caelestis* (celestial), *angelica* (angelic) and *diuina* (divine). The transcendent point is caused by an *excessus* (excess) of one power over another.¹² We can summarize the concept of the transcendent points saying that the intellect transcends itself to know realities that overcome its capacities.¹³ As Uscatescu underlines, Lull accurately explains this doctrine in the *Liber de ascensu et descensu intellectus* (1305, op. 120)—and one can find a reference also in the *Ars amatiua*—but it is in the *Ars inuentiua* that it appears for the first time.

A significant part of the introduction is naturally devoted to the manuscript fortune of the work and to the philological analysis of the text. On pages LVX–XCIV the editor presents the twenty-three known manuscripts which preserve entirely or partially the text of the *Ars inuentiua*. Uscatescu offers a precise description of every manuscript (except codex Milano, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, A 66 Inf., 16th c. [= N]). Next (pp. XCIV–XCVIII), he describes the two print editions which still exist:

¹⁰ Raimundi Lulli *Vita coetanea*, § 19, ed. Hermogenes Harada, (CCCM, 34; ROL, 8), Turnhout: Brepols, 1980, p. 283 passim.

¹¹ The rules, indeed, became ten starting from the *Tabula generalis* (1293–1294).

¹² *Ars inuentiua* dist. III reg. 8, pp. 121–122.

¹³ Jordi Gayà, *Raimondo Lullo: una teologia per la missione*, Milano: Jaka Book, 2002, p. 55.

the sixteenth-century edition of Alfonso de Proaza (Valencia 1515) and the eighteenth-century edition, included in the Raimundi Lulli Opera by Ivo Salzinger in Mainz, published by Franz Philipp Wolff in 1729. The Mainz edition clearly derives from the edition of Proaza; nevertheless it presents a rewriting of the first thirteen pages (p. xcvi). We have also a French translation of the work, kept in MS Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Gallica 2675 (17th c.). The editor recognizes three families of manuscripts (*stemma codicum* a p. cv), and decides to reconstruct the text using the most ancient codex, MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 10501 (13th c. in.; single hand, scribe unknown (= M), *archetypo maxime proximus* (p. c), which constitutes the first branch of the tradition. While, in cases of corruption or errors in M, the editor uses the two codices of the second family of the stemma: MS Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, 100, of the end of the thirteenth century (= A) and MS Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, 15450, around 1325 (= E), the well-known *Electorium magnum*, i.e. the anthology of Lull's texts made by his faithful Parisian disciple Thomas Le Myésier. The critical apparatus shows all the variant readings (even the errors, following the custom of the series) and includes *lectiones singulares* ('singular readings') of the two ancient editions, which Uscatescu connects to the third branch of the tradition.

Uscatescu, lastly, offers his reader an in-depth analysis of Lull's lexicon (*nostrorum sermonum improprietas*, prol. p. 9), from neologisms to unusual verb forms, which characterize the language of the Art, from adverbs to conjunctions, from comparatives to the use of some constructions typical of Lull (pp. cvi-cxviii). The problem of Lull's language would be worth considering separately. Lull develops new words of his own in order to represent, through the language, the dynamism of correlative principles (e.g. words built from the suffixes *-ivus*, *-bilis*, *-ficare/facere*: *bonificativus*, *bonificabilis*, *bonificare*). The peculiarity of his language was one of the elements which made the Art so difficult to understand and accept, especially within the university environment.

This edition is the result of a long work, in which Uscatescu has dealt with one of the most important texts of Lull's huge philosophical production, a text which marks the beginning of the more mature phase of the Art, the ternary phase, that will culminate with the *Ars generalis ultima*. Uscatescu shows that he has a full knowledge of Lull's work and of its connections within Ramon Lull's Artistic corpus. An inter- and intra-textual logic links, in fact, all the Artistic works one to another through a series of internal references which made the Art a system closed within a textual self-referentiality; in this case, as already mentioned, the *Ars inuentiua* is related to the *Ars amatiua*. The introduction to the volume offers all the elements indispensable to understand the text and its contents, its position within Lull's corpus, and the story of its manuscript and print tradition. The volume, thus, can be considered as an instrument of research essential to

anyone who is interested in Ramon Lull's philosophical and theological thought in its long and complex development.