

INFORMATION TO USERS

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed, the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again — beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.
5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.

Xerox University Microfilms

300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

75-4550

GIRALDO, Zaida I., 1938-
ANSELM TURMEDA: AN INTELLECTUAL BIOGRAPHY OF
A MEDIEVAL APOSTATE, INCLUDING A TRANSLATION
OF THE DEBATE BETWEEN THE FRIAR AND THE ASS.

The City University of New York, Ph.D., 1975
History, medieval

Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

© 1974

ZAIDA I. GIRALDO

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

ANSELM TURMEDA:

AN INTELLECTUAL BIOGRAPHY OF A MEDIEVAL APOSTATE,
INCLUDING A TRANSLATION OF THE DEBATE BETWEEN THE
FRIAR AND THE ASS.

BY

Z. I. GIRALDO

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty
in History in partial fulfillment of the require-
ments for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York.

1974

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

9/23/74
date

Richard Lemay
Chairman of Examining Committee

9/24/74
date

Gertrude Homelgard
Acting Executive Officer

Howard L. Adelson
Howard L. Adelson

Paul Oscar Kristeller
Paul Oscar Kristeller

Richard Lemay
Supervisory Committee
Richard Lemay

The City University of New York

Abstract

ANSELM TURMEDA: AN INTELLECTUAL BIOGRAPHY OF A MEDIEVAL APOSTATE,
INCLUDING A TRANSLATION OF THE DEBATE BETWEEN THE
FRIAR AND THE ASS.

by

Z. I. Giraldo

Advisor: Professor Richard Lemay

The figure of Anselm Turmeda (1354-1423?) relatively well known to European historians of medieval Spain, still remains today comparatively unknown to students of medieval history. This is unfortunate since the writings devoted exclusively to Turmeda in Castillian, Catalan, French, German, Italian, Arabic, and Turkish, are remarkably extensive. For that reason this thesis has been written with two goals in mind. One goal is to provide as full a discussion as possible about Turmeda's life and work, utilizing all of the many books and articles written about him. Another goal is to attempt a reevaluation of the man and explain what has heretofore been considered unexplainable. Whether this goal has been reached or not will depend on the reaction of many scholars who must decide whether or not the analysis fits the facts.

Those facts which have definitely been established about Anselm Turmeda reveal that he was a Mallorcan-born member of the Franciscan order and an ordained priest who renounced Christianity and fled to Tunis. There he spent the remainder of his life as a Muslim. It is while living in Tunis that he wrote and published books in verse and prose whose popularity lasted over the course of centuries. One of his books of verse entitled Llibre de Bons Amonestaments, has had an

almost continuous publishing history, since its publication in the late fourteenth century, up to the present day. His two works of prose have been translated into five languages and also achieved notable histories of publication. The Debate Between the Friar and the Ass, which has been translated into French, German, Castilian and Catalan, is being translated here into English for the first time.

In addition to the impact produced by Turmeda's literary output, consideration must be given to the impact of his life and legend. The varying accounts of Turmeda's life which have been published since the fifteenth century reveal an extraordinary amount of invention. This tampering with the facts produced a legend which bore little resemblance to life. In Europe the final result was that Turmeda became a saintly martyr for the Christian faith. The account of how this fanciful legend came into being is a detective story with many clues still missing. The gradual routing of this legend with the consequent reappearance of the historical Turmeda can only be dated from the beginning of the twentieth century. Archival evidence combined with a reading of the evidence offered in Turmeda's writings have produced a tentative reconstruction of his life, divested of its mythic elements. The accepted reconstruction, while factually accurate, offers little explanation for Turmeda's life and satisfies no one. The biography which is presented here will attempt to seek out these explanations and motivations within Turmeda's own words and uses his autobiography as its most important source. This autobiography appears as the first two chapters of Turmeda's last work entitled Tuhfa al-'arīb fī-l-radd 'alā ahl al-ṣalīb (The Gift of the Learned Man to Refute the Partisans of the Cross.)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to begin by thanking the Fulbright Commission for a 1973-1974 Dissertation Year Grant which enabled me to live in Barcelona and complete the research and writing of this thesis. I can say, in all honesty, that I now doubt that I could have finished this work without the grant. Along with my thanks to the Commission I wish to offer my gratitude to Pearl Kibre, Howard Adelson, Edward Rosen and Richard Lemay who recommended me for this grant.

During my four summer visits and eight-month stay abroad I received help and encouragement from many scholars who accepted me on my own recommendation. I would especially like to thank Martín de Riquer, Julio Sansó, and Alvaro Santamaría for their encouragement and kind offers of aid. Also thanks are due Jaume Riera for guidance in the Archives of the Crown of Aragon and José María Sans who guided me through Tarragona. Appreciation is also due Jaume Pomar who gave up many sunny afternoons to go over my translation of Turmeda's Cobles de la Divisió del Regne de Mallorca and who tried to give me insight into the Mallorcan mentality.

Above all, I especially would like to thank Miguel de Epalza who spent a number of mornings patiently answering my queries and conducting me on tours of medieval Tunis. I date my first glimmers of comprehension into the depths of the subject from my interviews with Professor Epalza.

Of course it goes without saying that I am deeply indebted to the special privileges and services granted me in the Biblioteca Central and the various divisions of the library of the Universidad Central of Barcelona, the Archivo de la Corona de Aragon and the Archivo Historico de Mallorca. My special thanks are owed María Teresa Boada of the Biblioteca Central and Francisco Sevillano, Director of the Archivo Historico de Mallorca.

Finally I would like to express my profound and eternal debt to Richard Lemay whom I consider the most outstanding scholar I have ever had the privilege of knowing. No person has been more patient and generous with time and guidance than he. It is to him that I dedicate this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I: THE BIOGRAPHY OF ANSELM TURMEDA

Chapter 1: Turmeda's Life as a Christian.....	10
Chapter 2: Turmeda's Life as a Muslim.....	47
Chapter 3: The Legend and Historical Rebirth of Turmeda	
The Legend.....	67
The Historical Rebirth.....	84

PART II: THE WRITINGS OF ANSELM TURMEDA

<u>Libre de Bons Amonestaments</u>	99
<u>Cobles a la Divisió del Regne de Mallorca</u>	108
The <u>Profecias</u>	115
The <u>Debate Between the Friar and the Ass</u>	122
<u>Tuhfa al-'arīb fi-l-radd 'alā ahl al-ṣalīb</u>	139

PART III: THE DEBATE BETWEEN THE FRIAR AND THE ASS

Prefatory remarks.....	161
Table of Contents of the <u>Debate</u>	163
Translation of the <u>Debate</u>	165
Chart of Turmeda's life, year by year.....	52-56
Appendix.....	301-311

SIGLA

- A.C.A. = Archivo de la Corona de Aragón (Barcelona)
A.H.M. = Archivo Histórico de Mallorca (Palma de Mallorca)
A.H.N. = Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid)
EC = Biblioteca Central (Barcelona)
EM = British Museum (London)
EN = Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris)
R = Chancellery registers (cancillería) A.C.A.

PART I: THE BIOGRAPHY OF ANSELM TURMEDA

Chapter 1: Turmeda's Life as a Christian

Any biographical sketch of Turmeda's life will be heavily dependent on the Tuhfa which contains what Turmeda himself wanted his fellow Muslims to know about his life.¹ This account was published in 1420 and written when he was in his late sixties. In that year Turmeda had passed his thirtieth year as a Muslim convert yet this work is the first and only one known to have been written by him in Arabic for a Muslim audience. Prior to the publication of the Tuhfa all previous literary efforts had been written in Catalan presumably for publication in Catalonia. They seemed to manifest a continuing reverence for Christ and for Christian doctrines. In addition the author always referred to himself as Friar Anselm. This is surprising, to say the least, coming from a man who had renounced the Christian faith. One would be tempted to suspect that the books were written as covert Muslim propaganda. That is, that they were meant to espouse the cause of Muhammad while pretending to be the works of a pious Christian. Yet, although some anti-clerical sentiment pervades the works and peculiar interpretations of Christian dogma can be noted, in the main, they reveal a seemingly sincere reverence for Christ and an undiminished belief in the incarnation and resurrection of Christ. This apparent inconsistency remains unresolved and has been interpreted as an indication of the total insincerity of the man. Since Turmeda makes no reference to his previous writings in his autobiography he does not have to explain the inconsistency

of writing in one fashion for the Christians and in another fashion for the Muslims. This apparent hypocrisy brings into question the motives behind Turmeda's writings, both in Catalan and in Arabic, as well as the motivation which impelled him to make his conversion to Islam. Bearing in mind the inconsistency of his life the reader must be very cautious about accepting the explanations Turmeda offers for his actions. Any presentation in which Turmeda depicts his life as that of a devout Muslim without explaining why he continued to write as Friar Anselm cannot be accepted at face value. Furthermore, any description he gives of his life prior to his conversion to Islam must be evaluated very critically since its author was well aware of the fact that his Muslim readers could not verify his assertions. One can reject almost out of hand the assertions made by Turmeda concerning his great repute as a scholar. They are not justified by what he recounts of his life nor by any independent evidence. The all too human failing of posturing, especially while in a foreign land, seems to be the motivation for these occasional lapses. Yet even with these preliminary cautions, Turmeda's autobiography is, of necessity, the place to start in any attempt to learn the basic facts about his life.

According to his own statement, Anselm Turmeda was born in "the city of Mallorca."² This is a reference to Palma de Mallorca which was always called the city of Mallorca in writings of the period. He was an only child and he describes his father "a man of substance among the inhabitants of Palma." At the age of six he was placed in the hands of a priest to be instructed in the Gospels and he

studied so zealously that he "knew by memory more than half of it within two years."³ After this he studied "the languages of the Gospel and logic," for a period of six years.⁴ The word "Logic" refers to the trivium (Grammar, Logic and Rhetoric) which constituted the fundamentals of primary education in medieval society. The use of the word "languages" seems to imply that, in addition to learning Latin, he also learned either Greek or Hebrew. The possibility of Hebrew enters the picture because he claims to know that language well in another work written by him entitled Cobles a la Divisió del Regne de Mallorques (Verses on the Division within the Realm of Mallorca.)⁵

After these eight years of primary education Turmeda left Mallorca, most likely in the early fall of 1368, and travelled to Catalonia to begin the school year at the only university established at this time within the kingdom of Aragon, that of the city of Lérida. This university had been established as a studium generale in 1300 A.D. by Jaime II with the authorization of Boniface VIII.⁶ Turmeda entered the University of Lérida at age fourteen, the normal age for an entering student at a medieval university. He begins his account of this portion of his life with a description of the city of Lérida. His eye for curious detail and his avid interest in the local customs and practices of the towns in which he lived is revealed immediately in the paragraph which he devoted to the city of Lerida:

This city is one of studies among the Christians
of this region and has a great river which traverses

it. There I saw grains of gold mixed with the sand but it is well-known by the inhabitants of this country that the cost of exploitation would not be compensated for by the value of what would be obtained. For that reason they have dropped it.

Fruits abound in this city. I saw there the peasants cutting the peaches /or plums/ in quarters and setting them to dry in the sun. They do the same with cucumbers and with nuts. When they wish to eat them during the winter they soak them in water for one night and then cook them as if they were right in season. . . The best crop of those lands is saffron.

These descriptive digressions on the various cities in which Turmeda lived can be found scattered throughout the Tuhfa and they add to the interest of the work, especially for students of social history. Their purpose in the Tuhfa would seem to be that of providing an Arabic audience with a more concrete image of the various places named by Turmeda and also, possibly, to instruct his audience in a useful custom which would bear emulation.

After this curiously lopsided description of the city of Lérida, Turmeda continues with a brief discussion of the university. He claims that Lérida had a total of 1,500 students who "rely solely on the priest with whom they study."⁸ According to the foundation privileges of the University of Lérida the entire university was exempt from all local jurisdiction, except in capital cases, and members of the university were allowed to choose the court to which they were to be brought for trial.⁹ The phrasing of Turmeda's statement indicates that the student body at Lérida, a half century after its foundation, continued to maintain a large degree of autonomy from outside control. Concerning his own studies Turmeda claims that

he spent six years in the fields of natural sciences and astrology. This is probably a reference to his study of natural philosophy and the course known as the quadrivium, which included the study of arithmetic, geometry, music and astronomy and which, joined with the trivium equalled the traditional Seven Liberal Arts of medieval education.

In the French translation of the Tubfa an additional line occurs after Turmeda's description of his six-year course of study at Lérida. According to Spiro it reads: "After which I devoted myself exclusively to the study of the Scriptures and of their language for four years. At the end of these studies I left Lerida to go to Bologna in Lombardy."¹⁰ This phrase is omitted from Epalza's edition and translation because it did not appear in the critical text or variants selected by him. He does make a notation indicating that the line in question occurs in a number of other manuscripts used by him in establishing the edition. The omission of this line in Epalza's translation creates a problem in regard to the final chronology since Turmeda claims to have been thirty-five when he converted and the four years referred to in this line are required in order to total thirty-five. It would therefore seem necessary to include these lines so as not to violate the meticulous chronology which Turmeda maintains throughout the narrative. As the statement stands in the Spiro translation the implication is that Turmeda continued his studies at Lérida. But since Lérida did not possess a school of Theology until 1430 it would seem unlikely that Turmeda stayed on after completing his Bachelor's degree.¹¹ The only lectures given in Theology at Lérida during this period were those given in the

church of San Juan de Lérida. It is unlikely that Turmeda attended these lectures, especially not for a period of four years, since they were intended for the populace at large and not for graduates of the university.¹² There is another possibility which offers itself, namely that a part or all of these four years were spent in Paris, the center for theological studies. Study in Paris would constitute an unexceptional step for a graduate of the University of Lérida and would account for the reference made in the Debate Between the Friar and the Ass in which Turmeda is described, by the ass, as having studied at Paris.¹³ During the years in question (1374-1378) documents attest to grants given a number of Catalans of the Franciscan order to go to Paris for further study.¹⁴ Since Turmeda was unlikely to conceal having studied at Paris and actually boasted of it in the Debate why does no reference appear of it in this text? A possible explanation is that the text is defective and that a lacuna has occurred. If this is so it would imply that there are also lines missing which give a description of the city and University of Paris, in accord with the style followed by Turmeda in dealing with his other places of study.

In addition to study at Paris there are other activities which Turmeda most likely engaged in during this four-year period and which are not accounted for in this chronology. In these autobiographical chapters there is no reference to Turmeda's entrance into the Franciscan order and to his activities as a monk. Documentary evidence reveals that Turmeda joined the order prior to 5 October of 1375. On that date Pedro Silvestre of Mallorca drew up a will in

which he left a small bequest of twenty sueydos¹⁵ to "Fratri Anselmo Turmeda dicti ordinis fratrum minorum..."¹⁶ While completing his studies at Lérida Turmeda is not likely to have engaged in activities for his order. But this would no longer apply after graduation. Turmeda also makes no reference to his entrance into the priesthood. Turmeda's ordination to minor orders must have taken place prior to his ordination to the deaconate on 4 June 1379 in the cathedral of Mallorca.¹⁷ During this four year period then, Turmeda, as a sub-deacon, could have acquired the experiences as a monk and priest which are revealed in his writings. The question then occurs as to why Turmeda makes no mention of these facts in his autobiography. Students of Turmeda have interpreted these omissions as indicative of a natural desire to conceal these facts from the Arabic reader. Yet in various places in this same text Turmeda refers to his priestly status. In narrating the story of his conversion to Islam he states that the sultan asked the Christians of Tunis: "What can you tell me about this new priest who arrived on such-and-such boat?"¹⁸ After his public conversion Turmeda claims that the Christians said: "It is the desire to marry which has brought him to this point because among us a priest cannot marry."¹⁹ Since Turmeda readily admitted that he had been a Christian priest and since he has been very meticulous in charting his development up to here there seems to be no reason for breaking the pattern at this point. The cause of the gap is not obvious but during the period vaguely described as "after which I devoted myself exclusively to the study of the Scriptures and of their language for four years" Turmeda entered the Franciscan order,

received ordination as a priest and possibly studied at the University of Paris. After the completion of these activities Turmeda went on to study at the University of Bologna.

The description that Turmeda provides of the city of Bologna is quite interesting in that, like the description of Lérida, it concentrates on what one might call a "blue-collar" view of the city rather than on a more generally descriptive viewpoint.

Bologna is a very large city. Its buildings are constructed of excellent red brick because of the lack of stone quarries. Each of the master masons who makes bricks has a special stamp to mark his bricks; an amin mukaddim (the head of the gild) controls the quality both in regard to the clay used and to the firing of the bricks. If one of the bricks should crack or break, he imposes a fine on the man who made it, based on its value, and has him beaten.²⁰

For some reason Turmeda again felt that certain practices in the West would be of special interest to his Arabic readers. Perhaps this is another instance of didactic writing on his part. In the description of the university which follows he claimed that it had a student body of "more than 1,000 students."²¹ These students dressed in a distinctive religious garb no matter what their social position might have been. This included "sultans and sons of sultans,"²² which ought to be interpreted as a reference to young men of either royal or noble birth. He ends his description by claiming that the students depend solely on the priest with whom they are studying. This is a repetition of the claim made for Lérida. At this point Turmeda begins the description of his own experiences as a student at Bologna.

I lived in the church of a very old priest of

great standing among them named Friar Nicholas.²³ His rank was high among them on account of his knowledge, piety, and asceticism. For this reason he had no equal in all Christendom. All kinds of eminent people, including kings and other, consulted him on religious questions. The consultations were accompanied with an abundance of gifts; always the best of their kind. Everyone desired to obtain his blessing and have him accept their gifts, which would leave them greatly honored.²⁴

Turmeda claims to have studied theology with this teacher and refers to his study "of the principles of the Christian religion and its sentences."²⁵ This is probably a reference to the reading of Peter Lombard's book known by that title. Other books of sentences and Summae might also be indicated in this generalized description of his course of study. Turmeda goes on to describe the close relationship he achieved with his master to the point that he was given "the keys of his house and of the storeroom for his provisions, foods and drinks."²⁶ The only key denied Turmeda was that of a chamber at the rear of the house which Turmeda assumed to be the treasure room. Living in this manner, Turmeda remained in the house of Friar Nicholas for ten years.

Then it happened on a certain day that the priest became ill and he did not come to a meeting of his colleagues. Those at the meeting waited for him and began to treat with various themes for study until they arrived at the text on the word of God (how mighty and grand he is) given by the mouth of his prophet Jesus (let there be peace upon him): 'After me will come a prophet named the Paraclete.'²⁷ They sought to determine which of the prophets this was. Each one, in order, said what he knew and thought and a great discussion on this point arose among them. After which they broke up without having resolved

the question.

I returned to the house of the old director of the abovementioned class. He said to me: 'What subject have you discussed today during my absence?' I informed him about the lack of accord which had originated on the name 'Paraclete' and that so-and-so had resolved it saying this and that and someone else had said such-and-such. 'And you,' he said to me, 'how did you resolve it?' I answered him: 'According to the commentary on the Gospels of Doctor so-and-so.' 'How close and yet how far were you. So-and-so was mistaken. And that other one chanced upon something which is closer. However the truth is far different from all this because the exegesis of this illustrious name is only known to God and to the man who has a very solid education. You people have not yet attained much knowledge.' I cast myself at his feet, I kissed them and I said to him: 'Oh my lord.' You know that I have travelled to you from a distant country and that I have already spent ten years in your service. During this time I have acquired countless knowledge from you. But you would cap all of your benefits by revealing to me the knowledge of this illustrious name.' The old man began to cry and said to me 'Oh my son.' I love you dearly on account of the services you have rendered me and because of your devotion to me. There is certainly great advantage in knowing this illustrious name but I fear for you. If you were to reveal this, the Christians would kill you instantly.' 'Oh my lord.' I swear by Almighty God and by the truth of the Gospels and by Him who inspired them that I will not divulge to anyone, except with your express permission, what you confide to me.' 'My son, I questioned you, the first time we met, about your country, wishing to find out if it was located near the territory of the Muslims, and if you or your compatriots warred against them, in order to learn your sentiments on the subject of Islam. You must know, my son, that the Paraclete is one of the names of their prophet, Muhammad (may God bless and keep him) to whom was revealed the fourth book wherein the prophet Daniel (peace be on him) announces that the religion of him to whom will be revealed this book is the true religion and that his community is the immaculate community which the evangelist mentions.' 'My lord, what then is your advice about this religion, that is to say, the Christian religion?' 'My son, if the Christians

had remained faithful to the early religion of Jesus they would certainly be in the religion of God because the religion of Jesus and of all the prophets (peace be with them) is the religion of God.' 'My lord,' I asked, 'in that case what ought to be done?' 'Oh my son, one ought to join the religion of Islam.' 'But can they save those who embrace their religion?' 'Yes they save him in this world and in the next.' 'My lord, generally all sane men choose for themselves that which they know to be the best. If you have recognized the superiority of the religion of Islam, what stops you from taking the step?' 'My son, God (may he be exalted) taught me the truth about what I have told you in regard to the religion of Islam and of the grandeur of its prophet (may the blessing and peace of God be upon him) when I was very old and my body was already very feeble.' (What he says is no justification. God is justified in punishing him.) 'If God had directed me to this viewpoint when I was your age I would have abandoned everything without a doubt. But, as you can see, I have all kinds of honors, dignities, comfort, in the present life and richness of material goods. If my inclination toward Islam were to be known I would be killed instantly by the people. Even supposing I were to succeed in escaping from them and finding sanctuary among the Muslims and were to say to them: 'I have come to you to become a Muslim' and they would answer: 'You have profited' by entering the true religion but by this action you do us no favor. You only saved your soul from the punishment of God (may he be exalted).' After that I would remain in their midsts as a wretched old man, over ninety, not knowing their language and they would not be able to understand me either. The only thing left for me would be to remain there and die of hunger. That is why, praise be God, I remain faithful to the religion of Jesus and to that which he has revealed. God is aware of this about me.' 'My lord, do you advise me then to go to the country of the Muslims and enter their religion?' 'Certainly you have hit upon the source of your salvation. Hasten and you will obtain this world and the next. But, my son, for now let no one find out about this matter beside the two of us. Be zealous in keeping it hidden. If you reveal any part of it the people will obtain your death and I will be unable to do anything for you. It will serve you for naught to attribute the idea to me. I will deny it and my word will have weight against you while your word will have no weight against me. I will be innocent of your blood and no one will think that I have thought anything of the sort.' 'My lord,

may God liberate me from what I do not even wish to contemplate.' I promised him what he asked for, so that he would remain satisfied. Afterwards I made preparations for the trip and I went to bid him farewell. Upon leaving, he gave me his blessings and fifty gold denarii as traveling money.²⁹

It is this portion of Turmeda's autobiography which has caused the most widespread scepticism among those who have dealt with the book. The idea that a thirty-four year old Franciscan, with a good education, could be convinced to apostatize by this seemingly simple, one-faceted argument is considered inconceivable by most scholars.³⁰ Over and over again readers have found themselves dealing uncomprehendingly with the dilemmas posed by this story and many have chosen to reject all of it or any part which does not fit a likely explanation of the events. Once scholars begin rejecting the genuineness of the story reported they are then free to doubt as much of the autobiography as they choose. One prominent scholar suggests that Turmeda never went to Bologna at all and made up the whole account as a "purely fictional alibi."³¹ Another approach has been to reject the account of the dialogue between Turmeda and his venerable teacher as being "evidently false" and introduced to cover up the fact that Turmeda became a Muslim "for the advantages which would accrue to him" and that he made up the dialogue to add a "solemn and extraordinary" note to the pragmatically-arrived-at decision to convert.³² Two further variations on the theme can only be briefly described in order to demonstrate how widespread is the scepticism concerning Turmeda's own story. A Catalan scholar calls the conversion scene a "comedy" written by Turmeda to "assure himself tranquility,

well-being and prestige in Tunis."³³ While the one scholar who tended toward the defense of Turmeda's sincerity in making his conversion viewed the scene as lacking verisimilitude because Turmeda "undoubtedly felt shame at explaining the motives for his apostasy and thought to dissimulate their repugnant aspect, hiding the minor causes and those of a materialistic and lustful nature. . ."³⁴

Within a wide variety of individual reactions and explanations all students of Turmeda's life have been most reluctant to accept his own account of the causes of his conversion at face value. And justifiably so when "face value" indicates that (1) Turmeda became involved in a discussion of the Paraclete, (2) on the authority of his master's word accepted Muḥammad as the Paraclete, (3) left Christianity and became a Muslim. No one can believe that Turmeda could possibly have been converted to Islam in three quick steps. Yet all scholars of the subject have floundered at this very point because once Turmeda's account of his conversion is rejected out of hand the man's whole life becomes a series of erratic and mysterious acts. To begin with, for unknown reasons, Turmeda becomes a Muslim. In the general consensus these reasons are based on lust for wealth and sexual freedom. After achieving these objects Turmeda publishes in the West, for unknown reasons, books written in a suitably Christian moral tone, while continuing to live a profitable life as a Muslim. The general consensus is that Turmeda was currying favor in his native land in order to secure a safe-return. Why he would wish to return after having achieved his supposed goals in Tunis cannot be explained. Nor is there an explanation of why he did not in fact,

return since he was issued at least three safe conducts for that very purpose. Finally, again for unknown reasons, Turmeda composes his last book in which he excoriates Christianity in a most scurrilous fashion. How a man could write both the benign Llibre de Bons Amonestaments and the polemical chapter of the Tuhfa is totally unexplainable. It is no wonder that students of the subject express a sense of total frustration when attempting to arrive at a final analysis of Turmeda. This frustration has existed from the earliest studies written about Turmeda in the first decades of the twentieth century. A new approach to Turmeda is needed and that approach must start at this very point. Beginning with the assumption that Turmeda's account is essentially true it follows that there must be more to it than meets the eye. The reason for this simplistic, schematic presentation of the steps to conversion are easily explained. This book was written in Arabic. It was never meant for a Christian audience and did not require an elaborate recreation of the interview which led to conversion. The mere fact of conversion, with a quick outline of how Turmeda discovered the truth of Islam would suffice for its audience. There was certainly no need to confuse the issue with fine points, of interest only to the theologian. If the full implications of Turmeda's story are to be extracted from his works it is now important to analyze each of those three points which make up the face value of the story.

Turmeda's point (1) concerns the debate over the identity of the Paraclete. Since a modern reader can little appreciate what a debate on this question would have entailed it will be necessary to devote considerable space to the most important evidence which, of necessity, would have to be presented in any debate of this kind. It is only in this way that the potential impact of the question can be assessed and evaluated. The entire question of what exactly is the Paraclete is engendered solely by the Gospel according to John. Within two texts John defines the Paraclete and outlines his role. It is these two texts which must have been examined in extenso at Bologna. The two texts occur in John's long description of the discussion which took place at the Last Supper. After mentioning the consternation produced by Christ's announcement of his imminent departure, Christ offers words of solace to his Apostles. A part of the comfort he offers is the promise of the arrival of a Paraclete. The word *παράκλητος* in Greek legal terminology means an attorney for the defense or in more general terms, an intercessor for the defendant. According to John, Christ stated:

If you love me
and obey the command I give you,
I will ask the Father
and he will give you another
Paraclete--
to be with you always:
the Spirit of truth,
whom the world cannot accept
since it neither sees him nor
recognizes him;
but you can recognize him
because he remains with you
and will be within you.
I will not leave you orphaned;
I will come back to you.³⁵

In addition Christ continues:

Yet the word you hear is not mine;
it comes from the Father who sent
me
This much have I told you while I
was still with you;
the Paraclete, the Holy Spirit
whom the Father will send in my
name,
will instruct you in everything,
and remind you of all that I told you.
'Peace' is my farewell to you,
my peace is my gift to you;³⁶

The explanation that Christ makes for revealing these things to the
Apostles is: "I have told you all this to keep your faith from being
shaken."³⁷ He then elaborates further:

But I have told you these things
that when their hour comes
you may remember my telling you of
them.
"I did not speak of this with you from
the beginning
because I was with you.
Now that I go back to him who sent
me,
not one of you asks me, 'Where are
you going?'
Because I have had all this to say to
you,
you are overcome with grief.
Yet I tell you the sober truth:
It is much better for you that I go.
If I fail to go,
the Paraclete will never come to you,
whereas if I go,
I will send him to you.
When he comes,
he will prove the world wrong
about sin,
about justice,
about condemnation.
About sin--
in that they refuse to believe in me;
about justice--
from the fact that I go to the Father

and you can see me no more;
 about condemnation--
 for the prince of this world has been
 condemned.
 I have much more to tell you,
 but you cannot bear it now.
 When he comes, however,
 being the Spirit of truth
 he will guide you to all truth.
 He will not speak on his own,
 but will speak only what he hears,
 and will announce to you the things
 to come.
 In doing this he will give glory to me,
 because he will have received from
 me
 what he will announce to you.
 All that the Father has belongs to me.
 That is why I said that what he will
 announce to you
 he will have from me.
 Within a short time you will lose sight
 of me,
 but soon after that you shall see me
 again.³⁸

What can the impact of these texts have been on Turmeda?

After all he reiterates on many occasions that he is a student of
 astrology. Furthermore he maintains an unshakeable faith in prophecy
 throughout his life. The prophecies later written by him form an
 important part of his literary output and with them he achieves a
 reputation as a diviner of future events. It is the realization
 of how profoundly he believed in the power of prophecy which is
 the key to Turmeda. With the full awareness of this in mind it
 is easy to see that Turmeda was not likely to have taken lightly
 a prophecy reported by the Bible to have come out of the mouth of
 Christ at the Last Supper. The grandiose promises revealed in
 Christ's own prophecy would have filled Turmeda with wonder and awe;
 the argument which followed left him puzzled and confused. In an
 argument about the identity of the Paraclete what candidate could have
 withstood the determined onslaught of a team of Bologna debaters. Those

arguments probably reviewed the claims of heretical prophets, such as Mani, who proclaimed themselves the fulfillment of the prophecy. More than likely, after every candidate was demolished, the participants opted for the Holy Ghost, the traditional and orthodox Paraclete accepted by Christian dogma since the early days of Christianity. While it is likely that the other participants returned to their quarters firm in their belief that the only likely candidate as Paraclete was the traditional one offered by Christian dogma Turmeda did not find such solace. Instead he returned to his master vaguely disquieted by what seemed to be a faulty or even non-realized prophecy made by Christ himself. In this perplexed state of mind Turmeda began his conversation with his master. Thus begins point (2) of the account, namely Turmeda's interview with his master, and his acceptance of Muḥammad as the Paraclete.

In the present-day world, which tends to be sceptical and super-critical of its leading women and men, it is hard not to scoff at the 'naive' who are more accepting and less critical of authority. By modern standards Turmeda (along with the majority of his contemporaries) was naive. Everything he says about his youth and training confirms this judgment. From the age of six Turmeda was placed in the hands of priests for teaching and discipline. He lived under the authority of these masters for twenty-eight of his thirty-four years and seems to have done so unquestioningly. He repeatedly points up the absolute authority of those in charge of his education and makes reference to the fact that the community at large also

accepted this authority as justified. Furthermore Turmeda points out that his master at Bologna was even revered by the eminent and mighty of the world. Undoubtedly his master's authority was greatly enhanced in Turmeda's eyes by the general acceptance of his master's words on religious questions. Bearing this in mind one can begin to imagine the impact on Turmeda of any determinations emanating from his teacher. From a position of authority and reverence the great teacher of Bologna informed his puzzled disciple that the Biblical prophecy has, in fact, been fulfilled and that he, in his wisdom, could identify the Paraclete. The master began by demolishing all of the arguments Turmeda had heard at the debate. By denigrating the educational level of the participants he built up his own stature while poking holes in their reasoning and knowledge. Turmeda, convinced of his teacher's superiority, begs the answer which will relieve his state of anxiety and befuddlement. His master responds with a pseudo-learned discourse on semantics which purported to show that the Greek word περικλυτός, meaning 'illustrious' was the equivalent of the Arabic word Ahmad, also meaning 'illustrious', which was one of the names of Muhammad. This argument was based on a confusion between παράκλητος (advocate, intercessor) and περικλυτός. The confusion between these two words leads to the possibility that Turmeda's master was not a student of classical Greek but, instead, picked up his knowledge of Greek, defective as it was, back home in Southern Italy. In his actual description of the scene Turmeda only states that his master said "the Paraclete is one of the names of their prophet, Muhammad." This sentence is a perfect

example of how abbreviated is Turmeda's description of the interview with his master. Even a venerated authority could hardly have made this statement and rested. Within the polemical portion of the Tuhfa Turmeda gives a clearer indication of the master's argument:

This name, which is in Greek, signifies, when translated into Arabic, Aḥmad, as God said... in his noble book upon announcing a prophet that 'after me will come he whose name is Aḥmad'. /Koran LXI, 6/ This in the Latin Gospel is Paraclitus. This glorious and blessed name was the cause of my conversion to Islam. 39

After disquieting Turmeda with this pseudo-semantic argument the master then refers to yet another Biblical prophecy. It occurs in the apocalyptic visions contained in the Book of Daniel. The manuscript tradition of the Tuhfa is faulty at this point and what survives of the reference cited by Turmeda is garbled. But it provides the clue which can lead to a reconstruction of the general nature of what was said, if the Book of Daniel is consulted with this problem in mind.⁴⁰

The Book of Daniel contains a fairly long and detailed account of a vision which is reported in chapters seven through twelve. This vision, filled with a multitude of symbols, all impossibly complex and seemingly chaotic, ends on a calm and hopeful note:

At that time there shall arise
Michael, the great prince,
guardian of your people;
It shall be a time unsurpassed in
distress
since nations began until that time:
At that time your people shall escape,
everyone who is found written in the
book.
Many of those who sleep

in the dust of the earth shall awake;
 Some shall live forever,
 others shall be an everlasting horror
 and disgrace.
 But the wise shall shine brightly
 like the splendor of the firmament,
 And those who lead the many to
 justice
 shall be like the stars forever.
 As for you, Daniel, keep secret the
 message and seal the book until the end
 time; many shall fall away and evil shall
 increase.

I, Daniel looked and saw two others,
 one standing on either bank of the river.
 One of them said to the man clothed in
 linen, who was upstream, "How long shall
 it be to the end of these appalling
 things?" The man clothed in linen, who
 was upstream, lifted his right and left
 hands to heaven; and I heard him swear
 by him who lives forever that it should
 for for a year, two years, a half-year; and
 that, when the power of the destroyer of
 the holy people was brought to an end,
 all these things should end.
 I heard, but I did not understand; so I
 asked, "My lord, what follows this?"
 "Go, Daniel," he said, "because the words
 are to be kept secret and sealed until the
 end time.

Many shall be refined, purified and tested,
 but the wicked shall prove wicked; none of
 them shall have understanding, but the wise shall
 have it.⁴¹

The likelihood is that Turmeda's master offered some ingenious inter-
 pretations of various complexities of the prophetic vision which fell
 into place and proved that Muḥammad was Prince Michael and, because
 of this fact, was the keeper of the book of the saved. This attribu-
 tion would make Muḥammad the legitimate, and only, key to salvation.
 The master could give his interpretation while pointing to the passage
 at the end of the chapter in which a man is described as being re-
 vealed a great secret given only to the wise. He could certainly
 have interpreted this as a Biblical foreshadowing or prophecy of
 the conversion taking place in Bologna on that very day.

At this point in the interview Turmeda felt impelled to ask his teacher what were his ideas on Christianity. His master allows that Jesus was a prophet and came from God, as did all prophets, but then he goes into a discourse demonstrating how far the Christian church had deviated from the words of Christ. This portion of their talk would have required a very long time to conclude considering the wealth of material from the New Testament which had to be examined by two well-trained theologians. Many of the arguments used by Turmeda's teacher certainly reappear in the polemical section of the Tuhfa.

Examples of the types of contradictions which Turmeda's teacher could have fastened on as indicative of how far the Christian Church dogma had abandoned the original ideas of Christ can be found in Turmeda's book in great profusion. In Chapter II reference is made to Matthew XXVI where Jesus is reported to have been frightened at the thought of death on the night before his capture. Turmeda quotes Matthew as reporting that Christ said: "My God, if this cup of death can be taken from me, take it away. But, do not do what I want, only what You want."⁴² According to Turmeda: "This is an evident declaration by the Mesiah that he was a man, who fears the occurrence of death and who has a God whom he calls "My God" and to whom he prays."⁴³ Turmeda is avid about pointing out references in which Christ refers to himself as having been sent by God, namely Mt. 10; Mk 1; Mk 24; Jn 5, 16, 22; Acts II 22, VII, 49-50. According to Turmeda this reveals that Christ believed he was a messenger or prophet of God and could not have been God. In dealing with the

sacrament of the eucharist Turmeda states that Matthew reports the establishment of this ceremony at the Last Supper but that John "who accompanied Jesus until he ascended to the skies" does not say a word about the ceremony with the bread and wine.⁴⁴ The inference being that Matthew invented the entire story on which is based an important ceremony of the Christian mass. These few examples taken from the large number which are reported in the Tuhfa reveal the kinds of arguments employed at this time to disprove Christian dogma and separate Christ of the gospels from the Church which had grown up in his name. Which arguments were specifically used by Turmeda's master can never be known but many are certainly included within the body of the Tuhfa. It is not the specifics of the argument which must be sought but an understanding of the efficacy of this particular approach. A young man with Turmeda's attitudes toward authority would be in a very vulnerable position on this point. Having been brought up to revere the Gospels and to block out awareness of inconsistencies within these books, his whole faith could be shaken by a battering ram of cumulative inconsistencies wielded by a respected teacher.

At this point in the interview Turmeda's master has successfully managed to prove that Muḥammad is both the Paraclete foretold by Christ and the key to salvation prophesized by Daniel. He then has ridiculed Christian dogma by contrasting it to the words of Christ. The props have been knocked out from under Turmeda and he now, pitifully, asks "what is to be done?" The old master advises him to join Islam and

find salvation. The awesomeness of this proposal shocks some of Turmeda's native shrewdness back to life and he lays a trap for his venerable master. Innocently he asks his master why he has not sought salvation in this way himself. By this question Turmeda thinks that he can catch his teacher in a logical inconsistency which will enable Turmeda to turn the tables on him. But Turmeda's master answers with heartfelt sincerity that since this knowledge had only lately revealed itself to him he was incapable of making a physical expression of his faith. He could only content himself with a spiritual affirmation. This, he points out, is not the case with Turmeda and therefore it would not excuse the young man from making a public affirmation of belief in Muhammad. Turmeda accepts the old man's explanation. After all, how many people would demand that an old man in his nineties prove his faith by making a long and hazardous pilgrimage? Many years later, when writing the Tuhfa, Turmeda, now in his sixties seems to harden his attitude toward his long-dead mentor by claiming that God is justified in punishing him for this failure. Perhaps this is an expression of pent-up hostility toward the man who changed the course of his life. On the other hand the expression may be a later emendation by an implacably orthodox Muslim editor who was not as forgiving as Turmeda. The appearance of this line in the text does not alter the fact that Turmeda accepted the old man's explanation and, since he was thoroughly convinced by the arguments offered by his master, he now came face-to-face with the most important decision of his life. What choice is there for a young man who has spent his whole life as a functionary of one religion, and who now has been convinced that it is the practices

of another religion which are true while his own are false? What does a person, who has spent his whole life preparing for salvation, do when convinced that he has been on the wrong path? The answer, of course, is that if thoroughly convinced, he changes paths. This is obvious. What is, and will remain, totally obscure are the crucial underlying reasons which enabled Turmeda to accept an entirely different approach to religion over the one he had practiced with devotion his entire life. What psychological factors lay below the surface of Turmeda's decision to convert can only be guessed at. One of these factors which predisposed him to accept his master's words seems to be hinted at by Turmeda. At the beginning of the discussion with his master reference is made to Turmeda's place of origin and to his sentiments about Islam. Since the master then reveals his secret it must be presumed that Turmeda had shown himself sympathetic toward Muslims, perhaps even to the point of admiring their culture. Moreover, as Turmeda was devoted to astrology it is likely that he would admire Muslim science which was pre-eminent in the study of astronomy and astrology. He would have been trained in these arts with text-books which were translations of Arabic works and in which Arabic technical vocabulary abounded. The acceptance of Arabic superiority in astrology could have engendered a predisposition on Turmeda's part to accept Arabic superiority in other areas. Perhaps to the point of inculcating respect for Arab civilization in general. Another factor which seems to have been present is the fact that Turmeda spent ten years in the household of, and under the guidance of, a secret Muslim sympathiser. The influence here must have been

subliminal as the old man could not take a chance on tipping his hand too soon. Over the course of those ten years Turmeda was probably exposed to material which would predispose him toward Islam. This gradual conditioning would culminate on the day that the master himself judged Turmeda ready for the revelation of the true faith. The day would have to be chosen with care because it would have been too dangerous to enter the discussion without a firm belief, on the teacher's part, that Turmeda was ripe for conversion. The master reveals himself well aware of the dangers of his course and, in spite of his claims that no one would believe Turmeda if he tried to give his teacher away, knew that he was in a very vulnerable position. What about that locked room at the rear of the house which even Turmeda had never seen? What would it reveal about the proclivities of its master? Beyond a doubt what the teacher set out to do was dangerous and demanded a great deal of preparation and forethought. This emphasizing of the premeditated nature of the attempt to convert the young man is in no way to be interpreted as indicating dishonesty on the part of the Bologna missionary. Turmeda's master was probably telling the truth when he excused himself from openly converting. He was probably brought to Islam by a long, intellectual, solitary search to resolve the inconsistencies of Christianity. He probably labored many years to resolve the problem of the Paraclete and the prophecy of Daniel. At the end of this search he felt himself too old to make the final gesture. Perhaps he then sought out a young man with the right qualities who would make it in his stead? Whatever his motives for approaching Turmeda the sincerity of his arguments must have been

a determining factor in influencing Turmeda to convert for, as it has been demonstrated, Turmeda did not accept his master's words solely on the basis of his authority. The venerable old man was forced to marshal all of his powerful resources of logical persuasion in order to effect the conversion. This was no simple, one-faceted argument flashed into the eyes of a credulous young man. This argument was the equivalent of a series of well-planned assaults on the weak and weakened defenses upon which the naive young man depended for his stability. Once these defenses were breached and the debate was won Turmeda reacted according to his training and joined the winning team; he decided to join the saved. Calmly, coolly and cautiously Turmeda made the necessary preparations which would take him safely out of the West and deposit him securely in the East. With his master's blessing and fifty gold dinars he set out for a new life.

Turmeda's journey to Tunis and his affirmation of Muḥammad leads to point (3) of Turmeda's account, namely that he left Christianity and became a Muslim. Again Turmeda stands accused of insincerity and opportunism. Here is a man who claims to have been convinced by his master that Muḥammad was a true prophet and had appeared in accordance with Biblical predictions. He demonstrates his faith by making the hazardous journey to Tunis and publicly affirming that he believed in one God and that Muḥammad was his prophet. He remains in Tunis and achieves a position of rank in that society. And nine years after these events, in 1398, Turmeda sends two books of verse back to his homeland for publication which espoused a number of points of

Christian dogma which he had supposedly renounced. To begin with in both the Cobles de la Divisió del Regne de Mallorca and the Llibre de Bons Amonestaments he refers to himself as Friar Anselm Turmeda. Then in the Llibre, a book of moral maxims addressed to a young man, verses two through four advise the young man to be baptised, to believe in the Trinity, the Sacred Scriptures and the church. The Cobles, although a more secular work, also contains thirteen verses dedicated to lauding the members of religious orders on Mallorca. The dilemma, then, is how can Turmeda's conversion have been sincere if he can continue to write as a Christian.

To solve the problem of his sincerity, it is necessary to return to Turmeda's report on his conversion with his master: "My lord, what then is your advice about this religion, that is to say the Christian religion?" "My son, if the Christians had remained faithful to the early religion of Jesus they would certainly be in the religion of God because the religion of Jesus and of all the prophets (peace be with them) is the religion of God."⁴⁵ At this point Turmeda was given examples of how the religion of Christ had been subverted by the Christians. These examples were taken from Christian Scripture and, while critical of the lapses within the texts, continued to show reverence for the Scriptures. When Turmeda's master advises him to "join the religion of Islam" he is not necessarily advising him to renounce Christianity. More specifically he is saying that Muḥammad is the fulfillment of Jesus' prophecy just as Jesus was the fulfillment of the words of the Old Testament prophets. It is not the renunciation of the old which is being stressed

but the acceptance of the new. With this attitude it is possible to move on to new beliefs while still feeling a part of the old, as the early Christians continued feeling that they were Jews. An illustration of man's ability to conserve the old while moving on to the new can be found in the trial of Paul before the Sanhedrin where he is reported to have stated: "Brothers, I am a Pharisee and was born a Pharisee. I find myself on trial now because of my hope in the resurrection of the dead."⁴⁶ Paul, at this time, could make this statement since he remained a Jew who had come to believe that Jesus fulfilled the Old Testament prophecies in regard to the Messiah. Turmeda's master, a sincere believer in Muḥammad as the Paraclete, could continue to live in the Christian community for the same reason. For him, belief in the prophetic mission of Muḥammad was not irreconcilable with the basic tenets of Christianity. It is disagreements over what constitutes the basic tenets which lead to rupture and in the master's case outright rupture never occurred. Yet, he was well aware of the dangers inherent in thinking as he did and as soon as Turmeda had come over to his conception of the Paraclete, he sent him East for his own protection. Therefore when Turmeda arrived in Tunis and made his affirmation it is likely that this statement constituted his whole dogmatic commitment to Islam. And in actual fact very little else would be demanded of him by the Muslim community. Turmeda would not be forced to make a minute re-appraisal of his religious beliefs in an attempt to eliminate all vestiges of Christian orthodoxy. Instead he would be expected to make only outward gestures

of belief while his inner concepts could remain untouched. Turmeda was able to live in this state of mind throughout the rest of his life. All the fluctuations in attitudes toward Christianity and religion in general which are revealed in his writings come solely from within himself and reflect the slow rate of change which could be expected from a busy man who has little time to evaluate his philosophy of life. Because of his lack of time and interest in developing an exact concept of where he stood Turmeda remained in much the same attitudinal state in 1398 as when he abandoned the West in 1389, In modern parlance he would be identified as a "Christian for Muḥammad" in much the same style as we have "Jews for Jesus" and, to a lesser extent, as we once had "Democrats for Nixon." And it is thus, as a Christian convinced of the true ministry of Muḥammad, that Turmeda can still continue to use his title as Franciscan friar in works published in the West as merely indicative of a title which he still feels is his. It ought to be noted that all of the documents addressed to Turmeda by the kings of Aragon, Pope Benedict XIII (Pedro de Luna) and the governor of Mallorca addressed him as "Friar Anselm Turmeda." In his one Arabic work he can only entitle himself Adḡb (man of letters) or Arḡb (man of astuteness) having attained no titles of learning in his new homeland. In giving advise to a young Christian male he can still mouth the necessary orthodoxies without feeling hypocritical since he had not yet given up his belief in Baptism and even continued to hold some type of Trinitarian beliefs. Judged by his own standards, and ecleyly by his own standards

Turmeda was consistent and true to his beliefs. The problem of analyzing Trumeda's thought will be dealt with in Part II, when material from Turmeda's own writings will be used to illustrate his singular approach to life and religion. For this reason final judgment of the analysis being made here ought to be suspended until all of the evidence is presented.

NOTES TO PART ONE: CHAPTER ONE

1

All material quoted from the Tuhfa is translated from the edition and Castillian translation of Miguel de Epalza, La Tuhfa:Autobiografía y Polémica Islámica Contra el Christianismo de 'Abdallah al-Tarḡumān (Fray Anselmo Turmeda), Vol. XV, Atti Della Accademia Nazionale Dei Lincei: Memorie, Classe de Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche Serie VIII, Roma:1971. The first translation of the Tuhfa into a Western language was that of Jean Spiro, "Le Présent de l'Homme Lettré pour Réfuter les Partisans de la Croix, par 'Abd-Allah, le Drogman", Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, 2 (1885), 68-89; 179-201; 278-301. The first two chapters, namely the autobiographical portion, were reprinted in Revue Tunisienne, 13 (1906), 89-103.

2

This quotation and the two that follow are from Epalza, Tuhfa, 204. Since access to the journals in which the Spiro translation appears is very limited I will normally only cite page references to the Epalza edition and translation, in order not to clutter the notes unnecessarily.

3

A document in the Archives of the Crown of Aragon, dated 1374, attests to the fact that the citizens of Palma paid the salary of a master to teach the young of the community. Turmeda may have been sent to such a school. For a transcription of the document see A. Rubio y Lluç, Documents per l'Historia de la Cultura Catalana Mig-eval, 2 Vols., Barcelona (1908), II,174-5.

4

The Epalza edition of the Tuhfa errs at this point by giving the figure two. If this were so Turmeda would have entered the university at age ten, an impossible age and, of course, the chronology given by Turmeda would be completely wrong. I follow the Spiro translation, Revue des Religions, 74 and Revue Tunisienne, 91 for what must be the correct figure.

5

Anselm Turmeda, Obres Menors, Barcelona (1927), 121: "O de les tres lletres mestre! Lo morisc vos és tot clar/e en l'hebraic sóts molt destre/.

6

Hastings Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, eds. F.M. Powicke and A. B. Emden, 3 Vols., Oxford (1936), II, 88.

7

Epalza, Tuhfa, 204.

8

Ibid., 206. Epalza points out that some mss. give the figure as being "between 500 to 1,000" and this would seem to be closer to an accurate estimate of the student body of the university.

9

Jaime Villanueva, Viage Literario a las Iglesias de España, Vol. XVI, Iglesia y Universidad de Lérida, Madrid (1851), 29-30.

10

Revue de l'Histoire des Religions 74 and Revue Tunisienne, 92.

11

Pedro Sanahuya, O.F.M., "La Enseñanza de la Teología en Lérida", Archivo Ibero-Americano, 119 (1935), 419 and 431.

12

Pedro Sanahuya, O.F.M., "La Enseñanza de la Teología en Lérida: Catedras Regentadas por Maestros Franciscanos (Siglo XIV-XV) (Conclusión)", Archivo Ibero-Americano, (segunda epoca) 2 (1941), 279.

13

See translation of Debate, 219.

14

Among the documents published by Rubio references to the following Franciscans studying at Paris occur: Arnau Ça-Pila (1374), Rubio II, page lxxxvi; Guerau Dez-Torrents (1374), Rubio II, page lxxxvii; Tomàs Olzina (left for Paris in 1371), Rubio II, page xcvi; Berenguer des Guanecs (1378), Rubio, II, page 302.

15

The average day laborers wage at this time was about two sueudos. The twenty sueudos could have bought Turmeda a bushel and one-half of wheat if the prices had returned to normal after the famine of 1374. See Alvaro Santamaría, El Reino de Mallorca en la Primera Mitad del Siglo XV, Palma de Mallorca (1955), 31.

16

The reference to this document appears in E. de K. Aguiló, "Fra Anselm Turmeda (Apun'os Biográficos)", Museo Balear, (Palma de Mallorca) 1, Segunda Epoca (1884), 11-12. Aguiló claims that the document he describes was discovered by his father, Tomás Aguiló, in the course of his research. Unfortunately Aguiló does not cite the provenance or location of the document except to name the notary, Mateo Salcet. I have searched the notarial records held by the Archivo Historico de Mallorca and the document is not to be found among the testaments nor do they hold any registers by this notary. The director, Francisco Sevillano, was kind enough to have a check made of the documents on which Aguiló was working at the time of his death. They are kept in his home, the present Luliana Archeological Society. This also proved fruitless. I applied to Rafael Caldentey of the Archivo del Cabildo Cathedral and was informed that no testament of this date could be found. The reputation of Aguiló is such that no one doubts that the document exists or existed, but as of the moment its location is unknown. Epalza's statement that the document is in the Notarial Archives seems to be based on a supposition since he does not support it with a register number.

Also the date he cites of 1376 instead of 1375 would be an error. See

Epalza, Tuhfa, 11.

17

Epalza, Tuhfa, 12.

18

Ibid., 226.

19

Ibid., 228.

20

Ibid., 206.

21

Ibid., 208. This figure seems low as J.C.L. Sismondi, History of the Italian Republics in the Middle Ages, Recast and supplemented by William Boultong, London: George Routledge (n.d.), 365, states that "at the beginning of the fourteenth century the love of learning drew 15,000 students to Bologna...." The number of students seems to have substantially decreased in the fifteenth century as A. Sorbelli, Storia della Universita di Bologna, II, estimates them as only "qualche migliaio".

22

Epalza, Tuhfa, 206.

23

The name of the priest has caused considerable debate. Spiro translated this name as Nicholas Myrtil. Other possibilities given were Martel or Martello. Some mss. give Bartil, Gartil or Dartil. I follow Epalza whose text gives f-r-t-y-l, which he interprets as Fratello. The confusion over the name of Turmeda's professor at Bologna has led to much fruitless research there, first by Joaquin Miret y Sans, see, "La Vida de Fray Anselmo Turmeda", Revue Hispanique, 24 (1911), 261-296, and then by Miguel de Epalza, see "Nuevas Aportaciones a la Biografia de Fray Anselmo Turmeda (Adballah-al Tarchumân)", Analecta Sacra Tarraconensis, 38 (1965), 87-158. The present interpretation of the name solves a great number of problems concerning this personage and, I believe, represents what Turmeda actually wrote. The reviewer, Mariano Acebal, O.F.M. who claims

that the identity of Turmeda's professor has been definitely established as having been the Mallorcan Franciscan, Nicolas Martí, only supports his contention with a reference to Vazquez's article in the Repertorio de Historia de las Ciencias Eclesiasticas en Espana, 3(1971). This cited reference is only a listing of three documents which mention Martí and which have nothing to do with the matter at hand. Since Acebal gives no evidence to support his claim, nor any evidence of Martí having taught at Bologna, and as I have found no other reference to such an identification, I will regard his statement as erroneous. See Appendix, 301-310 for a further discussion of the identity of Turmeda's mentor.

24
Epalza, Tuhfa, 208-210.

25
Ibid.

26
Ibid.

27
Jn 14,16. Also Jn 16, 7-16 is devoted to a description of the Paraclete.

28
Since this interview took place in 1387 the old professor would seem to have been born prior to 1297. This would hardly conform with Acebal's identification of the master as Nicolas Martí. This same Martí acquired his Master's Degree in 1374 and was closely contemporary with Turmeda in age. For biographical material on Martí, see Rubio, Documents, I, 433 and II, 216. Also see Appendix 307 for further discussion on the age of Turmeda's mentor.

29
Epalza, Tuhfa, 212-222.

30
For a review of the various positions taken by scholars in reference to Turmeda's account of his conversion see J.M. Probst, "Fra Anselmo Turmeda et sa Conversion à l'Islamisme", Revue Hispanique, 38(1916), 465 ff.

31
R. Brunschvig, La Berbérie Orientale Sous les Hafsides des Origines à la Fin de XV Siècle, 2 Vols., Paris (1940-1947), I, 469-470.

- 32
A. Calvet, Fray Anselmo Turmeda: Heterodoxo Español (1352-1423-32?),
Barcelona (1914), 67-68.
- 33
M. de Riquer, Historia de la Literatura Catalan, Barcelona (1964), Vol. II., 304.
- 34
J. Miret y Sans, "Vida de Fray Anselmo Turmeda", Revue Hispanique, 24 (1911), 18.
- 35
Jn 14, 15-17.
- 36
Jn 14, 24-27.
- 37
Jn 16, 7.
- 38
Jn 16, 4-16.
- 39
Epalza, Tuhfa, 482.
- 40
For a reference to the popular literature on the book of Daniel which
circulated in the Arabic world see Manfred Ullmann, Die Natur-und Geheimwissen-
schaften im Islam, Leiden: E. J. Brill (1972), 293.
- 41
Dn 12, 1-10.
- 42
Epalza, Tuhfa, 296.
- 43
Ibid., 298.
- 44
Ibid., 350.
- 45
Ibid., 216.
- 46
Acts 23, 6.

PART ONEChapter 2: Turmeda's Life as a Muslim

The first step in carrying out the conversion to Islam decided upon by Turmeda and his teacher was to make the actual flight from the West.

I embarked for the city of Mallorca, where I had been born, and remained there for six months. After which I departed for the island of Sicily and I remained there five months. I was seeking a ship bound for Muslim lands. Then a ship bound for the city of Tunis arrived. On that ship I left Sicily; we set sail almost at sunset and arrived at La Marsa, the port of Tunis, near mid-day.¹

No reason is given why Turmeda travelled from Bologna to Mallorca nor why he stayed there as long as he did. The reason he gives for his trip to Sicily is suspect because records of the period indicate that ships normally sailed from Mallorca to Tunis to Oran.² The eleven months which Turmeda is accounting for here remain obscure and again one gets the impression that Turmeda is being evasive. He now continues with the account of his arrival in Tunis.

As soon as I left the ship, some men who were from the Christian troops and who had heard of me, came with mounts and took me to their homes. They were accompanied by some businessmen who were also living in Tunis. I was their well-honored and well-treated guest for four months.³

Turmeda's account of his arrival in Tunis conforms with what is known about the Catalan community of Tunis. The merchant community from the Kingdom of Aragon which had settled in Tunis at this period was quite large in order to serve the extensive trade which was maintained between the Crown of Aragon and the Ḥafṣid dynasty of

Tunis. Treaties had been signed between these two realms and negotiations were often in progress to renegotiate lapsed treaties. On a number of occasions the Crown of Aragon sent troops to fight under the Ḥafṣid ruler in order to protect him from the incursions of his North African rivals.⁴ After describing his gracious acceptance into the Catalan community Turmeda gives a minute account of his efforts to work himself into the Muslim community.

After this I asked them if there was anyone in the house of the sultan who was well-acquainted with the language of the Christians. The sultan in that time was our sovereign Abū-l-Abbās Aḥmad (may the Lord have mercy on him).⁵ The Christians told me that there was a man in the palace of the abovementioned sultan, who was one of the principal dignitaries from among his courtiers, called Yūsuf the physician. He was the physician to the sultan and one of his intimates. I became very happy upon learning all of this.

I then asked for the home of that man, the doctor. I had myself taken to him, introduced myself and explained my situation and the reason for my presence which was my desire to enter the religion of Islam. The doctor became very happy and rejoiced much on being able to take part in the working out of this affair.

Afterwards he mounted his horse and took me with him to the palace of the sultan. He went before the sultan and told him my story. He requested an audience for me which was granted. I came before him and the sultan first asked my age. I answered that I was thirty-five years old.⁶ Then he asked me various questions about the sciences I had studied. I also explained them to him. He then said to me: 'Your trip is well and good (and he gave me fifty dinars) since you have abandoned your homeland for ours. Now

make yourself a Muslim under the blessing of God.' I told the interpreter, Yūsuf Al-Tabīb (the physician): 'Tell our lord, the sultan, that no one leaves his religion without having his people raise their voices against him and calumniating him. I therefore beseech your benevolence to send among the highest ranking Christian soldiers and merchants who are here, question them about me and then listen to the opinion they hold about me. After that I will become a Muslim, if God wishes.' The sultan answered me through the intermediary of the interpreter: 'You have made the same request that 'Abd-Allāh b. Salām made of the prophet (may the most abundant blessings and peace of God be on him) when he wished to become a Muslim.⁷

At this point the sultan is making reference to the story, well-known in the Arab world, of the conversion of a leading member of the Jewish community of Medina to the faith of Muḥammad. In the story the convert is aware of the fact that the opinion of his co-religionists will change of him as soon as he makes the conversion so he asks to have the opinion of his scholarly attainments ascertained beforehand. When the prophet complies with this request the opinion delivered to him by the leading members of the Jewish community is that the man in question is their teacher who is also the son of their teacher and is the foremost scholar of their community. Naturally they completely reverse this opinion when they learn of the conversion.⁸ The fact that Turmeda claims to have used this ploy prior to his actual learning of the Arabic language makes this account suspect since it would be highly unlikely that he would know about this story without having read the Arabic sources. Of course there is always the possibility that he could have made this request on his own without reference

to the story. Yet one cannot ignore the literary conceit of having his own conversion before Abū-l-'Abbās parallel that of a very famous conversion made before Muḥammad. The complete story of the carrying out of his request continues as follows:

He then sent for the Christian soldiers and for some merchants and had me enter a waiting room near the audience chamber. When the Christians entered he asked them: 'What do you have to say of this new priest who arrived in such-and-such ship?' 'He is a great learned man of our religion. Our doctors claim that they have not seen a higher authority in science and in religion in all of Christendom.'⁹

This statement in respect to Turmeda's reputation is unbelievable as he has indicated no reason why he should have acquired a great reknown among the merchant community at Tunis. It would seem unlikely that they would make this extravagant statement about a friar in their midsts whose only claim to fame was his attendance at the universities of Lérida, Paris and Bologna. This again leads to the strong suspicion that Turmeda is being literary rather than literal in that he is closely adhering to the accepted account of the conversion of 'Abd-Allāh b. Salām rather than describing the actual circumstances of his own conversion. Turmeda now continues with the denouement.

'What would you say of him if he were to become a Muslim?' 'God forbid.' He would never do such a thing!' As soon as the sultan learnt the opinion of the Christians he sent for me. I presented myself before him and made the profession of the true faith in the presence of the Christians. They made the sign of the cross on their faces and said: 'The desire to marry has impelled him to this action since, among

us, priests do not marry. They left troubled and sad.

The sultan (may God have mercy on him) granted me a salary of four dinars a day, from the bureau of state monopolies, and married me to the daughter of Hādījī Muḥammad al-Ṣaffār. When I took her to my house on the day of the wedding, he gave me one hundred dinars of gold and a magnificent new garment. We were joined and I had a son by her. I named him Muḥammad on account of the blessing which is inherent in the name of our prophet Muḥammad (may a blessing and peace be on him).¹⁰

At this point the chapter ends and the second chapter begins which is entitled "What happened to me in the reign of Abū-l-'Abbās Aḥmad and that of his son, Abū-Fārīs 'Abd-al-'Azīz."

Five months after my conversion to Islam the sultan did me the honor of naming me to a position in the general directorship of the Maritime Customs Board.¹¹ His intention was that I should learn the Arabic language on account of the continual and frequent opportunities I would have there to serve as translator between Christians and Muslims. It was thus that I learned the Arabic language perfectly in only one year.

Then I was present at the naval expedition by the Genoese and French against the city of Mahdia. I translated, for the sultan, the writings that they sent him. Then God humiliated them and they left, defeated.¹²

The mention of this famous siege by Turmeda has long established the fact that his conversion took place prior to the year when this siege was made, namely 1390. Turmeda accurately describes this operation as a joint expedition of French and Genoese forces against

the port city of Mahdia. This city is located two hundred kilometers or one hundred and twenty miles, south-east of Tunis. All of the activities surrounding the siege are heavily documented including the exact dates of the operation. The besiegers disembarked 22 July 1390 and abandoned the operation almost exactly two months later.¹³ For that reason the activities Turmeda describes can be very closely circumscribed in time. Furthermore, Turmeda's use of the word 'then' seems to indicate that his attendance at the siege occurred directly after having learnt Arabic in one year. With the acceptance of what appears to be an unbroken chronology from birth to the siege of Mahdia it is possible to chart the course of Turmeda's life, year by year.

<u>Date</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Activity</u>
1354	Birth	Mallorca	
1355			
1356			
1357			
1358			
1359			
1360	6	Mallorca	Bible study. 2 years
1361			
1362	8	Mallorca	Study of Gospels; languages of Bible and <u>trivium</u> . 6 years
1365			
1366			

<u>Date</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Activity</u>
1367			
1368 (Fall)	14	Lérida	Attendance at university for study of natural sciences and astrology. 6 years
1369			
1370			
1371			
1372			
1373			
1374 (Spring)	20	Lérida	Receipt of Bachelor's degree.
1374 (Fall)	20	?	Commences study of theology. 4 years
1375 (5 Oct.) 1	21	?	Bequest of small sum to Friar Anselm Turmeda
1376		?	Possible attendance at University of Paris;
1377		?	clerical activities province of Tarragona
1378 (Fall)	24	Bologna	Entrance into University. 10 years.
1379 (24 June)	25	Mallorca	Ordination as deacon in Cathedral of Palma ¹⁴
1379 (Fall)	25	Bologna	Return for continuation of studies
1380			
1381			
1382			
1383			
1384			

<u>Date</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Activity</u>
1385			
1386			
1387 (Dec.)	34		Leaves Bologna
1388 (Jan.)		Mallorca	Arrives and remains
1388 (June)	34		six months
1388 (June)	34	Sicily	Arrives and remains
1388 (July)	34		five months
1388 (Nov.)	34	Tunis	Arrives and spends four
1388 (Dec.)			months with Christian
			hosts.
1389 (Mar.)	35	Tunis	Makes public conversion
1389 (Apr.)			to Islam before Abū-l-
			'Abbās Aḥmad
1389 (Aug.)	35	Tunis	Begins work in customs
1389 (Sept.)			bureau.
1390 (Aug.)	36	Mahdia	Participates in opera-
1390 (Sept.)			tions against besiegers.
1391	37	Gabes	Serves as an official in
			this oasis on the coast
1392	38	Gafsa	Participates in siege
1393		?	
1394	40	Tunis	Abū-l-'Abbās dies and
			Abū Fāris confirms
			Turmeda in his position
			as customs official and
			translator.
1395			
1396			
1397			
1398 (Apr.)	44	Tunis	Date of the <u>Llibre</u>
1398	44	Tunis	Date of the <u>Cobles</u>

<u>Date</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Activity</u>
1399			
1400			
1401			
1402 (16 Nov.)	48	Tunis	Safe-conduct from Governor of Mallorca ¹⁵
1403			
1404			
1405	51	Tunis	Date of <u>Prophecies Les</u>
1406	52		<u>Prometences, No Crech</u>
1407	53		<u>Pas and O'Babilonia,</u> <u>tu Barcelona</u>
1408			
1409			
1410			
1411			
1412 (22 Sept)	58	Tunis	Safe-conduct from Benedict XIII (Pedro de Luna) ¹⁶
1413			
1414			
1415			
1416			
1417			
1418	64	Tunis	Date of <u>Debate</u>
1419			
1420	66	Tunis	Date of <u>Tuhfa</u> .
1421 (8 Dec.)	67	Tunis	Turmeda sent copy of a letter to Abū Fārīs from Alfonso V about prisoner exchange. ¹⁷

<u>Date</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Place</u>	<u>Activity</u>
1422			
1423 (23 Sept.)	69	Tunis	Safe-conduct from Alfonso V. ¹⁸

After the reference to Mahdia Turmeda mentions his next two important positions serving Abū-l-'Abbās.

Then I was in Gabes in his service. I also accompanied him to Gafsa. There began the sovereign's illness of which he would die on the third day of Sa'bān in the year 796.

After him his son came to the throne, our sovereign the Prince of the Believers and the victorious defender of the religion, Abū Fārīs 'Abd al-'Azīz. He confirmed me in all the offices conferred on me by his father and in all benefits. In addition he put me in charge of the Bureau of Monopoly.¹⁹

These are also datable references since the attack on Gafsa occurred in 1392 and the death of Abū-l-'Abbās on 4 July 1394. It is at this point that Turmeda ends his chronological listing of the major events of his life. He has only one more story to tell about himself before turning his attention to a biography of Abū-Fārīs.

It occurred one day during his reign when I was serving as an official of maritime customs and as a translator, that a Muslim ship laden with merchandise arrived. When it docked at La Marsa two Sicilian ships assaulted it and captured it immediately, after which the Muslims had fled with their captain. In this manner the Christians captured its merchandise and wealth.

Then our sovereign Abū-Fārīs sent the chief of customs accompanied by his aides to go out to La Goleta²⁰ and treat with the Christians on the ransom of the goods of the Muslims. They arrived and asked for a safe-conduct for the

translator who was with them. They gave the safe-conduct; the translator went to the ships and spoke with them on the ransom. They argued a great deal and were not able to arrive at an agreement.

There had arrived on this ship a priest who held great authority in Sicily, with whom I had had a great friendship previously when we had been students together. He had heard spoken of my conversion to Islam and had taken it to heart. He was travelling on this ship in order to propose to me that I ought to return to the Christian religion, counting on the friendship that had existed between us.

When he met the translator who had boarded the ship he asked: 'What is your name?' 'Ali' 'Take this document, 'Ali, and bring it to the official 'Abd-Allâh, your official in charge of the sea, in the customs house. Here is a dinar. When you have brought me the answer we will give you another dinar.

He took the dinar and the message, went to La Goleta and notified the chief of customs as to all that had been told to him. He recounted the conversation with the priest and showed the document to him which the priest had given him and the dinar which he had paid him. The chief of customs took the message and had it translated by a Genoese merchant.²¹ Then he sent the original and the translation to our sovereign Abū-Fārīs who read it and sent for me.

I arrived in his presence and he said to me: "'Abd-Allâh, this document has arrived by sea. Read it and inform us as to its contents. I read it and began to laugh. Then he asked me: "What is causing you to laugh?" "May God protect you," I answered, "this document has been sent to me on behalf of a priest who was one of my good friends. I will translate it to you right now." I sat down at his side and translated it into Arabic. After which I gave him the translation and he read it. Then he said to his brother, Maule Ismā 'l: "By God! He has not left out even one letter."

"Sir," I asked him, "how were you able to ascertain that fact?" "By another version of the translation which was made for us by the Geonese" he answered me. After which he continued: "'Abd-Allāh, what are you planning to say in response to this priest?" "Sir, you already know what I think and what I am. I made the profession of Muslim faith, the true religion, of my own free will. I do not wish to respond in any way to what is suggested by this priest." "We already are aware of the sincerity of your conversion to Islam," answered the sultan, "and we have no doubts about it."²² But war is a treacherous business. Write him in your reply to order the captain of the boat to arrive at an accord with the Muslim merchants and to make the price low. Tell him: "when you have reached accord with the Muslims on the agreed price, I will then come out with the assessor to weigh the merchandise. Afterwards I escape with you by night."

I did everything as I was ordered and sent the answer to the priest. He became very happy and the merchants lowered the price of the ransom in favor of the Muslims. The assessor went out but I did not go with him. The priest lost all hope and left with his ship.

The text of his letter was as follows:
 (After the usual formulae). Greetings,²³
 from your brother Francis, the priest.
 I am informing you that I have come to these lands for you; in order to take you to Sicily. At the present time I am with the lord [sahib] of Sicily, in which capacity I designate and deprive, concede and prohibit and control all of the business of his realm.²⁴ Hearken to me and come along with me with the blessing of God. Do not fear losing fortune, honors or other benefits. I have money and honors to spare and I shall do for you everything that you wish. Do not allow yourself to be deceived by anything of the world because everything in it is perishable. Life is short and God is lying in wait. Fear God and return to him. Forsake Islamic obscurities for the light of Christianity and confess that God, in his sovereignty, is the

third of three and there is no means of separating what God united for his own purpose.²⁵ I am aware that you know all of this better than I, but I remind you because a reminder helps those who believe that God is tripartite. Awaken, therefore, from the sleep of neglect. Answer this letter and turn yourself to me. Those who are as you are have no necessity for a teacher. Greetings.²⁶

Since this chapter deals with events which were known to, or verifiable by, the Muslim reader and since it purports to describe the actions of eminent living men, namely Abū-Fāris and his brother Maule Iṣmā'il, a large degree of authenticity is implied. Yet this story smacks of the fabulous. The idea that a priest who had become an eminent official in the court in Sicily would make a hazardous personal ~~crusade~~ to Tunis to implore, in very humble terms, Turmeda's return to Christianity seems unbelievable. Another point which must be made about the letter is that its general tone seems inappropriate coming from an important Christian figure to an apostate and the reference to Turmeda's knowledge and to the fact that he does not need a teacher seems to conform more to Turmeda's own opinions of himself than to any great learning which he reveals. These points combine to indicate that the letter is a product of Turmeda's imagination and was created to further add to his image. Yet it is inconceivable that the whole story would be a tissue of lies since the readers of this book would be in a position to know whether this event ever occurred. Also as it is the only story told about Turmeda's experiences in Tunis it indicates that this event is being presented as a great happening

in his life and if it were proven false the entire credibility of the book would be destroyed. One theory does present itself which would eliminate the problem while maintaining the narrative. If we were to postulate that the events as described are true but that the letter is a fiction the story would describe a believable situation. In it, a messenger who had arrived from Sicily with a safe-conduct for Turmeda was used to outmaneuver the negotiators in a ransoming procedure. The circumstances would then become rather ordinary and their credibility would be bolstered by the fact that there are extant copies of three safe-conducts which were sent to Turmeda from the West. The first of them was sent by Roger de Montcada, the governor of Mallorca, in 1402.²⁷ Another was sent in 1412 by the anti-pope Benedict XIII from his castle in Peniscola, (Valencia)²⁸ The third was sent in 1423 from Alfonso V while he was in Naples.²⁹ The tone of these documents is stern and coincides in no respect with the letter Turmeda purports to have received except for the fact that the ultimate purpose of these documents was to provide him with a safe means of return to the West. All of these documents give Turmeda permission to return in safety but do not desist from referring to his past errors or "crimes." While their tone is not friendly their content shows that Turmeda was not forgotten in the West and that he was considered important enough to demand the attention of at least three prominent Western figures. With these documents in mind it is possible to interpret the story as actually dealing with the

receipt of a safe-conduct of the type known to have been issued to Turmeda. The priestly potentate described by Turmeda would have been a literary elaboration who would have added piquancy to the story and heightened the effect of the trick played on him by Abū-Fārīs and Turmeda. Also it would reinforce the assertion that Turmeda makes in a number of places, to the effect that he had been a man of some eminence in the West by having the deliverer of the safe-conduct be an important man who kowtowed before him. One could hardly expect a man with Turmeda's ego to report phrases such as those that occur in the safe-conduct of 1402. There Roger de Montcada refers to Turmeda as having been "inspired by the devil" in joining "the depraved Muḥammadan sect." The letter Turmeda claims was written to him was perhaps his way of covering the sting of those words. It would be unlikely that Turmeda would have had to concern himself with anyone remembering the actual text of a safe-conduct sent to him many years before the publication of the Tuhfa so that he could feel free to elaborate it at will.

The story of the safe-conduct ends the autobiographical portion of the book and it is followed with an account of the life of Abū-Fārīs which conforms to the usual pattern followed in biographies of medieval rulers. It concentrates almost exclusively on his pious acts and religious foundations and only gives perfunctory indications of the extent of his political and military acts. Although Abū-Fārīs was the outstanding ruler of the Ḥafṣid

dynasty, after its founder, and was, in fact, the most eminent and vigorous Eastern potentate of that period, sources of information about him and his period are scanty. The major source of information on his rule is to be found in the account written by Turmeda. Later Arabic historians, such as Zarkaṣī who wrote at the beginning of the sixteenth century and those historians who wrote in the period of Turkish domination, have all relied heavily on the information supplied by Turmeda.³⁰

After 1420, the date of publication of the Tuhfa, the only documentary source of information on Turmeda is that given by the above-cited safe-conduct of 1423. That he lived out the remainder of his life in Tunis, in spite of the safe-conducts, is indicated by the fact that his tomb is still standing in the Medina of Tunis. It and a less elaborate tomb of another Muslim of that period are the only surviving tombs of the old cemetery of Tunis. The date of his death is still unknown but since he was close to seventy in 1423 he is not likely to have survived many years past that date.

NOTES TO PART ONE: CHAPTER TWO

1

According to Epalza, while the text properly said dock or port it ought actually to refer to La Marsa, which is 22 kilometers or about 13 miles from the city of Tunis. Tuhfa, 222.

2

El Libro de Guiatges (The Book of Voyages) for Palma de Mallorca has been examined for this period and sailings for Sicily, Oran, and Tunis are recorded. See Epalza, Tuhfa, 17.

3

Epalza, Tuhfa, 222.

4

For a discussion of the relations between Aragon and Tunis and a selection of documents which flowed between these two kingdoms see Jacques de Mas Latrie, Traité de Paix et de Commerce et Documents Divers Concernant les Relations des Crétiens avec les Arabes de l'Afrique Septentrionale au Moyen Age, Paris (1866).

5

The rule of this sultan extended from 1370-1394. For the dates and genealogical tables of the Hafsids see, Stanley Lane-Poole, The Mohammadan Dynasties, New York (1965)(originally published London:1894), 49-50; 52-53.

6

The age stated by Turmeda accords with the other figures he has previously given since he has informed us that he began his studies at the age of six and studied for eight years in Mallorca, followed by six years at Lérida, four years devoted to the study of theology and ten years at Bologna. The final eleven months spent travelling to Tunis and four months in Tunis would place Turmeda in his thirty-fifth year. For that reason, although the critical text established by Epalza does not include the four years devoted to theological studies it would seem necessary to maintain them in order to have the chronology agree with Turmeda's stated age.

7

Epalza, Tuhfa, 224-226.

8

See, Epalza, Tuhfa, 28-29 for a fuller version of this story.

9

Ibid., 226.

10

Ibid., 226-228.

11

Turmeda's title as li-riyâdat al-bahr bi-l-dîwân is open to a variety of interpretations. Spiro translates it as "head of customs" (Chef de douanes), and E. Sans, "Fray Anselm Turmeda en 1402", Estudis Universitaris Catalans, 22 (1936), 408, as "head of the Supreme Council of the Business of State and Justice." Epalza (Tuhfa, 230), points out that Turmeda did not know Arabic at the time of his appointment and would not be likely to receive such high appointments. He translates the title as "en la direcció general de los aduanos marítimos" which I translate as above.

12

Epalza, Tuhfa, 230.

13

E. Marengo, Genova e Tunisi, 1388-1515: Relazione Storica, in Atti Della Società Ligure di Storia Patria, Vol. 23, Rome (1901), 24-29.

14

See Epalza, Tuhfa, 12.

15

For a transcription of this document see, E. Sans, "Fra Anselm Turmeda en 1402", Estudis Universitaris Catalans, 22 (1936), 405-406.

16

Vatican Archives, Series Avignon, R. 342, f.451r. A transcription is published in J. Pou, "Sobre Fray Anselmo Turmeda", Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona, 7 (1914), 467-469.

17

See Calvet, Anselmo Turmeda, 52-53 for a transcription of the document.

18

A.H.A., R. 2691, f. 138v. See Calvet, Anselmo Turmeda, 41-43 for the transcription.

19

Epalza, Tuhfa, 230-232.

20

The mouth of the Lake of Tunis, located fourteen kilometers (about eight and one-half miles) directly across from the city of Tunis.

21

This would indicate that the letter was written in Italian and that the friendship referred to earlier dates from student days at Bologna.

22

The sincerity of this affirmation is doubtful because of the trap laid by the sultan to check the accuracy of Turmeda's translation.

23

This name could also be interpreted as reading "Greetings from Friar Francis" or possibly "Greetings from your fellow Franciscan", Epalza, Tuhfa, 240.

24

The crown of Sicily had been united with the Crown of Aragon in 1409 when Martin I died and left the kingdom to his father. If the reference antedates 1409 it would refer to the king of Sicily, Martin I. After that date the reference could be either to the king of Aragon or the governor of the island.

25

Obviously no priest would say that God is "the third of three" nor is it reasonable to believe that Turmeda wrote this line. In the polemical chapter of the Tuhfa, (318) the statement occurs again as "they believe that God...is the third of three." Since this line occurs in the most suspect portion of that chapter and here in an unbelievable context it seems safe to assume that the line was written by a later Muslim editor who had a very garbled concept of the Christian Trinity. What probably was written here is a line similar to that which

occurs in a safe-conduct Turmeda was issued in 1402. It begins "Nos Rogerius de Montecateno, baronus, etc. Vestigia illius qui est trinus et unus et non vult mortem peccatoris sed convertatur et vivat sequi cupientes prout verus catholicus facere tenemur et debemus".A.H.M. Lletres comunes, 81, f.210v. For published transcription see Sans, "Fra Anselm",405, which gives an incorrect citation for the register and corrects "tenemur" to "tenemus".

26

Epalza, Tuhfa, 232-242.

27

A.H.M., Lletres Comunes, 81, ff. 210v-211r.

28

See note 16.

29

See note 18.

30

Epalza, Tuhfa, 46 and 51.

PART ONEChapter 3: The Legend and Historical Rebirth of Anselm TurmedaThe Legend

Despite the fact that Turmeda died a Muslim in Tunis the memory of the friar who renounced Christianity, which should have been repugnant in the West became, instead, converted into a legend. It began to undergo a gradual process of mythification which culminated in producing a saintly martyr for the Christian faith. The fascinating search to establish how an apostate friar is converted into a holy martyr is not complete yet but enough of it can now be reconstructed to indicate the general outlines of its development.

On the basis of material so far uncovered it would seem that the early development of the legend of Turmeda can be dated as occurring prior to 1524. On that date Fernando Col6n bought a Castillian translation of Turmeda's Llibre de Bons Amonestaments and wrote, in the back of it "this book cost four maravedis in Medina del Campo on 10 November 1524."¹ The introductory paragraph of the book says:

The present book was composed by Friar Anselmo de Turmeda, of Catalan birth. He, by misadventure, was captured by the Moors and taken to Tunis, where, by various tortures or fear of them, he was forced to renounce the sainted Catholic faith. Afterwards he was very repentant of this and fell into great pain and composed the present treatise in testimony of his repentance for the benefit and good teaching of the Christians.²

This is the first reference to a "capture" and indicates that somewhere between Turmeda's death shortly after 1423 and prior to

1524 tampering with Turmeda's life story had begun. There is evidence to indicate that this fantasy of Turmeda's capture can be traced to the Castillian translation of the Llibre.

To begin with, this reference to a capture does not appear in the earliest known Catalan versions of the book. These are to be found in four manuscripts, namely Carpentras 381,³ Ateneo (Barcelona) 220,⁴ Universidad (Barcelona) 151,⁵ and an incomplete version in the Universidad (Barcelona) 68.⁶ The preface in Carpentras 3 states:

In the name of Jesus Christ the complete path which can guide us to his Mother, the Virgin Mary. A book composed in Tunis by Friar Anselm Turmeda, in another manner called Abdeyla, of some good teachings, although he has followed them badly, but thinks that they may have some merit to reveal to people who, on reading it, ought to pray God for him that he be given a good end, as he desires in his heart.

The earliest printed edition which has come to light is that owned by Ferdinand Colon. It includes the following note: "This book bound as it is cost three dineros in Barcelona around 1536 and the ducat is worth 288 dineros."^{6a} This note establishes its date as prior to 1536 but does not give the actual date of publication. The frontispiece carries Turmeda's prefatory remarks which are much the same as those of Carpentras 381. The preface of these early Catalan editions must have puzzled its reader or at least tantalized him. It reveals a monk (or a priest according to the printed edition) living in Tunis and using an Arabic name while writing Christian morality verse for the edification of the reader

and for the good of his own soul. The seeming contradictions here cry for resolution and there is some evidence which indicates that this resolution was provided by detailing the capture story. It is within the realm of possibility that these strange remarks by Turmeda could have been interpreted by the Castillian translator of the Llibre as the words of a captive priest who, having been forced to renounce Christianity, has written the book to make amends. Instead of translating the original prefatory remarks as written by Turmeda, he has chosen to "explain" them with a new preface detailing the capture story. The evidence which supports this supposition is found in the 1688 edition of the Llibre published in Valencia. The Valencis 1688 edition is not a reprint of the earlier edition but seems to be a new or revised translation. For this new printing a Catalan text seems to have been consulted. The preface now reads:

This book was composed by Friar Anselmo de Turmeda, of Catalan birth. He (by which reason God was served) was captured by the Moors and taken to Tunis, where he composed the present little work, for the benefit and good teaching of all faithful Christians, whom he charged with praying to Our Lord to give them grace so that he would end in his sainted service. Amen.⁷

As can be seen from a comparison of the three prefaces the Valencia 1688 edition contains a conflation of the others which seems to indicate that the translator viewed the earlier Castillian translation as a variation on the Catalan preface. He accepts the capture story, already hoary and consecrated with age, and only toned it down a bit

to make it conform better with the original Catalan version. He eliminates the "tortures" as a product of over-zealous piety and adds the last line from the Catalan editions. By making the pre-faces conform the seventeenth-century translator provides the clue which seems to lead to the origin of the capture story. On the basis of this evidence it would seem that the Turmeda legend began with a misinterpretation of Turmeda's own words by a Castillian translator of the Llibre. This translation circulated outside of Catalonia in the sixteenth century and became the accepted version of Turmeda's life in the region surrounding Catalonia.

In that same century accurate knowledge of Turmeda's life was still available in Catalonia. This is shown by the record of a meeting of a tribunal of the Inquisition which took place in Mallorca in 1582. This tribunal was called together by the inquisitor of Mallorca, Ebia de Oviedo, to examine the Llibre de Bons Amonestaments.⁸ According to the document describing the proceedings which was sent to the Council of the General Inquisition, the book was written by "friar Anselmo of the order of Saint Francis having passed over to Tunis and denied our holy Catholic faith. . ." ⁹ There is no question then that the facts of Turmeda's apostasy remained on record. The question under discussion was not his conversion to Islam but his book. It is curious that the tribunal did not condemn the Llibre outright since it was written by an apostate. Yet this possibility never seems to have been considered. Instead the book was subjected to an examination and a copy was sent to the Council of the General

Inquisition along with "a translation which has been made from it into Castilian so that you may see it."¹⁰ The Mallorcan tribunal, composed of the Inquisitor and two clerics, censured Turmeda for continuing to use his Christian name of Anselm and the title of "Reverend Father" to which he was no longer entitled after having become a Muslim. It also censured the anti-clerical sentiments expressed in a number of stanzas, for example:

You ought not swear falsely
nor make a betrayal for money;
and do not trust too highly
a garment of coarse cloth.¹¹

Do that which they say
and avoid that which they do;
I am speaking of those who wear
their heads shaved and a beard.¹²

Money, then, you ought amass
If you can have it, do not let it go;
With a great deal of it
You can become the Pope of Rome.¹³

The tribunal also pointed to a theologically impudent statement advising a youth not to strike his wife because it would cause pain to God.¹⁴ It stated that God is immune to pain and condemned the sentiment as theologically unsound. Additional evidence as to the pernicious effect of the verses is given by the Inquisitor Ebia de Oviedo right at the beginning of the document. He refers to stanza 58 of his copy which states: "At all times speak the truth/to that which is asked of you;/but in case of necessity/you can tell a falsehood."¹⁵ According to Oviedo "many persons on this island, as recorded by the various depositions which are in the books of this Sainted Office, said and affirmed that in order to avoid the gallows

one could swear falsely, alleging what it says in stanza 58. . ."¹⁶ Curiously enough this concern for the moral impact of Turmeda's Llibre is found in a scholarly chapter written on Turmeda by Martín de Riquer. He feels that "it would be interesting to study up to what point some of its counsels, above all those that make reference to money, could have influenced our [Catalan] way of thinking and that very false concept of Catalan greed which has flourished to such an extent."¹⁷

Although the report by the Mallorcan Commission reached its destination, and in spite of its recommendations and concern over the moral impact of the Llibre, no action seems to have been taken by the Council of General Inquisition. This is indicated by the fact that the Llibre did not feature in the Index of Prohibited Books published in Madrid in 1583 although Turmeda's Debate Between the Friar and the Ass did appear.¹⁸ Furthermore over thirty-eight editions on the Llibre, published between 1594 and 1842, have been catalogued.¹⁹ The Biblioteca Central of Barcelona holds twenty-six editions dating, in the main, after 1842. A methodical search would probably produce over a hundred editions dating after the condemnation by the Mallorcan panel. This very popular book also became a standard textbook used in the teaching of young boys in the convent schools of Catalonia and, according to Martín de Riquer, at least twelve generations of Catalan children were brought up on the book.²⁰ A check through various editions shows that very little attention, if any, was paid to the recommendations of the Mallorcan

tribunal. The use of the titles Friar and Reverend Father continue to feature in the book. Five of the ten condemned stanzas appear regularly without any changes whatsoever.²¹ Stanza 33, (Olivar 36)²² which was offensive to the monks, is eliminated in many editions; when it appeared it would be carefully inked out.²³ Stanza 67 (Olivar 10) which attacked the Pope was also omitted or changed into a vague reference to a "doctor in Rome."²⁴ The one change which universally applied was in reference to lying in case of necessity. The line now becomes "not even in case of necessity." A condemnation was hardly needed to amend this, considering the number of young readers. With these changes the Llibre became accepted as orthodoxly Catholic. An edition printed in 1654 ends with a statement of approval for its Catholicity by a Dominican theologian.²⁵ This acceptance of Turmeda's Llibre as an exemplary book of Christian maxims began to blur the memory of his life and deeds. Yet there is evidence for believing that the complete disappearance of the historical Turmeda had not occurred by 1650 because of an allusion to Turmeda in a history by Diego Monfar y Sors published in that year. The history written by Monfar deals with the counts of Urgel, an important house of the Catalan nobility which played a large role in Catalonian history. The reference states that Margarita, Countess of Urgel, to further encourage her son's aspirations to the disputed throne of Aragon after the death of Martin I in 1410, had used "some predictions and prophecies by a certain Friar Anselmo de Turmeda who had travelled to Tunis and

had renounced the faith."²⁶ The source of this reference to Turmeda was found by Monfar in testimony which was presented at the trial of Jaime the Unfortunate, the last Count of Urgel, who was a leading pretender to the throne. This tantalizing sentence which correctly identifies Turmeda as having converted by his own free will, and which is given without any elaboration, would seem to indicate that the transformed presentation of Turmeda's life had not yet occurred. Otherwise Monfar would more than likely have made some reference to a conflicting account of Turmeda's conversion. Monfar's vague reference to "a certain Friar Anselmo de Turmeda" indicates that although Turmeda's Llibre was well-known, the memory of its author was also dead in Catalonia. At the same time that Turmeda had faded from sight in Catalonia, the capture story and the forced conversion had become accepted in Castilian speaking areas where the translated editions circulated.

Then, prior to 1694 an early legendary account of Turmeda appears within the manuscript of a history of the monastery of Poblet, written by Father Baltasar Sayol. The account of Turmeda's activities occurs within a biographical sketch of a renegade monk of Poblet named Pedro Marginet, a well-known figure of the period. In 1726 Sayol's manuscript becomes the basis for the publication of what will eventually blossom into the full legend of Turmeda. According to the story Pedro Marginet had been a model monk at the Cistercian convent in Poblet who had fled his monastery in 1411 when he was twenty-six or twenty seven years of age. He returned, fully repentant, to the monastery in 1413 where he was received as a prodigal son and redeemed sinner. The high status

and reputation acquired by Marginet for his flight and return is indicated by a document of 1415 in which Ferdinand I, gravely ill, singles out Marginet to pray for his health.²⁷ Marginet's fame was long-lived and he became one of the outstanding monks of Poblet. Naturally any account of that monastery would devote considerable space to him as a famous renegade who had returned to the faith and had redeemed other sinners by his outstanding example. By some process of conflation, the operation of which may never become clear in a step-by-step manner, the story of the renegade Marginet became joined to what was left of the story of Turmeda. According to the new story which emerges from this combination Marginet, while travelling around Catalonia as a renegade, instigated Friar Anselm Turmeda to leave the Franciscan order and follow him. They lived together for some time as renegade priests but when Marginet suffered a change of heart and returned to Poblet, Turmeda refused to do likewise. He continued his life as a renegade and then decided to convert to Islam. He travelled to Tunis and there accomplished his purpose. Since Turmeda was well-educated he was able to achieve some eminence as a teacher (Alfaquin) in the realm of Tunis. Marginet, sorrowing because he had been the instrument of Turmeda's downfall, prayed constantly for the salvation of Turmeda's soul. According to the account God heard his prayer and ordered Marginet's guardian angel, along with some other angels, to transport Marginet to Tunis at the very moment when Turmeda was delivering a sermon before a Muslim audience. Upon seeing Marginet, Turmeda stopped

in the middle of the sermon and spoke with him. Marginet delivered such an effective speech that Turmeda became converted back to Christianity. "I have sinned like another David. I have sinned, Oh Lord, have mercy!" cried Turmeda. Then, while Marginet was whisked back to his monastery by the angels, Turmeda preached the Christian faith to the Muslims and suffers instant martyrdom.²⁸ Turmeda is further identified as being "that learned Catalan who wrote the little book, or treatise, all of sentences, and Catholic documents, and maxims, that we read when we were boys in school, after the primer which we vulgarly call Fra Anselm."²⁹ This eulogizing of Turmeda as the author of the Llibre may be the clue to the inspiration for this fantastic story. Sayol, aware of Turmeda's apostasy but convinced of the piety of the Llibre, may have felt impelled to find some mode of explaining the contradiction. But who can analyze the process which can produce this fantastic flight of fancy? By whatever means, the fanciful legend of Turmeda became legitimized in print in 1726 and began a long history of repetition and elaboration.

Within twelve years after the first appearance of the new story of Turmeda's life the Seraphic Chronicle of the Holy Province of Catalonia by Father J. Coll devotes an entire chapter to the "Life and Martyrdom of the Most Reverend Father Friar Turmeda."³⁰ In this chapter Coll adds a number of details to the growing legend and they seem to appear from out of nowhere. Although he cites as his sources Serra y Postius and "some manuscripts I have been

able to see" the vivid, almost lurid, descriptive paragraphs that he adds to the Serra account and which are written very much in his own fulsome style, are unlikely to have come from these unnamed manuscripts.³¹ What might have been derived from manuscript sources is the assertion that Turmeda had been a monk at the monastery of Montblanch and that it was from here that he had been lured away by Marginet. In his description of Turmeda Coll claims that Turmeda was "a sainted man who was, then, as religious as he was wise."³² The reference which Coll makes to Turmeda's having received both a master's degree and a doctorate in theology could either derive from manuscript sources or could merely represent his high opinion of the Llibre which he claims exemplifies this high level of education. In reference to the Llibre he states that Turmeda wrote it while at Montblanch and that it "has deserved at all times such high esteem from the most educated, and the truly learned men of this realm. . ."³³ According to Coll it is read directly after the primer so that children may learn to read while drinking in the "purest milk of Christian maxims."³⁴ It is Coll who is responsible for greatly elaborating the legend of Turmeda with a plethora of dramatic incidents. In this new version of the legend Turmeda is captured by the Muslims while on his way to seek pardon from the court of Rome for having left his monastery with Marginet. This additional detail about his capture would seem to derive from the Castilian prologue to the Llibre while it seems that the graphic descriptive passages, detailing every aspect of the capture, derive strictly from the remarkably imaginative

Coll. It begins with a long paragraph describing Turmeda's thoughts prior to embarkation on a ship bound for Rome. The purpose of this journey is to seek forgiveness for having fled the monastery. After Turmeda's capture and sale to a Turk of the court in Tunis Coll "quotes" at length the conversation and the threats which induced Turmeda to apostatize. Turmeda's abjuration statement before the king according to Coll states that:

I, since childhood, was raised and educated in the law of the Christians; and within time I became a monk, priest, and famous master of this law: but I always felt, deep inside, the harshness and heaviness of it in the deprivation of things which are gratifying and naturally desirable; of those things toward which we are naturally inclined. And, as I have seen and meditated on the law of the great prophet Mahoma, which permits those things which conform to our natural appetites; and, for this reason, better assures salvation, I am resolved and determined to leave the law of the Christians and embrace that of the great prophet Mahoma. If your powerful lord wants to admit me to the profession of it."³⁵

Coll then describes Turmeda's luxurious life until Marginet appears before him and causes him to repent. The final confrontation and martyrdom of Turmeda is now elaborated and expanded into a scene of major importance. Rather than have Turmeda abjure on the spot Coll describes his long, inner conversations, over a period of two days, which finally left him resolved to return to the Christian faith. He then calls together a huge gathering of Muslims, both commoners and nobles, and before this multitude Turmeda solemnly professes his Christian faith in a long sermon which abjured the "dirty pleasures and crimes which are permitted by the law of Mahoma."³⁶

The mob falls upon him in a fury and he is almost torn apart by them, being saved only by order of the king. The following day the king begs and cajoles Turmeda to return to Islam. To further influence him he offers many tempting bribes. When Turmeda remains adamant, the king himself takes out his scimitar and cuts off Turmeda's head.

This dramatic recasting of the legend of Turmeda by Father Coll in 1738 becomes the accepted account of the history of the life of Anselm Turmeda and is summarized in all subsequent accounts published during the next hundred and fifty years; enduring until the end of the nineteenth century.

The development of the Turmeda legend is an outstanding example of the process which can change history into myth. The principal ingredients were time and imagination combined with the justification of motives provided by religion. Each contributor to the legend only expanded somewhat on an account which had become hallowed by time and print. Even Father Coll probably felt he was only applying historical license of the type employed by Plutarch, for example, to add moral impact to the story. The "recreation" of dialogue which took place between principal actors in a historical drama did not go out of fashion until quite late in the history of writing history. Furthermore, piety seemed to have demanded that the author of a work used to educate young boys in Christian morality and doctrine should have had impeccable credentials as a Christian. The appeal of the legend to a pious and

credulous Christian audience was immediate, and understandable. The moral uplift of the redeemed sinner dying a martyr's death was not to be denied. Actually the astonishing fact about Turmeda was not that he became a legend but, that after having endured for centuries as a myth, he returned once again as a historically authenticated figure.

Naturally, it was inevitable that historians of the nineteenth century would reject the miraculous aspect of Marginet's journey.³⁷ His means of transportation to Tunis is either glossed over with the statement: "Then Farther Marginet appeared to him"³⁸ or even rationalized by changing the story to read that Marginet met Turmeda while on a chance journey to Tunis.³⁹ In regard to Turmeda's martyrdom cautious historians such as Adolfo de Castro preface their account of Turmeda's death with the caveat "according to what is believed."⁴⁰ In 1865 Milá y Fontanals summarizes the legend in this way: "Friar Anselm Turmeda, the friar of Montblanch who according to what is told, became an apostate with Friar Marginet, in Tunis."⁴¹ Yet in spite of the scepticism felt by historians of the nineteenth century toward some of the more improbable elements of the story the basic legend remains intact and is repeated by one historian after another. Of course without new evidence to reevaluate the old material it is understandable that very little in the way of revision could have been offered. Yet the evidence was available and had always been available. It only awaited a new impetus for the search to begin. Once this new impetus was offered the whole question of Turmeda was

re-examined and within a few years the elaborate legend was shattered.

Before examining the breakdown of the fantastic legend of Turmeda one further curious development deserves mention.⁴² During the seventeenth century, in the same period that the legend of Turmeda as a saintly martyr of the Christian faith was revered in Spain, he was also revered as a sainted, eloquent defender of the Muslim faith, in the Arab world. And just as Turmeda's great reputation in Spain was engendered out of respect for his Llibre the same can be said for his reputation in the Middle East. The growth of Turmeda's renown in the entire Arab world was based on the great admiration which began to surround the Tuhfa al-'arṭb ft-l-radd 'alā ahl as-ṣaltb (The Gift of the Learned Man to Refute the Partisans of the Cross.) This reverence for the Tuhfa and its author began after a Turkish translation of the book was prepared for the sultan Ahmad I (1603-1616). Prior to that time Turmeda's Tuhfa does not seem to have attracted an audience of readers. In fact the book seems to have dropped completely out of sight until it resurfaces with a Turkish translation. Only one work, by a contemporary of Turmeda, confirms the fact that the Tuhfa was being read in the fifteenth century. This reference occurs in a work on the life of the prophet Muḥammad by Al-Ta'alibī (1388/788-1468/873). In his book Al-Ta'alibī states that one of the proofs of the genuineness of Muḥammad's mission is that Jesus announced his coming when he foretold the coming of the Paraclete. He then indicates the potency of this argument by relating that a Christian

priest had been converted to Islam when Muhammad's identity as the Paraclete was revealed to him. The narrative does not identify the priest but does assert that the story is true and happened to a priest "of our days."⁴³ Inasmuch as Al-Ta'abibī then describes the gist of Turmeda's conversation with his teacher as reported in the Tuhfa it can be safely assumed that he was basing his narrative on a reading of the Tuhfa. Since no manuscript of the Tuhfa survives which can be dated earlier than the beginning of the seventeenth century the Al-Ta'abibī reference is important as a substantiation of the age and authenticity of the Tuhfa.

The vogue for the Tuhfa, as indicated above, is brought about by a Turkish translation, interlineated with Arabic, by Muḥammad b. al-Ṣā'bān⁴⁴ which was presented to Aḥmad I. From that point onwards copies of the Tuhfa were produced in such numbers that forty-four manuscripts have survived the centuries in both the Arabic world and in collections of Arabic manuscripts in Western countries. In addition, eight published editions of the book were produced between 1873 and 1906. These editions were very popular and are held by a large number of libraries in North Africa and in the Middle East. As the fame of the Tuhfa became widespread, the fame of its author, along with reverence for him, became an established fact among Muslims. Turmeda became known as Sidi Tuhfa which can be translated as "the sainted man of the Tuhfa."⁴⁵ The reverence for Turmeda implied by this appellation was based on the belief that the book was a worthy instrument and weapon for Islam. Other names

implying the same have also been used when Muslims refer to Turmeda. Thus we find that the memory of 'Abd-Adallâh ibn 'Abd-Adallâh (Turmeda) became revered because he acquired a reputation as a great defender of Islam against attacks by the Christians. With the passing of the centuries the Tuḥfa took on further importance because of its historical value as a source of information on the later Ḥafṣid dynasty. Turmeda's account of the reign of 'Abū Fārīs, the great Ḥafṣid ruler of Tunis (1394-1433) was mined as a major source of information by later Arabic historians to reconstruct a period for which the sources were scanty. And, to the present day, it is Turmeda's account which provides data on the activities of the later Ḥafṣid dynasts which cannot be extracted from any other source.

Turmeda's tomb is still standing today in the Medina of Tunis. This is quite remarkable since practically nothing remains of the old cemetery connected with the royal palace. Continual encroachments by the souks of the medina have obliterated this medieval cemetery which included tombs of various Tunisian sovereigns. The only tombs that survived the expansion of the city are those of two revered men of letters. The more impressive tomb, in the shape of a kubba, stands outside of the covered souks, near the southern wall of the medina. It has a battered wooden door which was added later when the kubba was used as living quarters. It is now padlocked and protected by the Tunisian government. When a tailor from the souk near where the tomb stands was recently asked whose tomb it was he answered that it was the tomb of Sidi Abdullâh Ai Sarchent (the

sargeant) "because he struggled against enemies for the faith not with arms but with the pen." 46

The Historical Rebirth

While the legend which had grown up around the name of Turmeda served to obscure the true man and, in fact, served to create a fictional character, certain basic data included in the legend were true. Therefore the fact that Turmeda had been a Franciscan, that he had gone to Tunis and that he had written the Llibre de Bons Amonestaments provided the underlying structure which could be expanded upon in order to recover a truer story of the man. In addition, other works by Turmeda had survived in collections held in Spain, France, and Italy. Early nineteenth century catalogues of these collections began to appear in print which gave notice of these other works by the famous friar of the Llibre. It was only a question of time before scholars began using these catalogues to expand upon the traditional story of Turmeda. In 1836 the bishop of Astorga, Torres Amat, while outlining the accepted account of Turmeda, adds notice of the existence of the Debate and some Prophecies.⁴⁷ While it is obvious from what he writes that Torres Amat had not read these works, but is only aware of them through catalogue references, and by the inclusion of the Debate on the Index of Forbidden Books, published in 1583, the addition of the Debate to the list of known works by Turmeda greatly enhanced the possibility of uncovering the truth about the man, since there is

biographical material included in the Debate which would help with the identification.⁴⁸ Furthermore, the figure of Turmeda began to acquire greater stature since he is identified as the author of an interesting work translated into French and which was soon to be assigned a significant place in medieval Catalan literature.

Another product of Turmeda's pen, a poem entitled Cobles de la Divisió del Regne de Mallorca, was also recovered from a surviving manuscript version and was published between 1873 and 1880 by Mariano Aguiló in a collection of medieval Catalan verse.⁴⁹ This poem makes available further biographical details which are employed in a series of articles by Aguiló's nephew, Estanislao de Kosha Aguiló, published in 1884.⁵⁰ In these articles the assertion by Turmeda, in both the Debate and the Cobles that he was a native of Mallorca is further bolstered by a reference to Turmeda found in a previously unknown document. The document in question is a testament by a Pedro Silvestre of Mallorca in which a bequest of money is made to "Fratri Anselmo Turmeda, of the Franciscan Order, my godson so that he may pray for my soul."⁵¹ This reference, along with Turmeda's own words definitely established his place of birth and destroyed once and for all the belief that he had been born in Montblanch or Lérida. This point will be essential later, in identifying Turmeda as the author of the Tuhfa since the fact that he was a Mallorcan narrowed the possibilities considerably.

Going beyond merely giving public notice of documentary evidence

about Turmeda, Aguiló proves himself an able investigator by using this new material to revise dated information. The testament is mined by Aguiló for all the nuggets it can reveal about Turmeda. By using this method, Aguiló becomes the first to apply the modern investigative techniques which will eventually tear away the pious legend built up over the centuries. By concentrating on the above quoted phrase Aguiló is not only able to arrive at an appropriate date of birth for Turmeda but, using this fact, launches an attack on the coupling of Turmeda's name with Marginet's. Aguiló's reasoning was that since the clause of the bequest indicates that the money is being left to Turmeda in order that he might pray for the salvation of Silvestre's soul and, as it did not specify that the friar was to say mass for his godfather, this indicated that the friar was younger than age twenty-five, the normal minimum age for entry into the priesthood and older than fourteen the normal age for admission into an order. On this basis he estimated that Turmeda was born somewhere between 1350 and 1360.⁵² With the estimate of a probably date of birth Aguiló casts doubts on the entire story of the flight with Marginet since, in 1411 (the approximate date of the flight) Turmeda would have been over fifty years of age while Marginet was only a young monk. This seemed to be too incongruous a combination to be believed, especially since Marginet was portrayed as the instigator and Turmeda as the rather slavish follower.

The revisions made by Aguiló did not have immediate impact but, did bear fruit at a later point in time. Meanwhile a more important publication appeared that same year which was to serve

as the spark to the search for the historical facts on Anselm Turmeda. In the Revue de l'histoire des Religions of 1885 a French translation of an Arabic work appeared. This translation entitled Le présent de l'homme lettré pour réfuter les partisans de la croix, par 'Abd-allah ibn 'Abd-allah, le Drogman was none other than a translation of Turmeda's Tuhfa. The translator, Jean Spiro, was not aware of the true identity of the author of the work which he had translated, in spite of all the autobiographical details given in the treatise, because he had concentrated on searching for further data among the Arabic authors. Also, since Turmeda made no reference to his literary output in the autobiography and since he was still generally held to have been born in Montblanch or Lérida and to have undergone a forced conversion to Islam, he would hardly seem the appropriate nominee as author of the Tuhfa. Therefore, although a major portion of the material necessary for the reconstruction of the life of Turmeda could be found in print by 1885, the fact that the material had not been correlated mainly because it crossed traditional lines of historical disciplines delayed until the beginning of the twentieth century the first biographies of Turmeda based on reliable data.

The two scholars who have been credited with apprehending that the Mallorcan apostate of the Tuhfa was in fact Anselm Turmeda of the Debate, Llibre and the Cobles were Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo and Antonio Rubió y Lluch. According to testimony of his students, Rubió y Lluch began to discuss this identification in his classes

around the year 1900.⁵³ Menéndez y Pelayo published it in 1905 in his Origenes de la Novela.⁵⁴ These scholars became aware of the fact because of the resemblance they noted between the biographical data given in the Tuhfa and the material which had accumulated on Turmeda. The confirmation of their identification had been established for the scholars by the publication in 1900 of yet another document, already referred to in chapter two, in which was stated the fact that Turmeda was known by the alias of 'Abd-allâh. The document was a safe-conduct from Alfonso V to "Our dear Friar Entelmm Turmeda alias alcaydum Abdalla."⁵⁵ The safe-conduct specifically included Turmeda's wives and children. This indicates that Turmeda had married more than one wife and supports his claim of having achieved high status. Of course the fact that Turmeda was 'Abd-allâh had been available for centuries in the preface to the Libre which said "Anselm Turmeda in another manner called Abdallah." But these remarks were overlooked and it was not until the publication of the safe-conduct of 1423 that everything began coming together. The acknowledgement by eminent scholars that the Tuhfa was the autobiography of the famous friar and author finally disentangled the story of Marginet from that of Turmeda. But in spite of the elimination of the mythic accretions which had built up around his name the time was still not right for a dispassionate evaluation of the man. Menéndez Pelayo judged him a "corrupt friar" and a "vicious apostate . . . [who insinuates] through the mouth of the ass poorly veiled doubts upon no less than the immortality of the soul."⁵⁶ In

spite of the harshness of his judgment Menéndez Pelayo recognized the literary importance of Turmeda's work, especially the Debate, and ends his discussion with a fervent wish that the Catalan original be recovered to provide the original source of much Catalan folklore and popular sayings. After Menéndez Pelayo the stage is set for a study devoted to sorting out the fact and fiction of Turmeda and making a clear presentation of the entire matter. With the publication of the Vida de Fray Anselmo Turmeda by Joaquin Miret y Sans in 1911 and Fray Anselmo Turmeda: Heterodoxo Espanol (1352-1423-32?) by Agustín Calvet in 1914 the rebirth of an historical figure can be said to have taken place. The Vida de Fray Anselmo Turmeda begins by pointing to some of the eighteenth century sources of misinformation which perpetuated and contributed to the legendary account of Turmeda's life. It follows this with a relatively dispassionate presentation of Turmeda based on the Tubfa and his other works along with the two documents which had been uncovered and published as of that year. Miret's treatment of Turmeda is the first to attempt to abide by the facts and leave the polemics aside. It is only in his brief closing paragraph that Miret attempts to make an assessment of the man. According to his judgment Turmeda apostatized in order to achieve material well-being and since he was indifferent to the spiritual aspects of cult worship the act did not have any great significance for him. In his final sentence Miret states that Turmeda was "a rationalist more advanced than the general run of his contemporaries."⁵⁷ At almost exactly the same

time that Miret published his Vida, Agustín Calvet presented a dissertation, at the Universidad Central in Barcelona, devoted to a full study of the life and legend of Turmeda. Calvet's treatment of Turmeda's biography parallels that of Miret but expands the study devoted to the legend of Turmeda. In addition he transcribes a newly discovered document which mentions Turmeda in reference to prisoner exchange negotiations between Aragon and Tunis. The document was unearthed by Martorelly Trabal.⁵⁸ After presenting the biography Calvet ventures into an investigation of the philosophical currents and religious life in the low Middle Ages. Following the lead of Menéndez Pelayo, Calvet searches out the so-called traces of Averroism to be found in Turmeda. Although he devotes a large number of pages to the task he is singularly unsuccessful in either defining Averroism or locating traces of Averroism in Turmeda. And while he is more successful in depicting the religious upheaval of the Great Schism he is unable to define and confine Turmeda with these historical details. In spite of the fact that the Catholic Church lost a great deal of prestige and power during this period no mass defections occurred; Turmeda's apostasy cannot be explained by describing his era since his actions do not represent the period but are abnormal, almost unique. Calvet insists that it does and calls Turmeda "a truly faithful incarnation of the spirit of the XIV century."⁵⁹ He follows this assertion with a chaotic listing of the social, economic, cultural, religious and philosophical changes which affected Europe in the middle ages. He ends by calling Turmeda a "prototype of these

moral and religious crises, of this anarchistic spirit".⁶⁰

In his final paragraph Calvet states that:

This Anselm Turmeda is a magnificent model of the new peoples, rationalists, incredulous, sceptical, cunning, who have lost the faith of their infancy without happening to create the faith of their youth; who have taken leave of the great religious epic poem which was the XIII century, without foreseeing yet the classical serenity of the dawn of the XV century with the Renaissance.⁶¹

So at the same time that Calvet was helping to take Turmeda out of the shadow of legend and myth he was turning Turmeda into a new mythic figure. Now that Turmeda was no longer the saintly martyr he could become the rationalist prototype for the Renaissance. Thankfully this new version of Turmeda has been allowed to die a merciful death and no serious student of the matter has taken up this approach after Calvet.

The apparently unlimited propensity that the figure of Turmeda has for being turned into a contradictory variety of symbols is further illustrated by this recent statement by a journalist in a Mallorcan newspaper. In reference to Turmeda he states:

As the reader will recall, this Mallorcan writer of the XIV and XV century has been recently brandished as a banner of cultural action by a group of young intellectuals who do what they can to revindicate our Arabic past. It even seems that, taking advantage of his honeymoon trip, one of these youths, went to Tunis to visit the tomb of Turmeda. . . .⁶²

The many contradictions of Turmeda have continued to give rise to controversy and polemic among modern students of the theme. Since the literature on Turmeda grows at a rapid annual rate it would be

impossible to try a summary of these later approaches. The bibliography attempts to list all of the literature which deals extensively with the topic but will surely be out of date within a few years.

NOTES TO PART ONE: CHAPTER THREE

1

Francisco Alvarez Seisdedos, Biblioteca Columbina: Catálogo de sus Libros Impresos, 7 vols., Madrid(1948), VII, 91-92. Also see, A.M. Huntington, Catalog of the Library of Ferdinand Columbus, New York (1905).

2

Seisdedos, Biblioteca, VII, 91.

3

Carpentras 381, ff.98-103r. See Catalogue Général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France, Départements, Carpentras, 24(1901), I, 197-211. It is incorrectly listed in A. Turmeda, Obres Menors, ed. M. Olivar, Barcelona(1927), 14 as #831.

4

Ateneu (Barcelona) 220, ff.226-235r. See J. Masso Torrents, Biblioteca del Ateneo Barcelones, Barcelona(1902). This ms. is listed as Ateneo 1 in Turmeda,Obres Menors, 14.

5

Universidad(Barcelona) 151, ff.280(265)-288(273). It is listed in the Olivar ed. as Universidad 21-4-1.

6

Universidad(Barcelona)68, ff.1-6. See I. Rodríguez, "Autores Espirituales Españoles de la Edad Media", Repertorio de Historia de las Ciencias Eclesiasticas en España, vol. I, (1967), 340.

6a

Seisdedos, Biblioteca, VII, 92.

7

A transcription of the Valencia 1688 edition is published in V Casteñeda, "Dos Ediciones Desconocidos del Libro de 'Bons Amonestaments' de Fray Anselmo de Turmeda", Revista Crítica Hispano-Americano, 5(1919), 9.

8

A.H.N., Inquisición, Legado 4436, No.21. An account of the proceedings is given in Julio Samsó, "Turmediana: I.Trasfondo Cultural Islamico en la Obra Catalana de Anselmo Turmeda.--II.En Torno a la Tuhfa y al Libre de Bons Amonestaments", Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona, 34(1971-1972),82-84.

9
A.H.N. Inquisición, f. 1r.

10
Ibid.

11
Turmeda, Obres Menors, 149, Although the Olivar edition gives neither lines nor stanza number, for ease of reference I will give the actual stanza number, in parenthesis, on all citations to the two works by Turmeda included in this edition. The Catalan reads as follows: No vulles jurat falsament/ne per diners fer traïment;/no et fius massa de vestiment/qui burell sia. (stanza 35)

12
Ibid., 149 (stanza 37): ¿o que oïras dir faràs,/e ¿o que ells fan esquivaràs:/d'aicells ho dic qui lo cap ras,/porten, e barba.

13
Ibid., 154 (stanza 71): Diners, doncs, vulles aplegar./Si els pots haver no els lleixis anar;/si molts n'hauràs poràs tornar/papa de Roma.

14
Ibid., 150 (stanza 40):Les coses en llur estasó:/per guerra se desfà maisó;/no bates muller sens raó,/car a Déu pesa.

15
Ibid., 153 (stanza 62):Vulles tostemp dir veritat/de ¿o que seràs demanat;/mas en cas de necessitat/pots dir falsa.

16 A.H.N., Inquisición, f. 1r.

17
Martín de Riquer, História, II, 280.

18
F. Torres Amat, Memórias para Ayudar a Formar un Diccionario Crítico de los Escritores Catalanes, Barcelona (1836), 635.

19
M. Aguiló, Catálogo de Obras en Lengua Catalana, Madrid (1923), 592-593.

20

M. Riquer, Història, II, 280.

21

Although the Olivar edition eliminates the word 'prophet', which was condemned at Mallorca, all of the other editions I have seen contain that word.

22

Olivar, 149.

23

According to Aquiló, Catálogo, 592: "The monks were in the habit of blotting out this advice in the few editions which contained it."

24

This substitution appears in 13 editions held by the Biblioteca Central of Barcelona.

25

The imprimatur is quoted in Juan San Antoniò, Biblioteca Universa Fransiscanum, Vol. III, Madrid (1733), appendix supplementa.

26

P. Bofarull y Mascaró, Colección de Documentos Ineditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragon, IX-X, Història de los Condes de Urgel, por Diego Monfar y Sors, Barcelona: 1853, X, 453.

27

Francesca Vendrell de Millas, "El Prestige Espiritual de Fra Pere Marginet després del Seu Retorn a Poblet", Miscel·lània Històrica Catalana: Homenatge al Pare Jaume Finestres, Historiador de Poblet (†1769), Abàdia de Poblet: (1970), 265.

28

Although Sayol's ms. was not available to me it was the acknowledged source for the story which is published by Pedro Serra y Postius, Prodigios y Finezas de los Santos Angelos, Barcelona: 1726. The later account is used here as representative of the general outlines of the legend written by Sayol thirty years previously. It can be found on pages 176 and following of Serra's book. Also see page 291 for an encomium on Sayol and a discussion of the "authentic" sources used by the abbot.

29
Ibid., 177-178.

30
Jaime Coll, Crónica Seráfica de La Santa Provincia de Cataluña, Madrid (1738), 347-355.

31
Ibid., 347.

32
Ibid.

33
Ibid.

34
Ibid., 348.

35
Ibid., 352.

36
Ibid., 354.

37
A presentation of some of these later versions of the Turmeda legend can be seen in Calvet, Turmeda, 21-23 and Miret y Sans, Vida, 4-5.

38
Torres Amat, Memórias, I, 25.

39
F. R. Cambouliu and M. Milá y Fontanals, História de la Literatura Catalana Antiga, Barcelona (1910), 25 and O. Denk, V.M., Einführung in die Geschichte der Altcatalanischen Literatur von deren Anfängen bis zum 18. Jahrhundert, Munich (1893), 74.

40
Castro, Biblioteca, Vol. XLV, page xx.

41
M. Milá y Fontanals, Resseña Historica y Critica dels Antichs Catalans, Barcelona (1865), 20.

42

All of the material presented on the question of Turmeda in the Arab world is based on the research of Epalza. See Epalza, Tuhfa, 43-55 and his "L'Auteur de la 'Tuhfa al-arib' Anselm Turmeda (Abdallah Al-Tarjuman)", Ibla, (Tunis), 28 (1965), 272-278.

43

Epalza, Tuhfa, 47.

44

Ibid., 48.

45

Ibid., 52.

46

Epalza, "Nuevas Aportaciones", 140.

47

Torres Amat, Memorias, 635.

48

While Torres added these new and important details to what was known on Turmeda he must be faulted for stating that Turmeda was born in Montblanch or Lérida. This statement misled a number of scholars, notably Milá y Fontanals.

49

M. Aguilo, Cançoner de les Obrets en Nostra Lengua Materna mes Divulgades Durant los Segles XIV, XVe, XVI, Barcelona (187801880?), no pagination or signatures.

50

Estanislao de K. Aguiló, "Fra Anselm Turmeda: Apuntes Biograficos", Museo Balear, I (segunda epoca), Palma (May-Dec, 1884), 9-17; 126-136 and "Fra Anselm Turmeda: Apendice", Museo Balear, II (segunda epoca), Palma (Jan-Oct, 1885), 218-226; 256-267.

- 51 Aguiló, "Fra Anselm Turmeda", 11-12.
- 52 ... Ibid.
- 53 Epalza, Tuhfa, 58-59. Also see Miret y Sans, "Vida", 11-12.
- 54 Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo, Orígenes de la Novela, IV Vols, Madrid (1961), I, 167.
- 55 A.H.A., Cancillería, R. 2697, F. 138v. See Calvet, Turmeda, 41-43 for transcription.
- 56 Menéndez Pelayo, Orígenes, I, 174.
- 57 Miret, "Vida", 38.
- 58 Calvet, Turmeda, 52-53.
- 59 Ibid., 219.
- 60 Ibid., 220.
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 Interview by J. Pomar in the Diario de Mallorca, Palma, 11 July 1973 entitled "Zaidia [sic]/Schecter, Medievalista Americana en Busca del Testamento de Turmeda", 13. This journalist further points out that a popular Spanish singer has made a "hit" out of Turmeda's stanzas on money which appear in his Llibre and that a new publishing house has taken the name "Turmeda."

PART II: THE WRITINGS OF ANSELM TURMEDA

Llibre de Bons Amonestaments

The earliest book known to have been written by Anselm Turmeda is a short volume of verse which became known as the Llibre de Bons Amonestaments.¹ It was also called, familiarly, the Franselms by the young boys who were taught to memorize it as part of their school lessons. The publishing history of this book has been dealt with at length in Chapter Three for the role it played in creating the legend of Turmeda. This discussion will be limited to a brief examination of the contents of the book and an evaluation of what it reveals about the character and personality of Anselm Turmeda.

The Llibre is a book of poetry numbering one hundred and seven stanza. Each stanza is composed of four lines; three rhyming octosyllables followed by a quadrisyllable which does not rhyme. The "good advice" offered by the book is directed to young Christian boys. The boys are advised to follow the established precepts of the period in easily memorized lines perfect for use by instructors using old-fashioned teaching methods. As has already been noted, in this manner it became a standard text used in Catalan schools for centuries. In 1905 Menéndez y Pelayo pointed out that the Llibre "is in a large part an imitation and, at times, a translation of an Italian book, La Dottrina dello Schiavo di Bari"² which is believed to date from the thirteenth century. The dependency on the Italian work is immediately apparent from any comparison of the two.³ Although Turmeda's work

imitates the rhyming pattern of the Italian poem it fails in one important respect. La Dottrina dello Schiavo di Bari can claim much more internal unification in that the fourth line of each stanza rhymes with the next three lines of the following stanza. This is not the case with Turmeda's poem and the last line of each stanza stands alone, rather awkwardly at times. Besides adapting the structure of the Italian work, Turmeda has completely taken over eighteen stanzas and uses them in their entirety, translated into Catalan, of course. Also lines taken from some of the other stanzas are incorporated into Turmeda's text. Finally, the general structural format of the poem, in that it purports to be moral teachings addressed to a young boy, a form of wisdom literature, is adopted by Turmeda from La Dottrina.

Although Turmeda has borrowed heavily from the Italian work this dependency ought not be overstated since over seventy stanzas out of the hundred and seven are original. Most of the stanzas adopted from La Dottrina occur at the beginning and do not appear after stanza fifty-nine. Also, whole themes are introduced by Turmeda which do not figure at all in the Italian poem and it is precisely these themes which give the otherwise shallow stanzas whatever depth of interest they may have. An important section (stanzas 64 to 71) which is original with Turmeda's Llibre is devoted to the evils of money and especially the evil impact of money on religion. Eight of the stanzas dealing with money open with the word Dinars (money) and form a type of refrain. They run

as follows:

Money makes truth out of injustice
And makes the judge an advocate;
It knows how to turn the man to pray
I that he will find some.

Money does good, money does evil,
Money makes the man a devil
And makes the saint celestial
According to how they use it.

Money causes quarrels and remorse
And vituperates and honors,
And makes the preachers sing,
Beati quorum.

Money makes the children happy,
And it makes the chaplains sing,
And the Carmelite friars,
On the great feast days.

Money turns thin ones fat
And turns the bastards legitimate
If you say "here!" to deaf men,
They will immediately turn.

Money makes the sick well;
Moors, Jews and Christians,
Leave God and all the saints
To worship money.

Money makes the world see the joke
And makes them honor the biggest ninny;
He who says "no" it makes say "yes"
Take note of the miracle!

Money, then, you ought to gather,
If you can have it do not let it go
If you have much, you can become
The Pope of Rome.⁴

These mordant verses do not fit the modern idea of good advice to be given a young boy. Yet, even though four of the stanzas were condemned by the Inquisition panel of 1582, by and large they continue appearing, with the exception of the last stanza, in most of the

editions published as text books and devotional reading.

In addition to the observations on the pernicious influence of money a number of stanzas show a distinct anti-feminine inclination stronger than any cautions about women contained in La Dottrina dello Schiavo di Bari which limits itself to warnings against prostitutes.

Examples of how Turmeda exceeds his model include:

Women have a tendency
to do the forbidden thing,
Especially when she is angered,
She will stop at nothing.

Women tricked Solomon,
Adam, David and Samson,
Oh son, if God gives you pardon
Do not trust her.

Women is the chief of sin,
The vessel of the wicked devil
And depriver of the sainted realm
According to Origen.⁵

These, and other sentiments, which run through the poem and which are original in the Llibre seem to indicate that Turmeda's work is a free adaptation of the Italian poem stressing elements not found in the original material upon which it is based. Turmeda's work does not have the superficial sweetness of La Dottrina dello Schiavo di Bari but instead takes on a rather sardonic, cutting aspect which marks it with the stamp of Turmeda's personality.

The llibre includes two stanzas which identify their author:

And if you wish to know my name,
I am called Friar Anselm,
And by the surname of Turmeda,
I am called by all.

This was done in the month of April,

In the gentle springtime,
 of 1398
 When seeds were flying.⁶

Although the Llibre has limited appeal to a modern audience its impact on audiences of an earlier period cannot be denied.⁷ The popularity of the work would seem to indicate that Turmeda was expressing sentiments on which there was general agreement. Expressions which would offend a modern audience, were considered suitable for the very young and for devotional reading in Church. There is even a truncated version of ninety-three stanzas which prefaces a very weighty medical textbook of two hundred and fifty-nine folios written during the reign of Alfonso V (1416-1458).⁸ Even in the more sophisticated realm of the medical student the impact of Turmeda's "good advice" can be noted.

The Llibre is the most Christian of Turmeda's writings. It contains a number of references to Christian beliefs and all of these lines are original with Turmeda; that is they are not based on La Dottrina. In stanza two Turmeda upholds baptism and the Christian trinity. In stanza three he affirms that "Jesus, the son of God" is God and son of David. Stanza four advises the young reader to "believe that which the Church believes."⁹ After the five stanza prologue other lines occur which indicate faith in the Christian church. In stanzaninety-four Turmeda advises attendance at confession and the doings of penance. In stanza twenty-four Turmeda advises mass before breakfast and stanza thirty-six, attendance at church. Stanza twenty-six refers to "Jesus Christ, our Lord," while

stanza seventy-seven advises following what was said by "the son of God." Two references to the Virgin appear in stanza ninety-five and ninety-seven.¹⁰ Turmeda's major attack on the church and its clergy occurs in stanza sixty-five to seventy-one condemning greed.¹¹ Two other stanza are directed against monks namely stanza thirty-five, advising against trusting a monk too far, and stanza thirty-seven, which tells the reader to do as the monk says, not as he does.¹² These attacks are not those of an outsider, but, rather of a stern Catholic moralist who wishes to clean corruption out of the church. No clue to their author's apostasy can be found in the body of the text and no suspicion on the orthodoxy of the author could ever be cast from a simple reading of the text. Yet the Llibre does give a number of clues about its author.

To begin with, Turmeda's use of the Dottrina as the starting point for his own book supports his claim of having spent ten years studying in Bologna. Turmeda obviously knew Italian and was not adverse to some unacknowledged borrowing from a little known Italian work to help start off his literary career. It is obvious that he learnt or memorized the Dottrina while in Italy and was inspired by it to write a Catalan version, suited to his own nation. That Turmeda did not give an acknowledgement of the Dottrina ought not be taken as indicative of a lack of character or of unscrupulous behavior. There was no standard contemporary practice which would have demanded an acknowledgement. It is not likely that Turmeda would have been faulted by his contemporaries on this matter.

However, the fact that, excepting the prophecies and the autobiographical chapters of the Tuhfa, Turmeda showed himself heavily dependent on works by other authors indicates that Turmeda was not an original thinker. This lack of originality would seem to be expected from a man who was never encouraged to think for himself. Turmeda is decidedly handicapped in his literary efforts by this inability. Of course, it must be acknowledged that in spite of this problem Turmeda managed to lead a very original life.

The question then arises of how and why Turmeda wrote a genuinely Christian book nine years after joining Islam. The first point which must be raised is that Turmeda probably wrote the book while living in Italy. It is there where he became acquainted with La Dottrina and was probably inspired to write his Catalan version. In addition, the book reveals a certain "monkish" orientation which would be expected of a man who had spent almost his entire life in a monastery atmosphere, as would have been the case with Turmeda while still living in Italy. The advice to "hear the sainted mass before breakfast" (stanzatwenty-four) and to abstain from meat except during a church feast (stanza eighty-two) seem to reveal this orientation.¹³ Even the advice not to trust over much in monks (stanzathirty-five) and to do as monks say not as they do (stanzathirty-seven) ~~seems~~ **to come out of the** realities of every day life in the monastery. Furthermore, there is no line which seems to allude in any way to Turmeda's life after he left Christianity. This seems strange coming from a man

who writes so much from life. Every other book by Turmeda contains many references to his life and to the people he knew. This autobiographical streak is very pronounced in Turmeda. Therefore, the lack of any referenees to the life he was living in 1398 is noteworthy.

But even allowing that Turmeda wrote the Llibre in Italy while living as a monk and a student, the fact remains that the book was dated 1398 (verse one hundred and five) and was entitled "a book composed in Tunis by Friar Anselm Turmeda, called, in another manner, Abd-alla. . . ." This leaves no doubt that Turmeda published the book while residing in Tunis somewhere around 1398. Since Turmeda also published the Cobles, which will be discussed below, at the same time and directed it to the Mallorcans the conclusion is inescapable that Turmeda was currying favor in the West, possibly as a prelude to a return to Christianity. Without further documentation, speculations as to the reasons for this "change-of-heart" would be almost worthless. If, indeed, this was a preliminary to a return to Christianity the answer would probably only be found in the mind of Turmeda. The steps that would lead him to this decision and then to a reversal would hardly be found in documents. One possibility must be pointed out since it could explain the evidence and the question which brings to mind as to how Turmeda was able to justify himself before his lords in Tunis after having published the Llibre. For it is unlikely that this publication could have gone unnoticed by Abū-Fārīs and his court. Yet Turmeda

continues advancing in honors and prestige under Abū-Farīs. The question then arises as to whether Turmeda published two works in 1398 which would appeal to the Catalans in order to make himself more valuable to his master, Abū-Farīs. Although the extreme deviousness of this explanation would seem to make it untenable, one piece of evidence can be adduced in its support. This is the story of Father Francis as told by Turmeda in Chapter two of the Tuhfa. As will be recalled Turmeda tells how Abū-Farīs convinces him to trick Father Francis in order to secure the return of the captured vessels at a low price. Abū-Farīs tells Turmeda: "War is a treacherous business" and asks him to participate in the betrayal which will trick the Christians into granting a price the Muslims were willing to pay. The tradition of using trickery in war is hallowed by the recorded sayings (hadith) of Muḥammad as reported by Al-Buḥārī. Chapter 157 of his Saḥīḥ is entitled "War is a trick" and chapter 158 is called "About lying in warfare."¹⁴ The tradition that "all's fair in love and war" becomes hallowed when dealing with "holy war" or war against the infidel. With this in mind it is within the realm of possibility that Turmeda was encouraged by his ruler to seek out prestige in the West so that his enhanced position could be used in negotiations with one of the two most important powers with which Tunis had to deal. The Tunisians always dealt from a position of weakness with Aragon and Genoa and probably employed every possible device to rectify this unfavorable balance. Whether Turmeda's books were corrective

devices employed for this means is solely a matter of speculation. If it is untenable that they were so employed the Llibre must be considered a work reflecting genuine Christian piety which was published by Turmeda for purposes of reconciliation with his former religious compeers. The why and how of it cannot be established and it can only be judged as reflecting a temporary state of mind which did not bring about the re-conversion of Turmeda to Christianity.

Cobles a la Divisió del Regne de Mallorques

Unlike the Llibre the Cobles does not have a long publishing history. It remained for centuries, locked away in a forgotten manuscript. The work was first printed in a book of Mallorcan verse published between 1873 and 1880 by the noted folklorist Mariano Aguilo.^{14a} Since then it has been the object of attention by European scholars mainly because of historical and linguistic interest. In addition to information it provides about Turmeda the Cobles has been mined for its linguistic clues as to the early use of the Catalan language. Often this book contains the only known use of a Catalan word. Furthermore, its descriptions of Mallorca and prominent Mallorcan religious leaders is of value to the students of the history of the island. Finally the artistic value of the Cobles is esteemed as an early example of the development of medieval Catalan poetry which would culminate a half century later with the poems of Ausias and Jacme March.

The Cobles is a book of verse consisting of one hundred and twenty-three stanzas of eight lines each with a rhyming pattern of

ababbcb. According to a prologue of this work Turmeda himself explains his reasons for writing this poem. "As I was fondly asked by some honorable merchants of Mallorca to write a treatise on the discord within this realm in spite of the fact that my understanding is gross and lacking in subtility in the art of the troubador, in order to give some satisfaction to their pleas I have written some crass verses in vulgar Catalan, as you will see."¹⁵ How much truthfulness there is in this statement still remains to be determined. It must be noted, however, that the modesty, false or true, is very uncharacteristic of Turmeda.

The poem begins with some pretty verses which describe the bucolic scene encountered by Turmeda as he was horseback riding on a fine spring morning. These descriptions of trees, plants, birds, etc. are very much in the style Turmeda uses in the Debate, notably in the prefatory poem. They are often listings of all types of things both common and exotic which are strung together like multi-color beads on a string. He then describes in elaborate detail a castle which he encounters on this ride:

On steps of white marble
 We entered the hall.
 I do not recall ever seeing
 such a gracious stairway;
 they said it was built
 by a master of King Arthur;
 who then died, falling from it.
 Certainly the world has no such as this.

The portal was incised
 with a most agreeable work;
 sketched on all sides
 of gold and azure from Pistoia.

Oh God! what a great gem was
 the stories that appear there
 of Hector and Jason
 and of the feat of great Troy.¹⁶

In the throne room sat a lovely queen who identified herself as the island of Mallorca and "that city for which Jeremiah lamented."¹⁷ When Turmeda asks the reason for her sadness she replies that she is crying because her sons, the people of Mallorca, have engaged in so much strife that they have caused the downfall of the great, rich realm. "My disobedient sons/ have subjugated me to strangers."¹⁸ She then describes the former richness of her island which traded in "Flanders and in Syria/ in the land of the Genovese/ in Pisa which is near to us/ and in all of Barberie."¹⁹ After describing the resources and material wealth of the island which have been dissipated she also says that her realm can claim spiritual richness and "on account of the order of Franciscans/ I was and will be very honored."²⁰ After this statement the poem mentions at length the merits of thirteen friars from the island. They are cited as being outstanding on account of their wisdom and learning. All but one of the friars named and described in the poem have been identified because of the eminence they achieved within their orders or because of their involvement with events which took place in Mallorca in the last quarter of the fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth.²¹ This portion of the poem is followed by a return to the question concerning the strife which is plaguing the island.

And therefore, what is this dishonor

that causes these divisions in one
 where so many masters and doctors
 have their natural estate?
 "Madam, his own advantage
 each one seeks for himself;
 they say to their neighbor
 'I am not of your lineage.'"

Friar Anselm, oh dear son!
 Oh master of three letters!
 Arabic for you is crystal clear
 and in Hebrew you are very able.
 Will you versify in writing
 when you have the opportunity
 about this great disaster.²²

The queen asks Turmeda how the discord had arisen among her subjects and he explains to her that in ancient, pagan times, under a Moorish king there had been unity in the Mallorcans. "Your people, humble and grand/ had much love for each other."²³ This unity among the various social classes on the island was so great that "to maintain the common good/ they rebelled against their king."²⁴ The king, unable to cope with the unified front against his whims, assigned his astronomer the task of bringing discord to the island so that he might take advantage of the strife. Turmeda describes the ceremony carried out by the astronomer in great detail. The astronomer waited twenty days for a Saturday in the most propitious hour of Saturn to begin the rites. The spell included the use of images, potions and animal sacrifices and seems to rely more on magic than on astrology.²⁵ The charm works and discord rears its ugly head for the first time on the island. This, however, does not benefit the king because without the aid of his people he is conquered by the Count of Barcelona and loses his realm. This

last is an allusion to the conquest of the island of Mallorca from its Moorish overlords by James I of Aragon. This invasion took place in 1229. According to Turmeda this disunity of the islanders which aided the conquest is the same problem which continues to plague the island.

We ought to firmly believe
that God creates nature,
and under this management
is each creature.
And your people, created
by God Omnipotent
should humbly pray that
their division turn to pure love.²⁶

The only thing that will break this spell, according to Turmeda's advice to the queen, is if everyone firmly believes in God and humbly prays to him to restore unity. The queen is comforted by the solution offered by Turmeda and asks him to deliver this message to her children. Friar Anselm says that he would do so except that it is not safe to go among her people. He then tells a fable about a falcon and a cock to illustrate the dangers of trusting men. The fable tells how a cock justifies his lack of loyalty to his master by referring to man's propensity for roasted chicken. The fable is brought to life when Turmeda refers to two of his own companions whom he saw burnt at the stake in Palma and in Ibiza. In spite of the queen's remonstrances he remains adamant on this point. As a compromise they agree that Turmeda will write a letter to the islanders exhorting them to unite in common cause. The poem ends with this letter which is full of citations and references to Aristotle, the Gospels and the Old Testament. While invoking the cause of unity, examples are given of other kingdoms overthrown because of strife, namely Carthage by Rome and Genoa by

France (1396). He refers to the factions of Sardinia (which struggled against Aragon) and to the guelf-ghibelline conflict in Naples. The poem ends on this note of exhortation and is dated as being "written in the palace/1398."²⁷

As can be seen from the description the Cobles is a fairly complicated narrative. In general the story line holds together with the exception of the section describing outstanding Mallorcan friars. This section intrudes on the narrative and stops the story development for thirteen verses. The fanciful and fantastic plot of the Cobles seems created for the specific purpose of justifying Turmeda's "letter" to the Mallorcans with his message that they must overcome their tendency toward disunity and "pray that their division turn to pure love." What specific tendencies he is referring to can only be surmised. Conflict on the island between the city dwellers of Palma and the rest of the islanders known as foraneos has been noted as already apparent in 1364.²⁸ Many foraneos migrated to the city to evade the special taxes imposed on them. In 1372 each party to the conflict began sending embassies to the Aragonese court in search of special favor. In 1391, when Mallorca joined in the pogrom which broke out throughout Spain, the attack on the ghetto of Palma by the foraneos represented in addition to violent antisemitism, an attack on the city dwellers by the repressed outsiders. This culminated in 1451 with a general peasant uprising against the city which constituted a genuine social revolution.²⁹ Therefore, there were dangerous currents

of Mallorcan disunity manifest in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries which caused sporadic upheavals. If Turmeda was addressing himself to these divisions he was certainly attempting to treat a real problem. Why he would have done this from Tunis is the question which still has no answer. The purpose of the Cobles seems to be that of seeking favor, especially with notable religious leaders of the community. What ultimate purpose Turmeda had in mind is not revealed by his poem. Again the suspicion arises that Turmeda was politically motivated in writing the poem and that his interest in the welfare of the Mallorcans was directly connected with his interest in his own personal welfare in Tunis.

The "letter" from Turmeda to the inhabitants of Mallorca lists notable examples of the fall of empires and kingdoms brought about because of lack of unity. In an abrupt jump from the fall of Cathage, Turmeda turns to contemporary Italian states. His first mention in stanza 111 is of Genoa suffering under harsh French rule.³⁰ In this he is referring to the fact that Genoese noblemen turned the city over to the French in 1396. Turmeda predicts that this rule will only be upheld by the point of a lance. In the next stanza he mentions Sardinia, the guelf-ghibelline struggle and the conflict in Naples between partisans of the white rose and the red.³¹ These two stanzas indicate Turmeda's great interest in Italian politics which may stem from his years in Italy but which at this time probably constituted part of his responsibility while working in the customs of Tunis. These two stanzas seem forerunners

of later prophecies which will deal extensively with Italian politics. At this point they seem to constitute Turmeda's first hesitant attempts at prophecy. But it must not be overlooked that the entire poem represents a prediction of impending revolution on the island of Mallorca. To make the prediction one did not have to be a prophet, only an astute observer of the political scene. Turmeda proves himself to be one already in 1398. His subsequent writings indicate that Turmeda continued to devote a great deal of time to and interest in political developments in Europe and in his new homeland in North Africa. But Turmeda's political activities can only be surmised from what he reveals in his writings. Perhaps documentation will eventually turn up which will clarify this aspect of Turmeda's life.³²

The Profecias

After the Cobles in 1398 nothing further appears under Turmeda's name until 1405 (1407) and 1406, the date of two verse prophecies. These verse prophecies along with two others of a later date have been uncovered in five fifteenth-century manuscripts in Spain, France and Italy. This geographical diffusion seems to indicate that these prophecies were held in some regard in the century in which they were written. The most popular of these prophecies seems to have been the longest which contains over seven hundred and fifty lines. It begins Les Prometences.³³ Four manuscript copies of this poem are extant. These manuscripts differ as to the date of the poem giving either 1405 or 1407. Of these manuscripts two are preserved in the

Collection of the Biblioteca Central of Barcelona, one is in the library of the Escorial and the last is held by the University of Catania in Sicily.³⁴ Les Prometences is an ambitious work which, according to the title given it in one of its manuscripts, prophesizes about the deeds of the "church and of its rulers and of the princes and lords of its lands and provinces and islands."³⁵ It lives up to its title by predicting dire events in practically all of the countries of Western Europe. Further discussion of a curious aspect of this poem will be presented below. The Barcelona manuscript containing Les Prometences also contains a second poem which is introduced as "another ordering or prophecy of the said Friar Entelm Turmeda."³⁶ This prophecy, entitled "No Crech Pas" consists of two hundred and fifty-five lines of predicted ills which will afflict Spain, France and Italy.³⁷ The rhythm of No Crech Pas differs from the monotonous pentameter of Les Prometences by varying lines of three syllables with those of four.

In addition to Les Prometences and No Crech Pas Turmeda was the author of two other prophetic poems which ought properly to be discussed at this point. These two poems are preserved in only one manuscript held in France.³⁸ The second poem is only a sixteen line fragment beginning "O Babilonia, tu Barcelona" entitled Cobles de Profecies de Fra Anselm. These lines predict the fall of Barcelona using the Old Testament imagery of Babylon and Sodom. The most important of all these prophetic poems is the one entitled, in the Carpentras manuscript as, "This is the prophecy made

by the ass speaking of things which ought to occur in the above mentioned lands."³⁹ This is none other than the Prophecy of the Ass which is included in the Debate Between the Friar and the Ass. It is the only portion of the Debate which survives in the original Catalan language in which it was written. This prophecy begins with the words "En nom de l'essence." After the text of the prophecy the manuscript gives a gloss which is entitled "Declaraci6 de la profecia de l'ase." It begins with a statement: "This is the explanation [Declaraci6] of the prophecy made by the debater Friar Encelm Turmeda in the debate of the animals."⁴⁰ This seems to conform with Turmeda's own statement in the text of the Debate when the ass promises the friar that he "would be very willing. . . to give. . . the explanation. . . [of the Prophecy] at the end of the debate."⁴¹ This promise is never fulfilled in the French editions of the Debate but the Declaraci6 does not appear to be the fulfillment promised, either. This Declaraci6 is generally regarded as the work of a later hand. The evidence supporting this opinion is adduced by Bohigas in his article on Turmeda's prophecies. According to Bohigas, "when the prophecy is most arbitrary, it is interpreted literally by the author of the Declaraci6. . . [This] indicates that the author is not Turmeda himself."⁴² As examples of this over literalness of interpretation he cites the real moza (a female of the royal house) of verses 5, 39, and 40; the pillar of fire, verses 15 to 173 and the white rose versus the red rose of verse 53.⁴³ All of these symbols are interpreted as objects by the Declaraci6. More telling evidence is the reference to verse 55 in

which the fleur-de-lis takes vengeance on Lucco. The explanation given by the Declaració refers to a peace treaty and to a subsequent war. This war broke out, in fact, in 1429 and ended in 1433.⁴⁴ On this basis Bohigas concludes that the Declaració was written between 1429 and 1433 when the author knew of the war but sometime prior to its outcome. Further evidence for authorship prior to 1433 is the interpretation given in verses thirty-three and thirty-four. The Count referred to in these verses is identified by the Declaració as the Count of Urgel. According to the explanation given its meaning is that the Count will escape from prison and receive support from the Great Constable of Castille. In actual fact the Count of Urgel died, while in prison in 1433. This, then is the published evidence for rejecting the genuineness of the Declaració.

Even though the Declaració is not considered a work by Turmeda the fact that it was written very shortly after the prophecy which it claims to explain makes it valuable in helping to interpret the difficult symbols in which the poem abounds. The clue provided by the Declaració as to the identity of the count leads to the conclusion that Turmeda might have been a supporter of Urgel. This is indicated by the fact that the verses can be shown to have actually referred to the situation the Count was in at the time the prophecy was written. The last Count of Urgel known as James the Unfortunate, lost his **fight** for the throne of Aragon in 1413. He was imprisoned by the victor, Ferdinand Antequera and sentenced

as a rebel. Ferdinand took the precaution of imprisoning him in Castille, away from his supporters. With the ascension of Alfonso V to the throne in 1416 new disagreements broke out between Castille and Aragon and Castille threatened to raise the count as a contender against Alfonso.⁴⁵ When Turmeda wrote his prophecy in 1418 the possibility existed that Castille would promote the interests of the count. Turmeda's verses could then have been a calculated guess or wishful thinking, or both. In any case they serve to bolster the contention made in James' trial that prophecies by Turmeda were used to inspire his revolt since Turmeda seems to be writing more of the same in 1418. What exactly, if any were Turmeda's connections with Urgel remain totally obscure. Although Joan Eximeno, who had been extraordinarily lauded in Turmeda's Cobles,⁴⁶ served as confessor to Urgel he does not seem to have had any part in the delivery of Turmeda's prophecies to the count.⁴⁷ According to the deposition of the Countess' almoner the prophecies were brought by a certain Diego Ruiz de Mendoza.⁴⁸ If any connections existed they have yet to be proven. Yet whether or not Turmeda had direct contacts in his homeland his writings indicate that he kept himself extremely well-informed on the political situation there.

A very curious aspect of Turmeda's prophecies is the fact that he claims to have predicted, in 1405 (1407), the resolution of the Great Schism and the election of Odo Colona as Martin V. This claim appears within the text of the Debate when the ass refers to a

prophecy which had been made by Turmeda. According to the ass:
 "when you made a prophecy in which everything you have prophesized,
 or at least the better part of it has come to pass in the world, you
 became so proud that no one could speak to you." He continues: "I
 read your prophecy how the schism would come to an end and a true
 pope would come from one of the Colonnas. . ."⁴⁹ The ass then
 summarizes lines one hundred and one to one hundred and thirteen
 of Les Prometences. The actual manuscript version of Les Prometences
 translates as follows:

Abandoned
 Vituperated
 Will be the wife (sword)
 Who White Rose
 was called.
 And then deprived
 of her crown
 the great Colonna (pillar)
 will be Provenca:
 with her power
 placed in a Sheath
 By a blow of the sword
 knife and lance.⁵⁰

These lines perfectly illustrate the problem of dealing with Turmeda's
 prophecies. The claims Turmeda makes for them would hardly seem
 justified by any close reading of the relationships between the
 various symbols. And yet one of the manuscripts which contains a
 copy of this prophecy begins these lines with this statement. "The
 prologue finishes and here it begins to tell of what is to happen to
 the church and its leaders."⁵¹ This seems to give some substance to
 Turmeda's claim that these lines refer to the papacy. Yet even if
 the word Colonna (which seems to be used by Turmeda in the Prophecy
of the Ass in its ordinary meaning of pillar) does refer to Odo

Colonna it is a long jump from here to the Council of Constance and the resolution of the Great Schism. Almost all of the lines of these prophecies are like those above. They defy accurate reading and understanding so that almost any interpretation can be made to fit, if the interpreter is so inclined. On this basis Turmeda claims to have written a prophecy of which "the better part" came to pass.⁵² Without going into the prophecies in great depth predictions, such as the rule of a royal female in Saragossa (lines five hundred and ninety to five hundred and ninety five) or the reference to a forced baptism of the Moors (lines six hundred and fifty to six hundred and fifty-five; six hundred and ninety-four to seven hundred and five) which would bring about a new schism would hardly qualify as successful predictions.⁵³ Yet Turmeda's claim can stand almost unchallenged because of the great difficulty or even insuperable obstacles which surround positive identification of events, places and names. For this reason little has been done with the prophecies except transcription and publication. The translation presented in this text of the "Prophecy of the Ass" is only one possible rendering of the meaning which the words seem to give. Of all of the prophecies it is the clearest in terms of vocabulary and grammar. But, it too, contains many variant interpretations, unknown words whose meaning can only be guessed at, indefinite grammatical construction, which in some cases, make translation almost guesswork. It will suffice to give an idea of Turmeda's Prophecies without becoming overly involved with this rather esoteric aspect of his literary

works. Turmeda himself informs the reader in the Debate that a prophecy must be purposely obscure and difficult to interpret because "that which is acquired by labor is well valued and liked by the people."⁵⁴ Prophecies which were meant to tax their readers centuries ago can only remain curiosities today.

The Debate Between the Friar and the Ass

After the prophecies of 1403-1407 a long lacuna occurs in Turmeda's literary production. The causes of this cessation are unknown. Then between 1418 and 1420 Turmeda's two most interesting books appear. The first of these is The Debate Between the Friar and the Ass. It is the book by which Turmeda would one day be able to reach the most widespread reading public. Oddly enough this work, considered one of the masterpieces of medieval Catalan literature, has not survived in its original language.⁵⁵ All of the Catalan copies have disappeared. The reason for this disappearance has been attributed to the fact that the book appeared on the Index of Forbidden Books published in Madrid in 1583.⁵⁶ It is assumed that all the Catalan manuscript and printed copies were eliminated by order of the Inquisition. The only part which remains of the original text is the fifteenth century manuscript copy of the Prophecy of the Ass which has already been discussed. In addition, one catalogue reference has been found which describes an early printed Catalan edition. This reference appears in the catalogue of the collection of Ferdinand Columbus, and indicates that item number 3081 of his collection was a book entitled

Disputa de la fe contra frare Encelm Turmeda sobre la natura e nobleza dels animals ordinata per lo dicto Encelm. The entry states that the book was printed in Barcelona on 1 May 1509. It was purchased in Lerida for twenty-nine maravedis in June of 1512 by its owner.⁵⁷ This book cannot be found in the collection held by the Columbina, founded by Ferdinand Columbus, and the only trace of it is in this catalogue citation.⁵⁸ No reference to any other printed Catalan edition has been found. Although scholars have searched avidly for any evidence which might lead to a copy of the book in its original tongue, as of the moment, that hope has been frustrated. Fortunately, although the book disappeared in Spain it made its way into France where it was translated and printed four times between 1544 and 1606.⁵⁹ Five copies of it are carefully treasured in the British Museum (3) the Biblioteque Nationale de Paris (1) and the Biblioteca Central of Barcelona (1).

Why and how the Debate made its way into France in the sixteenth century is still unknown. Any attempt to unravel the mystery of the French editions would demand extensive and detailed knowledge of the French literary and possibly religious scene of this period. The only clues which can be provided at this point are those given in the translator's preface. The translator of the 1544 edition, who identifies himself as G.L., provides a preface explaining his reasons for translating the Debate. He addressed this preface "to all his faithful friends."⁶⁰ A large portion of this preface is devoted to apologizing for the "rudeness of my spirit," and the use of "rural

language" on account of "my childhood and birth."⁶¹ He also emphasizes that he is not a translator by profession and that he was forced to rush the translation on account of having to leave on a journey. In spite of all these drawbacks "not wishing, aboveall for the love of you, to leave the work that you so desire imperfect" he has brought the translation to fruition.⁶² After this effusive disclaimer G.L. turns to an evaluation of the Debate. According to the translation the ass is only an ass in body "because he resembles Cyprian, Chrisostome or Doctor Subtle in theology;^{62a} a Plato or Aristotle or Socrates, in philosophy; an Albumasar, in astrology; a Hippocrates, in medicines; a Pliny or Albert the Great in natural history and explanation of the nature of animals, trees and herbs; a Cicero or Seneca in oratory. . ."⁶³ The translator continues by claiming that Turmeda pictures, better than a mural, "the infirmity, imbecility and impotence of man" who differs from animals only in that his intellectual soul is created in the semblance of God and that Christ took human form and redeemed mankind."⁶⁴ In spite of this high praise of the Debate mention is made that "from time to time ridiculous material will be found in it which, nevertheless, is not totally without intelligence and edification."⁶⁵ The translator ends his preface by pointing out that the Debate supports the case on behalf of animals against the calumniators of truth."⁶⁶ This preface is dated "Lyons the first day of May, 1544" and ends:

Enutrof. Ensal.
Lisez, et puis iugez.⁶⁷

The first two words are written backwards and stand for "Fortune

Lasne." Therefore the two lines say "Good Luck, Ass. Read and then judge". The translator seems to be pulling for the ass and this engenders a doubt as to the sincerity of the pious motives claimed by the translator.

This doubt does not apply to the motives for the publication of the 1606 edition, as explained in the Printer's Forward, presumably written by Guillaume Buisson, the printer of the edition in Paris. According to what is stated in the Froeword the Debate is interpreted strictly as proving the correctness of the proverb "Pride goes before a fall." The publisher also points out how vulnerable and sinful is the state of man and how the animals can offer him a lesson. Finally the writer refers to the last lesson to be learned from the Debate. According to him this lesson is that reliance on scripture brings accord while debates and arguments on doctrine bring schism. It is difficult to say whether this indicates a Protestant writer or a post-Tridentine Catholic. In either case Turmeda's Debate is taken as a serious morality lesson which is being revised and reprinted in 1606 "because many people wish to see it and because many copies cannot be found."⁶⁸ As proof of this scarcity the printer indicates that he was forced to use a German manuscript for his edition.⁶⁹ Again, as in 1544 and also in 1548, popular demand is cited as instrumental in bringing the Debate into print. This popular demand seems to abate after 1606 and the Debate loses its impact and almost vanished from sight.

Although the French and the Germans stop reading Turmeda's book notice of the various editions printed by them enter the catalogues of printed books. In 1836 Torres Amat refers to these editions in his dictionary of Catalan writers and sparks renewed interest in the Debate by scholars of Iberian literature.⁷⁰ By 1873 a Castillian translation to be included in the massive Biblioteca de Autores Españoles was thwarted by the loss of a copy of the 1548 edition of the Debate.⁷¹ This loss held back interest in reading the book until Fouché: -Delbosc published the 1544 edition in the Revue Hispanique in 1911. The Catalan "reconstruction" mentioned above appeared in 1922 and finally a Catalan translation of the French translation appeared in 1928.⁷² In 1969 a Castillian translation was published in a book which included a Castillian version of Apuleius' Golden Ass.⁷³ The only reason for the juxtaposition seems to be the use of the word "ass." In all the Debate Between the Friar and the Ass has travelled a long distance and achieved a remarkable history.

Before continuing with an analysis of the Debate it is necessary to give a brief resume of its contents to provide an overview of the book. Structurally, the Debate can be broken down into a main theme with two independent subsections. These various portions of the book were probably written at different times and combined into one story between the years 1417 and 1418. The first is the date which appears in the title and the second is found at the end of the book. The theme is that of the actual debate which takes place between Friar Anselm and the animals, with the ass as the

major adversary. This debate is divided into nineteen arguments. The normal pattern of each argument is to have Friar Anselm state a reason why man is superior to the animals which is then very effectively rebutted by the ass. This pattern is interrupted at two points with extensive sub-sections devoted to extraneous material. Both of these interruptions are due to the ass who chooses to elaborate his argument with special matter known only to him. The first interruption comes when the ass tells stories illustrating man's frailties. He concentrates on accounts of how priests and monks commit the Seven Deadly Sins. The ass affirms that these stories are true and based on his personal knowledge. All of these stories are probably drawn from Turmeda's experiences in Catalonia and Italy and offer amusing insights into his experiences as a monk. After eight stories the friar calls a halt and the ass fails to complete his project. The debate resumes until it is again interrupted by the ass. This last break is brought about by a long prophecy delivered by the ass to a rapt audience of animals and the professional admiration of the friar. At the end of the prophecy the debate is brought to an abrupt end with the final triumph of the friar. Despite the fact that the end comes suddenly the reader is not left suspended in anticipation. For all its awkward starts and stops the Debate is a satisfying book which leaves the reader with a feeling of having participated in an entertaining spectacle. Turmeda is a skillful writer and always manages to catch the reader's attention whenever the action fades. In addition to the entertainment value of the Debate it

offers a number of interesting insights into its author's appearance and personality which will now be discussed in detail.

The story of the Debate begins with Anselm Turmeda's chance intrusion onto a convocation of animals for the purpose of electing a new king. The depiction of the election of the lion as king, in an orderly and efficient manner, may have been Turmeda's way of criticising the events which followed the death of Martin I in 1410. Since this king left no heirs a parliament was convened first in Montblanch, then in Barcelona, then in Tortosa to settle the succession. This parliament met between August 1410 and June 1412 before arriving at a decision on a candidate. During those two turbulent years many pretenders and local lords took advantage of this interregnum to promote their own interests. The rivalries became so acute that the parliament had to resort to the good offices of the antipope Benedict XIII to finally resolve the question. The entire matter of the succession left deep scars in the kingdom of Aragon. Turmeda's long description of the election of the king of the animal kingdom seems a scarcely veiled attack on the system, or lack of system, used by the Catalans and Aragonese. According to Turmeda the animals behaved more orderly when handling the same problem. The political orientation of Turmeda's writings is once again obvious.

Also, as to be expected, Turmeda offers biographical details about himself. The largest portion of the Debate is devoted to the give and take between the two main characters, the friar and the ass. The friar is described as born in Mallorca, educated "in

all knowledge and especially in astrology" and serving as an official of the King of Tunis.⁷⁴ This last bit of news is softened for its Christian audience by immediately following it with an account of how Turmeda, in his official capacity, was able to help a storm tossed official of the Crown of Aragon.⁷⁵ By this means Turmeda was able to blur the reason for his presence in Tunis. Further description of the friar occurs during the course of the Debate. It is stated that Turmeda studied at Paris and Bologna⁷⁶ whereas in his autobiography no reference to Paris is found. This curious detail has already been discussed above in Chapter 1. In addition to these biographical details the book included references to his physical appearance which confirm the fact that Turmeda was in his late sixties when he wrote the Debate. This is indicated by the ass' statement: "I see that your eyes are more rheumy and teary than are mine; and whereas my saliva drips to the ground, yours falls on to your beard."⁷⁷ This statement gives a picture of a bearded, rheumy old man in his sixties who, according to another reference, had very few teeth left in his mouth.⁷⁸ Lastly he is also accused of having a bad memory.⁷⁹ This rather poor specimen of humanity is challenged by an "ass covered with matted hair, mucus and scabs and lacking a tail, who would not be worth ten denarii at the fair in Tarrogonia."⁸⁰ The effect of these two pathetic looking specimens debating over the relative grandeur of man and beast would be comical except for their dead earnestness. Both the friar and the ass are thoroughly convinced of

the seriousness of the project upon which they have embarked. As revealed during the course of the battle, the friar tends to think in rigidly delimited school terms. He has moments of panic when he cannot bring a traditional argument to mind and consequently has nothing to say. Yet he battles earnestly and evokes sympathy for his doggedness. The ass has the casual insouciance of the rationalist, capable of battering, with a flick of his logical mind, any argument offered by the restricted scope of the friar. The only hope for the friar is that at some point the ass will bow to an article of faith. When this happens the debate is over. In effect the two represent the traditional posture of faith versus reason; but in this case faith almost loses. There seem to be certain parallels between the debate and the interview which occurred between Turmeda and his mentor. In that debate a naive, bookish man confronted a self-assured challenger who was able to use reason and greater sources of information to batter his opponent into the ground. What possible psychological motives lay behind Turmeda's use of the theme can only be guessed at, but it must be pointed out that in Turmeda's fictional debate the naive friar wins.

The various themes that these two well-drawn protagonists argue are not original with Turmeda. The proof of this was given by Miguel Asin y Palacios in 1914. It was in that year that he published an article in which he proved that the questions debated were taken from a section of the Rasā'il ikhwān al-ṣafā.⁸¹ This famous encyclopedia of Arabic learning was written at Baṣra in the tenth century by members of a religious community known as the Brethren

of Purity. The encyclopedia attempted to summarize all areas of human knowledge in a series of treatises written by five principal authors.⁸² The doctrines of the community were a combination of Islam, neo-Platonism and Gnosticism. They believed in a hierarchy of emanations combined with a belief in man as a microcosm. According to their belief man could join the macrocosm by divesting himself of all corporeal pollutions which limited him to the earthly plane. In order to help the common man achieve angelic status the Rāsa'il were written in a simple language style which included many illustrative fables and stories. By this means the book was in reach of many readers including a **beginning** reader of Arabic as was Turmeda. Inspired by a chapter in the twenty-first treatise which deals with zoology, Turmeda adapted it as the basis for his Debate. Again this reliance on another book is similar to his use of the Schiavo di Bari as the basis for his Llibre. According to Asin's exhaustive comparison Turmeda uses nine out of the ten arguments given in the Rāsa'il. The one argument which does not appear in the Debate is the ninth argument of the Arabic version. In it man argues for his superiority in numbers over the animals. He is rebutted with proof that the animals outnumber man and furthermore man is outnumbered by angels, cherubims, jinns, and devils.⁸³ Turmeda adds two further arguments to those taken from the Rāsa'il, namely the fourteenth, that man is created in God's image, and his nineteenth, that Christ took human form. Otherwise the general outline of the arguments tends to base itself on the Rāsa'il, with

some changes in their order of appearance. In addition to these minor changes in the ordering of the book Turmeda completely revises the casting of the entire debate. In the Rāsa'il multitudes of animals are involved with debating seventy wise men. So many characters speak, either as debaters or as observers, that the total effect is diffuse and sometimes even confusing. Turmeda, with an unerring instinct for the dramatic, recasts the entire play. By concentrating the attention of the reader on two archetypal characters he introduces a sense of involvement which was otherwise lacking from the story. This recasting creates a new book which seems based on the Rāsa'il only in the several themes of the arguments.

Turmeda does not limit his borrowing to extracting zoological information from the Rāsa'il. He also uses material taken from the De Proprietatibus Rerum of Bartholomaeus Anglicus. Turmeda acknowledges this source when he makes a reference to the Master of properties.⁸⁴ His acknowledgement of this thirteenth century Latin treatise was necessitated by its great renown. As one of the most popular books of natural history of its time it would have been reasonable to suppose that the medieval reader of the Debate would have expected Turmeda to make some reference to this great font of information. By utilizing his knowledge of De Proprietatibus Rerum, Turmeda was able to add substantial information and misinformation to the zoological lore included in the Rāsa'il. By these means Turmeda could present a compendium of natural history which would delight and impress his audience in spite of the fact that Turmeda was not a

naturalist. These animal observations and fables still retain their charm and add greatly to the value of the Debate for the modern reader.

The first sub-section included in the Debate occurs in the fifteenth argument in which the friar points to the monastic orders and the saints as proofs of man's superiority over beasts. The ass acknowledges St. Francis, St. Louis of Marseilles and St. Anthony among the Franciscans and St. Dominic, St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Peter the martyr among the Dominicans as justifying this claim. Otherwise he considers the monks no examples of virtue because of all the wicked things he knows about them. At this point the king interrupts avidly showing interest in the debate for the first time. Desiring amusement he asks to hear these tales of clerical misbehavior. The role of the king, although peripheral to the plot line, is interesting. Throughout the debate the ass apologises for bringing up scholarly material which might bore the king. Then when the king immediately reacts to the prospect of some lively stories the conclusion is inescapable that Turmeda is attempting to depict a certain type of rough and ready ruler. When the king laughs "uproariously" at the story of the trick played on the Dominican by the sailor he seems very human indeed. Also when he shows interest in hearing the prophecy offered by the ass the suspicion arises that Turmeda is portraying a true life king under the guise of the lion. Again Turmeda seems to be writing in a political vein. Upon hearing the demand of the king the ass begins to tell his tales illustrating how monks and bishops are guilty of committing the Seven Deadly Sins.

The stories which follow are obviously taken from life and represent different phases of Turmeda's experience as a monk. Three stories illustrating avarice and anger take place in Mallorca and are probably the oldest in terms of chronology. Turmeda himself attests to this when he states: "I remember this business. I was very young when it happened."⁸⁵ He is referring to the beating of one monk by three others in which the monk died on account of his wounds. This event probably occurred between 1360 and 1365 when Turmeda was old enough to understand the events but prior to his departure for Lérida. The discord which existed in this monastery seems to have continued fomenting trouble among the monks. A document dated 1383 refers to the "hatred" in which one monk was held by the others while a document of 1384 notes the "discord and rancor" in a dispute between two friars of that same monastery.⁸⁶ This discord among the Franciscans of Palma left a deep impression on Turmeda's young mind and years later he recalls the story of the killing in great detail.

The other two Mallorcan stories were probably told to Turmeda second hand and may have happened at a later period in his lifetime. The first, which tells an amusing incident surrounding a sailor's confession is said to have occurred in the Dominican monastery of Palma. It is likely that this story circulated among the Franciscans as a jab at the rival order. The most revealing story set in Mallorca is that involving Friar Citges and the rogue Nadalet. Turmeda attests to its truth when he states that he believes Friar Citges still to be alive and living in Palma in 1417.⁸⁷ Even

without this affirmation the story is so full of accurate descriptions and names of people living then that there can be no doubt that it is based on life. Two Franciscans already referred to by Turmeda in his Cobles reappear in this story. These Franciscans are Friar Poncet who is lauded in the Cobles as deserving of a "birreta" for his wisdom and Joan Xemeno (Exgmeno) who is identified as a "second Moses, carrying the tablets/ of knowledge sweet and profound," and as "another Solomon."⁸⁸ A great deal has been written on Friar Xemeno who served as confessor to the queen mother and also to the wife of Martin I. His involvement with the Count of Urgel, whom he served as confessor brought him temporary disgrace but he later was restored as bishop of Malta.⁸⁹ Curiously, both of these monks appear in the story as trying to borrow money from Friar Citges. And, although the story deals with the robbing of Citges by Nadelet, it is the Franciscan monastery at Palma which comes to life. The monks are revealed engaged in commerce and trafficking in holy offices. The names of eight members of the convent are given; all of them in connection with attempts to procure for various reasons. A rather sad commentary on Turmeda's experiences as a young monk in his place of birth emerges from this narrative.

After Mallorca Turmeda's contacts with materialistic monks does not end. He tells three stories which take place in Tarragona and which he must have experienced or heard while in that area, sometime in the period 1370 to 1375. These tales are told about the activities of priests in the city and of monks travelling the countryside for

purposes of preaching. They are the least believable of all the stories given in this section. The three stories read like anecdotes which may have been going around among college students of that day. The simplemindedness of Dame Tecla is beyond belief while the gullibility of the rector and his "friend" Catarina seem too good to be true. The last story detailing the rivalry of the Franciscan and Dominican reads like a classic morality fable rather than an actual event. The stories, in spite of their artificial plot lines, are filled with many details about the region which Turmeda must have acquired from first hand experience. These accurate geographical descriptions make it difficult to dismiss the stories out of hand. Yet one would have to be very naive to believe that these things could have happened as described by Turmeda.

Finally Turmeda uses two stories of events which take place in Perugia to depict the sin of pride. These events actually occurred around the year 1375 and Turmeda must have learned of them while a student at Bologna. In his first story Turmeda's description of the Great Abbot conforms very closely with what has been recorded by contemporary observers of the abbot of Monmaggiore, Geraud de Puy, vicar of the Patrimony. The bare facts of the revolt of Perugia support Turmeda's account.⁹⁰ Yet no contemporary attests to the death of Giovanni Ester's wife as the precipitating factor which brought about the revolt. Neither is there any reference to Ester as the messenger who brought Florentine support to the Perugians. But Turmeda's story is based on fact because contemporary accounts report that a married woman fell out of a window while trying to

escape the clutches of a nephew of the abbot. The abbot's response to the great indignation is reportedly: "Why all this fuss? Do you mistake a Frenchman for a eunuch?"⁹¹ In a second incident, where the nephew successfully kidnapped a married woman, the abbot ordered the restoration of the woman, within fifty days.⁹² The gonfaloniere of justice who championed the husband's cause was called Alviso Aldobrandi.⁹³ It is very likely then that the version of the story given by Turmeda is based on an account which was circulating in Italy shortly after the revolt.⁹⁴ This is also true about the second story Turmeda tells of Perugia which seems to be loosely based on the story of the kidnapped wife even though Turmeda claims that it occurred shortly after the Perugians wrested their freedom from the clergy.⁹⁵ Again Turmeda tells a tale of attempted sexual assault by a priest on a parishoner. This story, unlike that of silly Dame Tecla, rings true. The reactions of the various characters are as would be expected from people in those circumstances. Only the last scene, where the bishop receives his come-uppance at the hands of the podestà of Perugia, is an outstanding example of literary license. Turmeda lavishes much attention on describing all of the panoply called up by the clergy to defend one of their own. The defeat of the bishop truly symbolises the fall of pride and arrogance.

In all eight stories told by Turmeda he reveals himself as a master story teller. These short accounts are detailed with a minimum of words which manage to convey the tension of the situation

while allowing the reader to appreciate fully the motivations of the various major characters. Their purpose is less clear. What Turmeda hoped to accomplish besides having the opportunity to tell some interesting stories can only be guessed at. Although at first glance they seem highly anti-clerical and, to a certain extent, anti-religious, they do not seem to have been always received in that way. The Printer's forward to the edition of 1606 lauds the book for its piety and makes no apology or disclaimer in regard to the tales. One of the early Spanish admirers of the Debate, the eminent scholar Adolfo de Castro, was not disturbed by the stories nor did he consider them evidence of impiety on the part of Turmeda. Castro, writing in 1873, praises the book's "philosophic spirit" and considered it "a treatise of true philosophy in an entertaining and new form."⁹⁶ While the modern audience, with a greater sense of distance from its clergy, may feel shocked at the disrespect which seems to pervade the tales this was not necessarily the reaction of its medieval audience. The similarity of the tone of the stories to those by Chaucer, a contemporary of Turmeda, is immediately apparent. Yet Chaucer's tales found a wide audience among the pious of its time not overly disturbed by this tone. The medieval audience was capable of considering stories of this nature as morality tales from which a good lesson could be learned. The friar often points to this lesson after hearing the story. The modern audience, without this point of view, tends to point to the tales as examples of anti-clericalism and impiety especially since it is aware of Turmeda's

apostasy. But it seems more likely that their place in the Debate was literary; that Turmeda used them to revive the interest of the reader just as the ass was able to capture the king's interest by telling them. After this respite the debate continues with a revived friar ready, once more, to take on the ass. And the reader, once more, renews his interest in a discussion on the nature of man and beast.

Tuhfa al-arṭib fī-l-radd 'alā ahl al-ṣalīb

In 1420 Turmeda published what seems to be his last book and entitled it the Tuhfa al 'arṭib fī-l-radd 'alā ahl al-ṣalīb (The Gift of the Learned Man to Refute the Partisans of the Cross.) Although the contents of this book have been discussed at length in previous chapters there are important points still to be made about the book itself and about what it reveals of Turmeda's psychology and development. To begin with an examination of the book's publishing history reveals that the Tuhfa was not an instant success. In the period between its publication and the Turkish translation of 1603 the Tuhfa drops almost completely out of sight. As has already been stated only one contemporary of Turmeda, Al-Ta'alibī (1388-1468) gives evidence of having read the Tuhfa. This evidence is deduced from the reference Al-Ta'alibī makes to Turmeda's conversion story. Otherwise it is ignored by, or remains unknown to, other writers dealing with the Ḥafṣid period of Tunisian history.⁹⁷ The Turkish translation of 1603 changes the situation entirely and the Tuhfa becomes widely read and appreciated.⁹⁸ But this version of the Tuhfa shows unmistakable signs that it could not have been faithful

to Turmeda's original work. While the autobiographical chapters seem genuine and almost complete the polemical chapter seems to have been substantially reworked. So many paragraphs and pages are full of mistakes about church ceremonies and practices that there is no question about their lack of authenticity. No one with Turmeda's background could have described the Trinity as being composed of "God...⁹⁹ Jesus, and Mary."⁹⁹ But alongside these absurd statements is an extensive list of references to the Old and New Testaments which reveal that their author was thoroughly grounded in biblical studies. Of the large number of citations fifty-nine specify both book and chapter. Of these fifty-nine fifteen give erroneous chapter numbers. That a number of these erroneous citations are due to scribal error is to be expected. The rest are likely to have originated with Turmeda since he was, most probably, quoting from memory. On his testimony in the Debate the ass points out that "it has been so long that you have not seen nor read any of the sacred Scriptures."¹⁰⁰ The likelihood is that Turmeda had not seen or read a Bible in over thirty years when he wrote the Tuhfa. Bearing this in mind the inaccurate citations only serve to point up the fact that the Tuhfa fully supports Turmeda's claim to have been a biblical scholar of some merit. Yet this has never been appreciated because of the faulty text of the Tuhfa. All of the inaccuracies contributed by a later hand have completely concealed the nature of Turmeda's original version. There is no doubt that somewhere between 1420 and 1603 Turmeda's Tuhfa was reworked and it is this new version which is translated and

which finds great popular appeal in the Arab world. The identity of this editor is unknown although certain traces of a mozarabic background have been discerned in the description given of the mass.¹⁰¹ Whether or not the identity of the redactor will ever be established is secondary to a consideration of the extent of the changes he introduced into the original version of the Tuhfa.

Since the original text of the Tuhfa has not been found and most likely no longer exists it is necessary to try and sort out the original text from the present version of the book.¹⁰² The problem is in establishing the criteria for judging what portions are genuine and what portions represent the later hand. Fortunately, Turmeda included a detailed "Outline of Contents" at the beginning of the polemical chapter. According to the "Outline" the refutation of Christianity is to be made by means of Christian texts. The "Outline" then lists and describes the nine sections of the refutation. The description of six of the first seven sections indicates that the evidence to be used will be taken from the Gospels. No other evidence is indicated. Since section two deals with sectarian divisions among the Christians no biblical evidence applies nor is any cited in the "Outline." Section eight concerns accusations made by Christians against the Muslims and is also outside of the confines of the Gospel texts. The ninth and last section is a listing of the proofs in favor of Muhammad and claims to be based on the texts of the Psalms, the Torah, the Gospels and the Koran.^{102a} By following this "Outline" seven of the nine sections can be checked

for authenticity with a reasonably clear idea of what to look for. By following this method the text immediately divides into two intermingled strains. One strain is exegetical in style and is truly the refutation promised in the title. It limits itself to pointing out contradictions found in the Bible and citing and quoting the appropriate chapters and verses. The other strain devotes itself to rambling descriptive passages full of errors about Christianity; passages spouting the orthodox Muslim line whenever the exegetical treatment seems to step too far over into the Christian camp; and venomous attacks on Christianity in general. Often the changeover from one part to the other is so abrupt that it catches the attention of the reader. An example would be a discussion of disagreement among the Evangelists as to how long Christ remained buried after his crucifixion. This is immediately followed by a paragraph which denies that the crucifixion ever took place at all.¹⁰³ In the next paragraph a discussion as to differences reported in the New Testament over the length of time Christ remained on earth after his resurrection is immediately followed by an impatient "enough of this proof that the two lie on this point. At the bottom of the matter--by God--Jesus was not buried, nor resurrected..."¹⁰⁴ Another example of this dual approach to the argument occurs in a discussion of the proofs which show Jesus was a man and not a God. One of the proofs cited is Matthew 15,34 which quotes Jesus as saying "My God! My God! Do not abandon me." This is followed by a phrase of total shock which says "this is certainly a lie against the Messiah, God forbid! that he could have been abandoned by God or that the Jews could have been able to crucify him."¹⁰⁵ On the basis of a rough approximation it would seem that the entire chapter can be

divided equally between Turmeda and the editor and, when divided in this way, almost all of the maledictions on the Christians fall into the portion allotted to the editor.

As can be seen from these brief examples the Tuhfa is the work of two hands working at cross purposes, with one hand not even knowing what the other is doing. One hand writes sorrowfully, but respectfully of discrepancies in a sacred text while the other despises the Bible and makes no bones about it. The first seems to address the Christians as his own people while the second always refers to them as "you." By following the trail left by these two hands the third chapter of the Tuhfa can be divided into original and redaction with a large degree of confidence.

Once this pattern becomes evident it would seem that Turmeda did not curse the Christians and rail at their beliefs. This traditional interpretation of the text has misled scholars into a bewildering quandary concerning Turmeda's ideals or lack of them. The supposed fact that Turmeda wrote conciliating works in 1398 which found favor with Christian audiences and then wrote an exhortatory tract, defaming Christianity from every angle, in 1429 has led students of the subject to believe Turmeda lacked any ideals or feelings except that of opportunism. Once the Tuhfa is restored into some semblance of what Turmeda actually wrote the enigma of the apparent betrayal of Christianity by Turmeda is solved. Turmeda from first to last behaved in a curiously singular but undeviating pattern of religious eclecticism. The exact dimensions of this pattern will

probably never be delimited because of insufficient evidence. It would require a work much greater in scope than this to try and explain how, even in times of turmoil and distress, one person chooses a path directly opposed to his peer group. Perhaps a key lies in the rather singular approach to life and religion adopted by Rammon Lull, an earlier Mallorcan friar. The obvious similarities between these two men, beside their singular independence of mind and action, is their nationality, apparent willingness to move away from strictly orthodox lines in regard to religious concepts and their affinity for the Franciscan order. Any other parallels which might exist would have to be discovered by students of both Lull and Turmeda. But returning to a concentration on Turmeda and the Tuhfa certain conclusions must be drawn from a reading of the "Turmeda" portions of that work. To begin with, once the rabid, anti-Christian imprecations are removed the book becomes a quiet treatise of a singular nature for its period. In it, a man, who is a believer in the Gospels, presents all of the inconsistencies that come to mind. On the basis of memory Turmeda is able to list a rather formidable number of inconsistencies which appear in the Bible. And the fact is clear that Turmeda considers this evidence sufficient for rejecting Christianity. This is how he presents it and this is how he entitled it. An inability to conceive that these inconsistencies could emanate from a sacred book, combined with a fervent belief in the truth of prophecy, brought Turmeda to a turning point in his life at the age of thirty-five. The Tuhfa is a book written by a man in his late sixties. What does it reflect about

a man who has abandoned his fatherland, his faith and his language? To understand that one must step back and visualize the Tuhfa as a whole, as it was written by Turmeda. In it we find the biography of a young man who discovers a truth and acts accordingly. After many years of living as an outcast from his people he writes his story and his theology. The result is curious. Theologically, Turmeda demonstrates himself to be a man who must content himself with a religion of one. A confration of Islam and Christianity which is too disturbing to offer comfort to any one beside the slavish believer in prophecy. Turmeda, to the end of his days believed in a form of religion which acknowledges the worship of all of the Old Testament prophets plus Jesus plus Muhammad. This "omnitarianism" was based on a superstitious reverence for books revered as sacred. To the mystical astrologer all sacred books must be taken into account; as all sacred meanings of any kind must be given due regard. Therefore, Turmeda in his singular fashion made the reconciliations necessary for one with his predilections. In accordance with the training he had been given he tried to live out his life as a believer in the Old Testament, New Testament, Koran and astrological divination. In effect, Turmeda was able to reconcile the irreconcilable. His uniqueness is a testimony to this description. As an abnormal man who reconciled what others considered diametrically opposed he found a unique, an unenviable slot for himself in the world. From this position he wrote or adapted sentiments which would find an

audience long after his death. He would be revered by people who knew nothing of his true sentiments; people who would have cheered his death for unorthodoxy had they been aware of Turmeda's true religious stance. Yet, in spite of this he was able to write for an extraordinary audience. His mildly unorthodox writings pleased Catholics, especially post-Tridentine Catholics. His more mordant work, the Debate, possibly representative of a disillusioned middle-aged man, found favor with sixteenth century Frenchmen and Germans. They probably found his jabs at orthodoxy exhilarating without disturbing the new orthodoxy they espoused. Finally, a Muslim with some knowledge of Christianity found in Turmeda the perfect vehicle for sophisticating the expression of his hatred for the Christians. In this way Turmeda achieved the singular state of being, possibly, the one medieval figure who found a way of appealing to Catholics, Protestants and Muslims. Perhaps this explains the fact that a Mallorcan friar, who apostasized to Islam in the fourteenth century continues to be of interest to a twentieth century audience.

NOTES TO PART II

¹ For the very questionable evidence concerning the possible authorship by Turmeda of the anonymous Libre de Tres see L. Nicolau d'Olwer, "En Turmeda i el Libre de Tres", Estudis Universitaris Catalans, 3 (1914), 89-91. Also see M. de Riquer, Història, II, 131.

² Menéndez y Pelayo, Orígenes, I, page cx.

³ Calvet published the original verses from La Dottrina side-by-side with the versions written by Turmeda for immediate comparison. See his Turmeda, 160-167.

⁴ Turmeda, Obres Menors, 153-154 (stanzas 64 to 71): Diners de tort fan veritat,/ e de jutge fan advocat;/savi fan tornar l'hom orat,/pus que d'ells haja./ Diners fan bé, diners fan mal,/diners fan l'home infernal/e fan-lo sant celestial/ segons que els usa./ Diners fan breques e remors,/e vituperis e honors,/e fan cantar predicadors:/Beati quorum./ Diners alegren los infants/e fan cantar los capellans/e los frares carmelitans/a les grans festes./ Diners, magres fan tornar gordes,/e tornen lledesmes los bords./Si diràs "jas" a hòmens sords,/ tantost se giren./ Diners tornen los malalts sans;/moros, jueus e crestians,/ llexant a Déu e tots los sants,/diners adoren./ Diners fan vui al món lo joc,/ e fan honor a molt badoc;/a qui diu "no" fan-li dir "hoc"./Vejats miracle!/ Diners, doncs, vulles aplegar./Si els pots haver no els lleixis anar;/si molts n'hauràs poras tornar/papa de Roma./

⁵ Ibid., 150-151 (stanzas 42, 44, 45): Fembra és aparellada/a fer la cosa vedada,/ més que més can és irada/e res no guarda./ Fembra enganà Salamó,/Adam, Daviu e Samsó./¡Oh fill, si Déus te perdó,/no et fius en ella!/ La Fembra és cap de pecat,/vaixell del diable malvat/e gitament del sant regnat,/diu Origenes./

6

Turmeda, Obres Menors, 159 (stanzas 104-105): E si volets saber mon nom:/Frare Anselm me deia hom,/eTurmeda, per sobrenom,/m'hi ajustaven./ Açò fo fet al mes d'abril,/temps de primavera gentil;/noranta vuit tres cents e mil,/llavors corríem./

7

For an analysis of the Llibre's influence on Varagües' Doctrina de la Discriçion see, F. Rico, "Pedro de Veragüe y Fra Anselm Turmeda", Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, 50 (1973), 224-236.

8

Universidad (Barcelona) 68, ff. 1-6. This version of the Llibre is part of the original composition of the textbook and seems to have been intended as a form of prefatory prayer or sermon for the edification of the student.

9

Turmeda, Obres Menors, 145 (stanzas 2, 3, 4): Primer, pus sies batejat,/ creuràs que ne la divinitat/és ésser en trinitat/de las persones,/ e que Jesús, fill de Déu viu,/és Déu e fill de Daviu;/açò és ver, e així ho diu/la Santa Escriptura./ Dels altres articles, fill meu,/creuràs ço que la Esgleia creu;/ e si no hi basta lo seny teu,/la fe t'hi basta./

10

Turmeda, Obres Menors, 158, 148, 149, 148, 155, 158, 158 (stanzas 94, 24, 36, 26, 77, 95, 97): No el vulles en tu amagar;/ve-te'n tantost a confessar./ La penitència vulles far/qui et serà donada./ Si vols que diguen bé de tu,/ no parles mal de negú,/e vulles oir en dejú/la santa missa./ A la esgleia vulles anar/per Déu e los sants aorar,/e si oges prelcari/tantost t'asenta/ Parla al poble ab amor/e no li faces deshonor/car Jesucrist Nostre Senyor/per nós fo pobre./ A cascun daràs lo dret seu/segons que diu lo Fill de Deu:"Aital mesura con fareu/vos serà feta"/ No hages por quan te morràs,/car la Verge atrobiràs;/ denant son Fill la guardaràs/ajonollada./ E la Verge qui l'alletà/les mamelles li mostrarà;/per nosaltres lo pregarà./Sent Banat ho conta./

19

Ibid., 114-115 (stanza 36): En mi nobles cavallers/se són trobats tota via,/ burgeses e mercaders/faents grans mercaderi(a)/en Flandes e en Suria,/en terra del genovès,/en Pisa, qui prop nos és,/e en tota Berberia./

20

Ibid., 116 (stanza 41): Per l'orde dels framenors/fui e seré molt honrada;/ molts mestres e grans doctors/ha en mi tota vegada./¶O Déu, con fui exalçada/ con pres lo noble capell/mestre Nicolau Rossell!/Al món per ell són presada./

21

For a discussion of the friars eulogized by Turmeda see Aguiló, "Fra Anselm Turmeda", 218-226 and Antonio Pons, "Dos Personajes Celebres Mencionados por Turmeda en sus 'Cobles'", Argensola, 3, I trimestre, (9), 35-42.

22

Turmeda, Obres Menor, 120-121 (stanzas 54 and 55): E doncs,¿què és esta deshonor,/que en mi tal divís haja/on tant mestre e doctor/ha son natural estage?/--Senyora, son avantatge/cascun d'ells cerca per sí;/va dient a son vesí:"Jo no són de ton llinatge."--/
--Frare Anselm, o fill car!/O de les tres lletres mestre!/Lo morisc vos és tot clar/e en l'hebraic sóts molt destre;/E què atrobats en lletra/que en sia ocasió,/ d'aquesta divisió/e de aquest meu gran sinestre?/

23

Ibid., 121 (stanza 57): Vostre poble, poc e gran,/molta amor se portaven;/

24

Ibid.: per mantenir bé comú/a llur rei se rebel.laven./

25

The ceremony is discussed at length in Samso, Turmediana, 57-61. Reference is also made to the very few occasions when the ceremony parallels one described in De imaginibus of Tabit b. Qurra. See, J. Samso, "Dos Notas sobre Astrologia Medieval: I--Turmeda y Tabit b. Qurra", Al-Andalus, (Madrid-Granada) 36 (1971), 215-219.

26

Turmeda, Obres Menors, 126 (stanza 73): Deven creure fermament/que Déus creà
la natura,/e sota son manament/jau cascuna creatura./E vostre poble,qui factura/
és (de) Déu omnipotent,/vulla'l pregar humilment/llur divís torn amor pura./

27

Ibid., (stanza 123): Escrita dins lo palau,/mil tres cents vuit e noranta./

28

A. Santamaría Arandez, El Reino de Mallorca en la Primera Mitad del Siglo XV,
Palma (1955), 17.

29

See documents transcribed in A. Damians y Mante, "Revolució dels Pageses
Mallorquines en lo Segle XV: Documentació del Arxui Municipal de Barcelona",
Extract from Bolletí de la Societat Arqueologica Iuliana, (Palma)(1904),

30

Turmeda, Obres Menors, 138-139 (stanza 111): De Gènova la ciutat,/llur fet
està en balança;/car no hi ha humanitat,/ha'ls preses lo rei de Franca./Bé és
torbada llur dansa;/e dic-vos que llur estat/mai no el veuran adobat/sino per
punta de llança./

31

Ibid., 139 (stanza 112): E Sardenya pel divís/a son rei la porta tanca;/
açò fa lo circumcís/Òria le Malabranca./Per divís lo món s'estance/de güelfos
e gebelins./En Nàpols, fora e dins/rosa vermella e blanca./

32

I searched out evidence for any possible role Turmeda may have played in the
prisoner exchange negotiations which commenced in 1398 between Aragon and Tunis
and which culminated in the signing of the peace of 1403. It seems impossible
to believe that Turmeda was not intimately involved. Furthermore, this
involvement is suggested by the safe-conduct issued in 1402. The reason Roger de
Montcada gives for granting the safe-conduct is because "nos de certa sciencia
et consulte ea in presenti guidatico intelligi volumus et de illis tanquam si
hic esset expressa, vos guidamus et assecuramus." See Sans, "Fra Anselm", 2.

Although I was able to locate thirty-eight documents in R.2240 to R.2245 of the A.C.A. dealing with the matter, no reference to Turmeda occurred. Since I failed to find documents for the period July 1402 to June 1403, when the embassy for the kingdom of Aragon was in Tunis, in the process of actual negotiations, the evidence is totally inconclusive. If at any time, it would have been exactly this period when Turmeda would have been involved. Further research in this area may prove fruitful at a later date.

33

For a transcription see R. d'Alos, "Les Profecies den^{sic}/Turmeda", Revue Hispanique, 24 (1911), 480-496.

34

For a listing of these mss. see bibliography of Turmeda's works, below.

35

Barcelona 490, f.100.

36

Ibid., f.101

37

See P. Bohigas Balaquer, "Profecias de Fra Anselm Turmeda (1406)", Estudis Universitatís Catalans, (Barcelona) 9, (1915-1916), 177-181.

38

See bibliography of Turmeda's works, below.

39

Carpentras 336, f. 188.

40

Carpentras 336, f. 188-200. See transcription in Jordi Rubió, "Un Text Català de la Profecia de l'Ase de Fra Anselm Turmeda", extract from Estudis Universitaris Catalans, (Barcelona) 6 (1913), 5-20.

41

See translation of Debate, 286.

42 Bohigas, "Profecies", 176, n.1: "quan la profecia és massa arbitrària, és interpretada literalment per l'autor de la Declaració,....indica que aquest autor no dequé ésser el propi Turmeda."

43 For a comparison of these verses with their explanation in the Declaració, see translation of Debate, 272-285 and 295-300.

44 Bohigas, "Profecies", 176, n.1.

45 S. Sobrequés i Vidal, Els Barons de Catalunya, Barcelona (1957), 175-162 and J. Pou y Martí, Visionarios, Beguinos y Fraticelos Catalanes (Siglos XIII-XV), Vich (1930), 432-440.

46 Turmeda, Obres Menors, 118-119 (stanzas 48, 49): En mi vui lo segon/Moïses porta les taules/de saber dolç e pregon,/mostra-ho bé en ses paraules;/dels grans poetes les faules/retorna a bons castics;/grans hòmens, pobres e rics,/tots menjaren a les taules/
de aquell convit graciós,/del berret quan féu la festa./En son preicar delitós/
en bé la gent amonesta;/dels scientes ell és la (t)esta./par/sic/un altre Salamó,/mestre Joan Xemenó,/sequent la via honesta./

47 Eximeno does seem to have had some contact with Tunis since he was sent a letter of thanks, from Martin I on 15 April 1401, for two quilts covered in marten from Tunis. See, Rubio, Documents, I, 417-418.

48 Pou, Visionarios, 437-439 and Pedro Sanahuya, Historia de la Seráfica Provincia de Cataluna, Barcelona (1959), 159.

49

See translation of Debate, 270.

50

Abandonada/vituperada/sera la sossa/qui blanca rossa/era nomenada./He pus privada/de sa corona/la gran colona/sera Provenca:/ab sa potencia/metra en cassa/de colp d'espasa/glavi e lança./ Although the mss. give variants of esposa(wife) these could be erroneous renderings of espasa(sword).

51

Also, "Les Profecies", 484, note 100: "A continuació d'aquest vers se llegeix en D: ffenece el prologo e comienca a fablar de lo que ha de esdevenir a la yglesia et a los regidores de aquella."

52

See translation of Debate, 270.

53

Alos, "Les Profecies", 493-494.

54

See translation of Debate, 286.

55

Even though no Catalan version has survived, the sixteenth century French, into which it was translated, leaves no doubts as to the original Catalan version since the languages are so similar at this point. Catalan scholars express unanimous agreement as to the fact that they can discern, with great confidence, how the original read on the basis of this translation. However, a modern attempt to reconstruct the Catalan original on the basis of the French translation, namely Lluís Destany's Llibre de Disputacio de l'Ass, Barcelona (1922), has not been well received.

56

M. Riquer, Historia, II, 286.

57

Seisdedos, Biblioteca Columbina, VII, 92.

59

I have seen copies of the Lyons edition of 1544 in BM and BN and the Pampelune(Paris) edition of 1606 in BM and BC. (For complete citations see bibliography of Turmeda's works, below.) In addition Fouché-Delbosc, on page 359 of his introduction to the publication of the Debate in the Revue Hispanique, cites yet another edition, undated, which he claims to have seen "briefly". Curiously he does not identify the collection from whence it comes as he does for the other editions cited. I have not found this copy in my search and believe it to be an erroneous citation.

60

Fouché-Delbosc, "Disputation", 360.

61, 62

Ibid., 361.

62a

Doctor subtilis or Doctor Subtle is the name by which Duns Scotus was known.

63, 64

Fouché-Delbosc, "Disputation", 362.

65

Ibid., 362-363.

66, 67

Ibid., 363.

68

BM (1080 d 4), page 2.

69

In the same year that Guillaume Buisson was forced to use a German ms. for his edition, a German translation of the French translation was published in Mömpelgard (1606). I have not seen this version and can only cite G. Sarton, Introduction to the History of Science, Vol. III, Baltimore (1948), 1341 and Riquer, História II, 286 who, unfortunately, does not indicate whether his reference is based on Sarton or on another source.

- 70
Torres Amat, Memorias, 635.
- 71
See Castro, Biblioteca, Vol. 65, page xxvi, footnote 1 where Castro claims that the book was stolen from him.
- 72
Turmeda, Disputa de l'Ase, Versio per E.N.C., Introduccio per Marçal Olivari, Barcelona:1928.
- 73
Apuleyo, El Asno de Oro; Anselmo Turmeda, Disputa del Asno, trans. Jaime Uya, Barcelona (Ediciones Zeus):1969.
- 74
See translation of Debate, 170.
- 75
Ibid., 171.
- 76
Ibid., 219.
- 77
Ibid., 265.
- 78
Ibid., 216.
- 79
Ibid., 195.
- 80
Ibid., 177-178.
- 81
M. Asin y Palacios, "El Original Arabe de la 'Disputa del Asno contra Fr. Anselmo Turmeda'", Revista de Filologia Española, 1 (1914), 1-51. Asin gives an extensive analysis using parallel columns to illustrate the borrowings.
- 82
Ibid., 10-11.
- 83
Ibid., 35-36.

84

See translation of Debate, 183. The various examples taken from Bartholomaeus Anglicus are indicated in the notes to the translation.

85

See translation of Debate, 251.

86

Rubio, Documents, II, pages xcvi, 259.

87

See translation of Debate, 244.

88

Turmeda, Obres Menors, 120; 118-119 (stanzas 32; 48-49): Dos n'hi ha que lo berret/pel saber portar mereixen:/Fra Bonaquist e Fra Poncet./ For stanzas 48 and 49 see note 46 of this chapter.

89

See C. Eubel, Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevii, Munster (1898) I, 356. Also Estudis Franciscanos, vols. 32, 37, 38, and 44 for various articles dealing with Xemeno. Pou, Visionarios, 432-445 devotes a great deal of space to him and his relations with Urgel.

90

For an outline of these details see notes 35, 36, 38 of translation of Debate.

91

Sismondi, History, 437.

92

Ibid.

93

Ibid.

94

A possible source for Turmeda's knowledge of this story could have been the Catalan students in Perugia. In a document dated 1375 reference is made to the two places kept at the disposition of the Bishop of Urgel at a school in Perugia. Catalan students continued filling these openings as indicated by another document of 1388. Rubio, Documents, II, 177.

95

See Sismondi, History, 437 for an account of this event.

96

Castro, Biblioteca, xx.

97

For a full discussion of this point see Epalza, Tuhfa, 43-47.

98

Ibid., 48-55.

99

Ibid., 320: Epalza comments on this peculiar trinity by saying: "Esta extrana Trinidad, con María se base en texto coránicos (Q. V, 116; IV, 169-171). Los comentaristas, como Ŷalālayn, repiten que la Trinidad está constituída por Allāh, el Mesías y María, pero atribuyen esta creencia, naturalmente, a una secta cristiana, que no nombran. (Tuhfa, 320, note 2.) Another absurd statement found in the Tuhfa is the description of the eucharistic host as being "three palms long". (Ibid., 352). Also the ceremony of the eucharist described in the book omits the sacrament of communion (358). Epalza comments: "Extraña omisión de la comunión, poco frecuente en la Edad Media, pero que un ex-sacerdote no podía haber olvidado. Esta omisión y las demás 'irregularidades' en la descripción de la misa se explican mejor en la hipótesis de que fuera un morisco que hubiera redactado este pasaje...." (358, note 2.)

100

See translation of Debate, 287.

101

See quotation of Epalza's comment above in note 99 re the sacrament of communion. Further comment on this point by Epalza claims that the description of the mass given in the Tuhfa "presenta la misma estructura que ciertas oraciones de la misa mozárabe, las oraciones post pridie, que se decían después de la consagración. Este texto en concreto no figura entre las oraciones recogidas por el Misale Mixtum editado por Migne, pero eso no significa gran cosa ya que los textos litúrgicos mozárabes tuvieron siempre una gran variedad e improvisación, aun en el Canon. Es, por tanto, posible que el autor de la Tuhfa lo tomara de un texto de origen mozárabe...." (Tuhfa, 143-144).

102

The following analysis is arrived at on the basis of reading and interpreting Epalza's translation of the Tuhfa. The initial clue, which enabled me to discern this solution for the problem of extracting the authentic sections of the Tuhfa from those added by a later hand, was provided by Epalza's meticulous treatment of every error contained in the chapter. These notes, which indicated that whole sections could not have been written by a former priest, eventually pointed to a pattern which I describe below.

102a

Since Turmeda's Tuhfa is a unique theological work which stands in a class all its own, it is worthwhile presenting a translation of the entire "Outline of Contents" in order to provide a specific idea of what the treatise encompassed. I have used suspension points to indicate the elimination of the standard maledictions and blessings placed after names in Arabic texts. They have not been eliminated solely for the sake of brevity but, also, because they color the entire text with their emotional tone and disguise its sober nature.

The Refutation of the Christians

We wish to refute them with the texts of their Gospels and with what was said by the four authors of the four Gospels. We will confirm the prophetic nature of ...Muhammad... with what was brought out by earlier prophets in their books, which are now to be found in the hands of Christians, in regard to his prophetic nature.

This part encompasses nine chapters:

1. About the four individuals who wrote the four Gospels. Clearly exposing their lies and deceptions....
2. The divisions of the Christians into sects. Their number.
3. The corruption of their dogmas. The refutation of them all with the texts from their Gospels.

4. The symbol of the faith in their law, which they teach to adults and children and which is the basis of their religion. Refutation by means of the texts of the Gospels.
5. A demonstration that Jesus is not God as is erroneously believed by the Christians.... Proofs that he is a man, a prophet who was sent, according to the texts of the Gospels.
6. Divergencies among the four who wrote the four Gospels and a demonstration of their lies and falsehoods.
7. The lies which have been attributed to Jesus....
8. About what the Christians...accuse the Muslims of....
9. The obvious proof of the prophetic nature of ...Muhammad...from the texts of the Psalms, the Torah, the Gospels and the Koran. The prophecies of the prophets about him... What was announced by the prophets on the authenticity of his mission, the endurance of his...religion until the day of resurrection: that his community will be the best and most illustrious above all the other communities in this world and the next, before God....

103

Epalza, Tuḥfa, 292-294: "Así es también lo que cuenta Mateo en su libro, concretamente en el capítulo XIII de su evangelio, que Jesús--sobre él sea la paz--dijo: "Mi cuerpo estará en el seno de la tierra tres días y tres noches después de mi muerte, así como estuvo Jonás en el vientre del pez".

Esto está clarísimo en el libro y es falso lo que escribió Mateo en su evangelio. Consta por otra parte, de acuerdo con sus tres compañeros según lo que dicen en sus evangelios, que Jesús murió--según su opinión-- a la hora sexta del viernes, fue enterrado en la primera hora de la noche del sábado y resucitó de entre los muertos la mañana del domingo. Permaneció así en el seno de la tierra--según esta opinión estúpida--un solo día y dos noches.

Esto se opone a lo que precede, según Mateo, que Jesús--sobre el sea la paz--dijo que él permanecería tres días y tres noches, como permaneció Jonás--sobre él sea la paz--en el vientre del pez. Aquí aparece la mentira de Mateo y su escaso valor histórico.

No hay duda de la mentira de estos malditos que escribieron estos evangelios en el punto mismo (que Jesús no enseñó por sí mismo, ni lo enseñó Dios en su evangelio) de que moriría y sería enterrado, ni un día y dos noches, ni tres días, sino que, (--como enseñó Dios en Libro Sagrado /Koran/, que bajó sobre su Enviado, el verídico, el firme, Muḥammad-- la bendición de Dios sea sobre él y su paz--) a él 'no le mataron, ni le crucificaron', sino que lo elevó Dios a sí--la maldición de Dios sea sobre los mentirosos--."

104

Epalza, Tuḥfa, 294" "Sobre esta cuestión está también lo que dijo Marcos que nuestro Señor el Mesías, cuando resucitó de entre los muertos, se entretuvo hablando con los apóstoles. Después, subió al cielo ese mismo día. Lucas difiere de esto en su libro que se llama 'Los Hechos de los Apóstoles', donde dice que Jesús--sobre él sea la paz--subió a los cielos a los cuarenta días de su resurrección de entre los muertos.

Basta con esto como prueba /sic/ de que los dos mienten en este punto. En cuanto al fondo del asunto ¡por Dios! Jesús no fue enterrado, ni resucitó del sepulcro después de cuarenta días--la maldición de Dios sea sobre los infieles--."

105

Epalza, Tuḥfa, 390-392: "Trae Mateo en el capítulo VII de su evangelio que Jesús--sobre él sea la paz--dijo: 'Todo el que os recibe y os hospeda, a mí me recibe y recibe también al que me ha enviado'. Juan refiere también,

en el capítulo V de su evangelio, que el Mesías dijo: 'Yo no he venido para hacer mi voluntad, sino la voluntad del que me ha enviado.' Dice también Marcos, al final de su evangelio, que Jesús exclamó, bajo el temor de la crucifixión (según la opinión que ellos tienen): '¡Dios mío! No me abandonéis'. Esto fue lo último que dijo en este mundo.

Es ciertamente una mentira contra el Mesías ¡Dios nos libre de que haya sido abandonado de Dios o que hayan podido crucificarle los judíos! Si lo hemos citado contra los cristianos es porque ellos están de acuerdo con los textos de su evangelio y creen en ellos. En cuanto a la declaración de que Jesús dijo '¡Dios mío!', es una prueba de que no es Dios, de que suplica a Dios en las adversidades y de que está muy lejos de atribuirse a sí mismo la divinidad. Esto se deduce necesariamente de las mentiras de los dogmas cristianos. No tienen escapatoria, son sordos, mudos y ciegos, y no razonan."

PART III: THE DEBATE BETWEEN THE FRIAR AND THE ASS

The following translation is based on the transcription published by Raymond Fouché-Delbosc entitled "Disputation de l'Asne" in the Revue Hispanique of 1911. It has been compared and corrected on the basis of the Lyons edition 1544. The Pampelune(Paris) edition of 1606 was consulted only as reference since it is just a modernization of the 1544 edition and adds nothing to the older edition except syntactical revisions in line with later French usage.

Whenever possible an attempt has been made to restore the original flavor of the book by substituting Catalan and Italian names for the French ones which were added by the sixteenth century translator. For ease of use the word seigneur has been translated by the more familiar señor rather than the Catalan equivalent.

A very limited attempt has been made to modernize the sentence structure. Generally this modernization is resorted to only when the meaning of the sentence was obscured by archaisms or when the syntax was so obsolete as to make the sentence difficult to comprehend. Otherwise the sentence structure stands as close as possible to the 1544 edition.

All of the modern versions of the Debate continue to interrupt the text with paragraph headings which often merely state: "Friar Anselm said to the ass" and "The ass responds and says". Since these headings conform to the structure of the printed edition and were obviously added by the printer and, furthermore, usually serve no purpose they have been completely eliminated. In its place the reader is referred to the full table of contents which precedes the translation.

A conscious attempt has been made to avoid unnecessary interruptions in the flow of the narrative. For that reason the annotation has been held to a minimum and generally limited to points of information which would help clarify the text.

The portion of the Debate which is devoted to the Prophecy of the Ass is translated from ms. Carpentras 336 rather than from the sixteenth century French edition. The justification for this is that the manuscript is in all likelihood based on the original Catalan text of the Debate and is a more accurate source for the prophecy. Footnotes have been added indicating important differences between the manuscript version and the French edition.

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF THE DEBATE

Verse Prologue	165
Animal Convention.....	168
The rabbit identifies Friar Anselm.....	170
The king's invitation to Friar Anselm.....	173
Friar Anselm's interview with the king.....	175
First argument: The beautiful appearance of man.....	178
Second argument: The five senses of man.....	180
Third argument: Human knowledge and society.....	185
Fourth argument: Food eaten by man.....	191
Fifth argument: The luxuries of man.....	194
Sixth argument: The law of man.....	195
Seventh argument: The luxurious dress of man.....	199
Eighth argument: The social hierarchy of man.....	200
Ninth argument: Man's semblance to God.....	203
Tenth argument: Man's protection of animals.....	208
Eleventh argument: Man's abilities as a builder.....	209
Twelfth argument: Man as the eater of animals.....	211
The fly speaks.....	212
The mosquito speaks.....	213
The bedbug speaks.....	214
The flea speaks.....	214
The louse speaks.....	214
The mite speaks.....	215
The tooth-decay worm speaks.....	215

Thirteenth argument: The resurrection of man.....	217
Fourteenth argument: Man created in the image of God.....	218
Argument of the microcosm and macrocosm.....	219
Fifteenth argument: The religious orders of man.....	223
The story of Dame Tecla and Friar Juliot.....	225
The story of the Great Abbot.....	232
The Podesta of Perugia versus the bishop.....	236
The story of the confession of the Mallorcan sailor.....	242
The story of Friar Citges and the rogue Nadelet.....	244
The murder of Friar de Grave.....	249
The story of the conger-eel pie.....	251
The 400 blows.....	254
Sixteenth argument: The intellectualive soul of man.....	256
Illustrations of the natural sense of the animals.....	257
Seventeenth argument: The cleanliness of man.....	264
The discussion of the celestial trees and the terrestrial trees...	266
Eighteenth argument: Man's knowledge of astrology.....	269
The Prophecy of the Most Reverend Sir Ass.....	272
Nineteenth argument: The encarnation of God.....	286
The ass concedes defeat.....	287

Seeing the world incited to wickedness,
 And each one living in lasciviousness,
 It seems fitting for me to tell you the adventure,
 That happened one day while in a meadow,
 And which will show you in the form of a dispute,
 That vain man is lower than a dumb brute:
 Except insofar as the divinity
 Who has taken on the shape of infirm humanity.¹
 Invoking then the high Lord of glory,
 I will begin to tell you the story.
 In the last few days I did not want to be idle,
 Although I felt listless because of the weather,
 Then Phoebus² from the belly of the lion
 Scorched men by the million.³
 One fine morning of a pretty summer day
 I decided to leave my house and go away,
 Because Diana the goddess immortal⁴
 Still showed her face, clear and beautiful.
 On horseback seeking the coolest place to espy,
 I found myself in a garden fairly nearby,
 In which an infinite number were made
 Of all flowers and fruits, to serve as shade.

There flowed a clear fountain
Which sweetly murmured in the plain:
Above which a nightingale gentle
Sang a song very pleasant and subtle.
In short, on contemplating this scene I thought
Certainly a terrestrial paradise had been wrought,
Or at least the garden sumptuous
Of Hesperides, so beautiful and luscious.
Seeing this place so noble and excellent,
It showed up well his marvelous talent.
Then, in the shade of the flowers, I sat down.
To better judge this divine garden I had found.
But while contemplating this place so magnificent
Immediately to sleep I went.
And in sleep it seemed vividly
That in the vision I saw perfectly,
In this great, beautiful place, a sojourn
Of beasts from the entire world.
There the mighty triumphal elephants
Tigers, lions, very powerful leopards,
Horses, mules, asses and dromedarys,
Accompanied by camels and panthers.
Bears and dragons, stags, does and wild boars,
Roebucks, fallow-deer and does by the thousands,
Cows, and oxen, lambs, ewes, sheep,
Wolves and foxes, who fear the shepherd's stick,

Dogs, cats and rats, mice and squirrels
And ten thousand others whose name I know not,
Because there came to the aid from every place
Each of the beasts called quadrupeds.
Next I saw birds in great number,
So crowded they discomfited each other
Griffons, kites, eagles, falcons, vultures,
Merlins, sparrow-hawks and bitterns,
Goshawks, cranes, herons, swans, peacocks,
Partridges, woodcocks, ⁵ divers, capons,
Here are fowl, chickens, ring-doves, pheasants,
Cocks, crows and mischievous ravens,
Thrushes, pigeons, blackbirds and larks,
Goldfinches, pretty linnets,
Greenfinches, sea-gulls starlings, turtledoves,
Jays, popinjays, starlings, swallows
And such a great number of all that fly
That not one was missing from all this family.
Wasps, cicadas, gnats and grasshoppers,
Flies, ants, mosquitoes and bees,
Vermin, spiders, slugs, baby ants,
Bedbugs, fleas, lice, nits and mites.
All animals, in effect, were here
Save the fishes which swim in the sea.

The cause and the occasion for the assembling of so many animals was that their king had recently died. He had been a noble lion, very wise, just, and valiant and personally bold. Because of these good qualities and virtues, all of the animals in general, and each one individually, had been happy with his reign and had wished him well. Together they bore him such love that each one of them would have had one of his own children die in his place. And so there was very great despair and melancholy that this king was dead without heirs of his own body, and that he had not borne a son or a daughter. For the sake of the great love they bore this king and by consent of all the animals they were assembled to elect a new king from one of his relatives.

Then rose a noble bay horse, very wise, experienced and well-spoken, who was one of the counselors. Speaking loudly with beautiful eloquence, he uttered the following lament for his lord: "Oh cruel death! Oh bitter fortune! Our joy is lost, because we have been deprived of him who was the guide of us poor desolate ones and who was like a father to us. Never has the death of a brother or of a sister caused us more grief than that of our good king who governed us so well. Would to God that I should die today in place of my lord, and that he should live in return. My heart is disabled for love of him. I believe that I will die of this great melancholy and that death will be a pleasure for me and clearly the end of all evils. I pray to God (from whom all blessings flow) to join him to the high hierarchy and to pardon him if he committed faults. He who wishes him well sing out 'Amen' in a clear voice." After these words, the animals all cried out with one voice saying: "Amen" and asking God to pardon him by His mercy, grace and pity. Then, the horse who was called the "Bay

horse with the short ears", said the following: "Most excellent and noble lords, as you know better than I, God Almighty has ordered that all bodies having souls must die after the term of life ordered for them; death is nothing other than the separation of the soul from the body when it returns to the place from where it came. And the body after this separation dissolves itself into the elements of which it is composed. This is in accord with the great philosopher Aristotle who said that all things return and resolve into those elements of which they are composed. This divine ordinance has been accomplished in respect to our sire, the king, whom God should pardon. And let Him, by His mercy, give us sense and discretion so that through His grace we can elect a new king to be our protector and defender. Therefore, most venerable lords, let each one of you declare and express his intention, giving his vote to the one who seems to merit it most from excellent and strong lords among the kinsmen and relatives of our late king." After saying this he returned to his seat. Upon hearing the words of the counselor and after much arguing all of the animals of one accord delegated their vote in the election to one of the principal counselors of the dead king, named "The White Horse of the Golden Throne" who was very wise and discreet and very highly esteemed by all of the animals. They all agreed that the one chosen as king and lord by the white horse be made king and natural lord and that any one who disagreed with the choice be immediately decapitated without mercy. After they all gave their consent by common accord "The White Horse of the Golden Throne" rose and said the following: "Most honorable and discreet lords, my small and faulty intelligence is insufficient to execute such a high and grand act as the election of a king as our protector and defender. As, however, it pleases you great nobles and wise men that such a thing be determined by me and

decided once and for all, I now, in the name of God Omnipotent choose, order and confirm as our king and sovereign lord the 'Red Lion with the Long Tail', the son of the first cousin of our former king. I offer him to you as our lord and defender for life." After these words were spoken the animals cried out in one voice very loudly, saying and agreeing that this election pleased them and that they were very happy with it because he merited it by right and reason. This being done, some animals with great pleasure and relief began to dance and sing; others to leap, or wrestle, or throw the stone or the bar, each one according to his manner and condition. They did all these things before their new king.

At this point, because of the loud songs, the tumult and the uproar that they made, I was awakened and I was so astonished by this scene before me that I thought I had lost my mind. I then heard the following words: "Very exalted and powerful lord", said the rabbit, "that son of Adam who is seated under that tree is from the Catalan nation and was born in the city of Mallorca. ⁶ He is called Friar Anselm Turmeda and is very learned in all knowledge and especially in astrology. He is an official in the customs of Tunis for the grand and noble Maule Bufret, ⁷ king and lord among the sons of Adam, and he is a great squire of that king." "Rabbit", said the king, "how is it you know his name and everything about his estate so well?" "Lord," said the rabbit, "because I and many others among my relatives were for a long time his captives." The king said: "It pleases us to know how you and your relatives were made captive and came into his power." "Lord," said the rabbit, "I was born on the island of

Sardinia and I lived in the environs of the castle of Caller, within an island, called the Isle of Bochel, which is in the middle of the lake belonging to this castle. It happened at this time that the governor of the castle, named Lord Allart de Mur, wished to go to the coronation of the king of Aragon, Don Ferdinand, who had thus become the sovereign of this realm.⁸ He boarded a ship to go to Catalonia and by chance and bad weather arrived in the port of Tunis. Not wishing to land, he sent one of his servants for water and victuals. As soon as this servant arrived at the customs of Tunis, he told Friar Anselm how the governor had arrived there by chance and bad weather and that since he lacked victuals he had sent the servant for that which was necessary to provision his men. After Friar Anselm had heard the report of the governor's servant he gave him many supplies saying to the servant: "Take these victuals and carry them to your lord and salute him for me. Tell him that I supplied him and wish that he accept this small service from his humble servant, Friar Anselm, and return to him his money. If he needs anything else let him ask and all he wishes will be done." Then the servant returning to the ship made the report to his lord of all Friar Anselm had asked him to say and returned him the money. The governor was very pleased with this and forthwith wrote him a letter giving thanks for the gracious and gentlemanly service rendered him. He sent these thanks without making his personal acquaintance. After the governor returned from the coronation he sent to Friar Anselm, on board a ship which was bound for Tunis, a present of many fine things including myself and twenty-three of my relatives inside of a beautiful wooden cage. After the

Friar received the present he put us in one of his gardens where we remained as prisoners until this month when I and my relatives dug so far under the ground that we pierced the foundation of the platform and came out the other side and in this manner escaped. Now you see, exalted and powerful prince and lord, how I know who he is and his name and estate."

The king after having heard the rabbit said to him: "Tell me, Rabbit, is this the same Friar Anselm who thinks himself so wise and is so presumptuous that he says, preaches and believes that the sons of Adam are more noble and excellent and of greater dignity than we animals. Moreover, as I have heard it said, he affirms that animals have only been created for service to man and that men are our lords and we are their vassals. In addition he preaches other fantasies and mockeries against us without giving any proof or justifiable arguments and these preachings are given credence by the sons of Adam who firmly believe that what he says against us is true." The rabbit responds: "Lord, it is he who has said everything you have been given to understand and I have heard him say so more than a hundred times with my own ears while I was in his power." The rabbit having said this the king turned to his grand barons and courtiers around him and said to them: "What do you think of this stupidity of Friar Anselm and of his mockery and folly?" They all answered the king with one accord, saying: "Lord, what he says and preaches against us is either due to great folly and lack of intelligence or is because of presumption and hastiness. However lord, as you very well know, often bad things are said which are not true. If false testimony is brought against someone, who is nevertheless innocent and blameless let him be called, if it pleases you, lord, before your royal presence and before the nobility and be presented with these

articles. If he says that all which has been attributed to him is true, then he should be required to prove it. According to the logicians if a man wishes to prove something it does not merely suffice to state it. In this way we believe that he ought to give various proofs to show that what he says is true. There are in your royal and noble court many subtle and ingenious animals that can debate so strongly that they will make him see the stars during the day and make him believe that gall bladders are lanterns. They can do this by the great and subtle knowledge that they have."

The king, upon hearing their response, was satisfied and forthwith sent one of the principal porters of his court, called "Renard the Fox with the twisted Legs", to look for me. When he arrived before me, after mutual salutations, he said the following words to me:

Friar Anselm for your eloquence,
 Here you will receive confirmation or shame.
 I shall speak to you in all courtesy
 So that you give my speech credence.

When you come before the royal presence,
 Of my lord who has sent me to you,
 Be ready and speak without cavilling
 And tell the truth in his presence.
 The lord king wishes by this audience
 To know from you if this great folly
 Is the truth or an outright lie,
 That you preach with such beautiful eloquence.

Saying that God by supreme power
 To the sons of Adam has given lordship
 To be lords over us in the present life,
 And, if it is thus, you make us offense.

Therefore come before the excellence
 Of our king and of his lords,
 If you do not come, I am the royal bailiff
 And can make you come by force to his presence.

Forthwith having heard the words of Renard and seeing that if I did not obey his command the situation could turn against me, especially as I was alone among so many animals who were all opposed to me, I asked myself what would be the best thing to do and what to answer. For that reason I answered in the following words:

Valiant porter of the court Leonine,
 I very willingly will make the voyage,
 Because for certain it will be to my advantage
 To publish my true doctrine.

In it is said that virtue divine
 Gave power to the human lineage,
 Over animals to do good or outrage,
 Because they are under their power by design.

For me to go would be to your ruin
 For what I say they will find very savage.
 Thus before I come, for my advantage,
 From your king I want a safe conduct sign.

Hearing my response and seeing that I wished to have a safe conduct and security, he left immediately and returned less than a half hour later with a safe conduct which was drafted according to what I had asked and demanded. Having received the safe conduct I went with the porter.

Upon arrival before the presence of the king of the animals I made that reverence which is due to all sovereigns. The moment the animals saw me they all assembled alongside their king, thinking that he would deliver a cruel sentence against me. But the king, being very wise, discreet and just, as soon as he saw me called me forth and seated me among the principal barons of his court. Thus he was very understanding and clever, as he realized in his own mind that, for fear of him or because of bashfulness before so many animals who were present, I would not be able or know how to answer the articles demanded of me. Therefore he showed me great love, goodness, gladness and a smiling face. He began by asking me about many things not touching the matter at hand, such as what are the usages and customs of all noble kings or lords. So that, accustoming myself to speak with him and the other great barons I would become brave enough to answer that about which I was to be interrogated. Seeing his behavior there arose in my heart extreme pleasure and joy and I rendered homage to God who had guarded and delivered me from that great noise and tempest which took place on my arrival and I began to regain courage because all my initial fear had passed. After many of the discussions I have described the king said to me in subdued and courteous words: "Friar Anselm, it has been recently brought to our royal notice that you publicly say, sustain, preach and affirm that you sons of Adam are the more noble and of greater dignity than us animals. Furthermore, which is worse, that

you say and firmly believe, and in your preaching command it to be believed, that Almighty God only created us animals for your service, and that you are by reason our lords and we are your vassals by right. We do not believe this at all nor do we believe that both such great folly and such great villainy proceeds from one so well learned and prudent as you are. We believe that these reputed statements do not arise from you but from someone who is your enemy or wishes you evil and who wants to obscure your good and honorable reputation. So we now pray that you assure us about this doubt as that is the principal reason why we have had you come before our royal presence."

After I heard the courteous words of the king, I answered in this manner. "Most high and powerful prince and lord, let your Royal Highness know that all that has been said about me is true. Confiding now in your great justice and knowing you to be the type of lord who is endowed with such great firmness that you will never be swerved from the right path by either love or hate, nor ever proceed without reason, I want you to know that I firmly believe and preach that we sons of Adam are more noble and of higher dignity than you animals. You will have no cause for complaint, lord, because I intend to prove it by pertinent reasons if it pleases your high lordship to give me this audience. I beg you not to allow yourself to do anything against my person with furor or anger and I hope that you place these qualities last and reason and justice first. As the great Cato says, 'Anger impedes understanding to the point that it cannot discern the ^{8a} truth': If I do not prove my opinion to be true, do with me what you wish."

I had hardly finished when all of the animals with great tumult and

noise in one voice cried loudly; "Death to Friar Anselm the traitor." And if a leopard, great seneschal of the said King, whose name was "Dom Magot with the Speckled Skin" had not immediately jumped to stand in front of the animals crying: "Do not become traitors as the king our sire has given him assurance," I believe that I would have been killed. As soon as the animals understood that I had received assurance from the king they quieted down, all the while murmuring continuously against me. The king, after hearing my words, withdrew and conferred with his counselors for a half hour, after which turning toward me he said: "Friar Anselm, we and our counselors and barons have heard your imprudent and indiscreet response of which (if you had not had our assurance) you would have received the punishment meted out to any other man or son of Adam, who, being warned, would be so audacious or presumptuous as to say or divulge against us these horrible words which you have said in your unfortunate, wicked reply. But as we, in the treatment of malfactors in our royal court, employ mercy more than justice, by the consent and will of our counselors, barons and loyal subjects we give you right now the audience which you demand. Finally, so that you see clearly that we animals are of greater nobility and dignity than you and by reason and right we ought to be your lords and you our dutiful subjects, leaving aside many noble and clever animals (who would shut you up in two or three words) we have chosen the "Mangy Ass with the Chopped-off Tail" to answer you because he is the most malodorous and miserable animal in our court. Address yourself to him, telling him all your reasons and proving what you have said against us is true."

I turned around and saw by my side an ill-natured, unfortunate ass covered with matted hair, mucus and scabs and lacking a tail, who would

not be worth ten denarii at the fair in Tarragona. I realized clearly that they were mocking me. Nevertheless, owing more to fear than to shame, it was necessary for me to bear it. The mangy ass immediately said to me: "Friar Anselm, although you are not worthy of my response, nevertheless I cannot go against the express command of the most high and powerful prince our sire, the king. It is incumbent upon me as a good and loyal subject and servant to comply and obey and for this reason, in the name of God, I wish now to hear from you the arguments and proofs that you have, one by one, and when you have said them, I will respond according to how God advises me." These words were like blows of a lance to me as I saw myself deprecated by such an ill-natured beast like this ragged and unfortunate ass. But in order to arrive at my intention, knowing that according to Scriptures he who suffers is not necessarily vanquished, I put aside all displeasure and melancholy and directed the following words against the ass: "Señor Ass, the first proof and reason that we sons of Adam are the greater in nobility and dignity than you animals is because of our beautiful figures and appearance. We are well-made and well-ordered in our members and it is all patterned according to beautiful proportions which correspond one to the other. Thus tall men have long legs and long arms, and in the same fashion with all other bodily members according to the length of the body. Short men have short legs and arms and in this way are all in proportion according to the stature of their bodies. You animals are made the opposite and there is no proportion of members in you. I will demonstrate it to you distinctly. The elephant, as you can plainly see, has a very large body, big long ears and small eyes. The camel has a long body, long neck, long legs, small ears and a short tail. The oxen and bulls

have much hair and long tails and no teeth in their front jaw. The sheep have much hair, long tails and no beards. The rabbits, although they are small animals, have longer ears than the camel. Thus you will find many cases and an almost infinite number of animals all differing in their members from the correct proportion and for this reason it is clear that we sons of Adam are of greater nobility than you animals!"

"Friar Anselm, you make a grave mistake in scorning the animals you have cited and you are not so naive as not to know that he who scorns a work, or speaks badly of it, scorns or harms the master and author of the work. Are you speaking badly then of the Creator, who has created them? This proceeds from your shortcomings in judgment; you do not understand the matter. You know that Our Lord God has created all of the animals that you have named very well and wisely. In evidence I cite Moses in Genesis, Chapter I, where he says that God viewed everything that He had made and it was very good.⁹ This can be understood to mean that there was nothing to criticize. I wish you to know, moreover, that God made the elephant's great, large ears to chase the flies from his eyes. And from his mouth protrude the large teeth which God gave him for the defense of his body. For this reason his mouth always remains open. As to your assertion that the elephant ought to have large eyes in accordance with his bodily proportion, I want you to know that if his eyes seem small to you the visual virtue which is in them is so perfect and subtle that he would be able to see from a distance of one hundred leagues if he were on some high mountain. Would you then not agree that this great vision is proportionate to his large body? Of course it is! There is nothing here to criticize. More-

over, I want you to know that all the animals of the world who have great, large eyes protruding from their heads have faulty, poor vision and those who have small eyes have good, subtle vision. Furthermore, Almighty God created the camel with a long neck because the camel lives off the herbs of the earth and with his long legs he needed a long neck to reach the ground which would also enable him to reach the extremities of his body so that he could scratch them with his teeth. Almighty God has created all of the bodily members of the animals, of which you have spoken, similarly, according to what they need. In order to make this short I will not speak any further on it as you would not understand it anyway. In any event your false argument is insufficient to prove your erroneous opinion to be true. Therefore I say, if you have some other argument, state it and you will have a sufficient response."

"Señor Ass, there is another reason by which we are the more noble and dignified and that is because Almighty God has given us the five senses which are hearing, sight, smell, taste, and touch. Although He has given them to you, never as complete nor as perfect as to us. Along with this He has given us good memory by which we can think of things to come and remember things absent and past. You remember nothing except the present and for this reason it appears very clear that we are the greater in dignity and nobility."

"Friar Anselm, hearing of the fame of your knowledge and wisdom which soared throughout this province before I knew you or heard you speak I believed in your great reputation and wisdom, but at present I feel the opposite, taking you for a rude and dull person. Why, man of God, have you lost your senses and understanding? A child of five would not say such words,

but would be ashamed of even thinking them. Nevertheless then, since you have lost the recollection, I shall now in response declare to you, if you know how to understand me, how God Almighty gave to us animals all the five senses more completely and perfectly than to you and, in addition, better memory and retention. So ppen your ears and listen to my words."

"The first corporal sense is hearing. If it is agreeable to you, Friar Anselm, heed the following example. Often a son of Adam while riding on some animal, be it horse or mule, tires of riding, especially in summer, because of the great heat, and dismounts to be refreshed and to repose under the shade of some tree, while holding his horse or mule by the bridle. If some man on foot comes on the road, the horse or mule hears him coming by his footsteps, realizing that his man has not heard him, lets him know by pulling on the bridle and raising his ears, looking in the direction from which the man is coming. By these actions the rider is brought to his feet and looks to the side where he has seen the horse or mule looking and sees the man who is still more than a missile shot away from the place where he is. Sometimes the horse or mule senses that a wolf or a dog is coming and he acts in this same fashion, for a long stretch of time, until he knows that the rider is well able to see him or to hear him. Now then, Friar Anselm, which has a better or more subtle sense of hearing, the horse or mule who, from the great distance of a missile shot hears a man coming on foot, or the rider, who until the man on foot is before him and greets him does not hear him, nor hears the steps of a dog who passes directly before him. A hundred thousand other proofs of this point could be given, but in order not to prolong my talk I will answer your other proofs and arguments."

"The second corporal sense of animals is sight. What man is there in

the world today, Friar Anselm, of such perfect and clear vision that he can see small things from the distance of a league? The eagle and the vulture see and observe the rabbit or the partridge or any other animal on the ground, alive or dead, from the altitude of more than fifty leagues in the air. The perfect vision of animals can be clearly demonstrated, Friar Anselm, in times of great gloom, when it becomes dark. When the sons of Adam cannot see anything without light, the noble lions and other animals, including cats, dogs and rats, see and observe better and clearer than the sons of Adam can in full daylight. You will see what I mean, Friar Anselm, if you read Chapter 22 of the book of Numbers concerning the ass of the prophet Balaam at the time when king Balak sent the prophet to curse the people of Israel. In order to stop him Our Lord sent His angel, with sword in hand. To accomplish His purpose the angel placed himself in the middle of the road and when the ass saw the angel before him with the sword, took fear and stopped. The prophet, not seeing the angel at all, spurred the ass in order to make him go on. The ass, not being able to bear the injury that the prophet was causing him by piercing his sides with the spurs, said: 'My lord, why are you spurring me like this? Have you ever seen me do such a thing to you before? You are hitting me because I am not proceeding and I cannot proceed because of the obstacle on the road.' Then it was, according to our text, Friar Anselm, that Our Lord God opened the eyes of the prophet and upon looking he saw the angel and quickly he said: 'Pardon me because I did not know that you were here.' And the angel said to him that 'If it had not been for the ass, who stopped, I would have killed you.' Then he gave God's command that he not curse the people of Israel and the command was obeyed. Now tell me Friar Anselm, who has better vision, the animals who not only

see corporal beings but even clearly see and observe the spiritual, such as angels, or you sons of Adam who can only see physical things? I could give you a hundred thousand other proofs but I hold myself back in order to shorten our debate and for fear of tiring our almighty and powerful prince, our most dear lord, the king."

"The third corporal sense of animals is the sense of smell. What man is there today in the world, Friar Anselm, who is able to sense and smell some good or bad odor at the distance of a stone's throw? Cats and rats sense or smell cheese or other food from the distance of a missile shot. Even the Master of Properties, who is a son of Adam like you, gives the greatest testimony about this saying that the vulture smells dead things from a distance of one hundred leagues.¹⁰ The beetles live on the droppings of horses, mules and asses. If you observe them when any of these animals has voided on the road where not a single beetle can be seen, then suddenly you will see an infinite number coming from all parts; so subtle is their sense of smell that from ten or twelve leagues they sense and smell their food. Observe, yet, another more marvelous thing. Dogs, in general, and specifically hounds (who are more meritorious in a manner of speaking) follow a trail by smelling the tracks of the rabbit, hare or partridge, and never lose the trail of these animals. In this, Friar Anselm, no son of Adam is sufficiently skilled, but, on the contrary, if the dogs, who are from our group of animals, did not point out the game, you would never, by

yourselves, be able to find it. I do not give other examples for fear of prolonging our dispute."

"The fourth corporal sense of animals is the sense of taste. Concerning this, if you pay close attention Friar Anselm, you will see that when horses, mules, oxen, sheep and other animals pasture, they choose between many herbs of different tastes and flavors and take the herbs with the good, sweet flavor and eat them and leave the others of bad, bitter flavor. Of this fourth sense, and of the fifth, I could present a hundred thousand proofs of how Almighty God has given them to us animals more completely and perfectly than to you, but I will not for fear of tiring my exalted prince, our lord the king, and his venerable barons, who only agree to and, in fact, only allow brief talks which demonstrate competence in the subject matter."

"As for the claim that God Almighty has given you in addition to the five senses, good memory and better retention so that you remember the past, whereas He has not given it to us so that we only remember what we see in the present, I answer you that what you say is false."

"You, yourself, know and in your actual experience you have seen every day mules, asses and oxen, after being taken one or two times to the vineyard of the garden, quickly know how to return to the house with no one to guide them. As for you, you will go once or twice upon a road, and returning there another time will forget how to go and miss the road. Friar Anselm, you have seen the young of the swallows fly as soon as they are grown, when the summer has passed and the winter approaches, because they are very delicate and fear the cold. They fly with their fathers and mothers to regions of the Indies because when it is winter here it is summer there, and they must be warm at all times. After the return of spring, which is a season tempered between hot and cold, they return here to our lands and you may

see them coming directly, singing with great joy and satisfaction, to the houses or places where they had left their nests the previous year, and they erect new nests for their repose and in order to have their young. Afterwards, as I said to you, at the end of the summer they all return to regions of the Indies straightway, never straying or missing their road for going from here to there and for coming from there to here, but at all times remembering the place of their habitation. It is similar in the case of the turtledove and the storks and many other birds. But if I tell you how they govern themselves on their departures and return trips it would take too long. Likewise in regard to the diligent manner in which they wage their wars, going and billeting together. The cranes behave in this fashion also, for when it comes time for departure the call is made by two or three who go for fifteen or twenty days crying out in a loud voice that all should assemble in order to make the journey to the warm country. This sufficient for now. That is not the case, Friar Anselm among you men. If a man from Mallorca goes to Barcelona and is the guest in the home of some friend of his, and if on another occasion he returns to Barcelona, he will often forget the street upon which the house of his friend is, where he had been a guest only the previous year, and if he does not ask directions from one of the inhabitants of Barcelona, he would never find it. Therefore, Friar Anselm, who seems to have the better memory, we the animals or you the men? If you have some other argument tell it to me because you have not proven that God has given you better memory or recollection than to us. Actually it is the contrary as I have said and declared. Therefore do not boast about the power of covering the sun with a sieve; you do not know how to do it."

"Señor Ass, seeing that my aforesaid proofs do not please you, I will

now prove by means of pertinent reasons that we sons of Adam are of greater dignity than you animals and because of this we deserve to be your lords, and you our vassals and subjects. This is true because of our knowledge and great discretion, subtleness of understanding and the multitude of sciences, good counsel and prudence that we have, observe and maintain in our governments, businesses, merchandise and in the multitude of laws we have by which we follow the paths of justice and goodness and abandon and abhor the false and bad paths. He who follows the right path and accomplishes good deeds is rewarded and repaid; he who follows the contrary path is punished according to his wickedness. But you have nothing of this since, as irrational beasts you perform all of your acts and works **bestially**, without there being any reason to your actions."

"I say, Friar, I say! Thinking before speaking is wisdom, and he does opposite who speaks before thinking. The latter is great and **haughty** folly mixed with the greatest muck. I will not say more than that among our largest and noteworthy animals as well as among our smallest you will find similar and even greater knowledge, discretion and subtlety of spirit and good counsel with better prudence than yours. We have among ourselves many laws and usages by which he who does what he ought not do is punished and he who does good is rewarded as I shall declare (if your coarseness of mind will allow you to grasp it) according to my spirit and understanding. Harken then to what I say. The foremost of the small and subtle animals is the bee who, if you pay attention Friar Anselm, you will see how they govern themselves in their habitations under the guidance of, and obedience to, their king who lives in the midst of his subjects.¹¹ Well then, in the spring and

in the summer, by day and at night when the moon shines, all come out and gather the wax of the leaves and the herbs by very subtle means with their feet and hands and afterwards gather the honey from the leaves and the flowers of herbs and trees and from other plants. From the wax they build their houses and habitations in a variety of ways. Some are built round, others four-sided, others triangular, others of five or six sides, for purposes of living and habitation. Others are built as storerooms to keep their foods and provisions for the winter and others as rooms to nourish their young and for sleeping in winter. As for those fitted out as storerooms, after they are filled with honey to serve as provision for the winter, they are closed with a fine, delicate closure of wax so that none among them may touch it until winter. At that time, everyone together and none in private all eat in a common mess. After winter has passed they return in the spring to their previous work. Their laws stipulate that he who does not arrive on time sleeps outside; that he who does wrong is punished by having a foot, or a hand, or the head, cut off in accordance with the gravity of the crime and that these pieces be placed on the road upon which they pass in order to give an example to the others to do good and desist from wickedness."

"The wasps are the same except that they do not gather honey. Their kings are also the same. If I were to tell you the ingenious labors which they employ in their houses to nourish their young and how they protect themselves from the cold and the heat by using the forests and the shade, this would be a very long story, which is why I will desist. Are you sufficiently convinced, Friar Anselm, that the aforesaid bees are sage and ingenious? Certainly you cannot say the contrary on the basis of any reason."

"Another small and subtle animal is the very wise and discreet ant, the

wisdom and experience of whom was noted by Solomon, (one of the most wise and discreet of the sons of Adam), who, by way of reproach to you said in a book of his called Proverbs, Chapter Six, 'Oh slothful ones, look to the ants and learn sense and discretion from them and regard the pains that they take in summer to amass their nourishment so that they can rest in winter, and thus give themselves pleasure and joy.'¹² Therefore observe and meditate within yourself, Friar Anselm, how wisely and discreetly they erect their houses and habitations underground in diverse ways and manners. Some long, others large, some for habitation and rest, others as storerooms to keep their foods and provisions for winter, filling them with wheat, barley, lentils, lima beans, peas and other victuals. And if it should happen that their sustenance gets wet, because of a damp place or rain, upon seeing a good day and a good sun, they take the things outside to run off and dry. When they are dry they carry them back into their storage rooms where they were originally. Furthermore, in order to avoid that the aforesaid sustenance germinate because of the heat and the humidity (which are two causes of generation) at the end of summer they divide the wheat grain into two parts and shuck the barley, lima beans and lentils because they know, by their own wisdom and discretion, that grain separated into two portions and shucked barley, lima beans, and lentils never germinate.¹³ In the summertime they arise early in the morning and leave their habitation in search of grain and what each one finds to eat, as hungry as he might be, he would not

eat for the world, but carries it loyally to the house so that it might be eaten in the common mess, and not in private. If any of the aforesaid ants finds a large quantity of food he very wisely returns to his companions, carrying a grain of that which he has found in order to show it to them and then all together, they or the greater part of them, go with him to the place he indicates and then they carry the food to their house and habitation. Moreover, if any one of them finds a large portion of food, as a piece of honey or another similar thing, seeing that he is not able to carry such a large thing, he returns in all haste to the house and announces it to the others. All together, those who are found in the house go with him to the place where the food is and if they can carry it or roll it, all together they carry the whole thing. If not, they divide the whole thing into many and diverse parts and each one carries his part to the house. When they arrive and the others ask the location of the food or victual that the aforesaid ant has found they give them directions to the road. Then they go one by one and, meeting those returning with the find, the first thing they do is to stop and kiss them, just like your Catalan women do when they meet an acquaintance on the street coming from church. Then they ask them the route and follow their directions until they arrive at the place where the food is and carry their share to the house as do their other companions. At all times they govern themselves in obedience to their king. He who does evil is punished according to whether the crime is great or small, by cutting off the hand, foot or head. The bodies of those who, by just sentence, are condemned to die are then thrown on the road closest to their habitations in order to give an example to the others not to do the same thing. The bodies of those who die because of illness are buried underground in place

of a sepulchre. Furthermore, in case, perchance, it happens that one of them is wounded by some son of Adam or some other animal, and has lost some member of his body such as his feet, thighs or hands, and for that reason cannot return to the house, quickly and at the command of their king they all go to that place and carry him to the house, where he is well cared for until he becomes well or dies. Then, does it not seem to you, Friar Anselm, that among us there is as much wisdom and sense as among you? Actually there is even more and no one who is reasonable can contradict it."

"I now wish to speak to you, Friar Anselm, on the wisdom of the locusts and how, after the summer has passed, they dig a hole in the ground in which they place their eggs and once placed underground they depart. While going to another place the greatest part are eaten by the birds and the others die because of the great cold and frost. Afterwards, when spring has come and the weather is warm and humid (these being two generative causes) quickly the eggs break and the locusts are born, so small that they seem to be black ants. They begin to eat and gnaw the herbs. Upon the growth of their wings they fly and go about their affairs. Afterwards they place their eggs underground, as I told you before, and do what their predecessors did, knowing that if they leave their eggs above ground they will be broken and will all be damaged by the frost and by the cold which freezes them; as a result of which they would not be hatched and that would cause their nation to come to an end and be exterminated from the earth. They govern themselves and place themselves under the direction of a king and none of their company attempts to fly until their king flies first. Also they have many ordinances and customs and whoever violates them is gravely punished. This would all take a long time to recount. Therefore,

you may look for other reasons or proofs to bolster your false opinion and I will give you an immediate response, but do not speak unless you have thought out what you wish to say and you will not be mistaken."

"Señor Ass, it is not necessary to think on it. You know very well, and it is a clear thing to all, that those people who are considered dignified and noble eat delicate and delicious foods and those of less dignity or nobility eat the gross foods and the foods with less flavor. We sons of Adam eat the very precious and delicate foods, such as bread of good bleached flour or meal, cranes, pigeons, pheasants, partridges, woodcocks, river birds, herons, storks, divers, larks, capons, Indian chickens and common chickens, wood-pigeons, turtledoves and all other flying creatures. In addition, stags, hinds, kids, deers, wild-boar, hares, rabbits and all other wild animals. The meat of kids, lambs, calves, sheep, oxen and many others either roasted or boiled or converted into pate, served in many diverse spices and sauces, such as white sauce, black sauce, grey sauce, camomile, peppered vinegar, green gravy, green sauce, mustard, turnips, garlic, onions, cabbage, leeks, spinach, lettuce, oranges and many other sorts of sauces according to the type of meat. The same with the fishes, such as sturgeon, salmon, trout, lamprey, sole, red mullet, frogs, brill, halibut, turbot, tuna, porpoise, pike, carp, perch, tench, leach, crayfish, eel and numerous others and an almost infinite variety of food and service of fish, large and small. As for our delicious and favorite beverages I will tell you that we have many delicate and favored wines such as the wines of Malvesy, Romany, mixed wine, muscatel, wines from Greece and Corfu, ver-nasse, rose, the drink called Hippocrates¹⁴ and an infinite variety of wines

both white and red, very subtle, strong, dry, full-bodied, sweet and sharp, from which we drink at our pleasure at all seasons of the year according to the disposition and quality of the climate. You animals do not have similar food or drink. Is not this sufficient proof that among us sons of Adam we are of greater dignity and nobility than you animals and in all of this there is no reasonable one who would dare to say the opposite?"

"Friar Anselm, you almost make me laugh, against my inclination. Good man of God, where is the sense and the subtlety you ought to have? It seems to me that you are more stupid and more unpolished than a peasant. You wish to laud the sons of Adam and instead you vituperate them. Since it is a fact that all the food you have designated and named can only be bought for money and money can only be acquired through great labor, suffering, tribulation and fear mixed with pain in the act of trading, warring, sailing, and riding. You will encounter death in many and diverse ways while trying to amass money such as by being drowned, hanged, flayed, decapitated, burned, exiled and imprisoned or lose bodily members such as ears, hands and feet. And after you have gained some money you are in greater fear than ever for your security, always thinking how to guard and how to increase it, always in fear lest the authorities appropriate it. You will desist from many pleasures and delights because of the fear in you, saying: 'If I do that thing I could be brought to court and lose all my property.' Also you will have to suffer many shames, injuries and deprecations which you will not be able to avenge for fear of the courts and for fear of losing your money. Finally in the other world you will have to render an accounting of how you acquired it, employed it and spent it, and if you have done wrong you will be sent to the inferno from which there is no salvation. Further-

more, even if you do come into the possession of money, bread made from white flour or farinaceous grain can only be acquired through great pain, labor and the sweat of your brow because you have to labor, plant, pick, harvest, winnow, sift and grind it, then make it into dough and bake it in the oven. All of these operations are accomplished at the cost of great anguish and labor. The same is true in the preparation of the other foods: cutting wood, lighting a fire, crying because the smoke irritates your eyes, peeling, grinding, straining, smoothing, pressing, and warming the sauces and the spices which you have already named."

"Friar Anselm, we also eat delicate foods such as good wheat, barley, oats, rye, millet, beans, peas, lentils, rice and other seeds. As for fruits we eat raisins, figs, peaches, apricots, prunes, apples, pears, cherries, pomegranates, lemons, melons, and a great number of other good fruits of many sorts. Furthermore we eat them when they are at their ripest and at their best. It so happens that when you wish to pick these fruits to eat you only find the most bruised and the oldest ones. We instead will eat ¹⁵ all of it joyfully in depreciation of you without our paying a cent. You pay and we eat. You plant the gardens and we eat the fruit; you dig the wells and we drink the water. In addition we eat many good, green vegetables such as cabbage, turnips, lettuce, spinach and many others over which I shall not tarry for fear of taking too long. We receive all of this without making it and without the labor of planting, picking, harvesting it, and kneading, cooking and lighting a fire. We eat what we need each day and leave the rest to you who guard it for us until the next day. In order to protect it you pay vintners, gardeners and other

guardians. As for your other foods, the meats, fish and sauces of which you spoke, despite your claim we animals eat many of them and often before you, as for example dogs, cats, rats, flies and ants who must eat these foods on account of their gluttony since no other animal would want to eat them. As for the diverse sorts of foods which you eat at the cost of such great labor, they also cause you many sorts of illnesses such as fevers, (quotidian, tertian and quartidian), stomach and side ailments, kidney trouble, itch, phlebitis, dropsy, gout and colic. Actually, you suffer from as many illnesses as you have varieties of foods. For the treatment of these illnesses you suffer many pains and torments such as having incisions made in your flesh, cauterization of the wound with a hot iron, taking of medications and purgatives with offensive and vile flavors (which make you dry), undergoing bloodletting and dieting and being made to abstain from desires of the flesh. Many other travails are inflicted upon you which would take too long to tell. From all of these things we animals are exempt and secure. Is it not then, Friar Anselm, ours which is the life of the lord since it is without labor and danger and is a life of repose? Certainly it is and your lives are the contrary. If you have any other argument you had better make it now."

"Lord Ass, the other argument which shows clearly and manifestly that we are of greater dignity than you is because of the great pleasures and the abundant luxury that we have in our halls, grand and ample palaces and houses. We give beautiful dances attended by all types of women, where you may hear laughing, singing, the playing of organs, lutes, harps, guitars, violins, viols, psalteries, rebecks, bagpipes, oboes, cornets,

trumpets, clarions, tamborines, flutes, flageolets, pipes and many other sorts of instruments at our weddings, feasts, banquets and gatherings. Dressing in beautiful clothing we adorn ourselves with many beautiful chains, images, gold and silver devices covered with many beautiful jewels, that is, with precious stones of many diverse colors. All these things are suitable for lords and not for vassals. I have thus clearly proved my opinion to be true which is that it is fitting that we be your lords and you our vassals and subjects."

"It seems to me, Friar Anselm, that you are somewhat dull-witted and are impelled to argue in a disorderly way. This all stems from your small, feeble intelligence. I do not hold it against you because you are already an old man and lacking in memory. Good man of God do you not know that pleasures which are causes of tears and pains ought not be called pleasures? How can you take pride in those things which are nothing but puffs of smoke which vanish into thin air? In place of feasts and weddings you have the procession made when you die and are buried. In place of the laughter, the tears; in place of joy, unhappiness; in place of songs, the great cries of mourners; in place of the great houses and sumptuous palaces, the narrow and small graves; in place of the chambers, the prisons; in place of the ornaments, chains and halters around the neck; in place of good, evil and sorrow. Seek out another argument to prove your false opinions because I believe you will find few in the future."

"Master Ass, the other argument to prove that we ought to be your lords and you our vassals is that God gave us law and he did not give this to you. That law commands us to do good and shun evil, for which reason we pray and fast and give tithes and first-fruits and alms. Prophets and messengers of

God have come to us and not to you. The reason for these things is that they are fitting for lords, which is what we are and not for you animals."

"Friar Anselm, he who speaks often, errs often and that is what you have been doing. Every time you want your argument to be accepted because you believe that it brings honor to the sons of Adam you cause them villainy and dishonor because you do not understand what you say. This is especially so in respect to your bragging that God has given law to you and not to us. You cause great dishonor and vituperation to yourselves and great honor to us since it would not have been necessary for God to give men law had man remained in the state in which God created him because in this state, God created man just, pure, innocent, and without sin. As, however, he trespassed God's commandments and sinned, he was immediately punished and ejected from paradise and his sons turned against each other on account of envy. Since then men rob, pillage, bear false witness, indulge in adultery, blaspheme, swear false oaths and commit many other evils, vices, abominations, and abominable sins such as sodomy and homicide. For these reasons, because you wish to commit these acts, it has been necessary for God to give you law. We, on the other hand, do not behave in this manner since we have remained as God created us on the first day, as we have remained to this day, praising Him and blessing Him, without committing sins. Therefore decide whether it is honor or vituperation and if you ought to boast of the fact that you ask God, in your prayers, to pardon the sins and the offenses and evils you have committed. We do not need forgiveness because we do not commit evil acts nor sin."

"God orders you to fast because of the sin of gluttony, and this order is just and fitting. But you do not do as God commands and on fast days you

commit more sins of gluttony than on other days by eating more foods of a finer type than on the other days. In order to fast one day you stuff yourself for three days. The day before the fast day you say: 'Let us eat and drink well because tomorrow it will be necessary to fast!' On the day of the fast you say: 'Let us eat and drink well today because we are fasting.' The day after the fast you say: 'Let us eat and drink well today because yesterday we fasted.' That type of fast, Friar Anselm, is not good nor just and is not according to God's command. In regard to this the great prophet Isaiah, in the name of God, says: 'Is that the fast, according to God's word, which I have asked of you?' It is necessary to answer 'certainly not'. Do you wish to know the fast I have ordered? Share your bread with those who are hungry and allow those who are in need and those who are ill to enter your home and partake of the things which God has given you. Can you look upon your neighbor naked while you are completely covered? He is your flesh. Therefore do not despise your neighbor. If you follow my command when you invoke God He will pardon you; when you cry out to Him He will say: 'I am here.'¹⁶ But you people, Friar Anselm, do nothing of the kind for your neighbor. Moreover you say bad things against him and in saying these wicked things you commit great treachery because in his presence you smile at him and as soon as his back is turned you say wicked things about him and derogate him. We, Friar Anselm, do nothing of the kind. We are not flatterers, saying good things and elevating our fellows in their presence, nor are we traitors, saying bad things about them behind their backs."

"As for the tithes, first-fruits and alms that you give they come from petty thefts and from what you steal from one another. You take the goods

of your fellows, sometimes secretly and sometimes publicly by means of force. You misappropriate all that you can by the criminal means of using false and misleading measuring devices. And you evil ones will assemble and amass goods on behalf of those who will feel no gratitude, namely for the husband of your wife after you die and for the husband of your daughter or the wife of your son. They will all have a good time with the goods you have left them while you render account to God. As for us, we are free from these sins and wicked acts. That is a sign of lordship."

"As for the prophets, which you say have not come to us but only to yourselves, that is to your dishonor and shame because the prophets are sent to you to make you do what is good and to avoid what is evil. Thus it is said in all Scriptures. This does not have to be done for us because, as I have already said, we only do good things which cause no harm."

"What good things are these, Señor Ass, that you do without causing harm? Is it not true that the locusts cause great harm and grief to the fields and the fruits? This is also true of many other birds such as crows and ravens. Also rats cause damage to all things which they eat and to robes and clothing. Kites and chickens, dogs and cats steal food and the wolf and many other animals live off thievery and robbery as does the fox who steals chickens. What you say then is false."

"Friar Anselm, it seems to me that you are a bit dull-witted and your argument lacks weight. The fact is that the robberies and evils done by the sons of Adam are illegal while the lapses of animals which you have described are not sins before God, but are permitted and legal. God has given them life and regulated their lives in certain ways. Jesus Christ himself said in the Gospels while speaking to men: 'Observe the birds in the sky who do

not plant or labor because your Celestial Father feeds and nourishes them.¹⁷ You ought not understand by this statement, Friar Anselm, that God feeds and nourishes them with His own hand but that He wishes to say that He ordered their lives and their manner of living. That is to say, He ordered the things of which you accuse them. It is appropriate to the dignity of lords to eat and drink without working and this is what we do. Therefore good man drop this fantasy and acknowledge that you are beaten because you cannot give an argument which is just and true."

"Señor Ass, another argument showing why we ought to be your lords is because of the beautiful silk robes we wear and also those of purple velvet, satin, damask, cotton, linen and wool trimmed with ermine, sable, leopard, marten, linx, and many other materials which it would take too long to describe at the present time. Now then these garments are reserved only for lords and as you lack these garments, by reason and justice we are your lords and you are our vassals and subjects."

"Friar Anselm, he who does not look before he leaps, falls. This has happened to you because you speak without thinking what you are saying and your words testify against you. When you wish to elevate you vituperate because you clearly state that you are thieves and you must be taken for thieves. Thus you are overcome by your own will. As you know, the most noble robes that you wear are made of silk and of wool. You also know that the worms and animals who created the silk, by their great industry and wisdom, build their houses out of silk to live, sleep and repose in, to be warm in winter, to protect them from the wind and the rain and to lay their eggs. You take it away by force, robbing them in order to make your garments.

Therefore, as the silk comes from their bodies they ought to be called lords and ought to be glorified more than you and more justifiably than you who have robbed them."

"It is thus with the wool. God gave it to the animals to protect them from the cold, wind, and the rain and you have taken it away by force to make your clothing. You therefore vaunt yourselves falsely over it. We animals ought to reproach you sons of Adam because we have given you your clothing which protects you from the wind, the cold and the rain. The same is true of the furs that you claim to have. Those are the skins of us animals which you have snatched and robbed."

"But Omnipotent God, who leaves nothing unpunished, punishes you for your bad acts and robberies in this world, before you are punished in the other world. He decrees much labor and trouble with the silk and the wool such as washing, scouring, bleaching, carding, spinning, reeling, wringing, warping, weaving, dyeing, cutting and a thousand other operations which would take too long to tell and which would cause you shame and disgrace in the telling. Do you not feel shame in always taking the praise for those things for which we animals should be praised? Well think up another argument and I shall give you such a response that you will be shut up."

"Señor Ass, we ought to be your lords because we have kings, princes, dukes, marquises, counts, barons, lords, prelates, doctors, philosophers, presidents, counselors, lawyers, prosecutors, secretaries, notaries, poets, singers and laborers. All of these divisions pertain to lords and not to vassals which is what you animals are."

"Friar Anselm, it costs nothing to do something well yet you continue to uncover your wickedness by puffing yourself up falsely. We animals have

kings, lords, officers, singers and good speakers like you. If you do not believe it observe the bees. They are all under the rule of their king, as I told you before. If you look closely you will find that God has created them with a stinger to defend themselves but has created their king without a stinger in order to indicate that the kings and lords ought to be merciful and kind without cruelty and wickedness.¹⁸ The king, our lord, whom we ought to discuss first, is the king of all us animals by virtue of his great courage, nobility and greatness of heart. He is open and liberal without avarice. This is clear and well-known throughout the world. When he takes some food he eats as little as possible and leaves the rest for his servants and courtiers who are in his noble court.¹⁹ As for his courage, there is no need to speak of it because by himself he could assault a thousand of you sons of Adam, including your king, who, because of fear, would not limit himself to just turning away. When you yourselves wish to praise some son of Adam you commonly say that he is as brave as a lion."

"The birds also have a king, the eagle, as do the ants and the locusts, as I have told you. We have no scribes and notaries as we do not need them, otherwise we would have them as well as you do. These people serve, however, only to write reports, pleas, and investigations of the thieveries and robberies which occur daily among you. In these reports they deny truth and sustain lies. We do not commit any of these acts. We also have very good architects who build extremely well, such as the larks, wasps, and many other animals who build their nests, houses and habitations. We have more than enough doctors, philosophers, poets and orators but, because you cannot understand their languages, you mock them as does the Christian the Moor and

the Moor the Christian. This comes about because they do not understand each other. For the same reason, because you do not understand the speech or language of the animals, you do not believe that they have any knowledge among them. I assure you that all of the songs sung by the birds, including the popinjays, nightingales, linnets, goldfinches, larks and greenfinches are all sung in rhyme and are rhetorically delivered. If you could understand these songs they would seem more subtle and better ordered than your own. We also have good singers and musicians, such as the above named birds. In regard to them you yourselves say, when you wish to praise some singer among the sons of Adam, that he sings as sweetly as a nightingale."

"I would also like to declare to you, Friar Anselm, that our kings are better and more suited to provide good government to their subjects than your kings. They are more merciful to their subjects than yours because your kings only love their subjects for what they can get out of them, i.e. tithes, tributes, tailles, imposts, salt-taxes and food-taxes, and many other exactions and benefits they extract from them. They use their subjects to defend themselves from their enemies. This is a sign of their greed and miserableness. Accordingly the king or lord who is clement, charitable and merciful; who is just at all times; who renders to each his due; who never alters justice because of avarice, special favor or fear; who always guards and fulfills God's wishes and commands; he is the true king of kings and the lord of lords. The king of animals has all of the qualities I will now name. The most high prince and king of the animals is the lion and he is the first in all assemblies, cabals, wars, and battles. He often places himself in danger of death for the sake of his people on account of the compassion he has for them. He also allows his subjects to keep what

they have without taking anything from them either through their consent or by force. I have told you of the king of the ants and of the king of the locusts, and of how they are charitable and merciful in all of their acts and government. They never take away any rights from their people. Also the kings of the cranes, because of the great charity and compassion that they have for their subjects, guard them at night while they sleep. Similarly, all of the other kings of the animals have pity for their vassals and never usurp any right or tribute and never demand anything from anyone. As for the servants and officials of your deceased kings, as soon as your new kings take over they redistribute those who served their fathers, poorly compensate them for their good service, and replace them with new officials. Often, in order to secure their sole sovereignty they kill their brothers, uncles and kinsmen, or jail them or banish them in perpetuity. Thus fearing to lose temporal sovereignty they lose that of the spirit. But among us animals we do nothing of the kind when a new sovereign takes over. Therefore seek out some other argument to prove that your false opinion is true and I will respond."

"Señor Ass, another reason that we are greater in nobility and dignity than you and thus we ought to be your lords and you our vassals is because we are all created in one semblance which is similar to the unity of God who is essentially one.²⁰ You, on the other hand, are created in an infinite variety of appearances and figures. Furthermore, God has constituted in us three things worthy of great admiration. The first thing is that among one hundred thousand men and women you will not find five or six who have the same face, although all of the components of one face are to be found in

another face.²¹ Thus they all have foreheads, eyebrows, eyelids, eyes, noses, lips, beards and irrespective of all of these they still do not look alike. The second thing is that they all have a language with which they speak and sing. Despite that fact you will never confuse the speech and singing of one with the speech and singing of another. If someone has a close or familiar friend who is in a place where he cannot be seen but can be heard speaking or singing he will be able to name that friend without fail. The third is that the letters of the alphabet with which they write equal twenty-three in number and each one has its own shape or appearance. Yet there are a hundred thousand forms of handwriting and even if all wrote down the same song using the same ink and the same pen you will never find one script resemble another and thus each script will indicate the hand that wrote it. This is a great blessing that God has given us because if all men or women resemble each other a great many evils and inconveniences would befall us because then the father could have sexual dealings with his daughter believing her to be his wife or with the wife of his son, believing her to be another woman. For the same reason women would commit bad acts by receiving into their homes men who are not their husbands because everyone would look alike. One could enter the house of another and take all he finds and in this way everyone would be destroyed and undone. Also no one would know who is the pope or the king because anyone who dresses in royal or papal garments

could call himself a king or a pope and the people could not contradict him or go against him because everyone would look alike. The Jew would not recognize a Christian nor the Moor a Jew and they could have sexual relations with Christians and infinite other evils would ensue if men looked exactly alike. In such a way the world would escape no evil and everyone would be lost. Similar evils would occur if all men were alike in their speaking voice because at night one could knock at the door of someone who is absent and say: 'Open the door my lady' and the lady would open the door because the voice would seem to be that of her husband. Infinite other evils and errors would take place which, if I were to list them, would take too long. The same is true of script. If all the handwriting were to be the same a commoner would be able to write a letter purporting to come from the king and addressed to a governor or a chatelain who was holding a castle for that king. The letter would command: 'Under pain of incurring our wrath and indignation that immediately upon receipt of our royal letter you turn over the castle that you are holding for us to the bearer of this letter and present yourself before our royal presence.' Drafted as coming from the pope it would demand that the bearer be given a bishopric or other dignity. In another example it could purport to be written by a merchant to his agent in Alexandria or wherever, stating: 'Give and pay to the bearer without any delay a certain amount of ducats which are to pay for the value of what I have received from him.' These things would bring about great evil and would destroy the world inside of a year. But you animals have nothing of the kind nor any of these wonders. You all resemble one another, that is to say, all of the lions resemble each other, all of the oxen resemble each other and all of the sheep resemble each other. For that reason among you the son commits the sex act with his mother, the brother with his sister,

thinking that it is his female because you all resemble each other in face and all other bodily members. And, because all of your voices or cries are alike, when the son of a cow calls, his mother quickly comes thinking him her mate and the son has relations with her thinking that it is his female. All this comes about because they are alike in cry and voice. This is the fashion with horses and mares; with lions and lionesses. And the smaller animals such as the dogs, cats, rats, behave similarly. It seems quite clear then that we are the greater in nobility and dignity than are you."

"Friar Anselm, it seems clear to me that you have lost your senses and that you have forgotten or misplaced all worthwhile considerations because, by reason of your presumption, your words are incorrect and fantastic and show that you do not understand what this question is all about. If you are not all of one semblance but are all diverse and of an almost infinite variety of wills and languages you are also divided on the one thing in which, if you are wise or if there is some discretion in you, you ought to be all of one accord. That is, in respect to God's law and in the faith of Jesus Christ, His son, your Saviour. But there are among you evil ones, Jews, Christians, Turks, Saracens, Tartars and savages and an infinite number of others who do not have nor understand law and at all times each one of them says and believes that he has and holds the truth and that all the others have and hold lies and falsehoods and on this basis swears and takes oaths and firmly believes that it is thus. Others among you leave the Omnipotent God and adore the sun or the moon, or images and idols of gold, silver and

stone which have no power and can help no one, neither themselves or others."

"We, on the other hand, are diverse in appearance and of one accord and one belief. We believe in and adore one God who created us, and He, seeing our good and pure intention has given us food and drink without the pain or labor of planting and digging wells. You, with all your great beauty of which you are so proud, because you do not do what He wishes and commands, do not receive food and drink except by great labor and the sweat of your brow. Who, then, Friar Anselm, seems the greater in nobility and dignity, he who eats and drinks in ease and repose or he who eats and drinks in labor and sadness? And as for what you say about our resemblance in appearance and voice, especially what you say about sex with our mothers and sisters, you do not know what you are talking about. We do not act in this way because we do not recognize each other but because it is legal for us and God does not prohibit it. I will explain it to you if you can understand it, Friar Anselm. As you can see for yourself by clear and manifest experience, every day it happens that overnight one or two hundred animals, calves and kids, are born and the following day their mothers go to pasture and their young remain at the barn. At the hour of vespers when they return from the pasture even though they all resemble each other in face and voice, each and every one of the new-born goes directly to his mother, without making a mistake, and without having to have someone direct them. They will not make a mistake, that is not one among them goes to the wrong mother. You can then see clearly that sex with our mothers and sisters is not because of lack of recognition. This quality has been given to us by God in a better and more perfect fashion than to you since, by not resembling each other in any way, each having a completely different appearance and voice, it is, an

easy thing for you to tell each other apart. Nevertheless, it is always the case with you that when you are born, after spending five or six months in the daily company of your fathers and mothers, you still do not know how to choose or differentiate between them and strangers. You call all the men you see, 'Papa' and all the women 'Mama' thinking that all men are your fathers and that all women are your mothers. Therefore, good man of God, when you wish to speak, think on it well beforehand and you will not miss the point. If you have another argument to prove your false opinion put it forward and I will answer it."

"Most Reverend Ass, the reason to prove that we are the greater in nobility and dignity than you other animals and in all justice ought to be your masters is that we buy and sell you, feed you and give you drink, protect you from the heat and cold, from lions and wolves, give you medicine when you are ill and do all this because of the pity and compassion that we feel for you. The only ones who commonly exhibit these qualities of pity are the lords with respect to their subjects and slaves."

"Friar Anselm, your argument is of little value because if on account of your buying and selling of us we ought to be your subjects and slaves and you our lords, for the same reason and by the same right the Christians and the Moors ought to be subject to one another. However, this condition is only brought about by force and usurpation and where force reigns right and reason have no place. As for your giving us to eat and drink, and protecting us from cold and heat and from all evils, you do this only for your own profit because our well-being is to your profit and our illness is to your loss. You do not do it because of pity or compassion for us but because you are afraid that we will die and our death would cause you the loss

of the money you paid for us. Also, you would not drink milk nor eat cheese, butter or cream; you would not have wool to make cloth nor lamb skin for fur and would die of the cold; you would travel on foot and would carry loads around your necks like bearers without our aid. As for what you say about having pity on us, you take lambs, calves, and kids and imprison them away from their mothers and let them die of thirst so that you may drink milk that God has provided for their nutrition and make cheese with it, even though you have good water and many diverse types of wine to drink. Have you ever seen, Friar Anselm, one of us animals drink milk after he is weaned? But your gluttony and greediness is so great that it cannot be sufficiently described. You are old yet you drink milk and what is worse you take the calves, kids and lambs and slaughter them and afterwards you skin them, cut them up, you fricassee, fry and boil their flesh in a pot and roast it in the presence of their fathers and mothers, or do the same to the latter in the presence of their sons. They keep silent and suffer all of these pains and cruelties with great patience. Where then is the pity and the mercy that you say you have for the animals? You speak much and you err much and bring great shame to your kind because people think you wise and understanding but hearing your words must regard you as foolish and ignorant. If you have any other argument say it and I will respond sufficiently and in such a way that you will be shut up and rendered mute."

"Señor Ass, another reason and proof that we sons of Adam are of greater dignity and nobility than you is that we are very ingenious in building houses, towers, and palaces in which to live. They are built in all manners and fashions, round, square and of all other forms and styles. This proceeds from the great subtlety and prudence of our intelligence. You are

deprived of this thing. He who knows how to do this is worthy of being a lord and, on the contrary, he who does not know how to do such things, by justice and reason, ought to be a subject and vassal."

"Friar Anselm, as often as you speak that is how often you demonstrate your error so that it seems to me that, while believing that you have some knowledge, you are, in fact, far from having it. If you had reason or any discretion you would see clearly that you commit a great folly in claiming all of the praise that you give yourselves as master builders. It seems to me in truth that you are a bit uncouth and lacking in knowledge. This is clear to one and all because of the way you praise yourself about building. If you compare all of your works with ours it would appear to be a mockery. Friar Anselm did you not observe the bees, how, as I told you before, in good order and under a king they govern themselves and how they build and erect their houses according to measure, some having six sides and others with eight angles, some as triangles and others with four sides.²² Thus they build more or less, according to their needs and what is more they build out of only one material, which is wax. Men never construct nor are able to build their habitations out of just one material but must use sand, lime, mud, stone, wood, iron and plaster. Besides all of these materials they need hammers, picks, rulers, saws, wedges, squares, files, lines and other measures and tools without which they could not build or erect. The bees have none of this; so great is their spirit and subtlety and there is not a man in the world who can build houses so correctly and so well-measured as they can with only one kind of material. Spiders also build their habitations and palaces of only one material, that is to say of their beautiful thread and they weave it more delicately than silk, transparently, in di-

verse fashions such as long, square, triangular, round and so that they resemble crepe, with many cords and files, without need of spindle, distaff, reel, winders, carders, cutters, and weavers. The sons of Adam do not know how to make a cloth or a pattern without these tools. Then, Friar Anselm, who are the more subtle in their works, the sons of Adam or us animals? Certainly (if you have not lost your senses) you will recognize well and clearly that we animals are much more subtle than man. I will not dwell further on it for fear of boring our most high and powerful king, our sire. I could say similar things about the larks in regard to the building of their habitations and also about the other birds, on making their nests so well in high places that it seems that they have well employed all the art or science of geometry and measure. Well now, seek out another argument and think deeply on it in order to prove your false opinion."

"Señor Ass, without needing to give it much advanced thought I will prove that among us sons of Adam we are the greater in dignity and nobility than you animals. It is because we eat the animals of the earth, of the sea and of the air (which are the birds of many and diverse sorts). Therefore the thing is clear and certain that the eater is more noble than the thing eaten. And for this reason it appears that we are more noble than you others."

"No fly enters a closed mouth, Friar Anselm. Good man of God it would have been better for you to maintain your mouth closed than to say such a silly thing because, according to your argument, your lords should be worms, since it is they who eat you. Also the lions and the vultures and all the other animals and birds, along with the fish of the sea since they also eat you. For the same reason wolves, dogs and many other animals ought to be

your lords. And what is even worse the lice, fleas, bedbugs, nits, mites and others ought to be your masters because they eat your flesh. Tell me, then, in your own opinion, is your argument sufficient when it lacks reason which you can neither give nor cite?"

This being said by the ass, a fly rose to its feet and said to the ass: "Most reverend debater, although I realize that it is a great indiscretion to speak without being asked, all the same the great temerity, audacity and ambitiousness that I see in the friar will not allow me to remain still without giving him several arguments by which, if he has a shred of intelligence, he will recognize that the animals are of greater nobility than the sons of Adam. Therefore would you please permit me to put them to him?"

"Dame Fly" answered the ass, "if the king, our sire, permits you, and any other animal who knows how to give or cite an argument which will demonstrate that we animals are of greater nobility and dignity than the sons of Adam, you are free to do so now."

The fly then says: "Friar Anselm, not only are the animals of greater honor and nobility but the smallest and meanest of them are of greater dignity and nobility than you. First I will tell you about the flies, whom you do not esteem and prize. Here is the proof. The principal and greatest lords of you sons of Adam are the pope, the emperor and the king. During great festivities they dress themselves in rich vestments of silk, purple and velvets and they perfume themselves with many good odors such as ambergris, civet, musk and others and then take great pride in their appearance in the belief that there is nothing greater in honor and nobility in the world than they. Then attracted by such glory we flies come out of the muck and with soiled and dirty hands and feet covered with muck we crawl into the

beards of your pope, emperor or king and use it to wipe and dry our feet and our filthy hands. And if we feel like it we wet and soil their beards and clothing. Then the pope, emperor or king, smelling the odor of the excrement that we have deposited in their beards, says to the courtiers around him, 'do you smell this stink that I smell?' and they respond 'no' and the poor man does not know that it is we who have filthied his beard. Therefore, Friar Anselm, who seems to you to be the greater in dignity and nobility, we animals who dirty and wet your beards or the popes, kings and emperors whose beards we dirty with our filthy hands and feet? Certainly you will know and recognize that we flies, who are the most uncouth animals in the world, are of greater nobility and dignity than you. How much greater then in nobility and excellence are the noblest and greatest of the animals? Certainly he who denies this is not very wise."

After the fly had spoken the mosquito stood up and said: "Friar Anselm, the tongue has no bone yet claims the right to speak with authority and so is it with you because you speak and state many foolish and foolhardy words against the noble animals while, in fact, say nothing. It has caused such great displeasure that they would much rather have their bones and bodily members chopped off than listen to your words which clearly bear the mark of little learning. Good man of God if we, who are the smallest animals in the world, can vanquish and climb over your popes, kings, emperors and other great lords, how much greater are the other great and noble animals? We enter their chambers despite them and against their will and make noise when they wish to sleep. We do not let them sleep but bite them and drink their blood until we have had our fill. We cause them so much harm, pricking and biting them that many times, because of the great displeasure they hold against us, they slap themselves hard in order to kill us, but we

escape, flying away. And afterwards we return as many times as we please until we are replete with their blood without their being able to defend themselves against us. Thus man of God, shut your mouth and go along with your most reverend opponent because, according to your own argument he who eats is more noble and of higher dignity than the thing eaten. It is thus clear that we are more noble and more dignified than you since we eat and drink your blood. It is clear and manifest that your opinion and fantasy are false and untrue."

"Friar Anselm," said the bedbug, "in spite of you we live in your houses, palaces and chambers; in your couches, beds, bedspreads, mattresses, covers, cushions, and linens. We eat your flesh and drink your blood and dirty your beards and robes with an excrement more malodorous than yours and you are incapable of preventing us from doing any of these things. In this respect you can recognize and see in what esteem we hold you and how much we prize you because if we prized you at all, would we dirty your beards? Where then is your nobility to which you make such grand reference? It seems to me, and it ought to seem to you, if you wish to speak the truth, that we animals are the greater in nobility than you sons of Adam."

After the bedbug had finished speaking and had sat down a flea very fat and oily stood up and said: "Friar Anselm we eat your flesh and drink your blood and that of your women and children. We sleep in your habitations, beds, linens and dirty your hair and beards and fill them with nits and you can do nothing of the sort to us animals. It appears then, and is evident and clear that we are of greater nobility and dignity than you."

After the bedbug had said his piece the louse rose before the friar and said: "All that our first cousin, the bedbug, has said to you I also say,

namely that we, despite you and against your will, sleep in your beds and drink your blood. And to show even greater disdain we enter your ears so that you will not be able to sleep or rest and even dirty your linens which you have to steam and wash so that they will be pretty and clean. Who, then, seems to be greater in nobility, us who only make our excrement on beautiful and clean linens, or on your nightshirts, or you who must use the stinking places you have made for that purpose and which force you to stop up your noses because of the abominations therein? You yourselves must remove the muck from these places while we **animals** do not have to clean up our mess and you, like our servants and slaves, wash with soap and powders, the linens and nightshirts that we have dirtied and will continue to dirty. It is clear and obvious that we are the greater in dignity and nobility than you **animals.**"

After the louse had spoken a mite stood up and spoke with great audacity, saying: "Friar Anselm, a common proverb says: 'If you wish me to speak well of you, you ought not to speak badly of me and vice versa.' If you speak badly of someone it is necessary to speak worse things against you since, among the sons of Adam, it is said that I am nothing and am worth even less. At all times, we, who are the smallest animals in the world, are greater in prowess and valor than you. Thus the thing is clear. We run about on your flesh and due to the great number of bites we inflict on you, you scratch and rub yourselves so hard that many times you score and irritate your flesh. In spite of this you cannot defend yourselves against us. Thus it is obvious and evident that we animals are greater in nobility and dignity than you."

After the mite had spoken a tooth-decay worm stood and said the follow-

ing to me: "Friar Anselm, you know how much harm and bother we gave you last year. The result was that we left you with very few teeth in your mouth. You ought to know that the same thing that you experienced is happening in the same way or even worse to your kings, emperors and other great lords causing them such vexation and suffering that they are not able to sleep or rest. They often long for death because of the extreme suffering we cause them. No matter what medicines they take the only remedy is the pulling of the tooth. In this way we cause them to remain without molars and without teeth in their mouths which deprives them of the better part of the pleasure of eating since they must eat their foods with great pain and suffering and can only eat soft foods which causes unhappiness and melancholy. Since your great lords cannot defend themselves from us it would appear manifest that we have the greater sovereignty over you than you have over us and consequently are of greater nobility and dignity than you. Answer now whether it is true or false what I and my companions have told you since it is certain that you are not so thick and uncomprehending that cannot discern the truth."

"After I heard the words of these seven animals I was very troubled and half out of my mind seeing clearly that their arguments were true and that I could not contradict them. I thought to myself that I had poor judgment and even less wisdom in not having admitted defeat by the ass sooner when now I had been clearly vanquished by such ill-bred, unfortunate and wretched animals as were these seven. At least the ass was of greater honor among us sons of Adam than these aforementioned animals since the greater number of prophets rode asses (such as the prophet Balaam) and it was on an ass that the blessed virgin Mary fled with Joseph and Jesus Christ to Egypt

for fear of Herod. In addition Our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God Eternal, entered Jerusalem on an ass. Hence for all of these reasons it would have seemed better and more honorable for me to have been vanquished by an ass than to have given myself up as defeated by the form and substance of the arguments presented by these seven other animals. For this reason I was sweating from the anguish and great distress I was enduring because I could not answer nor contradict them. Resolving, then, to admit defeat by these seven little animals, as I pondered the response I ought to make, the ass spoke and said the following words to me: "Friar Anselm, it seems by the look on your face that you are sleepy and that you would like to go to sleep. You have heard the words of our seven small animals. However you only have to answer me and my arguments. Therefore if you have some other argument to prove your opinion say it now and you will be given a sufficient and true response."

Instantly when I heard these words I became like a man returned to life from death; from mortal illness to health. It seemed to me that an angel had been sent to me from God and I said: "Señor Ass, the reason why we are the greater in dignity and nobility is that when we die our soul does not die with us but is resurrected and enters paradise where it remains in infinite glory. You animals have nothing of the kind. When you die your soul dies with you and you do not have resurrection nor glory. This is a sign of the high dignity of lords and it appears evident, therefore, that my opinion is true, not false."

"Friar Anselm, someone lacking intelligence gets things reversed. This is so with you because you read Scriptures and do not understand them. As the wise Cato said; Friar Anselm, 'he who reads and does not understand has

not read and, in addition, lacks respect for it.' As you very well know, Solomon, who is the wisest man that ever lived among you sons of Adam, said in his Ecclesiastes, Chapter three; 'Who knows if the soul of the sons of Adam go on high and the soul of the mares and the other animals descends below?'²³ It was as if he meant that nobody knows the answer save their Creator. And I assure you, Friar Anselm, that your speech is not very wise on this. Do you claim to determine what Solomon himself placed in doubt when he spoke wisely? In regard to your assertion that you will enter paradise after the resurrection, it will also happen that the greater number of you will go to hell, to eternal fire and damnation, where truly the fire will never cease and the sufferers will never die. Where, according to Scripture 'you will wish that you had died in your mother's womb'.²⁴ According to the Evangelist Saint Matthew, Chapter 20, few of you will go to paradise as: 'Many are called and few are chosen.'²⁵ The prophet David says in the Fifteenth Psalm: 'Lord God, who will it be who will live in your tabernacle?' (That is to say, in paradise.) God replies: 'He who walks without stain'. (That means, without sin as are us animals.)²⁶ If you have another argument to prove your false opinion to be true tell it to me and I will give you such an answer that you will be shut up."

"Señor Ass, the other argument that we are greater in nobility and dignity than you is that we are made and created in the image and appearance of God and you **are not**. And this is a **grand** and superlative sign for which reason it is sacred and just **that** we be your lords and you be our subjects and vassals."

"Friar Anselm, he who speaks often, often errs. Thus you believe that you have won the debate by this subtle argument which states, according to you, that you are created in the image and appearance of God and we are not. Do you not know that your sins refute what you have said? Good man of God, do you sons of Adam think that God resembles you? That would not please God because God does not have a head or eyes, mouth, hands, feet. In effect he is not corporal. You base this assertion, Friar, on the authority of Genesis where God says: 'Let us create man in our own image and appearance.'²⁷ Without a doubt this is true and there is no one who would deny it. But you do not understand or realize how it ought to be understood. Although I have not studied in Paris and in Bologna, as you have, I will now clearly explain its meaning to you, if your rude spirit will allow you to understand and comprehend it. Open your ears now and pay attention to my words and you will see how this authority ought to be understood. You know, Friar Anselm, that philosophers say and affirm that man ought to be called the 'small world' and he is called thusly in their books. According to them he is called this because in man is found all that is in the great world which is to say, on heaven and on earth. As the sky has twelve signs you will find in man twelve ducts, namely two from the ears, two from the eyes, two from the nose, one from the mouth, two from the breasts, one from the navel and two from the lower parts."

"As there exists in the great world four elements which are fire, air, water and earth, so in the small world of man there exist four bodily members, namely the brain, the heart, the liver and the lungs. As the four elements rule and govern the great world so do the four bodily members rule

and govern the small world namely, the human body. In the same way, as the humors, vapors, chills and humidities, which rise high in the air, take shape and engender (while approaching the movement of the heavens and the planets) winds, thunderbolts, rains, so do the vapors from the lower parts rise to the higher parts as wind (belches), thunderbolts (sneezes and coughs) and rain (tears and saliva). In brief, the flesh of the body of man is like the earth because it is created out of earth and will return to earth. His bones are like mountains; his ears like metal mines which are in the concavities and inner parts of the mountains; the womb is like the sea; his intestines are like the rivers; his veins are like the sources and fountains; his flesh like the earth (as I have said); his body hair and the hair of his head are like the herbs and plants; and the parts which are covered with no body hair are like salted earth or clay where herbs do not grow. The face and the front of the body of a man is like the inhabited parts of the great world. As these parts are populated with cities, villages and castles, thus is peopled the front part of a man's body with the nose, mouth, breasts, navel, together with the lower parts and the hands and the feet. The back portion of the small world, that is to say the body of man, is like those parts of the great world which are not inhabited. Therefore, the front part of the body of man is like the East and the back is like the opposite direction. The right hand is like the South and the left is like the North. The sneeze, cry, cough and the noise and rumble which comes from the bowels are like thunderbolts, as I have already said. The tears, saliva and urine are like the rain. The smile is like the break of day; crying is like the darkness of night. Sleeping is like death; waking is like life. Youth is like spring; adolescence is like summer, the prime is like autumn; old age is

like winter. As the great world is governed by Our Lord thus is the small world, which is to say the human body, ruled and governed and overseen by the intellectual soul which does with the body what it pleases. Hence at the same moment that the soul wishes the body to stop it instantly stops and when the soul wishes the body to rise, it rises. In general, whenever the soul wishes the body to make some movement, such as extending or contracting the feet and the hands together, or closing or opening the eyes, or jumping or running or making any other movement, large or small, instantly it is done and accomplished without fail or need for the soul to speak to the body nor give it a sign or signal, but at the instant the soul wishes the body to make some movement the wish and the act are one. So there is no need for the soul to tell the eyes to close or to tell the legs to run or to tell the other bodily members to do such and such. But, as I have said, the wish and the act are one. God Almighty, at the point and the instant when he wishes and it pleases him to make something in the greater world, that is to say the sky or the earth, instantly at the same point and at the same moment it is accomplished without him having the need of saying it but at the same instant that he wishes it and that it pleases him that something be done, at that same point and instant it is done and accomplished. Thus it is that the will and the coming into being are one and thus it is with the intellectual soul in the lesser world, that is to say, in the human body. This is how that Scriptural authority must be understood, namely that the statement: 'Let us make man in our own image and appearance' refers to the soul, and, just as God does all He pleases in the greater world, which is the sky and the earth, so, in a similar manner does the soul in the lesser world, which is the human body. It is for that reason that your intellectual soul was

created."

"Friar Anselm, as it seems to me that you do not understand me very well in reference to that Scriptural authority, I will explain it to you in another manner. Pay attention to my words. According to what is said by the philosophers and some doctors of medicine the soul of man is nothing but three faculties, which are memory, intelligence and will. These three faculties form a soul and as the Son is born of God the Father, and in the same manner from the Father and the Son comes the Holy Spirit, in a similar manner is born intelligence from memory and, in the same way, from memory and intelligence proceeds will. Thus as the person of the Father is not that of the Son nor the person of the Son that of the Holy Spirit, nor is the person of the Holy Spirit that of the Father or of the Son, the act of memory is not that of intelligence and the act of intelligence is not that of will but these three faculties form one intellectual soul. You can see, Friar Anselm, how the intellectual soul is made in the image and appearance of God. This is how that Scriptural authority must be understood which states: 'Let us make man in Our own image and appearance.' Without becoming so presumptuous that you will not be able to think a little before you speak, it is on the basis of your reason that you are created in the image and appearance of God. I will endeavor to prove that we animals are by right, of greater dignity and nobility than you **sons of Adam.**"

"You claim that you are made in the image and appearance of God. We can say, and it is the truth, that not only God but even the saints are made in our image and appearance and you will not be able to contradict it. Among you sons of Adam you paint God Almighty in the appearance of a lamb and you paint the evangelists, who are your principal saints, in the

appearance of us animals. You paint Luke as an ox or a bull, Saint John as an eagle and Saint Mark in the semblance of the one victory.²⁸ During Easter you sing a piece which says that Jesus Christ is risen with great powers and that the lamb (which He was) has become the lion by solemn victory. Therefore, Friar Anselm, who seems to you greater in nobility and dignity, you who are made in the image and appearance of God or us who have God and his saints made in ours? This is according to what you yourselves sing at Easter and paint in all of your churches. Certainly, if you are not out of your mind, you will recognize clearly that we are greater in dignity and nobility than you. Seek out another argument to prove that your false opinion is true."

"Most Reverend Ass, the other reason by which we are the greater in dignity and nobility than you is that we have religious orders, convents of Grey Friars, Franciscans, Jacobites, Dominicans, Augustinians, Carmelites and too many others to list. Among them there are many sainted men leading saintly and honest lives, who, because of their desire to serve God, have left and abandoned all of the pleasures of the world, living chastely and having nothing to do with women, avoiding sin, principally the Seven Deadly Sins. Among you there is nothing of this which is a sign of great dignity, nobility and saintliness and which proves clearly that we sons of Adam are the greater in dignity and nobility than you animals."

"Friar Anselm, you are continually asking to be taught a lesson. Good man of God why are you forcing me to say what you do not wish to hear but

which you ought to wish kept secret because it is to your shame and vituperation. Therefore, do not be grateful for my answer because I could make your pack saddle heavier by speaking the crushing truth. Friar Anselm, as you well know, after the death of Saint Francis, Saint Louis of Marseilles and Saint Anthony of Padua, who were Franciscans, no other friars have been found in this order who are saints. It has also been the same after the death of Saint Dominic, Saint Thomas Aquinas and Saint Peter the Martyr who were Dominicans. Since their death no other friar has been found who is a saint. In order not to prolong my sermon and discourse I will not speak of all the other orders nor of the priests and seculars nor of their acts which have little justice in them and are even lacking in goodness. You will not find any difference between them and laymen except that the laymen only take one woman as a wife, signing a marriage contract with her and giving her a wedding ring. Monks, however, take as many as they want without signing a contract or giving a ring. This is especially true of the monks and the greater part of the nuns and women of religion. As to the remainder who are married women, widows and maidens, they frequently, under the pretext of devotion, check the castle of those who have yellow beaks²⁹. In this way they often give a good wash without lye. A certain Dominican once treated a pure, simple little woman who came before him to confess in that manner. However for the sake of brevity we will not dwell on this story at length and will say nothing about how this whole affair came to pass."

When, however, the ass wished to continue with his discourse the king of the animals said to him: "Defender of our cause, it pleases our lordship to know what the Dominican did and how he behaved with the good woman. Do not concern yourself if Friar Anselm does not wish it because according to

a common proverb, 'he who says bad things ought to hear them!': Therefore as he has said bad things about us, reason demands that the same be done to him."

As soon as the ass heard his king speak thusly he turned to me and said: "Friar Anselm you ought to know that there is an island in Catalonia which is called Tarragona.³⁰ It was called Secondine in ancient times because it was second in grandeur after the city of Rome and this appears to be true even today because of the great, ancient and sumptuous buildings which yet stand in that city or in its environs. And you will find, Friar Anselm, that outside of this city, there is a cloister of Dominicans in which was lodged a monk called Joan Juliot. Friar Juliot was very handsome in his person, well-built and well proportioned in all his bodily members. In addition he was very eloquent, for which reason all of the people of Tarragona wished him well and held him in such great esteem and repute that the leading citizens of the city came before him to confess, along with their wives and children. In that city there was a man of substance named Joan Destellers, who had a wife whose name was Dame Tecla.³¹ Joan was a very spiritual and devout man and his wife was equally so. She was one of the beauties of the city and was so beautiful that she seemed to be an angel from the heavenly hierarchy. When Lent had arrived, Friar Anselm, and Dame Tecla noted that her neighbors went daily to confession, she said to her husband: 'My lord, ten days of Lent have passed and I have not yet been to confession. Therefore, if it is agreeable to you, I would very much like

to go to confession.' Her husband felt a sovereign pleasure on recognizing her good intention and he responded, saying: 'I am very happy that you wish to go to confession. As, however, you are young and innocent and have never been to confession and because you do not know the manner of making your confession, I would like you to go confess to Friar Joan Juliot of the Dominican order, because he is my confessor and is a man of substance, learned in preaching and a marvellous confessor. He is extremely good at questioning for sins and examining them well. Since you do not know him ask for him and he will be pointed out to you. Tell him that I have sent you to him so that he may confess you.' As soon as Dame Tecla heard her husband's words she put on her cloak and went directly to the convent of the Dominicans."

"As this lady surpassed all others in beauty so was she very stupid and lacking in intelligence and so credulous that she believed that everything she was told was true. Upon arriving at the convent she asked for Friar Joan Juliot who was immediately pointed out to her. Then Dame Tecla, while kissing his hands, said: 'My lord Friar Juliot, my husband has sent me to you so that you may show me how I ought to make confession.' Friar Juliot, seeing the beauty of the lady and recognizing by her speech that she was dull-witted, became overjoyed and said to himself: 'Certainly I will teach you so well how to make confession that from here on in you will need no one else to teach you.' Then he had her enter a nook and cranny in the church where he was accustomed to give confessions, and this nook and cranny was in a place so hidden and secluded that those who were inside that nook could not see those who were outside while those outside could not see those inside because of the great darkness of the nook. Immediately Friar Juliot asked her if she had loved someone. She replied: 'My lord

Friar, I do not doubt that because of my great beauty many have fallen in love with me but I have never fallen in love with anyone because my husband told me that the woman who loved someone beside her husband would be visited during the night by the old sorcerers who would take her and place her in a sack and throw her into the sea. For that reason I have never been amorous and I do not bear nor wish to bear love for anyone except my husband, out of fear of entering that sack.' As soon as Friar Juliot saw that the young thing was so light-headed he experienced a singular pleasure and said to himself: 'Without fail I will place you today in that sack so that from this day forward you will have no fear of old men's sacks.' He then asked her: 'My child how long have you been with your husband?' She answered: 'My lord, today it will be six months.' 'How many times has your husband had relations with you?' She replied: 'In truth, my lord, I cannot tell you, so many times has he had relations with me by night and day that I cannot count them.' Immediately upon recognizing by this response that the lady was dull-witted, he said to himself: 'Certainly you will not leave here until you have rendered account.' Then he put on a troubled expression and said to her: 'What kind of a Christian are you who does not keep track of the number of times your husband has had relations with you since you have to give, by law, the tenth to the one who confesses you? How can I take the tenth from you then if you do not know how many times your husband has had relations with you? Certainly you deserve great pain and penance.' As soon as Dame Tecla heard these words from Friar Juliot she said to him in tears: 'My lord I pray you for the love of God to pardon me because I fell into this great sin through ignorance and I promise you in all truth that from this time forward I shall take good care and count how many times my husband has relations

with me and I will mark them with the beads of the rosary so that I will not forget them and will make a knot each time. It is for that reason, my lord, that my husband sent me to you because he knew that I know nothing of these things and he wanted you to teach me. As soon as Friar Juliot heard the words of the young woman he felt a great joy because he recognized clearly that she was of a simple nature. To comfort her he said: 'My child, you will be pardoned by God and by me so do not cry anymore or distress yourself. I will put everything to rights and will take an accounting right now. If it comes out a little more or a little less it will not matter. Now, my child, according to what you said you have been married for six months. Out of love for your husband and for you I will only count thirty days to the month although some have thirty-one. According to what you say your husband has had relations with you so many times both day and night that you have not been able to keep count. Out of love for you I will only figure once for both night and day which means six times thirty which equals one hundred and eighty times and a tenth, my child, means one from ten. Therefore I am entitled to eighteen times and those over eighteen times I am letting go because of the love I have for your husband who sent you to me.' Then Dame Tecla kissed his feet saying: 'My lord, I thank you a hundred thousand times for your courtesy which you give me in spite of the fact that you have never seen me before and which you bestow on me with such grace. And now, my lord, in the name of God, take from your tenth whatever part you will.' Upon hearing this the friar gently pressed her to the ground and claimed from her the tenth of twenty times. After taking this tenth, he said to the lady: 'My child, as you can see I have taken pay for twenty times and I cannot, at present, take any more since you are not able to bear it on account of your youth. But, if it pleases God, I will

go to visit you at your home and shall take, day by day, the rest of the tenth.' 'My lord,' said the lady, 'to take or leave it is up to you because I am not so stupid that I cannot pay you your tenth. And to tell the truth I would not like to leave anything due. Therefore I pray that you claim the rest from me as soon as you can.' After Friar Juliot has asked her where she lived he gave her absolution for all of her sins and said the following: 'Now, my child, by this confession you are absolved of all your sins and are as pure and clean as the day you were born from your mother's womb on the condition that you keep secret all that has occurred between us in confession, You must be made to realize that he who reveals or uncovers the sacrament of the sainted confessional has his tongue cut off and after death descends to one hundred thousand devils and never sees the face of God.' Dame Tecla answered and said: 'My lord, I swear to God not to say anything about the sainted confessional. Moreover, my lord, I beg you not to forget to come to my house to take the rest of the tenth.' After having said this she kissed his hands, took her leave of Friar Juliot and returned to her house. Upon arriving at the house she found her husband who was home for dinner and he said to her: 'My dame, how did your confession go and what do you think of Friar Juliot and his manner of confessing?' 'He certainly is a perfect man', she said, 'and a very good confessor who knows well how to ask for and examine sins. As for me, I never wish to confess to anyone else but him on account of the pleasure I have received.' 'It is for that reason,' said the husband, 'that I sent you to him because I know that he is a man who is very prudent and discrete in his examination of sins.' This having been said, they dined with great mirth and joy. A few days later Friar Juliot came to visit Dame Tecla and took from her a part

of the tenth and from one day to another made so many visits that he was completely paid the tenth."

"There, you see," said the ass to Friar Anselm, "the present state of sanctity among the monks you have just cited. Good man of God you would do better to shut up and admit your defeat. If you do not wish to do so, be assured that I will speak and give you the king of answers which will give you little pleasure. I must inform you, so that you not be caught by surprise, that I know so much about the business of the religious orders that it will seem to you that I was a conventual or a member of each one of these orders."

"Señor Ass," answered Friar Anselm, "the wickedness done by Friar Juliot does not discredit the other monks nor take away from their sanctity in the same way that the sin committed by Judas who sold our Savior, Jesus Christ, does not discredit the other apostles. Judas, because of his evil deed, is being punished in hell while the other apostles, because of their good and saintly acts are established in heaven. In the same way, Friar Juliot will be punished in the other world and the other good monks will be rewarded by their good deeds. Moreover, Señor Ass, as you know, the sin of lust is so natural that there is not a man in the world, unless blessed with the special grace of God, who is exempt from this sin. It is the beauty of women which is a true poison and a deadly venom which poisons the will of a man and causes him always to fail and fall into sin. In that way, as you know, a woman caused the downfall of our father Adam, of the great king

David, the great sage Solomon and the noble and strong Samson. And it is thus the case with the abovementioned Friar Juliot, who did not have the perfection of our father Adam nor the great majesty of King David, nor as much wisdom as Solomon, nor the power of Samson. They, with all their perfection, majesty, wisdom and power were not able to oppose women. Therefore you ought to excuse Friar Juliot especially since you said that the beauty of Dame Tecla was such that she resembled an angel in the heavenly hierarchy. This great beauty caused Friar Juliot to commit his sin, but other monks did not commit this sin nor the other Seven Deadly Sins."

"Friar Anselm you are trying to make bladders into lanterns, lingering always in your pertinacity by saying that your monks do not commit the Seven Deadly Sins. Now I will inform you and make you understand how these Seven Deadly Sins are committed by your monks and in what form and manner, so that you will be forced to acknowledge that what I say is true. You know, Friar Anselm, that the Seven Deadly Sins are as follows: pride, avarice, lust, anger, gluttony, envy and sloth.³² Now I will tell you seven stories, one for each sin, by means of which you will see clearly how your monks commit these Seven Deadly Sins. For this purpose I must ask permission of the most high, powerful, lord prince, and king so that I will not cause him boredom because these stories will make me prolong my discourse."

Then the king said to the ass: "My good debater, it would please us well to hear these stories. Be aware that your talk is agreeable and pleasant. Therefore, in the name of God, begin to recite them."

After the ass had heard these words he turned to me and said: "Friar Anselm, I will begin with the first deadly sin which is pride. In what fashion do your monks avoid this sin, according to what you say. In Tuscany there is a city called Perugia which is beautiful, great and noble.³³ Near it is a lake full of water which the Tuscans call the Lake of Perugia.³⁴ It is very large and in it there are three islands, the largest of which is inhabited and populated with people. There are in this lake or pond all sorts of fish and the lords of Perugia are accustomed to lease or rent this lake to the fishermen in return for ten thousand pounds a year (which is a handsome rent). In the time when the church held lordship over that city, the Pope gave it to an abbot, called the Great Abbot,³⁵ who was a very haughty man, so full of pride that Lucifer himself could not compare with him. Since the church had acquired this city by force, rebellion and revolt were feared, so a beautiful castle was built in one part of the city. It was very strong and impregnable and the abbot lived in it with his mercenaries and exerted strong control over the Perugians in such a manner that there was not one Perugian who dared to carry arms with him, nor keep them in his house, for his defense but they were even more completely subjected than if they had been Jews.³⁶ An when he learned that a Perugian had a beautiful wife or daughter he immediately would send for her and if she were refused him by the father or the husband the abbot would immediately have messages

or letters forged and then would have him imprisoned, charging that he had written letters to the enemies of the sainted mother church. Immediately, without any pity whatsoever, he would hang him by his neck or have him quartered. In addition he would seize all that he had in the world, and take his women and their daughters, and imprison them in his castle. After he had used them he would turn them over to his mercenaries as booty. Seeing this the other priests and monks over whom the abbot had control would commit great villanies and behave even worse than the abbot. Thus when some monk or priest ravished the wife or daughter of some Perugian he did not dare to speak or say a word for fear of dying. In this way it happened, Friar Anselm, that a great citizen named Giovanni Ester had a beautiful and good lady for a wife. A priest fell in love with her and spoke to her and importuned her for a long time but she, being chaste and loyal to her husband, would never consent to him. Therefore, the priest was dying of lust for her. One day while chanting the mass, he saw the citizen in church and upon not seeing his wife with him he gave off saying mass and said to the Great Abbot that he has a very bad headache and for that reason could not proceed with the office and would like to have his permission to return to his home. The abbot granted his request. Then, Friar Anselm, the priest left the church and went directly to the house of that citizen. This house was located in the middle of the town square of Perugia and had windows overlooking the square. When the priest arrived he found the door open and rushing upstairs he found the lady reclining on a small bed as she was eight months pregnant and not feeling very well. He spoke to her and

demanded her person and as she resisted and refused he decided to accomplish his purpose by force. As soon as the lady saw that she could not resist his advances because she was pregnant and very heavy, she said the following: 'Sir, I am prepared and ready to fulfill your will. However, in order that we may not be discovered by an unexpected arrival, as was yours, I pray you, sir, to close the door of the stairs and then do with me what you will.'

The priest was not lazy about going to close the door and while he did it the lady got up, ran to the window, threw herself out of it and landed in the middle of the square. When the priest heard the fall of the lady and the cry of the large number of people who were there, he fled from the house. Everyone ran to the square and saw the lady who, because of the great blow she had received on landing, was all broken and crushed and the creature she was carrying was born dead. Immediately they all ran to the temple to announce the news to her husband who ran out of the church followed by several citizens of the city. He found his wife half dead and her child dead. He lifted her and carried her upstairs to the room from which she had fallen, and placing her on her bed he asked her how she had fallen. She told him all that had happened from beginning to end. Her husband told her: 'My dame, why did you not let me know all of this before?' The lady answered: 'My lord, for fear that you would commit some outrage on the priest which would cause the Great Abbot to hate you and strive for your downfall and destruction.' The citizen then left and went to complain to the Great Abbot, who, instead of giving him justice, said the following: 'Foul and

wicked wretch, have you such audacity as to charge my priest, who has such a great reputation? By the sainted body of Jesus Christ if I hear, from this time forward, that you have repeated these words I will have you beheaded.' Having heard this cruel response of the abbot, the good man returned to his home where he found his wife dead. Secretly he buried her at the entrance to his house and then took the dead child, and removed its entrails, and preserved the child in salt and placed it in a small vessel. He left the city on horseback, with his squire, and took the road to Florence. After a few days he arrived in the city of Florence and was greatly honored by the governors of that city which, at that time, was in rebellion against the church. They asked him the reason for his journey and he told them all about the outrage done to him and about the response of the Great Abbot. As soon as the governors of Florence heard of the great wickedness done to him they froze with horror and began to treat of the rebellion against the church, remembering the proverb 'when you see the beard of your neighbor burning take your own things to safety'. They immediately ordered that this citizen become their secret messenger to all the territory of Romany and to all the lands under the patrimony of the church in order to make them rebel. They gave him great power to bind, pledge and obligate the community of Florence to the giving of aid and succor as much in money as in men of arms and on foot along with everything necessary for their defense. As soon as the citizen received this power he travelled so widely on horseback that he covered all of the territories of the church, showing them the dead and preserved child, and telling them all that had befallen him.³⁷ He sent secret

spies to the city of Perugia; to his relatives and good friends. In this way he caused a simultaneous rebellion to erupt in two hundred territories of the church and in the city of Perugia. As soon as the Great Abbot saw the rebellion in the land of Perugia he fortified himself in the castle. This did not help him however, as the Florentines sent so many soldiers to the aid of the Perugians and they made such a good and effective siege of the city that the Great Abbot was forced to give himself up, along with certain conditions, and return to the pope who was in Rome.³⁸ The above-mentioned lands became communes and governed themselves and the citizen returned with great honor to his city of Perugia. Thus you see, Friar Anselm, how the clergy lost its lordship on account of their great pride and wickedness in wishing to keep the Christians more subjected than if they were Jews. Also, after the clergy lost their sovereignty in Italy, the inhabitants revenged themselves well for the outrages committed on them and they checked the castle."

"This is what they did to a certain priest in Perugia, Friar Anselm, at the time when the city of Perugia was rid of the subjection by the clergy. The Perugians had a priest who was the rector and curate of the parish of Saint John the Baptist. In this parish there was a young woman of great beauty named Marroca who was very devout and who often attended the church of Saint John in order to hear Mass. Well, this curate, upon seeing the beauty of this woman, fell madly in love with her to the point that he would lose control of himself when he saw her in the church. When he chanted Mass on feast-days, upon seeing this woman, he would chant the Kyrie

in counterpoint and hum the Sanctus in such a fashion that he seemed to be a nightingale. He also performed marvels with the Agnus Dei. Many times, when turning to say the Dominus vobiscum, upon seeing this woman among the others, he would become so disturbed that in place of saying Dominus vobiscum he would cry loudly Alleluya! Because he was not able to sustain the pain of love, one day, when he found the woman alone in the church, he overcame his shame and revealed the secret of his heart. As soon as the woman (who was good and chaste) had answered him in a very sharp fashion, she returned to her house and complained to her husband, telling him explicitly everything that the curate had said to her. Upon hearing the words of his wife, the husband, without delay, went to make a complaint to the bishop, saying: 'Most Reverend lord, I have come to you because you are our shepherd and we are your flock and thus it is that you know more than we. For this reason you are charged with guarding us from the wolves who wish to eat us, and you are charged with returning to the right path those who stray. Similarly, in accord with their station, all the rectors, pastors, and curates who are in charge of churches and have control over souls are shepherds of their flocks. A good shepherd ought to lay down his soul for the sake of his flock as did the true shepherd Jesus Christ, Yet the one who should be our shepherd, by whom I mean the curate of Saint John the Baptist, does not do so, but, instead, does the contrary, leading his sheep astray, away from the good path, so that the wolf, by whom I mean the devil, may eat them. For this reason, Most Reverend lord, since you are both his pastor and our pastor, I have come to you to complain about him. Then the young man told him all that the curate had said to his wife. Well, Friar Anselm, you should have seen the bishop with his cruel face pretending to be very pro-

voked and unhappy about what the curate had done. He said to the husband: 'I promise you that I will sentence him in such a way that all other pastors will take it as a lesson!' Immediately he sent a sargeant-at-arms to seek out the curate. Then the young man, seeing the gesture of the bishop, and his great threats, said in his heart: 'Without any doubt he will place him in prison and will give him a good number of blows with a club and afterwards will condemn him to prison for life, which is what he very well deserves.' Presently, the sargeant (with such great confusion and shame that he looked as if he had killed Jesus Christ) led in the priest. On seeing this the young husband of the woman took a great and sovereign pleasure. Well, the bishop began to shout before the priest in such a fashion that it seemed to the onlooker that he wished to eat him alive. He said: 'Tell me, villain and dirty leacher, where did you get such audacity and presumption that you required the wife of this parishioner to deliver up her body?' Immediately the good priest, who knew very well that his bishop acted similarly every day, and even worse, without any fear of shame answered the bishop, saying: 'Most Reverend lord, what the young man told you is true. But it is necessary always to know that all that I said to his wife I only said as a joke, for sport with words, as I do with my other female parishioners. Your lordship knows me and that I am not the kind of man who would do such wicked deeds.' Then the bishop said to him: 'I am astonished by this answer.' Then, looking at the husband of the woman he said: 'Good man of God you have heard how all that the priest said to your wife was only a joke and you ought not to take it as evil intentioned.' Then he turned to the priest and said: 'I command you by virtue of saintly obedience, that you remain three days without entering the church.' Well, upon seeing the favor-

able verdict that the bishop had given to the priest, the husband left without taking leave, and went directly to the palace of the lords to make a complaint to the Podesta of Perugia."

"At that the time the Podesta of Perugia was a noble Florentine by the name of Lippo d'Isola. This master Lippo was a noble and grand judge who, after hearing the complaints and clamors of the young man, said to him: 'Go make your complaint to the bishop.' The young man said to him: 'Lord, I made my complaint to him before I came before your lordship.' Then he told all that had happened and the ironic sentence that the lord bishop had dealt out to the priest. When Master Lippo heard that sentence he said to the young man: 'Go now and tomorrow morning take two companions with you and when that ladies man of a priest leaves the church take him and give him so many blows with a club that you will leave him for dead, but take care not to kill him. Afterwards go to your home and do not worry because this complaint will be brought to me and I know what I have to do in this matter.' If these words were said to a mute man they were not said to a deaf man because the young man went out and bought three wooden clubs. On the following day, he, with two others, went to seek out the priest, and when he came out of the church they grabbed him and gave him so many blows with the clubs that they left him for dead. The other priests, thereupon, rushed out of the church and finding the priest badly beaten they knew that none other than the husband of the woman could have done this deed. They then carried him on a bier to the palace of the bishop. As soon as the bishop saw his priest in that condition he had the bell rung and soon the priests, curates and monks were assembled there. He told them that one ought not allow such an insult and that if such a thing were allowed with impunity they would not

be able to live in the world because every day the laity would do the same to the clergy. 'Therefore,' he said: 'we must perform our duty of seeing to it that the young man is hanged by the neck so that he may be an example and a punishment to all of the others. We can do as we like because in this matter no one would dare do us any harm.'

"A procession was quickly organized to the sound of the bells, with the priests chanting Requiem aeternam. They then went to the palace of the lords carrying the priest in question on a bier. The whole city of Perugia marvelled on seeing this procession without knowing the reason why it had been formed. Some men of the city went to Master Lippo in the palace and told him how the bishop, along with the priests and monks, was coming in a grand procession on the road to the palace. Then Master Lippo pretended to know nothing of the matter. After the procession had arrived before the palace Master Lippo stood up and had the bishop seated beside him and then had all the masters in theology, the canons and the doctors seated, each according to his station, so that the entire palace was filled with people from the city who had come to know why the procession had been made, marvelling greatly at the goings-on. After the ecclesiastic and monks had been seated and the people settled, Master Lippo said to them: 'Most reverend lord, I and all of the lords and counselors of this city are astonished at your coming with so many honorable and noble lords of the church and also at the manner in which you have come and we are eager to know the reason.' In reply to which the bishop made a great sermon in which he made the sainted mother church honored, feared and prized. Indeed he remonstrated that Solomon had commanded that a doctor be honored because of the necessity of his function and since the cleric is the doctor of souls he ought to be similarly

honored. He told how a citizen named Francesco Nernia had killed, or almost killed one of his priests and immediately had the bier uncovered and revealed the priest who was more dead than alive. Well, upon seeing the priest in this condition, Master Lippo appeared completely dumbfounded and said to the bishop: 'Lord bishop I will now send for Francesco de Nernia and if it is true that he committed this crime I will give him such a punishment as to make him an example to the others. Immediately he sent ten sargeants to fetch Francesco telling them: 'Go quickly to the home of Francesco Nernia and after you have taken him, and bound him, lead him here.' The bishop and all of the clergy derived great pleasure and joy from this, thinking as they saw him so incensed, the Podesta would have him hanged. After half an hour the sargeants led in Francesco, tied and garotted with a rope around his neck. Immediately Master Lippo shouted harshly at him saying: 'Tell me, you wicked and evil villain, do you have such pride and assumption that you have beaten this priest black and blue?' 'Lord' said Francesco, 'the truth is that I played this joke on this priest in return for the one he played on my wife in asking her for her body.' Master Lippo said: 'You traitorous rascal, you ought not take vengeance with your own hand but ought petition the bishop who is here.' 'Lord', said Francesco, 'I made an immediate complaint to the bishop.' Master Lippo said: 'What justice did he give you?' The young man responded: 'Lord, very cruel and savage treatment because he commanded him to spend three days without entering the church and he is such an evil man that he would rather spend a year in bordello than a day in church.'

'Well then, listen to me, I expressly command that for what you have done to the priest you will spend three days without entering the tavern

and if you return another time I will give you a sentence of more than ten days of neither entering the tavern nor a bordello.' Then the bishop, seeing the sentence given the man by Master Lippo, feeling badly mocked said to Master Lippo; 'What justice is this that you have done?'

'Lords,' said Master Lippo, 'I give better justice than that given by the lord bishop to the young man because it is a worse punishment for a young man to be three days without entering the tavern than it is for your priest to be a year without entering the church. And now warn your clergymen so that from here on in I will not catch them making such jokes because, if I do, I swear on the body of Jesus Christ that I will deal out such justice that all the world will speak of it. With this leave now whether you are satisfied or not. Do you believe that the wicked acts which you were accustomed to perform when the sovereignty was in your hands will be tolerated any further. Certainly this will not happen, but rather you will be given the honor that you deserve.' As soon as the bishop and all the others saw the fury of Master Lippo and had heard the bad and cruel response they left individually without procession or bells."

"Friar Anselm, you know that in the city of Mallorca, in the order of Dominicans, there is a monk named Friar John Oset, a native of Catalonia. Well, one day a Mallorcan sailor came to him to confess and the priest asked him if he was in possession of the profits of a crime committed against any person. The sailor responded: 'I am holding ill-gains of one florin and a half.' The monk said: 'Count it as two.' The sailor responded: 'If it is only a florin and a half how can I count it as if it were two?' The friar said: 'Count it as I said.' The sailor answered: 'All right, Sir, I am holding two florins of illegal gains.' The friar said: 'Are you holding

any other ill-gotten gains?' The sailor responded: 'Yes Sir, I am holding three florins from my wife.' The friar said: 'Count it as five.' The sailor replied: 'But it is only three florins. How can I count it as five?' The Friar said: 'Do as I say.' The sailor said: 'All right. I have five florins of ill-gotten gains from my wife.' In this way the friar raised it little by little until the sum reached ten florins and then he said: 'My son, you see that the sum of the money that you have stolen has reached ten florins of which I am entitled to one florin and I will absolve you of all your sins.' The sailor replied: 'Sir I do not have any money but give me the absolution and I will bring the money to you immediately as my home is nearby.' Therefore the friar gave him absolution on the condition that he bring him the florin. As soon as the sailor left the church he found the peel of a pomegranate on the road and with a knife he trimmed it so that it appeared to be a florin. He returned to the church and held it up to the monk from a distance and after he had placed it on the altar he said: 'Father, there is the florin on the altar', and he turned around and started to leave. The friar, quickly, before the sailor had reached the middle of the church, took the florin and finding that it was a pomegranate peel shouted to the sailor saying: 'Hey my good man of God this is not a florin.' The sailor answered: 'Father, pretend that it is a florin.' The friar said: 'If it is a pomegranate peel how can I pretend that it is a florin?' The sailor answered: 'Do as I say.' The friar said: 'Then you ought to know that I do not consider you absolved.' The sailor answered: 'Then do not consider yourself paid.' And in this manner he took the road to his home. Thus you can see, Friar Anselm, how your clergymen amass money by means of great tricks so that they can go to the court of Rome with the money and make themselves

bishops nulla tenens³⁹ and be free of the vow of obedience in order to do anything they wish. But in the end, as these are all ill-gotten gains, they lose the money and in the process enrich others who have never worked, as it occurred once with a Franciscan of your order."

"Señor Ass, according to the proverb 'a bad cope often covers a good drinker.' This in my opinion applies to you, because he who sees you so mangy and scabby, without a tail, would think that you have no subtlety of mind but that you are clumsy and stupid. However, from what I see you are a pretty sharp fellow, and if I had realized fully at the beginning of my debate what I now know, I swear to you in truth that I would never have entered the debate with you. But, as we have come this far, it is fitting to see it through to the end. Therefore carry on since it pleases you to tell me what happened to that Franciscan and it will also please the high and mighty prince, your lord. I know this is true because he laughed uproariously at the trick played on the Dominican by the sailor."

"Friar Anselm, in your city of Mallorca there was a Franciscan known by the name of Francesco Citges, whom, I believe still lives there today in 1417. This friar was neither very smart nor very stupid, and was one of those well-off preachers in a good financial position. This fellow had such a feminine voice that anyone who heard him speak without seeing him would justly say that it was a woman speaking. This man was also very diligent in amassing money and was noble in appearance and knowledgeable in making confession. He had a great way of questioning and examining for sins and for this reason the greater portion of the gentry of Mallorca confessed to

him. Therefore in a very short time he had amassed a thousand gold reales which he deposited with a nun of his order named Sister Antonietta who was such a special friend to him that she used to clean and wash his robe, often dining with him, caring for him when he was sick, making him jellies for Lenten fast and many other services."

"At this time a handsome ruffian named Nadalet lived in a bordello. He was handsome, well-made, well-proportioned in his bodily members, gentlemanly and polite. Furthermore he was always so well-dressed that anyone seeing him would not take him for a ruffian, but for a good merchant. This Nadalet had a friend in the bordello named Francina, a very beautiful well-bred young woman who had been Jewish. It occurred one day during the Christmas season that Nadalet, while playing with dice, lost all of his money and asked his friend Francina for two gold florins as a loan in order to play. She immediately lent them to him. After he had lost them he asked for more money and when she refused to lend it to him, in the fury of the game, he stabbed her in the stomach with a dagger. When she fell to the ground bleeding profusely Nadalet, thinking her dead, fled with one of his companions named Antoni Riusec, and hid under an altar dedicated to Saint Christopher in a church of the Franciscans. He immediately sent this companion to the bordello to see if Francina was dead or not and to return to him immediately with the news."

"Well it happened at this same time, Friar Anselm, that Friar Francesco Citges had sent for Sister Antonietta and Nadalet had concealed himself under the altar shortly before she arrived. Then Friar Citges drew Sister Antonietta to one side and went with her straight up to the altar of Saint Christopher where Nadalet was hidden and then Friar Citges said to Sister Antonietta:

'My beloved Sister Antonieta, I am getting old and am not able to bear the pains and travails of the order. Moreover, the young friars have ill-feelings towards me because I do not give them a share of my earnings and they often despise me and mock me. Also Friar Galceran is angry because I did not wish to lend him one hundred reales of gold to go to England to become a doctor. He has threatened me saying that he will force me to leave Mallorca and will have me placed in a convent in Jaca.

"Also Friar Jaume March keeps asking me to lend him money as does Friar Poncet and Friar Joan Xemeno. They are continually waylaying me, trying to get me to help them with my money, for which purpose a whole sea of money would not suffice. On this account, my sister, I have considered and am still considering going to the court of Rome to have myself made bishop nulla tenens as did Friar Benet Sanc, Friar Antoni Badia and Friar Pere Llofriú. In this way I will be rid of all my cares and with my property I will live well. If I were to give a hundred reales to Cardinal d'Hostie, who is a Franciscan and my good friend and who was minister of the province of France when I was a student, he would procure a bishopric for me from the Sainted Father. In addition it would cost me two hundred reales of gold for expenses, and other outlays. Therefore my Sister, at the hour of Vespers, I will send you a merchant from Barcelona who is a great friend of mine and you will give him three hundred reales of gold from the coffer I bought the other day in the Plaza de S. Andreu, or the entire thousand if he asks for it, as he has promised me twenty per cent on the reales I lend him to buy merchandise. That is a good profit and I trust in him because he is a man of means and my son in confession. His name is Lluís Regolf, the son of Joan Regolf, a money-changer of Barcelona. Go now with plenty of time

and do what I have said.' Well, Friar Anselm, as soon as Nadalet, who was hidden under the altar, had heard the words of Friar Citges to Sister Antonieta he paid close attention to the whole conversation and memorized the name of the merchant, the name of the father of the merchant and the entire story. As soon as Sister Antonieta had left and Friar Citges had entered the convent, Antoni Riusech, Nadalet's companion who had been sent for news, returned and said to Nadalet: 'My friend, I bring good news. Have not fear because Francina is not hurt at all. The dagger blow only caused a flesh-wound. I did not leave her till she had drunk a jug of Greek wine and she has become so amenable that she promised me to make peace with you and she will voluntarily lend you ten or twelve reales of gold if you make up with her. Therefore come right away, do not hesitate.'

'Antoni, my friend,' said Nadalet, 'take the road to the bordello and wait for me at the gate of San Miguel until I come. I swear by God that there never was such a fortunate or lucky blow with a dagger.' After Antoni had gone, Nadalet went directly to the chapel of the third order, it being near the hour of Vespers. He knocked on the door and asked the porter for the whereabouts of Sister Antonieta, saying that he had an appointment with her. The porter entered the cloister and said to Sister Antonieta: 'My lady I have a young man at the door who has asked for you.' Sister Antonieta said: 'What kind of a man is he?' The porter said: 'My lady he is a well-dressed man and seems to be a prosperous merchant.' Sister Antonieta said: 'Lead me to him because that must be the merchant that Friar Citges has sent.' Since she did not wish to fail in the command given her by Friar Citges she hurried to the door where she found Nadalet. After many grand salutations Nadalet said to her: 'My lady Sister Antonieta, my spiri-

tual father, Friar Francesc Citges, has sent me to you and bids you to give me the coffer that he ~~bought~~ the other day in the Plaza Sant Andreu with the thousand reales of gold which are within. He wishes to take three hundred to go to the court of Rome and make himself a bishop. As to the remaining seven hundred he has reached an agreement with ~~me~~ to the effect that I should trade with it and pay him twenty per cent interest per year.'

"After hearing the words of Nadalet, Sister Antonieta said to him: 'Señor, what is your name?' Nadalet said: 'My name is Lluís Regolf, son of Joan Regolf, money-changer of Barcelona.' On hearing the name, Sister Antonieta entered the cloister and came out shortly afterwards carrying the coffer with the thousand reales of gold and upon arriving at the door said to Nadalet: 'Señor here is the coffer with the thousand reales of gold. Please count them.' Nadalet, who was anxious to leave as he believed that Lluís Regolf would not delay in coming because it was the hour of vespers, said to her: 'My lady it will not be necessary to count them before you.' Having said this he took the coffer and placed it under his cloak, took leave of her and went directly to the bordello and after finding his companion, showed him the coffer and told him the whole story and, with great joy, made up with Francina and they had a good time with the money that the poor Friar had amassed for such a long time at the cost of great pain and labor. Meanwhile Nadalet had not yet reached the bordello when Friar Citges sent Lluís Regolf to Sister Antonieta for the money according to his instructions to her before the altar. Upon reaching the chapel of the third order, he knocked on the door and asked for Sister Antonieta to get the money as he had been told. When she arrived, after the salutation, Lluís Regolf said: 'My lady Sister Antonieta, Friar Citges has sent me to you so that you

may give me the coffer with the thousand reales of gold.' Sister Antonieta said: 'What is your name?' 'My lady,' he said, 'my name is Lluís Regolf.' As soon as Sister Antonieta heard these words she fell to the ground with a great cry. Upon hearing this the other nuns ran out and seeing her in such a state sprinkled cold water on her face and she regained consciousness. The she, crying, scratching her face and tearing her robe, took the path to Sant Francesc ~~with~~ the merchant."

"After she arrived she asked for Friar Citges who came immediately. Upon seeing Sister Antonieta in such a condition and ~~after~~ hearing the reason he fainted from the great pain and, saving your honor, he soiled himself vilely so that it was necessary for the friars to wash him with cold water. After he was somewhat restored they carried him to his chamber and placed him on his bed after they had cleansed him of his filth. Well, Citges became so depressed that he became gravely ill for three months. When he returned to health, if you can call it that, he still remained forever sad and melancholy. However, Nadalet, as we have already said, gave himself a good time with Francina. And there you see, Friar Anselm, how your fellow clergymen avoid the sin of avarice."

"You have already heard in a previous story of the third deadly sin, that of lust, in the account of the confession of Dame Tecla to Friar Juliot, so it is not necessary for me to recount it now. Therefore I will tell the story of the sin of anger. You know Friar Anselm, that in your city of Mallorca, in the convent of the Franciscans, there is a good man called Friar Aimeri de Grave. He is French and is a gentleman of noble birth as he is a near relation of the Count of Armagnac⁴⁰, and had come to this convent

to study theology. One day as he was walking in the city he passed the Carrer de Mar⁴¹ and saw a she-monkey in a basket and bought it as a gift for his relative the Count of Armagnac, as this animal was rare in France. Well the monkey died within fifteen days after he had bought it. As it was the custom of the friars, Friar Anselm, to entertain each other with jokes and funny situations, three monks, who bore bad feeling against Friar Aimeri, composed a song about the monkey which began thus:

I will always make a plaint because Friar Aimeri
 has bid me to make it for his pretty monkey.
 Alas Friar Aimeri, what will you do?
 For your reward you will have to pay for the she-monkey.
 And she is dead.
 The Count will wait a long time before she is brought to his door.⁴²

Do you not remember the rest of the song Friar Anselm? Well, the three monks of whom I spoke were named as follows: The first one was Friar Francesc Caravall, a native of Morella, the second, Friar Mateu Ponc, a native of Pollenca, and the third Friar Gauteri, a native of Daroca. It was these three who sang the song which caused Friar Aimeri such great displeasure that he began to vituperate them and to abuse them to such an extent that they started fighting and had not the guardian, whose name was Friar Jaume Florenca, commanded them by their vow of saintly obedience to desist and to go to bed, they would have strangled each other. After the monks had gone to sleep these three monks each took hold of a staff and placing themselves on the lookout for him near the convenience they threw

him on the ground and gave him so many blows with the staffs that the good friar was only able to survive the beating by five days. Well, there you see, Friar Anselm, how the monks avoid the sin of anger."

"Señor Ass, in truth that was a bad day for that brother as it was for the three monks. I remember this business. I was very young when it happened. I also remember that two of the monks fled and that the other, that is to say, Mateu Ponc, was captured, judged and condemned to life in prison. They all suffered many evils ever afterwards. I beg you to tell the story of gluttony or gormandism."

"Friar Anselm, in the countryside of Tarragona there is a village called Cambrils. It is a good, large village which belongs to the king. It is the village custom, Friar Anselm, whenever there is a feast day, to have a Franciscan preach the sermon on one occasion and the next time to have a Dominican. It happened that on Christmas Day, which fell on a Thursday, a Dominican preached the sermon to the village and on returning early the next morning to the city of Tarragona he met, while crossing the river Francoli, two Franciscans of the convent of Tarragona named Joan Companyo and Pere Taverner. After they had greeted each other he asked them where they were going and they replied that they were going to Tortosa. Then they asked him how he had been treated on Christmas Day by the rector of the village. The Dominican answered: 'In truth, my friend, the rector has so becomingly feted us with roast kid and boiled mutton with the appropriate sauces, and good rose wine, followed by well-peppered turtle doves and wood-pigeons, that it seemed to me that I was in a terrestrial paradise. Yesterday that rector bought seven pounds of conger-eel as large as my leg and I heard him tell his friend Catarina that she should bake it into a pie today. Therefore,

my friend, if you go quickly you will be able to have a good dinner and eat the pie. Well, Friar Anselm, if he spoke to a mute man he did not speak to a deaf man because Friar Companyo bundled up his habit and took to the road so fast that one step equalled three, in order to arrive in time for dinner and eat the meat pie. Now Catarina, the lady friend of the rector, was mortally opposed to monks in general because they were so strongly against the fact that the rector had a lady friend. After having made the pie she said to the rector at dinnertime: 'Let us eat before a sponger comes.' The rector said: 'What sponger could arrive?' To which Catarina replied: 'Some perfidious monk who will come and eat the pie.' The rector replied: 'In the name of God, Catarina, let us eat dinner now.' As soon as they sat down for dinner, Friar Anselm, and they had hardly taken their seats when, behold, Friar Companyo and his companion arrived and very impudently knocked at the door. Catarina ran to the door and upon looking through the openings in the door and seeing the friars she scurried in shock to the rector. The rector said: 'Who is there?' Catarina answered, in a sullen manner, that there were two monks at the door. 'The proverb,' said the rector, 'speaks the truth when it says that what a man fears will be the very cause of his death.' Catarina said, 'By the sainted passion of God they will not eat the pie,' which she thereupon hid and went to open the door. When the Franciscans had greeted the rector the rector told them: 'Sirs, I am very happy that you have come and am very sorry that I have no meats to offer fitting to men such as yourselves. The only thing I have to offer you is sardines.' Friar Companyo answered: 'Sir Rector, we prefer your good cheer and warm greeting to good meats.' This being said they sat down at the table and a cutting board with seven sardines was placed in front of Friar Companyo and

his companion and another cutting board with an equal number of sardines was placed before the rector and Catarina. Then, Friar Anselm, Friar Companyo, who had cut off the head of a sardine and had hardly eaten two or three bites, picked up the head of that sardine and put it to his ear as if to show that the sardine was answering his questions. He said to the sardine: 'I can not believe what you are answering me because I do not believe that he is like that.' Upon seeing this the rector and Catarina were greatly astonished at what Friar Companyo had done with the sardine. Well, Friar Anselm, after Friar Companyo had eaten two or three more bites he again took up the head of the sardine and brought it to his ear and said: 'Dame Sardine, I cannot believe that what you tell me is true because the rector does not seem to me to be that way.' As soon as Catarina heard these words (as he knew that women always want to know uncertain things) she asked the rector to ask Friar Companyo, and even she herself asked him, what was he talking to the sardine about. Friar Companyo, requiring much persuading, as if he did not wish to say anything about the conversation, said to her: 'Dame Catarina, do not trouble yourself about my conversation with the sardine. I only asked her a question and she answered me.' Thereupon the rector pleaded with him very affectionately and Friar Companyo not wishing nor being able to refuse the entreaties of the rector said to him thus: 'Sir, I will tell you my conversation with the sardine under the condition that if the sardine has told the truth you will not deny it but, rather will tell me.' The rector immediately swore to do so. Then Friar Companyo recited the conversation with the sardine as follows: 'Sir and rector, I asked the sardine which were the largest and fattest fish in the sea and she answered that it has been a long time since she was at sea and that she has forgotten

but that I ought to ask a fresh conger-eel which is within this house and which only left the sea two days ago, and that eel would be able to answer my question.' Immediately, Friar Anselm, with a great laugh the rector said: 'The body of that sardine has spoken the truth. Get up Catarina and bring in the pie and take the sardines off the table so that we may have a good dinner.' There, you see, Friar Anselm, how your fellow monks avoid the sin of gluttony because in order to eat a good meal they would walk two full leagues at a break-neck pace."

"Señor Ass, in truth Friar Companyo was very subtle in finding so quickly the trick that he used in making it seem that the sardine had spoken to him in order to get the pie. In truth the more I hear the more I wish to hear from you because I swear to you that if God had created you a man and if you would have been a preacher, I believe that the whole world would have come running to your sermon, abandoning the other preachers, so pleasant is your manner of speech. For that reason I beg you to tell the story of envy and sloth."

"Friar Anselm, in the countryside around Tarragona, there is a village in the mountains called Falset which is a good, large village peopled with good folks and which belongs to the Count of Prades.⁴³ It happened that on the feast of Christmas two Franciscans and two Dominicans went there to preach; the Franciscans to preach on Christmas day and the others to preach the following day. As soon as the feasts had passed the friars wanted to return to Tarragona from whence they had come and they asked leave of the lord. He said to them: 'Sirs, we are pleased with your knowledgeable and

pleasant manner of preaching. For that reason ask whatever gift you wish and we will give it to you. However, we wish that the Dominican friar ask for the first gift, to be followed by the request of the Franciscan friar. As soon as the Dominican heard this, Friar Anselm, he said to himself, 'This is a bad deal because if I make the first request the Franciscan will ask for more and if he gets more than I do, I would prefer death to life.' Thereupon he turned to the count and answered him saying: 'Lord Count, I will ask for a gift on the condition that the thing I ask for will be given me without any delay.' The count made him this promise and he then said: 'Lord, I ask of you the double of whatever is requested by the Franciscan.' The count agreed to this. As soon as the Franciscan heard the demand of the Dominican he wanted to die of envy and unhappiness, saying to himself: 'What bad luck to have fallen in with this treacherous Dominican. He will receive the double of all that I ask for so that if I ask for one hundred florins he will receive two hundred. Well, I would rather die satisfied than live unsatisfied. Then the Franciscan thought it out and asked for his gift saying: 'Lord count, I say to you now that it would please me to receive two hundred blows with a staff. I pray that you believe that this is not a mistake but rather the greatest grace and recompence that your lordship can possibly give me in this world.' Immediately the count said to two squires who were beside him: 'Go and bring two good solid staffs of medlar wood and give him his wish since he demands it with such great devotion.' After the two squires had acquired two hardy staffs they took hold of the Franciscan by his hood and began to beat him. When they had given the Franciscan one hundred blows with the staffs the Dominican began to cry saying: 'That is enough lord as the Franciscan only asked for one hundred blows of the staff.'

When the Franciscan heard the words of the Dominican, he said in supplication, crying in tears: 'No lord, do not listen to the Dominican; give me another hundred blows as I asked for two hundred.' Turning to the Dominican he said: 'What do you think, Dominican, of the gift for which I asked? It seems to me that it does not please you greatly. You have by your greed asked for the double of that which is given to me and for that reason it pleases me to have a bad Christmas day so that you may have a worse Innocents Day^{ll} and yet worse New Year's gifts. As soon as the Franciscan had received the grace he asked for the two squires took hold of the Dominican by the tip of his hood and gave him four hundred blows of such force with the staffs that it was necessary to put him on an ass to take him to the city of Tarragona. There, you see, Friar Anselm, how monks avoid the sin of envy."

"Lord Ass, in truth the Dominican was foolish to ask the double of what was given to the Franciscan, but treacherous envy caused him to do it and greed to get more than the Franciscan, so that he did not think of what could follow from such a request. He who does not look before him, as you have already said, falls prey. Therefore I pray that you end these stories because after developing a taste for blows with a staff we would yet arrive at worse things. Let us return therefore to our purpose because I still wish to prove to you that we sons of Adam are greater in nobility and dignity than you animals and the reason for this is that we have natural sense and an intellective soul. You, on the other hand, have only a small amount of natural discretion."

"Friar Anselm, it seems to me that you are quite stupid. Good man of God do you not yet recognize that we animals have natural sense and an intellectual soul as good or even better than yours. I will tell you about certain actions performed by animals which will make you clearly see that what you say is false. Observe, Friar Anselm, the young chickens and partridges who run after their mother as soon as they are hatched and when they see that their mother flees and feel fear they immediately flee also, taking the path taken by their mother. They feed themselves and if they are lost, upon hearing their mother's voice they flock immediately and go to where the mother is. Furthermore, horses, mules, oxen, sheep, goats, cats and other similar animals, as soon as the time for bearing their young has arrived, the female of the species can be observed, without pain or labor bear their male and female young without need of midwives nor without benefit of those who wash the infant nor someone to cut the umbilical cord, and seek the pasture right after. Immediately upon birth they, on their own, take the teat and suckle. Furthermore, by what discretion and diligence do cats and dogs carry their young from one place to another? It is by means of their teeth so gently and sweetly that they cause no harm at all. As for you men, Friar Anselm, when you are born you do not know how to take the nipple but, on the contrary, if your mother does not place it in your mouth you would die of thirst. You are not able nor know how to eat meat of any kind and for five or six months you only live on milk. After that your mothers and fathers must grind your meat so that you may eat it. Also if your fathers or mothers flee because of fright you remain in the cradle without knowing or being able to flee with them as do the young of the chickens and partridges. Your females bear children in great pain and labor and

they need midwives and others to cut the umbilical cords of your children and very often they die in childbearing. This is the curse that God has given you. Furthermore, once they are big with young, females among the animals would not allow a mate to approach them for all the world because they know that the purpose which God gave to mating of male and female has been accomplished. Your women, Friar Anselm, are not that way nor do they care at all for the behavior of our females, but, on the contrary, after they are pregnant that is the time that they require a man more than before."

"What is your opinion, Friar Anselm, of the true love that the turtle-dove bears for its mate so that when the mate dies she goes into deep mourning and never perches on a green tree nor drinks clear water but only troubled water.⁴⁵ If she does not find troubled water she disturbs it with her feet and then drinks. Afterwards she remains widowed for the rest of her life without wishing to take a mate. As for your women, Friar Anselm, hardly are their husbands rotting in the grave, with livers still fresh enough for a sauce, that they are out seeking another husband. Often, Friar Anselm, they cause the death of their husbands by means of medicines and poisons which they have them eat in order to marry their lovers. Note the difference between one kind of love and the other!"

"What do you think of the sense and discretion of the elephant who, in all of his acts and deeds, seems to be a son of Adam in all things? That

is to say that he understands and recognizes everything so that if his keeper or valet (who feeds him) dies it causes him such anxiety and unhappiness that he goes for two or three days without wishing to eat or drink and shows by this sign sadness for the absence of his valet."

"Furthermore, what do you think about the natural sense of the eagle? After the young are born the mother makes them look directly at the rays of the sun and if they look at the rays and make them out exactly she knows that they are hers. If, however, she sees their eyes water she knows that they are illegitimate and she throws them out of the nest immediately."⁴⁶

"What do you think of the sense of the hawk who when he wishes to catch some bird to eat if he does not catch him in two flights he does not pursue him any further because he knows that it would not please God to have this bird die. Furthermore because the hawk tends to be gouty he takes a bird every night and holds him between his feet to keep them warm and in the morning drops him without harming him and if he later captures the bird no matter how hungry he was he would not eat it, but would let it go without causing it any harm."⁴⁷

"What do you think of the sense of the cuckoo? When he notices that his father has gotten very old and that he has lost all of his feathers due to old age and cannot fly, then the young build him a beautiful nest where they have him lie down and rest and they bring him food every day until it pleases God that he should die."⁴⁸

"What do you think of the camel? Nothing in the world would induce him to approach nor have relations with a female who has had relations with his father and he recognizes them by their smell. If they approach him he causes them to flee far away from him by biting and lashing out at them."⁴⁹

"What do you think of the sense of the beaver? When he sees hunters who wish to trap him he knows that these hunters only wish to catch him for his genital organs which are suitable for many medicines. If he sees that he cannot escape without being caught, he, himself, with his teeth cuts off his genital organs and throws them to his hunters, as he would rather lose them than die or lose his life."⁵⁰

"What do you think of the sense of the woodpecker who only builds his nest in the holes or openings of the trees and when it happens that these holes or openings are closed with iron or something else by some son of Adam he immediately brings an herb which has the virtue of opening any closure which it touches, breaking it open immediately, and with this herb he touches the hole where his nest is stopped-up and closed-off and it opens instantly?⁵¹ For that reason this herb is called the herb of the woodpecker."

"What do you think of the sense of the swallow which, if its young have had their eyes pierced, brings an herb with which she touches the eyes of the young and which causes them to open immediately and recover their vision. This herb is called celadine."⁵²

"What do you think of the sense of the weasel who, when she wishes to fight with a snake, first wraps herself completely in rue and then eats from the root of the 'pennical'? After this she then goes to fight the snake. See then how she shows that these herbs are effective against the venom of the snake."⁵³

"What do you think of the sense of the stag who, upon being wounded by some hunter, with a poisoned arrow, immediately goes to eat the leaves of the tree knowing that it is effective against the poison?"⁵⁴

"What do you think of the sense of dogs and cats who, when they see that through overeating they have gotten an upset stomach and are in pain they immediately go eat many herbs which provoke vomiting? They know that the best medicine in the world for repletion is vomiting."

"What do you think of the stork who as soon as she feels constipated goes to the sea and taking sea water up with her beak fills up her mouth and inserts it like an enema because she knows that the enema is the perfect medicine for hard bowels?"⁵⁵

"What do you think of the sense of the fox who, when he cannot find anything to eat and when he cannot rob chickens out of their coops or hen-houses as is his normal custom, throws himself in the middle of the field and remains there as if dead ~~moving~~ neither his head nor his feet nor his tail nor any other member of his body so that anyone seeing him would firmly believe that he was dead? Then the ravens or the crows who pass by there,

seeing him lying on the ground in such a fashion, and thinking him dead would come down and perch on his stomach. Then Mister Fox would seize them with his teeth and instead of being eaten by the birds, he, on the contrary, would eat them and in this way save himself."⁵⁶

"What do you think of the sense of the partridge, who, upon seeing that the hunters want to capture her young, cries out and immediately her young flee while she, feigning inability to fly, flies into the air and then falls to the ground so that the hunters seeing her in this condition chase her and leave the young? She flies a little further and then falls straight to the ground. She repeats this performance until she sees that her young have fled and are far from that place. Then she goes into full flight. In this way she defends her young so that they are not captured."

"What do you think of the sense of the spider who, when she sees that some fly is caught in her web, races to him immediately and the first thing that she does is tie his feet and hands with a strong, slender cord which she spins from her stomach and after she has tied him up well she then eats him knowing that if she does not tie him up he could fly away and she would lose her prey."

"What do you think of the sense of the crane who, during the night, to guard herself well so that she will not be captured and out of fear that she will be overcome by sleep, takes a stone and holds it in her left foot and raises this foot and sleeps on her right foot? She does this so that if she is overcome by sleep the stone will drop from her foot and she will be awakened by the fall of the stone."⁵⁷

"What do you think of the cock who sings the hours of the night and the day in fine order, saying his prayers at each hour during the four seasons of the year without benefit of a clock or without need of being awakened? When he finds a morsel of meat he immediately cries out, calling his company of hens and will not eat until they eat together with him."

"What do you think of the sense of the cat who, when he wishes to defecate, digs in the ground and covers his dung very thoroughly and diligently so that the lord of the house does not smell it? By doing this he believes that he will not be thrown out of the house because of the smell of his dung."

"What do you think of the sense of the nightingale who sings and sings in order to attract the female. When he has accomplished what he set out to accomplish, he stops singing? When a female approaches him to hear his song instead of singing he snores knowing that she would not consent to his advances until after this tribute."

"What do you think of the sense of the dog and of his true and faithful love? This animal will suffer a hundred rebuffs for the sake of one pleasantry. After having once eaten the bread of some person he will never forget and even if this person were to give him a hundred blows with a staff he would still remember the kindness received. Observe therefore the difference between the love of the dog and that of man. If you are kind to a dog once, you can mistreat him a hundred times and he will endure it all for the sake of one kindness. Man does the opposite because you could do a hundred great acts of kindness for him and after you do him one bad turn he would forget all of the great benefits and wish to take vengeance for the one bad turn done him."

"What do you think of the sense of the crab who, when he wants to eat

a pearl oyster, where pearls are found, and seeing that the oyster is open in order to drink from the surrounding sea, stealthily steals up carrying a rock and upon approaching the oyster throws the rock into it and then eats it;⁵⁸ He does this because he knows that if he did not the oyster would close immediately and he would not be able to harm it. Does it not seem to you, Friar Anselm, that the above mentioned acts indicate sense and understanding? Certainly they do and if you wish to speak the truth you would be in accord with me. That is to say that the above mentioned animals have sense and an intellective soul as good as or even better than yours. I will desist from speaking about many other animals such as the beetles, and others who, when they see that they are about to be touched by the sons of Adam for fear that they will be harmed, pretend to be dead, folding their feet and hands in such a way that you would say that they are dead. Afterwards, when they do not sense anyone nearby, they get up and go on with their business."

"Señor Ass, another reason to prove that we are more noble and dignified than you is that we are very neat in our apparel and we carry with us many good odors, many fine-scented perfumes. You, on the other hand, are completely lacking in cleanliness and are filthy, dirty and foul. Take a look at yourself. To begin with, your belly and your hide are covered with dung, urine and filth. Your eyes tear and run and your mouth slavers and fills up with saliva. Therefore this is enough to show that what I say is true."

"Friar Anselm, he who says bad things is asking to hear bad things. Up until now I have spoken to you courteously but since you have injured me I will return in kind and tell you the truth at all times because according

to the proverb 'that which is done to you by your fellow, do to him.' Good man of God, the more you speak the more you err, and that which you say to elevate yourself redounds to your dishonor because I see that your eyes are more rheumy and teary than are mine; and whereas my saliva drips to the ground, yours falls on to your beard. All of the goods and pleasures that you have including the pleasure of good odors you would not have except for us animals. I will describe it all to you clearly. The wax, which you use for lighting, you take from the bees or from the honey-bees, and the same applies to honey which you use to make your confections. The silk, which you dress in, you take from the silk-worm, who makes it as I have amply described already. You take musk from the animals and it is only a superfluous amount of blood which gathers in boils of the animals and when the musk is ready the boil swells up. Then the animals go and rub and grate the boil against hard, sharp rocks until it finally falls to the ground. Then you sons of Adam take them and use them to make your good scents. Civet is the sweat of animals which is made between the thighs; you put it on your beards and on your clothes. Amber is animal droppings and you use it as perfume to hide the smell of your sweat and filth.⁵⁹ Pearls, which you use to ornament yourselves, you take from animals of the sea, that is to say the oysters. As you can see, you only boast of that which we, with justification, could, if we wished, use to elevate ourselves. Observe, Friar Anselm, the difference between your blood and ours, between your sweat and ours, between your droppings and ours. Your blood, within one day of leaving the body, is very putrid and corrupts the atmosphere to such an extent that this corruption

engenders an epidemic, if there is a great quantity of blood involved, such as that which flows in battles. Our blood is musk which you use in your meats, beverages and confections and place on your clothes in order to cover the bad odor of your stinking sweat. Your sweat generally stinks and if it is not removed it often turns into an abomination to yourselves. Our sweat is civet which you place on your beards. About your droppings it is not necessary to speak at all because you, yourselves, stop up your noses against it and look upon it with horror and abomination. Ours is amber which you eat in many of your medicines and enclose in gold and silver buttons so that your clothing will have a good odor. Moreover I not only say that we animals are greater than you in nobility and dignity but that even the trees, herbs and plants are greater. I will explain this to you distinctly."

"Friar Anselm, the best and most knowledgeable of the sons of Adam, that is to say, the philosophers, say that you are celestial trees or up-sidedown trees because whereas terrestrial trees have their stumps and roots in the earth you have your stump, that is to say your head, and your roots, which is your hair and beard, on high towards the sky.⁶⁰ Furthermore the branches of these trees are your arms, thighs and legs, with their boughs being the fingers and toes. From the middle of the branches comes your fruit, that is from the nature of the female. Observe now, Friar Anselm, the difference between the celestial trees, which are the sons of Adam, and the terrestrial trees, plants and herbs. Observe you who are celestial trees. When because of the heat of the sun or a fire, you become warm, what type of sweat do you exude and what kind of odor does it have? Observe the roses,

the orange flowers, the myrtle, when they become heated by the fire of an alembic, what sweat do they exude and what odor does it have? Furthermore, Friar Anselm, observe the liquid that comes forth from you celestial trees and you will find that it is nothing but filth from your ears and eyes. The liquids which come from terrestrial trees are balm, olive oil, peanut oil, almond oil, eucalyptus oil and many other kinds of liquids which, according to what the authors and medical doctors write, have many properties and virtues for healing of many kinds of illnesses. If I were to name them all it would make a very long list. Moreover, Friar Anselm, observe what superfluties you celestial trees cast off. You already know that you only cast off mucus, *sáliva*, urine, excrement and filth and all the superfluties which pass out of you are putrid and abominable. You cannot contradict me on that. The superfluties which are cast off by the terrestrial trees are noble and precious gums, such as benzoin, mastic, incense, myrrh, oil, resin and many others which you use to perfume your feasts and banquets so as to eliminate the stink of your sweat. Because of their great virtues and properties these superfluties of the terrestrial trees are sold for a great price among the sons of Adam. Benzoin often costs three hundred pounds for the quintal⁶¹ and mastic, a hundred pounds, and the others accordingly, more or less. As for your superfluties, Friar Anselm, I would like you to tell me what virtues and what properties they have and what are they good for, what price they are sold for and what is done with them. Furthermore, Friar Anselm, you are acquainted with the fruits that the terrestrial trees produce from their bodies which are of pretty colors good odors and superlative

flavor. Often the sons of Adam carry them in their hands, smell their deliciousness and place them in their coffers among their clothing so that they may acquire a good odor such as that of oranges, lemons, limes, pears, apples and other similar kinds. As for you, Friar Anselm, who are of the celestial trees, what fruit do you produce of your body? Tell me! Why do you delay? I believe that you delay because of the shame that you feel for naming the fruit that you produce. It is not necessary to be ashamed because all men know well enough what is the fruit that you produce. That which is engendered in your body are the worms and I have seen that when they are pressed the juice that comes out of them is only filth and blood. Observe what emerges from the fruits of the terrestrial trees when they are pressed. The juice of pressed raisins is noble and so is that of the olive, the oranges and the lemons which are also fruits of the terrestrial trees. It is the same with pepper and other spices and if you wish to speak comprehensively about them it would be a drawn out matter. Moreover, Friar Anselm, observe the terrestrial trees which not only while alive but even after they are dead and dry, have noble virtues and properties. You see every day by your own experience how the aloes tree, after it is dead and dry, is sold very often for eight francs the quintal. This is also the case with the sandalwood tree, the cinnamon tree, and many other trees which I will not tarry over in order to make my words short. You, who as I said are celestial trees, after you are dead what profit can be made from your body? What is it good for, what value does it have? It is good for nothing because even when it is alive it is foul and stinking and when it is dead it is yet worse. If it is not buried under the ground it would cause such corruption of the air that it would corrupt the world. You could now make the rejoinder,

Friar Anselm, that I have only mentioned the most noble trees which are in the world and that I have not mentioned the trees of base condition. Therefore I will answer and say that there is not a tree in the world of such vile condition, such as one which does not give flowers, fruit nor shade, which is not at least good for making fire. And you know that the fire made from a tree gives much profit and utility, such as driving corruption from the air, warming those who are very cold, cooking meats, bringing light to darkness and giving life to the world, since without fire no one could live, and fire itself could not live in the world if there were no trees. But, Friar Anselm, speak up on your own behalf of the most noble celestial trees that there are in the world, such as the pope, kings, emperors and other princes and lords. Is there in those men some virtue or property greater than that found in the simple and base condition? You clearly see that they are all of the same degree in regard to this question and there is no difference whatsoever between the most noble and the most vile, neither in their life nor after their death. Then, Friar Anselm, by this declaration you can be assured that we animals are the greater in nobility and dignity than you. If you have any other argument to prove the contrary, make it and I will give you the appropriate response so clearly that you will remain content."

"Señor Ass, the other argument by which is supported the contention that we are, by right, your lords and you our servants is that we have many sciences, especially the science of astrology by which we know many things of the future. This is a degree of divine dignity because it is a well known thing among all men that no one knows the future except God. But we, by means of that science, can know it, and know many of the events which

will come to pass, but not all of them, because that knowledge is reserved only for God. You, on the other hand, know nothing of this; you do not even know the present and this demonstrates that you are irrational beasts, that is to say, you lack intelligence."

"Friar Anselm, your presumption causes you to make a gross error. Because of the slight knowledge of astrology that God has given to you, you have become so arrogant and proud that no one can live with you. Comparing what you know of that science with what we animals know is a true mockery but, we are not vainglorious about it as you are. When you have made a prophecy in which everything you have prophesied or at least the better part of it has come to pass in the world, you became so proud that no one could speak to you. I tell you in all honesty that not only can the animals surpass you in this science but even I, one of the most despised of beasts in the world, am better in that science than you. A short time ago when a prophecy made by you came into my hands I thought about making another on future events in Aragon, Catalonia, Tuscany, Lombardy, Castile and other provinces. When I read your prophecy how the schism would come to an end and a true pope would come from one of the Colonnas, which occurs in a passage in the beginning of the prophecy where you said: 'Abandoned and vituperated will be the sword named White Rose. And then Provence will be deprived of her crown by her power being placed in its scabard.'⁶² I wished to know the deed of this pope and of this emperor and of the three from the empire and from Turkey and the custom and the realm of Lombardy and that which will occur there. Immediately, Friar Anselm, I looked at the disposition of the sky and of the planets, how they were disposed and this done, giving a judgment according to the disposition of the sky I made a prophecy in rhyme,

which I know by heart, but in order not to bore our exalted and powerful prince, the king, our lord, who is present here, I will not speak it because he will not understand it without a gloss."

As soon as the ass had said these words the king, in a happy mood said: "My gallant rejoinder, it pleases us to hear your prophecy so that Friar Anselm seeing your subtleness of learning will lower slightly the banner of his glory. Thus, in the name of God, state it valiantly before us and our venerable and honorable barons." After the ass had heard these words he immediately spoke up with great audacity and speaking in a loud voice began to recite the prophecy made by him in the following manner.

The Prophecy of the Most Reverend Sir Ass

In the name of the divine essence
 Prime intelligence
 Begins my eloquence
 Somewhat obscure.

1

5 All that which Scripture
 Presents figuratively
 Of good and of evil
 I will reveal.

2

64

The wild beast
 10 Out of the forest
 Will make a great tempest
 To the Consistory.

3

Great virtue divine
 Under a black curtain
 15 Will ruin cruelly
 The French people.

4

Then will be subjugated
 Said French people
 By royal nobility
 20 From England.

5

In fourteen ninety
 Will reign the Infanta
 All of the land
 Will be troubled.

6

25 Because of the great subjugation
 Rejecting the alliance
 They will rebel taking the lance
 From the Isle of Fire.⁶⁵

7

Its people united
 30 On guard night and day
 Will cast out the party
 Of Catalonia.

8

Then the Lombard people
 With a company of pillagers
 35 Will give its red lance⁶⁶
 To the great Vicar.

9

In the sign of Aries
 A malignant planet
 Will make a king unsuitable
 40 Of sovereignty.

10

The sky prophecies to me
 That under false cover
 Then will be deserted
 The Black City.⁶⁷

16

65 Casting variable rays
 And very frightening
 Spiritual evils⁷¹
 Will come to the earth.

17

70 Fire will course through the air
 Without lasting long
 Then it will be necessary to remain
 In the churches.

18

75 Flies, from their earthly places
 Exiting, will make a great war
 If my science does not err⁷²
 In Burgundy.

19

80 With great quarrels will be seen
 The stars doing battle
 Then a cruel plague⁷³
 Will come to the earth.

20

Son against father
 And daughter against mother
 The sister against her brother
 Will give testimony.

21

85 The divine power
 Causes the providence
 That the evil of pestilence
 Will visit the earth.

22

90 Then the good Baptiste
 Under the style of a sophist
 Will make a great conquest
 In Turkey.⁷⁴

23

In that land
 If my knowledge does not err
 95 The war will last
 Fourteen months.

24

The ancient emnity
 Will be obliged to make peace
 And confirming the league⁷⁵
 100 Will make an army.

25

The news will come
 Of the pretty maid
 Then the old she-brute⁷⁶
 Will be undone.⁷⁷

26

105 The sky already cries
 At this cruel hour
 There is no escape, if you long delay,
 The great tempest.

27

The ribald betrayer
 110 After the death of the brother
 Distaining her mother
 Will be married.^{77a}

28

And after the feast
 Because of the false request
 115 There will be a great tempset
 In the kingdom.

29

Saturn Crys out
 That she be defeated
 And she will be sad⁷⁸
 120 For twenty-six months.

30

Then the beautiful child⁷⁹
 Will appear benign⁸⁰
 Giving a false bitch⁸¹
 To the noble count.

31

125 Before the spring
 That great torrent
 Will make on the shore
 A little damage.⁸²

32

The sky shows me
 130 That our land
 Will be overrun again
 By a long war.⁸³

33

Under a symbol of madness
 He will leave the cloister
 135 In a red garment
 That great count.⁸⁴

34

And the great constable
 Will be favorable to him
 From the miserable place
 140 Will bring him from outside.⁸⁵

35

The wife deprived of her husband
 Will be dressed with joy⁸⁶
 Before her united
 Her company.⁸⁷

36

145 The prophecy commands
 That he wear a garland on his head
 And from each band
 He will be loved.⁸⁸

37

See her fortress
 150 Soon turn lean;
 For the harm done
 She will be punished.⁸⁹

38

Then raising the banner
 The grand duke of Bavaria
 155 To the people of Saint Peter
 Will cause harm.⁹⁰

39

Filling the flat purse
 Your royal young girl
 Inside Saragossa
 160 Will take the crown.⁹¹

40

The sky will not help her
 Saturn fears her
 Making her remain mute
 Of sovereignty.⁹²

41

165 After the cruel day
 Seeing herself dethroned
 She will be better
 For twenty-three months.

42

Then in the spring
 170 Will be a horrible outbreak
 Of barbaric people
 To the middle of the orchard. ⁹³

43

The door will remain open
 The land will be deserted
 175 Monks without offerings
 Who sing mass. ⁹⁴

44

He will fly without wings
 The great Prince of Wales
 And will break the doors
 180 Of the French people. ⁹⁵

45

Not like a corsair
 Nor like a proprietor
 But like a vicar ⁹⁶
 Of the great bishop.

46

185 And those from Pamplona
 As the sky orders
 Will raise its banner
 Against France.⁹⁷

47

Our Catalonia
 190 If it does not support this
 It will be necessary for the king to demand
 Their great purse.⁹⁸

48

The bells will peal
 Our Catalan people,
 195 All armed on the plain
 Will muster themselves.⁹⁹

49

Observe then the maid
 Paint her beautiful face
 Because of the good news
 200 From England.¹⁰⁰

50

According to what the sky teaches me
 Requiring much strength
 Those people of Sardinia
 The Catalan people.¹⁰¹

51

205 There will be many revolts
 After the celebrations and great feasts
 The heads will be removed
 Of two great masters.¹⁰²

52

The home will turn
 210 By the savage war
 Into the orchards like a grave
 At that hour.¹⁰³

53

And the white rose
 In the arms of the wife
 215 Will make a troublesome war
 On the red.¹⁰⁴

54

And Genoa the gay
 Struck by a grave plague
 Will make a tale
 220 For the whole land.

55

Under great trust
 Lucca will take umbrage
 And it will take vengeance
 The fleur de lis.¹⁰⁵

225 And the shabby eagle
 Will become like a chicken
 In the shadow of the lion
 She will be oppressed. ¹⁰⁶

57

She will be subjugated
 230 The sad despised one;
 Her bad state will last
 One half week. ¹⁰⁷

58

Then royally garbed
 By many people pursued
 235 She will support the party
 Of the great empire. ¹⁰⁸

59

The florin of Florence
 Mother of prudence
 By its own will receive offence
 240 In that hour. ¹⁰⁹

60

The arms of Colona
 Crowned by the church
 Will raise its banner
 The great empire. ¹¹⁰

245 According to what the sky commands
 He will make a great demand
 To have the garland
 Of Lombardy. ¹¹¹

Venice the gay
 250 Because of the new quarrel,
 Will enter into battle
 Against the empire. ¹¹²

The sky gives the sentence
 That a brief offence is relieved
 255 Vercna and Vincenza ¹¹³
 By the one from Hungary.

See on that day
 According to my prophecy
 Lombardy go ¹¹⁴
 260 To fire and flame.

According to what the sky commands
 The Tuscan widow
 In accord with the Christian faith ¹¹⁵
 Will be a bride.

265 See the great vicar
 In order to fill the cupboard
 Will be strongly opposed
 To the comunes.¹¹⁶

See a great league made
 270 It cannot be escaped if he delays
 Against him who covers himself
 With the great cape.¹¹⁷

God, by His power,
 Can lift the offence
 275 Revoking the sentence
 Of the planets.

My prophecy
 Was put into writing
 Because it will be
 280 As it states.¹¹⁸

After the prophecy was finished a great noise and clamor of joy and relief was made by all the animals who said: "From here on in Friar Anselm is vanquished because this prophecy is more true and subtle than his own." After they were stilled the ass turned to me and said the following words: "Well, Friar Anselm, what do you think of my prophecy?" And I, as I realized that the prophecies were well-made and well-ordered, said to him: "Senor Ass in your prophecy there is nothing to criticize and it is very subtly composed and ordered and very obscure as is the custom of astrologers since they want the judgment of the planets, which they compose and order, to be understood only with great effort because that which is acquired by labor is commonly well valued and liked by the people. I ask very humbly that you give me an explanation because, in truth, I never would have thought that you had such knowledge and understanding, but Almighty God bestows His grace on whomsoever He pleases."

"I would be very willing, Friar Anselm, to give you the explanation you ask for at the end of the debate. For now if you have any other argument by which you can prove your false opinion make it now and you will receive your response."

"Señor Ass, another argument to prove that my opinion is true, that is to say that we, the sons of Adam, are of greater nobility and dignity than you, is that Almighty God willed Himself to become human flesh, mingling His high divinity with our humanity and making Himself a man. He did not take your flesh nor your image but for a long time He made Himself our brother and He made Himself a son of Adam, just like us, on His mother's side. Because of this our flesh is situated today high in the imperial heavens according to what is said by Saint John in the first chapter of his Gospel, namely: 'The

Word was made flesh and resided among us.' ¹²⁰ According to Saint Augustine:
 'The Word of God is the son of the Father, namely Jesus Christ, who is the
 son of the Father eternally and son of the mother temporally.' ¹²¹ Therefore
 our dignity surmounts all other dignity and honor and for this sainted and
 just reason we are your lords and you are our vassals and subjects. This is
 according to what is said by the great prophet King David: 'Lord, you have
 the sovereignty over all things under your feet, that is, over men, sheep and
 oxen and the beasts of the fields, which is to say over all other beasts and
 animals, birds in the sky and fish in the sea.' ¹²² Therefore it appears evident
 and clear that by all of these reasons we are the greater in nobility and
 dignity than you and by right and justice we are your lords and you animals
 our vassals, slaves and subjects."

"The proverb says, Friar Anselm, that the very evil which a man fears
 will kill him and thus it seems to me because, I swear to you in truth that
 every time that you told me you had a another argument to prove your opinion
 was true, I almost died for fear that you would give the very reason you have
 now given. I know this argument well besides many other arguments which I
 know to be authentic and to the point which you have not mentioned. But you
 did not remember it because it has been so long that you have not seen nor
 read any books of the sainted Scriptures. According to this authority which
 is placed in the first chapter of Genesis it states that Almighty God told
 Adam and Eve 'breed and multiply and fill the land and subjugate it and become
 lord over the fish of the sea and the birds of the sky and over all the things
 which have soul and which move on the earth.' ¹²³ He said many other things which
 I will not state for fear of going on too long. Therefore, most reverend master,
 not being able to, nor wishing to, resist nor contest the truth, I will agree

that the sons of Adam are the greater in nobility and dignity than we the animals and that Almighty God has created us to serve you and by doing so the Lord has done you a great honor while not wronging us or causing us injury, as all of His works are just and true."

After the ass had said these words the king of the animals spoke as follows: "Friar Anselm, before we made your acquaintance we only believed a part of what we heard about your knowledge and nothing about your subtleness of understanding. But now we clearly see that all that is said and divulged by the world about your knowledge and subtle understanding is true because by reason and true justice you have vanquished your opponent and won the argument and we and all the venerable barons of our court acknowledge that your opinion is true, that is to say that you sons of Adam are greater in nobility and dignity than we animals and are, by right, our lords and we are your vassals. That is true just as the sun cannot be obscured by the sieve and we pray that with all of your power you preach and admonish the sons of Adam that we poor animals are commended to them because they merited it from Him who lives and reigns throughout the ages."

After he had said this he left the garden with all of the animals and I rode off on my horse, feeling great pleasure and comfort in the fact that I had won the debate and I returned to my home. Thanks be to God, Amen.

Here ends the debate of Friar Anselm with the animals in which Friar Anselm through the use of keen arguments shows that the sons of our father Adam are greater in dignity and nobility than the animals. This debate was finished by Friar Anselm Turmeda in the city of Tunis on 15 September 1418.

NOTES TO PART III

1

Mt 8,17; Is 53,4.

2

A figurative reference to the sun.

3

The time period referred to is the dog days of July and August.

4

Figurative for the moon.

5

The word lapins has been deleted since rabbits obviously do not belong in this listing of fowl.

6

Palma de Mallorca.

7

Abū-Fārīs Abd-al-Azīz, Hafṣid ruler of Tunis, 1394-1433.

8

The governor of Sardinia was named Aircard de Mur and the coronation of Ferdinand I(1412-1416) took place at Saragossa in January 1414.

8a

This quotation and the one on page 218 seem to come from some version of the Disticha Catonis, a very popular medieval text which was translated and glossed many times during the middle ages.

9

Gn 1,31.

10

Bartholomaeus Anglicus known as the Magister de proprietatibus rerum as he was the author of De proprietatibus rerum (c.1230-1240) which was an extremely popular work until the sixteenth century. In the Westminster 1495 edition appears the statement "Also he sayeth /Pliny/ that in this byrde the wytte of smellynge is best and therefore by smellynge he savouryth careynes that ben ferre from hym." XII, 36. There appears no reference to a distance of one hundred leagues.

11

The sex of the queen bee was not discovered until the seventeenth century by the Dutch naturalist Swammerdan.

12

Pr 6,6-8.

13

A traditional story which Turmeda presents in an elaborated form. It also appears in De proprietatibus rerum, XIII, 53. Modern naturalists have observed ants bringing out wet seeds and drying them in the sun. See T.F. Royds, The Beasts, Birds and Bees of Virgil: A Naturalist's Handbook to the Georgics (Oxford: (1918), 30.

14

A beverage named for Hippocrates, its purported inventor, which is made from a mixture of wine, sugar and cinnamon.

15

The text has mangerez whereas it clearly should be mangerons. It would appear that there is a short lacuna at this point.

16

Is 58, 5-9.

17

Lk 12, 24.

18

In De proprietatibus rerum, XII, 5 the king has a stinger but does not use it in wrath.

19

Ibid., XII, 3 this description is applied to the eagle.

20

This argument seems to reflect the influence of Arabic belief in the singleness of God as opposed to the trinitarian concept.

21

The prologue to El Conde Lucanor by Juan Manuel, published in 1335 opens with the statement that "among the many strange and marvellous thing created by Our Lord God, He decided to make a very marvellous thing; that is that of all the number of men in the world, there is not one who resembles another in face in spite of the fact that all men have the same things on the face...." Therefore, rather remarkably, this commonplace assertion was considered notable in the 14th century.

22

In De proprietatibus rerum, XII, 5 their buildings are described as round or square.

23

Eccl., 3, 21 where it is the beast referred to and not the mare.

24

Job 3, 11.

25

Mt 22, 14.

26

Ps 15, 1-2.

27

Gn 1, 26.

28

Turmeda omits Matthew since the evangelist is depicted as an angel and not as an animal. To include it would have weakened the argument.

29

An idiomatic expression whose precise meaning is unknown to me.

30

Tarragona is not an island but a city on the coast, 96 kms. (almost 60 miles) south of Barcelona.

31

Tecla is a very appropriate name inasmuch as it is the name of the patron saint of Tarragona.

32

The order Turmeda follows in naming the Seven Deadly Sins is the order which came into general use in the thirteenth century. It has been mnemonically entitled "SALIGIA" by Morton Bloomfield. The sins in this particular order are Superbia (pride), Avaritia (avarice), Luxuria (leachery), Ira (anger), Gula (gluttony), Invidia (envy), and Accidia (sloth). See Morton W. Bloomfield, The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to

the History of a Religious Concept with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature (Michigan: State University Press, Reprinted 1967), 105. Although

Turmeda names the correct order of sins he does not follow it in his narrative. In fact he tells eight stories illustrating six sins, omitting an illustration of the sin of sloth and giving two stories each on the sins of pride and avarice.

33

Perugia is in Umbria not Tuscany.

34

Lake Trasimeno.

35

The papal legate, Gerard du Puy, Abbot of Cluny, known in Italy as "The Abbot of Monmaggiore" arrived in Perugia in 1372. He instituted despotism and ruled for three and one half years in the name of Gregory XI. He had a fortress, largely paid for by the citizens, built at a strategic position within the city. The abbot maintained a force of about 1500 French and English mercenaries within the fortress and even called in the services of John Hawkwood and his Italian colleague Turnabarile. The revolt by the Perugians against the papal legate occurred in September 1375. With the abbot's fortress under siege the republicans of Perugia sent an embassy to Florence and the Florentines sent a large contingent of footsoldiers and cavalry. See V. Rutenburg, Popolo e Movimenti Popolari nell'Italia del 1300 e 1400, Bologna: Il Mulino (1971), 119; L. Baglion, Perouse et les Baglioni: Etude Historique d'après les Chroniques, les Historiens et les Archives, Paris (1909), 33.

36

An ordinance of 14 May 1371 prohibited the bearing of arms because of a citizen revolt which had occurred in 1369.

37

This story is similar in theme to the account of the rape at Gibeah (Jgs 19, 22-30). In the Biblical narrative a Levite and his concubine spent the night at Gibeah and the townsmen raped and killed the concubine. In order to avenge the outrage the Levite cut the body into twelve pieces and sent it to the twelve tribes of Israel. The tribes assembled and waged a fierce war of vengeance.

38

Pope Gregory XI entered Rome on 17 January 1377, and thus ended the so-called Babylonian captivity of the papacy. If he was joined in Rome by Gerard du Puy it would have had to be after this date. See G. Mollat, The Popes at Avignon, N.Y.:Harper Torchbooks (1963), 63.

39

A bishop nulla tenens held the title of bishop without an episcopal see.

40

The county of Armagnac is in the mid-Garonne region of Gascony. The Armagnac family were a very important family of France, especially during the period of the Hundred Years War. Their connections with the Crown of Aragon are attested to by the extensive correspondence between the crown and the count which is held in the archives of the kingdom.

41

The name of a street in Palma.

42

The word for she-monkey (guenon) is also a colloquialism for prostitute.

43

Prades is in the south of France, in the region of Perpignan.

44

Innocents Day is celebrated on 28 December and so the Franciscan was looking forward to seeing the Dominican suffer for three days on account of the beating and even into the new year.

45

The French bestiaries carry the account that the turtledove in mourning will not sit on anything green. See F. McCulloch, Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries, Chapel Hill (1960), 178.

46

A traditional account which appears in De proprietatibus rerum, XII, 3 where the story is attributed to one particular type of eagle called "Allmother".

47

Giraldus Cambrensis gives this account in his work on Ireland. See The Historical Works, translated by T. Forester and R. Hoare, London(1881), 28-29.

48

The behavior ascribed to the cuckoo has been traditionally associated with the lapwing or the hoopoe and appears as the behavior of the stork in Aristotle. See McCulloch, Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries, 126-127 and William Rose, The Epic of the Beast, London (1924), 215-216. In De proprietatibus rerum, XII, 9 this story is told about the raven.

49

According to De proprietatibus rerum, XVIII, 29 the camel will not mount its mother and when tricked into doing so, on one occasion, killed his trainer.

50

See De proprietatibus rerum, XVIII, 29.

51

Ancient tradition tells of the woodpecker's use of an herb to reopen it's nest after it has been blocked with metal. McCulloch, Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries, 190.

52

See De proprietatibus rerum, XII, 22.

53

Giraldus Cambrensis tells of the weasel bringing his young back to life by the use of a yellow flower. Topography of Ireland in The Historical Works, 46. De proprietatibus rerum, XVIII, 74 refers to the use of rue: "and eateth rue and bowmeth herself with the juice thereof."

54

A traditional story which occurs in De proprietatibus rerum, XVII, 49: "It is sayd that a hynde taughte firste the vertue of diptannus: for she etith this herbe that she may calve eselier and soner. Yf she be shotte she sekyth this herbe and etyth it: and puttith the yren out of the wounde...."

55

De proprietatibus rerum, XII, 9.

56

This is a traditional story which appears in the Latin Physiologus. See McCulloch, Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries, 119-120.

57

This account, which is a traditional one, appears in De proprietatibus rerum, XVIII, 15.

58

See Rose, The Epic, 242.

59

Turmeda's explanation of the source of musk and civet is essentially correct in that they are substances produced by the male musk deer and the civet cat. Amber is not formed from droppings but is a fossil resin found in alluvial soils.

60

See Aristotle, Parva Naturalia, 468a, 4-13.

61

A quintal in Catalonia weighed 41 kilograms, 600 grams. This equals approximately ninety and one-half pounds.

62

These verses are based on lines 101 to 113 of Les Prometences dated 1405(07). The Barcelona ms. gives the lines as follows: "Abandoned/Vituperated/will be the wife (sword)/who white rose/was named./ And then deprived/of her crown/the grand colona (column or pillar)/will be Provence;/with her power/placed in a sheath/by a blow from the sword/knife and lance. The interpretation by the ass is based on the use of the word "colona" which he claims refers to Odo Colona, who was elected Martin V in the year 1417.

63

The symbols for identifying the provenance of the footnotes on the Prophecy: F=version which appears in the translation of 1544. It will only be used when it might indicate a more accurate transcription than that taken from ms. Carpentras 336; D=a summary of the interpretation offered by the Declaració de la Profecia del Ass; I=informational footnotes taken from other sources.

64

(D) identifies the wild beast as an Italian cardinal who will suborn some cardinals and attempt to set up an anti-pope. This attempt will fail.

65

(D) identifies the Island of Fire as Sicily which will rise up against the Catalans.

66

(F) reads "will sound the bombardment".

67

(B) Catania is identified as the Black City which will be taken by the Catalans and then destroyed by the Sicilians.

68

(F) reads "Believing that he will not die/He will remain no longer/in the sovereignty.

68a

(D) states that the Catalans, enclosed in a fortress, will demand a safe-conduct from Viscount Rochaberti and for this reason the viscount will suffer at the hands of the people.

69

(D) states that after the battle Sicily will elevate a new cardinal who, posing as a saint, will cause a new schism which will not last.

70

(D) claims that during this time a column of fire will appear for a few days.

71

The ms. has inconporables where incorporables seems indicated. The Declaracio gives the correct form and interprets these incorporable evils as famine, war and death.

72

(D) claims that the flies are the Bretons who will oppose the Duke of Burgundy.

73

(D) identifies the cruel plague as the war mentioned above.

74

(D) claims that the emperor will conquer many lands in Turkey and kill infinite numbers of Turks.

75

(D) states that the Catalans and Genoese will sign a peace and make league against their enemies.

76
(F) reads "The old rebel".

77
(D) claims that the island of Corsica (the pretty maid) will fall to Aragon and Genoa (the old she-brute) will be undone.

77a
(D) states Naples (the ribald betrayer), in spite of her friends, will take a husband which will cause problems.

78
(F) reads "She will be married."

79
(F) reads "Then the old face."

80
(F) reads "The false poison."

81
(D) states that this line begins: "Then the old woman!". It interprets this verse as meaning that the old woman is young in judgment and while posing as a saint harms her husband.

82
(D) claims that the river of Mallorca will flood again but will not cause great harm.

83
(D) states that this long war will lead to the crowning of the infanta in 1490.
See verse 5.

84
(D) claims the count of Urgel will appear mad and dressed in a redish-brown garment (the robe of a Franciscan) will leave prison.

85
(D) states that a Castillian constable will favor Urgel and free him from prison.

86
Ms. uses the word cessa where sera is meant.

87
(D) claims that the church, because of the schism, will be dressed with joy before the sainted union with a husband.

88
(D) states the church will be crowned and loved by each band of Christians.

89

(D) claims that after some years the church will be harmed because of a bad pope.

90

(D) states that the Grand Duke of Bavaria (that is the duke of Burgundy) will harm the people of Saint Peter (that is the chaplains).

91

(D) states that in 1490 the partisans of the royal female will fill the fiat purse which belonged to the pope and will place her in power.

92

(D) continues that because her election was made in a bad constellation sign her power can not last.

93

(D) claims that the Moorish supporters of the Infanta will quarrel with the Moorish non-supporters of Saragossa.

94

(D) claims that this line describes Saragossa in the year of the quarrel.

95

(D) states that because the pope is at odds with the Christian rulers, especially with the king of France, the Prince of Wales will attack the French.

96

(D) claims that the Prince of Wales will attack as a vicar of the pope.

97

(D) states that the king of Navarre will come to aid the pope against the French.

98

(D) states that if the nobles of Catalonia do not help in the war, but go on a private raid against Navarre, the king, who favors the pope, will take all they have.

99

(D) continues that although mustered, the king will forbid the venture and will feel so threatened that he will order that whoever exceeds his orders be stripped of his property.

100

(D) states that the Infanta will be made happy by the news that the English king is sending her troops.

101 (D) claims that the new king of Aragon will finally subjugate Sardinia.

102 (D) continues that after the conquest of Sardinia there will be many revolts against Aragon; the two heads removed will be a Franch head and an Italian head.

103 (D) states that the war with Naples will turn homes and orchards into woods.

104 (D) interprets the church as the wife who helps the white rose against the red.

105 (D) states that Lucca will take umbrage with Florence after they have signed a peace treaty and some years later there will be war. (I) The war between Lucca and Florence broke out in 1429 because of a debt of two-hundred thousand florins which Lucca refused to pay. This war ended in 1433.

106 (D) interprets the shabby eagle as Pisa which will be pressured by the lion (Florence) and turn into a weak chicken.

107 (F) reads "twelve weeks." (D) claims that the oppression will last a half week, reckoning according to the book of Daniel.

108 (D) claims that this will occur after the half week.

109 (D) states that after the freeing of Pisa there will be a great downfall for the Florentines. Strangers will come among them at the invitation of some Florentines and they will cause great harm.

110 (D) says that the emperor will come to the aid of the pope, who is the pillar or crown of the church, in order to make himself master of Italy. (I) Sigismund was called on for aid by John XXIII in 1413. Therefore one would not have to be a prophet to describe the events in Italy as they were occurring in 1417 and 1418 (the date of this prophecy.)

111

(D) says that the emperor will then demand sovereignty over Lombardy.

112

(D) continues that when the emperor comes from the new election of a pope he will make a dishonest demand of the Venetians and there will be war.

113

(D) states that Verona and Vicenza will be offended by the emperor's stay in Italy. (I) Sigismund became king of Hungary in 1385 and emperor in 1410.

114

(D) says that the emperor will show neither party pity or mercy.

115

(D) claims that the widow is Tuscany who has long been without a lord and who will get a new lord.

116

(D) states that the pope will demand money from the communes and when refused will use the emperor to obtain it.

117

(D) continues that the Italian cities will ally against pope and emperor.

118

(D) points out that the prophecy will be fulfilled if God does not revoke the sentence and judgment of the planets.

119

The heading for this paragraph is: "The celebration made by the animals for the prophecy made by their orator in the year 1418."

120

Jn 1,14.

121

This quotation does not appear in Augustine's works. All possibilities have been checked in F. David Lenfant, O.P., Concordantiae Augustiniana sive Collectio Omnium Sententiarum, 2 Vols., Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1956. A check through the volumes devoted to Augustine in the Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum also produced no results

122

The quotation as given in the text is incorrect and as it stands it is not as propos as is the actual Biblical text which reads: "You have given him rule over the works of your hands, putting all things under his feet: all sheep and oxen, yes, and the beasts of the field, the birds of the air, the fishes of the sea...." Ps 8, 7-9.

123

Gn 1, 28.

APPENDIX

The identity of Turmeda's master has long eluded investigators intent on verifying the authenticity of this portion of his autobiography. Both Joaquín Miret y Sans and Manuel Epalza were unable to pinpoint the identity of Turmeda's teacher. In fact they were totally unable to find documentation for Turmeda's stay in Bologna since the extant records for that particular period are fragmentary. For that reason, and because of Turmeda's claim that he lived in the home of an eminent theologian rather than in the Franciscan monastery, as would be expected, much doubt has been cast on his story. Lacking new evidence to resolve these doubts many questions must remain unanswered including a positive identification of the teacher described by Turmeda.

Without new evidence the investigator is forced to return to documents which have already been examined in the hopes of recovering something which has been overlooked. On the basis of the Catalogo di Membri del Collegio Teologico it can be definitely established that only one Franciscan by the name of Nicholas was connected with the Faculty of Theology at Bologna during this period.¹ He was known as Nicholas of Agrigento and he received his doctorate in 1362² and in 1373 claimed to have taught and preached at Bologna.³ The University of Bologna had received the right to grant doctorates in theology in 1362. This right was exercised by a congregatio magistrorum made up of doctors affiliated with the studia of the various religious orders.⁴ Nicholas would have had to belong to this congregatio magistrorum in order to teach theology at the university.

Since no direct connection can be established between Nicholas and Turmeda, he cannot be assigned the dubious distinction of being the master so vividly portrayed in Turmeda's autobiography. Yet he cannot be dismissed from consideration out of hand since certain aspects of his life and thought engender suspicions about Nicholas' orthodoxy. To begin with, Nicholas became involved in a dispute with the Inquisitor of Sicily, Simone de Puteo. According to Simone

Nam cum in quadam publica disputatione facta per dictum fratrem nicolaum in conventu minorum Civitatis panormi Ipse frater nicolaus contra suum Respondentem argueret quodam argumento comuni, quod comuniter doctores ponunt in septima et vicesima prima d. primi sententiarum, per quod videbatur essentiam divinam a divinis personis Realiter dividere, et predictus magister dictum argumentum multum difficultaret, volens Ipsum quasi Insolubile demonstrare non sine scandalo fidei catholice; dictus vero frater symon, hoc audiens, voluit solutionem dare secundum sanctorum et doctorum opiniones ipsum eidem declarare. et maxime quia dictus frater symon audiverat quod aliquando habuit dixisse: dicant quicquid volunt christianj argumentum istud est Insolubile, et Ipsum christus non posset solve; et Ita predictus frater nicolaus est sibi delatus: audita solutione per eumdem fratrem symonem data, predictus frater nicolaus cepit Insinire (sic per Insanire) nec gratia christi fuit Ibj de aliquo errore correptus, teste domino archiepiscopo panormitano ibj presente et aliis Intelligentibus viris.⁵

On the basis of what seems to be the meaning of this rather mangled Latin used by Simone, Nicholas argued that it was impossible to solve the question of the divine essence and even dared to claim that Christ himself could not solve the problem. The argument continued and Simone reports

Et cum in eadem disputatione per quamdam Investigativam rationem Idem frater symon argueret, quia materia erat de beatitudine anime separate, et quid

formaliter beatificaret mentem separatam, quereret an diceret seu verbum ipsius anime ab ipsa emanans, an diceret seu verbum patris, quod dicimus filium in divinis, prefatus frater nicolaus, sive inadvertenter sive ex vi argumentj ad alteram partem reductus, Respondit quod erat verbum divinum, dictus autem frater symon audiens modeste dixit eidem fratrj nicolao: advertatis quod dicitis magister. Ita quod in dicta disputatione non Intervenit Indignacio aut animi participacio, cuius signum fuit quod terminata disputatione fecerunt cum dicto domino archiepiscopo karitativam et letam collacionem; et sic Respondit quod disputationem secundam non tenuit ad vendictam, sed voluit solum declarare pro auditorum hedificacione quantum permittit humana fragilitas et in se maxime qualiter tres divine persone Inter se realiter diferentes et divina natura nullo modo Realiter diferant, secundo quod est illud dicere seu verbum quod est illud dicere seu verbum quod formaliter beatificat mentem beatam, nullo modo sit dicere Increatum nec essenziale nec personale, prefatus frater seu magister audiens quasi in fine sue disputationis cogitavit, aut quibusdam scripturis quas in manu differebat (sic) aut inordinata verborum serie eius animum provocaret ad turbacionem ut ex hoc non devenirent ad Investigacionem profunde et pulcre materie supradicte.⁶

Here, according to Simone, Nicholas seems to have overstepped the bounds in regard to his concept of matter and the soul and he did so in a very forceful and emotional manner. The final outcome of this public dispute, which took place on 14 March 1372, led to Nicholas' excommunication on 27 August 1373 by the inquisition of Sicily. Our knowledge of the proceedings comes from an investigation made by Pietro ser Lippi, Franciscan Inquisitor of Florence and a supporter of Nicholas. According to Lippi, Nicholas, a popular teacher in Florence, had been invited there to preach during a procession organized to counter the plague. When Simone learnt of this he protested and

dictus frater et mag. Symon in vigilia dicti festi accessit primo ad episcopum Florentinum, postmodum ad Priores, XII aut XIII fratribus sociatus, eisdem impetuose denunciatis et protestans quod dictus mag. Nicolaus erat maior hereticus mundi, et quod contra

ipsum habebat XXIIos articulos heresis probatos, et quod ipse eum excommunicaverat per totam Syciliam propter hereses illas et contumaciam in facto fidei, addens quod male factum erat permittere talem hominem predicare populo, cum omnis scienter audiens predicationem suam foret excommunicatus et fautor hereticorum, et quod quidquid ipse agebat et egerat contra dictum mag. Nicolaum, totum fiebat de mandato Sanctitatis Vestre. Et ad probandum hec omnia et multa alia similia que dicebat, ostendebat quaternos, litteras et processus quos se fecisse dicebat contra dictum mag. Nicolaum hereticum.⁷

The exact nature of those twenty-two articles is not known, yet in a document published by Nicholas entitled "Protestacio...facta contra fratrem symonem de puteo" he emphatically takes a position of faith which seems completely orthodox:

protestatur et dicit se firmiter credere et simpliciter confiteri; quod unus solus est verus deus, eternus, Immensus, Incommutabilis, omnipotens, Incomprehensibilis et Ineffabilis, pater et filius et spiritus sanctus; tres quidem persone sed una essentia, substantia seu natura simplex omnino; pater a nullo factus, filius a patre solo genitus, spiritus sanctus pariter ab utroque, non tamquam ex duobus principijs sed tamquam ex uno principio, non duabus spiracionibus sed unica spiracione procedit; absque inicio semper ac sine fine pater generans, filius nascens, et spiritus sanctus procedens; consubstantiales et queequales et cohominjpotentes et coheternj(sic), unum universorum principium, creator omnium visibilium et Invisibilium, spiritualium et corporalium; qui sua omnipotenti virtute simul ab inicio temporis utramque de nichilo condidit creaturam spiritualem et corporalem, angelicam videlicet et mundanam, et deinde humanam quasi comunem ex spiritu et corpore constitutam...⁸

All of this amounts to very contradictory evidence of unorthodoxy against Nicholas. Simone's unsupported word is insufficient since he is reported to have taken a very strong stand against Franciscans in general. It is for that reason that Lippi entered the case on Nicholas' behalf. Lippi quotes Simone as saying that not only Nicholas "verum etiam totum Ordinem beati Francisci esse hereticum et fratres eius omnes fore

igne cremandos, et specialiter quod tres dicti Ordinis Generales preteriti fuerant manifesti heretici et quidam ex eis pro heresi condemnati."⁹

But independent evidence survives in regard to Nicholas' utterances and this testimony seems to support Simone's suspicions. Included in the Trecentonovelle by the Florentine writer Sacchetti is an account describing a sermon delivered by Nicholas in the city of Florence. According to Sacchetti

Essendo una di questi feste in pergamo il d'è dopo desinare, ed essendavi moltissima gente, fra l'altre cose, giugnendo in una parte, volendo dare ad intendere l'essenzia del nostro Signore Jesu Cristo, dice:
 --Com' è fatta la faccia di Cristo?
 E furioso si volge verso il Volto santo dicendo:
 --Non è fatta come la faccia del Volto santo che è colà, che ben ci vegno a crepare, se Cristo fu così fatto.¹⁰

While neither Sacchetti nor the Florentines were offended by this coarse jest (the Florentines, according to Sacchetti, "ridere e ridere e ridere") a modern scholar has gone on public record as being offended by this disrespectful treatment of a votive saint.¹¹ Although this seems to be another case of modern sensitivity not necessarily applicable to medieval attitudes (similar to the differences in attitude held over the centuries toward some of the coarse stories told by Turmeda in his Debate) the story does illustrate a tendency on Nicholas' part to treat certain matters of faith rather roughly. In this way Sacchetti's anecdote about Nicholas seems to support Simone's assertions concerning Nicholas' brusque and abusive attitude in their dispute and, to a certain extent, Simone's assertions about Nicholas' doctrinal irregularities. Nicholas' public jab at the reverence in which holy statues were held seems to stem from that concept of the essence of Christ which caused Nicholas' problems in

Sicily. Whether Nicholas pushed his case to the point of heresy cannot be determined on the basis of the extant evidence. One small point can be made out of the fact that the friar who dismissed an inquisitor's arguments as "insanus et ignarus"¹² sounds as arrogant as the friar who told Turmeda that the arguments he had heard during the discussion held in Bologna were not true because "you people have not yet attained much knowledge."¹³

To this slender evidence for unorthodoxy on Nicholas' part must be added what we know about Nicholas' checkered career. Shortly after his dispute with Simon de Puteo, Nicholas was removed from his office as Minister General in Sicily by order of Gregory XI. According to the bull dated 4 July 1372 Gregory ordered his removal because "certis respectibus non est in dicta provincia et officio ministeriatus utilis, sed potius ipsi et ipsi officio scandalum generatur."¹⁴ However, three years after this dismissal, Gregory showed no qualms about using Nicholas as a papal legate to the Florentines. Since Nicholas was popular with them Gregory sent him there in 1375 to try and quell the revolt against the papacy.¹⁵ As a reward for his service Gregory appointed him to the bishopric of Aemonia, which is the city of Cittanova, located in Istria, modern-day Novigrad, Yugoslavia, in 1376.¹⁶ Nicholas was promoted to the archbishopric of Palermo in 1377 when that see became vacant as a result of the death of Matthew de Cumis (Cunis).¹⁷ The return to Sicily bore bitter fruit for Nicholas and he was forced to resign his office after becoming involved in a dispute with Chiaramonte, a count and powerful lord of Sicily, who had also taken part in the proceedings against Nicholas in 1373.¹⁸ His whereabouts after 1383 are not known and there arises the possibility

that Nicholas could have retired to Bologna and resumed his teaching. Although this would have been later than the year in which Turmeda claims to have become his student it is still well within the period of Turmeda's residence at Bologna. Nicholas is last heard from in 1393 when he petitions, through the good offices of the count of Fondi, to be restored to his office as archbishop.¹⁹ It is presumed he died shortly after 1393 and Palumbo estimates his age to have been sixty-eight (born in 1325).²⁰ Although Nicholas is not likely to have been in his nineties in 1387 as a man in his sixties he could certainly have excused himself from making a pilgrimage to the East on the basis of being too old.

The question then arises as to whether the only Franciscan named Nicholas connected with Bologna could have become the man who converted Turmeda to Islam in 1387. According to Turmeda his master claimed to have arrived at his position in favor of Islam late in life and to have successfully managed to keep it a complete secret. Is it possible that Nicholas of Agrigento, after all his trials and after continuing to seek out a more exact concept of God's essence in accord with his earlier reported position, finally turned toward Muhammad and Islam? If so, the inquisitor Simone, who stated that "mag. Nicolaus erat maior haereticus mundi!"²¹ would now stand vindicated. If not, Turmeda's account, although unsupported, would still remain as testimony that a master at the University of Bologna converted his student to Islam. The impossibility of uncovering a secret Muslim sympathiser on the faculty of Bologna five hundred years after the fact is obvious. No documentation of this fact could ever have

existed to begin with and certainly no hard evidence will ever come to light to make an acceptable case. It is only the fact that Turmeda would have had very little incentive to invent such a remarkable story for his Muslim audience, which could hardly appreciate its significance, that has led me on this treacherous track. The material presented on Nicholas of Agrigento is only given here to show that in actual fact there was someone on the faculty of Bologna who roughly fits Turmeda's description of his master. No other claims are made.

NOTES TO THE APPENDIX

1

See F. Ehrle, I più antichi statuti della facoltà teologica dell'Università di Bologna (Bologna, 1932), 107. For an almost complete transcription of the Catalogo de' Membri del Collegio Teologico see L. Mazzetti, Memorie storiche sopra l'Università e l'Istituto delle Scienze di Bologna, Vol. I, Bologna (1840). Nicholas' name appears on 296.

2

B. Pergamo, O.F.M., "I Francescani alla Facoltà Teologica de Bologna (1364-1500)", Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, 27(1934), 12.

3

"Quam fidem sanctissimam dictus frater Nicolaus qui supra, dicit se semper tenuisse predicasse et docuisse, ut constat, in diversis mundi partibus et specialiter in studiis perusino, senensi, pisano, neapolitano, veneciarum, et bononiensi...." "Protestacio fratris Nicolai de Ginto (sic, Agrigento) facta contra fratrem symonem de puteo", transcription in G. Cosentino, "Nuovi documenti sulla Inquisizione in Sicilia", Archivio Storico Siciliano, Nuova Serie X(1885), 89-90. For a discussion on the date of this document see C. Piana, "Silloge di Documenti dall'Antico Archivio di San Francesco di Bologna (Continua)", Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, 49(1956), 48.

4

For a summary of the system used at Bologna by the faculty of theology see Rashdall, Universities, I, 252 and A. Sorbelli, Storia della Università di Bologna, I, Il Medioevo (Secc. XI-XV), Bologna (1944), 129-139.

5

"Responsio fratris symonis facta per eum in protestacions fratris nicolaj de agrigento" in Cosentino, "Nuovi documenti", 95-96.

6

Ibid., 96.

7

C. Piana, "Silloge di Documenti", 54.

- 8
Cosentino, "Nuovi Documenti", 88-89.
- 9
Piana, "Silloge di Documenti", 55.
- 10
F. Sacchetti, Opere, ed. Aldo Borlenghi, Milan (1957), 238-239.
- 11
I. Carini, "Aneddoti Siciliani--III Serie", Archivio Storico Siciliano, 15(1890), 113-115.
- 12
Cosentino, "Nuove Documenti", 97.
- 13
See page 19.
- 14
Piana, "Silloge di Documenti", 38.
- 15
P. Palumbo, "Sposizione Del Vangelo Della Passione Secondo Matteo", in Collezione di Testi Siciliani dei Secoli XIV e XV, Palermo(1954), xxi. I do not cite the Sposizione for further testimony on Nicholas' own words since Palumbo's claim that it was written by Nicholas is belied by Palumbo himself when he states that the writer of the anonymous text had been a bishop in 1373. (See Palumbo, xiii.) This certainly was not true of Nicholas and therefore seems to rule him out as the possible author of the treatise. For further doubts cast on the adscription see Geroldo Fassenegeger's review of Palumbo's book in Archivum Franciscanum Historicum, 48(1955), 204-5.
- 16
C. Eubel, Hierarchia Catholica, I, 74.
- 17
Ibid., I, 388.
- 18
According to L. Wadding, Annales Minorum, Vol. 9(1932), 48 in an Additio to the entry for 1380: "Sed cum indignationem Manfredi Claromontani, Moticae qui Panormum urbem, et vicina oppida occupaverat, incurrisset, et multis injuriis affectus vim pateretur, Archiepiscopali dignitate se abdicavit,

publico scripto de hac re instrumento. Claromontani mox curavere, ut in ejus locum substitueretur Lodovicus Bonitus; atque hic etiam a Martino Rege, urbe in suam potestatem redacta, sua sede turbatur, et subrogatur Albertus Villamarinus. Paulo post hic etiam moritur, et Nicolaus in suam sedem restitui, adhibitis intercessoribus, et scriptis litteris ad Martinum Regem, deprecatur. Eubel, Hierarchia Catholica, I, 388 and Gams, Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae, 952 indicate that Nicholas did not resign until 1387. But Palumbo, who has had access to documents unknown to the other writers, notably three documents dated 10 September 1380, 17 January 1380 and 31 July 1382, issued by Nicholas in his capacity as archbishop and a letter dated 1393 from the count of Fondi to Martin I (see xxiii-xxiv) definitely dates Nicholas' resignation to the year 1383.

19

P. Palumbo, "Sposizione", xxiv.

20

Ibid.

21

Piana, "Silloge di Documenti", 54.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I: Manuscripts and Editions of Works by Turmeda Consulted in this Study.

Llibre de Bons Amonestaments

MANUSCRIPTS (Fifteenth century)

- Barcelona (Ateneo) 220, ff. 226-235.
 Barcelona (Universidad) 151, ff. 280(265)-288(273).
 Barcelona (Universidad) 68, ff. 11-6.
 Carpentras 151, ff. 98-103.

EDITIONS

- B. Metge XV A. Turmeda, Obres Menors, ed. Marçal Olivari, Els Nostres Classics X, Barcelona: 1927.
- M. Aguiló i Fuster, Cançoner de les Obretes en Nostra Lengua Materna Mes Divulgades Durant los Segles XIV, XV e XVI, Barcelona: 1900.
- V. Castañeda, "Dos Ediciones Desconocidas del Libro de 'Bons Amonestaments' de Fray Anselmo de Turmeda", Revista Critica Hispano-Americana, 5 (1919), 7-21.

The following, grouped by place of publication, are editions printed for devotional reading and use in primary schools:

Cervera:

- En la Estampa de la Pontes y Rl. Univ. per Thomas Senant(n.d.).
 En la Estampa de la Rl. Univ. per Joseph Barber y Comp. (n.d.), several editions.
 Per Manuel Ibarra (n.d.), 2 editions.

Gerona:

- En la Imprenta de Fermi Nicolau als Quatre Cantons(n.d.).

Manresa:

- En la Imprenta de Marti Trullas(n.d.), several editions.
 Per Marti Trullas en la Plaza, 1811.
 Per Marti Trullas en la Plaza, 1813.
 Per Ignasi Abadal Estamper (n.d.)
 Per Ignasi Abadal Impresor (n.d.), several editions.
 Per Ignasi Abadal Plassa del Olm
 Per Pau Roca, Carrer de S. Miguel, 1842.

Valencia:

En la Imprenta de Miguel Puigrubi, 1826.

Viuda de Geronimo Conejos, Enfrente San Martin, 1749.

Vich:

Joan Dorca (n.d.).

Domingo Feyner en La Plassa (n.d.).

Felip Tolosa Estamps (n.d.).

Ignasi Valls, 1824.

Ignasi Valls, 1840.

Cobles de la Divisio del Regne de Mallorca

MANUSCRIPTS (Fifteenth century)

Carpentras 381, ff. 103v-113.

EDITIONS

B. Metge ŷ7A. Turmeda, Obres Menors, ed. Marçal Olivari, Els Nostres Classics X, Barcelona: 1927.M. Aguiló i Fuster, Cançoner de les Obres en Nostra Lengua Materna Mes Divulgades Durant los Segles XIV, XV e XVI, Barcelona: 1873-1880.The Profecies

MANUSCRIPTS (Fifteenth century)

Barcelona (Biblioteca Central) 485, ff. 298v-300v.

Barcelona (Biblioteca Central) 490, ff. 100-102.

Carpentras 336, f. 200.

El Escorial N. I. 13, ff. 43-47.

EDITIONS

R. Alos, "Les Profecies den ŷ7A Turmeda", Revue Hispanique, 24 (1911), 482-496.P. Bohigas Balaguer, "Profecies de Fra Anselm Turmeda (1406)", Estudis Universitaris Catalans (Barcelona) 9 (1915-1916), 173-181.A. Raimondi, "Les Profecies di Anselmo Turmeda", Archivio Storico per la Sicilia Orientale, (Catania) 11 (1914), 232-249.

The Prophecy of the Ass

MANUSCRIPT (Fifteenth century)

Carpentras 336, ff. 188-191v.

EDITIONS

See all editions and translations of The Debate Between the Friar and the Ass. Also:J. Rubió, "Un Text Català de La Profecia de l'ase de Fra Anselm Turmeda", Estudis Universitaris Catalans (Barcelona) 6 (1913), 5-20.The Debate Between the Friar and the Ass

EDITIONS AND TRANSLATIONS

Lyons edition 1544 in EM (G.16134) and EN (Res. Y 2883).²

Lyons edition 1548 in EM (246 a 31).

Pampelune (Paris) edition 1606 in EM (1080 d 4) and BC (II V 26).

R. Fouché-Delbosq, "Disputation de l'Asne", Revue Hispanique 24(1911), 358-479.M. Olivar, trans., Disputa del Asno in Els Nostres Classics, serie A. XVIII, Barcelona: 1928.J. Uya, trans., Apuleyo, El Asno de Oro; Anselmo Turmeda, Disputa del Asno, Barcelona: Ediciones Zeus, 1969.Tuhfa al-ṣarīb fi-l-radd 'ala ahl al-salīb

EDITIONS

Miguel de Epalza, La Tuhfa Autobiografía y Polemica Islámica Contra el Christianismo de 'Abdallāh al-Tarṣūman (Fray Anselmo Turmeda), Vol. XV, Atti Della Accademia Nazionale Dei Lincei: Memorie, Classe di Scienze. Morali, Storiche e Filologiche, Serie VIII, Rome: 1971.J. Spiro, "Le Présent de l'homme Lettré pour Réfuter les Partisans de la Croix, par 'Abd-allah, le Drogman", Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, 2 (1885), 68-89; 179-201; 278-301.J. Spiro, "Autobiographie d'Abdallah ben Abdallah, le Drogman", Revue Tunisienne, 13 (1906), 89-103.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

II: Works of General Consultation

Aguiló, Estanislao de K., "Fra Anselm Turmeda (Apuntes Biográficos)", Museo Balear, (Palma de Mallorca) 1, Segunda Epoca (1884), 9-17; 98-105; 126-136.

Aguiló, Estanislao de K., "Fra Anselm Turmeda: Apèndice", Museo Balear (Palma de Mallorca) 11, Segunda Epoca (1885), 218-226; 256-267.

Aguiló, M., Catálogo de Obras en Lengua Catalana, Madrid:1923.

Aguiló, Mariano, Cançoner de les Obreres en Nostra Lengua Materna Mes Divulgades Durant los Segles XIV, XV e XVI, Barcelona:1873-1900.

Alos, Ramon d', "Les Profecies Den ¿sic?Turmeda", Revue Hispanique, 24 (1911), 480-496.

Anglicus, Bartholomaeus, De proprietatibus rerum, Westminster:1495.

Asín i Palacios, Miguel, "El Original Árabe de la Disputa del Asno Contra Fr. Anselmo Turmeda", Revista de Filología Española, (Madrid) 1 (1914), 1-51.

Baglion, Comte Louis de, Pérouse et les Baglioni: Étude Historique d'après les Chroniquers, les Historiens et les Archives, Paris: 1909.

Barcelona, Martí de, "L'Orde Francescà i la Casa Reial de Mallorques", Estudis Franciscans, (Barcelona) 30 (1923), 354-383.

Bel Khodja, Mohamed, "Le Tombeau d'Abdallah ben Abdallah", Revue Tunisienne (Tunis) 13 (1906), 292-294.

Bloomfield, Morton W., The Seven Deadly Sins: An Introduction to the History of a Religious Concept with Special Reference to Medieval English Literature, Michigan: State University Press:1967.

Bofarull y Mascaró, P., Colección de Documentos Inéditos del Archivo General de la Corona de Aragón, Vols. IX-X, Historia de los Condes de Urgel por Diego Monfar y Sors, Barcelona:1853.

Bohigas Balaguer, P., "Les Profecies de Fra Anselm Turmeda (1406)", Estudis Universitaris Catalans, (Barcelona) 9 (1915-1916), 173-181.

Brunschvig, R., "Documents Inédits sur les Relations Entre la Couronne d' Aragon et la Berbérie Orientale au XI^{ve} Siècle", Annales de l'Institut d'Etudes Orientales, 2 (1926), 235-265.

- Brunschvig, R., La Berbérie Orientale sous les Hafsides des Origines à la Fin du XV Siècle, 2 Vols., Paris, 1940-1947.
- Calvet, Agustín, Fray Anselmo Turmeda: Heterodoxo Español (1352-1423-32?), Barcelona:1914.
- Cambouliu, F-R and M. Milá y Fontanals, Historia de la Literatura Catalana Antiga, Vol. I, Barcelona: 1858 and 1910.
- Castro, Adolfo de, Obras Escogidas de Filósofos in Biblioteca de Autores Españoles, Vol. 65, Madrid:1873.
- Coll, Jayme, Chronica Serafica de la Santa Provincia de CathaluMa, Madrid:1738.
- Denk, Otto, V.M., Einführung in die Geschichte der Altcatalanischen Literatur von deren Anfängen bis zum 18. Jahrhundert, Munich:1893.
- Destany, Lluís, Llibre de Disputació de l'Asne, Barcelona:1922.
- Diccionario Enciclopédico Hispano-Americano de Literatura, Ciencias y Artes, Barcelona(1897), Vol. 21, 766.
- Dizionario Ecclesiastico, Turin(1958), Vol. 3, 1196.
- Epalza, Miguel de, S.J., La Tuhfa, Autobiografía y Polémica Islámica contra el Christianismo de 'Abdallāh al-Tarīmān (Fray Anselmo Turmeda) in Atti Della Accademia Nazionale Dei Lincei: Memorie, Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche, Serie VIII, Rome: 1971.
- Finestres y de Monsalvo, Historia del Real Monasterio de Poblet, Vol. III, Cervera: 1756. Modern edition: Barcelona: 1947.
- Fouché-Delbosc, Raymond, "Disputation de l'Asne", Revue Hispanique 24, (1911), 358-479.
- García Silvestre, M., Historia Sumaria de la Literatura Catalana, Barcelona:1932.
- Lane-Poole, Stanley, The Mohammadan Dynasties, London:1894. Modern edition: N.Y. 1965.
- Marengo, E., Genova e Tunisi, 1388-1515: Relazione Storica, in Atti Della Società Ligure di Storia Patria, Vol. 32, Rome:1901.
- Marfany, Joan-Lluís, Ideari d'Anselm Turmeda, Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1965.
- Mas Latrie, Jacques M.J.L., Traité de Paix et de Commerce et Documents Divers Concernant les Relations des Chrétiens Avec les Arabes de l'Afrique Septentrionale au Moyen Age, Paris:1866.

Masso Torrents, Jaume, Repertori de l'Antiga Literatura Catalana, Vol. I, La Poesia, Barcelona:1932.

McCulloch, Florence, Medieval Latin and French Bestiaries, Chapel Hill:1960.

Menéndez Pelayo, Marcelino, Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles, Madrid: 1880.

Menéndez Pelayo, Marcelino, Orígenes de la Novela, Madrid: 1905. Modern edition of four volumes: Madrid 1961.

Milà y Fontanals, Manuel, Ressenya Històrica y Crítica dels Antics Poetes Catalans, Barcelona: 1865.

Miret y Sans, Joaquín, "La Tomba del Escriptor Català Fra Anselm Turmeda en la Ciutat de Tunic", Extract from Butlletí del Centre Excursionista de Catalunya, (Barcelona) (1910), 29 pages.

Miret y Sans, Joaquín, "Vida de Fray Anselmo Turmeda", Revue Hispanique, 24 (1911), 261-296.

Montoliu, Manuel de, Miximenis, Turmeda i l'Inici de l'Humanisme a Catalunya: Bernat Metge, Vol. IV of Les Grans Personalitats de la Literatura Catalana, Barcelona:1959.

Nicolau, L., "Introducción al Estudio de la Literatura Catalana: IV-El Semitismo", Estudio, 23 (1914), 178-193.

Olwer, Nicolau d', "Literatura Catalana (Notes i Comentaris): VII--En Turmeda i el Libre de Tres", Estudis Universitaris Catalans, (Barcelona) 8 (1914), 89-91.

Oliver, P. Antonio, C.R., "Heterodoxia en la Mallorca de los Siglos XIII-XV", Boletín de la Sociedad Arqueologica Luliana, (Palma de Mallorca) 79 (1963), 157-176.

Pons, Antonio, "Dos Personajes Celebres Mencionados por Turmeda en sus 'Cobles'", Argensola, 3, I trimestre, 35-42.

Pou, José M., "Sobre Fray Anselmo Turmeda", Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona, 7 (1914), 465-472.

Pou y Martí, José, Visionarios, Beguinos y Fraticelos Catalanes (Siglos XIII-XV), Vich: 1930.

Probst, J. M., "Fra Anselmo Turmeda et sa Conversion a l'Islande", Revue Hispanique, 38 (1916), 464-496.

Rashdall, Hastings, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, eds. F.M. Powicke and A.B. Emden, 3 Vols., Oxford:1936.

Riber, Lorenzo, "Un Anti-Lulio", Boletin de la Academia Espanola, 1(1932), 249-259.

Rico, Francisco, "Pedro de Varague y Fra Anselm Turmeda", Bulletin of Hispanic Studies, 50(1973), 224-230.

Riquer, Martin de, Historia de la Literatura Catalana, 3 Vols., Barcelona:1964.

Rodriguez, Isaias, "Autores Espirituales Espanoles de la Edad Media", Repertorio de Historia de las Ciencias Eclesiasticas en Espana, (Salamanca) 1(1967), 175-351.

Rose, William, The Epic of the Beast, London:1924.

Royds, T.F., The Beasts, Birds and Bees of Virgil: A Naturalist's Handbook to the Georgics, Oxford:1918.

Rubio, Jordi, "Un Text Catala de la Profecia de l'Ase de Fra Anselm Turmeda", Extract from Estudis Universitaris Catalans, (Barcelona) (1913), 20 pages.

Rubio y Lluch, Antoni, Documents per l'Historia de la Cultura Catalana Mig-aval, 2 Vols., Barcelona:1908.

Samsó, Julio, "Dos Notas Sobre Astrologia Medieval: I-Turmeda y Tabit b. Qurra", Al-Andaluz, (Madrid-Granada) 36 (1971), 215-219.

Sanahuya, Pedro, O.F.M., Historia de la Serafica Provincia de Catalana, Barcelona: Editorial Serafica, 1959.

Sanahuya, Pedro, "La Ensenanza de la Teologia en Lerida", Archivo Ibero-Americano, 119 (1935), 418-448.

Sanahuya, Pedro, "La Ensenanza de la Teologia en Lerida: Catedras Regentadas por Maestros Franciscanos (Siglos XIV-XV) (Conclusion)", Archivo Ibero-Americano, segunda epoca, 2 (1941), 270-298.

San Antonio, Juan, Bibliotheca Universa Franciscanum, Vol. III, Madrid:1733.

Sans, Elvir, "Fra Anselm Turmeda en 1402", Estudis Universitaris Catalans, 22(1936), 405-408.

Santamaria, Alvaro, El Reino de Mallorca en la Primera Mitad del Siglo XV, Palma de Mallorca: 1955.

Sarton, George, Introduction to the History of Science, Vol. III, Baltimore:1948.

Serra y Postius, Pedro, Prodigios y Finezas de los Santos Angelos, Barcelona: 1726.

Sobreques i Vidal, S., Els Barons de Catalunya, Barcelona: 1967.

Steinschneider, Moritz, "Polemische und Apologetische Literatur in Arabischer Sprache, zwischen Muslimen, Christian und Juden, nebst Anhängen verwandten Inhalts mit Benutzung handschriftlicher Quellen", Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes Herausgegeben von der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Peipzig:1878.

Torres Amat, Felix, Memórias para Ayudar a Formar un Diccionario Crítico de los Escritores Catalanes, Barcelona:1836.

Vazquez, Isaias, "Repertorio de Franciscanos Españoles en Teología durante la Edad Media", Repertorio de Historia de las Ciencias Eclesiasticas en España, (Salamanca) 3(1971), 235-320.

Vendrell de Millàs, F. Francesca, "El Prestigi Espiritual de Fra Pere Marginet després del seu Retorn a Poblet", Miscel·lània Històrica Catalana: Homenatge al Pare Jaume Finestres, Historiador de Poblet (11769), Abadia de Poblet:1970.

Villaneuva, Jaime, Viage Literario a las Iglesias de España, Vol. XVI, Iglesia y Universidad de Lérida, Madrid:1851.