

# FRANCESC EIXIMENIS' BIOGRAPHY AND WORKS

## FRANCESC EIXIMENIS' BIOGRAPHY

Francesc Eiximenis was probably born in Gerona,<sup>1</sup> around 1330.<sup>2</sup> He came from a wealthy family of businessmen, who had also good connections with the royal family of the Crown of Aragon. He entered at an early age into the Franciscan order, which was very common among the young members of wealthy families of the Crown of Aragon of that time.<sup>3</sup> He had an extensive academic and university

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<sup>1</sup> He himself states that in the second chapter of the prologue for the whole *Lo Crestià* [The Christian]: *Dic que l'actor d'aquest llibre és estat, après Déu, un religiós de l'orde dels Frares Menors, apel·lat frare Francesc Eximenes, natural de la ciutat de Girona* [I declare that the author of this book has been, after God, a Franciscan friar called Francesc Eiximenis, who was born in the city of Gerona] (*Lo Crestià*. Barcelona. Edicions 62. 1983. P. 36. Anthology by Albert Hauf).

<sup>2</sup> In this respect we must consider what J. Perarnau says. He places the date of his birth between 1327 and 1332 ("Documents i precisions entorn de Francesc Eiximenis (c. 1330-1409)". *ATCA*, I (1982). Pp. 191-215 (206-7). J. Perarnau gets to this conclusion considering that, if Eiximenis became subdeacon on 22<sup>th</sup> December 1351, which was then forbidden before being a 21 year-old male, Eiximenis should have been born before the 22<sup>nd</sup> December 1330.

<sup>3</sup> We agree in this respect with Jill R. Webster's opinion about this matter: *Fr. Francesc demuestra un aspecto muy notable del franciscanismo del siglo XIV, sus estrechas relaciones con la burguesía y el hecho de que en Cataluña la gran mayoría de sus miembros procedieron de estos mercaderes adinerados* [Fra Francesc shows a very remarkable aspect of the Franciscan order from the 14th century: its close relationship with the bourgeoisie and the fact that in Catalonia the great majority of its members were sons of these rich merchants] ("Una familia de mercaderes: Los Examenis". *AIA*, XLVII. 1987. P. 78).

She has also some biographical studies, including the one that we have quoted, that would show that Eiximenis came from a clearly bourgeois family, with origins in Gerona and

formation, as it was common among the people that undertook university studies that time. This formation reached its highest point when he became Master of Theology (which could be considered as the highest rank in the university system of that time)<sup>4</sup> in the University of Toulouse in 1374. In order to reach this aim he had the help of the kings and of the wife of the heir prince (the future John I), Martha of Armagnac, who was French and had a lot of influence in that country.<sup>5</sup> Before that, he studied in many important academical centers, from the Crown of Aragon and from all over established also in Barcelona:

-Webster, Jill R. "Nuevas aportaciones a los estudios examenianos. Francesc Examenis, OFM: su familia y su vida". *AIA*, XXXIX. 1979. 429-35.

-Webster, Jill R. "Notes biogràfiques sobre fra Francesc Examenis, franciscà gironí". *EUC*, XXIV. 1980. 597-602.

-Webster, Jill R. "Una familia de mercaderes: Los Examenis". *AIA*, XLVII. 1987. 63-78.

Regarding the beginning of his religious life as he was a child, Eiximenis himself states that in the chapter 167 of the *Pastorale: Licet immeritus totus a Domino, tamen sui magna clementia a pueritia vocatus* [Even though I did not deserve that in front of Our Lord, I was called by Him as of my childhood because of His great mercy].

<sup>4</sup> This preeminence of theology in mediaeval thought is very well explained by J. A. Merino: "La filosofía medieval se caracteriza por un fuerte sentimiento de trascendencia y por su vinculación a la fe que ofrece a la razón nueva luz y nuevos materiales de reflexión. Su esencial fisonomía espiritual está apoyada y forjada en el lema agustiniano *intellege ut credas, crede ut intellegas* [entiende para que puedas creer, cree para que puedas entender]. (...) Aunque hay que tener en cuenta que el recurso de la razón a la fe religiosa no es exclusivo de la así llamada filosofía cristiana, pues también se ha repetido en las filosofías arábica y judía. (...) El paso de la fe a la inteligencia, a la teología en primer lugar y a la filosofía después, es el resultado del convencimiento de que el cristianismo ha sido dado al mundo como doctrina de salvación revelada, y no como una filosofía en sentido académico. Los pensadores medievales, que eran fundamentalmente teólogos, trataban de explicar racionalmente los contenidos de esa revelación, y para ello se sirvieron de la filosofía. Aunque se hacía, implícita o explícitamente, una distinción formal y metodológica entre teología y filosofía, en la práctica el pensador era teólogo y filósofo al mismo tiempo" [The main feature of mediaeval philosophy is a strong sense of transcendence and its link with the faith. It offers the reason a new global point of view and also new materials for the thought. Its essential spiritual aspect derives from the Augustinian motto:

Europe as well (we can find traces in his works that he was in Paris, Cambridge and Oxford).<sup>6</sup> From these centers we could state that the one that influenced him more was the University of Oxford, where the Franciscans by the way had a brilliant school.<sup>7</sup> We can state therefore that the Oxford Franciscan masters were the ones that had more influence in him, specially the two most important Franciscan writers from the 14th century: William of Ockham and John Duns Scotus. In Eiximenis' private library these are the authors that have more titles. The inventory of this private library

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*intellege ut credas, crede ut intellegas* [understand so that you can believe, believe so that you can understand]. (...) Nevertheless, the resource of the reason towards the religious faith is not exclusive of the so-called Christian philosophy, since it has also been done in the Muslim and Jewish philosophy. (...) The transition of faith to intelligence, towards theology first of all, and afterwards towards philosophy, is the result of the Christian certainty that Christianity has been given to the world as a doctrine of the revealed salvation, and not as a philosophy in academical sense. Mediaeval thinkers, which were basically theologians, tried to explain rationally the contents of such a revelation, and for this purpose they used philosophy. Even though a formal and methodological distinction was needed explicitly or implicitly, in practice the thinker was theologian and philosopher at the same time] (*Historia de la filosofia franciscana*. Madrid. BAC. 1993. Pp. XIX-XX).

<sup>5</sup> Several documents show that. For instance there is a letter of Peter IV of Aragon, called also *the Cerimonious*, (written on 25<sup>th</sup> April 1373 in Barcelona), where he asks the duke of Anjou to recommend Eiximenis to the University chancellor so that he can become graduated in 1373. In another document (written on 5<sup>th</sup> August 1373 in Barcelona), queen Eleanor gives him 25 golden florins in order to help him for the expenses that he made in Toulouse to get the title of Master in Theology. There is also the request of Pere *the Cerimonious* (written on 1<sup>st</sup> September 1373 in Barcelona) to the count of Armagnac (relative of Martha of Armagnac, first wife of the future John I), where he asks him to recommend Eiximenis to the chancellor of the University of Toulouse so that he can get as soon as possible the title of Master of Theology (Rubió i Lluç, Antoni. *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-aval*. V. I. Barcelona. IEC. 1908. Pp. 244-5, 248-50).

There is also a document, written on 3<sup>rd</sup> August 1373 in Barcelona, in which Peter *the Cerimonious* gives 50 golden florins to Eiximenis so that he could become Master of Theology in Toulouse (Rubió i Lluç, Antoni. *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-aval*. V. II. Barcelona. IEC. 1921. P. 168).

(of the books that he had when he died) is preserved in the Vatican Archives, and it was discovered by the French researcher Jacques Monfrin.<sup>8</sup> It should be noted the great amount of English masters (or that had studied in Oxford) that appear in this inventory: Adam Wodham (OFM), Adelard of Bath, Alexander of Hales (OFM), the aforementioned William of Ockham (OFM), Hugh of Newcastle (OFM), John Dumbleton, the aforementioned John Duns Scotus (OFM) (he was Scottish but had studied and had been professor in Oxford), John of Wales (OFM) (as his name

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Finally we must point out a letter of the princess Martha to the chancellor of the University of Toulouse, where she expresses her interest in the fact that Eiximenis gets soon the degree of Master of Theology, since his husband needed him in Valencia. The letter was written in Valencia on 25<sup>th</sup> March 1374 (Ivars, Andreu. *El escritor Fr. Francisco Eximénez en Valencia (1383-1408)*. Benissa. Ajuntament de Benissa (Comissió de Cultura). 1989. P. 52). Princess Martha insisted again on the same matter in another letter that was written in Valencia on 1<sup>st</sup> May 1374 (*Ibidem*).

<sup>6</sup> Regarding these universities there are several references in Eiximenis' works.

So, as he explains the dogma of the Immaculate Conception in the chapter 254 of the *Llibre de les Dones* [Book of Women], (which was very important in the Franciscan theological thought), he says that *comunament se afferma vuy en lo món per les universitats teologals axí com és París en França, e Cantabrigia [Cambridge] e Uxònia [Oxford] en Englaterra* [it is stated today commonly in the theological universities, such as Paris in France, and Cambridge and Oxford in England] (Barcelona. Curial Edicions Catalanes. 1981. P. 374). This sentence shows that he was aware of the intellectual trends of these universities, and therefore we could suppose that he had been there.

In other parts of his works there are more concret references. As to Oxford, in the chapter 77 of the 3<sup>rd</sup> treatise of the *Vita Christi* [Life of Jesus Christ] Eiximenis talks about a doctrine that *se tractava en lo estudi de Oxònia en lo temps que aní llà per estudiar* [was debated in the University of Oxford during the time that I was studying there] (Valencia. BUV. Ms. 209. F. 72r).

As to Cambridge, there is a possible reference to his visit to this city in the chapter 63 of the *Segon del Crestià* [Second Book of the Christian]. Here he tells us a story that happened *una vegada en Anglaterra* [once in England], and the main character of it is *un guardià del convent dels Frares Menors de Cantabrigia* [a guardian of the convent of the Franciscans of Cambridge] (*Lo Crestià*. Barcelona. Edicions 62. 1983. P. 66). If we consider that his whole life was devoted

indicates he was Welsh but he had been student and professor in Oxford), John Beleth (*Johannes Beleth*), John Huntman (*Johannes Venator*), Michael Escot (Scottish but student in Oxford according to the tradition), Osbert Anglicus (O.Carm.), Richard of Kilvington, Richard Fitzralph (Irish but professor and chancellor in Oxford), Richard of Middletown (O.F.M.), Robert Cowton (O.F.M.), Robert Halifax (O.F.M.), Roger Roseth [*Rogierius Rosetus*] (OFM), Stephen Langton, Robert Holcot (O.P.),

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to study and the tour of studies that we have mentioned, it is difficult to believe that he would not take advantage of his visit to that city in order to visit its University.

As to Paris, there is a direct reference to his visit as a student in the chapter 326 of the *Primer del Crestià* [First Book of the Christian]: “Vull que sàpies de cert que fonch un sanct theòleg studiant e religiós no ha molt de temps, e era de l’orde dels frares menors, qui més après una nit orant Nostre Senyor après lo tabernacle de l’altar stant agenollat davant lo preciós cors de Jesucrist, que no féu en cinch anys que havia estudiat a París” [I want you to know that there was a saint student and religious man, not a long time ago, who learned more during a night that spent praying all the time kneeled down in front of the altar where there is the precious body of Jesus Christ, than he had done during the five years that he had studied in Paris] (Valencia. Lambert Palmart. 1483. F. 175r).

And in the chapter 60 of the *Primer del Crestià* [First Book of the Christian] there is a joint reference to his knowledge and possible visit of the English universities and the University of Paris when, speaking about a book of Aristotle (*De mundo* [About the World]), Eiximenis tells us that *trobar l’as prescis en les universitats de París e de Anglaterra* [you will find it for sure in the universities of Paris and England] (Valencia. Lambert Palmart. 1483. F. 44v).

<sup>7</sup> In Eiximenis' works there are two places where he shows a passionate admiration for the University of Oxford. First of all, in the chapters 18 and the following ones of the *Dotzè* [Twelfth Book of the Christian] (Valencia. Lambert Palmart. 1484. Ff. 14v-15r). Here it is explained how science and study went from one place to other (Babylon, Egipt, Persia, Greece, Rome), with some fantastic tales in the middle. And we arrive to chapter 21 of the *Dotzè* [Twelfth Book of the Christian]. He explains here that after the Romans, *d’aquí vengué après la edificació de París en França la sciència e estudi de saviea aquí, e d’aquí passà en Anglaterra, on ha diversos e notables studis* [from here science and study of wisdom came to Paris in France, and from here it went to England, where there are several and notable places of study] (*Ibidem*. F. 15r). If we consider that in this itinerant travel of science and wisdom, the last place

Robert Kilwardby (O.P.) or Thomas of Buckingham.<sup>9</sup> It shows very clearly how strong the intellectual influence of English thinkers in general, and the ones of Oxford in particular, was. And we could even include here three other English authors (they were all bishops by the way) that do not appear in this inventory but that Eiximenis quotes and that have a certain influence on him, specially the two last ones: the archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Bradwardine,<sup>10</sup> the bishop of Lincoln Robert Grosseteste (whom Eiximenis quotes many times with the name of Robert Grosseteste). It corresponds to its final destination, it is remarkable how he places England before Paris, which was the most famous center of mediaeval wisdom.

Similarly, in the chapter 248 of the *Primer* [First Book of the Christian], that deals with “De la dignitat del rei d’Anglaterra” [On the dignity of the king of England], he tells us that “en aquest regne ha dues universitats de theologia de les millors del món. La primera se appel·la Cantabrigia, que fundà Beda doctor segons que’s diu. La segona se appel·la Oxònia, qui encara val més que l’altra” [in this kingdom there are two of the best universities of theology in the world. The first one is called Cambridge, and was founded by saint Bede, as it is commonly affirmed. The second one is called Oxford, and is even better] (Valencia. Lambert Palmart. 1483. F. 142r). We must point out the fact that, in the explanation of Christian kingdoms that Eiximenis does in the chapters 244-255 of the *Primer* [First Book of the Christian], he does not mention as a praiseworthy thing of any kingdom the fact of having an important university. Not even in the chapter 245, that deals with “De la dignitat del rei de França” [On the dignity of the king of France] does he mention the University of Paris as an important European studies center, as he had done with the universities of Cambridge and Oxford, that he says that *encara val més que l’altra* [is even better than the other one].

Regarding the supremacy of the University of Paris during the Middle Ages, it is interesting to see how for an Englishman such as John of Salisbury (who has a certain degree of influence in Eiximenis, as we have already said), the center of wisdom was in Paris. E. Gilson expresses this idea this way: “Lorsqu’un Anglais tel que Jean de Salisbury voit Paris en 1164, c’est-à-dire avant l’extraordinaire floraison doctrinale dont sa future Université sera le siège, il n’hésite pas sur le caractère providentiel de l’oeuvre qui s’y accomplit: “vere Dominus est in loco isto, et ego nesciebam”; en vérité, le Seigneur est dans ce lieu, et je ne le savais pas” [When an Englishman such as John of Salisbury visits Paris in 1164, i.e. before the extraordinary intellectual and doctrinal development which will have its headquarters in the future university, he does not hesitate to regard it as a gift of the providence: “vere Dominus est in loco isto, et ego

*Linconiensis* or *Liconiensis*)<sup>11</sup> and the bishop of Chartres Joan de Salisbury.<sup>12</sup>

Nevertheless in Eiximenis some kind of autodidacticism can be seen, even though the main influences in his thought come from the Franciscan thought and from the Oxford thinkers. The reason of that could be the practical sense of the Franciscan thought, as C. Wittlin points out: “The Franciscan school maintained the practical philosophy of higher education for clergymen formed by its great teachers Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus, Ockham, John of Salisbury, John of Wales, Grosseteste, nesciebam”: our Lord was really in this place, and I did not know it] (*L'esprit de la philosophie médiévale*. Paris. Librairie philosophique J. Vrin. 1969. P. 377).

W. Ullmann explains the reasons of this huge influence. He says that the University of Paris was so influential owing to the studies and matters that were treated there. He says that these ones had a relationship with the basic principles of a cosmic order, and not with limited problems. Furthermore, the literature that came from Paris, which had also a lot of influence of the Aristotelic thought, had also a practical value. New problems arose, but also new ways to solve them. The scholar that was formed in Paris dealt with the problems in an universal way, but also in a philosophical way (*Principios de gobierno y política en la Edad Media*. Madrid. Ediciones de la Revista de Occidente. 1971. Pp. 292-3).

<sup>8</sup> Monfrin, Jacques. “La bibliothèque de Francesc Eiximenis (1409)”. Dins D.A. *Studia Bibliographica*. Gerona. Col·legi Universitari de Girona/Diputació de Girona. 1991. P. 282-6.

From Ockham, by the way, we can find commentaries on the sentences, a *Quodlibet* [Random questions] and a *Summa logicae* [Summa of logic]. From John Duns Scotus we can find also commentaries on the sentences, *Collationes Oxonienses* [Collations of Oxford], *De formalitatibus* [About the matters of form], *Quodlibeta* [Random questions] and *Quaestiones super Aristotelis Metaphysicam* [Questions on Aristotle's metaphysics]. Even though in a lesser extent, the other two great masters of the Franciscan school are also present: Alexandre of Hales and his disciple saint Bonaventure (from them there are most of all commentaries on the sentences).

Among the Franciscan authors there are many of them who belong to the Scotist school, such as Alvarus Pelagius (possible disciple of John Duns Scotus in Paris), Antonius Andreas, Francis of Marchia, Francis Mayron, Gerardus Odonis, Hugh of Newcastle, John of Ripa, Landulfo Caracciolo, Nicholas of Lyra, Peter of Aquila (who was called *Scotellus* because of his accuracy regarding Scotus' theories), Petrus Thomae, Robert Cowton and Robert Halifax.

There is also in this inventory a great number of authors that could be considered as

which was more to the liking of our somewhat autodidact writer than the scholastic Thomism taught at other universities”.<sup>13</sup>

Once he came back to Catalonia after finishing his studies in Europe, there are records of him in Vic and Barcelona,<sup>14</sup> after his frustrated university career in the University of Lleida<sup>15</sup>. There was also a quick diplomatic mission in Gerona.<sup>16</sup>

Probably in 1365, he might have been present in the Pontifical Household in

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nominalists (the aforementioned William of Ockham is the most important thinker of this tendency of thought), but in this case not all of them are Franciscans: Adam Wodham (O.F.M.), Armand of Beauvoir (OP), Petrus Aureolus (O.F.M.), Gregory of Rimini (O.S.A.), John Dumbleton (professor in the University of Oxford), John of Mirecourt (O. Cist.), Henry of Oyta (professor in the Universities of Prague, Paris and Vienna), Nicolas Oresme (bishop of Lisieux), Robert Holcot (O.P.), and even Osbertus Anglicus (O.Carm.).

For this classification we have followed two works basically: Grabmann, Martin. *Historia de la teología católica*. Madrid. Ed. Espasa-Calpe. 1940. Pp. 126-9; and Merino, J. A. *Historia de la filosofía franciscana*. Madrid. BAC. 1993. P. 266.

<sup>9</sup> Monfrin, Jacques. *Op. cit.* Pp. 282-6.

Thomas of Ireland could be included here since he comes also from the British Isles, although he was not an Englishman. Nonetheless, the work of this author that appears in the inventory that we have mentioned (*Manipulus florum*) seems to have been a very well known and very used work by mediaeval clergymen in general. It is interesting to see what Albert Hauf says in this respect (*D'Eiximenis a sor Isabel de Villena*. Valencia/Barcelona. PAM/IIFV. 1990. P. 110).

It is quite possible, even though there is no total evidence, that the liturgist and theologian from the 12th century John Belet were also English. His work *Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis* [Summa about the Church Offices] appears also in this inventory.

The other great group that is represented in this inventory is certainly the one of the Franciscans, since Eiximenis was member of this religious order. Thus we can add other Franciscan authors to the ones that we have already mentioned: Alexander of Alexandria, Bertrand de Turre, John of la Rochelle and Peter Olivi. We should also include another author: Astesanus of Asti. This author is an anonymus Franciscan, who is called this way because he came from the city of Asti, which is placed in the Piedmont [We follow here Grabmann, Martin. *Op. cit.* Pp. 137-146].

Avignon, where as he states in one of his books,<sup>17</sup> he witnessed the first of the famous *Revelations* of prince Peter of Aragon.<sup>18</sup> Along his works we can find anyhow several references to the fact that he visited several European cities and regions. It might have happened during the time when he was studying in several European centers. So we can find traces that he could have been in Rome,<sup>19</sup> Cologne,<sup>20</sup> and the mount Alvernia,<sup>21</sup> which was an important center of Franciscan spirituality in the Italian

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<sup>10</sup> This English theologian and mathematician is quoted from time to time by Eiximenis. It is interesting to see how this theologian expresses the idea of divine omnipotence, even though he is not a Franciscan. This idea is very important in the theological Franciscan thought, as J. Le Goff explains: “Chez Thomas Bradwardine (v. 1290-1349), *proctor* de l’université d’Oxford et archevêque de Cantorbery, le niveau théologique est atteint à travers les mathématiques. Mais il s’agit surtout, pour Bradwardine, de parvenir de la structure cosmologique de l’univers à Dieu. Or l’expérience humaine offre une intuition fondamentale: l’homme se sent incapable d’accomplir par lui-même un acte de liberté positive. Il ne peut qu’être un champ ouvert à la bonté et à la puissance infinie de Dieu infiniment libre parce qu’infiniment parfait. De même Dieu se rencontre partout dans l’univers, même dans le vide. Dieu n’est plus limité par rien, ni par l’absurde, ni par le néant. Il est tout-puissant sans aucune restriction” [In Thomas Bradwardine (v. 1290-1349), *proctor* of the University of Oxford and archbishop of Canterbury, the theological level is reached through mathematics. But for Bradwardine the most important thing is to get to God starting from the cosmological structure of the universe. But human experience offers us a fundamental intuition: the man is unable to achieve himself an act of positive freedom. Man can only be an open field to the goodness and infinite omnipotence of God, who is infinitely free since he is infinitely perfect. On the other hand, God is everywhere in the universe, even in the vacuum. God can not be limited by anything, neither by the absurd, nor by the void. He is allmighty without any restriction] (*Le XIIIe siècle. L’apogée de la chrétienté* (v. 1180-1330). Paris. Bordas. 1982. P. 120).

<sup>11</sup> In order to give some information about this thinker, who is very often quoted by Eiximenis, this is what J. A. Merino says about him: “Roberto Grosseteste no fue franciscano (...), sino maestro y animador cultural de la primera comunidad franciscana de Oxford. Nació en 1175, aproximadamente, en Stradbok, del condado de Suffolk, en Inglaterra. Estudió en Oxford y en París. Fue maestro ordinario y canciller de la Universidad de Oxford. En 1235 fue nombrado obispo de Lincoln y murió en 1253 (...). Grosseteste tuvo un gran influjo en los primeros

region of Tuscany.<sup>22</sup>

In 1383 Eiximenis came definitely to Valencia, as an arbitrator of a testament.<sup>23</sup> He would remain here until a year before his death, when Antipope Benedict XIII called him to the Council of Perpignan, and shortly after and maybe as a reward for his lifelong loyalty, he was appointed bishop of Elne (ancient name of the diocese of Perpignan) and Patriarch of Jerusalem.<sup>24</sup> Regarding the possible reasons about his definitive coming to Valencia, together with this testamentary

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pensadores franciscanos, sobre todo en Rogelio Bacon, que dice de su maestro que “fue un hombre de ciencia como ningún otro (...), pues era versado en matemáticas y en óptica y sabía además tanto en lenguas que era capaz de leer a los Padres (griegos) y a los filósofos y sabios de la antigüedad” [Robert Grosseteste was not Franciscan (...), but a teacher and cultural leading figure of the first Franciscan community in Oxford. He was born perhaps in 1175, in Stradbok (county of Suffolk), in England. He studied in Oxford and Paris. He was teacher and chancellor of the University of Oxford. In 1235 he was appointed bishop of Lincoln and he died in 1253 (...). Grosseteste had a great influence among the first Franciscan thinkers, specially in Roger Bacon, who says about his teacher that “he was a unique man of science in his time (...), since he was an expert in mathematics and optics, and moreover he knew so many languages that he could read the (Greek) Church Fathers and philosophers and thinkers from ancient times”] (*Historia de la filosofía franciscana*. Madrid. BAC. 1993. Pp. 4-5).

<sup>12</sup> A. Hauf summarizes this author's life this way: “Joan de Salisbury és un dels autors medievals que més s’acosta a allò que més tard hom anomenarà l’humanisme. Nat a Anglaterra, a principis del segle XII, va seguir a França les lliçons dels millors mestres del moment (Abelard, Guillem de Conches i Gilbert de la Porrée, entre d’altres). Ocupà càrrecs de responsabilitat, com el de secretari de sant Tomàs de Canterbury. Va morir essent bisbe de Chartres, el 1180. L’elegància del seu llatí, el seu domini dels clàssics i, en general, la seva òbvia curiositat intel·lectual, el relaciona directament amb la famosa escola catedralícia d’aquella ciutat francesa, que tant va contribuir a l’anomenat “Renaixement del segle XII”. En el seu llibre *Policraticus* va saber combinar materials presos de Ciceró i dels filòsofs estoics, principis del dret romà i de la tradició jurídica de l’Escola de Bolonya, amb la Bíblia, la doctrina dels canonistes i les millors essències de l’augustinisme, per a construir una filosofia política o teoria cristiana de l’Estat mínimament coherent” [John of Salisbury is one of the mediaeval authors who is closest to what will later be designed as humanism. He was born in England, in the beginning of the 12th century, he heard in France the lessons of the best teachers of that

matter, we think that the Capuchin Martí de Barcelona exposes them very well. So he tells us that the main reason could be Eiximenis' superiors wishes for him to come to Valencia. But the main reason might have been the influence of the *jurats* (name of the city representatives), whom Eiximenis dedicated his *Regiment de la Cosa Pública*, who made at the end of the 14th century a continuous effort in order to bring to Valencia the best masters of the mendicant orders so that Valencia had a high intellectual level. And he quotes the following names together with Francesc

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period (Abelard, William of Conches and Gilbert de la Porrée, among others). He held important positions, such as the one of secretary of saint Thomas Becket. He died as bishop of Chartres in 1180. The elegance with which he uses the Latin language, his deep knowledge of classical writers and, in general, his obvious intellectual curiosity shows the influence of the cathedral school of that French town, which contributed decisively to the so-called “Renaissance of the 12th century”. In his book *Policraticus* he knew how to combine materials that were taken from Cicero and stoicist philosophers, from principles of Roman law and the Bologna legal school, from the Bible, from the doctrine of canonists and from the best essences of Augustinism, in order to build a political philosophy or a Christian theory of the state which could be consistent] (*D'Eiximenis a sor Isabel de Villena*. Valencia/Barcelona. IIFV/PAM. 1990. Pp. 127-8).

<sup>13</sup> *Psalterium alias Laudatorium Papae Benedicto XIII dedicatum*. Toronto. Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 1988. P. 3.

Edition and introduction by Curt Wittlin.

<sup>14</sup> Pou, Josep. O.F.M. *Visionarios, beguinos y fraticelos catalanes (siglos XIII- XV)*. Alacant. Diputació Provincial d'Alacant (Institut de Cultura “Joan Gil-Albert”). 1996. P. 564 n. 5, 6.

<sup>15</sup> Sanahüja, Pere. O.F.M. “La enseñanza de teología en Lérida”. *AIA*, I. 1941. 270-98 (274-6).

Here it says that it was agreed that Eiximenis went to Lleida in order to be appointed as teacher of Theology. The guardian of the Franciscan convent Pere de Verdú went to search Francesc Eiximenis so that he would carry this task out. But everything was in vain, since there is an agreement of the *Paers* (local authorities) of the *Consell General* (municipal government) of Lleida from 15<sup>th</sup> November 1371 that says that it was impossible, without saying the reason of that.

A. Hauf formulates the hypothesis that the reason was that Eiximenis lacked the necessary academic title (*D'Eiximenis a sor Isabel de Villena*. Valencia/Barcelona. PAM/IIFV. 1990. P. 65). He would get this title some years later (1374), in the University of Toulouse.

Eiximenis: “If not at the same time, at least during different stages the following people lived in Valencia: Dominicans such as Antoni and Pere Canals, Nicolau Eymerich, Àlvar d’Oms and saint Vincent Ferrer; Carmelites such as Vicent Tamarit and Pere Albert; the Augustinian Vicent Agredant and the Franciscans Pere Jorba, Nicolau Espital, Pere Ribes, Francesc Anforra –*quem ista Civitas visceraliter non modicum habet carum* [whom this city extremely loves], as the *jurats* [municipal

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On the contrary, D. Viera, gets other conclusions, and he says that maybe the reason was that Eiximenis preferred to be near the king's court in order to have better opportunities, or maybe the king Peter *the Cerimonious* was the one who called him to go to Barcelona because he had already the project of *Lo Crestià* in his mind, since he was the main sponsor of this project (“Francesc Eiximenis (1340?-1409?) i els estudis de la Universitat de Lleida”. *Ilerda*, XLII. 1981. 273-7).

- <sup>16</sup> Martí de Barcelona. O.F.M. Cap. “Fra Francesc Eiximenis, O.M. (1340?-1409?). La seva vida. Els seus escrits. La seva personalitat literària”. In D.A. *Studia Bibliographica*. Gerona. Col·legi Universitari de Girona/Diputació de Girona. 1991. P. 190.

In this quick diplomatic mission, he gave prince John (future John I), who lived then there, some messages from the *Consell* [municipal government] of Barcelona.

- <sup>17</sup> It is said in the chapter 66 of the *Segon del Crestià* [Second Book of the Christian] (*Lo Crestià*. Barcelona. Edicions 62. 1983. Pp. 69-70).
- <sup>18</sup> Prince Peter of Aragon (1305-1381), was one of the sons of king James II *the Fair*, and the father of Alphons of Aragon (marquis of Villena, count of Denia and Ribagorça, whom Eiximenis dedicated the *Dotzè del Crestià* [Twelfth Book of the Christian]) and when his wife died, he became a Franciscan. In 1365 he had some visions, some *Revelations*, and because of them he moved to Avignon, where he told the Pope the urgency and urge of a definitive transfer of the papacy headquarters to Rome again (Pou, Josep. O.F.M. *Op. cit.* P. 527).
- <sup>19</sup> So he tells us that in the chapter 21 of the 3rd treatise of the *Vita Christi* [Life of Jesus Christ], when he speaks about the face of the Virgin: *E yo, molt indigne, estant en Roma viu la sua santa faç en casa dels frares menors appel·lada de Ara Celi* [And even though I was not worthy of that, when I was in Rome I saw the Virgin's sudarium in the house of the Friars Minor called Ara Celi] (Valencia. BUV. Ms. 209. F. 32v).
- <sup>20</sup> We have found one in chapter 57 of the *Primer del Crestià* [First Book of the Christian], where he explains this miraculous fact: “Aprés d’aquí ve-te’n en Alamanya e veuràs aquí miracles

representatives] say-, Nicolau Ça-costa, and so on.” [Translation from Catalan]<sup>25</sup>

In Valencia, our man's success was immediate. The fame that preceded him of a man who was learned and devoted to study and, most of all, his works, gave him a huge prestige. Therefore, the volumes of *Lo Crestià* [The Christian], his most important work, were tied with a chain in the Hall of the *Consell* [municipal government] of Valencia, so that any citizen could read them if he or she wanted.<sup>26</sup> It seems that Eiximenis himself also loved Valencia, and so he refused in 1384 to

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grans, car en Colunya, si negú soterra neguna creatura gran o poca dins lo sementeri de la sgleya on jaen les onze mília vérgens, aytantost la terra los scup de fora, e·ls troben dessoterrats. Açò he yo après quand hi fuy d’aquelles monges que tenen aquell monestir on jaen les dites vérgens” [After this place you must go to Germany and you will see there great miracles, since in Cologne, when anyone buries a creature, either great or small, in the cemetery of the church where the eleven thousand virgins lie, the land immediately spits them out, and you see them unburied. I learned that when I was there from the nuns that rule that monastery where the aforementioned virgins lie] (Valencia. Lambert Palmart. 1483. F. 43r).

And also in the chapter 45 of the 4th treatise of the *Vita Christi* [Life of Jesus Christ]. When he talks about the Three Wise Men, he says that: *Aquests eren appel·lats Gaspar, Melchior e Baltasar. Són soterrats ensemps en un monument posat en una capella qui és lo cap de la Seu de Colunya* [These ones were called Melchior, Caspar and Balthazar. They are buried together in a tomb which is placed in a chapel of the Cathedral of Cologne] (Valencia. BUV. Ms. 209. F. 126r).

<sup>21</sup> In the *Vita Christi* [Life of Jesus Christ] there are two references. In the chapter 105 of the 3rd treatise, when he speaks about the cloths and dresses that had wrapped Jesus Christ after he was born, which his mother had previously woven, he says regarding one of them *la qual yo viu un troç en Alvèrnia, que és en Túcía* [I saw a part of it in Alvernia, whis is placed in Tuscany] (*Ibidem*. F. 91v).

In the chapter 101 of the 9th treatise (which is numbered as 102 in the manuscript that we have consulted), when he speaks about Jesus Christ's clothes in the moment of the crucifixion, and how the Roman soldiers raffled them, he says that *yo n’è vist un poch en un reliquari qui és en lo mont d’Alvèrnia* [I have seen a part in a shrine which is in the mount Alvernia] (*Ibidem*. F. 323r).

The mount Alvernia was the place where saint Francis received the stigmata, and years later it was a very important focus of the so-called Spiritual Franciscans or *Fratricelli*. These

become the confessor of prince John (future John I) and he preferred to rest here.<sup>27</sup>

Eiximenis' public activity in Valencia was unceasing. He was counselor of the city representatives (the *jurats*) and of the city itself. Valencia was so grateful with him, that the *jurats* [municipal representatives] gave him constantly subsidies as money and religious habits.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, even though only a piece of one sermon of him has arrived to us, it seems that his activity as preacher in Valencia was important, and in this respect, an *Ars Praedicandi* of him has arrived to us. Eiximenis was one of

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ones made a rigorist interpretation of the Franciscan rule, with an special stress on the poverty, and they were specially important during the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries, when they were abolished by the Pope because of their radicalism. In order to know more about this movement, *vide* Iriarte, Lázaro. O.F.M. *Historia franciscana*. Valencia. Editorial Asís. 1979. Pp. 91-7.

<sup>22</sup> It seems also that Eiximenis not only was in this region, but also in all the center and north of Italy. It can be deduced from the knowledge that he shows in some chapters of his whole works, such as in chapter 200 of the *Dotzè del Crestià* [Twelfth Book of the Christian], which is very important in schatological matters. Here he makes a prophecy that around 1400 *d'aquí avant fins a la fi del món regnarà per tot la justícia popular, e tot lo món per consegüent serà partit e regit per comunes, axí com huy se regeix Florença, e Roma, e Pisa, e Sena, e d'altres ciutats de Ytàlia e de Alemanyà* [from this year on there will be only popular justice, and thus the whole world will be divided and ruled by communes, such as nowadays Florence, Rome, Pise, Sienna and other cities of Italy and Germany are ruled] (Valencia. Lambert Palmart. 1484. F. 86v).

Eiximenis is speaking about the communal system that was general in the center and north of Italy. And it is also interesting to see how he knew the German political situation of that time, which could have some kind of relationship with his stay in Cologne, that we have pointed out before.

<sup>23</sup> Ivars, Andreu. O.F.M. *El escritor Fr. Francisco Eximénez en Valencia (1383-1408)*. Benissa. Ajuntament de Benissa (Comissió de Cultura). 1989. Pp. 52-4.

It seems that he was already in Valencia since at least a year before. It could be deduced from the fact that in 1382 he came from Valencia to Barcelona, together with his colleague Tomàs Alsina. They were called by the *consellers* [municipal representatives] of the city of Barcelona, in order to bring peace to some troubles and scandals that the Franciscan convent of Barcelona had had that year (Webster, Jill R. "Fra Francesc Examenis i fra Tomàs Alsina com a pacificadors de brogits i escàndols al convent de Barcelona a l'any 1382". *EF*, 84 (1983). 339-350).

the three religious men who in 1387 made the funeral praise of king Peter *the Cerimonious*,<sup>29</sup> according to the guidelines that the *consellers* [municipal representatives] had made. And he was also appointed to celebrate the success of the military campaign of Sicily in 1392.<sup>30</sup>

Eiximenis also tried continuously to reduce the constant tensions between the Valencian civil and church powers. In this respect his *Allegaciones* [Allegations], are absolutely interesting. Nevertheless in this work Eiximenis takes a strong

<sup>24</sup> Pou, Josep. O.F.M. *Op. cit.* Pp. 572-3.

-Martí de Barcelona. O.F.M. Cap. “Fra Francesc Eiximenis, O.M. (1340?-1409?)”. In D.A. *Studia Bibliographica*. Gerona. Col·legi Universitari de Girona/Diputació de Girona. 1991. Pp. 193-4.

-Massó i Torrents, Jaume. “Assaig d’una bibliografia”. In D.A. *Studia Bibliographica*. Gerona. Col·legi Universitari de Girona/Diputació de Girona. 1991. Pp. 161-2.

<sup>25</sup> Martí de Barcelona. O.F.M. Cap. “Fra Francesc Eiximenis, O.M. (1340?-1409?)”. In D.A. *Studia Bibliographica*. Gerona. Col·legi Universitari de Girona/Diputació de Girona. 1991. Pp. 190-1.

<sup>26</sup> Hauf, Albert. *D’Eiximenis a sor Isabel de Villena*. Valencia/Barcelona. PAM/IIFV. 1990. P. 70 n. 16.

We must point out how the *Regiment de la cosa pública* [Government of the Republic] was the third part (among the eight ones that has this work) of the *Dotzè del Crestià* [Twelfth Book of the Christian]. Therefore, we can state that the *Regiment* was also at the citizens of Valencia's disposal, so that they could read it.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibidem*. P. 69.

But it seems that the main reason was Eiximenis' hostility against this prince, who was the future king. We have several reasons that make us believe that. We recommend two works where it is quite well explained:

-Viera, David. “Francesc Eiximenis’s Dissension with the Royal House of Aragon”. *Journal of Medieval History*, 22. 1996. 249-61.

-Wittlin, Curt. “*Quae maxime damnant animas principum*: Fünf antimonarchische Kapitel im *Pastorale* des Francesc Eiximenis”. *ZfK*, 2. 1989. 98-114.

It could even be stated that Eiximenis had a difficult relationship with the last kings of the Crown of Aragon from the dynasty of Barcelona, with whom he had a direct contact (Peter *the Cerimonious*, John I and Martin I). In this respect, in order to have a global vision of this

theocratic position, since he was a man who was totally aware of the church dignity and also of the superiority of the spiritual things over the temporary ones, according to his ideology.

It is also remarkable his task of organization as an Apostolic Commissary of two Valencian and Majorcan crusades against the pirates of the North of Africa (1397-99).<sup>31</sup> We can find him also in 1399 as a member of a commission that the

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difficult relationship, *vide* Brines, Lluís. *La filosofia social i política de Francesc Eiximenis*. Sevilla. Ed. Novaedició. 2004. Pp. 96-107.

<sup>28</sup> Ivars, Andreu. O.F.M. *El escritor Fr. Francisco Eximénez en Valencia (1383-1408)*. Benissa. Ajuntament de Benissa (Comissió de Cultura). 1989. Pp. 67-74.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibidem*. Pp. 74-6.

<sup>30</sup> We have a confirmation of this fact in an autograph letter of Eiximenis himself which is preserved in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon and which is known as “Epístola a l’Infant Martí, duc de Montblanc” [Letter to Prince Martin, duke of Montblanc]. This letter was sent from Valencia on 15th July 1392, and it was transcribed by Antoni Rubió i Lluch in his *Documents per l’història de la cultura catalana mig-aval* (Volume II. Barcelona. IEC. 1921. Pp. 399-403). This is what Eiximenis says: “D’estz jorns faem gran sollempnitat aquí en la ciutat per la vostra victòria e honor, e jo preÿqué e tota la gent féu aquell jorn gran festa, e ab gran alegria tot hom desitga contínuament de vós oir tot bé e myllorament e novell bo, car vostro bé, glòria és de tota la nació e de la casa d’Aragó” [Of these days we make a great solemnity here in the city of Valencia, and I preached and everyone enjoyed that day and made a lot of celebrations. And with a lot of joy we all wish to hear always good things from you, since our prosperity means glory for all the nation and for the royal family of Aragon] (P. 402).

There is also a letter of the *jurats* [city representatives] of Valencia from 5<sup>th</sup> January 1399, where they mention Eiximenis' preachings when prince Peter, son of Martin *the Young*, and therefore grandson of Martin I was born. This letter was published by Agustí Rubio Vela [*Epistolari de la València medieval*. Valencia/Barcelona. IIFV/PAM. 1985. P. 344 (n. 133). Quoted by Hauf, Albert. *D’Eiximenis a sor Isabel de Villena*. Valencia/Barcelona. IIFV/PAM. 1990. P. 72 n. 19].

<sup>31</sup> *Vide* the excellent work of the Franciscan Andreu Ivars about this matter with the title *Dos creuades valenciano-mallorquines a les costes de Berberia* (Valencia. Imprenta de Olmos y Luján. 1921. CXXI+175).

*Consell* [municipal government] of Valencia had established in order to write the statutes of the schools of the city of Valencia. The aim was to unify them, but it did not have success.<sup>32</sup>

Furthermore, Eiximenis was involved in the problems of his time, and this way he took part in an expert commission that inspected the Jewish books that were stolen during the bloody pogrom of 1391.<sup>33</sup> And he also took part in a commission of theologians (where we can find also the Valencian Dominic Antoni Canals) whose aim was to assess the king of the Crown of Aragon “about the fact of the Church”, i.e. about the Western Chism.<sup>34</sup>

Anyway, together with an exciting and busy social life and a huge literary work, Eiximenis did attend as well to his condition of man of the church. And there are two clear examples of that. The first one took place in 1391, in a moment when the kingdom of Valencia was threatened by the war and by social unrest. Then Eiximenis himself organized a kind of spiritual army in the monasteries and convents around Valencia. He requested the monks and religious people from there “their prayers, in order to ask for help and remedies”.<sup>35</sup> The second one is when he took part

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Nonetheless it is true that a part of the fleet of the first crusade would be sent later in order to support the Avignon Pope Benedict XIII, who was besieged in his palace of Avignon.

<sup>32</sup> Cruselles, José María. “La política educativa del Consell de Valencia antes de la fundación de la Universidad”. *Pedralbes*, 13 (1993[1994] 1 and 2= Tercer Congrés d’Història Moderna de Catalunya) II. 387-94.

-Teixidor y Trilles, Josep. O.P. *Estudios de Valencia*. Valencia. Universitat de València (Secretariat de Publicacions). 1976. 357 (17, 107, 137-42).

<sup>33</sup> Ivars, Andreu. O.F.M. *El escritor Fr. Francisco Eximénez en Valencia (1383-1408)*. Benissa. Ajuntament de Benissa (Comissió de Cultura). 1989. P. 82.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibidem*. Pp. 82-4.

*Vide* also Pou, Josep.O.F.M. *Op. cit.* P. 570.

We recommend in any case Hauf, Albert. *D’Eiximenis a sor Isabel de Villena*. Valencia/Barcelona. PAM/IIFV. 1990. Pp. 79-80 n. 28.

<sup>35</sup> Ivars, Andreu. O.F.M. *El escritor Fr. Francisco Eximénez en Valencia (1383-1408)*. Benissa. Ajuntament de Benissa (Comissió de Cultura). 1989. Pp. 77, 79.

in the foundation, together with the queen Maria de Luna, wife of the king Martin I, and who was in certain respect his spiritual daughter, of the Franciscan monastery of Sant Esperit de Morvedre, in Gilet, near Sagunt.<sup>36</sup>

Even though he spent many years in Valencia, and took an active role in the life of the city and the kingdom, Eiximenis could not end there his life. The Pope of Avignon Benedict XIII called him for the Council of Perpignan in 1408 and there he was appointed first Patriarch of Jerusalem and afterwards bishop of Elne (ancient name of the diocese of Perpignan).<sup>37</sup> Eiximenis died thus in the city of Perpignan and his tomb was placed in the Franciscan convent of that city until the beginning of the 20th century. Then that convent was destroyed almost totally in order to build barracks.

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*Vide* també Martí de Barcelona. “Fra Francesc Eiximenis, O.M. (1340?-1409?). La seva vida. Els seus escrits. La seva personalitat literària”. In D.A. *Studia Bibliographica*. Gerona. Col·legi Universitari de Girona/Diputació de Girona. 1991. Pp. 191-2.

<sup>36</sup> Agulló, Benjamín. O.F.M. “Fundación y dotación del convento de Santo Espiritu del Monte (Valencia)”. *AIA*, XLII. 1982. 125-143.

<sup>37</sup> Pou, Josep. O.F.M. *Op. cit.* Pp. 572-3.

*Vide* also Martí de Barcelona. O.F.M. Cap. “Fra Francesc Eiximenis, O.M. (1340?-1409?). La seva vida. Els seus escrits. La seva personalitat literària”. In D.A. *Studia Bibliographica*. Gerona. Col·legi Universitari de Girona/Diputació de Girona. 1991. Pp. 192-3.

The Council of Perpignan was summoned by the pope of Avignon Benedict XIII (the Aragonese Pero de Luna) as a reaction in front of his growing isolation and as a response to his breakup with France and to the Council of Pisa that was organized by the dissident cardinals. Once in Perpignan, Eiximenis was appointed Patriarch of Jerusalem on 13<sup>th</sup> November 1408. One month later, on 19<sup>th</sup> December 1408, he was appointed bishop of Elne (ancient name of the diocese of Perpignan). He had received his consecration as bishop on 15<sup>th</sup> November, the day when the council was opened, from the bishop of Auch John of Armagnac.

On 6<sup>th</sup> Marh 1409 we have still news from him, since there is a letter of him sent to king Martin I, where he requests details of the testament of his dead wife, Maria de Luna. But on 15<sup>th</sup> May 1409 his successor in the diocese of Elne was appointed (the canon of the cathedral of Barcelona Alfons de Tous). So we could take the conclusion that Eiximenis died between the two dates.

## FRANCESC EIXIMENIS' WORKS

Long years of study and research and the modern critique seem to have set finally whether the different Eiximenis' works are authentic or not. The exact amount of them has also finally been set, at least of the ones that have been found until now, since new works and books can appear in archives and libraries.

For this reason, there should be a previous stage in which we should analyze the authentic Eiximenis' works according to the most recent researches, in order to see later their present stage of transcription and/or edition.

So what could be called the first Eiximenis' work would be a work that was discovered and published recently, the uncomplete *Tractat d'Usura* [Treaty on Usury].<sup>38</sup> Even though it is true that this work has analogies with certain chapters of the *Terç del Crestià* [Third Book of the Christian] (in particular the ones referred to the sin of greed), it seems clear that it is an autonomous work. Josep Hernando, who has transcribed this work, gets to this conclusion. He also sets the approximate date of composition around 1374 (i.e. shortly after Eiximenis' return to Catalonia once he got the title of Master of Theology in the University of Toulouse). From the twenty-one chapters that this work had according to the index, only fourteen have been preserved.

During this time Eiximenis may probably have written the short treatise in Latin which is known as *De triplici statu mundi* [About the Three States of the World]. Many scholars have doubted if Eiximenis were the author of this work,<sup>39</sup> and

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<sup>38</sup> Hernando i Delgado, Josep. "El *Tractat d'Usura* de Francesc Eiximenis". *AST*, 57-8 (1984-5). 1-96.

There is also a digital edition of this work in [www.eiximenis.tk](http://www.eiximenis.tk)

<sup>39</sup> We must point out the doubts that were expressed by Martí de Barcelona ("Fra Francesc Eiximenis, O.M. (1340?-1409?). La seva vida. Els seus escrits. La seva personalitat literària". In D.A. *Studia Bibliographica*. Gerona. Col·legi Universitari de Girona/Diputació de Girona. 1991. P. 228), Tomàs Carreras i Artau ("Fray Francisco Eiximenis. Su significación religiosa,

some in fact doubt still about this fact. But the researches that Albert Hauf, who has transcribed this work, has made,<sup>40</sup> among others,<sup>41</sup> prove clearly that Eiximenis could be the author of this work. This brief treatise shows an schatological scheme which is different from the other works, but that coincides in certain respect with the one of his last works. Moreover, in this work Eiximenis takes a clear position against the pope of Avignon, which is in contradiction with his later actions (close friendship with the pope of Avignon Benedict XIII, and final stand in his favour). These are the reasons why some researchers doubt about the fact that Eiximenis could be the author of this brief treatise. But a detailed study of the way of doing the things by Eiximenis, and of the style of composition of his works, could make us think that Eiximenis is the author. As to the date of composition of this work, the most reliable date would be between the years 1378 and 1379.<sup>42</sup>

Shortly after that, Eiximenis began to write his uncomplete and, as Peter *the Cerimonious* called it “great work”. We are speaking about *Lo Crestià* [The Christian]. The first and main sponsor of this work was this king. Possibly, he wanted

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filosófico-moral, política y social”. *AIEG*, I. 1946.. P. 278), or more recently by J. Perarnau (“La traducció catalana medieval del *Liber secretorum eventuum* de Joan de Rocatalhada. Edició, estudi del text i apèndixs”. *ATCA*, XVII. 1998. Pp. 54ss.).

<sup>40</sup> Hauf i Valls, Albert G. “El *De Triplici Statu Mundi* de Fr. Francesc Eiximenis”, O.F.M. Barcelona. *EUC*, XXIII. 1979. 265-83.

This transcription has been the base of the digital edition of this Latin treatise, that can be found in the Digital Library of the NARPAN (<http://www.udg.edu/ilcc/Eiximenis/narpan/ben.htm>). Another digital edition can be found in [www.eiximenis.tk](http://www.eiximenis.tk)

<sup>41</sup> Prior to Albert Hauf, the possible Eiximenian authorship of this brief treatise had been exposed by three Franciscans: Andreu Ivars (Ressenya de “Martí de Barcelona. “Fra Francesc Eiximenis, O.M. (1340?-1409?). *EF*, XL. 1928. 437-500”. *AIA*, XXXII. 1929. Pp. 276-8), Josep Pou (*Op. cit.* P. 575) and Pere Sanahüja (*Historia de la Seráfica Provincia de Catalunya*. Barcelona. Editorial Seráfica. 1959. P. 156-8).

<sup>42</sup> Perarnau i Espelt, Josep. “Documents i precisions entorn de Francesc Eiximenis (c. 1330-1409)”. *ATCA*, I (1982). 191-215.

to have a Catalan version of the *Speculum majus* [Largest Mirror] of Vincent de Beauvais, O.P. This conclusion can be taken from the fact that this king had a lot of affection for this work, since he ordered to make a Catalan translation of it to the Dominicans Jaume Domènech and Antoni Ginebreda. And he loved this work so much, that during his last days he ordered that every day a chapter of the Catalan version should be read to him.<sup>43</sup>

In any case, this work is thought as a “Summa Theologica” such as the ones that were written those days.<sup>44</sup> So it would be one of the first ones that were written in

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<sup>43</sup> Viera, David. “Les idees pedagògiques de Ramon Llull i de Francesc Eiximenis: Estudi comparatiu”. *Estudios Lulianos*, 73. V. XXV. Fasc. 2. 1981-3. P. 233, n. 29.

<sup>44</sup> We should expose now the nature and method of these *Summae*. This is what J.A. Merino says: “La enseñanza en el medievo se desenvolvía en dos modos diferenciados: La *lectio* y la *disputatio*. La *lectio*, muy parecida a una clase actual, consistía en que el profesor comentaba las sentencias y dichos de autores famosos y reconocidos como, por ejemplo, las obras de Aristóteles o de Boecio o las *Sentencias* de Pedro Lombardo. La *disputatio*, más informal que la *lectio*, era un verdadero diálogo entre maestros y discípulos, en donde se esgrimían argumentos en pro y en contra de una tesis cualquiera.

De estos dos métodos escolares surgieron sus respectivas formas literarias. De la *lectio* nacieron los *Commentaria*; y de éstos salieron las *Summae*, más libres, autónomas y sistemáticas que los *Commentaria*. De la *disputatio* procedieron las *Quaestiones disputatae*, que recogen el material de las disputas que se tenían cada dos semanas, y los *Quodlibeta*, que recogían las disputas tenidas por Navidad y por Pascua de Resurrección. Esta metodología de las *disputationes* sirvió de modelo técnico a las famosas *Summae* medievales” [Teaching during the Middle Ages was developed in two different ways: The *lectio* (lesson) and the *disputatio* (dispute). The *lectio* was very similar to a present class. The teacher commented the sentences and doctrines of famous authors, such as, for instance, Aristotle's or Boethius' works, or Peter Lombard's *Sentences*. The *disputatio* was more informal than the *lectio*, and it was a real dialogue between the teacher and the disciples, where arguments were said against or in favour of any thesis.

These school methods generated the corresponding literary forms. The *lectio* generated the *Commentaria* (commentaries); and these generated the *Summae*, which were more free, autonomous and systematic than the *Commentaria*. The *disputatio* generated the *Quaestiones disputatae* [disputed questions], which gathered the material of the disputes that took place every

Europe in a different language from Latin. And it would be just one of the first ones because recent researches have shown that Ramon Llull's enormous *Llibre de Contemplació en Déu* [Book on Contemplation of God] is designed and structured as a “Summa Theologica”, even though it is not outwardly so.<sup>45</sup>

This great work should have consisted in thirteen books or treatises, according to the initial scheme of the prologue<sup>46</sup> (chapter 4 of this prologue). So we transcribe the content of the volumes of this work according to this chapter of the prologue:

“Lo *Primer* llibre tracta què és religió crestiana, e com e de qui ha son començament e son ésser, e quines són ses grans e altes dignitats.

[The *First* book explains what Christian religion is, and how it was originated and where it comes from. It deals also about its great dignities].

Lo *Segon* llibre tracta com l’hom crestià, per diverses llinatges de temptacions, cau de la dignitat de crestianisme e dels dons a ell dats.

[The *Second* book explains how the Christian man, because of several kinds of temptations, falls from the dignity of Christianity and from the gifts that he has received].

Lo *Terç* llibre ensenya quins e quals són los pecats e mals en què l’hom crestià cau quan és vençut per les temptacions en què és posat en esta vida, e per ses grans malignitats e pravitats.

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two weeks, and the *Quodlibeta* (random questions), that gathered the disputes that took place in Christmas and Easter. This methodology of the *disputationes* was used as a technical pattern for the famous mediaeval *Summae*] (*Historia de la filosofía franciscana*. Madrid. BAC. 1993. P. 13).

<sup>45</sup> Hauf i Valls, Albert G. “Corrientes teológicas valencianas, s. XIV-XV: Arnau de Vilanova, Ramón Llull y Francesc Eiximenis”. P. 21. In “Teología en Valencia: Raíces y retos. Buscando nuestros orígenes de cara al futuro”. *Actas del X Simposio de Teología Histórica* (Valencia, 3-5/III/00).

<sup>46</sup> *Lo Crestià*. Barcelona. Edicions 62. 1983. Pp. 40-1.  
Selection by Albert Hauf.

[The *Third* book shows the sins and evils of the Christian man that has been defeated by the temptations and by his great malice].

Lo *Quart* llibre, e els següents, tracten com nostre senyor Déu l'hom caigut relleva meravellosament. E, primerament, pertracta aquest *Quart* com lo relleva per les sues santes inspiracions e diversos moviments espirituals; e aquí tractarem què és predestinació, e gràcia, e franc arbitre, e aquí aparrà què són los dons e els fruits de l'Esperit Sant, e les set benaurances que lo Salvador preïcà.

[The *Fourth* book, and the following ones, show how our Lord helps miraculously the fallen man. And, first of all, this *Fourth* book explains how God helps him with its virtuous inspirations and several spiritual movements; and here we will deal with predestination, grace and free will. And we will speak also about the gifts and fruits of the Holy Spirit, and about the seven Beatitudes that our Saviour preached].

Lo *Quint* ensenya com lo relleva per llums e flames moltes, que són les virtuts teologals.

[The *Fifth* book shows how God helps the fallen man with the theological virtues].

Lo *Sisè* llibre tracta com lo relleva per les virtuts morals e cardenals.

[The *Sixth* book shows how God helps the fallen man with the cardinal virtues].

Lo *Setèn* llibre tracta com lo relleva per la sua alta llei, e diversos manaments.

[The *Seventh* book shows how God helps the fallen man with his high law, and the ten commandments].

Lo *Huitèn* llibre ensenya com lo relleva per ostensió de la sua potència e saviesa e clemència, que demostra en les coses creades e governades e ordenades en deguts estaments.

[The *Eighth* book shows how God helps the fallen man with his potence, wisdom and clemence, that God shows in the creation, which is ruled and ordered by the proper status].

Lo *Novè* ensenya com lo relleva e l'afalaga per la incarnació sua, que fons obra transcendentment amorosa e profitosa a les gents.

[The *Ninth* book shows how God helps the fallen man with its incarnation, which

was a thing that was extraordinarily loving and useful for the people].

Lo *Deè* ensenya com lo relleva e el conforta e li ajuda per l'alta virtut sua, que en especial ha posada en los sants sacraments.

[The *Tenth* book shows how God helps the fallen man with its high virtue, that God specially has set in the saint sacraments].

L'*Onzè* ensenya com lo relleva e l'il·lumena lo sant estament eclesiàstic e, especialment, per altea de santa religió.

[The *Eleventh* book shows how God helps the fallen man with the saint status of clergymen, and specially with the highness of the religious orders].

Lo *Dotzè* tracta com lo relleva per lo bon regiment de tota la cosa pública, ço és a saber, a tots los senyors e a tots llurs súbdits, segons diverses formes e maneres de viure.

[The *Twelfth* book shows how God helps the fallen man with the good government, and it affects the lords and their vassals, according to different ways of living].

Lo *Tretzè* tracta com lo relleva per menaces de les grans penes, e per promissions dels sobirans béns celestials”.

[The *Thirteenth* book shows how God helps the fallen man with menaces of great punishments, or with promises of the goods of Heaven].

From these thirteen volumes, only four have arrived to us. It is very possible that Eiximenis did not write the other ones. These four ones have a certain date of composition, according to Martí de Barcelona, O.F.M. Cap., who is the more reliable source here.<sup>47</sup>

The *Primer del Crestià* [First Book of the Christian] was written between 1379-81 in Barcelona.<sup>48</sup> It consists of three hundred and eighty-one chapters

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<sup>47</sup> Martí de Barcelona. O.F.M. Cap. “Fra Francesc Eiximenis, O.M. (1340?-1409?). La seva vida, els seus escrits, la seva personalitat litarària”. *EF*, XL. 1928. 437-500.

<sup>48</sup> In the chapter 256 of this work there is a clear reference to the year 1379: *Mas los sacerdots de la llig de gràcia, quant al dia de huy, qui és l'any de la nativitat del fill de Déu M.CCC.LXXVIII quaix tota crestiandat possehexen* [But the priests of the law of grace, in this very year, which is the year of the Nativity of the the Son of God of 1379, possess almost the whole of the Christian

(including the five chapters of the general prologue for the whole *Lo Crestià*). The book is divided into four parts, and it deals with a general and apologetic introduction to Christianity. This book was only printed in 1483 in Valencia, in a magnificent edition of the German printer Lambert Palmart.<sup>49</sup> Unfortunately there are no modern editions.<sup>50</sup>

The *Segon del Crestià* [Second Book of the Christian] was written between the years 1382 and 1383. Therefore it was begun in Barcelona and it was probably finished in Valencia. It coincided with the time when Eiximenis went to that city, where he would spend so many years. It consists of two hundred and thirty-nine chapters and it deals with temptation. There is no modern edition either.<sup>51</sup>

In 1383, at the same time that Eiximenis arrived to Valencia, he finished his *Regiment de la cosa pública* [Government of the Republic], which was dedicated to the *jurats* [city representatives] of this city. This book has a strong influence of the *Communiloquium* of John of Wales, O.F.M., as some studies have shown.<sup>52</sup> On the

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lands] (*Primer del Crestià*. BNE. Ms. 1790. F. 179r).

<sup>49</sup> This incunable was printed in Valencia on 29th January 1483 by the German printer Lambert Palmart after the requests of Joan Roís de Corella [199 ff.]. It can be found on line in [www.eiximenis.tk](http://www.eiximenis.tk). In this website there is also a manuscript version of this work, that corresponds to manuscript number 1790 of the Spanish National Library of Madrid [15<sup>th</sup> century. 253 ff.].

<sup>50</sup> Vide Cerulli, Enrico. *Nuove ricerche sul "Libro della Scala" e la conoscenza dell'Islam in Occidente*. Città del Vaticano. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. 1972. 340 (19-77). In this article there is a transcription of some chapters of this work, which deal with Eiximenis' considerations in this work about the Islamic religion (exactly, the chapters 63 and 95-103).

<sup>51</sup> One of the two extant manuscripts of this work, manuscript number 1791 of the Spanish National Library of Madrid [15<sup>th</sup> century. 161 ff.], can be found on line in [www.eiximenis.tk](http://www.eiximenis.tk).

<sup>52</sup> Hauf i Valls, Albert G. "Eiximenis, Joan de Salisburys i Fr. Joan de Gal·les, O.F.M." *Miscel·lània Sanchis Guarner, I. Quaderns de Filologia*. Universitat de València. 1984. 167-74.

Curt Wittlin gives us a short but complete biography of this Franciscan: "Juan de Gales (Johannes Valensis o Gallensis, John Waleys) nació en la vicaría de Worcester en la primera mitad del siglo XIII. Una vez doctorado en teología, alrededor de 1260, enseñó en el colegio de

other hand, it seems that some parts of this work had not been written by Eiximenis, and they would have been added later. These are the famous twenty difficulties, thirty-two beauties and the conclusion of the prologue, together with the conclusion of the epilogue.<sup>53</sup> This work consists in thirty-eight chapters. Together with the incunable edition of 1499, printed in Valencia by Cristòfor Cofman, and edited again in a facsimile edition in 1972,<sup>54</sup> there is an edition from 1927.<sup>55</sup> It is perhaps the key book (but not the only one) in order to know Eiximenis' social and political thought.

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los frailes menores de Oxford. Hacia 1270 pasó a París como maestro-regente de teología. Participó en la controversia de los mendicantes y en la condenación de los errores averroístas por los años 1277. Pero no perdió contacto con su patria. En 1282, residiendo en París la mayor parte del año, Pecham, el arzobispo franciscano de Canterbury, lo envió al príncipe galés rebelde Llewelyn, para reconciliarlo con el gobierno inglés. En 1283 lo encontramos otra vez en París como uno de los doctores que examinaron y condenaron las doctrinas de Pedro Juan Olivi; y en París murió en una fecha desconocida, quizás alrededor de 1285” [John of Wales (Johannes Valensis o Gallensis, John Waleys) was born in the parish of Worcester during the first half of the 13th century. Once he got the degree of Master of Theology, around 1260, he taught at the college of the Franciscans of Oxford. Around 1270 he moved to Paris as a teacher of Theology in the university. He took part in the controversy of the mendicant orders and the condemnation of the Averroist mistakes in 1277. But he did not lose the contact with his fatherland. In 1282, as he was living in Paris most of the year, Pecham, the Franciscan archbishop of Canterbury, sent him to the Welsh rebel prince Llewelyn, in order to reconcile him with the English government. In 1283 he can be found again in Paris as one of the Masters of Theology that examined and condemned Pèire Joan Oliu's doctrines; and in Paris he died at an unknown date, maybe around 1285] (“La *Suma de Colaciones* de Juan de Gales en Cataluña”. *EF*, 72. 1971. Pp. 189-90).

It is very interesting what Wittlin says about his works: “Preocupado por el estado de los conocimientos de predicadores y educadores contemporáneos, se puso a compilar una serie de *Sumas* con destino *ad omne genus humanum*. Estos manuales de divulgación los tituló con nombres acabados en *-loquium*, para decir que eran colecciones de temas de conversación con cualquier clase de hombres, desde el labrador hasta el rey. Tuvieron un éxito enorme y se divulgaron, tanto desde París como desde Oxford, por toda Europa. Continuaron divulgándose en ediciones incunables hasta el siglo XVI” [Since he was concerned about the situation of the knowledges of the contemporary preachers and educators, he began to compile a series of *Summae* which were addressed *ad omne genus humanum* (to all mankind). These manuals of

The gigantic *Terç del Crestià* [Third Book of the Christian], that contains one thousand and sixty chapters that are divided into twelve parts, was finished the next year, in 1384. Its content deals with evil as a whole: Evil in general and the sins in particular. The most complete edition until now can be found in the collection “Els Nostres Clàssics”, and was made also at the beginning of the 20th century.<sup>56</sup> This edition arrives to chapter 352. Nonetheless Jorge J. E. Gracia has published five additional chapters that were not transcribed, since they did not appear in the popular science were entitled with names that ended in *-loquium*. It meant that they were collections of matters of conversation with any kind of man, from the farmer to the king. They had a huge success, and they were spread, from Paris and Oxford, to all over Europe. They were also printed in incunable editions until the end of the 16th century] (*Ibidem*. P. 190). This considerations take us directly to the aim of many of Eiximenis' works and to Eiximenis' thought in general. Therefore it could be stated that maybe Eiximenis received in this respect certain influence of his Welsh Franciscan brother.

<sup>53</sup> Wittlin, Curt J. “L’edició del 1499 del *Regiment de la cosa pública*. Les revisions i ampliacions al text, a l’endrea i al comiat escrits per Francesc Eiximenis el 1383”. *BSCC*, LXIX. Oct.-Des. 1993. Quad. IV. 441-59. The author gets to this conclusion because of three reasons. First of all, because of the linguistic discordances that can be seen between these parts and the rest of the Eiximenis' works in general. Secondly, Eiximenis' authentic dedicatories and epilogues are much shorter than the ones that we are analyzing. Thirdly, in these parts there are references to sugar and the artistic ceramic of Manises, which according to Wittlin, were not yet documented in 1383, when the *Regiment de la cosa pública* was written.

<sup>54</sup> *Regiment de la cosa pública*. Valencia. Societat Bibliogràfica Valenciana. 1972. 89 ff.

Facsimile edition of M. Sanchis Guarner of Cristòfor Cofman's incunable (Valencia. 1499. 74 ff).

This incunable can also be found in the Virtual Library Joan Lluís Vives (<http://www.lluisvives.com>), the Valencian Digital Library (<http://bv2.gva.es>) and [www.eiximenis.tk](http://www.eiximenis.tk)

<sup>55</sup> *Regiment de la cosa pública*. Barcelona. Editorial Barcino. 1927. 212. “Els Nostres Clàssics”. Collection A, number 13.

Prepared by Daniel de Molins de Rei, O.F.M. Cap.

<sup>56</sup> *Terç del Crestià*. Volume I. Barcelona. Editorial Barcino. 1929. 318. “Els Nostres Clàssics”. Collection B, number 1.

manuscript that was used for this edition.<sup>57</sup> Some years later, the same author has published the next chapters, until chapter 396.<sup>58</sup> Even more recently, Xavier Renedo has transcribed as a doctorate thesis the part of the *Terç* that deals with the sin of lust (from chapter 524 to 647).<sup>59</sup> But unfortunately, there is no edition of this thesis, and like many theses, it is only available as a microfiche.<sup>60</sup>

After this book, Eiximenis changed the logical order of composition of volumes of *Lo Crestià*, and wrote the *Dotzè del Crestià* [Twelfth Book of the Christian]. The final composition of this book took him more time. It seems that already in 1387 there was a first version of this book. It can be deduced from the fact

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Prepared by Martí de Barcelona, O.F.M. Cap. and Norbert d'Ordal, O.F.M. Cap.

*Terç del Crestià*. Volume II. Barcelona. Editorial Barcino. 1930. 302.

“Els Nostres Clàssics”. Collection B, number 2.

Prepared by Martí de Barcelona, O.F.M. Cap. and Norbert d'Ordal, O.F.M. Cap.

*Terç del Crestià*. Volume III. Editorial Barcino. 1932. 296.

“Els Nostres Clàssics”. Collection B, number 4.

Prepared by Martí de Barcelona, O.F.M. Cap. and Feliu de Tarragona, O.F.M. Cap.

<sup>57</sup> Gracia, Jorge J. E. “Cinco capítulos del *Terç del Crestià* de Francesc Eiximenis omitidos por el P. Martí en su edición de la obra”. *AST*, XLVI. 1972. 265-77.

In this work it is also pointed out that one of the chapters that Martí de Barcelona transcribed, exactly chapter 19, is divided in other manuscripts into two chapters. Thus, if we add the five chapters that were transcribed by Jorge J. E. Gracia, the total number of transcribed chapters would be 358.

<sup>58</sup> *Com usar bé de beure e menjar*. Barcelona. Editorial Curial. 1983. 152.

Introduction and edition by Jorge J. E. Gracia.

<sup>59</sup> Renedo, Xavier. *Edició i estudi del “Tractat de luxúria” del “Terç del Crestià”*. Barcelona. UAB. 1995. CCLXXXIV+792.

Doctorate thesis in 3 microfiches.

In the same study chapters 231-6 of the *Segon del Crestià* [Second Book of the Christian], and 980-993 of the *Terç del Crestià* [Third Book of the Christian] are also transcribed.

<sup>60</sup> A manuscript version of this work, that corresponds to three manuscripts of the Spanish National Library of Madrid: number 1792 [15<sup>th</sup> century. 286 ff.], 1793 [15<sup>th</sup> century. 141 ff.] and 1794 [15<sup>th</sup> century. 127 ff.] can also be found on line in [www.eiximenis.tk](http://www.eiximenis.tk)

that between April 1386 and February 1387 Alphons of Aragon, marquis of Villena and count of Denia and Ribagorça, whom the work was dedicated, had paid for its copy, bookbinding and transport until Denia.<sup>61</sup> Some years later, exactly in 1391, Eiximenis corrected chapter 466 and added later seven chapters more, which in any case only appear in the incunabulum edition of 1484 by Lambert Palmart. The book itself, if these additional chapters that were added *a posteriori* are deducted, has nine hundred and seven chapters, which are divided into eight parts. The origin of this change was a remark of the king to Eiximenis, which was made through his *mestre racional* [a kind of Exchequer Chancellor in the Crown of Aragon] Pere d'Artés. The reason seems quite clear: in this chapter Eiximenis predicts the extinction around the year 1400 of all the European royal families with the exception of the royal family of France. It is obvious that the new king John I (and for any other from the royal family of Aragon), would not like it at all.<sup>62</sup>

As we have said, the work was dedicated to Alphons of Aragon, marquis of Villena, count of Denia and of Ribagorça, and is a real manual for the education of the future rulers. It belongs to the genre of the numerous *De regimine principum* [On the regime of princes] that were very common this time. As chapters 357-395 it includes the aforementioned *Regiment de la cosa pública*. It is maybe the most important Eiximenis' work in order to know his social and political thought. But similarly to what we have said for the *Regiment de la cosa pública*, it is not the only one which is relevant for this purpose, since the whole Eiximenis's work is like a body, and the different sections of it have a strong relationship.

From the first part of this work (until chapter 466 and the other seven that were added later), there is a magnificent edition that was made in 1484 in Valencia by the German printer Lambert Palmart.<sup>63</sup> But unfortunately there are no modern editions,

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<sup>61</sup> Cátedra García, Pedro. "Francesc Eiximenis y don Alfonso de Aragón". *AIA*, 42. 1982. 75-9.

<sup>62</sup> Bohigas, Pere. "Prediccions i profecies en les obres de Francesc Eiximenis". In *Aportació a l'estudi de la cultura catalana*. Barcelona. PAM. 1982. 94-115.

<sup>63</sup> This incunabulum was printed in Valencia by the German printer Lambert Palmart on 15th March 1484 [205 ff.]. As it is said in the epilogue, it was done *per prechs e instància dels*

with the exception of some partial edition from the beginning of the 20th century,<sup>64</sup> and the chapters 357-395, that as we have already said correspond to the *Regiment de la cosa pública*, and from this work there are several editions. The rest of the chapters (that were only preserved in a manuscript of the cathedral of Valencia, even though chapter 467 lacks, and so this chapter has definitely been lost), have been recently published.<sup>65</sup> The same research group has published more recently the first chapters until chapter 212, also in a critical edition.<sup>66</sup>

As to the reason why Eiximenis changed the logical order of composition of *Lo Crestià*, there are different hypotheses have been made. For us the main reason might have been the lack of feeling between Eiximenis and the new king John I. We have already pointed out how the king Peter *the Cerimonious* had been the main sponsor of this great work, and in this respect it is remarkable how Eiximenis changed the logical order of *Lo Crestià* just before the death of the king in 1387. It seems clear that the old Peter *the Cerimonious* was not then really aware of Eiximenis' literary activity. On the other hand, this lack of personal affection of Eiximenis towards the new king John, which also influences many aspects of his work, could be worked from many factors out. The main one is the fact that Eiximenis was replaced as royal confessor of prince John (future king John I) in

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*reverends e honorables ciutadans de la insigna ciutat de València* [after requests and demands of the reverend and honourable city representatives of the city of Valencia]. This incunabulum can also be found on line in [www.eiximenis.tk](http://www.eiximenis.tk)

<sup>64</sup> *Tractat de Regiment de Prínceps e de Comunitats*. Barcelona. La Acadèmia. 1904. 130  
Edition of Antoni Bulbena i Tosell.  
It reaches chapter 68.

<sup>65</sup> *Dotzè llibre del Crestià, II, 1*. Gerona. Col·legi Universitari de Girona/Diputació de Girona. 1986. XXXVIII + 518.  
*Dotzè llibre del Crestià, II, 2*. Gerona. Col·legi Universitari de Girona/Diputació de Girona. 1987. 649.

Both books can also be found on line in [www.eiximenis.tk](http://www.eiximenis.tk)

<sup>66</sup> *Dotzè llibre del Crestià, I, 1*. Gerona. Col·legi Universitari de Girona/Diputació de Girona. 2005. LXVII + 619.

1384, just after being appointed.<sup>67</sup> And this reason, together with other ones, such as Eiximenis' old age maybe, or the direct contact with Beguines and Arnaldian circles of the city of Valencia, could have encouraged him to take the decision of relinquishing little by little his busy social life. And from this moment on he concentrated himself in spiritual, contemplative and even mystical matters, which are the main subject of his subsequent works.<sup>68</sup>

This change can be seen in the fact that he abandoned definitely the *Lo*

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<sup>67</sup> Rubió i Lluch, Antoni. *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-eval*. V.I. Barcelona. IEC. 1908. P. 325.

<sup>68</sup> It could be also possible that a fact that could have influenced in Eiximenis' evolution towards spiritual matters in his last works could have been the general crisis of the Crown of Aragon during the reigns of John I and Martin I. We could find a beautiful parallelism in saint Augustine's evolution. As A. Truyol has brought out, in front of the decadence and collapse of the classical world that took place in his time, saint Augustine moved more and more towards the idea of transcendence (Truyol, Antonio. *El Derecho y el Estado en san Agustín*. Madrid. Editorial Revista del Derecho Privado. 1944. P. 190).

It is also remarkable how this feature (tendency towards spiritual matters and life at the end of their life) can also be found in important intellectuals from the 12th and 13th centuries. A. Murray comments it regarding that: "A number of prominent scholars over the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries had evinced increasingly contemplative leanings towards the end of their lives. The poet-laureate of Aristotelianism, Alan of Lille, died in 1202 as a Cistercian monk. Few careers had been more boldly split in two in this way (though it was split more than once) than that of the arch-logician Abelard, stretching as it did from the rowdy *quartier latin* to his quiet monastic deathbed. If to those pilgrim scholars are added those bright youths (of whom Bruno of Cologne, head of the Rheims school at twenty-five, later founder of the Carthusians, is prototype) whose early conversion robbed them of mention in academic annals; and to those, others, in turn, who made no ceremony of their retreat (like ex-chancellor Gerson in the 15th century, exchanging letters with Carthusians from Lyons) we face something like a deserting army" (*Reason and Society in the Middle Ages*. Oxford. Clarendon Press. 1978. Pp. 250-1).

Moreover, as a sign of Eiximenis' preference for this kind of matters during his last years, it is very curious that his own works that were present in his personal library when he died were basically works from that period. Therefore, together with lost or not found works, such as the *Exposició de la regla dels frares menors* [Exposition of the Rule of the Friars Minor] or

*Crestià* project. Nevertheless it is true that some matters, that were going to appear in different volumes of *Lo Crestià*, will appear in several Eiximenis' later works, as we will analyze.

So the next work is *Lo Llibre dels Àngels* [the Book of Angels]. It was written in 1392 and dedicated to the aforementioned Pere d'Artés, with whom Eiximenis had a close friendship. It has two hundred and one chapters, that are divided into five treatises. This book is a real treatise of angelology and it was perhaps the Eiximenis' book that had more success. It was translated into Latin (it was the only work of Eiximenis that was translated into this language), Spanish, French, and even Flemish (maybe it was the only Catalan medieval book that was translated into this language). One of the incunable editions in French was the first book that was printed in the Swiss city of Geneva.<sup>69</sup> We could state that Eiximenis should have dealt with this matter in the *Huitè del Crestià* [Eighth Book of the Christian], where he should have explained how God *lo relleva* [a l'home] *per ostensió de la sua potència i saviesa e clemència, que demostra en les coses creades e governades e ordenades en deguts estaments* [helps the fallen man with his potence, wisdom and clemence, that God shows in the creation, which is ruled and ordered by the proper status]. According to the mediaeval theological mentality, which is very well explained in the famous Peter Lombard's *Quattuor libri sententiarum* [Four Books of Sentences], the angels would be one of these status, and so the second book of these *Quattuor libri sententiarum* deals with angels. Eiximenis says that clearly in

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several *Sermonaris* [Sermon Books]), we can find the *Llibre dels Àngels* [Book of Angels], the *Pastorale* [Pastoral], the *Psalterium alias Laudatorium* [Psalter also called Laudatory] and the *Vida de Jesucrist* [Life of Jesus Christ] (Monfrin, Jacques. *Op. cit.* P. 283).

<sup>69</sup> *De sant Miquel arcàngel*. Barcelona. Curial Edicions Catalanes. 1983. P. 7.

Introduction, edition and appendices by Curt Wittlin.

J. Perarnau has also found a small part in the Kongelige Bibliotek of Copenhagen that was translated into Aragonese language ("Un fragment del *Llibre dels Àngels* de Francesc Eiximenis traduït a l'aragonès". *ATCA*, IV. 1985. 187-207).

chapter 43 of the *Segon del Crestià* [Second Book of the Christian].<sup>70</sup>

Without exaggeration, it can be stated that this book had a great influence in the extension of the worship and devotion to angels in the city and kingdom of Valencia. In the same year that this book was written (1392), there is an agreement of the *Consell* [municipal government] of Valencia on 9<sup>th</sup> August 1392 that says that the Hall of the *Consell* should be decorated with several pictures, and among them there is the one of the guardian angel. This worship and devotion continued its development and several facts show that. For instance in 1411 a religious office for the guardian angel of Valencia was composed, as the breviaries of these years show. And in 1446 in the Cathedral of Valencia an annual festivity for the guardian angel began to be held, and there were certain rites for it.<sup>71</sup>

There were several editions of this book during the XVIth and XVIIth centuries, not only in Catalan,<sup>72</sup> but also in other languages, such as Spanish,<sup>73</sup> French or Flemish (there is also a Latin version, but it is only a manuscript one). Recently, a whole transcription has been made. It is a critical edition and it is a part of a doctorate

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<sup>70</sup> *Segon del Crestià*. Madrid. BNE. Ms. 1791. Ff. 36r-36v.

In this chapter, whose title is “Qui posa com lo demoni és lo segon temptador que l’om ha en esta vida” [That explains how the devil is the second tempting agent that the man has in this life], he says: *Car d’ell [del dimoni], parlarem llargament en lo huytén llibre quant tractarem de la natura angèlica* [Since about him (the devil), we will talk at length in the eighth book, where we will deal with the angelic nature].

<sup>71</sup> Ivars, Andreu, O.F.M. “El *Llibre dels Àngels* de Fr. Francisco Eximénez y algunas versiones castellanas del mismo”. *AIA*, XIX. 1923. P. 116.

<sup>72</sup> The Catalan incunabulum of the *Llibre dels Àngels* that was printed by Joan Rosembach in Barcelona on 21<sup>st</sup> June 1494 [140 ff] can be found in the Virtual Library Joan Lluís Vives. In the same virtual Library there is also one of the manuscript versions, exactly the one that is preserved in the University of Barcelona [Fons de reserva. Ms. 86. 15<sup>th</sup> century. 177 ff]. (<http://www.lluisvives.com>). These two versions can also be found on line in [www.eiximenis.tk](http://www.eiximenis.tk)

<sup>73</sup> The Spanish edition was printed in Alcalá de Henares by Miguel de Eguía in 1527 [113 ff]. It can be consulted in the Virtual Library Joan Lluís Vives (<http://www.lluisvives.com>) and also in [www.eiximenis.tk](http://www.eiximenis.tk).

thesis, but for this reason it is only available as a microfiche.<sup>74</sup> Unfortunately, this work has not totally been published, even though there are partial editions. So Curt Wittlin published the fifth treatise, which deals with the angel's *honorable president* [honourable president], saint Michael the Archangel.<sup>75</sup> The fourth treatise, that deals with the angels *victòria fervent* [fervent victory] has also recently been published.<sup>76</sup>

Around 1396,<sup>77</sup> Eiximenis wrote *Lo Llibre de les Dones* [The Book of Women], which was dedicated to Sanxa Ximenes d'Arenós, countess of Prades. The book has three hundred and ninety-six chapters, which are divided into five parts, after a general introduction. The first chapters of the book are a kind of behaviour manual for women, similar to the ones that were common that time. So it seems to have the influence of this kind of manuals, such as *De eruditione filiorum nobilium* [On the education of the sons of the nobles] (*circa* 1250), of Vincent de Beauvais, O.P., that had a lot of influence along the Middle Ages in order to provide the basic guidelines of women's education.<sup>78</sup> Nevertheless, the final part, which is the one

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<sup>74</sup> Gascón Uris, Sergi. *Edició crítica del "Llibre dels Àngels" (1392)*. Barcelona. UAB. 1993. 758. Doctorate thesis in 3 microfiches.

<sup>75</sup> *De Sant Miquel Arcàngel*. Barcelona. Curial Edicions Catalanes. 1983. 180. Introduction, edition and apendices by Curt Wittlin.

In the introduction of this edition it is also published the dedicatory of the original work.

This edition can also be found on line in [www.eiximenis.tk](http://www.eiximenis.tk)

<sup>76</sup> *Àngels e dimonis*. Barcelona. Edicions dels Quaderns Crema. 2003. 248. Edition and comments by Sadurní Martí.

<sup>77</sup> For this hypothetical date we have followed Martí de Barcelona, O.F.M. Cap. And his study "Fra Francesc Eiximenis, O.F.M. (1340?-1409?). La seva vida. Els seus escrits. La seva personalitat literària" (*EF*, XL. 1928. 437-500). But other authors set the date of writing before the *Llibre dels Àngels*. For instance A. Ivars in "Franciscanismo de la reina de Aragón, doña María de Luna" (*AIA*, 36. 1933. P. 269.), sets the date in 1390. We recommend as well the interesting conclusions that Curt Wittlin takes in the introduction (p. XIV) for the edition of the *Llibre de les Dones* (Barcelona. Curial Edicions Catalanes. 1981. P. XIV).

<sup>78</sup> Cantavella, Rosanna. "Lectura i cultura de la dona a l'edat mitjana: opinions d'autors en català". *Caplletra*, 3. Tardor, 1988. P. 114.

dedicated to nuns, is a short treatise of theology. This part shows very clearly also the divulgation and catechizing aim of the Eiximenis' work in general. In this part as well, many materials (although in some cases in a basic and schematic way) that were going to be used for the not written volumes of *Lo Crestià* are also gathered. Thus, he deals with the theological virtues (that should have been explained in the *Cinquè* [Fifth Book]), the cardinal virtues (that should have been explained in the *Sisè* [Sixth Book]), and the ten commandments (that should have been explained in the *Setè* [Seventh Book]). Other matters that appear here should have also appeared in other not written volumes of *Lo Crestià*, for instance marriage and penance (the *Desè* [Tenth Book] should have dealt with the sacraments), the evangelical advices and contemplation (the *Onzè* [Eleventh Book] should have dealt with the clergy) and the final chapters, that deal with *els grans béns celestials e sobiranament gloriosos* [the great and glorious goods in heaven] (the *Tretzè* [Thirteenth Book] should have dealt with *com* [Déu] *lo relleva* [a l'home] *per menaces de les grans penes, e per promissions dels sobirans béns celestials* [how God helps the fallen man with menaces of great punishments, or with promises of the goods of Heaven]). Moreover he uses again, although in a summarized way, materials that had already been used in the *Terç* [Third Book], such as the seven deadly sins and the bad use of the five body senses.<sup>79</sup>

There were many translations of this book into Spanish and it was used for the education of the four daughters of the Catholic Monarchs.<sup>80</sup> There was also an adaptation into Spanish, even though it had some changes, made by an unknown author and whose title is *Carro de las Donas* [Charriot of the Women].<sup>81</sup> This

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<sup>79</sup> *Lo Llibre de les Dones*. Barcelona. Curial Edicions Catalanes. 1981. Pp. XIV-XV.

Introduction by Curt J. Wittlin.

<sup>80</sup> *Psalterium alias Laudatorium Papae Benedicto XIII dedicatum*. Toronto. Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 1988. P. 7.

Introduction by Curt Wittlin.

This edition can also be found on line in [www.eiximenis.tk](http://www.eiximenis.tk)

<sup>81</sup> The birth of this Castilian version is quite well explained by its anonymous author-translator:

Spanish adaptation was published in 1542 for the first time.<sup>82</sup>

Some incunable editions of the *Llibre de les Dones* were made. Nevertheless, there is a critical edition as a doctorate thesis (that was directed by the eminent philologist Joan Coromines) and it has been published.<sup>83</sup>

Some parts of this book, exactly the ones of *Tractat de Penitència* [Treatise on Penance] and of *Tractat de Contemplació* [Treatise on Contemplation], were used for the book that he wrote for queen Maria de Luna when she and her husband, the king of the Crown of Aragon Martin I, were crowned, as A. Ivars has suggested.<sup>84</sup> We know that the king's coronation took place on 13<sup>th</sup> April 1399, and that of the queen on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1399.<sup>85</sup> This book is entitled as *Scala Dei* [Stair of God], and it would have been written with parts of the aforementioned *Llibre de les Dones*. Together

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“Estando el sancto padre el papa Adriano VI en Tarragona aderesçándose el armada para la yda de Roma, un secretario suyo que se llamaua Çisterel, natural de allí, le presentó este libro [el *Llibre de les Dones*] y como su santidad hera tan amigo de letras le alabó mucho e dixo que hera marauillosa doctrina y que hera necessaria cosa que en todos los reynos de christianos tuuiessen este libro; y como yo viesse que le alabaua varón tan docto y tan sancto, afficionéme en ponelle en lengua castellana” [Our Holy Father Adrian VI was in Tarragona and he was ready to take a ship towards Rome. Then one of his secretaries, who was called Çisterel, and was also born in Tarragona, brought him this book [the *Llibre de les Dones*] and since Our Holy Father was a learned man and loved the books, he read it. And then he praised it and he said that the doctrine was wonderful and it would be necessary that all Christian kingdoms had this book. And since I saw that a man that was so learned and so saint praised it, I decided to write it in Castilian language] (Reproduced in Meseguer, Juan. O.F.M. “El traductor del *Carro de las Donas*, de Francisco Eximénez, familiar y biógrafo de Adriano VI”. *Hispania*, XIX. 1959. P. 236). This anonymous author-translator tells us later that a lot of people from the papal entourage praised also the *Llibre de les Dones* and expressed the necessity and utility of its translation into Spanish, such as the bishop of Cuenca, Diego Ramírez; the bishop of Orense, Fernando Niño; the president of the *Audiencia* and the *Chancillería* [legal courts] of Granada and many other learned people (*Ibidem*).

<sup>82</sup> Clausell Náchter, Carmen. *Carro de las donas* [2 vol.]. Madrid. F.U.E. and Universitat Pontificia de Salamanca, 2007.

This scholar attributes this work to the Franciscan P. Carmona.

with the chapters of the *Llibre de les Dones* that are literally transcribed, the chapters 101 to 274 of this book (the ones that deal with the theological virtues, the cardinal virtues, the ten commandments, the seven deadly sins and the bad use of the five body senses) are summarized.<sup>86</sup> The part of this book that differs from the *Llibre de les Dones*, has recently been published.<sup>87</sup>

The next book that follows is the *Pastorale* [Pastoral], which is a treatise in Latin language that was dedicated to the bishop of Valencia, Hug de Llupià i Bages, probably written when he took office of the bishopric of Valencia in 1397 or 1398.<sup>88</sup> Or perhaps, more probably, it was written with the occasion of his arrival to Valencia

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<sup>83</sup> *Lo Llibre de les Dones*. Barcelona. Curial Edicions Catalanes. 1981. XXXVII+620.

This edition can also be found on line in [www.eiximenis.tk](http://www.eiximenis.tk)

<sup>84</sup> *Scala Dei. Devocionari de la reina Maria*. Barcelona. PAM. 1985, p. 93.

Transcription of the old manuscript and preliminary and final comments by Curt Wittlin.

<sup>85</sup> So there was a double coronation: of the king on 13<sup>th</sup> April 1399, and of the queen on 23<sup>rd</sup> April 1399 (D. A. *Dietari del Consell antich barceloní*. V.I. Barcelona. Impremta d'en Henrich y companyia. 1892, p. 77).

<sup>86</sup> Wittlin, Curt J. "De *Lo Llibre de les Dones* a la *Scala Dei*". *Actes del Tercer Col·loqui d'Estudis Catalans a Nord-Amèrica*. PAM. 1983. 139-52.

<sup>87</sup> *Scala Dei. Devocionari de la reina Maria*. Barcelona. PAM. 1985. 100.

Transcription of the old manuscript and preliminary and final comments by Curt Wittlin.

Modern Catalan version by Elisabet Ràfols.

This edition can be found on line in [www.eiximenis.tk](http://www.eiximenis.tk)

One of the manuscripts of this work [University of Barcelona. Fons de reserva. Ms. 88. 16<sup>th</sup> century. 107 ff.] is also available on line in the Virtual Library Joan Lluís Vives (<http://www.lluisvives.com>), and also in [www.eiximenis.tk](http://www.eiximenis.tk)

<sup>88</sup> *Vide* Hauf, Albert. *D'Eiximenis a sor Isabel de Villena*. Barcelona / Valencia. PAM / IIFV. 1990. P. 62 n. 6.

Hug de Llupià was already bishop of Tortosa, and was appointed bishop of Valencia by a papal decree on 28<sup>th</sup> November 1397 (Ben. XIII, Av., t. 27, f. 9. *Vide* Eubel, Conrad. OFM. *Hierarchia Catholica Medii Aevi*. V. I. Regensburg. 1914. P. 512). He took office right after in the person of Bernat de Carsí (Chabás, Roc. *Episcopologio Valentino*. V. II [unpublished]. P. 212-214).

on 9<sup>th</sup> August 1400.<sup>89</sup> The book consists in one hundred and sixty-seven chapters, that are divided into four parts, and deals basically with the duties of the bishops, even though at the beginning it deals with the clergy in general. Maybe it could correspond to the *Onzè del Crestià* [Eleventh of the Christian], which he did not write, where he should have explained *com lo relleva e l'il-lumena* [a l'home] *lo sant estament eclesiàstic* [how God helps the fallen man with the saint status of clergymen]. But if we consider that priesthood is also a sacrament, we have already explained how the *Desè del Crestià* [Tenth Book of the Christian] should have dealt with sacraments.

There is an incunable edition from 1495. Nevertheless, recently a critical edition and a translation into Catalan as a doctorate thesis have been made.<sup>90</sup> But unfortunately there is no modern edition of this work. Curt Wittlin transcribed five chapters (from part of the 36 until 40) in an interesting article that analyzes the hidden Eiximenian antimonarchism and antioligarchism.<sup>91</sup>

The next book that was written, the *Vida de Jesucrist* [Life of Jesus Christ], is his last great work in Catalan language. There is no exact date of composition, but it could have taken place between 1399 and 1406.<sup>92</sup> It was dedicated to Pere d'Artés,

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<sup>89</sup> *Ibidem*.

There is also an agreement of the *Consell* [municipal government] of Valencia from 30th July 1400, that deals with the near arrival of the new bishop, and with the celebrations that were going to be made (AMV. *Manual de consells*. A-22, f. 8v / 10r-11r).

<sup>90</sup> Martínez Checa, Montserrat. *Francesc Eiximenis. Pastoral. Edició i traducció*. Barcelona. UAB. 1995. LXXXVII+[VIII+450] (Edition and translation)+12 (Annex).

Doctorate thesis in 2 microfiches.

This thesis can be found on line inside the project "Tesis Doctorals en xarxa" (TDX): <http://www.tesisenxarxa.net/TDX-0719110-124408/index.html> and in [www.eiximenis.tk](http://www.eiximenis.tk)

<sup>91</sup> Wittlin, Curt. "*Quae maxime damnant animas principum*: Fünf antimonarchische Kapitel im *Pastorale* des Francesc Eiximenis". *ZfK*, 2. 1989. 98-114.

<sup>92</sup> For this hypothetical dating we follow Martí de Barcelona, O.F.M. Cap. and his study "Fra Francesc Eiximenis, O.F.M. (1340?-1409?). La seva vida. Els seus escrits. La seva personalitat literària" (*EF*, XL. 1928. 437-500) as the most reliable source.

Curt Wittlin, in his introduction for the edition of the *Llibre de les Dones* (Barcelona.

whom he had already dedicated the *Llibre dels Àngels*. It seems that the original project was to write this work in Latin language, and it was because of him that he wrote it finally in Catalan language, as Eiximenis says clearly in the sixth chapter of the prologue.<sup>93</sup> This book has six hundred and ninety-one chapters, which are divided into ten treatises or books. Furthermore, the last treatise is also divided into seven smaller treatises. This work could have corresponded to the *Novè del Crestià* [Ninth Book of the Christian], where he should have explained *com Déu lo relleva e l'afalaga* [a l'home] *per la incarnació sua* [how God helps the fallen man with its incarnation]. But the content is much wider, and so it is the third treatise of this book in the strict sense the one which deals with incarnation. The first treatise of this book deals with predestination, which should have been explained in the *Quart del Crestià* [Fourth Book of the Christian]. In this book of the *Crestià*, he should have explained the *set benaurances* [seven Beatitudes], and the seventh treatise of the *Vita Christi* deals with them. Eiximenis also makes long explanations about two sacraments, such as baptism, regarding Christ's baptism by saint John the Baptist, and eucarist, regarding the Last Supper, and we repeat that the *Desè del Crestià* [Tenth Book of the Christian] should have dealt with sacraments. The tenth treatise of this book, finally, comes back to apocalyptic and schatological matters, and the *Tretzè del Crestià* [Thirteenth Book of the Christian] should have dealt with them.

There were translations of this work into Spanish and French. The Spanish translation by the way (which lacks the last two treatises), that was made after request of Hernando de Talavera, O.S.H., first bishop of Granada after its Christian conquest in 1492, confessor of Isabel I of Castile and a deep admirer of Eiximenis' work and thought, was the first printed book in that city.<sup>94</sup>

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Curial Edicions Catalanes. 1981. P. XV), sets the date in 1397, without giving any other arguments. On the other hand, A. Hauf gives more specific data in order to set as a possible date of finishing this work the 23<sup>rd</sup> June 1403 (*D'Eiximenis a sor Isabel de Villena*. Barcelona/Valencia. IIFV/PAM. 1990. P. 62 n. 6).

<sup>93</sup> *Vida de Jesucrist*. Valencia. BUV. Ms. 209. Ff. 3v-4r.

<sup>94</sup> Hauf, Albert. "Fr. Francesc Eiximenis, O.F.M., "De la predestinación de Jesucristo", y el

This work shows very well the contemplative *penchant* that is typical of the last Eiximenis' works. As it is said in the prologue, the aim of this work is *escalfar* [to heat up] the believers in the love and devotion towards Christ. Moreover, in this work we can perceive the typical devotion to the Virgin, which is so typical of the Franciscan school. A lot of chapters deal with the *Gloriosa* [Glorious], as Eiximenis calls her, and it is not an exaggeration to state that the Virgin shares the main prominence with Christ himself. It seems that the *Vida de Jesucrist* could be included in the tradition of the Pseudo-Bonaventure's *Meditationes Vitae Christi* (Meditations about the Life of Jesus Christ).<sup>95</sup> This work has also a lot of influence from the works of the Italian Franciscan Ubertino of Casale.<sup>96</sup>

This work had also influence in other fields. So, as J. Romeu i Figueras has proved, the mystery play on the assumption of the Virgin of the Cathedral of Valencia (that could be dated in 1425) has a direct influence of this Eiximenian work.<sup>97</sup>

The only edition of this work corresponds to the aforementioned Spanish translation made in Granada in 1496 (but without the last two treatises, as we have said). Nonetheless, Albert Hauf transcribed the first five treatises, and he added this transcription as an annex to his doctorate thesis,<sup>98</sup> even though this transcription is not

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consejo del Arcipreste de Talavera a los que deólogos mucho fundados non son". *AFH*, 76. 1983. P. 245.

<sup>95</sup> Albert Hauf in his book *D'Eiximenis a Sor Isabel de Villena* [Barcelona/Valencia. PAM/IIFV. 1990. 420] speaks about that in many places (see specially pages 323 ss).

<sup>96</sup> It is very well explained in Hauf, Albert. «La huella de Ubertino de Casale en el prerasmismo hispánico: el caso de fray Francesc Eiximenis», *X Congrés Internacional de l'Associació Hispànica de Literatura Medieval*, Associació Hispànica de Literatura Medieval / IIFV, universitat d'Alacant, 16/20<sup>th</sup> September 2003.

<sup>97</sup> Romeu i Figueras, Josep. "El teatre assumpcionista de tècnica medieval als Països Catalans". *EUC*, XXVI. 1984. Pp. 246, 258-62.

<sup>98</sup> Hauf, Albert. *La "Vita Christi" de Fr. Francesc Eiximenis, O.F.M. (1340?-1409?) y la tradición de las Vitae Christi medievales*. Doctorate thesis read in the University of Barcelona in 1976.

The manuscript version of this work, that corresponds to manuscript number 209 of the

published. Thus, there is no Catalan edition of this so important work, with the exception of some small parts.<sup>99</sup> Albert Hauf has published also the first treatise (that deals with predestination) of the Spanish translation from the 15th century.<sup>100</sup>

Finally, between 1404 and 1408, Eiximenis made a beautiful collection of prayers in Latin that is known as *Psalterium alias Laudatorium* [Psalter also called Laudatory]. The first ones of these prayers were dedicated to Berenguer de Ribalta, bishop of Tarazona. The final collection was dedicated to Pero de Luna, the Aragonese Pope of Avignon Benedict XIII. The final collection consists in three hundred and forty-four prayers that are divided into three praying cycles.

There is a partial translation into Catalan that was made in 1416 by Guillem Fontana,<sup>101</sup> and that was printed in Gerona in 1495 by Diego Gumiel. The most complete manuscript of the ones that have been preserved is undoubtedly the one of the cathedral of Valencia (number 151). This manuscript has been the cornerstone for the magnificent edition that Curt Wittlin has made.<sup>102</sup>

There would be, at last, a series of works, most of them brief treatises in Latin language, whose dating is nowadays rather imprecise.

The first one of them would be his *Allegationes* [Allegations], which have

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Library of the University of Valencia [15<sup>th</sup> century. 371 ff.] can be found on line in [www.eiximenis.tk](http://www.eiximenis.tk)

<sup>99</sup> *El naixement de l'infant Jesús*. Barcelona. Edició de Jordi Rubió i Balaguer. 1951. 39.

Jordi Rubió transcribes here the chapters 1-19 of the fourth treatise of this work, that deal with the Nativity of Jesus Christ.

<sup>100</sup> Hauf, Albert G. “Fr. Francisco Eiximenis, O.F.M., “De la predestinación de Jesucristo”, y el consejo del arcipreste de Talavera “a los que deólogos mucho fundados non son””. *AFH*, 76. 1983. 239-95.

<sup>101</sup> Wittlin, Curt J. “Un centenar de oraciones del *Psalterium alias Laudatorium* de Francesc Eiximenis traducidas al catalán por Guillem Fontana en 1416, con una oración original”. *BRABLB*, XLI. 1986-7. 162-90.

<sup>102</sup> *Psalterium alias Laudatorium Papae Benedicto XIII dedicatum*. Toronto. Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. 1988. 307.

Edition and introduction by Curt J. Wittlin.

been transcribed and published recently.<sup>103</sup> In this writing, Eiximenis gives his opinion regarding a conflict between civil and church jurisdiction in the city of Valencia. The dating of this document is very imprecise, and it ranges from 1398 to 1408.<sup>104</sup> This is a key document in any case in order to know Eiximenis' theocratical ideas.

It is hard to date also his *Ars praedicandi populo* [Art of Preaching the People], that was found in Cracovia and that was published and transcribed by Martí

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This edition can also be found on line in [www.eiximenis.tk](http://www.eiximenis.tk)

This Swiss scholar points out very smartly in the introduction for this edition that this work and the *Vita Christi* form a unity of literary creation (P. 32). This idea is developed by A. Hauf in “El *Psalterium* alias *Laudatorium* i la *Vita Christi* de Francesc Eiximenis, obres complementàries?” (*Miscel·lània en homenatge al professor Joan Bastardas*, I. PAM. 1989. 205-28). A. Hauf explains how the *Psalterium* has a style that is different from the one of the *Vita Christi* for basic common contents: “Cal, però, transformar aquesta doctrina en estímul d’una pregària que mogui la ment a la contemplació i a l’amor. Eiximenis tria un dels mètodes de més volada, i per això de més compromís: el de la meditació-oració anselmiana en forma de sol·liloqui amorós o diàleg íntim entre l’ànima i Déu. És, no cal dir-ho, un mètode d’encuny augustinià practicat per sant Bernat i sant Bonaventura que va tenir vasta acceptació fins a convertir-se en un gènere ben determinat” [But it is necessary to transform this doctrine in an stimulus for praying that must also drive the mind towards contemplation and love. Eiximenis tries one of the highest methods, and for this reason one of the ones with more compromise: this is the anselmian meditation-oration with the form of loving soliloquy or intim dialogue between the soul and God. It is a method with Augustinian roots, and it was also practised by saint Bernard and saint Bonaventure and had a wide acceptance until it became a very definite genre] (P. 210).

<sup>103</sup> Hauf i Valls, Albert G. “Les *Allegationes* de Fra Francesc Eiximenis, O.F.M., sobre la jurisdicció i el poder temporal de l’ Església”. *Estudis de Literatura Catalana en honor de Josep Romeu i Figueras*, II. PAM. 1986. 5-33.

This work can be found on line in [www.eiximenis.tk](http://www.eiximenis.tk)

<sup>104</sup> García García, Antonio. “Relaciones entre la Iglesia y el Estado en Valencia a principios del siglo XV”. *Escritos del Vedat*, IX. 1979. 235-46.

These differences arose between the years 1398 and 1412 between the bishop of Valencia and the *Justícia* [Valencian legal authority] regarding the status of the clergymen. The

de Barcelona, O.F.M. Cap.<sup>105</sup> Nevertheless, this book could have been written during Eiximenis' first years of writer. We have a direct proof at the beginning, where it is said that Eiximenis belonged to the convent of Gerona, and it was the convent of his youth.<sup>106</sup>

It should precede his *Sermonari* [Book of Sermons], or probably *Sermonaris* [Books of Sermons], that nowadays have been lost. From the many sermons that Eiximenis wrote, for the moment only one has been found, and this one was transcribed and published by Josep Perarnau in the *ATCA*.<sup>107</sup> It is also possible that it were just the part of a sermon, and not the whole sermon. A proof of the importance of this *Ars praedicandi* is the fact that it was followed for his preachings among others by the important Dominican preacher saint Vincent Ferrer, as M. Sanchis Guarner in the preliminary study of the edition that he prepared for his

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*Justícia* ordered to disarm the clergymen that carried weapons publicly. The bishop of Valencia, Hug de Llupià i Bages (close friend of Eiximenis, whom he had dedicated his *Pastorale*, as we have seen), demanded that the clergymen should be judged according to the church law, and he demanded also that the weapons that had been taken from the clergymen should be given to him. There was also a legal quarrel between the Master of the Order of Montesa and the king of Aragon. In order to solve all these conflicts, there was an arbitration of sixteen men from the kingdom of Valencia. Most of them were jurists, but some of them were clergymen, such as Eiximenis. The part of the final arbitration verdict that corresponds to Eiximenis (that was necessarily written before 1409, i.e. the year of his death), is what is known as *Allegationes*.

<sup>105</sup> Martí de Barcelona. O.F.M. Cap. "L' *Ars Praedicandi* de Francesc Eiximenis". *Homenatge a A. Rubió i Lluch. Miscel·lània d'Estudis Literaris, Històrics i Lingüístics*. Vol. II. Barcelona. 1936. 301-40.

This work can be found on line in [www.eiximenis.tk](http://www.eiximenis.tk)

<sup>106</sup> *Ibidem*. P. 304.

<sup>107</sup> Perarnau, Josep. "Un fragment del *Liber Sermonum* de Francesc Eiximenis". *ATCA*, 10. 1991. 284-93.

There are doubts whether what J. Perarnau found corresponds to a whole sermon or only to a part of it, since what has been found does not fit exactly with the division rules that Eiximenis himself wrote in his *Ars Praedicandi*.

This sermon (or part of it) can be found on line in [www.eiximenis.tk](http://www.eiximenis.tk)

*Sermons de Quaresma* [Lent Sermons] has pointed out.<sup>108</sup>

It seems that Eiximenis wrote also a *Summa Theologica* [Theological Summary] and a part of it was found, transcribed, and finally published by León Amorós, O.F.M. in the *AFH*.<sup>109</sup> Among the subjects of the preserved part, there is the predestination, and as we have already said, the *Quart del Crestià* [Fourth Book of the Christian] should have dealt with it. The other subjects are these ones: *Quid est suppositum* [What supposed is], *Quid est persona* [What person is], *Quid est persona secundum Ricardum* [Richard of Saint Victor] [What person is according to Richard (Richard of Saint Victor)], *Quid demonstratio propter quid* [What proof is because of], *Quid demonstratio quia* [What proof is why], *Quomodo Deus sit intelligibilis* [What way God can be understandable], *De Lumine* [On light] and *De prescientia Dei* [On the prescience of God].<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Vincent Ferrer, O.P. saint. *Sermons de Quaresma*. V. I. Valencia. Ed. Albatros. 1973. P. 22.  
Preliminary study by Manuel Sanchis Guarner.

<sup>109</sup> Amorós, León, O.F.M. “El problema de la *Summa Theologica* del Maestro Francisco Eiximenis, O.F.M. (1340?-1409)”. *AFH*, 52. 1959. 178-203.

This transcription that has also been published is also available on line in the Electronic Library of the NARPAN (<http://www.udg.edu/ilcc/Eiximenis/narpan/ben.htm>). It can also be found on line in [www.eiximenis.tk](http://www.eiximenis.tk)

<sup>110</sup> In the aforementioned article, L. Amorós gets to the conclusion that this *Summa* was written at the same time as the *Vita Christi*, since it makes many cross-references to the *Summa*, and since it only appears mentioned in the *Vita Christi*, among all Eiximenis' works (pp. 181- 3). Regarding the possible content of this *Summa*, considering these cross-references in the *Vita Christi*, L. Amorós concludes that it could be the following: 1- The first book would deal with the four evangelists. 2- The second book would deal with predestination (the part that has been preserved would be included in this book). 3- The third book is not mentioned anywhere. 4- There are three references of the fourth book. The first one is about Christ's circumcision. The second one is about the stars influence on men. And the third one is about angels, even though he had already dealt with them in his *Llibre dels Àngels*, as we have seen. 5- The fifth book would deal with the Immaculate Conception. 6- The sixth book would deal, as chapter 6 of the prologue of the *Vita Christi* says, with, *innumerables qüestions, e notables, e sentències e difficultats que los grans doctors han mogudes sobre los sancts evangelis* [countless questions, and opinions,

Even though it is not strictly a literary work, we must include the *Epístola a l'infant Martí, duc de Montblanc, donant-li consells sobre el seu regiment a Sicília* [Letter to prince Martin, duke of Montblanc, where we give him some advices regarding his administration in Sicily]. This letter was transcribed and published by A. Rubió i Lluch in his *Documents*.<sup>111</sup> The letter was written on 15<sup>th</sup> July 1392 in Valencia, and it is addressed to the aforementioned prince Martin, future king Martin I. He went to Sicily in order to supervise that his son, Martin *the Young* took office of the kingdom. It is very interesting, although its shortness, in order to know Eiximenis' ideas about government, and in this case, about the good government.

When talking about the editions of Eiximenian texts, it would be necessary as well to mention several important and interesting anthologies. The first one was made by Jill R. Webster.<sup>112</sup> Another one was done by Albert Hauf, even though in this

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and difficult matters that the great doctors have considered as to the saint Gospels] (Valencia. BUV. Ms. 209. F. 4r). 7- Regarding the seventh book, it makes reference again to Christ's circumcision. There is another reference, but without specifying the book, to the sacrament of baptism. We could add that chapter 53 of the 7th treatise makes also a reference to the *Summa Theologica*, but without specifying a particular book regarding the matter of usury (Valencia. BUV. Ms. 209. F. 200r). From these data L. Amorós gets the conclusion that this *Summa Theologica* would have had seven books (pp. 184-6).

<sup>111</sup> Rubió i Lluch. Antoni. *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-aval*. Volume II. Barcelona. IEC. 1921. Pp. 399-403.

This letter, together with the one that he wrote on 12th March 1396 for king John I in Valencia, are the only Eiximenis' autograph letters that have been preserved [they are preserved in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon (ACA, Autògrafs, II-A.8)]. The letter from 1396 was transcribed for the first time by Martí de Riquer (*Història de la Literatura Catalana*. Vol. II. Barcelona. Ed. Ariel. 1984. P. 319).

Both letters are also transcribed by Sadurní Martí in his article "Les cartes autògrafes de Francesc Eiximenis" [*Estudi General*, 22. *Miscel·lània d'Homenatge a Modest Prats*. Vol. II. 2002. 235-49].

They are also available on line in the Electronic Library of the NARPAN (<http://www.udg.edu/ilcc/Eiximenis/narpan/ben.htm>) and also in [www.eiximenis.tk](http://www.eiximenis.tk)

<sup>112</sup> Webster, Jill R. *La societat catalana al segle XIV*. Barcelona. Edicions 62. 1967. 89.

antology there are only texts from *Lo Crestià*.<sup>113</sup> Another one was made by Xavier Renedo and Sergi Gascón,<sup>114</sup> and here texts from other Eiximenian works are also included.

Regarding editions of Eiximenis' texts, finally, we must point out, together with the collection of tales that are scattered through his works, that was made by Marçal Olivar,<sup>115</sup> some collections of several Eiximenis' texts that were made at the

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Edition by Jill R. Webster.

The following chapters are transcribed (although most of them partially): From the *Primer del Crestià* [First Book of the Christian], chapters 33, 207, 256, 289, 292 and 331. From the *Segon del Crestià* [Second Book of the Christian], chapters 2, 66, 160 and 163. From the *Terç del Crestià* [Third Book of the Christian], chapters 103, 108, 243, 625-6, 714, 733, 790, 813, 905 and 912-3. From the *Regiment de la Cosa Pública* [Government of the Republic], chapters 1, 11, 15, 22, 28-30, 33 and 36. From the *Dotzè del Crestià* [Twelfth Book of the Christian], chapters 12, 69, 70, 98, 115, 154, 192, 199, 210, 226, 338-9, 349, 353, 403, 411, 472, 489, 509, 553-4, 558, 563, 578, 603, 617, 679-81, 738, 741, 746-8, 755, 862, 880 and 882. From the *Llibre de les Dones* [Book of Women], chapters 13, 54, 210 and 249. There is also the transcription of two chapters of the *Llibre dels Àngels* [Book of Angels] and the *Vita Christi* [Life of Jesus Christ], but without specifying the number of the chapter within the work.

<sup>113</sup> *Lo Crestià*. Barcelona. Edicions 62. 1983. 317

Selection by Albert Hauf.

The following chapters are transcribed: From the *Primer del Crestià* [First Book of the Christian], chapters 1-4 of the Prologue, and chapters 1, 19 and 20. From the *Segon del Crestià* [Second Book of the Christian], chapters 1-5, 14, 50-2, 63, 66, 161, 163-4 and 239. From the *Terç del Crestià* [Third Book of the Christian], chapters 1-3, 17, 38, 54, 56-7, 67, 75, 78, 86, 90-8, 103-6, 111, 117, 121, 127, 140, 150, 155-6, 182, 187, 300-1, 315, 353-5, 370, 372, 376, 379, 574, 670, 714-5, 719, 822, 912-3, 943 and 946-8. From the *Dotzè del Crestià* [Twelfth Book of the Christian], chapters 3, 4, 14, 24-5, 41, 110, 156, 357-60, 364, 368-9, 371-2, 377-8, 380, 382, 384-6, 388-92, 394, 544-8, 576-8, 602-3, 607-9, 655-9, 679, 687-8, 691, 747-8, 750-1, 774, 812, 833-6, 862-5, 874, 882 and 906-7.

All the chapters are totally transcribed.

<sup>114</sup> *Prosa*. Barcelona. Ed. Teide. 1996. 165.

Version by Xavier Renedo and Sergi Gascón.

end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century.<sup>116</sup>

Moreover, it seems finally clear that Eiximenis is not the author of a series of works that were attributed to him until recent years. These are the *Doctrina compendiosa* [Abridged Doctrine] (transcribed and published first by Martí de Barcelona, O.F.M. Cap.<sup>117</sup> and more recently by Curt Wittlin with modern language<sup>118</sup>) and the *Cercapou* (transcribed and published by G.E. Sansone).<sup>119</sup> As to the first one, the final researchers conclusion is that, even though it is probably a text

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The following chapters are transcribed (although some of them partially): From the *Primer del Crestià* [First Book of the Christian], chapters 13, 19, 20, 22, 31, 32, 33 and 239. From the *Segon del Crestià* [Second Book of the Christian], chapters 1, 29, 63 and 157. From the *Terç del Crestià* [Third Book of the Christian], chapters 13, 86, 354-5, 378, 382, 385-5, 387, 470, 670,-1, 701, 714, 719 and 803. From the *Dotzè del Crestià* [Twelfth Book of the Christian], chapters 10-3, 22, 55, 57, 84, 93, 106, 113, 115-6, 139, 194, 524, 771-2 and 882.

Chapters from other Eiximenis' works are also transcribed, exactly the following ones: from the *Regiment de la Cosa Pública* [Government of the Republic], chapter 34. From the *Llibre dels Àngels* [Book of Angels], chapter 59 of the 3rd treatise. From the *Llibre de les Dones* [Book of Women], chapters 5, 6, 16-7, 24, 54, 56, 84, 86-8 and 92. From the *Vida de Jesucrist* [Life of Jesus Christ], chapter 2 of the 8<sup>th</sup> treatise.

<sup>115</sup> *Contes i faules*. Barcelona. Ed. Barcino. 1925. 168.

<sup>116</sup> *Regles de bona criança en menjar, beure y servir a taula tretes de "Lo Terç del Crestià" del P.M. Francesch Eiximeniç (segle XIV)*. Barcelona. Ed. Joseph Balari Jovany. Estampa de Fidel Giró. 1889. 45.

*Sapienciari: Proverbis e dits vulgars tretes de les obres de Fra Francesc Eximenis e de altres autors, ara per primera vegada fets estampar*. Barcelona. L'Arxiu. Ed. Antoni Bulbena i Tosell. 1900. 20 sheets and 17 without number.

*Tractat de Luxúria. Capítols tretes de "Lo Terç del Crestià"*. Ms. inèdit en lo XIV segle, compost per lo molt reverend Mestre Francesch Eximeniç. Nova traducció de les històries de Loth e de Susanna. Barcelona. Stampa Elzeviriana. 1906. 30.

<sup>117</sup> *Doctrina compendiosa*. Barcelona. Editorial Barcino. 1929. 157.

<sup>118</sup> *Doctrina compendiosa*. Paiporta. Denes. 2006. 151.

<sup>119</sup> *Cercapou*. Volume I. Barcelona. Editorial Barcino. 1957. 115.

Prepared by G.E. Sansone.

*Cercapou*. Volume II. Barcelona. Editorial Barcino. 1958. 108.

that was inspired by Eiximenian doctrines (maybe taken from the *Dotzè*), Eiximenis was not the direct author.<sup>120</sup> As to the *Cercapou*, it seems that it is the work of an anonymous author that used Eiximenis as a source.<sup>121</sup> In particular, it seems that the anonymous author of the *Cercapou* copied more or less literally pieces of the final part of the *Llibre de les Dones*. The part that has not been copied from Eiximenis, would be a copy from the anonymous *Espill de consciència* [Mirror of conscience].<sup>122</sup> In the same aforementioned Curt Wittlin's article, he gives a suggesting hypothesis about the contents and reasons for the composition of the *Doctrina compendiosa*. He says that it is possible that this work could gather debates or dialogues between Francesc Eiximenis and Valencian citizens from the upper class, that were written by someone who had been deeply impressed by them. So it would be a work that, even though Eiximenis did not write himself, would be full of his spirit and ideology.

Other researches have also determined that Eiximenis was not the author of some works that had been attributed to him. These are the following ones: *Expositio in psalmos poenitentiales* [Explanation of the Penance Psalms],<sup>123</sup> *Qüestions sobre*

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Prepared by G.E. Sansone.

<sup>120</sup> Riera i Sans, Jaume. "Fra Francesc Eiximenis no és l'autor de la *Doctrina compendiosa*". *Quaderns de Filologia de la Universitat de València*. 1984 (1). 289-92.

In the preliminary study for the edition of this work that was made by Curt Wittlin [Paiporta. Denes. 2006. 151], this researcher attributes this work to Ramon Soler, doctor in law and butler of prince John (future John I) in 1384. But he also shares with other researchers the idea that the work is full of Francesc Eiximenis' ideas and thoughts, and he also suggests that the friar that appears in the book and that manages the dialogue is Eiximenis himself.

<sup>121</sup> Wittlin, Curt J. "Los problemas del *Cercapou* y el *Libre de les Dones* de Fray Francesc Eiximenis". *BSCC*, XLVI. 1970. 61-95.

<sup>122</sup> Wittlin, Curt J. "De *Lo Libre de les Dones* a la *Scala Dei*". *Actes del tercer col·loqui d'estudis catalans a Nord-Amèrica*. PAM. 1983. P. 149 n.12.

<sup>123</sup> Wittlin, Curt J. "Un centenar de oraciones del *Psalterium (alias Laudatorium)* de Francesc Eiximenis traducidas al catalán por Guillem Fontana en 1416, con una oración original". *BRABLB*, XLI. 1986-7. 162-90.

*els novíssims* [Questions about the Newest],<sup>124</sup> *l'Art de ben morir* [Art of Dying Well],<sup>125</sup> and *Tractat de la passió* [Treatise on the Passion].<sup>126</sup> The same can be said about the *Tractat de confessió* [Treatise on Confession], which is a copy of the chapters 321-9 of the *Llibre de les Dones* [Book of Women].<sup>127</sup>

And finally we have to mention the works that he says that he has written, but that for the moment have not been found. These are the aforementioned *Sermonaris* [Sermon Books], the *Exposició de la regla dels frares menors* [Exposition of the Rule of the Friars Minor], *De religió* [On Religion], *Llibre de virtuts* [Book of Virtues] and the *Summa Philosophica* [Philosophical Summary].<sup>128</sup>

In order to end with this summary, we will just say, regarding the success of Eiximenis' works that during the 15th century, i.e. more or less a century after most of his books were written, that their presence in the Valencian libraries was overwhelming, and only the Bible surpassed them.<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Wittlin, Curt J. "Les tres fonts llatines de les *Qüestions sobre els novíssims* atribuïdes, en l'edició de Tolosa de 1486, a Francesc Eiximenis". *Miscel·lània Joan Bastardas*, 2. PAM. 1989. 149-65.

<sup>125</sup> Fàbrega Grau, Àngel. "Els primitius textos catalans de *l'Art de ben morir*". *AST*, 28. 1955. 79-104.

<sup>126</sup> This work corresponds to Ms. 4237 from the Spanish National Library of Madrid, and is explicitly attributed to Eiximenis. But first Curt J. Wittlin, and due to his advices A. Hauf afterwards, have noticed that this treatise corresponds *mutatis mutandis* to chapters 142 to 228 from Isabel de Villena's *Vita Christi*. In order to get more information about it see Hauf, A. *Text i context de l'obra de sor Isabel de Villena*. Valencia. CVC. 1991. Pp. 104-5, n.24.

<sup>127</sup> Martí de Barcelona. O.F.M. Cap. "Fra Francesc Eiximenis, O.M. (1340?-1409?). La seva vida, els seus escrits, la seva personalitat literària". *EF*, XL. 1928. Pp. 479-80.

<sup>128</sup> *Ibidem*. Pp. 490-3.

<sup>129</sup> Berger, Ph. *Libro y lectura en la Valencia del Renacimiento*. Valencia. Ed. Alfons el Magnànim. 1987. Pp. 380-1. Mentionned in Falomir, Miguel. "El proceso de *cristianización urbana* de la ciudad de Valencia". *Archivo español de arte*, 64 (254). 1991. P. 133 n. 24.