

Ramon Llull, inspirer and pedagogue of civil religion

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Abstract

The article presents the new place of the figure of Ramon Llull in the modern civic and religious universe. Llullism has had a clear impact on Mallorcan society since the 14th century, in parallel to the knowledge and the university-centred and political debates he generated in the past. Llull was the Blessed Brother par excellence and the originator of the Fatherland, and he continues to be so in contemporary times. This article is divided into two main sections: first, one in which the changes and adaptations of Llull in the 19th century are presented, and secondly, one which addresses the dual role –religious and civic– of the figure of Llull within the framework of the commemoration of the 6th centennial of his death, promoted by the diocese based on the initiatives of Bishop Pere Joan Campins, and by Palma City Hall with the creation of the Institut d'Estudis Superiors per a la Dona [Institute of Higher Studies for Women].

Key words: religion, Catholicism, feminism, Llullism, modernity, education, Mallorca.

1. Introduction

In her article in this monograph dedicated to women's education and women's role in social reform, professor Maribel Ripoll introduces us to the pedagogical treatises of Ramon Llull and situates us clearly within this vein of Llullian thinking. She reminds us that Joan Tusquets (1954) considered Llull the "pedagogue of Christianity", while Lola Badia and Albert Soler define him as a "chair-less pedagogue". All of them explain Llull based on his pedagogical vocation. Obviously, we are referring to two different pedagogical proposals with complementary perspectives and views. From the standpoint of the history of education, and especially based on a dynamic of social education, we can consider Llull a propagandist and activist whose methods and practices were

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imbued with originality, in some cases as the outcome of his personal circumstances and academic limitations, while in others as the result of his commitment to the world of his era. Indeed, from this standpoint, a touch of excellence can be detected in Llull's works.

From this realm, we shall pose several questions which are more closely related to the use of the figure and work of Llull in schools and education in general, especially as a civic referent and a major cultural fulcrum around whom there were attempts to construct a regional, national or patriotic story. This narration is essentially grounded upon social pedagogies meant in the broad sense. We shall primarily discuss two points in time. The first is the transformation that Llull and Lullism underwent after the liberal revolutions and, in consequence, the disappearance of a religious, political and cultural universe characteristic of absolutist, royalist regimes. Llull is associated with power, yet at the same time he is connected to Franciscanism and traditional grassroots Catholicism. Secondly, we shall analyse some of the essential features of the celebration of the sixth centennial of the death of Ramon Llull on Mallorca (1915-16). This is an extraordinarily momentous event from the civic and political standpoint, a key moment in shaping the cultural driving forces (teachers, professors, writers, journalists, etc.) who played a prime role in it, albeit not always with sufficient visibility.¹ Since the last third of the 19th century, Ramon Llull has been an essential constituent element in the cultural, historical and educational story of the Catholic movement and bourgeois reformist thinking, an honour shared with other icons from both the Catholic tradition and reformist culture.

We shall focus on one of these symbolic moments when, as Fèlix Riera recently reminded us, stories act as instruments of control.² The social and cultural circumstances in which the sixth centennial of his death was commemorated (1915) adapted Llull and interpreted the scope of his figure in a way that was conditioned by the timely issues in the country and in Europe. Obviously, these two features can only be understood globally based on the myth of Llull, the way the Church of Mallorca had used the figure from the 13th century until mainly the 19th century, and the influence and depth of everything that was touched by this great "miracle worker" of the word, thought and faith. The civil story and the intangible space that Llull occupies in the story of modernity clearly extends beyond the religious sphere and, as it moved forward and secularisation was consolidated, Llull primarily became a cultural icon.

2. Overall approach to the topic

Ramon Llull was a citizen of Mallorca, an atypical thinker in the 13th to 14th centuries who crossed the slippery boundary of critical orthodoxies and posited alternatives to conventional, standardised Christianity as it had traditionally been presented. He was the forerunner of an alternative model of the Church

¹ See issue 28 of *El Magisterio Balear* (3 July 1915), pp. 2-16, which is wholly devoted to Ramon Llull.

² Riera, Fèlix, "La hegemonía de lo social", *La Vanguardia* (12 January 2016). Riera primarily cites Salmon (2008). In another story model complementary to this one, we shall ask the same underlying question: Fullana, Peñarrubia and Quintana (1996).

within the framework of Franciscanism, the penitential movements and the pauperist and bourgeois modes of the 13th century. Llull's apologetic drive, which was quite vivid in Catalonia, can be understood within the framework of the unique coexistence among Christians, Saracens and Jews. Citing Tomàs Carreras Artau, Salvador Galmés states: "but that tendency was purely circumstantial and accessory and sought solely to satisfy the peremptory needs of the era" (Galmés, 1932: 50). This facet of beliefs is interesting from the vantage point of the dynamic of modern spiritualities, but it is not what is the most attractive about Llull from the standpoint of the citizenry or the cultural world.

Llull is associated with the national culture understood within the conceptual framework of the European nationalisms which were coalescing all over the continent, dovetailing with the liberal revolutions. Ramon Llull fits the profile of the originator of the moderate liberal fatherland as a synthesis between the intellectual and the man of action. From this standpoint, he is the inspirer of the Catalan language and holds a specific weight within the history of this language and literature. However, Llull is essentially a reference in the history of thinking and most importantly a link in the history of ideas. Yet this is not the view of Llull we wish to spotlight. In this case, we are interested in the relationship between Ramon Llull and education not so much in the Middle Ages or based on his oeuvre but through the Lullian narrative on Mallorca in the second half of the 19th and first third of the 20th centuries. We could add even more facets to this multifaceted personality that Llull has been and still is. Llull the scientist, diplomat, ambassador, pedagogue, mediator and preacher render him a cultural, civic and pedagogical franchise. Likewise, understandably, we are not providing a comprehensive literature review on Llull and pedagogy as Miquel Deyà Palerm (1987) and others have already done, which would be impossible at this juncture.

Llull's pedagogical component appears in the bulk of his works; it serves as a basic, cross-cutting referent; and it enables us to view the Doctor Illuminatus as an alternative to the scholar. Science is neither the exclusive work nor exclusive outcome of academia, nor is wisdom grounded solely in experience or voluntarism. In this sense, Llull's entire life is an exercise that does not clearly fit within these conventional models; his practices and cultural and religious commitments can only be sustained within a comprehensive view of his thinking, of what comprises the essence of his personality, works, ideals, chimeras and analysis of reality. For all of these reasons, we empathise with Llull in the way that canon Carles Cardó did. This democratic, anti-fascist canon situated Llull as an individual who prepared a new time, tested new ways and ushered in a methodology and system to explain the world and the symbolic universe poised at the forefront of new developments in Europe. In reality, Ramon Llull was a harbinger of new movements within Christianity; he elevated the popular tongues – in this case Catalan – to scientific dignity, he advanced the novel and the great navigations; he presented new paradigms of thought; and most importantly he introduced and advanced new pedagogies. Some members of the reformist currents of modern pedagogy in Catalonia saw Llull as a genius, the bearer of meaning and the illuminator of a unique pedagogical project. In consequence, the creators, thinkers, educated men and women, intellectuals and popularisers of political Catalanism and Mallorcanism have drawn inspiration from Llull directly or indirectly.

We shall divide our article into two sections. The first one focuses on the articulation of the figure of Ramon Llull in the modern age and the Llull that liberal society inherited after the defeat of the Old Regime, along with the way he was restored within the new liberal citizenry. The second section focuses – as mentioned above – on commemorating the sixth centennial, and we shall do so through the work of Paula Canyellas and the Institut Superior de la Dona, an attempt to elevate the figure of women to the peak of civic sovereignty. We shall complement this experience within the framework of the contributions and image that *El Magisterio Balear* – a weekly targeted at teachers – offered of Ramon Llull and the projects promoted by bishop Pere Joan Campins in 1915. This examination is grounded on a historical, diachronic interpretation, yet each section enables us to gain a rather in-depth view of the pedagogical and socialising projection of the era, obviously bearing in mind the historical juncture, the currents of thinking and opinion, and the sparks of pedagogical reform from those chosen moments.

3. Ramon Llull: The step from religious devotion to civil religion, a pre-modern solution

From the start of his missionary and civil actions, Ramon Llull had followers, and he himself moved in circles that acted outside the core of the conventional institutions (bishoprics, monarchies, universities and religious orders). He soon became a referent and a known and highly regarded leader who moved and acted on the fringes of what the sentinels of orthodoxy considered the common spaces of faith. Llull, Arnau de Vilanova, Angelo Clareno and other contemporaries made a name for themselves because they championed proposals and views that harboured claims that were highly critical of and debatable in the Church and mediaeval society. From a uniquely Catalan-Mallorcan vantage point, Llull synthesised the thinking of the most critical individuals and groups circulating around southern Europe. This thinking came from the most disgruntled and critical currents of Franciscanism and the other mendicant orders, and the mission of this movement was to integrate the more outlying trends from Christian mediaeval society into the Church (Meerseman, 1982; Redondo, 2010). Llull's milieu was plural, and his sphere of influence was broad, equally projected onto the upper and lower classes. From then until the 21st century, no one has had an exclusive hold on Lullian thinking or on his image. The iconography of Llull is not exclusively ecclesiastic; there has also been a civil iconography around him from the Middle Ages until the 20th century. The persecution that Llull suffered from, particularly from the Tribunal of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, and the persecution of his direct followers, primarily in the 14th and 15th centuries, is yet further proof of Llull's power and the unease and shadow of heterodoxy that hovered over the land. The iconography of Ramon Llull, just as with other religious figures in other urban and cultural spaces, was consolidated as a timeless, permanent, consensual iconography, and it symbolically went beyond the exclusively religious realm (Muñoz, 1997).

With the political victory of the Franciscans of Primitive Observance in Castile, with Isabel of Castile and cardinal Cisneros, the figure of Llull was partly folded into the system, and we can find a chair of Lullian philosophy and theology at Alcalá de Henares soon thereafter. Yet Llull's legitimisation by the

powers-that-be did not eradicate the peripheral, profound version of Llull, which was developed primarily in European universities and also on Mallorca in particular. Llull's work and the projection of his figure illuminated or clashed with academic thinking, especially in the 16th and 17th centuries. However, it also inspired the action of prominent humanists, and not only regionally. Without Ramon Llull, it would be difficult to properly interpret both the architecture of the thinking and the political/social praxis (educational, social and political initiatives on Mallorca inspired by Llull) (Botinas Montero, Cabaleiro Manzanedo and Duran Vinyeta, 2002; Barceló and Ensenyat, 2013). In the 18th century, we can only properly explain the controversies between the Lullists and anti-Lullists if we realise the symbolic and political value of the figure of Llull. The political designs of the Bourbon dynasty had its own icons and referents, and Llull did not fit into them. Everything that explains Llull within the framework of the Enlightenment and enlightened despotism, religious royalism and the actions of certain theology and philosophy chairs on Mallorca cannot be interpreted based exclusively on the debate of ideas but instead on the new symbols of power, with dominant models of society which the Lullists viewed quite differently in light of Llull's own modern interpretation. During the 16th and 17th centuries, several initiatives related to social education and training were inspired by Llull, from the Col·legi Lul·lià de Nostra Dona de la Sapiència (1633) to the Hospital de Minyones (1628), and from the Col·legi de la Criança (1510) to the Casa i Piscina Espiritual de Nostra Dona de la Pietat (1703). Most of these proposals included and educated women, who deserved consideration in the sphere of education, and some of them still survive in the 21st century.

By the end of the 18th century, it had clearly become difficult to assess the projection of Llull's figure among the working classes, to ascertain how they welcomed the structural changes that were taking place inside the political and economic elites, and to observe who participated actively in the pro- and anti-Lullian brouhaha. There is some consensus that Ramon Llull remained important in the popular imagination and devotion. Wills, pious bequests and baptisms provide us with documentary information which provides a glimpse into Llull's emotional and devotional penetration. Altogether, today we may have an exaggerated or stereotyped idea, one which – with few exceptions (Ramis Barceló, 2012) – has been barely studied using a rigorous methodology. Perhaps when speaking about devotion, we are confusing religious discourse and power with devotional practices, dedications and all the different ways piety was expressed until the 18th century. Generally speaking, in the descriptions of Lullian devotion, we are referring to elitist culture and power, even when appealing to the Causa Pia Lul·liana, an estate-driven, curial instrument controlled by the juries of the City and the Church institution. A significant swath of Mallorca's dominant class considered themselves the defenders and disseminators of the Lullian soul, but we are unaware of the real impact on the lower classes, who were affected by pietism and preferred emotional religiosity.

Major confusion arose around the figure of Ramon Llull during the last third of the 18th and first third of the 19th centuries. Upheaval and academic schisms had monopolised much of the knowledge about Llull, when these divisions most likely concealed clashing social and pedagogical models in the power struggles both inside and outside the Church. At the same time, symptoms of and desires for change were being expressed in a preliberal society

in which those who sought to lead the future society were beginning to be defined (Calvo Maturana, 2013). Knowledge, the image of Lull and the articulation of the Lullian discourse may have also become increasingly cultural and civic. Indeed, everything surrounding Lullian devotion and commemorations depended on the public administrations, and we should not lose sight of the fact that with the loss of the Gran i General Consell and the Nueva Planta decrees, its symbols and cultural references were also impaired. On the other hand, specific sectors, either educated or involved in political or economic resistance, began to coalesce around the figure of Lull at a time marked by royalism, Jansenism and the Enlightenment. In this new social map, Lull could represent uniqueness, and the world aspired to create a model of peaceful coexistence in another direction. Eighteenth-century Franciscanism fought back, and the jurors/councillors of the Palma Town Hall seemed to as well. Despite everything, and it was a juncture when the most important wave of Mallorcan missionaries in history got underway, an experiment led by Juníper Serra and dozens of Mallorcan Franciscans trained in the school of Ramon Lull, moved by the spirit of Franciscan-Lullian inspiration (Amengual, 2015). On the other hand, prominent members of the Enlightenment and Spanish royalism, such as bishop Bernat Nadal, stood out for their Lullian commitment (Fullana Puigserver, 2014).

The model of coexistence between the Church and the monarchy clearly shifted after 1812, except for the periods of absolutist restoration led by Ferdinand VII. With its secularisation and disentanglement, liberalism was an unstoppable phenomenon in Europe as a whole and in Spain in particular. Obviously, these trends affected the way Lull was presented in classrooms, at least in the first third of the 19th century. Furthermore, the traditional university chairs and the Universitat de Mallorca disappeared, the civic-religious rituals of the Old Regime were abolished, and many of the cornerstones of traditional society were being questioned. Yet references to Ramon Lull remained alive on Mallorca. The Church lost much of its presence and economic power. The new liberal system put an end to the traditional estates and affected the Church's economics and power structure. Lull was probably not the patrimony of power or even exclusive to the people; however, everything leads us to believe that he was completely or partially associated with the Church imaginary which needed to undergo an in-depth renovation. Many of the elements sustaining the Lullian architecture on Mallorca supposedly disappeared. However, the four cruxes or symbols of popular devotion in Palma survived. The visit by a group of French bishops to Palma in 1842 to see the relics of Saint Catherine of Palma, Ramon Lull and Alonso Rodríguez at the Palma Cathedral leads us to believe that they were the most universal symbolic sites in the Mallorcan Church and the identity markers where it was best recognised. Lull's memory remained particularly vivid within the orders of sanctity and exemplariness of the venerable and blessed brothers of the Third Order of Saint Francis, the focal point of a certain grassroots devotion on Mallorca, as Father Gabriel Marià Ribas de Pina (1862: 282-286) reminds us.

Concord, consensus and agreements between the winners and losers came with the consolidation of the liberal state, the First Carlist War and the proclamation of Isabel II as queen. Moderate Catholics played a particularly prominent role in the articulation of the new liberal state, and Ramon Lull became a referent of consensus among the different dominant political cultures.

The official religious discourse was imbued with anti-liberalism, but the civic and political practices were characterised by possibilism and the need for concord (Veiga, 2014). As far as we can deduce, Ramon Llull did not seem to fit into the Carlist mythology, that is, into the symbolism and political culture of traditionalism. In fact, neither the Carlist press nor the main ideological referents within Carlism claimed him excessively, even though they pretended to have an exclusive claim on the Catholic discourse and kept up particularly vivid ties with rural and working-class sectors.

In contrast, the cultural, civic and religious claims are evident, and this process can be clearly traced during the period from 1843 to 1874. It was led by moderate Catholics, liberals and republicans, when, revealing some degree of harmony, they set out to restore the figure of Llull by reviving his festival. This endeavour had the support of the periodicals on the island, both the conservative publications (*Diario de Palma*) and the liberal ones (*El Genio de la Libertad*). The Palma Town Hall regained its role as the promoter of the events that the councillors had overseen in the past, with the support of the excommunicated Franciscans and a group of scholarly, grassroots clergy, all of them the promoters of the festivals devoted to Ramon Llull. The spirit of this time is expressed in this twofold facet: on the one hand religious (panegyrics, devotionaries, etc.) and on the other civic, meaning the sense of citizenship spawned by the new liberal institutions. The map of those in charge of these public interventions reveals the intentions of an open, liberal society because, among many other motives, this assignment was given to open-minded clergymen (the most liberal and progressive ones, like Jeroni Bibiloni [1846; Ferrer Flórez, 1995] and Miquel Moragues). All the liberal currents, each with its own nuances and political and cultural profiles, were present in the official story of Llull. The dominant current is related to moderantism and what could be called the current of “conciliation” led by Jaume Balmes, Josep Maria Quadrado and the neo-Catholics. This current had a clear connection with “Jovellanism”, the name by which the liberal conservative core from the 1830s and 1840s was known on Mallorca.

It is clear that Llull fit within the new romantic, patriotic, institutional and symbolic piety. Ramon Llull was invoked at times of collective hardship, especially in prayers during drought. We can see how his figure was used as a political vehicle during the most critical junctures prior to the Revolution of 1868, such as in the Hispano-Moroccan War of 1859. Academies, athenaeums, the bourgeoisie and innovative circles also kept some degree of commitment to Llull. This bourgeois and grassroots divulgation can be found in plays, intermezzos and comedies about Ramon Llull (in 1848, *El Genio de la Libertad* announced a performance of this sort). Romantic writers and travellers took an interest in the figure of Llull (in 1848, Henry Feuilleret travelled to Mallorca searching for information on Llull). We even know that the Acadèmia de Belles Arts, created in 1849, spearheaded a new Lullian iconography, which included the works by the painters Gabriel Juan Marroig (1863), Ricard Anckermann and Antoni Ribas (1867), among others. In 1868, the Ateneu Balear announced the Ramon Llull Monument Design Prize. Francisco Civera signed the request in which the Athenaeum awarded the best design of a monument to Ramon Llull (6 July 1868), according to that entity’s minutes dated the 14th of December 1868 (Mas i Vives, 2008).

Within this same sphere, Llull appears among the main characters in the new historical narrative, the start of which was marked by the conquest in 1229 (Alcover, 1951). It is clear that the story of Llull remained closely tied to religion, especially the Causa Pia Lul·liana, the Col·legi de la Sapiència and the Seminari Conciliar, and to the most secular intellectuals. An in-depth study should be performed of the attitude of the most anticlerical groups in the publications of the Sexenni Democràtic (Six Years of Democracy, 1868-1874), given that Joanot Colom became the popular cultural icon of bourgeois and working-class republicanism. However, the same neo-Catholics, such as Josep Maria Quadrado (1870), highlighted the importance of being familiar with and divulging the life and work of Llull. During the Palma Town Hall's push in favour of Colom, liberals and Catholics defended Llull as the main symbol of consensus in the country.³ On the 3rd of July 1870, Palma continued celebrating the "religious festival in honour of the illustrious martyred Blessed Brother Raimundo Lulio",⁴ but the newly emerging cultural policies viewed Llull as a concession to the religious reaction, and doubts were cast on Llull's religious exclusivity. This is precisely the framework surrounding Llull's figure as an essential religious referent in the construction of a secular, free citizenry, apart from Church beliefs and conventions. Llull's religious ceremonial become an integral part of the civil liturgy as a component of the social pact.

In the context of the modern era (1875 to 1915-16), there seems to have been better entente between reformist-minded intellectuals and Catholic intellectuals. On the one hand was mysticism, poetry and religious literature; on the other, grassroots devotion; and on yet another, the commitment of the Catholic intellectuals, among them Josep Maria Quadrado, Marcelino Menéndez Pelayo and Joan Maura. This hybrid Lullism is related to the creation of Lullian Societies (the Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana and the Societat Lul·liana de Porreres) and schools associated with Llull's name. A series of painters, sculptors and intellectuals are associated with the cultural projection of Llull (Ricard Anckermann, Joan Bauzà, Jeroni Rosselló and Mateu Obrador, just to cite a few examples). Llull inspired a kind of consensus. It is worth noting how Llull made the cultural, civic and political fabric possible, and even strengthened it, as an element of consensus among the cultural elites (the Institució Mallorquina d'Ensenyament and the Seminari Conciliar de Sant Pere), without neglecting the role of the more traditionalist and integrationist academies (La Joventut Catòlica, the Seglars Catòlics and the commitment which Sardà Salvany and Antoni Maria Alcover showed to the figure of Llull as they led the integrism side until 1896). This is the context within which the focus on restoring the legacy of Ramon Llull gained solid ground: Bartomeu Ferrà claimed that his grave in Sant Francesc should be finished (1876); Archduke Lluís Salvador restored Miramar and summoned the Lullists to the former Lullian school as part of the centennial of the founding of the site (1876-77); the sculpture of Llull was placed on the façade of the cathedral (1879); the erection of a monument in Palma devoted to Llull was planned and the Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana was designed; the plaque was installed on the house in the historical centre of Palma where legend has it Llull was born; and the Societat itself asked the town halls of Mallorca to dedicate a street to Ramon

³ *El Juez de Paz* (7 July 1870), p. 7.

⁴ *Calendario para las Islas Baleares 1870*. Palma: Imprenta P. J. Gelabert, 1870, p. 4.

Llull in each village and urban nucleus. Ramon Llull was definitively added to the civic imaginary. The Fairs and Festivals of Palma in 1881 were, in fact, dedicated to Ramon Llull and St Catherine of Palma. By the end of the 19th century, Ramon Llull was the great validating patron and the cornerstone of the civil religion, apart from the way each social subgroup used and interpreted him, most notably the Church, although it no longer had an exclusive claim on Llull.

4. The 6th centennial of the death of Ramon Llull: The utopia of the spiritual and civic pedagogy (1915)

Damià Pons (2015) has conducted an in-depth study of the impact of the 6th centennial of the death of Ramon Llull. Maria Antònia Roig has published extraordinary studies on the Institut d'Estudis Superiors per a la Dona (IESD), and yours truly has recently spoken about bishop Pere Joan Campins' commitment to Ramon Llull. The year 1915 became a major turning point in the transformation of Ramon Llull into the leading symbol and referent of the civil religion (Bell, 2007).⁵ For the first time, Llull inspired initiatives and became an identity referent, on equal footing in both religious and civil sainthood. The educational debate arose and was generated because Mallorcan society was being shaped and articulated with plural elements, without either the uniformity or unanimity that the Church or certain traditional power groups wished. Early on, as Damià Pons (2015) stresses, bishop Campins envisioned that the goal of the centennial should be the institutional, civil and religious recognition of the figure of Llull.

4.1. Pere Joan Campins and the Llullian dream on Mallorca

With Antoni Maria Alcover, Miquel Costa i Llobera and Salvador Galmés by his side, bishop Pere Joan Campins wanted to associate his pastoral project with the figure of Llull. He imagined the Church of Mallorca grounded upon the modern Llullian ideas which he had learned from his teacher, Joan Maura Gelabert. Campins, as described above, was not a theoretician of Llullism, nor was he a member of the intellectual elite on Mallorca; however, he was familiar with and understood Llull (Fullana Puigserver, 2015). Campins also grasped that Llull was a figure shared by both civil society and institutional liberalism. Campins somehow felt like the mitred heir to the modern Catholic tradition of Llullism. As the rector of Porreres, he had promoted the Societat Lul·liana with Master Joan Feliu; as a canon, he intensified the relationship with Bartomeu Ferrà, looked into the status of the Causa Pia Lul·liana and masterminded the restoration of the cathedral façade with the addition of sculptures of the beatified Catherine of Palma and the Blessed Brother Ramon Llull. Just like the majority of men of the cloth during his lifetime, canon Campins subscribed to the current in support of the Provisional Battalion of Cuba, the conscripted soldiers who were sent to the battle front, in what would become the Crown's last push for dominance over that colony. Bishop Cervera, the Church Curia and the Cathedral Chapterhouse even further reinforced the symbolic component of the local saints. The relics of the beatified Catherine of Palma, Saint Alonso

⁵ Cortina, Adela. "¿Religión civil o justicia social?", *El País* (27 December 2014).

Rodríguez and Ramon Llull were associated with the flag at the helm of that battalion (Fullana Puigserver, 2015: 518-519) and the prayers and appeals for victory over the Cuban insurrection. When he became the bishop of Mallorca in 1898, Campins witnessed the colonial defeat firsthand and once again appealed to the figure of Llull. His secretary, father Bartomeu Pascual (1922: 10-11), justified why Llull became an essential force to Campins: “Mr Campins wanted the many who were unaware of him to know him, and for everyone to plea for the intercession of that originator of the small fatherland when the large fatherland was in danger. This is how Mr Campins educated his people piously and civically”.

Bishop Pere Joan Campins sustained a dream of a harmonious, balanced Lullian utopia, two facets grounded upon the foundation of pedagogy. The bishop of Mallorca was keenly aware of the modern mechanisms of communication and boosted the didactic and symbolic actions around Ramon Llull. The centennial of his death in 1915 was framed as an opportunity to further and deepen both the religious and the civic facets of Ramon Llull. Alongside Bartomeu Ferrà and the Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana, Campins had learned the value of the artistic and monumental heritage related to the figure of Llull. He therefore calculated the projection of this heritage and engaged in a sweeping future plan whose point of departure was the commemoration of the centennial. Since the 14th century, the Franciscan order had historically taken on this role, but given that there were no chances of having Mallorcan Franciscans, in 1906 it gave Sant Francesc convent to the diocesan congregation of the Third Order Regular (TOR) (Fullana Puigserver, 2013). Without Franciscanism there would be no Lullism. Franciscanism was the bulwark and essential framework of reference for the apostolic projection of Ramon Llull and the link needed to restore and sustain a Lullism which would not be constrained to intellectual circles, even though at that time Mallorca had prominent names and leading figures of unquestionable value. At the same time, Campins’ milieu, influenced by the new role of teaching and education in general, aspired to celebrate a centennial which sought to signal the definitive end of an era. The bishop was confident of rekindling the dormant fire around the figure of Llull, perhaps without accurately noticing that this emotional drive did not come hand in hand with symptoms of recovery. The essential crux of the Llull memorial was to dignify his grave, relics and worship (Alcover, 1915a).

Secondly, Campins introduced the seminary students to the study of Llull’s life and work. The Certamen Científic-Literari, created in 1899, was the first Lullian learning workshop. He also sent some seminary students to Rome to be trained, and he pushed for the publication of the works of Ramon Llull. The Lullian movement on Mallorca in the first third of the 20th century cannot be understood without Campins. Likewise, the bishop participated in and supported the civic project of raising a public monument to the Blessed Brother Ramon Llull (Fullana Puigserver, 2015: 522). In 1904 (Dols Salas, 2013), Campins most likely imagined that the universal worship of Ramon Llull would be confirmed and consecrated by 1915. Unfortunately, Campins’ milieu found that the Lullian cause did not mobilise the most devout practitioners in the diocese, especially between 1907 and 1910, and instead only extended to the educated sectors, beginning with the scholarly members of the clergy. The religious agents did not identify with Llull other than superficially, and the range of associations related to Llull was rather limited and fragile, as was the

enlightened, elitist ranks of Catholics on the island (the Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana, the Col·legi de la Sapiència, the Orfeó Mallorquí, etc.). Even though the calendar of Lullian worship expanded with the incorporation of events like the festival of conversion, the symptoms did not improve (Fullana Puigserver, 2015: 522-523). Nonetheless, Campins had credibility and legitimacy in the local culture, and his power was grounded upon the prestige he earned from the Christian cultural project he had undertaken.

Campins and his milieu believed that Llull held an essential symbolic power for the pastoral and civic project they were undertaking. The construction of a conscientious, educated Catholic citizenry who was emotionally engaged in a common, socially charitable endeavour and open to modernity needed identity and cohesion. Ramon Llull had all the ingredients required for this project. For this reason, not only did Campins believe in and promote actions that were clearly favourable to improving the dissemination of Ramon Llull and bringing him into the schools and catechism, not only did he promote the publication of popular books and foster school visits, he also undertook two major projects which were executed within the framework of the commemoration of the sixth centennial of Llull's death: the first was the restoration of the sanctuary in Cura, where he was planning on building a Lullian temple, and the second was the construction of the new sepulchral crypt for the Blessed Brother in Sant Francesc. The bishop's premature death on the 23rd of February 1915 meant that only the first stones were laid in both projects. The bishop died unable to celebrate the Lullian centennial.

4.1.1. *Cura, a Lullian sanctuary for Mallorca*

The hermitage at the peak of Puig de Randa, near where Llull must have been illuminated, had been in a state of semi-abandonment since 1868. At the beginning of the 20th century, the provisor and vicar-general, Antoni Maria Alcover, ensured that worship was held at the Marian and Lullian sanctuary and that some clergyman looked after that religious site. However, since the closure of the Escola de Gramàtica (Tumba Colom, 2004) in around 1830, the Palma Town Hall had been staking its claim on that educational space which had historically depended on the juries of Mallorca. In 1906, Campins visited the sanctuary as part of his pastoral visit to Randa, and shortly thereafter he engaged in talks with the Franciscans of the TOR to discuss the future of that sanctuary lying in a ruinous state. The negotiation process of the cession from the bishopric to the TOR was long, lasting from 1908 until 1913, but it finally bore fruit. The diocesan archivist and canon, Mateu Rotger (1915), researched the history and published a monograph which provided empirical evidence to support the story of this site that the Church upheld.

However, Father Rafel Ginard Amorós TOR was the person who best defined bishop Campins' project: "Bishop Campins, who has made major reforms in the Sanctuary of Lluch, the main centre of devotion on the island, is now setting out to restore the Sanctuary of Our Lady of Cura, which was famous and oft-visited in the past but is currently closed to worship and has turned into a pile of ruins, a source of shame for Mallorcans [...], he wants to build a large temple to house permanent spiritual and material services for pilgrims. To fulfil these dreams of a Lullian utopia, the Diocesan Prelate is requesting the cooperation of Father Salvá, who, as Mateu Rotger reported in his *Historia de*

Cura, not only serves the bishop's orders, as always, but also assures that he and his flock are willing to sacrifice whatever efforts are needed to carry out his restoration projects" (Fullana Puigserver, 2015: 529-530). The bishop let the Franciscans use the sanctuary, he promoted the road construction, he restored the traditional commemorations, and the pilgrimages began in that same year, 1913, with the idea of "restoring the piety on high". Thus, in 1914, Campins commissioned architect Guillem Reynés and Antoni Giménez to draw up the blueprints for what was supposed to be the Lullian sanctuary on Mallorca, the second diocesan sanctuary, a place with symbolic ties to the idea of the Mallorca and its guiding spirit, Ramon Lull. The design was agreed upon by the end of that year. Campins imagined the site as a centre of Lullian pilgrimage, with a road designed for cars, a large esplanade for pilgrims and a monumental basilica which was to integrate the former chapel of Our Lady of Cura. The death of the bishop on the 23rd of February 1915 did not thwart those expectations, and on the 25th of October 1915 the first stone in the project was laid in a ceremony in which Miquel Costa i Llobera, the poet and canon from Pollença, participated. Costa i Llobera was the one who defined the Puig de Randa as the "crater of a mystical volcano" (Fullana Puigserver, 2015: 535).

However, without its promoter, the project was never further developed. That same year, thousands of Mallorcans – members of parishes and religious associations – made the pilgrimage to Puig de Randa, but the project of transforming the Lullian hermitage and the chapel of Our Lady of Cura into the Lullian sanctuary par excellence was paralysed (Fullana Puigserver, 2015: 536-537).

4.1.2. The sepulchral crypt of Ramon Lull, "like a large open book where anyone could read and more clearly grasp who the Blessed Brother Ramon was"

The bishop of Mallorca presented the refurbishment of the crypt of Sant Francesc convent church in Palma as the new venue of Lullian veneration par excellence (Fullana Puigserver, 2015: 539-541). In his Pastoral Letter dated the 25th of January 1915, the feast day of the Conversion of Saint Paul and of Ramon Lull, Campins invited the people of Mallorca to celebrate the sixth centennial of the martyrdom of Ramon Lull. The commemoration became a clarion call on behalf of the martyr and, in consequence, the chance to dignify the sepulchral space of the Blessed Brother Ramon Lull. The bishop thought that the time had come to better venerate the corpse of the martyr from Bugia by "placing it in a beautiful urn built in a sumptuous setting where, to put it one way, the autobiography of the Blessed Brother Ramon Lull could be read in allegorical mosaics boasting splendid richness, and especially in texts sculpted of the works by the great polygraph" (Campins, 1915: 2). Campins published that letter only in Spanish, an indication that he did not associate Lull with Mallorcan culture but instead with the Catholic faith, and in consequence he was solely interested in implementing the devotional component, consolidating the autobiographical story of the blessed brother and enhancing the mystical and religious facet of Ramon Lull.

On the other hand, Campins' intention was to participate in the institutional events and to erect a civil and public monument dedicated to Ramon Lull. For this reason, on the 17th of June 1914 he took part in the

institutional gathering in which the project was supposed to be determined. There, the monumental project was agreed upon among the local public institutions, but the outbreak of the Great War in the summer of that same year, 1914, prevented the European universities from participating and neutralised the possibility of designing the commemoration on the level that they had imagined. Local economic instability and the uncertainty of gaining economic support from elsewhere prevented the initial project from being brought to fruition. Campins must have known that he could not trust the assistance from the state. All of Campins' aspirations had been frustrated. For the time being, he insisted, the mausoleum would remain unfinished, just as the enthusiasts who had begun the unfinished project of the sarcophagus and reliquary had left theirs. Campins died one month after having signed that Pastoral Letter. Despite this setback, as part of the festival of the Blessed Brother, on the 4th of July 1915, Antoni Maria Alcover, the chapterhouse vicar, laid and blessed the first stone of the new Lullian mausoleum in Sant Francesc. In the sermon, the chapterhouse vicar sought to clearly convey bishop Campins' wish. He defended it in the speech targeted at the public in attendance by stating that the sepulchre became an educational component, like an open book: "This is how bishop Campins wanted to arrange this crypt; at the same time, he wanted it to represent the symbol of the Most Holy Trinity that the Blessed Ramon Llull painted within his books, and he wanted the symbol to be surrounded by seraphim, cherubim and angels with long wings and floaty gowns; and on the walls, amidst branches and garlands of flowers, he wanted to engrave phrases flickering with the love of God taken from the works of Ramon Llull which could express his entire life, all his plans. The bishop's idea was for this crypt to become a large open book where anyone could read and more clearly grasp who the Blessed Brother Ramon Llull was" (Dols Salas, 2013: 198).

The reports on the centennial events and Father Antoni Maria Alcover's overall assessment of the commemoration were highly positive, but he solely highlighted the devotional and religious facet of it. In reality, the juncture had been a chance to test the Mallorcan Church's ability to modernise. Alcover recognised that "the religious functions, solemn offices, pilgrimages and communions have comprised the entire centennial and have made thousands of Mallorcans who previously never knew that such a man existed aware of the Blessed Ramon" (Alcover, 1915b). There were also 32 pilgrimages to Cura with 4,000 participants, and Sant Francesc was visited by 22 groups with a total of more than 10,000 people involved. Prominent among these participants were students of schools and religious congregations along with visits promoted by the largest religious associations with the greatest capacity to mobilise their members (Filles de Maria, Joventut Seràfica, Joventut Antoniana, Escoles Catòlico-obreres and Congregacions Marianes de Joves).

4.2. *Llull: Politics, education and civic virtue. Benet Pons Fàbregues and Paula Cañellas*

The world of education had entered a phase of active confrontation between 1910 and 1913, a clash among different hegemonic models which was projected onto politics. And Mallorca was no exception within Spain. Especially during those years, the major ideological and political debates had taken a turn in favour of liberal regenerationism, represented by the *Institució Lliure*

d'Ensenyament, which set itself apart from the religious educational model. Maria Antònia Roig (2005) has performed an in-depth study of the Institut d'Estudis Superiors per a la Dona (Institute of Higher Studies for Women, IESD), an ambitious project with civic projection created under the aegis of the Llullian centennial and promoted by the Palma Town Hall. In her study, she reflects the general opinion on the status of women on the Balearic Islands and the determination to create public projects aimed at transforming a social reality which required a stronger commitment to education. The social and political culture was in the hands of men representing the social and economic elites, and only tenuously by intellectuals. In professional publications in the field of education such as *El Magisterio Balear*, other voices were aired that aspired to create an open, cosmopolitan, egalitarian model of society and to give educators a more important role and women more spaces. The commemoration of the sixth centennial of the death of Llull gave the Palma Town Hall the opportunity to explore new initiatives. Palma was experiencing a time of growth and expansion, which meant that new public services had to be created while also spearheading somewhat ambitious projects. The new building of the Institut Balear, which opened in January 1916 and has been known as the Institut Ramon Llull since the Republican period, the new Slaughterhouse and the Escola Graduada are just some examples of the initiatives undertaken during this period. The IESD had occupied the venue in Montision that had been left vacant by the Institut General i Tècnic, the former residence of the Company of Jesus. The Jesuits may have been the ones who fought the project the most fiercely because, among other objectives, they saw the chance to definitively win back this space.

5. Llullian social reformism: The Institut d'Estudis Superiors per a la Dona (1915)

The sixth centennial of the death of Llull became the right occasion to promote initiatives involving social, civic and cultural education. The Partit Reformista initially acted as the mouthpiece of a proposal spearheaded by the republican Benet Bons Fàbregues⁶ – the municipal archivist and renowned intellectual – to create the Institut d'Estudis Superiors per a la Dona. The project was backed by the different sensibilities represented in the town council, and the Palma Town Hall once again showed some leadership in the Llullian initiative by clearly adopting female issues and education. Three figures appear prominently in this project: Benet Pons Fàbregues, Paula Cañellas and Rosa Estaràs Valeri. They provided visibility to and prioritised the Palma Town Hall's vocation and commitment to civic education with a new project that implemented its commitment to school and informal education, which, it is assumed, extended beyond the official school system and was planned under political circumstances characterised by a profound overhaul in the local power. That same year, 1915, signalled the entry and political bid of Joan March over the backdrop of the divisions and conflicts within the conservative Maurist network which had controlled the town council since 1875.

Palma was updating its network of public schools for females; just three years earlier, it had opened the Escola Normal Femenina, now separate from the

⁶ About Benet Pons Fàbregues: Serra Busquets (1999).

Real Col·legi de la Puresa. It was articulating a new feminism, especially in places where women had had access to some higher education, and it aspired to further extend those aspirations to more female citizens. In this sense, Palma was on par with other cities like Barcelona and Madrid, although Maria Antònia Roig (2005: 89) asserts that the IESD was the first project of its kind in Spain. This claim should be compared to other similar situations, and even to several tentative initiatives promoted by bourgeois Catholic feminists, and the spirit of Llull should be more directly linked to the spirit of the IESD. Benet Pons Fàbregues uniquely examined this idea in some depth in his book *Ramon Llull, apòstol de l'amor* (1915), which was also related to his thesis on women in modern society, as he outlined at a lecture in the Sociedad Ibèrica on Carrer de Fàbrica presided over by the oculist Gabriel Comas, whose wife was also associated with teaching at the Escola Normal Femenina de les Balears (Pons Fàbregues, 1919).

The Palma Town Hall's proposal took root in fertile ground for the new feminisms and the new educational concerns of modernity. In this case, Ramon Llull served to shape an experimental, innovative endeavour, one which would soon spark not only a profound debate on the contrast among the different feminist models but also, and more importantly, a debate on ideology and power.

The IESD project would reveal the existence of different kinds of feminisms. Among them, the Town Hall chose to offer the project to Paula Cañellas, a woman who led the prototype of "intellectual woman", a woman with cultural prestige, and a referent in the new "feminine culture", a civic leader with social and cultural clout. An educated, open intellectual minority considered this institution an opportunity to create spaces of greater visibility for women who could have certainly brought a new outlook and built a social musculature which would enable the educational modernisation to be democratised and brought to the grassroots while fostering the cultural growth of women. Professor Paula Cañellas had been educated by Alberta Giménez at the Escola Normal Femenina de les Illes Balears, but professionally she stood out as a referent in public schools. Benet Pons Fàbregues had come up with the idea of the IESD as a female athenaeum, as an institution that sought to generate consensus and rise to the challenges of women's education. However, the bylaws stipulated the creation of a Junta Protectora de Dones (Board to Protect Women) – an ideologically plural board (Roig Rodríguez, 2005: 76) – and there were attempts to remain in complete harmony with the female teachers in the schools of Palma, especially the public schools, including the female dean of the Col·legi de la Criança and the teachers of the other schools dependent on the Palma Town Hall. On the other hand, the creation of the IESD would help provide greater visibility to other female and feminist profiles on Mallorca in the first third of the 20th century, including most prominently Severa Madariaga and Alberta Giménez, the latter the restorer of the Reial Col·legi de la Puresa, an institution created by Bernat Nadal with Llullian inspiration.

The Bylaws⁷ and the content of the IESD project (Roig Rodríguez, 2005: 76) were bold, and we believe that it had an extremely high symbolic value in

⁷ *Reglamento del Instituto de Estudios Superiores para la Mujer*, Palma: J. Tous, 1915.

illustrating what we mean by civil religion. Thus, an institution was founded under the aegis of Ramon Llull which was characterised by religious freedom and tolerance, and it was clearly nondenominational which ended up sparking a degree of mistrust among some traditional local sectors. Since 1910, women had been able to enrol in all state schools and sit for the examinations to secure jobs in the Ministry of Public Instruction under equal conditions as men. As a result of this new professional scene, female educators had to be prepared for all careers available to women and equipped with the resources that made this equality dictated by the circumstances of modernity possible (Roig Rodríguez, 2005: 80). In his lecture on Llull as part of the opening events of the IESD, Benet Pons Fàbregues highlighted the project's connection to Llull and its innovative nature: "Thus, the Municipal Corporation was following the illustrious example of the Illuminated Doctor who had founded the first schools of which we are specifically aware in this capital, precisely next to the Synagogue in the Jewish Quarter, today Montesion church, which is the site that the Town Hall has petitioned from the central government to house its new Institution" (Roig Rodríguez, 2005: 79). The project was presented in the spring of 1915 over the backdrop of the launch of the sixth centennial, and the proposed opening date was in June of that same year. However, what had begun with some degree of institutional consensus soon raised a huge ruckus, with a profound debate which revealed the mood, fears and positions of the different groups who sought to lead Mallorcan society.

Unfortunately, the project was never brought to fruition and remained one of the greatest civic utopias of the sixth centennial. The religious projects did not find their footing because of Campins' death, international circumstances and the fragile capacity and clout of grassroots Catholicism on the island. In parallel, the civic proposals did not advance either, largely affected by the indolence and timorousness of the country's leading class, but in this case also because of the opposition from conservative and religious sectors. In fact, we are primarily aware of the resistance and thwarting of the project that took place. Maria Antònia Roig has thoroughly studied the press campaign against it, the opposition, persecution and defeat of the idea. The entities we can spotlight as the main opponents include the Centre de Defensa Social and Foment del Civisme; one of the main social Catholic leaders, Father Guillem Vives; the political parties whose main objective was to control the Catholic discourse, such as the Jaumists; and politicians such as Francesc Barceló Caimari, a town councillor who upheld the spirit of the Col·legi de la Criança and on behalf of the Conservative Party asked it to be merged with the IESD in August 1915. The newspapers *La Vanguardia Balear* and *Correo de Mallorca* engaged in a campaign against the proposal, led by both harsher voices like Jeroni Massanet, who openly clashed with Benet Pons Fàbregues, and by Francesc Sureda Blanes, a defender of a clearly religious project and therefore also critical of the IESD. The arguments against the IESD revolved precisely around the fact that it did not have an academic mission and did not fit within the educational system, and that it was reduced to being an extraordinarily costly instrument of training with little immediate utility. The groups and individuals affected the most by denominationalism did not agree with funding a modern educational institute which could question the mission of Catholic entities like the Patronat Obrer, the Escoles de Sant Josep and the Escoles Dominicals de la Criança. The most

radical clerical sectors and religious groups mobilised quite quickly and effectively.

6. Conclusions

In this article, we have sought to outline all the religious and civic symbolism around the figure of Ramon Llull in the modern era. The liberal revolutions toppled the model of piety and devotion of the Old Regime, a model that affected the figure of Llull much more than others precisely because the entire ritual around the celebrations and liturgical acts also had an institutional bent. For centuries, Llullism also inspired school and academic initiatives, as well as institutions that sought to educate women (the Criança and the Puresa) and social education centres, such as some institutions for orphans. This history features figures whose focus was on education, including a number of women (Elisabet Cifre, Agnès de Pacs, etc.).

We have chosen the concept of civil religion precisely because after the mid-19th century, Mallorcan society clearly sought to turn Ramon Llull into an icon of integration and identity. Numerous attempts to erect a civil monument to Ramon Llull are the best indicator of this vision, a model of citizen education that is compatible with the annual commemorations, the religious celebrations and the determination to share Llull's works with the public at large, while the scholars and intelligentsia on the island launched the publication of Llull's oeuvre. In this process, teachers sought to occupy his place and were committed to having a presence there.⁸

We have presented the projects spearheaded by bishop Pere Joan Campins, an ideal which was never brought to fruition largely as a consequence not only of his premature death but also of the difficulties that the leading sectors of Mallorcan society had in reaching consensus. The sixth centennial of the death of Ramon Llull should have been a pivotal, multifaceted occasion. Campins imagined that Mallorca would ensconce Llull in the highest place that a civilisation could place its inspirational forces and fathers. We have seen his main proposals and ideals. Without a doubt, the Palma Town Hall's initiative to create the IESD was extraordinarily novel and placed Palma on the cutting edge of feminism. Professor Paula Cañellas had been identified to lead this project. She was an integrative teacher who did not represent a rupture with denominationalism, participated in Catholic religious culture, partly reproduced the moral and pedagogical schemas of Catholicism, yet at the same time advocated the need for women to become more professional and imagined more spaces for women, more contributions from them to the social economy and more social professionalization (Roig Rodríguez, 2005: 84-87).

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⁸ “El Magisterio Balear a Ramon Llull en el sexto centenario de su gloriosa muerte”, *El Magisterio Balear*, 28 (3 July 1915), pp. 203-218.

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