

**The "Good Upbringing" of Ramon Llull's Blanquerna:
Appropriation and Misrecognition as Social Reproduction**

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Philippe Ariès noted over thirty years ago that the study of medieval education heavily favored the great universities over elementary and secondary schools.¹ His assessment remains largely applicable today: scholarship on the organization and curricula of the *studia generalia* burgeons, while basic data on the schooling of children remains scarce. This disparate scholarly attention seems puzzling if we consider that elementary and secondary schooling probably had much more impact on medieval society and culture than the universities. Perhaps the emphasis on universities reflects our ingrained prejudices in favor of "high culture" or even our own sympathies, as modern academics, for the institutions and individuals that we consider our professional ancestors. The latter possibility should encourage us to expand our conception of late medieval education beyond the institutional organization of classrooms, teachers, and pupils, which we most readily recognize as "schooling" in our era. Charles de la Roncière has lately stressed how much training of Tuscan children must have occurred inside the home, in a family business, or through social groups.² Medieval education was surely a diffuse, complex, and broad process, involving a wide range of the basic functions of conservation, reproduction, assimilation, transformation, negotiation, and conflict commonly recognized in modern social theory.³

Study of these functions of course depends on practical and methodological problems well known to any social historian. Because of these difficulties, comprehensive studies of medieval schools are available only for a few areas of Italy and England, while we possess scarcely a handful of articles or monographs (and often less) for entire nations elsewhere.⁴ The Iberian peninsula is one of those areas for which information about elementary or secondary education is so scarce that scholars eagerly seize on any document that seems to offer some insights.⁵ One text often cited to illustrate the schools of medieval Spain is chapter 2 from the *Book of Blanquerna* by the Majorcan lay theologian and philosopher Ramon Llull. As it happens, Llull's account is hardly an empirical report on practices of elementary and secondary education in his era. It does nonetheless offer a provocative contribution to discourse of and about schooling as a process of social reproduction. This essay analyzes how Ramon Llull's representation of early education especially displays the operation of two important social functions. On the one hand, his text offers numerous examples of what Pierre Bourdieu terms "misrecognition," that is, the symbolic manifestation of social power in ways that make it appear to be a force of some other kind.⁶ On the other hand, the *Book of Blanquerna* also describes very clearly the kind of process that Roger Chartier dubs "appropriation," that is, the "differentiated and contrasting uses of the same [cultural] goods, the same texts, and the same ideas."⁷ Llull's text is most interesting for its representation of how diverse processes of misrecognition and appropriation enable the education of children to further social reproduction.

Analysis of Ramon Llull's *Book of Blanquerna* must observe the same cautions necessary in studying any aspect of his very unusual career.⁸ Llull was born about 1232 into a wealthy Majorcan merchant family, but abandoned worldly affairs around age 30 in order to devote the rest of his long life to promoting the reform of Christian society and the conversion of all non-believers. He spent a decade in private study and contemplation, learning Arabic and acquiring some knowledge of theology and philosophy. Around 1275 he began fifty years of virtually continuous peregrination, seeking audiences with popes and princes, visiting major universities, soliciting aid from lay patrons, befriending clerical (especially mendicant) authorities, and making several missionary trips to North Africa and the Eastern Mediterranean. Despite his constant activity, contemporary testimony to his efforts is scant.⁹ Our chief source of information about Llull remains his own extensive oeuvre: at his death in 1316, he left over 250 writings in Catalan and Latin (he also made Arabic translations of some works, but none of these versions survive). Most of these writings expound his personal system for contemplation and argumentation, the so-called Great Universal Art of Finding Truth, whose plan he attributed to divine inspiration.¹⁰

Ramon Llull wrote several texts that we consider literary in character, such as the *Book of Blanquerna*.¹¹ This narrative traces the life of its titular protagonist,¹² as he passes through various sectors of lay and clerical society. Llull's text has attracted the label of "spiritual romance" because it presents *Blanquerna* as a sort of Christian hero questing for spiritual perfection. Some scholars have treated this narrative as a faithful report on thirteenth-century society,¹³ but closer analysis suggests that Llull confected his narrative through the dramatic concatenation of *exempla* and commonplace ethical precepts. These scenes and precepts probably owe little to Llull's own childhood experience on Majorca, since he wrote the *Book of Blanquerna* at Montpellier some forty years later.¹⁴ They depend much more obviously on the general doctrine of moral finality that Llull advocates throughout his oeuvre.¹⁵ Following a tradition that extends from Augustine's distinction between *uti et frui* to Anselm's concept of *ordinatio*, Llull assigns to every creature the "first intention" or primary obligation of knowing, loving, and serving its Creator.¹⁶ Applying this single, broad doctrine of moral finality in the representation of diverse, particular conditions of social reproduction requires considerable discursive work. The *Book of Blanquerna* strives to define a sort of "mixed life" of secular and sacred obligations as the ideal existence for every Christian layperson.

In general, Llull's *Book of Blanquerna* rather obviously dramatizes the appropriation of clerical values and practices to lay affairs, but this endeavor is hardly facile or unproblematic. The first twenty chapters of the narrative deal at length with various social, economic, and ethical conflicts that *Blanquerna*, his parents Evast and Aloma, and his fiancée Natana all face in choosing between the lay "order of matrimony" and the clerical "order of religion." Their solutions to these conflicts almost always require some misrecognition of the power or interests involved. For example, the first chapter of *Blanquerna* describes the background and union of *Blanquerna*'s parents. Their decisions regarding marriage, family, and career offer some obvious, socially ordered distinctions in class and gender as individual ethical or spiritual choices. Evast is the son of a "noble burgher," the heir to a "great household" and "great wealth," but finds himself strongly tempted to enter a life of religion in order to "flee the vanities of this world" (1.1). Nonetheless, he decides to marry, in order to set a good example for other married laypeople and to raise new servants for God (1.1). For this purpose Evast asks his relatives to find him a woman who is healthy and well-formed in order to produce children of "good disposition," possesses the noble lineage that "ennobles" the body to resist vice, is "well-bred and humble," and comes from a family willing and honored to accept marriage with him (1.2). Once Aloma is found to meet these criteria, she and Evast are married, "by God's will" (1.3). Evast charges his wife with administering their household, while he pursues commerce, in order to maintain their estate and avoid the evils of sloth (1.10). In these events, the implied identifications of class with character, of health with morals, of industry with virtue, and of familial alliances with divine will manifest the manifold exercises of misrecognition necessary to organize the diverse spiritual and material interests in Evast's and Aloma's lives. This same manifold exercise appears in the subsequent representation of their child *Blanquerna*'s physical and intellectual development, which thus consistently, necessarily, and simultaneously describes the reproduction of those same interests.¹⁷

Chapter 2 of Llull's spiritual romance is entitled "On the birth and good upbringing (*bon nudriment*) of *Blanquerna*." This title neatly implies a dual concern for nature and nurture, which the chapter develops through a series of exemplary scenes dramatizing conventional advice on healthy physical development and rigorous moral training. The dual ideal of "sound body and soul" was a favorite theme of contemporary moralists.¹⁸ Llull's account of *Blanquerna*'s birth begins by recalling both the piety and the power of his parents:

Evast and Aloma lived each day in love, patience, and humility. On Sundays and feast days Evast went to monasteries of male religious and sang and praised his Creator with them. Aloma did likewise in the monasteries of female religious. They also went around hospitals attending to the sick, and visited the shameful poor, giving them alms in private. They also placed orphaned children in trades, so that when they became older poverty would not provide opportunities for sin.

The last line of this paragraph not only reiterates the simple identification of material and spiritual welfare, it also suggests the more complex doctrines of social contract in which contemporary theologians sought to relate the pursuit of wealth and charity.¹⁹ This relationship could involve multiple functions of social transformation or conservation simultaneously. Llull's narrative illustrates one possibility in later chapters when Evast and Aloma found a hospital, place their estate in the hands of a trustee, and adopt a private rule of pious discipline (cc. 9-18). That is, they become *conversi*, a "mixed life" option exercised by many well-to-do and even moderately prosperous laypeople of this era.²⁰ Evast's and Aloma's appropriation of clerical discipline thus involves misrecognizing their practice of "conspicuous

renunciation": their conversion displays exceptional religious devotion while reaffirming their exalted social status.

The second paragraph of chapter two continues the symbolic display of privilege through piety in its description of Blanquerna's birth. Llull represents the child's arrival as both an intervention of divine grace in human affairs and as an occasion for reaffirming social alliances:

While Evast and Aloma did these and many other good things, God who is the fulfillment of all good and grace remembered the wishes of Aloma and her humility and patience. He gave her a beautiful son named Blanquerna. Great was the pleasure, joy, and happiness that Evast and Aloma felt from the birth of Blanquerna. Evast went immediately to church to give thanks to God for the son that God had given to him, and prayed to God that his son Blanquerna would be His servant all the days of his life. The day that Blanquerna was born, Evast gave great alms to the poor of Jesus Christ. On the eighth day Blanquerna received baptism, attended by many godfathers and godmothers who led saintly lives, so that God in His grace would bless Blanquerna through their sanctity. That day Evast had a saintly chaplain sing a solemn mass and give the sacrament of baptism to Blanquerna, because such a sacrament should not be administered by a wicked sinner unworthy of giving this sacrament, which is the beginning and road that leads to eternal rest.

The distribution of alms and gathering of godparents literally reproduces the economic and social conditions of Blanquerna's status. The implicit divine sanction of these conditions extends to distinctions of gender as well: God rewards the moral ideals and social role represented by Aloma as a humble, patient woman (virtues that perhaps recall the Virgin Mary's) and as the necessary agent of her family's reproduction. Llull's text effectively misrecognizes the distinctive social function of these ideals and of this role (particularly the relations of domination assumed in them) by describing them as a personal relationship between the faithful believer and God. A similar misrecognition evidently occurs in the insistence on receiving baptism from worthy clergy. This admonition is not so much a warning against ancient heresies regarding the invalidity of sacraments administered by bad priests, as a reminder that laypeople are responsible for seeking the best mediators of divine guidance in their lives. Catechisms of this era commonly warn the laity that bad priests impede the influence of divine grace.²¹ Llull's text makes each Christian responsible for dealing scrupulously with individual priests; it avoids encouraging any attention (and perhaps even challenge) to the larger social and economic conditions that enable corrupt, immoral, or incompetent clergy. Perhaps that recognition might come uncomfortably close to criticizing a wealthy merchant family's ability to command the services of renowned clergy (especially as chaplains or confessors), which presumably depends on its social and economic privilege. By contrast, some other episodes in Llull's text--such as his account of favor-peddling at the papal court (c. 90)--do recognize and criticize the broader inequities created by the unequal distribution and use of money or power.

Chapter 2 moves quickly from concern for saving a newborn child's soul to care for promoting its healthy bodily development. The account of young Blanquerna's diet and exercise in paragraphs 3 to 5 dramatizes the kind of advice typically found in popular guides on hygiene and medicine:²²

Blanquerna received a wetnurse of healthy constitution so that he would be raised on healthy milk, since bad milk makes children sickly and weak in constitution (*malalts e despoderats en sa persona*). The wetnurse was honorable and led a good life, because one must always avoid giving a child to nurse if the wetnurse is unhealthy, lives in sin, harbors wicked vices, has a bad constitution, or a defective vital quality or breath (*sia de mala complexiç, ni que tinga corrompuda la calitat ni lo alende*).

During the year that Blanquerna was born the only food that Aloma gave her son was milk, because infants in their first year lack digestion strong enough to accept or digest other foods, such as the pabulum made with milk or olive oil and similar foods that some force them to eat. This causes children to have scabies, ulcers, tumors, and abscesses. It also causes their vital humors to rise upwards, destroying the brain and vision, and certainly no end of other infirmities.

This child Blanquerna was raised very diligently. Aloma his mother dressed him in such a way that in winter he could feel a little cold and in summer a little warm. Thus the elements that constitute the human body cooperate during the season of their functioning, providing the body with a temperate warmth, so

that the vital humors do not become accustomed to rise upwards. Aloma kept her son Blanquerna with her until he could run and play with other children. She did not constrain him from anything that nature requires in children of this age, but rather left him to the course of nature (*curs de natura*) until he was eight years old.

Like many writers of this era, Llull limits the mother's contribution to physical nurture, although some authorities also expect mothers to provide moral or spiritual instruction to their children.²³ As subsequent passages show, Evast takes charge of Blanquerna's religious and academic training, thus indicating rather overtly how distinctions of gender organize the social agents involved in the child's upbringing. The mother's involvement with bodily development alone perhaps reflects commonplace misogynistic claims about women's intellectual and spiritual incapacities.²⁴ The attention to physical health in these paragraphs may also substitute for the concern with bodily beauty often found in conduct literature. Some concern of this sort nonetheless seems implicit in the references to disease in paragraph four, since these would certainly impede attaining the "good looks" or "grace" typically listed among the virtues of courtesy.²⁵ Llull briefly mentions these virtues in paragraph eleven (discussed below), but in general his account of Blanquerna's upbringing emphasizes a fairly ascetic mode of "care for the self."²⁶ This emphasis is certainly consistent with the text's overall stress on the moral finality of human existence, yet it also suggests how training the body is as important as academic education for the social reproduction of an individual such as Blanquerna. Once again, some process of misrecognition appears inevitable in the appropriation of ascetic ideals as norms of lay conduct.

Where paragraphs three to five focus on the regimens of diet and exercise necessary to strengthen the body, paragraphs six through eleven review the training in knowledge, piety, and virtue necessary to fortify the soul. This section illustrates broadly how the intersection of family conditions and educational institutions control the developing individual's access to "cultural capital," in Bourdieu's terms. This capital consists not simply of knowledge, but of the "good manners," "right attitudes," "common wisdom," and so forth that enjoy most value and legitimacy.²⁷ Paragraph six recounts that

When Blanquerna was eight years old, his father Evast sent him to school and had him taught according to the book of *Instruction for Children*. There it tells how one should first teach a child in the vernacular and provide it with instruction and knowledge concerning the articles of the Faith, the ten commandments of the Law, the seven sacraments of Holy Mother Church, the seven virtues and seven mortal sins, and the other things contained in that book.

As noted already, the father Evast's direction of Blanquerna's education shows how distinctions of gender organize the child's access to schooling. The function of these distinctions is equally apparent in the contrast between Blanquerna's training and the upbringing described for his mother Aloma and fiancée Natana: the text mentions no formal education for them, but instead praises their perfection of the moral virtues and skills of domestic government (thirteenth-century "home economics," as it were) so often recommended in contemporary guides to the education of daughters (1.2-3, 1.10, 6.1, and 6.4-6).²⁸ The *Instruction for Children* cited here is Llull's own contribution to the popular medieval genre of "advice from a parent to a child." However, where most texts of that kind resemble manuals of conduct, the *Instruction for Children* is an elementary encyclopedia of divine wisdom and human learning, nominally addressed to Llull's son Dominic.²⁹ It illustrates superlatively Llull's appropriation of clerical learning to lay culture, and the processes of misrecognition involved in this differential use of knowledge. Viewed broadly, the *Instruction for Children* applies Llull's doctrine of moral finality to all learning, creating a curriculum where all human inquiry serves the apprehension of divine truth. Indeed, Llull's entire Great Universal Art is a system for "retracing the arts to theology," as Bonaventure called it. However, Llull's use of philosophy or theology is hardly academic: he often denounces the schools and universities, claiming that they ignore the quest for divine truth in favor of quibbling over human errors and preparing clerics for lucrative professional careers. At the same time, he offers his own Great Art as a simpler, less time-consuming alternative to Scholastic curricula.³⁰ Understanding how this simplified program of study might seem spiritually profitable for laypeople is one of the more intriguing functions of cultural production in Llull's work, which I will consider in concluding. Here it is sufficient to suggest that its value depends on its misrecognition as an independent and legitimate substitute for academic study.

The remaining paragraphs in this chapter alternately treat various aspects of the dual care for body and soul. Throughout this section, Llull represents material interests and spiritual ideals as interactive contributions to social

reproduction. For example, paragraph 7 shows how careful control of bodily appetites is especially necessary for developing virtue:

One day it happened that Aloma gave her son Blanquerna, before he set out to school in the morning, a snack of roasted meat, and then gave him a pastry to eat at school if he became hungry. When Evast his father learned of this he severely scolded Aloma. He said that children should receive no snack in the morning except bread, lest they become gluttonous or spoiled and lose their appetite for eating at the table at dinner time. Eating bread alone does not gratify children's appetite so much that they inhibit their natural functions through overeating, but even so one should only give them bread when they ask for it.

Blanquerna became accustomed and used to eating every kind of food, lest his nature acquire a preference for one food over another. He was forbidden strong or very diluted wine, and the heavily salted things that diminish one's natural heat. Blanquerna was given a student as guardian and tutor, who took him promptly every morning to church and showed him how to pray to God and to hear mass devoutly and attentively. After mass he took him to song school so that he could learn to serve well at sung mass.

This representation of maternal indulgence and paternal discipline again dramatizes the operation of gender distinctions in conserving moral norms. Especially by relating those distinctions to bodily functions as basic as eating, Llull's narrative misrecognizes the social control of gender at the organic (or as medieval science would have it, the "vegetal") level of an individual's constitution. The narrative shifts once more from physical to intellectual development in its somewhat abrupt mention of Blanquerna's tutor. Employment of this private teacher certainly underscores the prosperity of Blanquerna's parents. Poorer university students commonly served as private tutors in prosperous households.³¹ Many young children likewise attended the song schools, where they typically learned their ABCs well enough to help sing mass or to continue their studies at the next level, the grammar schools.³² However, this tutor's function as both teacher and companion at song school personifies rather strikingly the appropriation of learning from clerical education institutions into lay family life, which broadly defines Blanquerna's access to cultural capital. The student tutor connects individual instruction at home with collective education in the schools, serving thus as a strategic link in what Bourdieu would call the "unified market"³³ of learning. That is, the laity and clergy exchange cultural goods in a common market where many individuals recognize and consume those goods, but only a small (and by definition, elite) group legitimately knows and produces those goods. The importance of this link is clear from contemporary disputes over the regulation of tutors. For example, during this period the citizens of Tarragona, another major Catalan town and an archepiscopal see, fought a long battle with diocesan authorities over the licensing of home schooling, which the citizens claimed as their ancient and customary privilege.³⁴ The political, social, and cultural stakes of this practice must have been as substantial then as they are today in our own debates over home schooling and the licensing of private academies.

The ninth and tenth paragraphs describe the advanced curriculum that Blanquerna studies in a "grammar school," the most common institution of primary and secondary education in most areas of later medieval Europe. The economic and social resources invested in him since birth now yield further intellectual and spiritual rewards:

Blanquerna studied grammar so well that he learned to speak and read Latin. He also learned logic, rhetoric, and natural philosophy. Thus he could comprehend more easily the science of medicine that conserves his bodily health, and the science of theology in order to know, love, and serve God and understand how to govern his soul for the sake of eternal life in Paradise.

Once Blanquerna had learned the book of *Principles and Degrees of Medicine*, from which he acquired sufficient knowledge to govern his bodily health, then his father sent him to theology school, where he heard [lectures on] Holy Scripture constantly, and sometimes responded to questions about theology.

Blanquerna's additional study of logic, rhetoric, and philosophy perhaps involves a "school of logic and the arts," which began to appear as a more specialized type of secondary institution in the fourteenth century.³⁵ Llull extends these schools' usual curriculum with further studies designed to promote the dual ideal of care for body and soul. Since medical science was probably not available from secondary-level schooling, Llull depicts Blanquerna studying this discipline through one of Llull's own writings.³⁶ Moreover, he places Blanquerna in a "school of theology," which

seems inconsistent with known restrictions on the dissemination of theological learning, especially outside the universities. Reading Scripture and discussing theology were, after all, precisely the activities liable to invite charges of heresy for lay men or women in Llull's day, as the case of Marguerite Porete well shows.³⁷ Nonetheless, some adult laypeople evidently audited theology courses in the schools, as Dante supposedly did at the Dominican house of Santa Maria in Florence.³⁸ Llull perhaps did likewise, or at least used the libraries of local religious houses on Majorca.³⁹ In any case, whether this reference to lay education in a "school of theology" is plausible or not, we can readily understand its appearance here as an illustration of Llull's conviction that "All knowledge exists for the sake of Theology" and "Philosophy prepares the explanation of Theology," as he avers in his *Proverbs of Ramon*.⁴⁰ At the same time, this advanced study regarding body and soul evidently yields for Blanquerna what Bourdieu might call a clear "profit of distinction."⁴¹ That is, his higher training endows him as a layperson with professional knowledge usually held only by physicians and theologians.

Of course, Blanquerna is not studying for a medical or ecclesiastical career. Chapters 1-3 included various references to his parents' plans for his eventual marriage and management of their family's estate (esp. 3.1). The following remarks on "good upbringing," from the concluding paragraph of chapter 2, evidently assume Blanquerna's eventual involvement in social and civic affairs:

While Blanquerna was educated in this manner, Evast raised him with fear and love, because all children and youths at this age should be raised and nurtured with these two mores and virtues, along with fasting, prayer, confession, alms giving, humble speech and dress, and the company of good people. Evast and Aloma taught many other things like these to their son Blanquerna, so that when he was older and reached adulthood, he would have, thanks to good customs and nature, a character pleasing to God and to other people, and so he would not rebel against accepting the customs appropriate to good upbringing, which leading citizens and nobles should be the first to possess.

The reference to "good people" and "leading citizens and nobles" explicitly illustrates how Blanquerna's moral development necessarily coincides with reproduction of his social and economic status. His education in virtue perhaps complements his booklearning as an approximation of the dual courtly training called "noriture" and "letrure" in Middle English.⁴² However, Llull does not describe this moral formation nearly as fully as he does the booklearning. Moreover, the virtues mentioned here pertain more to piety and devotion than to social graces and skills. As suggested already, the attention to health in this chapter perhaps substitutes for the advice about physical beauty and other worldly concerns (such as sports, conversation, dress, or pastimes) commonly found in secular manuals of courtesy and conduct. Indeed, Llull's account of Blanquerna's upbringing almost inverts the emphasis of these manuals, which give far more attention to the "good customs" and "good upbringing" that this chapter mentions only in conclusion. For example, a fourteenth-century Barcelona merchant wrote a manual of commerce that devotes several pages to the ethics of trade, without mentioning any kind of literacy or schooling.⁴³ In short, Llull's emphasis on piety and booklearning seems more appropriate for clergy than for laity.

This last observation usefully returns our attention to the larger question of the role that schooling plays in Blanquerna's overall upbringing. What further "profit of distinction" does this booklearning add to the privileges already implied in the process of social reproduction that Llull clearly represents in this chapter? Taken individually, the learned practices and institutions that Llull mentions seem unremarkable, an impression perhaps due to his skill in combining and dramatizing so many commonplace elements in the form of a narrative. But the additional expertise in medicine and theology that Blanquerna acquires seems very ambitious, like the universal scope that Llull claims for his Great Art. Hence, his account of Blanquerna's education risks attracting the label "utopian" that scholars have applied to many of his other proposals.⁴⁴ But we could also argue that Llull's ambitious representation simply foregrounds relations of "misrecognition" and "appropriation" that arise in the multiple, ambiguous structures inherent to any "unified market" of cultural goods. For example, clergy and laypeople alike certainly strive to exercise "Christian" virtue and piety, yet they do so in very diverse circumstances of profession, class, or gender. Similarly, the "education" achieved by Blanquerna from rudimentary manuals such as Llull's *Instruction for Children* or *Principles of Medicine* is not the same "education" acquired by university students from reading the *auctores*, hearing lectures, or participating in disputations. Or, the household "government" exercised by a burgher's wife is not the same as the legal and political power wielded by a royal monarch. Yet these diverse levels of activity do support a common discourse, exchange, or practice regarding "virtue and piety," "education," or "government." It is precisely the diversity of those ways that

allows Blanquerna the layman to appropriate clerical forms of learning, virtue, or government without challenging the authority, value, or legitimacy of those forms. Llull's narrative is in fact one of the earliest texts to advocate extensive booklearning for the laity. This appropriation would subvert the very distinction between *laicus* and *clericus*, if it did not function in Llull's representation as a means of generating distinctions among laypersons themselves. That is, it misrecognizes the disparity between lay and clerical education as the intellectual or spiritual edification of certain privileged laypeople. Hence the most intriguing question posed by Llull's representations of laity devoted to a "mixed life" or to advanced schooling is not whether such practices disturbed the distinction of "laity" and "clergy," but how such practices served the social production of distinctions among the laity. Any answer to this question would greatly help to clarify the still very obscure development of later medieval and early Renaissance Lullism as a "popular" practice of learning and piety.⁴⁵

Nonetheless, even if we discount Blanquerna's study of medicine and theology as a very improbable means for laypeople to attain cultural or social distinction, Llull's representation of schooling may not satisfy our definitions of an "educational program." His account of "elementary and secondary education" does not give that process a preeminent role in forming the young hero's persona. Instead, it appears as a dramatization of the ascetic ideal of care for body and soul, as a misrecognition of distinctions in class and gender, or as an appropriation of clerical cultural capital. These narrative, ideological, and practical contingencies in Llull's representation of schooling suggest an important caution about isolating the education of children from other processes of social reproduction. Any inquiry that focuses on schools or schoolmasters alone will certainly be too narrow. Nicholas Orme notes, with implicit consternation, the apparently slight status of schools as "cultural institutions" in fourteenth and fifteenth-century England. According to his calculations, only 300 to 600 schoolmasters served the entire population of the country around 1400. However, this limited number should not negate their importance so much as it reminds us of the range of *other* interests, agents, and distinctions that contributed to social reproduction in their era. This diversity is apparent in an example offered by Barbara Hanawalt in her address to the 1995 meeting of the Illinois Medieval Association: a young man, asked to produce witnesses who can verify his identity, calls upon his relatives, godparents, nurse, household servants, parish priest, and schoolmaster. These subjects, along with the manifold social practices and relations realized through them, all contribute to the "good upbringing" that Ramon Llull represents in his *Book of Blanquerna*. Despite its idiosyncrasy or idealization, the scope of his representation should ultimately challenge us to recognize how our own broad concepts of "education" are equally arbitrary, heterogeneous, and constructed. Indeed, we might even wonder to what social, political, or economic ends we misrecognize and appropriate the schooling of late medieval children as a historical predecessor for our own practices.

Notes

1. *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life*, trans. Robert Baldick (New York: Random House Vintage Books, 1962), p. 137.
2. "Tuscan Notables on the Eve of the Renaissance," in *A History of Private Life II: Revelations of the Medieval World*, ed. Georges Duby, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), pp. 157-309 (esp. pp. 278-82 and 305-9).
3. For a review of these, see Raymond A. Morrow and Carlos Alberto Torres, *Social Theory and Education: A Critique of Theories of Social and Cultural Reproduction* (Albany, N.Y., 1995).
4. There is no comprehensive recent account of elementary and secondary education in medieval Europe. Useful guides to recent research on England and Italy include Robert Black, "Humanism and Education in Renaissance Arezzo," *I Tatti Studies* 2 (1987), 171-237; Paul Gehl, *A Moral Art: Grammar, Society, and Culture in Trecento Florence* (Ithaca, 1993) and "Preachers, Teachers, and Translators: The Social Meaning of Language Study in Trecento Tuscany," *Viator* 25 (1994), 289-323; Paul F. Grendler, *Schooling in Renaissance Italy: Literacy and Learning, 1300-1600* (Baltimore, 1991); Jo Ann Hoepfner Moran, *The Growth of English Schooling 1340-1548* (Princeton, 1985); Nicholas Orme, *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England* (London, 1989) and *From Childhood to Chivalry: The Education of the English Kings and Aristocracy 1066-1530* (London, 1984).
5. The few studies on medieval Spain that offer substantive information include Ricardo del Arco Garay, "Un estudio de artes en Barbastro en el siglo XIII," *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón* 3 (1947-48), 481-3; Sañç Capedevila, "Les antigues institucions escolars de la Tarragona restaurada," *Estudis Universitaris Catalans* 12 (1927), 68-162; Josep Maria Casas Homs, *Ambient gramatical a Barcelona durant el segle XV* (Barcelona, 1971); Antonio de La Torre y del Cerro, "Los estudios de Alcalá de Henares anteriores a Cisneros," in *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal*, vol. 3 (Madrid, 1952), pp. 627-54; A. Duran i Sampere and F. Gómez Gabernet, "Las escuelas de gramática en Cervera," *Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 17 (1944), 5-77; José Goñi Gaztambide, "La formación intelectual de los navarros en la Edad Media (1122-1500)," *Estudios de Edad Media de la Corona de Aragón* 10 (1975), 143-303; Luis Revest Corzo, *La enseñanza en Castellón de 1374 a 1400* (Castellón, 1930); José Sañchís Rivera, "La Enseñanza en Valencia en la época foral," *Boletín de la Real Academia de la Historia* 108 (1936), 147-79 and 661-97; 109 (1936), 7-80; Carlos Luis de la Vega y de Luque, "Un centro medieval de enseñanza: el estudio de artes de Teruel," *Teruel* 51 (1974), 95-114; and Vicente Vives y Liern, *Las casas de los Estudios en Valencia* (Valencia, 1902).
6. *Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. John B. Thompson, trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), pp. 169-70.
7. "Texts, Printing, Readings," in *The New Cultural History*, ed. Lynn Hunt (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1989), pp. 154-175 (at p. 171).
8. The extensive modern literature on Llull varies widely in value, thanks to the intensely partisan political and religious sentiments attached to

him by Catalan nationalists and Neoscholastic apologists since the last century. The best critical comprehensive account of his career remains Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, *Ramon Llull and Lullism in Fourteenth-Century France* (Oxford, 1971); Anthony Bonner offers a useful concise account in his introduction to *Doctor Illuminatus: A Ramon Llull Reader* (Princeton, N. J., 1993). For specialized studies on the various aspects of Llull's work, consult Rudolf Brummer, *Bibliographia Lulliana: Ramon-Llull-Schrifttum 1870-1973* (Hildesheim, 1976); Marcel Salleras i Carolà, "Bibliografia lul.liana (1974-1984)," *Randa* 19 (1986), 153-98.

9. In 1311 some of his admirers at Paris composed a quasi-hagiographic *Vita*, perhaps to support his petitions to the Council of Vienne; the best edition of this text is Miquel Batllori and J. N. Hillgarth, eds., *Vida de Ramon Llull: les fonts escrites i la iconografia coetà nies* (Barcelona, 1982). Also extant are a handful of letters and other documents regarding Llull's affairs, but these give frustratingly few details about his intellectual or spiritual concerns.

10. For a summary of Llull's notoriously difficult methods, see my *Spiritual Logic of Ramon Llull* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 15-27.

11. All references are to chapter and paragraph from *Libre de Blanquerna escrit a Montpellier devers lany M.CC.lxxxiiiij*, ed. Salvador Galmés and Miquel Ferrà, Obres de Ramon Llull 9 (Palma de Mallorca, 1914). The English translation is my own.

12. Llull's original spelling was evidently "Blaquerna," but copyists soon changed it to the form "Blanquerna," which I retain here as the spelling most familiar to modern readers.

13. E.g. Robert I. Burns, *The Crusader Kingdom of Valencia: Reconstruction on a Thirteenth-Century Frontier* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), p. 238.

14. Juan Tusquets, seeking to maintain some empirical value for Llull's account, suggests that chapter 2 perhaps draws on the experiences of Llull's son Dominic; see his "'Ha influído Ramón Llull en la evolución de la escuela elemental?" *Revista española de pedagogía* 18 (1960), 211-20 (at p. 212). It seems wildly anachronistic to argue that Llull's representation of education in *Blanquerna* anticipates specific modern practices of experimental pedagogy, graduated curricula, aptitude tests, or sabbatical leaves, as Tusquets claims in *Ramon Llull, pedagogo de la cristiandad* (Madrid, 1954), chap. 11.

15. As recognized by Juan Mateu Alba, "Optimismo pedagógico y alegría en Lulio," *Revista española de pedagogía* 17 (1959), 75-82 (at p. 76); Tusquets, "'Ha influído Ramón Llull?" pp. 215-16; or David Viera, "Les idees pedagògiques de Ramon Llull i de Francesc Eiximenis: estudi comparatiu," *Estudios Lulianos* 25 (1981-83), 227-42 (at p. 231).

16. On Llull's doctrine of the "two intentions," see my *Spiritual Logic of Ramon Llull*, pp. 16-18.

17. On the logic of such representations, see James Collins, "Determination and Contradiction: An Appreciation and Critique of the Work of Pierre Bourdieu on Language and Education," in *Bourdieu: Critical Perspectives*, ed. Craig Calhoun, Edward LiPuma, and Moishe Postone (Chicago, 1993), pp. 116-38 (at p. 120).

18. This material is well studied by Jole Agrimi and Chiara Crisciani, *Medicina del corpo e medicina dell'anima: Note sul sapere del medico fino all'inizio del secolo XIII* (Milan, 1978). Llull himself contributed two texts to this popular ethical genre: *Principles of Medicine* and *Medicine for Sin*. See *Liber principiorum medicinae*, in *Raimundi Lulli Opera* 1 (Mainz, 1721), s.p., and *Medicina de peccat*, ed. Salvador Galmés, Obres de Ramon Llull 20 (Palma de Mallorca, 1938), pp. 3-205.

19. For an introduction, see Lester Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1978), esp. p. 179.

20. An excellent study of this practice is Duane Osheim, "Conversion, *Conversi*, and the Christian Life in Late Medieval Tuscany," *Speculum* 58 (1983), 368-90.Š

21. E.g. the *Elucidarium*, 1.188-200, ed. Yves Lefèvre as *L'Elucidarium et les lucidaires: Contribution, par l'histoire d'un texte, à l'histoire des croyances religieuses en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1954), p. 396-401.

22. Compare the examples cited by La Roncière, "Tuscan Notables," pp. 278-79.

23. On the more limited role, see La Roncière, "Tuscan Notables," p. 279. On mothers as teachers of their children, see Nicole Bériou, "Femmes et prédicateurs: la transmission de la foi aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles," in *La Religion de ma mère: les femmes et la transmission de la foi*, ed. Jean Delumeau (Paris, 1992), pp. 51-69.

24. For example, the claims cataloged in Alcuin Blamires, ed., *Woman Defamed and Woman Defended: An Anthology of Medieval Texts* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 250-58.

25. Cf. the eleventh- and twelfth-century examples analyzed by C. Stephen Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilizing Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals 939-1210* (Philadelphia, 1985), pp. 30 and 127-75.

26. Llull's perspective illustrates the general trends in medieval Christian ethics described by Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality, Volume I: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York, 1978).

27. See *Language and Symbolic Power*, pp. 61-62 and 96-101.

28. Typical examples, among many, are the English guide *The Good Wife Taught Her Daughter*, ed. Tauno F. Mustanoja (Helsinki, 1948), pp. 158-72, and the Castilian manual *Castigos y dotrinas que un sabio dava a sus hijas*, in *Dos obras didácticas y dos leyendas*, ed. Hermann Knust (Madrid, 1878), pp. 249-95.

29. *Doctrina pueril*, ed. Mateu Obrador i Bennassar, Obres de Ramon Llull 1 (Ciutat de Mallorca, 1906), pp. 1-199.

30. On Llull's anti-academic views, see my *Evangelical Rhetoric of Ramon Llull* (New York, 1995), pp. 17-20.

31. On their circumstances, see Jacques Pacquet, "Coût des études, pauvreté et labeur: fonction et métiers d'étudiants du moyen âge," *History of Universities* 2 (1982), 15-52 and Paul Trio, "Financing of University Students in the Middle Ages: A New Orientation," *History of Universities* 4 (1984), 1-24.

32. See Danièle Alexandre-Bidon, "La lettre volée: apprendre a lire a l'enfant au Moyen Age," *Annales Economies Sociétés Civilisations* 44 (1989), 953-92.

33. Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power*, pp. 40, 50, and 56.

34. See Capdevila, "Les antigues institucions escolars," pp. 71-4.

35. On Spanish examples of these schools, see especially Del Arco Garay, "Un estudio de artes en Barbastro;" Capdevila, "Les antigues

institucions escolars," pp. 86-89; De La Torre y del Cerro, "Los estudios de Alcalá de Henares"; Duran i Sampere and Gómez Gabernet, "Las escuelas de gramática en Cervera"; Revest Corzo, *La enseñanza en Castellón*; Sanchís Rivera, "La Enseñanza en Valencia en la época foral"; De la Vega y de Luque, "Un centro medieval de enseñanza"; and Vives y Liern, *Las casas de los Estudios en Valencia*.

36. Much medical training in the Crown of Aragon did not depend on academic dissemination. See Luis García-Ballester, Michael R. McVaugh, and Agustín Rubió-Vela, *Medical Licensing and Learning in Fourteenth-Century Valencia*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 79.6 (Philadelphia, 1989).

37. See her *Mirror of Simple Souls*, trans. Ellen L. Babinsky (New York, 1993), pp. 5-26.

38. See Charles T. Davis, "Education in Dante's Florence," *Speculum* 40 (1965), 415-35; rpt. in *Dante's Italy and Other Essays* (Philadelphia, 1984), pp. 137-65.

39. On this much-debated circumstance from his still obscure period of self-education, see my comments in *The Evangelical Rhetoric of Ramon Llull*, pp. 5-7.

40. *Proverbis de Ramon* 276.4 and 276.20, ed. Salvador Galmés, *Obres de Ramon Llull* 14 (Palma de Mallorca, 1928), pp. 1-2.

41. That is, the power, authority, legitimacy, or status that accompanies any skill, competence, or knowledge distributed unequally through competition in the cultural market; see *Language and Symbolic Power*, pp. 55-56.

42. See Richard F. Green, *Poets and Princepleasers: Literature and the English Court in the Late Middle Ages* (Toronto, 1980), p. 73.

43. Miguel Gual Camarena, *El primer manual hispánico de mercadería (siglo XIV)* (Barcelona, 1981), pp. 57-60.

44. See Jocelyn N. Hillgarth, "Raymond Lull et l'utopie," *Estudios Lulianos* 25 (1981-83), 175-85; Vicente Servera, "Utopie et histoire: Les postulats théoriques de la praxis missionnaire," in *Raymond Lulle et le Pays d'Oc*, Cahiers de Fanjeaux 22 (Toulouse, 1987), pp. 191-229; or Helen Wieruszowski, "Ramon Lull et l'idée de la Cité de Dieu," *Estudis Franciscans* 47 (1935), 87-110.

45. Anthony Bonner offers one possible line of inquiry in "L'Art lul.liana com a autoritat alternativa," *Studia Lulliana* 33 (1993), 15-32.

46. *Education and Society*, p. 50.