

EL SABER I LES LLENGÜES
VERNACLES A L'ÈPOCA
DE LLULL I EIXIMENIS

ESTUDIS ICREA SOBRE VERNACULARITZACIÓ

KNOWLEDGE AND
VERNACULAR LANGUAGES
IN THE AGE OF LLULL
AND EIXIMENIS

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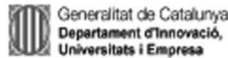
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RAMON LLULL I LA IMPREMTA (1480-1520)

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El dia de Nadal de 1516 l'humanista i teòleg francès Jacques Lefèvre d'Étapes (1455-1536) s'adreçava a Alfons d'Aragó, arquebisbe de València i Saragossa, oferint-li la seva edició dels *Proverbia* i de l'*Arbor philosophiae amoris* de Ramon Llull. En la seva carta dedicatòria Lefèvre d'Étapes, parlant dels teòlegs més intel·ligents de París, «que han aprovat les obres de Llull», es feia ressò de la difusió dels escrits lul·lians arreu d'Europa: «Són, certament, del mateix parer els romans, els venecians, els germànics i encara els vostres, tots els quals imprimeixen, llegeixen i admiren les obres d'aquell [Ramon Llull]; d'aquí ve que, a més, hom les expliqui públicament, hom les escolti de grat i, en escoltar-les, les aprovi.»¹ Tot i l'embolcall retòric que les envolta, les paraules de Lefèvre no són cap exageració. Certament, en l'Europa renaixentista, a Itàlia, Alemanya o a les ciutats de la Corona d'Aragó, el corpus lul·lià i pseudolul·lià en llatí i en vulgar va ser objecte d'estudi i va rebre l'atenció dels impressors. En dona testimoni el nombre molt alt d'edicions lul·lianes aparegudes durant l'últim quart del segle xv però també després de 1500: prop de 4.000 entre 1480 i 1600, segons Peña Díaz (1997: 86). Les dades bibliogràfiques d'aquests volums són a l'abast, des de fa temps, en els repertoris de Rogent-Duran (1927) i, més recentment, gràcies als llistats preparats pel Centre de Documentació Ramon Llull. Algunes d'aquestes edicions —sobretot les franceses i italianes i les publicades a València— ja han estat examinades a bastament, les primeres per Hillgarth (1998) i pel pare Batllori (1993), i les valencianes (especialment l'edició del *Blaquerna* del 1521 a cura de Joan Bonllavi) per Rosalia Guilleumas (1954) i Albert Soler (1995). No estem parlant d'un món inexplorat, verge d'estudis. Crec, però, que l'enorme fama de Llull entre 1480 i 1520 no ha estat prou lligada a les institucions acadèmiques de l'època i a les pràctiques pròpies dels humanistes. En aquesta contribució voldria presentar una sèrie d'observacions

1. «Sentiunt profecto quae Romani, quae Veneti, quae Germani, quae denique vestri, qui omnes opera illius [Raymundi Lullii] excudunt, legunt, admirantur; eos autem qui illa profitentur publice, libenter audiunt, probantque audita» (Llull 1516: a i. v.).

sobre la divulgació renaixentista d'aquest corpus textual, mirant-hi d'oferir alguna dada inèdita.

Les dates triades per delimitar el marc temporal objecte d'estudi no són en absolut fortuïtes. Tot i l'existència d'un volum publicat possiblement abans de 1480, l'edició veneciana de l'*Ars generalis ultima* d'aquell any és la primera de què tenim notícia. El començament de la dècada de 1520 marca clarament l'inici «alarmant» —en paraules del pare Batllori (1993: 291)— de la preponderància dels escrits pseudo-lullians, representada sobretot per la notorietat tipogràfica del *Liber de secretis naturae* en terres de llengua alemanya. Això no vol dir, òbviament, que el ritme d'impressió d'obres autèntiques de Lull s'aturi de sobte a partir de 1520 però sí que n'hi ha una davallada molt important després d'aquesta data.

La circulació impresa de Lull en aquest període presenta una sèrie de trets generals. S'hi barregen lullisme, pseudolullisme i paralul·lisme, és a dir els estampadors paren igual atenció al corpus 'ortodox', a les obres pseudo-lullianes d'alquímia i a tot un grapat de textos auxiliars, que inclou comentaris a Lull, com ara la *Ianua artis magistri Raymundi Lulli* del lullista català Pere de Gui, de qui tornarem a parlar, o obres d'influència lulliana, com la *Theologia naturalis* de Ramon Sibiuda. Per regla general, i exceptuant-hi els centres tipogràfics més importants (Lió, Venècia), els textos publicats provenen d'impremses d'homes lligats a la instrucció local. Això explica l'existència, d'una banda, de moltes edicions individuals aparegudes arreu i, d'altra banda, de diferents edicions d'una mateixa obra publicades en una mateixa ciutat per dos o tres impressors diferents en un període de temps molt reduït. L'interès per Lull sembla que respon, doncs, a la necessitat de cobrir la demanda d'un públic immediat, alhora que reflecteix la col·laboració estreta entre tipògrafs i docents mancats de textos. A tall d'exemple, l'edició veneciana de l'*Ars generalis ultima* de 1480 —duta a terme «a petició del mestre Juan de Córdoba, professor de l'esmentada Art, qui la corregí acuradament» (Lull 1480: h i. v.)— va sortir dels tòrculs de Filippo di Pietro, impressor dies després de la pseudo-lulliana *Logica brevis et nova*. Per no allunyar-nos de l'escenari venecià, el 1507 l'impressor Giovanni Tacuino publicava sengles edicions dels *Proverbia* i de la *Disputatio Raymundi et eremitae*, que no eren sinó reedicions de textos estampats a Barcelona i a Lió pocs anys abans.

Edicions venecianes a banda, els primers incunables lullians van ser publicats a Barcelona. A partir de 1481 s'hi van imprimir 16 obres relacionades amb Lull (obra original i introduccions al seu pensament preparades per professors de l'Escola Lulliana com ara Pere de Gui i Jaume Gener). Pere Posa en va estampar, almenys, dotze, i Pere Miquel Carbonell, quatre. Són edicions que van gaudir de força difusió: se'n troben exemplars en moltes biblioteques barcelonines de l'època i en el catàleg del monestir de Montserrat preparat l'any 1500 (Albareda 1956: 266). Totes són edicions fetes per encàrrec de l'Escola Lul-

liana, activa a la ciutat fins a la fi del segle *xvi* (Madurell Marimon 1962). En dóna fe, per exemple, la inclusió en els colofons de molts d'aquests volums del nom de Joan Baró, corrector i lector a la càtedra d'Art lulliana (v. gr. *Proverbia* i l'*Ingressus* de Jaume Gener). Amb la darrera producció de Posa l'any 1505, l'activitat tipogràfica minva. Ignoro si el descens en producció lulliana pot ser degut en part a la publicació dos anys abans, per comptes de la Inquisició, del *Directorium Inquisitorum* de Nicolau Eimeric (1316-1399). En tot cas, els impressors barcelonins d'obra lulliana de la segona dècada del segle *xvi* van tenir molt en compte els atacs d'Eimeric contra Llull i els lullistes. En són exemple els prolegòmens de l'edició de la pseudo-lulliana *Logica brevis et nova* a cura de l'impressor erasmista Carles Amorós (Llull 1512), que s'obre amb l'aprovació de la Universitat de París a l'Art de Llull.

Passem ara a París, ciutat en què van circular manuscrits de Llull i ben aviat hi van aparèixer edicions i traduccions, com ara la versió francesa de la *Doctrina puerilis* (*Le trésor des humains*) de 1482 i del *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria*, versió de la qual depèn la traducció anglesa de William Caxton (Hellenga 2007: 155-157). Tanmateix, el Llull editat a París és sobretot el Llull llatí. En aquest sentit, una sèrie molt interessant d'edicions parisenques la formen les obres del cap del grup pre-reformista de París, el ja esmentat Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples. El 1494 Lefèvre va editar el *Liber de laudibus beatae Mariae Virginis*, obra que va tornar a imprimir, cinc anys després, ara juntament amb el *De natali pueri parvuli*, el *Liber clericorum* i el *Phantasticus*. L'any 1505 va veure la llum una edició parcial del *Liber contemplationum*, estampada amb el *Libellus Blaquerne de amico et amato*. La darrera edició lulliana de Lefèvre data del 1516 i inclou els *Proverbia* i l'*Arbor philosophiae amoris*. Llevat dels *Proverbia*, que ja havien aparegut a Barcelona (1493) i a Venècia (1507), gràcies a Lefèvre totes aquestes obres van poder ser editades en llatí per primer cop. Les edicions de Lefèvre són, per tant, edicions prínceps i, en el cas del *Blaquerne* i del *Liber de laudibus*, els volums preparats pel francès són les úniques edicions del text llatí que ens han pervingut.

Conegut pels seus estudis bíblics i de patristica i pels seus comentaris a Aristòtil, Lefèvre va ser un dels més importants propagadors de la doctrina i de les obres de Llull als primers anys del segle *xvi*. Com ha palesat Hillgarth (1998: 328-333), el ideals de reforma de Llull coincidien amb el seu programa religiós. Les edicions lullianes de Lefèvre d'Étaples van lligades a un interès més ampli en la mística i l'espiritualitat medievals. No endebades, Lefèvre va editar textos de Ricard de Sant Víctor (1510), Hildegarda de Bingen (*Liber trium virorum et trium spiritualium virginum*, 1513) i Jan van Ruysbroeck (1512) entre d'altres (Veenstra 2009: 361). Per a totes i cadascuna d'aquestes edicions, publicades a despeses dels impressors Josse Bade i Henri Estienne, Lefèvre va redactar una introducció, seguida del text llatí acompanyat d'anotacions. El mètode emprat per Lefèvre és, doncs, el mètode propi d'un editor

humanista interessat en millorar el *textus receptus* o, simplement, en oferir una primera edició del text llatí en qüestió (molt clar, per exemple, en la carta que precedeix l'edició de 1499).²

Per poder dur a terme tota aquesta tasca editorial (que no em sembla gens amateur), Lefèvre tenia tota una sèrie d'eines filològiques al seu abast. Sabem que, en temps de Lefèvre, a París hi havia riquíssims fons manuscrits de Llull. El propi Lefèvre ho explica en una de les seves cartes: «Ceterum bibliothecae nostrae libris eiuscemodi doctrinae sunt adornatae, praesertim illa insignis domus Sorbonicae [...] Chartusia insuper quae haud procul ab urbe Parisia sita est capsulis arcisque id genus librorum refertis abundat, quos sancti illi viri frequenter versant manibus, fructum pietatis inde colligentes» (Llull 1516: a i. v.). En el cas del primer recull preparat per Lefèvre, l'editor no ens diu d'on va obtenir els manuscrits en què es va basar per establir el seu text, però s'ha especulat (Renaudet 1953: 179) que Lefèvre hagués obtingut els materials per a la seva edició precisament de les col·leccions parisenques.

Quant a la seva edició del *Blaquerna* i dels dos primers llibres del *Liber contemplationum*, les notícies de Lefèvre són molt més explícites. Una part del *Liber contemplationum* va ser adquirida per Lefèvre l'any 1491.³ Pel que fa al *Blaquerna*, en va trobar el text l'any 1500, al monestir benedictí de Santa Justina a Pàdua:

He clos el volum de *Contemplacions* amb una mena de segell, un llibre amatori, el *Blaquerna* sobre l'amor diví, que vaig copiar a Pàdua en el peregrinatge del jubileu l'any 1500 del Déu encarnat i de la salvació dels homes. De fet me l'havia donat a conèixer un membre d'aquella cèlebre congregació d'observança monàstica, santa i admirada per tot Itàlia, la congregació de Santa Justina, verge consagrada a Déu per Prosdòcim, deixeble dels apòstols.⁴

A més d'útils per les informacions sobre els manuscrits utilitzats, els pròlegs de Lefèvre a les seves edicions de Llull ens donen notícies interessants sobre els professors i els estudis lul·lians a París. Un d'aquests docents va ser el

2. «[...] ingratus nimirum viderer et divi praecepti reus [...], nisi in publicum proferrem quod omnibus intelligo profuturum. Quapropter librum ad publicum bonum recognovi [...]» (Llull 1499: a i. v.).

3. «Fluxerunt anni supra quattuordecim (narratione paulo longiore utar), erat mihi tunc aureus obolus paene inutilis, venit ad me quidam Galliae Narbonensis mihi apprime notus et amicus, librum tenens, quem protinus erat venditioni expositurus; laborarat enim adversa valitudine et inopia premebatur. Viso titulo de contemplatione scilicet quae fit in Deo, rapior ilico libri legendi desiderio» (Llull 1499: a i. v.).

4. «Clausi quasi sigillo quodam amatorio contemplationum volumen libello Blaquernae de amore divino, quem in peregrinatione iubilaei anno quingentesimo supra millesimum Dei humanitati salutisque hominum excipsi Patavi; communicaverat enim mihi unus ex illa sancta et admirabili per universam Italiam monasticae observationis congregatione Iustinae virginis, a Prosdócimo apostolorum discipulo Deo dicatae, rem profecto dignam versari inter manus piorum religiosorum» (Llull 1505: A i. v.). Sembla ser que l'exemplar copiat per Lefèvre és l'actual còdex CC class. VI, ff. 188-95, de la Biblioteca Marciana de Venècia enviat pel mateix Llull a Pietro Gradenigo l'any 1298.

franciscà Bernat de Lavinheta, que el 1514 va editar l'*Ars brevis* per a l'impresor de Lió Étienne Baland (Hillgarth 1998: 334-335). Un any després Lavinheta ja explicava els textos de Llull a París, tal com ens informa el propi Lefèvre: «Quod etiam superiore anno, qui fuit Christi omnium servatoris et salvatoris quingentesimus ac decimus quintus supra millesimum, sacrae paginae doctor egregius Bernardus Lavineta favorabili auditorio factitavit» (Lull 1516: a i. v.). Encara hi devia de ser a començaments de 1516 perquè, a mitjan febrer, l'estampador Josse Bade li va dedicar —«Theologiae professori et artis Lullianae interpreti acutissimo»— la seva edició de la *Metaphysica nova*, però tot sembla indicar que va marxar de París al cap d'unes setmanes. El mes de maig ja estava fent classe a la Universitat de Colònia, on va publicar la *Ianua* de Pere de Gui. A París el va substituir, sembla que amb èxit, un tal «Albertus», segons consta en una carta oficial de l'11 d'octubre de 1516: «Dixerunt, ac pro veritate attestati sunt, quod anno praesenti legebatur publice Parisiis apud Matutinos *Ars* et doctrina magistri Raymundi per quemdam Albertum [...]; eratque auditorium frequens» (Custurer 1700: 451).

Juntament amb Barcelona i París, a l'última dècada del segle xv un dels centres tipogràfics més fecunds en obres lul·lianes va ser Sevilla. Tot i que no en sabia explicar les causes, no deixa de ser simptomàtic que l'única literatura lul·liana publicada a Sevilla fossin textos del corpus pseudolul·lià i paralul·lià. El 1491 veia la llum una edició del *Libellus de conceptione Virginis Mariae*. Atribuït falsament a Llull, el text és obra del canonge Ramon Astruc de Cortielles, mort en ple segle xv. El mateix any, aprofitant una estada a la ciutat com a capellà dels Reis Catòlics, Pere de Gui va preparar una edició completa de les seves obres (*Ianua*, *Tractatus formalitatum* i *Metaphysica*), reimpressa nou anys després. S'hi ha de veure, per força, el mateix intent editorial que demostren les edicions barcelonines pràcticament coetànies abans esmentades. Tanmateix, tota aquesta producció editorial s'atura pràcticament de sobte amb el canvi de segle, precisament arran dels primers intents de fundar una Universitat a la ciutat. Una Universitat destinada a l'ensenyament de Teologia i Dret canònic, els estatuts de la qual prohibien explícitament la docència de la doctrina nominalista i del pensament de Ramon Llull, car «aquells que les professen són com homes vans als quals hom pot aplicar les paraules de sant Pau: *semper aprenent i no són capaces* [les dones] *d'arribar mai a comprendre la veritat*» (Bataillon 1966: 84). Això sembla, però, que no va impedir la impressió a Sevilla de certes obres amb regust lul·lià, com ara el *Tratado de la Santa Concepción* (1504) de Luis de las Casas, declarat lul·lista en el colofó de la seva edició: «Finivit Ludovicus lullista utriusque iuris doctor hunc libellum» (Casas 1504: f. 18a).

Si en el cas de Sevilla les directrius universitàries són les que aturen el ritme d'edició d'obres lul·lianes, a València la figura d'Alfonso de Proaza constitueix un dels exemples més conspicus de lligam entre Universitat i edició del corpus de Llull. Mestre de Joan Bonllavi, Proaza va inaugurar el curs 1505-1506 amb

una *Oratio luculenta de laudibus Valentiae*, dedicada per Jaume Esteve, lector de lògica i vicerector de la Universitat, als jurats de la ciutat. Malgrat la manca de notícies relatives a l'ensenyament de Proaza, podem suposar que formava part dels «cambrers» o docents privats (altrament no s'explica l'encàrrec rebut de les autoritats acadèmiques). Els estatuts de 1499 permetien als cambrers de «fer conductes e hojr alguns libres de qualsevol facultat» (González González 2003: I, 469). Hi havia, doncs, molt de marge per introduir nous autors i noves disciplines. Crec que així hem d'entendre les edicions individuals i els diversos reculls d'obres lul·lianes i paralul·lianes preparats per Proaza durant la seva estada a València. El primer d'aquests textos és l'edició de l'*Ars metaphysicalis naturalis ordinis arboris naturae* de Jaume Gener de 1506. Quatre anys després va veure la llum el primer recull, que conté quatre obres (la *Disputatio Raymundi christiani et Homeri sarraceni*, el *Liber de demonstratione per aequiparantiam*, la *Disputatio quinque hominum sapientium* i el *Liber de accidente et substantia*), seguit, l'any 1512, d'una altra col·lecció de tres textos (la *Logica nova*, el *Liber correlativorum innatorum* i el *Liber de ascensu et descensu intellectus*) i, tres anys després, d'una edició individual de l'*Ars inventiva veritatis*.

Un dels trets més interessants de totes aquestes edicions valencianes és la inclusió per part de Proaza de textos auxiliars, que ens donen una idea dels ambients lul·lians a la València d'aquell moment i de la tasca editorial de Proaza. Per començar, l'edició de 1515 s'obre amb un elogi del cardenal Francisco Jiménez de Cisneros de la ploma del lul·lista mallorquí Nicolau de Pacs, de qui tornaré a parlar. Es tanca amb un apèndix que conté el catàleg d'obres de Ramon Llull elaborat pel mateix Proaza. D'altra banda, tant el recull publicat l'any 1510 com els volums de 1512 i de 1515 van precedits de documents en favor de la doctrina lul·liana: la sentència definitiva de la Santa Seu de març de 1419, l'aprovació de la Universitat de París i la declaració de Ferran el Catòlic signada el febrer de 1503, en la qual hi ha inscrita una carta d'Alfons el Magnànim que data de 1449. Mentre l'edició de 1512 va ser feta —a parer de Guilleumas (1954: 41)— a instàncies de Joan Bonllavi, l'edició de l'*Ars metaphysicalis* de Gener i l'antologia de 1510 van ser costejades pel lul·lista genovès Bartolomeo Gentile, actiu a València en la primera dècada del segle XVI. Precisament a Gentile va dedicar Proaza la carta dedicatòria que encapçala el recull de 1510. En la seva missiva Proaza confessa el deute que té envers Gentile, generós mecenes i promotor d'una edició correcta d'algunes obres lul·lianes: «D'altra banda, perquè apareguessin en públic més polits, em vas encomanar que examinés un manuscrit d'aquells llibres amb cura, que el lliurés als impressors un cop revisat i que, mentre era estampat, el corregís.»⁵ Una altra carta

5. «Caeterum ut castigatiora prodirent in publicum, mihi seorsum curam imposuisti ut eiusmodi libris unum examissim (ut aiunt) recognoscerem exemplar; recognitum darem chalcographis; et eius dum premeretur interesset censurae» (Llull 1510: A ii. v.).

adreçada a Gentile apareix també en l'edició de 1515, ara, però, al final del volum, en part perquè la col·laboració del monjo cistercenc en aquesta empresa ja no era tan important (Gentile havia tornat a Itàlia), però sobretot perquè Proaza s'havia assegurat ja la protecció del Cardenal Cisneros, a qui precisament va dedicar el seu volum.

Ja feia anys que Cisneros s'interessava per les obres i la doctrina lulliana. Possiblement hi tenien molt a veure Nicolau de Pacs i Charles Bovelles (1479-1567), deixeble de Lefèvre d'Étaples, que va visitar Cisneros el 1510 i a qui el Cardenal va confiar alguns textos de Lull publicats posteriorment a París, segons un testimoni més tardà: «parece que el Doctor Cárolo Bobillo fue por orden suia [Cisneros] a París a hazer esta impresión, y por esso en Francia corren más estas obras» (Quintanilla 1653: 142). Des de la seva fundació a començaments del segle XVI a mans de Cisneros, la Universitat d'Alcalá de Henares havia estat focus d'estudis lullians (Pacs hi ensenyava des de feia temps, per exemple, l'*Ars magna generalis et ultima*). No és estrany, així, que Cisneros encarregués la impressió d'obres lullianes al tipògraf universitari Arnao Guillén de Brocar: el *Libellus illuminati Raymundi de amico et amato* el 1517 i, dos anys després, el *Liber de anima rationali*. Aquesta última edició va precedida d'una *Vita divi Raymundi Lulli* a cura de Nicolau de Pacs, professor a Alcalá fins a, com a mínim, 1520 (Bataillon 1966: 55). Les edicions sortides de la impremta de Brocar depenen en molts casos dels volums publicats a París anys enrere. A tall d'exemple, per a la seva biografia de Lull, Pacs hi va fer servir material extret de la primera vida lulliana impresa, precisament la de Bovelles (*Vita Remundi eremitae*, París: Josse Bade, 1511). A més, segons Albert Soler (1995: 132), hi ha indicis seriosos que l'actual manuscrit espanyol 478 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de France del *Libre d'amic e amat* (en occità) «havia servit per a la preparació de l'edició complutense de 1517».

Crec que les edicions de Pacs són un bon exemple de la divulgació del lullisme a Europa a començament del segle XVI: un món en què l'activitat filològica i l'ús dels llibres de Lull en l'àmbit acadèmic estan íntimament lligats amb preocupacions de caire espiritual i religiós. En el cas d'Alcalá, però també a París i entre els cercles humanistes barcelonins de les darreries del segle XV i primers anys del segle XVI, Lull és objecte de lectura, comentari però sobretot d'edició en ambients propers a l'ideari erasmista. Jo no sóc un lullista, i, per tant, no puc pretendre d'entendre en cada cas la raó precisa de la tria pel contingut de les obres impreses. Sense entrar en filosofia, podria concloure que, a l'hora d'escollir els textos lullians destinats a la impremta, l'elecció en ve determinada per afinitats ideològiques, necessitats docents i, com sempre en el món de la impremta humanística, la novetat (és a dir, el negoci) editorial.

EDICIONS ANTIGUES

- Venècia: [Filippo di Pietro] *Ars generalis ultima i Logica brevis et nova* (1480); [Giovanni Tacuino] *Proverbia i Disputatio Raymundi et eremitae* (1507)
- Barcelona: [Pere Posa] *Ars brevis* (1481 i 89), *Arbor scientiae* (1482 i 1505), *Logica brevis et nova* (1489), *Ars generalis ultima* (1501 i 1505), *Liber de articulis fidei* (1504), Pere de Gui, *Ianua artis magistri Raymundi Lulli* (1482 i 88), *Tractatus formalitatum i Metaphysica* (1489); [Pere Miquel Carbonell] *Proverbia i Liber principiorum theologiae* (1493); Jaume Gener, *Naturae ordo studentium pauperum* (1491) i *Ingressus facilis* (1492); [Carles Amorós] *Ars brevis* (1511), *Liber novus physicorum compendiosus, Metaphysica nova et compendiosa i Logica brevis et nova* (1512), *Proverbia* (1524)
- París: [Guy Marchant] *Liber de laudibus beatae Mariae Virginis* (1494), *Liber de laudibus beatae Mariae Virginis, De natali pueri parvuli, Liber clericorum i Phantasticus* (1499, dues edicions), *Liber contemplationum i Libellus Blaquerne de amico et amato* (1505); [Josse Bade] *Proverbia i Arbor philosophiae amoris* (1516)
- Sevilla: [Paulus de Colonia] Astruch de Corteylles, *Libellus de conceptione Virginis Mariae* (1491), Pere de Gui, *Ianua, Tractatus formalitatum i Metaphysica* (1491); [Stanislao Polono], Pere de Gui, *Ianua, Tractatus formalitatum i Metaphysica* (1500); [Jacobo Cromberger] Luis de las Casas, *Tratado de la Santa Concepción* (1504)
- València: [Leonardus Hutz] Jaume Gener, *Ars metaphysicalis naturalis ordinis arboris naturae* (1506); [Joan Joffre] *Disputatio Raymundi christiani et Homeri sarraceni, Liber de demonstratione per aequiparantiam, Disputatio quinque hominum sapientium i Liber de accidente et substantia* (1510); [Jorge Costilla] *Logica nova, Liber correlativorum innatorum i Liber de ascensu et descensu intellectus* (1512); [Diego de Gumiel] *Ars inventiva veritatis* (1515)
- Alcalá de Henares: [Arnao Guillén de Brocar] *Libellus illuminati Raymundi de amico et amato* (1517), *Liber de anima rationali* (1519)

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ABSTRACTS

TELLING THE TRUTH:
RAMON LLULL AND PHILOSOPHY IN THE VERNACULAR

MICHELA PEREIRA

A re-evaluation of the writings of Ramon Llull in the light of studies dedicated to the vernacularization of philosophy since 1989, and in particular recent research on Llull's 'linguistic pluralism', has led firstly to a comparison between his thought and the features of the so-called *vernacular theology*, and then, in turn, to a reassessment of his role in the development of late-medieval philosophy.

THE VERNACULARIZATION INTO CATALAN OF PROPHETIC,
BIBLICAL AND THEOLOGICAL TEXTS IN ARNAU DE VILANOVA'S
CONFESSIÓ DE BARCELONA

JAUME MENSA

Arnau de Vilanova wrote several devotional works in Catalan, but only five of these have survived: the *Confessió de Barcelona*, the *Lliçó de Narbona*, the *Raonament d'Avinyó*, the *Informació espiritual* and the *Alia informatio beguinarum*. In addition, we have two letters, one addressed to King Jaume II and the other to Queen Blanca, and some fragments from other works.

The *Confessió de Barcelona*, read before King Jaume II and a distinguished assembly on 11 July 1305, is a summary of Arnau de Vilanova's main apocalyptic theses. This is certainly why in the *Confessió de Barcelona*—in contrast to other Catalan works—Arnau quotes, summarises, reproduces or translates passages from the Bible, texts written by theologians and «special revelations» to

back up his theses, which had been subjected to multiple attacks by professional theologians (scholars from Paris and Dominicans).

Arnau de Vilanova had a near blind faith in prophetic sources and «special revelations». He considered them to be «almost-words» of God. In the *Confessió de Barcelona* he copies the Latin prophecy *Insurgent gentes* attributed to Hildegard of Bingen (possibly from the circle closest to William of Saint-Amour) and translates it into Catalan. He also translated into Catalan in the *Confessio Ilerdensis* a summary that he himself had made of Cyril's prophecy. Both texts refer to the obfuscations of false religious figures, whom Arnau identifies with his Dominican adversaries. Both witnesses are of key importance. Arnau de Vilanova's works are the first known witnesses of Cyril's revelation, and his translations of Cyril and Hildegard in the *Confessió de Barcelona* are the first in a 'vulgar' language. The translations themselves are free, original and suggestive. In addition to Cyril and pseudo-Hildegard, the Catalan physician also mentions in the *Confessió de Barcelona* the revelations of the sibyls Eritrea and Albanea, one possibly identified as Eusebi, and pseudo-Methodius. As for the biblical passages, Arnau de Vilanova reproduces in Catalan six fragments from the New Testament (four from Paul's writings and two from Matthew) and one from the Book of Daniel.

Arnau de Vilanova cites Augustine of Hippo, Jerome, Isidore of Seville and Peter Lombard to confirm the prophetesses' validity. He also provides a summary of a fragment of the *Glossa ordinaria* which he translates into Catalan. And finally, he translates into Catalan the outline of the history of the Church divided into six stages that he had used in the *Philosophia catholica et divina* and which is taken —without any acknowledgement of its provenance— from Pierre Jean Olivi's commentary on the Apocalypse.

Despite the fact that the *Confessió de Barcelona* was condemned in Arnau's inquisitorial sentence (Tarragona 1316), it was read and used, as we can see, for example, in the anonymous *Libro del conocimiento del fin de mundo*.

FRENCH AND OCCITAN TRANSLATIONS OF
PSEUDO-ARNAU DE VILANOVA'S
WORKS ON ALCHEMY (14th–15th C.)

ANTOINE CALVET

In this article, we have attempted to take stock of the translations of works on alchemy attributed to the physician Arnau de Vilanova, limiting our corpus to those versions in Occitan and French. From our research we have concluded that in addition to enriching the lexicon, whether in Occitan or French,

in regard to the medieval translations such as those by Mahieu de Vilain or Denis de Foulechat or by Oresme himself, these translations of alchemical texts are notable for their fidelity to the original, at least in the ones that we have studied, such as, for example, the *Rosari*, a version in Occitan of the *Rosarius philosophorum* attributed to Arnau de Vilanova. However, the fact remains that in a manuscript in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal in Paris, doubtless carried out for King Charles V, the scribe sets out to develop mainly the theoretical and philosophical aspects of the subject, rather than the practical. Thus he does not hesitate to select and introduce comparisons which clarify the text, or in the *Livre de Roussinus*, invoke the protection of St Catherine, patron saint of philosophers, emphasising the theoretical rather than the technical range of medieval alchemy. Furthermore, the tendency to gloss and expand on the text seems to confirm the hypothesis that in the fifteenth century the scribe translator more often than not contents himself with inserting excerpts from other treatises and combining them with the text he is translating, as in the case of the *Epistola ad regem Neapolitanum*: alchemical commentary clarifying alchemy for alchemists.

RAMON LLULL AND THE PRINTING PRESS (1480-1520)

ALEJANDRO COROLEU

From the end of the fifteenth century, the corpus of works by and attributed to Lull in Latin and the vernacular was the object of study and received the attention of printers throughout Europe. The Lullian texts circulating in print during this period share certain common characteristics. Lullism, pseudo-Lullism and para-Lullism all feature: in other words, printers paid equal attention to the «orthodox» corpus, to the pseudo-Lullian works on alchemy and to a whole series of auxiliary texts, including commentaries on Lull, such as the *Ianua artis magistri Raymundi Lulli* by the Catalan Lullist Pere de Gui, or works of Lullian influence, such as Ramon Sibuida's *Theologia naturalis*. As a general rule, and with the exception of the most important printing centres, the texts are from the presses of men connected with local education.

Leaving the Venetian editions to one side, the first Lullian early printed editions were published in Barcelona. They were all commissioned by the Lullian School, which was active in the city until the end of the sixteenth century. Lullian manuscripts were also circulating in Paris and soon editions and translations appeared there. An example of this are the volumes prepared by the theologian and humanist Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, editor of the *Liber de laudibus beatae Mariae Virginis* (1494), the *De natali pueri parvuli*, *Liber clerico-*

rum and *Phantasticus* (1505), a partial edition of the *Liber contemplationum*, printed with the *Libellus Blaquerne de amico et amato*, as well as an edition of the *Proverbia* and the *Arbor philosophiae amoris*, which came out in 1516. Lefèvre d'Étaples's Lullian editions are linked to a broader interest in medieval mysticism and spirituality. The annotated Latin text in each of these editions was preceded by an introduction drafted by the editor himself. Together with Barcelona and Paris, one of the most productive printing centres in the final decade of the fifteenth century in terms of Lullian works was Seville, where texts from the pseudo-Lullian and para-Lullian corpus were published. Other centres in the Iberian Peninsula were Valencia and Alcalá de Henares. In the case of Alcalá, Lull is read, commented on but above all edited in circles that followed the teachings of Erasmus. The Universidad Complutense is a good example of how, when the time came to select which Lullian texts were to be printed, that choice in Renaissance Europe was governed by ideological loyalties, teaching requirements and, as ever in the world of humanistic printing, editorial novelty.

CITIES, KINGDOMS AND UNIVERSITIES:
TRANSLATIO STUDII ET IMPERII AND THE HISTORY
 OF THE CITIES IN EIXIMENIS'S *DOTZÈ DEL CRESTIÀ*

XAVIER RENEDO

Between chapters 15 and 21 of his *Dotzè del Crestià*, Eiximenis develops the themes of the *translatio studii et imperii* relating them to the history of the cities, ranging from Enoch, the first city according to Genesis 4.17, to the great university cities of fourteenth-century Europe, passing not only through Memphis (Egypt), Athens and Rome, but even through Nimrod's Babylon.

Following in the footsteps of Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews*, Eiximenis locates the origins of science and knowledge not in Egypt but rather at the beginning of the first age of the world, Adam and the family of Seth, and even of Lamech. In the *Dotzè*, the city of Enoch becomes a focal point for the growth of science and the arts thanks to the guidance of Jonicus, the (supposed) fourth son of Noah. Eiximenis also collects from Josephus, via the *Historia scholastica*, the story of the columns of metal and stone where all knowledge had to be stored for safekeeping against the destructive forces of water and fire. However, he speaks of three series of columns, not two as featured in the tradition: those raised by the family of Seth and Lamech, dedicated to astrology and geometry, and those of Ham dedicated to the liberal arts. (The

novelty introduced by Eiximenis in his treatment of this subject is the two columns of Nimrod).

Following this, Eiximenis speaks without too much expansion about the transfer of political power and knowledge from the East to Greece, then to Rome, then Paris before arriving at the English universities where Eiximenis had studied and whence wisdom had begun to spread out to the rest of the world.

A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY COLLECTION OF MIRACLES
OF THE VIRGIN FROM BARCELONA CATHEDRAL ARCHIVE:
QUESTIONS OF READERSHIP

DAVID BARNETT

This paper aims to provide a broad contextualization for a collection of miracles of the Virgin in Arxiu Capitular de Barcelona, ms. 6. After a brief overview of the characteristics and history of the genre, a comparison between this early fifteenth-century Catalan collection and other Iberian manuscript compilations illustrates that we are dealing with a late vernacular manifestation of a predominantly Latin prose tradition. The rubric on the first folio of ms. 6 provides the date on which it was donated to the Cathedral Library (18th November, 1439) and the name and profession of the donor (Julià Roure, a Barcelona notary). This wealth of information about the manuscript's provenance is the starting point for an analysis of the rationale behind the volume's compilation, its subsequent presentation to the Cathedral Library, and its intended readership.

The manuscript was extensively repaired prior to the current re-binding which was carried out in 1513, indicating that it had been subject to considerable wear and tear in its first seventy or so years in the Cathedral. It was, therefore, clearly read, and read often, but by whom? While there can be no doubt that the Cathedral's clerical staff had access to it, there is no evidence that it was compiled as a sermon sourcebook, specifically for an ecclesiastical readership: the stories are not arranged in any discernible order, and there is no index. Information about the donor leads to another possibility. As well as working as a notary, Roure was also a scribe for the *Almoïna*, a charitable institution set up by the Cathedral to provide meals for the poor. There is compelling circumstantial evidence that the stories would have been considered suitable reading material at mealtimes in the *Almoïna*. Finally, information regarding the Cathedral Library itself, which was undergoing major renovations at the time the manuscript was being compiled, and those who had access to it, sug-

gest that the people who read the manuscript were not exclusively clerical staff, but may well have included lay devotees of the Virgin, perhaps pilgrims stopping off on their way to visit Montserrat, the most important Iberian shrine to the Virgin at that time.

ON THE ITALIAN VERNACULARIZATIONS
OF THE *CHIRURGIA* BY RUGGERO FRUGARDO
OF PARMA (OR OF SALERNO), WITH A NOTE ON A RECENTLY
DISCOVERED MANUSCRIPT

ILARIA ZAMUNER

The *Practica chirurgiae* (or *Chirurgia*) by Ruggero Frugardo of Parma (or of Salerno) was compiled around the 1170s by a pupil of the renowned medieval physician, Guido d'Arezzo il Giovane, with the help of a group of collaborators. It is reasonable to consider Ruggero's *Chirurgia*, known at least until the sixteenth century, as one of the foundational texts of the Italian surgical tradition. The work was disseminated rapidly throughout Europe, as attested to by the exceptional circulation of the Latin commentaries on the one hand, and numerous vernacularizations in different Western languages on the other: Anglo-Norman, Catalan (recorded but no longer extant), French and Italian (§ 1). Two manuscripts have been located in Italy to date (Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Conv. Soppr. B.3.1536 and Florence, Biblioteca Riccardiana, 2163), both fourteenth century and from Tuscany, containing two probably independent translations of the *Chirurgia*. In this paper, we analyse these two vernacularizations with the aim of establishing their autonomy in relation to each other, and to the version contained in New Haven, Medical Historical Library, ms. 52, also from Tuscany and not previously studied (§ III). As well as a brief overview of the relevant cultural context, this paper includes a note on the relationship between the beautiful New Haven manuscript (to which I will return elsewhere), dated to the thirteenth century, and the concurrent Occitan tradition, and in particular with Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, D.II.11, linked to medical circles in Montpellier between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Furthermore, the analysis of the Italian tradition of Ruggero's *Chirurgia* allows me to make an extensive digression (§ II) on Italian studies of scientific, and especially medical, topics. Although overall the field is decidedly less structured than in other European countries, which have been active for decades, there has been an increase in projects, seminars or conferences and publications on scientific subjects, certainly from the 1980s and 1990s. Finally, worthy of special mention are the lexicographical studies which stand out in

relation to the general panorama both for their scientific and their methodological value.

MEDIEVAL MEDICAL LITERATURE IN OCCITAN FROM ANTIQUITY TO THE RENAISSANCE

MARIA SOFIA CORRADINI

Technical scientific literary texts play a crucial role in the history of the transmission of thought from antiquity to the Renaissance, be it as custodians of the knowledge deposited as sediment in the course of time, or as direct witnesses of those conceptual revivals which have contributed, albeit in small steps, to the advance of knowledge, a process from which not even the Middle Ages was excluded.

Within this context, the output in the field of medicine occupies a privileged position. Studying the corpus of these texts advances our understanding of certain aspects of the continuity from the medieval period to the Renaissance and helps to highlight certain elements essential for defining the different stages that the school of medicine went through, whether on the practical or the speculative side.

From this point of view, works in Occitan are of fundamental importance. In transmitting the principles contained in the sources used in the vernacularization process, these works reflect the methodological and conceptual changes therein, and have a role to play in the evolution of medical knowledge throughout Europe. There are two types of medical texts drafted in Occitan: a variety of compilations such as herbals, cookbooks, and monographic treatises from the Montpellier and western Languedoc area, as the linguistic features allow us at times to specify; and synonym lists of medical and pharmaceutical terms written in Hebrew script, which are currently being studied by a German research group.

It is clear that a perfectly adequate appraisal of the themes and motifs present in the different vernacularizations can be carried out only by cross-referencing the data from these two types of text. There is no disguising the central role played by the translators, from a linguistic point of view as well as a cultural one, because while they sometimes assimilate the sources passively, at other times, in contrast, they show evidence of trying to interpret them, thus providing an account of the gradually defined *realia* of the advance of knowledge. Another key aspect is the close link between the Occitan and Catalan textual output in the medical and pharmaceutical fields, beyond the strictly literary. This is shown in the coincidence of themes and motifs, but also in the

reciprocal linguistic influence, factors that demonstrate that there was movement in both directions from both geographical regions.

An excellent example of the value of these Occitan texts as witnesses of the advance of knowledge is related to the reception of Galen's anatomical knowledge, which formed the basis of the teaching curriculum in the nascent Western university system, which included the University of Montpellier whose ascendancy was matched by the Salerno School's decline. The examples taken from the texts show that while Montpellier initially adopted the knowledge and theory that had led to the formation of the canon of the Salerno School, later on they took on principles foreign to that *milieu*, and adjusted to the conceptual evolution and the vocabulary suited to communicating the subject matter, allowing it to flourish not just in Occitania but throughout Europe.

LATE-MEDIEVAL MEDICAL METALEXICOGRAPHY IN THE IBERIAN PENINSULA, AND THE FACTORS BEHIND ITS DEVELOPMENT

BERTHA M^a GUTIÉRREZ RODILLA

Scientific lexicographical reference works compiled before the advent of printing are not generally well known. Indeed the idea that specialised lexicography first emerged at the dawn of the modern age has become a commonplace. Despite this deep-seated conception, the later Middle Ages were crucial in this respect, since it was then that different lexicographical tools, monolingual and multilingual, were conceived, defined and perfected, for different purposes; at least within the medical and pharmaceutical field which is the one that concerns us. These instruments went considerably further than simple 'glosses', the only category granted to medieval specialised lexicography. Many of these eminently practical reference works were originally drawn up to facilitate translations carried out in the principal languages of culture of the Middle Ages (Greek, Arabic, Latin); although later on, the progressive access of different vernacular languages to the transmission of specialised content was decisive. In the specific case of the Iberian Peninsula, the focus of our study, those languages were by and large Castilian and Catalan. However, to these we should add Hebrew, which in the closing centuries of the medieval period would become a language suited to the exchange of scientific knowledge.

As specialised lexicography developed, in tandem with other tools and genres designed to make these texts easier to use, to learn from, and to put to practical use, the incorporation of specialised works transmitted through Arabic played an equally important role. These introduced new material, not only in terms of

their content, which is not the focus of this research, but rather their format, and the various techniques employed in them to set out ideas and make them easy to use and learn from. This aspect was greatly influenced by Eastern science, which placed more emphasis on practical applications than its Greek counterpart. Among these techniques, we find, in addition to the ever more habitual use of alphabetical ordering to arrange the content of texts, the incorporation of tools that allowed them to be consulted, such as indices, tables, glossaries, etc.

All this is covered in our article, in which we pay special attention to the field of therapeutic medicine and to the situation in the Iberian Peninsula. In doing so we aim to help sow seeds of reasonable doubt with regard to the myth of the Renaissance origin of specialised lexicography, and of the unique influence of the Latin and Latin models on that origin.

VERNACULAR GLOSSES AND THE COMMENTARY TRADITION IN FIFTEENTH- AND SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLISH

IRMA TAAVITSAINEN

This chapter provides a genre study of late-medieval and early-modern commentaries. Learned genres of science and philosophy started to be translated into English with the pan-European vernacularization boom. Vernacular writers and translators had to cope with problems of rendering complicated abstract ideas into the vernacular, and it took time before the language could function as a fully-fledged vehicle for scientific ideas. I shall first provide a survey of Middle English commentaries and discuss their special features and their relation to the adjoining and overlapping genre of compilations. Middle English commentaries are still fairly unknown, as tools for identifying texts in manuscript repositories and recent and editions are still few. After a general introduction, theory and background, I shall illuminate the lines of development with three case studies.

The first case study deals with the finest example of the commentary genre in Middle English and serves as a socio-historical anchorage point of vernacularization activities in England. This unedited philosophical commentary casts new light on the quality of commentaries in English manuscripts and shows how sophisticated even vernacular texts can be in their design, layout and execution. The second case study discusses another remarkable medieval commentary, a Hippocratic prognostication, which was discovered and edited only recently. The base text of the third case study is an early-modern medical recipe. It shows how the genre had achieved a standardized form and was at the disposal of the learned discourse community.

If we compare this fully developed commentary from 1588 with medieval medical commentaries, the lucidity of the later text is striking. Scientific writing had entered a different phase of vernacularization and the Early Modern English period is very different in language history.

MEDIEVAL MAGIC IN OCCITAN AND LATIN:
THE *LIBRE DE PURITATS* AND OTHER WRITINGS FROM
THE CODEX BARBERINIANO LATINO 3589

SEBASTIÀ GIRALT

This paper aims to embark on the systematic analysis of the content of the Codex Barberiniano Latino 3589 in the Vatican—which has to date only been studied very superficially—, focusing on the largest component work, the *Libre de puritats*.

The manuscript, copied in the fourteenth century, contains a series of anonymous texts on ritual and astral magic, some in Latin but most in Occitan, not in Catalan as had been previously thought. It is divided into three parts. The first (ff. 2r-28v) and second (ff. 29r-51v), according to all the signs, belong to the same treatise on Solomonic magic in Occitan, the *Libre de puritats*, while the third (ff. 52r-83v) is a collection of extracts, experiments and short treatises in Latin and Occitan, many of which are incomplete or lack a title, and which belong to several different traditions of magic: Solomonic, hermetic, astrological, etc. There are essentially two hands in the manuscript: the first less careful hand copied the first and third parts, and the second copied the remainder with a greater degree of accuracy. Despite the variety in content, it appears that the volume was not put together arbitrarily, but is a collection of writings for personal use, of interest to the first copyist. This scribe comes across as an expert in literature on magic: he knows some Hebrew and he includes texts that he requires and omits a considerable number of passages that he already has. Furthermore he made use of a partial copy of the *Libre de puritats* copied by the second hand.

From internal references, we can conclude that the *Libre de puritats* originally had three sections: the first (ff. 3r-28v) deals with how to control angels and other spirits through Semiforas and psalms recited in pertinent astrological conditions, with the support of rites, fumigations and animal sacrifices; the second, which centres on an explanation of Teberyadi's treatise *Art de caractas* (ff. 29r-51v), is structured around ten tables with values given for characters and letters, which represent all the elements in the universe and are also of use in operations to invoke angels at astrologically significant times; as for the third

part, we are told that it is an explanation of the *Art of Images* attributed to Hermes but it has not survived in the manuscript, and was probably lost along with the missing folios. The study of the remaining parts in this paper is accompanied by a parallel analysis of the main sources, which concludes that the work is based on the Latin version of the *Liber Razielis* and on several of the annexed treatises also in Latin that were added on the initiative of Alfonso X.

Finally, it is worth highlighting that the *Libre de puritats* is one of the rare extant examples of the vernacularization of medieval spiritualist magic. It is notable for the breadth of its scope, for the way in which texts from a variety of highly technical sources have been reworked and for its combination of theory and practice.

BOOKS FROM FRANCE AND THE COURT OF JOAN OF ARAGON AND YOLANDE OF BAR

LLUÍS CABRÉ – MONTSERRAT FERRER

Thanks to the *Documents* published by Antoni Rubió i Lluch (1908-1921), there is an excellent chapter in Jordi Rubió i Balaguer's history of Catalan literature (1949) on French influences in the fourteenth century, together with other valuable observations: for example, that the earliest translations of Classical texts came from the cultural centres of France, «and in the first instance from the literary court of Charles the Wise», through the marriage of Prince Joan of Aragon with Yolande of Bar. In this paper we extend this claim to other areas, revising data from published documents, adding some new ones, and comparing this corpus with the inventories of the library of Charles V of France and his son, and of other collections belonging to the royal family.

FROM THE *TRACTATUS CONTRA ASTRONOMOS JUDICIARIOS* (1349) TO THE *LIVRE DE DIVINATIONS* (1356): NICOLE ORESME LOST IN TRANSLATION

STEFANO RAPISARDA

As far as France is concerned, Nicole Oresme's intellectual activity can be considered fundamental in the shaping of linguistic identities. It is well known that when Oresme began to translate Aristotle's works for King Charles V, French was not a prestigious literary language and was not thought appropri-

ate for philosophical and scientific discourse. This was instead the reserve of Latin, and a non-academic audience would have had great difficulty in gaining access to it. Many lay people, princes and even counsellors (with a university-level education in Law) had difficulty reading Latin texts. For his part, Oresme repeatedly alludes to the difficulties that kings, princes and even the ministers/counsellors have in reading Latin. Oresme deals with the reasons and problems of vernacularization in some of his prologues.

In fact he had written the *Tractatus contra astronomos judicarios* intended chiefly for a scholarly readership, which he then translated himself as the *Livre de divinacions* for those who were less able to read Latin on their own. It is unusual for an author to translate into the vernacular a text that he had previously written in Latin: this provides us with the opportunity to observe in detail not only his linguistic selection but also the intellectual activity that underpins any translation into the vernacular. Many parts of the two texts follow each other closely, but of course the most relevant parts for our study are those containing deviations and divergences.

In the case of Nicole Oresme's *Livre de divinacions*, we have to confirm the traditional idea that vulgarization is simplification. It is evident that he did not use vernacular French because he was unable to use Latin; he uses it in order to adapt his text to a different audience, and not one that was completely ignorant of Latin, but one that was probably less at ease with—or less interested in, academic sophistication—without the need for precision in quotation and rigorous clarity in meaning.

ACADEMIC MEDICINE AND THE VERNACULARIZATION OF MEDIEVAL SURGERY: THE CASE OF BERNAT DE BERRIAC

MICHAEL McVAUGH

Two Catalan texts that have been thought to be distinct translations of the *Chirurgia* of Teodorico Borgognoni, a leading example of the new scientific surgery that developed in Latin Europe after 1250, exist in manuscript: one (in MS Paris, BnF, Esp. 212) a translation composed by the surgeon Guillem Corretger c. 1300, the other (in MS Graz, Universitätsbibl., 342) a 'revision' plausibly to be ascribed to the early fourteenth-century Montpellier master Bernat de Berriac and dated in its colophon to the year 1311. A first detailed comparison of the two texts confirms that Bernat's revision is indeed based on Guillem's original; that he made very few changes to Guillem's translation of the first three books of Teodorico's work, merely subdividing them further and

restoring a few Latinate terms, but that he prepared an entirely new version of the fourth book. A still closer examination of the Graz manuscript seems to indicate that the many alterations and marginal emendations made to the text of the first three books (there are none at all in the fourth) are Bernat's own later corrections to the text that he had originally taken over essentially unaltered from Guillem's version, and in fact that this very manuscript may actually be Bernat's own copy, so that it, and not merely the translation, dates from 1311. Guillem's motive for translation, expressed in an introduction to his work, was his desire to allow surgeons who knew no Latin to have access to the new learned surgery. Bernat's motives for a revision are unclear, but his breaking-up of the original's four books into seven suggests that he may have wanted to make it easier to study.

There is still too little historical information available to interpret these conclusions with any real confidence, but it would be consistent with what we *do* know to suppose that Bernat encountered Guillem and his translation when they were both studying at Montpellier c. 1303; that Bernat began to copy the translation there but was unable to complete his work before leaving to begin medical practice in Castelló d'Empúries and a career as physician to the kings of Mallorca; and that he was eventually able to finish it by making his own translation of the last book directly from Teodorico's Latin. But this, or other comparable explanations, must remain speculative for the time being.

TRANSLATED FROM CATALAN:
LOOKING AT A FIFTEENTH-CENTURY HEBREW
VERSION OF THE GOSPELS

HARVEY HAMES

A Hebrew translation of the four Gospels is extant in a fifteenth-century manuscript now in the Vatican library. The manuscript is a copy of the original translation and there is no indication as to who the translator or copyist were. A close reading shows that the Hebrew was translated from Catalan, and is based on a manuscript which was then used for the Peiresc version (which contains the fourteenth-century Catalan translation of the Bible). The historical context of the translation along with some interesting anomalies in the translation itself raise questions about the identity of the translator and whether he was a Jew, a convert, or a Christian.

A CATALAN VERSION OF BRYSON'S *OECONOMICUS*

JAUME RIERA I SANS

In the early fifteenth century, an anonymous scribe copied three brief treatises on behaviour, in Catalan, consecutively on 53 folios (Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 42). This anonymous scribe understood that they had been written by 'philosophers', or compiled from the writings of 'philosophers'. The first treatise is the *Paraules de savis e de philòsofs*, by the Jewish author Yehuda Bonsenyor, and the third is Brunetto Latini's (moral) *Rettorica*. According to the compiler's colophon, the second treatise is *Lo breviari de Baraçan lo philòsof en regiment d'alberch*. It remained to be identified. It is the *Oeconomicus* of Bryson, an author of the neo-Pythagorean school.

Written originally in Greek at the start of the Common Era, the work was translated into Arabic in the early Middle Ages; from Arabic, it was translated into Hebrew, and later into Latin in the late medieval period, and then from Latin into Catalan. It was not widely disseminated. At this stage of the research, information about the text can be summarised as follows:

In Greek: two short fragments recorded by Stobaeus.

In Arabic: a lengthy text preserved in a manuscript collection of philosophers' writings. The translator is not specified.

In Hebrew: *a.*) Fragments of an abbreviated text attributed to Shem-Tov ibn Falaquera, from the thirteenth century. *b.*) A lengthy text, parallel with the Arabic text, in one manuscript. Translated by David ben Shelomo aben Ja'ish, from Seville, from the fourteenth century.

In Latin: an abbreviated text preserved in two manuscripts. It is attributed to Galen. One of the manuscripts does not mention the translator; the other states that it was translated from Arabic by Ermengol Blasi, from Montpellier.

In Catalan: an abbreviated text that follows the Latin version. There is no mention of the translator.

This paper includes an edition, preceded by a study.

'JEWISH SCIENCE' IN RAMON MARTÍ'S *PUGIO*?

MARCO PEDRETTI

The aim of this paper is to define the image of the Jews reflected in the main work of the Catalan Dominican Ramon Martí (c. 1215-c.1285). This involves understanding what sort of 'science' the author attributed to the Jews:

what do the Jews of the *Pugio christianorum* know? What is their sphere of knowledge? And how do they use this knowledge?

The *Pugio* (together with another of Martí's works, the *Capistrum Iudaeorum*) represented an innovation in the history of the controversy between the Jews and Christians, because for the first time systematic use was made of the Hebrew language and of Rabbinical literature in defence of the Christian faith. Christian apologists had begun studying the Talmud in the previous century with a view to refuting Judaism; for Martí, however, the Talmud is not seen as a collection of foolish ranting and ravings, and he even says that some *traditiones* in the Talmud «veritatem sapiunt [...] et Christianam fidem exprimunt». In this way, the extrabiblical Jewish tradition is apportioned a value almost of *locus theologicus*. It must be said, though, that this recognition does not represent any change in attitude to Judaism, which continues to be condemned and contrary to the truth, a relic of the past which has no reason to survive. According to Martí, after the coming of Christ, the Jews have committed many errors of their own volition (and in particular four «great misdeeds»); the consequences have been tragic above all for the Jews themselves: for their obstinacy, «Deus reprobavit illos et tradidit in reprobum sensum». The blindness of the Jews is thus the cause of their condemnation and at the same time it is also their punishment.

A sort of corollary is drawn from this: the Jews are wily and yet foolish at the same time, crafty as foxes yet ignorant. From his theological perspective, Martí does not see and does not want to see any 'science' in the contemporary Jewish community.

Did the author of the *Pugio* not know that many Jews were physicians, alchemists, magistrates, accountants and even officials in the royal court? He cannot have been unaware of it, but he does not seem familiar with *these* Jews. The Jews against whom the Christian has to wield his fist (*pugio*), the Jews of the Talmud and of Rabbinical literature, are not everyday Jews. They could at most be the Jews of the disputations, but here we are dealing with rhetorical characters rather than real ones.

Maybe Martí knew some Jewish people: it is likely that some *conversos* of Jewish origin worked with him, above all in his reading of the Talmud and his search for Rabbinical quotations, but these «real» Jews never make an appearance in the *Pugio*. Ramon Martí's dialogue with the Jews is a dialogue with books rather than with real people, and in the final analysis it is not a real dialogue at all, just like the disputations of Paris, Barcelona, and especially Mallorca or Tortosa, were not real debates either.

THE LANGUAGES OF SCIENCE USED BY THE CATALAN JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES

CARMEN CABALLERO

The second half of the twelfth century marks a turning point in the ways in which the Jewish communities in the West (those settled in the Iberian Peninsula, southern France and Italy) acquire and transmit scientific knowledge. From this date on and until the end of the Middle Ages, Hebrew becomes a suitable medium for scientific discourse. Except for a few isolated early instances, during this period scientific and technical works begin to be translated, copied, commented on, and even originally written in Hebrew. In fact, the dissemination of Hebrew scientific literature is closely linked to an immense and intensive translation project that made it possible for a considerable number of works from Arabic, Latin and, to a lesser degree, several vernacular languages to be rendered in Hebrew between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries. The Crown of Aragon –especially Catalonia– and Provence become the geographical centres, closely connected to one another, of a good part of this work of acquiring and broadcasting scientific knowledge that was carried out by the Jewish community. This circumstance has an impact not only on the patterns and models of this acquisition and dissemination, and in the choice of texts, but also in the characteristics of the language or languages in which science crystallises and circulates in written form.

In the earliest Hebrew scientific texts, and right up until the end of the Middle Ages, it is possible to detect traces of the Jews' mother tongue, which is not Hebrew but the language of the territory in which they were living. Such is the case of Catalan, the language of a good number of Jewish authors, translators and copyists who take part in the processes of scientific production and dissemination.

This paper aims to provide an introduction to the study of the different ways in which the vernacular or mother tongue of the Catalan Jewish communities engaged with their consumption and production of scientific knowledge in the Middle Ages. However, I will not discuss all sciences in general, as this is beyond the scope of this paper, and does not fall into my sphere of competency. I have focused, instead, on medical literature: firstly, because Hebrew textual production on healthcare is my field of expertise; but, in particular, because medicine stands out as an exceptional discipline, in contrast to all other sciences and philosophy (astrology excepted), with regard to the attitude of Western medieval Jews, who did not accommodate 'alien' notions without resistance. The integration of medical concepts, and especially of medical practice, did not create much controversy among medieval Jewish communities.

In this essay, I argue that both medical practice across religious bounda-

ries, and the processes that legitimized it, resulted in cultural transfer. And there is also evidence of cultural transfer in the ways vernacular languages affected textual production. An attempt to categorize the linguistic phenomena derived from the impact of the vernacular on Hebrew/Jewish textual production, has yielded so far four general categories: I. Translation from Catalan into Hebrew and vice versa; II. *Aljamiado* texts and marginal notes in Romance with Hebrew characters; III. Glossaries and synonym lists; and IV. General influence of the vernacular/mother tongue in Hebrew texts (lexicography and grammar).

VINCENT FERRER'S TREATISE ON THE UNIVERSAL:
A NOTE ON THE LATIN AND HEBREW TRADITION OF THE TEXT

ALEXANDER FIDORA – MAURO ZONTA

An inspection of the contents of a manuscript in the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma shows that it contains a philosophico-theological work by Vincent Ferrer O.P. (1350-1419), the *Quaestio sollemnis de unitate universalis*, translated from the original Latin text into Hebrew during the second half of the fifteenth century. This Hebrew translation, which was probably carried out by the Aragonese Jew 'Eli Habbillo, offers a version of Ferrer's treatise which is considerably longer than the Latin text of his work extant in a single manuscript from Vienna. Traces of this otherwise lost lengthier Latin version are also present in Petrus Nigri's *Clipeus Thomistarum* (Venice 1481). This article examines the relationship between the extant Latin text, its medieval Hebrew translation and the quotations by Petrus Nigri. Through a macroscopic comparison of the structure of the different versions as well as a microscopic analysis of two of Ferrer's arguments, we try to establish a provisional *stemma codicum* which allows us to reconstruct the textual history of his treatise.

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