

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

ICREA STUDIES ON VERNACULARIZATION

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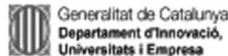
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LA VERNACULARITZACIÓ AL CATALÀ DE TEXTOS PROFÈTICS, BÍBLICS I TEOLÒGICS EN LA CONFESSIÓ DE BARCELONA D'ARNAU DE VILANOVA

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I. LA CONFESSIÓ DE BARCELONA: INTRODUCCIÓ

De les cinc obres catalanes conservades d'Arnau de Vilanova, la *Confessió de Barcelona* és l'única de temàtica apocalíptica. Segurament per aquesta raó Arnau hi cita, tradueix o reproduïx textos bíblics, teològics i sobretot profètics (revelacions especials), més que en cap altra obra catalana, amb l'objectiu d'argumentar les seves tesis, molt qüestionades pels teòlegs professionals i per les autoritats inquisitorials.

La *Confessió de Barcelona* es conservà en el manuscrit I, núm. 37, de l'Arxiu de l'Arxiprestal de Morella. Dissortament aquest manuscrit es perdé durant la guerra civil espanyola dels anys 1936-1939. El manuscrit havia estat descrit per Mn. Manuel Betí (1917). Aquest còdex, juntament amb tres més, fou donat a l'església de Morella pel notari Francesc Manresa (segle xv). El manuscrit, del mateix segle xv, de paper, escrit per diverses mans, factici, recollia opuscles de temàtica franciscana. Mesurava 215 x 145 mm. i contenia 121 folis, sense numerar. L'any 1921 el text de la *Confessió de Barcelona*, precedit d'una presentació, fou publicat per Ramon d'Alòs, a partir d'una transcripció de Manuel Betí. En la presentació Ramon d'Alòs proposà i justificà el títol *Confessió de Barcelona*. En el manuscrit de Morella el títol inicial, en llatí, era *Super facto adventus Antechristi*.¹ En realitat, *Super facto adventus Antechristi* no és el títol de l'escrit llegit en català per Arnau de Vilanova, sinó el de l'acta notarial que transcriu fidelment el text llegit per Arnau i dóna fe de les circumstàncies de la «confessió», tinguda en audiència del rei Jaume i d'una distingida assemblea, a Barce-

1. Alòs Moner (1921: 5): «El títol llatí, segons el ms. de Morella, és: *Super facto adventus Antechristi*, corresponent en realitat a una bona part del seu contingut. He cregut, però, més convenient de batejar-la amb el nom de *Confessió de Barcelona* per distingir-la d'altres obres d'Arnau de Vilanova d'assumpte semblant, principalment del tractat *De tempore adventus Antichristi* (anys 1297-1300). Ultra existir aquesta raó, també aquell títol es dedueix del context de l'obra, que cal relacionar, per altra part, amb la *Confessió de Lleyda* (*Confessio llerdensis de spurcitiis pseudoreligiosorum*)».

lona, el dia 11 de juliol de 1305.² Anys més tard, el 1947, Miquel Batllori n'ofereí una nova edició en el volum dedicat a les *Obres catalanes* d'Arnau de Vilanova (1947: 101-139). El manuscrit havia ja desaparegut i Batllori (1947: 92) hagué de preparar la seva edició a base d'unes «segones galerades ja corregides per Ramon d'Alòs, que milloren molt les transcripcions de mossèn Betí».³ En l'estudi introductori, Batllori (1947: 54-63; i, amb retocs, 1994: 151-177) situa l'obra en la biografia de l'autor, és a dir, en el moment en què s'està acabant la polèmica escatològica i Arnau de Vilanova se sent desenganyat dels teòlegs de París i dels frares predicadors i comença a desil·lusionar-se també de la jerarquia de l'església, i per contra posa les seves esperances en els reis Jaume II i Frederic de Sicília. Batllori (1947: 56) en destaca l'interès doctrinal

car, prevenint-se contra els qui, segons ell, deturpaven les seves idees, hi fa un resum autèntic de totes les seves doctrines apocalíptiques i espirituals, insistent, però, més en les primeres, de tal manera que la lectura de la *Confessió de Barcelona* basta per a conèixer tot el pensament arnaldia sobre el que ell en deia «los temps finals».

Batllori estudia també les fonts de la *Confessió de Barcelona*. Les fonts immediates i principals són les seves pròpies obres anteriors, en les quals Arnau havia predit la vinguda de l'Anticrist; les fonts llunyanes i secundàries són les que li serviren de base per a tal predicció, és a dir, la Bíblia, bàsicament, i algunes revelacions apòcrifes. En un article posterior, de resposta a una obra de Verrier (1947) en què l'estudiós francès argumentava a favor de la tesi de l'origen provençal d'Arnau, Batllori (Batllori – Carreras 1947: 28; i Batllori 1994: 24) analitza la llengua catalana d'Arnau de Vilanova i constata que no traspunta «ni el més lleu provençalisme ortogràfic».

II. LA CONFESSIÓ DE BARCELONA I LA VERNACULARITZACIÓ DE TEXTOS TEOLÒGICS, BÍBLICS I PROFÈTICS

En la *Confessió de Barcelona* hi ha poques referències als grans teòlegs de la tradició cristiana o a escolàstics de renom. Arnau de Vilanova només cita de

2. Contra certes afirmacions gratuïtes defensades pel professor Manuel Mourelle de Lema (1995), una simple lectura de l'acta del notari Bartomeu Marca i de la *Confessió de Barcelona* permet de constatar que el text català conservat i editat de l'esmentada obra és el text original i genuí: és el mateix text escrit i llegit per Arnau de Vilanova, en català i no en llatí, davant Jaume II. No té cap mena de sentit afirmar que el text llatí s'ha perdut, perquè ni tan sols tenim cap indici fiable d'una possible existència d'una versió en llatí, que, si mai hagués existit —cosa que no sembla—, certament, hauria de ser posterior a l'original català. I en tot cas, repetim-ho, seria una versió. Com tampoc no té cap mena de sentit afirmar que el text català és una «versió» del segle xv. El que en realitat era una còpia del segle xv era el manuscrit de Morella: una cosa és el text d'una obra i una altra molt diferent la còpia d'un manuscrit.

3. Martínez (1975: 113-136) sembla reproduir el text editat per Batllori, sense indicar-ne, però, la procedència.

passada quatre teòlegs, per avalar fonts profètiques. Quan parla de les revelacions de Metodi, alludeix al testimoni favorable de Jeroni i el mestre de les sentències, Pere Llombar.⁴ I quan Arnau de Vilanova (1947: 113) esmenta les sibil·les Eritrea i Albanea, diu que són «autenticades per sent Agustí e sent Ysedor».

En canvi, tradueix un fragment de la *Glossa ordinaria* (atribuïda tradicionalment a Walafrid Estrabó, s. ix) i la cita una segona vegada. La citació és feta a pròposit de les paraules de Pau, II Tim III, «en los darrers dies [...] los hòmens [...] seran amadors de delits carnals més que de nostre Senyor, e faran semblant de pietat». Segons la *Glossa*, aquest verset significa que «vindran en àbit de religió, mas de caritat no'n hauran gens» (Vilanova 1947: 116). I el fragment traduït fa referència a Mt VII, 16, fragment que en paraules d'Arnau fa: «Guardats-vos e guaytats-vos dels falses prophetes, qui vindran a vós ab falses vestidures d'ovelles» (119).

<i>Glossa ordinaria</i> (PL, 114, p. 110)	<i>Confessió de Barcelona</i> , 119
«Attendite»: Licet hoc de omnibus qui aliud habitu et sermone, aliud opere ostendunt, possit accipi; tamen specialiter de haereticis qui quadam pietatis vesti texti, venerato animo et intentione nocendi lupi sunt rapaces, vel exterius si copia datur persequendo, vel interius corumpendo.	Ço és diu la <i>Glosa</i> : «en semblant de religió; e là yns, ab lur coratge seran lops rabats, ço és, plens de cobesa e d'enteniment e desig de sostraer los béns temporals»

Arnau de Vilanova adapta el text a les seves necessitats: el més genèric «habitu et sermone [...] opere» passa a ésser un suggerent «en semblant de religió». Notem que l'expressió «lupi rapaces» és traduïda per «lops rabats», forma també utilitzada per Llull (*DCVB*).

I se serveix, també amb finalitats apocalíptiques, d'un esquema que divideix la història de l'Església en set èpoques. Arnau de Vilanova ja l'havia utilitzat en la *Philosophia catholica et divina* i ara, en la *Confessió de Barcelona*, el simplifica i el tradueix. Aquest esquema segurament prové del comentari a l'Apocalipsi de fra Pèire Joan (Manselli 1955; Perarnau 1991a: 29-35).

4. Vilanova (1947: 111-112): «L'altra scriptura que'n fa fe és la revelació de sent Methodi màrtir, al qual fon revelat lo damunt dit temps per compte de millenars, segons que sent Jerònim e'l Maestre de les Sentències e altres savis li porten testimoni».

<i>Philosophia...</i> , 79/330-81/355 ⁵	<i>Confessió de Barcelona</i> , 114/9-115/3 ⁶	<i>Libro del conocimiento del fin del mundo</i> , ed. Guadalajara (1996: 444) ⁷
Primus fuit status apostolorum, in quo potissime claruit cura pastoralis, quoniam zelus pastorum fuit seipsos impendere ac superimpendere pro salute gregis.	En la qual revelació es declarat que lo primer temps de la Sglésia de nostre senyor Jesucrist fo lo temps en lo qual principalment floriren los Appòstols;	El primero tienpo fue de los apóstoles e discípulos de Jhesuchristo.
Secundus fuit status martyrum, in quo claruit probitas militaris in Christi sequacibus per fidei contantiam in martyrio.	lo segon, après, fo aquell en lo qual principalment floriren los màrtirs;	El ·ii· tienpo fue de los mártires.
Tertius fuit status doctorum, in quo claruit sapientia magistralis in ecclesia Christi, efficaciter confutando et extirpando erroneam doctrinam hereticorum.	lo terç fo aquell en lo qual principalment floriren los doctors;	El ·iii· fue de los doctores de la Iglesia.
Quartus fuit status heremitarum, in quo claruit in fidelibus vita quasi angelica per tenuissimum victum et solitarium incolatum et orationem assiduam.	lo quart fo aquell en lo qual principalment floriren los hermites;	El ·iiii· tienpo fue de los santos eremitannos.
Quinto successit status cenobitarum habentium communes possessiones, in quo claruerunt opera caritatis tam in invicem quam in alios et zelus catholice discipline.	lo ·v· fo aquell en lo qual principalment floriren los claustrals qui renunciaren a propi mas no a comú;	El ·v· tienpo fue de los santos castrales que rrenunciaron el mundo.
Sexto vero successit status cenobitarum possessiones abdicantium in proprio et communi, in quo statu claruit renovatio perfectionis evangelice, quam docuit Christus verbo et exemplo, cum dixit: «Si vis perfectus esse, etc.».	lo ·vi· temps és aquell en lo qual principalment floriren los claustrals qui renunciaren a propi e a comú, així com començaren sent Domingo e sent Ffrancesch;	El ·vi· tienpo fue de sant Francisco e de santo Domingo quando fundaron las sus hórdenes, el qual tienpo finirà brevemente, porque muy presto verná Jhesucristo a fazer juizio final.

5. Perarnau (1991: 79-81).

6. Vilanova (1947: 114-115).

7. Madrid, Biblioteca de la Real Academia de la Historia, ms. 9-11-1-1.176, f. 14v.

<i>Philosophia...</i> , 79/330-81/355	<i>Confessió de Barcelona</i> , 114/9-115/3	<i>Libro del conocimiento del fin del mundo</i> , ed. Guadalajara (1996: 444)
Septimo vere et ultimo succedet status durationis brevissime, in quo fideles indifferenter adherebunt Altissimo in tanta devotione ac tranquillitate, ut videantur iam eterne felicitatis pregustare dulcedinem, quod primis sex statibus non potuit convenire, quoniam unicuique fuit amaritudo persecutionis annexa. Et in tempore sexti status debent persecutiones exacerbari, cum lectio Apocaypsis aperte prenuntiet quod in eo fervebit persecutio maxima Antichristi.	lo ·vii· temps de la Sglésia sera aquell qui·s seguirà après la mort d'Antechrist. Dich, donques, que com la revelació del <i>Apochalipsi</i> denuncia appertament que Antechrist regnarà en lo ·vi· temps de la Sglésia, e sia cert que ara siam en aquell temps, és cert que·l temps d'aquell enemich és prop.	

Arnau de Vilanova no tradueix literalment el text, el simplifica. En algun cas posa un nom al temps o l'etapa (així en el dels doctors) i en algun altre (sisè) n'explicita les referències (els sants Francesc i Domènec). Arnau de Vilanova tradueix «cenobitae» per «claustrals» i «claruit» per «florí». Aquesta divisió arnaldiana de la història del cristianisme en set èpoques fou reproduïda, de forma encara més sintètica, en castellà, sense esmentar-ne l'origen, per l'autor incert de l'anomenat *Libro del conocimiento del fin del mundo*.⁸

A més d'algunes al·lusions implícites de fragments bíblics, Arnau de Vilanova en la *Confessió de Barcelona* reproduïx en català sis passos del Nou Testament (quatre del corpus paulí i dos de l'Evangeli de Mateu) i un del profeta Daniel. Tret dels fragments de l'evangeli de Mateu, són versets de temàtica apocalíptica.⁹

Els textos profètics citats en la *Confessió de Barcelona* són els següents. L'anomenat «sent Methodi màrtir, al qual fon revelat lo damunt dit temps [és a dir el temps de l'Anticrist] per compte de mil·lenars» (Vilanova 1947: 111-112). Es tracta del conegut com a *Pseudo-Metodi*, un text escrit en ambient siríà al començament de la dominació àrab. El seu autor tenia les esperances posades

8. Sobre l'atribució de l'obra a Diego Moxena i la seva data de redacció, vegeu Mensa (2009: 247-248).

9. Dn XII,11 (110-111); 2 Tes II, 1-9 (115); 2 Tes II (115-116); 2 Tim III, 1-5 (116); 2 Tim III, 2-9 (116-117); Mt VII,15 (118-119); Mt VII, 16 (119). El lector interessat trobarà la reproducció dels textos del Nou Testament dins Mensa (1989: 520 i 522). El text de Daniel en versió arnaldiana fa: «d'aquell temps lo qual del tot cessaria lo sacrifici de la lig, entrò en lo temps en lo qual la abhominació, ço és Antechrist, serie posada en desolació dels feels, correrien ·mccxc· [dies]».

en un emperador que restabliria el domini de l'imperi bizantí. El text fou traduït en ambient franc en el segle VIII (Sackur 1898: 59-96). En el mateix sentit, Arnau també esmenta un no més ben identificat Eusebi,¹⁰ i les profecies de les sibilles Eritrea i Albanea (Vilanova 1947: 113, veg. Jostmann 2006),

en les quals prophecies, per los accidents dels grechs e dels romans e dels cecilians, donen coneixença special del damunt dit temps, e ab totes les altres damunt dites s'acorden en açò: que'l damunt dit enemich deu regnar personalment en aquest centenar en què som entrats de ·v· anys ençà.

Ara bé, els dos textos profètics més importants utilitzats per Arnau de Vilanova en la *Confessió de Barcelona* són la revelació de Ciril i una revelació atribuïda a Hildegarda. Ciril és esmentat diverses vegades (Vilanova 1947: 112, 120, 120-123) i fins i tot Arnau de Vilanova tradueix al català un fragment llatí relativament extens que ell mateix havia redactat i integrat en la *Confessio Ilerdensis* (Vat. Lat. 3824, ff. 175c-176a) per tal de sintetitzar les maueries dels falsos religiosos, que segons aquesta dita revelació, es manifestaran en els temps immediatament anteriors a la vinguda de l'Anticrist. Arnau de Vilanova ja havia citat anteriorment en llatí diverses vegades la revelació de Ciril. Aquests testimonis són molt valuosos, perquè són els primers que coneixem d'aquest oracle. Fins i tot alguns estudiosos, segons la meua manera de veure sense arguments prou sòlids (Maier 1948 i 1952; i Bignami-Odier 1952: 199, veg. Mensa 2009: 214-221), han suggerit que Arnau de Vilanova podria ésser l'autor del comentari d'aquesta revelació. La traducció al català del text de la *Confessio Ilerdensis* no és de cap manera literal: tendeix a simplificar el vocabulari, a fer-lo més concret i suggerent (Mensa 2009).

L'anomenada «Revelació de senta Aldegardis», que en realitat no és de la monja benedictina alemanya, la «sibilla del Rin», ans un apòcrif seu conegut amb les paraules de l'*incipit* «insurgent gentes», és una profecia de polèmica contra els ordes mendicants, qui sap si sorgida del cercle de Guillem de Sant Amor (Fabricius 1858; Embach 2003: 228-237; Dufeil 1972: 317 i 342; Gouguenheim 1996, 198s; Santos Paz 2004).¹¹ Arnau de Vilanova (1947: 123-130)

10. «L'altra scriptura és la revelació de sent Eusebi, lo qual, per compte dels anys de nostre senyor Jesucrist e per als uns accidents de regions e de terres, notiffique lo temps damunt dit [és a dir, el temps de l'Anticrist]» (Vilanova 1947: 112).

11. Fa anys (Mensa 1994: 139) em preguntava «si l'autor de les obres polèmiques [d'Arnau de Vilanova] i l'autor de l'*Expositio super Apocalypsi*, sota el mateix nom d'Hildegarda, no feien servir fonts distintes». Doncs bé, l'estudi del professor J. C. Santos Paz (1994) permet de respondre afirmativament sense dubtes a la pregunta. Efectivament, d'una banda, Santos (cxliv) afirma que «es posible demostrar que la fuente de las citas de Hildegarde contenidas en la *Expositio super Apocalypsi* fue la obra de Gebenón y no, como sostuvo [el] editor de la obra, la profecía *Insurgent gentes*», i d'altra (cliv, nota 108), que Arnau de Vilanova en la *Confessió de Barcelona* «utiliza otra fuente distinta [és a dir, l'*Insurgent gentes*] con una finalidad también distinta (atacar abiertamente a los dominicos)». Es tracta d'una edició de l'obra de Gebenón d'Eberbach, prior benedictí que compilà l'obra escatològica de la «sibilla del Rin», precedida d'un interessant estudi introduc-

en dóna el text llatí i el tradueix, diu, «al mills que poré». També trobem altres referències a la revelació d'Hildegarda en la *Confessió de Barcelona* (Vilanova 1947: 112-113; 120).

La traducció de la profecia *Insurgent gentes* és força lliure. De vegades, Arnau de Vilanova afegeix aclariments. Així, per exemple, ja de bon començament introdueix una expressió, «entre los christians», que no és en l'original llatí; o la frase «invenientes mala nova» es transforma en «trobaran o fenyeran»¹² en les persones novells mals e falliments»; «radicabit» passa a ésser «rahigarà e plantarà fermament»; «adulationem», «adulació e lausengeria»; «simulationes», «parença de santedat»; «predicabunt incessanter», «prehicaran sens devoció e sens tot exemple e martiri»,¹³ e majorment»; «blande decipiant» es transforma en «blandén e amoxan».¹⁴ D'altres vegades, per mitjà de la fórmula «ço és», concreta el sentit de l'original o l'interpreta: «detractationem» esdevé «detracció, ço és, maldir d'altri»; «caro vestra publica», «e féu que la vostra carn fos pública (ço és, abandonada a tot delit)». Potser el cas més clar és el que transforma «mementote cum eratis beati emulatores» en una frase molt més clara i explícita: «menbren-vos les vostres perversitats, ço és, quant éreu benanants envegoses». Alguna vegada també afegeix adverbis que reforcen el sentit del text, com «fortment», o expressions com «encara més». El lèxic escollit per Arnau de Vilanova és molt més suggerent: «sani» es traduït per «delitoses»,¹⁵ «perverse» per «en tort o en través», «mundi» per «d'aquest segle», «miser» per «mesquí», «a mulieribus luxuriosis» per «de vils fembres», «militibus tirannis» per «cruels cavallers», «propter suasionem diaboli» per «per lo siule del diable», «nequior» per «pus squiu», «sine sapore» per «desaborrits», «delecto» per «delitar», «clapulosi» per «amb ventre farsit e ple», «mercatores domorum» per «mercaders de matrimonis». Són exemples que es podrien multiplicar. Tot plegat, fa l'efecte de potenciar el sentit de la profecia, efecte magnificat per la traducció d'algun verb en forma futura pel verb en passat, com si la profecia ja s'hagués acomplert: «diabolus infrenabit» és traduït per «el diable ha enfrenades». Llegida com fou la *Confessió de Barcelona* davant el rei Jaume II, un confessor del qual era justament un dels adversaris d'Arnau de Vilanova, Martín d'Ateca, frare de l'Orde de Predicadors i, doncs, una persona a qui hom podia aplicar la profecia de la pseudo-Hildegarda, Ar-

tori. Caldria puntualitzar, però, alguna afirmació concreta sobre les obres arnaldianes (no és ara el moment).

12. La segona accepció del verb «fényer», segons el DCVB, és «fingir».

13. «Martiri» sembla tenir aquí el sentit genuí del verb grec *martireo*, és a dir, «donar testimoni».

14. «Blandir», «afalagar». «Amoxar» i altres formes derivades, com «moxardament» (que tradueix el mot llatí «astute») (Vilanova 1947: 121, 131) o «moxart» (adjectiu) (Vilanova 1947: 176), contra l'observació de Batllori (1947: 122), sí que és documentada en el DCVB, però amb la grafia «amoixar»: dir o fer a algú coses agradables; «moixardament»: astutament.

15. El DCVB recull l'accepció de «vigorós»

nau de Vilanova tradueix «confessores Luciferi» per «confessors bregoses», segurament per evitar d'al·levar cap suspicàcia al rei.

Per acabar, encara trobem una darrera «revelació» (Vilanova 1947: 137):

Encara confés haver scrit que les lagostes damunt dites dintre ·x· anys seran caçades e gitades de tot lo poble dels christians, axí que en neguna part no gosaran apparèixer. Car, segons que és scrit en les revelacions damunt dites, Déu labores trametrà als christians pastor e vicari seu qui açò complirà, e refermarà la veritat e la quaritat del christianisme.

Segurament, l'expressió genèrica «revelacions damunt dites» té al seu darrere la revelació de Ciril («hos prestolantur nugaces, quos gladius biceps confodiet», Piur 1912: 315) i la pseudo-Hildegarda («la vostra orde és abatuda per los vostres enganys», Vilanova 1947: 130), però, en aquest cas concret, sobretot l'*Horòscop* (Töpfer 1992: 278-282).

III. PARAULA CONCLUSIVA

Abans que Arnau de Vilanova, Ramon Llull ja havia divulgat en català obres espirituals i de teologia. Per la mateixa dinàmica del seu pensament, Ramon Llull era poc procliu a citar i reproduir textos bíblics i de la tradició de l'Església. I més encara textos apocalíptics i fonts profètiques. En canvi, Vilanova tenia una actitud ben diferent. Potser perquè fou molt qüestionat pels teòlegs professionals, sempre que podia solia justificar les seves tesis amb fragments de la Bíblia o amb altres textos de valor teològic i espiritual. Solia confiar a ulls clucs en les profecies (per a ell eren «quasi-paraules de Déu»), com la revelació de Ciril o l'atribuïda a Hildegarda (*Insurgent gentes*). Les obres d'Arnau són el primer testimoni conegut de l'oracle de Ciril i la seva síntesi dels vicis dels falsos religiosos de la *Confessio Ilerdensis* i la posterior traducció al català (*Confessió de Barcelona*) és la primera coneguda en una llengua vernacla. Les obres d'Arnau de Vilanova són sens dubte la porta d'entrada de la problemàtica profeticoapocalíptica entre la gent del poble. De vegades, el missatge apocalíptic arriba desfigurat per la imaginació popular, com en la lletra següent. En una carta adreçada al rei Jaume II, efectivament, un informador explicava des de Moïà, que «tota la gent es fort espaordida dels senyals que mestre Arnau de Vilanova ha que deuen venir». L'autor de la lletra informava que un predicador, vingut de Mallorca, «preichà divendres passat ab a Barcelona en la seu a clergues e a lechs generalment que de diluns que ve a ·viii· dies seran fets molts senyals per lo món, entre los quals sera primer que lo sol s'escurirà» (Martí de Barcelona: 1991; 1994). L'editor, Martí de Barcelona, datava el document l'agost de 1310. Perarnau (1992: 469) proposa una data anterior (agost de 1304).

Sabem per l'inventari *post mortem* de llurs béns que Arnau de Vilanova tenia a Barcelona, a casa de Pere Jutge, un veritable escriptori (Chabàs 1903:

189-190). Segons Josep Perarnau (1978: 122-125), que analitzà la informació de l'inventari, els volums que hi havia a casa de Pere Jutge estaven en estat divers d'elaboració i seguien tres patrons bàsics. Un primer tipus o patró de manuscrit, del qual hi havia sis exemplars en pergamí, era format per quinze obres arnaldianes, cinc de les quals estaven escrites en llatí i les altres en català. Un segon patró, amb vuit còpies, integrava catorze obres arnaldianes, dues en llatí i la resta en català. Un tercer patró (tres còpies) era format íntegrament per escrits en català. Els destinataris de cada tipus o patró de manuscrit devien ésser diversos: el públic del primer patró segurament era format per persones amb estudis superiors, el del segon, per persones que havien seguit cursos de gramàtica llatina i el del tercer, per persones que només sabien llegir i escriure. En conclusió, afirma Perarnau (1978: 125):

Àdhuc tenint en compte la quantitat d'analfabets de la societat medieval europea, és evident la preponderància de les classes socials més elevades sobre les populars com a destinataris de l'obra escrita d'Arnau de Vilanova, amb predomini, però, de l'estrat burgès que posseeix una formació cultural mitjana.

La dada següent ens ajudarà a valorar la difusió de les obres arnaldianes. El recompte dels exemplars dels manuscrits conservats o dels quals hi ha notícia documental que han existit de l'*Alphabetum catholicorum* puja a vint-i-tres unitats, segon el càlcul de Josep Perarnau (2007: 52)! Poques obres d'autors medievals han tingut aquesta difusió.

La sentència de Tarragona, de 1316, significà un punt d'inflexió en la difusió de les obres i les idees arnaldianes (Perarnau 1991b; i Mensa 2000). Diverses obres arnaldianes hi foren condemnades. Un dels motius que donaren els signants de la sentència per condemnar les obres arnaldianes fou, precisament, que la lectura d'aquestes obres (Santi 1987: 283-284)

multos de catholicis viris simplicibus et mulieribus, qui ipsi utuntur libris, et ex simplicitate et ignorantia adhaerent dictis ipsorum libellorum et tractatum, possent de facili perducere ad errorem.

Una de les obres condemnades fou precisament la *Confessió de Barcelona*. Diu la sentència (Santi 1987: 288):

Item dampnamus libellos qui incipiunt: «Davan vos senyor en Jacme per la gracia de Déu rey Daragó propos yo Maestro A.»; item qui incipit: «Cant fuy Avynuó»; item qui incipit: «Entès per vostres paraules»; item qui intitulator: «Responsio contra Bn. Sicardi». In omnibus enim istis de propinquo adventu Antichristi, et determinato tempore finis mundi temerarie et erronee locutus est contra Scripturam Sanctam et doctores ejus sive expositores, et in quibusdam quae in hiis libellis dixit, jam aparuit falsus denunciator.

Aquesta condemna és, certament, molt genèrica i afecta quatre obres arnaldianes. Observem, però, que en la *Confessió de Barcelona* Arnau de Vilanova

només parla explícitament de la vinguda de l'Anticrist —vinguda que preveu per abans no s'acabi el segle XIV—, però no de la fi del món. És aquest un càlcul «determinato» temporalment? Els autors de la sentència tampoc no concreten quins passos de la Bíblia i quins doctors o comentaristes contradiu Arnau de Vilanova en parlar de l'adveniment de l'Anticrist. Arnau de Vilanova, a la *Confessió de Barcelona*, sí que ha mostrat els textos bíblics i ha citat alguns autors que serveixen de fonament al seu anunci. I per quines afirmacions de la *Confessió de Barcelona* Arnau de Vilanova pot ésser titllat de «falsus denunciator»? Segurament els autors de la sentència es refereixen a una frase que anuncia que els falsos religiosos seran vençuts per un papa espiritual i un vicari seu abans de deu anys, és a dir, de l'any 1315, any que ja ha passat (Vilanova 1947: 137).

Amb tot, i malgrat la sentència condemnatòria, la *Confessió de Barcelona* fou un opuscle llegit i que exercí influència en altres autors. Ho prova, per exemple, l'abans esmentat *Conocimiento del fin del mundo*, llibre que almenys en reproduïx les etapes de la història de l'església i els vint-i-un vicis dels falsos religiosos (Mensa 2009: 255-263). Les idees apocalíptiques d'Arnau de Vilanova més o menys soterradament inspiraren obres d'autors com Joan de Rocatalhada o Francesc Eiximenis (Roquetaillade 2005: 195; Perarnau 1998a: 29-32; Perarnau 1998b).

Arnau de Vilanova, doncs, traduï per primera vegada a una llengua vernacle textos teològics, però sobretot profètics, només coneguts fins llavors en llatí. El català fou ja de bona hora una llengua apta per a expressar els pensaments profunds i les idees subtils propis de la teologia.¹⁶ La gent mínimament instruïda podia llegir textos que fins llavors només estaven reservats a aquelles persones que havien cursat estudis de gramàtica llatina. Per mitjà dels escrits d'Arnau de Vilanova es difonen idees reformistes i apocalíptiques entre la gent del poble.

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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 Capítular 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 *Almoina*, 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 *Almoina*. 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 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.

MIEVEAL 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 Teberidi'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 judiciarios* 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 Habbilo, 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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