

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
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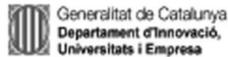
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ACADEMIC MEDICINE AND THE VERNACULARIZATION OF MEDIEVAL SURGERY: THE CASE OF BERNAT DE BERRIAC¹

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I

Over the last quarter-century I have come to know more and more about Bernat de Berriac. When I began searching through Catalan archives in the early 1980s he was only a name, a medical master who was known to have convinced the bishop of Barcelona in 1309 to name him rector of a projected *Studium* in that city, a plan that was never fulfilled (Perarnau 1977). But my archival researches turned up repeated traces of master Bernat that gradually made it possible for me to present the outlines of his career and even a sense of his personality. He was a Mallorcan subject whose family had originated in a village near Carcassonne, and who studied medicine at Montpellier in the years around 1300, during what would have been the last stage of Arnau de Vilanova's teaching there, while also intermittently practicing medicine at Castelló d'Empúries and Vic. He finished his master's degree at Montpellier by 1309, had his brief dealings with the bishop, and went back to teach at Montpellier while also beginning to serve as physician to the kings of Mallorca. His connection to the court gave him the chance to urge King Sanç to renew the traditional privileges of the university, and in 1316 – «ad preces fidelis nostri phisici, magistri Bernardi de Berriacho» – the king reaffirmed the medical faculty's right to examine and license anyone who hoped to practice in Montpellier, whether man or woman, Christian or Jew, and presumably physician or surgeon (*Cartulaire*: I, 234-235). Bernat continued in this joint career as academic master and royal physician until his death in 1348, when he must have been in his 70s, and his exchanges with the bishop of Barcelona thus became understandable as an early expression of his lifelong commitment to the values of the new European system of university learning (McVaugh 1990; Cifuentes 1993: 322).

1. I am very grateful to Lluís Cifuentes for many things in connection with this paper: for originally suggesting the topic to me; for making possible my access to its manuscript sources; for careful and constructive criticism of an earlier version; and finally for checking and revising my transcriptions and emending their orthography as necessary.

What makes master Bernat relevant to the study of the vernacularization of academic Latinate learning is the existence in a Graz manuscript (G) of a Catalan translation of the great *Chirurgia* or *Surgery* of Teodorico Borgognoni, which ends with the statement that «aquest libre fo fenit en Maylorcha en l'any de m.ccc.x, esmanat per maestre Bernat, metge del senyor rey de Malorques. Explicit liber Taderici m^o nonas Januarii m^o.ccc°.x^o»² – that is, 2 January 1311. Josep Perarnau proposed some time ago that this «maestre Bernat» might be identified with my Bernat de Berriac (Perarnau 1991), and I am convinced that this identification is correct: if we are right, therefore, in early 1311, towards the beginning of his teaching career at Montpellier, our medical master Bernat de Berriac finished revising an existing vernacular translation of Teodorico's *Chirurgia*.

Now as it happens, there is another Catalan translation of that work already known from this period, one that is preserved in a Paris manuscript (P) and is signed by the physician Guillem Corretger.³ I am among those who have supposed that this might be the version that master Bernat revised, though when I did so I had not compared the two in any detail (McVaugh 1993a: 93, n. 101). Not all scholars who have looked at both these texts agree; at least one has concluded that the differences between the two translations are far more significant than simple «revision» would imply, and has assumed that Bernat must have revised some other Catalan translation, one that no one has yet found.⁴ I want to examine the two versions so far known, Bernat's and Guillem's, at some length, to see whether this can help us understand why an ambitious university master of Latinate medicine like Bernat might have taken an interest in polishing a vernacular text – and not a text on medicine, but on surgery.

Let us begin by thinking not about Bernat, however, but about what is known of Guillem Corretger, his career and his aims. Few traces of Guillem have so far been found in the archives. He turns up first with the army besieging Albarracín in 1284, and then four years later as summoned from his home in Valencia to give surgical care to the king's brother Pere, in Zaragoza. Fourteen years later, October 1302, he was given permission by Jaume II to leave the kingdom in order to study («audire») the art of surgery elsewhere, «since», as the king wrote, «at present no one teaches this subject in our realms». Guillem was back in Valencia in January 1308 and was still alive there a year later – and

2. MS Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, 342, ff. 281v^b-282r^a. It is described in Perarnau 1991: 277-281. At the time of writing (January 2010), a digitized version of the manuscript was available at <<http://143.50.26.142/digbib/handschriften/Ms.0200-0399/Ms.0342/index.html>>.

3. The manuscript is Paris, BnF, Esp. 212, where the text occupies ff. 1r^a-89v^b. It is described in Badia 1996: 61-62.

4. This is the most recent view expressed by Cifuentes 2006: 130. He offers his reasons for this conclusion in Cifuentes 2000: 564.

these are our only solidly established facts about his life.⁵ We cannot even be sure exactly where he was planning to study surgery, but I have argued elsewhere that it is very likely to have been at Montpellier – a nearby school with ties to the Catalan world, famous for its medicine (McVaugh 1993a: 113-114). We have no direct proof that surgery was formally taught there, but we know that in the years around 1300 its medical faculty took an active interest in the subject. In the second half of the thirteenth century, European surgeons had composed a series of Latin surgical textbooks meant to establish a broad introduction to surgical practice on a foundation of up-to-date medical theory drawn from the texts of iconic authors like Galen and Avicenna – to create a rational surgery, one might say, one built not simply on empirical experience but on a scientific knowledge of the causes of illnesses that could then explain what surgical techniques were appropriate for what conditions, and why.⁶ It is not particularly surprising that European medical masters would have valued these surgical books, because they fitted their own criteria of knowledge and extended their possibilities for practice. At Paris, it was the *Chirurgia* of Bruno de Longoburgo (1252) that medical students were encouraged to read, although the *Surgeries* of Teodorico Borgognoni and Lanfranc of Milan were more ambitious and perhaps more widely admired (McVaugh 2006: 231). At Montpellier in 1303, just as Guillem Corretger might have been arriving there, master Bernard Gordon was at work on his general survey of medicine, the *Lilium medicine*, and was incorporating into it much of this new surgical learning while encouraging his readers to follow it up «in libris chirurgie». What «surgical books» might these have been? Bernard mentions none by name, but we know that his colleague Arnau de Vilanova had a copy of Teodorico's *Chirurgia* in his personal library, and we can prove that by the 1320s the works of both Lanfranc and Teodorico were being read and copied at Montpellier (McVaugh 2005). It seems likely that at Montpellier Guillem would easily have found teachers willing to guide him in the study of the new rational surgery.

About Guillem's ambitions we know more than we do about his life. The mere fact that after many years in practice, when he must have been at least in his forties, he should have resolved to study the art in a teaching faculty is already an indication that he, like many other thirteenth-century surgeons, had come to believe that it should ideally be learned from texts as well as from practice. And this is confirmed, not merely by the fact of his decision to translate one of the most important Latin rational-surgical texts into Catalan, but

5. Some of the archival documentation pertaining to Guillem is in McVaugh 1993b: 229; other documents, placing him in Valencia during 1308-1309, are Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó (ACA), C, reg. 290, f. 27r (Jan. 1308), reg. 205, f. 140r (Feb. 1308), reg. 205, f. 205v (Oct. 1308), and reg. 271, f. 60r (July 1309). Cifuentes 1993: 456 establishes his presence before Albarracín.

6. I have developed this theme in McVaugh 2006.

by his own famous prologue to that translation, which spells out his motives in preparing it, motives that reinforce what we have already inferred about the details of his career. In his homeland, he writes, the surgeons base themselves more on manual experience than on science, because the books from which they could learn are written in Latin, which they cannot read, and this ignorance leads them into error and confusion – and for this reason, he says, he has translated one of the best of these books into the vernacular to make it accessible to everyone (Cifuentes 1999). What sets Guillem apart from his account of his society and his craft is that he of course *could* read Latin, for otherwise he would never have dreamed of training in a medical faculty, at Montpellier or elsewhere: his translation of Teodorico simply put that skill to use. Guillem is thus a very early and in a sense exceptional figure in the emerging movement to spread the new rational surgery to those who could not study it in the original.

II

What can we say now, concretely, about the actual translation that Guillem drew up of Teodorico's *Chirurgia*? At the outset we have to recognize that there was not just one version of this Latin work circulating in the thirteenth century: Teodorico had prepared it in a succession of recensions. A first very short version was written in the 1240s; this was revised at a friend's request in the early 1250s and divided into three books; this was further revised, and a fourth book added, in the early 1260s; and in the final version, perhaps from the late 1260s, that fourth book was entirely redesigned and rewritten (McVaugh 2006: 21-32). Guillem's translation was made from the third version, the first four-book *Chirurgia*, which happens to be the one that was repeatedly printed in the Renaissance. Some but not all manuscripts of that version (and not the printed text) include a final recipe for a particular remedy to be used to treat dangerous wounds, and this recipe happens to be translated in Guillem's version. We can begin to see that he must have worked from one of a small but definable subset of manuscripts of Teodorico's Latin text.

In fact, that subset is even smaller than one might guess. When examined closely, Guillem's translation proves often to include considerable material that cannot be found in the Latin version as printed, typically adding new recipes to go along with the ones originally set down by Teodorico. Into *Chirurgia* III.24, for example, which describes the treatment of scrofula, Guillem's text has inserted half a column of new medicines, and at the end it has added a totally new recipe for a caustic medicine, arsenic sublimate. The same thing has happened with III.41 on hemorrhoids, and with many other chapters, which add information on such things as how to make a hyssop paste and how to apply

leeches.⁷ It might be that these are materials that Guillem himself added to the text in the course of writing it, but I find this improbable, because they often incorporate detailed references to academic authorities (Avicenna, Galen) that he is unlikely to have fully mastered during his brief stay at Montpellier.⁸ Two other possibilities suggest themselves. Teodorico, as we know, was continually revising his work; might these be later additions that he made to the version that was eventually printed in the Renaissance? This too seems to me improbable, because they do not appear in his fourth version, which was built upon the third. So if neither Teodorico nor Guillem is likely to be responsible for these practical additions, some other learned figure must be; might it not be that the copy of the *Chirurgia* from which Guillem worked had been distinctively annotated, perhaps at Montpellier, and that he understood these annotations as part of the text that he was to translate? I will leave the question open. For the moment, what I want to emphasize is that Guillem's text corresponds to an underlying Latin version that is unusual, perhaps unique, among the surviving manuscripts.

Guillem's text is unusual in another way. The Latin text's four books are divided further into chapters. But Guillem's version can sometimes have more chapter headings than Teodorico's original. Here are those from book I in each:

<i>Teodorico</i>	<i>Guillem</i>
1. De causis solutionis continuitatis sive vulnerum et divisione ipsorum	1. De los ordonamens de les naffres e de los departimens d'aqueles
2. De dispositione vulnerum secundum diversitatem membrorum	2. De la dispositió de les naffres segons la diversitat de los membres
3. De universali curatione vulnerum que fiunt in carne	3. Paraula universal de la cura de les naffres que són feytes en carn tan solament
4. De figuris vulnerum et cura ipsorum et modo ligandi	4. La manera de Galièn e de mestre Ugo en la cura de les naffres
5. De causis vulnerum que tarde sanantur et eorum cura	5. Regla de les naffres e de la cura d'aqueles
	6. De les ligadures e de les custures com covén ésser fetes e de les costures de les naffres
	7. Per què les naffres s'i sanen tardament e de la cura d'aqueles matexes

The running text itself is unchanged, but a long chapter in the original, I.3, has been broken up by new chapter headings (which entail a new chapter numeration) in Guillem's version, headings designed to reveal the content of the new subdivisions. Again we have to wonder where this originated – was it

7. The new material on hyssop, for example, is introduced into III.44 (*Chirurgia* 172v^a) at P69r^a and G220r^a.

8. Thus in III.24 both P (58v^a) and G (185v^b) introduce the same block of new material into Teodorico's text which each declares is based on «Galièn en lo libre de experimentations».

Guillem's own idea, or might it perhaps have been a feature of a specifically «Montpellier Teodorico», designed to make the *Chirurgia* more accessible to students there? – and again I will leave the question open. But it makes even more obvious the uniqueness of Guillem's version: either it is his own original construction, or (which I think is more likely) it is his translation of a unique manuscript copy of the Latin Teodorico.

Now let us turn to the version that I am ascribing to Bernat de Berriac, contained in the Graz manuscript. When we compare it closely with that of Guillem Corretger, we find that Bernat's is *also* based on the third version of Teodorico's Latin text – and not only that, it too is based on the subgroup that concludes with a particular recipe for treating dangerous wounds. It also contains the new material that has been introduced on the treatment of scrofula and hemorrhoids, on how to apply leeches and how to wash hyssop. And it has the same new subdivisions of the text, the same new chapter headings. Yet remember that we had acknowledged the probable uniqueness of the copy that Guillem had translated from! Of course, if Bernat was simply revising Guillem's version, this identity of content is understandable and unremarkable. But if Bernat's version was a revision of a lost translation made independently of Guillem's, it is almost inevitable that that translation would have had to be made from the exact same Latin manuscript that Guillem had used just a few years before for the same purpose, since all these peculiar features agree in both Catalan texts. That is not totally inconceivable, even if it does seem like an extraordinary coincidence, because if there was such a thing as a distinctive «Montpellier version» of Teodorico's *Chirurgia*, that is presumably the version that both Guillem and the hypothetical lost translator would have come upon in their studies there.

An examination of the language of the versions themselves may help us decide whether they were produced independently by different authors from the same manuscript, or instead represent one author's translation and its later revision by a second figure. And perhaps we should ask at the outset, does translatorial style really vary enough from individual to individual that we can immediately recognize when translations are independent and when they are not? There is no doubt that it can. As an example, let me present parallel passages from two Latin translations made in these same years (c. 1300) of a treatise on asthma by Maimonides.

[...] esset utique hic tractatus prolixus valde, et esset **coactus premittere multa preambula supra quodlibet particularium predictorum**, et sequeretur determinatio expressiva omnium que predicta sunt modo quod non est hic tractatus intentio. [...] — Maimonides, *De asmate* (tr. Giovanni da Capua)

[...] tunc enim augetur nimis liber iste, nam essem **coactus premittere multa preambula super quodlibet particularium predictorum**, quod quidem minime intendimus facere in hoc libro. [...] — Maimonides, *De asmate* (tr. Armengaud Blaise)

Here two men are translating the same Arabic text into Latin, each choosing different words and grammatical constructions, and suddenly eight words are exactly the same! It is very difficult to believe that this is merely coincidence, that two independent translators suddenly happened on exactly the same words in exactly the same order to translate this brief passage before reverting to their different styles – it is as though a monkey playing randomly at a computer keyboard briefly typed out a paragraph from *Tirant lo Blanc* before turning back to produce nonsense. And in fact in this case I have argued elsewhere that one translator took the opportunity to revise his version slightly after seeing the other one (Maimonides 2008: 2.XXXVI-XXXVIII).

What do we find when we compare the two Catalan versions of Teodoro's *Chirurgia* (T)? Catalan is vastly closer to Latin than Arabic is, of course, so we would expect to find that the sentence structure and the word choice of the original Latin would tend to enforce a considerable similarity between the two, but we would still expect, I think, to see some stylistic differences between them: after all, translation was not and is not an automatic or mechanical process. Here is a passage from *Chirurgia* I.4 in its various versions, one that I have adapted from their recent edition by Lluís Cifuentes:⁹

In omni vulnere, si calidum fuerit apostema seu herisipilla vel altera egritudo, intendas ut illam egritudinem primo cures, postmodum cura vulnus, et omne vulnus (ut ait Hypocras) habens herisipilla, ad hoc ut sanetur, opus ut totum corpus cum farmacia purgetur. Oportet (inquit) ut trahamus materiam ad loca opposita per antifrasi[m], nam si vulnus est in superioribus, venter inferius cum solutione purgetur; si vero inferius est, superius cum vomitu educatur. (T136r^b)

En tota naffra, si desobra hy vendrà calenta postema o resipilla o altra malautia, ton enteniment sia curar primerament aquella malautia e anaprés cura la naffra, cor axí o diu Ypocràs: «aquell qui ha erisipilla, per què sia sanada, cové que tot lo cors sia mundificat ab porga». Encara diu: «cové que tiretz la matèria a los loch[s] contraposatz per contrarii en aquesta manera, que si a la naffra en las sobiranes parts del cors, lo ventre deval ab la solatió sia purgat; mas si la naffre és en les partz jusanes, la matèria desús ab vòmit sia amenada». (P4v^a)

En tota naffra, si hi sobrevendrà calda aposterma o erispola o altra malautia, ton enteniment sia que curs primerament aquela malautia e enaprés cura la naffra, que axí o diu Ypocràs: «aquella qui a erispola, per so que sia sanada, cové que tot lo cors sia mundificat ab porga». Encara diu que «cové que tirem la matèria als locs contraposatz en aquesta manera per contrari, que si la naffra és en les sobiranes del cors, lo ventre davayl sia porgat ab solucció; mas si la naffra és en les partz jusanes, la matèria damunt ab vòmit sia amenada». (G11v^b-12r^a)

9. Cifuentes 2000: 565-566. I have made a few minor changes to the published texts after examining the sources themselves.

When I compare these two Catalan texts, I find it hard to agree with their editor's conclusion that they are independent:¹⁰ the choice of wording and the word order are so nearly identical that the similarity surely cannot be coincidental, and the few differences are of the sort that could certainly be produced in the course of generations of recopying and varying scribal decisions about spelling. Comparing these texts with the Latin original only reinforces this conclusion, because they both depart from the Latin in the same ways: where the Latin summarizes Hippocrates' teaching and mentions his authorship only as an aside, the Catalan versions both attribute it to him in what is effectively a direct quotation, «així ho diu». Both versions use transliterated forms of most technical terms that Latin medicine had drawn from Greek – «apostema», «erispila» – but both settle on the same phrase, «per contrari», to represent «per antifrasi», which was the technical Latin term for bloodletting on the opposite side from an illness. Most of the parallel passages that I will continue to give show this relationship between the two just as obviously, and they make it clear, I believe, that Bernat started with Guillem's version and kept its language virtually unchanged, only altering it when for whatever reason he felt it necessary. We know that Bernat was present in Castelló in November 1301, and was back again in October 1303 and June 1304 (McVaugh 1990: 241); but if Guillem left for Montpellier in October 1302, the two could easily have encountered each other there in 1302-1303. The alternative theory – that Bernat revised a new and independent translation that was made by some unknown third figure associated with Montpellier at virtually the same moment when Guillem and he were also there, a figure who happened to work from the very same manuscript that Guillem had used – seems to me frankly untenable and has to be abandoned.

For comparative purposes, let me offer a second piece of evidence. The scribe of G omitted III.39, a short chapter on corns, but it can be found there copied into the margin. Here again we have the three versions – of Teodorico, the Paris manuscript, and the addition in the Graz manuscript:

Clavis est caro callosa dura
atque rotunda similis clavo,
et est eiusdem coloris cum
reliquo corpore. Et fit in
qualibet parte corporis, et
secundum plurimum in
pedibus et digitis pedum, et
inducit dolorem infirmo
apud ambulationem.

Clau és carn calorosa, dura
e redona qui resembra a
clau, e és aquexa matexa
color que és tot l'altre cors.
E segons la major força és
fet en los peus e en los dits
de los peus, e dóna dolor al
malaute con va. Emperò, lo
curament d'equel que sia

Clau és carn caylosa, dura e
redona semblant a clau, e és
de color de tot lo cors. E és
fet en cascuna part del cors
e majorment en los dels
peus, e à duu dolor cant va.
La cura d'aquel és que sia
mollificat ab grex de porch
salat e que causes amples

10. «En efecte, tot i les similituds que presenten, les diferències que hi ha entre l'un i l'altre depassen la simple intervenció d'un corrector» (Cifuentes 2000: 564).

Curatio vero eius est ut concavetur in circuitu, deinde cum forficibus vel alio instrumento radicitus extirpetur, postea cauteriza locum, et cura donec sanetur. (T170v^a)

emplastrat lo clau ho lo tayll ab emplastre fet de fegalada dell buch o dell vexel de les abeylles tan longament tro que sia curat. Mas si aquest[a] cosa se referrà per lonc temps e no volrà, adoncs la cura d'aquell és que sia concavat entorn, depux ab tosores o ab altres in[s]trument[s] de rayl sia arancada e naprés cou lo loc e cura-lo tro que sia sanat. (P64v^b)

sabates. E si ayssò fet lonc temps no val, adoncz la cura d'aquel és que sia concavat entorn, e puys ab tenayles o ab altre estrument ab tota sa reyñl sia arancat e puys cauteriza lo loch e cura-lo entrò que sia sanat. (G207r^b)

There are several things to remark about this chapter. The first is that, as it so often does, Guillem's text incorporates new material, in this case a new treatment for corns, and that at the same point the anonymous author of the marginal note also introduces new material from his base text – but these two remedies are quite different from Guillem's! The textual tradition of the Latin Teodorico was evidently even more fluid than we had suspected. But the second and more important point to make is that there is *much* more stylistic variation between the Graz and Paris translations in this chapter than there was in the earlier comparison extracted from I.4, although they certainly can both be recognized as translating the same words from the Latin. In this case, unlike the previous passage, one would never imagine that the Graz text might derive from the Paris text: these certainly *are* two different and independent translations of III.39, and they are made from two different Latin manuscripts. And that suggests to me that the marginal addition was made by someone who recognized that Bernat's original revision had left out III.39 and who therefore later set down his own translation of the missing chapter in the margin – which bears out my argument that the original of the Graz version, which is so much closer in order and language to Guillem's, is simply to be understood as Bernat's reworking of that earlier translation.

III

Assuming that the Graz text represents a revision of the Paris text, then, is it possible to talk, in a general way, about the *kinds* of alterations Bernat made to Guillem's translation? One thing immediately leaps to the eye when we examine Bernat's version in detail: it is that his translation of the *Chirurgia* divides it up into seven books, while Guillem had preserved the original four.

Bernat took over Teodorico's book I unchanged; he split book II into two books, one including Teodorico's chapters 1-19, the other chapters 20-54; he divided book III into three books, consisting of chapters 1-10, 11-34 (partway through), and 34 (the remainder)-56; and he left the original book IV unchanged, to become his own book VII.

Why did Bernat bother to do this? I cannot believe that his action can be dismissed as trivial tinkering. I am sure it was a planned act, and I suspect that it was his response to what he saw as a real educational need. Remember that what I have called the «Montpellier version» had already had its longer chapters divided up into several shorter ones, each of which was given a new heading; I think it likely that it had been felt by the author of those changes that the more complicated chapters in the original would be easier for readers to assimilate if they were broken up into coherent shorter units. Bernat was doing the same thing with the original four books, and probably for the same reason: he believed that a long and complicated text would be easier to assimilate if it were divided into shorter sections.

Dividing book II into two parts was no doubt suggested by Teodorico's language at the end of II.19, which indicated that he himself had thought this was a natural break between two sections («particulas»). But Bernat seems to have found his own reasons for dividing book III of the original. Teodorico's III.11, with which Bernat began his book IV, was the first of a string of chapters on abscesses («apostemata») and similar conditions. Bernat began his next, fifth, book in the middle of Teodorico's chapter on hernia (III.34), at the point where Teodorico turned from treatment with diet and drugs to treatment by the cautery; the chapters that follow tend to present similarly invasive procedures, and this was probably in Bernat's mind when he made his choice. He obviously took care in designing his transitions, and I suspect that it was his academic orientation that was at the root of his restructuring of the work.

It is much more difficult, however, to identify with any confidence the changes that Bernat may have made in the specific wording of Guillem's translation. One reason is, of course, that the textual tradition is very thin. Each of our two translations is known to exist in full in only a single manuscript. When a word in Bernat's version is different from a word in Guillem's, it may just as easily be a random change introduced during the long history of scribal transmission as a change introduced deliberately by Bernat. What is needed is the identification of patterns of change that cannot easily be assigned to the stylistic whims of an individual copyist, which would ideally require preparing a searchable edition of each version. I have attempted to make a start by comparing individual chapters in the two against the printed Latin text, and a few systematic changes do seem to turn up as a result, even if they may not appear to be important.

For example: book II of Teodorico's *Chirurgia* has several chapters that deal with fractures and their treatment, and these often involve applying splints to the fractured limb – «astelle», in Teodorico's Latin. In P, in Guillem's version, this term is always translated with a close cognate, «astelles». But in a great many instances Bernat has replaced this with the word «canyeles». ¹¹ At the moment, we can only guess why he might have made this particular change. «Canyeles» is a term used locally in the Empordà to refer to splints, and perhaps it was in Bernat's Roussillon as well. ¹² We will certainly have to wait for a more systematic study to understand how his mind worked in this and other such specific cases.

But I *am* willing to hazard a guess about one principle that sometimes guided Bernat in his revision of Guillem's terminology. When we study the chapter on scrofula, we find that the discursive matter discussing the disease is verbally very close in the two versions, just as in the passages from I.4 above. Yet when we look at its individual recipes, we see that Bernat sometimes chose to restore the language of a Latin passage that had been originally altered or modified by Guillem. For example, in many medieval Latin recipes the Greek word «ana» is regularly used in the sense of *of each, of every one alike*, in specifying a quantity applicable to every ingredient, and Teodorico routinely used this word in his recipes. When Guillem came to this word, he must have felt that his readers might not understand it, and he always used one of a number of different Catalan phrases to translate it: «de totes aquestes» (P57v^a), «de cascun» (57v^a), «aytant de la .i. com de l'altro» (58v^a), «eugualment» (58v^a), and so forth. But in each of these passages Bernat restored the original word «ana». ¹³ He also restored the technical Latin terms for some kinds of preparations that Guillem had abandoned. He went back to Teodorico's technical term «magdalion», referring to a medicine formed in a cylindrical roll («maddalions» [G184r^b], «macdalion» [189r^a]), in passages where Guillem had used the homelier words «rollons» (P58r^a) and «pilota» (59v^a). Such changes imply, incidentally, that Bernat must have been able to consult the Latin original as he read Guillem's translation, since he knew what particular technical term had originally been used by Teodorico.

This seems to be confirmed by Bernat's treatment of a passage in III.4, where Teodorico had spoken of medicines «which act smoothly and by their *proprietas*». Now «*proprietas*» here is a technical term that was just coming into the medical Latin of the day; it derived from Avicenna, and it referred to

11. Thus when in II.20 splints are first discussed at length Bernat always refers to them as «canyeles» (G92v^a-93r^a); later in the work he sometimes retains Guillem's term, but often continues to replace it by «canyeles» (103r^a, 112v^b, 113v^a, 127r^a).

12. DCVB, s.v. «canella».

13. To be sure, on G186r Bernat changed Guillem's language back to «ana» twice, but then allowed «aytant de la .i. com de l'autre» to stand unchanged in a third recipe.

some special, unforeseeable quality in a substance that could not be rationally predicted and instead had to be learned from experience. Teodorico had been one of the first Latin writers to employ it in this sense, but by the end of the century it was in wide use and was a cornerstone, for example, of Arnau de Vilanova's pharmacology (McVaugh 2009: 116-117). In III.4 Guillem chose to translate it not literally but loosely, as «vertuosament» (P45r), whereas Bernat corrected this back to the more literal «per proprietat» (G141r). Unless he were reading Guillem's Catalan against the Latin original, it seems unlikely that he would otherwise have guessed what actually lay behind Guillem's choice of words here, and it also suggests once more that Bernat was more concerned than Guillem had been to preserve the scholastic intellectual context in which the original had been composed. Yet I would certainly have to concede that in all this there is very little that seems to be Bernat's personal contribution to the translation: in fact, what we have seen has apparently not been «revised» very much at all.

IV

The parallel examples I have been giving above are all from the translations of the first three books of Teodorico's *Chirurgia*, and that has been intentional. When I made sample comparisons of passages in the two versions, I discovered to my astonishment that at the beginning of book IV the strong verbal similarity between the two abruptly came to an end. Here is the moment of transition:

[III.56] [...] Si vero ex phlegmate viscoso sive muccis fuerit, pilule diacastoree vel dialthea inunctis interius naribus plurimum conferunt. Idem facit aqua rosata. Suffumigatio etiam calidarum herbarum idem facit.

[IV.1] Primo dicamus ut dicit dominus Hugo dolor capitis quandoque fit a cerebro, quandoque a stomacho. Si fiat a cerebro, dolor est continuus; si autem a stomacho, dolor est interpolatus. Item quandoque est humoris

[III.56] [...] Mas si serà per flegme viscosa con són untades les naryls d'equell ajuda molt; aquella matexa cosa fa aygua-ros. Ítem, fumigament de caldes herbes fa aquella matexa cosa.

[IV.1] Primerament, digam de la dolor dell cap axí con lo seynor Hugo diu. La dolor dell cap alcuna vegada és feta del cervel, a la vegada dell ventre. Sy la dolor és dell cervel, [és] contínua, si és dell ventre la dolor és entreposable. A la vegada és feta ab corrupiment de la humor,

[III.56] [...] Mas si serà de fleuma viscoza con són untades d'aquela les narils de dins ajuda molt, a aquela cossa, e aquela matexa coza fa ayga-ros. E encara subfumigament de caldes erbes fa aquella matexa coza.

[IV.1] Primer digam de dolor de cap e digam axí, con diu lo seynor Ugo, dolor de cap a vegades se ffa de servel e a vagades de ventrel. E si-s fa del servel, la dolor és contínua, e si és de ventrel, a vegades à dolor e a vegades no. E con se fa per peccat de umor,

vitio, et tunc adest gravatio; quandoque ex sola distemperantia, sine aggravatione. Item quandoque cum reumate, et sentitur titillatio et quasi fornicatio, inferius descendens per foramina et alias partes. Si sine reumate sit, hec non sentiuntur. Regula quidem secundum Constantinum quod si fiat cum reumate, non debet fieri fomentatio in aqua vel lavatura; unde etiam dico quod si fiat febris continua cum reumate, non debet lavari vel fomentari extrema. Sed tamen inunctio potest in dolore seu febre fieri cum oleo ro. cum unguentis cum quibus distemperetur unc. s. opii; circa frontem et tempora fiat inunctio. [...] (Teodorico T180^{r^a-b})

e adonchs la conexenza és present; a la vegada per sol destemprament sens ajustaments de humors. A la vegada és sentida ab cadarn villatió e quax fortunatió devalant en aval per la templa o per les altres parts. Si és ab cadarn e no la regla és present segons Constantín que si és feta ab cadarn, fomentatió no deu ésser ne en lavadura; d'un encara dic que si és feta ab cadarn fomentatió contínua les extremitatz no deuen ésser lavades ne fomentades. Emperò, noble fomentament hy pot hésser fet sens fomentatió ab oli rosat o ab violes ab les quals sia destemprada .i.^a. unza d'api e sie'n fet untament engir lo front e de les temples. [...] (Guillem, P83^{r^a-v^b})

adonchs és brugit en les oreyles e ciulament; e a vegades se fa per destemperansa sens ajustament. E cant és ab reuma, sent lo pascient ulseració e quaix formiges davalen a aval per los foratz e per les altres partz. E si és sens reuma o ab reuma, regla és segons Constantí que si és ab reuma no deus fer fomentació ne lavament ab ayga; per què dic encara que si és ab febra contínua la reuma no li deus lavar ne fomentar les stremitatz. Mas potz fer untaments a dolor ab febra oli rozat e violat ab los quals sia destemprat miga unc. de opi e unta-li lo front e les gantes. [...] (Bernat, G261^{v^a}-262^{r^b})

It is clear that book III closes in essentially the same language in both versions (it is a splendid example of how virtually identical the two can be), but that from the outset the two books IV read quite differently. Whereas in books I-III the two versions tend to use the same nouns and adjectives and verbs, in book IV they are often very different: «cadarn» and «reuma» are used consistently by Guillem and Bernat respectively to render Latin «reuma», for example; Latin «tempora» becomes «temples» and «gantes». As we go deeper into IV.1, we find more and more examples of this divergence:

<i>Teodorico</i>	<i>Guillem</i>	<i>Bernat</i>
arsuras injectionibus per nares	cremadures ab coses de dins mesos per les narils	alsuras gitaments per lo nars
diabetica passio	dialèctica [<i>sic</i>] malautia	diabètica passió
esophagum	ysófagun	asbrer
fractura	trencament	fractura
arida	cremada	ardida
plethoricum	pletòrico	ple
consumptio	degostament	consumament

Sometimes one version is more faithful to the technical Latin of the original, sometimes the other; Bernat seems a little the more faithful, but this is not always the case. The two versions of book IV are different enough that they can, indeed, be thought of as different translations.

How are we to explain this? Many hypotheses might perhaps be advanced, but one that seems to me not implausible is as follows: that when Bernat got the idea of restructuring Guillem's translation, presumably when he encountered it while studying at Montpellier, he began to go systematically through a manuscript copy of the work, copying it out with new chapter headings and retouching its language slightly as he did so, but that he had only finished Teodorico's book III when he and the manuscript were somehow separated, so that he had to finish book IV by translating it independently from the Latin. This particular hypothesis gains some support from the facts that a long addition which precedes the beginning of book IV in the Paris manuscript does not appear in the Graz manuscript,¹⁴ and that in Guillem's translation (but not Bernat's), Teodorico's IV.9, on epilepsy, has been transposed to come after IV.6: both these facts suggest that the two translations of book IV may be based on two different manuscript traditions in the Latin, unlike those of books I-III. So do certain jarring translations in that book which are easiest to explain as revealing differences in the underlying Latin: as when in IV.5 Guillem translates the «interpolationem» of the printed Latin as «entreposaments,» but Bernat gives «constipacio»; or when Latin «epar» is represented as «fetge» by Bernat but as «leu» by Guillem—his Latin copy must have read «pulmo.»

Other choices of words with which they translated the Latin original further reinforce this hypothesis. Throughout his *Chirurgia*, Teodorico was careful to identify the causes of the illnesses he discussed: they might be due to a humoral imbalance, for example, a «frigida causa» or a «calida causa»; to an unhealthy humor; or to an external cause («causa»). In books I-III, whenever Teodorico used the word «causa» in this sense, Guillem consistently translated it as «raó», and Bernat did not bother to change that term when he made his infrequent revisions.

[III.1] Causa vero eius duplex est, scilicet interior et exterior. Causa interior provenit ex humoribus corruptis; causa exterior ex vulneribus, ulceribus, et apostematibus male curatis. (Teodorico T157r^b)

E la rahon per què aquella ven és per .ii. coses, ço és a ssaber, per part de deïns e per part de fores. La rahon de part de dins esdevé per humors corrupudes; la rahon de les parts de ffores esdevén per naffres e per

Emperò la raó per què és feta aquesta malautia fístola ven per .ii. coses, so és a saber, per part de dins o per part de fores. La raó de la part de fores esdevé per nafres o per plages o per aposterma

14. It is yet another recipe for arsenic sublimate!

plagues e per apostemas mal curades. (Guillem, P41r ^a)	mal curada. (Bernat, G127v ^b -128r ^a)
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But in book IV the situation is different: the translation I am calling «Guillem's,» in the Paris manuscript, continues to render «causa» as «raó» (or sometimes «matèria»), but the translation I am calling «Bernat's,» in the Graz manuscript, now always translates it as «coza» or «cosa». Here, for example, is an account of oil of ivy in IV.7:

Sed ista omnia sunt contra frigidas causas, et specialiter contra arthreticam de frigida causa. [...] (T182v ^b)	E especial cura d'equest oli sie contra fredes rahons, mas especialment contra arthètica de freda matèria. [...] (P88r ^a)	La vertut d'aquest oli és contra cozes fredes, e specialment contra artètica de freda coza. [...] (G274v ^b)
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A little further on in this chapter, the same thing happens when the medicinal benefits of certain waters are described:

[...] similiter per contrarium aqua ros. calidam dyscrasiam stomachi alterare vel fluxum ventris ex causa calida habet intercipere. Item extrahatur aqua a foliis restabovis; hec aqua fortius alterat dyscrasiam stomachi et intercipit fluxum de causa calida. [...] (T183r ^b)	[...] aytambé per contrast aygua-ros tira la calda discràsia dell estómech entretaylla lo decorriment de la calda raon. Ítem, sia treta aygua de les fuylles de testebolis; aquesta aygua pus fort muda la discràsia dell estómech et entretaylla lo decorriment de la calda raon. [...] (P88v ^b)	[...] e axí matex per contrari aygua-ros calda complexió de ventrel cambiar o flux de ventre de calda coza estancar. Ítem, ayga de fuyles de restabovis; aquesta aygua pus fort cambia mala complexió de ventrel e stanca flux de ventre de calda coza. [...] (G276v ^{a-b})
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Such passages provide further support for the hypothesis that Bernat made no serious attempt to change the text of books I-III of Guillem's translation, but chose (for whatever reason) to put book IV of the Latin text into his own vernacular terminology, and that the two versions of book IV can therefore be taken to reflect the different minds and styles of Guillem and Bernat. It is consistent with this conclusion to discover that Guillem uses words like «ensemps,» «de cascuna,» and «de tots» in place of «ana» in book IV just as he had done in books I-III, whereas Bernat always continues to use «ana»; and to find that the remedy that is prepared in the recipe that closes both translations – it is a «magdalion» – is rendered (oddly) as «ajustament» by Guillem but as «magdalion» by Bernat: both these, it may be remembered, were points of style that distinguished the two versions of books I-III. No doubt once we have careful editions of the two texts, their systematic com-

parison will be able to teach us more about both men and their choice of terminology.

I am arguing, therefore, that Bernat prepared the final book of his translation with the Latin *Teodorico* in front of him, but without access to Guillem's Catalan version. This conclusion can be supported by considering in particular Bernat's treatment of the last portion of IV.8, in which *Teodorico* describes the preparation of a «blessed oil,» an «oleum benedictum»; but to understand why, we need to know something more about the character of *Teodorico*'s Latin *Chirurgia*. As I have said, *Teodorico* composed his work in order to give surgery a foundation in contemporary medical learning and to show that the craft was built on the teachings of men like Galen and Avicenna, but he was not above including recipes from wise women or popular charms. One of these is given in II.3, where he describes how to make a special powder that can be used to treat head wounds by sprinkling it into a pigment, a liquid mixture, while at the same time intoning a Latin charm based on Psalm 117. When Guillem translated this passage into Catalan he left the charm itself in Latin, and Bernat followed suit:

De hoc pulvere predicto pigmento, postquam clarificatum fuerit ter, quantum tribus digitis capere poteris imponatur, spargendo super pigmento qualibet vice in modum crucis et dicendo: In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. In nomine sancte et individue [...] (T145v^a)

D'aquesta pólvora en lo demont dit piment, depuyls que serà clerificat per .iii. vegades, aytant com ab los .iii. ditz poràs pendre sia estencada de sobre lo piment devant dit per cascuna vegada en manera de creu e dient enaxí: + In nomine sancte et individue [...] (P20r^b)

E d'aquesta pólvora aytanta con ne poràs pendre ab los .iii. ditz escampa sobre lo dit piment que deus donar a boure al nafrat en crou dient enaxí: In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, amen. In nomine sancte et individue [...] (G62v^a)

(Each passage has different significant omissions in the existing manuscripts, but the verbal commonalities between the two are still obvious.) Now when *Teodorico* described how to make «oleum benedictum,» in IV.8, he ended with a rapturous statement that this oil was as smooth and sweet as the Virgin's sweat when she bore the infant Jesus, a statement that was repeated in Guillem's Catalan translation. Bernat's translation of this passage in book IV is verbally quite different from Guillem's, and its ending is utterly distinct:

Post folium papyri eidem foramini superius pone, dando ei lentissimum ignem donec sublimetur totum sicut prius. Hec acus fiat mitis et suavis sicut

Depux posa desobre lo forat .i. fuyl de paper e après sobre lo fuyl posa la matèria donat aquell poc a poc tro que sia tot sublimat axí com d'abans. Axí sia

Après .i. fuyl de paper al forat matex poza e damunt poza del brach. De oratió de la obra. Hec actus fiat dulcis et suavis sicut fuit sudor beate Marie virginis quando

sudor beate Virginis quando peperit Christum. (T183v ^a)	feta aquesta bevena aguda dolçs he suau axí com la suor de la benuyrada sancta Maria verge com ag Jhesuchrist per nonera no periràs. (P89v ^a)	peperit Ihesum Christum. Amen. (G278r ^b -v ^a)
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Bernat evidently mistook Teodorico's extravagant words of praise for the oil as another example of a charm that required to be spoken in Latin, like that in II.3, and for that reason he left it in the original language and underscored the fact that he understood it to be a charm by heading it «the prayer that goes with the preparation.» Obviously Bernat had to have had the Latin Teodorico before him as he copied these Latin words, and he must not have had Guillem's text to compare it with at the same time, or he would presumably have recognized his mistake.

And so we come back to the question I raised at the outset. It would appear that the young Bernat de Berriac came upon Guillem Corretger's translation of Teodorico when he was a medical student at Montpellier and decided to copy out his own version of the work; and that his interest in it was strong enough that even after he had finished his training, and was professionally established as an academic master and royal physician, he went to the trouble of translating the last part of the work himself. Why? Guillem may have made *his* translation out of altruism, to give his non-Latinate colleagues access to the new text-based surgery, but Bernat's colleagues were Latin-reading academics, physicians not surgeons, and we know that he identified fully with their interests and was suspicious of other forms of training and practice – so for whom was *he* writing?

In my view, Bernat was copying, and translating, for himself. Historians should not overlook self-interest in their search for motives and audiences. Surgery, as we have already seen, was a perfectly possible part of an academic physician's practice in the early fourteenth century; Teodorico's *Chirurgia*, as we have also seen, was based on the authority of Galenic theory in a way that conformed to a medical faculty's standards and expectations. It is perfectly understandable that a medical student like Bernat should have admired the work and wanted his own copy, just as we know Arnau de Vilanova did.

Yet then why did not Bernat, like Arnau, settle for the Latin version, which he could certainly have read and which would have been less trouble to come by? In a recent study of medieval uroscopic literature in the vernacular, Laurence Moulinier has identified a manuscript containing an Italian translation of Maurus's *On urines* as having belonged to the great Perugian master Gentile da Foligno (d. 1348), even though Gentile certainly knew the Latin original perfectly well and quoted from it in his Avicenna commentaries. She comments, «aujourd'hui encore, n'est-il pas naturel, même dans les milieux les plus cultivés,

voire chez ceux dont la lecture est l'activité principale, de lire un texte dans sa langue maternelle si une traduction en existe?» (Moulinier-Brogi 2008: 230-231). Indeed it is natural. I have been reading Teodorico's Latin *Chirurgia* myself, off and on, for twenty years. My own photocopy of the Latin is on my shelves, and by now it is very familiar to me. And yet when I want to refer to something specific in it I am likely to start looking for it in the English translation published in 1955-1960 (Theodoric 1955-1960). I can leaf through that version quickly, looking for what I want, its layout is clearer, and it has an index – for many purposes, it is simply easier to use. For quite comparable reasons, an academic physician in the Middle Ages must also have often found it convenient to operate both in the Latin he used easily and in his own native language, once vernacular versions of his Latin texts began to circulate – exactly like Gentile da Foligno. The two languages were not, after all, mutually exclusive alternatives for him.

And that is how I tend to think about Bernat de Berriac: a young Latinate master-to-be, who came upon a Catalan version of a professionally significant book at a moment when vernacular medical texts were still almost unheard of. His professional reading was all in Latin, of course, and he had probably seen the Latin Teodorico, but he decided that a Catalan version of the text could be a useful thing to have, particularly if as he copied it out he reorganized it slightly to make it easier to find his way around in it. His motives, in fact, were selfish, not altruistic. And I find a certain irony in this: that the translation Guillem Corretger had made for the benefit of surgeons who could not read Latin was immediately recognized as useful for physicians who could.

V

I have just argued that book VII of the *Chirurgia* as copied in the Graz manuscript is an independent translation by Bernat de Berriac of book IV of Teodorico's work, whereas his other six books do little more than repeat the prior translation by Guillem Corretger; this now makes a further feature of the Graz manuscript of great interest and possible significance. Those first six books as written out in G contain a great many erasures and corrections as well as marginal additions to the text; perhaps a third of their 260 folios have been marked in these ways, often extensively and in several places. After studying these corrections closely, I have concluded that they were made by someone who had systematically compared the text of Bernat's revision with a copy of Teodorico's original Latin, discovered that the revision had mistakes and omissions, and made the corresponding corrections. Many of them are changes within the text itself, where the original text has been carefully scraped out or lined through and a new text has been written over the erasure in a noticeably darker ink; in such cases the new lettering is not crisp and clear, because it diffused over the freshly

roughened parchment, but even so the letter forms used are strikingly close to those used by the original scribe and could quite possibly be the work of the same man.¹⁵ Sometimes these are merely changes to the way a particular word is translated: thus Guillem ordinarily translated Latin «species» as «semblances», but the corrector regularly scratches that out and writes «maneres».¹⁶

Others correct mistakes that Bernat had made in his original revision, typically where his eye had skipped from one word to a similar word further down in Guillem's translation and he omitted a passage; our corrector has discovered these omissions and is restoring them in the margin, as in this case from *Chirurgia* II.17:¹⁷

[...] manifeste sentitur quod ferrum est intra stomachum seu ventrem; unde timendum est, ne in extractione haste, ferrum remaneat in stomacho seu ventre; quod si fieret, de facili postea extrahi non posset [...] (T149r^b)

[...] manifestament sent hom que lo ferre és dins l'estómech o'l ventre. D'on és temorosa cosa que'll ferre no romanga en lo tirament de la asta en l'estómech ho en lo ventre, la qual cosa si's fa non porà deuyss ésser treta [...] (P26v^{a-b})

[...] manifestament sent hom lo ferre dedins l'estómech o'l ventre. <Per què temedora cosa és que'l tirar de la asta no romanga lo ferre en l'estómech o en lo ventre> la qual cosa si serà feta deuyss no porà ésser treta [...] (G82v^b)

Still others correct mistakes that go back to Guillem's original translation, mistakes that Bernat had failed to identify when he first revised the text. Here is an instance where Guillem seems originally to have left off the last sentence of II.29, an omission repeated by Bernat in his revision; but the corrector has recognized the missing sentence and has supplied it in the margin:

[...] super extremitatem nasi ex illo latere, ad quem inclinatur; et donec siccetur, dimittas. Deinde nasum ad situm suum cum violentia reducas; et liga ipsum cum pulvillis, ut dictum est, ligamento illum secundum formam debitam retinente. (T153v^a)

[...] E desobra aquell costat a lo qual és enclinat ho jaquesques secar. (P34r^a)

[...] desobre aquel costat on lo loch és enclinat o jaquesques secar. <E deuyss retorna lo nas per forsa en son loc e liga'l ab estopades e ab ligament qui'l retenga segons la sua forma.> (G108v^b)

15. There are also a number of passages – e.g., in much of III.4 – where the overwriting is not the result of an erasure and correction but of an attempt to darken the originally faded text; in these passages the overwritten letters are much sharper.

16. E.g., at G125v^a (corresp. P39r^a; T156r^a); and G126v^a (corresp. P39r^b; T156r^b). Unfortunately «species» does not seem to occur in book IV of Teodorico; if it did, its translation in G might allow us to confirm Bernat's own understanding of the word.

17. In the examples that follow I have underlined the changed text, used angle brackets to indicate marginal additions made by the scribe, and used italics to indicate words that he struck out.

To me it has seemed that the erasures and corrections in the text itself may have been made at the same time (and by the same corrector) as the marginal additions, as this correction to II.44 indicates:

[...] ut pedibus ad inferiora
premo, et manibus cum
fascia, caput ad superiora
trahendo, fortiter spondylis
cum compressione
necessaria equetur, et ad
iuncturam propriam
reducatur; postea inungatur
locus dialthea. [...] (T155v^a)

[...] per tal que com
pembra ab los peus a enjús
e tirarà ab la faxes a ensús
fortment lo cap que los
s'entorn assa junctura
pròpria. Enaprés sia unctat
lo loc ab dialtea. [...] (P37r^b)

[...] per tal que com prema
ambdodos los peus <e ab
les mans> tiran a enjús la
faxes e a ensús fortment
enaxí que·ls espondils equal
[folio break] tura pròpria
<ab compremiment
covinent enaxí que tornen
en lur loch propi > e
enaprés sia unctat ab lialtea.
[...] (G119r^{b-v}).

The corrector began by scratching out a passage and writing new wording over it; then he turned the leaf over, found that the error only went on for two more words and that he could not fit the remainder of his correction into that space, so he simply drew a line through the two words and put his correction into the margin.

So someone has systematically gone through Bernat's revision of Guillem's translation and has corrected it by comparing it afresh with the Latin. But he has only done this with its first six books! Book VII, which was Bernat's own translation, *does not have a single such addition or correction*, even though it fills twenty folios. I do not believe that this happened by chance. I am sure there was a reason why the corrector did not bother to compare Bernat's own translation with the Latin, and I suggest that it was because Bernat himself was the corrector.

I have already argued that Bernat had had to acquire his own copy of Teodorico's Latin original in order to make his independent translation of book IV/VII, with which he wound up his revision in January of 1311. Now I am proposing that at some point thereafter he also went back and compared books I-III of this new Latin text of Teodorico with the Catalan text he had already copied out when revising Guillem. In the process he recognized a number of problems, small and large, which he corrected. We have just seen a number of these, but another was evidently III.39, the chapter on corns that we noted at the outset had been missing in his base text and had to be added later in the margin in language very different from Guillem's. Suddenly what was disconcerting before, the surprising variability of the underlying Latin, becomes understandable now that we realize that Bernat must have had to translate III.39 from a new and different Latin text when he went back systematically through his original revision.¹⁸

18. A similar example is provided by III.39, where the last sentence in the Latin is missing in both P (60v^a) and G (191v^b); perhaps it had been omitted in Guillem's original, from which of

Under this assumption, therefore, all these corrections are authorial, made by Bernat at some undetermined point in the years between 1311 and his death in the 1340s. And in that case, the Graz manuscript must be understood, not as a descendant of Bernat's original revision, but as the original itself. This may seem a somewhat daring hypothesis, so let me offer a different kind of evidence in its support. *Chirurgia* III.44 provides a number of instances where the corrector emended and expanded the text of Guillem's version that he had in front of him, and here as elsewhere we find him altering words for stylistic reasons. In this passage we see him twice choosing to replace the word «raó,» normally used by Guillem to translate Latin «causa,» with the word «cosa»:

Si autem lapis non sit
in veteratus in calida causa,
digeratur materia cum
diaprunis mane et sero;
post usum electuarii
sequatur oxyzachara cum
tepida. Debet etiam fieri
in unctio ab exterioribus
cum axungia cuniculina vel
leporina et butyro in frigida
causa; in calida cum oleo
violaceo supra locum. [...]
(T171v^b)

Emperò, si la pedra no sia
enveyllida en calda rahon,
sia digesta la matèria ab
diaprunis. E matín e vespre
après lo meyngar del
letovari begua ozizacea ab
aygua tèbea. E encara deu
ésser fet untament de les
parts de fores ab sagín de
cunyl ho de lebra o ab
mantegua en freda raó, e en
calda raó sia l'untament fet
desobre lo loc. [...] (P67v^a)

Emperò, si la pedra no sia
enveleïda en aquel en
qualque raó calda <cosa>,
sia digestada la matèria ab
diaprunis. E a matí e a
vespre bega oxiacre ab ayga
tèbea. Encara deu ésser fet
untament de les partz de
fores ab ensunya de conil o
de lebra o ab matenga en
freda *cosa*, <mas a matèria
calda> sia fet lo untament
desobre lo loch. [...] (G215v^a)

I find this highly suggestive. It may perhaps be remembered that whereas Guillem's translation of Teodorico always translates «causa» as «raó,» as it does here, Bernat's own translation of «causa» in book IV of that work was always «cosa.» So whoever the corrector was, he seems to have shared at least one of Bernat's stylistic prejudices; but I suspect he was Bernat himself.

For this surprising reconstruction to be possible, if it is really Bernat's own copy that is preserved in the Graz manuscript, that manuscript and its annotations would have to be written in an early fourteenth-century script: *are* they?¹⁹ I believe so. A paleographer's independent examination of the hand supports my own impression: that the manuscript belongs to the first quarter of the fourteenth century, and that 1311 could be the date of this very copy.²⁰ The marginalia that have just been discussed seemed to him similar to and contemporary with the script of the text, and he agreed that it could well have been

course both descend. In G, however, the missing sentence has subsequently been translated into Catalan and inserted into the margin at its proper place by the Graz-corrector.

19. Cifuentes has wavered between dating it to the «finals del segle XIV» (2000: 564) and «la primera meitat de segle XIV» (2006: plate 5).

20. This too is the conclusion of Perarnau i Espelt 1991.

the original scribe who was doing the correcting.²¹ These paleographical conclusions are entirely consistent with my hypothesis – based on textual considerations – that the Graz manuscript is Bernat de Berriac's own original copy of his revised translation, and that the marginal notes in that copy are additions and corrections that originated with him and were made by the actual scribe at Bernat's direction.

Under my argument, then, the Catalan version of Teodorico's book IV in the Graz manuscript (which I will now call G-II) is the direct composition of Bernat de Berriac himself, and dates from the early part of the fourteenth century. The Catalan version of books I-III in that manuscript (G-I) dates from still earlier in the century, the first decade, and is Bernat's hurried transcription of the text in the even earlier exemplar (or a copy very close to it) of Guillem's translation of that material.²² And therefore, ironically, version G-I should embody a more faithful representation of Guillem's original wording than does the version (P) that I have been calling «Guillem's,» the Catalan version of Teodorico's *Chirurgia* contained in the Paris manuscript which was apparently made no earlier than the mid-fourteenth century²³ and is the end product of a series of copyings and recopyings by a succession of scribes.²⁴

21. I am very grateful to Professor Robert G. Babcock of the University of North Carolina for his willingness to study the hand in which the Graz text is written and to allow me to communicate his conclusions.

22. Guillem's translation may actually date from the last years of the thirteenth century. He left the Crown of Aragon for Montpellier no earlier than October 1302, and Bernat was more or less permanently resident in Castelló d'Empúries after October 1303: thus Bernat could have overlapped with Guillem in Montpellier for only a few months. This makes it perfectly understandable that Bernat should have found it impossible to complete a transcription of Guillem's translation before leaving the city, just as my hypothesis supposes. But surely it is difficult if not impossible to believe that Guillem's act of translation can *also* be fitted into those few months between his arrival in Montpellier and Bernat's departure. We must therefore conclude that Guillem had already translated Teodorico's *Chirurgia* while still a surgeon in Valencia – perhaps it was Teodorico's very rationalism that led him to think of studying surgery in a medical faculty – and that he brought his translation with him to Montpellier.

23. «Entorn de mitjan XIV» (Badia 1996: 62).

24. A decade ago Lluís Cifuentes (2000: 567-585) published the text of several manuscript fragments held in two Barcelona libraries that he was able to show came from a Catalan version of Teodorico's *Chirurgia*, and he concluded that this new text, B, was related to G rather than to P (which he took to be distinct translations). Now as it happens, all these fragments come from book I of Teodorico's work. They thus contain only textual material found in G-I, which, as I argue here, is almost wholly Guillem Corretger's text with only a very few revisions by Bernat de Berriac, probably even closer to that original text than is P. The only way to show that the Barcelona fragments might be from a copy descended from Bernat's revision in G-I rather than one descended directly from Guillem's original (like P), would be to find passages in B that repeat specific changes detectable in G-I, changes that were made to Guillem's original by Bernat. In fact, the texts published by Cifuentes do occasionally allow us to look for such changes, but they do not support this possibility. At his n. 123, for example, P reads «cor la manera,» and B reads «car la matèria» [probably the scribe's error for «manera»; Lat. «modum»], but G-I *deletes* «cor la manera.» Again, at his n. 202, P reads «mester de benefeci,» B reads «mester beneficii,» while G-I *deletes* «benefici» after «mester.» Such instances indicate that B and G-I both descend from the Guillem-text that we also find mirrored in P, but that B bears no signs of the later emendations made to G-I by Bernat de

One might imagine that these scribal distinctions would be reflected in the language and orthography of the three texts. For example, we might plausibly suppose that the Catalan of G-II, as the immediate composition c. 1310 of someone born and bred in northern Catalonia – someone whose family came from the region of Carcassonne, who studied at Montpellier, and who established himself at Perpignan – might be strongly marked by Occitan characteristics, and in this case our expectation seems to be borne out.²⁵ But things are not as straightforward as this makes them appear. For at this time, around the turn of the fourteenth century, the Catalan *scripta* or scribal practice that was being established was still marked generally by the inheritance of these forms, as can be seen in texts copied as far south as Tortosa (Badia – Santanach – Soler 2009: 65-66, 72), so it is not at all surprising that, when we examine Guillem's text as copied in G-I, we again find that Occitan features are not uncommon. Perhaps when G-I/II are edited we will find linguistic usages that distinguish the former from the latter, but it is not easy to differentiate them sharply simply on random inspection. And features distinctive of Guillem's authorship are likely to be still less prominent in P, for errors and instances of eyeskip in this copy of c. 1350 suggest that it is several copies removed from Guillem's exemplar; the orthographic habits and preferences of the scribes involved may well have deformed the original. Or reformed it, for it was during this very period, the first part of the fourteenth century, that Catalan scribes were cutting themselves free from the graphic forms influenced by Occitan and replacing them with the orthographic patterns of Catalan.²⁶

* * *

The argument of this paper thus comprises a sequence of three conclusions (or hypotheses), which as they progress provide explanations for more and more of the manuscript evidence, textual and scribal – issues of style and emendation, examined against the Latin original and set in the historical context as we know it. The most immediate of these and the foundation for the other two is that Bernat's «revision» as presented in the Graz manuscript was based, not on some unknown translation of Teodorico's work, but on the translation by Guillem that is reflected in the Paris manuscript. The second, based on a more detailed comparison between the two texts from beginning to

Berriac, and that therefore it, like P, is based on a manuscript of Guillem's translation rather than on Bernat's revision of that translation.

25. E.g., in the extracts given above from IV.1 and IV.8, Bernat's version is distinguished by the use of the intervocalic *z*: *poza*, *cozes*; the use of the form *-tz* rather than *-ts*; and the instability of the group *-nt* («untamens» but «ajustament»). In emphasizing these features I am following the model of Badia – Santanach – Soler 2009: 65.

26. This is the characterization of Badia – Soler – Santanach 2009: 54.

end, is that (for whatever reason) Bernat produced his version in two stages, and that the second stage, his book VII, was in fact his own independent translation of Teodorico rather than merely a revision of what Guillem had written. And the last conclusion, based on an analysis of the corrections made exclusively to the first stage, is that those corrections were Bernat's own and were prepared directly by him in the form in which we find them in the Graz manuscript, which is likely to have been his personal copy. These conclusions about Bernat's actions are of course independent of my much more speculative suggestions about the personal circumstances that could have brought them about. Even so, some readers may not be able to accompany me all the way to the end of this sequence of conclusions; I recognize that the final judgment will come after future historians have been able to pursue the evidence of the manuscripts, and of the texts, for themselves. But whatever my readers may decide, I think they will have to acknowledge that, as a whole, the text we have in the Graz manuscript is a peculiarly direct witness to the thought and personality of a fourteenth-century medical master who, just twenty-five years ago, was only a name: Bernat de Berriac.

MANUSCRIPTS

G = Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, MS 342, entire. <<http://143.50.26.142/digbib/handschriften/Ms.0200-0399/Ms.0342/index.html>>.

P = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Esp. 212, ff. 1r-89v.

T = Teodorico Borgognoni, *Chirurgia*, in *Ars chirurgica Guidonis Cauliaci*, Venice 1546, ff. 134v-184r.

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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 *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 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 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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