

El saber i les llengües vernacles a l'època de Lluï i Eiximenis

Estudis ICREA sobre
vernacularització

Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat

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

ESTUDIS ICREA SOBRE VERNACULARITZACIÓ

KNOWLEDGE AND
VERNACULAR LANGUAGES
IN THE AGE OF LLULL
AND EIXIMENIS

ICREA STUDIES ON VERNACULARIZATION

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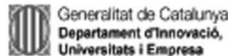
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PRESENTACIÓ

PRESENTATION

Els estudis reunits en el present volum proposen una reflexió complexa sobre la difusió social de la ciència i del saber als darrers segles de l'edat mitjana i al tombant de la moderna, des del punt de vista de l'àmbit cultural català. D'aquí que el títol del recull —que inclou aportacions en diversos idiomes relatives a sectors diferenciats i a més d'una localització geogràfica— faci bandera de dos escriptors de gran talla, que destaquen per l'ús de la llengua vulgar: Ramon Llull i Francesc Eiximenis. El primer, a les acaballes del segle XIII, tot i recórrer àmpliament al llatí en la compilació de la seva extensíssima obra, va voler difondre algunes peces centrals de l'Art en català i es va ocupar d'astrologia, geometria, medicina i lògica en aquest idioma romànic, que no era, tanmateix, l'únic del seu repertori, al marge de la llengua de les universitats. En efecte Llull va servir-se també de l'àrab en els seus escrits i va tenir cura de fer circular en occità i en francès algunes obres seves de caire literari i didàctic.

Eiximenis, al darrer terç del segle següent, va emprar el català per a la redacció d'una enciclopèdia de ciències religioses, polítiques i socials, el *Crestià*, que expressa en llengua vernacla alguns dels sectors del saber més desatesos per Llull, com ara la teoria de la vida urbana o l'art de la guerra. Aquestes dues figures tan destacades —al costat de la no menys remarcable d'Arnau de Vilanova, un metge-teòleg que tampoc no desdenyava l'ús del vulgar per als seus escrits de militància espiritual— confirmen que la Corona d'Aragó, tal com va assenyalar Lluís Cifuentes ja fa deu anys, és un espai privilegiat per aprofundir un estudi de cas sobre el procés de vernacularització de la ciència i el saber en tots els seus vessants. Dintre d'aquest àmbit, doncs, en part ja explorat, el volum que presentem ofereix la novetat de prendre en consideració també la ciència i la filosofia en hebreu, gràcies a la col·laboració entre el projecte de recerca europeu d'Alexander Fidora, "Latin Philosophy into Hebrew", vinculat a ICREA i a la Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, i el Centre de Documentació Ramon Llull, de la de Barcelona, amb iniciatives de recerca consultables a la xarxa en la base de dades LluIDB i el lloc web *Sciència.cat*.

La confecció del present volum ha estat possible gràcies a la celebració

The papers published in this volume offer a complex reflection on the role of science and knowledge in society in the late Middle Ages and early modern age, viewed from a Catalan cultural perspective. Hence the inclusion in the title of this collection—which features contributions in several languages, from different academic and geographical spheres—of two writers of stature noted for their use of the vernacular: Ramon Llull and Francesc Eiximenis. At the end of the thirteenth century, the former, although often resorting to Latin in the compilation of his prolific output, clearly wished to make certain central elements of his Art available in Catalan: he wrote on astronomy, geometry, medicine and logic in that language, which was not, however, the only one in his repertoire in addition to the language of the universities. Llull also wrote in Arabic, and circulated some of his didactic and literary works in Occitan and French.

In the final third of the following century, Eiximenis used Catalan to draft an encyclopedia of religious, political and social sciences, the *Crestià*, which covers in the vernacular some of the areas of knowledge most neglected by Llull, such as the theory of urban life or the art of war. These two literary giants—as well as the no less remarkable Arnau de Vilanova, a physician and theologian, who also used the vernacular for some of his militantly devotional writings—confirm that the Crown of Aragon, as Lluís Cifuentes pointed out ten years ago now, is a particularly suitable location for an in-depth case study of the vernacularization of science and knowledge in all its facets. Within this broad field, in part already explored, this volume breaks new ground in taking into consideration science and philosophy in Hebrew, thanks to the collaboration between Alexander Fidora's European research project, «Latin Philosophy into Hebrew», at ICREA and the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, and the Centre de Documentació Ramon Llull at Barcelona University, with searchable research initiatives on the web in the form of the Ramon Llull Database (LlullDB) and *Sciència.cat*.

We have been able to put together this volume thanks to the celebration of

d'unes jornades d'estudi, que tingueren lloc els dies 20, 21 i 22 d'octubre de 2009 a la seu de la Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona amb el suport d'ICREA, en el curs de les quals es van exposar i discutir les propostes inicials que han donat lloc als textos que finalment han estat redactats per a la publicació. Entre les sessions públiques d'aquella ocasió que no apareixen recollides en aquest volum cal destacar el recordatori de l'eminent hebraïsta Eduard Feliu i Mabres (1938-2009), pronunciat pel professor de filologia hebrea i romànica de la Universitat de Girona, Joan Ferrer. Per la seva trajectòria d'estudis del judaisme català, Eduard Feliu hauria hagut necessàriament de ser present en unes jornades de treball que proposaven una visió tan polivalent i intercultural de la vernacularització, com deixen veure les aportacions de la darrera part d'aquest volum. També s'han exclòs de la compilació final les presentacions de les bases de dades relatives als projectes de recerca que donaven suport a la reunió. Els assistents a les jornades d'estudi, però, van tenir coneixement de la història, funcionament i perspectives de desenvolupament de la Llulldb, de *Sciència.cat* i del projecte CODITECAM, que integra diverses bases de dades bibliogràfiques i d'autor, entre les quals una de consagrada a Eiximenis i una altra que sistematitza el cens de les traduccions d'àmbit literari i històric al català medieval i que respon al nom de *Translat*.

La primera secció d'estudis du el lema *Les noves llengües de comunicació científica* i s'obre amb una aportació de Michela Pereira que situa en el seu context la dimensió vernacle de la filosofia lul·liana. L'eclosió dels estudis sobre la circulació del saber en les llengües parlades ha posat seriosament en entredit l'associació exclusiva de l'ús d'aquestes amb la simplificació divulgativa dels continguts de la ciència escolàstica, la didàctica en general i l'ensenyament d'infants en particular. La personalitat pròpia de la ciència i de la tècnica produïdes en les llengües parlades d'Europa ha estat reivindicada des de diverses tradicions nacionals europees i ha acabat portant a una autèntica explosió de matisos de sentit dels conceptes de vernacularització i de vernacle, quan la perspectiva de la història social de la ciència es desplaça de l'atenció filològica dels textos vernacles al marge del cànon literari, a la filosofia i a la teologia en vulgar. Les reflexions de Michela Pereira sobre el paper de Llull com a representant d'una filosofia vernacle de laics i per a laics d'àmbit europeu, al costat de Dante, Eckhart o Marguerite Porète, reclamen una revisió a fons dels supòsits de la vernacularització en l'àmbit del pensament. Entren en crisi les formulacions bipolars —de l'estil «les llengües parlades serveixen per a la divulgació; la llengua sàvia, per a l'especulació creativa»—, la noció que la filosofia en vulgar és regional i la que s'expressa en llatí, universal o que el moviment de difusió de la filosofia per a laics es produeix sempre del centre —és a dir, les universitats— a la perifèria —és a dir, els medis culturals urbans. L'ampliació del concepte de filosofia vernacle que suggereix Pereira comporta una nova atenció a les formes expressives del discurs filosòfic, necessàriament híbrides

a conference —with the support of ICREA— which took place on the 20, 21 and 22 of October 2009 at the Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres in the heart of Barcelona's Gothic quarter. In those three days the participants' initial papers were given and discussed, a process that has resulted in texts that have been drafted for publication. Among the public sessions that took place and that are not represented in this volume, we would like to make special mention of the homage to the eminent scholar of Hebrew studies, Eduard Feliu i Mabres (1938-2009), given by Joan Ferrer, lecturer in Hebrew and Romance at the University of Girona. Because of his extensive career as a scholar of Catalan Jewish studies, Eduard Feliu would necessarily have been invited to attend a conference that was proposing such a multi-faceted and intercultural vision of vernacularization, epitomised by the papers in the latter part of this volume. Also not included in this final collection of papers are the presentations about the databases established by the research projects supporting the conference. Attendees, however, were briefed on the history, current status and future development plans for the Ramon Llull Database (LlullDB), *Sciència.cat*, and the CODITECAM project which provides access to several bibliographical and author-specific databases, including one dedicated to Eiximenis and another one, *Translat*, that is a census of literary and historical translations into medieval Catalan.

The first section of papers in this volume, under the heading *New languages of scientific communication*, opens with Michela Pereira's contribution: a contextualization of the vernacular dimension of Lullian philosophy. Research on the circulation of knowledge in spoken languages has seriously challenged the idea that their use was exclusively associated with disseminating and simplifying scholastic science, teaching in general, and of children in particular. The very personality of science and technology produced in the spoken languages of Europe has been claimed by several different national European traditions. This has led to a veritable explosion in the nuances of meaning associated with the concept of vernacularization, and the vernacular as our perspective on the social history of science shifts from the textual analysis of vernacular works on the margins of the literary canon towards philosophy and theology in the vernacular. Michela Pereira's reflections on Llull's role as a representative of a lay vernacular philosophy for a lay European audience, alongside Dante, Eckhart or Marguerite Porete, call for a root and branch revision of the assumptions surrounding vernacularization in the field of philosophical thought. The foundations of certain binary oppositions start to look shaky—for example, the idea that «spoken languages are used for disseminating material; the learned language is for creative speculation», as well as the notion that philosophy in the vernacular is regional whereas its Latin counterpart is universal, or that the spread of philosophy for a lay audience is always outwards from the centre (i.e. the universities) towards the periphery (i.e. urban cultural circles). The broadening of the concept of vernacular philosophy that Pereira proposes brings with it a

des del punt de vista de les tradicions acadèmica i literària, i la comprovació del caràcter pràctic de la filosofia que interessa als laics, tant si els estimula la reforma política de la societat, com és el cas de Dante, l'experiència del diví, com s'esdevé per a Eckhart i Porete, o la conversió universal a través de l'Art, que proposa Llull.

Alejandro Coroleu complementa un aspecte particular de la difusió social del missatge lullià en el context de la primera impremta, mentre que Jaume Mensa i Antoine Calvet exploren dos sectors de l'àmbit cultural del saber i la ciència en vulgar a partir de l'obra d'expressió romànica d'Arnau de Vilanova i dels seus seguidors, respectivament en el camp dels textos profètics, bíblics i teològics i en el dels alquímics. El discurs doctrinal i polític d'Eiximenis d'expressió catalana és l'objecte de l'estudi de Xavier Renedo sobre les ciutats al *Dotzè del Crestià*, un tema que mereix sens dubte un tractament molt més extens, donades la seva riquesa i la varietat d'estímul. Més enllà de l'obra de les grans figures, David Barnett i Ilaria Zamuner exploren dos sectors significatius de la realitat textual vernacle, el dels miracles marians conservats a l'Arxiu de la Catedral de Barcelona i el seu públic urbà i el del tractat de cirurgia de Ruggero Frugardo, àmpliament difós també en medis socials aliens al llatí.

El binomi *Traducció i recepció* dona entrada a un altre grup d'estudis encapçalats per un treball de Maria Sofia Corradini, que es planteja la qüestió general de l'ús de la llengua occitana en els escrits mèdics a cavall de l'edat mitjana i el Renaixement. La valoració de diferents traduccions d'originals teòrics i pràctics i la comparació amb obres que representen el fonament conceptual del pensament mèdic medieval en una dimensió multicultural i multilingüística permeten de definir un fil conductor que travessa períodes i ambients diversos. Es tracta d'una evolució lenta però contínua que relaciona les tècniques experimentals, els plantejaments teòrics i la superació de condicionaments religiosos, que permet de documentar el que acabarà madurant del tot a l'època del Renaixement. Les llengües vernacles s'integren, doncs, en l'evolució històrica del pensament mèdic europeu, en un context presidit per la Universitat de Montpeller i l'obra d'Arnau de Vilanova.

Precisament s'inscriu en aquesta cruïlla l'exploració de Michael McVaugh de l'obra de traducció i revisió en llengua catalana de la *Chirurgia* de Teodorico Borgognoni duta a terme per Bernat de Berriac, un metge oriünd d'Occitània vinculat a la cort mallorquina. El seguiment documental de la vida professional del traductor dona suport a les hipòtesis que planteja l'estudi de McVaugh per resoldre les incògnites de la transmissió manuscrita d'una obra clau per al co-neixement de la producció mèdica en llengua catalana i les seves relacions amb el món universitari.

Per la seva banda, el treball de Lluís Cabré i Montserrat Ferrer s'ocupa de la importació de llibres i de materials culturals francesos decisius per al desenvolupament de les formes literàries catalanes al pas del segle XIV al XV.

fresh focus on philosophical discourse itself, necessarily a hybrid of the academic and literary traditions, and evidence of the practical nature of the philosophy that is of interest to lay people, whether it be stimulating political reform in society, as in Dante's case, experience of the Divine, as with Eckhart and Porete, or universal conversion via the Art that Llull proposes.

Alejandro Coroleu focuses on a particular aspect of the social diffusion of Llull's message in the context of early printing, while Jaume Mensa and Antoine Calvet explore two sectors of the cultural sphere of knowledge and science in the vernacular through the works of Arnau de Vilanova and his followers: prophetic, biblical and theological texts; and alchemical texts, respectively. Eiximenis's doctrinal and political discourse in Catalan is the subject of Xavier Renedo's study of the cities featured in the *Dotzè del Crestià*, a topic that without doubt deserves further research given the wealth and variety of the stimuli. Beyond the works of the literary giants, David Barnett and Ilaria Zamuner explore two significant sectors of vernacular textual reality: a collection of Marian miracle stories preserved in a manuscript in Barcelona's Cathedral Archive and their readership; and the treatise of the surgeon Ruggero Frugardo, widely disseminated also among sections of society not familiar with Latin.

Another group of studies are collected under the heading *Translation and reception*. The first is Maria Sofia Corradini's paper which tackles the general question concerning the use of Occitan in medical writings between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Her evaluation of different translations of theoretical and practical originals, and her comparison with works that represent the conceptual basis of medieval medical thought in a multicultural and plurilinguistic dimension allow her to trace a common thread through a range of periods and contexts. This is a slow but continuous evolution that links experimental techniques, theoretical matters and the challenges of religious conditioning, allowing her to document a process that reaches full maturity in the Renaissance. Vernacular languages are thus intrinsically linked to the historical evolution of European medical thought; the University of Montpellier and the work of Arnau de Vilanova played a decisive role in that process.

It is precisely in this context that we find Michael McVaugh's exploration of the work of translating and revising in Catalan Teodorico Borgognoni's *Chirurgia*, carried out by Bernat de Berriac, an Occitan native based at the Mallorcan court. The documentary record of the translator's professional life supports the hypotheses posited in McVaugh's paper to resolve some of the unknowns regarding the manuscript transmission of a key work for our understanding of the medical textual output in Catalan and its relationship with the university world.

For their part, Lluís Cabré and Montserrat Ferrer turn their attention to the influx of French books and cultural materials which proved decisive for the development of Catalan literary forms between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

Tot seguit, les altres aportacions de la segona secció del volum investiguen sectors lingüístics i episodis culturals aliens a l'àmbit cultural catalanoaragonès, testimoni de la presència arreu d'Europa d'unes constants comunes pel que fa a la traducció i la recepció de la ciència i del saber. Des dels glossaris de termes tècnics en castellà estudiats per Bertha M.^a Gutiérrez Rodilla, a les gloses i els comentaris de la tradició mèdica anglesa d'Irma Taavitsainen, als formularis màgics occitanollatins de Sebastià Giralt, a la versió francesa d'un tractat sobre astronomia judiciària de Nicole Oresme, presentada per Stefano Rapisarda. Aquests altres contextos vernacles són estudiats també pels treballs de Corradini i Zamuner comentats abans.

Aquestes mateixes constants comunes en el terreny de la traducció i la recepció del món de la vernacularització es detecten en part també a la darrera secció del volum, la que recull aportacions sobre *Ciència i filosofia en hebreu* i que comença amb un estudi de Harvey Hames. La traducció dels evangelis a l'hebreu que s'hi analitza parteix d'un original català. Les versions hebrees d'obres d'àmbit cultural català, mal que sigui a partir d'originals llatins —com és el cas de la traducció hebrea de l'*Ars brevis* lul·liana, descoberta pel mateix Harvey Hames— obren tot un sector d'estudis interculturals fins fa poc pràcticament inèdit. L'aportació d'Alexander Fidora i Mauro Zonta hi incideix també de ple.

Per contra, la traducció identificada per Jaume Riera al manuscrit 42 de la Biblioteca de Catalunya va en sentit invers. Es tracta de la versió catalana de l'*Econòmica* de Brison, un filòsof neopitagòric del segle I, que arriba del grec al català amb un periple que implica l'hebreu. Per la seva banda, Marco Pedretti es planteja algunes noves qüestions en relació a la visió del judaisme de Ramon Martí, mentre que Carmen Caballero aporta nova llum sobre les llengües de la ciència a les comunitats jueves catalanes de la baixa edat mitjana.

En el seu conjunt, aquestes anàlisis de diferents contextos de producció de textos en vulgar palesen que el fenomen de vernacularització no es pot descriure com a resultat exclusiu i uniforme d'una voluntat de divulgació científica entre els laics, sinó que, al mateix temps, s'hi reflecteixen els processos de professionalització i d'institucionalització que caracteritzen la societat medieval i que, a la llarga, contribuirien a configurar les identitats lingüístiques europees.

ELS EDITORS

The subsequent papers in this second section of the volume investigate linguistic areas and cultural episodes outside the Catalan-Aragonese cultural sphere, witness to the presence throughout Europe of common constants with regard to the translation and reception of science and knowledge. From the glossaries of technical terms in Castilian studied by Bertha M.^a Gutiérrez Rodilla, to Irma Taavitsainen's glosses and commentaries on the English medical tradition, Sebastià Giralt's Occitan-Latin magic form books, and Nicole Oresme's French version of a treatise on judicial astronomy, presented by Stefano Rapisarda. These other vernacular contexts are also included in the studies by Corradini and Zamuner previously mentioned.

These same common constants in the field of the translation and reception of the world of vernacularization can also be detected to a certain extent in the final section of the volume that features contributions under the heading *Science and philosophy in Hebrew* and which starts off with Harvey Hames's paper. The translation into Hebrew of the gospels which he analyses was carried out from a Catalan original. Hebrew versions of works from the Catalan cultural sphere, even though they may be from Latin originals—as is the case of the Hebrew translation of Llull's *Ars brevis*, a discovery made by Hames himself—open the door to a whole area of intercultural studies, practically untouched until recently. Alexander Fidora's and Mauro Zonta's paper also offers an important contribution to this field.

In contrast, the translation identified by Jaume Riera in manuscript 42 of the Biblioteca de Catalunya was carried out the other way round. Here we are dealing with the Catalan version of the *Oeconomica* of Bryson, a first-century neo-Pythagorean philosopher, which was translated from Greek into Catalan in a roundabout way via Hebrew. In his paper, Marco Pedretti poses some new questions related to Ramon Martí's vision of Judaism, while Carmen Caballero sheds new light on the languages of science in the Jewish Catalan communities in the late Middle Ages.

Taken as a whole, these analyses of different contexts in which vernacular texts were produced make it clear that the phenomenon of vernacularization cannot be described as an exclusive and uniform result of a desire to spread scientific knowledge among a lay readership. At the same time, there are reflected in these papers the processes of professionalization and institutionalization which characterize medieval society and which, in the long run, contributed to the configuration of European linguistic identities.

THE EDITORS

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 beguinorum*. In addition, we have two letters, one addressed to King Jaume II and the other to Queen Blanca, and some fragments from other works.

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

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

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

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

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

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

ANTOINE CALVET

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

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

RAMON LLULL AND THE PRINTING PRESS (1480-1520)

ALEJANDRO COROLEU

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

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

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

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

XAVIER RENEDO

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

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

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

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

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

DAVID BARNETT

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

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

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

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

ILARIA ZAMUNER

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

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

MEDIEVAL MEDICAL LITERATURE IN OCCITAN FROM ANTIQUITY TO THE RENAISSANCE

MARIA SOFIA CORRADINI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

BERTHA M^a GUTIÉRREZ RODILLA

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

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

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

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

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

IRMA TAAVITSAINEN

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

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

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

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

SEBASTIÀ GIRALT

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

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

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

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

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

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

LLUÍS CABRÉ – MONTSERRAT FERRER

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

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

STEFANO RAPISARDA

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

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

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

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

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

MICHAEL McVAUGH

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

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

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

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

HARVEY HAMES

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

A CATALAN VERSION OF BRYSON'S *OECONOMICUS*

JAUME RIERA I SANS

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

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

In Greek: two short fragments recorded by Stobaeus.

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

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

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

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

This paper includes an edition, preceded by a study.

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

MARCO PEDRETTI

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CARMEN CABALLERO

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

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

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

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

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

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

ALEXANDER FIDORA – MAURO ZONTA

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

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