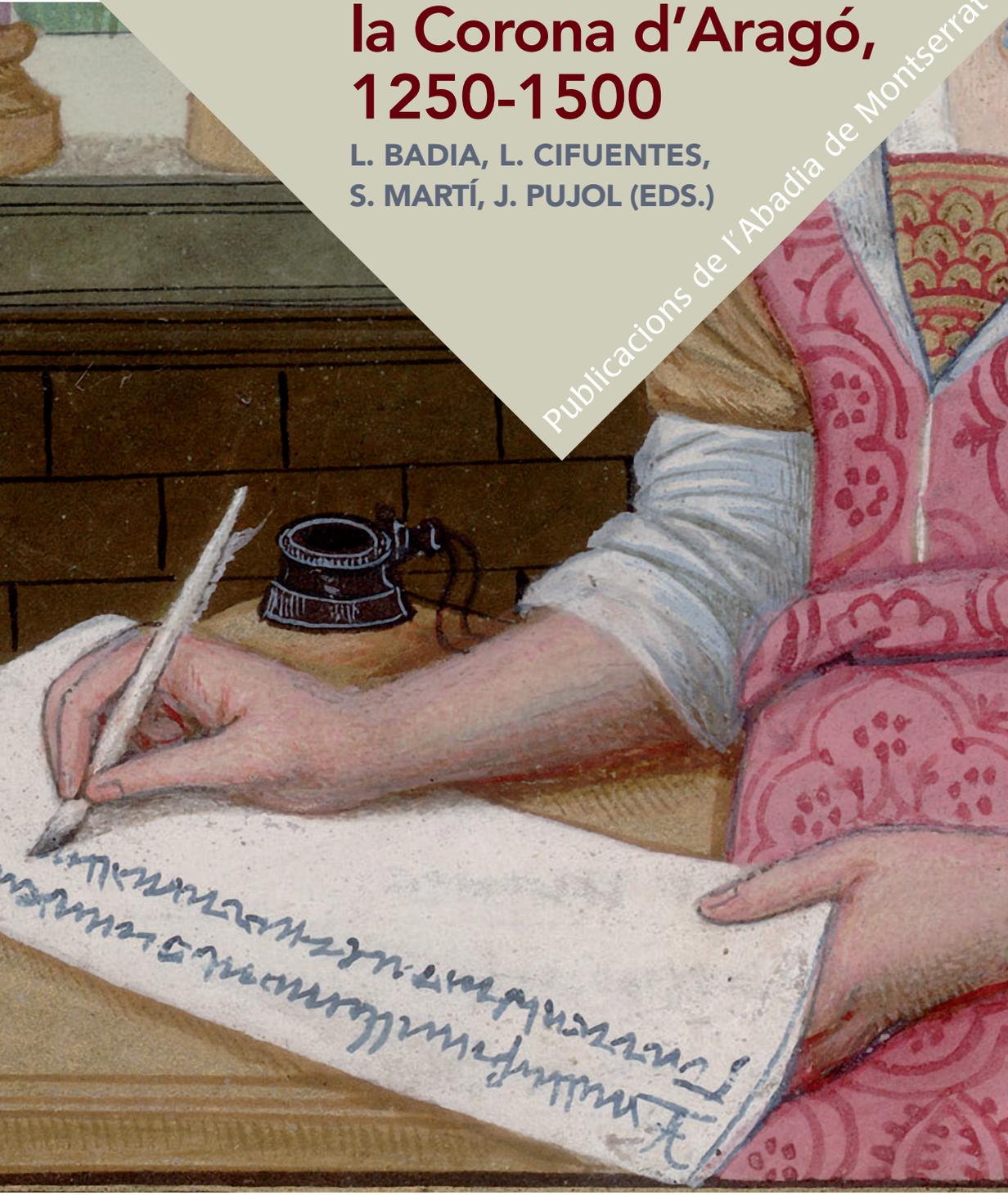


Els manuscrits, el saber i les lletres a la Corona d'Aragó, 1250-1500

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Publicacions de l'Abadía de Montserrat



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EL SABER I LES LLETRES
A LA CORONA D'ARAGÓ,
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ABSTRACTS

THE CONTE D'AMOR AND THE PARIS-CARPENTRÀS COMPILATION OF NARRATIVE VERSE

MIRIAM CABRÉ – M. VICTORIA RODRÍGUEZ WINIARSKI

Catalan *noves rimades* form a textual corpus that is notoriously difficult to analyse as a whole because of the heterogeneous nature of extant texts, the percentage of anonymous poems and the uncertainties regarding their chronology. Consensus on this last issue tends to propose the last third of the fourteenth century as a likely date of composition for many of the texts, with a notable fifteenth-century continuation of this trend. However, the importance of *noves rimades* in medieval Catalan culture, where they constitute a very sizeable part of fourteenth century literary works, warrants a new effort to refine this imprecise characterization and to take their interpretation beyond current (and rather equivocal) thematic classifications. To this end, we suggest the study of the manuscript transmission and the wider context of Romance-language literatures are valuable tools to obtain new data and, in all likelihood, the means to reassess the whole tradition.

As a first step, part of a research project still in progress, this article focuses on the so-called *Conte d'amor*, a poem copied in the Paris-Carpenràs codex of verse narrative (Carpenràs, Bibliothèque municipale, 381 and Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Esp. 487). Together with the Estanislau Aguiló MS (Palma, Societat Arqueològica Lul·liana, 4), the other major compilation of verse narrative penned by a Catalan scribe, the Paris-Carpenràs MS has been a major element in shaping current views on the *noves rimades* corpus, although neither MS has so far been comprehensively studied. This is particularly necessary in the case of the Paris-Carpenràs compilation, due to its dismembered condition, after having been mutilated by Guglielmo Libri in the late nineteenth century.

It is our contention, as we argue regarding the *Conte d'amor*, that the results of such an analysis will greatly alter the characterisation of these codices and, in turn, the interpretation of this literary textual tradition.

While the literary analysis of our case-study confirms previous views on its courtly nature and the strong presence of troubadours features, it downsizes the importance of the Italian and French elements the first editor hypothesized. Among extant Romance-languages texts, its stronger affinity is with the anonymous *Salut d'amor* copied in the same MS and the troubadour Peire Guillem's «Lai on cobra». By analysing the manuscript that has preserved the *Conte d'amor*, a section of love pieces emerge once the original order has been reconstructed as far as possible. These poems were textually connected in Ulders (2010), while Asperti (1985) had proposed an early date for three of them. The *ante quem* date of 1320 that Cifuentes has now proved for a fourth text in the group suggests the whole section is much earlier than previous scholarship had believed. Our proposal opens the possibility of achieving a chronological, articulated, reconstruction of Catalan *noves rimades*, and a reassessment of their relationship with the French and Occitan verse narrative traditions.

ANALYSIS OF A 1348 CATALAN AUTOGRAPH POEM:
A LETTER OF CONSOLATION IN VERSE
CONTAINING POETIC CITATIONS

MARTA MARFANY SIMÓ

In the register for a small administrative district (a 'sotsvegueria') in Ripoll, in the Archive of the Crown of Aragon, a *Liber curiae* of legal documents from 1348, there is a text in verse on one of the flyleaves. The author, almost certainly a scribe with notarial training, is called Bernat and addresses his consolation to his lord, Mossèn N'Arnau, on the death of his son Berengueró. His consolation contains several poetical quotations and is modelled on the lamentation on the death of a lady, «Ar pren camgat per tostemps de xantar» ('Now do I turn away from singing forever'), attributed to Raimbaut de Vaqueiras in the two extant witnesses, the *Cançoner Gil* (Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MS 146: Sg) and the *Cançoner Vega-Aguiló* (Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, MSS 7 and 8: VeAg).

The text is a rough draft: it is an autograph composition with many corrections and *pentimenti* characteristic of the writing process. There are two other known autograph texts in medieval Catalan literature, a piece by Joan Ramon Ferrer, and the *Cançoners dels Masdovelles* — both later, from the second half of the fifteenth century —, but both are fair copies, whereas the text analysed here, as it is a draft, offers us valuable information about how poetry was composed. The layout of the text — reproduced in an appendix to the article — allows us to make many minor observations about the basic mechanics of composition. The most notable features relate to the format, how the poem is presented and how the text is corrected. An analysis of the writing allows us to establish the internal chronology — what was written first and what was added later — with a fair degree of accuracy and so shed light on the process of composition. Apart from some words inserted between the lines, with an ink intensity or ductus different from that of the main text, which would appear to be a later revision of the text, most of the corrections and additions can be considered to have been carried out at the same time as the text was written down, in other words during the process of composition.

Furthermore, the autograph is an important witness of the hybrid poetical language of the mid-fourteenth century: it is clear that the author wishes to write in the traditional language used for poetry, but the Occitan has grammatical irregularities and is mixed with thoroughly Catalan forms. The certainty that we are dealing with an autograph text, and so one which has not undergone any revision at the hand of a copyist, confers great value on the hybrid language of the text.

THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF CATALAN SENTIMENTAL ROMANCE

GEMMA PELLISSA PRADES

Catalan sentimental romance is a literary trend that, following its consolidation in the second half of the fifteenth century, became a model for poets and, in particular, prose writers dealing with love matters. These authors were aware of their readership's expectations regarding love-themed literature and they aimed to fulfil them by using a series of features that may be essential to any work that was meant to be successful in this period. The following occupy a core position in the corpus of

Catalan sentimental romance: *Fronдино e Brisona*, *Glòria d'amor* by Bernat Hug de Rocabertí, the *Tragèdia de Caldesa* and many mythological prose works by Joan Roís de Corella, the *Tragèdia de Lançalot* by Mossèn Gras, *Lo despropriament d'amor* by Romeu Lull, *Regoneixença e moral consideració* and *Consuelo de amor* by Francesc Carròs Pardo de la Casta, *Somni* and *Faula de Neptuno i Diana* by Francesc Alegre, and *Bendir de dones*, *La noche* and *L'ànima d'Oliver* by Francesc Moner. In this article I shall also take into consideration theoretical texts that are representative of this literary trend.

In contrast with the Castilian tradition, the transmission of Catalan sentimental romance is largely through manuscripts, with the exception of Mossèn Gras's *Tragèdia de Lançalot*, Pardo de la Casta's *Regoneixença* and *Consuelo de amor*, and Francesc Moner's pieces, which, although partially preserved in a late-fifteenth- or early sixteenth-century manuscript in the Vatican Library, were published in 1528 by Miquel Berenguer de Barutell, a relative of the author. This article focuses on the circulation of Catalan sentimental romance in fifteenth-century *cançoners*, which included short texts in prose. Furthermore, it shows the importance of the manuscript entitled *Jardinet d'orats*, as most of the sentimental romances written in prose have been solely preserved in this witness. The study of the manuscript highlights the homogeneity found in the corpus of Catalan sentimental romances —both in verse and in prose—, the influence of Ausiàs March and Pere Torroella's key role in the authors' social network.

Thus, an analysis of the *cançoners* provides us with information about the reception of Catalan sentimental romances and the connections between them, either made by compilers, or already grouped together in an earlier textual tradition. On the one hand, the presence of Torroella, Corella and Bernat Hug de Rocabertí is noteworthy, as their texts in prose were featured in the *Jardinet d'orats*, while their sentimental works in verse circulated through *cançoners*. Similarly, the *Cançoner del marquès de Barberà* fulfils a double function, combining not only prose and poetry from the Catalan tradition, but also pieces from Castilian literature, as they appear in the *Cançoner de Coïmbra* too. On the other hand, the works in verse are closely related to each other in terms of their textual transmission. For example, the literary production of Pere Torroella and Francesc Ferrer, together with Ausiàs March's legacy and the Catalan translation of *Belle dame sans merci*, form a subgroup within the circulation network of sentimental romances, given that they are found together in different manuscript witnesses.

TROTA, TROTULA AND TRÒTULA:
FEMALE AUTHORSHIP AND AUTHORITY
IN MEDIEVAL MEDICINE IN CATALAN

MONTSERRAT CABRÉ I PAIRET

From the early Latin Middle Ages, we have medical works by the two important women authors, both from the twelfth century: Hildegard of Bingen (1098–1179) and Trota of Salerno (*fl.* first half of the twelfth century). Hildegard's medical oeuvre did not circulate beyond the boundaries of the Rhineland, but the name of the woman healer from Salerno, soon transformed into Trotula — 'little Trota' — became a Europe-wide symbol of women's medicine.

This article presents, firstly, a summary of current scholarship on Trota of Salerno and her influence on medieval culture. Her authority as Trotula is deconstructed, as the figure who gives her name to an eponymous Latin compendium of women's medicine, the *Trotula*, which includes the *De curis mulierum*, a work deriving directly from her medical expertise. Such was the fame both in Latin and the vernacular of this compendium that *Trotula* came to denominate a genre of medical texts on treatments for women, thematically but not textually related to the original compendium. An explanation is provided as to how the figure of Trotula was disseminated through several texts in which she is cited as an authority on women's medicine.

There then follows the presentation of a corpus of manuscript witnesses in Catalan from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which reflect the dissemination of this female symbol of authority. News is provided for the first time of a Catalan *Tròtula* copied in a fifteenth-century medical miscellany, currently held in the Biblioteca Riccardiana in Florence. It is a fragmentary translation of the *De curis mulierum* which the anonymous copyist of the Florentine manuscript — probably a surgeon — collates with an old Latin version, highlighting the differences. The age of the Latin originals explains why the Catalan tradition retains Trota's original name and high esteem, a unique occurrence in the vernacular traditions of the *Trotula*.

Other important ways in which Trotula's authority was disseminated are also documented: firstly, through the explicit quotations in the chapters on gynaecological treatments from one of the mid-fourteenth-century Catalan versions of the *Thesaurus pauperum* attributed to Petrus Hispanus; and secondly, through texts entitled *Tròtula* that circulated in

the Crown of Aragon, even though it is not always known which treatises were included under this title or in which languages they were written. An inventory of the books belonging to a Barcelona apothecary from 1428 lists a book in Catalan with the title *Tròtula de Grècia*: although this is clearly a vernacular text, the transcription of the short fragments of the incipit and explicit are not sufficient to determine which text the volume contained. Finally, the *Tròtula* by Mestre Joan is described. This is a Catalan medical compendium of women's medicine from the third quarter of the fourteenth century preserved in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, which includes a wide range of health and beauty treatments for women. This text is preceded by an Occitan 'salut d'amor', in *noves rimades* metre, addressed to an Aragonese princess (an edition is included in the article). Extant documentation shows that in the fifteenth century this Catalan *Tròtula* was disseminated beyond the royal court, amongst surgeons and barber-surgeons. We conclude that the Catalan tradition is rich in witnesses that illustrate how medieval culture constructed a female medical authority around the figure of Trota, the woman healer from Salerno, for whom we only have a sketchy biography. Transformed into Trotula and *Tròtula*, she came to lend her authority to knowledge about medical treatments for women.

THE LATE-MEDIEVAL AND RENAISSANCE MEDICAL RECIPE BOOK: A VERNACULAR GENRE

LLUÍS CIFUENTES I COMAMALA

When analysing medieval texts, and modern ones too, we tend to label all collections of recipes as 'recipe books' (Catalan *receptaris*). These can be works on medicine, cookery, alchemy or any number of other technical subjects, either in Latin or the vernacular, of varying length ranging from a handful of recipes copied into a miscellany to a full-volume monographic collection. In reality, though, they are works that belong to quite different genres. The 'recipe book' label, then, does not correspond to a specific genre but rather alludes to the form of these works. Moreover, in modern Catalan, as well as in other languages, a 'recipe book' is a collection of cookery recipes, but also a technical book for the management of a pharmacy workshop. With the sole exception of this second sense, 'recipe book' is a term that was not used for these texts

at the time they were produced, and which, although it does help to describe its contents to modern readers, nevertheless muddies the waters somewhat when we are trying to understand the development of certain genres which, in some cases, were in their early stages or which do not have modern equivalents. For people of the late Middle Ages, a 'recipe book' was exclusively a technical manual written and used by apothecaries, a register of the doctors' prescriptions that were prepared and sold in the shop. We are not therefore dealing with a doctrinal work either for publication or for any practical application above and beyond its use in the apothecary's workshop. Furthermore, it appears at a time when the new late-medieval urban society was becoming increasingly medicalised, and was therefore demanding certain guarantees with regard to the practices of doctors and pharmacists. The *Receptari de Manresa* [*Manresa Recipe Book*] (1347–1348) is, possibly, the only surviving pre-modern witness of this genre, hardly surprising given that these works rarely outlived the apothecaries who compiled them. In pharmacy workshops, these works coexisted with and complemented other written records intended for their management, some of which have inappropriately been called 'recipe books'. This article, for the first time in the Catalan context, provides a panorama of the full range of these books and documents. Beyond these apothecaries' works —and leaving aside technical crafts, alchemy and cookery— it was medicine, and in particular practical medicine, which was the area that generated most texts in the form of recipe lists and which, by assimilation with the works of apothecaries, we call 'recipe books'. They were extremely utilitarian works which drew on the tradition of early-medieval monastic collections of recipes and on the works on practical medicine, notably the *Thesaurus pauperum* [*Treasure of Poor Men*], which were the products of the new university culture, and which had first and foremost a therapeutic aim, and the most extensive examples of which were called 'books of recipes' or 'books of medicines'. They were exponents of a discrete genre which began to take shape at that time as a basic medical tool for those outside the university system. To differentiate this type of work from the apothecaries' recipe book, we propose calling them 'medical recipe book'. Two types are identified: one produced by non-university trained medical practitioners (surgeons and barber-surgeons) as a basic, everyday instrument for their professional practice which we call 'professional medical recipe book'; and another produced by lay people as a tool that could guarantee medical first aid in the domestic setting, which we call 'domestic medical recipe book'. In this article we study the origin of this medical genre, establish its general characteristics, and those of the two types,

highlight its importance, given the poor regard in which it has often been held through lack of understanding, and we present a catalogue of extant Catalan witnesses and documentary attestations. Our analysis concludes that this genre, although not restricted exclusively to the vernacular, is found predominantly in the vernacular, is an eminently ‘vernacular’ genre, not because of the language in which it is written, but because its origins, conception and final use lie outside the university sphere, containing as it does appropriate content not restricted to recipes. From this perspective, the poorly regarded recipe book becomes an invaluable representative of a ‘vernacular medicine’, written by or for lay practitioners and people alike, echoing a similar vernacularization in the fields of philosophy and theology.

«LO DANT O LA GLOSA»: EXEGETICAL APPARATUS
OF DANTE’S *COMMEDIA*
IN MID-FIFTEENTH CENTURY CATALONIA

FRANCESC J. GÓMEZ

The wide spread of Dante’s *Commedia* in Catalonia towards the middle of the fifteenth century, as well as its deep influence on late medieval Catalan literature, would not have been possible without a generational progression in laymen’s instruction and the aid of some exegetical apparatus, often intended to facilitate a synoptical reading by setting the poet’s text within a frame of interlineal and marginal glosses. The best examples of such a layout in this period are a parchment bifolium from a lost manuscript of Dante’s *Inferno* with Catalan glosses (Cervera, Arxiu Comarcal de la Segarra, s. n.) and another manuscript of Dante’s *Purgatorio* —dated 10th July 1460 by its copyist, Bernat Nicolau, a Barcelona tanner or *blanquer*— with abundant glosses in Italian and Catalan by several non-identified hands in its margins and interlinear spaces (New York, Hispanic Society of America, HC397/688). The *Tractat de les penes particulars d’infern*, written soon after 1436 by the Catalan Franciscan friar Joan Pasqual, is, in its turn, the most obvious result of such a synoptical reading of Dante’s text with an exegetical apparatus made up of a variety of glosses and Pietro Alighieri’s *Comentum*. In order to show the progressive social diffusion of Dante’s reading during the first half of the fifteenth century, these three witnesses are here presented and studied

from a historical point of view and in connection with a close analysis of three other documents. Firstly, an ironical account of Dante's Sybille (*Par.* xxxiii, 65-66) in a letter sent by king Martin the Humane, dated 20th February 1408, shows that Dante was a well-known *auctor* in the king's entourage: an author rich of sentences and similes very useful as a rhetorical device, and no doubt read with some kind of commentary. Secondly, the will and the inventory of belongings of Bernat d'Esplugues (1433), a notary and scribe of Barcelona's *Consell de Cent*, and owner of an extraordinary library, reveal that Dante was already read beyond the circles of the Royal Chancery or the Curia of antipope Benedict XIII, settled in Catalonia from 1409: the noble citizen or *ciutadà honrat* Galceran Carbó, a friend of Esplugues's who had borrowed one of his three manuscripts of Dante's *Commedia* in Italian, is the best example of the kind of reader Joan Pasqual had in mind when, a few years later, he used the *Divine Comedy* and Pietro Alighieri's *Comentum* in his theological works, that were mainly addressed to citizen readers like his dedicatee Joan Lull, who in 1436 was *conseller en cap* in Barcelona. Thirdly, the lessons on Dante's *Commedia* offered in 1458 by Joan de Pisa, a royal silversmith, to the sons of Catalan noblemen and to some Barcelona merchants and their sons, at the very period in which the tanner Bernat Nicolau was copying his *Purgatorio* manuscript, show that by mid-century the production and reading of Dante's manuscripts involved a complex network of social relations, comprising the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie. Copyists, readers, teachers and writers bear witness of the rise of Dante over the Catalan cultural horizon in a period in which a good acquaintance with Italian language and literature became a sign of social distinction and a requirement to exercise the highest political, administrative and economic functions.

ON THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF PETRARCH IN THE CROWN OF ARAGON (14th–16th CENTURIES)

ROMANA BROVIA

From the census of Petrarchan codices published by Milagros Villar (*Códices petrarquescos en España*, Padua: Antenore, 1995) it is clear that, of the 129 codices held today in the principal Spanish libraries, some 60 were of Aragonese origin or belonged to subjects of the Crown of Aragon by the end of the sixteenth century. Another 60 were so far uni-

identified witnesses of an equally Aragonese environment, about which Villar has uncovered information in archival documents (catalogues of private libraries, *post mortem* inventories, sales records...). If we add to this number exemplars dating from the period that concerns us, but which were removed from the Aragonese territory and are today preserved elsewhere (for example in France and in Italy), we are dealing with a Petrarchan presence that is far from negligible.

From a first analysis of this corpus of manuscripts, we can make certain essential observations. In contrast with what happened in other geographical areas, where Petrarch's works proliferated immediately after his death in 1374, the corresponding golden age in the Aragonese territories is the fifteenth century; in fact the vast majority of witnesses preserved can be dated to the first or second quarters of that century. Just half of these were copied in Aragonese hands, while the remainder, mostly of Italian origin, were introduced into the kingdom before the end of the sixteenth century, above all at the instigation of Pedro de Luna in the transfer of the papal curia from Avignon to Peníscola in 1411, and following the stripping of the Aragonese library in Naples. However, it is from archival documents that the latest and most interesting information has come to light, indicating that further research in this area is now imperative. A description based only on extant manuscripts points to a circulation of Petrarchan works above all in religious contexts (the papal library, collections belonging to high-ranking priests and members of the secular clergy, monastic libraries) and aristocratic houses (libraries of members of the royal family and of their court). However, the analysis of municipal archives sheds new light on their even more widespread circulation in the private holdings of laypersons (the merchants, professionals, and artisans of Barcelona). This transmission has not received much scholarly attention in Europe (except in certain cities in northern France and Flanders), which could justify another rather surprising finding, namely the particularly widespread circulation of his epic and historical works (*Africa* and *De viris illustribus*), after *De remediis utriusque fortune* which is the most common work in all ambits.

From this data, and from a more detailed analysis of the history of certain witnesses, we can provisionally conclude that the transmission of both Petrarch's Latin and vernacular works in the Crown of Aragon occurred some three decades later than in the rest of continental Europe. It is also likely that, with regard to the elevation to cult status that Petrarch and his work experienced in this region, the south of France played a crucial mediating role, mainly because of the long-standing historical and dynastic ties between the two regions, and thanks to the

increased traffic in diplomatic staff and books between the Aragonese royal court, the papal curia, and the universities of Montpellier, Avignon and Toulouse during the crucial decades of the Avignon papacy.

GRAPHIC REPRESENTATIONS IN RAMON LLULL'S *LLIBRE DE CONTEMPLACIÓ*

ALBERT SOLER – ANTHONY BONNER

The modern reader's concept of a work is that of a fixed and closed text, independent of the number of copies in which it may circulate, since it is transmitted in a stable, unvarying way. If, for some reason, a new edition introduces modifications in the text, the reader would be clearly informed thereof. This idealized concept of a work only became general with the development of the modern idea of the author linked to the spread of printed texts. Like the medieval man he was, Lull thought rather in terms of the manuscript, of a concrete object, which acquires meaning in and of itself, by the works it transmits, by the material conditions under which the text of a work can be modified or in which new diagrams and charts can be included, often directed to some specific addressee or addressees. This idea is optimal, considering medieval systems of manuscript production, especially if the prime object is the diffusion of books rather than their invariability, and there can be no doubt that this was Ramon Lull's intent.

This article studies the nature and function of the fourteen graphic representations which accompany the text of Ramon Lull's *Book of Contemplation* (ca. 1274), the first of the many works in which he used visual diagrams. In the margins of the oldest manuscript of the work, a copy finished in 1280, and only in this copy, do we find some fifty other figures which complement the originals. This task of illustration represents the last stage in the elaboration of the codex and is attributable to circles close to Lull. All in all, this shows how his concept of a work was made concrete in each manuscript copy he had made.

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Els vuit treballs del present volum comparteixen una mateixa orientació metodològica: l'estudi de la materialitat dels manuscrits i dels seus contextos de producció, circulació i recepció com a eina per al progrés del coneixement del passat cultural. De les aportacions de tema literari, tres enriqueixen el coneixement de la tradició lírica occitanocatalana, una altra aborda la porositat entre la lírica i la narrativa en el terreny dels escrits de tema sentimental, i dues més aprofundeixen en la recepció de Dante i de Petrarca. Les dues contribucions de tema científicotècnic aborden respectivament els textos medievals de tema cosmètic, obstètric i ginecològic que porten com a emblema el nom de la metgessa Trota o Tròtula, i la sistematització del gènere «receptari mèdic», que és un sector totalment desatès abans de la present contribució. Completa el quadre un estudi sobre el naixement de la diagramàtica lul·liana a través de les figures del *Llibre de contemplació en Déu* del manuscrit de la Biblioteca Ambrosiana de Milà.

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