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***Philology as Cultural History on Recent Editions of Old Catalan Texts***  
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## PHILOLOGY AS CULTURAL HISTORY ON RECENT EDITIONS OF OLD CATALAN TEXTS

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It is fascinating to observe how the history of a nation is reflected even in the way it treats its literary heritage. The rediscovery, during the period of Romanticism, of Catalonia's independent cultural past led to an admiration for its medieval writers which was shared by all speakers of Catalan. In advance of their Spanish colleagues, Catalan scholars adopted the methods of Romance philology, emulating national series of texts such as the «Classiques français du Moyen Age» or the one sponsored by the «Early English Text Society». The cataclism of the Spanish Civil War and the restrictions of the Franco years led to a prolonged parenthesis in Catalan scholarship. Thirteen years after the dictator's death, the situation in the academic small world of manuscript studies, textual criticism and edition of medieval texts has not yet returned to pre-1936 levels of quantity and quality. The scholarly community still has to reunite under a shared sense of mission, a common ideology. Are the times of the scholar-publisher, the one-man publishing house, the nationalist Maecenas and the patriotic bibliophile gone forever? Can large commercial or university presses, non-academic funding agencies, and a clientele restricted to libraries and philologists take their place? The following review-article proposes to survey recent editions of old Catalan texts, presenting the facts which may facilitate an answer to these questions, or at least encourage a much needed assessment of the present situation and discussion of future directions.

In 1953, at the Seventh International Congress for Romance Linguistics in Barcelona, Ramon Aramon i Serra, secretary of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, presented a paper on *Les edicions*

*de textos catalans medievals*.<sup>1</sup> It appears from this survey that 19th-century editors, motivated mostly by bibliophily or patriotism, loved to use gothic characters and were satisfied with slim fascicles and short press runs. In 1873, Marian Aguiló engaged in the more ambitious projects of a *Diccionari* based on medieval texts (repr. 1988) and the twelve volumes of his «Biblioteca catalana».

Ramon Miquel i Planas continued from 1908 to 1952 the «Biblioteca catalana», but raised standards to more rigorous philological levels. Most of his 20 volumes are still indispensable today. Rumor has it that Miquel i Planas took the very manuscripts or incunabula to his printing shop and set them directly in monotype, a most efficient procedure which today can — and maybe should — be imitated using reproductions and preparing camera-ready copy on a word processor.

Josep Maria de Casacuberta's series «Els nostres clàssics» (ENC), started in 1924, was in a sense a step backwards.<sup>2</sup> Until the early 30's, when the series took the subtitle «Obres completes dels escriptors catalans medievals»,<sup>3</sup> texts were often abridged and spelling modernized. The duodecimal format, used up to vol. 100,<sup>4</sup> led to lengthy works being spread out over many

<sup>1</sup> *Actas y memorias*, 2 (Barcelona 1955), 197-266. Aramon, still secretary of the IEC, has been honored with four volumes of *Estudis de llengua i literatura catalanes* (Barcelona: Curial, 1979-1984) in which we find some short medieval texts: a fragment of the *Libre jutge*, 1:155-193; Catalan glosses in MS 383 from Montserrat, 2:15-31; chap. 19 of Peter Damian's *Dominus vobiscum* in Catalan, 2:33-43; a letter by Antoni Canals, 2:513-522; letters by a 14th-century lady, 4:387-419.

<sup>2</sup> Casacuberta has been honored in 1980-1981 by two volumes of a *Homenatge* in the «Estudis de llengua i literatura catalanes», 1-2. In 1:9-29 Albert Manent writes on *Josep Maria de Casacuberta i l'editorial Barcino*, and in 2:185-215 Albert Hauf edits *El «Tractat del moli espiritual» de Fra Antoni Canals, O.P.*

<sup>3</sup> The plan to omit the word «catalans» in future volumes, in order to appease institutional subscribers in Valencia, provoked considerable public reaction.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. 100, from 1970, happened to be Francesc Moner's *Obres catalanes*, edited by Peter Cocozzella, from SUNY at Binghamton. More recent volumes, not



volumes and years. ENC continued to appear even after the Civil War; however, Casacuberta had to rely more than before on texts prepared — often as doctoral dissertations written under the guidance of emigré Catalan scholars — by young Catalanists from outside of Spain.

Medieval authors, especially in facsimile editions, were obviously not considered a threat by the Franquist regime. Martí de Riquer, tutor of prince Juan Carlos and secretary of the Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres of Barcelona, could publish, in 1950, a popular edition of Bernat Metge,<sup>5</sup> in 1959 his definitive learned edition of the *Obras* (*sic*, in Spanish) of this author, and in 1969 the «mejor libro del mundo», *Tirant lo Blanc*, by Joanot Martorell and Martí Joan de Galba<sup>6</sup> (of which in 1974 he also published the old Castilian translation), and, in 1972, a facsimile of the manuscript of the *Crònica del rei Jaume I*. Pere Bohigas, curator of manuscripts in the Biblioteca de Catalunya — in those years officially referred to as the Biblioteca Central, while now there is pressure to have it called Biblioteca Nacional de Catalunya — initiated in 1956 his «Biblioteca catalana d'obres antigues», now defunct, with his edition of *Miracles de la Verge Maria. Col·lecció del segle XIV*. At the end of that volume we find a list of the subscribers of the series. It took courage in

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mentioned elsewhere in this review, are by Anna Cornagliotti, *Flors de virtut e de costums. Versió catalana de Francesc de Santcliment*, vol. 108, 1975; Ferran Huerta Viñas, *Teatre bíblic. Antic Testament*, vol. 109-110, 1976; Josep Perarnau, *Felip de Malla, Correspondència política I*, vol. 114, 1978; Gret Schib, *Ramon Llull, Arbre de filosofia d'amor*, vol. 117, 1980.

<sup>5</sup> «Biblioteca Selecta», reed. by Lola Badia in 1975, repr. 1983.

<sup>6</sup> Barcelona: Seix Barral, repr. 1970; also in «Clàssics catalans Ariel», 1 (1979) and «Les millors obres de la literatura catalana», 99-100 (1983, repr. 1985). Other editions of the *Tirant*, with original illustrations, have been made for bibliophile investors. A new edition is in progress in Valencia, timed to appear five hundred years after the incunabulum from 1490. ENC also included the *Tirant* in its program, while the machine readable transcription made at the Universitat Central has, so far, lead only to a complete concordance, but not a critical edition.

1956 to acknowledge oneself publicly as a Catalanist, and some persons might have become subscribers just to show support for the Catalan cause. In other words, the goals of the philologists coincided, once again, with those of bibliophiles and patriots.

Josep Maria Cruzet's company Selecta, the first firm to get permission from the Madrid government for a serious publishing program in Catalan (starting with the ineludible religious works by Verdaguer) produced in the «Biblioteca perenne» impressive volumes of *Obres essencials de Ramon Llull* (1957-1960), and *Les quatre grans cròniques* of Jaume I, Desclot, Muntaner, and Pere III (1971; repr. 1983).<sup>7</sup>

In Valencia, relying on the prestige of the philologist Manuel Sanchis Guarner and the cultural ideologist Joan Fuster, Albatros initiated in 1973 a series of «Clàssics», beginning with a first volume of the works of Joan Roís de Corella (repr. 1983; vol. 2 never appeared) and continuing with verses by Joan Timoneda, sermons by saint Vicent Ferrer, and a selection of Renaissance letters.<sup>8</sup> On the other hand, the Schola Lullistica in Palma de Majorca, which would have had few political difficulties in continuing with its series of Llull's *Obres originals*, has published only one volume since the Civil War (vol. 21, 1950).<sup>9</sup>

While there was a trickle of editions of medieval texts even after 1936, the activity was mostly limited to Barcelona and involved many emigré or non-Catalan scholars. These internatio-

<sup>7</sup> A modernized version of Muntaner was published in the «Biblioteca Selecta», vol. 467-68, 1973 (repr. 1977).

<sup>8</sup> *Epistolari del Renaixement*, 2 vol., 1977-1978, originally the doctoral dissertation of Max Cahner, founder of Curial, then first Minister of culture for the Generalitat.

<sup>9</sup> With support from the Generalitats of all three regions, an edition of Llull's sermons called *Art major de predicació. Llibre de virtuts e de peccats* appeared in 1989. The revitalized project to publish Llull's Catalan works owes much to Antony Bonner, now living in Majorca, who published in 1985 two volumes of *Selected Works of Ramon Llull* (1232-1316) (Princeton Univ. Press) and is now preparing a new edition of the *Llibre del gentil*.



nal contacts maintained or created beneficial links with the mainstream of Romance philology. Somewhat by default ENC became the undisputed standard in the field. The director, Casacuberta, was sometimes asked by friends to publish texts edited by their students. There were frequently years of delay between acceptance and publication, to such an extent that some of these texts were withdrawn and have appeared in other series. For instance, in the case of students of Joan Coromines,<sup>10</sup> the edition of the ca. 1290 translation of James of Voragine's *Legenda aurea*, entitled *Vides de sants rosselloneses*, by Charlottes S. Maneikis Kniazzezh and Edward J. Neugaard, appeared in three volumes in 1977, financed by the Fundació Salvador Vives Casajuana.<sup>11</sup> (The year before, completely unnoticed, Father Nolasco Rebull published in Olot his own edition of this same text, based on the Vic manuscript.) Frank Naccarato's thesis, an edition of Francesc Eiximenis' *Lo libre de les dones*, announced in *Diss. Abstracts* 10 (1965), 145, appeared only in 1981, revised by Curt Wittlin and August Bover, in two volumes of the series «Biblioteca Torres Amat», co-edited by Curial and the Department of Catalan Philology of the Universitat Central of Barcelona. In this same series, now silent, the Department had already published as vol. 3 (1976) Jeroni Conques' *Llibre de Job*, a

<sup>10</sup> Coromines was from 1945 to 1967 professor at the University of Chicago. For a different approach by an emigrant to having works published in Barcelona see Josep Maria Solà-Solà's relationship with Puvill, where he printed in 1977 *El llibre de doctrina del rei Jaume d'Aragó*.

<sup>11</sup> The Fundació Vives Casajuana has been supporting editions of medieval texts since vol. 1 (1969), the *Obres* of Joan de Castellnou; mostly entries which won prizes administered by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans. Vol. 111, from 1984, is a facsimile of *El «Lunari» de Bernat de Granollachs*. The Fundació Noguera, on the other hand, limits itself to legal texts, financing, for instance, a Latin-Old Catalan edition of the *Usatges de Barcelona* by Joan Bastardas (1984) and the five-volume edition of the *Llibre del Consolat de mar*, by Germà Colon and Arcadi Garcia (1981-1985). (Antoni Ferrando produced a facsimile of the Majorca manuscript of this text in Valencia, 1979.)

16th-century translation edited by Jaume Riera i Sans, and as vol. 4 (1977) Mestre Robert's *Libre del coch. Tractat de cuina medieval*, done by Veronika Leimgruber, a student of Germà Colon in Basel.<sup>12</sup>

Towards the end of the Franco years, foundations, new publishing houses, universities, and even enterprising private persons, begun printing Old Catalan texts. The best example of a private initiative is Jaume Riera's series «Biblioteca Escriny de textos medievals breus», which lasted from 1981 to 1987.<sup>13</sup> In that series Riera published his own editions of *La mort d'Aristòtil. Versió quatre-centista del «Liber de pomo»* (vol. 1, 1981), then the *Història del malvat rei Antiochus. Text narratiu del segle XV* (vol. 3, 1981), then, already after the demise of the Edicions del Mall, Seneca's *Llibre de virtuoses costums. Traducció del «Liber de moribus», per Martí de Viciàna* (vol. 7, 1987).<sup>14</sup> While the concept of a series restricted to first editions of old texts is laudable, the commercial problem of distributing and selling booklets of under one-hundred pages has a stifling effect.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Leimgruber's *Glossari del «Libre del coch» de Robert de Nola* appeared only in 1988, in the «Estudis Romànics», 17 (1976-1980), 255-384.

<sup>13</sup> Riera, currently at the Archives of the Crown of Aragon, published in 1973 *El cavaller i l'alcajota. Un procés medieval* in Club Editor's popular series «El pi de les tres branques», showing how a legal text of social importance can be presented in a way which pleases philologists and a more general audience alike.

<sup>14</sup> The other volumes in the series are: 2. *Espill de consciència. Text doctrinal del segle XIV*, per Emili Casanova (1981); 4. Ramon Llull, *Art abrenjada de predicació*, per Curt Wittlin (1982); 5. Martí de Viciàna, *Comentari a l'Econòmica d'Aristòtil*, per Antoni Ferrando (1982); 6. (attributed to saint Bonaventure), *Contemplació de la passió de nostre senyor Jesucrist*, per Albert Hauf (1982); 8. *Les corts generals de Jerusalem. Sermó al·legòric del segle XIV sobre la mort de Jesucrist*, per Mateu Rodrigo Lizondo (1985).

<sup>15</sup> The true picture of publishing in Catalonia today is obscured by the fact that the Generalitat buys, depending on the price, three or four hundred copies of every Catalan publication, lowering very much the publishers' break-even point.



As for universities taking an active role in publishing old texts, four unproductive decades went by until a new generation of students, no longer concerned that research in Catalan is, at best useless, at worst dangerous, has turned its attentions to the field. While the Universitat Autònoma at Bellaterra near Barcelona does not publish many Catalan texts — perhaps because, due to the prestige of prof. emeritus Martí de Riquer, its Catalanists have no difficulties finding commercial publishers —<sup>16</sup> its second campus, in Girona, published in 1979 and 1978, of their newly hired faculty members Albert Rossich, *Una poètica del Barroc. El «Parnàs català»*, and Salomó Marquès, *Baldiri Reixac, «Instruccions per a l'ensenyança de minyons»* (2 vol.), both from the early 18th-century. That research into Catalan texts by the new generation of graduate students started with post-medieval topics probably reflects the revisionist position of those professors who wanted to counteract the received tenet that the *Països Catalans* were a literary waste-land between the 16th and the 19th centuries. But it could also be that editing medieval texts had come to be considered an arcane if not quaint preoccupation with unexciting — because non-literary, or else already previously published — texts, written in a language which the students of the 70's, who had grown up with limited exposure even to modern written Catalan, found even more foreign. Such helplessness led to the wave of modernizations of medieval Catalan classics in the 80's.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> The 1977 dissertation of Riquer's star pupil, Lola Badia —who taught first in Girona, then at Bellaterra, but is now at the Universitat Central— was published in 1983 as *Poesia catalana del s. XIV. Edició i estudi del Cançonet de Ripoll* by Quaderns Crema. This same publisher reprinted in 1988 several articles of Lola Badia under the title *De Bernat Metge a Joan Roís de Corella*. Badia has also published a translation of Llull's *Disputa del clergue Pere i de Ramon el fantàstic* (Stella d'Orsa, 1985) and, together with Amadeu J. Soberanas, *Noves noves rimades. La ventura del cavaller N'Huc e de Madona* (Stella d'Orsa, 1986).

<sup>17</sup> Edicions 62 started its series «El garbell» in 1980 with Llull's *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria* and has added since the *Història de Jacob Xalabin* and Ramon de



But while there are no additional post-medieval texts from Girona, the Col·legi Universitari there embarked a few years ago on a project to publish the complete works of Francesc Eiximenis, born in Girona ca. 1330. The first volume published, vol. 3 of the *Obres*, appeared in 1986, offering vol. II.1 of the *Dotzè llibre del Crestià*. An impressive 519 pages long, it required the collaboration of three Canadian professors: Jill Webster (who in the early 60's had edited a part of it for her Toronto Ph. D), Arseni Pacheco (British Columbia), and Curt Wittlin (Saskatchewan). Uncertainties in the academic and political world of the Col·legi and the Diputació of Girona, plus the difficulties of distributing books not published in Barcelona, already put in jeopardy the original plan of producing one volume per year. Vol. 2, the *Dotzè* II.2, was scheduled to appear in the fall of 1988.<sup>18</sup> Similar problems might also be facing the «Biblioteca Uni-

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Perellós' *Viatge al purgatori de Sant Patrici*. The Abbey of Montserrat has published so far three illustrated childrens books inspired in Munaner, Eiximenis and Martorell. Two more examples: Jordi Tiñena modernized and prosified Jaume Roig's *Llibre de les dones* («Lectures i itineraris», Valencia: Laertes, 1988). The Generalitat of Valencia is distributing an adaptation of the *Tirant* to stimulate reading among schoolchildren. Gea Edicions and other publishers are also providing reading materials for schools where medieval classics become part of the curriculum.

<sup>18</sup> The Diputació de Girona also financed, in 1986, a facsimile of the local 1495 print of the *Història de París i Viana*, with introductory chapters by Pedro Càtedra (now in Salamanca) and Modest Prats. There are many other examples of city councils or other regional cultural funding agencies supporting publications of local authors or scholars, from Joan Veny's edition of the *Regiment de preservació de pestilència* by Jacme d'Agramont, published by the Diputació de Tarragona in 1971, to the reprint, adding a facsimile of the manuscript, made in 1981 by the Diputació Provincial de València of a ca. 1906 edition of *El miracle de Llutzent i els corporals de Daroca*, to Elena Sánchez Almela's 1985 edition of the (Latin) *El llibre de privilegis de la Villa de Sant Mateu* (1157-1512), financed by the Caja de Ahorros y Monte de Piedad of Castelló, and the Provençal-Catalan edition of the *Obra poètica* of Guillem de Berguedà and two other troubadours (re-)published in 1986 by Martí de Riquer and Climent Forner in, of all places, Berga. Such books find themselves often outside of regular channels of distribution and end up being given away.

versitària Tàrraco»<sup>19</sup> which prof. Jaume Vidal Alcover established in Tarragona, publishing in 1984 himself, in collaboration with Pere Bohigas, a critical and annotated edition of Guillem de Torroella's *Faula*. The prospectus for the new series announces editions of poems by Ausiàs March and his two uncles Pere and Jaume,<sup>20</sup> of the *Llibre de tres*, and of the *Llibre dels set savis*.

As for Valencia, the unique socio-academic situation there has never been favorable for a sustained local publishing program of Catalan authors, even if called «Valencian». The «Biblioteca d'autors valencians», directed by Joan Fuster and financed by the Institució Alfons el Magnànim, reprinted in 1982 Pere Antoni Beuter's *Crònica* from 1538, however —according to the series' criteria— in modernized spelling. The activist publishing house Tres i Quatre reprinted in 1984 *Les poesies de Jordi de Sant Jordi, cavaller valencià del segle XV* which Martí de Riquer had published in 1955 in Granada. The Conselleria de Cultura of the Generalitat of Valencia has committed itself to a program of aiding publications of medieval texts by writers of the region, such as Isabel de Villena's *Vita Christi*,<sup>21</sup> Canal's *Tractat de confessió*, and Joan Roís de Corella's translation of Ludolf the Carthusian's *Vita Christi*. To some extent, the Generalitat Valenciana has to counteract the activities of the «blaveros», the

<sup>19</sup> Not to be confused with the «Biblioteca universitària» of Barcelona's Enciclopèdia Catalana, which, after seven volumes of *Manuals de llengua catalana*, published as vol. 8 in 1987 Ramon Llull's *Poesies*, edited by Josep Romeu i Figueras.

<sup>20</sup> Vidal's edition of the *Cobles i noves rimades* by Pere and Jaume March has appeared instead in the series «L'estel» (Valencia: Tres i Quatre, 1987), with subsidies from the Cultural Ministries of all three *Països Catalans*. Vol. 6 of «L'Estel», from 1988, is Salvador Jàfer's edition of *Lo procés de les olives* and *Lo somni de Joan Joan*.

<sup>21</sup> Extracts of interest to women's studies have been published by Rosanna Cantavella and Lluïsa Parra, *Protagonistes femenines a la «Vita Christi»*, Barcelona: LaSal, Edicions de les Dones, 1988. This same feminist publisher printed in 1987 *Estefania de Requesens. Cartes íntimes d'una dama catalana del segle XVI*, by Maite Guisado.



reactionary anti-Catalan faction which claims to uphold the past glories of the kingdom (and its confused spelling habits) while opposing the reinstatement of the Catalan language in all aspects of public life. This group financed in 1978 a complete facsimile edition (in 3,350 copies, still sold for 3,500 pts. each) of the *Tirant lo Blanc* incunabulum, in 1980 one of the first printing of Villena's *Vita Christi*, and in 1984-85 a facsimile and transcription of MS 728 from the University of Valencia with works by Joan Roís de Corella (whose name they spell Roïc). The promising team of young university professors of philology, however, has dedicated itself to editing medieval texts<sup>22</sup> and is also directing many theses involving transcriptions of manuscripts.<sup>23</sup> The best of these will be published in the «Biblioteca Sanchis Guarner», which as vol. 11, for example, printed Agustín Rubio Vela's excellent *Epistolari de la València medieval*.

This reviewer is not aware of many medieval texts being published in the Balearic Islands. The Secció de Filologia Catalana of the University of Palma de Majorca co-edited two texts with the Abbey of Montserrat in the «Biblioteca Marian Aguiló» (see below). Work on Lull proceeds, slowly, at the Maioricensis Schola Lullistica, while the Biblioteca March celebrated in 1980 the twelve hundredth anniversary of the birth of Saint Benedict by publishing a facsimile of an unique copy of the 1495 print of Bernardí Vallmanya's translation of the Castilian version of the *Cordial de l'ànima*. In 1985 there appeared a facsimile, accompanied by an introduction and edition by Gaspar Munar and Miquel Pascual, of the first book printed in Majorca, Francesc Prats's *Llibre de con-*

<sup>22</sup> Antoni Ferrando, head of the Department of Valencian Linguistics, published in 1980, with the backing of bibliophiles, the Catalan translation of Matfre Ermengaud's *Breviari d'Amor* (with facsimile and Spanish translation), and is now completing a critical edition of the anonymous novel *Curial e Güelfa*.

<sup>23</sup> For bibliographical updates see Emili Casanova, «Els estudis filològics universitaris al país valencià», *Caplletra* 1 (1986), 89-96.

templació.<sup>24</sup> As for medieval Catalan texts printed outside of the *Països Catalans*,<sup>25</sup> we are surprised to see Italian publishers supporting Catalan titles. Several Italian scholars, especially Giuseppe Sansone and his students from Bari,<sup>26</sup> have edited texts in ENC. Vincenzo Minervini produced in 1982, with Lericci, an critical edition of *Il «Libro di Sidrac». Versione catalana*, a translation of a well-known French text not yet edited in its original language. Minervini, together with Maria Luisa Indini, then published in 1986, with Schena in Bari, the early Catalan and Italian translations (by Vallmanya and Manfredi) of Diego de San Pedro's *Càrcer d'amor - Carcer d'amore*. The publisher Japadre, from L'Aquila, published in 1983 and 1987 the two volumes of Annamaria Annicchiarico's edition of *La «Fiammetta» catalana*, a translation from Boccaccio so slavishly literal that one wonders if it was even comprehensible.

It is more than likely that the vast majority of medieval Catalan texts will continue being printed in Barcelona. Even though after the death of Casacuberta the Editorial Barcino, supported by the Fundació Carulla-Font, now called Fundació Jaume I, had

<sup>24</sup> A few texts of interest to Catalanists have appeared recently in the series «Textos medievales» from Zaragoza. In vol. 66-68, from 1979-80, Maria Desamparados Cabanes transcribes the *Libre del repartiment del Regne de València*, while in vol. 61, from 1983, Maria Luisa Cabanes edits the *Anales valencianos*.

<sup>25</sup> We are not considering here unpublished doctoral dissertations. If they do not lead to regular publications, they go completely unnoticed, as did Maria Wehrmann's transcription of the *Història d'Alexandre* (Tübingen, 1960), or Michael R. Solomon's text and concordance of the *Speculum al foderi*, published on four microfiches in Madison, 1986. Few scholars have resorted to private printing; I am aware only of Joan Gili's editions from 1977 and 1985 of *Lapidari. Tractat de pedres precioses*, and of *Lo cavall. Tractat de menescalia del segle XV*, both from the editor's own Dolphin Book Co. in Oxford.

<sup>26</sup> In 1984 Sansone also published Lelio Manfredi's Italian translation of Martorell's *Tirante il Bianco*. More about *Il contributo italiano agli studi catalani*. 1945-1979 can be found in the collection of papers presented at the first two meetings of the Italian Catalanist Association published in 1981 by Lericci, editor from Cosenza who prints in Bari.



to be restructured, the series ENC has an assured future; but it remains to be seen if it will regain its position as standard and model for editing old texts. The ENC's new literary director, Amadeu J. Soberanas, successor to Bohigas as curator of manuscripts of the Biblioteca de Catalunya, has at first completed multi-volume projects begun under Casacuberta, such as Andreu Febrer's translation of Dante's *Divina comèdia*, edited, with the Italian text, by Annamaria Gallina (6 vol., 1974-1988), the *Furs de València*, edited by Germà Colon and Arcadi Garcia (5 vol., 1970-1988), Guillem de Copons' translation of Brunetto Latini's *Llibre del tresor*, edited by Curt Wittlin (4 vol., 1971-1989), Felip de Malla's *Memorial del pecador remut*, edited by Manuel Balasch (4 vol., 1980-1989), and, finally, in the B series, Saint Vicent Ferrer's *Sermons*, continued by Gret Schib (vol. 3-6, 1975-1988). Old desiderata will we taken up shortly, such as a critical edition of the Catalan translation of Boccaccio's *Decameron*, of the translation of Antonio Beccadelli's *De dictis et factis Alphonsi regis aragonum*, and of Turell's *Arbre d'honor*. There is also a plan to publish an anthology of the earliest Catalan texts and to merge in one volume the glossaries which accompany all the existing volumes. The series, however, will now also admit texts written down to the 18th-century, such as the *Vigilant despertador*, a moralizing poem by the Majorcan Miquel Ferrando de la Càrcel, and the baroque works by Joan Bonaventura de Gualbes (edited by Kenneth Brown from Boulder, Colorado).

Most Barcelona publishing houses are now including medieval texts in their offerings, but mostly reeditions or modernisations and therefore not of great use to the small circles of philologists and medievalists. Edicions 62 had already in 1967 published a short anthology of works by Francesc Eiximenis, edited by Jill Webster, and then in 1983 included Albert Hauf's much more extensive selection of extracts from Eiximenis' *Lo crestià* in its popular series «Les millors obres de la literatura catalana» (MOLC, vol. 98), sponsored by the Caixa de Pensions per la Velleja i d'Estalvis de Catalunya i Balears. The series, in regula-

rized spelling, included Jaume Roig's *Espill*, Ausiàs March's *Poesies*, the *Cròniques* of Muntaner, Desclot and Jaume I, *Curial e Güelfa*, Llull's *Llibre de meravelles* and *Evast e Blanquerna*, Metge's *Somni*, texts in prose by Roís de Corella, works by four Valencian poets, medieval and Renaissance plays, and Martorell's *Tirant lo Blanc*. Arseni Pacheco was in charge of vol. 96, *Bladdin de Cornualla i altres narracions en vers dels segles xiv i xv*, and of vol. 73, *Novelles amoroses i morals*, which includes August Bover's first modern edition of the anonymous *Espill de la vida religiosa*.<sup>27</sup> The publishing house Curial, which restricts itself to printing in Catalan only, includes medieval texts in its series «Clàssics Curial»; first editions in the case of two texts by Francesc Eiximenis, *Com usar bé de beure e menjar. Normes morals contingudes en el «Terç del Crestià»* (1977; repr. 1982) prepared by Jorge J. E. Gracia as a doctoral dissertation under J. Gulsoy in Toronto, and *De sant Miquel arcàngel. El quint tractat del «Llibre dels àngels»* (1983), edited by Curt Wittlin. In 1985 Curial started a new series of «Autors catalans antics» with Joan Coromines' edition of Cerverí de Girona, (vol. 1, *Narrativa*), adding in vol. 4 Max Cahner's edition of Joan Baptista Anyes' *Obra catalana* (1987).<sup>28</sup>

The publisher of the Quaderns Crema, with expensive tastes leaning towards bibliophily, has so far shown little inclination to lose money with medieval texts. Its edition of Joan Ferraté's

<sup>27</sup> Also, on p. 153-86, an edition of the *Regoneixença... contra les... forces d'Amor* which is preferable to the one published by José Enrique Reyes-Tudela in *Las obras de Francesch Carróç Pardo de la Casta*, Valencia: Albatros, 1987.

<sup>28</sup> Curial published in 1986 in this same series an excellent edition by Mariàngela Vilallonga of the Latin *Obres* of the humanist Jeroni Pau, with a Catalan translation. In this context I would like to mention that Llull's Latin works are being edited by the Lullus Institut of the University of Freiburg for the Corpus Christianorum, that there is an international team working on a critical edition of Arnald of Vilanova's Latin medical writings, and that my own edition of Eiximenis' *Psalterium alias Laudatorium* appeared at the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies of Toronto in 1988.



*Ausiàs March. Les poesies* (1979-80) and Lola Badia's *Cançoneret de Ripoll* (see above) are, in my opinion, unnecessarily expensive. The two hard-cover booklets from 1984 and 1985 offering the reedition, together with the facsimile of the incunabulum, of Mossèn Gras' *Tragèdia de Lançalot. Novel·la artúrica del s. XV* and a edition of Alain Chartier's *La belle dame sans merci* in French and Francesc Oliver's translation, would probably not have been accepted had they not been prepared by Martí de Riquer. Quaderns Crema has announced editions of the *Libre de Alexandri* and of the *Obres completes* of Francesc de la Via (the latter prepared by Arseni Pacheco, who had already in 1963 and 1968 published two volumes by this author).

The publishing house which, given its volume of publications, could afford to start a regular series of critical editions of medieval texts, is the Abbey of Montserrat. Father Josep Massot i Muntaner has for years, and until recently, chronicled medieval Catalan studies in the monthly *Serra d'Or*.<sup>29</sup> As secretary of the Associació Internacional de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes he has regular contacts with Catalanists all over the world, and is well aware of their research projects.<sup>30</sup> Montserrat could assume the much needed service of distributing editions of medieval texts published by cultural establishments that have no catalogues. It could become the clearing house for editorial projects and a center for elaborating a new consensus on philological criteria and standards. However, the medieval texts Montserrat has published so far all show the idiosyncracies of their editors and do not, as a group, follow a coherent line. The series «Biblioteca Marian Aguiló», which collaborates with the Department of Catalan Philology from the University of Palma, presented

<sup>29</sup> Reedited in «Trenta anys d'estudis sobre la llengua i la literatura catalanes (1950-1980)», vol. 2: *La literatura de l'Edat mitjana a la Renaixença*, Montserrat: Abadia, 1980.

<sup>30</sup> See the *Repertori de catalanòfils* which form vol. 7-8 of «Estudis de llengua i literatura catalanes», (1983-84). It is updated in vol. 17, from 1988.

as vol. 7 in 1984 Berenguer d'Anoia's *Mirall de trobar* in a diplomatic transcription with a modern translation on facing pages, with a scholarly introduction by Jaume Vidal i Alcover; as vol. 9 in 1986 a first edition, by Albert G. Hauf (now at the University of Valencia), of Joan Eixemenó's incompletely preserved *Contemplació de la Santa Quarantena*. In the series «El grà del blat» Montserrat published Curt Wittlin's edition of Eiximenis's *Scala Dei* in modernized spelling (vol. 55, 1985), and in the series «Biblioteca Serra d'Or», in co-edition with two Valencian cultural entities, Joan A. López's and Vicent Ribes' transcription and modernization of Joan Roís de Corella's *Psalteri*, his translation of the psalms (vol. 52, 1985), and in the series «Subsidia monastica» a careful, but in many ways unusual, edition of the Old Catalan translation of Rufinus's *Les vides dels sants pares*, done by Columba M. Batlle (vol. 16, 1986).

While Montserrat seems to leave each editor free to chose his own editing criteria, there is one person, Father Josep Perarnau i Espelt of the Faculty of Theology at the Seminary of Barcelona, who not only, by his own work, has set new standards for critical editions, but also assumes the role of arbiter of other peoples' work in the «Secció bibliogràfica» of the yearbook *Arxiu de textos catalans antics*. Since vol. 1 of the ATCA, Perarnau has published himself several Latin texts by Catalan authors, and also Lull's *Peticció al papa Celestí V* (1, 1982, 9-46), *Lo sisè seny* (2, 1983, 23-103) and *La disputació de cinc savis* (5, 1986, 7-229), an anonymous lullist's *Art abrenjada de confessió* (4, 1985, 61-172), and nine sermons by Vicent Ferrer (4, 1985, 213-402). All these editions are done with the highest standards, three kinds of critical apparatus, exhaustive introductions, several appendices, and complete word indices. It would not be fair to criticize this great effort for sometimes providing too much of a good thing, such as listing hundreds of regular spelling variants of the type *nihil-nichil* or *providentia-providencia*, but at a time when there are still so many unpublished medieval texts, a better balance between the capabili-



ties of editors, arguments of publishers, and needs of the public should be sought.<sup>31</sup>

At the sixth colloqui of the Associació Internacional de Llengua i Cultura Catalanes (Rome, 1982) a round-table discussion was dedicated to the principles of editing medieval texts. The *Actes* of the convention (Montserrat, 1983) do not summarize opinions voiced there and conclusions reached, but one suspects that participants were mostly reiterating their own personal preferences. The ideology behind ENC, for instance, was that the spelling of the base manuscript should be preserved, but that i/j and u/v should be distinguished and that modern accentuation, punctuation, capitalization and word-separation should be introduced, to facilitate reading by an unspecialized public, and that printing costs should be kept low by not insisting on italicized resolutions of abbreviations, uncommon typography and cumbersome layouts. This compromise between philologists, publishers, and the public is now under attack. I have the suspicion that some scholars are trying to gain more prestige for their endeavors by giving their editions an impressive pseudo-scientific look, bedazzling the uninitiated with external trappings —and traps. While seasoned philologists are unable to agree on new standards (or, at least, to explain why ENC should no longer be recommended as model), desk-top publishing will soon make it possible for maverick editors to drop out altogether from a discussion on editorial principles. Recent new multi-volume projects, such as the complete works of Eiximenis, or the Catalan

<sup>31</sup> In general, journals are the wrong place for editions of medieval texts of over fifty pages. This criticism could also be directed at the *Analecta sacra tarraconensis*, which printed Juan Roig Gironella's edition of Antoni Canal's *Scala de contemplació* in vols. 45-46 (repr. in the «Biblioteca històrica de la Biblioteca Balmes» in 1975) and Josep Hernando i Delgado's edition of the newly discovered *El «Tractat d'usura» de Francesc Eiximenis* in vol. 57-58 (1985, 5-100). The «Butlletí de la Societat Castellonense de Cultura» published Pere E. Barreda i Edo's edition of the *Llibre dels capitols d'herbatges de la Tinença de Culla (1345-1805)* in vol. 62, 1986, 447-562.

works of Llull, both began with meetings (or at least correspondence) of their respective editorial boards which, by democratic vote among those participating, decided what to do about word-initial double consonants (MS *assaber*: ed. *a ssaber* or *a saber*?), prepositions with agglutinated articles (ed. *de l'ús* or *del ús*?), the typographic distinction of palatal and non-palatal *ll*, and so on. The criteria chosen can be easily imposed on collaborators of these projects (and on candidates for academic degrees) and it could be that one or the other will become, for reasons which might not even be philological in nature, the new standard for editions of medieval Catalan texts. But a great occasion to reach a compromise and to agree on a common set of editorial principles has been lost. The confusion created by recent editions of medieval Catalan texts will only disorient the public. Philologists gain little, but publishers are loosing an important traditional sector of their clientele: educated non-specialists. An earlier generation took pride in the fact that the medieval Catalan classics were still directly accessible, needing only a few external modifications. Editors of medieval manuscripts should again subordinate their personal interests to the ideology that readable editions of old texts reinforce the perception of a national heritage and a traditional cultural coherence among all three *Països Catalans*.

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