

Prolech.



la punitencia vinnial de la sca  
esgleya Romana Cardenal bis  
le de sabina e administrador del  
bisbat de valencia fratre an to  
ni canals del orde dels fraires n

# The Classical Tradition in Medieval Catalan 1300–1500

TRANSLATION, IMITATION,  
AND LITERACY

Lluís Cabré,  
Alejandro Coroleu,  
Montserrat Ferrer,  
Albert Lloret,  
Josep Pujol

Colección Tàmesis  
SERIE A: MONOGRAFÍAS, 374

THE CLASSICAL TRADITION  
IN MEDIEVAL CATALAN, 1300–1500

*Tamesis*

*Founding Editors*

†J. E. Varey

†Alan Deyermund

*General Editor*

Stephen M. Hart

*Series Editor of Fuentes para la historia del teatro en España*

Charles Davis

*Advisory Board*

Rolena Adorno

John Beverley

Efraín Kristal

Jo Labanyi

Alison Sinclair

Isabel Torres

Julian Weiss

THE CLASSICAL TRADITION  
IN MEDIEVAL CATALAN, 1300–1500

TRANSLATION, IMITATION, AND LITERACY

LLUÍS CABRÉ  
ALEJANDRO COROLEU  
MONTSERRAT FERRER  
ALBERT LLORET  
JOSEP PUJOL

TAMESIS



© Lluís Cabré, Alejandro Coroleu, Montserrat Ferrer,  
Albert Lloret, and Josep Pujol, 2018

*All Rights Reserved.* Except as permitted under current legislation  
no part of this work may be photocopied, stored in a retrieval system,  
published, performed in public, adapted, broadcast,  
transmitted, recorded or reproduced in any form or by any means,  
without the prior permission of the copyright owner

The right of Lluís Cabré, Alejandro Coroleu, Montserrat Ferrer,  
Albert Lloret, and Josep Pujol to be identified as  
the authors of this work has been asserted in accordance with  
sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988

First published 2018  
Tamesis, Woodbridge

ISBN 978 1 85566 322 0

Tamesis is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd  
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK  
and of Boydell & Brewer Inc.  
668 Mt. Hope Avenue, Rochester NY 14620-2731, USA  
website: [www.boydellandbrewer.com](http://www.boydellandbrewer.com)

The publisher has no responsibility for the continued existence of accuracy of URLs for  
external or third-party internet websites referred to in this book, and does not guarantee  
that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate

A CIP record for this title is available  
from the British Library

This publication is printed on acid-free paper

Typeset by  
[www.thewordservice.com](http://www.thewordservice.com)

# Contents

List of Maps	vii
Preface	ix
List of Abbreviations	xiii

## Part I: The Classical Tradition in Medieval Catalan

1 Historical Background	3
2 Literacy: Translations and Royal Patronage	29
3 Imitation: The Classical Tradition in the Works of Five Major Authors	93
Bernat Metge (Petrarch)	93
Ausiàs March (Ovid)	98
<i>Curial and Guelfa</i> (Virgil)	104
Joan Roís de Corella (Boccaccio)	110
Joanot Martorell (Livy)	116
4 Printing: Humanism and the Renaissance	123

## Part II: Catalogue of Translations to 1500

List of Authors and Works	157
---------------------------	-----

Descriptive Catalogue	161
Classical Antiquity	161
The Medieval Latin Tradition	195
The Italian Renaissance	208
 Appendix 1: Italian Renaissance: Printed Editions, 1473–1535	 225
Appendix 2: Rulers of the Crown of Aragon, 1137–1516	227
Bibliography	231
Index of Manuscripts	271
Index	275

## List of Maps

1	The Catalan-speaking territories	2
2	The dominions of Alfonso the Magnanimous (1442–58)	13
3	The Crown of Aragon and its area of influence in Occitania before the Battle of Muret (12 September 1213)	15





## Preface

In 1889 Antoni Rubió i Lluch published *The Classical Renaissance in Catalan Literature* (*El renacimiento clásico en la literatura catalana*), the speech he gave to mark his admission to the Royal Academy of Belles Lettres of Barcelona. This institution, born in 1700 as an Enlightenment salon, was, by the end of the nineteenth century, bringing together scholars intent on restoring knowledge of early Catalan literature as part of a broader plan, dubbed the *Renaixença* (*Renaissance*), to revive Catalan as a literary language. Modern Romance philology had come to be studied at the University of Barcelona – and indeed in the Iberian Peninsula – thanks to Manuel Milà i Fontanals. Rubió i Lluch had been one of his star pupils, a classmate of Marcelino Menéndez y Pelayo, the head of the school of Spanish Philology. In his early thirties and with his Hellenistic education, Rubió i Lluch wanted to use his speech at what was at the time the most distinguished Catalan academic institution to point out that the history of Catalan medieval literature not only owed a debt to the wealth of Romance-language literature, to troubadour poetry, and to chivalric romance, but also that it had roots in the classical tradition and its subsequent revival in Renaissance Italy.

This volume is ultimately the progeny of Rubió i Lluch's speech. First and foremost, it provides an overarching vision of the presence of the classical tradition in medieval Catalan literature, drawing on the output of more than a century of academic research. In 1904 Rubió i Lluch began a course of university studies in Catalan (*Estudis Universitaris Catalans*) to run in parallel with the official ones in Spanish. He was the first in an unbroken chain of academics continuing until the end of the Spanish Civil War in 1939, from Lluís Nicolau d'Olwer to Martí de Riquer, and including his son Jordi Rubió i Balaguer among many others, who had the privilege to discover – quite literally – some of the treasures of medieval Catalan literature. Their research benefitted from studies on Italian influences by Mario Casella, Arturo Farinelli, and Bernardo Sanvisenti. Among the fruits of this pioneering work, and a prodigious quantity of library-based and archival research, were three overviews of medieval Catalan literature: one by Jordi Rubió i Balaguer (in Castilian, between 1949 and 1958); another by Martí de Riquer (in Catalan, 1964); and a further three-volume collaborative

work edited by Lola Badia (between 2013 and 2015). Nevertheless, there is to date no monograph that covers what we have learned about the classical influence on original Catalan works and about the translation into Catalan of classical and Renaissance works. The aim of the study in this volume is to disseminate this knowledge in a language that can reach the international community of students and scholars interested both in the endurance of classical literature and in the history of medieval literature in Romance languages. In order to provide appropriate background material, the volume contains an introduction on the origins of Catalonia, the genesis and development of the Crown of Aragon, and the cultural reach of the Catalan language in the Middle Ages.

Since Rubió i Lluch's speech, and even more so following Martí de Riquer's contributions to the field in 1934 and 1935, translations of Latin or Italian texts into Catalan have attracted scholarly attention. We now have a much broader and more nuanced grasp of this subject area: the Catalogue in this volume includes all known translations (both extant and lost) of classical texts, works from the Italian Renaissance (from Dante to Leon Battista Alberti), and works by major medieval authors who contributed to the transmission of classical material. The Catalogue is complemented by and informs the preceding cultural study, and aims to be an aid to further academic research. Specialist monographs on the transmission of particular classical authors usually feature information about their reception in the vernacular; sometimes translations into Catalan are not included for lack of accessible published material. Our hope is that the current volume will serve to provide just such information.

In 1993 Mariàngela Vilallonga published a catalogue of fifteenth-century literary works written by Catalan authors in Latin. Our study focuses on the classical influence on literature written in Catalan, but the final chapter is dedicated to the introduction of Latin humanism and the effect of the advent of printing. Given the important role played by the printing press in the dissemination of key texts from Italian Latin humanism, our volume also includes an appendix with all known editions of this corpus printed in the Crown of Aragon between 1473 and 1535.

This book is a collaborative work in more than one sense. The breadth of the period covered and the diversity of the works featured in the Catalogue have required five authors. It is also collaborative in the sense that the authors feel that they have inherited the research mantle that Antoni Rubió i Lluch initially donned, and in particular that they have been able to draw on the work of over thirty specialist scholars who contributed to the aforementioned three-volume history of medieval Catalan literature edited by Lola Badia. Without this work of synthesis, and without the constant flow of documentation which has been distilled from archives, it would have been impossible to provide this overview.

We are indebted to Jill Kraye for her encouragement when the project was still in its infancy; to Lola Badia, Marcel Ortín, and Jaume Torró for their comments on early drafts; to Francesc Codina and Vicent de Melchor for their observations on and corrections to Chapter 1; to Raquel Parera, Francesc J. Gómez, and Maria Toldrà for contributing their expertise on Dante, Pietro Alighieri, and Vincent of Beauvais, respectively, in the Catalogue of Translations; to Fulvio Delle Donne, Joan Domenge, Mauro Salis, and Barry Taylor for their help with specific items of bibliography; to the anonymous reviewer of our manuscript for the comments and suggestions; and to David Barnett for his translation of quotations from classical and medieval texts and his professionalism in copy-editing the volume. The research for and publication of this book have been supported by a grant from the Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad (FFI2014-53050-C5-4-P), as well as by the Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and the University of Massachusetts Amherst.



## Abbreviations

ACA	Arxiu de la Corona d'Aragó, Barcelona
ACB	Arxiu Capítular de la S. E. Catedral Basílica de Barcelona
AHCB	Arxiu Històric de la Ciutat de Barcelona
AHLM	Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval
ATCA	<i>Arxiu de Textos Catalans Antics</i>
BAV	Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BC	Biblioteca de Catalunya, Barcelona
BETA	Bibliografía Española de Textos Antiguos (see Bibliography, online resources)
BITECA	Bibliografía de Textos Antics Catalans, Valencians i Balears (see Bibliography, online resources)
BL	British Library, London
BNE	Biblioteca Nacional de España, Madrid
BnF	Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris
BRABLB	<i>Butlletí de la Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona / Boletín de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona</i>
BSCC	<i>Boletín de la Sociedad Castellonense de Cultura</i>
BU	Biblioteca Universitària/Universitaria
CSIC	Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas
CUP	Cambridge University Press
DTC	<i>Diccionari de la traducció catalana</i> , ed. Montserrat Bacardí & Pilar Godayol (Vic: Eumo, 2011)
ELLC	<i>Estudis de Llengua i Literatura Catalanes</i>
ENC	Els Nostres Clàssics
ER	<i>Estudis Romànics</i>
EUC	<i>Estudis Universitaris Catalans</i>
IEC	Institut d'Estudis Catalans
L&L	<i>Llengua &amp; Literatura</i>
MCEM	Manuscripts Catalans de l'Edat Moderna (see Bibliography, online resources)
MSR	<i>Mot So Razo</i>
PAM	Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat



RABLB	Reial Acadèmia de Bones Lletres de Barcelona
RAH	Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid
TCM	Traduccions al català medieval (see Bibliography, online resources)

### **Religious Orders**

OC <sub>ARM</sub>	Carmelites (Ordo Fratrum Beatae Mariae Virginis de Monte Carmelo)
OFM	Franciscans (Ordo Fratrum Minorum)
OP	Dominicans (Ordo Fratrum Praedicatorum)
OSA	Augustinians (Ordo Fratrum S. Augustini)
OSB	Benedictines (Ordo S. Benedicti)
OSB <sub>CAM</sub>	Camaldolese (Ordo S. Benedicti Eremitarum Camaldulensium)

PART I

THE CLASSICAL TRADITION  
IN MEDIEVAL CATALAN



Map 1: The Catalan-speaking territories

## Historical Background

### **The Catalan-Speaking Lands, between the North and the South**

The northeastern reaches of modern-day Catalonia have long been a transitional frontier land, a strategic crossroads, the gateway between the Iberian Peninsula and the rest of the continent. From pre-Roman times to the present day, the population of this region has been nourished by migration, both from the north and from the south. Its culture has also been shaped by its access to the Mediterranean, since the golden age of Phoenician trade and the establishment of the Greek colonies of Emporion around 600 BC and later Rhode (modern-day Empúries and Roses), and in particular since the start of the Roman conquest of the Peninsula in 218 BC, when Gnaeus Cornelius Scipio landed at Empúries to cut off Hannibal's supply lines during the Second Punic War. Marching southwards, Scipio established a camp at Tarraco (Tarragona), which in due course became a colony, and then, in Augustus's time, the capital of a Roman province which included several towns, still important urban centres in present-day Catalonia: Gerunda (Girona), Iluro (Mataró), Baetulo (Badalona), Barcino (Barcelona), Ausa (Vic), Ilerda (Lleida), and Dertosa (Tortosa) (see Map 1). Some of these towns became bishoprics and, with the institutionalization of Christianity in the early fourth century, Tarraco the archbishopric. The profound Romanization and Christianization of this region persisted during the Visigothic period until the early eighth century. The subsequent Islamic conquest of the Peninsula lasted in the northeastern part of what would become Catalonia for less than a century. In these lands, Latin gave way to Catalan, a Romance language closely related to Occitan – the language spoken from Limoges to the Pyrenees and from Bordeaux to Nice in the southern half of modern-day France. From then until the fifteenth century, Catalan evolved naturally and its written form matured as a vernacular language, with Latin remaining the high-status language of culture.

Catalonia's strategic location has played a key role in its history. Over the centuries that location explains the settlement of new populations, the frequent incursions, the northward emigrations of the native population, and the industrial

and commercial activity of a region that is well connected, but has limited natural resources. It also explains why this has been a disputed territory since the Middle Ages, caught between greater powers to the north and to the south. For a long time the most important cultural influence came from the north, from Occitan and then from French territories, as did some of the major political conflicts. In the thirteenth century, France flexed its muscles on various occasions before the French king, Philip III, the Bold, led an invasion in 1285 as part of a crusade against the Catalan-Aragonese kingdom of Peter the Great with the aim of annexing it for his son Charles of Valois (King Peter's nephew). King Philip's army got as far as Girona but was ultimately unsuccessful due to a combination of factors: a lack of naval logistical support, an epidemic which ravaged his troops, and the French king's fatal illness. The episode is celebrated in the medieval Catalan chronicles, which are as biased as the French ones.<sup>1</sup> Some poems of political propaganda, written in Occitan in 1285, both for and against the invasion, have also survived. Those against include some by King Peter himself; those in favour clearly express the intent to eliminate the Catalan royal line:

e-l sieu seignor veirem ligar  
 et aforçar  
 coma lairon [...]
 e pois veirem cascun de soa maison  
 e de son linh morir en la preison.

(and we shall see imprisoned and hanged as a  
 thief their lord [King Peter] [...] and then we  
 shall see each and every member of his house  
 and line die in prison.)<sup>2</sup>

To the south and west, Catalan expansion came into competition with that of other Peninsular kingdoms, at least from the twelfth century. There was no direct confrontation with the Kingdom of Castile until the so-called War of the Two Peters (1356–75) between the Castilian King Peter the Cruel and the Catalan King Peter the Ceremonious. More a war of attrition than an attempt at territorial conquest, it nonetheless foreshadowed the future Castilian hegemony in the Peninsula, a demographic and economic hegemony that did not come fully into force until the dynastic union of the two kingdoms in 1516. From then onwards it began to have a major cultural impact.

<sup>1</sup> Compare the account of the Catalan chronicler Bernat Desclot (chapters 136–68; Cingolani 2010: 320–442) with the one from the *Grandes Chroniques de France* (*Great Chronicles of France*; chapters 39–45; Paris 1836–8: V, 74–88).

<sup>2</sup> Riquer 1975b: III, 1600. All unattributed English translations are by David Barnett.



In medieval Catalonia, people who were educated, either at university or in a monastic, cathedral, municipal or notarial school, were bilingual in Catalan and Latin. For chancery scribes, it was a requirement of their profession to write in these two languages and in Aragonese.<sup>3</sup> From the twelfth century, poetry was being written in Occitan by Catalan-speaking troubadours; the troubadour tradition was so ubiquitous that in the mid-fourteenth century even the Aragonese Tomás Périz de Fozes was still composing verses in Catalanized Occitan (Riquer 1950c).<sup>4</sup> From the mid-fifteenth century we find bilingual or trilingual Catalan authors, writing in Catalan, Castilian (Spanish), and Italian in a range of courtly settings.<sup>5</sup> Catalan-Castilian bilingualism, however, did not become clearly diglossic until the early sixteenth century, when the elites started to prefer Castilian, mainly because the royal court had by then ceased to reside in Catalan-speaking territory. The most noteworthy example is the Barcelona poet Joan Boscà (1490–1542), who served the emperor Charles V and wrote nearly all his works in Castilian (which is why he is better known as Juan Boscán), despite both his grandfathers having written in Catalan. His *Obras* (*Works*), posthumously printed in Barcelona (1543) together with those of his friend Garcilaso de la Vega, mark the programmatic introduction of Renaissance poetry in the Peninsula.<sup>6</sup> The dominance of Castilian as a literary language was progressive, from then onwards, but by no means absolute, and should not be confused with the minimal spread of its social use outside the ruling classes.

The increasingly widespread adoption of Castilian among the educated classes is above all down to the schooling in that language established by the 1857 Public Education Law (*Ley de Instrucción Pública*). The historian Josep Coroleu described the linguistic situation in a guide (in Castilian) for visitors to the 1888 Universal Exhibition in Barcelona:

<sup>3</sup> Sometimes, a document was drafted in all three languages (Riquer 1963b); it was common practice to write in Catalan to the French and Navarrese royal houses and to the French aristocracy – the Dukes of Burgundy, Berry, and Bar – and in Aragonese to the Castilian court (Riera 1987a).

<sup>4</sup> In the prologue to his late-fourteenth-century *Torcimany*, Lluís d'Averçó makes a clear and explicit distinction between the language used for troubadour poetry (Occitan or Catalanized Occitan) and that used for prose (Catalan): 'In this work', he says, 'I do not use [...] the language that the troubadours use in their works', but, he goes on, because he is writing in prose, 'since I am Catalan, I should use no other language than my own' ('Jo no em servesc en la present obra [...] dels llenguatges que los trobadors en llurs obres se serveixen'; 'pus jo són català, no em dec servir d'altre llenguatge sinó del meu'; Casas Homs 1956: I, 17). We have regularized the spelling of the quotations in medieval Catalan throughout the volume.

<sup>5</sup> See the list of bilingual poets by Ganges (1992) and the examples of Pere Torroella and Romeu Llull in Chapter 2, pp. 69–70.

<sup>6</sup> The only piece by Boscán in Catalan is a single stanza betraying little discernible influence of Renaissance poetics (Riquer 1945: 125). For the works of Boscán and some of his contemporaries, see Chapter 4, pp. 148–53.

Catalan is commonly spoken in Barcelona. Not the pure Catalan in which the famous manuscripts, solemn treatises, and splendid chronicles were written in the Middle Ages, when it was the official and literary language; nor the slightly modernized Catalan that is spoken in some mountainous regions of the Principality; but rather a Catalan riddled with countless Castilianisms [...] In Barcelona everyone understands and speaks Castilian; but it is important to acknowledge that, as a general rule, they do so grudgingly: the uneducated for fear of speaking poorly; the educated, because of their general habit of speaking Catalan the rest of the time.<sup>7</sup>

Coroleu, an expert in historiography and the *corpus iuridicum* of medieval Catalonia, observed that in those areas furthest from the cities Catalan was spoken in a form that had not evolved so much from the medieval language – ‘pure’ (‘castizo’) Catalan, as he calls it; in Barcelona, on the other hand, the Catalan spoken had been Castilianized, although Castilian continued to be a language used only infrequently and which those without a good education struggled to speak fluently.

Coroleu was an important member of the so-called *Renaixença* (*Renaissance*), a Romantic movement formed in the mid-nineteenth century with the aim of recuperating Catalonia’s historic past and promoting a revival in the literary use of Catalan. The ethos behind the movement continued to hold sway until 1936, during which time a series of Catalan institutions were established and consolidated, and Catalan became the subject of academic study. Thanks to the grammarian Pompeu Fabra (1868–1948) and the support of the Institute of Catalan Studies (Institut d’Estudis Catalans), founded in 1907, it developed into a standardized modern language. The use of Catalan as the language for the judiciary and the administration had practically disappeared in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This situation was mitigated as Catalan nationalism made concrete political gains. Under the presidency of Enric Prat de la Riba (1870–1917), the Commonwealth of Catalonia (Mancomunitat de Catalunya; 1914–25) made efficient use of its administrative responsibilities to establish a network of educational, cultural, and economic institutions. Following the failure to negotiate a statute of autonomy in 1919, social unrest during the reign of King Alfonso XIII of Spain led to the dictatorship of General Miguel Primo

<sup>7</sup> ‘Háblase comunmente en Barcelona el catalán. No el catalán castizo en el cual se escribieron famosos códigos, solemnnes tratados y magníficas crónicas en la Edad Media, quando era lengua oficial y literaria; ni el catalán ligeramente modernizado que se habla en algunas regiones montañosas del Principado, sino un catalán plagado de castellanismos sin cuento [...] En Barcelona todos comprenden y hablan el castellano; pero es preciso confesar que, por regla general, lo hacen de mala gana: los iletrados, por temor de hacerlo mal; las personas cultas, por el hábito general de hablar catalán á todas horas’ (J. Coroleu 1887: 47–8).

de Rivera (1923–30), who abolished the Commonwealth of Catalonia. The proclamation of the Second Spanish Republic in 1931 paved the way for the passing of the Statute of Autonomy in 1932 and the establishment of a devolved government (the Generalitat of Catalonia), which was suspended in October 1934, reinstated in February 1936, and finally dismantled after the insurrection led by Francisco Franco and other generals emerged victorious at the end of the Spanish Civil War (1936–9). Waves of migrants from the poorest areas of southern Spain arrived in Catalonia during the First World War and prior to the 1929 Universal Exhibition in Barcelona, but the most profound social change did not come about until the mass immigration of the post-Civil War years: from southern Spain again between the 1950s and the 1970s, and from North Africa and Latin America at the close of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first. This exceptional mass immigration radically altered the demographic and linguistic configuration of the metropolitan area of Barcelona, including the surrounding densely populated industrial belt: for more than half the inhabitants of Catalonia, their first language is Castilian.<sup>8</sup>

The two languages have coexisted in the contemporary production of written materials. Output in Catalan increased until 1936, even during the years of Primo de Rivera's dictatorship, thanks to the network of publishing houses and to a vibrant Catalan press.<sup>9</sup> It was during this period, for example, that the Bernat Metge Foundation (Fundació Bernat Metge; 1922) initiated a collection of editions of Greek and Latin texts with Catalan translations, of which there are today more than 400 volumes, in imitation of the French Association Guillaume Budé. Josep Maria de Casacuberta founded a publishing house, Editorial Barcino (1924), to promote a collection of medieval texts (Els Nostres Clàssics), still current today, and a range of reference works, including grammars, encyclopedias, and literary handbooks (for instance, on Classical and Russian literature, and with Shakespeare and Molière to the fore). *La Veu de Catalunya* (1899–1937), the Catalan newspaper *par excellence*, was joined by *La Publicitat* (1922–39); the same company published *Mirador* (1929–37), a cosmopolitan weekly focused on politics and culture, as pro-Europe as it was pro-Catalonia, which was confiscated by the Communist Party at the outbreak of the Civil War. Other publishing companies released editions of contemporary foreign-language fiction, classics, and scientific titles (Editorial Catalana, Llibreria Catalònia, Proa, and Quaderns Literaris, among others). While some major

<sup>8</sup> Since 1979 Catalan has been a co-official language and the language used for teaching in primary and secondary schools in Catalonia. For a survey in English of the history of the Catalan language, and of the current sociolinguistic situation, see Melchor & Branchadell (2007).

<sup>9</sup> See the catalogue of the *Exposición del libro catalán* held in Madrid, which was printed in *La Gaceta Literaria*, 23 (Dec. 12, 1927), available online at <<http://www.bne.es/es/Catalogos/HemerotecaDigital/>> (search 'Gaceta Literaria 23').

academic publications did make it to press, with sponsorship from individuals and from the Institute of Catalan Studies, others were interrupted by the Civil War in 1936. For instance, Amadeu Pagès (a Roussillon-born disciple of Alfred Morel-Fatio) published the first Lachmannian edition ever of a Catalan text – an edition of Ausiàs March's poetry – under the auspices of the Institute of Catalan Studies (1912–14). In 1936 Pagès completed an edition of Peter the Ceremonious's *Chronicle* thanks to the patronage of Rafael Patxot (through the Concepció Rabell Foundation), but due to the war the text had to be published in Toulouse several years later (Pagès 1941: i). In the first twenty years of Franco's brutal dictatorship (1939–75), Catalan resisted first in exile and in secret. After 1945, when hopes of the dictatorship being toppled by an Allied victory in World War II evaporated, pragmatism became the watchword, both for those who were prepared to cooperate with the regime to a greater or lesser degree, and those who steadfastly opposed it but saw no other option, as they sought ways to publish works either in Catalan or on the cultural history of Catalonia. To cite an academic example, the history of Catalan literature by Jordi Rubió i Balaguer (1949–58), a university lecturer before the war who suffered reprisals after it, forms part of a *Historia general de las literaturas hispánicas* (*General History of Hispanic Literatures*; 1949–67) edited in Castilian by Guillem Díaz-Plaja, a Catalan intellectual allied to the regime. By the time Martí de Riquer's *Història de la literatura catalana* (*History of Catalan Literature*) came out in Catalan in 1964, publishing in Catalan was starting to pick up.

These five centuries after the medieval period fall outside the remit of this volume. They nevertheless serve as a useful reminder of Catalonia's situation – both geographical and political – between greater powers to the north and to the south, between France and Spain. We see this polarity in a range of current clichés: a society which aspires to integration with northern Europe, or a motor for the reform of Spain since the early industrialization of Catalonia in the mid-nineteenth century. The politics behind this polarity has also at times made its influence felt on scholarship. For example, some time ago there was debate over whether the Catalan language belonged to the Gallo-Romance branch (which includes French and Occitan) or the Ibero-Romance branch (Castilian and Portuguese) – a 'largely otiose discussion', according to Paul Russell-Gebbett (1965: 13) – and in the end a compromise solution was agreed upon, that it was a bridge language between the two branches (Colón 1976). More recently, it has been convincingly argued that Occitan and Catalan form a linguistic branch differentiated from the other two (Lamuela 2011–12).

Political power and national political visions tend to look for legitimization in the remote past. Augustus did so through Virgil and the legend of the Trojan Aeneas; many medieval kings did likewise. Prudence counsels against retrospective political interpretations, both those of Catalan nationalism and of

Spanish nationalism. Roman Hispania does not correspond to modern Spain. Hispania was a geographical term for the entire Peninsula, including present-day Portugal, from which a range of different Romance languages emerged. Initially this Roman province was divided into Hispania Citerior (Nearer) and Ulterior (Further); a later administrative division established the province of Tarraconensis, separate from the other provinces of Baetica and Lusitania.<sup>10</sup> Some have sought a prefiguration of modern-day Spain in the political unity of Visigothic Hispania with its capital in Toledo (Maravall 1954);<sup>11</sup> this unity, however, lasted little more than a century, and the consensus of historians is that Visigothic culture, at least in Tarraconensis, had a very limited social impact: ‘they were absorbed themselves instead of transforming the Romanized populations’ (Bisson 1986: 8).<sup>12</sup> With the same romantic faith in the destiny of peoples, as if history could forecast the future existence of a nation, some have wanted to trace the origins of Catalan national identity back to Roman times or to claim that there has been a Catalan state since the ninth century.<sup>13</sup> Other historians have argued with good cause that one cannot speak of a state being formed until the middle of the eleventh century (Bisson 1986: 24–5) or into the twelfth (Fontana 2014: 11–25). J. N. Hillgarth has collected a number of texts in Catalan and Castilian that document the endurance of the concept of Hispania in the Middle Ages, at times with a unifying vision, at times with a more diverse vision, and has shown the plurality of the medieval Hispanic kingdoms in terms of their art, institutions, ecclesiastical administration, and their languages.<sup>14</sup>

In this volume, we take Hillgarth’s vision as a starting point: namely that after the Islamic invasion in the eighth century, Roman and Visigothic Hispania became a collection of independent domains, among which were those in Navarre

<sup>10</sup> It has been suggested that there could already have been differences in the Latin used in Tarraconensis and Baetica: see Nadal & Prats (1982–96: I, 62–8). This is the most complete history of the medieval Catalan language. Russell-Gebbett (1965) deals with the origins of Catalan (in English) before presenting an anthology of medieval texts with linguistic commentary.

<sup>11</sup> This idea of unification and Castile’s wish for political pre-eminence based on the Visigothic domain are already present in the thirteenth-century *De rebus Hispaniae* (*History of Spain*) by Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, archbishop of Toledo (1208–47). Collins outlines some of the problems associated with drawing political parallels between modern Spain and the Visigothic period (2004: 1–8).

<sup>12</sup> The most enduring legacy of the Visigoths was the *corpus iuridicum*. The oldest surviving Catalan texts are two fragments of a mid-twelfth-century translation of the Visigothic legal code, the *Liber iudiciorum* (*Book of the Judgements*; Baraut & Moran 2000; Mundó 1984).

<sup>13</sup> See, for instance, Sobrequés i Callicó (2007: 31–6). For a critique of this interpretation, see Cingolani (2015: 19–33).

<sup>14</sup> See the introductory chapter, ‘The Plurality of the Peninsula’, in Hillgarth (1976–8: I, 3–15). Hillgarth’s study covers the period from the mid-thirteenth century and includes all the Hispanic monarchies until 1516. For a synthesis in English of the early and medieval history of Aragon and Catalonia, see Bisson (1986).



and Aragon, and in Catalonia in the northeastern part of the Peninsula. It is therefore anachronistic to project the political unity of modern Spain onto the medieval past: Catalonia, and the territories it annexed during the Middle Ages (constituting the Crown of Aragon), only ceased to be independent when modern Spain was born as a dynastic federation in 1516. Under the Hapsburgs (1516–1700) the Kingdom of Spain maintained its federal structure until after the lengthy War of Spanish Succession (1701–15) that saw the Bourbon dynasty accede to the throne. Since 1516, and even more so since 1716, Catalan language and culture have not been represented by their own state and have had no international recognition that would seem to correspond to the reality of a language spoken by seven million people (Melchor & Branchadell 2007: 26), a body of literature in that language stretching back to the thirteenth century, and a political entity with its own institutions and laws extending from the medieval period to the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is therefore only natural that historical studies are at times viewed through a political prism, either to highlight this reality, or to deny it. In this volume we are concerned only with the medieval and early Renaissance period, when such trials and tribulations had not affected the unfolding of Catalan within an independent state (the Crown of Aragon) and when the Catalan-speaking lands enjoyed a political unity that sharply contrasts with the present situation.

The modern reality is that the Catalan-speaking lands are distributed across a wide area, and four nation states: France, Spain, Andorra, and Italy (albeit only for the town of Alghero in Sardinia). After Catalonia and the other territories of the Crown of Aragon had been integrated into the Kingdom of Spain under the Hapsburgs – a kingdom composed of other kingdoms united by dynastic inheritance in 1516 – the international conflict that ended with the Treaty of the Pyrenees (1659) meant that Philip IV of Spain ceded to France various counties in northern Catalonia with their administrative capital in Perpignan (the modern-day *Département des Pyrénées-Orientales*).<sup>15</sup> This is a prime example of the current fragmented state of the Catalan-speaking lands, split between France and Spain since 1659. The Pyrenean valleys of Andorra are today an independent state because the Bishop of Urgell (in Catalonia) and the Count of Foix governed them as a co-principality from the thirteenth century (the second co-prince is now the French president). In Spain, the Catalan-speaking territories account for four of the seventeen autonomous communities into which the country was divided by the 1978 Constitution: Catalonia, Aragon, the Balearic Islands, and Valencia, the four that had made up the Crown of Aragon until 1715.<sup>16</sup> There is

<sup>15</sup> On this conflict, see J. Elliott (1963).

<sup>16</sup> The 1978 Constitution of the Kingdom of Spain ‘is based on the indissoluble unity of the Spanish Nation, the common and indivisible homeland of all Spaniards; it recognizes and

a Catalan-speaking strip of the autonomous community of Aragon that stretches from Ribagorça in the Pyrenees to the province of Teruel in the south (see Map 1). The northern section of the strip has been part of Aragon since the Christian reconquest; further south, the medieval border was more contested. For example, Fraga, just thirty kilometres west of Lleida, was conquered in the twelfth century by Ramon Berenguer IV, the Count of Barcelona, but was resettled according to a set of Aragonese privileges or constitutions, the so-called ‘Fueros de Huesca’. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the town was considered to be Catalan, but Aragonese claims finally led the Catalan king, Peter the Ceremonious, who ruled over both Catalonia and Aragon, to cede it to Aragon in 1375. A passage in his chronicle records the Catalan nature of Fraga, while expressing the king’s integrationist political conscience. Returning in 1347 from a dispute in Zaragoza with the rebellious Aragonese nobles, King Peter catches sight of Fraga in the distance and celebrates his return to the land:

And We left and took Our road to Catalonia. [...] And when We came within sight of Fraga, Mossèn Bernat de Cabrera said to Us, ‘Lord, do you see that place?’

And We said to him, ‘Yes.’

‘Then that is Catalonia.’

And We, in that hour, said, ‘Oh blessed land, peopled with loyalty! Blessed be Our Lord God who has delivered Us out of a rebellious and wicked country! But cursed be he who looks on it wrongly, for it too was peopled with loyal persons! But We have faith in Our Lord God that We will turn it to its old condition, and then We will punish those who look on it malevolently.’<sup>17</sup>

Under the current Constitution, the islands of Majorca, Menorca, Ibiza, and Formentera are a single autonomous community. They have been Catalan-speaking lands since the thirteenth-century Christian conquest; between 1276 and 1349, together with Cerdagne, Roussillon, and the Occitan city of Montpellier,

guarantees the right to self-government of the nationalities and regions of which it is composed’ (Article 2). It does not recognize the unique sets of privileges or constitutions of the constituent parts of the former Crown of Aragon (the Principality of Catalonia with the Balearic Islands, the Kingdom of Aragon, and the Kingdom of Valencia) and explicitly forbids ‘a federation of Self-governing Communities’ (Article 145).

<sup>17</sup> Hillgarth & Hillgarth 1980: II, 418–19; ‘E Nós partim-Nos-en, e tenguem nostre camí per anar-Nos-en en Catalunya. [...] E, com fom en vista de Fraga, Mossèn Bernat de Cabrera Nos dix: “Senyor, veets aquell lloc?” E Nós li diguem: “Oc.” “Doncs, de Catalunya és.” E Nós, en aquella hora, diguem: “Oh terra beneita, poblada de lleialtat! Beneit sia Nostre Senyor Déus que Ens ha lleixat eixir de la terra rebel e malvada! Maleït sia qui hi mir mal, car així mateix era poblada de lleials persones! Mas, bé havem fe en Nostre Senyor Déu que la tornarem a son estament e punirem aquells qui hi miren mal.”’ (Pagès 1941: 262–3).

they became an independent Kingdom of Majorca, later reintegrated into the Crown of Aragon by Peter the Ceremonious. The territories of Valencia conquered by James I in the 1230s are also another autonomous community today. King James annexed them with the status of kingdom within the Catalan-Aragonese Crown. The most populous, coastal areas were resettled by Catalans, and the more mountainous areas by Aragonese.

Aside from this linguistic territory which is today so fragmented, we need to bear in mind Catalan expansion in the Mediterranean. Sicily was annexed by the Crown immediately after the Sicilian Vespers uprising of 1282. Sardinia was annexed in 1324; the precarious survival of the Catalan language in the Sardinian town of Alghero is a vestige of that conquest. Corsica was disputed between the Crown of Aragon, Pisa, and Genoa in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Alfonso the Magnanimous conquered the Kingdom of Naples in 1442 (see Map 2).<sup>18</sup> These territories taken together made a state which modern historians, employing a term that was in use in the Middle Ages, refer to as the Crown of Aragon, a state created following the acquisition of Aragon by the Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer IV, through his betrothal (1137) and subsequent marriage (1150) to Petronilla of Aragon.

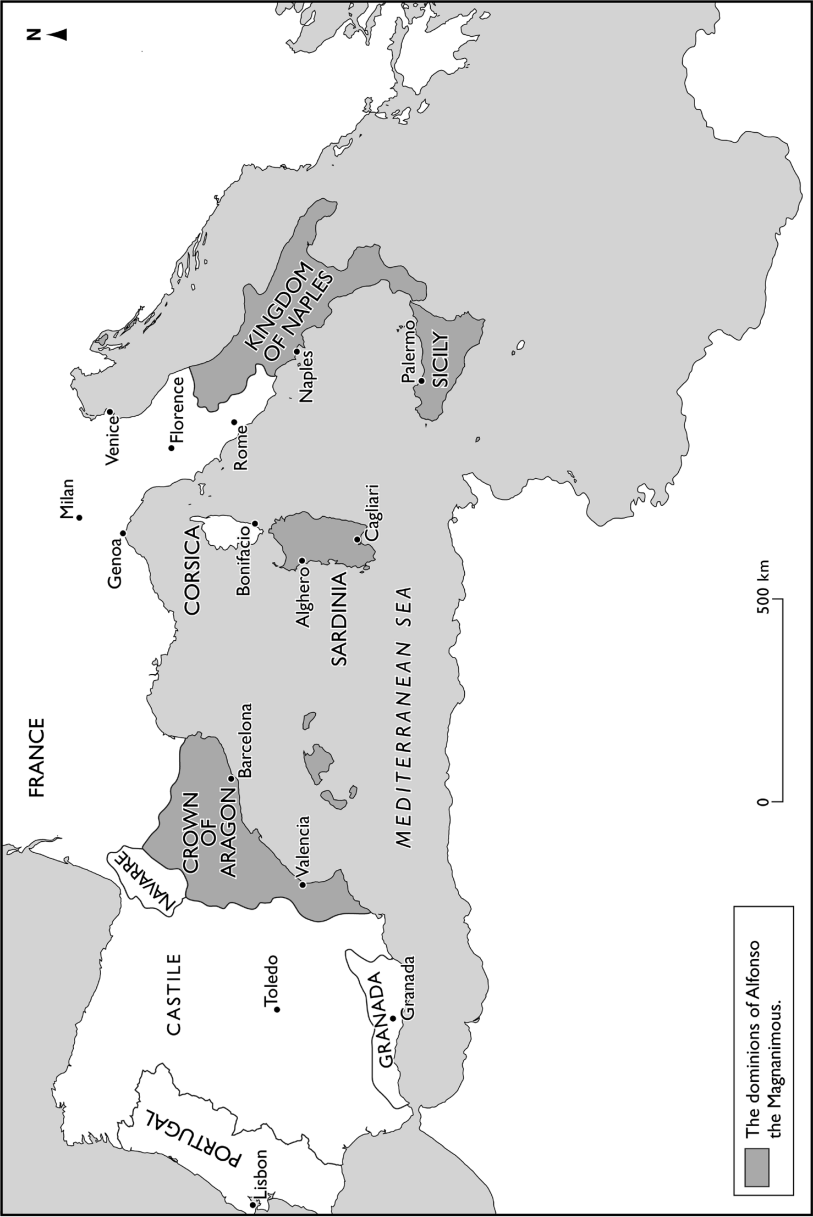
In the Catalan-speaking lands, literary output in the vernacular began in the middle of the twelfth century in Occitan and in the early thirteenth in Catalan. Before assessing the increasing presence of the classical tradition in this literature (Chapters 2–4), two historical aspects of earlier centuries are worthy of attention. Firstly, it is important to recall the geopolitical origins of an influence from the north that becomes dominant in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Catalan culture. Secondly, it is worth taking a closer look at the constitution of the Crown of Aragon, the institution of the monarchy linked to the bloodline of the Counts of Barcelona. To a great extent the Crown articulates the literary output of the Catalan territories and of its sphere of cultural influence, which comes to include Sicily, Sardinia, and Naples.

## **From the Frankish Counties to the Crown (801–1162)**

### **Influence from the North**

The Pyrenees mark the frontier between France and Spain, just as they separated Gallia Narbonensis from Hispania in Roman and Visigothic times. They do not, however, delimit the linguistic sphere of Catalan, which stretches further north to the Corbières Massif, now in French territory (see Map 1). This is not as surprising as one might think at first sight. The eastern Pyrenees are not a

<sup>18</sup> Abulafia (1997) provides an overview in English of the unstable Mediterranean territories of the Crown of Aragon in its dispute with the House of Anjou and other powers.

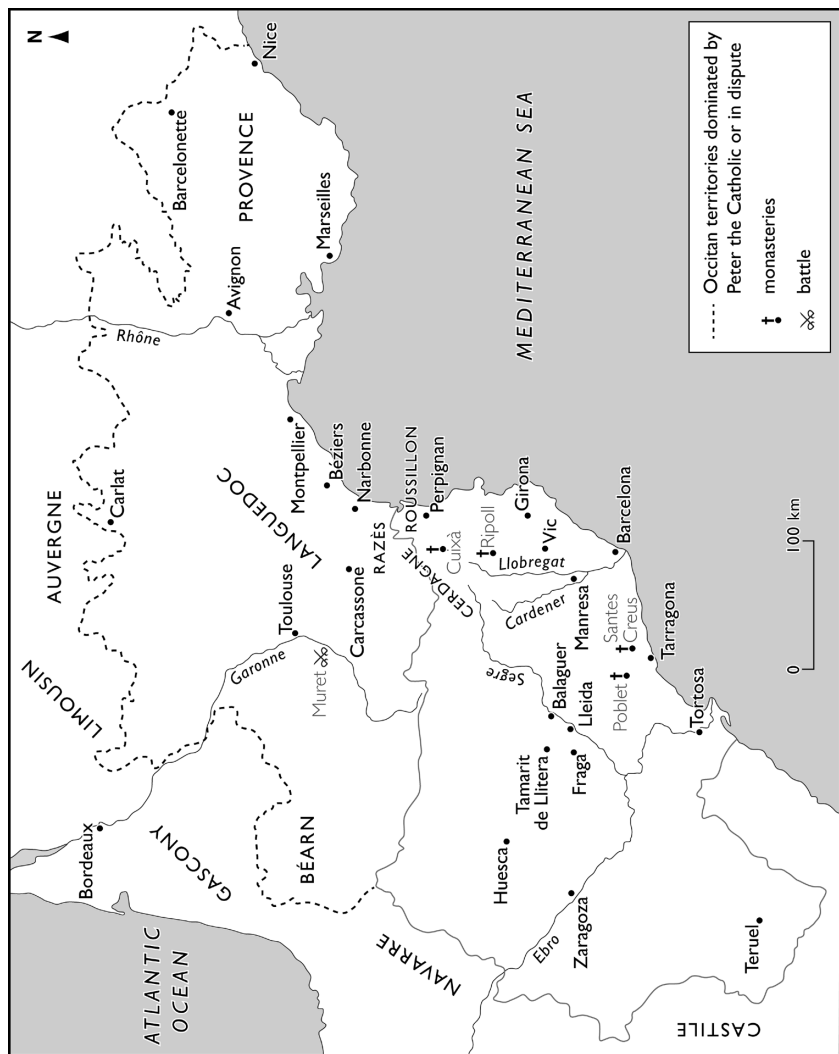


Map 2: The dominions of Alfonso the Magnanimous (1442–58)

continuous mountainous barrier. A large inland plain – Cerdanya in Catalan, Cerdagne in French, now divided between France and Spain – connects the two current states without any natural barrier. In the Middle Ages, the inland valleys of the Pyrenees and those on either side of the range offered protection in times of war, and fertile land – the climate in the Medieval Warm Period (950–1250) was mild, and archaeologists have found evidence of medieval vineyards on the ski slopes higher up than the source of the River Ter. By the ninth century, the Pyrenean area supported a sizeable population of profoundly Romanized ‘Hispani’ who had fled the plains. It is in this area that a trans-Pyrenean community was established which gave rise to, or consolidated, the neo-Latin language that we call Catalan.

The Corbières were a natural frontier in medieval times, as they had been since pre-Roman times. This low but abrupt mountain range, with little vegetation, separates Roussillon from Languedoc – northern Catalan from southern Occitan, Perpignan from Narbonne – because it was ideal for defence: the lack of tree cover would not only give advance warning of any enemy attack but would also leave any aggressors exposed. On the eastern side, the Corbières end near coastal saltwater lakes; the only way through is at Salses, a frontier pass and an essential communication route even today. In Roman times, the Via Domitia passed through Narbonne and linked up with the Via Augusta leading south to Barcelona, Tarragona, and beyond. It therefore connected the southeastern part of Gallia Narbonensis – the region of Septimania that included Carcassonne, Béziers, and Narbonne – with the province of Tarraconensis. This vital communication route was maintained during the time of the Visigothic kingdom, which included southern Gaul and Hispania, and had its capital in Toulouse until 507. After the Visigoths’ defeat to the Franks and Burgundians at the Battle of Vouillé (507), Narbonne became the Goths’ capital intermittently for many years, while the entire region of Septimania remained an enclave of the Visigothic kingdom until the Muslim conquest (Collins 2004: 36–7). This northern connection has been of great historical importance. Narbonne is still a communications hub, connecting Carcassonne and Toulouse to the west, Montpellier, Marseilles, and Nice to the east, and Avignon heading north towards Burgundy (see Map 3).

The Islamic invasion of the Iberian Peninsula transformed this map. The invaders conquered a large part of the Peninsula with ease, sweeping aside the weak political and military unity of Visigothic Hispania (713–20), and advanced through Septimania and further north. Groups of Hispani, fleeing Islamic domination, headed towards the slopes on either side of the eastern Pyrenees. The Frankish leader Charles Martel halted the Islamic army at Poitiers (732) and began a counter-offensive which was continued by his successors. In the space of a few decades, the Franks took Narbonne (759), Roussillon (760), Girona (785), the inland Catalan plains (798), and Barcelona (801); in fact, they



Map 3: The Crown of Aragon and its area of influence in Occitania before the Battle of Muret (12 September 1213)

arrived as far as Zaragoza (778), the capital of present-day Aragon, but were forced to retreat and the Christian nucleus in northern Aragon remained cut off from the more eastern reconquered territories (future Catalonia), which became feudal lands of the emperor Charlemagne and his heirs. In the Pyrenees and the area immediately to their south a frontier zone or March was established, divided up into counties associated with the Kingdom of Aquitaine and, in the case of the more eastern counties, with the March of Septimania or Gothia. For the most part, these counties were ruled by governors of Frankish or more often Visigothic origin, directly appointed by the king, like Berà, the first Count of Barcelona (801). The bloodline of the Counts of Barcelona, which begins with Sunifred I (†849), was descended from Bello, Count of Carcassonne. And it was this line, the House of Barcelona, which would come to rule a considerable number of these counties.<sup>19</sup>

Modern historians use the term Old Catalonia for the territory that stretches from the Corbières as far as the River Llobregat, just south of Barcelona, and as far west as the River Cardener, a tributary of the Llobregat, thus encompassing the plains of Vic, Manresa, and Barcelona (see Map 3). Although Barcelona was conquered in 801, the southern Christian frontier was not stabilized until the end of the ninth century and Christian resettlement from the mountainous areas was slow. Once these lands as far as the River Llobregat had been fully subjugated, the dioceses adopted the Frankish liturgy and came under the archbishopric of Narbonne until the eleventh century (the Christian territory did not stretch as far south as Tarraco, the site of the earlier archiepiscopal see). A portion of the Via Domitia has been recently excavated in the centre of Narbonne, right in front of the archbishop's palace: a vestige of a trans-Pyrenean link that lasted more than a millennium.

Feudal struggles between the different Carolingian counties were protracted, as was the process that led to the autonomy of these lands, so distant from the centre of Frankish power. From the end of the ninth century, the title of count became hereditary. In 988 the Count of Barcelona, Borrell II, angered by the lack of military support when al-Mansur had sacked Barcelona three years beforehand in 985, refused to swear fealty to the Frankish king. Some historians have considered this to be a *de facto* break with the Frankish kingdom. Independence *de iure* was not, however, achieved until the reign of James I, the Conqueror: under the terms of the Treaty of Corbeil (1258), independence was granted in exchange for James's renunciation of all his rights in Occitania, except for the viscounty of Carlat and his place of birth, Montpellier, the lordship of his mother (Maria of Montpellier).<sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup> Modern Catalan features Germanisms of Visigothic or Frankish origin in the common lexicon, and especially in proper nouns (Aebischer 1928).

<sup>20</sup> For details of the territorial rights ceded in the treaty, see Alvira (2008: 254–5).