

MEDIEVAL CATALAN TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE

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1. ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF STUDYING THE MEDIEVAL CATALAN BIBLE (1890–2011): OUR CONTRIBUTION

The first scholar of modern times to develop a serious interest in medieval Catalan translations of the Bible was the Frenchman Samuel Berger whose articles discussing medieval Romance versions of the Bible include, from 1890, a paper on the extant versions in Provençal and Catalan.² Since then, several scholars have devoted their attention, to a greater or lesser extent, to this subject, the latest being Josep Perarnau and Armand Puig i Tàrrach. For reasons of space, and to ensure that no name worthy of attention goes unmentioned, the reader is referred to the extensive bibliography published on the website <http://cbcat.abcat.cat/bibliogr-e.php> (section “1.2. Medieval Catalan versions”), where there is a list of articles by Berger and the other scholars. The annotated bibliography prepared by Josep Perarnau,³ is extensive and well organized.

Sadly, the majority of medieval versions of the Bible in Catalan are conserved in manuscripts that have not yet been published (or

1. The English of this article was revised by Dr John Francis Elwolde, Translation Consultant with the United Bible Societies.

2. Samuel BERGER, «Nouvelles recherches sur les Bibles provençales et catalanes» *Romania*, 19 (1890), pp. 505-561. A century had already passed, however, since scholars had begun to be aware of medieval Catalan versions of the Bible, starting with Joaquín Lorenzo VILLANUEVA, who, in *De la lección de la Sagrada Escritura en lenguas vulgares*, discusses the historical context of the translations and transcribes some fragments. Josep PERARNAU, «Aportació al tema de les traduccions bíbliques catalanes medievals», *Revista Catalana de Teologia*, 3 (Barcelona, 1978) p. 17, notes 1–3.

3. Josep PERARNAU, «Aportació al tema de les traduccions...», pp. 17–21.

for which the process of publication is just beginning), and the few that are in print are found in unpublished dissertations or non-critical editions. This goes some way to explaining why studies carried out to date either do not address the contents of the texts or do so only tentatively, usually without venturing to draw any definitive conclusions (those that do often fall into error), because they are based on small samples of often considerably longer texts that are not necessarily uniform across all their pages. Moreover, from the point of view of language, these texts have not yet been transcribed, at least not systematically, so as to enrich historical dictionaries and grammars.

Consequently, philologists have been insistent in their encouragement of the publication of these versions in critical editions, and several projects have been undertaken to this end, albeit until recently with very little with regard to results. For example, in 1906, on the occasion of the First International Congress of the Catalan Language, the learned Languedocian, Raymond Foulché-Delbosc, unveiled his project to publish the entire corpus of Catalan versions of the Bible produced up to the end of the 16th century. In 1908, the Institute for Catalan Studies (*Institut d'Estudis Catalans*) took on this project, with the aforementioned Foulché-Delbosc at the reins. However, in 1914, Foulché-Delbosc was forced to abandon the project for reasons of health without publishing anything. A second attempt was made in 1976 by the Biblicist Guiu Camps, from the abbey of Montserrat, supported by the Bible Association of Catalonia. Guiu Camps, who attributed Foulché-Delbosc's failure to the magnitude of the enterprise, was joined on the project by three other scholars. Work began on the project; however, various sets of circumstances meant that this attempt would also ultimately be unsuccessful. Finally, in 1997, and again under the auspices of the Bible Association, a new project emerged, on the initiative of Armand Puig i Tàrrach, known as the *Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum* (CBCat). This project has as its goal the publication of all extant Catalan versions of the Bible up to the 19th century (and not just the medieval versions) across a total of forty-two volumes. Several dozen scholars have worked more or less intensively on this project, under the direction of both Armand Puig and Pere Casanellas (the latter on a full-time basis) for the first few years, and subsequently under the direction of Pere Casanellas alone, with Armand Puig as project Chairman. Two volumes on the Middle Ages have already been published, as well as a volume focusing on

the 19th century, and the rate of publication is expected to increase from now on, ideally achieving and maintaining a rate of two (or even three) volumes per year. Full information on this project can be found online, at <<http://cbcat.abcat.cat>>. ⁴

It seems, then, it will soon be possible to study medieval Catalan versions of the Bible with greater confidence, something from which philology will reap enormous benefit, particularly in light of the fact that computerised word indices and concordances will also be published for each of the texts published in the Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum. For texts written in the Middle Ages, an additional process of lemmatisation will take place and the resulting entries will be incorporated into the *Dictionary of Old Catalan Texts* (*Diccionari de Textos Catalans Antics*), leading to the creation of a *Dictionary of Old Catalan* (*Diccionari del Català Antic*) (see <<http://www.ub.edu/diccionari-dtca>>). By way of a small example, the publication of the third volume of the Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum (*Bíblia del segle XIV: Èxode. Levític*) led to the discovery of about a hundred words or meanings of words that were up to that point undocumented in Catalan. ⁵

At the request of the congress organisers, this presentation will provide an overview of medieval Catalan versions of the Bible: we will list, in bold, all that include at least one book of the Bible (but will omit mention of most fragmentary versions), the date of each translation (where it is known) and of the manuscript it is found in, the possible relationships existing between the various translations, and whether or not they have been published. We use footnotes to indicate the manuscript shelfmark, the corresponding reference code for the *Bibliography of Old Catalan, Valencian and Balearic Texts* ('BITECA') and, where the manuscript has been analysed, some of the studies that make reference to it. In view of the title of the congress, with its reference to Jewish texts, we will identify which of these texts have been translated from Hebrew or display a Jewish influence. Finally, we will endeavour to place these medieval Catalan versions within their broader historical context.

4. The predecessors of the Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum, and a detailed description of the current project and its importance for Catalan philology, are given in Pere CASANELLAS, «El *Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum*: Un antic tresor que finalment comença a ser explotat», *Llengua & Literatura*, 16 (2005), pp. 517-530.

5. See Pere CASANELLAS, «El *Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum*: Un antic tresor...».

2. THE INTEREST IN READING SCRIPTURE IN THE VERNACULAR: PERSECUTION AND TOLERANCE

As is well known, the slow process of transformation of Latin into Catalan gained momentum and brought about radical changes in the language during the 7th and 8th centuries. From the 8th century onwards, the Carolingian reform of education, which would elevate Latin-Christian culture, led to a rupture between written Latin, which was becoming increasingly classicised, and the vernacular. This in turn led to the realisation that the language that people were speaking was no longer Latin proper, but a new language. Most histories of language cite the decree of the Council of Tours (813), which ordained that sermons be delivered in the vernacular, as a reflection of this new situation: the fact that the congregation no longer understood sermons delivered in Latin. When, centuries later, the first Catalan texts of any great length began to appear, one of the first was in fact a collection of Catalan homilies: the well-known Homilies of Organyà (c. 1200).

If Latin sermons were not understood, then neither, clearly, was the Latin text of the Bible. In fact, in the aforementioned Homilies of Organyà, where scripture from the Bible is quoted in Latin for its subsequent commentary, it is first of all translated into Catalan. This explains why by the early decades of the 13th century, Romance language translations of biblical texts were already in circulation, although it is unclear as to whether these would have been in Catalan or Occitan, or how common they were. Either way, the ban pronounced by King James I and the Council of Tarragona in 1234 on owning and reading books of the Old and New Testaments *in romancio*, and the subsequent order to burn any such texts that might be found, in obedience to the Papal bull of 1232, make it clear that these texts did in fact exist.⁶

6. The *Cum humana fragilitas* constitution decreed the following: *Item statuitur ne aliquis libros Veteris et Novi Testamenti in romancio habeat. Et si aliquis habeat, infra octo dies post publicationem huiusmodi constitutionis a tempore sententiae tradat eos loci episcopo comburendos, quod nisi fecerit, sive clericus fuerit, sive laicus, tamquam suspectus de haeresi, quousque se purgaverit, habeatur.* (MANSI, vol. 23, col. 329, canon 2). See: Armand PUIG, «Les traduccions catalanes medievals de la Bíblia», *El text. Lectures i història*, Associació Bíblica de Catalunya, Barcelona, 2001, p. 113 and note 11; Eufemià FORT I COGUL, *Catalunya i la Inquisició*, Aedos, Barcelona, 1973, pp. 39–40; Marc SUREDA I JUBANY, «La memòria escrita d'un clergue il·lustre. Documents de Guillem de Montgrí», *Miscelània en honor de Josep M. Marqués*, L'Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona, 2010, p. 200. The dates of these prohibitions are often indicated incorrectly (1233 instead of 1234).

The aim of these bans was to protect the congregation from translations, particularly of the New Testament, from which the Cathars and Albigensians were thought to have derived their heresies. The effectiveness of the bans can be seen in the fact that no text has been found from before this date. However, it seems that the bans tended to be imposed during times of crisis, as a means of protecting society against apparently heretical movements, and not (or not before the 15th century) as a general ban in force under normal circumstances. This can be seen in the case of a decree issued in 1318 by the Provincial Council of Tarragona prohibiting the beguines from owning theological texts written in the vernacular (except where they contained only prayers), a ban that was no longer in force by 1329.⁷ This exception made for prayer books is interesting because it goes some way to explaining why translations of the Book of Psalms were regarded with a certain amount of tolerance, even at times of general intolerance of vernacular translations of the Bible.

That there were no widespread bans on the translation of the Bible into Catalan before the fifteenth century is clear, not only because of the existence of the biblical translations mentioned above, but also on account of early references to Catalan versions of the Bible. The oldest such report is the news that King Alfons II the 'Frank' or the 'Liberal' himself commissioned in the year 1287 the jurist Jaume de Montjuïc with translating the Bible from French into Catalan.⁸ We have found no trace of the text itself, so we cannot be sure whether the translation was finished, or even if it would have consisted of a translation of the whole of the text of the Bible into Catalan, since the word «Bible» was sometimes used to designate abridged versions of historical compendiums of the Bible, as is the case of Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, or compilations of biblical texts or fragments. The oldest manuscript dates back to the turn of the 14th century and is kept at the Biblioteca de Catalunya. It contains a translation of John 12:1–14:23, which may have been used by a group of beguines from Barcelona.⁹ There are also various catalogues, letters, etc., that contain

7. See: Josep PERARNAU, «Aportació al tema de les traduccions...», pp. 74–75 and footnote 49.

8. See: Antoni RUBIÓ i LLUCH, «Documents», vol. I, no. 4.

9. Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms 740, fol. 87d–89d. Vicenç BELTRAN, Gemma AVENOZA, Lourdes SORIANO, *Bibliografia de textos antics catalans, valencians i balears (BITECA)*, Universitat de València, Universitat de Barcelona, Acadèmia Valenciana, València, 2013, manid 1620. Description, transcription and study in: Josep PERARNAU, «Aportació al tema de les traduccions...», pp. 21–35 (Perarnau writes, in error, that it contains the text of John 12:1–14:34).

references to biblical texts translated into Catalan dating back, for example, to 1319, 1325, 1339, 1351, 1382, 1398, 1420, 1421, 1448, 1471, 1480 (in some cases the references might be to a biblical compilation of a historical nature rather than to an actual translation of the Bible).¹⁰

3. PSALTERS AND THE «BÍBLIA RIMADA»

The oldest conserved Catalan translation of the Bible to contain at least one of the books of the Bible is the **psalter attributed to the Dominican Romeu Sabruguera**, which would have been translated around 1285 to 1295 from the Vulgate, as is the case with the majority of the medieval translations of the Bible into Catalan (although on occasions an Occitan source might also underlie a Catalan version). The manuscript dates back to the early decades of the second half of the 14th century and contains text up to Ps 113:10.¹¹ This text, like most of the other psalters listed below, has not yet been published, though they are all currently being transcribed (and this one has in fact now been transcribed in full) in the expectation that they will soon be published within the *Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum*. The tolerance shown towards prayer books and, more particularly, psalters, mentioned in the previous section, has meant that several psalters have survived to the present day, despite the Inquisition's relentless persecution of vernacular translations of the Bible from 1483 onwards (see section 5). Besides the psalters included in the full translations of the Bible discussed in the next two sections, we can cite the following items.¹²

Psalter of Perpignan (full) and **Psalter Reginense** (which is missing Ps 150, and the end of verse 149:9). Both psalters are conserved

10. Collections of these reports can be found, for example, in: Armand PUIG I TARRECH, «Les traduccions catalanes...», pp. 116–119, and Dominique DE COURCELLES, «Les bibles en Catalogne à la fin du Moyen Âge ou l'occultation de la letter sacrée», *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 218 (Paris, 2001), pp. 65–82.

11. Seville, Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, ms. 7-7-6, fol. 202a–228d. It is the same ms. as the one that contains the *Bíblia Rimada* (the Bible in rhyming couplets) (fol. 1a–191c), discussed below, the rhyming legends, and the beginning of the Gospels of Matthew (1:1–25) and John (1:1–14). Vicenç BELTRAN, Gemma AVENOZA, Lourdes SORIANO, *Bibliografia de textos antics catalans...*, manid 1065. See Josep PERARNAU, «El manuscrit bíblic català de la Colombina de Sevilla» *Revista Catalana de Teologia*, 23 (Barcelona, 1998), pp. 167–193.

12. As a general rule, for discussion of the psalters we recommend consultation of Josep PERARNAU, «Aportació al tema de les traduccions...», pp. 73–97, which we will not be quoting for each psalter but only in certain cases.

on manuscripts dating back to the 15th century. They essentially follow Sabruguera's text (as does the psalter included in the Colbert manuscript of the *Fourteenth-Century Bible*, to be discussed in the next section, from Ps 39:4 onwards).¹³ Both texts are unpublished; the first half of the first text has already been transcribed for the CBCat.

Psalter of Barcelona, a manuscript from the first half of the 15th century. It is missing the first 58 psalms and those from Ps 60:8 (halfway through the verse) to 62:4 (the start of the verse). It was produced with its liturgical purpose in mind and would probably have been used by a female community attached to the Dominican order; aside from the psalms, it also contains various prayers. It appears to have been influenced by Sabruguera's text.¹⁴ As yet unpublished, this text is in the process of being transcribed for the CBCat.

Psalter 2 of Valencia, a manuscript from the end of the 15th or start of the 16th century. It is a complete translation of the Psalter, but three folios are missing (100r–100v, 241r–241v, 261r–261v). Its text, as yet unpublished, is similar to the psalter found in the *Fifteenth-Century Bible* (see section 5).¹⁵ Also similar to the *Fifteenth-Century Bible*, and perhaps a revision of its Psalter, is the **Psalter of Joan Roís de Corella**, which was translated from the Vulgate and printed in Venice –outside the jurisdiction of the Spanish Inquisition– in 1490. This version, due to its being a translation and, more particularly, on account the fact that it endeavours to remain faithful to the Vulgate, displays only very few of the characteristics typical of the classicising, *précieuse*, and contrived style known as «Valencian prose», found in other

13. *Psalter of Perpignan*: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. fr. 2433. VICENÇ BELTRAN, Gemma AVENOZA, Lourdes SORIANO, *Bibliografia de textos antics catalans...*, manid 1263. SAMUEL BERGER, *La Bible romane au Moyen Age: bibles provençales, vaudoises, catalanes, italiennes, castillanes et portugaises*, Slatkine Reprints, Geneva, 1977, p. 118; ARMAND PUIG I TÀRRECH, «Les traduccions bíbliques medievals...», pp. 122–123.

Psalter Reginense: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, ms Reg. lat. 19. VICENÇ BELTRAN, Gemma AVENOZA, Lourdes SORIANO, *Bibliografia de textos antics catalans...*, manid 2397. See JOSEP PERARNAU, «Noves dades sobre traduccions catalanes de la Bíblia els segles XIV i XV», *Arxiu de textos Catalans antics* (Barcelona, 1983), pp. 349–356; PUIG I TÀRRECH, «Les traduccions catalanes medievals», p. 123.

14. Barcelona, Biblioteca de Catalunya, ms. 2057-I and 2057-II (formerly 1043 and 2057). VICENÇ BELTRAN, Gemma AVENOZA, Lourdes SORIANO, *Bibliografia de textos antics catalans...*, manid 1034 and 1264. JOSEP PERARNAU, «Aportació al tema de les traduccions...», pp. 74, 76–79.

15. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms esp. 376. VICENÇ BELTRAN, Gemma AVENOZA, Lourdes SORIANO, *Bibliografia de textos antics catalans...*, manid 1955. SAMUEL BERGER, *La Bible romane...*, p. 118–119, which argues that this text was probably used as the *basis* for the translation of the psalter found in the *Fifteenth-Century Bible*. ARMAND PUIG I TÀRRECH, «Les traduccions catalanes...», p. 126, in contrast, claims that it is actually a *revision* of the text from the *Fifteenth-Century Bible*.

works by Roís de Corella (syntactic calques from the Latin, abundant use of hyperbaton, a profusion of lexical Latinisms, and a predilection for paraphrasing and for the accumulation of synonyms).¹⁶ An example may be seen at the opening of Ps 129 (= 130), *De profundis*:

Del fondo carçre de les mies tribulacions he cridat misericòrdia a tu, Senyor;
 Senyor, ou la mia veu.

Sien fetes les tues orelles atenents a la veu de la mia suplicació.

Que si tu, Senyor, primerament esguardares les nostres iniquitats,

Senyor, qui porà sostenir tan larga e gran tribulació com elles mereixen?

Mas, Senyor, jo la sostinc confiant de la tua clemència;

e per la tua llei que'm promet misericòrdia,

jo, Senyor, he sostengut la tribulació que tu'm dónes.

Ha-la sostenguda la mia ànima esperant en la tua paraula que promet
 misericòrdia;

ha confiat la mia ànima en lo Senyor.

Del principi, ans del dia, fins a tota la nit confiant,

tinga esperança Israel en lo Senyor;

que tostemps té present la misericòrdia,

e tostemps té present la sobreabundant e copiosa redempció.

E ell, rement, deliurarà Israel de totes les sues iniquitats.

Psalter of Marseille, an unpublished 14th-century manuscript, the first half of which has been transcribed for the CBCat. It is a complete translation of the Psalter, but parts of three folios (27, 36 and 45) have been ripped out, which makes reading of the text difficult. Samuel Berger argues that this psalter was translated from French and attempts to prove this by comparing the translation of its Ps 136 with that of a French equivalent from the turn of the 13th century. In our view, this comparison does not by any stretch of the imagination lead to the conclusion that Berger draws from it. It appears that the translator was familiar with the *Psalter of Sabruquera*.¹⁷ **Psalter 1 of Valencia**, a 15th century manuscript published by J. Costa Catala,¹⁸ which we are now

16. Printed in Venice in 1490. It is also copied in: Biblioteca Universitaria de Valencia, ms 664; VICENÇ BELTRAN, Gemma AVENOZA, Lourdes SORIANO, *Bibliografia de textos antics catalans...*, manid 2152; modern publication and study: JOAN ROÍS DE CORELLA, *Psalteri*, Conselleria de Cultura, Educació i Ciència de la Generalitat Valenciana, Publicacions de l'Abadía de Montserrat, Barcelona, 1985.

17. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms fr. 2434, fol. 1–108. VICENÇ BELTRAN, Gemma AVENOZA, Lourdes SORIANO, *Bibliografia de textos antics catalans...*, manid 1260. SAMUEL BERGER, *La Bible romane...*, pp. 118, 122–125; ARMAND PUIG I TÀRRECH, «Les traduccions catalanes...», pp. 130–132.

18. Valencia, Arxiu Capítular, ms. 106, ff. 2a–43a. BITECA, manid 1439. Published by JOAN COSTA, *Els salms de la Bíblia de París i el salteri de la seu de València (Estudi comparatiu i transcripció)*, Real Academia de Cultura Valenciana, Aula de Humanidades y Ciencias, València, 1995. ARMAND PUIG I TÀRRECH, «Les traduccions catalanes...», pp. 132–133.

transcribing anew, derives from this, and the Psalter of Marseille seems also to have influenced the psalters included in the *Fourteenth-Century Bible*, though only up to Ps 39:3 in the case of the Colbert manuscript.

It is interesting that, alongside these psalters translated from the Vulgate or perhaps, in certain cases, from French or Occitan versions, all of which are of clearly Christian origin, we also have a **Psalter translated from Hebrew**. Translated in the mid-15th century in the Kingdom of Naples, under the protection of Alfons the 'Magnanimous', this psalter is conserved in a manuscript dating back to the first half of the 16th century. It contains from Ps 1 to Ps 118,13, with a lacuna at the end of Ps 109 and the beginning of Ps 110. Although clearly a translation from Hebrew, a second reviser has adapted it for liturgical purposes, even making corrections and additions to adapt it to the Vulgate. Tomorrow afternoon, Constantino Vidal, who is preparing this text for publication for the CBCat, will be speaking at this congress about it.¹⁹

We also have a **Siddur** or Jewish prayer book for use by *conversos* from the last third of the 15th century. Already published, it contains forty-one psalms (plus some other biblical fragments) translated from the Hebrew. It was formerly the property of a Valencian convert, Bartomeu Rodrigues, who additionally owned another manuscript, also published, containing **several Jewish prayers, among them seven psalms**: it is interesting here that of these latter, two were translated from Hebrew, while the other five are in the version of Sabruguera.²⁰ This tells us that, even though only a dozen or so psalters have survived to the present day (not all in full, and including those contained in the two complete Bibles discussed in sections 4 and 5), there must

19. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. esp. 244. Vicenç BELTRAN, Gemma AVENOZA, Lourdes SORIANO, *Bibliografia de textos antics catalans...*, manid 1954. Samuel BERGER, *La Bible romane...*, pp. 119–120; Pere BOHIGAS, *Sobre manuscrits i biblioteques*, Curial Edicions Catalanes, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona, 1985, p. 79; Armand PUIG i TÀRRECH, «Les traduccions catalanes...», pp. 136–137.

20. Reial Acadèmia de Belles Arts de Sant Jordi, ms. s.n., Siddur, Vicenç BELTRAN, Gemma AVENOZA, Lourdes SORIANO, *Bibliografia de textos antics catalans...* manid 2788. Publication and study in Jaume RIERA, *El siddur en català dels conversos jueus (S. XV)*, Reial Acadèmia Catalana de Belles Arts de Sant Jordi, Barcelona, 1993, Reial Acadèmia de Belles Arts de Sant Jordi, ms. s.n., Jewish prayers. Vicenç BELTRAN, Gemma AVENOZA, Lourdes SORIANO, *Bibliografia de textos antics catalans...*, manid 2275. Publication and study in Jaume RIERA, «Un recull d'oracions en català dels conversos jueus (segle XV)», *Estudis Romànics*, 16 (Barcelona, 1971–1975), pp. 49–97.

have been significantly more copies in circulation; otherwise, the high level of mutual influence among them simply cannot be explained.²¹

The same manuscript that contains the *Psalter of Romeu Sabruiguera* (see above: beginning of section 3 and footnote 10) also contains the **Bíblia rimada**, also known as the *Bíblia rimada de Sevilla* ('Bible in rhyming couplets of Seville'), because the manuscript is housed at the Biblioteca Capítular y Colombina in Seville. It was composed between 1282 and 1325. It is not strictly speaking a translation of the Bible, but rather a narrative similar to Peter Comestor's *Historia Scholastica*, from which it derives considerable influence; that is, it is a free, summarised and often paraphrastic translation, which includes twenty-one books of the Bible (Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, 1–4 Kingdoms, Tobit, Daniel, Esdras, Judith, Esther, Proverbs, Maccabees, Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, Apocalypse). We include it here because of its similarity to the text of the Bible and its length: it is the longest known Catalan text written in verse, some 26,336 verses in total (for the most part, octosyllabic rhymed couplets, not including some of the «rhyming legends» at the end and based on the New Testament). Parts of the Old and New Testaments and some rhyming legends have been transcribed and studied in unpublished doctoral theses. The manuscript is one of the parabiblical texts planned for publication within the CBCat.²²

4. FOURTEENTH-CENTURY BIBLE

The first full translation of the Bible into Catalan was produced during the 14th century and it is the only translation that has survived wholly intact to the present day. This is why it is called the **Fourteenth-Century Bible**, despite the fact that the main manuscripts it is found in, with the exception of the Marmoutier manuscript, to be discussed later, actually date to the 15th century. Most of the translation could

21. Among other selections of psalms (which do not concern us here, as indicated at the end of the first section) particularly striking are the 44 psalms contained in the book of hours of Morella; Germà COLÓN, *Llibre d'hores*, Barcino, Barcelona, 1960.

22. Biblioteca Capítular y Colombina, ms 7-7-6, fol. 1a–191c. Vicenç BELTRAN, Gemma AVENOZA, Lourdes SORIANO, *Bibliografia de textos antics catalans...*, manid 1065. Publication of a third of the Old Testament, up to the Fourth Book of Kingdoms: Catherine URAS, «The Bíblia Rimada. A Critical Edition» PhD Dissertation, Toronto University, Toronto, 1981; publication of the New Testament in: Josep IzQUIERDO, *Els llibres neotestamentaris a la Bíblia Rimada e en Romans de la BBC de Sevilla*, ms 7-7-6 PhD Dissertation, Universitat de València, València, 1995.

have taken place during the reign of King Peter III the ‘Ceremonious’ (1336–1387), a period during which the Catalan royal court strongly promoted translation, particularly of the Latin classics.

Dating back to the mid-14th century is the *Marmoutier* manuscript, containing the whole of the New Testament and published by J. Costa Catala (the translation was probably produced earlier than 1350, with the manuscript being a copy made a little while later).²³ Later, though still within the 14th century, the Psalms would have been added to the text, along with the rest of the Old Testament. However, the Old Testament has only been conserved in manuscripts dating to the second half of the 15th century, the main three being: (a) the *Peiresc* manuscript, which contains the whole of the Bible and was copied between around 1460 and 1470; (b) the *Egerton* manuscript, which was copied no later than 1465 and contains half the Bible, from Genesis to Psalms; and (c) the *Colbert* manuscript, copied no later than 1461 (or perhaps 1471), which also runs from Genesis to Psalms.²⁴

In the New Testament, the text by Peiresc departs significantly from the text by Marmoutier, although for both the New and the Old Testament there is strong evidence to suggest that the translation compiled in the three 15th-century manuscripts was produced during the previous century. Firstly, the language contains vocabulary that had already fallen out of common usage by the 15th century, such as *péra* for *pedra* (‘stone’), *cell* for *aquell* (‘that’), *mençónega* for *mentida* (‘lie’), *vaer/veer* for *veure* (‘to see’), *posar* for *reposar* (‘to rest’), *nient* for *no res* (‘nothing’), *nelleix/negueix* (‘even/not even’), etc., as well as other archaisms unusual for this period, such as the use (more or less widespread, depending

23. Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms esp. 486. Vicenç BELTRAN, Gemma AVENOZA, Lourdes SORIANO, *Bibliografia de textos antics catalans...*, manid 1140. Publication and facsimile: Joan COSTA, *Nou Testament (Ms. Marmoutier, S. XIV)*, Real Academia de Cultura Valenciana, València, 2002.

For the 14th-century Bible in general, see Armand PUIG I TÀRRECH, «Les traduccions catalanes...», pp. 140–192; 205–221, and the two volumes published in the Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum: *Bíblia del segle XIV: Èxode. Levític* Associació Bíblica de Catalunya, Tarragona, 2004, and Jordi BRUGUERA, Pere CASANELLAS, Núria CALAFELL, *Bíblia del segle XIV: Primer i segon llibres dels Reis*, Associació Bíblica de Catalunya, Publicacions de l’Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona, 2011. There is also a copy of the Canticle of Canticles: Raymond FOULCHÉ-DELBOSC, *Cant dels Cants*, Serra germans e Russell, Barcelona, 1906.

24. *Peiresc*: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. esp. 2, 3, 4. Vicenç BELTRAN, Gemma AVENOZA, Lourdes SORIANO, *Bibliografia de textos antics catalans...*, manid 1063, 2745 and 2746.

Egerton: British Library, ms. Egerton 1526. Vicenç BELTRAN, Gemma AVENOZA, Lourdes SORIANO, *Bibliografia de textos antics catalans...*, manid 1061.

Colbert: Bibliothèque Nationale de France, ms. esp. 5. Vicenç BELTRAN, Gemma AVENOZA, Lourdes SORIANO, *Bibliografia de textos antics catalans...*, manid 1060.

on the book) of the form *Déus* instead of *Déu* for ‘God’. Secondly, the nature of the errors made during the copying process and the differences we can identify among manuscripts can only be explained if we assume that the text was copied several times over a period of many years.

It is precisely this abundance of copyists’ errors, particularly notable in the Peiresc manuscript, which often omits text from verses and even leaves out entire chapters, that makes the text we have before us appear to be of a worse standard, as a translation, than it really is once the copyists’ errors have been ironed out (as far as possible). The translation was based for the most part on the Vulgate, but uses the living language of the period, with hardly any calques from the original Latin. Consider, for example, this quote from the end of the elegy of David following the death of Saul and Jonathan, from the Peiresc manuscript (2Kgdms 1:26–27):

E Jonatàs, frare meu, fort he [= intensament tinc] gran dolor
 e gran dol de tu,
 qui ést fort bell e qui eres amabla
 e devias éser amat sobre tota amor de fembra.
 Axí com la mara ama son fill,
 car no ha’n sinó un solament,
 així com yo amava tu.
 O Déu, e com són morts e caüts
 los hòmens forts!
 E com són axí caüdes e destroides
 e parides [= perides] les armes batallaroses
 que solían batallar e combatre!

Comparison of this fragment with the Vulgate original reveals some of the characteristics of the version, such as paraphrastic translations («*qui eres amabla e devies éser amat*» as a translation of the Latin adjective *amabilis*), paraphrastic translations with an accumulation of synonyms («*E com són ... combatre!*» as a translation of *et perierunt arma bellica*) and the use of pairs of synonyms («*són morts e caüts*» to translate *ceciderunt*). These are resources employed by translators – though not in all books of the Bible – to express concepts existing in the original that they feel are inadequately rendered with just a single word or phrase in Catalan. We can also observe how the version of the Vulgate translated has some features that are not present in all versions of the Vulgate, but that are present in those circulating in Catalan-speaking territories during this period, coinciding in this case with the ancient

Hispanic manuscripts Cavensis (9th century), Toletanus (10th century), the consensus of manuscripts preserving the text of Alcuin's recension, and the Sixto-Clementine Vulgate («*Així com ... amava tu.*»)²⁵

While, in many parts of the biblical text, all three 15th-century manuscripts, Peiresc, Egerton and Colbert, essentially reproduce the same translation, there are sections where one departs significantly from the other two. For example, Egerton, from Exod 1:1 to Lev 2:1 and from Lev 18:2 to Lev 27:34, or Colbert, from 2Kgdms 7:5*b* to 14:24 and in the Psalter. Often, Colbert appears to revise Peiresc's translation to bring it more into line with the Vulgate, sometimes introducing glosses.

Although the translation was produced primarily from the Vulgate, the influence of Occitan and French versions can be seen, particularly in the New Testament and also in books from the second half of the Old Testament. There is also influence from Hebrew (noted so far above all in the books of Exodus and Leviticus, as well as in the Psalms, and, to a lesser extent, in 1 and 2 Kingdoms), which suggests the involvement of Jewish converts in the translation and revision of the text.²⁶

This version would have been widely available. Evidence of this can be seen not only in the existence of the four manuscripts already mentioned, but in the fact that the version is also found in various fragments of biblical manuscripts.²⁷ It is quoted in the historical compendium of the Bible or «Genesis». It was also used as the source

25. For a description of the translation techniques used in the Fourteenth-Century Bible, see Pere CASANELLAS, «IV. Tècniques de traducció», *Bíblia del segle XIV: Èxode. Levític*, Associació Bíblica de Catalunya, Tarragona, 2004, pp. 33–47. On the Catalan-Languedocian editions of the Vulgate collated in the volumes of the Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum, see Pere CASANELLAS, «L'edició de la Vulgata en la Bíblia del segle XIV del Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum i les vulgates catalanollenguadocianes dels segles XIII–XIV», *Estudios de latín medieval hispánico. Actas del V Congreso Internacional de Latin Medieval Hispánico: Barcelona, 7-10 septiembre de 2009*, SISMEC, Edizioni dell Galluzzo, Florence, 2011, pp. 1059–1070.

26. For further details of the Hebrew influences in Exodus and Leviticus, Pere CASANELLAS, «La influència hebraica en la Bíblia del segle XIV» *Revista Catalana de Teologia*, 31 (2006), pp. 347–358». For the same treatment of the First and Second Books of Kingdoms, Pere CASANELLAS, «III. L'Original de la traducció. Altres influències», *Bíblia del segle XIV: Primer i segon llibres dels Reis*, Associació Bíblica de Catalunya, Publicacions de l'Abadia de Montserrat, Barcelona, 2011, p. 31. For the psalms, Josep PERARNAU, «Aportació al tema de les traduccions...», pp. 73–97.

27. For example: Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina, ms. 5-5-26, f. 58*r*-85*v*, contains 3Kgdms 5:10 – 4Kgdms 25:29 and 1Par 1:1 – 2Par 11:1. Arxiu del Regne de València, Gremis, book 196 (Llibre de claveria de 1556–1557), cover, contains 4Kgdms 23:27–25:24. The Vilanova i la Geltrú Biblioteca Museu Víctor Balaguer ms. contains six fragments from the Gospel according to Luke (Luke 20:45–22:4 and 23:35–24:31, with *lacunae*).

text for the oldest known complete translation of the gospels into Hebrew, conserved on a manuscript copied in Crete towards the end of the 15th century, which is currently housed at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (MS Vat ebr. 100). Harvey Hames, who is preparing this text for publication for the CBCat, will be speaking about this tomorrow as part of this congress.

5. THE PALAU GOSPELS AND THE VALENCIAN BIBLE PRINTED IN 1478

Dating back to the first half of the 15th century we have a manuscript containing a version of the four gospels, known as the **Palau Gospels** or **Palau Codex** because it comes from the former Palau Reial Menor in Barcelona (demolished in 1859, with the exception of the chapel). The translator appears to be familiar with the 14th-century version of the Bible and produces a translation of the gospels more in line with the Vulgate, with a certain preference for literality, although he does also make slight additions to the text and employs pairs of synonyms, as often found in medieval versions. The text was published in 1911 by Josep Gudiol and has been newly transcribed – though not yet published – by Jaume Riera for the CBCat.²⁸

The **Valencian Bible** or **Bible of Bonifaci Ferrer** or **Fifteenth-Century Bible** was printed in Valencia in 1478. Catalan is, therefore, the second Romance language and only the fourth European language, after German (1466), Tuscan (1471) and Dutch (1477), to have a printed version of the full Bible, much earlier than French (1530), English (1535) and Spanish (1553, the Bible of Ferrara with just the Old Testament, and 1569, the ‘Bible of the Bear’, with both the Old and the New Testament).

The colophon attributes this Bible to Bonifaci Ferrer, brother of Saint Vincent Ferrer, «and other singular men of science». Some scholars have thought that this might have been just a device to avoid the persecution of the Inquisition, while other have thought it plausible that an earlier version was produced at the turn of the 15th

28. Arxiu Nacional de Catalunya, ms. ANCI-960-T-1038 (fons Requesens-Palau). Vicenç BELTRAN, Gemma AVENOZA, Lourdes SORIANO, *Bibliografia de textos antics catalans...*, manid 1239. Published by Josep GUDIOL I CUNILL, *Una antiga traducció catalana dels Quatre Evangelis: (Codex del Palau)*, Fulla dominical, Vic, 1911. Armand PUIG I TÀRRECH, «Les traduccions catalanes», pp. 221–225.

century at the Portaceli Monastery, where Bonifaci Ferrer entered the Carthusian brotherhood (eventually becoming Prior) or that perhaps Ferrer, who died in 1417, was more the Bible's promoter than its actual translator. In any case, according to the Inquisition documents published by Jordi Ventura, shortly before printing the Portaceli translation was revised, to bring it into line with the Vulgate, mainly by a Jewish convert, Daniel Vives, and also by a Dominican inquisitor, Jaume Borrell.

This was a period in which the Inquisition had begun to take action against the «false» Bibles: in the year 1447, for example, a book-burning is documented in the city of Valencia. Accordingly, revisers would have had to carry out their work with the utmost of care to ensure that the text adhered as closely as possible to that of the Vulgate, so as to produce an inherently «true and Catholic Bible», to quote the colophon, one which could not be accused of being «false». This has been thought to explain the fact that, in respect of its sentence structure, the Catalan of this text can be described as one long calque of the Latin, albeit with the presence of a few synonym-pairs and a small amount of paraphrasing. The lexicon is also full of Latinisms. In the syntax there is a particular tendency – which is perhaps this version's most obvious characteristic – to translate the Latin oblique-case forms of personal pronouns (for example, *eorum*, *mihi*) using independent pronouns preceded by a preposition (*de ells*, *a mi*), and never the possessive, while the Latin possessive pronouns are translated using possessives. We can see this in the following extract from Ps 129 (= 130), which can be usefully compared to the original Latin and the version by Roís de Corella, already reproduced above (section 3):

<p>Dels llocs pregons cridí a tu, Senyor; Senyor, exaudeix la mia veu. Sien fetes les tues orelles <u>entenents</u>¹ en la veu de la pregària mia. Si les iniquitats hauràs guardades, Senyor; Senyor, qui ho sostindrà? Car <u>en tu és perdonança</u>; e per la tua llei <u>he sostengut a tu</u>, Senyor. Sostengue la mia ànima en paraula <u>de ell</u>; ha esperat la ànima mia en lo Senyor.</p>	<p>De profundis clamavi ad te Domine Domine exaudi vocem meam fiant aures tuae intendentes in vocem deprecationis meae si iniquitates observabis Domine Domine quis sustinebit quia apud te propitiatio est propter legem tuam sustinui te Domine sustinuit anima mea in verbum eius speravit anima mea in Domino</p>
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De la guarda del matí fins a la nit, espere Israel en lo Senyor. Car ab lo Senyor és misericòrdia, e redempció copiosa és ab ell. Ell rembrà a Israel de totes les iniquitats de ell.	a custodia matutina usque ad noctem speret Israel in Domino quia apud Dominum misericordia et copiosa apud eum redemptio et ipse redimet Israel ex omnibus iniquitatibus eius
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Some 600 copies of this translation were printed. However, in 1483 the Spanish Inquisition began to exert its authority over the territories of the crown of Catalonia-Aragon, leading to the imprisonment of the convert, Daniel Vives, and action against the translation of this Bible. Immediately after – and not at the end of the 15th century as some scholars have asserted – came the burning of the Bible and, sometimes, of those who had a copy of it in their possession. In 1549, the Swiss naturalist and bibliographer Conrad Gesner wrote that all the copies of the Valencian Bible had been burnt. In fact, one copy remained in the Royal Library of Stockholm; however, this was burnt in an accidental fire in 1697.

Two valuable and reliable testimonies of this important early Catalan publication remain.

(a) The library of the New York Hispanic Society houses a copy of the last folio of this Bible. It contains, written in two columns, the final part of the Book of the Apocalypse (from 20:8 [Vg = 20:9] to 22:21) and the colophon, in which the text is attributed to Bonifaci Ferrer.³⁰

(b) In around 1480 in Barcelona the Psalter from this version was printed (from a new type-setting) anew. Despite the various Bible burnings, one copy has survived, at the Librairie Mazarine in Paris.³¹

29. Compare the way the Latin present participles are translated in the Fourteenth Century Bible (Jordi BRUGUERA, Pere CASANELLAS, Núria CALAFELL, *Biblia del segle XIV: Primer i segon llibre...*, pp. 35–36).

30. The Hispanic Society of America, Rare Books, ms. B1141.

31. *Psaltiri tret de la bíblia de stampa, la quall és estada empremtada en la ciutat de València, e fon corregida, vista e regoneguda per lo reverend mestre Jacme Borrell, mestre en sacra theologia, de l'ordre de pricadors e inquisidor en lo Regne de València, e d'altres, segons en aquells se conté*. Barcelona: Nicolau Spindeler, c. 1480. For the Fifteenth-Century Bible, Jordi VENTURA, *La Bíblia valenciana. Recuperació de la història d'un incunable en català*, Curial, Barcelona, 1993 (which includes transcription of the psalter); Armand PUIG I TÀRRECH, «Les traduccions catalanes...», pp. 192–204.

CONCLUSIONS

1. Leaving to one side the various biblical fragments and some of the collections of less than fifty psalms, there is a total of nine more or less complete psalters (translated between the end of the 13th century and the end of the 15th century), a complete Bible (the Fourteenth-Century Bible, made up of manuscripts which at times represent differing versions), the four gospels (the Palau Gospels, from the 15th century), and the remains of a printed Bible (the Valencian Bible). The majority of these texts are only now beginning to be published, as part of the Corpus Biblicum Catalanicum project, in which biblical fragments, parabiblical texts and Hebrew versions based on Catalan texts or with Catalan influences are also expected to be published.

2. Some studies have tried to uncover the relationships among the various versions, through comparative study of samples of texts. Given the lack of uniformity in many versions, definite conclusions can probably not be reached until the texts have been published in their entirety.

3. The majority of the translations are conserved in the form of copies, which for the most part has negatively affected the quality of the text. It is important that the texts be published in critical editions in order to restore, as far as possible, the original quality of the translations which, in some cases, such as that of the Fourteenth-Century Bible, is far superior than a first reading of the manuscripts would suggest.

4. The majority of the translations have been produced from the Vulgate. Some, however, were translated from Hebrew and some of those translated from the Vulgate present considerable Hebrew influences. Once the texts have been published, it will be possible to analyse the extent of this Hebrew influence. The publication of these texts will also allow us to ascertain the extent of the influence of the Occitan and French versions on the New Testament and the books of the latter half of the Old Testament.

5. The publication of these translations will constitute an important step forward in our knowledge of medieval Catalan, particularly as regards the lexicon: they contain new words, new meanings of already documented words, words that were documented much later on, etc. It is important to publish the glossaries corresponding to each of the volumes of the CBCat, along with the computerised word indices

and concordances, and above all to include the lemmatised texts in the *Dictionary of Old Catalan Texts*.

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