

# TEXTUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR «TIRANT LO BLANC»

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## ABSTRACT

After showing that the *editio princeps* of Joanot Martorell's *Tirant lo Blanc* (Valencia: Nicolau Spindeler, 1490) was printed by formes, this article illustrates how the hand press introduced errors in the transmission of the romance. Particular attention is paid to the order in which formes were printed within a quire, the characteristics of the printer's copy, and the division of the work into chapters.

## Keywords

*Tirant lo Blanc*, Joanot Martorell, *editio princeps*, material philology, textual bibliography

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The oldest complete witness to Joanot Martorell's *Tirant lo Blanc* is Nicolau Spindeler's 1490 edition. With no way to study the manuscript transmission of the romance, textual scholars can only approach the full work through this incunable, which formatted – and transformed – the text over two decades after the death of its author. In addition to

relying on the three surviving copies of the *editio princeps* (Valencia [V], New York [N<sub>1</sub>], and London [L]), scholars have resorted to a handful of other sources to critically edit *Tirant lo Blanc*: a single manuscript leaf likely dating to the last quarter of the fifteenth century, the second incunabular edition of 1497 (Barcelona: Pere Miquel and Diego de Gumiel), and two indirect printed witnesses (a Spanish translation from 1511 [Valladolid: Diego de Gumiel] and an Italian translation from 1538 [Venice: Niccolò da Sabbio]). Even in view of this extended *recensio* and other sources for critically editing the work – like archival documentation of Martorell's life and chivalresque milieu, and source studies of his literary culture – Spindeler's *Tirant lo Blanc* remains central to any scholarly edition of the work. Nonetheless, given what we know today about how printing shops handled – and often mishandled – texts, the *editio princeps* of Martorell's romance should be examined with skepticism.

After preparing his second critical edition of *Don Quijote* (a novel to which the modern reception of *Tirant lo Blanc* is profoundly indebted), Francisco Rico criticized earlier editors of the work for treating the *princeps* of Cervantes's novel with acritical reverence. As he vigorously denounced how counterproductive this was to editing the work, he also showed how necessary textual bibliography proved to be for identifying the opaque errors that the first edition of Cervantes's *Don Quijote* transmitted.<sup>1</sup> In the case of *Tirant lo Blanc*, while scholars have attended to textual variation across the three copies of the 1490 incunabular form of the work (unveiling as many states of the edition and two issues),<sup>2</sup> they have not undertaken a more comprehensive engagement with the text from this critical perspective. Textual bibliography has, in fact, been noticeably absent from scholarship on the romance. Our aim in this article is to introduce this approach into the study and eventually the editing of *Tirant*

<sup>1</sup> F. Rico, *El texto del «Quijote»: Preliminares a una ecdótica del Siglo de Oro*, Barcelona - Valladolid, Destino - Centro para la Edición de los Clásicos Españoles, Universidad de Valladolid, 2005. On the reception of *Tirant lo Blanc* and the role of Cervantes's *Don Quijote*, see J. Pujol, «El Decameró dels catalans?», in J. Martorell, *Tirant lo Blanc*, ed. J. Pujol, Barcelona, Barcino, 2021, pp. 7-12.

<sup>2</sup> See I. Bonsoms y Sicart, *La edición príncipe del Tirant lo Blanch: Cotejo de los tres ejemplares impresos en Valencia en 1490, únicos conocidos hoy en día; Discursos leídos en la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona en la recepción pública de D. Isidro Bonsoms y Sicart el día 9 de mayo de 1907*. Barcelona, Tip. La Académica, 1907; J. Givanel Mas, *Estudio crítico de Tirant lo Blanch*, Madrid, Victoriano Suárez, 1912; F. Martínez y Martínez, *Martín Juan de Galba, coautor del «Tirant lo Blanch»*, Valencia, Imp. Hijos de Francisco Vives Mora, 1916; J. Perera i Parramon, «*Tirant lo Blanch*»: *Edició crítica*, Tesi doctoral, Barcelona, Departament de Filologia catalana, 1995, vol. I, pp. 63-108.

*lo Blanc*. We will show that Martorell's romance, like most works of the hand-print era, was printed by formes. We will consider how and why it is important that the edition stemmed, as it was common, from a manuscript copy prepared to serve the printer. Finally, we will illustrate why this process – from making and correcting the printer's copy, to its casting off and eventual setting by formes – must be taken into account when trying to make sense of the text of the *princeps* and justify editorial decisions.

### Tirant lo Blanc, *Printed by Formes*

According to the colophon, on November 20, 1490, Nicolau Spindeler finished printing *Tirant lo Blanc* in his Valencia workshop. There is an abundance of evidence to show that he printed the romance by formes – that is, in conjoined or conjugate leaves: in a folio-sized volume such as *Tirant's princeps*, conjugate leaves are grouped in pairs, 1r and 8v, 1v and 8r, 2r and 7v, 2v and 7r, 3r and 6v, 3v and 6r, 4r and 5v, 4v and 5r.<sup>3</sup> One clear sign is the idiosyncratic distribution of the book's five-line initials in pages belonging to the same forme. The distribution of initials is significant because we have found that Spindeler's shop worked on this book with a limited set of initials. Except on one occasion, which is well accounted for, two initials of the same letter were never set on the same page or any of the conjugate pages that make up a forme.<sup>4</sup> Whenever the compositor had to set a forme in which a particular initial was going to appear twice or more, that given initial was printed only once. A blank space was left, or a guide letter set for the rest of occurrences.<sup>5</sup> There are

<sup>3</sup> Our collation formula is essentially consistent with the collation that Spindeler provides at the bottom of the last folio of the first gathering: 2<sup>o</sup>: <sup>a</sup>a<sup>8</sup>, a-z<sup>8</sup>, A-X<sup>8</sup>, Y-Z<sup>6</sup>. The book comprises forty-nine gatherings. The first ('a') includes the table of contents and has the same signature as the next gathering (also 'a'; we have distinguished between both with a  $\text{a}$ ). There are two 's' gatherings (long and short 's') and two 'r' gatherings (straight and round). There are no 'K' or 'V' gatherings.

<sup>4</sup> The exception concerns the initial 'A': the shop owned two and each featured a different design. One appears on a1r, a7v, b6r, c3v, c6v, d2v, d6r, d6v, d8v, e8v, i1v, l4v, m1v, q2v, rr4r, ss7v, t3v, v8r, x7r, y5r; the other on b4v, q1r, rr6v. Both initials occur in the same folio on B5r.

<sup>5</sup> We have observed the same phenomenon in another book Spindeler printed in 1490, the *Regiment preservatiu e curatiu de la pestilència* by Lluís Alcanyís. This book is a 4<sup>o</sup> in 8s (in which two sheets were quired in the same gathering). In the outer forme of the outer sheet, an initial 'E' is replaced by a guide letter on a8v because it was already used to compose another conjugate sheet, a2v (a1r and a7r are the other two conjugate pages of the forme, which features no initial). We have also observed the same precarity in the edition of the *Llibre de la imitació de Jesucrist* by Miquel Pérez (also printed

many instances of this, but we will illustrate our point with a few key examples.<sup>6</sup>

Folio d8v should feature two initial 'L's, but there is only one initial 'L' and a guide letter for the other 'L' (see Figure 1).

FIGURE 1  
N1, fol. d8v

**L**o diuen dres  
perço com es dia de  
passio no si fagen ar  
mes nengunes sino  
que apres dela missa  
e vespres seran dites poran amar a  
casar.

**Capitol. li:**

**L**o disapte es e  
sonço donat atots a  
quells quis volrà fer  
cauallers e lo rey de  
bon grat ayo que seran examinats  
si son mereçoods de reoure lozde  
de caualleria ell los fara cauallers.  
Eus aqí pare e senyor com eré  
repartits los dies dela setmana:e  
foren elets. xxvi. cauallers capitans  
del camp tals que negu reproçat  
nols podia.

**Capitol. lii.**

**A**pres que lo  
consell son tenguer e  
ordenats los capitols  
foren publicats gene  
ralment per los sobredits. Reys  
darmes e erants. E era la hora tar  
da lo Rey se leua ab tots los stats  
e anare se admirar dites vespres  
lo Rey ab tots los stats decontinét  
ab molts mimistes anam hon sta  
uen los. xxvi. cauallers elets per  
fer les armes qui distaué del aleu  
fament del stat del Rey vn tít de  
balesta: e dms lo camp la hon elle  
stauen tené vn dos de fusta molt  
alta q negu nols podia veure sino  
per la porta o entrant dms: e tots

staué a segurs en cadres. xlii. a vna  
part e. xlii. al altra: e tots armats  
en blanc: e al cap portauen cozo  
nes doz molt riques. E com lo rey  
entra e la infanta nos mogueren  
gens. sino que ab lo cap saudaren  
lo Rey e no fos negu dells que go  
sas parlar ni digues res. Lo Rey  
ab tots los stats si gueren allí vn  
poch. E com lo Rey sen volque  
anar si gueren. xlii. donzelles de m  
estimable beilea ricament abillades  
e suplicaré alrey fos plaçer ala ma  
gestat volgues aturar sine agues p  
la collacio e lo rey graciefament los  
ho atorga. Decontinét siq la colla  
cio molt grá e abundosa de mansa  
pias e pasta real: e totes altres ma  
neres de confit de sucre e tots foré  
molt ben feruides los cauallers e  
gentile. hòmens casats seya en fal  
des de dona o de donzella. E apre  
la collacio feta lo Rey si que en la  
praçeria e aqui comensaren de dà  
sar. E los mantenidors prestamét  
foren desarmats e tots. xxvi. vin  
gueren vestits ab fos gèlerans: e  
ab faquetes totes de vna color e  
duna layro brodades doz fibzeria  
hi en lo cap casat portaua vn bo  
net de grana ab vn beill fermaill  
que de partí que fossen cauallers  
de grá stat e de alta caualleria: eoz  
agueré dat si ales danges lo rey ab  
tots los stats anam aueure tces  
les lises go es asaber la lisa hon  
sonyè era molt ben feta ab molts  
cabals quey haufa. E per seblat  
eré totes les altres ab los cabals  
molt ben enparamentats de molt  
bell e singulars draps de nas e aqí  
matex les lises. E apre de ago vist

in Spindeler's shop in Valencia in 1491). Bookseller Joan Rix (Rich) de Cura provided Spindeler with the lettering to print *Tirant*; see J.E. Serrano y Morales, *Reseña histórica en forma de diccionario de las imprentas que han existido en Valencia*, Valencia, Imp. de F. Domènech, 1898-1899, p. 530.

<sup>6</sup> Missing initials in the following folios do appear in their conjugate leaves: d8r, d8v, i1r, i1v, i2v, i7r, n5r, v2v, u5v, x4r, x5r, x5v, B3v, B5r, C1v, D2v, D5v, E1r, E5v, M2r, M3v, O1r, O8v, P5v, P7r, T3r, U2v, U8v, Z2v. In some cases, initials are missing from one of the two pages that make up the forme and that initial does not appear in the conjugate page either (r2v, v4v, u3v, D2v, E5v, F7r, I7r, L5v, M8v, N7v, S2v, T1v, U8v). We suspect that these gaps were a consequence of the limited number of initials Spindeler's shop had (see note 5). Additionally, there is no instance of the initials 'H', 'K', and 'Y' in the book (the latter

On div, an initial ‘L’ is printed, while there are four blank spaces for as many ‘L’s on its div’s conjugate, d8r (see Figures 2 and 3).

## FIGURES 2 AND 3

N1, fols. div and d8r

mes que de vida sua no emfaria mes al Emperador: e lo caualler feu refulsitor la feyozia al Emperador: lo qual lin feu infimof grates dela sua molta virtut. y des comiat lo roma caualler del Emperador e reculliu en les Baleres e abposper vent sen toana en roma. Lo faret pate fabens que lo feu emborador venia ab bon conpliment de tot lo perque era anafeu erit tors los Ardenals e Bibles ab molta caualleria per reuere e ab gran trampo lo poiare daunt lo papa: lo qual lo rebre ab molta amor e benignitat e donall en pini de los traballs dels seus reials que ell e toas los seus ne feren ricos. E apo la sua mort li font fetra grandissima honra: e lo feu coronar forat en la Iglesia de sanet Joan de letra al peu de la estat ab molta solemnitat. E des mon fill aquest caualler quisa bono: aquiret per erer virtuos: dite que significaba la curyalla que poia lo caualler que li guaroa tot lo cosa. Significa la Iglesia que deu esser tota clofa e murada dels defenios del caualler: qui deu a nar contra totes las gentes per de ferore lare: apti com lein ba deitar en lo meo sit loch del cosa apti deu stat meo sit lantimo per empant e manentio posible e no consentir que lo rey ne negun altre lo faga mal ni ban. Los autabacos e may opotes significuen que noy deu tra metre anegui sino el materal: hi deu anar e ab los brazos e ab les mas deu defenore la Iglesia e lo pobte que es bo e toa aquelle qui son de

bona vida: e ab los brazos e ab les mans deu tan be punir e castigar lo home de mala vida. Los gualter brazos significuen que lo caualler deu guaroar que los comitades ne irromantichos no fagen mal ne dan ales Iglesias. Larmes de ca mes significa li lo caualler sent o sap negu vulla fer dan ala Iglesia o infies enalle per dspanficar la castidat sino pot acual apetu hi deu anar ala batalla per defenore aquella. E tenpor e pare de caualleria dixit tirant quinta consolacio es per ala mia anima en yo poder saber los grans secretos que son en aquest tan alt orde de cauallerate sia de vostra merce puy e sobut la propietat deles anis es defenitues que sapia la significancia deles ofenitues perque hoia noticia de a quellos. E ligitas lermia dela molis volumat que veu a tirant en saber lorbe de caualleria al qual te sponens dix.

## Capitol xxxv.

Com lermia dix a tirant la significancia deles armes.

**L**o bon grat que tunc da vos a tirant me obligua en ditroet ab molta voluntat tot lo que he sabut en lare de caualleria. Ya zimerament la lanya que es lanya ab lo ferro agut signifi qua quel caualler deu fer tornar a tras tota aquelle qui mal ni dabo ten fer ala Iglesia apti com la Iglesia

Los capitols dels armes que podien fer en aquelles festes.

**O diluns son** pulsiat per los delus bits Reys armes e crante qual se vulla que volgues luytir ab armes re als o ab armes de guerra fosse lo ferro dels armes reals ab qua tre puntes en lo btoquet molt en cerades: ab cera gomada casua na punta dela biletta. Los altres lanyes dels armes de segunt al cap dela lanya vna lanya de fetre redona hon li sigues. v. puntes de acer fetes a tall de diamia molt ben simolades: e aquesta plancha redona ab los fetres de diamia se venen encasar dins la lanya de vni ferro tot fol. Loque meo lanya compra e millor ho fes guanyaa calcun diluns de lany. v. marche doz: e la vni diluns luyten ab at nel real e laltre ab armes de guerra

## Capit. xlvj. de ayo matez.

**O dimarts qu** al se vulla caualler o gentiom que volgues fer atines apeti en camp dos luy per su ho vos per dos ho. r. per. r. ho. r. per. r. ho. r. per. r. v. que no poguiffes esser de maior nombre peyo com los matedozos no eren fino. xv. vi. perque lo pini del camp no rehas sea defenore: qual se vulla q ses armes retreito lo millor qui ha guanyaa vna spala doz que pesaa

de r. marches en sus: E lo qui pt for ho fo que los regit de poliar se en poder del millor per plonar e signua tant pezo fins que iguaa perrefat o per altra via.

## Capitol xlvij.

**O dimercres** tots aquells qui vol ra combatre acualli a tota vltima o punta tes sangentes. E aquest ayal qui amilloz ho fara li sua daba vna pe rita corona doz que pesa. de. xv. marches en sus.

## Capitol xlviii

**O digous qual** se vulla caualler o gentiom qui vol entrar en camp dos apeti a tota vltima apti com dehas es dit lau per hi ho doz per dos en tal cas aquell guanyaa vna banna toa doz a si blaa dela infanta: e peyo coz a lla ames son les pua foza e mes: perntic fes quel caualler pot fer pesaa doz. xxxv. marches. E fa ra luyrament en poder dela fuytes lo vengut que en tota la vida no requerra a negun altre caualler o gentiom atota vltima. E no poa nra dina aquell dia e any spala ni en bregua q sia no pentra armes ne guinea si la no eta contra infies. E ho baa de veit apofat se empo der dela feroza infanta e la vita fuy oza fapa dell atota la voluntat.

## Capitol xlviii

Different states of the edition place initials on different pages of the same forme.<sup>7</sup> For example, on conjugate folios x4v and x5r, the Valencia (V) and New York (N1) copies of *Tirant* lack the initial ‘L’ on folio x5r (see Figures 4 and 5), whereas the London (L) copy lacks the ‘L’ on folio x4v (see Figures 6 and 7).

would sometimes be replaced by an ‘P’; see h2r, u4r, F6r, N3v, R5r, X7v. There is also variation among copies: folio yiv features no initial in L, ‘O’ in N1, and ‘E’ in V (compare also the folios y5r, A4v, D6r, F7r, and P8v in the three copies).

<sup>7</sup> Bonsoms y Sicart, *La edición príncipe del Tirant lo Blanch*, pp. 57–58, remarked on this but did not interpret what it meant for Spindeler’s shop or the printing of the romance.

FIGURES 4 AND 5  
N1, fols. x4v and x5r

dir: **¶** lo bo haque vilt dy: amor  
cy de lig abominacio, i poça dy de  
peccato. temor. vergy q̄ que negu  
no sapia. audacia. ira. delectacio.  
traffica. **¶** lo maior do q̄ la noble en  
vamos deo haure. it es vna casta  
scia de vñ merce dy felenprietat.  
metigau les abominacio de lo bo.  
com haque mirat en la pñsa dygia  
ni fens bones obres. vell fo bonet  
tat. poue iene obeccia. nro fens al  
moyra. bibe negligit. it ey jndic.  
pobre eguallo. l'enyoy fies verrat.  
canta fens remor. poue iene t'ocipi  
na regne fens ley. **¶** Eit tempobor  
demanau li quino fo loo bñs de na  
naturapoo lo rey q̄ eren buyt los  
quis fequizen

**¶** apitol. cxxvii.  
los bene d natura

**¶** primer es gran li  
narte lo legon es gra  
mo e bella d core. lo  
recte es gra foga. lo  
quatre es gran lauge  
ria. lo cinque es fanat de core. lo  
fite es darta e bona vñla. lo fete es d  
ara e bona ven. lo buyte es joyet e  
aletria. dy lo empobor demanau li  
cò bui rey fe corona quites cof  
jura de feruarlo itey repõit dy

**¶** apitol. cxxviii.  
lo q̄ jura lo rey cõ corona

**¶** itimerament que fer  
para amor e pau en  
son regna. lo legona q̄  
quansara totes malit  
fies. la terreta que  
en totes los fets feruara equalitar e  
justificar la quarta que en totes lo  
fets mediatra mifericordia. lo cinque

na que gitara de si totes trania. lafic  
na que q̄ que fara quita fara q̄ sola  
amor de deu. la fetna que mostra  
raen fies obres que es ver cretia.  
la buyrtia que iera defenccor del  
poble. e aqueli amara com afion fill  
propy. la nouena q̄ q̄ fara ab gra  
conciell e bo en vñ e proffo dela co  
fa publica. la debena que cofelara  
e ier fill dela fencia mare iglesia. la  
qual de tot fon poder la defertora e  
no abquarta e pñs fauicioz ni demã  
dousia fara veraxioes nengunas  
la oñena de cuer bo e fete e verba  
de alio libuton: la doze q̄ aiter  
rara e calligara los mals homens  
la treze q̄ alos mequis potores  
fena part e pñccor: la betreta de  
tozes toto aq̄le qui jnformata en  
hoar e tembre carnar deu: moste  
altres coles li demanaren. e a totes  
dona naturale raxones: lauores fo  
ren vñeres los portos d captiuitat  
e totes los qui volgueren entrar bo  
poguen be fer. e cõ totes foren dio  
luare li empobor loy feu toñar e feu  
li òmanar q̄na cola es honor cõ di  
la iglesia e q̄na colia honora bo me  
dõ fencia ni caualer q̄ loy baguñ  
faltat d'it'ro loy aguerit demanau li  
rey mira en la pñsa q̄ lo feliar it dy  
afalpes parauies

**¶** apitol. cxxxv.  
de ho pñccor: bohor

**¶** la es mole cobre  
e metralia alo bon  
e gnerales cõ linat  
que li volen e fer tengu  
to en fluma q̄ sapit qui  
na cola es honor: xõ naturalment  
la mayor part de la homens be bon  
fentiment los plan: y la cerzipe li no

la conex: ni faden be que vaxuñra  
junta la pozer acõnigie. it p̄ q̄  
bñs auidã ami lo fobran alme  
que honoz es bo de reuerencia en  
edumoni d'it'ruu: it gloria e fama  
han diferencia: fon departido de  
honoz: d' laboz: per tal cõ honoz  
e labozon ralo de fama: it ve  
gloria. **¶** it per q̄ es algu en fama  
en gloriar: at lobar: e honrat.  
Dõas encara honoz ha diferencia:  
e departimen de laboz: a qui pñay  
reuerencia gloria e fama e han acõ  
flumar de eller pñes per vna ma  
rega cofa. gloria es vna claredat: re  
tal matex es fama. **¶** Ziquet es lozõ  
que gloria naie de honoz. **¶** it cerzipe  
fe donozes de honoz: e del fort tem  
bz: les coles temericiose e golar en  
pende les coles periliose per tal q̄  
no fia beçiflumar la magellat real.  
Zins ago foza per ralo de be: e  
bona fi. **¶** it ar ago es comã aota vit  
tut fete obzar: no per fauzo de glo  
zia de la homens: rinas per ralo d  
be. **¶** Dõche la ralo per que lo ho  
mens maiorment volen eller hon  
rats es per tal que apareguen fauzs  
virtuouos ale qualis es maiorment  
deguia honoz. **¶** lo fepate refumo  
ni fimplament vol manifestar la co  
fa fenyalaba. **¶** lo que fia alguna  
cofa conegaba e manifesta. **¶** it fer  
coles que lo demon anoz oultes  
e no les foanates: **¶** it negu no pot  
fazer lo penfament dela persona.  
Dõas conex: lo per los fenyales que  
dehoia fe manifesten. **¶** la reuerencia  
donche qui es honoz fe deu mani  
fester per la virtut de aq̄le que qui  
es donaba. **¶** ito basta fia pñsa  
dins lo cor: am requie que ella fia

dehoia bonaba. **¶** Dõche honoz es  
raldo be de fona. **¶** com reuerencia es  
donaba per alguns fauzs fenyales  
encara mes es manifest. per tal cõ  
honoz es me en aq̄le qui hõra:  
que no en lo qui es honrat. **¶** it p̄ q̄  
honoz rebita reuerencia donaba en  
fempal be virtut. **¶** l'empobor toz  
na apgar afeñeprietat que li torna  
nao quines coles lo home barmes  
ha mester. it felenprietat loy dema  
na. **¶** lo itey repõit dy.

**¶** apitol. cxxvi.  
lo q̄ lo home barmes ha mester.

**¶** a pñca e principal  
coia q̄ lo caualer ha  
mester li vol eller bo  
me barmes que paga  
comptar lo pre be  
larrea. **¶** la legona es que faga gran  
treball ab les mane exercit les ar  
me. **¶** la terreta es que fapen folte  
nit fetura be viandos. **¶** la quarta  
es mal jaure e mal ftar. **¶** la v. es q̄  
per iusticia: e p lo be comu no bue  
te la mort. **¶** it ar aq̄ be faluara la fua  
anima: com itora fia vida los ftes  
verges: en religio. **¶** la fienza no te  
ma fampament de fencia. **¶** la vij. es  
que bagẽ abtes de defice: li ma  
tey e de ofende los enemics. **¶** la  
vijes es bagẽ vergõa de fugir vil  
me. it me li demana cos fe pobia  
acõfigue fencia. **¶** it apolo lo itey.

**¶** apitol. cxxvii.  
com fe acõfigue fencia.

**¶** Ziquia fe pot acõñe  
guir p d'ich cofa. **¶** la  
cuarta e pñca. oia  
cio. **¶** la legõa p propi  
ftudi. **¶** la terça p magi

FIGURES 6 AND 7  
L, x4v and x5r

dir: **¶** lo bo haque vilt dy: amor  
cy de lig abominacio, i poça dy de  
peccato. temor. vergy q̄ que negu  
no sapia. audacia. ira. delectacio.  
traffica. **¶** lo maior do q̄ la noble en  
vamos deo haure. it es vna casta  
scia de vñ merce dy felenprietat.  
metigau les abominacio de lo bo.  
com haque mirat en la pñsa dygia  
ni fens bones obres. vell fo bonet  
tat. poue iene obeccia. nro fens al  
moyra. bibe negligit. it ey jndic.  
pobre eguallo. l'enyoy fies verrat.  
canta fens remor. poue iene t'ocipi  
na regne fens ley. **¶** Eit tempobor  
demanau li quino fo loo bñs de na  
naturapoo lo rey q̄ eren buyt los  
quis fequizen

**¶** apitol. cxxvii.  
los bene d natura

**¶** primer es gran li  
narte lo legon es gra  
mo e bella d core. lo  
recte es gra foga. lo  
quatre es gran lauge  
ria. lo cinque es fanat de core. lo  
fite es darta e bona vñla. lo fete es d  
ara e bona ven. lo buyte es joyet e  
aletria. dy lo empobor demanau li  
cò bui rey fe corona quites cof  
jura de feruarlo itey repõit dy

**¶** apitol. cxxviii.  
lo q̄ jura lo rey cõ corona

**¶** itimerament que fer  
para amor e pau en  
son regna. lo legona q̄  
quansara totes malit  
fies. la terreta que  
en totes los fets feruara equalitar e  
justificar la quarta que en totes lo  
fets mediatra mifericordia. lo cinque

na que gitara de si totes trania. lafic  
na que q̄ que fara quita fara q̄ sola  
amor de deu. la fetna que mostra  
raen fies obres que es ver cretia.  
la buyrtia que iera defenccor del  
poble. e aqueli amara com afion fill  
propy. la nouena q̄ q̄ fara ab gra  
conciell e bo en vñ e proffo dela co  
fa publica. la debena que cofelara  
e ier fill dela fencia mare iglesia. la  
qual de tot fon poder la defertora e  
no abquarta e pñs fauicioz ni demã  
dousia fara veraxioes nengunas  
la oñena de cuer bo e fete e verba  
de alio libuton: la doze q̄ aiter  
rara e calligara los mals homens  
la treze q̄ alos mequis potores  
fena part e pñccor: la betreta de  
tozes toto aq̄le qui jnformata en  
hoar e tembre carnar deu: moste  
altres coles li demanaren. e a totes  
dona naturale raxones: lauores fo  
ren vñeres los portos d captiuitat  
e totes los qui volgueren entrar bo  
poguen be fer. e cõ totes foren dio  
luare li empobor loy feu toñar e feu  
li òmanar q̄na cola es honor cõ di  
la iglesia e q̄na colia honora bo me  
dõ fencia e james boua trobar ho  
mõ d'icoria ni caualer q̄ loy baguñ  
faltat d'it'ro loy aguerit demanau li  
rey mira en la pñsa q̄ lo feliar it dy  
afalpes parauies

**¶** apitol. cxxxv.  
de ho pñccor: bohor

**¶** la es mole cobre  
e metralia alo bon  
e gnerales cõ linat  
que li volen e fer tengu  
to en fluma q̄ sapit qui  
na cola es honor: xõ naturalment  
la mayor part de la homens be bon  
fentiment los plan: y la cerzipe li no

la conex: ni faden be que vaxuñra  
junta la pozer acõnigie. it p̄ q̄  
bñs auidã ami lo fobran alme  
que honoz es bo de reuerencia en  
edumoni d'it'ruu: it gloria e fama  
han diferencia: fon departido de  
honoz: d' laboz: per tal cõ honoz  
e labozon ralo de fama: it ve  
gloria. **¶** it per q̄ es algu en fama  
en gloriar: at lobar: e honrat.  
Dõas encara honoz ha diferencia:  
e departimen de laboz: a qui pñay  
reuerencia gloria e fama e han acõ  
flumar de eller pñes per vna ma  
rega cofa. gloria es vna claredat: re  
tal matex es fama. **¶** Ziquet es lozõ  
que gloria naie de honoz. **¶** it cerzipe  
fe donozes de honoz: e del fort tem  
bz: les coles temericiose e golar en  
pende les coles periliose per tal q̄  
no fia beçiflumar la magellat real.  
Zins ago foza per ralo de be: e  
bona fi. **¶** it ar ago es comã aota vit  
tut fete obzar: no per fauzo de glo  
zia de la homens: rinas per ralo d  
be. **¶** Dõche la ralo per que lo ho  
mens maiorment volen eller hon  
rats es per tal que apareguen fauzs  
virtuouos ale qualis es maiorment  
deguia honoz. **¶** lo fepate refumo  
ni fimplament vol manifestar la co  
fa fenyalaba. **¶** lo que fia alguna  
cofa conegaba e manifesta. **¶** it fer  
coles que lo demon anoz oultes  
e no les foanates: **¶** it negu no pot  
fazer lo penfament dela persona.  
Dõas conex: lo per los fenyales que  
dehoia fe manifesten. **¶** la reuerencia  
donche qui es honoz fe deu mani  
fester per la virtut de aq̄le que qui  
es donaba. **¶** ito basta fia pñsa  
dins lo cor: am requie que ella fia

dehoia bonaba. **¶** Dõche honoz es  
raldo be de fona. **¶** com reuerencia es  
donaba per alguns fauzs fenyales  
encara mes es manifest. per tal cõ  
honoz es me en aq̄le qui hõra:  
que no en lo qui es honrat. **¶** it p̄ q̄  
honoz rebita reuerencia donaba en  
fempal be virtut. **¶** l'empobor toz  
na apgar afeñeprietat que li torna  
nao quines coles lo home barmes  
ha mester. it felenprietat loy dema  
na. **¶** lo itey repõit dy.

**¶** apitol. cxxvi.  
lo q̄ lo home barmes ha mester.

**¶** a pñca e principal  
coia q̄ lo caualer ha  
mester li vol eller bo  
me barmes que paga  
comptar lo pre be  
larrea. **¶** la legona es que faga gran  
treball ab les mane exercit les ar  
me. **¶** la terreta es que fapen folte  
nit fetura be viandos. **¶** la quarta  
es mal jaure e mal ftar. **¶** la v. es q̄  
per iusticia: e p lo be comu no bue  
te la mort. **¶** it ar aq̄ be faluara la fua  
anima: com itora fia vida los ftes  
verges: en religio. **¶** la fienza no te  
ma fampament de fencia. **¶** la vij. es  
que bagẽ abtes de defice: li ma  
tey e de ofende los enemics. **¶** la  
vijes es bagẽ vergõa de fugir vil  
me. it me li demana cos fe pobia  
acõfigue fencia. **¶** it apolo lo itey.

**¶** apitol. cxxvii.  
com fe acõfigue fencia.

**¶** Ziquia fe pot acõñe  
guir p d'ich cofa. **¶** la  
cuarta e pñca. oia  
cio. **¶** la legõa p propi  
ftudi. **¶** la terça p magi

We find additional evidence that *Tirant's editio princeps* was printed by formes in the distribution of certain corrections in extant copies of the book. For example, in copy L, the last lines of conjoined pages k3v and k6r – but not the neighboring formes – contain errors that were corrected in copies N1 and V.<sup>8</sup> Another example is forme A2v / A7r, which was entirely recomposed for N1 (vis-à-vis L and V; see Figures 8-13).

FIGURES 8-10  
L, A2v; V, A2v; N1, A2v

quia rabo empallato li brencas yo<sup>8</sup>  
fare conserget deu e lo mo conserge  
ra que haues parlat maliciu en vos  
li ajulata en aquest cara amor e te  
more recort vos que en aqst cara  
perceua voltes honore e fardau lo  
quas oies e yo dar vos beuira de  
guaribar fare postar la corona del  
j imperi dretes car ja es vençima  
la roca que nous puca altra cola  
de fino que anes parlament aler  
aquella honorezo p. Eus de fer  
prip dela jbanca que sera en  
altre compre paxeg fou deaci anar  
voltes cans. E ar veuom lo par  
lar vber de jbarcemaudo ab  
ven baqa seu principi a vn tal par  
lar.

Capitol.cxxxiii.

**Q**uemo de rebar ab  
nal vergoyia metol  
de gnar parabis  
en aquest mon etc  
po en laire: jemp  
re to lo quem par que en tempo  
de abuerat los parente e ambr  
roms enauides lo meti ignofic  
elig no es pus fino ab amor fer  
neya en aquella de qui fo e fere  
cic com la vira me acomprate ab  
aquest arde de fe vull vure e mo  
etc: fi la tua voluntat ab lo men o  
lig eren concospe molt ne fena la  
mia anima occlibatores: fere co  
fo quis representen ala mia vira

no es pus fino temoz de vergonyia  
e co ni fena car no puds vure lo  
que dixer per le boure ariere q  
la mardat liuen aquest cara amor e  
odpalle la temoz e vergoyia: abri  
quem de amor e pietat: perques  
puedo que anem lena pus tardoz  
e vos yo aquid como jgnofiat pug  
lum noy fa ab loes follia dela pen  
fa lo vure. jpost ab tanto ginye  
vos be postar de jbarcemaudo: ja  
en defenia de ma honore e beu  
proue voltes refusa per aquid qui  
fou e folat dela ma. Com j l'ant  
fe ven que jbarcemaudo lo ha  
uia bejar ne ma fobia bon era per  
lum en tota la cambra no hauiac  
en lo feu fer per jpar de mia bo  
ra en camia e becalic: em baig co  
poda la eronaac: cila lo fena molt  
de respone molvolu. Com jba  
er emba: vena que pouo lo fena  
fer refrebar: pouo lin gran pietat  
e colias adli e cog: l'ant caliga bon  
loa qui fon podt: emba: amos com  
podeu vos pensar que bona ni do  
yella li pugna deplaire: vullas fia  
de gran o: de poua comtozo: no  
fia roftra: deijola que fia amaba:  
e aquid qui mes vira honrefe: go  
en fereba de mi o: beuier fine  
fira: poua o terrat: fi poua entrar  
aquid elico lo temen per miliofor  
ca quem deplauria am: q: j post  
fo: lenbanc: que beuina amor que  
ara li poue l'auore lin postara qua  
ranta: e fi har no volia leguamot  
deplaurie quem prenguen per loe  
cabelles: per foza o per grant roze  
gant me per la cambra me fou col  
lar: fer rot lo q: el volguere e molt

quia rabo empallato li brencas yo<sup>8</sup>  
fare conserget deu e lo mo conserge  
ra que haues parlat maliciu en vos  
li ajulata en aquest cara amor e te  
more recort vos que en aqst cara  
perceua voltes honore e fardau lo  
quas oies e yo dar vos beuira de  
guaribar fare postar la corona del  
j imperi dretes car ja es vençima  
la roca que nous puca altra cola  
de fino que anes parlament aler  
aquella honorezo p. Eus de fer  
prip dela jbanca que sera en  
altre compre paxeg fou deaci anar  
voltes cans. E ar veuom lo par  
lar vber de jbarcemaudo ab  
ven baqa seu principi a vn tal par  
lar.

Capitol.cxxxiii.

**Q**uemo de rebar ab  
nal vergoyia metol  
de gnar parabis  
en aquest mon etc  
po en laire: jemp  
re to lo quem par que en tempo  
de abuerat los parente e ambr  
roms enauides lo meti ignofic  
elig no es pus fino ab amor fer  
neya en aquella de qui fo e fere  
cic com la vira me acomprate ab  
aquest arde de fe vull vure e mo  
etc: fi la tua voluntat ab lo men o  
lig eren concospe molt ne fena la  
mia anima occlibatores: fere co  
fo quis representen ala mia vira

quia rabo empallato li brencas yo<sup>8</sup>  
fare conserget deu e lo mo conserge  
ra que haues parlat maliciu en vos  
li ajulata en aquest cara amor e te  
more recort vos que en aqst cara  
perceua voltes honore e fardau lo  
quas oies e yo dar vos beuira de  
guaribar fare postar la corona del  
j imperi dretes car ja es vençima  
la roca que nous puca altra cola  
de fino que anes parlament aler  
aquella honorezo p. Eus de fer  
prip dela jbanca que sera en  
altre compre paxeg fou deaci anar  
voltes cans. E ar veuom lo par  
lar vber de jbarcemaudo ab  
ven baqa seu principi a vn tal par  
lar.

Replia que fa l'ant e plaxer  
maudo.

Capitol.cxxxiii.

**Q**uemo de rebar ab  
nal vergoyia metol  
de gnar parabis  
en aquest mon etc  
po en laire: jemp  
re to lo quem par que en tempo  
de abuerat los parente ambr  
roms enauides lo meti ignofic  
elig no es pus fino ab amor fer  
neya en aquella de qui fore l're aut  
com la vira me acomprate e ab  
aquest arde de fe vull vure: mo  
etc: fi la tua voluntat ab lo men de  
fig eren concospe molt ne fena la  
mia anima occlibatores: fere co  
fo quis representen ala mia vira  
no es pus fino temoz de vergonyia

e es ni fena car no puds vure lo  
que dixer per le boure ariere que  
fi mardat fia en aquest cara yom  
deplaire la temoz: vergoyia: abri  
quem de amor e pietat: perques  
puedo que anem lena pus tardoz:  
e vira yo aquid: coas jgnofiat pug  
lum noy fa ab loes follia dela pen  
fa lo vure. jpost ab tanto ginye  
vos be postar de jbarcemaudo: ja  
en defenia de ma honore e beu  
proue voltes refusa per aquid qui  
fou e folat dela ma. Com j l'ant  
fe ven que jbarcemaudo lo ha  
uia bejar ne ma fobia bon era per  
lum en tota la cambra no hauiac  
en lo feu fer per jpar de mia bo  
ra en camia: e becalic: em baig co  
poda la eronaac: cila lo fena molt  
de respone molvolu. Com jba  
er emba: vena que pouo lo fena  
fer refrebar: pouo lin gran pietat  
e colias e d'ic: fi. j l'ant caliga bon  
loa qui fon podt: emba: amos com  
podeu vos pensar que bona ni do  
yella li pugna deplaire: vullas fia  
de gran o: de poua comtozo: no  
fia roftra: deijola que fia amaba:  
aquid qui mes vira honrefe: go  
en fereba de mi o: beuier fine  
fira: poua o terrat: fi poua entrar  
aquid elico lo temen per miliofor  
ca quem deplauria am: q: j post  
fo: lenbanc: que beuina amor que  
ara li poue l'auore lin postara qua  
ranta: e fi har no volia leguamot  
deplaurie quem prenguen per loe  
cabelles: per foza o per grant roze  
gant me per la cambra me fou col  
lar: fer rot lo q: el volguere e molt

Replia que fa l'ant e plaxer  
maudo.

<sup>8</sup> k3v: prengué] pringue L; no u volgué consentir] no volgué consentir L, nou volgué consentir N1 V; mateix] meteix L; posarenlo L, posarenlo N1 V; a cascú] cascú L; servien]

FIGURES 11-13  
L, A7r; V, A7r; N1, A7r

alteracio. **E** vell l'Emperador triff e amarch lo en los meus barreres dies tanta doloz renca de sentir. **E** mozt cruel hi q' fies e cõ novès pit ami qui deligee oit' ago ell perde lo lenitment e cayge inozent en lo punt de la filla. **L**o dol e lo cru' fon tan gran per tot lo palau que era cola de gran admiracio de veure' de boir lo plant que les gãs febl en e fon molt majos que lo pamer **L**tant qui flaua danall lo pochte sperant les besties quant les hi portarten fent tan grans crits que patria que lo cel ne degues venir: deff pacba de causalcar ab molta doloz e pallio q' passauze la pena li aug menta dupantse que no fos en da beal' **L**estella. **V**pollu puz vna forabata de maris gebelms e bo licalay entom òla cama perque fce dor noy entras: e ast en la milloz manera que pogueren anaren fins al postal dela **L**ntar. **E** les guar des conegueren a **L**tant e dema nardí atal boza boni anaua. **E** el respõ que anaua abelltar al seus caualls per veure com flauen: per ço com la sua pareba deua effer molt pacba per anar al camp. **E** es pocha li foren pichament vberres **E** **L**tant feu fon camí. **L**om ague ren causalcaba miya legua dig' **L**tant gran dupert mcho que ala fey oza **L**estella no haja legut algú dan que lo **L**emperador li hatafet per causa mia: vull li tonar pena iudat li necessari ho haure dia lo **L**esconte per ma fe vos flau en gentil punt dig' per ajudari. **E**ny oz **L**esconte dig' **L**tant: ja no m

sent mal neguar vos sabes que lo maior mal fa cellar lo meoz: per ço yous clam merce que tonem a la **L**ntar si en reu o puzem valer. **E**os haueu peroulo lo fey o sou del totomat foll dig' lo **L**esconte ell nos pot tenir e voi tonar ala **L**ntarperço que lo **L**emperador e tota los altres bajen a coneger e a sentir lo vostre defalt: hauren pou azer en difsimularbo ala gent perço que culpa ni carrech no ha iuzc sia cert que si de aç vos ne tonau de mozt o alietat no poden effer bellure. **L**est'at care que tot ago sia q' vos tiemo es talpo dig' **L**tant qui yo qui he fer, lo mal quem pozte la penze la mia mozt haure per be plitacoa puic per tan virtuosa fenyosa yo myria. **L**om aut deu dig' lo **L**esconte si vos hi tonau encara que yo' faves polat feyate: com noy es lo **D**udo si res fent que sia en dan ho en defonoz dela **L**estella que ell noli auozar ara poteu veure que venen les ristes amoz: anem li voleu e no fligam pus act: car tant com mes flam ni detemim temps es meo dà per auos. **S**ra fen me vna gracia dig' **L**tant puic nom volen bepar tonar que vos quey anem si es negu qui dan li vulla ferbo agues repat ò ferli q' myrre' tot e no sia puz negu a merce. **L**at lo p'gua **L**trair al **L**esconte fon foizat ò tonar ala **L**ntar e al girar dig' dig' q' **L**trair non hoobí mas **V**pollu bo entesig m'õ deu no h'averitat q' yo haia cura ò bona ni ò d'òyella que lo mon sia lino folament en fer ve

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seruieu L; partia] perfia L; correns] corrent L; k6r: aquí-ls] aquels L, aquils N1 V; que] qui L; ell] ells L; tant] tant L.



It is easy to see that, within each quire, outer formes were printed first, as was common in the fifteenth century.<sup>9</sup> While the text was regularly set in two columns and forty-two lines, the number of lines varies more often in the inner formes of the quire. This variation is due to the unavoidable inaccuracies of casting off the text of an entire quire before composing it. When estimations deviated significantly from the actual composition, it was necessary to adjust the amount of text to be set on each page of the forme. There were different ways of making these adjustments. For instance, when there was too little text to be set and too much space available, the compositors would leave more space between chapters. When there was too much text to be set in too little space, they would heavily abbreviate the text. In certain desperate situations, they would simply eliminate portions of the text altogether.<sup>10</sup>

One way to adjust the text to the formes was to add or subtract lines per page. As compositors neared the end of the quire, their accuracy (or lack thereof) in casting off the text would become obvious, and the need to adjust would become evident and pressing. These adjustments can be identified in several quires in which the number of lines in the inner formes is higher or lower than the usual forty-two. When too little text was cast off for a quire, the number of lines in inner formes goes down. This is the case in quires f, g, h, m, r, s, y, and z.<sup>11</sup> In quire A, the inner formes even

<sup>9</sup> See L. Hellinga, *Texts in Transit: Manuscript to Proof and Print in the Fifteenth Century*, Leiden, Brill, 2014, pp. 58-61: 59.

<sup>10</sup> S. Garza Merino, «La cuenta del original», in P.A. Escapa, S. Garza Merino, *Imprenta y crítica textual en el Siglo de Oro*, estudios publicados bajo la dirección de F. Rico, Valladolid, Centro para la Edición de los Clásicos Españoles, 2000, pp. 65-66, and 77-79; Rico, *El texto del «Quijote»: Preliminares a una ecdótica del Siglo de Oro*, pp. 89-93, 181-186; N. Harris, «Filologia dei testi a stampa», in A. Stussi (a cura di), *Fondamenti di critica testuale*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2006, pp. 187-188; A. Lloret, «La formazione di un canzoniere a stampa», *Ecdotica*, 5 (2008), pp. 103-125; Idem, *Printing Ausiàs March: Material Culture and Renaissance Poetics*, Madrid, Centro para la Edición de los Clásicos Españoles, 2013, p. 149.

<sup>11</sup> f4v 42 ll. // f5r 41 ll.; g2v 41 ll. // g7r 41 ll.; g3r 41 ll. // g6v 41 ll.; g3v 40 ll. // g6r 41 ll.; g4r 42 ll. // g5r 42 ll.; g4v 41 ll. // g5r 40 ll. (moreover, the chapter rubric on g4v has an additional line of space before and after it); h4v 42 ll. // h5r 41 ll.; m4v 41 ll. // m5r 40 ll.; r4r 41 ll. // r5v 42 ll.; r4v 41 ll. // r5r 41 ll.; s3v 41 ll. // s6r 42 ll.; sr4 40 ll. // s5v 40 ll.; s4v 40 ll. // s5r 40 ll.; y4v 41 ll. // y5r 42 ll.; z4r a2 ll., b41 ll. // z5v 42 ll.; z4v 41 ll. // z5r 42 ll. On occasion, only one of the pages in a forme or one of the columns on a page would contain fewer lines, such as the very irregular quire t or the first formes of quire v: tr ; a: 41 ll., b: 40 ll. // t8v 41 ll.; t1v 42 ll. // t8r 41 ll.; t2r 41 ll. // t7v 41 ll.; t2v 41 ll. // t7r 42 ll.; t3r 41 ll. // t6v 42 ll.; t3v a: 41 ll., b: 40 ll. // t6r 42 ll.; t4r 40 ll. // t5v 42 ll.; t4v 40 ll. // t5 r 42 ll.; v1r 40 ll. // v8v 42 ll.; v1v 40 ll. // v8r 42 ll.; v2r a: 42 ll., b: 41 ll. // v7v a: 42 ll., b: 41 ll.; v2v a:

feature surprisingly narrower columns than the outer formes do.<sup>12</sup> When too much text was cast off, some of the inner formes would have more than forty-two lines, as in quire i.<sup>13</sup> The compositors tended to overestimate the amount of space needed, possibly aiming to avoid some of the more dramatic pitfalls of the process. By being relatively generous with paper (eight quires feature shorter columns in the inner formes, the last to be set), they could avoid having too much text for just so much space in a quire. (Only one of the quires ends with inner formes of forty-three lines.) If too much text was still left to be set in the last forme to be printed, the typesetter would need to either recast and reprint the entire quire (which would be unfeasible; that is, prohibitively expensive) or eliminate part of the text and thus irreparably maim the printed work. Pages in short-lined inner formes are also at times accompanied by wider spacing between chapters, and overextended inner forms also occasionally correlate with unspaced divisions between chapters (see Figures 14 and 15).

FIGURES 14 AND 15  
N1, pages 64v (left) and 15v (right)

moltas fanchs que perdoia: mes si et palmes totes tot ext eria fillaque mol pogueré desconfiarar fino a la meta en temps. **E**ncantat en corra ar mat qui com flana fersa leuare el dimar del cap. **E** postlamente laltre canaller doia vn liri al R.ey: que en aqlla doia marea volia com barre. **E** los juyges del cap digue rent que no competien per res los ordonacions del camp com en aquell dia no li podien fer dos moza ni en tota la fermata: que en camp a guelien entercarçino los dies que e ren dize per fer armes en liga oro en vintanyes si aqo nolo venia be: q venien llibertat de amanyer tota lo ra que adia platen los fons. **E**na qns laan moze vn canaller nostre fratre darme bien quena se ameno o tote bi mozeremo tote venanyes la moze de aquell bigueren loo, til canalleo. **E** lo R.ey fer fer moltos de bonos ala fequitera del mont canaller: qui com feleien aroes los alreos. **E** om lo posauan aloctarrat los tres canallers e velutren de ver meli ab robes de grana z tor quat: portauen era vermil significauen janyare fens plozar ni fer negun fe nyal be reilloz.

capitol.lxxii.

**E**om **E**ncantat entra en lo camp ab los tres canallers lo feu aroes laltreze de tots fon venyozo.

**E**nt lo dia q era assignat se fer la batalla: **E**ncantat se arma tan ferretament com pogueren aquest fer no penie la menyoria voltra: que totes los ocs noia companyia bi la beffidino treze de molides parties de **E**ncantat: e vn fructoz seu amio **E**ncantat feu portar les banderes: e sobrevetle per adre per alost eyes darme: i etatus: dotes armes de fon **E**ncantat. En les puntes fozen de la **E**ntaux ben armat puja folze lo canall empantament. **E**lquel ca / ualler: qui es agi: resta tantar dime vna camba: porque **E**ncantat lon quegia molt: e totes se peniaue que fos ell: **E**ncantat ana acompanyar en la manea acostumada com de sus es dit. **E** om fon dms la liga ja robau vn canaller del laur de bonoz e lusien anozar: fens rda: e ab ar tres fens guaras negia: podoen en contra feu lo feu ni laltre: que no competit fino ginch lango. **E** na on zena carrera **E**ncantat lanja la sua langa: demana que lin bonafien v lo mes proffia: e ab aquella encon ferque lo pobte de canaller: que volge eral tan focaque la liga no volge haure pietat de neguz pallat de lalt ra part que la langa noo rompe: e al porlar que **E**ncantat feu ab la langa en lo refil volze que canall: fait la liga fe volze al reuzes fens moze gran dan: que li obri molt la nafsa que no agiera fer si la langa fe los compuso. **E**mpero qui hausa be ef ferque lo pobte de canaller: ex compuz enterra z ab la langa dms moze fort mers erbausa. **E**ncantat desconfia

lo gran malituz de **E**ncantat gary vegueré dms inoguarze fonsa per: bota lo **E**ncantat que vena laja lofo cogreue: e lo callat: fon dauat car dets enemichs. **E** lo **E**ncantat per les parantes del amio canaller: lo covreue que li obulme man: que les pozos follen ben guaradoes e la muralla e ferenlo entarar opal venia ab la cara molt alteraba. **E** q lo **E**ncantat lo veu dms fill dig. **E** mal fratre epioze canallereno reme deu ni lo odoe en que est polar: que en les bozes itilpoites e no bont fies per affares be religio e ler foza del callat: i yot bare la penitencia q est interrezo. **E**lms volaltes ni vultre dms justicia e poalo en lo carze: e no li bones aimjat: fino nij. ongo de pac. **E** l baygua. **E** na / menyoria voltra dig lo canaller: no ha acostumat de contemnar ana gna fens que no sia boire: si la tase que bare de mi no basta armbre la pena: yo vull reze ab paciencia la pena d'obras. **E** lo **E**ncantat rot vull bino: fino que mant que lo mia namet men fia excurat. **E** nyoz dig lo canaller: qui fere yo vifimnt tractat q non volen boit: yoz peni que no pallara. **E** nyoz bores que la menyoria vna mevoltes haue boit e haue me bonat. **E** nyoz comu da de tota la R. eligio: car non boi va fino la voba la dignitate que p da tota la R. eligio. **E** nyoz lo que yo bare no es veritat: no vull altra menya penadino quem figan ligar dms mir ab vna moia al coll: yo vull moure ment per muntar la nostra R. eligio. **E** lo **E**ncantat qui ven que lo canaller tant fe justia

namana ill'elassen e dig: atá ved rem que fobas dit. **E** nyoz v q lo canaller: no es cola que adre la qn publico. **E** lo **E**ncantat feu apartar ro ta la gr. **E** lo canaller: feu pncipit atal point.

capitol.lxxiii.

**E** om lo **E**ncantat de R. oces ab tota la R. eligio fon deturada per vn canaller del orde.

**E**nyoz per la immé fia e buona dementia e bonbat be nostre: h nyoz be es flana fe / ta ala nostrail digio la mozo gracia que james los ane ga. **E** car dema la menyoria volta fo ra moze e com molaltreze de fto / bit tor lo nostre orde: la **E**ncantat tor lo poble robar: dones e bonde lre de l'onatades: tor polar en total delectuo. **E** ego fensyo lo yozen guralat: boza per infomamte be de aquell ferno remt negun penil per saluar la vida dela menyoria vo lta e de roto los frates dela R. eligio: e fi de tal coia punico mi q recidoyo lo comozate ab molta paciencia: car me fime moze que li la R. eligio fe hausa de perbre. **E** nyoz fe fill dig lo **E**ncantat que di gura la forma tu com fe denia fer car yo portarfe de religioz que la pena que deutes haue: fe conue rta en gran augment: dela bonoz naze colomant: car aqoze de mi yo fare lo mozo de tor lo nostre orde. **E** lo canaller dona del genoll en terra: e befoli la ma: aroze dig. **E** a menyoria voltra dou fíber com dos frates dela nostra religio: qz uos noo remen venus: car e con

42 ll., b: 41 ll. // v7r 42 ll. // v3r 42 ll. // v6v 42 ll.; v3v 42 ll. // v6r 42 ll. // v4r 42 ll. // v5v 42 ll.; v4v 42 ll. // v5r 42 ll.

<sup>12</sup> Notice the narrow columns on A3r // A6v, A3v // A6r, A4r // A5v, A4v // A5r.

<sup>13</sup> i4r 42 ll. // i5v 42 ll.; i4v 43 ll. // i5r 43 ll. Moreover, the chapter rubric on i5v does not leave any blank lines between the chapters.

*Solecisms and Lacunae*

Having established that Martorell's novel was printed by formes and that compositors began by setting the outer folios of the quire and ended with the inner ones, we can identify and interpret phenomena that are particular to the transmission of texts in hand-printed editions. One is the solecisms, or grammatically defective sentences, which are apparent, among other places, in the innermost formes of the quire. Such sentences produce obscure *loci critici* and often seem to indicate that words or lines of the original text were skipped, whether intentionally or not. We do not want to suggest that every solecism was caused by the inaccurate work of a compositor: the printer's copy, its antigraph, and any earlier manuscripts could all have been the source of such errors.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, there is a correlation among the nature of these errors, their location, and a step in the hand-printing process that could require an intense compression of the text. In short, solecisms in the inner formes do not appear to be coincidental and should prompt editors of Martorell's romance to consider the material features of the

<sup>14</sup> Jaume Chiner noticed an example of textual error that may seem harder to ascribe to a manuscript copy or the printing process. Between chapters 271 and 272 (that is, on folio D6r, so not one of the innermost formes), an entire speech by the protagonist is missing (cf. J. Chiner, «El Tirant lo Blanch de Nicolau Spíndeler (1490), una edició fragmentària? A l'entorn de la seua estructura capitular», *Rassegna Iberistica*, 50 (1994), pp. 18-19). The *verba dicendi* at the end of chapter 271, as in many chapter endings in the *princeps*, introduces what would have been the words of Tirant, who is expected to take the floor: «Mas Tirant, mostrand ésser molt content del bon conhort e gràcia singular que de la Princesa obtesa havia, ab cara afable e gest humil li dix paraules de semblant estil» ('But Tirant, showing himself most pleased by the fine consolation and unique grace he had obtained from the Princess, with both a pleasing and humble mien, said to the Princess words such as the following'). However, instead of containing Tirant's speech, the beginning of 272 turns to a different matter: «En alegria de goig inefable fon posada l'ànima de Tirant com se véu en camí per poder posseir la corona de l'Imperi grec per mitjà de les novelles esposalles» ('Tirant's soul was in such joyful and ineffable bliss when he realized he was on the road to obtaining the crown of the Greek empire through marriage'). An alternative explanation would be that this ending was added in the printing shop, as would occasionally happen for different reasons. See, e.g., R. Ramos, «Problemas de la edición zaragozana del *Amadís de Gaula* (1508)», in A.B. Carro Carvajal, L. Puerto Moro, M. Sánchez Pérez (eds.), *Libros de caballerías (de «Amadís» al «Quijote»): Poética, lectura, representación e identidad*, Salamanca, Seminario de Estudios Medievales y Renacentistas, Sociedad de Estudios Medievales y Renacentistas, 2002, pp. 325-341, and Rico, *El texto del «Quijote»: Preliminares a una ecdótica del Siglo de Oro*, pp. 198-204.

*princeps* when examining the *loci critici* of the work. We will discuss a few cases below.

First, we will focus on a sentence in which the main clause is missing. The passage appears in the right column of v15, toward the top, in chapter 172 of the romance. Here, Carmesina is encouraging Tirant to stop extending his sojourn with her and, instead, act on a letter from the battlefield, which begs him to return and captain the troops. Carmesina mentions a parallel incident in the life of Alexander the Great, in which Alexander abandoned the distractions of love to honor his military prowess:

E tal cavaller com aquest portava devisa de virtut en sa companyia, axí volria yo que vós fésseu, e serà forçat la vostra persona sostinga dans e congoxes ab tanta pèrdua de vostra honor si us aconortau de aquella, mas justa escusa no teniu per al que m'haveu ofesa, perquè los hòmens envejosos de nostra pròspera fortuna de lur poder [no] perdessen la conexença, [ha plagut hajam pres aquests treballs], però la gran stima nostra egualment perdent fa adversa nostra fortuna.<sup>15</sup>

The missing clause in this passage has been emended thanks to Martorell's imitative writing, which literally draws from Joan Roís de Corella's *Lletres d'Aquil·les a Políxena*.<sup>16</sup> Martorell's source supplies us with a text («ha plagut hajam pres aquests treballs») that renders the sentence grammatically correct.

Second, we will consider a passage from a page with an extended line count, one from an inner forme in quire i. This page includes columns of more than forty-two lines, showing that the compositor considerably overestimated the amount of text that could fit into the quire. This miscalculation alerts us to the fact that, in the setting of type, textual accidents may have occurred during the printing of that quire, particularly of its inner formes, and that we should watch carefully for them. That, in fact, is the case here: there is a grammatical anomaly in a sentence in the last lines of the outer column of one of the last folios to be set, 15r, in chapter 98 (see Figure 16).

<sup>15</sup> Here and elsewhere, we quote from our edition in progress of the work.

<sup>16</sup> See A. Annicchiarico, *Varianti corelliane e 'plagi' del «Tirant»: Achille e Polissena*, Fasano, Schena editore, 1996, p. 87.

FIGURE 16

*Lacuna* in 15r (N1)

re	manera no li volia fer obrir. Esta
al	na allí vn caualler molt anticls qui
lo	diu al Mestre. Senyor perq̄ vostra
lo	senyoria no dona audiencia ha aquest
far	frare Simo de far:aveguades se se
da	guetxen coses en una hora: q̄ noa el
os	deue en mil anys: aquest caualler
si	ja sap la pena que li va en lo que ha
ta	comes: mol tingau per tan foll que
ne	sens causa ell vulla entrar en aquesta
la	hora puix al matí poria entrar segura
sal	rament: q̄ tendria per bo q̄ guardades
as	les portes: dalt per les torres les gn
en	ardes stigue armats e ben provehits
re	de grosses canteres: car senyor yo he
au	vist en mon temps: sino aguessen uberta
ria	la porta del castell a la hora de la mija
un	nit lo castell de sanct Pere se perdia

In this passage, the knight Simó de Far tries to enter the city of Rhodes after the gates are closed. He wants to deliver news of an imminent attack from the Mamluk army, which is being aided by the Genoese. But Simó de Far meets resistance from the guards and the master of the city, due to the lateness of the hour. In the sentence that contains the *lacuna*, an old, revered knight advises the master of the city to let Simó de Far enter, but the text of the *princeps* does not contain the full recommendation.

[15r] Senyor, per què vostra senyoria no dóna audiència ha aquest frare Simó de Far? A veguades se segueixen coses en una hora que no s'esdeve[*nen*] en mil anys. Aquest cavaller ja sap la pena que li va en lo que ha comès, no-l tingau per tan foll que sens causa ell vulla entrar en aquesta hora, puix al matí poria entrar segurament. Per què tendria per bo que, guardades les portes e dalt per les torres les guardes stiguen armats e ben provehits de grosses canteres[, *li volguésseu obrir*]. Car, senyor, yo he vist en mon temps, si no aguessen uberta la porta del castell a la hora de la mija nit, lo castell de Sanct Pere se perdria per [15v] la gran multitud de turchs que y vengueren a hora incogitada, e hora per hora lo mestre, que Déus haja, lo socorregué e lo castell fon deliurat dels enemichs.

An early modern Spanish translator (Valladolid: Diego de Gumiel, 1511) also noticed that the passage was missing words and supplied a

reading that fixes the solecism and makes the sentence readable («le mandasen abrir»)<sup>17</sup>. That is the text we have tentatively supplied in the above edition of the passage («li volguésseu obrir»).

While these emendations are ours, previous editors have also identified solecisms in the last folios to be printed in certain quires of *Tirant*. For instance, toward the end of the right (here, the inner) column of folio rr4v – one of the last formes printed in the quire – Martí de Riquer identified and emended a passage in chapter 148 (see Figure 17):

Aprés que lo Gran Conestable e Diafebus foren partits, los turchs staven molt desesperats com dues voltes eren stats desbaratats, maldient del món e de la fortuna qui en tanta dolor los havia posats, com trobassen per compte los fallien entre morts e presos més de cent milia hòmens. E stant ab aquesta ira, tingueren consell en quina forma porien dar mort a Tirant; per què fon deliberat que lo rey de Egipte [*la hi donàs*], per ço com era molt entès e en les armes més destre que negú de tots los altres, e dels moros millor, de II celles molt bon cavalcador, [e] armava's a la nostrada segons en Ytàlia se acostuma fer, ab sos penatxos e los cavalls encubertats.

Here, the Turks debate how to murder Tirant and decide that the king of Egypt would best fit the mission. However, the verb of the main clause is missing. Riquer resorted to the Italian translation of 1538, by Lelio Manfredi, to supply a reading («glie la desse»)<sup>18</sup> that makes the passage grammatical («la hi donàs»).

<sup>17</sup> «Señor, ¿por qué vuestra señoría no quiere oyr a este frayre Simón de Far? Alas vezes se suele seguir cosas en vn hora que no vienen en mil años. Aqueste cauallero ya sabe la pena que merece por lo que ha cometido. No le tenga vuestra señoría por tan loco que sin causa él tenga gana de entrar en esta hora, pues ala mañana podría entrar seguramente, porque terná por bien que guardando bien las puertas y en lo alto, por las torres, que las guardas estuuiesen armadas y bien proueydas de gruesos cantos, que le mandasen abrir.», fol. 53v.

<sup>18</sup> «Poi che'l Contestabile & Diophebo furon partiti, i Turchi erano molto disperati che due volte erano stati rotti, & maladiceuano la fortuna che in tanto dolore posti gl'hauea & trouorno per computo che tra morti & persi, piu di .c. milia huomini li mancauano, & essendo in questa ira, tennero consiglio in quale forma potrebbono dar morte a Tirante. Onde fu deliberato che'l Re d'Egitto glie la desse.», fol. 102r.

FIGURE 17

*Lacuna in rr4v (N1)*

la a  
amf  
mèt  
parè  
lit: e  
nten  
us e  
sap.  
no  
yen  
ab  
dis  
ve  
ba  
co  
da

tes eren stats desbaratais mal dit  
del mon e dela fortuna qui en tanta  
dolor les hauija posats. **L**om tro  
bassen per compte los fallien cntre  
mozos e pïos mes d cent mila ho  
mens: e stant ab aquela ira tinguere  
ren consell en quina forma porien  
bar mozt a **T**irant: perque fon de  
liberat que lo **R**ey de **E**gipte pgo  
com era mozt entes e en les arri ta  
mes destre que negu te tota los al  
tres e dis mozos milloz de.ii.celles  
molt bon cauals e doz armans ala  
nostrada segós en ytalja se acostia  
fer ab los peaycs e los cauals en  
subertats. **B**gueren de seyt que

FIGURE 18

*Lacuna in m4r (N1)*

tal senyor: mas en la mia peia los  
cayguryn tal fet entre les dents yo  
agues dit o pïomes fer tal vot: ans  
mozt que venit ameyo dela pro  
mia. **L**ar caualeria no es pïo  
donar se de virtuofament obar: q  
que **R**icart donam la ma e anem  
amort com acuallers: e no figa  
ni en tantes superflus pataules.  
**E**ly **R**icart yo lo conten donam  
la ma e usquam dia aygua: e anem  
contra los enemichs dela fe. **L**e sta  
uen los dos caualers en la aygua  
dela mar quils dava fins als pits  
per les lanças: darts: passadors: e pe  
dres que ls tirauen: sino per sguart  
deles galeres que ls fehien gran d  
fensio. **L**om **R**icart ven q **T**irant  
ixque fins ala voza dela mar per fe  
rir en los mozos: ell lo tira dela fo  
breueta e tozmal dia la aygua e dic  
yo no cohech caualer en lo mō fer  
temoz sino tuz puer veig lo ten aio  
tā sfozat feo art: pola pmer lo pen  
en la scala e yo lauozepujare pmer  
**L**o **R**ey congoxtanas molt perq  
aqueils dos tā singulars cauallers  
nos perdesien. **T**irant volguet fer  
part dela honoz fon coment d po

**L**om **R**icart en presència del  
**R**ey de Franga dix que combatria  
a **T**irant atota vitranja. **L**e coz lo  
**R**ey de Franga combare **T**irapol  
de **S**uria: e apetz roba la cofia de  
**T**urquia.

**Q**ue los qui no tenē  
verdadeta noticia de  
la honoz de aqst mō  
mostren llur poch sa  
ber: manifestant ab  
llur boca aquell grosser parlar qui  
dix. **S**ib la rabo de mon compare  
men valq. **N**o aduertien ni sabent  
lo gentil tal. ni virtuofa psarica de  
nostres antecessors. **S**egons se lig  
de aquell famos **R**ey **A**rt: (enyoz  
q fon dela petita e gran **E**retanya  
lo qual bona fi e compliment ala  
prospera e pomposa tanla rebona  
hon tantes nobles e virtuofos ca/  
ualers en ella seguert: qui soen co  
meixebos e mercebos d tota ho  
noz e gentilia: e auorrbos de tot  
engari: falsa e malbat: e si per art  
de caualeria la cosa era ben justa  
dala honoz e la glozia de aquell  
mon aqui ben esset atribueta. **f**ino  
m.iiii.

The last example we will discuss is on page m4r (chapter 113). This passage is not located on the innermost forme but on the one next to it, in a segment of the column that is densely packed with type (see Figure 18).

E staven los dos cavallers en la aygua de la mar qui-ls dava fins als pits, [e] per les lanças, darts, passadors e pedres que-ls tiraven [*foren morts*] si no per sguart de les galeres que-ls fehien gran defensió.

This conditional sentence is incomprehensible without a consequent clause. The 1511 Spanish translator noticed the missing clause and emended the text («y fueran muertos»),<sup>19</sup> which supplies us with a reasonable reading to correct the text.

### *The Printer's Copy and the Division of the Work into Chapters*

We now turn our attention to the importance of considering the material source of the edition – the printer's copy (even if it is not extant) – to

<sup>19</sup> «Estauan los dos caualeros enel agua del mar que les llegaua hasta los pechos por guardarse delas lanças, dardos passadores, piedras que les tirauan y fueran muertos sino porque de las galeras les ayudauan e defendían mucho», fol. 71r.

examine the division of the text into chapters. *Tirant lo Blanc* begins with a prefatory letter in which Martorell dedicates his romance to Ferrando of Portugal (1433-70), the son of King Duarte and Eleanor of Aragon. Ferrando is addressed as «rei expectant» ('waiting to be king'). This is a highly unusual form of address that some scholars have explained as a reference to Ferrando's expectations of ruling in North Africa rather than Portugal. Others have linked it to Ferrando's cousin Peter, who was appointed king of Aragon by the *Diputació del General* between October 1463 and January 1464, during the Catalan civil war.<sup>20</sup> In this context, Ferrando would have been next in line to the throne of Aragon. In any case, Ferrando never reigned and Martorell, who initially supported the *Generalitat* and was faithful to Peter of Portugal, switched sides in April 1464 and became loyal to John II. This means that he could only have dedicated a manuscript copy of his book to Ferrando during the first few months of 1464.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, before his death in March 1465, Martorell pawned the manuscript of his romance to Martí Joan de Gualba, who had often loaned him money. The manuscript was then described as «hun libre appellat Tiran lo Blanch, lo qual és continuat en XXVII sisterns de full entregue, desligat» ('a book called *Tirant lo Blanc*, which is contained in twenty-seven sexternions of full folios, unbound').<sup>22</sup>

In short, Martorell's very context-specific letter appears in an edition that was printed more than a quarter of a century after the letter was written, when both its author and addressee were dead, and long after the political loyalties promoted in its dedication were meaningful or consequential. Its existence is a reminder that the way in which we read his romance today ultimately depends on material and textual features

<sup>20</sup> See J.E. Martínez Ferrando, *Pere de Portugal, «rei dels catalans»*, Barcelona, Rafael Dalmau, 1960, pp. 18-20.

<sup>21</sup> See R. Beltran, «Vida de Joanot Martorell», in *Història de la Literatura Catalana*, dir. de À. Broch, *Literatura Medieval, III. Segle xv*, dir. de L. Badia, Barcelona, Enciclopèdia Catalana - Editorial Barcino - Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2015, pp. 30-34, and J. Pujol, «La datació i la dedicatòria. L'infant Ferran de Portugal», in *Història de la Literatura Catalana*, pp. 107-109.

<sup>22</sup> See J. Villalmanzo, J.J. Chiner, *La pluma y la espada: Estudio documental sobre Joanot Martorell y su familia (1373-1483)*, Valencia, Ajuntament de València, 1992, pp. 429-433.

<sup>23</sup> This does not imply that the presentation copy was a luxurious manuscript, for not all presentation copies were elaborate. When Galceran Martorell attempted to reclaim his brother's romance, Gualba alleged that the book was not worth the 100 *reals* Martorell obtained for pawning it: «és de poca valor, e no val los dits cent reals que son estats mutuats o prestats sobre aquell com sia cosa moble, en la qual no cau special obligació ne ypotheca» (Villalmanzo, Chiner, *La pluma y la espada*, p. 432).



of a source text that was not conceived of as a printer's copy but as a gift.<sup>23</sup> At the same time, Spindeler did not directly use this gift manuscript in his shop, but rather obtained a copy of it. Gualba, who died before the printing of the book was finished, provided that copy. An inventory of his household lists two copies of the romance: first, «hun libre cubert de pergami appellat lo *Tiran*» ('a book bound in parchment called *Tirant*'); then «n'i ha hun altre tot acabat, lo qual tenen per original los stampadors, e per lo qual ne tenen a donar x bolums com sien stampats, segons consta ab carta rebuda per lo discret en Johan Cavaller, notari, sots sert callendari» ('there is another complete manuscript that the printers are using as their original, for which they will provide ten copies of the work once it is printed according to a letter received by Discreet Notary Joan Cavaller at a certain date').<sup>24</sup> This second description verifies that Joan Rix de Cura, the bookseller who financed the printing, was bound to compensate Gualba with ten printed copies of the book in exchange for Gualba's supplying the press with the printer's copy of the romance. Gualba's heir did receive the agreed-upon payment, and the printer's copy of *Tirant* was returned to him on April 30, 1491.<sup>25</sup>

Now, at some point, the text of the work was divided into chapters, rubrics were added to it, and these rubrics were eventually used to compile a table of contents. These editorial interventions either occurred during the making of the printer's copy or were the work of a corrector preparing the text for publication after the copy was made. The latter was common and, in our view, the case here.<sup>26</sup> Tellingly, the single surviving manuscript leaf of a copy of *Tirant* dating to the fifteenth century contains fragments of two chapters of the printed work. A blank space separates these chapters. Since no rubric appears between them, the manuscript could not be a copy of the edition, but rather a text very much like the one Martorell pawned to Gualba.<sup>27</sup> So while the text of the printer's copy of *Tirant lo Blanc* derived many of its features from

<sup>24</sup> See Martínez y Martínez, *Martín Juan de Galba, coautor del «Tirant lo Blanch»*, p. 82.

<sup>25</sup> Ivi, p. 59.

<sup>26</sup> See A. Grafton, *Inky Fingers: The Making of Books in Early Modern Europe*, Cambridge, MA, Belknap Press - Harvard University Press, 2020, pp. 34-39.

<sup>27</sup> The colophon of Spindeler's edition mentions a lady, Isabel de Lloris, as its patron. The manuscript leaf was located among documents of the Lloris family; see J.J. Chiner, *El viure novel·lesc: Biografia de Joanot Martorell (amb un fragment d'un manuscrit del Tirant lo Blanch)*, Alcoi: Marfil, 1993, pp. 169-175, 186-187. On the identification of this lady, see Ivi, pp. 166-169; and J. Torró, «Nota per a la identificació de la noble senyora dona Isabel de Lloris», *Tirant*, 16 (2013), pp. 373-374.

Martorell's manuscript, it is also a different text from its original, and uniquely so because of the editorial work that the press's corrector performed on it. These small distinctions, as we will see, are essential for modern editors of the work, who need to understand the sources and agents responsible for certain substantial features of the printed text in order to decide how to treat these features in their critical edition.<sup>28</sup>

In our view, not only was the press's corrector most likely responsible for much of the division of the text into chapters, but the numbering of the chapters of the romance, and perhaps the addition of the rubrics, appear to have taken place while the book was being printed. The usual procedure would have been the following: chapters were segmented (indicated with a line on the printer's copy, as shown on surviving printers' copies), then a rubric was added next to most of them, and finally a chapter number was assigned. This last step took place after chapters had been cast off, as we will now show, so it would not be unlikely to presume that the other two steps would have also taken place after the work had been cast off.

Take, for example, chapters 243-246 (B3v-B5r). In this sequence, the *editio princeps* misplaced chapter 244, a short reply from the Princess to Tirant that should appear right after 246.<sup>29</sup> It is not apparent how the Princess's response got misplaced, although it seems likely that it occurred during the copying of the work. This bit of text could have been easily skipped and then added later in a marginal position that was accidentally placed out of order when printed.<sup>30</sup> Since the correct order

<sup>28</sup> Jaume Chiner has already argued that Martorell was probably not responsible for dividing the romance into chapters. To support this claim, Chiner gathered examples of the narrator's discourse and characters' dialogues that appear to be split between chapters, chapter titles that refer only to what occurs at the beginning of the chapter, and inexplicably short chapters (see Chiner, *El viure novel·lesc: Biografia de Joanot Martorell*, pp. 177-181).

<sup>29</sup> The second edition of the work, by Pere Miquel and Diego Gumiel (1497), noticed the error and attempted a correction that is not satisfactory. The one suggested here was first proposed in Lelio Manfredi's Italian translation of 1538 (ff. 165r-166r) and was adopted by Marian Aguiló (J. Martorell, *Libre del valeros e strenu cavaller Tirant lo Blanch*, ed. de M. Aguiló i Fuster, 4 vols, Barcelona, Llibreria d'Àlvar Verdaguer, 1873-1905) and by all later editors of the work except for Givanel (J. Martorell, *Tirant lo Blanch*, 2 vols., ed. de J. Givanel i Mas, Sant Feliu de Guíxols, Estampa de N'Octavi Viader Editor, 1920-1921) and Víctor Gómez (J. Martorell, M.J. de Galba, *Tirant lo Blanc*, 3 vols., ed. de V. Gómez, Valencia, Alfons el Magnànim, IVEL, 1990).

<sup>30</sup> For another case of marginal additions (in this case, to poetic works) that got misplaced when the work was printed see A. Lloret, «L'original d'impremta de l'edició de Tournon (1633) i un altre testimoni perdut de la traducció llatina d'Ausiàs March» in M. Garcia, F. Llorca, L. Martín, J.L. Martos, J.M. Perujo, G. Sansano (eds.) *Estudis en honor*

of the chapter sequence is 243, 245, 246, and 244, Martorell certainly could not have assigned these numbers to, and then mis-sequence, these parts of his romance.

FIGURE 19

Chapter 69, fol. gr (N1)

senyors lo son venguts no ni ha  
vengut negu qui ab tan gènl orde  
sia vengut: me a acceptes atores  
les grta. L'om foze prop del Rey  
del catala: caren: e saludarenlo ab lo  
cap: e ala Reyna perque es bona  
ferit vna poca reuerècia de genoll  
E lo Rey e Reyna los reteren les  
saluase roznaten e afeure. E los ca  
uallers estiguere figures sens fer ne  
gum mouimet mes de miga hoza  
lino mirant lestar e lo compoze del  
Rey e dela Reyna: e no era negu  
quels pogues coneger: e els conet  
ren amolte axi de los vasallo cò de  
strangers. L'om agneren de mirar  
aor llur plaer: a coltas fou dels par  
ges aells ab lo leo q pozaua per la  
renyella: e lo vn caualler mes en  
la boca del leo vn scrute bastas ala  
ozella del leze: parlant: nos pogue  
saber quel dir. Lo leo ana veners  
lo Rey eze coneguel axi com si fos v  
na persona. L'om la reyna ven ve  
nir lo leo solt no pogue star q nos  
tenas del costar del Rey eze tores les  
donzelles ab ella. Lo rey la pò per  
la roba e aturalare: dix que es tomas  
afeure q no era de pelar ni creure q  
tals cauallers que fossen vèguts en  
la sua coze que ab animals aguessè  
de emnar negu. E la Reyna mes  
per forza que per grat se torna en  
son loch. E no era admiració que  
la Reyna se espantass: que cosa era  
de remoreiarlo leo era tant dome  
stich que no feya mal anegu. Lo  
leo ana dret al Rey ab la letra que  
portaua en la boca. E lo valeros  
Rey sens temoz alguna li pres de  
la boca lescrit. E lo leo prestament  
se gira als deus del Rey ey. Lo qual  
scrit era del temoz seguent.



Sipien per cert tota  
aquells qui la present  
carta veuran. L'om  
aquest.iiii.frates dar  
mes son còpareguts  
en presentia del senar de Roma: e  
del Cardenal de pisa: e del Carde  
nal de terra nona: e del Cardenal  
de sanct pere de Lugboze del lpa  
triarca del Hierusalene de Mger El  
berto de campo baixo: e de Mger  
Lubincio dela colonda: an request  
ami notari per auctoritat imperial  
que ses acte publich com aquesta  
son cauallers de .iiii. quarters: 30  
es alaber de pare e de mare: de au  
e de auia: negu senyor del mon re  
prochar nols por per liargem: per  
tirol negu. E per senyal de veritat  
pos agi mon acostiar signe de no  
tari publich \* Ambrosino de ma  
tua. Dada en Roma a .ii. de May  
any .m.

### capítol .lxxix.

L'om los .iiii. cauallers germans  
darmes se plentaren dauat lo Rey  
de Inglaterra: los quals eren dos  
Reys e dos Duchs: e donarenli  
per scrit lo que volien.



Cert lotey ague vista  
la carta e veu que par  
lar no volien mana  
q per scrit los respon  
quessen. Lo secretari  
son aqui prestament: seu semblat  
resposta. Que els fossen ben ven  
guts en los regnes e terres: y en la  
coze suae li redvolien per llur plaer  
honor o delit queu diguessen: que  
g.

The sectioning of chapters 69-71bis – which contain the episode in which four knights use a tamed lion to deliver a challenge to the king of England – reveals additional features of the division of the work into chapters. Chapter 69 begins on folio gr, on the first page of a quire (see Figure 19). Notice how the beginning of the chapter is marked with the

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rubric «capitol .lxix. // Com los iiii cavallers germans d'armes se presentaren davant lo rey de Anglaterra, los quals eren dos reys e dos ducs, e donaren-li per escrit lo que volien» ('Chapter 69: How the four knights, brothers in arms, presented themselves before the king of England; they were two kings and two dukes, and they gave him what they wanted in writing'). However, the action described in the rubric begins earlier in the text. By this point, the first knight has already delivered the first written message with their first batch of requests. Notice how the first knight's letter appears directly above the rubric and is also indicated with an initial, which is how Spindeler marked the beginning of chapters. The action described in the rubric begins at the top of the second column of previous page, f8v, which happens to be the end of the previous quire, just before Diafebus announces the beginning of the episode: «Ara, senyor, recitaré a la senyoria vostra» ('Now, my lord, I will tell your highness'). Each of the following three chapters (70, 71 and 71[bis]) begins with the text of the remaining three messages written by each of the other three knights. There is a duplication in the number of the last of the chapters in the episode, which is also 71. The ensuing chapters are numbered consecutively, 72, 73, and so on.

We can draw several conclusions from these errors, which Givanel noted but left unexplained (1912: 30-32). First, the division of the text into chapters highlights the rhetorical wealth of Martorell's work, which must have been visually signaled in his manuscript with blank spaces and capital letters. This is clear in chapters 69-71bis, in which a particular discursive form – here, four letters – scaffolds the chapter division of the text. Thus, when dividing the text into chapters, the corrector must usually have resorted to the author's own division of the work, particularly in the sections devoted to the rhetorical and discursive forms: «raonament» ('discourse'), «rèplica» ('reply'), «resposta» ('response'), «oració» ('speech'), «lamentació» ('lament'), «reprensió» ('reprehension'), «suplicació» ('petition'), «consolació» ('consolation'), «sermó» ('sermon'), «lletra» ('letter'), «lletra de batalla» ('letter of challenge'), «capítol» ('chapter'), «vot» ('vow'), «jurament» ('swear'), «sentència» ('sentence'), «testament» ('will'). The rhetorical structure of the work, as highlighted in the printing process through its division into chapters, reflects how Martorell constructed his romance as an «opus oratorium maxime». That is, he wrote *Tirant lo Blanc* as a romance of chivalry and love but also as an example of oratory genres, epistolography, dialectics, and history, as Cicero famously defined it in *De oratore* 2.9 («Historia vero testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita memoriae, magistra vitae,

nuntia vetustatis, qua voce alia, nisi oratoria, immortalitati commendatu?»). As Martorell wrote in his prologue:<sup>31</sup>

Com evident experiència mostre la debilitat de la nostra memòria, sotsmetent fàcilment a oblit no solament los actes per longitut de temps envellits, mas encara los actes freschs de nostres dies, és stat donchs molt condecant, útil e expedient deduir en scrit les gestes e històries antigues dels hòmens forts e virtuosos, com sien spills molt clars, exemples e virtuosa doctrina de nostra vida, segons recita aquell gran orador Tul·li.

(‘Since our immediate experience demonstrates the weakness of our memory, which easily forgets not only deeds of bygone times but also recent ones from our own days that are still fresh, it is therefore very fitting, useful, and appropriate, to write down the old deeds and histories of powerful and virtuous men, because they are clear mirrors, examples, and a source of virtuous learning for our own life, as the great orator Cicero wrote.’)

Second, a letter without a rubric was typeset as a chapter (though no chapter number or rubric was assigned to it), and the actual beginning

<sup>31</sup> The definition of history as an «opus oratorium maxime» comes from Cicero’s *De legibus* 1.5; see J. Torró, «Il romanzo cavalleresco tra letteratura antica e i romanzi cavallereschi e d’avventura francesi e borgognoni», in F. Delle Donne, J. Torró (a cura di), *L’Immagine di Alfonso il Magnanimo tra letteratura e storia, tra Corona d’Aragona e Italia*, Firenze, SISMEL-Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2016, pp. 238-239. The Castilian translator of the romance recognized and highlighted this structure in the prologue of his work. Juan Manuel Cacho Blecua has commented: «Las palabras preliminares del *Tirante el Blanco* proyectan el libro desde una tradición genérica, destacando los ‘autos’ y ‘razonamientos’ de su materia amorosa. La matización se ajusta al desarrollo de la novela, en la que encontramos no sólo unos desarrollos narrativos, sino también un gran despliegue retórico de razonamientos, parlamentos, debates, cartas, muchos de los cuales tienen como núcleo central el amor o la mujer. No parece lo más adecuado para interpretar el libro, de acuerdo con el contexto de su época, considerar estos últimos como los menos interesantes, pues tal apreciación no se corresponde con el interés puesto en su desarrollo por su creador o creadores, acordes con una época y con una estética. No olvidemos que las palabras preliminares de la traducción castellana están puestas como señuelo que incita a la lectura de la obra, por lo que no se hubieran destacado dichos aspectos de creer que no interesaban a los posibles lectores» (J.M. Cacho Blecua, «El amor en el *Tirant lo Blanc*: Hipòlit y la Emperadriu», in *Actes del Symposium «Tirant lo Blanc»*, Barcelona, Quaderns Crema, 1993, p. 137). On the importance of rhetorical elaboration prior to humanist historiography and of Cicero’s example, see F. Delle Donne, «Da Valla a Facio, dalla prassi alla teorizzazione retorica della scrittura storica», *Reti Medievali Rivista*, 19, 1 (2018), p. 601, n. 7; and Idem, «Cronache in cerca d’autore: l’autoconsapevolezza come misura della professionalizzazione dello storiografo», in F. Delle Donne, P. Garbini, M. Zabbia (a cura di), *Scrivere storia nel medioevo: Regolamentazione delle forme e delle pratiche nei secoli XI-XV*, Roma, Viella, 2021, pp. 14-16, 23.

of an episode was missed. That is because, when the printing process was ongoing, chapters were tentatively located, and rubrics were placed on the margins of the manuscript – meaning that neither was part of the copy that Martí Joan de Gualba procured for the bookseller Rix de Cura. As the remaining printers' copies of incunables show, it was common to mark chapter divisions with fine lines and to place rubrics on the margins.<sup>32</sup> In *Tirant*, chapter division often overlapped with the calligraphical and visual hierarchies of the hand-written text (that is, with its blank spaces and capitals). It is possible that the beginning of the letter was marked as the beginning of a chapter with a short line but that the sign was later disregarded once the rubric was added to mark the beginning of the chapter. At the same time, it seems clear that rubrics were not anchored between portions of the body of the page but were likely placed in the margins. In this case, the compositors must have missed the place where the rubric should have been and did not intentionally move it *ratio typographica*: folio f8v belongs to the first forme to be typeset in the quire, and accommodating one rubric more or less in the forme and quire should not have been a major problem. If it was accidentally skipped, that is because it was not placed in the body of the manuscript page, between chapters. It must have been floating in

<sup>32</sup> See Sonia Garza's keynote speech on printers' copies of incunabula and post-incunabula at the BNE in June 8, 2022. At 2:32:30, Garza mentions the printer's copy of Alfonso del Madrigal's *Diez cuestiones vulgares*, of 1507 (Salamanca, Biblioteca General Histórica, MS 2014), whose titles were added in the margins to the printer's copy. The table of contents was also prepared on the basis of those rubrics, after the original had been divided into chapters (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=6rtgikkB13A>). On printer's copies, see P.A. Escapa, E. Delgado Pascual, A. Domingo Maldavi, J.L. Rodríguez Montederramo, «El original de imprenta», in P.A. Escapa, S. Garza Merino (eds.), *Imprenta y crítica textual en el Siglo de Oro*, estudios publicados bajo la dirección de F. Rico, Valladolid, Centro para la Edición de los Clásicos Españoles, 2000, pp. 29-64; S. Garza Merino, «El original de imprenta de la Primera parte del *Flos sanctorum* (Toledo, Diego de Ayala, 1578)», in J.M.L. Megías, C. Castillo Martínez (eds.), *Decíamos ayer...: Estudios de alumnos en honor a María Cruz García de Enterría*, Alcalá de Henares, Universidad de Alcalá, 2003, pp. 227-238; S. Garza Merino, «El *Tratado de las matemáticas* de Juan Pérez de Moya en la imprenta», in P.M. Cátedra, M.I. Paiz, M.L. López Vidriero (eds.), *La memoria de los libros: Estudios sobre la historia del escrito y de la lectura en Europa y América*, vol. 1, Salamanca, Cilengua - Instituto de Historia del Libro y de la Lectura, 2004, pp. 435-462; S. Garza Merino, «*Vida de San Gerónimo*: El texto en proceso de constitución», *Edad de oro*, 28 (2009), pp. 105-142, and Lloret, *Printing Ausiàs March*, pp. 129-156. On printers' copies of incunabula, a slightly different species, see Hellinga, *Texts in Transit: Manuscript to Proof and Print in the Fifteenth Century*, esp. pp. 8-101, in addition to Garza's keynote speech.

a blank space, perhaps in the margins or in an available portion of the page, such as near the end of the letter of the first knight.

FIGURE 20

Chapters 145-146, folio r8r (N1)

ment puja al en la camba e befa li la ma: presa ala Emperadria e ala excella Princesa. Lo que abaya des totes les dames to ma al Emperador e vici tor go e quat benedicio amor e voluntat de Tirant li pientana. E lo clemetillim senyor ab cara molt afable lo rene. Dpoxa li dic Diabeb senyor supplich ala majestat vostra me vulla posar en libertat: car be es pzoner qui apsoners guarda: coz calcu o aquelle core sobre pujar son cozar ge d ma joz dignitat que no noble no esse per go vulla la ateta va acerptat los per lo gran perill que tal comanda ab si posaxar ley es feta per aquell qui sola honra basta acortuar la sua honra: Lo per los entenoyist sera yo baja reat mon deute de fi delitar lo q amteres de part se guar dars just o injust ac se nomenara e no gracia. E perq sia vist lo veig meu ab la va concordar rege als notaris que me sia feta carta public pquien reste memoria en focuent do: La senyora de gran excelencia Princesa del imp grec. La egregia Stephana de macedonia. E la virtuosa Euda repolada. E la bella eloquia de Jlaer d mavida. E la honesta prospera e benaaventurada dela senyora Empadria qui es font o tote los sabers virtuosos fagen ver tulumoni de mit com be reut mon deute ab los pzoners en temps. Son leuat acre e lo Empetador rebe los psoners e parla molt ab Diabeb demanar li lo seu captiva qna honra: los sebia e coz los contractuare Diabeb li recita la par tita que ab ello serraba havia. La

uora lo Emperador los feu posar dins lo palau en les mes foratotes res que tenia. Com Diabeb veu temps de parlar ab la Princesa a na ala sua cabra e trobala ab totes les siues dames. Com la Princesa lo veu leuua del strabo e feu la via suar Diabeb cuyta lo paer dona del genoll en la dura terra e befa li la ma e vic: aquita beada es de aquil que la celirat vostra la cobemnar en mes fort pzofo que no son aquita q yo ast be postare: e les dongilles acostaren se no li pogue res dir per dupeq no ho yllen lo q diti amas pesa lo per la ma e amarenic afeute e vna finestra. Com foren alegres la Princesa crida Stephania. E Diabeb feu principi a vn tal plat.

**S**i la mar se tomansa tinta e la arena paper yo pens no bastaria o scriure lamo: la va hantles infimides recomendades que aquell prosper e virtuos. Linc tramet ala majestat vostra com totes les coles son vistes p la fi e aquila mostra calcu qui es: e dona pami e cobamma legona les obres. E to amor no sia major son perill: sino atenyet hi mort o gloria p fmi de caualler valeros: e no deurten tant amar la vida que deicoguelen la mor dun tal e tan flozar capita co la ateta va re. Com per la libertat poch areia de aquell joz quell vos veu. Excitare part de la vida illa minada no per los antichos canal/ lers de molta stima: ni per los pre fents ni encara per negunes altres. Ho es bigna cola negu sia merete

Third, this ambiguity or relative indeterminacy in the chapter divisions also involves chapter numbers; for, although 71 was used twice, the subsequent chapters are numbered consecutively. As in the case of the misplaced chapter 244, it is clear that the division of the work into chapters was not Martorell's and that it was actively shaped during the printing of the work. We find additional proof on folio r8r, between chapters 145 and 146 (see Figure 20). Here, as in other character interventions at the beginning of a chapter (this would have been the actual chapter 146), Diabebus's speech is announced («E Diabebus feu principi

a un tal parlar») and marked with an initial, but there is no rubric or chapter number above it.<sup>33</sup> The beginning of the chapter seems to have been marked in the printer's copy, but no rubric was placed near it – or perhaps the compositors missed or skipped it, as also happened for the first of the knight's messages, just discussed.<sup>34</sup> A related example is chapter 161 (s6r), which carries no rubric but is placed directly after the text of a letter of safe passage, the short text included in chapter 160, and numbered as chapter 161. The end of a rhetorical piece constitutes the beginning of a new chapter, and this takes precedence over the content of the actual following bit of text.<sup>35</sup>

It seems that numbers, and perhaps rubrics, too, were given to sections of the text within a previously cast-off quire. Errors in the numeration are not corrected in later quires, nor are they inconsistent with the numbering of chapters in quires that appear after those quires containing skipped rubrics or misnumbered chapters – as would be expected if someone had numbered all chapters before casting-off the text. A final clear piece of evidence of this numbering of chapters within cast-off quires – and the floating rubrics in the margins, prone to misplacement – can be found between chapters 45 and 51 (d7v-d8v). An initial without a chapter number is found on d7v. Thereafter, chapters numbered 45-49 follow (d7v-d8r), but number 50 is skipped. On d8v, one of the first folios to be composed, we find chapters 51 and 52. This is because, when the quire was cast off, the first skipped chapter on d7v was counted but not numbered. In being skipped, d7v-d8r reflect the mistake, but the numbers in d8v (which was set before d8r and d7v) carry the correct numbering.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>33</sup> This *locus criticus* was pointed out in Givanel Mas, *Estudio crítico de Tirant lo Blanch*, p. 32.

<sup>34</sup> The same phenomenon can be observed between chapters 107 and 108 (l2v), in which a *verbum dicendi* («lo Mestre feu principi a un tal parlar» [‘the Master of Rhodes began to speak thus’]) precedes blank lines, a rubric («La oferta que feu lo Mestre de Rodes a Tirant de pagarli la nau» [‘The offer that the Master of Rhodes made to Tirant to pay for his ship’]) and an initial, but no chapter number. It is not included in the table of contents.

<sup>35</sup> When the table of contents was composed, the corrector used the first words of chapter 161 («Com Tirant tingue lo guiatge» [‘When Tirant got the letter of safe passage’]) and a totally made up or inexact phrase («ana a fer reverencia a la Princesa» [‘went to pay his respects to the Princess’]), which is not what Tirant does when he goes to see the Princess in this chapter.

<sup>36</sup> For an example of errors in chapter numbering that were created by the order in which the parts of a work were printed (in this case, for Cervantes's *Persiles*, from the



Together, these errors show that the process of printing the romance failed to materialize instances of the work's division into chapters that had been planned at an earlier point in time, but after the making of the printer's copy had already been completed. If the *princeps* were to be reedited, these mistakes should be noticed and emended accordingly, which would result in the appearance of additional chapters of the work that have never been identified in modern editions. At the same time, it is unclear if a critical edition of *Tirant* should undertake to restore the chapter divisions of the *princeps*, which is faulty and incoherent, as others have noted, and could be further demonstrated. Chapters underscoring the rhetorical variety of the work, for example, coexist with the articles of the Order of the Garter, which are each given a chapter of only a few lines (chapters 87-91, iir-iiiv); or the parts of King Arthur's speech, sometimes also very short, which are each given a chapter number (as in chapters 193-200, x4v-x5v); or even the ensuing episode of the vows, which apportions a chapter per vow (chapters 203-206, x6v-x7r).

These are some of the consequences of the process of printing by formes in the transmission of *Tirant lo Blanc*. Textual bibliography forces us to look at Martorell's romance from the perspective of the material text and to consider how and why it came to be in the book that contains it. We have examined the printed work in terms of formes, its printer's copy, and casting off, and have considered the contributions of the press's corrector to the form of the printed work. We have thus been able to interpret some of the already well-known but unexplained particularities of the romance and have identified new ones. Textual bibliography does not solve all the problems that editors of early printed texts face. But in complicating what so far appeared to be an opaque textual picture, it helps us make better-informed decisions when preparing a new critical edition of the text.<sup>37</sup>

inner to the outer formes of a quarto in eights), see F. Rico, «Los dos capítulos séptimos del 'Persiles,' libro II», *RILCE: Revista de filología hispánica*, 23, 1 (2007), pp. 185-194.

<sup>37</sup> This article belongs to the research project "Cultura escrita cortés en la Corona de Aragón: materialidad, transmisión y recepción." PID2019-109214GB-I00. Ministerio de Ciencia e Innovación. We thank the Biblioteca Històrica de la Universitat de València for their permission to reproduce images of copy V of the incubale. We also would like to thank Lluís Cabré for his comments to an earlier version of this essay.