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TEXTUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR «TIRANT LO BLANC»

JAUME TORRÓ - ALBERT LLORET

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 [N1], 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.¹ 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),² 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*

¹ 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.

² 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.³ 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.⁴ 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.⁵ There are

³ Our collation formula is essentially consistent with the collation that Spindeler provides at the bottom of the last folio of the first gathering: 2^o: ^ma⁸, a-z⁸, A-X⁸, Y-Z^o. 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 a). There are two 's' gatherings (long and short 's') and two 'r' gatherings (straight and round). There are no 'K' or 'V' gatherings.

⁴ 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.

⁵ 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^o 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.⁶

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



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.

⁶ 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 emparia
mes al Emperador: e lo caualler
feu restituïr la feyoria al Empe-
rador: lo qual lin feu intindef gra-
cies dela sua moia virtut. Ja des
comiat lo romi caualler del Em-
perador e treballa en lo castella
e abpooper vent sen torna en ro-
ma. Jo fauet pare sabent que lo
feu emperador venia ab bon com-
pliment de tot lo perque era amoe
feu efr tora los Caronals e Jhis-
des ab molta caualleria per reuel
ab gran triumpbo lo portare da-
uant lo papa: lo qual lo rebre ab
molta amor e benignitat e donali
en pmi de los rebdalls dels seus
reiois que ell e tons los seus ne fo-
ren ridois. E apo la sua mort li for-
tena grandissima hono: e lo seu
coridon foretat en la Iglesia de
faret Joan de lesa al peu de la-
tar ab molta solemnitat. E des-
ta mon fill aquest caualler quita lo-
no: acoerit per efr virtuos: de-
te que significa la curatya que
pota lo caualler que li guarda tot
lo cos. Significa la Iglesia que
deu esser tota clofa e murtada dela
defensio del caualler: qui deu a-
nar contra totes les gens per de-
fensor: late así com lesa ha dehar
en lo meo al loch del cos: así deu
fiar mes al lantmo per emparar e
mantenir lo poble e no consentir
que lo rey ne negun altre loo faga
mal ni ban. Los asubnagos e may-
opes signifiquen que moy deu tra-
metre anegui sino ell matey. E deu
ana e ab los bracos e ab los mas
deu defender: la Iglesia e lo poble
que es bo e tota aquello que son de

bona vida: e ab los bracos e ab les
mans deu tan de punir e mala
lo mena de mala vida. E es guar-
da bracos significat que lo cau-
ler deu guardar que los homies
ne irromanichos no fagen mal
ni dan ales Iglesias. Lames de ca-
mes significa si lo caualler sent o
sap negu villa fer dan ala Iglesia
o infes enuill per odipnicar la
castidad sino pot acualit apen li
deu anar ala batalla per defendre
aquella. E sempre pare de caual-
leria de J. tirant quinta consolacio
es per ala mia anima en yo poder
saber los grans secretos que son en
aquell tan alt orde de caualleria
sia de vostra meye puy e sabut la
proprietat dels am es de fermeus
que sapia la significansa dels of-
fensios perque haia noticia de a-
quelles. Elegna lemita dela mol-
ta volamat que veu a J. tirant en
saber lorde de caualleria al qual re-
sponen v. g.

Capitol. xxxv.

Com lermia des a J. tirant la sig-
nificansa dels ames.

Lo bon grat que
tirch da vos J. tirant
me obligua en dirvos
ab molta voluntat
tot lo que he sabut en lart de caual-
leria. J. tirament la lanya que
es lanya ab lo ferro agut signifi-
ca que quel caualler deu fer tornar a
trao tota aquello que mal ni davo-
len fer ala Iglesia así com la Iglesia

Los capitols dels ames que
poden fer en aquelles festes.

O diluns fon publicat per los desul- tats Reys barmes e crants qual se villa

que volgues luyre ab armes re-
als o ab armes de guerra fosse lo
ferros dels ames reals ab qua-
tre puntes en lo bitoque molt en-
crates: ab tres gomada castus
na punta dela billica. E es altes
langes dels ames de segunt al
cap dela lanya vna planya de fetre
redona hon lo fiquen. v. puntes
de ager fetes a tall de viana molt
ben finolades: e aquella plancha
redona ab los fetres de viana se
venen encalar bina la lanya de vn
ferro tot fol. Loque meo langes
rompra e millor lo fetes guanyas
cincun diluns de lany. v. marches
dor: e la vn vilans luyren ab ar-
nes real e laltre ab ames de guerra

Capit. xlii. de ayo matre.

O dimarts qu al se villa caualler o gentiom que volgues

fer ames apen en
camp dos lun per lun bo dos per
dos bo. x. per. x. bo. xx. per. xx. bo.
xxv. per. xxv. que no poguiff efr
fer de mator nombre perço com
los matenidoys no eren sino. xxvi
perque lo pmi del camp no restas
les defende: qual se villa q fos
armes retreteo lo millor quili fea
guanyas vna spala dor que pesas

de. x. marches en sus: E lo qui p-
for bo fetes que fos regit de polat
fe en poder del millor per flonoe
e fiqua tant pres sino que fiqua
per refat o per alta via.

Capitol. xlvii.

O dimecres

tota aquelle qui vol
ta combatre acualit
a tota vitra o pun-
tes sangrentes. E aquest aytal qui
milloi lo fara li sia duba vna pe-
rita corona dor que pete. de. xv.
marchos en sus.

Capitol. xlviii

O digons qual

se villa caualler o ge-
ntiom qui vol emrat
en camp dos apen
tota vitra así com delas es del
lou per hi bo dos per dos en tal
cas aquell guanye vna dama tota
dor a fribara dela infanta: e perço
coj a hiles ames son les pus foza
e meo: perlic fetes quel caualler pot
fer pefara dor. xxxv. marches. E fa-
ra luyrament en poder dela fugea
lo vengut que en tota sa vida no
requerra a negun altre caualler o
gentiom atota vitra. E no pot
tara vna aquell vide any spala ni
en bregua q fia no perida ames
negunes si la no era contra infes.
E fo foza de veit apofat fe empo-
ter dela froya infanta e la dita foy-
ora faga dell atota sa voluntat.

Capitol. xlviii

Different states of the edition place initials on different pages of the same forme.⁷ 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 ‘I’); 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).

⁷ 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

dire: **L**o bo bogue vñ dir: amor
cy delis. abominacio. pñcia. delis
peccacio. tenor. vergonya que nega
nou sapia. audacia. ira. delictacio.
mañia. Lo maior do q la noble en
virtus deu haure. si es vna casta
gña de vñ merce dy sefempietat.
metigan les abominacio del bo.
com bogue mirat en la pñcia d'ia
ni fema bonos obres. vñ si ho bono
tat. que lens obediencia. no lens al
moyra. bñbe negligit. R. cy jñch.
pobre egullo. fenyor fñ ventat.
carru lens tenor. pobre lens delictat
demana li quinta q loo bo de na
naturat. q loo rey q eren huyt loo
quis sequen

Capitol. cxliii.
Loo bene ó natura

D primer es gran li
marge lo legon es gra
ma e bella ó core. lo
tercer es gra forca. lo
quart es gran lauge
ria. lo cinque es sanat de core. lo
sis es clara e bona vista. lo sete es di
sea e bona vent. lo huyt es jous e
alegra. dy lo engador demana li
ó loo rey se corona quines colf
jura de fennar. lo Rey responet dy

Capitol. cxliii.
Lo q jura lo rey cõ se corona

D primerament que se
para amor e pau en
son regne. la legona q
ignara tota malit
fista. la tercera que
en tota lo fetu ferraat equalitat e
justicia la quarta que en tota co /
les metidara misericordia. la cinque

na que gitara de si tota tirania. la se
na que co que fara queta fara q sola
amor de deu. la setna que mostra
raen les obres que es ver cretia.
la huytina que ira defensor del
poble. e aquell amata com a son fill
pope. la nouena q co q fara ab gra
conell e bo en vñ e profit. dy la co
sa publica da debena que colifara
clat fill da fencia mare igñia. La
qual de tot son poter la defensor e
no aboquira q ali falsicia ni dema
bonos fara. vegacione nenguna
La onena de cuer bo e feli e verba
de alos subon: la dorgna q inter
ra e calligara los mals booms
La tresena q alo meiqua potera
fira pare e protector: la dertera de
tota tota ailla qui informari en
lobat e tenore carat deu: molit
altres coles li demanara. e a tota
bona naturalis raboris lauore fo
ren virtore les portes d caputnat
e tota lo qui volgeren entrar bo
poguen be fer. e co tota foren bio
leuar li la pñcia e no era en negu re
cor. lo engador lay seu tonat e feli
li demana qra cofa co bonor e di
la igñia e jama hausa trobat bo
me ó fencia ni canaller q loy boguñ
fabat dret loy agueret demana lo
rey mira en la pñcia e ó feliat fill dy
aiblen paratuo

Capitol. cxliiii.
De ho pcedente bonor

D es es molt e d'obit
e necessari als hom
es gueroles ó linat
ge li volen eler tengu
na cofa es bonor e naturalment
la major part de loo bono de bon
fennat loo plan y la terçna si no

la coner ni faben de que vavetiba
en to la pñcia acõgnit. E p go
dich aiudant am lo sobran alimie
que hono es do de reuerencia en /
edimoni o virtut: E gloria e fama
han diferenciac son departido de
bonore ó laboyper tal cõ hono e
elaboron ralo de fama: E de /
gloria. La per go es algu en fama
e en gloriacat es lobat: e honat.
Daa encara hono ha diferenciac
e departim de laboy: a qui pñay
reuerencia gloria e fama e hom acõ
sumat de offer pñcia per vna ma
tra cofa. Gloia es vna clareat: e
tal matex es fama. Ziquet es loy
que gloria nat de bono: E dertay
le bonche de hono: e del fort tem
be: les coles temerose x golat em
pende les coles perillose per tal q
no sia desestimada la magellar real
Zina ayo foia per ralo de be: e p
bona fi. La ayo es com a tota vit
tut fere obar no per fauor de glo
ria de lo bono: mas per ralo ó
be. E d'obit la ralo per que loo bo
mo me mayment velen eler bon
rata es per tal que apareguen faus
evituoos ala qualis es mayormet
deguda bono. Lo seylate refumo
ni simplement vol manifestar la co
sa fenyalada. La que que ha alguna
cofa conegada e manifesta. La ref
coles que fo deman anos ocultas
e no les foanees: La negu no pot
faber lo prafament de la persona.
Daa conet lo per loo fenyalo que
de fota se manifesten. La reuerencia
bonche que es hono: se deu mant
filar per la virtut de aquell de qui
es bono. Wjo basta q la pñcia
bina lo cor: amo requir que ella fia

de fota bonada. E d'obit hono es
ralo de be fota. Com reuerencia es
bonada per alguns foanees fenyalo
encara me es manifest per tal coe
bono es meo en aquell qui lobat:
que no en lo qui es honat. E p go
bono es vna reuerencia bonada en
fenyal be virtut. La empador tota
na ayoar sefempietat que li dema
nas quines coles lo bono darma
ho mifer. E sefempietat loo dema
na. E lo Rey responet dy.

Capitol. cxliiii.
Lo q lo bono darma ha mifer.

D primer e p principal
cofa q lo canaller ha
mifer li vol eler bo
me darma que paga
e comportat lo pes de
lanyo. La legona es que faga gran
treball ab loo mano exerciti lo ar
mit. La tercera es que fapen fofit
vñ fetura de virtute. La quarta
es mal just e mal fira. La v. es q
per iusticia se p lo be comu no dub
te la mort. La ar ay be salara la sua
anima: com li tota la vita loo fira
vergety en religio. La fiera no re
ma kampomment de fira. La vñ
es que bogi abta de be fota fi ma
tag e de ofende loo enemicos. La
vñ es q bogi vergonya de fugir vil
mit. E meo li demana coe fi podia
acõgnit fencia. R. epone lo Rey.

Capitol. cxliiii.
Com se acõgnit fencia

D primer e pot acõgnit
guir p ciclo cofa. La
paimeira p fpecial oñ
cio. La legona p prop
fubi. La terça p magi

FIGURES 6 AND 7
L, x4v and x5r

dire: **L**o bo bogue vñ dir: amor
cy delis. abominacio. pñcia. delis
peccacio. tenor. vergonya que nega
nou sapia. audacia. ira. delictacio.
mañia. Lo maior do q la noble en
virtus deu haure. si es vna casta
gña de vñ merce dy sefempietat.
metigan les abominacio del bo.
com bogue mirat en la pñcia d'ia
ni fema bonos obres. vñ si ho bono
tat. que lens obediencia. no lens al
moyra. bñbe negligit. R. cy jñch.
pobre egullo. fenyor fñ ventat.
carru lens tenor. pobre lens delictat
demana li quinta q loo bo de na
naturat. q loo rey q eren huyt loo
quis sequen

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Loo bene ó natura

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en tota lo fetu ferraat equalitat e
justicia la quarta que en tota co /
les metidara misericordia. la cinque

na que gitara de si tota tirania. la se
na que co que fara queta fara q sola
amor de deu. la setna que mostra
raen les obres que es ver cretia.
la huytina que ira defensor del
poble. e aquell amata com a son fill
pope. la nouena q co q fara ab gra
conell e bo en vñ e profit. dy la co
sa publica da debena que colifara
clat fill da fencia mare igñia. La
qual de tot son poter la defensor e
no aboquira q ali falsicia ni dema
bonos fara. vegacione nenguna
La onena de cuer bo e feli e verba
de alos subon: la dorgna q inter
ra e calligara los mals booms
La tresena q alo meiqua potera
fira pare e protector: la dertera de
tota tota ailla qui informari en
lobat e tenore carat deu: molit
altres coles li demanara. e a tota
bona naturalis raboris lauore fo
ren virtore les portes d caputnat
e tota lo qui volgeren entrar bo
poguen be fer. e co tota foren bio
leuar li la pñcia e no era en negu re
cor. lo engador lay seu tonat e feli
li demana qra cofa co bonor e di
la igñia e jama hausa trobat bo
me ó fencia ni canaller q loy boguñ
fabat dret loy agueret demana lo
rey mira en la pñcia e ó feliat fill dy
aiblen paratuo

Capitol. cxliiii.
De ho pcedente bonor

D es es molt e d'obit
e necessari als hom
es gueroles ó linat
ge li volen eler tengu
na cofa es bonor e naturalment
la major part de loo bono de bon
fennat loo plan y la terçna si no

la coner ni faben de que vavetiba
en to la pñcia acõgnit. E p go
dich aiudant am lo sobran alimie
que hono es do de reuerencia en /
edimoni o virtut: E gloria e fama
han diferenciac son departido de
bonore ó laboyper tal cõ hono e
elaboron ralo de fama: E de /
gloria. La per go es algu en fama
e en gloriacat es lobat: e honat.
Daa encara hono ha diferenciac
e departim de laboy: a qui pñay
reuerencia gloria e fama e hom acõ
sumat de offer pñcia per vna ma
tra cofa. Gloia es vna clareat: e
tal matex es fama. Ziquet es loy
que gloria nat de bono: E dertay
le bonche de hono: e del fort tem
be: les coles temerose x golat em
pende les coles perillose per tal q
no sia desestimada la magellar real
Zina ayo foia per ralo de be: e p
bona fi. La ayo es com a tota vit
tut fere obar no per fauor de glo
ria de lo bono: mas per ralo ó
be. E d'obit la ralo per que loo bo
mo me mayment velen eler bon
rata es per tal que apareguen faus
evituoos ala qualis es mayormet
deguda bono. Lo seylate refumo
ni simplement vol manifestar la co
sa fenyalada. La que que ha alguna
cofa conegada e manifesta. La ref
coles que fo deman anos ocultas
e no les foanees: La negu no pot
faber lo prafament de la persona.
Daa conet lo per loo fenyalo que
de fota se manifesten. La reuerencia
bonche que es hono: se deu mant
filar per la virtut de aquell de qui
es bono. Wjo basta q la pñcia
bina lo cor: amo requir que ella fia

de fota bonada. E d'obit hono es
ralo de be fota. Com reuerencia es
bonada per alguns foanees fenyalo
encara me es manifest per tal coe
bono es meo en aquell qui lobat:
que no en lo qui es honat. E p go
bono es vna reuerencia bonada en
fenyal be virtut. La empador tota
na ayoar sefempietat que li dema
nas quines coles lo bono darma
ho mifer. E sefempietat loo dema
na. E lo Rey responet dy.

Capitol. cxliiii.
Lo q lo bono darma ha mifer.

D primer e p principal
cofa q lo canaller ha
mifer li vol eler bo
me darma que paga
e comportat lo pes de
lanyo. La legona es que faga gran
treball ab loo mano exerciti lo ar
mit. La tercera es que fapen fofit
vñ fetura de virtute. La quarta
es mal just e mal fira. La v. es q
per iusticia se p lo be comu no dub
te la mort. La ar ay be salara la sua
anima: com li tota la vita loo fira
vergety en religio. La fiera no re
ma kampomment de fira. La vñ
es que bogi abta de be fota fi ma
tag e de ofende loo enemicos. La
vñ es q bogi vergonya de fugir vil
mit. E meo li demana coe fi podia
acõgnit fencia. R. epone lo Rey.

Capitol. cxliiii.
Com se acõgnit fencia

D primer e pot acõgnit
guir p ciclo cofa. La
paimeira p fpecial oñ
cio. La legona p prop
fubi. 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.⁸ 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 empallada li d'etene y po' fare consueyte dea li mo' consueyte que bauer parlat malbis en voo de q'asistat en aquell' cara amoc e te moze recotat voo que en aquell' cara perborvoltra bonoz e famelicu lo quena d'ed e yo dar voo be vicia le gualde' fare postat la coona del j'upert' s'brede' car ja es vengna ia hoza que noua padoz altra cola deo lino que amoc postament aler aquella honozada p. Fou de fare poap d'ela j'banecia quera feta en altre compre p'ozet' feu beati' anit' voltre cans. E' me v'edon lo parlar v'ert' de j'blat'ernaudo ab ven b'aga feu p'ncipi a vn tal parlar.

replica que fa tirant a placternaudo

Capitol. cxxxiii.

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⁸ k3v: prengue] pringue L; no u volgué consentir] no volgué consentir L, nou volgué consentir N1 V; mateix] meteix L; posarenlo L, posarenlo N1 V; a cascu] cascu L; servien]

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

alteracio. ¶ vell l'Emperador triff e amarch hi en los meso barrero dico tanta doloz tema de sentir. ¶ mozt cruel hi q' f'p' e cõ novõs pit am q' que deligat d'at ago el perdoe lo finimert e caygue finomert en lo punt de la filla. ¶ o dol e lo cru fon tan gran per tot lo palau que era cola de gran admiracio de veure je de boit lo plant que los g'ra febt en e fon mozt majoz que lo p'nnert ¶ tant qui l'ana douail lo poude sperant les bestes quant les hi pot tarten fent tan grana crito que pa zia que lo cel ne degues venir: defè pacia de causalcar ab molta doloz e pallio q' pallanac la pena li aug menta d'upzantit que no fon en da deit' d'icella. ¶ polt pzo vna for rabara de marre gebeline: enbo licalay entom òla cama perque fre bor noy entrao: e art en la milloz manera que pogueren anaren fins al postal de la iustat. ¶ le g'rat deo conegueren a ¶ tant e dema nardi atal boia bon anaua. ¶ e ell reipo que anaua abellitar al seuo canalay per veure com flauen: per go com la sua parmba deua effer mozt p'olla per anar al camp. ¶ es poico li foren p'ellament vberro ¶ ¶ tant f'eu fon cam. ¶ om aque ren causalcaba mja legua d'ic. ¶ i tant gran d'upzantit que ala feny oza ¶ anecella no haja legut algu dan que lo ¶ Emperador li haia fet per causa mja: vull hi tomar pech iudarli si necessari ho haura de lo ¶ g'comte per ma fe vos flau en gentil punt d'ic per ajudarli. ¶ emy o ¶ g'comte d'ic ¶ tant si ja nom

sent mal negu: car vos sabeu que lo maior mal fa cessar lo menoz: per go yous clam merce que tomen a ia ¶ iustat si en res lo podem valer. ¶ los haueu percut lo feny o fou del tot tomat fol de lo ¶ g'comte ell nos pot tenir e vol tomar ala ¶ iustat: pergo que lo ¶ Emperador e tota los altres bajen a coneguer e a sentir lo vostre defalt: haurem pou azer en dissimularbo ala gent pergo que culpa ni carredõ no ha jaue fins cert que si de ac vos ne toman de mozt o aletiat no poden effer de lurre. ¶ g'olat cara que tot ago fia q' vos v'amo en talbo d'ic ¶ i tant que yo qui he fet lo mal queu potze la penca la mia mozt haure per be f'ic'ada puic per tan virtuos la feny oza yo myra. ¶ hom ajut deu d'ic lo ¶ g'comte f'ivo lo toman encara que yo y'abeu polat f'og'ac com noy eo lo ¶ d'udo li reo sent que fia en bon fo en defozoz de la ¶ g'ra m'ella que ell noli auer ara poden veure aque venen les tristes amoz: anem si voleu e no fligam pou act: car tant com meo flam ni betenim tempo eo meo da per auos. ¶ ara fen me vna gracia d'ic ¶ i tant puic nom volem segar tomar que vos quey aneze si en negu qui dan li vulla ferbo agues reptat ò ferli q' myre: tota eno fia p'ez negu a merce. ¶ at lo ¶ g'ra ¶ i tant al ¶ g'comte fon fojat ò toe nar ala ¶ iustat al girar d'ic bat q' ¶ i tant non boit mas ¶ polt ho entoz: m'õ deu no f'averitat q' yo haia cura ò dona ni ò d'òdella que lo mon fia fino folament en fer ve

alteracio. ¶ vell l'Emperador triff e amarch hi en los meso barrero dico tanta doloz tema de sentir. ¶ mozt cruel hi q' f'p' e cõ novõs pit am q' que deligat d'at ago el perdoe lo finimert e caygue finomert en lo punt de la filla. ¶ o dol e lo cru fon tan gran per tot lo palau que era cola de gran admiracio de veure je de boit lo plant que los g'ra febt en e fon mozt majoz que lo p'nnert ¶ tant qui l'ana douail lo poude sperant les bestes quant les hi pot tarten fent tan grana crito que pa zia que lo cel ne degues venir: defè pacia de causalcar ab molta doloz e pallio q' pallanac la pena li aug menta d'upzantit que no fon en da deit' d'icella. ¶ polt pzo vna for rabara de marre gebeline: enbo licalay entom òla cama perque fre bor noy entrao: e art en la milloz manera que pogueren anaren fins al postal de la iustat. ¶ le g'rat deo conegueren a ¶ tant e dema nardi atal boia bon anaua. ¶ e ell reipo que anaua abellitar al seuo canalay per veure com flauen: per go com la sua parmba deua effer mozt p'olla per anar al camp. ¶ es poico li foren p'ellament vberro ¶ ¶ tant f'eu fon cam. ¶ om aque ren causalcaba mja legua d'ic. ¶ i tant gran d'upzantit que ala feny oza ¶ anecella no haja legut algu dan que lo ¶ Emperador li haia fet per causa mja: vull hi tomar pech iudarli si necessari ho haura de lo ¶ g'comte per ma fe vos flau en gentil punt d'ic per ajudarli. ¶ emy o ¶ g'comte d'ic ¶ tant si ja nom

sent mal negu: car vos sabeu que lo maior mal fa cessar lo menoz: per go yous clam merce que tomen a ia ¶ iustat si en res lo podem valer. ¶ los haueu percut lo feny o fou del tot tomat fol de lo ¶ g'comte ell nos pot tenir e vol tomar ala ¶ iustat: pergo que lo ¶ Emperador e tota los altres bajen a coneguer e a sentir lo vostre defalt: haurem pou azer en dissimularbo ala gent pergo que culpa ni carredõ no ha jaue fins cert que si de ac vos ne toman de mozt o aletiat no poden effer de lurre. ¶ g'olat cara que tot ago fia q' vos v'amo en talbo d'ic ¶ i tant que yo qui he fet lo mal queu potze la penca la mia mozt haure per be f'ic'ada puic per tan virtuos la feny oza yo myra. ¶ hom ajut deu d'ic lo ¶ g'comte f'ivo lo toman encara que yo y'abeu polat f'og'ac com noy eo lo ¶ d'udo li reo sent que fia en bon fo en defozoz de la ¶ g'ra m'ella que ell noli auer ara poden veure aque venen les tristes amoz: anem si voleu e no fligam pou act: car tant com meo flam ni betenim tempo eo meo da per auos. ¶ ara fen me vna gracia d'ic ¶ i tant puic nom volem segar tomar que vos quey aneze si en negu qui dan li vulla ferbo agues reptat ò ferli q' myre: tota eno fia p'ez negu a merce. ¶ at lo ¶ g'ra ¶ i tant al ¶ g'comte fon fojat ò toe nar ala ¶ iustat al girar d'ic bat q' ¶ i tant non boit mas ¶ polt ho entoz: m'õ deu no f'averitat q' yo haia cura ò dona ni ò d'òdella que lo mon fia fino folament en fer ve

alteracio. ¶ vell l'Emperador triff e amarch hi en los meso barrero dico tanta doloz tema de sentir. ¶ mozt cruel hi q' f'p' e cõ novõs pit am q' que deligat d'at ago el perdoe lo finimert e caygue finomert en lo punt de la filla. ¶ o dol e lo cru fon tan gran per tot lo palau q' era cola de grã admiracio de veure e de boit lo plant que los g'ra febt en e fon mozt majoz que lo p'nnert ¶ tant qui l'ana douail lo poude sperant les bestes quant les hi pot tarten fent tan grana crito que pa zia que lo cel ne degues venir: defè pacia de causalcar ab molta doloz e pallio que pallana: e la p'ia li aug menta d'upzantit que no fon en da de la ¶ anecella. ¶ polt pzo vna forrabara de marre gebelino: e en bolicalay entom òla cama perque frebor noy entrao: e art en la milloz manera que pogueren anaren fins al postal de la iustat. ¶ le g'rat deo conegueren a ¶ tant e dema nardi atal boia bon anaua. ¶ e ell reipo que anaua a abellitar alo fe' ¶ canalay per veure com flauen: per go com la sua parmba deua effer mozt p'olla per anar al camp. ¶ es poico li foren p'ellament vberro e ¶ tant f'eu fon cam. ¶ om aque ren causalcaba mja legua d'ic. ¶ i tant gran d'upzantit que ala feny oza ¶ anecella no haja legut algu dan que lo ¶ Emperador li haia fet per causa mja: vull hi tomar pech iudarli si necessari ho haura. ¶ em lo ¶ g'comte per ma fe vos flau en gentil punt d'ic per ajudarli. ¶ emy o ¶ g'comte d'ic ¶ tant si ja no

sent mal negu. ¶ car vos sabeu que lo maior mal fa cessar lo menoz: ¶ per go yous clam merce que tome ala ¶ iustat si en res lo podem valer. ¶ los haueu percut lo feny o fou del tot tomat fol de lo ¶ g'comte: ell nos pot tenir: vol tomar ala ¶ iustat: pergo que lo ¶ Emperador e tota los altres bajen a coneguer e a fer lo vostre defalt: haurem pou azer en dissimularbo ala gent: pergo que culpa ni carredõ no haia. ¶ e fia cert que si de ac vos ne toman de mozt o aletiat no poden effer de lurre. polat cara que tot ago fia que vos dita no es talbo d'ic ¶ i tant q' yo qui he fet lo mal queu potze la pena e la mia mozt haure per be f'ic'ada puic per tan virtuos la feny oza yo myra. ¶ hom ajut deu d'ic lo ¶ g'comte si vos hi toman encara que yo y'abeu polat f'og'ac. ¶ e com noy eo lo ¶ d'udo li reo sent que fia en bon fo en defozoz de la ¶ anecella que ell no li ajute. ¶ ara poben veure aque venen les tristes amoz: ¶ anem si voleu no fligam pou act: car tant com meo flam ni betenim temps eo men dan per auos. ¶ ara fen me vna gracia d'ic ¶ i tant puic nom volem segar tomar que vos quey anez. ¶ e si en negu qui dan li vulla fer ho haueu temtat de fer li que mayen totze no ha p'ez ne gen a merce. ¶ e art lo p'ozca ¶ iustat al ¶ g'comte fon fojat ò toe nar a la ¶ iustat: al girar d'ic bat que ti/ tant non boit mas ¶ polt ho entoz: m'õ deu no f'averitat q' yo haia cura de dona ni de d'òdella que lo m'õ fia fino folament en fer ve

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.⁹ 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.¹⁰

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.¹¹ In quire A, the inner formes even

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

¹⁰ 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.

¹¹ 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 a42 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.; tiv 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:

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.¹⁴ 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

¹⁴ 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, mostrant 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 vr5, 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 excusa 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.¹⁵

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*.¹⁶ 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).

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

¹⁶ 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 volta fer obrir. Esta
al	na allí vn caualler molt antic que
lo	dit al Mestre. Senyor perq̄ vostra
lo	senyoria no dona audiència ha aq̄st
ar	frare Simó de far: a veguades se se
da	guetxen coses en vna hora: q̄ no es
os	deue en mil anys: aquest caualler
si	ja sap la peña que li va en lo que ha
ta	comes: no l'ingau per tan foll que
re	sens causa ell vulla entrar en aq̄sta
da	hora puix al matí poria entrar segū
al	rament: p̄q̄ tendria per bo q̄ guardades
as	les portes: dalt per les torres les gu
en	ardes stigue armats e ben provehuts
re	de grosses canteres: car senyor yo he
au	vist en mon temps: si no aguessen uberta
ria	la porta del castell a la hora de la mija
un	nit lo castell de Sanct Pere se perdia p̄

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 dona 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'ingau 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 provehuts 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 perdia 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»¹⁷). 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 mília 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»¹⁸) that makes the passage grammatical («la hi donàs»).

¹⁷ «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 ternía 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.

¹⁸ «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
mèr
parè
it: e
nfen
us é
fap.
: no
ven
ab
dls
rve
sa
co
da

tes eren fets de baratais mal dit
del mon e de la fortuna qui en tanta
dolor les ha via posats. E em tro
bassen per compte los fallien entre
morts e plors mes d' cent milia ho
mens: e fiant ab aquella ira tingue
ren consell en quina forma podien
ber mort a *Tirant*: per que fon de
liberat que lo *Rey* de *Egipte* pgo
com era mort entes e en les arties
mes destre que negu te tots los al
tres e dls moros milloz de.ii. cella
molt bon cauallce doz armades ala
nostrada segós en ytalha se acostia
fer ab les peaycs e los caualls en
suberrats. E gueren de acort que

FIGURE 18

Lacuna in m4r (N1)

tal senyo: mas en la mia peia los
cayguen tal fet entre les dents yo
agues dit o promes fer salvocans
morts que venit ameyo dela pro
metia. E ar canalleria no es p' sino
donar fe de virtuofament obar: q
que *Ricart* donam la ma e anem
amorit com acavallers: e no figa
gi en tantes superflus paraules.
E *Ricart* yo fo content donam
la ma e troquam dls aygua: e anem
contra los enemichs dela fe. E sta
nem los dos cavallers en la aygua
dela mar quis dava fins als pits
per les lanças: darts: passadors: e pe
dres que ls tiraven: sino per sguart
de les galeres que ls fehien gran d
fensio. E com *Ricart* ven q *Tirant*
ixque fins ala voia dela mar per fe
rir en los moros: el lo tira dela lo
bueyeta e tomal dls la aygua e dig
yo no coets caualler en lo mō fer
temoz sino tne puerveig lo tra a lo
sa ifozat les acipolsa pmer lo pes
en la scala e yo lauo: e parare pmer
Lo *Rey* congoitanaas molt perq
aqueils dos tā singulars canallers
nos perdessem. E irat volguet fer
part dela honoz fon content d po

Com *Ricart* en presència del
Rey de *Francia* dig que combatria
a *Tirant* atora *Virgana*. E eos lo
Rey de *Francia* combatre *Tirant*
de *Francia*: e apaxa roba la costa de
Turquia.

Cos los qui no tñe
verdadeta noticia de
la honoz de aqst mō
mostren llur poch sa
ber: manifestant ab
llur boca aquell grosser parlar qui
dix. Ab la rabo de mon compare
men vaig. E no abuerint ni sabent
lo gentil tal ni virtuofa pratica de
nostres antecessors. Segons se lig
de aquell famos *Rey* *Zir* senyo
d' honz dela petita e gran *Castanya*
lo qual dona fi e compliment ala
pocipera e pomposa taula redona
hoiri tantes nobles e virtuofos ca/
uallers en ella seguerit: qui fozen co
neixebors e mereixebors d' tota ho
noz e gentile: e auoridoz de tot
engany: falcia e malbat: e si per art
de caualleria la cola era ben jntja
da: la honoz e la gloria de aqest
mon aqui ven elixt atribuada sino
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»),¹⁹ 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

¹⁹ «Estauan los dos caualleros en el agua del mar que les llegaua hasta los pechos por guardarse de las 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.²⁰ 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 1464.²¹ 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').²²

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

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

²¹ 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.

²² 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.

²³ 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.²³ 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').²⁴ 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, 1491.²⁵

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.²⁶ 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.²⁷ So while the text of the printer's copy of *Tirant lo Blanc* derived many of its features from

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

²⁵ Ivi, p. 59.

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

²⁷ 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.²⁸

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 246.²⁹ 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.³⁰ Since the correct order

²⁸ 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).

²⁹ 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 valerós e strenu cavaller Tirant lo Blanch*, ed. de M. Aguiló i Fuster, 4 vols, Barcelona, Llibreria d'Àlvar Verdaguier, 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, IVEI, 1990).

³⁰ 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-sequences, these parts of his romance.

FIGURE 19
Chapter 69, fol. 61r (N1)

senyors ho son venguts no ni ha
vengut negu qui ab tan gentil orde
sia vengut me acceptes acores
les grans. Com fore prop del Rey
de Castella: e saluarenlo ab lo
cap: e ala Reyna perque es dona
ferdi vna poca reuerencia de genoll.
E lo Rey e Reyna los reteren les
salutave comarense a senre. E los ca
uallers estiguere segurs sens fer ne
gun monimet mes de miga hoia
lino mirant lesnar e lo composit del
Rey e dela Reyna: e no era negu
quels pogues coneguer: e els conet
ren amolsa art de los valalls es de
strangers. Com agueren de mirar
anor llur plaer: acollas ho dels par
ges aells ab lo leo q poraua per la
crenyella: e lo vn caualler mes en
la boca del leo vn scriure bastas ala
orella del leo: parlali: nos pogue
saber quel ditz. Lo leo ana deuers
lo Rey: e coneguel art com si fos v
na persona. Com la Reyna ven ve
nir lo leo solt no pogue star q nos
seus del costat del Rey: e totes les
donzelles ab ella. Lo Rey la po per
la roba e armalax: ditz que es tomas
siente q no era de pelar ni creure q
tals cauallers que fossen venguts en
la sua cort que ab animals aguesse
de emnar negu. E la Reyna mes
per soya que per grat se torna en
son loch. E no era admiracio que
la Reyna se espantasse 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
poraua en la boca. E lo valeros
Rey sens temoz alguna li pres de
la boca lescrir. E lo leo prestament
se gira als deus del Rey. Lo qual
scrir era del temoz seguent.



Sipten per ser tota
aquella qui la present
carta veutan. Com
aqueu. m. freres dar
mes son copareguts
en presencia del senar de Roma: e
del Cardenal de pis: e del Carde
nal de terra noua: e del Cardenal
de sanct pere de Lyobour: del Pa
triarta del Hierusalen: de Micer Al
berto de campo basco: e de Micer
Lubineo dela colonbasian request
ami norari per auctorisar imperial
que ses acte publico com aqueus
son cauallers de. lxx. quarters: go
e o a saber de pare e de mare: de au
e de auia: negu senyor del mon te
pochar nols pot per liatgenit pec
etrol negu. E per senyal de veritat
pos agi mon acostiar signe de no
tari publico. * Ambrosino de ma
tua. Dada en Roma a. ii. de May
any. M.

capitol. lxxv

Com los. lxx. cauallers germans
darmes se plentaren dauat lo Rey
de Anglaterra: los quals eren dos
Reys e dos Duches: e donarenli
per scrit lo que volien.



Cz lotey ague vista
la carta euen que par
lar no volien mana
q per scrit los respon
guesen. Lo secretari
son aqui prestament fe semblat
resposta. Que els fossen ben ven
guts en los regnes e terres: y en la
cort suae si res volien 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 61r, on the first page of a quire (see Figure 19). Notice how the beginning of the chapter is marked with the

del professor Rafael Alemany Ferrer, Alacant, Departament de Filologia Catalana, Institut Interuniversitari de Filologia Valenciana, Universitat d'Alacant, 2023, pp. 273-281.

rubric «capítol .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:³¹

Com evident experiència mostre la debilitat de la nostra memòria, sotsmetent fàcilment a obliuó 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

³¹ 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 Bleuca 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 Bleuca, «El amor en el *Tirant lo Blanc*: Hipòlit y la Emperadriu», in *Actes del Symposion «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.³² 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

³² 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 cambra e beia la
la ma: puzes ala Emperadriu e ala
excellia Jhincella. **E** o ague abaga
des totes les dames romana al Em
perador e dixi tor ço e quãt benevol
cio amor e voluntat de Tirant li
pientana. **E** lo demerillim senyor
ab cara molt asable lo rege. **E** puzes
li dix: **D**iafeb^o senyor supliche ala
majestat vostra mie vulla posar en
libertat: car be es praxoner qui ap
sonero guardar: coz calcu o aquells
cõte sobre pujar son coratge o ma
jor dignitat que noblea no esse per
ço vulla la alteta vã acceptar los
per lo gran perill que tal comanda
ab si posar: car ley es feta per aquell
qui sols honra basta aconietuar la
sua honra: **E** o per los enrenetovist
lera yo haja reat: mon deute de fi
delitat lo q ainteres de part se guar
dara just o injust: acre se nomenara
e no gracia. **E** perq̄ sia vist lo desig
meu ab la vã concordes rege als
notaris que me sia feta carta publi
ca pquien reste memoria en fozent
doz. **L**a senyora de gran excellencia
Jhincella del impi grech. **L**a egre
gia **S**tephãa de macedõia. **E** la
virtuosa **S**luda repolada. **E** la bel
la eloq̄nta de **J**olãe o mavedã. **E**
la honesta prospera e benaventura
da dela senyora **E**mpadriu qui es
font o totes los sabers virtuosos fa
gen ver testimoni de mi: com he re
cut mon deute ab los praxoners en
temps. **S**on leuat acre e lo **E**mpera
dor rebe los praxoners e parla molt
ab **D**iafeb^o demanãt li lo seu capt
pita q̄na honra: los sebia e coz los
cõtractauar: **D**iafeb^o li recita la pa
tica que ab elle fermaba havia. **L**a

noze lo **E**mpera: dor los seu posãt
dins lo palau en les mes fozes toz
res que tenia. **E** om **D**iafebus ves
temps de parlar ab la **J**hincella a
na ala sua cambra e trobala ab totes
les siues dames. **E** om la **J**hincella
lo veu leuar del strabo e feu la via
suaz: **D**iafeb^o cuyta lo paer: dona
del genoll en la dura terra e beia li
la ma e dix: aquãta beada es de aquã
que la cessat vostra ha cõdemnat
en mie foz: puzes que no son aquãta
q̄ yo así he posar: e les donzelles
acostaren se no li pogueren dir per
dupreã no hoysien lo q̄ dixi: amas
puzes lo per la ma e ataren se: afeure
e vna finestra. **L**om fozen alegats
la **J**hincella erida **S**tephãa. **E**
Diafeb^o feu principi a vni tal plat:



Si la mar se romana
finta e la arena paper
yo pens no bastaria
o scriure lamo: la vo
luntat: **S**imiles recomencida
que aquell prosper e virtuos: **L**unt
trami: ala majestat vostra: com to
tes les coles son vistes p la fi e aquã
mostra calcu qui es: e dona puzes
e cõdamna legons les obres. **E** cõ
amor no sia major son perill: sino
atenyer lo mo: o gloria p pmi de
caualter valeros: e no deureu tant
amar la vida que deicõgue: seu la
mo: dunt sal e tan sfo: zar capta cõ
la alteta vã re. **L**om per la libemas
poch areia de aquell jo: n quell vos
veu. **I**t recitare part de la vida illa
minaba no per los amichs: canal /
lera de molta stima: mi per los pre
sents ni encara per negnes altres.
Vo es digna cosa negu sia merxer

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), Diafebus's speech is announced («E Diafebus feu principi

a un tal parlar») and marked with an initial, but there is no rubric or chapter number above it.³³ 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.³⁴ 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.³⁵

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.³⁶

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

³⁴ 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.

³⁵ 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.

³⁶ 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, i1r-i1v); 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.³⁷

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.

³⁷ 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.

