PART I

THE CLASSICAL TRADITION IN MEDIEVAL CATALAN

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Map 1: The Catalan-speaking territories

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1

Historical Background

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

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

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

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

> e·l sieu seignor veirem ligar
> et aforcar
> coma lairon […]
> e pois veirem cascun de soa maison
> e de son linh morir en la preison.
>
> (and we shall see imprisoned and hanged as a thief their lord [King Peter] […] and then we shall see each and every member of his house and line die in prison.)[2]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

15 On this conflict, see J. Elliott (1963).

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

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

> And We left and took Our road to Catalonia. […] And when We came within sight of Fraga, Mossèn Bernat de Cabrera said to Us, 'Lord, do you see that place?'
> And We said to him, 'Yes.'
> 'Then that is Catalonia.'
> And We, in that hour, said, 'Oh blessed land, peopled with loyalty! Blessed be Our Lord God who has delivered Us out of a rebellious and wicked country! But cursed be he who looks on it wrongly, for it too was peopled with loyal persons! But We have faith in Our Lord God that We will turn it to its old condition, and then We will punish those who look on it malevolently.'[17]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Influence from the North

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

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

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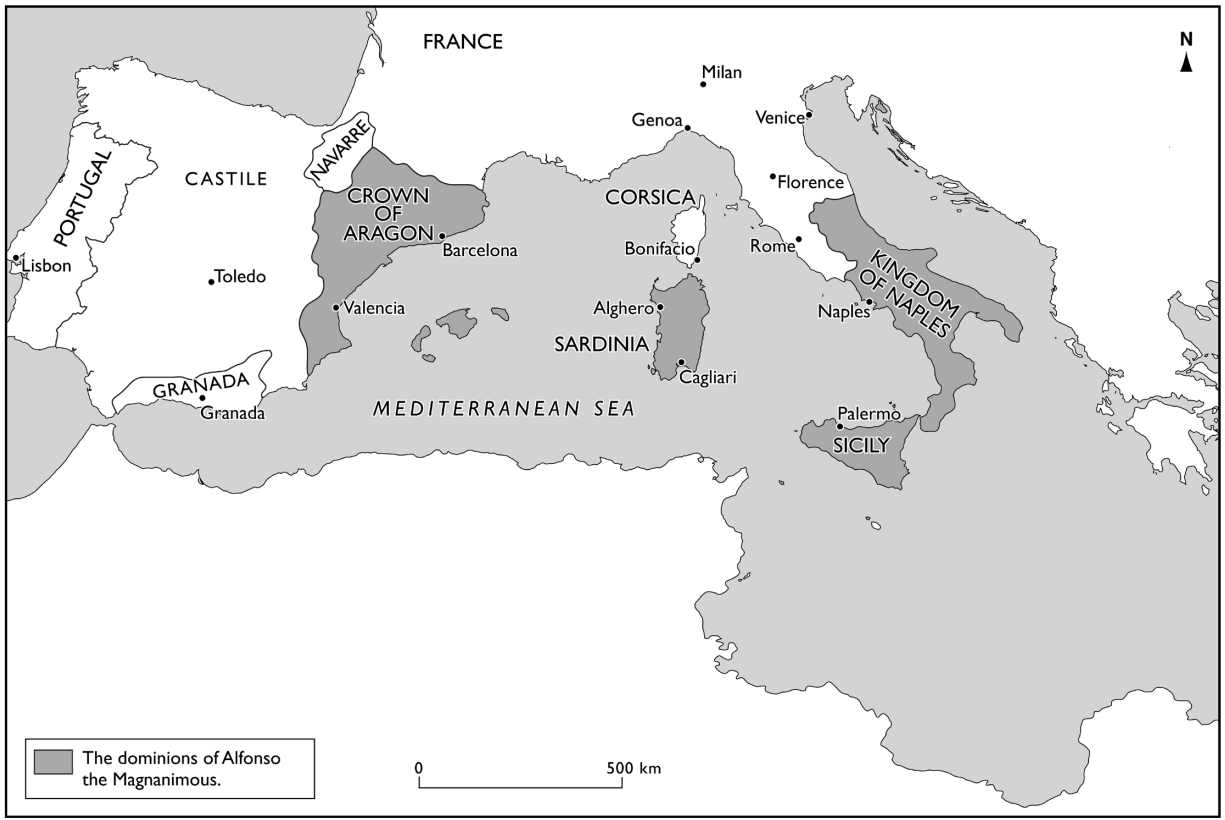

Map 2: The dominions of Alfonso the Magnanimous (1442–58)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Between these two symbolic dates (988 and 1258), the House of Barcelona gradually consolidated its position, culminating in the foundation of a new kingdom. Early historiography attributed a foundational role to Count Wilfred the Hairy (r. 870–97), ever since the first redaction of the *Gesta comitum Barchinonensium et regum Aragonum* (*Deeds of the Counts of Barcelona and Kings of Aragon*; 1162–84). The son of Sunifred I, Wilfred united the counties of Urgell, Cerdanya, and Conflent (870) with those of Barcelona and Girona (878), and they were inherited by his heirs for the first time. During his reign, the central plains were resettled, the episcopal see was reinstated in Vic, and Benedictine monasteries were founded, like Sant Miquel de Cuixà (Saint-Michel-de-Cuxa) on the northern slopes of the Pyrenees and, on the southern slopes, Santa Maria de Ripoll, the counts' pantheon until the twelfth century. Ripoll soon became an important centre of high monastic culture, as evidenced by the scientific work of Gerbert of Aurillac (the future Pope Sylvester II), who studied there from 967 to 970, and of Abbot Oliba (971–1046).[21] The epitaph for Count Wilfred at Ripoll, the work of either Oliba or a collaborator, reads:

Conditur hic primus GUIFREDUS marchio celsus,
Qui comes atque potens fulsit in orbe manens,
Hancque domum struxit et structam sumptibus auxit:
Vivere dum valuit, semper ad alta tulit.
Quem Deus aethereis nexum sine fine coreis,
Annuat in solio vivere sydereo.

(Mundó 1998: 402)

(Here lies the first, WILFRED, noble marquis,
count, and lord who shone while on earth. He
built this house and then furnished it lavishly.
Throughout his life, he led it to higher things.
To him, once bound to the heavens for ever,
God granted a celestial throne.)

Wilfred, however, divided his domains among his sons, and so the hegemony of the Count of Barcelona was not fully consolidated until the reign of Ramon Berenguer I, the Old (r. 1035–76), who achieved almost complete dominion over the Catalan counties. It was at this time, with the purchase of Carcassonne and Razès (1067–70), that we see an expansionist policy towards the Christian

21 On the presence of Latin classics in Ripoll, see Quetglas (2007: 14–16). For an interpretation of the exceptional Ripoll portal, dating from the twelfth century in the time of Count Ramon Berenguer IV, see Rico (2009: 107–76); his interpretation is based on documentary evidence from the monastery's library culture.

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north, in combination with further territorial gains eastwards and southwards into the Islamic Peninsular territories. This drive to annex Christian lands in southern Occitania can only be understood with reference to the Frankish origins of the counts' power, origins that were to prove decisive beyond the Carolingian period. The marriage of Ramon Berenguer III, the Great (r. 1096–1131), to Douce I of Provence (1112), whose dowry included the county of Provence as well as other Occitan territory, confirms this political intent. Ramon Berenguer IV (r. 1131–62) protected the domains of his nephew Ramon Berenguer III of Provence (r. 1144–66). Ramon Berenguer V of Provence (r. 1209–45) founded modern-day Barcelonette at the foot of the Alpine Maddalena Pass, which separates Provence from Piedmont.

This period of expansion – either through outright purchases or dynastic ties – was politically oriented towards Occitania, while colonization was directed more towards the Peninsula, to the western part to rival the Navarrese and Aragonese expansion. The conquest of the Islamic-held territories to the south and southwest reached Tarragona (1091), Balaguer (1106), and Tamarit de Llitera (1108), a town of Catalan-speaking origin in present-day Aragon. Ramon Berenguer IV finally took Lleida (1149), on the banks of the River Segre, and Tortosa (1148) at the mouth of the Ebro. The Roman city of Dertosa (Tortosa), which controlled the Via Augusta at its crossing over the Ebro, had been under Arabic rule for more than four centuries and became the northernmost Islamic frontier city after 1091. The lands gained in this stage of the Christian conquest are referred to as New Catalonia, characterized by a more intense Islamic influence than is found in the territories conquered by the Franks more than three hundred years earlier, as can be seen in the local place names (Coromines 1965–70: I, 265–73). This Christian resettlement led to the establishment in the countryside inland from Tarragona of Cistercian monasteries like Santa Maria de Santes Creus and Santa Maria de Poblet, which would soon replace Ripoll as pantheons for the House of Barcelona. Mediterranean trade picked up from the early twelfth century, but attempts to push as far as Valencia (1085–9) and take Majorca (1115) came to nothing. Expansion northwards, in contrast, was maintained following the conquest of New Catalonia and the annexation of Aragon. King Alfonso the Chaste, or the Troubadour (r. 1162–96), the son of Ramon Berenguer IV and Petronilla of Aragon, was also the Marquis of Provence and held sovereignty over Occitan lands. His son, Peter the Catholic (r. 1196–1213), died at the Battle of Muret defending his rights in Occitania, from Béarn to Provence. He is sometimes presented as a supporter of the Catharist heresy, which was widespread in his Occitan domains, over which he was fiercely protective. His intention, in fact, was to consolidate a kingdom straddling present-day France and Spain, stretching in an arc from the Ebro in the south to the foothills of the Alps in

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the east (see Map 3).[22] The kingdom he sought was never achieved in its entirety, but it provides us with a useful insight into the outlook and ambition of later monarchs.

Before acceding to the throne, Peter the Great (r. 1276–85) asserted his rights over Provence and the county of Toulouse ceded in the Treaty of Corbeil (Soldevila 1950–2: I, 177–206), despite opposition from his father, James I (r. 1213–76). Much later on, a monarch from the Castilian House of Trastamara, Alfonso the Magnanimous (r. 1416–58), king of the Catalan-Aragonese kingdoms and of Naples, was perfectly aware of his ancient rights over Gallia Narbonensis if we are to believe an anecdote recounted by his historian, Antonio Beccadelli, Il Panormita, around 1455:

> While Alfonso was in Valencia, there arrived the ambassadors of Charles, King of France, who begged him earnestly that while their king was at war with the English he would not take up arms against him. For Charles greatly feared that Alfonso would use this time and take this opportunity to attack him, since he claimed the title and right in that part of Gallia Narbonensis which the inhabitants call Languedoc. Alfonso replied to them thus: 'Although I know very well that many cities and lands which are today occupied by the King of France belong by right to the King of Aragon, I nevertheless assure you that during this time in which I see he is engaged in war with the English I shall not be moved to take up arms against this reckless king.'[23]

Catalonia's old northern ties and its political expansion in the eleventh and twelfth centuries help to explain many aspects of Catalan culture in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The linguistic community established on either side of the Pyrenees and the permeability of the northern frontier remind us that Occitan was not only a vehicle for the transmission of culture, but was also in direct contact with Catalan for centuries. Nowadays Occitan and the Catalan spoken in Roussillon are in dramatic decline, but in medieval times they were

22 For the detail of this domain, see Alvira (2008: maps 3–4).

23 'Cum esset Valentiae Alfonsus, appulerunt eo loci Caroli regis Franciae legati magnopere eum orantes, ne per id tempus, quo rex eorum bello Britannico implicitus esset, contra se bellum aliquod suscitaret. Quam maxime enim verebatur Carolus, ne Alfonsus captato tempore et occasione eum armis lacesseret, propterea quod ius ac titulum praetenderet in eam partem Galliae Narbonensis, quam incolae linguam occitanam vocant. Quibus Alfonsus ita respondit: "Et si certo scio plurimas Narbonensis Galliae civitates ad Aragoniae Regnum pertinere, quas Carolus rex iampridem occupatas detineat, nihilominus hoc tempore, quo illum intelligo bello superatum et a Britannis protritum esse, nequaqam me arma contra profligatum regem moturum esse vobis affirmo."' Duran (1990: 130) gives the Latin text, in Mariàngela Villalonga's edition, interleaved with the medieval Catalan version. Torró has highlighted and commented on the passage (2008: 428).

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vibrant languages which had a great deal of vocabulary in common because of their proximity. The oldest surviving Catalan text of any length – the *Homilies d'Organyà* (*Organyà Homilies*), from the early thirteenth century – contains a sermon translated from Occitan (Soberanas & Rossinyol 2001). Troubadour lyric was written in Occitan, the first manifestation of refined poetry in Romance, promoted and practised by King Alfonso the Troubadour in the mid-twelfth century, as well as by such well-known Catalan troubadours as Guillem de Berguedà and Guillem de Cabestany. This influence from the north explains not only the beginnings but also the continuity of courtly Catalan poetry, first composed in Occitan and then in an Occitan-Catalan hybrid until around 1425, and still marked by the troubadour tradition until well into the fifteenth century. The considerable penetration of the Matter of Britain into Catalan territory followed the same path, at least from the early fourteenth century. The most original contribution to the Arthurian legend in the Hispanic kingdoms is the widely circulated *Faula* (*Fable*) by the Majorcan Guillem de Torroella, written in Catalanized Occitan around 1373; the author has the Arthurian characters speak in French, aware that his courtly readership will understand it, and offers a solution to the enigmatic ending of *The Death of Arthur* (*La Mort Artu*), the last part of the so-called Vulgate Cycle or Prose Lancelot.[24] This example shows how the permeability of this northern frontier was maintained even as Occitan culture was progressively replaced by French culture.

In the Corbières frontier zone there were strongholds like Perellós Castle (Château de Périllos); in 1398 Ramon de Perellós, who was educated at the court of the French king, Charles V, the Wise, and served at that of the Catalan king, John I, wrote his *Viatge al Purgatori de Sant Patrici* (*Voyage to St Patrick's Purgatory*) from a French version of Saltrey's Latin story (Owen 1970: 221–3; TCM 55.1).[25] The *Cançoner Vega-Aguiló* (1426) includes, alongside pieces by troubadours and Catalan poets, poems in French by Guillaume de Machaut and Oton de Grandson and one or more with the rubric 'Gleu', undoubtedly a member of the family that owned Durban Castle (Château de Durban) on the northern slopes of the Corbières, but who had a house in Perpignan and served in the Catalan royal household.[26] Students of theology from the territories of the Crown of Aragon often studied in Paris, Toulouse, or Avignon, and on occasion at

24 Torroella's *Fable* belongs to the legend of Arthur's survival (Loomis 1959: 68). For an edition, see Compagna (2004); for further commentary, see Badia (2003). On the diffusion of the Matter of Britain in Catalonia, see Bohigas (1961a) and Hook (2015).

25 Further information (notes, bibliography, a list of manuscripts and printed editions) for those translations into Catalan not included in the Catalogue contained in this volume, can be found in the online *Cens de traduccions al català medieval* (*Census of Translations into Medieval Catalan*), the exact location indicated by the TCM reference number.

26 Barcelona, BC, MS 8, fol. 147^{v}. Marfany (2016) has identified the poet.

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Cambridge; students of law, in Toulouse and Avignon, as well as Montpellier, Boulogne, and the Roman Curia (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21: II, lxxix–cx). When there was a revival of interest in troubadour poetry in Toulouse in 1323 – a revival short on aristocratic credentials, promoted instead by university scholars and municipal officials – Catalan poets took part in the poetry competitions there (Riquer 1950b). Some Occitan writers were installed in Catalan courts in this period, like Joan de Castelnou from Provence, who was a judge at the Toulouse poetry competition and the author in 1341 of a manual of grammar and rhetoric dedicated to Prince Peter of Aragon, Count of Ribagorça and Empúries (Casas Homs 1969: 81 and 161). Many of the books in the Catalan royal libraries came from courts in the north of France, especially from the mid-fourteenth century onwards, and the introduction of Petrarch to the Peninsula from 1388 is intrinsically bound up with the Catalan royal house's relationship with Paris and Avignon (Chapter 2, pp. 54–5).

Despite the predominance of this northern culture, at least until the fourteenth century, influence was also felt from other Hispanic kingdoms. For instance, James I was the father-in-law of the King of Castile, Alfonso X, the Wise (r. 1252–84). The *Libro de las partidas* (*Book of Laws*), a product of Alfonso's scriptorium, was translated into Catalan in sections in the fourteenth century (TCM 6.1), as were other works of Hispanic-Arabic sapiential literature of Alfonsine tradition (TCM 0.34 and 14.4.1). On a trip to Alfonso the Wise's court in 1269, the Catalan troubadour Cerverí de Girona, who was accompanying Prince Peter, the son of James I, must have heard poetry there which prompted him to write a *viadeira*, a song of travel, imitating the Galician-Portuguese *cantigas de amigo* (Romeu 2000: 46–8). The *De rebus Hispaniae* (*History of Spain*) by the Archbishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, featured on the cultural horizon of the Catalan kings, especially in the *Crònica general* (*General Chronicle*) by Peter the Ceremonious (Chapter 2, p. 43); an abstract of Jiménez de Rada's work was translated into Catalan before 1337 (TCM 0.44). Following the accession to the Catalan-Aragonese throne in 1412 of the Castilian House of Trastamara, translations from Catalan into Castilian abound (Chapter 2, pp. 76–7); translations from Castilian into Catalan reappear following the advent of printing.

The Crown of Aragon

The second major component of Catalan expansion came about when the Counts of Barcelona became Kings of Aragon. It is worth pausing to dwell on the details of this dynastic shift. Alfonso the Battler, or the Warrior (r. 1104–34), 'king of the people of Aragon and of Pamplona' ('rex Aragonensium vel Pampilonensium'), in other words, of Aragon and Navarre, advanced the Christian conquest with mighty power, establishing boundaries between Aragon and Catalonia. He died

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without an heir and bequeathed his lands to the military orders, perhaps to protect them from the Kingdom of Castile (Bisson 1986: 16). The nobility, however, refused to accept his will. Navarre became independent. With the threat of complete annexation hovering over them, the Aragonese nobles persuaded Ramiro, Alfonso's brother, to hang up his monk's habit, govern for a brief period, and promise his one-year-old daughter, Petronilla, to the Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer IV, to safeguard what was left of Alfonso's kingdom. The union involved protracted negotiations before the betrothal was made official (1137); the wedding took place in 1150. A document dating to 11 August 1137 preserved in the Royal Archive of Barcelona (now part of the Archive of the Crown of Aragon) makes it abundantly clear that King Ramiro gave the Kingdom of Aragon to the Count of Barcelona, along with his daughter, and free possession of the kingdom if Petronilla died before:

> In the name of God, I, Ramiro, by the Grace of God King of Aragon, give to you, Ramon, Count and Marquis of Barcelona, my daughter as wife with the entirety of the Kingdom of Aragon, as my father King Sancho and my brothers Peter and Alfonso ever best had and held, they or persons of either sex for them, preserving the practices and customs that my father Sancho and my brother Peter had in their kingdom. […] All these things written above, I, the aforementioned King Ramiro, grant thus to you, Ramon, Count and Marquis of Barcelona, that if my daughter predeceases you, you should have freely and immutably the gift of the aforementioned kingdom without any impediment after my death.[27]

Ramon Berenguer IV administered the bequest as 'prince' ('princeps') and 'ruler' ('dominator').[28] His son with Petronilla, Alfonso the Troubadour, was the first to assume the titles of King of Aragon and Count of Barcelona;[29] in other words, he was the first king of a new composite kingdom thereafter considered

27 'In Dei nomine Ego Ranimirus, Dei gratia rex Aragonensis, dono tibi Raimunde, Barchinonensium comes et marchio, filiam meam in uxorem cum tocius regni Aragonensis integritate, sicut pater meus Sancius rex vel fratres mei Petrus et Illefonsus melius umquam habuerunt vel tenuerunt, ipsi vel utriusque sexus homines per eos, salvis usaticis et consuetudinibus quas pater meus Sancius vel frater meus Petrus habuerunt in regno suo. […] Hec autem omnia superius scripta, ego prephatus rex Ranimirus taliter facio tibi Raimunde, Barchinonensium comes et marchio, ut si filia mea mortua fuerit prephata, te superstite, donacionem prephati regni libere et inmutabiliter habeas absque alicuius impedimento post mortem meam' (Baiges *et al.* 2010: III, 1191–2).

28 'Count of Barcelona and Prince of Aragon' ('comes Barchinonensis ac princeps Aragonensis'); 'Count of Barcelona and, by the Grace of God, Lord of the Kingdom of Aragon' ('comes Barchinonensis et Dei gratia regni dominator Aragonensis'; Cingolani 2015: 141). See Appendix 2 for a genealogical table of the rulers of the Crown of Aragon.

29 See Cingolani (2015: 137) and Sabaté (1997: 333).

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the patrimony of the bloodline of the Counts of Barcelona. This was recognized as a foundational moment: 'King Alfonso, who was the first King of Aragon and Count of Barcelona together', states Peter the Ceremonious in 1383; 'Lord Alfonso, who was the first King of Aragon and Count of Barcelona', says a genealogy drawn up in the Royal Archive in the early fifteenth century.[30] From Alfonso the Troubadour onwards, the Kings of Aragon adopted the banner of the four bars on a golden background (Or, four bars Gules), a coat of arms of the dynasty of the Counts of Barcelona that is first documented with certainty on the seals of Ramon Berenguer IV before the union with Aragon (Fluvià 1994: 51–4).

Neither the count-king Alfonso, nor his first descendants, nor in fact any medieval king other than emperors, used ordinals in those days.[31] In our case, this practice seems to have been instituted around 1340 by Peter the Ceremonious, who naturally considered himself the eighth in the royal line starting from Alfonso the Troubadour, and so the third with the name Peter (after Peter I, the Catholic, and Peter II, the Great), even though the name Peter featured in the royal house of Aragon and Navarre before the union. For this very reason, Alfonso the Magnanimous is Alfonso IV in fifteenth-century documents in the Royal Archive (Riera 2011: 513). In the minds of the descendants of Ramon Berenguer IV, what mattered was their bloodline and their patrimony. So, when Peter the Ceremonious commissioned sculptures of his predecessors in 1342, a list was drawn up according to the male line of the Counts of Barcelona; there had to be figures, therefore, of the eleven Counts of Barcelona from Wilfred the Hairy to Ramon Berenguer IV, as well as the eight Counts of Barcelona who were also Kings of Aragon. The ordinal 'third' which he adopts, and the numbering of the other count-kings, which is gradually imposed in Catalan historiography and in the Royal Archive, start from the foundational moment: when the House of Barcelona acquired a new kingdom and royal titles, and consequently a new domain, a 'dynastic federation' (Bisson 1986: 3), was created.

In this study, we follow the numbering established *post unionem*.[32] We refer to the new state as the Crown of Aragon, the most common term used in modern studies, instead of the Kingdom of Aragon, to avoid confusion. The reader will

30 '[L]o rey n'Anfós, qui fo primer rei d'Aragó e comte de Barchinona ensemps'; 'dominus Ildefonsus, qui fuit primus rex Aragonum et comes Barchinone' (Riera 2011: 505 and 491–2).

31 On this issue we follow Riera's well-documented article in Catalan (2011), which deserves to be translated into more widely known languages.

32 It is common to refer to Peter III, the Ceremonious, as Peter IV of Aragon or to Alfonso IV, the Magnanimous, as Alfonso V of Aragon, and so on with all the kings with these two names, because there was an Aragonese king called Peter and one called Alfonso *ante unionem*. It is a common practice but not the one used in medieval documentation. The Aragonese monk and chronicler Gauberte Fabricio de Vagad started the practice (1499) and it was generalized by another Aragonese chronicler, Jerónimo Zurita (1562–80). See Riera (2011: 518–19).

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need to be aware that in medieval times the term 'Crown' or, more rarely, 'Crown of Aragon' are used to refer to the royal domain, for example when Peter III aims in 1343 'to unite the Kingdom of Majorca with Our other kingdoms and lands, so that they could never be divided or separated from the Crown of Aragon'.[33] The concept of the Crown of Aragon as a political entity was consolidated in the sixteenth century, precisely when it had lost its independence – but not its local constitutions or its institutions – and had become one of the components of a larger kingdom ruled by the Spanish branch of the Hapsburgs (Sabaté 1997: 337–9). Today it would be more precise to speak of the Catalan-Aragonese Crown and of count-kings, as Bisson does (1986: 31). However, the lack of a royal Catalan bloodline *ante unionem* has helped to consecrate the term 'Crown of Aragon' and the adjective 'Aragonese' when referring to, respectively, a federal domain under Catalan rule and the successors of the Count of the Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer IV.

Between 1707 and 1715 the first Bourbon king of Spain, Philip V, subjugated the Crown of Aragon in the Europe-wide War of Spanish Succession. Philip V abolished the legal character of the Crown of Aragon by successive decrees between 1707 and 1716. In this study the Crown of Aragon means the domain of the Counts of Barcelona and Kings of Aragon from 1137 (or 1162 to be precise), including the territories annexed in the thirteenth century with the conquest of the Balearic Islands and Valencia. This federation was governed according to discrete sets of local privileges or constitutions (the 'Usatges de Barcelona', the 'Fueros de Huesca', and the 'Furs de València') under a single royal house. The king was crowned in Zaragoza but upheld those privileges or constitutions in the corresponding regions governed by the Crown. He summoned parliament (Corts) for the Crown as a whole, often in border locations like Fraga, Monzón and Tamarit de Llitera on the frontier between Aragon and Catalonia. There were also governing parliaments and institutions in each part of the Crown. For example, the General Deputation (Diputació del General) was the permanent executive body of the Catalan parliament with jurisdiction in the Principality of Catalonia.[34] Some large cities had powerful tools of government, such as the Council of a Hundred (Consell de Cent) in Barcelona. Among the oldest universities, there are those at Lleida (1300) and Perpignan (1349) in Catalan territory, but also at Huesca (1354) in northern Aragon, founded by Peter III, the Ceremonious. The royal chancery employed scribes who wrote

33 Hillgarth & Hillgarth 1980: I, 313; 'per fer unió del Regne de Mallorques ab los altres Regnes e terres nostres, que jamés no es poguessen partir ne separar de la Corona d'Aragó' (chapter 3; Pagès 1941: 176).

34 From the mid-fourteenth century, the legal term 'principatus' was used to designate royal jurisdiction over the entire territory of Catalonia. The term came to mean both the jurisdiction and the territory. See Sabaté (1997: 339–42).

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in Aragonese, Catalan, and Latin. This chancery, and the administrative network throughout the different domains on which it depended, contributed to the diffusion of a particular model of writing and produced civil servants able to write letters in these three languages and translate works from Latin or French, generally into Catalan but also into Aragonese. When Peter III received a manuscript in French sent by the Aragonese scholar Juan Fernández de Heredia, on occasions he had it translated into Aragonese in the chancery, which he then sent to Fernández de Heredia, while he kept the original in French, a practice described in the following excerpt from a royal letter:

> and we ask you that you send us the book that you had copied in Paris that you said that our cousin the King of France lent you, and we will have it translated into Aragonese, and then, once translated, we will give you the Aragonese translation, as we have now done with the *Suma de las historias*, and we will retain the French version (Zaragoza, 10 February, 1372).[35]

In order to understand the literary culture of the Crown of Aragon, we would do well to appreciate that this domain was a political enterprise by the Catalan kings who descended from the line of the Counts of Barcelona until its extinction in 1410 with the death of Martin I; a domain that remained independent during the rule of the Castilian House of Trastamara, the kings of the Crown of Aragon from 1412 (Ferdinand I, Alfonso IV, the Magnanimous, John II, and Ferdinand II, the Catholic) until the union of the Crown with that of Castile. Prince Ferdinand (the future Ferdinand II) married Isabella of Castile (1469); following her death he married Germaine of Foix (1505) shortly before becoming regent of Castile (1507) and annexing the Kingdom of Navarre (1512). There was not, therefore, a definitive dynastic union until his death in 1516. Then the Crown of Aragon was inherited by his daughter with Isabella, Joanna I of Castile, the Mad, the wife of Philip I, the Handsome, and on 14 March 1516 by their son Charles, Duke of Burgundy and the Netherlands, who thus became king of both Castile and the Crown of Aragon. In 1519 he was chosen to succeed his Hapsburg grandfather, Maximilian I, as Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. The Kingdom of Spain continued to be governed according to regional constitutions until the abolition of the laws of the Crown of Aragon by the first Bourbon king, Philip V, but from 1516 the court never again permanently resided in Catalan-speaking

35 '[E] rogamos vós que nos enviedes el libro que havedes fecho translatar a París que dezides que vos emprestó nuestro caro cosino el rey de Francia, e nós farémoslo translatar en aragonés, e, luego que será translatado, daremos vós el translado en aragonés, segunt agora havemos fecho de la *Suma de las historias*, e retendremos nós el francés' (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21: II, 239). See also the royal letter written in Barcelona, 16 May 1370 (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21: I, 225–6).

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territory. This is one reason – not the only one, but certainly a fundamental one – behind the progressive reduction in high-level Catalan literary output from the Renaissance in the sixteenth century and beyond.[36]

From the first third of the thirteenth century, the political enterprise of the kings of the Crown of Aragon expanded through the western Mediterranean with varying degrees of success, through Majorca and the neighbouring islands, Catalan-speaking thereafter, and through Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, and Naples. In the lands which currently form part of Italy, the cultural heritage of the occupation and the associated benefit for Catalan culture are not immediately obvious. It is therefore worth remembering the influence of the Catalan language on Sicilian and Sardinian.[37] The architectural legacy of the Catalan Gothic style in Sardinia, Naples, and Sicily can be seen, for example, in the surviving portal of the old cathedral of San Giorgio in Ragusa, Sicily, dedicated to the patron saint of Catalonia and almost destroyed by an earthquake in 1693, and in the Sardinian church of San Pietro in Assemini near Cagliari (Salis 2010).[38] The influence of Catalan late-Gothic architecture is today a well-established field of study, not only in Sardinia and Sicily but also in Naples: the Majorcan master Guillem Sagrera was director of works on the renovation of Castel Nuovo in Naples during the time of Alfonso IV (Domenge 2007).[39]

On Sardinia, Catalan is still spoken in Alghero because Peter III resettled the town after taking it in 1354 and displacing the Sardinian inhabitants. Moreover, in the mid-fifteenth century, the poet Ramon Boter, a member of a Catalan family established in Cagliari and Alghero, imitated the Catalan verses of the Valencian knight Ausiàs March and dedicated his poems to Caterina Gomir, viscountess of Sanluri through her marriage to Antonio di Sena (Torró & Rodríguez Risquete 2014: 414–16). The viscountess came from a Catalan family that had settled in Sardinia generations earlier; the viscount was a Sardinian nobleman particularly loyal to Alfonso IV, the Magnanimous. This shows that Catalan was the language of court culture in Sardinia, just as it must have been in Sicily when Andreu Febrer addressed his verses to Queen Maria of Sicily (†1401), the wife of Martin the Younger, King of Sicily and oldest son of Martin I; Febrer blended the poetry of the troubadours, of the French, and of Dante (L. Cabré & Torró 2015). This literary production was possible because

36 Literary production in Catalan between the sixteenth century and the first third of the nineteenth century has been dubbed the *Decadència* (*Decadence*), though the term is now no longer current. For a description of the main authors from this period, see Riquer (1964: III, 574–658), Comas (1972), Miralles (2010), Rossich (2011), Solervicens (2017), and Chapter 4, pp. 143–4 and 149–50.

37 On Sicilian, see Varvaro (1974; 2014); on Sardinian, see Wagner (1955).

38 On the influence of Catalan architecture in Sardinia, see Pulvirenti & Sari (1994).

39 For an overview, see the studies in Garofalo & Nobile (2007) and Álvaro & Ibáñez (2009).

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Catalan became the language of the curia, in other words of scribes, secretaries, and nobles, in Sardinia, Sicily, and Naples (Badia & Torró 2014: 231–4). Proof of this are the notarial documents in the Cagliari State Archive (Archivio di Stato di Cagliari), and the correspondence of the Sardinian nobleman Giovanni di Sena addressed to Alfonso the Magnanimous in exquisite chancery prose:

> My lord king and most powerful prince. To your great excellency I most humbly certify that, although it would be a most worthy thing if I were to be in those parts to pay reverence to your great lordship, however, given that a single body cannot reside in different places, I, most excellent lord, at the instigation of the councillors and officials of these lands, have been forced to remain here to maintain obedient those who through diabolical influence are moved at times to disobey your lordship […][40]

In the Naples of Alfonso the Magnanimous and his successor Ferrante I, it goes without saying that there was a vast quantity of documentation in Catalan.[41]

The courtly culture of the Kings of Aragon from the middle of the twelfth century until the early sixteenth century determines the literary output in the vernacular throughout this period. The classical tradition was introduced slowly as literary knowledge increased in the royal court and among the nobility.

40 'Monsenyor Rei e príncep molt poderós. A la vostra gran excel·lència molt humilment certific que, jatsia fos ben digna cosa jo passar en aquestes parts per fer reverència a vostra gran senyoria, però, atès que un mateix cos natura no permet estar en diverses parts, jo, senyor molt excel·lent, a gran instigació dels consellers e oficials d'aquesta terra són estat induït romandre ací per conservar a vostra obediència aquells los quals per inducció diabolical se promouen algunes vegades venir contra obediència de vostra senyoria […]' (Badia & Torró 2014: 232).

41 See, for example, De Marinis (1947–52: II, 227–316) for the documents on the Neapolitan library transcribed before the archive was destroyed in the Second World War.

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2

Literacy: Translations and Royal Patronage

This chapter describes three centuries, from the start of the reign of the first count-king, Alfonso, in 1162 until the death of Crown Prince Charles, the son of John II, in 1461. Our description weaves together various threads of the cultural history of the Crown: the literacy of the royal family and the nobility, and their familiarity with Occitan, French, and Latin; the impact of this on literary output (poetry, historiography, oratory) and the promotion of translations; and the emergence of authors, almost always connected with the royal court, who wrote original works in Catalan that display their knowledge of the classical tradition. We turn our attention to the works of five such authors, works undertaken between 1399 and 1464, in more detail in Chapter 3. The reigns of John II (1458–79) and Ferdinand II (1479–1516) are covered in a separate chapter, Chapter 4, as that is when we see the emergence of Latin humanism and vernacular texts that derive directly from it, and when the advent of the printing press provided greater access to culture.

Royal Literature and the First Translations (1162–*c.* 1360)

The establishment of the Crown in the second half of the twelfth century coincides with the first clear signs of royal literacy and of a wide-reaching cultural initiative. Scholars talk of an 'Alfonsine period' in troubadour poetry because King Alfonso I (r. 1162–96) welcomed many troubadours in his Catalan–Occitan domains, and used their poetry as a political tool in his fight with the Count of Toulouse. His enthusiam for this literary form thus created a cultural bridge between the two sides of his kingdom (M. Cabré 2013: 227–34). He wrote poetry himself, and must have acquired a certain prestige from his debate with one of the poets he supported, Giraut de Bornelh, a scholar poet dubbed the 'master of the troubadours' in his thirteenth-century biography or *vida*.[1] From

[1] See the debate, or *tenso*, between the troubadour and King Alfonso 'Be·m plairia seingner en reis' ('It would please me, Lord King'; Sharman 1989: 389). More than seventy poems attributed to Giraut de Bornelh have been preserved in a deluxe Catalan manuscript from the third quarter of the fourteenth century: Barcelona, BC, MS 146, fols 46–81.

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the time of Alfonso I the promotion and practice of troubadour poetry became a distinctive feature of the royal house and by extension of the nobility and the court: many members of the royal family wrote poetry and composed music until the end of the fourteenth century (Cluzel 1957–8; Espadaler 2001). Due to this predominantly courtly context, the Catalan tradition in lyric or narrative verse remained in general separate from Latin culture, with the exception of works by poets of humble origin who had received a school education, such as Cerverí de Girona (*fl.* 1260–85) or the mysterious Capellà de Bolquera, a follower of Cerverí at the turn of the fourteenth century and the author of a *vers* lamenting his misfortunes, with overtones of the crude satire characteristic of Goliardic poetry.[2] The *Razos de trobar* (*Principles of Troubadour Composition*) by the Catalan troubadour Ramon Vidal de Besalú is the first troubadour manual, as well as being the first Romance-language grammar. This late-twelfth-century work documents two essential questions: the esteem in which troubadours were held, equivalent to the respect afforded school *auctores*; and the importance of making grammatical corrections to verse that could otherwise betray the diversity of its authors' oral language. This second point is the clear intention of the *Regles de trobar* (*Rules of Troubadour Composition*) by Jofre de Foixà (*c.* 1289–91), a conscious and explicit continuation of Ramon Vidal's work by a troubadour in the service of James of Aragon, King of Sicily and the future James II of the Catalan-Aragonese kingdom.[3] This Occitan-Catalan tradition of writing manuals runs in parallel with poetic output until the end of the fourteenth century.

The other major literary tradition associated with the monarchy was historiography, both in Latin and in the vernacular. The original nucleus of the *Gesta comitum Barchinonensium et regum Aragonum* (*Deeds of the Counts of Barcelona and Kings of Aragon*), written at the monastery of Ripoll between 1162 and 1184, also dates from the reign of Alfonso I. Initially it only covered the period from Count Wilfred to Ramon Berenguer IV, in other words up to 1162, but during the reigns of James I and James II it was expanded in subsequent stages to cover the period up to 1299. The clear intention was to establish the dynasty of the count-kings as a Carolingian branch that had led to the creation of an independent kingdom, without, however, searching for any mythical origin to the line in antiquity. What is not so clear are the reasons that led James I to dictate rather than write an extraordinary memoir of his life (1208–76), the

2 For Cerverí de Girona, see M. Cabré (1999). The learned religious dawn song, or *alba*, by Cerverí 'Axi con cel c'anan erra la via' ('Just as he who travels loses his way') may have inspired the first lines of Dante's *Divine Comedy* (Oroz 1972: 411–17). For Capellà de Bolquera's 'Li fayt Dieu son escur' ('The deeds of God are obscure'), see Badia (1983: 123–31 and 271–9).

3 For these and other early treatises, see Marshall (1972).

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Llibre del rei En Jaume (*Book of King James*), a title well suited to the exclusively personal character of the account; nowadays it is more commonly known as the *Llibre dels fets* (*Book of the Deeds*), from the title of the later Latin version, *Liber gestorum regis Jacobi* (*Book of the Deeds of King James*), more appropriate for a chronicle (J. M. Pujol 1996: 40).[4]

At the age of five, the future King James I, the Conqueror, was in the custody of Simon IV de Montfort, the leader of the army of the nobles of northern France that had defeated and killed Peter I, the Catholic, at the Battle of Muret (1213), thus dramatically decelerating the expansion of the Aragonese monarchy beyond the Corbières. Through the intervention of Innocent III, Prince James grew up under the protection of the Knights Templar in the impregnable Castle of Monzón in Aragon. We should also bear in mind that as his parents Peter I and Maria of Montpellier had lived apart, there were doubts about the prince's legitimacy. These and other travails take up the opening chapters of the *Book of King James*, which give a somewhat providentialist account of the king's conception and birth: for example, shortly after Queen Maria had given birth to James, on the eve of St Mary Candlemas, she had him taken to the church of Santa Maria in Montpellier, where the *Te Deum* was being sung, a hymn regularly included in Matins but also common at coronations, as if this were a sign from God (chapter 5). The reasons given in the *Book of King James* for Peter I's defeat at Muret are that military errors were committed, thanks to the ineptitude of the king's council of nobles, and that the king himself spent the night before the battle with a woman and the following day was so tired he could not even stand for the Gospel (chapter 9). The account is precise and merciless: James learnt of the nobles' and his father's behaviour from his steward, 'who was called Gil, and was to become a brother of the Hospital'; and it was 'because of their [military] disorder and the sin that was in them […] the battle had to be lost. […] And our father died there'.[5]

In giving this account towards the end of his life, James I must have felt as if he were refounding the Crown, beset by so many difficulties when he inherited it. At Corbeil (1258) he had renounced the Occitan rights of his predecessors in favour of Louis IX of France, but he had expanded his domain by taking the islands of Majorca and Ibiza – strategically located on the trade route to North Africa – and advancing in the east of the Peninsula throughout Valencia, as far south as Murcia. The Crown of Aragon was now a Hispanic power of the first order, respected by the pope. This success goes some way to explain the

4 For an overview of the *Book of King James*, see J. M. Pujol & Renedo (2013).

5 Smith & Buffery 2010: 24–5; 'qui havia nom Gil, e fou puis frare de l'Hespital'; 'E per lo mal ordonament e per lo pecat que era en ells, hac-se a vençre la batalla […] E aquí morí nostre pare' (Bruguera 1991: II, 13–14).

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confidence with which, 'without formal education in Latin literature and the arts of the written word',[6] and without any recourse to earlier history, he decided to leave a personal memoir that spawned a tradition of vernacular historiography in his successors. It is worth noting the mythification of his name. While Alfonso I (renouncing his patronymic Ramon Berenguer) and Peter I took names from the royal Navarro-Aragonese tradition to better represent the Crown *post unionem*, James I claims in his own account that he was baptized with his name by divine intention: his mother lit twelve candles, one for each of the Apostles, and the one for St James miraculously burnt much longer than the other eleven (chapter 5). The preface to the *Book of King James* opens with a reference to the Epistle of St James, 'My lord Saint James relates that faith without good works is dead',[7] in such a way that the king's entire life, his deeds or *gesta*, are laid out as an example of Christian faith in the name of the Apostle. The Provençal laments, or *planhs*, sung at his funeral confirm this royal intention. The one by Matieu de Caersi (Quercy), close to the Latin *planctus*, first calls to the lament some of the deceased's domains ('Ay Aragos, Cataluenha e Serdanha / e Lerida'; 'Alas Aragon, Catalonia and Cerdagne / and Lleida') to strike a parallel with King Arthur; it goes on to record the Christian virtues of the Crown and concludes by sanctifying the king:

> le rey Jacmes es appelatz per totz,
> e Dieus a·l mes ab Sant Jacm'en companha,
> quar l'endema de Sant Jacme per ver
> le reys Jacmes feni, qu'a dreyt dever
> de dos Jacmes dobla festa·ns remanha.[8]
>
> (The king is called James by all and God
> has placed him in the company of St James
> because he died the day after St James so by
> right there remains for us a double feast for
> the two James.)

This sanctification became a tradition (Burns 1976: 5). Kings Peter III and Martin I possessed, respectively, a '*Book of the Life of the Blessed King James* in Latin' and two exemplars of a 'book entitled *Life of the Blessed King James*

6 '[S]ense educació formal en les lletres llatines i les arts de la paraula escrita' (J. M. Pujol 2001: 166).

7 Smith & Buffery 2010: 15; 'Retrau mon senyor sent Jacme que fe sens obres morta és' (Bruguera 1991: II, 5). The reference is to James 2:26.

8 Riquer (1975b: III, 1540–4). James I died on 26 July, the day after St James's day.

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in Latin' (i.e. Pere Marsili's Latin translation of the *Book of King James*); and the inventory of a Barcelona citizen, Ferrer de Gualbes, from 1423 includes a '[b]ook of the deeds of King James, called blessed'.[9]

Christian providentialism and Messianism remain dominant themes in later royal historical writings, just as the figure and name of James I are perpetuated. The chronicle commissioned by his son Peter II, the Great, however, was written in a notably different way. The *Llibre del rei En Pere d'Aragó e dels seus antecessors passats* (*Book of King Peter of Aragon and his Predecessors*) would seem to be a mere sequel but with a little more dynastic will, yet it is important to note straightaway that these predecessors stretch further back than James I. The introductory chapters (chapters 1–10) include a legendary treatment of the union of Catalonia and Aragon as well as earlier events, such as the equally legendary tale of the Good Count of Barcelona who freed the empress of Germany in a singular duel and, through his chivalric valour, managed to make the emperor grant him Provence. This makes it clear that King Peter thought he had rights over the region, even though it had been in the possession of Charles of Anjou since 1246; it is also a perfect example of his determination to underscore his own chivalric profile.[10] Peter II married Constance, the daughter of Manfred, King of Sicily, and granddaughter of the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II, in 1262, while he was still heir to the throne, and aspired to govern the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily. With the support of the Pope and the King of France, Charles of Anjou put paid to these aspirations by occupying the territory after the Battles of Benevento (1266) and Tagliacozzo (1268). Prince Peter then became a kind of Ghibelline leader based in Catalonia. However, once he had become king of Aragon and was writing his chronicle (1280–6), he recovered part of this domain following the Sicilian Vespers uprising (1282), defeated Charles of Anjou in a sea battle, thereby breaking the siege of Messina, and got the better of him in chivalric terms in the so-called Bordeaux Challenge – for this act of courage Dante remembered him, saying that 'he wore for his girdle the cord of every virtue' ('d'ogni valor portò cinta la corda' *Purgatorio*, 7.114). Soon afterwards, he had the good fortune to be able to halt the French attempt to annex the Crown of Aragon in 1285 (see Chapter 1, p. 4). Consequently, he too was able to tell of great military victories, as his father had done. Unlike his father, though, he employed a professional scribe, Bernat Desclot, to do his writing for him; Desclot's stamp can be seen in the professional execution and overall planning of the work, and in the praise heaped on the protagonist. Desclot

9 '[*L*]*iber vitae sancti regis Jacobis* in latino' (Rubió i Balaguer 1987: 449); 'llibre apellat *Vida del sant Rei En Jacme* en llatí' (Massó Torrents 1905: 422 and 447); 'Llibre de les coses fetes per lo Rei en Jacme apellat sant' (Garcia Panadés 1983: 179).

10 For an analysis of the meaning of these opening chapters, see A. Elliott (1983).

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makes much of the comparison of the king with Alexander the Great at the end of the prologue:

> And from this King James and his wife the queen, who was the daughter of the king of Hungary, came King Peter of Aragon, who was the second Alexander for his chivalry and conquests.[11]

In the *Historia Sicula* (*Sicilian History*, *c*. 1292) by Bartholomeus of Neocastro we read that prodigous omens, similar to those found in the legend of Alexander, accompanied the conception and birth of King Peter (Aguilar 2015: I, 89–93). Some forty years after Desclot, Ramon Muntaner recounts the deeds of King Peter the Great once again in his *Crònica* (*Chronicle*, *c*. 1325–8) and resurrects Desclot's original comparison. On two occasions he does so via an anecdote told, to give it greater authority, by the king's enemies: Pope Martin IV announces that King Peter will be another Alexander because of his thirst for conquest (chapter 47); and Charles of Anjou recognizes that his rival has a level of chivalric courage not seen since Alexander (chapter 72). The third occasion comes at the end of his account of King Peter's death (chapter 146): Muntaner describes the thronging crowds in Barcelona, the funeral and burial at the monastery of Santes Creus, and closes the episode with a kind of epitaph: 'Here lies a man who would have been another Alexander if he had lived but ten years more.'[12] Muntaner is perhaps lamenting that Peter, driven by his youth and his desire to challenge Charles of Anjou in a duel, did not manage to take Naples when he had the chance – he does in fact insinuate this at the end of chapter 72.

King Arthur and Alexander the Great were two of the so-called Nine Worthies, heroes lauded in the Middle Ages for their embodiment of the chivalric ethos. However, the switch from the former to the latter in this comparison is perhaps indicative of the culture of the royal court. Since Desclot, there had been an emphasis on King Peter's capacity for great deeds: hence the epithet *magnanimus* in the epitaph inscribed on the tomb which still houses his embalmed remains: 'Peter who lies under this stone subjugated peoples and kingdoms. He destroyed and cracked the powerful and he achieved everything he attempted. Brave, magnanimous, he was a knight beyond compare.'[13] It is possible that this type

11 'E d'aquest rei En Jacme e madona la reina, qui fou filla del rei d'Hongria, eixí lo rei En Pere d'Aragó, qui fou lo segon Alexandri per cavalleria e per conquesta' (Cingolani 2010: 55).

12 'Que mort és aquell qui altre Alexandri fóra estat en el món si sol deu anys hagués més viscut' (Soldevila 2011: 260). The only complete English translation of Muntaner's *Chronicle* is by Goodenough (1921). See also Aguilar (2015: II, 784, and 262, n. 3).

13 'Petrus quem petra tegit gentes et regna subegit / Fortes confregitque crepit cuncta peregit / Audax magnanimus sibi miles quisque fit imus […]' (P. de Bofarull 1836: II, 245; Nicolau d'Olwer 1915–20: 40). There is another version of the epitaph in a manuscript from the Ripoll monastery.

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of chronicle, that focuses on the victorious achievements of a single king, was the inspiration, years later, for the new Latin historiography dedicated to the figure of Alfonso the Magnanimous, the conqueror of the Kingdom of Naples in 1442, who was well aware of the part played by his Aragonese ancestors in this domain (Delle Donne 2015: 152–3). The mid-fifteenth-century anonymous novel *Curial e Güelfa* (*Curial and Guelfa*) is an invaluable indirect witness of the transmission of the *Book of King Peter*. The anonymous author, probably someone familiar with Alfonso the Magnanimous's Neapolitan court, perfectly grasped the intention behind Desclot's account: the chivalric adventures of his hero Curial are inspired by the legend of the Good Count of Barcelona, and he makes King Peter one of the main characters in his historical novel (see Chapter 3, pp. 106–7).

The definitive step forward in the literacy of the monarchy occurred in the reign of James II (1291–1327). He founded the Crown's first university at Lleida (1300). He has not gone down in history for any great military conquest, but he did show considerable diplomatic skill in soothing the confrontational relationships bequeathed to him by his father, notably with the King of France, the House of Anjou, and the papacy. He consolidated the royal chancery and organized the Royal Archive, modelling it on Emperor Frederick II's *Magna curia*, or Great Court, in Sicily: he had been King of Sicily before ascending to the Catalan-Aragonese throne as James II.[14] None of King James's speeches has survived, but we do have documentary witnesses of them. In a letter to the king, probably from 1327, an Aragonese notary describes the political doctrine of a speech given by James II to the Corts in Zaragoza and comments on its relationship to John of Wales's *Communiloquium*, a book which years earlier this notary had copied for the monarch (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21: I, 79). The king's exhortation to the expedition which set sail from Port Fangós to conquer Sardinia was recalled by Peter III in his *Chronicle* (Hillgarth & Hillgarth 1980: I, 146) and by Martin I in a parliamentary speech in 1406 (Albert & Gassiot 1928: 70–1). This is what fuelled the king's renown as a wise and eloquent leader, recorded in the epitaph on his tomb with the words 'eloquent in speech'.[15]

James II married Blanche of Anjou (1295) and it is clear that they took pains to ensure that their children were properly educated (Martínez Ferrando 1948: I, 36–54). We even know the name of the tutor of Prince Peter of Aragon (1305–81), one of their younger children who never became king but was counsellor to three monarchs and could read and write Latin. In 1324 Pope John XXII praised the prince's eloquence in a letter to his father:

14 The foundational charter for the University of Lleida was inspired by Frederick II's 1224 charter for the University of Naples (Delle Donne 2016b).

15 '[S]ermone facundus' (Martí de Barcelona 1990–1: no. 91, 218–19)

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> [Y]our beloved son, the noble Prince Peter, Count of Ribagorça, still in the tender youth of adolescence, is abundantly endowed with such discernment and eloquence and grace that whatever your highness called on him to do, he would perform in such an orderly fashion and complete so prudently.[16]

In 1328 Prince Peter wrote several troubadouresque pieces for the coronation of his brother, Alfonso III (r. 1327–36), including celebratory dances for the banquet and doctrinal texts in verse on the duties of the *princeps* and the symbolism of the attributes of government.[17] Afflicted with gout, he joined the Franciscans in 1358; shortly beforehand he addressed a kind of political testament to his nephew Peter III: the *Tractatus de vita et moribus et regimine principum sive Commentarius in primum librum Regum* (*Treatise on the Life, Customs, and Rule of Princes, or Commentary on the First Book of Kings* [which corresponds to I Samuel 1–16]). Despite the biblical character of the work and the frequent quotations from the Church Fathers, it contains several references to Pseudo-Aristotle's *Secretum secretorum* (*Secret of Secrets*) – a book with which Peter would have been familiar from his education – and one to Valerius Maximus: 'Valerius speaks of this with reference to Alexander'.[18] He is referring to a famous anecdote from Valerius's *Memorable Deeds and Sayings* which falls under the heading 'On humanity and clemency' ('De humanitate et clementia'; 5.1, ext. 1), in which Alexander, in the middle of a snowstorm, shows compassion to an elderly soldier suffering in the cold. Prince Peter cites this as an example of the virtues of a *princeps* who looks after his subjects, especially in wartime. As with his citations from the *Secretum secretorum*, which at that time was still thought to be a collection of didactic letters written by Aristotle for the young Alexander, the aim of this early quotation from Valerius Maximus is to create a mirror of princes.

James II did not commission a personal chronicle, perhaps because his rule did not feature any great conquest suitable for glorification; he limited himself to having the *Deeds of the Counts of Barcelona and Kings of Aragon* extended up to his reign.[19] We do however have several indications of a qualitative leap

16 '[Q]uod dilecto filio nobili viro Petro, Infanti nato tuo, Comiti Ripacurcie, adolescenti et etatis tam tenere, discretionem talem ac eloquentiam et gratiam tribuit habundanter quod talia negocia qualia sibi fuere a tua sublimitate comissa tam disserte proponere sciuit et exequi tam prudenter' (Pou y Martí 1930: 320).

17 These texts have been lost but they are mentioned in Ramon Muntaner's detailed eye-witness account of the coronation (chapters 297–8) (Soldevila 2011: 505–6).

18 'Ideo de Alexandro refert Valerius' (Beauchamp 2006: chapter 24). For a commentary on the *Treatise*, see Beauchamp (2005); for a general overview of Prince Peter, see also L. Cabré (2005).

19 When James was King of Sicily, before becoming King James II of Aragon, he promoted Sicilian historiography in Latin. Around 1290, Bartholomeus of Neocastro wrote a chronicle of Sicily in hexameters, now lost; according to a seventeenth-century source, it was entitled *De*

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in the way in which Latin was regarded as a royal language of culture during his time. He wrote a Provençal dance on the theme of the 'ship of the Church' ('navis Ecclesie') being poorly captained by the pope, and we have the Latin gloss on it, by Arnau de Vilanova, the king's physician and a writer imbued with Franciscan spirituality.[20] We also have a Latin poem written for James and Blanche of Anjou in which the name IACOBUS features a distillation of the king's virtues and lineage: 'Iustus Audax Cautus Ortus Beata Umilis Stirpe' ('just, bold, careful, humble, and born of fine lineage').[21] But perhaps the most revealing indication of this shift is James II's commission of a Latin translation of the *Book of King James* by the Dominican friar Pere Marsili (1313), with the idea of dignifying the family's vernacular historiographical tradition that originated with the figure of his grandfather and namesake. In his translation, Marsili eliminates the oral traits found in the original to produce a more cultured version, and adapts the text to the standard layout or *ordinatio* of Latin historiography (J. M. Pujol 1996).

Little attention has previously been paid to two letters in which James II requests the work of Livy. In the first, from 1315, he is trying to buy a book 'entitled Titus Livius' which one of his staff had seen in a bookshop in Naples;[22] in the second, from 1322, he requests a copy from the Dominican Pedro Fernández de Híjar, an ambassador and trusted advisor:

> While you were with us recently in the city of Tortosa, we wished to speak to you that we might have from you a certain book of *Roman History* that you have, so that you might bring it to us, and we completely forgot. And because we wish to have a copy of that volume, we ask that you send the said book of *History* to us and, once a copy has been made, we will return it to you.[23]

rebus gestis a Petro Aragoniae rege in Sicilia adversus Carolum eius nominis Primum Siciliae regem (*On the Deeds of King Peter of Aragon in Sicily against King Charles I of Sicily*). The author wrote a later prose version, the *Historia Sicula* (*Sicilian History*; *c.* 1292). Peter III, the Ceremonious, had a book of the deeds of Peter the Great in Latin verse which has been identified with Neocastro's text: 'a book in Latin verse of the life and deeds of King Peter who attacked Sicily' ('liber vitae et gestorum regis Petri qui accessit Siciliam in latino versificatus'). See Paladino (1921: x–xiii) and Rubió i Balaguer (1987: 450).

20 On the dance and the corresponding Latin commentary, see De Lollis (1887). Mensa (2013: 484–5) contextualizes it within the oeuvre of Arnau de Vilanova (*c.* 1240–1311).

21 This is copied on a single leaf rebound in Barcelona, BC, MS 772, fol. 1r. See Cingolani (2007: 156–8).

22 '[I]ntitulatum Titus Livius' (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21: I, 64).

23 'Significamus vobis quod dum eratis nobiscum nuper in civitate Dertuse nobis cordi erat loqui vobiscum quod haberemus a vobis quendam librum *Istoriarum Romanarum* quem habetis, ut retulistis nobis, et tradidimus oblivioni. Et quia volumus inde habere copiam, rogamus vos quatenus dictum librum *Istoriarum* nobis per latorem praesentem transmitatis, et nos, transumpto supradicto, inde librum ipsum vobis restituemus' (Martí de Barcelona 1990–1: no. 92, 423).

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From the tone of the letter, it is quite possible that his request was met; whatever the case, the document shows that Livy's work was in circulation close to the king, and provides us with the first evidence of the Catalan monarchy's interest in Roman history.

During the reign of James II, the territorial expansion of the family descended from James I reached its apogee. James II ruled over the strictly Peninsular territories and, from 1324, Sardinia; his younger brother Frederick was king of an independent Sicily (1296–1337); and a branch of the family ruled over the short-lived Kingdom of Majorca (the Balearic Islands, Cerdagne, Rousillon, and Montpellier).[24] The Crown of Aragon was competing commercially with Genoa in the western Mediterranean and had several settlements in North Africa. The institution of the Consulate of the Sea (Consolat de Mar), established in Barcelona between 1260 and 1280, and its corpus of maritime law reflected this Mediterranean commercial expansion, without which one cannot image the Majorcan polymath Ramon Llull (1232–1316) venturing to write part of his sizeable oeuvre of philosophical and spiritual writings in Catalan.[25] The works of Llull and Vilanova – two towering figures with links to the royal family and the university of Montpellier – and the historical writings of James I and Bernat Desclot, dating from roughly 1270 to 1315, represent a monumental corpus of prose in a language which came late to literary prose composition, while the poetry remained true to the Occitan of its northern origins.[26]

The famous expedition of the army of Almogavers to the Byzantine empire would seem to confirm this Mediterranean expansion. Under the command of Roger de Flor, this mercenary army set sail from Sicily in 1302 to serve the emperor Andronicus and soon retook a good part of the territory conquered by the Turks in Asia Minor as far as the border with Armenia. However, following the assassination of Roger de Flor (1305), this army, also known as the Catalan Company (Companyia Catalana), turned against the Byzantine empire, occupied Athens (1311), and set up an autonomous domain in the Duchies of Athens and Neopatras. The royal houses of Aragon, Majorca, and Sicily tried in vain to control the military undertakings of the Catalan Company for their own benefit, doubtless because they saw this as an opportunity to secure a foothold in the

24 The independence of the Kingdom of Majorca originated in the last will and testament of James I, which stipulated that his kingdom be divided between Peter II of Aragon and his brother James I of Majorca (r. 1276–1311); it lasted until James II of Majorca (r. 1324–49) was killed and defeated at the Battle of Llucmajor (1349) by his cousin, Peter III, the Ceremonious, who then reintegrated the Kingdom of Majorca into the Crown of Aragon. See Appendix 2.

25 On the life and work of Ramon Llull, see the online *Llull DB*; on the philosophy at the heart of Llull's *Art*, see Bonner (2007).

26 Legal texts aside, a Catalan version of the *Golden Legend* (TCM 70.1.1) might date from before this period.

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eastern Mediterranean. The central part of Ramon Muntaner's *Chronicle* (chapters 193–244), known as *The Catalan Expedition to the East* (Hughes 2006), recounts these feats of military derring-do. Muntaner was a member of the expedition between 1302 and 1307 and served all three branches of the royal family, but especially the Majorcan one, at various times in his long life. Throughout his *Chronicle* he never ceases to call on the royal family, divided by conflicts of interest, for political unity. The Kings of Aragon tried from the end of the thirteenth century to reintegrate Majorca into their domain, while the Kings of Majorca often sought to form alliances with France. Meanwhile, under the terms of the Treaty of Anagni (1295), James II of Aragon promised to return Sicily to the papacy, and when the island became independent under the rule of his brother Frederick, he attempted to invade it in 1299.

In Muntaner's account, chivalric romance and epic are the predominant literary touchstones. When he describes Gallipoli, 'the capital of the Kingdom of Macedonia, of which Alexander was lord', he cannot help – because of its proximity to Troy – but launch into a short digression in romance style on the abduction of Helen and the Trojan War: there is, however, some confusion – he sets the action in Tenedos rather than Cythera – and he modernizes the classical names – Menelaus becomes the Duke of Athens and Venus is 'a female idol' which the noble people of 'Romania' go to visit on a 'pilgrimage'.[27] Years later, when the descendents of the Catalan Company still held the Duchies of Athens and Neopatras and were sheltering under the protection of Peter III, the king praised the Athenian Acropolis, at that time called the Castle of Sathines:

> And now the bishop of Megara […] has asked that we provide ten or twelve men of arms to guard the Castle of Sathines. Seeing that this is most necessary and that it is something that should not be left undone, principally as the said castle is the richest jewel in the world, and the like of which all Christian kings together could not build, we have ordered that the said bishop should have the said dozen men of arms (Lleida, 11 September 1380).[28]

Passages like this, as well as the providentialism of the Catalan chronicles we mentioned earlier – Muntaner's in particular – may have beguiled some

27 Hughes (2006: 71–2); 'cap del regne de Macedònia, d'on Alexandri fou senyor'; 'havia una ídola, e venien-hi un mes de l'any tots los honrats hòmens de Romania, e honrades dones, a romeria' (chapter 214; Soldevila 2011: 352).

28 'E ara lo bisbe de la Megara […] ha'ns demanat que per guarda del castell de Cetines li volguéssem fer donar deu o dotze hòmens d'armes. E nós, veents que açò és molt necessari e que no és tal cosa que no es deja fer, majorment com lo dit castell sia la pus rica joia qui al món sia, e tal que entre tots los reis de cristians envides lo porien fer semblant, havem ordonat que el dit bisbe se'n mene los dits dotze hòmens d'armes' (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21: I, 286–7).

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modern historians into believing that this expansion of the Crown in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries amounted to a Mediterranean empire. But viewed in the cold light of day, and by one armed with the dry historical data, this construct cannot be sustained. Hillgarth (1975) lists the many factors limiting the Crown's power between 1229 and 1327, subjected as it was to pressure from Castile, France, and the papacy. The federal nature of the Crown was a political weakness *per se*; the lack of economic and military resources was not conducive to the maintenance of a colonial empire; royal expeditions to conquer new territory or put down rebellions were as limited by time as they were by the financial backing conceded by the Corts, and did not foster stability; the military victories over France and the House of Anjou were momentary. In short, Catalan territorial expansion was confined to some of the islands in the western Mediterranean. The closest, the Balearics, became an independent kingdom which Peter III had to regain in 1349; Sicily also became independent under Frederick of Aragon from 1296 and was not reintegrated into the Crown until the end of the fourteenth century after the marriage of Martin the Younger and Maria of Sicily (see Appendix 2). Only Sardinia remained as a stable domain of the Crown of Aragon from 1324, albeit with regular rebellions. The interests of the three branches of the Catalan royal family were often far from complementary. For example, Muntaner notes that Roger de Flor, when he was in the pay of Frederick of Sicily, carried out pirating raids in the Mediterranean which included plundering the Catalan coast (Hughes 2006: 27). It is therefore difficult to imagine that there existed in the fourteenth century a concept of an empire along Roman lines; but note the contrast with Alfonso IV's conquest of the Kingdom of Naples in 1442, which was celebrated on 23 February 1443 with a triumph fit for a Roman emperor (see below, pp. 74–5). That said, what was a constant throughout this period was the medieval model of Alexander as a knight and conqueror, or *magnanimus*, a leader capable of overpowering more powerful enemies with his much smaller band of soldiers.

It is during the reigns of James II and Alfonso III, and the first half of Peter III's, between about 1300 and 1360, that we see the first wave of translations into Catalan.[29] Inventories show that the chivalric romances of the Matter of Britain were circulating in French and Catalan from the first third of the fourteenth century; we have translations of the *Prose Tristan* (TCM 0.47) and parts of the Arthurian Vulgate Cycle, namely *Lancelot* and the *Quest for the Holy Grail* (*Queste du saint Graal*) (TCM 0.29 and 0.41). Of note among the books that James II gave to his children are *Lancelot*, *The Death of Arthur* (*La Mort Artu*) and the *Prose Tristan* in French (Pujol 2015a: 294–7). This early dissemination

[29] For a historical survey of translations into medieval Catalan, see Cifuentes, Pujol, & Ferrer (2014).

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of the Arthurian corpus created a tradition still visible in *Curial and Guelfa* and *Tirant lo Blanc*, the two great fifteenth-century prose novels which combine chivalric romance with historical sources and classical material (see Chapter 3, pp. 104–10 and 116–22). Aside from chivalric literature and those works translated for an immediate practical use (scientific, legal, and devotional pieces), we see in this long half-century how interest in doctrinal literature flourishes, specifically in didactic works with a broad encylopedic range and works on the morality of politics. It could be posited that James II's literacy acted as a catalyst for the dissemination of a form of education for the nobility focused on political governance, along the lines of the *Castigos* (*Lessons*) commissioned by Sancho IV of Castile (r. 1284–95), the son of Alfonso X, the Wise. In this culture of early mirrors for princes (*specula principum*) we often find collections of *exempla*, proverbs, and sayings.[30] Particularly worthy of note, for their quality and their date, are the Catalan versions of William of Conches's *Dragmaticon philosophiae*, from before 1338 and possibly carried out at James II's court, and Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*, commissioned by the Count of Urgell before 1347.[31] The former is noteworthy for its origins in the culture of the so-called Twelfth-Century Renaissance and for its scientific content; the latter because it indicates an early interest in the fundamental political work of the Middle Ages before Marsilius of Padua's *Defensor pacis* (*The Defender of Peace*). The pervasive influence of Giles of Rome can also be seen in the political works of Francesc Eximenis at the end of the fourteenth century (see below, pp. 47–8) and led to the Catalan translation, corrected and updated with glosses, being issued as an early printed edition in 1480.

More commonplace titles associated with this genre of didactic literature are the translation of the *Book of Sydrac the Philosopher* or *De la fontaine de toutes sciences* (TCM 0.35), and the first two versions of the *Secretum secretorum* (see Pseudo-Aristotle). This extremely popular work of Arabic origin on the wisdom which Aristotle supposedly imparted to Alexander was incorporated into a Catalan *Llibre de doctrina* or *de saviesa* (*Book of Doctrine* or *of Wisdom*), from before 1323, via Castilian, together with the version of the *Libro de los buenos proverbios* (*Book of Good Proverbs*), a Castilian text also from an Arabic compendium (TCM 0.34). The *Book of Doctrine*, by rights anonymous but long since attributed to a king James who could be either James I or James II, shows that works of Spanish Arabic culture from the court of Alfonso X,

30 For wisdom literature in Castilian, see Taylor (1985), and in Catalan, Taylor (2014). For a survey of Castilian doctrinal prose, see Deyermond (1980: 167–81; 1991: 124–51). For the relationship between the Castilian prose author Don Juan Manuel and John of Aragon, archbishop of Toledo and son of James II, see Tate (1977).

31 Authors or titles in small capitals indicate entries in the Catalogue of Translations included in this volume.

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the Wise, King of Castile and James I's son-in-law, were being accessed.[32] The attribution of the *Book of Doctrine* to a king James, regardless of its veracity, nevertheless corroborates this first interest in wisdom literature and its application to political statecraft. Further corroboration comes from the manuscript Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS 921, copied after 1385: among other works, it features a Catalan version of the *Secretum secretorum*, the *Book of Doctrine*, the Catalan version of the *Liber de moribus hominum et officiis nobilium super ludum schacorum* (*Book of the Customs of Men and Duties of Nobles, or the Book of Chess*) by Jacobus de Cessolis, and the *Llibre de paraules e dits de savis e filòsofs* (*Book of Words and Sayings of Wise Men and Philosophers*) by the Catalan Jewish author Jafudà Bonsenyor, which he had dedicated to James II.[33] James II gifted a copy of the *Secretum* in Catalan to Prince Peter in 1322 and a book '*On the Game of Chess* written on paper' to his firstborn son, James, in 1312.[34] Unlike the *Secretum* or the *Book of Doctrine*, Cessolis's compendium, along with the *Communiloquium* by John of Wales, contained a good number of *exempla* taken from Seneca and Valerius Maximus, and so was one of the first ways in which these classical texts were introduced – we mentioned earlier that Valerius Maximus is cited in Prince Peter's *Treatise on the Life, Customs, and Rule of Princes* with the same authority as the *Secretum secretorum*. This Madrid manuscript (MS 921) was copied during the reign of Peter III, but undoubtedly brought together material that had been circulating at court since James II's time, a sure sign of the longevity of this mirror of princes tradition. It has been suggested that around 1370 Peter III had this tradition in mind for the education of his young heir, John (the future John I).[35] If this was the case, it would provide a symbolic link between the two periods: James II and Peter III were concerned about the political and moral schooling of their children; Prince John studied classical *exempla* in his youth and pursued this interest further (see below, pp. 51–3).

32 The active Jewish communities in medieval Catalan should also be taken into account in this respect: see the translation of Bryson's *Oikonomikos*, possibly via Arabic or Hebrew. For a general overview, see Planas & Forcano (2009).

33 The book is addressed to 'the most high and most noble and powerful lord James, by the grace of God, King of Aragon and of Sicily and of Majorca and of Valencia, and Count of Barcelona' ('lo molt alt e molt noble e poderós senyor En Jacme, per la gràcia de Déu rei d'Aragó e de Sicília e de Mallorca e de València e comte de Barcelona'); Madrid, BNE, MS 921, fol. 83r.

34 Martínez Ferrando (1953–4: 165, doc. 120); 'scriptum in papiro *De ludo schacorum*', Martí de Barcelona (1990–1: 203, doc. 228).

35 See Bataller (2007: 160), who records a verbal contribution by Jaume Riera.

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Peter III, the Ceremonious, and his Passion for History (1336–87)

Peter III's long reign had its ups and downs. The downs were the economic decline that would irreparably weaken the Crown, thanks to the dire state of the royal coffers he inherited, a dramatic fall in the population following repeated outbreaks of the plague, the drain of a protracted military confrontation with the more powerful Castile, and the European financial crisis which led to the collapse of the Barcelona banking system in 1381. The ups were the redesign of medieval Barcelona, with the extension of the city walls and the renovation of royal palaces; the organization of the chancery in line with the *Ordinacions* (*Regulations*) of 1344; and the decision to promote astronomy, education, and literature.[36] King Peter founded the universities of Perpignan and Huesca, and declared his express wish to leave part of his library to Poblet monastery (Rubió i Balaguer 1987). This is an unprecedented gesture for a Catalan king and comparable, *mutatis mutandis*, to the precise instructions given by King Charles V, the Wise, of France for the posthumous preservation of the library installed in the Tower of the Louvre in 1369, and the maintenance of his librarian Gilles Malet.

King Peter had a passion for history. Once he had assembled a workshop of collaborators, under his supervision, he wanted to continue the tradition of personal chronicles with one covering his own reign (Hillgarth & Hillgarth 1980). He also wanted a new history of the monarchy, or *General Chronicle*, that would replace the *Deeds of the Counts of Barcelona and Kings of Aragon* limited to the Germanic past. This new history seeks to site the origins of the king's lineage in pre-Roman Hispania, in the Iberian settlement, and the myth of Hercules (Soberanas 1961: 19–20). Taking Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's *De rebus Hispaniae* (*History of Spain*) as a model, it foregrounded the dynastic line of the Kings of Aragon *ante unionem*, leaving the counts of Barcelona unusually overshadowed (Riera 2011: 496–500). At that time, King Peter was attempting to affirm his preeminence among the Hispanic kingdoms, perhaps because of the conflict with Castile (Cingolani 2007: 212–24). It seems that this chronicle was being composed in Latin and Catalan at the same time; it is clear that Peter III has the definitive Catalan version translated into Latin before 1375 (TCM 97.1.1). For this task he commissioned his chaplain, Guillem Nicolau. Nicolau was also the author of the Catalan version of the anonymous *Chronicon Siculum* or *Cronica Sicilie* (*Sicilian Chronicle*) for Prince Martin (TCM 0.6.1), proving that King Peter could already count on skilled translators among his staff. Several translations answer to this interest in historiography: the Catalan

36 For Peter III's political performance, see Abadal (1972); for a general overview of his figure, see Belenguer (2015).

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version of the *Grandes chroniques de France* (*Great Chronicles of France*), started by a chancery scribe before 1351 (TCM 105.1); the translation of Frontinus's *Strategemata* (*Stratagems*), which the king requested from the Dominican Jaume Domènec in 1369; the translation of the compendia of Carolingian history which are found in later manuscripts (TCM 0.22 and 0.25); and those of the compendia of universal history by William of Nangis (TCM 54.1) and Martin of Opava or Poland (TCM 86.1). Within this body of work, it is worth highlighting the commission given to Jaume Domènec – another of the king's regular collaborators – to write a *Compendi historial* (*Historical Compendium*) based on the work of William of Nangis and on the *Speculum historiale* by Vincent of Beauvais.

These compendia transmitted information on ancient times and often featured summaries of classical works or excerpts, in the form of florilegia.[37] King Peter's conception of history and politics was nevertheless exclusively medieval, though he had at his disposal resources for research and writing far superior to those enjoyed by his predecessors. This is confirmed by his oratory. From James I until Martin I, the Catalan royal family gave political speeches in sermon format with a biblical *thema*.[38] This family practice highlighted the divine origin of their power, in line with the providentialism characteristic of Catalan historiography. More often than not, we have only indirect references to these speeches, or summaries in a chronicle. However, from the time of Peter III onwards, a good number of speeches given to the Corts have survived in their entirety.[39] The king ordered them to be preserved in the Royal Archive and they became models: in January 1398 Martin I requests 'a book of the opening declarations made in the General Corts by the lord King Peter, our late father, which is in the archive or our library in the Palau Menor in this city'.[40] The speeches of Peter III only feature the occasional reference to Cato and Seneca (Albert & Gassiot 1928*:* 35). As is the case with the prologue to his personal chronicle, his speeches are based on biblical quotations and conform to standard homiletic structures, for example by starting with a proposition equivalent to the liturgical *thema* in a sermon, which is then developed by splitting (*divisio*) with the use of elaborate rhetorical devices such as *homeoteleuton*.[41] Peter III's

37 See Vincent of Beauvais, and the versions of the *Histoire ancienne* (Troy).

38 Cawsey (2002: 164–9) has compiled a catalogue of these royal speeches, which also includes those of Frederick of Aragon, King of Sicily.

39 See the reproduction of a speech in King Peter's hand, in very accomplished calligraphy, in Gimeno Blay (2006: 133, plate 6).

40 '[U]n llibre de les proposicions fetes en les Corts generals per lo senyor rei En Pere, de bona memòria, pare nostre, lo qual és en l'arxiu o llibreria nostra del palau menor d'aqueixa ciutat' (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21: I, 392–3).

41 Albert & Gassiot (1928: 33, 37, 46, 52); Hillgarth & Hillgarth (1980: I, 125–6).

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oratory is more elaborate than the prologue to the *Book of King James* or the sermon on the *thema* 'Illumina cor meum, Domine, et verba mea de Spiritu Sancto' ('Englighten my heart, Lord, and my words with the Holy Spirit)' from chapter 48 of the same work. But the content or message does not differ substantially from Prince Peter's *Treatise* addressed to Peter III. Both uncle and nephew shared a vision of the monarchy rooted in the biblical *Books of Kings*, with the example of David to the fore. Models from Roman history were not yet foregrounded.

This assertion requires nuancing, however, in light of the documentation from the final decades of Peter III's reign, though this does not always lend itself to easy interpretation. From this period, we have a version of the legend of Troy by the royal protonotary Jaume Conesa; an anonymous and literal translation of Sallust's *Iugurtha*; and the translation of John of Wales's *Communiloquium*, a political-moral compendium packed with classical *exempla*. Conesa's version of the legend of Troy confirms that King Peter was interested in reading accounts of military history, like the treatise by Frontinus we have already mentioned. It is referred to as 'a book that deals with chivalry', without any distinction that might indicate a classical interest.[42] In any case, Conesa reminds us that the recent reorganization of the chancery had created a select class of secretaries, headed by a protonotary who had to excel in his command of Latin and letter writing (*ars dictaminis*) according to the rules of grammatical correctness and rhetorical embellishment. Peter III's *Regulations* stipulate:

> we wish the correction and emendation of those [texts and letters], whether in fine rhetoric or good Latin according to our style, to be carried out by a good person of proven loyalty and well schooled at least in the science of grammar.

The protonotary was to ensure that the letters 'were written down in a good and embellished way, as is proper'.[43]

This select group of highly educated scribes was put at the service of the royal interest in history, as was the case with Conesa, and also meant that letters could be drafted and embellished with cultural nuggets from sources other than the strictly ecclesiastical. Thus, the letter in Latin from 1380 in which the king cedes part of his library to Poblet monastery contains praise for the literary fame of Athens:

42 '[U]n llibre qui tracta de fet de cavalleria' (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21: I, 219).

43 '[A] correcció e esmena d'aquelles [lletres e cartes], si en bella retòrica o bon llatí juxta lo nostre estil seran corregidores, una bona persona de feeltat aprovada e almenys en ciència gramatical bé instruïda per nós volem ésser aordonada'; 'ben e ornadament, segons que es convé, sien dictades' (Gimeno, Gonzalbo, & Trenchs 2009: 123–4).

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> For however splendid and magnificent were the deeds of the Athenians and of other foreign peoples, so much more splendid was the fame of those same deeds because the great writers who flourished in those parts extolled them to such glory that they almost defy belief.[44]

As Rubió i Balaguer showed (1963: 247), this quotation coincides in its sense and in some of the wording with a passage from Sallust's *Conspiracy of Catiline*, on the initiative of the secretary who drafted the document, namely Bernat Miquel, who also wrote the text in praise of the Acropolis we quoted earlier (p. 46). Sallust's prose was taught in schools: it is therefore no surprise to find echoes of it in texts drafted by the chancery *dictatores*, and a keen interest in this Roman historian among the nobility. It is also worth making a distinction here between Sallust and Livy: the latter was never taught in medieval schools and his works arrived at the court by other means, as we shall see (see also Chapter 3, pp. 121–2).

The Catalan versions of Sallust's *Iugurtha* and John of Wales's *Communiloquium* point to another avenue by which ancient historical texts reached the court, linked to the relationship between Peter III and the Aragonese nobleman Juan Fernández de Heredia (b. early fourteenth century, †1396). After gaining the castellany of Amposta in 1347, Heredia built a considerable power base among the Knights Hospitaller and became their Grand Master in 1377. Throughout this period of rising fortunes, he was also a political counsellor to King Peter. He lived close to the papal curia in Avignon from 1351 to 1376 and then again from 1382 until his death. In his Avignon scriptorium he produced some fifteen moral and historical compilations in Aragonese, drawing on both classical and medieval material. Worthy of particular mention are the direct translations of Plutarch and Thucydides he carried out with assistance from Greek collaborators (Luttrell 1960).[45] King Peter had a keen interest in the contents of Heredia's library, as can be seen from their correspondence between 1362 and 1372. Among other books, he asked for universal histories and volumes of Eutropius and Isidore of Seville. The king had them copied and, in some cases, translated into Catalan or Aragonese. We mentioned earlier (in Chapter 1, p. 35) that in 1370 Peter III had a French copy of a *Summa of Histories* that Heredia had sent him – probably Wauchier de Denain's *Histoire ancienne jusqu'à César* (*Ancient History until Caesar*) – translated into Aragonese; the following year he announced that he intended to do the same with another French book.[46] It was clearly a two-way

44 'Nam quamvis Atheniensium et aliarum exterarum gentium gesta amplia et magnifica fuerint, tamen amplior fuit fama quia magna ingenia scriptorum quae in aliis viguerunt partibus ipsa gesta ad tantam gloriam extulere quod quasi fidem excedunt' (Rubió i Balaguer 1987: 447).

45 On Juan Fernández de Heredia, see Cacho (1997). Vives (1927) collects all the royal documents related to Heredia's books.

46 Cacho 2002: 300–1; Rubió i Lluch 1908–21: I, 224–6 and 237–9.

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street: Catalan translations like those of *Iugurtha* or the *Communiloquium* have been shown to be among the sources for Heredia's compilations.[47]

A key role in this dissemination of classical texts was played by members of the mendicant orders, in particular those referred to as 'classicizing' friars by Beryl Smalley (1960: 1). With their origins in twelfth-century Latin culture, these British friars made a decisive contribution to the incorporation of some classical authors into Christian preaching. An eminent example of this is the work of the Franciscan John of Wales, from the second half of the thirteenth century, that transmits John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* and numerous excerpts from Cicero, Seneca, Valerius Maximus, and other classical texts with a moral bent, alongside works by Sts Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory (Swanson 1989). The *Policraticus* was translated into Catalan but only the prologue has survived (see JOHN OF WALES). John of Wales's *Communiloquium* and *Breviloquium* were already known in Catalonia, at least in Latin, from the times of James II (Norbert d'Ordal 1930: 1; Guardiola 1989: 340–2). These works transmitted a wealth of classical *exempla*: indeed, they were read as a kind of Christian Valerius Maximus. In Catalan literature, the tradition of the classicizing friars produced, at the close of the fourteenth century, the *Dotzè del Crestià* (*Twelfth* [*volume*] *of The Christian*) or *Regiment de prínceps e comunitats* (*Manual of Government for Princes and Communities*), a political *summa* addressed to Alfonso of Aragon, Duke of Gandia, and a cousin of Peter III, from the pen of the Franciscan encyclopedist Francesc Eiximenis (*c.* 1330–1409). Eiximenis was a loyal servant of the Crown (Riera 2010). He gained his doctorate from Toulouse but had spent time studying in Paris and even pored over books in England, at Oxford: in his own words, Aristotle's *On the Heavens* 'is neither found in Catalonia, nor is familiar to us; you will find it, however, in Paris and England'.[48] In his *Twelfth* he follows the model of the *Communiloquium* and often quotes indirectly from the *Policraticus* (Hauf 1990: 125–49). In chapter 192, he provides a reading list suitable for the nobility. He mentions Kings as well as other books of the Bible, and works on rhetoric, then specifies:

> In addition, they must be acquainted with some of the great philosophers who have discussed the governance of the people, soldiery, and political life, such as Vegetius in his *De re militari*, and Valerius Maximus, and Titus Livius, Trogus Pompeius, and Boethius in his *De consolatione* and *De*

47 See Leslie (1973), Guardiola (1998), Cacho (1999–2000), and Lluch (2004: 562–4).

48 '[L]o qual no és en Catalunya, ne lo hi havem per familiar, trobar-lo has, emperò, en les universitats de París e d'Anglaterra' (*Lo crestià*, I.60; in Hauf 1990: 63). For a profile of Eiximenis, see Martí & Guixeras (2014), and for an introduction to his work, in English, see Renedo & Guixeras (2008). For further observations on his relationship with English friars, see Renedo (1990–1) and, in English, L. Cabré (2007: 30–5).

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> *scholastica disciplina*, and Hugh [of St Victor] in his *Didascalicon*, and the *Summa collationum* and other shorter works by Brother John of Wales, from the order of the Friars Minor.[49]

This is a fairly precise inventory of the works on the political culture accessible at the end of the fourteenth century. Boethius's *Consolation* and John of Wales's *Communiloquium* were circulating in Catalan during the reign of Peter III; Vegetius, Livy, and Trogus Pompeius were translated at the behest of his son John (see below, pp. 49 and 52–3). Valerius Maximus had been known much earlier and was translated twice, the second time in 1395. The only title missing is Giles of Rome's mirror of princes, *De regimine principum*: it features in the *Twelfth*, but perhaps Eiximenis preferred to foreground the work of his fellow Franciscan John of Wales, over that of a follower of the Dominican Thomas Aquinas.

Eiximenis wanted to provide an extensive encyclopedia, compiling, translating, and glossing a multitude of precepts and *exempla*, and writing some of his own too. Other friars worked on tasks of translation and compilation, which often involved writing glosses from pre-existing commentaries. We could add the names of three other Dominicans to that of Jaume Domènec, whom we have already encountered: Pere Saplana, who translated Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* with access to William of Aragon's commentary; Antoni Ginebreda, who reworked Saplana's translation, but using Nicholas Trivet's commentary; and Pere Borró, the author of a version of Boethius dedicated to Peter III, now lost (for all three, see Boethius). It would appear that some of them were members of a team that was at the king's disposal: Domènec left his *Historical Compendium* unfinished and Peter III commissioned Ginebreda to continue the work (see Vincent of Beauvais, T1). We can also see the march of progress: Ginebreda revised Saplana's version but with Trivet's commentary because it was more modern; it came from Avignon, as did other commentaries by Trivet and other authors, such as Dionigi di Borgo San Sepolcro, which arrived at the Catalan court in the final years of the fourteenth century (see Trivet and Valerius Maximus).

Historians often refer to the reigns of Peter III and his sons John I (r. 1387–96) and Martin I (r. 1396–1410) all together, doubtless because of the length and importance of Peter's reign and the brevity of his sons'. But distinctions should be made. John's cultural activity began long before his accession to the

49 Trans. Hughes, in Renedo & Guixeras 2008: 110–11; 'Aprés deu saber alguns grans filosofs qui han parlat del regiment del poble, e d'armes e de vida política, així com Vegecius, *De re militari*; e Valerius Maximus; e Titus Livius; e Trogus Pompeius; e Boeci, *De consolatione* et *De scholastica disciplina*; e Hugo en lo seu *Didascalicon*, e la *Summa de col·lacions* e diverses altres obretes que féu frater Johannes Gallensis, de l'orde dels frares menors' (Renedo *et al.* 2005: 311–12).

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throne. Although Jaume Conesa was protonotary to Peter III, the first documented reader of his *Històries troianes* (*Trojan History*) is Prince John in 1374 (see Troy). The heir to the throne showed initiative and had his own cultural profile: while Peter III commissioned the *Historical Compendium* from Friar Jaume Domènec, his son was commissioning Friar Miquel Rouric to carry out an equivalent task, the outcome of which is now unfortunately lost (Vincent of Beauvais, T2). It seems that Domènec was selecting content of historiographic worth from Vincent of Beauvais while the prince was asking for more doctrinal information and, perhaps, more *exempla*.

The relationship between Prince John and Fernández de Heredia was also different. He asked the Aragonese nobleman for historical books, as his father had done, but his criteria were broader: he was interested in them not so much for their suitability for historiography, but rather to satisfy his desire to learn about the past. Between 1383 and 1385, for example, he requested Flavius Josephus's *Jewish War* and Justin's *Epitome* of Trogus Pompeius, and he intended to have them translated. In 1385, he commissioned the Catalan version of Justin from García Fernández de Heredia, nephew of the Grand Master and at that time the Bishop of Vic. He had a particular interest in translations from Greek, which he requested continuously between 1384 and 1386, and in the great historical compilations, like the *Grant crónica de Espanya* (*Great Chronicle of Spain*), the first part of which Heredia sent him in 1387 (Vives 1927: 182–6). After the death of the Grand Master, John I continued to ask the priors of the Hospitallers for his historical works, or he just helped himself to them (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21: I, 386–7). Heredia's compilations ended up in John's possession: proof of this is the presence of some of these works in the inventories of the libraries of Martin I in 1410 and Alfonso IV in 1417 (see below, pp. 60 and 76).

John I, 'French Through and Through' (1380–96)

John I (1350–96; r. 1387–96) was a conscious promoter of literature and art rather than a precocious example of a Renaissance magnate. In 1397, Queen Maria de Luna, the wife of his brother Martin I, said of him that he 'had a French wife and was French through and through'.[50] He was fluent in French, and his passion for music led him to compose the text and music of a *rondeau* (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21: I, 283). His endless expenditure on musicians and chapel masters from Burgundy and other French courts has been well documented; the *ars nova* and *ars subtilior* musical styles, and with them the poetry of Guillaume de Machaut, also reached the Catalan court thanks to him.[51] For his

50 '[H]avia muller francesa e era tot francès' (Rubió i Lluch 1917–18: 8).
51 Pagès (1936), Gómez Muntané (1979), and Marfany (2009).

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short-lived son James, he created the ephemeral title of Dauphin of Girona (1387–8), in imitation of the title of the heir to the French throne (Riera 1987a). The poet Pere March must have been making reference to this when he included the *ubi sunt?* motif in a satire *de contemptu mundi*: 'What worth is there in being a duke, count or marquis, dauphin or king, if we know that they will die and suffer pains and ills like their wretched subjects?'[52] In 1374 Prince John took part in a poetical exchange with the same March and other courtiers (Riquer 1964: I, 538–9). Once king, he established a poetry festival at Barcelona in 1393 in the style of the one held in Toulouse from 1323. The founding charter was written in Latin by the royal protonotary Bartomeu Sirvent. When the king asked the city's council in 1396 to continue to celebrate the festival, he did so in a letter in Catalan in praise of poetry written by his secretary Bernat Metge:

> Sirs. Among the other good regulations that there should be in every notable city, there is one in particular, namely that men of every age, especially those who live from their rents and inheritance, be given the chance not to be idle, which men cannot be more inclined to distance themselves from idleness than by pursuing profitable and pleasing matters. Since these two things can only be achieved with ease thanks to some science, opportunity should be afforded them, especially when it can be achieved without great expense and effort, to work on such a matter as the Gay Science, about which enlightened men can conveniently learn, and from which they can take pleasure and often profit, because it is founded on rhetoric, through which, combined with wisdom, because it is otherwise worth so little, great honour and profit have been bestowed on many councils and singular persons in the world, as is recorded in books of history and as is demonstrated by experience every day.[53]

In 1373 Prince John married Mata of Armagnac, daughter of Count John I of Armagnac and Beatrice of Clermont, of the House of Valois. Of their five

52 'Què val estar ducs ne coms ne marquès, / delfís ne reis, pus que sap que morran, / ez en est món així bé soferran / dolors e mals com lo paubre sotsmès?' (L. Cabré 1993: 150).

53 'Prohòmens. Entre les altres bones ordinacions que en cascuna notable ciutat deuen ésser, sí és una, ço és, que sia donada ocasió que els hòmens de cascuna edat, especialment aquells qui viuen de llurs rendes e patrimoni, no estiguen ociosos, los quals en res no poden ésser tan inclinats a llunyar-se d'ociositat com ab conseguir coses profitoses e plasents. Com, doncs, aquestes dues coses ab res no puixen tan fàcilment aconseguir com ab alcuna ciència, deu ésser donat lloc que molts hagen ocasió de treballar en aquella, e majorment quan sens gran messió e treball se pot aconseguir, així com és la gaia ciència, la qual poden convinentment saber homes il·lustrats e en aquella adelitar-se e moltes vegades aconseguir-ne profit, car és fundada en retòrica, per la qual, mesclada ab saviesa, car en altra manera fort poc val, se haja seguit gran honor e profit a moltes universitats e persones singulars en lo món, segons que els llibres historials testifiquen e experiència cascun jorn ho mostra' (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21: I, 384–5).

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children, only Princess Joanna would survive, who married Matthew, Count of Foix, in 1392. When Mata of Armagnac died in 1378, Peter III wanted his eldest son to marry Maria, heiress of Sicily, and even penned a few verses on the subject (Cluzel 1957–8: 364–6) – troubadour poetry was a constant at court. However, against the wishes of his father, John insisted on marrying a French princess, and in 1380 espoused Yolande, daughter of Robert, Duke of Bar, and Marie of Valois, the sister of King Charles V of France. This marriage opened the doors to the extensive collections of manuscripts held by the French royal family: the library that Charles V, the Wise, had founded in the Tower of the Louvre and the collections of the Dukes of Berry and of Bar. Books had been arriving at the Catalan court from France since the time of James II, who was married to Blanche of Anjou. And we know that Peter III also read French – his second wife was Maria of Navarre, granddaughter of Louis X of France – and that he gave precise instructions for the acquisition of books in Paris.[54] From the first third of the fourteenth century, French had become the language of culture for much of the court, to judge from a range of inventories, such as those of Princess Joanna (1384), the daughter of Peter III and Maria of Navarre, and those of the knights Pere de Queralt (1410) and Pere March (1413).[55]

However, all this pales into insignificance beside the direct contact with the French monarchy following the marriage of Crown Prince John to Yolande of Bar. The wedding was celebrated in April, and on 13 August Prince John wrote a letter to his uncle-in-law Charles the Wise that shows in equal measure respect and eagerness to prove his suitability:

> My dear uncle. We take great delight in reading, both in French and in our own language, for which reason we pray that you send us three books written in the French language, namely the *Canòniques de França*, *Titus Livius*, and *Mendievila*, for which we shall be most grateful to your Serenity. And should there be anything that we could do that might please you, my dear uncle, write to us and we will do it most willingly.[56]

54 For a survey of royal books of French origin, see L. Cabré & Ferrer (2012).

55 Princess Joanna had 'a French book with red covers' ('un llibre francès ab cobertes vermelles'; Salas 1932: 123); Pere de Queralt held copies of *Lancelot*, the *Roman de la rose*, and other books in French (Costa 1983: 130); and Pere March held copies in French of Brunetto Latini's *Li Livres dou trésor* and the *Book of Sydrac* (L. Cabré 1993: 41).

56 'Mon car avoncle: nós nos delitam molt en llegir e així pròpiament en francès com en nostra llengua mateixa, per què us pregam que ens vullats enviar tres llibres escrits en llenguatge francès, ço és, les *Canòniques de França*, *Titus Livius* e *Mendievila*, e regraciar-ho hem molt a la vostra serenitat. E si a vós, avoncle molt car, plau res que nós façam, escrivets-nos-en e farem-ho de bon grat' (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21: II, 221).

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The *Canòniques de França* were the *Great Chronicles of France* started by the monk Primat at the abbey of Saint-Denis with the title *Roman des rois* (1274) and later continued – it was at this stage that Peter III had them translated around 1351, as we have seen – and then updated in 1375 by Pierre d'Orgemont, secretary to Charles V (Ferrer & Cabré 2012: 657). This is a good example of the quality of the information John I possessed concerning books, and of his desire to keep up-to-date. The *Mendievila* recounts the fictional travels through the Orient of John Mandeville, copied in various luxury manuscripts in the Louvre and possibly translated into Catalan during John I's reign, or certainly before 1410 (TCM 77). The *Titus Livius* was the French translation by Pierre Bersuire (1354–8), carried out on the order of King John the Good, of France, and another jewel from the libraries of his sons Charles the Wise and John, Duke of Berry, who owned five luxury copies of it (Delisle 1907: II, 261). King Charles died on 16 September, without having had time to fulfil Prince John's request, and this explains why John makes a further plea for the *Mandeville*, this time to his mother-in-law, Marie, Duchess of Bar, in October 1380, and why he was still writing to the Duke of Berry in 1383 to request a copy of the French Livy (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21: I, 307–8; II, 225).

For John these three volumes were of particular value, as desirable for their beauty as for the cultural prestige of their French origin. Certainly he considered them three equivalent historical works (Rico 1998b: 561), that is to say equally informative on the history of France, Rome, and the Orient. His request for the Livy, in which James II had already shown an interest, is of course entirely unrelated to Petrarch's painstaking humanistic restoration of the extant text of *Ab urbe condita*. Nevertheless, Prince John's medieval interest in ancient history goes beyond that of his predecessors. A close analysis of archival documents reveals that he was collecting copies of Livy in Latin, French, and even Italian (Ferrer 2010a: 28–40 and 49–53). This must have been more than just collecting for the sake of it, because he had Bersuire's French version translated into Catalan from a manuscript belonging to the Duke of Berry (see Livy). It could be said that he was emulating the cultural policy of the French royal family, perhaps with a more personal rather than institutional ambition – he did not found any library and at times removed books from the archive to give as gifts or in exchange for favours (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21: I, 294–5). His officials dispatched to various French courts acquired information about books and brought back manuscripts. From the court of the Dukes of Berry, there came the luxury French Bible, translated by Raoul de Presles in 1377 for Charles the Wise, and the version of St Augustine's *City of God* by the same French translator, together with the commentary by Thomas Waleys, which was subsequently translated into Catalan. This commentary is full of information about ancient history. John's agent in both cases was Guillem de

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Copons, the translator of Brunetto Latini's encyclopedic *Li Livres dou trésor* in 1418 (see ARISTOTLE).

The northward perspective of the Catalan monarchy had, since the twelfth century, fuelled the Crown's poetical output in imitation of Occitan troubadours. Throughout the fourteenth century, thanks to various royal marriages, the culture of northern France further enriched Catalan poetry with fixed-form lyrics and the allegorical *dit*, and paved the way for a brand-new courtly classicism. John and Yolande's court epitomizes this renewal. Both were avid readers. Yolande's literary tastes went beyond devotional works (I. de Riquer 1994): for example, she read the *Roman de la rose* and Machaut's narrative verse. It is significant that Guillem Nicolau, the chaplain who translated historical works for Peter III and Prince Martin, was commissioned by 1390, while in the service of John and Yolande, to translate OVID's *Heroides*, one of the most infuential works on sentimental literature of the later Middle Ages. John's literary predilection was for historical works: 'we delight in historical books more than in others', he stated in 1386 when he commissioned the now lost translation of Trogus Pompeius in JUSTIN's *Epitome*.[57] The Catalan translation of VEGETIUS, via the French, must have been another of his commissions as it was carried out by a certain Jaume Castellà, who was Yolande's chamberlain. This version, with the rubric *Art de cavalleria* (*Art of Chivalry*), is in accordance with the traditional chivalric interest that we have seen in the version of FRONTINUS commissioned by Peter III. The translations of Livy and Waleys that we have already mentioned, along with those of JOSEPHUS, better demonstrate the motivation behind John's enthusiasm for learning about history: the desire for exemplary models from the past, and for the kudos associated with this knowledge. Unfortunately the version of Josephus's *Jewish War* has been lost; the translation of his *Jewish Antiquities* has, on the other hand, survived in an early printed edition, and awaits the same sort of thorough textual study that has been carried out on the translation of Bersuire's Livy. There was a French translation of the *Jewish Antiquities* in the Duke of Berry's library (see FLAVIUS JOSEPHUS). There is no doubt, then, that John I was a keen reader of history books, and not just those that might be of use when compiling dynastic historiography, as was the case with his father Peter III. He was also interested in more general books on history and chivalry: the history of Troy, and of Rome, and the knowledge of those who had travelled to the Holy Land (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21: I, 273–5), the Far East, like the armchair traveller John Mandeville, or Ireland. In 1386 he asked the nobleman Ramon de Perellós for the account 'of that knight who you say went to St Patrick's Purgatory',[58] probably referring to Sir Owein, the legendary

57 '[N]os adelitamos en libros historiales más que en otros' (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21: I, 334).

58 '[D]'aquell cavaller qui deïts que és entrat en lo Purgatori de Sent Patrici' (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21: I, 343).

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protagonist of Saltrey's account. After the king's death, Ramon de Perellós did in fact travel through France, England, Wales, and Ulster as far as St Patrick's Purgatory in Lough Derg, County Donegal, to tell of his fictitious encounter with John I in purgatory (TCM 55.1.2).

The most noteworthy writer of this period was Bernat Metge (*c*. 1350–1413).[59] He was educated by his stepfather, Ferrer Saiol, protonotary to Queen Eleanor, the third wife of Peter III; in his retirement in 1385, Saiol translated Palladius's *De re rustica*. Metge himself joined the chancery around the age of twenty (1371) and rose through the ranks to become royal secretary to John I and Yolande (1390). His oeuvre reveals his schooling and a willingness to adapt the Latin culture he was taught for a courtly readership. In his *Llibre de Fortuna i Prudència* (*Book of Fortune and Prudence*, *c*. 1381) he artfully interweaves translations of excerpts from Alan of Lille's (Latin) *Anticlaudianus* with Jean de Meun's (French) *Roman de la rose*, which was so highly regarded by Yolande of Bar; he also adapts laments from Henry of Settimello's *Elegia* and uses Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, following the consolatory genre and its prose doctrine on providence, but not the classical erudition of its metre.[60] Metge's prose translation of the most bawdy part of the poem *De vetula* (see Pseudo-Ovid) confirms his schooling. His version of Petrarch's *Griseldis* from around 1388 marks a turning point. It begins by singing Petrarch's praises:

> While searching through the books of philosophers and poets for something with which I might be able to please virtuous women, the other day I chanced upon a story that is told by Petrarch, a poet laureate, for whose works I have a particular affection.[61]

His praise for Petrarch and his adaptation of the story, however, has one eye on the Latin and the other on the vernacular. As a reader, Metge always had the Latin in front of him; but when he was translating or adapting a text he often consulted earlier French versions, as did his contemporary Geoffrey Chaucer (Severs 1942; Pearsall 1992: 163–4). In his *Valter e Griselda* (*Walter and Griselda*) Metge splices epistles 17.3–4 of Petrarch's *Rerum senilium* with

59 For the life and works of Bernat Metge, see Riquer (1959), which has a Spanish translation facing the Catalan text. For a profile of the writer in English, search for *Bernat Metge in memoriam* on the Narpan website.

60 See the English translation and introduction by Barnett (2011); on his adaptation of Latin texts, see Barnett & Cabré (2013). For an additional translation, see Cortijo & Martines (2013).

61 'A mi, encercant entre els llibres dels filòsofs e poetes alguna cosa ab la qual pogués complaure a les dones virtuoses, ocorrec l'altre dia una història la qual recita Petrarca, poeta laureat, en les obres del qual jo he singular afecció' (Riquer 1959: 118). For the presence of the Latin Petrarch in Metge's works, see the articles gathered in L. Cabré, Coroleu, & Kraye (2012).

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Philippe de Mézières' recent French version of the *Griseldis* tale, although his intention is much closer to Petrarch's, because like him, he not only bookends his translation with a preface and a conclusion, but also includes some classical *exempla* from Valerius Maximus to support the veracity of the story (Riquer 1959: 154; L. Cabré 2012).

The stimulus behind Metge's early works came from the Parisian court, where luxury manuscript versions of the *Roman de la rose* were housed, and where de Mézières could be found, an old friend of Petrarch's and later a counsellor to both Charles V and Charles VI of France. Metge's most mature work, in contrast, owes more to his sojourn in Avignon in 1395, where Petrarch had also resided. Metge's *Apologia* (*Apology*, 1395?) and *Lo Somni* (*The Dream*, 1399), two dialogues modelled on Cicero and Petrarch's *Secretum*, merit a section apart because of their genre and the number of classical references they contain (Chapter 3, pp. 93–8). In *The Dream* Metge converses with the soul of the late John I, evoking the discussions the two of them had while the king was still alive on the immortality of the soul and the *res publica*. Metge was aware of the friendship that bound Laelius and Scipio together, from Cicero's *De amicitia*.[62] The king says:

> This was also the opinion of Scipio himself. For three days before his death, he discoursed at length about the good conduct of public affairs; the last part of that discussion was on the immortality of the soul. He talked about what his father Publius Scipio had told him about the same subject, when after death he appeared to him in a dream he had, as Tully relates in his book *De Republica*, and likewise Petrarch in *Africa*; and if you remember, I lent you in Majorca the narrative that Macrobius made of this, and I bade you study it thoroughly, so that you and I could sometimes discuss it together.[63]

It is unlikely that John I had read *Africa* or Macrobius's commentary on Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, but the passage is indicative of the culture attributable to the king: no longer classical *exempla*, but rather classical texts on politics.

62 In the following passage and the previous one Metge is quoting Cicero (*De amicitia*, III.10 and IV.14). See Riquer (1959: 202–3). We follow Vernier's English translation (2002), reviewed in English in L. Cabré (2003). There is a second English translation of *The Dream* that aims to adhere more closely to the original (Cortijo & Lagresa 2013); on the introduction and the notes, see L. Cabré's review in Catalan (2014) and Lloret's, in English (2015a).

63 Vernier 2002: 14; 'Aquesta mateixa opinió havia haüda lo dit Cipió, qui per tres jorns, abans que morís, disputà molt sobre el bon regiment de la cosa pública; de la qual disputació fo la darrera part la immortalitat de les ànimes. E dix aquelles coses que son pare, Publi Cipió, li havia dit sobre la dita immortalitat quan, aprés sa mort, li era aparegut en lo somni que féu, lo qual recita Tul·li en lo llibre *De re publica* – e Petrarca semblantment en l'*Africa* – l'exposició del qual, si·t recorda, feta per Macrobi, te presté en Mallorca, e la't fiu diligentment estudiar per tal que jo e tu ne poguéssem a vegades conferir' (Cingolani 2006: 150–1).

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The Latin that underpins Metge's work should not be confused with the culture of his courtly readership. He was one step ahead when he adapted a schoolbook favourite like Settimello's *Elegia* – most likely before it was translated into Catalan – in his *Book of Fortune*, for sheer poetic taste. The same could be said of his knowledge of Seneca's *Tragedies*, with Nicholas Trivet's commentary, as demonstrated in *The Dream*: the *Tragedies* are a work characteristic of Paduan proto-humanism, incorporated into the trecento school canon and commented on in Avignon by Trivet, under the protection of Cardinal Niccolò Albertini da Prato. Metge's narrative verse betrays a clearly Catalan linguistic matrix, no doubt because he had to conform to Latin schoolroom models and the Occitan tradition did not offer him adequate solutions in this respect. His Latinizing prose does not appear to be modelled directly on classical texts but rather on the practice of chancery writing and on Boccaccio's *prosa d'arte*. Metge knew the *Corbaccio* and the *Decameron* before Boccaccio's vernacular works appeared on the Catalan literary scene in the fifteenth century (see below, p. 77, and Chapter 3, pp. 110–16).

Scholars who have delved into the Royal Archive have observed that Metge did not excel at composing letters in Latin.[64] Other royal secretaries, like Pere de Benviure, or protonotaries like Bartomeu Sirvent, are better exponents of the chancery's Latin prose that coexisted with vernacular literary output from the end of Peter the Ceremonious's reign onwards. Benviure, Sirvent, and others showed off their abilities in exchanges of Latin letters which have survived in a manuscript that also contains official documents written by Sirvent, considered exemplary (M. Olivar 1936).[65] This epistolary production was clearly indebted to the *artes dictaminis* and adhered to established rules of rhythmic accentuation in prose, or *cursus*; however, the stylistic quality of this prose and its evolution can only be properly evaluated through the edition of a substantial corpus of letters, a task which has not yet been accomplished. It therefore follows that at present it is impossible to say to what extent chancery prose in Catalan reflected the style of Latin prose.[66] Chancery scribes only attained their certification as notaries after they had undergone training from a qualified notary, who provided students with access to an archive and library (Pagarolas 1994: 338). The translations and quotations that emerged as a result of their work in the royal curia are only the tip of an iceberg of underlying Latin culture which is reflected more clearly in the inventories of notaries'

64 Rubió i Balaguer (1963: 234). Riquer (1959: *210–14) and Taylor (2012: 137–9) give examples of some of Metge's Latin letters.

65 See Morera (1965) for a similar exchange of correspondence between Pere Despont and Lluís Carbonell.

66 See Rubió i Balaguer (1947, 1955, and 1961a), Rico (1983), and Taylor (2012).

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libraries. We shall turn our attention to this Latin substratum, in prose and in libraries, in Chapter 4.

Martin I, the Ecclesiastic (1396–1410)

Of Martin I's two epithets, the Humane and the Ecclesiastic, the second one would appear to be a better fit from what we know of his cultural tastes. Before succeeding to the throne in 1396, after his brother died without having left a direct male heir, Martin was the Duke of Montblanc. When he died, also without a male heir, in 1410, he took his place in history as the last King of Aragon descended from the old counts of Barcelona. He was one of the few who wrote no poetry. The most innovative poet of his time, Andreu Febrer (1374–1441/1444), joined the chancery, following his scribal schooling, during the reign of John I. Febrer's notable songbook, or *cançoner*, is characterized by an amalgam of the *trobar ric* style typical of the troubadour Arnaut Daniel and its Italian offspring (Dante's *rime petrose*), together with Guillaume de Machaut's refined versification (L. Cabré & Torró 2015). Febrer's lyric, however, seems to belong more to the Sicilian court of Martin the Younger, King of Sicily from 1390, who died in 1409, a year before his father. Other signs of early knowledge of Dante lead back to John I's court. The first poet to demonstrate knowledge of Dante's *Vita nuova* and of the *dolce stil nuovo* is Melcior de Gualbes, a servant in John I's household.[67] The first writer to reflect a reading of the *Divine Comedy* is Bernat Metge: he recalls the 'Nessun maggior dolore' ('There is no greater sorrow') from the *Inferno* in his 1381 *Book of Fortune*, and in *The Dream* he describes the Underworld, combining the *Inferno*, the *Aeneid* (book 6), and Seneca's *Hercules furens* with Trivet's glosses.[68] We must not forget, however, that *The Dream* was addressed to Martin I and that in a letter from 1408 the king cites a Dantesque passage interpreted in the light of glosses. It is the first explicit mention of Dante in Catalonia:

> And it seems to us that this is the fable of the Sybil which Dante tells in his book, saying that her tomb was in a great forest and many came there for answers to their questions which they wrote in gold letters on oak leaves, and then left, and after a while they returned to the same place to look for the replies and they found the oak leaves lost, some blown away on the wind,

67 The lyric tradition is not covered in depth in this study: see Torró (2014) and Torró & Rodríguez Risquete (2014).

68 Dante's claim that there is no greater sorrow than looking back on happier times is from the *Inferno*, 5.121–3 and is echoed in lines 460–3 of Metge's *Book of Fortune* (Barnett 2011: 52); on the sources for his description of the Underworld in *The Dream*, see Riquer (1959: 268–75), Badia (1991–2), and Cingolani (2006: 191–200).

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> some dried out, so that no matter how much effort they made, they could not find or have their replies. Dante exculpates this Sybil saying that she was not to blame, but rather the men were who through their foolishness asked the questions in the first place.[69]

Even though King Martin reinstated in 1398 the poetry festival created by John I, it would appear that lyric poetry was never one of his passions: we have already mentioned that there is no evidence of him ever writing any verse; there is similarly no indication that his court witnessed the emergence of a poetic school like the one associated with his brother John (Torró 2014: 265). He was far more interested in theology. The Dominican Antoni Canals (*c.* 1350–1416/1419) had worked as a translator for John I, although we do not know which works he translated; during Martin's reign he taught theology at court.[70] Canals confirms this in the prologue to his version of Seneca's *De providentia* when he explains the difficulties he encounters in attempting to provide rational answers, and not on the authority of the Bible or the Church Fathers, to the questions put to him by nobles at court, one of whom, Ramon Boïl, governor of Valencia, was the dedicatee of that translation. Canals complained that Boïl posed difficult questions applying reason to the literal meaning of the Scriptures, 'particularly as you muddle up and cloak the words of the prophets with natural reason'.[71] He then recalls that 'he who is now lord king', Martin I, also posed a difficult theological question 'about Christ's time of death'.[72] The scholastic method of enquiry, centred on the *quaestio*, was clearly employed at court, and that implies the nobles had received a basic theological education. This is evidenced by a brief treatise on the penitential Psalm 51, the *Miserere*, by the Carmelite Pere Rius. In his prologue, Friar Rius resolves the problem of 'why Christ did not write in his own hand the books on which our faith is based' by using the *quaestio* technique, mentioning in passing the cases of Pythagoras and Socrates, who also 'did not want to write anything in their own hands'; the question must have been originally posed by the dedicatee of the work, 'my lord the duke', which

69 'E sembla'ns que açò sia la faula de Sibil·la que Dant toca en lo seu llibre, dient que com lo seu sepulcre fos en un gran bosc e molts vinguessen allí per haver responsions de llurs demandes, los quals scrivien ab lletres d'or en les fulles dels roures, e puis ells se n'anassen e a cap d'algú temps tornassen allí mateix per haver les dites respostes e trobassen les fulles dels dits roures perdudes, les unes per vent, les altres per sequedat, seguia's que, per gran treball que sostinguessen, no podien trobar ni haver les dites respostes. Aquesta Sibil·la excusa molt Dant dient que no era la culpa sua, mas dels hòmens qui per llur peguesa li faïen la dita interrogació' (Rubió i Lluch 1908–21: I, 442). The reference is to *Paradiso*, 33.65–6. See Gómez (2016b: 162–5).

70 For a survey in English of Canals's life and works, see Ferrer (2012b).

71 '[M]ajorment com lo parlar dels profetes me entremesclats e embolcats així ab raó natural' (Riquer 1935b: 85–6).

72 '[L]o senyor rei qui ara és'; 'del temps de la mort de Jesucrist' (Riquer 1935b: 86).

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can only be either Prince John (Duke of Girona between 1351 and 1387) or Prince Martin (Duke of Montblanc between 1387 and 1396).[73]

The reasons Canals gives in his prologue end up being a strategy to justify his translation. As the nobles apply reason and are unaware of the exegesis based on the figurative meanings of the Scriptures, says Canals, he has set aside St Gregory's *Moralia,* or *Commentary on Job*, and decided instead to translate Seneca's treatise to convince them of divine providence:

> because then you will not be able to say that Seneca is a prophet or patriarch, for they speak figuratively, but you will find him wholely a philosopher, who bases all he does on natural judgement and reason.[74]

This fascinating statement accounts for an aspect of the dissemination of the classical tradition different from the historical exemplarity we have seen before, and from the morality of the aphorisms in repertories like the *Distichs of Cato* (see Pseudo-Cato). Seneca is valued as an advocate for Christian teachings precisely because he is a pre-Christian philosopher. Just as the character of John I in *The Dream* discusses the immortality of the soul with reference to Cicero's *Tusculan Disputations* (Riquer 1959: 178–80, 190–205), so Canals introduces the *De providentia* to courtiers who are bordering on heterodoxy: 'And, in such questions, there is a greater danger among men of standing [i.e. the nobility], as they read much and all the books will soon be translated.'[75] The acceptance of Seneca's doctrine owed much to his apocryphal correspondence with St Paul (see Pseudo-Seneca) and to the dissemination of his wisdom in medieval compendia. Between 1403 and 1405 King Martin expressed an interest in Luca Mannelli's *Tabulatio et expositio Senecae*, translated anonymously into Catalan at the beginning of the fifteenth century (see Seneca). The only surviving witness of the *Tabulatio* is from a luxury manuscript dating from the first half of the fifteenth century (Barcelona, BU, MS 282): the folio size manuscript features gothic script, with large exquisitely pen-flourished initials, and belonged to the Barcelona canon Francesc Desplà, who came from a well-to-do family. It has been noted that the translation of Mannelli's commentary is in a more natural style than the one used for the excerpts of the text by Seneca himself (Martínez Romero 2001). These, in contrast, deliberately follow

73 '[P]er què Jesucrist no ha escrits de la sua mà los llibres ab los quals la fe nostra fos fundada'; 'no volgren res escriure de llurs mans'; 'mon senyor lo Duc' (Barcelona, BC, MS 1031, fol. 9).

74 '[P]er ço com no em direts que lo dit Sèneca sia profeta ne patriarca, qui parlen figurativament, ans lo trobarets tot filòsof, qui funde tot son fet en juí e raó natural' (Riquer 1935b: 87).

75 'E, en aitals qüestions, és major perill entre hòmens de paratge, per ço com lligen molt e tots los llibres adés seran vulgaritzats' (Riquer 1935b: 86).

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the Latin word order, as if serving as a guide for a reader who did not want a polished vernacular translation but rather a crib while reading the original Latin – hardly the case of a canon and more likely that of a layperson with a less than perfect grasp of Latin.

The translations of the *De providentia* and the *Tabulatio* are the sum of the scant classical material which can be linked to King Martin.[76] It is significant that they are moral works. This does not mean, however, that the historiographical classicism promoted by John I dried up, or that the court of the new king was insensitive to it. Several inventories of Martin I's library have survived, all carried out on his death in 1410. None has survived of John I's, but we can be sure that some of his books were handed down to his younger brother – for this reason some translations from John's reign can only be documented with complete certainty to 1410. In Martin I's library, we find Hispanic, Greek, and Roman historical compilations by Fernández de Heredia, in Aragonese, which tally with documents of requests made by his brother John (Massó Torrents 1905: 438, items 172–7); we also find French songbooks or *chansonniers*, a Livy in Sicilian which King John owned (Massó Torrents 1905: 440; Ferrer 2010a: 30–1), and the Catalan translation of Justin that John had commissioned (Massó Torrents 1905: 449). With the exception of Peter III, who left part of his library to Poblet monastery, this inheritance of royal library holdings must have been common practice: in the 1417 inventory of Alfonso the Magnanimous's library, we find again Fernández de Heredia's compilations, which doubtless came from John I and were kept at court (see below, pp. 75–6).[77] A king's library was not handed down in its entirety to his successor; as it was considered personal patrimony, it was often bequeathed in part to his children, or was inherited by his widow.[78] This happened with Queen Margaret of Prades, who inherited the goods and chattels of Martin I.[79] Widow Margaret owned a large-format volume of Livy on parchment; when she was in Pergignan in 1415 and 1416, she made urgent requests to her almoner in Barcelona

76 The version of *De remediis fortuitorum* is from before 1422 (see Pseudo-Seneca).

77 For the volumes that Peter III left to Poblet, now lost, see Rubió i Balaguer (1987: 448–53).

78 Such is the case of some of James II's books, left to his daughter and his wife (Martínez Ferrando 1953–4). On the housing, organization, and transmission of the books of the royal household from James II to Martin I, see Rubió i Balaguer (1987).

79 Rubió i Balaguer 1987: 445. A number of books and other goods of this inheritance were inventoried separately and retained as surety in 1410 by the General Deputation ('Diputació del General', the executive body of the Corts), who sold them in 1421 on the order of King Alfonso IV. From among these, King Alfonso purchased a Bible, and he tried in 1431 to acquire a volume of the *Jewish Antiquities* in Catalan sold at that time, which had doubtless originally come from John I and been later incorporated into Martin's library (Riera 1987c). The brief inventory of Martin of Sicily (1409) contains some books which may also have come from John I (Rubió i Balaguer 1910: 401 and 408). Barcelona, BC, MS Perg. 497 contains another copy of the inventory with a few more books.

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for it: 'we have great need for the said book for a certain reason'.[80] The volume must have come from John I's collection, which was then handed down to Martin I, though it does not figure in the inventory of Martin's library.

Both Martin I and his first wife Maria de Luna promoted devotional and spiritual literature through the friars serving in their household.[81] Francesc Eiximenis, for example, wrote a devotional tract for the queen entitled *Scala Dei* (*Stairway to God*), and Joan Eixemeno, also a Franciscan, addressed his *Contemplació de la Santa Quarantena* (*Contemplation on the Forty Holy Days of Lent*) to the king; it is a compendium in the tradition of Ubertino da Casale's *Arbor vitae crucifixae Iesu* and the *Meditationes vitae Christi* attributed to St Bonaventure (Hauf 1986). Also addressed to King Martin was an *Escala de contemplació* (*Ladder of Contemplation*) based on Pseudo-Bonaventure's *De XV gradibus contemplationis* (*On the 15 Steps of Contemplation*; Hauf 1997), while the version of Hugh of St Victor's *De arra anime* (*Soliloquy on the Earnest Money of the Soul*) was offered to the queen (TCM 61.1): both are translations by Canals, both with their roots in the French court (Cifuentes, Pujol, & Ferrer 2014: 177–8). In his prologue to the *De arra anime* Canals claims that spiritual love is the appropriate form of love for the court, 'founded in true honesty', and contrasts his translation with the risqué reading matter so popular with women at that time: 'As in our times […] in several courts of great ladies the treatise of Venus is read, foolishly deified by carnal lovers.'[82] A similar recommendation is found in the prologue to Canals's translation of Pseudo-Bernard's *De modo bene vivendi ad sororem* (*Book of Good Living for a Sister*), addressed to Martin I's chamberlain (TCM 22.1):

> one should read approved books rather than vain books like the stories of Lancelot and Tristan, and the *Roman de Renard*, or books that stimulate the appetite like books on love [Ovid's *Amores*], books on the art of love [Ovid's *Ars amatoria* and other *artes amandi*], Ovid's *De vetula*.[83]

80 '[D]e gran necessari hajam lo dit llibre per certa raó' (ACA, Cancelleria, Reg. 2355, fol. 85). As Margaret was struggling with her few resources, she must have needed the book either to sell it or as payment for a favour. See Miret i Sans (1909–13b: 226–7).

81 The patronage of devotional literature by the Queens of Aragon can be documented throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. For a general overview in English, see Ferrer (2010b); see also the summary by Terés & Vicens (2015) of the contribution in this respect of Yolande of Bar, the wife of John I, and of Maria of Castile, wife of Alfonso IV, the Magnanimous.

82 '[E]n vera honestat fundada'; 'Com en los nostres temps […] en diverses corts de grans senyores se llija lo tractat de Venus, per los amadors carnals follament deïficat' (Riquer 1935b: 121–3).

83 '[H]om deu llegir llibres aprovats, no pas llibres vans així com les faules de Lançalot e de Tristany ni·l *Romanç de la guineu*, ni llibres provocatius a cobejança, així com *Libres de amors*, *Libres de art de amar*, Ovidi *De vetula* […]' (P. de Bofarull 1857: 420).

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This guidance follows a notable excerpt in praise of reading taken from Richard de Bury's *Philobiblon* and a letter by Seneca, with references to the history of Alexander the Great and Caesar, the science of Ptolemy, and above all moral philosophy: Cato, Boethius, Aristotle's *Ethics*, and, of course, Seneca (P. de Bofarull 1857: 417–19). Taken all together, Canals's recommendations and the reading matter that he condemns – with special disdain reserved for Ovid and Pseudo-Ovid – remind us of the extent of court culture and of the readership's familiarity with the names that he mentions. Devout as she may well have been, it is nevertheless likely that Maria de Luna had read Ovid's *Heroides* – already translated for Yolande – and would have known of Penelope's conjugal virtue, otherwise she would not have understood Bernat Metge's praise for it in *The Dream*:

> But since I have lately spoken of conjugal love, I want to add what follows. Poets have amply celebrated the heartfelt love of Penelope for her husband Ulysses, because during his long absence she did not forget him, and said that she would never take another husband even if her first one never returned, for she wanted to die the wife of Ulysses. In my opinion, she displayed a great enough love; but hers was without comparison much less than that shown by our queen [Maria de Luna] for our lord king [Martin I].[84]

Metge himself clearly considers the *Heroides* to be suitable reading matter for women:

> They [women] consider it a great happiness to have a lot of comfort and luxury, to speak diverse languages, to be able to remember many songs and rhymed tales, to cite the verse of troubadours and the *Epistles* of Ovid, to recite the stories of Lancelot, of Tristan, of King Arthur and of all the lovers that lived in their time.[85]

84 Vernier 2002: 65; 'però, per tal com darrerament he fet menció de conjugal amor, vull-hi ajustar ço que hi fall. Alscuns poetes fan gran festa de la cordial amor que Penèlope hagué a Ulixes, marit seu, per tal com, en sa llonga absència, no l'oblidà, dient que null temps pendria altre marit, posat que el seu jamai no tornàs, car muller de Ulixes volia morir. Assats li mostrà gran amor, a mon juí, mas sens comparació fo molt major aquella que la prop dita reina mostrà haver al senyor rei' (Cingolani 2006: 244).

85 Vernier 2002: 54; 'elles entenen ésser en gran felicitat haver molt delicament e lloçania; saber parlar diverses llenguatges; recordar moltes cançons e noves rimades; al·legar dits de trobadors e les *Epístoles* d'Ovidi; recitar les històries de Lançalot, de Tristany, del rei Artús e de quants amorosos són estats tro a llur temps' (Cingolani 2006: 224).

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The two most important examples of the dissemination of classical texts at the turn of the fifteenth century are also linked to the royal family: the translation of Valerius Maximus's *Memorable Deeds and Sayings*, commissioned by Cardinal James of Aragon, Bishop of Valencia; and *Lo parlament e la batalla que hagueren Anníbal e Escipió* (*The Parley and Battle between Hannibal and Scipio*), an adaptation of excerpts from Petrarch's *Africa* addressed to Alfonso of Aragon, Duke of Gandia. Cardinal James and Duke Alfonso were the sons of Prince Peter, who had written the political *Treatise* for his nephew Peter III in 1358 (see above, p. 36); they had spent their formative years in Barcelona with a father who had a particular interest in political moral culture. Both versions are by the prolific Friar Canals, who, as we mentioned earlier, feared the new culture of the nobles 'as they read much and all the books will soon be translated'. For this reason, Canals argued repeatedly, it was important to choose educational reading matter and place it in a Christian context (although one might suspect that this justification came after he had been commissioned to carry out the translation in the first place). A fine manuscript has survived of his version of Valerius Maximus (Barcelona, AHCB, MS 1G, 36), which the cardinal presented to the councillors of the city of Barcelona in 1395. In the introductory letter the cardinal recalls both his education in that city in his father's time and the exemplary value of Valerius Maximus for political governance:

> Dear friends. While studying Valerius on occasion, we saw that the notable stories and most excellent authorities contained therein, if properly understood and considered, are most beneficial for body and soul and the governance of the state and family, both in times of war and of peace, and in times of need and of prosperity, and we have therefore had the said volume translated from Latin into Romance, so that laypersons who do not understand Latin, when they read and study the book, might retain some honourable and profitable things from it, regarding God and the world; because the said book deals at length with all those matters that are necessary for the proper education of men. This book is, in our view, most appropriate for all ages: for adults, so that, as they assume public roles, the governance of the state which is entrusted to them may be better administered and ordered; for young men, so that, just as they now learn to read from romances, from which they gain little profit, they might learn from this, from which they can but retain many notable and distinguished things. And because we are sure that your noble city is more concerned with the governance of the state and family than any other city of which we know – so much so that it could be called a great example – to which city of yours we are most beholden and obliged for the great love it had for the lord Prince Peter, our father, and

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> for ourselves, who were nourished here at a tender age, according us many honours and many pleasures, we have agreed to present you with the said book of Valerius in Romance.[86]

Following his investiture as cardinal in Avignon in 1389, James of Aragon appears to have remained there for some years (Ferrer 2012b: 52). This explains how he came by a Latin manuscript of Valerius with commentary of Avignonese provenance: Canals's translation incorporates fragments of the commentaries of Dionigi di Borgo San Sepolcro and of Friar Luca (see Valerius Maximus).

Canals's *Scipio and Hannibal* is also presented as an historical *exemplum* or, to put it another way, as an *ad status* sermon for the nobility. Canals employs the device of *homeoteleuton*, or rhymed clauses, in the main section or *divisio*, as was used in sermons and royal speeches, in order to demonstrate the dangers of putting one's faith in worldly fortune. This Christian message, illustrated with quotations from Valerius Maximus, Seneca, Boethius, and St Gregory, is not so far removed from the one he offered in his translation of the *De providentia*. Now he focuses his attention on the Battle of Zama and Hannibal's ignominious end, in a way that is especially suited to the military past of the Duke of Gandia, defeated and taken captive by the Black Prince at the Battle of Najera (1367). The prologue states that the episode comes from his reading of Livy, 'who covers it at considerable length', and of 'Francis Petrarch, who in his book entitled *Africa*, deals with [it] most finely and extensively'.[87] In actual fact, the text is based on the *Africa*, with some fragments from Petrarch's *De viris illustribus* (*On Famous Men*; Rico 1992); Canals, however, had access to the

86 'Cars amics. Com Nós, estudiant algunes vegades en lo Valeri, vejam que les notables històries e fort excel·lents auctoritats que allí són posades, si bé són enteses e considerades, són molt profitoses a l'ànima e al cos e al regiment de la cosa pública e familiar, així en temps de guerra com de pau, e en temps de necessitat com de prosperitat, havem feit lo dit llibre transladar de llatí en romanç, per ço que els llecs qui no entenen llatí, llegint e estudiant lo dit llibre ne retenguessen algunes coses profitoses e honorables, segons Déu e lo món; car en lo dit llibre se tracta abundantment de totes aquelles coses que són necessàries a fer l'hom perfet e acabat. Lo qual llibre és, a nostre parer, fort covinent a tota edat: als d'edat perfeta, per ço que, com seran posats en los oficis públics, lo regiment de la cosa pública que els és comanat sia mills administrat e regit; e als fadrins, per ço que així com ara aprenen de llegir en romances, dels quals los roman poc profit, apenran en aquest, de què no pot ésser que no en retenguen moltes notables e assenyalades coses. E com Nós siam certs que la vostra noble ciutat entén més en lo bon regiment de la cosa pública e familiar que altra ciutat que Nós sapiam – tant que espill de gran exempli pot ésser dita – a la qual ciutat vostra Nós nos tenim molt per tenguts e obligats per la gran amor que hac al senyor infant En Pere, pare nostre, e a Nós, qui estant fadrí nos nodrim aquí, feent-nos moltes honors e molts plaers, havem acordat de trametre-us lo dit Valeri arromançat' (Miquel i Planas 1914b: 3–4).

87 '[Q]ui el posà assats llargament'; 'Francesc Petrarca, qui en lo seu llibre apellat *Africa* [en] tractà fort bellament e difusa' (Riquer 1935b: 31).

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Latin text of Livy and preserves the odd sentence from it, though he prefers to translate from the *Africa* because of the text's Christian bent (Ferrer 2012b). The fact that he mentions Livy first demonstrates the prestige with which the Roman historian had come to be regarded by court readers. It is also worth noting that in his prologue, Canals says that the Duke of Gandia wanted 'to have the parley between Scipio and Hannibal, and the subsequent battle'.[88] In other words, he was not just interested in the military actions but also in the rhetoric so characteristic of Livy's work. This twofold appeal of Livy's prose, now invoked only via an episode by Petrarch, inspired Joanot Martorell's novel, *Tirant lo Blanc*, in the fifteenth century (see Chapter 3, pp. 116–22).

Throughout the reigns of John I and Martin I, or between about 1380 and 1410, courtly classicism had been gaining ground. Books arrived from the courts of northern France, as did bibliographical novelties from Avignon. Friars compiled compendia and carried out translations glossed in accordance with their university education, but the demand was now much broader and included a taste for learning about ancient history *per se* and for Ovid's poetry; it was even considered acceptable to refer to Seneca's moral philosophy during a theological discussion. Scribes and secretaries were doubling up as translators or adaptors; thanks to their expertise, letters were embellished with quotations from classical authors. The royal secretary Guillem Ponç, for example, adorned his Latin letters with expressions from Virgil, and, in his Catalan letters, he quoted anecdotes from Valerius Maximus to exhort an expedition to North Africa. He also referenced Ovid's tale of Orpheus and the example of Tiberius Gracchus in his eulogy on the Count of Urgell's love for his wife (Rubió i Balaguer 1961a). In the same vein, royal oratory ceased to be stricly homiletic as it incorporated examples from classical literature.

Following an analysis of its structure, Johnston concludes that the speech that Martin I gave to the Corts of Perpignan in 1406 is 'by far the most ambitious parliamentary oration based on the sermon format' (1992: 11). In weaving together quotations from concordant authorities, extracts from the Bible alternate with classical quotations. The speech starts with the *thema* 'Gloriosa dicta sunt de te' ('Glorious things are said of you'; Psalm 87:3) to compose a panegyric on the deeds of the Catalans in the service of the Crown. The *prothema* is built around a citation from Sedulius (*Carmen Paschale*, 1.17–18) and another from Valerius Maximus (*Memorable Deeds and Sayings*, 1.87). In the first part of the speech the deeds exemplify the virtues of the Catalans; the second part shows the expansion of their actions to the four corners of the world. The conclusion begins by recalling James II's exhortation to the armada that was

88 '[H]aver lo parlament d'Escipió e d'Anníbal, e la batalla següent' (Riquer 1935b: 31).

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setting sail to conquer Sardinia in 1323, before going on to make a lexical connection ('Raise up, raise up your standards'; 'Alçats, alçats les vostres banderes') with a valedictory address by Caesar quoted by Lucan ('tollite […] tollite signa'; *Pharsalia*, 1.347); he thus returns to and proves the *thema*, as is required by the *artes praedicandi*:

> And for this reason we can attribute to you what Julius Caesar said, fresh from his conquest of Germany, to his subjects: 'Raise up, raise up your standards, because you are worthy of the lordship of Rome!' as Lucan recounts in his first book of battles. So, therefore, we can say to you: 'Raise up, raise up your standards, because you are worthy of possessing the Principality of Catalonia!' And in this way the sentence with which we began is shown to be true: 'Gloriosa dicta sunt de te', that is, 'glorious things are said of you'.[89]

The word 'fama' ('renown') is woven throughout the introduction to the first part, starting with a definition from Cicero (*De inventione*, 2.55.166), continuing with several concordant biblical quotations, before citing Virgil on 'fama' (*Aeneid*, 10.468–9). Then comes the rhythmic *divisio* on the loyalty, ardour, and liberality of the Catalans. On the subject of loyalty, the speech picks up an idea from the prologue to Valerius Maximus, namely that it is not necessary to look to foreign personages to find exemplary models:

> Valerius in the prologue to his book says as follows: 'Why must we search for sayings or deeds of foreign people if we can find enough of them by our own people?' Therefore, leaving aside all declarations of Titus Livy, Sallust, Pompeius Trogus, Eutropius, Paulus Eronius [sc. Orosius], Julius Frontinus, Suetonius, Justin, Lucan, and Valerius, even though these may be great historians, they are not necessary for us in the matter at hand; so, turning to our proposition, let us see which deeds our people carried out.[90]

89 'E per aquesta raó podem atribuir a vosaltres ço que dix Július Cèsar, vinent de la conquesta d'Alemanya, als seus sotsmeses: "¡Alçats, alçats les vostres banderes, car dignes sots d'haver la senyoria de Roma!"; així ho recita Lucà en lo primer llibre seu de les batalles. Bé, doncs, podem dir a vosaltres: "¡Alçats, alçats les vostres banderes, car dignes sots de posseir lo Principat de Catalunya!" E així és verificada la paraula per nós començada, en què havem dit a vosaltres: "Gloriosa dicta sunt de te", ço és, "glorioses coses són dites de tu"' (Albert & Gassiot 1928: 71).

90 'Valeri en lo tractat del seu llibre diu aitals paraules: "¿Què ens cal cercar dits ni actes de gents estranyes si de les nostres mateixes en podem assats trobar?" Per què nós, lleixant a part totes al·legacions de Titus Livius, de Sol·lusti, de Trogo Pompeio, de Eutròpio, de Paulo Eròmio [sc. Orosio], de Júlio Frontino, de Suetònio, de Justino, de Lucano, ni de Valèrio, car jatsia que aquests deu sien estats grans historials, però no ens fan fretura en l'acte present; doncs, tornant a nostre propòsit, vejam quins actes faeren los nostres' (Albert & Gassiot 1928: 62–3).

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This is immediately followed by history: *exempla* of fidelity that led to the victories of Peter the Great, James II, and Peter III. We have seen the patriotic ideology in the speech on numerous occasions already: a link is forged between the achievements of the dynasty and the Scriptures. The kings' deeds are presented and expounded in the light of a set biblical text, or *thema* (as in a sermon), and supported by further biblical citations. Now we see the addition of classical models, and that required an expert hand. Some suggest that the secretary Guillem Ponç or Antoni Canals collaborated on other speeches given by the king; however, in this case the intervention of Bernat Metge has been proposed (Riquer 1964: II, 344; Cátedra 1985–6: 34–5). The depth of the underlying classicism in speeches such as this is debatable, because it depends on the use of florilegia, on the precise analysis of each classical quotation, and on the intervention of one or other secretary.[91]

Behind these translations, adaptations, and quotations from classical texts, there is, above all, the high and low nobility's natural interest in political and military history. However, there is also a willingness on the part of the mendicant orders to offer guidance on the consumption of classical culture, which involved selecting material that supported Christian teachings; and there is a willingness on the part of chancery officials to absorb innovations related to their epistolary work. To maintain that Italian trecento culture was fully assimilated in this period, as has sometimes been claimed with regard to Bernat Metge's singular oeuvre, is well wide of the mark. Nonetheless, the early transmission of some of Petrarch's works (in particular the *Secretum*, *Epistulae Familiares*, and *Africa*), Seneca's *Tragedies*, and the work of Nicholas Trivet, for example, serve to remind us that the northern frontier of the Crown was permeable to the first wave of humanism.[92] The presence of Seneca's *Hercules furens* in Metge's *The Dream* is evidence of a fourteenth-century innovation: the fashion for Seneca which Lovato dei Lovati and Albertino Mussato had initiated in Italy (Billanovich 1953). After the so-called *secolo senza Roma*, the school canon of the trecento was enriched with Seneca's *Tragedies*:

> they became favourites of the classroom […] This of course mirrors the history of their transmission […] stimulated by the work of Paduans Lovati and Mussato and then by interest at Avignon, leading to Nicholas Trevet's commentary.
>
> (Black 2001: 213)

91 See Riquer (1964: II, 341–6), Rico (1983), and Cátedra (1985–6).

92 For a comparison between Catalan and French classicism, focusing on Petrarch's writings, see A. Coroleu (2012).

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Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* also became a classroom staple in this period (Black & Pomaro 2000). No wonder, then, that it was translated into Catalan. The impact of Trivet's commentaries goes beyond Metge's work: we find them in Ginebreda's translation of the *Consolation*, in the anonymous Catalan version of Seneca's *Tragedies*, and in the Catalan translations of Livy and St Augustine, carried out from French versions which incorporated them.[93]

The transformational effect of translations can be appreciated in a Catalan version of Wauchier de Denain's *Histoire ancienne jusqu'a Cèsar* (see TROY). The anonymous author of this version, carried out between 1410 and 1419, incorporated fragments of Jaume Conesa's *Trojan History* into the compendium, as well as the anonymous Catalan translation of Seneca's *Medea*, and Canals's *Scipio and Hannibal*. In this case, and in the case of Canals's versions, the lack of a critical sensibility in handling the sources – the lack of historical and philological sensibility – counsels us to regard this as courtly classicism. We shall come to Latin Humanism and the vernacular writings of authors who had direct contact with humanistic circles in Chapter 4.

Ferdinand I, Alfonso IV, the Magnanimous, and Charles, Prince of Viana (1412–61)

With the death of Martin I in 1410, preceded the year before by that of Crown Prince Martin the Younger, King of Sicily, 'was extinguished the oldest line of direct princely descent in Europe' (Bisson 1986: 133). What remained burning brightly was the poetical flame that had illuminated the royal line since Alfonso I in the mid-twelfth century. However, there were certain sea changes in this sphere during the fifteenth century. The complex crisis of succession – at one point there were six contenders for the throne – was resolved at a meeting of the appointed negotiators held in the Aragonese town of Caspe (1412). The chosen candidate was the Castilian pretender, Ferdinand of Trastamara, the son of Eleanor of Aragon, Queen of Castile and sister of the late Martin I, who was therefore the uncle of John II of Castile (r. 1406–54) (see Appendix 2).[94] The reigns of Ferdinand I (1412–16) and Alfonso IV (1416–58) featured, on the one hand, a renewed commitment to Mediterranean expansion, and, on the other, a more receptive attitude towards the culture of other Hispanic nations as an indirect result of the ambitions of King Ferdinand's sons: Alfonso, John, Henry, Peter, and Sancho, the so-called *infantes de Aragón* (princes of Aragon).

93 See TRIVET again and, in particular, Wittlin (1978) and Ferrer (2011b). TRIVET's less well-known *Historia ab origine mundi* was, surprisingly, also translated into Catalan, but has not survived.

94 On the controversial history of the Compromise of Caspe, see Bisson's summary in English (1986: 133–9); for more detail, see Sobrequés i Vidal (1982).

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Ferdinand I's first foreign policy goal was to consolidate his power in the Mediterranean islands, especially Sardinia and Sicily. His second son, John, was royal lieutenant for Sardinia and Sicily (1414–16); he often travelled to Sicily and to Naples, and in 1419 married Blanche of Navarre, the widow of Martin of Aragon the Younger, King of Sicily. Ferdinand's first son, Alfonso, when he succeeded his father as King of Aragon, took up where his father left off and intensified his efforts when the childless Queen Joanna of Naples offered him the crown in 1419 in exchange for military protection. After several expeditions and setbacks, such as his naval defeat at the Battle of Ponza (1435), Alfonso IV took Naples in 1442; he had set sail from his Peninsular kingdom for the last time in 1432, never to return. Prince John, meanwhile, had become king consort of Navarre (1425) and headed the party of the *infantes de Aragón* with the intention of taking the kingdom from his cousin King John II of Castile; in 1436 he was appointed Alfonso IV's lieutenant in Aragon and Valencia in his brother's absence; and on Alfonso's death, he became King John II of Aragon (r. 1458–79) – the Kingdom of Naples was inherited by Alfonso's illegitimate son, Ferrante I (r. 1458–94). The *infantes* helped Alfonso IV on the Mediterranean front; Henry and Peter sought Alfonso's protection in the territory of the Crown of Aragon when the confrontation with Castile required it. We cannot be sure that there was a family-wide strategy to dominate all the Hispanic kingdoms – Castile, Navarre, and Aragon with its Mediterranean territories – because the interests of the brothers were often at odds with one another, but the territorial ambitions of Ferdinand I's sons ended up well on the way towards that end, not in the *infantes*' own generation, but in the next. King John of Navarre had planned that the son he had with Blanche of Navarre, Charles, Prince of Viana (1421–61), should marry Princess Isabella of Castile. This marriage never took place, and the strong disagreements between John and Charles led, following the death of the latter, to the outbreak of a civil war that further weakened the Crown of Aragon (1462–72).[95] Instead, it was Prince Ferdinand (the future Ferdinand II), the son from John's second marriage, to Juana Enríquez (1444), who married Isabella in 1469 – the marriage of the Catholic monarchs, grandparents of the emperor Charles V, who inherited both kingdoms (see Appendix 2).

Neither the accession of Ferdinand I to the throne of the Crown of Aragon, nor Alfonso IV's Italian campaign led to the abandonment of the literary traditions of their Catalan predecessors. The cultural change came about more through geographical expansion. All these members of the House of Trastamara established a network of courts, each with its own literary output, where poets from different

95 For a full account of this conflict, see Sobrequés i Vidal & Sobrequés (1972).

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regions – Castile, Navarre, Aragon, Catalonia, and Valencia – were writing and where cultural exchanges could take place in Catalan, Castilian, and Italian. This network of courts allowed the Catalan poetry of the Valencian knight Ausiàs March (1400–59) to become well known from Navarre to Naples and Sardinia, and facilitated in the work of the Barcelona poet Romeu Llull (*c.* 1439–96), who had lived in Naples for forty years, the early blending of March's poetic model with Petrarch's. Likewise, this network explains the existence of bilingual or even trilingual poets like Llull, who also wrote poetry in Castilian and Italian. Another case in point is Pere Torroella (*c.* 1420–*c.* 1492), who wrote poetry and prose in Castilian and Catalan betraying a distinct Italian influence – he was born in Empordà (in northern Catalonia) but resided at the court of John of Navarre and spent time in Naples and Sicily, before returning to Barcelona.[96] It is also worth noting Alfonso IV's choice to establish his court at the up-and-coming city of Valencia until he left for Naples in 1432; and, of course, the fact that he later ruled the Crown of Aragon from Naples. Fifteenth-century Valencia was to produce many literary giants; we find them associated with Alfonso himself, with his lieutenant John, King of Navarre, and even with his younger brothers Henry and Peter, as well as with Charles, Prince of Viana. A good number of Catalan writers passed through Naples or had some contact with Alfonso the Magnanimous's court and benefitted from the humanistic environment there, or from the court that accompanied Prince Charles through Naples and Sicily (1457–9).

After his accession to the throne in 1412, Ferdinand I's faith in the poetic tradition of his new kingdom was immediately apparent. Even before the coronation had taken place, he arrived with his entourage in Barcelona in February 1413 to swear to uphold the Catalan laws and celebrate a festival of Gay Science ('Gaia Ciència', troubadour poetry) following the tradition stretching back to the time of John I. The king did not make a speech on that occasion so far as it is known; nor do we have any record of him making political speeches with a biblical *thema* – a tradition, like that of providentialist personal chronicles, not found in Castile. We do, however, have the speeches in praise of poetry by the theologian Felip de Malla (*c.* 1372–1431) that were part of the festival ceremony, as described years later by the nobleman Enrique de Villena in his *Arte de trovar* (*Art of Writing Poetry*; Riquer 1964: I, 569–76).[97] With a clerical vision, Malla defines poetry as a combination of wisdom and eloquence in praise

[96] For a wide-ranging overview of the poetic output of this period, based on a mass of archival documentation, see Torró (2014: 266–352) and Torró & Rodríguez Risquete (2014).

[97] Enrique de Villena (1382/1384–1434) was the grandson of Alfonso of Aragon. Alfonso was the Marquis of Villena and the Duke of Gandia, the dedicatee of Eiximenis's *Twelfth* and Canals's *Scipio and Hannibal*, and a patron of Pere March. Villena wrote the *Dotze treballs d'Hèrcules* (*Twelve Labours of Hercules*, 1417) in Catalan, and was the author of a glossed version of the *Aeneid* in Castilian, among other writings. See Cátedra (1994: I, xi–xxvii).

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of God and the Virgin Mary. The model proposed for 'learned troubadours' ('trobadors estudiosos') is King David, whose Psalms were an example of Christian poetry that surpasses classical eulogies:

> And he who wishes to consider with how much learning did Virgil sing the praises of Aeneas, and Homer of Achilles, and Lucan of Cato and of the Romans, and at the same time Horace and Ovid with him, and Seneca the Labours of Hercules in his *Tragedies*; and, if we turn to prose writers, with how much learning did Cicero sing the praises of Pompey, and Titus Livy the praises of the Scipios, and the Queen of Sheba the praises of Solomon (1 Kings 10), and Lactantius the praises of the Sybils; and many have sung for Helen and Dido, for Lucretia and Marcia and Servilia, and for Camilla and Lavinia and Penthesilea and for others […] And so, should we Christians not sing for the Monarch of the whole world, who is higher and more worthy of praise than the nine Muses, than Minerva, than Pallas Athene, than Augustus, than Apollo, and sail through the waters of the sea of endless praise?[98]

Classical authorities served to ponder the moral, intellectual, and civic benefits of poetry, and the fame that is afforded poets. Fame leads to praise in Latin for three vernacular poets:

> Master Jean de Meun, who wrote the *Roman de la rose*, lives on through fame in France; Arnaut Daniel lives on among us; Dante lives on in Tuscany; and it is said of them, as Virgil says of those in book nine of the *Aeneid*: 'Happy pair! If my poetry has the power, no day shall erase you from the memory of time.'[99]

Malla had first-hand knowledge of Jean de Meun and Dante, because he owned copies of the *Roman de la rose* and the *Divine Comedy* (Madurell 1963–4:

98 'E qui vol considerar ab quant estudi cantà Virgili les llaors d'Enees, e Homerus les llaors d'Aquil·les, e Lucà les llaors deAtó e dels romans, e ensemps ab ell Horaci e Ovidi, e Sèneca los treballs d'Hèrcules en les *Tragèdies*; e, si anam als prosaics, Tul·li les llaors de Pompeio, e Tito Livio les llaors dels Escipions, e la regina de Saba les llaors de Salamó (3 Regum 10º [I Reis 10]), e Lactanci les llaors de les Sibil·les; e molts han cantat per Helena e Dido, per Lucrècia e Màrcia e Servilla, e per Camil·la e Lavínia e Pentesilea e per altres […] E doncs, no devem bé cantar los cristians per lo Monarca del món universal, qui és pus alt e digne de llaor que no són les nou Muses, ni Minerva, ni Pal·las, ni Augustus, ni Apol·lo, e navegar per aquell pèlag de la mar de llaor interminable?' (J. Pujol 1996: 210–13).

99 'Vivit per famam magister Iohannes de Meun in Francia, qui scripsit *Romantium de rosa*; vivit inter nos Arnaldus Danielis; vivit in Tuscia Dantes, et vivunt ii de quibus locuti sunt, sicut ii de quibus dicit Virgilius, 9º Eneidos: "Fortunati ambo! Se quid mea carmina possunt, nulla dies unquam memori vos subducet aevo"' (J. Pujol 1996: 217–20).

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559–60), a work that is very present in his theological writings. The reference to Arnaut Daniel, a troubadour well known in Catalonia, is no doubt due to the praise Dante bestows on him in his *Purgatorio* (26.136–48), but it also links with the troubadour tradition that was maintained at the festival of Gay Science. Malla recalls the learned allegories of Jean de Meun and Dante to enhance and elevate vernacular poetry with examples of literary erudition.

Indeed it is erudition that defines Malla's oeuvre.[100] Following his theological training in Paris under Jean Gerson and Jacques de Nouvion, Malla was counsellor to King Martin I and served as a political advisor to Kings Ferdinand I and Alfonso IV; he also served Pope Benedict XIII and later played an active role in the resolution of the Great Schism at the Council of Constance (1416–17), where he met Nicolas of Clémanges. His writings betray the theological influence of Jean Gerson and, at the same time, a move towards the classical culture typical of a Christian humanism rooted in the Church Fathers, although with a constant display of erudition and mythological embellishment. His is not a culture of florilegia: his knowledge of Boethius, Sallust, and Seneca's *Tragedies* comes from reading the texts themselves, not just extracts. In his *Memorial del pecador remut* (*Memorial of the Redeemed Sinner*, *c.* 1419–29) he evinces this knowledge in his recommendation to the city of Barcelona to make the study of classical literature the basis of education:

> Oh virtuous and illustrious city, it would be more worthwhile for your sons to be imbued with and steeped in, from a tender age, the fine doctrine and excellent style of moral, rhetorical, and historical writers, as well as tragic and comic poets, like Virgil, Boethius, and other similar ones, rather than to study matters of which they know nothing and that can be of no use to them in the future, so that they are thus poorly instructed in the fundamental arts. Oh Italy and Germany, France and England, that seek noble schoolmen! Because it is a great advantage, right at the very beginning, for children, who later grow up and rule according to what they know and believe and have learnt, to be instructed by beneficial teachers who introduce them to Juvenal and Lucan, Horace and Virgil, Seneca, Cicero, Persius, Statius, Sallust, Ovid, Varro, Terence, and other similar authors because the mule will not start trotting unless there is a good hand right from the outset to show it how to move correctly, with the bit held tight and with a sure grip. For this, you, aforementioned regions, from the light of knowledge acquired thus in the liberal arts and in other fields, have been more blessed and more enlightened.[101]

100 See J. Pujol (2015b) for Malla's life and work.

101 'E cert valria més, oh virtuosa e ínclita ciutat!, los teus fills en llur tendra edat ésser imbuïts

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On the death of Ferdinand I, Gabriel Ferrús was commissioned to write a lament as if pronounced by the widowed Queen Eleanor of Alburquerque. The composition of troubadour laments dates back at least to the time of James I. Ferrús's lament is conserved in a songbook, the *Cançoner Vega-Aguiló*, a collection from 1426 which contains a broad sample of the courtly poetic trends from around 1370 until the time of the young King Alfonso IV (Asperti 1985: 74–6).[102] The collection's chronological scope includes the work of the Valencian Jordi de Sant Jordi (b. late fourteenth century, †1424), King Alfonso's valet, who managed to blend the native lyrical tradition with the flair of Petrarch's sonnet 134 'Pace non trovo, et non ò da far guerra' ('I do not find peace, but I do not wage war').[103] In the royal court at Valencia, Perpignan, and wherever else it resided, Jordi de Sant Jordi shone thanks to his poetic virtuosity. On his death, he was remembered by Íñigo López de Mendoza (1398–1458), then Alfonso's cupbearer and later the Marquis of Santillana, in a 'Coronación' (1427–38) which extols his friend 'Mossén Jorde' as if he were a classical poet rather than a courtly troubadour. In it, Santillana describes a vision in which he encounters three men wearing 'consular togas' ('togas consulares') and a knight 'speaking in a foreign tongue' ('en la loqüela estrangero'): the three classical figures are Homer, Virgil, and Lucan, and the one speaking a foreign language is Jordi de Sant Jordi; the passage derives from the encounter of Dante and Virgil with Homer, Horace, Ovid, and Lucan in the fourth canto of the *Inferno* (Gómez Moreno & Kherkof 1988: 106–7).[104]

Jordi de Sant Jordi's poetry, however, often ends up somewhat eclipsed by that of another Valencian, the knight Ausiàs March.[105] His father Pere March,

e abeurats de la bella doctrina e estil excel·lent dels actors morals, retòrics, històrics, poetes tràgics o còmics, així com Virgili, Boeci e altres de semblants, que, com estudien coses de les quals en l'esdevenidor no saben ni es poden ajudar, per ço són ells així mals instruïts en les arts primitives. Oh Itàlia e Alemanya, França e Anglaterra, les quals cercats los nobles escolàstics! Car molt hi va, en los primers principis, los infants, qui despuixs tornen grans e regeixen segons que saben e segons presumeixen e segons han après, ésser instruïts per valents mestres qui els meten entre mans Juvenal e Lucà, Horaci e Virgili, Sèneca, Tul·li, Persi, Estaci, Sal·lusti, Ovidi, Varró, Terenci e los actors semblants, car tard la mula irà bé d'ambladura si en los principis no ha bona mà que li mostre d'anar pla, tenent lo fre pitjat e la mà ben segura. Per ço vosaltres, regions dessusdites, de llum de saber adquisit així en les arts liberals com en les altres ciències, sots estades en los dies passats pus dotades e pus il·lustrades' (Balasch 1981–6: I, 205).

102 For the lament, see Riquer (1951b); for a full description of the *Cançoner Vega-Aguiló*, see Alberni (2006).

103 See 'Tots jorns aprench e desaprench ensemps' ('Every day I both learn and unlearn'; Riquer & Badia 1984: 219–29). On the influence of Petrarchan lyric on Catalan medieval poetry, see Espadaler (2015).

104 For the courtly classicism of Santillana and other Castilian poets like Juan de Mena, see Weiss (1990) and Serés (1994).

105 For an overview of March's poetry, see L. Cabré & Ortín (2014); for an annotated edition, see Bohigas (2000); for further commentary and English translations, see Chapter 3.2, notes 15 and 16.

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also a poet, was procurator general to Alfonso of Aragon, Duke of Gandia, and – it is worth noting – came from a family of notaries schooled in grammar. Ausiàs March first spent time at the court of King Alfonso in 1417, and served there in 1425; the following year he was principal falconer. His poetic works run to about ten thousand lines and begin around 1426 with the cycle 'Llir entre cards' ('Lily among Thistles'), the *senhal* or poetical sobriquet of Teresa de Híxar, a noblewoman at court. March's renovation of poetical language is polyfaceted. On the one hand, it comes from the spirituality of St Bernard, as indicated by the lily *senhal* mentioned above: March was inspired by the Marian interpretation of 'Sicut lilium inter spinas, sic amica mea inter filias' ('As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters'; Song of Songs 2:2). On the other hand, it brings together motifs and images from classical literature, in particular from Ovid, which we discuss in more detail later on (Chapter 3, pp. 98–104). In this poetic cycle, and even more so in his later work, we can also see signs of his Aristotelian-Thomistic psychology; of the theological learning which he must have acquired in his youth, and which deepened over the years; and his predilection for moral philosophy. Probably in reference to the seige of Naples in 1442, Ausiàs March dedicated a poem (30) to King Alfonso IV on the courage of the man who faces death without falling into cowardice or temerity, in line with the doctrine of mean virtue formulated in Aristotle's *Ethics*; he composed another poem (72), for the ceremony in Naples on 26 February 1443 to celebrate Alfonso's triumph, in which he prophesies the attainment of the *monarchia* or universal empire thanks to virtue and wisdom.[106] King Martin I had Antoni Canals as theological tutor at court; the education of the young King Alfonso at the Valencian court must have been considerably broader. March's lines 'ell [Alfonso] és aquell qui en sa joventut tendra / sobrà en aquells qui saviesa colen' ('he is the one who in his tender youth / surpassed those men who cultivate wisdom'; 72.26–7) certainly ring true, because the poet had shared his youth with the king. Alfonso is renowned for his enthusiasm for the *Ethics* and moral philosophy in general as well as for theological perspicacity (Ryder 1990: 311–19), regardless of how this may have been exaggerated by Latin historians. March's philosophical culture appears in sharp relief in his later works, and is evident from the volume that he had to hand when he died at home in Valencia: the incipit reads 'After what the Philosopher [Aristotle] says in the second book of his *De anima*'.[107]

Before his conquest of Naples, in between military expeditions, King Alfonso resided mostly in Valencia until 1432. During a brief visit to Barcelona, the

[106] On March's poems 30 and 72, see L. Cabré (2016). For the 1443 ceremony, see Delle Donne (2015: 103–28).

[107] 'Secundum quod dicit Philosophus [Aristotle] in secundo *De anima*'; see L. Cabré (1996).

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king was presented by Andreu Febrer with his Catalan translation of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, completed in Barcelona on 1 August 1429. This was some achievement, because the translator had preserved Dante's *terza rima* (three-line rhyme scheme), as the Marquis of Santillana observes with admiration around 1449: 'some claim he translated Dante from the Florentine language into Catalan, faithfully preserving the original metre and rhyme scheme'.[108] This was the same Febrer who had written lyric poems imitating Dante's so-called *rime petrose* style while serving as a valet for Martin the Younger, King of Sicily, at the end of the fourteenth century; now, as we see from the Latin colophon to the manuscript, he was King Alfonso's bailiff. This speaks of the cultural continuity before and after 1412. It also draws our attention to a change of horizon: Febrer had moved on from poems inspired by late-fourteenth-century innovations to a large-scale work; a work, no doubt, suited to the ambitions of a monarch who had his eyes firmly set on the south of Italy. Translating Dante's masterpiece for him, with Virgil and Aeneas in the background, was not without justification.[109] It is from this same year that we have the anonymous Catalan version of Boccaccio's *Decameron*.

The other great tradition of the Catalan monarchy until 1412 was historiography. We have already traced its development through the providentialist chronicles, the work of Peter III, and John I's broader interest in history. In the early years of Alfonso's reign, we come across a first work in Latin by Tommaso Chaula (1424) dedicated to the king; later historiographical works are from the fully humanistic Neapolitan period, from the *Historia Alphonsi primi regis* (*History of King Alfonso the First*, 1443) by Gaspar Pelegrí to the works of Bartolomeo Facio and Antonio Beccadelli, Il Panormita, in 1455, including Lorenzo Valla's *Gesta Ferdinandi regis Aragonum* (*Deeds of King Ferdinand of Aragon*, 1445), which was perhaps the introduction to a history of Alfonso that remained unfinished.[110] Documentation on Pelegrí's Catalan origin has only recently come to light (Delle Donne 2011–13). His chronicle is the first in Latin to paint an image of the king that includes references to the figures of Alexander and Caesar (1.1, 2.4, 10.213; Delle Donne 2012: 4, 37, 496).

We can gain some insight into King Alfonso's cultural tastes in the Catalan-Aragonese phase, before the leap to humanism, via the inventories of his goods

[108] '[A]lgunos afirman aya traído el Dante de lengua florentina en catalán no menguando punto en la orden de metrificar e consonar' (Rohland de Langbehn 1997: 22). The year before (1428), the Marquis had been offered a prose translation of the *Divine Comedy*, attributed to Enrique de Villena.

[109] Latin historiography later highlights the comparison between Alfonso and Aeneas (Delle Donne 2015: 41–3).

[110] On this tradition, see Delle Donne (2016a). Of these works, only Beccadelli's was translated into Catalan.

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in 1412 and 1417, as well as through other contemporary documents (González Hurtebise 1908; Alòs-Moner 1924). The royal library housed volumes acquired during the time of John I or even earlier. In the 1417 inventory, we find books from Juan Fernández de Heredia's scriptorium: an Orosius, a Valerius Maximus, and a *Communiloquium* in Aragonese give a brief snapshot of this provenance (Alòs-Moner 1924: 398–9); these volumes had probably passed through Peter III's or, more likely, John I's archive. The interests of John I and his wife Yolande are evident in the many French manuscripts in Alfonso's inventory, in particular a volume of Guillaume de Machaut, one of Yolande's favourite authors, and the French translation of St Augustine's *City of God*, doubtless the version by Raoul de Presles that John had acquired and had translated into Catalan (see Waleys).[111] The French versions of Boethius – by Jean de Meun – and of Giles of Rome are also testament to this book-collecting tradition. As for works in Catalan, Alfonso had Ovid's *Heroides*, Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum*, and Pere Borró's translation of the *Consolation of Philosophy* (now lost): as we have already mentioned, the first was commissioned in the time of John and Yolande; the other two were earlier. It goes without saying that these acquisitions were only a fraction of a library that was constantly expanding. By 1430 Alfonso had acquired books of Italian and Castilian origin, shown a willingness to preserve the royal library's holdings, and adopted the emblem of an open book with the motto 'Vir sapiens dominabitur astris' ('Wise man will dominate the stars'); in short, he had established a library with an air of permanence (Ryder 1990: 316–18), a collection that would become an extraordinary state library at Naples with its own building, librarians, copyists, miniaturists, and bookbinders (De Marinis 1947–52: I).

Ferdinand I and Prince Alfonso brought with them to the Crown of Aragon a following of Castilian nobles and servants, to which others were later added. This circumstance favoured the transmission in Castilian of some works that had been incorporated into the cultural makeup of the Crown in the final decades of the fourteenth century. Íñigo López de Mendoza, the future Marquis of Santillana, figured in Prince Alfonso's entourage right from the beginning, remained in his court until 1418, and in his service until 1422; he maintained this contact later on. As the years passed, he accumulated an impressive library, which included manuscripts of Fernández de Heredia's compilations in Aragonese previously recorded in the inventory of Martin I's goods (Schiff 1905: 405–12; Geijerstam 1964: 23–6). Certain translations from Catalan to Castilian exemplify

[111] The Machaut volume has been identified with the Ferrell-Vogüé manuscript (Cambridge, Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, MS Ferrell 1): see Earp (1989: 478–9). Recently uncovered archival evidence shows that the manuscript was from the court of the Duke of Berry (Alberni: forthcoming); we are grateful to Anna Alberni for allowing us to consult this article.

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this transfer process during the Trastamara period even better. For example, around 1418–19, the ambassador Juan Alfonso de Zamora translated Antoni Canals's version of Valerius Maximus into Castilian using one of the manuscripts from the Council of a Hundred (Consell de Cent) in Barcelona, and he asked Fernando Díaz de Toledo, physician, cleric, and diplomat to Ferdinand I and Alfonso IV, to revise it (Avenoza 1997). The Castilian version of St Augustine's *City of God*, carried out in 1434 from the Catalan, was dedicated to Maria of Trastamara, Alfonso IV's sister and the wife of King John II of Castile (Wittlin 1978: 538–9). Santillana prided himself on having promoted the translation into Castilian of Seneca's *Tragedies*, among other works:

> At the request of myself, before anyone else, there have been translated into the vernacular in this kingdom [i.e. Castile] the works of some poets such as Virgil's *Aeneid*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the *Tragedies* of Lucius Annaeus Seneca, and many other things.[112]

The Castilian translation of Seneca's *Tragedies* is from the Catalan, as are the Castilian versions of Valerius Maximus and Palladius; these last two are found in the Marquis of Santillana's library (Schiff 1905: 133–4 and 152–9). Less easy to date with certainty but from this same period, are the translations from Catalan to Castilian of Seneca's *Epistulae* (T1), Ovid's *Heroides*, the two surviving versions of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* (T1 and T2), and Petrarch's *Familiarum rerum* (12.2).[113] A second direct translation of Seneca's *Epistulae* into Catalan (T2), which makes use of the first but includes a commentary derived from Coluccio Salutati, might date from the reign of Alfonso the Magnanimous, given his particular enthusiasm for this work.

There are two important bibliographical innovations from this period. The prose of Boccaccio – an author already known by Bernat Metge before 1399 – now reached such a widespread readership that it was translated into Catalan: the *Decameron* in 1429, the *Corbaccio* before 1457, and the *Fiammetta* before 1460 (see Boccaccio). Between 1425 and 1450, approximately, a number of short pieces by Cicero were also translated into Catalan: the *De officiis* (twice), the *Paradoxa* (twice), and the *De amicitia* (once). They were works that had been incorporated into the trecento school curriculum. Three of these five Catalan translations were subsequently translated into Aragonese or Castilian; the more

112 'A ruego e instancia mía, primero que de otro alguno, se han vulgarizado en este reino algunos poetas, así como la *Eneida* de Virgilio, el *Libro mayor de las transformaciones* de Ovidio, las *Tragedias* de Lucio Anio Séneca e muchas otras cosas.' Letter to Pedro González de Mendoza, datable to between 1445 and 1452 (Gómez-Moreno & Kerkhof 1988: 456–7; Round 1974–9: 189–93).

113 For the Castilian versions of Catalan translations, see J. Pujol (2016: 320–4).

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modern Catalan versions belong to the diffusion of humanism (see Chapter 4). The inventory of books drawn up in 1458 on the death of Maria, Alfonso the Magnanimous's wife, allows us to complete this panorama: it features the Catalan versions of Pseudo-Seneca's *De moribus*, which was also translated into Castilian, and of John of Wales's *Breviloquium de virtutibus antiquorum principum et philosophorum* (*Short Account of the Virtues of Ancient Rulers and Philosophers*; Toledo 1961: 50 and 54). This thirteenth-century treatise was hardly a novelty by the fifteenth century, but was still clearly considered relevant because it illustrated the four virtues of the Christian prince with *exempla* of ancient rulers and philosophers. In the prologue, John of Wales does in fact mention the Book of Proverbs, the *Flos sanctorum*, Aristotle's *Ethics*, and Averroes's commentary, but in chapter 1, on justice, the figure of Alexander suddenly takes centre stage (Norbert d'Ordal 1930: 23–7), and thereafter anecdotes from Trogus Pompeius, Valerius Maximus, and Cicero abound.

The culture of the humanist circle that gathered around King Alfonso in Naples was very different. A monarchic or southern humanism (*umanesimo meridionale*) arose, and became one of the defining characteristics of this early Renaissance king's court.[114] This does not mean, however, that the erudition of figures like Lorenzo Valla, Antonio Beccadelli or Bartolomeo Facio can be projected onto the culture of the Peninsular Crown or that of the courtiers who surrounded the king. Nevertheless, the dividing line between these two worlds should not be set in stone, not least because of their proximity in the shared space – physical or mental – of the court. It is to this common mental space that the panegyric in Catalan by the jurist Bernat Miquel belongs: it praises the conquest of Naples and the 'greatness' ('magnitat') of the king, attributing to him a catalogue of virtues from Aristotle's *Ethics*, via Giles of Rome's *De regimine principum* (Torró 2009: 107–12). The praise poem by Ausiàs March we mentioned previously could also figure here, in which he highlights that the king 'despocat de nombre de gent d'armes / les multituds d'aquelles ha fet retre' ('with only a small army of men / has conquered a very large one'; 72.28–9). This is a commonplace of Alexander the Great's conquests; the chronicler Desclot had attributed the same quality to Peter the Great; the chronicler Muntaner, to the military expeditions of Roger de Flor and the Almogavers; now March proclaims it of King Alfonso, who is invariably compared to a Caesar. When he says that if the king had been born in the time of the ancients he would have been worshipped in his lifetime (72.16), he brings to mind the

[114] See in general Ryder (1990) and, on the monarchic ideology, Delle Donne (2015); on the library of Alfonso the Magnanimous, see De Marinis (1947–52; 1969). For the cultural relationship between Naples and the Peninsular territories of the Crown of Aragon, see the papers gathered in Abbamonte *et al.* (2011) and Delle Donne & Torró (2016).

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figure of Augustus.[115] Pelegrí's *Historia*, as we saw earlier, and Facio's *Rerum gestarum Alfonsi regis libri* (Pietragalla 2004: 2) likewise compare the king to Alexander and Caesar. This shared mental space must have responded to the ideology propagated around the king's person. In the prologue to his version (1481–96) of Beccadelli's *De dictis et factis Alphonsi regis Aragonum* (*On the Sayings and Deeds of King Alfonso of Aragon*), Jordi de Centelles insists on the characteristic motif of Alexander the Great's conquest:

> And as Titus Livy says of the Romans, that greater labour and glory was theirs in conquering Tuscany alone than in conquering the rest of the world […], such can be said of this magnanimous king, who with few arms, fighting against a kingdom in Italy and persevering with prolonged determination, deserves the same glory as Alexander, who with five thousand cavalrymen and thirty thousand footsoldiers conquered all of Asia and defeated Darius the Great and his army of countless horsemen.[116]

Centelles considers that Alfonso was 'magnanimous' because of his conquest of Naples; shortly before he notes that he has been the only Hispanic king capable of a conquest beyond the Peninsula since James I and Peter the Great:

> until the time of the great King Alfonso, [Spain] is a land short of victorious men, of conquerors abroad, of captains, of men worthy of a triumph or immortal fame, though the worthy King Peter of Aragon, who conquered Sicily, and his father, of glorious memory, King James, deserve great glory.[117]

The physical space of the court is an even more suggestive meeting place. Around 1448, Lleonard de Sos composed the poem *La Nau* (*The Ship*) that narrates an allegorical journey from Barcelona to Naples, no doubt inspired by a diplomatic mission; at the end there is an encounter with King Alfonso at

115 In stating that the king's fame has reached those who 'vaques e bocs guarden' ('tend cows and goats'; 72.26), March may be recalling Virgil's *Eclogue* 1.6, in which shepherds refer to a god (i.e. Augustus) who has brought them peace and leisure.

116 'I així com diu Tito Livi dels romans, que major treball e glòria fou la llur en conquistar Toscana sola, que no lo restant del món […], tal se pot dir d'aquest magnànim rei, lo qual ab poca potència, emprenent contra un regne en Itàlia e perseverant ab ferma durada, egual glòria mereix ab Alexandre, lo qual ab cinc mília de cavall e trenta mília de peu conquistà tota Àsia e vencé al gran Dari armat de innumerable cavalleria' (Duran 1990: 72–3).

117 '[F]ins als temps del gran rei Alfonso, [Espanya] pobra és estada d'hòmens victoriosos ni conquistadors fora d'ella, ni capitans, ni dignes de triünfo e fama immortal, ab tot que lo digne rei En Pere d'Aragó, qui conquistà Sicília, e son pare, de gloriós record, lo rei En Jaume, mereixquen gran glòria' (Duran 1990: 72). The epithet 'the Magnanimous' was fully established later, incorporating numerous additional qualities (Delle Donne 2015: 30).

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Scafati (near Pompei). The prologue features a reference to 'Cupido, per mà dels déus crucificat en la murtera' ('Cupid, crucified by the gods in the myrtle tree'; Baselga 1896: 79). As Rodríguez Risquete has pointed out (2016: 215), this is a motif from Ausonius's poem *Cupido cruciatus* (*Cupid crucified*, lines 51–62; Green 1999: 156). In the fifteenth century, such learning outside humanistic circles is rare, which raises the possibility that Lleonard de Sos heard about it at the Neapolitan court.[118] But the clearest example of symbiosis between humanistic and vernacular culture can be found in the anonymous novel *Curial and Guelfa*. For many decades this was considered to be a chivalric romance with an unusual and unnecessary mythological component. However, a recent edition has located the anonymous author conclusively in the only probable setting: Alfonso the Magnanimous's Neapolitan court (Badia & Torró 2011: 40–4). We analyse this confluence of chivalric and classical culture in greater detail in the next chapter (pp. 104–10). For now, a short quotation will suffice: it would seem to indicate that the author of *Curial* had read Homer, against all probability, surely because he had learned a passage from the *Iliad* at the king's humanistic court. The knight Curial is transported to Parnassus in a dream vision:

> In his sleep he saw Hector, son of Priam, whom all his life he had wished to meet; and he was so afraid of him that if his mother Honorada had been present he would have fled in shameful terror back into her womb to hide, if it had been possible, or at least beneath her skirts.[119]

It has been pointed out that Curial's reaction echoes that of Astyanax, who takes fright at the sight of his father Hector in his plumed helmet and hides in his nurse's lap (*Iliad*, 6.466–70): 'in sinum se nutricis infudit' ('he buried himself in the lap of his nurse'), according to Lorenzo Valla's Latin translation carried out at Alfonso's court (Torró 2016: 225–6).[120]

Alfonso's Neapolitan enterprise opened up the culture of the Crown to Italy through many avenues, generally linked to the network of personal court contacts. A scan through the volume *Mensajeros barceloneses en la corte de Nápoles* (*Barcelona Messengers at the Court of Naples*; Madurell 1963) shows the frequency of contact between Naples and the Peninsula, and the speed with

[118] In inventory A of the Neapolitan library (1481) there is an 'Ausonius in pergameno' ('Ausonius on parchment'; De Marinis 1947–52: II, 188, n. 64).

[119] Waley 1982: 212; 'e fonc-li mostrat mostrat en aquell somni Hèctor, fill de Príam, lo qual ell tota la sua vida veure havia desitjat; e la paor que d'ell hagué fonc tanta que si Honorada, sa mare, fos estada present, dins lo seu ventre, si pogués, o almenys davall les sues faldes, vergonyosament fugint, esglaiat, se fóra amagat de por' (Badia & Torró 2011: 427).

[120] It was housed at the royal library: inventory B (before 1492) lists an 'Ilias Homeri traducta per Vallam ('*Iliad* by Homer translated by Valla'; De Marinis 1947–52: II, 194, n. 111).

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which messages passed from one to the other: communication took around two weeks. The anonymous author of *Curial* must have resided in Naples and steeped himself in its culture. Ausiàs March, in contrast, sent poems to the king from Valencia, asking him for falcons, and jokingly saying 'if you call for me, I'll swim over [to Naples]' ('si m'és manat, jo passaré nedant'; 122b.76). Two other major works in Catalan reflect the qualitative leap in knowledge of classical culture at this time: the prose writings of Joan Roís de Corella, and the chivalric novel *Tirant lo Blanc* by Joanot Martorell. These are closely related to each other, and both are model exponents in Catalan of the elaborate and Latinate *prosa d'arte* typified in Boccaccio's *Fiammetta* and *Filocolo* (Badia 2010). Both are linked to the figure of the Prince of Viana, Alfonso's nephew and a widely cultured nobleman. His excellent library, built up from books acquired or copied in Naples, contained a considerable number of classical works: besides the most frequent authors, he had, for example, Diogenes Laertius, Tacitus, Nonius Marcellus, Petrarch's *Secretum*, and collections like Cicero's *Epistulae ad familiares* (*Letters to Friends*), Demosthenes's *Orations*, and the letters of Pseudo-Phalaris in the translation by Francesco Griffolini (or Aretino).[121] The library also shows his interest in theology – there was an almost complete *Summa* by Thomas Aquinas, as well as Peter Lombard's *Sentences* with Bonaventure's commentary – and in moral philosophy, in particular in Aristotle's *Ethics*: the prince had a copy of the work in Latin, as well as Aquinas's commentary, and a 'Guido Odonis' which might be a slightly garbled reference to the commentary by the Franciscan Gerardus Odonis (*c.* 1290–1349).[122]

For King Alfonso, equally enthusiastic about the moral philosophy of Aristotle and Seneca, Prince Charles translated the *Ethics* into Castilian from Leonardo Bruni's Latin version, incorporating a medieval-style *ordinatio*, glosses from Aquinas's commentary, and his own annotations often addressed directly to the king.[123] Of these, one of the most noteworthy invokes Livy's *Roman Histories* to argue the suitability of the term 'esfuerço' as an equivalent for 'fortitudo' in his translation – the prince had a copy of his *Histories* in his library and Livy

121 Inventory A (before 1481) of the Neapolitan library lists a book 'Francisci Aretini in epistolis Falaris' ('the letters of Phalaris of Francisco Aretino'; De Marinis 1947–52: II, 191, n. 221); the corresponding entry for the Prince of Viana's library is 'Epistole Falaridis et Cratis' ('Letters of Phalaris and Crates'; M. de Bofarull 1864: 139); the translation of Crates's letters was addressed to Prince Charles. For other books from the Naples library, see those owned by Jaume March, counsellor to Ferrante I of Naples, in 1460 (Carreras 1933: 327–9). On the letters of Phalaris and Crates, see Delisle (1890).

122 On the Prince of Viana and his library, see the inventory published by M. de Bofarull (1864), as well as Desdevises du Dezert (1889), and Miranda (2011).

123 See M. Cabré (2000) and Salinas (2000). M. Cabré's article also takes into account the prince's *Crónica de los reyes de Navarra* (*Chronicle of the Kings of Navarre*). For his *Epístola a los valientes letrados de España* (*Letter to the Learned Brave of Spain*), see Salinas (1999).

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was one of the king's favourite authors (M. Cabré 2000: 424–5). At the beginning of the prologue, the prince highlights his uncle's interest in Seneca's *Epistulae* as a model for his own translation of Aristotle:

> I resolved to carry out the present translation from Latin into our Romance [i.e. Castilian] of those books of the *Ethics* of Aristotle that Leonardo of Arezzo translated from Greek into Latin, because the friar who had made the first translation of them had done so poorly and improperly, taking as example the application of your royal intellect to the *Epistulae* of Seneca.[124]

Joan Roís de Corella (1435–97) came from a noble Valencian family; as well as being a knight, he had been schooled in theology.[125] Before dedicating himself exclusively to religious literature, he wrote lyric poetry and a collection of prose works which are sentimental and moral adaptations of classical myths. These prose pieces from his youth were written from the end of the 1450s to the beginning of the 1460s, and they were created and disseminated, at least in part, among the Prince of Viana's circle. This is a fair assumption given that Prince Charles debated amorous casuistry with Corella in letters in which he mentions his translation of the *Ethics* (Miquel i Planas 1913: 145–61); and in his lengthy *Parlament en casa de Berenguer Mercader* (*Colloquy at the House of Berenguer Mercader*) (Martos 2001b: 237–82), Corella imagines a discussion between himself and five Valencian nobles, all linked to Kings Alfonso IV and John II and, in particular, to Prince Charles. Within the Prince of Viana's circle, Joanot Martorell must have come across Corella's prose, already a model for him (see Chapter 3, pp. 117–8).

Corella calls these prose works *poesies*, *vulgars poesies* or *ovidianes faules* ('poems, vernacular poems, or Ovidian fables'). In the prologue to his *Colloquy* (Martos 2001b: 237–8), he ranks them at the bottom of a hierarchy: theology is the highest science; on a lower level there is 'affable poetry' ('afable poesia') in Latin, which requires 'pleasurable study' ('delitós estudi'); and then below this comes 'vernacular poetry' ('vulgar poesia'), accessible through 'pleasing practice' ('plaent exercici'). His prose works are conceived as vernacular adaptations of classical myths for a courtly readership. The content is all about the shipwreck of unhinged lovers on 'the tempestuous sea of Venus' ('la

124 '[D]eliberé la presente traducción fazer de latín en nuestro romance de aquellos libros de la *Éthica* de Aristótiles que Leonardo de Aretço del griego en latín á transladado por los haver el frayle que la primera traducción fiziera mal e perversamente convertido, tomando por enxemplo el exercicio de vuestro real ingenio en las *Epístolas* de Séneca' (London, BL, MS Add. 21120, fol. 1^{v}). This manuscript was the property of the prince and, possibly, the presentation copy which he intended to offer to the king. We are grateful to Miriam Cabré for the transcription of the prologue.

125 For a biography and overview of Corella's work, see Martos & Gómez (2015).

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tempestuosa mar de Venus'); the form is a *prosa d'arte* indebted to Boccaccio. The techniques that Corella employs in reworking these myths can be traced back to his schooling in grammar, and this comes through in some texts; but his prose goes beyond the mere practice of rhetoric. With his readership in mind, he accommodates the myths to courtly conventions and projects on them a moral perspective that is not in the pagan sources. For Corella, passionate love is the result of an error of choice which carries with it a moral responsibility: consequently he looks for literary devices that might move the reader, that might provoke compassion or rejection. Rhetoric, genre, and point of view all come into play in the creation of these devices.

Corella's main source is Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which provide him with the love stories he tells in his *Lamentacions de Mirra e Narciso e Tisbe* (*Laments of Myrrha, Narcissus, and Thisbe*) and *Colloquy* as well as the debate between Ajax and Ulysses, and the story of the fall of Troy, which he reworks in other pieces. He also uses Ovid's *Heroides*, *Ars amatoria* and *Amores*, all of Virgil, Seneca's *Tragedies* and Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*, and, among medieval authors, Dante, Guido delle Colonne, and Boccaccio, both in Latin and the vernacular. Of all these sources, Boccaccio was the key author: from him, Corella learnt how to transform Ovid's poetry into sentimental narrative and to write in a Catalan elevated by classicizing rhetoric (see Chapter 3, p. 110–16). And it is for their rhetorical value that Corella's works were copied, by the notary Lluís Palau, after a series of dialogues, *orationes*, and humanistic letters, in an early-sixteenth-century manuscript (Cambridge, Trinity College, MS R.14.17; Bohigas 1985: 37–42).

The knight Joanot Martorell (1410–65) also came from a family of the Valencian lower nobility, who had served in the royal household in King Martin's time.[126] We do not have any documentary evidence concerning his education, but to judge from his work, he had a fairly good command of Latin and was an avid reader of works in Catalan, Castilian, French, and Italian. He started writing *Tirant lo Blanc* in 1460, while at the court of the Prince of Viana in Barcelona. He had travelled with the prince from Naples, where Martorell had been living during the 1450s in the service of King Alfonso. The novel was completed in 1464 when, following the prince's death, hostilities broke out between the General Deputation of Catalonia and King John II of Aragon, and the Crown was offered to Peter of Coimbra, Constable of Portugal (1429–66).[127] While Peter was still in his youth (*c.* 1449), he had been the addressee of the Marquis of Santillana's *carta-prohemio* in defence of poetry that introduced his collection of poems, and Peter himself wrote pieces

[126] For a biography of Martorell and an overview of *Tirant lo Blanc*, see Beltran (2015) and J. Pujol (2015c).

[127] For Peter of Coimbra, see Martínez Ferrando (1936).

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that betray a classical influence, like his *Sátira de infelice e felice vida* (*Satire on Unhappy and Happy Life*).[128] Once in Catalonia, he added to his already notable library with books from previous Catalan kings and a good number from the library of the Prince of Viana.[129] This library transmission perfectly illustrates the cultural confluence in the mid-fifteenth century: works incorporated into court culture in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries still featured, but of particular interest was the new material from Naples, emblematic of the classical interests of Alfonso IV and the Prince of Viana.

Martorell dedicated *Tirant lo Blanc* to a cousin of King Peter, Prince Ferdinand of Portugal. The dedication highlights the 'fortitudo' ('bravery') and 'sapientia' ('wisdom') of the hero, adapting the dedication of Enrique de Villena's mythological treatise, *The Twelve Labours of Hercules*. Although completed in 1464, *Tirant* was not disseminated until the *editio princeps* of Valencia (1490), followed by a printing in Barcelona (1497) and the editions of versions in Castilian (1511), Italian (1538, 1566, and 1611), and French (1737, 1740, 1775, and 1787). The Castilian version garnered praise from Cervantes in *Don Quijote* (part 1, chapter 6):

> 'Good heavens!' cried the priest. 'Fancy Tirante the White being here! Give it to me, my friend: I reckon I've found in this book a treasure of delight and a mine of entertainment. In it you'll discover Don Quirieleisón de Montalbán, a most courageous knight, and his brother Tomás de Montalbán, and the knight Fonseca, together with the fight that the brave Tirante had with the mastiff, and the witticisms of the maiden Placerdemivida, and the amours and the trickery of the widow Reposada, and the lady empress in love with her squire Hipólito. Let me tell you this, my friend: as far as its style is concerned this is the best book in the world. In it knights eat and sleep and die in their beds and make wills before they die, and other such things that are usually omitted from books of this sort. […] Take it home and read it, and you'll see that what I say is true.[130]

128 On Santillana's introductory letter, see Roland de Langbehn (1997: 11–29). On the literary works of Peter of Coimbra, see Fonseca (1975); for an annotated edition of his *Sátira*, see Serés (2008).

129 See the inventory of Peter of Coimbra's books in Balaguer (1881) and the corresponding documentation in Martínez Ferrando (1936: 165–70). From the prince's library, for example, there was a Tacitus, the 'Epistoles de Fallareris et Gratie [i.e. Cratis]' ('Letters of Phalaris and Crates') and 'Matheus Palmerius de temporibus' ('*De Temporibus* of Matteo Palmieri') (Balaguer 1881: 27 and 22).

130 Rutherford 2000: 56; ' – ¡Válame Dios – dijo el cura, dando una gran voz – , que aquí esté Tirante el Blanco! Dádmele acá, compadre, que hago cuenta que he hallado en él un tesoro de contento y una mina de pasatiempos. Aquí está don Quirieleisón de Montalbán, valeroso caballero, y su hermano Tomás de Montalbán, y el caballero Fonseca, con la batalla que el valiente de Tirante hizo con el alano, y las agudezas de la doncella Placerdemivida, con los amores y

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Tirant lo Blanc emerges from a double stimulus. For the first chapters, which cover Tirant's training at courtly festivals in England, Martorell reworks the final episodes of the *Roman de Gui de Warwick*, which he had read at the English court in 1439–40, and combines them with the prologue from Ramon Llull's *Llibre de l'orde de cavalleria* (*Book of Order of Chivalry*) and other Romance texts, as well as with his own experience of chivalric life. As the plot unfolds, however, Tirant becomes a warlord fighting Islamic powers in the eastern Mediterranean, on Rhodes, in Constantinople, and North Africa. At the beginning of the 1460s, the traditional motif of the western hero who helps the Byzantine empire against the Turks had taken on a new significance following the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and the planned crusades called for by Pope Callixtus III and led by Alfonso the Magnanimous among others. The figure of Roger de Flor and his adventures in the Byzantine empire in the early fourteenth century, as told by Ramon Muntaner, act as a backdrop for *Tirant* and root it in the Catalan tradition. In the Byzantine empire, the novel develops along two plotlines: a chivalric one – the war at sea and on land – and a love story – the hero's love for Carmesina, daughter of the emperor. This second plotline is treated in two markedly different ways. The speeches include numerous fragments from Roís de Corella's prose works and from Catalan translations of classical texts (Ovid's *Heroides*, Seneca's *Tragedies*) and of classical material (Guido delle Colonne), as well as from Boccaccio (*Fiammetta*, *Filocolo*, and some tales from the *Decameron*). Elsewhere in the love plotline, the narration depends on Latin comedy and similar texts, like *Pamphilus de amore*. For the military component, Martorell had a vast supply of books that provided him with models of strategy and battle situations, from Frontinus's *Strategemata* to the historical works of Livy, Sallust, and Valerius Maximus, and, once again, Guido delle Colonne's *Historia destructionis Troiae* (*History of the Destruction of Troy*). For the rhetoric associated with military life, he could count on, for example, Catalan translations of Petrarch (the anonymous *Lletra de reials costums* or Canals's *Scipio and Hannibal*) and, possibly, his own experience of courtly life. The combination of history with rhetorical elements is a key aspect of *Tirant*, inspired by Livy (see Chapter 3, pp. 116–22).

Other writers who had already been active during the reign of Alfonso IV, like Pere Torroella, or of John II, like Romeu Llull, also deserve attention for the classical elements in their work, and we deal with them together with the

embustes de la viuda Reposada, y la señora Emperatriz, enamorada de Hipólito, su escudero. Dígoos verdad, señor compadre, que por su estilo es este el mejor libro del mundo: aquí comen los caballeros, y duermen y mueren en sus camas, y hacen testamento antes de su muerte, con estas cosas de que todos los demás libros deste género carecen. […] Llevadle a casa y leedle, y veréis que es verdad cuanto dél os he dicho' (Rico 1998a: I, 83).

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authors influenced by humanism in Chapter 4. We cannot, however, finish this chapter without mentioning Jaume Roig's singular *Espill* (*Mirror*), the first major Catalan work written for a readership outside the confines of the court.[131]

Jaume Roig (1400/1410–1478) was from a family of the Valencian bourgeoisie that had produced notaries, priests, and doctors. Like his father, he was a Doctor of Medicine. He worked as an examiner of physicians employed by Valencia city council, he managed several hospitals, he had links with convents in the city – to which he contributed financially – and, as the royal physician, he attended Queen Maria, the wife of Alfonso the Magnanimous, towards the end of her life. The social implications of his profession, his knowledge of all levels of urban society, as well as his literary, scientific, and theological learning, help to explain the singularity of his *Mirror* (1460). It is an autobiographical fiction, with a strong satirical vein, in 16,249 four-syllable rhyming couplets, in which the narrator – a fictional Jaume Roig who has reached the age of a hundred – tells of his youthful experiences of women and of the world (book 1), his four marriages (book 2), a dream vision in which Solomon convinces him of the vices of women and the uniqueness of the Mother of God (book 3), and his final conversion to a life of penitence, removed from the company of women (book 4).

The *Mirror* belongs to the tradition of consolation and satire represented by Boccaccio's *Corbaccio*, but with greater complexity and ambition. As the author declares in an initial 'Consultation' ('Consulta'), he wrote it in Callosa d'En Sarrià, just outside Valencia, fleeing the city during an outbreak of the plague, to pass the time at leisure and console himself following the recent death of his wife Isabel Pellicer in 1459. His wife and the Virgin Mary are the only women who escape the misogynist satire: the work is presided over by the Marian *thema* of 'Sicut lilium inter spinas, sic amica mea inter filias' ('As the lily among thorns, so is my love among the daughters'; Song of Songs 2:2). Roig presents the work as a *remedium amoris* for the aged knight Joan Fabra, who is suffering from love sickness, but the author immediately splits: the narrator and protagonist of the *Mirror* is not the real Roig, but a fictitious Roig who is addressing his nephew Baltasar Bou – in reality, the son of one of the author's friends. The invective against women is thus justified on the pretext of being a treatise of consolation (for the aged knight's amorous passion) and moral education (for the false nephew). The dominant misogyny is not, however, the ultimate aim of the work, but rather the vehicle for wide-ranging social satire and constant humour.

The preface is divided into four parts in line with the four Aristotelian *causae* of the *accessus ad auctores*. The author gives the work its title, *Mirror*, and defines its literary nature: the versification (*noves rimades*, rhyming couplets),

[131] We follow the most recent, up-to-date study of the work: Carré & Torró (2015). On the misogynist tradition in *Espill*, see Cantavella (1992).

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the language (the Catalan spoken in the countryside around Valencia), the genre (comedy), and the jocular, apothegmatic style:

> la forja sua,
> stil e balanç,
> serà en romanç:
> noves rimades
> comediades,
> amforismals,
> facecials,
> no prim scandides,
> al pla teixides
> de l'aljamia
> e parleria
> dels de Paterna,
> Torrent, Soterna.[132]

> (Its forging, style, and rhythm will be in Romance: comic, aphoristic, wryly jocular rhyming couplets, not always the right length, woven in the colloquial language of those from Paterna, Torrent, and Soterna [towns near Valencia].)

Far removed from the high rhetoric of Corella's prose and the idealism of Ausiàs March's poetry for a 'Lily among Thistles', Roig's *Mirror* focuses on the comic, through a hyperbolic distortion of reality, through the inversion of classical and biblical tales, and through the use of a popular language that, nevertheless, does not eschew the odd wilfully dissonant highbrow term. The humour emerges through the subject matter, the characters, and the style. The medieval conception of tragedy required high-status characters and an elevated tone. In the *Mirror* we find low-life characters driven by the basest of passions; the style is 'wryly jocular' ('facecial') thanks to the verbal wit and virtuosity, in no small degree because of the demands of the metre, and thanks to the grotesque distortion characteristic of satire. Precisely because it is a satire we can draw moral lessons from it, and the expression tends towards proverbs and aphorisms.

Roig includes biblical and classical anecdotes; motifs from folklore, *fabliaux*, and *exempla* collections; and episodes from historical works and contemporary urban chronicles. For example, his satire of nuns (lines 5340–6308; Carré 2014: 196–209) echoes well-documented scandals in fifteenth-century Valencian convents, and the experience of the young narrator in the Hospital d'En Clapers

[132] Lines 678–90 (Carré 2014: 132). There is an English translation of the *Espill* (Delgado-Librero 2010), but we have preferred to provide our own new translation.

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(lines 912–67; Carré 2014: 135–6) is the mirror which reflects, and at the same time magnifies, the poor practices of a charitable institution of which the author had first-hand knowledge. The misogynist tradition stretches from Juvenal (*Satires*, 6) through a lengthy descent to Boccaccio's *Corbaccio*. Roig clearly knew the Latin author well: for example, the protagonist is frightened of goitres when crossing the Pyrenees:

> Per mes jornades,
> fent matinades
> e curt dinar
> per caminar
> cuitadament,
> molt cautament
> entre Gascunya
> e Catalunya
> passí els mollons
> pels gotirlons
> de carn sens ossos
> al coll tan grossos,
> paren mamelles.[133]

> (While on my travels, rising very early and eating little so as to cover more ground, I passed very carefully the milestones between Gascony and Catalonia, fearful of the soft goitres that protrude on the neck, so large that they look like breasts.)

As we can see from the final rhyme word 'mamelles' ('breasts'), Roig's inspiration for this passage is Juvenal, who explains his fear when crossing the Alps: 'Who is surprised by a goitre in the Alps? / Or breasts that are bigger than plump babies in Meroë?' (*Satires*, 13.162–3).[134] The story of a woman from Olite who has had twenty-five husbands (lines 3354–87; Carré 2014: 169) comes from Roman comedy and also appears in Juvenal (6.229–30) and one of Martial's epigrams (9.15).[135]

The freedom with which the author manipulates the classical tradition leads to grotesque distortions. The tale of Lucretia's suicide, an example of chastity in all the medieval and humanistic repertories of virtuous women, is turned on its head in the *Mirror* for comic effect: 'Lucrècia' is rhymed with 'nècia' ('idiotic')

133 Lines 1849–61 (Carré 2014: 148).

134 'Quis tumitum guttur miratur in Alpibus aut quis / in Meroe crasso maiorem infante mamillam?' See Carré & Torró (2015: 282–3).

135 Carré & Torró (2015: 293).

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and ends up being an example of deserved punishment, like the death of Cleopatra (lines 15872–82; Carré 2014: 342). Roig similarly subverts famous episodes from the Catalan historical tradition. In the legend of James I's conception as told by Bernat Desclot, his mother Maria of Montpellier is applauded for managing to trick her husband Peter the Catholic into bed with her, and thus to produce an heir to the Crown. In the *Mirror* Queen Maria becomes instead an example of a scheming woman:

> Gran arteria
> hac Na Maria
> de Montpeller,
> reina, muller
> del rei En Pere,
> anant darrere
> lo decebés
> e concebés
> qualque fill d'ell.
> En un castell
> hac son optat:
> un son privat
> lo hi féu anar:
> cuidà-hi trobar
> qui més amava.
> Ella callava,
> ell era llosc,
> lo retret fosc,
> no discernia
> ab qui dormia.
> Altra es cuidava,
> no es talaiava
> sa muller fos.
> Prestà-li el cos;
> ben contentada,
> restà prenyada
> de fill senyor,
> conquistador
> de tres ciutats
> ab sos regnats.[136]

136 Lines 8687–716 (Carré 2014: 242).

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(Great skill had Maria of Montpellier, queen, wife of King Peter, in deceiving him behind his back and conceiving a son from him. In a castle, she had her way: one of his men brought him there and he thought to find there the one he loved the most. She kept quiet, he was poor-sighted, the room was dark, he could not make out who he was sleeping with. He thought she was another, he did not realize it was his wife. He lent her his body; most content, she became pregant with a lord son, conqueror of three cities with their kingdoms.)

These examples of high comedy should not deceive the reader. Roig's real purpose here is to satirize contemporary mores. Thus, he paints a humorous portrait of the knowledge of classical culture on display in the bourgeois debating circles of contemporary Valencia. One of the narrator's wives arranges a meeting at her house of a group of friends to discuss endlessly ancient and contemporary literature, from Plato and Cicero to Dante, Boccaccio, and Poggio:

de *Cent novelles*
e *Facecies*,
filosofies
del gran Plató,
Tul·li, Cató,
Dant, poesies,
e tragedies,
tots altercaven
e disputaven.
Qui menys sabia
més hi mentia,
e tots parlaven,
no s'escoltaven.[137]

(About the *Cent novelles* [the *Decameron*] and *Facecies* [by Poggio], the philosophy of the great Plato, Cicero, Cato, Dante, poetry, and tragedy, all argued and debated. Whoever knew less, lied more, and they all talked, no one listened.)

As the author points out, all the members of this debating circle – men and women alike – argue without understanding anything or listening to what the others are saying, covering up their ignorance with superficial names and quotations.

137 Lines 2862–74 (Carré 2014: 162).

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Whether focused on original works or translations, we have so far sketched out the ways in which the classical tradition began to make inroads into Catalan literature. Naturally, before any dissemination in the vernacular, there had to be knowledge of the original Latin works, and there came a point when Latin found more direct means of expression in courtly culture. Before turning our attention to this circumstance (Chapter 4), it is worth pausing to detail some of the finds that Catalan authors extracted from their varied knowledge of classical literature between 1399 and 1464.

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3

Imitation: The Classical Tradition in the Works of Five Major Authors

The influence of classical Latin literature can be seen in the works of five major Catalan medieval authors. In previous chapters we have provided the historical context; in this chapter we highlight just some of the aspects that demonstrate the capacity of medieval authors to create a new literature in the vernacular from their knowledge of classical texts.

Bernat Metge: Taking Petrarch's *Secretum* as a Model

Bernat Metge, John I's secretary, wrote his most mature work after serving as ambassador to the papal curia in Avignon from early February to early April 1395. King John sent letters of recommendation for his ambassadors to Benedict XIII, to several cardinals, and to Juan Fernández de Heredia (Riquer 1959: *227–8). It was during Metge's sojourn in Avignon that he must have had the opportunity to access works by Cicero and above all Petrarch, such as the *Epistulae familiares* (*Letters on Familiar Matters*) and the *Secretum* (*The Secret*). Shortly after his return, he wrote an *Apologia* (*Apology*), of which only the very beginning survives, truncated mid-sentence, in a fifteenth-century manuscript.[1] This fragment contains the preface and the first exchanges of a conversation between Bernat and his friend Ramon, in the style of the Ciceronian dialogues that were such an influence on Petrarch's *Secretum* and *De remediis utriusque fortunae* (*Remedies for Fortune Fair and Foul*), without *verba dicendi*. Metge explains in the preface, addressing the book:

> To spare tedium to those who will read thee, I want that neither 'said he' or 'said I' be found in thee, but only Ramon and Bernat, for those are the names of my friend and myself. The Ancients used this style, especially Plato in *Timaeus*, Cicero in the *Tusculan Questions*, and Petrarch in the *Remedies against either Fortune* and elsewhere.[2]

1 Paris, BnF, MS Esp 55, fol. 76. See the description in M. Cabré & Martí (2012: 185–8).
2 Vernier 2002: 77; 'E per tolre fadiga a aquells qui llegiran, no vull que en tu sia atrobat

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In the previous paragraph, Metge takes inspiration from the introduction of the *Secretum* to define his work: in writing 'so that I should not forget them [i.e. the matters that Bernat and Ramon discussed] […] I have decided to commit to thee, my little book which I want to name *Apology*', he is adapting 'So that such an intimate conversation as this might not be lost, I decided to set it down in writing […] So you, little book […] do not forget your own name. For I shall call you *My Secret*.'[3] The dramatic dialogue on philosophical and moral themes is characteristic of this Ciceronian tradition; the communication with the ancients is Petrarch's own. Metge invokes them as if he were conversing privately with them through his books:

> While I was by myself the other day, quietly resting and thinking in my room, where I usually stay when I want to be in good company – not that of the men now living, for few of them know how to keep good company, but that of the dead ones who surpassed them in virtue, learning, great enterprise and high intellect, who never abandoned those who wanted to converse with them or deny the benefits of the great heritage they have left them […].[4]

This excerpt has been linked to Cicero's *Pro Archia* (*For Archias*), and particularly to Petrarch's *Epistola metrica* to Giacomo Colonna (1.6).[5] Beyond the mere repetition of a *topos*, it demonstrates Metge's understanding of the literary dialogue with classical authors that Petrarch employed in his *Familiares* and *Secretum*, an intimate conversation with a moral bent. These two works by Petrarch, together with Cicero's dialogues, are part of the fabric of Bernat Metge's *Lo somni* (*The Dream*).

"dix" e "diguí", sinó "Ramon" e "Bernat", per tal com lo dit amic meu e jo som així nomenats. D'aquest estil han usat tots los antics, especialment Plató, en lo *Timeu*, e Ciceró, en les *Qüestions Tusculanes*, e Petrarca, en los *Remeis de cascuna fortuna* e en altres llocs' (Riquer 1959: 160). Compare with Petrarch's *Secretum* (Fenzi 1992: 98), following Cicero's *De amicitia*, and see Riquer's note (1959: 161). For Metge's acquaintance with Petrarch's *De remediis*, see also Badia (2000).

3 Vernier 2002:77; 'perquè no m'obliden […] he deliberat de comanar a tu, petit llibre meu, lo qual jo vull haja nom *Apologia*' (Riquer 1959: 160). 'Hoc igitur tam familiare colloquium ne forte dilaberetur, dum scriptis mandare instituo […] Tuque ideo, libelle […] nominis proprii non immemor. *Secretum* enim *meus* es et dicheris' (Fenzi 1992: 98).

4 Vernier 2002: 77; 'Estant a mi, l'altre jorn, ab gran repòs e tranquil·lant de la pensa en lo meu diversori, en lo qual acostum estar quan desig ésser bé acompanyat – no pas dels hòmens que vui viuen, car pocs d'ells saben acompanyar, mas dels morts, qui els han sobrepujats en virtut, ciència, gran indústria e alt enginy, e jamai no desemparen aquells qui volen ab ells conversar ne els deneguen usdefruit de les grans heretats que els han lleixades […]' (Riquer 1959: 158). Note the Latinate syntax and lexis, for example 'diversori' ('room').

5 Riquer (1959: 158–9), Torró (2012: 60–3).

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Completed before April 1399, Metge's dialogue *The Dream* has a different mode of composition from his *Apology*, because he wrote it after the death of his master, King John I, in 1396, and the subsequent political trial against those officials in the royal household who had been closest to the late king. The governments of the cities of Barcelona and Valencia accused them of prevarication and treachery, and the Regency Council set up by Maria de Luna, the wife of Prince Martin (who was in Sicily), took up the reins of power and went ahead with the trial. It reached its conclusion with the acquittal of all the defendants in 1398, by which time Martin had succeeded to the throne.[6] Metge staged his work as a dream vision that came to him while he was detained (though we do not have reliable documentary evidence that he ever was), like a new Boethius, so that King John could appear to him to denounce the injustice of the persecution to which he had been subjected and restore his secretary's good name. The king's appearance features literal echoes of Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis* (*The Dream of Scipio*) and Petrarch's *Secretum*, and gives rise to a conversation on the immortality of the soul (book 1) and the circumstances surrounding the king's death and his supernatural reappearance (book 2). The first dialogue is a debate between John I, who is defending immortality, and Bernat, who casts doubt on the king's position with deeply sceptical arguments derived from Averroism. Even though the work includes *verba dicendi*, the reader is still witnessing a *disputatio* inspired by the *Tusculanae Disputationes* (*Tusculan Disputations*), often cited by the king, and by many other sources, before the final consolation: 'I stand not only much enlightened, but completely comforted by what you have said to me', states Bernat.[7] The second dialogue says, in a nutshell, that the king's accidental death (he died in a hunting incident) was the design of divine providence; in accordance with this design, the king has come from purgatory, *en route* to salvation, well aware from the conversations he had with Bernat while he was alive that he (Bernat) was facing condemnation:

> because you not only doubted but, following the opinion of Epicurus, you truly believed that the soul must one day die with the body […] You remember well how you often spoke and argued closely with me while I lived, and how I could never bring you to believe firmly, but instead you refused with specious evasions; at times you conceded that it was possible,

6 On the circumstances surrounding *The Dream* and for a general introduction to the work, see L. Cabré & Badia (2014: 199–202, 217–36).

7 Vernier 2002: 22; 'fort romanc no solament il·luminat mas entegrament consolat per ço que m'havets dit' (Cingolani 2006: 164). For a classification of all the sources used in *The Dream*, see Cingolani (2012); see also Casella (1919) and Riquer (1959). The edition that shows the essential sources with most clarity is perhaps the Italian one (Badia & Faggin 2004).

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> at other times you left the matter in great doubt, and in the end I knew very well that in your heart of hard stone the opposite was engraved with a diamond point.[8]

The *Apology* was written when the author was fleeing an outbreak of the plague. It is very likely that it dealt with death and immortality, themes closely associated with both Cicero and Petrarch, and that in *The Dream* Metge revisited the same debate in a more circumstantial manner, a debate that demonstrates the moral heights reached in the conversations between Metge and his lord. With this Ciceronian model and this apologetic intention, *The Dream* could have ended with the second book, but Metge added two more, thereby revealing that the deeper guide for the whole work is in fact Petrarch's *Secretum*. John I appears as a seer, flanked by two gigantic mythological figures, Orpheus and Tiresias, representing opposing visions of love and culture. Bernat talks with them (books 3–4), and in the speeches of all three the author's literary knowledge is displayed: above all, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (with notes from Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum gentilium* [*Genealogy of the Pagan Gods*]), the *Divine Comedy*, the *Aeneid*, Seneca's *Hercules furens* (with notes from Nicholas Trivet), and Petrarch and Boccaccio – the Italian *Corbaccio* for a humorous critique of women by the misogynous Tiresias, and Boccaccio's *De claris mulieribus* (*On Famous Women*), together with Petrarch's *Familiares* 21.8, for the defence of their virtues by Bernat himself (Riquer 1978: 114–16). Orpheus, musician and poet, represents passionate love for Eurydice – with whom he is reunited for ever in his second descent into the Underworld – and knowledge of eloquence and of classical stories; apart from his own life, he describes the Underworld and defends the value of allegorical interpretation of this poetic fiction, as does Boccaccio in his *Genealogy* (book 14). Tiresias plays a moralising role, railing against Orpheus's story and worldly love. Bernat confesses he is in love with a woman who is not his wife and listens spellbound to the Ovidian tale of Orpheus and Eurydice; when Tiresias speaks, he counters his arguments drawing on the literature of the first Latin humanism.

In books 3 and 4, the dialogue no longer derives from Cicero. Only Petrarch had written a dialogue dedicated to questions of Christian morality, love, and literary glory, often recalling his own reading. Just as Francesco (Petrarch)

8 Vernier 2002: 33; 'com no solament dubtaves, ans, seguint l'opinió d'Epicuri, havies per clar aquella [ànima] morir qualque jorn ab lo cos […] Tu saps bé quantes vegades ne parlest e en disputest estretament ab mi mentre vivia; e jamai no et poguí induir a creure-ho fermament, ans difugies ab evasions colorades, e a vegades atorgaves ésser possible, a vegades ho posaves en gran dubte, e finalment jo coneixia bé que en lo teu cor de dura pedra era esculpit ab punta de diamant tot lo contrari' (Cingolani 2006: 178–9). On the nature of Metge's Epicureanism, already present in his *Book of Fortune and Prudence*, see Badia (2012).

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debates with Augustine in the *Secretum*, so, *mutatis mutandis*, Bernat does with John I and Tiresias.[9] The central theme of the debate in the second half of *The Dream* is love: Tiresias scorns Orpheus's and Bernat's, just as Augustine had belittled Francesco's for Laura, 'your little woman'. Francesco's final retort is as clear as it is open: 'But I am not able to restrain my desire';[10] Bernat's to Tiresias likewise states: 'I want to be of that opinion [in favour of women] until I die.'[11] Like Augustine, Tiresias recommends study: 'turn your love into God's service and perpetual study […] Do not look backwards like Orpheus.'[12] He seems to forget that Orpheus was eventually reunited with Eurydice in his second descent according to Ovid and Metge: 'Then I came down to the Underworld where I found my wife Eurydice, with whom I remain, and I am certain that from now on I shall not lose her.'[13]

After just two months in Avignon, Metge had been able to grasp the essence of Petrarch's literary lesson: he had learnt about dramatic Ciceronian dialogues, philosophically nuanced through different perspectives, and about literary dialogues crafted from readings, personal opinions, and an intimate knowledge of classical literature. *The Dream* is not a philosophical humanist dialogue, a precursor of Epicureanism, or of the debate on the immortality of the soul from the Italian quattrocento (Garin 1994: 72–126); nor is it an equivalent of the classical culture of Petrarch. It does however feature the opinions of the first follower of the *Secretum* in Europe, and the culture of a chancery man attentive to the new literature of Petrarch, and well able to call on his wide reading in a dialogue of unusual intelligence. Among the opinions expressed in *The Dream*, today's readers will have no problem appreciating the scepticism of statements like 'What I see, I believe, and I do not concern myself with the rest' (Vernier 2002: 5; 'Ço que veig crec e del pus no cur', Cingolani 2006: 130), expressed in crisp monosyllables in the middle of the dialogue on the immortality of the soul. Metge's often circuitous humour is perhaps best expressed in the passage

9 For the presence of the *Secretum* in *The Dream*, see Riquer (1933a), Cingolani (2002b), and Torró (2012).

10 '[M]uliercula tua' (Fenzi 1992: 210); 'Sed desiderium frenare non valeo' (Fenzi 1992: 282).

11 Vernier 2002: 75; 'Ab aquesta opinió vull morir' (Cingolani 2006: 258).

12 Vernier 2002: 75; 'Converteix, doncs, la tua amor, d'aquí avant, en servei de Déu e continuat estudi […] No et girs detràs, així com Orfeu' (Cingolani 2006: 259–60). See Petrarch, *Secretum*: 'Que cum ita sint, non tantum locus pestifer relinquendus, sed quicquid in preteritas curas animum retorquet, summa tibi diligentia fugiendum est; ne forte cum Orpheo ab inferis rediens retroque respiciens recuperatam perdas Euridicem' (Fenzi 1992: 240–1; 'This being the case, you not only have to abandon a harmful place, but you should also take the utmost care to flee from whatever makes you revisit your old concerns, lest you unwittingly like Orpheus looking back on emerging from Hades lose regained Eurydice').

13 Vernier 2002: 39; 'E jo davallé en infern, on trobé Eurídices, muller mia, ab la qual persever e son segur que, d'aquí avant, no la perdré' (Cingolani 2006: 189).

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in which he has Bernat say: 'the woman I love so much is not my wife. Know that I love her, without comparison, more than my wife. As for the latter, I love her as husbands normally do.'[14]

Ausiàs March: Following in the Footsteps of Ovid

Ausiàs March belongs to a generation of knights as capable of brandishing a sword as they are a quill, of donning armour as they are of spending hours at study. In the inventory of his father Pere March's library (1413) there were some forty books in Catalan, French, and Latin; and in that of his mother Elionor of Ripoll's (1429), ten devotional volumes in Catalan, including a *Book of Saint Ausiàs*. At the court of the young Alfonso IV, he must have received schooling in theology and philosophy from 1417, and benefited from the poetic tutelage of the royal bailiff, Andreu Febrer, who went on to translate Dante's *Divine Comedy* (1429), and of Jordi de Sant Jordi, the king's valet. Íñigo López de Mendoza, Alfonso's cupbearer, also had dealings with him in his youth, and around 1449, by which time he was the Marquis of Santillana and living in Castile, he wrote that March was a 'man of a rather lofty mind' ('homne de asaz elevado espíritu'; Roland de Langbehn 1997: 22), prompted no doubt by what he saw in March's work: spiritual ambition steeped in Cistercian mysticism, and a capacity to analyse love, goodness, and virtue with the tools of Aristotelian–Thomist psychology and ethics.

March's courtly classicism led to much stylistic renovation in his verse. Like other contemporary courtiers – his brother-in-law Joanot Martorell, for example – he had read prose Catalan versions of works in Latin verse like Seneca's *Tragedies*. Poem 11 begins with an expression of the torment of love:

> Quins tan segurs consells vas encercant,
> cor malastruc, enfastijat de viure?
> Amic de plor e desamic de riure,
> com soferràs los mals qui et són davant?[15]
> (lines 1–4)

[14] Vernier 2002: 46; 'la dona que tant am no és ma muller. Sàpies que molt més am aquella, sens tota comparació. Bé és veritat que ma muller aitant l'am com los marits acostumen' (Cingolani 2006: 208).

[15] References to March's text are from Archer's (1997) and Bohigas's (2000) editions. We have modernized the spelling and made a few minor changes in the punctuation. For additional systematic notes on March's complete oeuvre, see Pagès (1925); see also the notes in Di Girolamo's fifty-three-poem anthology (2004), with a Spanish translation by José M. Micó, and those on thirty-three poems selected by Gómez & Pujol (2008).

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(Oh wretched heart, why not admit it's hopeless?
You're sick of life, a friend to tears, averse
to laughter: where is there now for you to turn?
And how to bear the pain that lies ahead?)[16]
(Archer 2006: 57)

The passage takes inspiration, literally, from the Catalan translation of the *Agamemnon*: 'Coratge pereós, quins segurs consells vas cercant?' ('Idle courage, what reassurances are you seeking?'; Martínez Romero 1995: 457).[17] Just as March makes these words of Clytemnestra his own, in many other texts he evokes examples of tragic love, like Phaedra and Hippolytus (15.25–6) or Pyramus and Thisbe (9.15–16). The frequent references to the deeds of men from the past, the Romans, and the ancients ('passats', 'romans', and 'antics') indicate that the poet was locating his own case in a sentimental tradition that was harking back to classical times, albeit without a precise consciousness of antiquity or of the temporal difference that separated him from it.[18] Even though he was imitating classical motifs with originality and complexity, March was no Renaissance poet: he remained faithful to the traditional forms of versification, created a conception of love rooted in medieval spirituality and philosophy, and was never a precocious Petrarchist, no matter how much he might have been an inspiration for sixteenth-century Hispanic Petrarchism (see Chapter 4, pp. 146–53).

Nevertheless, he was well able to extract *exempla* directly from the Latin. Poem 51 mentions as 'examples from the past' ('fets passats') Jason's ingratitude towards Medea, Theseus's towards Ariadne, and Aeneas's towards Dido in the same order in which they appear in Ovid's *Ars amatoria* (3.25–42) and with the same intention: to show that women do not choose their lovers well and do not know how to love as they should. Ovid says: 'I shall tell you what your undoing was: you did not know how to love' ('quid vos perdiderit dicam: nescistis amare'; 3.41); March repeats the doctrine: 'women often make peace with cheating lovers, ignoring those who die from good love' ('ab deslleals sovent elles han pau / lleixant aquells qui per ben amar moren'; see Torró 1999: 184–5). Poem 68 deals with fidelity in love with some magnificent lines:

Jo són aquell qui en lo temps de tempesta,
quan les més gents festegen prop los focs

16 Archer's verse translation is of thirty of March's poems. See also Terry's anthology with English prose translations (1976).

17 See Badia (1993: 195–207) and, for a full commentary on Poem 11, Gómez & Pujol (2008: 116–22).

18 See L. Cabré & Ortín (2014: 375–6, 379), and Garriga (1996), who comments on poem 41 ('Volgra ser nat cent anys o pus atràs'; 'I wish I had been born a hundred years ago or more').

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e pusc haver ab ells los propis jocs,
vaig sobre neu, descalç, amb nua testa […]
(lines 9–12)

(Such am I: while others give themselves to fun
and I too could make merry round their hearths,
barefoot I labour through the driven snow,
my head uncovered to the raging storm […])
(Archer 2006: 83)

They are a reworking of Ovid's motif of the *militia amoris*:

[…] Amor odit inertes:
si rota defuerit, tu pede carpe viam;
nec grave te tempus sitiensque Canicula tardet
nec via per iactas candida facta nives.
Militiae species amor est […]
nox et hiems longaeque viae saevique dolores
mollibus his castris et labor omnis inest.
Saepe feres imbrem caelesti nube solutum
frigidus et nuda saepe iacebis humo.

(Love hates the indolent: if you have not
wheels, make the journey on foot. May neither
the adverse weather, nor the thirst-inducing
midsummer heat, nor the path white with snow
delay you. Love is a form of warfare […] Night,
winter, long marches, cruel pains, and all man-
ner of labour are found on these campaigns of
love. Often you will endure pouring rain from
clouds above, and you will often lie cold on the
bare earth.)[19]

Beyond the *exempla* and the images, Ovid's model leads March to adopt a teacherly attitude characteristic of the *Ars amatoria* and the *Remedia amoris*. So, he says 'from my experience I have given love rules and art to lovers longing for knowledge' ('per mon sentir regles n'he dat i art / als amadors freturants de saber'; 71.27–8), because he knows his own experience and that

19 *Ars amatoria*, 2.229–38. See Torró (1999: 179).

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'of all those who have come before me, the ill-fated love affairs of the past and the great woes that are recorded in chronicles' ('de tots aquells qui primer són passats, / los desgradats casos d'amor estats / i els mals tan grans que en gestes escrits són'; 71.50–2). In a similar vein, he recalls that in a vague golden age in the time of 'noble Ovid' ('Ovidi el prous'), love was always reciprocated and so – he says to a lady disguised under the pseudonym 'Plena de seny' ('Full of Wisdom') – he wished that 'you and I had been born among the ancients' ('fóssem nats vós e jo entre els antics'; 7.17–28). Writing to 'Llir entre cards' ('Lily among Thistles') and following the beginning of the *Remedia* ('other young men often become lukewarm, but I have always loved'; 'saepe tepent alii iuvenes, ego semper amavi', 1.7), he declares himself against lukewarm love and in favour of total abandon beyond reason (73.33; cf. 62.37 and 67.1). A poet of extreme expression, he also renovates courtly lyric when describing the tragic suffering of love, as in the opening stanza of Poem 28:

> Lo jorn ha por de perdre sa claror
> quan ve la nit que espandeix ses tenebres;
> pocs animals no cloen les palpebres,
> e los malalts creixen de llur dolor.
> Los malfactors volgren tot l'any duràs
> perquè llurs mals haguessen cobriment,
> mas jo qui visc menys de par en turment
> e sens mal fer volgra que tost passàs.
>
> (lines 1–8)

> (Day sees with terror how its last light fades
> and night comes, spreading darkness in its path.
> Wide-eyed, small creatures dare not welcome sleep;
> the sick and weak endure redoubled pain.
> Now evil men come out to do their worst:
> cloaked by the dark, they'd have it last all year.
> Not I: of me need none fear harm, tormented
> like no other: I long for night to pass.)
>
> (Archer 2006: 69)

March here transforms a classical *topos* that contrasts the universal calm of the night with the sleepless tossing and turning of the hapless lover, as experienced by Myrrha (*Metamorphoses*, 10.368–81) and in particular Dido: 'It was night and weary bodies around the world were seizing placid sleep […] but not the Phoenician, unhappy in her soul' ('Nox erat et placidum carpebant fessa soporem / corpora per terras […] at non infelix animi Phoenissa […]';

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Aeneid, 4.522–29).[20] He maintains the contrast ('mas jo'; 'Not I'; 'at non') but accentuates the sensation of terror by populating the night with 'evil men' ('malfactors') – criminals who recall the biblical murderers who rebel against the light (Job 24:13–17) – and above all by personifying the day that is fearful of death, just as Dante had written, in imitation of Virgil: 'The day was fading […] and only I was preparing for battle' ('Lo giorno se n'andava […] e io sol uno / m'apparecchiava a sostener la guerra'; *Inferno*, 2.1–4).

All the motifs we have mentioned enabled March to present age-old courtly love in a new and surprising way, not just for his medieval readership but also for the Romantic scholars who rediscovered his poetry in the nineteenth century. March's most striking innovation, however, is his break with the poetic tradition of the troubadours. Thus, at certain times in his complex oeuvre he takes up Catullus's old motif of *odi et amo*, as reformulated by Ovid (*Amores*, 3.11), and claims, in texts from his mature period, that he grudgingly feels desire for a woman who is morally repugnant to him (poems 115, 116, 119). He explains this new situation without lyricism, applying a scholastic analysis to the external senses and inner wits, through which the delusion of reason is produced.[21] These pieces do not appear to have had followers. March's enduring appeal is down to the gallery of similes and images he deploys, his aspiration to pure love, the authority of the *magister amoris*, and a dominant melancholy:

> Qui no és trist, de mos dictats no cur,
> o en alguns temps que sia trist estat;
> e lo qui és de mals passionat,
> per fer-se trist no cerque lloc escur:
> llija mos dits, mostrants pensa torbada,
> sens alguna art eixits d'hom fora seny.
>
> (Poem 39, lines 1–6)

> (Only sad lovers, or who once were such,
> need bother reading anything I write;
> but those of you whose lives are shot with pain
> don't drag your sadness off to some dark hole:
> just read my poems, full of frenzied thoughts,
> a madman's ravings, without the aid of art.)
>
> (Archer 2006: 73)

20 See the detailed readings of Ferraté (1968), Torró (1999: 189–91), and Gómez & Pujol (2008: 151–7). On possible echoes from Lucan, Virgil, and other classical authors in other poems by March, see Badia (1993: 201–7).

21 See L. Cabré (1996) and L. Cabré & Ortín (2014: 389–91).

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From the close of the fifteenth century and throughout the age of Petrarchism these opening lines were read as if they were an equivalent of 'Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono' ('You who listen in scattered rhymes to the sound'), the opening sonnet of Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, because of the coincidence in their invocation to the reader (see Chapter 4, p. 152). When they were written around 1430, they perhaps reflected an attitude akin to that of Ovid's exile poetry, the *Tristia* and the *Black Sea Letters* (Badia 1985; Torró 2007). There are no literal borrowings that could confirm this, yet the breadth of March's reading of Ovid inclines us to think that he must have had at least a fairly complete anthology of the Latin poet's work. Whatever the case, the feeling that his own work was rooted in a literary heritage – love and poetry at one and the same time – is reflected in Poem 111. The opening expresses the loss of love through the striking image of a man heading into exile:

> Així com cell qui es parteix de sa terra
> ab cor tot ferm que jamés hi retorn,
> deixant amics e fills plorant entorn,
> e cascú d'ells a ses faldes s'aferra,
> dient plorant: 'Anar volem ab vós!
> Oh, no ens lleixeu trists e adolorits!',
> e l'és forçat aquells haver jaquits:
> qui pot saber d'aquest les grans dolors?
>
> (lines 1–8)

(I am like the man who is leaving his land, sure that he will never return, leaving friends and children weeping all around him, each clinging to his garments, crying: 'We want to go with you! Do not leave us with such pain and woe!' but he must unwillingly abandon them: who can fathom the depth of his torment?)

The closing lines are an envoi without an addressee:

> No sé a qui adreç mon parlament,
> perquè és llong temps no em parle ab Amor
> e dona al món no sent de ma tristor;
> així mateix jo no n'he sentiment.
>
> (lines 41–4)

(I do not know to whom I can address my words for it is a long time since I last spoke with Love, and no woman in the world knows of my sadness; I too am numbed to it.)

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The only possible addressees are the readers of the corpus of work that the poet had been constructing over the years. March followed in Ovid's footsteps in many ways and, like Ovid, was able to speak about different aspects of love with a plurality of voices. His poetry is remarkable for its capacity to bind a range of personal experiences, examined from a Christian moral perspective, into a coherent whole.

Curial and Guelfa: Guided by Virgil

According to its recent editors, this anonymous chivalric romance was written after 1442 and before the fall of Constantinople in 1453 by someone from Alfonso the Magnanimous's circle.[22] Though the author is anonymous, we can assess his cultural background by analyzing the sources he uses, and his first-person statements embedded within the novelesque fiction itself. For example, in the prologue to book 3 he explains, through the myth of the Muses and the Pierides, how he lacks the Latin education he should have acquired in his youth, but nevertheless ventures to write a work that incorporates classical material:

> If it is perhaps lawful for me to do as other writers do and have done and to invoke the Muses, I think that I shall not do so for it would be useless: they would not appear and manifest themselves to me however much I called them to my aid and support, for they care only for men of great learning, and keep them company without being asked, whereas I and those like me, being ignorant, are by them held in strange abhorrence. In this, as in everything I utter, I am like the wretched chattering daughters of Pierus, the principal enemies of those nine excellent sisters who live on Mount Parnassus. […] they attend only upon very lofty and sublime styles, written by great and grave poets and orators. If I had served them in my tender youth they would have aided and assisted me as they do their other servants; but I cared not for them and did not appreciate them, and accordingly they do not appreciate or care for me. Now indeed I should like to praise them, but knowing that they would laugh and mock me I choose silence. Thus since I cannot help myself with the gifts of their grace, I will proceed as best as I can to this third and last book, which is a trifle more complex than the first two, since in this one there will be some poetic fictions and vicissitudes written not as the matter requires, but grossly and crudely, which is all that I can do.[23]

22 Badia & Torró (2011: 40–3). The notes in this edition are essential; we follow the chapter and section numbering for all references to the work. English quotations are from Waley's translation (1982); there is another English translation by Wheeler (2011). See also Ferrando (2012).

23 3.1.5; Waley 1982: 187–8; 'E si serà lícit a mi usar de ço que los altres qui escriviren

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Bearing in mind that the author must have been surrounded by humanists 'of great learning' at Alfonso's court, and that he was writing a work in prose, in the vernacular, with a chivalric plot, a story of love and war, this modesty is logical. Nonetheless, modesty is still a *topos*. *Curial and Guelfa* begins with a nod to Petrarch (*Familiares*, 4.12.30) and goes on to reference a panoply of learned readings; for example, the author is as familiar with Dante's *Divine Comedy* as he is with, among others, Benvenuto da Imola's Latin commentary on it.[24] He projects his longed-for education fully onto the hero. Curial ascends Mount Parnassus by means of an elaborate dream vision that brings together Homer and Dictys and Dares to debate, in the presence of Apollo, the god of wisdom, which of their respective stories has told the truth about the real valour of Hector and Achilles; Curial presides over the proceedings, as if it were a new Judgement of Paris, and is awarded a laurel wreath by Apollo and the Muses like a classical poet or Petrarch (3.10–12). In a second vision, when Curial is in France, Bacchus, the god of knowledge, appears to urge him to continue his dedication to study (3.26). Curial is an unusual hero, a knight who doubles up as a *bona fide* humanist, something the author was not, yet he must have taken the depiction of Apollo and Bacchus from Benvenuto da Imola (Badia & Torró 2011: 655–6, 682–3).

In books 1 and 2, the classical inspiration could almost pass unnoticed save for the fact that Curial studies from an early age the liberal arts of the *trivium*, as well as philosophy, and furthermore becomes 'a good poet'.[25] This study of poetry, that is to say of classical literature, explains how Curial, much later on, is able to comment on Virgil's *Aeneid* to Camar (3.16.5), a young North African girl who in fact becomes a double for Dido, the Queen of Carthage. Classical

usaren o han usat, ço és, invocar les Muses, certes jo crec que no. Abans entenc que seria cosa supèrflua, car elles no apareixerien ne es mostrarien a mi per molt que jo les apellàs en subsidi e favor mia, car no han cura sinó d'hòmens de gran ciència e aquells segueixen, encara que no sien demanades, e mi e mos pars així com ignorants han en estrany avorriment; per ço que jo, així en aquesta obra com en totes les coses que parle, son imitador de les míseres e garrules filles de Pièrides, enemigues capitals d'aquelles nou egrègies sorel·les habitadores de Monte Parnaso […] no solen seguir sinó los molt alts e sublimes estils, escrits per solemnes e molt grans poetes e oradors. E si jo les hagués en la mia tendra edat servides, ara em socorrerien e ajudarien com als altres servidors seus, mas jo no curí d'elles ne les coneguí, e per ço elles no curen de mi ne em coneixen. Bé les voldria ara afalagar, mas sabent que riurien e trufarien de mi, elegesc callar. Per què, no podent-me jo ajudar dels dons de llur gràcia, ab humil e baix parlament proceiré així com sabré a aquest tercer e darrer llibre, lo qual és algun poquet pus intricat que els altres primers, per ço com en aquest haurà algunes transformacions e poètiques ficcions, escrites no en la manera que a la matèria se pertany, mas així rudement e grossera com jo ho hauré sabut fer' (Badia & Torró 2011: 393). In the English text 'vicissitudes' is a weak equivalent of the Catalan 'transformacions', a clear reference to the allegorical myths in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

24 For a summary of the influence of Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and classical authors in *Curial*, see Badia & Torró (2011: 69–98).

25 1.4; Waley 1982: 3–4; 'poeta molt gran' (Badia & Torró 2011: 121).

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mythology helps to explain Curial's adventures in books 1 and 2, centred on the myth of the Fates. As in any chivalric novel, the hero starts by leaving the court: in Curial's case, he leaves the court of the Marquis of Monferrato on a quest for fame and to earn the favour of his lady, Guelfa. His intention is to save the Duchess of Austria, who has been falsely accused of adultery (1.8–12).[26] The duchess is called Clotho, and introduces the hero to her sister Lachesis; Curial falls hopelessly in love at first sight. The plot is reproducing the classical myth: Lachesis weaves the fabric of life with Clotho's thread. This passionate affair and Curial's youthful arrogance end up bringing him to the brink of desperation. The voice of a wise counsellor, Melcior de Pando, had already warned him that Lachesis should really be called Atropos (1.16.3), the Fate who cuts the fabric of life and who, for the moment, closes the allegory of a man taken by fate. At the end of book 2, an almost suicidal Curial calls on the three sisters 'who fatally dispose the lives of men' to halt:

> Let one break her distaff and spin no more, let the second fall idle and neither reel nor weave, let the third cut the cloth, severing the threads of my life, and all three put an end to my woes![27]

The courtly reader would have understood that the episode only made sense through the myth. Amorous and military adventures – the strength of his passion – have led Curial to a point where he is at the mercy of a fatal destiny, with reason and grace lost. The counsellor recommends a Christian *nosce te ipsum*: 'Regain your senses and return to yourself.'[28]

Read using the myth as a guide, the plot of the first two books takes on a meaning that transcends the literal story. The narrative apparently deals with the social progress of a young man under the protection of Guelfa, a young widow who is the sister of the Marquis of Monferrato, and Curial's love for Guelfa and for Lachesis, representing virtuous and passionate love respectively. This love triangle and Curial's infidelity to Guelfa seem like a didactic episode of courtly love, inspired as it is by an original tale based on a song by the troubadour Rigaut de Berbezilh (Badia & Torró 2011: 60–2). The myth reveals that the narrative aspires to be a historical tale – the action takes place in the

26 The anonymous author retells the legend of the Good Count of Barcelona and the empress of Germany from Bernat Desclot's *Book of King Peter* (see Chapter 2, p. 33), although other sources may well feature (Badia & Torró 2011: 544). The novel is set in the time of King Peter II, who appears as a central character in book 2.

27 2.49.12; Waley 1982: 184; 'trenque l'una la sua filosa e no file pus, vague l'altra e no debane ne cresca la sua tela e l'altra talle la dita tela, tallant los fils de la mia vida e totes tres donats fi a mos mals!' (Badia & Torró 2011: 388).

28 2.49.10; Waley 1982: 183; 'Regoneix-te bé e venç a tu mateix' (Badia & Torró 2011: 387).

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times of Peter the Great – but with a universal value: it shows the education of a courtier – a *curial* (someone from the curia) with arms and learning – right up to the critical moment when wealth, glory, and fame could leave him at the whim of false fortune. The allegorical intention of the tale emerges in the allusions to the Fates – the fatal and irrational destiny of human life – and in a mythological episode featuring the goddess Fortune herself (2.44).

The novel takes a particularly striking turn in book 3. The historical plot shadows that of the *Aeneid*, which the author must have read along with a set of classroom commentaries. Having heeded Melcior de Pando's counsel (3.2) and in order to revive himself, Curial undertakes a voyage to the Holy Land and Greece. He visits Athens and the school of the *poeta theologus*, the Thebes described by Statius, and continues on an itinerary inspired by classical culture:

> So Curial boarded his galley and sailed away, for his desire was to see the ancient and celebrated city that gave laws to Rome. He saw there the famous school where the science of the knowledge of God was taught, and being a man of learning who was continually studying, he was delighted with all that he was shown and told there. Then he went on to see the city which was first given walls by Cadmus and of which so much was written by Statius in his *Thebaid*. He visited the tomb of Eteocles and Polynices, the cruel brother-sons of Oedipus and Jocasta. Then he visited the mountains called Nysa and Cithaeron, the laurels sacred to Apollo, god of wisdom, and the vines sacred to Bacchus, god of knowledge, and many antiquities he knew of from report.[29]

On his arrival at the foot of the two peaks of Parnassus, Curial has the dream vision previously mentioned. During his return journey from Greece, Fortune and Neptune whip up a storm as in the *Aeneid* and Curial is shipwrecked and washed up in North Africa, poor and destitute, again much like Aeneas on his arrival in Carthage. He spends seven years there as a slave, to purge

[29] 3.10.1; Waley 1982: 212; 'Entrat, adoncs, Curial en la sua galera, començà a navegar. E volgué veure aquella ciutat antiga, noble e molt famosa, qui donà lleis a Roma, e mirà aquell estudi famós en lo qual la ciència de conèixer Déu s'aprenia. E així com aquell qui era home científic e qui nulls temps lleixava l'estudi, alegrà's molt de les coses que li foren mostrades e dites. Anà més e viu aquella ciutat que primerament murà Cadmo, de la qual tant escriví Estaci en lo seu *Tebaidos*. Viu los sepulcres d'Etíocles e Polinices, cruels germans fills d'Edipo e Jocasta. Anà més, e viu aquells monts apellats Nissa e Cirra, e viu los llorers consagrats a Apol·lo, déu de sapiència, e les vinyes consagrades a Baco, déu llur de ciència, e moltes coses antigues, les quals de paraula havia oïdes' (Badia & Torró 2011: 426–7). The expression 'les quals de paraula havia oïdes' ('he knew of from report') is a note of narrative coincidence, but also suggests that the author could have acquired much of his classical culture listening to commentaries on Dante, Virgil, and other poets in the classroom or at the Neapolitan court.

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him of his previous arrogance, and meets Camar, a local girl to whom he explains the *Aeneid* in Arabic – a detail of exquisite realism. Camar falls in love with the shipwrecked Curial, as Dido does with Aeneas, but Curial, who now calls himself John, cannot reciprocate, because he is atoning for the sin of lust and is remaining faithful to Guelfa. Consequently Camar, so as not to be bound to a suitor – the King of Tunisia – whom she does not love, commits suicide after pronouncing a lengthy monologue addressed to Dido: she is not taking her own life in a fit of passion and rancour like the Queen of Carthage – she declares – but after careful deliberation and to preserve her chastity and fidelity to Curial (3.21). In death, Camar embraces the Christian faith that John – Curial with the name of John the Baptist – must have taught her, and he gives her a Christian burial before returning to his destiny, like Ulysses to Ithaca, or Aeneas departing Carthage for Italy.

The novel does not end there, and it takes some time to reach the happy ending, but the action we have described so far is the essential core of the work. The anonymous author has projected the first four books of the *Aeneid* onto his work in a complex way. First, he has made use of the basic plot structure: the gods from the *Aeneid* – Juno and Dio, the mother of Venus – discuss Curial's fate, and the storm and shipwreck are described with loans from Virgil's epic (Badia & Torró 2011: 83–4); the love affair between Camar and Curial mirrors the one between Dido and Aeneas. Second, the author has Christianized the relationship between Camar/Dido and Curial/Aeneas, so that it is now a story about Camar's chastity and salvation, rather than about Dido's passion and condemnation (Aeneas encounters her again in the Underworld in the sixth book of the *Aeneid*). Third, and crucially, the author has been able to read Virgil's work allegorically and to apply its hidden truth to Curial's behaviour. For the exponents of early humanism like Petrarch and Boccaccio, the story of Dido and Aeneas was not a case of passion and betrayal that led to a tragic suicide, it was a story that had to be understood allegorically: Aeneas represented the *vir perfectus* who shunned concupiscence in abandoning Dido and following his destiny.[30] In a similar vein, Curial does not reciprocate Camar's love, and thus attains perfection before returning to Monferrato and appearing in disguise before Guelfa, as Ulysses does before Penelope. The author of *Curial*, needless to say, could not have read Homer, but at times gives the impression that he had heard some episodes (see Chapter 2, p. 80); it is possible that he knew that Ulysses was the literary

30 Such a moral defence of Virgil and of poetic fictions in general can be found, for example, in Petrarch's *Seniles* (4.5) and Boccaccio's *Genealogy* (14.13). Benvenuto da Imola also thought that Virgil was telling the story with moral intent (Lacaita 1887: I, 48–9). See Torró (1991) and Badia & Torró (2011: 92–7).

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precursor of Aeneas.[31] Curial later receives a lesson from Bacchus and, having reached the end of his schooling in wisdom and virtue, comes to marrying Guelfa in a climactic and satisfyingly chivalric conclusion.

Beyond the novel's plot, book 3 of *Curial and Guelfa* is a moral tale about overcoming adversity, the necessary test of false and capricious fortune. It is also the triumph of a unique, not to say experimental, form of literature. Through his vernacular writing, the anonymous author was attempting to bridge the gap between chivalric culture – courtly love and the chronicles – and humanistic culture or, as he described it, the knowledge 'of men of learning and venerable erudition'.[32] In the dream on Parnassus, Apollo criticized Virgil for his lack of historical veracity: Dido and Aeneas never met, because they lived some three hundred years apart, and, according to St Jerome, Dido was in fact a chaste and faithful wife to her late husband Sychaeus (3.11.9).[33] Apollo concludes: 'To write poetry is good; but to write contrary to the truth is not, I feel, to praise.'[34] True to the wisdom of Apollo (and to the erudition of Petrarch), the anonymous author of *Curial* makes the necessary changes: his characters – Camar and John – meet each other within the fiction, as in the *Aeneid*, but they behave in accordance with Christian historical truth. However, when Curial has to decide between Homer's poetry and the chronicle of Dictys and Dares (i.e. Guido delle Colonne's *History of the Destruction of Troy*), his judgement is more nuanced: 'Homer wrote a book which I direct must be held in great esteem among men of learning; Dictys and Dares wrote the truth. This is my verdict.'[35] The truth of history is indisputable, but classical poetry with all its mythology, and all its rhetoric – we would add – is of great value if one has the education and wisdom to appreciate it; that is, if one knows how to extract the moral truth hidden behind the allegorical veil that the Christian humanists ('men of learning') uncovered, if one knows how to savour the invention and rhetoric in Latin that make it so peerless.

31 The *Odyssey* had been disseminated in Leonzio Pilato's fourteenth-century Latin version (Pertusi 1964). Petrarch knew of the relationship between Ulysses and Aeneas: 'hunc Ulixem seu Eneam tuum' ('this Ulysses or your Aeneas'; *Familiares*, 9.13.24–8); cf. his *Rerum memorandarum*, 3.87. He knew the Homeric episode of Odysseus's anonymous return to Ithaca (*Familiares*, 10.3.35), as did Boccaccio (*De mulieribus claris*, 40). The author of *Curial*, however, could have used the motif of the wandering lover for the return of his hero incognito, a different literary tradition from the Homeric one (Badia & Torró 2011: 680).

32 3.1.3; Waley 1982: 186; 'd'hòmens científics e de reverenda lletradura' (Badia & Torró 2011: 391).

33 The detail of the three hundred years comes from Petrarch (*Seniles*, 4.5), which he took from Servius's commentary on the *Aeneid*. See Badia & Torró (2011: 76 and 96).

34 3.11.9; Waley 1982: 218; 'Bo és poetar, mas contra veritat escriure no em par sia lloor' (Badia & Torró 2011: 436).

35 3.11.11; Waley 1982: 219; 'Homero ha escrit llibre que entre los hòmens de ciència man que sia tengut en gran estima; Dites e Dares escriviren la veritat e així ho pronuncie' (Badia & Torró 2011: 437).

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Curial and Guelfa is perhaps the only fifteenth-century work that tried to fuse these two dimensions – history and glossed classical poetry – in a continuous fictional narrative. Understanding it fully requires knowledge of classical material and learning. Whether one grasps the full complexity of the novel or not, it is undoubtedly an enjoyable read, because the author does not conjure up two-dimensional allegorical stereotypes, but instead peoples his narrative with flesh-and-blood young characters in a realistic setting. Guelfa represents virtue, but she also errs, moved by slander and by understandable jealousy (1.18.16–19). Lachesis represents fatal passion but in the story she is portrayed as a bold young woman who argues with her mother over her right to follow her heart (2.31), echoing Ghismonda from the *Decameron* (fourth day, first story). Curial commits the sin of pride when they provoke him (2.8.8), as everyone would, but when he arrives at a convent he behaves like a typical twenty-year-old, somewhat embarrassed by the risqué jokes of the young women who take him in (2.6). Perhaps without realising, the anonymous author has compensated for his lack of schooling in the *studia humanitatis* with this representation of real life.

Joan Roís de Corella: A Follower of Boccaccio

Joan Roís de Corella wrote his prose compositions on love and mythological subjects in his youth, in the late 1450s and early 1460s, before dedicating himself to writing religious literature. His schooling in grammar before his theological studies familiarized him with classical poets and the techniques of imitation. Boccaccio in the vernacular showed him how to convert mythological stories into sentimental literature for a courtly readership, though Corella adds a moral dimension to his work. His stylistic model was also inspired by Boccaccio: a *prosa d'arte* forged from his command of the *artes dictaminis*, with a Latinizing lexicon and syntax, and with traces of versification. The mythological plotlines are framed within rhetorical genres like the epistle, speech, elegy or lament, in accordance with the taste for courtly classicism associated with Alfonso the Magnanimous, the Prince of Viana, and John II.[36]

Corella's *Història de Jàson i Medea* (*Story of Jason and Medea*) epitomizes this sentimental prose on a classical theme (Martos 2001b: 207–36). It retells the myth of Medea from the arrival of the Argonauts in Colchis to the point where Medea slays her children. It is divided into two unequal parts, reflecting his use of sources. The longer part, the episodes in Colchis, is based on Guido delle Colonne's *History of the Destruction of Troy* (chapter 2), a medieval work

[36] For an overview of Corella's prose writings, see Badia (1988: 145–80) and Martos & Gómez (2015: 222–42); on his mythological sources, see Martos (2001a).

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that provides a courtly frame and allows Jason's chivalric character to be highlighted; the briefer denouement in Corinth is a digest of Seneca's *Medea*. The rhetorical composition of Corella's piece, however, is not defined by the sources but rather by the point of view: it takes the form of an epistle from Medea to womankind to warn them of the trickery of men, as if it were an application of Boccaccio's *Elegy of Madonna Fiammetta* to a mythological story. The heroine's point of view dominates the discourse right from the introduction, and the epistolary character can be seen in the apostrophe – one of the rhetorical *figurae sententiae* or figures of thought – addressed to women. Medea echoes Fiammetta's confession in Boccaccio, but stresses the exemplarity of her own story:

> And, because I do not wish to extend my pen in a lengthy story, the reversals, fears, and hopes that assaulted my sleep-deprived mind I decline to describe, and, moreover, because the purpose of my work is not to show women the bloodless battles of love, and so make them quicker to love than their benign and pious condition inclines them; rather I desire, with my misfortune as an example, that their lives, expended in the practice of virtue and honesty, may procure for them eternal glorious renown.[37]

This excerpt also serves to illustrate the extent of the Latin influence on Corella's prose. The verb is always placed at the end of the sentence or clause, and the adjectives precede the noun, in contrast to the expected word order in Romance languages; the complex syntactical structures are drawn out with figures of speech such as parallelism ('And, because […] and, moreover, because'; 'E per què […] i encara perquè'), enumeration ('the debates, fears, and hopes'; 'los contrasts, les temors, les esperances'), and adjectival proliferation ('eternal glorious'; 'gloriosa eterna'), and are further embellished with tropes like the litotes 'no sangonoses' ('bloodless', literally 'not bloody'). The style is a vehicle for expressing Medea's emotion. So, when Medea anticipates her vengeance in an apocalyptic tone, it incorporates the potent rhetoric of Seneca:

> Oh! May the heavens tear themselves asunder! May the dark earth open up! May the planets fall! May the air darken! May fire freeze! May cold

37 'E, perquè no vull en llarga història la ploma estendre, los contrasts, les temors, les esperances que ma pensa, de son exempta, combatien deixe d'escriure, i, encara, perquè la fi de mon treball no és mostrar a les dones les no sangonoses batalles d'amor, per a fer-les en amar més promptes del que llur benigna misericorde condició les inclina; ans desig, lo meu mal essent-los exemple, llur vida, en virtut e honestat despesa, gloriosa eterna fama els presente' (Martos 2001b: 224).

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> water boil! […] May Medea's heart be broken into several parts and her body shattered into tiny pieces before she ever allows Creusa to be her children's stepmother.[38]

Nevertheless, Corella wanted to make Medea into an exemplary heroine. He could not therefore take inspiration from either Guido delle Colonne's misogynist tale or the characterization of Medea as an evil sorceress found in the *Metamorphoses* (7.1–404). His basic model was Medea from *Heroides* 12, the second of two tragic victims of Jason's seduction, the first being Hypsipyle (*Heroides*, 6). The crimes of this more benign Medea are, ultimately, the responsibility of her seducer: 'You, Jason, have committed them [the crimes] with the hands of Medea, hands which were yours.'[39] The epistolary format of the *Story of Jason and Medea* demonstrates that, beyond the sources for the plot, Corella had learnt the art of sentimental prose by reading Boccaccio, for whom the *Heroides* and Seneca's *Tragedies* were key models.

Corella also learnt the art of the short story, or *novella*, from Boccaccio. In the Middle Ages the myth of Hero and Leander was only known through *Heroides* 18 and 19, a passage in Virgil's *Georgics* (3.258–63), and synopses by mythographers and glossators. Corella's *Història de Leànder i Hero* (*Story of Hero and Leander*; Martos 2001b: 151–73) is one of the few medieval adaptations of this myth, and perhaps the best.[40] The *Heroides* provided him with the fears and desires of the lovers but not a narrative structure. To construct his *novella*, therefore, Corella had to look to other sources. He narrates their initial falling in love, the paternal objections, and the wet nurse's intervention, having read Guido delle Colonne, and Boccaccio's *Filocolo* and *Decameron*. The central section of the tale he takes from the story of Ceix and Alcyone (*Metamorphoses*, 11.410–78); from here come Leander's death at sea and his ghostly appearance before Hero. In the traditional denouement described in Servius's commentary and by medieval mythographers, Hero commits suicide by throwing herself from a tower.[41] In Corella's version, she goes down to the shore and pronounces a lengthy lament over her beloved's lifeless body, as she

38 'Oh! Rompen-se los cels! Obra's l'escura terra! Caiguen les planetes! Escureixquen los aires! Refrede's lo foc! La freda aigua s'escalfe! […] Rompa en diverses parts lo cor de Medea e lo seu cos sia partit en xiques peces, ans que ella comporte que Creüsa de sos fills sia madastra' (Martos 2001b: 231–2). See the effects of Medea's magic in Seneca's *Medea*, 752–842, or the cosmic cataclysms described in *Thyestes*, 827–42, and *Hercules Oetaeus*, 1100–27.

39 'Tu, Jason, los [els delictes] has fets ab les mans de Medea, que eren tues' (Martos 2001b: 232). See Seneca, *Medea*, 500: 'Tua illa, tua sunt illa [scelera]' ('Those are yours, those [crimes] are yours').

40 For an English translation, see Cortijo & Martos (2016: 95–109) and Krummrich (2006: 23–42).

41 Servius, *Commentarium in Virgilii Georgica*, 3.258 (Thilo & Hagen 1881–7: III, 296).

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does in the *Fiammetta* (chapter 8), before killing herself with Leander's dagger – in imitation of Thisbe after the death of Pyramus, and in line with medieval Italian synopses of the story of Hero and Leander (J. Pujol 2013: 169–78).

This collage of sources is a constant in Corella's prose: his detailed knowledge of classical texts enables him to pick the passages most suited to his purpose. For example, when he recounts the myth of Orpheus (Martos 2001b: 251–60) he focuses on the second loss of Eurydice, when Orpheus, having descended into the Underworld to rescue her, turns round. Corella's intention is to reflect on the nature of fortune, so he begins the tale by evoking the motif of the painful remembrance of lost happiness – made famous by Boethius (*Consolation of Philosophy*, 2, pr. 4) and Dante (*Inferno*, 5.121–3) – and ends it just at the point when Orpheus turns round. His source is the *Metamorphoses* (10.1–63), but it is evident that Corella was not interested in the later section of the story, which ends with Orpheus and Eurydice being reunited for the last time (*Metamorphoses*, 10.64–147, 11.1–66) and which would have undermined his moral point. Instead, he enriches his account of Orpheus's descent into the Underworld with details taken from book 6 of the *Aeneid* and a number of references to Dante and Seneca's *Hercules furens*. The idea of imitating Aeneas's descent into Hades must have been prompted by a passage from Seneca's *Hercules Oetaeus* (1031–100) which recounts Orpheus's voyage. Thus, Orpheus arrives at the Styx and is stopped by Charon with words from Virgil: 'Turn back your bold steps, whoever you may be.'[42] Orpheus replies, also following Virgil (*Aeneid*, 6.392–404), while the description of how Charon's boat is drawn to Orpheus's song comes from *Hercules Oetaeus*. When he boards the boat, the weight of his mortal body causes it to lie so low in the water that he risks sinking it: in this detail, Corella diverges from Virgil (*Aeneid*, 6.412–14) and is closer to Seneca (*Hercules furens*, 775–7).

The story of Orpheus is part of a series of five Ovidian tales (Cephalus, Orpheus, Scylla, Pasiphae, and Tereus) framed within a fiction: the *Colloquy at the House of Berenguer Mercader* (Martos 2001b: 237–82).[43] Corella and several nobles gather in the house of the governor-general of Valencia, and after dinner each one tells a story that exemplifies the harmful effects of passionate love. For Corella, love is irrational and contrary to friendship between 'people

42 'Torna atràs ab tos gosats passos, quisvulla que tu sies' (Martos 2001b: 254). *Aeneid*, 6.388–9: 'quisquis es, armatus qui nostra ad flumina tendis, / fare age, quid uenias, iam istinc et comprime gressum' ('Whoever you are who approach our rivers armed, / say why you are come, and halt there now'). Corella must also have had in mind *Hercules furens*, 772: 'quo pergis, audax? siste properantem gradum' ('Whither do you hasten, bold man? Halt your quickening step').

43 The stories, other than Orpheus's, come from *Metamorphoses*, 7.661–865 (Cephalus), *Metamorphoses*, 8.1–151 (Scylla), *Ars amatoria*, 1.289–330 (Pasiphae), and *Metamorphoses*, 6.412–674 (Tereus).

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of virtue, alike in life and understanding' ('virtuoses persones, en vida i entendre conformes'; cf. Cicero, *De officiis*, 1.17). From this civilized world of nobility at leisure, the behaviour of lovers is viewed with piety and horror, from Cephalus's or Orpheus's loss of marital bliss to the criminal acts of Tereus – one can now understand why Corella chooses to tell only part of the Orpheus myth. The narrative model is once again from Boccaccio: the idea of bringing people together to take turns to tell stories evidently comes from the *Decameron*. Like Boccaccio, Corella makes his voice heard in the introduction and in the paragraph that precedes the final story. It is here that he establishes the narrative frame and the intention of the *Colloquy*: to narrate *poesies* in vernacular prose for the entertainment of nobles at leisure, a morally salutary leisure because the myths contain examples of erroneous behaviour. Also like Boccaccio, he leaves the narrators to react and make their own evaluations before and after each story to orient the reader.

We find the framing of several myths in a single fiction again, but in a more original form, in the *Laments of Myrrha, Narcissus, and Thisbe* (Martos 2001b: 175–98): a love-sick narrator descends to the Underworld and, once he has reached the Virgilian 'fields of grief' ('lugentes campi'), he witnesses the lamentations of the three eponymous mythological characters. The content of the three speeches comes from the *Metamorphoses* (10.299–502, 3.339–510, and 4.55–168). The form of the autobiographical lament derives once again from the *Fiammetta* and, ultimately, from the *Heroides*; the structure, on the other hand, recalls Boccaccio's *Ameto*, in which seven nymphs recount their love stories to a shepherd. Corella's skill in embedding a moral message in an adaptation tailored to a courtly readership is evident in the tale of Narcissus: taking his lead from Boccaccio's *Genealogy of the Pagan Gods* (7.59), he converts the reflection of Narcissus's face in the water into that of an unattainable nymph, an authentic *dame sans merci* who causes the death of the lover.

Corella also applies his knowledge of the classics and his mastery of Boccaccio in an original work. His *Tragèdia de Caldesa* (*Tragedy of Caldesa*; Rico 1984) is a work of fiction told in the first person from the perspective of a man deceived in love. Having achieved assurances that his love is reciprocated, the lover is locked in a room by the lady; after hours of waiting, he sees from the window the lady coming out of another room bestowing signs of affection on a man of low social standing. The nucleus of the story has precedents in the world of the comedy, the *fabliau*, the *novella*, and the *exemplum*, but they are insufficient to explain the reaction of the narrator and the literary treatment of the narrative. The tale concludes with some 'impossible thoughts' ('impossibles pensaments'): the narrator would like to retain the good that the lady has – her beauty and subtle understanding – in order to show it love, and he would like her fickle will to live in an ugly body like that of her lover. Corella's anecdote and his peculiar

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odi et amo are closely related to Elegy 3.11 from Ovid's *Amores* (Garriga 1994). In the first part (3.11a), Ovid lists the complaints of an *amator exclusus* condemned to see 'how your spent lover turned up at the door' ('cum foribus lassus prodiret amator'; 11a.13), just as the narrator of the *Tragedy* has been condemned to see the proof of his lady's infidelity. The result in both cases is a willingness to abandon love. But in the second part (3.11b) Ovid lives torn between his love for her beauty and his hatred of her indecorous behaviour, and wishes for the impossible: that she be either less beautiful or less wicked.

Corella has taken a theme from Roman elegy and ancient and medieval comedy and created a tragedy. The execution is similar to Boccaccio's in the *Fiammetta*. Corella's narrative has the same character of epistolary confession that alternates between storytelling and lamentation, but with one essential difference: Boccaccio, true to the themes of the *Heroides* and to the influence of the *Tristia*, subscribes to the medieval conception of the elegy as a 'style of the wretched' ('stilum miserorum'; Dante, *De vulgari eloquentia*, 2.4.6); Corella subscribes instead to the conception of tragedy, because he sees infidelity as a crime and his protagonist's experience as a *casus fortunae* – tragedy, according to Nicholas Trivet's definition, is a 'poem about great crimes or iniquities' which begins with prosperity and ends in adversity.[44] In tune with this definition of the genre, Corella embellishes the piece with apocalyptic images derived from Seneca right from the start:

> May the gates of Hell open, and spew out unworldly spirits; may the elements return to primordial chaos; may the punishments of the damned be on display, that the terror-struck world does not rejoice in happiness. May the rivers stop flowing and the mountains run in haste; may the sea boil and hurl fish on the shore; may the sun set below the peopled earth, never more its golden tresses to spread before us; may the year no longer be measured in twelve months, and the time to come comprise just one night.[45]

This peculiar tragedy eventually reaches its resolution with a letter that consoles the lover in the very act of being written. The *Heroides* and *Fiammetta* are still in the background. The difference lies in the hyperbole of a narrator who uses

44 '[C]armen de magnis criminibus vel iniquitatibus'; *Expositio super librum Boecii de consolatione*, 2, pr. 2, cited in Kelly (1993: 128). See also Torró (1996a).

45 'Obra's l'infern, esperits immundes sobreïxca; tornen los elements en la confusió primera; mostren-se clar dels damnats les penes, perquè lo món, en terror convertit, alegria no celebre. Estiguen los rius segurs e los monts cuitats córreguen; bullint, la mar los peixos a la riba llance; repose lo sol davall l'habitable terra, nunca jamés en nostra vista los seus daurats cabells estenga; no es compten pus de l'any los dotze mesos, e sola una nit l'esdevenidor temps comprenga' (Rico 1984: 22–3).

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his own blood as ink, to ensure that the writing material itself chimes with the pain he feels:

> Accepting the quill, which often calms serious woes, with my own blood I write so that the colour of the ink matches the pain of which I tell.[46]

Joanot Martorell's *Tirant lo Blanc*: In the Shadow of Livy

In the dedication and introduction, Joanot Martorell presents his chivalric novel *Tirant lo Blanc* as if it were a history book, and his title character as a famous hero in the service of the *res publica* through his military practice. His exploits, therefore, are worthy of a written memoir, like those of heroes immortalized by 'poets and chroniclers'.[47] This presentation reflects the culture of courtly classicism of a mid-fifteenth-century knight. *Tirant* is nourished as much by contemporary history, Martorell's own experience as a knight, and medieval chivalric fictions as it is by a knowledge of the classical tradition, in the vernacular and in Latin, which is projected onto the three key themes of the novel: war, love, and rhetoric.[48]

The first part tells of how the young Breton Tirant wins fame at the court of the King of England. The subject matter and structure are from the chivalric romance tradition. After this celebration of courtly life, the narrative shifts from England to the Mediterranean and recounts the life of a knight who, now a captain, takes the Byzantine empire back from the Turks and Christianizes North Africa. Contemporary events give credence to the military story: Constantinople had fallen into the hands of the Ottoman Turks in 1453, and because Martorell had lived in Naples between 1450 and 1458, he knew of the plans for its reconquest supported by Alfonso IV and Pope Callixtus III (Beltran 2015: 32–3). He modelled his hero on the historical figure of Roger de Flor and took inspiration from the Catalan expedition to the East recounted by Ramon Muntaner (see Chapter 2, pp. 38–9); like Muntaner, he had in mind the model of Alexander, who had already featured in Desclot's earlier chronicle: 'in battle it often happens that prudence and ingenuity will allow the few to defeat the many'.[49]

46 'Acceptant la ploma, que sovint greus mals descansa, la present ab ma pròpia sang pinte, perquè la color de la tinta ab la dolor que raona se conforme' (Rico 1984: 27).

47 La Fontaine 1993: 37; 'poetes e historials' (Hauf 2004: 61). There are two English translations of *Tirant*: Rosenthal (1984) and La Fontaine (1993).

48 For an overview of the work, see J. Pujol (2015c); on the link with contemporary history and chivalry, see Riquer (1992) and Beltran (2015); for the sources, see J. Pujol (2002b).

49 La Fontaine 1993: 39; 'com per la prudència e indústria dels batallants diverses vegades los pocs han obtesa victòria dels molts' (Hauf 2004: 69).

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When he learns of an Islamic attack, Tirant travels to Sicily and frees Rhodes – the island had suffered a famous siege in 1444. Summoned by the emperor of Constantinople, he heads eastwards from Sicily and ends up defeating the Great Turk and reconquering Asia Minor, mirroring Roger de Flor's military campaign which reached the Armenian border. Roger had needed to marry the emperor's niece to become captain general and, eventually, ruler of the empire. Tirant fights only for honour – he is a fictional knight and not a mercenary – but no sooner has he arrived in Constantinople than he falls in love with the emperor's daughter, Carmesina. This troublesome affair, given the suspicions that could surround an ambitious foreigner, takes up tens of chapters. In the end, he is made 'cèsar' (the title given to the heir to the Byzantine empire) once the empire has been reconquered, shortly before his death from pneumonia contracted in Adrianopolis, the city where Roger de Flor was assassinated. This is the basic plot of love and war, with the two strands woven together in alternating episodes.

The sentimental plot is complex, because in addition to the affair between Tirant and Carmesina, there are other pairings of secondary lovers, and other characters moved by passion. The expression of love gives rise to letters, requests, speeches, and laments which Martorell constructs according to the style of his models from sentimental literature: in particular Roís de Corella and Boccaccio and their favourite classical authors, Ovid and Seneca, which he copies verbatim from the Catalan translations. The lofty prose of these genres is well suited to the characters' high social status, but coexists with passages of crisper dialogue and with the humour inherent in many of the situations. In *Tirant* there are scenes peculiar to Latin comedy, from Terence to medieval comedy, and opportunities for subverting the ancient language. As the main storyline is tense – Tirant wants to satisfy his desire and Carmesina wants to preserve her honour – there is room for action from two secondary characters. Plaerdemavida (Pleasure-of-my-life), one of Carmesina's maids, plays the role of go-between. Her favourable attitude to sexual pleasure picks up the tradition stretching from Ovid's *Ars amatoria* to, for example, the *Pamphilus de amore* (*c.* 1100). Martorell knew this elegiac comedy well: he rewrites Galatea's monologue after Pamphilus has robbed her of her virginity (lines 681–96; Becker 1972: 299–301) in an identical situation in chapter 436 of *Tirant* (Beltran 1990: 101–7). The other secondary character accompanying Carmesina is the Viuda Reposada (Easy-going Widow), a wet nurse who represents the traits of the traditional wet nurse, or *nutrix*, a figure that Martorell had encountered while reading Seneca's *Phaedra* and *Medea*, Ovid's *Heroides*, and Boccaccio's *Fiammetta*. True to the wet-nurse role, the Widow does not take kindly to the recently arrived Tirant, and is even less enthusiastic about his love for the princess. However, Martorell modifies the tradition: instead of

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becoming Carmesina's accomplice, the Widow becomes her rival, as she falls in love with Tirant and hatches a malicious plot to provide him with evidence of Carmesina's supposed infidelity (chapter 283). The episode is based on the plot of Roís de Corella's *Tragedy of Caldesa*, now converted into a comedy which, via Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* and a *novella* by Matteo Bandello, eventually appears in Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing*.[50]

This same tendency towards parody can also be seen in relation to the story of Phaedra and Hippolytus. In Martorell's novel Hippolytus is one of Tirant's young pages, who has a secret affair with the Byzantine empress. The story of their affair is a *novella* in the style of Boccaccio that skilfully blends sentimentality with frank sexual content. The parody is patent from the moment when Hippolytus, instead of maintaining the chastity of the mythical character, gives in to the empress's adulterous advances; it becomes even clearer when the empress plays on the confusion between Hippolytus and her son, killed at war, and tells Hippolytus that 'you will be thought a heretic' because 'you have fallen in love with your mother' (chapter 262),[51] as if she were Phaedra and Hippolytus really was her stepson. Following the deaths of the emperor, Tirant and Carmesina, the empress and Hippolytus marry and inherit the Byzantine empire (chapters 480–3), in total contrast to the tragic ending of the myth.

Martorell had a remarkable literary memory. He had read – and paid close attention to – the Catalan translations of Ovid's *Heroides*, Seneca's *Tragedies*, and Guido delle Colonne's *History of the Destruction of Troy*, as well as several of Boccaccio's Italian works and Roís de Corella's Catalan prose works. He not only took plotlines from them, as in the case of the Phaedra myth, but also adapted several fragments from them. These works in the vernacular were like a quarry of ready-made prose rhetoric for him, and a source of inspiration for numerous sentimental scenes. Many of the pages of *Tirant* are a kind of patchwork of excerpts from these model texts and others.[52] For example, Tirant's first steps in love (chapters 118–20, 208–9) follow Guido delle Colonne and Ovid's letters between Paris and Helen (*Heroides*, 16–17); the grief of the African queen Maragdina (chapter 319) is expressed with short extracts from the laments of Ariadne (*Heroides*, 10) and the main character of the *Fiammetta* (chapter 8); Seneca's *Tragedies* are the guide for Tirant's death and the denouement of the novel (chapters 467–78). It is worth focusing on a detail: when Tirant has

50 The relationship between *Tirant* and *Orlando furioso* and Shakespeare's comedy was established by Dunlop (1814: II, 81); for a detailed statement, see Riquer (1947: 185–91). See also the summary of sources for *Much Ado* in Humphreys (1981: 5–25).

51 La Fontaine 1993: 517; 'que et tendran per heretge […] per ço com te est enamorat de ta mare' (Hauf 2004: 979).

52 On Martorell's rewriting techniques, see J. Pujol (2002b); his sources are catalogued on pp. 215–19.

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reconquered the empire, and the celebrations for his triumphal return as 'cèsar' and his wedding are being readied in Constantinople, he experiences a sudden change in fortune, contracts pneumonia, and dies. The scene focuses on the funeral bier in the church of Hagia Sophia, where the emperor, empress, and Carmesina mourn the death of their hero. The overall conception of the episode and the words of the characters derive from Seneca's *Troades*: Tirant's death is seen as the end of the empire, as is Hector's, and Carmesina becomes the counterpart of Polyxena – both destined to die on their hero's tomb in their bridal dresses – and of Andromache – Hector's widow, soon to see their son thrown to his death. Carmesina's lament is a reworking of the words of the mythological characters:

> 'Oh, Tirant, our right hands will wound our breasts and tear at our faces to make our misery even greater, for you were our shield and the shield of all the empire!' […] 'Madam,' replied the princess, 'if I did not expect to die I would end my life myself. […] It was he who in his tender youth subjugated by his might the lands of far flung peoples, for which he will be remembered for centuries or thousands of years. It was he who avenged the injuries which the Greeks suffered in combat. It was he who fiercely pursued our former conquerors and cast them out of all Greece, and who fought and triumphed in countless battles for us. […] But why do I need to talk so much? I should not be afraid to die, nor should I need to excuse myself for wanting to accompany so valorous and singular a knight. He has proven himself worthy and I should have no fear of harm; indeed, it is a contemptible thing to fear what one does not expect to occur. Oh, sorrow, reveal my misfortunes.'[53]

[53] Chapters 474–5; La Fontaine 1993: 792–3; 'Oh, lo meu Tirant! Per dolor de la tua mort les nostres mans dretes firen los nostres pits, e rompam les nostres cares per fer major la nostra misèria, car tu eres escut de nosaltres e de tot l'imperi. […] Si l'esperança de morir no em detingués – dix la princesa – , jo em mataria. […] Aquest és qui en sa tendra joventut subjugà ab la virtut sua terres de pobles molt separats, la fama del qual serà divulgada en gran duració de segle o de mil·lenars d'anys, la virtut del qual començà eixir en grans victòries. Aquest és qui no ha temut escampar la sua pròpia sang en camps de batalla. Aquest és qui ha venjades les injúries que han rebudes los grecs en los fets de les armes. Aquest és lo qui encalçà ardentment los que eren vencedors e foragità de tota Grècia, qui ha per nosaltres obteses e vençudes tantes batalles. […] Per què em cal tant parlar? Que jo no deig haver temor de morir, ni excusar-me'n dec per fer companyia a un tan valerós cavaller e entre tots los altres singular, car aquest ha multiplicat e ajustat temps a la mia misèria, e no dec tembre res que de mal sia. Miserable cosa és haver temor de ço que hom no espera haver res. Oh dolor, manifesta los meus mals!' (Hauf 2004: 1502 and 1507). The lament starts from a speech by Andromache (*Troades*, lines 418–26), following the medieval Catalan version (Martínez Romero 1995: II, 358). The parallel Martorell draws between Tirant and Hector incorporates a eulogy of the hero taken from Canals's *Scipio and Hannibal* (J. Pujol 2002b: 203–8).

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The war episodes similarly make use of Martorell's knowledge of ancient historiography, which he had gleaned from medieval translations. Tirant's eulogy (chapter 345) reproduces the praise for Alexander's military prudence from John of Wales's *Breviloquium* (Aguilar 2003: 274–5). Martorell cites Valerius Maximus (in Antoni Canals's translation), and Frontinus provides him with anecdotes that he freely adapts. The narration of the siege and the assault on a North African city (chapters 311–15) is a reworking of two anecdotes from Frontinus on betrayal as a means of attacking a fortified city (*Strategemata*, 3.3.2 and 3.3.4; J. Pujol 2002b: 55–6). Within this mass of motifs taken from ancient history, however, we find some that can only have come from his knowledge of Latin texts (Torró 2016). Thus, Tirant's first campaigns against the Turks in Asia Minor take place beside the river Trasimene, the main setting for the war (chapters 138–45). The reference to Hannibal's famous victory at the Battle of Lake Trasimene could not be clearer, and Martorell evidently thought that his readers would realize that he had transformed the lake into a river. It is possible that Martorell was recalling Livy (*Ab urbe condita*, 22.4–7), whose presence is felt in other episodes. Tirant's first victory over the Turks is achieved thanks to a strategy that involved burning a wooden bridge the Turks had built over the River Trasimene (chapters 140–1): the narrative is inspired by a Roman victory during the Sabine wars (*Ab urbe condita*, 1.37). Livy stresses the trickery: 'in addition to more men swelling their ranks, the Roman army was also aided by a secret plan' ('praeterquam quod viribus creverat Romanus exercitus, ex occulto etiam additur dolus'). *Tirant* expands on this by detailing the careful preparation of a large pile of wood on a raft hidden in the castle of Malveí; the dispatch of the burning raft downstream, controlled by two men in a boat; and finally the enemy's terror, their harried retreat, men and horses falling in the water, the destruction of the bridge, and victory (chapters 140–1).

Victory leads to the evocation of the great warriors of old. After his triumph, Tirant is compared to famous historical conquerors: 'Your majesty should not think that Alexander, Scipio, or Hannibal were as wise, valiant or skilled in knightly arts as this man is!'[54] Victory also leads to oratory. The negotiations with the enemy Turk are handled by Abdullah Solomon, an ambassador and 'great philosopher' (chapter 142; La Fontaine 1993: 311), who delivers his speech before the army. It reproduces the Catalan version of Epistle 12.2 of Petrarch's *Familiares*, in such a way that this *institutio regia* becomes a political admonition for a military chief, Tirant, compared to a Caesar at the highest point of his fortune (chapter 143).

54 Chapter 145; La Fontaine 1993: 317; 'E no pense la majestat vostra que Alexandre, Escipió ni Anníbal fossen tan discrets savis ne ab tan esforçat ànimo ni tals cavallers com aquest és!' (Hauf 2004: 621).

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The *oratio* that reproduces Petrarch's epistle is only a choice example of a practice that permeates the whole novel. *Tirant* is not just a tale of love and war, like all chivalric romances from the twelfth-century *Roman d'Enéas* onwards, nor is it limited to dressing up sentimental episodes with rhetoric borrowed from Boccaccio and his classical sources, as we find in Roís de Corella. For Martorell, a novel with pretensions to be a historical chronicle had to provide not only a description of the military deeds but also the speeches of the key players, just as Livy had done. It is worth recalling that half a century earlier, when Antoni Canals had translated a fragment of Petrarch's *Africa*, he presented it as the 'parley and battle' ('parlament e batalla') between Scipio and Hannibal taken from Livy (see Chapter 2, pp. 64–5), and included both the speeches they addressed to each other, and those to their respective armies. It is, therefore, Livy's historiographical model that provides the general framework for *Tirant*, independent of the specific sources for the rhetorical set pieces inserted throughout the narrative. These pieces are from a range of genres; all the following are indicated in the text (and in the chapter rubrics, which are not the author's own): letter ('lletra'), speech ('raonament'), oration ('oració'), advice ('consell'), embassy ('ambaixada'), sermon ('sermó'), consolation ('conhort'), lament ('lamentació'), exclamation ('exclamació'), exhortation ('exhortació'), plea ('requesta'), and the response ('resposta'). All of these can be grouped under the headings of epistle (*epistola*) and speech (*oratio*). In the episode we commented on above, just before the burning of the bridge, Tirant delivers an exhortation ('exhortació') to his men, just as ancient military chiefs did (chapter 141). The speech ('oració') to the knights in chapter 156 translates fragments of the closing address of Sallust's *Conspiracy of Catiline* (Cingolani 1995–6: 377–9).

Livy was popular reading material at Alfonso the Magnanimous's Neapolitan court (Ryder 1990: 319–20), where Martorell had spent a few years, and features in the libraries both of his lord, the Prince of Viana (M. de Bofarull 1864: 139, 140, and 143), and of Peter of Coimbra (Balaguer i Merino 1881: 25, item 34), who was subsequently proclaimed King of Aragon, and the cousin of Prince Ferdinand of Portugal, the dedicatee of *Tirant* (see Chapter 2, pp. 83–4). It should come as no surprise that Martorell, like Livy, presents war in all its different forms (sieges, battles on land and at sea, stratagems, truces, embassies) and intersperses letters, speeches, and debates written in a fittingly solemn style. Following Petrarch's lead, Italian humanism had promoted the composition of *orationes* as if given by historical figures. The courts of Alfonso IV and the Prince of Viana took up this rhetorical practice, and examples have survived in both Castilian and Catalan. For example, Pere Torroella had translated an apocryphal speech entitled *Razonamiento de Demóstenes a Alexandre* (*Speech by Demosthenes to Alexander*) and, perhaps, a putative epistle from the Scythians to Alexander taken from Curtius Rufus (Rodríguez Risquete 2011: II, 166–74

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and 318–23); a Castilian version of Coluccio Salutati's *Declamatio Lucretiae* (*Declamation of Lucretia*) has also survived (Morrás 2010). In Catalan, Joan Roís de Corella composed the *Raonament de Telamó i Ulixes* (*Speeches of Telemus and Ulysses*) (Martos 2001b: 125–35).

In the love episodes, the *prosa d'arte* of the rhetorical pieces makes *Tirant* the progeny of Boccaccio and Roís de Corella. The speeches inserted into the description of an apparently historical exploit correspond to a more general ambition in the work: to glorify a hero comparable to those heroes of ancient history, as Martorell states in the introduction.[55] The only Roman historian cited in that introduction, just after Homer, is Livy, as if he were the Latin root of the historiographical tradition that preserves the memory of those heroes: 'The illustrious poet Homer has described the battles of the Greeks, Trojans and Amazons. Livy wrote of Romans: Scipio, Hannibal, Pompey, Augustus Octavius, Marc Antony, and many others.'[56]

55 '[G]estes e històries antigues' (Hauf 2004: 69); 'feats and stories of old' (La Fontaine 1993: 39).

56 La Fontaine 1993: 39; 'E aquell egregi poeta Homero ha recitat les batalles dels grecs, troians e de les amazones; Titus Livius, dels romans: d'Escipió, d'Anníbal, de Pompeu, d'Octovià, de Marc Antoni e de molts altres' (Hauf 2004: 69).

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4

Printing: Humanism and the Renaissance

As noted in Chapter 2, towards the end of the fourteenth century royal servants – chancery scribes and secretaries – gradually adopted a more polished style in both Latin and Catalan, occasionally modelled on Cicero. Official correspondence in Latin was the most important task of those responsible for secular administration, such as the royal secretary Bernat Metge, whom we have already encountered (pp. 54–6 and 93–8). A good example of the way in which Metge engages with Cicero is provided by a Latin letter of 17 October 1408 written on behalf of King Martin to the councillors of the Sardinian town of Oristano, whose support the monarch is eager to secure in his fight against William II of Narbonne (Taylor 2012: 137–9). Here Metge's style adopts several features typical of the Roman orator. One key characteristic of Ciceronian style is the use of periodic sentences, a device imitated by Metge from the outset. The first two sentences, comprising twelve lines, include a series of subordinate clauses (relative, conditional, and participial phrases), which allow the text to unfold gradually. In the opening sentence the main idea is emphasized by being placed at the end:

> Quanta conceperimus alacritate animique quiete, quantoque mentis jubilo, quantaque cordis aviditate laudabiles actus vestros […], lingua vix seu calamo exprimere valeremus.
>
> (With how much alacrity and tranquillity, with how much joy, with how much eagerness of the heart we have received your honourable deeds […], we shall barely be able to express with our tongue or our pen.)

Throughout his epistle Metge resorts to parallel structures, chiefly through tripartite sentences: 'Venit enim tempus quo fletus vester in gaudium, planctus in plausum, et in libertatem captivitas redigetur' ('A time will come in which your tears will turn into joy, your lamentations into applause, and into liberty your captivity'). The style is additive, often by means of rhetorical questions: 'Ubi est deus tuus? Ubi latitat? Ubi dormit?' ('Where is your god? Where is he hiding? Where is he sleeping?').

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In the course of their daily work, these *dictatores* commonly resorted to compilations of extracts from other writings. A good example is a Latin florilegium included in Montserrat, MS 981, which features collections of sentences from classical authors (Livy, Plato, Ptolemy) and writers on spiritual matters (Bernard of Clairvaux), as well as a series of mnemonic devices. The compilation is clearly an aid for chancery clerks, as borne out by a note in Catalan written on the first page of the manuscript containing instructions 'for both counsellors and councils' ('comunes a consellers e consell'). Significantly, one of the items included in the florilegium is made up of excerpts from Petrarch's *De remediis utriusque fortunae* (*Remedies for Fortune Fair and Foul*) entitled *Flores sumpte a magistro Patrarca laureato* (*An Anthology Culled from Master Petrarch, Poet Laureate*; fols 2–29). An analysis of the passages from Petrarch's manual for meditation included in Montserrat, MS 981 demonstrates that this is the source for a Catalan translation of 165 maxims from the *De remediis* known as *Flors de Petrarca de remei de cascuna fortuna* (*An Anthology from Petrarch's 'Remedies for Fortune Fair and Foul'*).

All these royal servants had been trained as notaries. Notaries and lawyers were often the outstanding bibliophiles of the age. Detailed inventories of the holdings of several fifteenth-century private libraries, chiefly in Barcelona, give us a good idea of the breadth of their intellect. As the century unfolded, these libraries grew considerably, both in size and number. This change took place in the course of just three to four decades. As an example, the classics are heavily outnumbered by the numerous legal works left by the royal scribe and citizen of Barcelona Pere Vidal († 1390), while the inventory of books owned by the notary Antoni de Font († 1425) shows a better acquaintance with classical literature.[1] By far the largest private library in early-fifteenth-century Barcelona was that of the notary and official scribe for the Council of a Hundred (Consell de Cent), Bernat d'Esplugues († 1433), who left an impressive collection of over two hundred volumes (Iglesias 1996: doc. 164). In addition to manuscripts of the Roman classics including Livy, Quintilian, Pliny the Younger, Ovid, Virgil, Valerius Maximus, Lactantius, and Augustine, as well as Isidore of Seville, the list of books belonging to Bernat d'Esplugues featured several novelties from Italy: Dante's *Divine Comedy*, works by Boccaccio, as well as Petrarch's most renowned Latin texts (Iglesias 2000). Indeed, Petrarch's Latin oeuvre continued to hold its appeal in fifteenth-century Barcelona. Further indication of its standing among local notaries is provided, for example, by the inventory of volumes owned by Pere Pau Pujades (†1462), which includes a copy of his *Secretum* (Brovia 2016: 202, n. 10). Material evidence aside, further proof of

1 For Vidal, see Hernando (1995: II, 563–6, doc. 393); for Font, see Iglesias (1996: doc. 104).

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Catalan interest in the Latin of Petrarch in the mid-fifteenth century is provided by an anonymous Catalan translation of his letter to Niccolò Acciaiuoli (*Familiarum rerum*, 12.2) dating to sometime before 1460 (see PETRARCH).

The Dissemination of Humanism

From the mid-fifteenth century, in Catalonia and other territories of the Crown of Aragon, representatives of the urban ruling classes began to establish direct cultural links with Italy. Introduction to the new products of Italian humanism was not channelled this time via the court but through members of patrician families, who had the financial resources to send their children to Italy. These men (and their offspring) corresponded on friendly terms with prominent humanists and were granted access to translations of – and commentaries on – Greek and Roman texts originating from Italy. Typical of these figures with classical inclinations and contacts among the Italian humanists is the Majorcan jurist and civil servant Ferran Valentí (*c.* 1415–76). In Florence in the 1430s Valentí made the acquaintance of Leonardo Bruni, praised as 'my father and tutor […] the glory and honour of the Tuscan language'.[2] Following his return to Majorca in 1438, Valentí joined the circle of intellectuals who gathered around the royal councillor Ramon Gual and wrote an oration in Catalan, Latin letters (some to fellow humanists, such as Beccadelli), and Horatian odes (Cappelli 1997). Valentí is better known, however, for his Catalan translation of CICERO's *Paradoxa*, undertaken around 1450 (Badia 1994). In the preface to this work, addressed to Gual, Valentí says that he decided to render Cicero's work into his 'mother tongue, Majorcan' ('vulgar materno e mallorquí') so as to help his dedicatee – who did not read Latin – understand the tenets of Stoic philosophy, in which he had declared an interest. Valentí uses his prologue to launch a defence of the vernacular and to review preceding practice of translating several classical authors into Catalan (Valerius Maximus, Seneca, Boethius, Flavius Josephus, and Livy). Among the translators of CICERO whom he cites is Nicolau Quilis, the author of a heavily glossed version of the *De officiis* completed before 1428 and dedicated to Francesc de Colomines, who held different administrative posts in Barcelona in the early fifteenth century.

Valentí's and Quilis's are not the only Catalan translations of, respectively, the *Paradoxa* and the *De officiis* produced in the fifteenth century. Two other anonymous versions of the texts survive: one of the *Paradoxa* from the mid-fifteenth century, and one of the *De officiis* (3.81–121), after 1430 (see CICERO). Significantly, both versions are the source for further translations of Cicero's

2 '[P]are e preceptor meu […] glòria e honor de la llengua toscana' (Morató 1959: 38).

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works into Castilian and Aragonese, an indication of the close links between the different linguistic and literary traditions in the Peninsula in the fifteenth century. As with Valentí, the anonymous translator of the *Paradoxa* includes a preface which is presented as an *accessus* outlining the author's life, the subject matter of the work, its structure, and philosophical classifications: in short, typical features of a grammar-school text (Badia 1994: 183). A Castilian translation preserved in two different manuscripts (London, BL, MS Egerton 1868, and Madrid, BNE, MS 1221) stems from this anonymous Catalan one. Unlike Quilis's version, still deeply rooted in the medieval tradition, the fragmentary translation of the *De officiis* does not contain any glosses. The preserved manuscript features the original Latin with corresponding Catalan translation in the margins; this page layout would seem to indicate that the Catalan version was meant to help the reader grasp the contents of the original Latin (L. Cabré & Torró 2007: 212). An Aragonese version (Madrid, BNE, MS 10246) stems from a stage of the Catalan translation before the one preserved. This same Madrid manuscript includes a further Aragonese version of Cicero's *De amicitia*, which was most likely also translated from a Catalan version now recorded as lost.

Another translator who knew the Italian cultural world well was the consul of Palermo and citizen of Barcelona Francesc Alegre. First recorded in the 1470s, Alegre died between 1504 and 1511. Proof of his familiarity with Italian humanism is afforded by his translation of Leonardo Bruni's *Commentaria de primo bello Punico* (*Notes on the First Punic War*). Completed in 1472, this version of Bruni's account of the First Punic War was dedicated to Alegre's brother-in-law, the nobleman Antoni de Vilatorta. The choice of an aristocratic dedicatee is no surprise as Bruni's text provided information on warfare and on a key episode of Roman history (Bescós 2013). Alegre was also acquainted with classical literature, as attested by his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses.* In the epilogue to his translation, addressed to Joanna of Aragon, daughter of Ferdinand II, Alegre invokes Bruni, whom he describes as 'a luminary of our time' ('gran llum de nostra edat'), and proudly defends the task of the translator against those who belittle his enterprise – Alegre's coinage of the neologism 'traduir' ('to translate') in fact derives from Bruni; Alegre first used it in his translation of Bruni's *Commentaria*. As with Valentí, in the paratexts accompanying his translation Alegre affirms his own place within the vernacular tradition and alludes to previous versions of Ovid in Catalan. These are best represented by Francesc Galceran de Pinós's lost translation of the text, which – according to Alegre in the epilogue to his version – did not draw on the original Latin but on Giovanni Bonsignori's version of Giovanni del Virgilio's allegories: 'From this rude Latin was taken what is in Tuscan, and from the Tuscan not only the Castilian but also several books in Catalan translated from

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the Tuscan in the past by the nobleman Francesc de Pinós.'[3] It has been argued that Alegre's version of the *Metamorphoses* emerged from a school context, namely from the lessons taught by Jacopo della Mirambella, under whom Alegre studied in Sicily.[4] Whatever the origins of the translation, for Alegre the practice of translating Ovid's verse provided a valid literary model for imitation in the vernacular. In his *Faula de Neptuno i Diana* (*Fable of Neptune and Diana*), an allegorical autobiographical fiction disguised as a translation of Claudian, the author draws heavily on his own translation of *Metamorphoses* 2.708–832 (Torró 1994).

Contacts with Italy increased after Alfonso IV, the Magnanimous, left the Peninsula in 1432 and became King of Naples ten years later. The court fostered links with Italian luminaries. For example, Charles, Prince of Viana (Alfonso's ill-fated nephew), was a patron of Angelo Decembrio, who commemorated him in a *Virgiliana panegyris* (*Virgilian Panegyric*) after Charles's death in September 1461 (Reeve 1991). Moreover, the king's principal secretary Arnau Fonolleda (1390–1475) corresponded with Leonardo Bruni, requesting his Latin translation of Aristotle's *Politics* on behalf of the monarch in a letter of August 1440 (Giménez Soler 1909: 179–80).[5] Another Catalan writer active in Naples at the time was Pere Torroella, who died in 1492. Born around 1420 near La Bisbal, near Girona, Torroella was the youngest son of a landowning family of the lower nobility. He was educated at the court of King John of Navarre, the future John II of Aragon. This background enabled Torroella to write both in Catalan and Castilian. In 1452 he was sent to the court in Naples, serving as the seneschal to Prince John of Aragon (1439–75), John II's illegitimate son and later Archbishop of Zaragoza. While in Naples, Torroella made the acquaintance of the Neo-Latin poet Giovanni Pontano, who expressed admiration for him in several of the poems included in his *De laudibus divinis* (*In Praise of God*; Riquer 1964: III, 176–8). Some of Torroella's prose works are intimately related to his life in the courts of Alfonso the Magnanimous and John II, including a Castilian version of an apocryphal speech by Demosthenes to Alexander the Great (Rodríguez Risquete 2011: II, 275–9), and a series of letters to the governor of Valencia, Pedro de Urrea, son of Teresa de Híjar, the

3 'D'aquest llatí gros fon tret lo que és en toscà i del toscà, no sol lo castellà, mas uns quants libres en català traduïts del toscà en temps passat per lo noble Francesc de Pinós' (fol. 268^{r}).

4 Mirambella would serve the Prince of Viana, King John II, and Prince Ferdinand, the future Catholic King (Torró 1994: 227–8; Bescós 2010: 32).

5 It is worth noting that Bruni, who had been invited to Naples by Alfonso, dedicated his translation of the *Ethics* to the king. He also recommended his own version of the *Politics* to the monarch as 'a large and rich instrument for royal government, and personal ornament of the king' ('magnum ac dives instrumentum regiae gubernationis ac propriam regis suppellectilem'; Pagden 1975: 292–4).

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'Lily among Thistles' in Ausiàs March's poems which are quoted throughout the epistolary exchange between Urrea and Torroella.

Another man with whom Torroella (and the aforementioned Francesc Alegre) corresponded – this time on the nature of honour and other moral matters – was Romeu Llull (*c.* 1439–84). A member of one of the most prominent families in fifteenth-century Barcelona, Llull also sojourned at Naples in his youth. His library, well provided with humanistic books, bears witness to his Neapolitan education. A copy of Leonardo Bruni's *De bello Gothorum* (*On the War with the Goths*) made by him in a beautiful humanistic script is particularly remarkable (Torró 1996b: 20–4). Worthy of mention among his works, in Catalan, Castilian, and Italian, is *Lo despropriament d'amor* (*Love's Will*), a prose allegory written by the author on his return to Barcelona around 1479 and his subsequent marriage to Joana Llull i Llull (Torró 1996b: 17). In fact *Love's Will* constitutes a defence of marital love ('amor conjugal'). The term has a long tradition among Italian humanists, among them Francesco Barbaro, whose *De re uxoria* (*On Wifely Duties*) was on the shelves of Llull's library (Torró 1996b: 44). Torroella's and Llull's prose writings are a good example of the genre currently known as sentimental fiction, as is Francesc Carròs Pardo de la Casta's *Regoneixença e moral consideració contra les persuasions, vicis e forces d'amor* (*Examination and Moral Considerations against the Persuasions, Imperfections, and Forces of Love*; 1472–8), a piece filled with references to Ovid, Dante, and Petrarch.[6]

King Alfonso himself also attracted a group of native scholars – like Lorenzo Valla and Bartolomeo Facio, the authors of, respectively, the *Gesta Ferdinandi regis Aragonum* (*Deeds of King Ferdinand of Aragon*) and the *Rerum gestarum Alfonsi regis libri decem* (*Ten Books on the Deeds of King Alfonso*) – who played a major role in spreading the image of the monarch as a model Renaissance ruler and man of letters. Another such scholar was Antonio Beccadelli, Il Panormita (1394–1471). In his *De dictis et factis Alphonsi regis Aragonum* (*On the Sayings and Deeds of King Alfonso of Aragon*; 1455), Beccadelli celebrated the achievements and apothegms of Alfonso. Beccadelli's *Sayings and Deeds* enjoyed considerable manuscript exposure before it was first published in Pisa in 1485. In the last quarter of the fifteenth century manuscript copies of the text are recorded in both Naples (De Marinis 1947–52: II, 207–24) and Barcelona, as attested, for example, by a Latin letter written by Friar Guillem Fuster (*fl.* 1475) from the monastery of Sant Jeroni de la Vall d'Hebron near Barcelona, acknowledging receipt of a copy of the text borrowed from Pere Miquel Carbonell (Rubió i Balaguer 1995: 222).

6 For an overview of this genre, see Badia (2015).

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Beccadelli's *Sayings and Deeds* was also transmitted in a Catalan translation carried out after 1481 by the Valencian jurist and ecclesiastic Jordi de Centelles (*fl.* 1461–96), who was the illegitimate son of Francesc Gilabert de Centelles, Count of Oliva, and chapel master and counsellor to Ferdinand II, the Catholic. An unaccomplished poet in the vernacular, Centelles was well acquainted with classical historiography, as is confirmed by the catalogue of his library, in which were held copies of Venetian editions of Herodotus, Appian, Livy, Trogus Pompeius, and Suetonius (Duran 1990: 27).

While remaining faithful to the syntax and style of the source language, Centelles subjected his translation to a series of changes. Apart from the logical replacement of pagan invocations for Christian ones, Centelles excluded several passages from the original Latin text, translating only 184 of the 229 sections into which the incunable is divided. In an attempt to adapt the Catalan version to the political circumstances of the reign of Ferdinand II, nephew of Alfonso, Centelles omitted several chapters in which Beccadelli may have portrayed the king as humble and benevolent towards his enemies yet critical of the Roman Curia. Conversely, he introduced materials which do not feature in Beccadelli's original text: a dedicatory letter to Pere Eixarc in which Alfonso's behaviour and courage are compared to those of the most illustrious heroes from antiquity, as well as two short stories not found in Beccadelli (Duran 1990: 283–9).

The accomplishments in the vernacular of this coterie of writers and translators with strong classical interests and in touch with Italian humanists contrast with the activity of a group of Latin humanist writers also operating in the second half of the fifteenth century.[7] These include the historian Joan Margarit, the above-mentioned antiquary and bibliophile Pere Miquel Carbonell, and the poet and Hellenist Jeroni Pau, whose engagement with classical literature and the intellectual trends pioneered by Italian humanists we turn to in the following paragraphs.

Educated at the Spanish College in Bologna, Joan Margarit (*c.* 1421–84), who later became cardinal bishop of Girona, travelled to the Congress of Mantua (1459–61) as a representative of John II of Aragon. The Congress, which had been summoned by Pope Pius II in response to the fall of Constantinople, afforded Margarit the opportunity to make the acquaintance of several Italian scholars who inspired him to undertake a study of the ancient history of the Iberian Peninsula. To that end Margarit wrote the ten books of his *Paralipomenon Hispaniae* (*Lost Chronicles of Hispania*), devoted to the history of Hispania up to the time of Augustus. An outspoken critic of the merely 'bearable' ('tolerabilis')

7 Badia (1988: 13–56) has convincingly argued that it is for these writers that the term 'humanism' should be reserved. For an overview of Latin literature in fifteenth-century Catalonia, see Vilallonga (1993).

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Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, who, in his *De rebus Hispaniae* (*History of Spain*), had appropriated the Gothic theory (see Chapter 1, note 11), Margarit focused his research on the country's distant past, a period which he labelled as a 'forgotten' age. Underlying Margarit's interest in the Ibero-Roman period is the concept of a Hispanic ethnicity that predates the Visigothic kingdom. Margarit approached his subject in a scholarly way: for instance, in his research into the ancient geography and anthropology of the Iberian Peninsula he drew on reliable sources and visited the ancient sites and ruins himself. Taking pride in having immersed himself 'in the histories and geographies of the ancient world' (Tate 1996: 88), Margarit consulted the latest (Latin) translations of Greek authors such as Strabo, Appian, and Plutarch, as well as Roman geographers like Pomponius Mela. As an example, the two great folio volumes of Ptolemy's geography in the universities of Barcelona and Salamanca come from his library (Tate 1996: 89).[8]

Another contemporaneous Catalan scholar (partly writing in Latin) who showed close familiarity with classical texts and with the new cultural products of Italian humanism was Pere Miquel Carbonell. Born in Barcelona in 1434, Carbonell was appointed public notary by King Alfonso IV in 1458. Eighteen years later, in December 1476, he was promoted to royal archivist and royal scribe, positions he held until his death in 1517. Carbonell's public duties enabled him to undertake extensive research in local archives, and the products of his labour are his two most accomplished works: the *Cròniques d'Espanya* (*Chronicles of Spain*; completed in 1513 but not published until 1547), a narrative account of Spanish history in Catalan, written in the rhetorical style so characteristic of the humanist movement; and the *De viris illustribus Catalanis* (*On the Illustrious Men of Catalonia*; 1476). Modelled on Bartolomeo Facio's *De viris illustribus Italiae* (*On the Illustrious Men of Italy*), Carbonell's own *Illustrious Men* is a collection of fifteen biographies which aim to map out the state of Latin literature in the Catalan-speaking lands at the time, and from which, significantly, the vernacular strand within the Catalan literary tradition is excluded.

Of equal importance to these works by Carbonell are the books which he purchased and annotated. The inventory of Carbonell's library before 1484 confirms his interest in ancient literature (Rubió i Balaguer 1995).[9] Carbonell was also well acquainted with the classics of Italian Latin humanism: for instance, in March 1472 he copied Gasparino Barzizza's *Epistulae ad exercitationem*

8 On Margarit's library, see also Espluga & Guernelli (2015).

9 We know, for example, that Carbonell owned a copy of Seneca's *Opera philosophica* (Naples, 1475; Barcelona, BU, Inc. 4) and that he copied the Roman humanist Paolo Pompilio's *De vita Senecae* (Barcelona, BU, MS 123, fols 47r–68r). For his manuscript copies of Sallust, see Rubió i Balaguer (1963: 238–45).

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accommodatae (*Letters Suitable for Latin Composition*) and Giacomo Publicio's *Ars epistolandi* (*On the Art of Letter Writing*), and seven years later he obtained a copy of Agostino Dati's *Elegantiolae* (*Brief Elegances*).[10] Carbonell was not only interested in humanist prose writings: it is no surprise that he also had a taste for poetical works. In Girona, Arxiu Capitular, MS 69, he copied Petrarch's *Carmen in laudem divae Mariae Magdalenae* (*Poem in Praise of Mary Magdalene*; fol. 210^{v}). Another work by Petrarch which piqued Carbonell's interest was the *De remediis utriusque fortunae*. Sometime after 1473, Carbonell collected a list of moral maxims from the *De remediis*, which survives in the same Girona manuscript (fols 246^{r}–252^{v}). Here the passages culled from Petrarch's text are arranged thematically and reproduced alongside maxims from Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, and Aristotle among others. As a rule, the source of a given proverb is copied in the margin: for example, the name 'Petrarcha' is scribbled next to 'Melior est certa pax quam sperata victoria' ('Better is a secure peace than an expected victory'; *De remediis* 1.102) and 'Primus gradus stultitiae est se credere sapientem' ('The first step towards stupidity is to think of oneself as wise; *De remediis* 1.12), the first and last sentences (fol. 246^{r} and fol. 252^{r}).

The literary output of Carbonell's cousin, the Barcelona-born Jeroni Pau (*c.* 1440–97), is perhaps the finest example of Neo-Latin literature produced in Catalonia in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. As with Margarit, Pau served at the curia in the service of John II before transferring to Rome in 1475, where he worked for Cardinal Roderic Borgia, later Pope Alexander VI, until 1491. As a result of his activities at the Vatican, Pau collected a series of notes on jurisprudence entitled *Practica Cancellariae Apostolicae* (*Practical Advice for the Apostolic Chancery*; 1493). It was also in Rome that Pau published his *De fluminibus et montibus Hispaniarum libellus* (*Booklet on the Rivers and Mountains of Hispania*; 1491), a work on ancient Iberian toponomy, in which the author employed classical mythology to frame a foundational Catalan narrative. Similar preoccupations underlie Pau's *Barcino* (*On Barcelona*), a glowing account of the city of Barcelona printed in 1491 on the initiative of the royal secretary Joan Peiró. Modelled on Flavio Biondo's *Roma instaurata* (*Rome Restored*), and its companion piece, *Roma triumphans* (*Rome Triumphant*), Pau's work sings the praises of Barcelona's past marvels and shows his antiquarian pursuits – chiefly concerning the ancient epigraphy of the city – at their best (Espluga 2011).

[10] Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek, MS B 156, fols 136–178^{r} (*Epistulae*) and fols 178^{v}–181^{v} (*Ars epistolandi*); Naples, 1475; BC, Inc. 61–8° (*Elegantiolae*). Dati's *Elegantiolae* had circulated in manuscript form well before they were first published in Cologne in 1470: a copy of the text is recorded in the library of the Prince of Viana in 1461: 'Item Datis' (Faulhaber 1986: 106). However, another copy of the prince's inventory reads 'Item Dant' (M. de Bofarull 1864: 140).

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A good deal of information on Margarit's and Carbonell's bibliographical interests can be gleaned from several private documents; in contrast, very little is known about Jeroni Pau's library holdings. A brief inventory of his books, drafted by Carbonell shortly before Pau's move to Rome (Vilallonga 1988), at least reveals his interest in a number of Roman poets (for example, Ausonius) and historians (Sallust). The list also demonstrates Pau's acquaintance with later Latin texts such as Isidore of Seville and Guido delle Colonne's *History of the Destruction of Troy* (it is not clear whether in the original Latin or in Jaume Conesa's Catalan translation). Further documents point to Pau's interest in early Christian poets. Of these, Prudentius (348–405) was one of the first to receive Pau's attention, as we can see from a letter to Carbonell from January 1486: Pau acknowledges having consulted a text of Prudentius's *Peristephanon* (*Crowns of Martyrdom*), which Carbonell had copied for him from a very old codex a few months earlier (Vilallonga 1986: II, 74–9). Pau's familiarity with the Latin classics is best confirmed by the sources inspiring his own Latin poetry, rather than from the volumes he collected. As an example, for his elegy *Triumphus de Cupidine* (*Victory over Cupid*) Pau drew on Ovid, Virgil, and Prudentius's own *Triumphus Veneris* (*Victory of Venus*). Moreover, his composition in praise of the Majorcan jurist Bartomeu de Verí, then in the service of Bishop Joan Margarit in Rome, provides evidence of his indebtedness to Martial. The opening line ('Si quis erit nostros inter venerandus Iberos'; 'If there were any man fit to be revered among our fellow Iberians') follows its ancient model closely (Martial, *Epigrams*, I, 39: 'Si quis erit raros inter numerandus amicos'; 'If there were any man fit to be numbered among one's new friends').[11]

The Early Printing Press

In 1456 Johannes Gutenberg printed his edition of the Bible. Some ten years later, printing arrived in Italy. Even though the precise date and location of the first book to be printed in the Crown of Aragon are shrouded in controversy, it is widely acknowledged that printing presses were in operation in Barcelona and Valencia by 1473.[12] Whatever the case, one of the early printers active in Barcelona at the time is first recorded there on 8 August of that year (Rubió i Balaguer 1993: 50). His name was Henricus Botel and – as with so many of his colleagues working in the city and elsewhere in the Crown of Aragon – he was of German origin (Rubió i Balaguer 1962). Johannes Risch (Joan Rix de Cura),

11 For both poems, see Vilallonga (1986: II, 154–5 and 112–53).

12 As for Valencia, this date has been brought back to 1472 (Ferrando & Escartí 1992: 100). Rubió i Balaguer dismissed the controversy over exactly where the printing press was introduced into the Crown of Aragon as 'otiose' (1986: 8).

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probably born at Chur shortly after 1450, is typical of these figures responsible for the introduction of the printing press.[13] After several years in Venice, Rix de Cura relocated to Valencia in the mid-1480s. A contract dated 4 November 1487 describes him as 'a German bookseller with his own shop near the merchants' exchange hall in this city of Valencia' ('alemany llibreter personalment atrobat en la botiga sua a prop la Llonja de mercaders de la present ciutat de València'). He must, therefore, have started out as a bookseller (and continued to run a bookshop, as we shall see, until his death in September 1490), but he quickly shifted to work as a publisher. He was responsible for the distribution of several volumes, including the *editio princeps* of Joanot Martorell's *Tirant lo Blanc*, printed by Nicolaus Spindeler in 1490. We cannot say for sure whether he was the actual publisher of an edition of the *Liber elegantiarum* (*Book on Latin Elegance*) by the Valencian notary Joan Esteve (*fl.* 1442–87), but it is clear that he was closely involved with the printer of the volume, the Venetian Paganino Paganini (Polanco 2012: xxxv). By a stroke of good fortune the inventory of Rix de Cura's bookshop holdings, totalling 5,261 volumes, has been preserved.[14] An invaluable source for the circulation of classical and humanistic texts in late-fifteenth-century Valencia, the inventory includes an astonishing number of Latin books (with an indication of the number of copies held at the bookshop), mostly imported from Venice. Unsurprisingly, 270 copies of Esteve's *Liber elegantiarum* were kept in stock (Serrano 1898–9: 496).

Although manuscript copies of the ancient classics, of religious and devotional writings, and of the major works of Italian humanism had been circulating from the 1450s, the importance of the printing press as the chief agent of the dissemination of these three corpora of texts in the Crown of Aragon cannot be overestimated.[15] The following paragraphs provide an overview of printed production and consumption of classical, devotional, and humanistic literature in the period from about 1473 to 1530.

Let us begin with classical literature. From the early 1470s classical texts circulated widely through the printing press in the major urban centres of the Crown of Aragon. They did so mainly in imported editions, in copies supplied first by the Neapolitan and Venetian presses and, after the turn of the century, by printers from Lyon. Local presses also issued editions in Latin of Greek and Roman classics, which were published alongside works by medieval grammarians

13 For this biographical sketch of Rix de Cura we draw on Polanco (2012: xxxiv).

14 The document was transcribed by Serrano (1898–9: 489–97).

15 The reading of classical Latin poets became more widespread in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, particularly among ecclesiastics and members of the ruling classes. For example, a certain Joan Miquel, writing from Zaragoza in 1476, described how reading Virgil was common practice in the lodgings of the bishop of Lleida whilst attending the Corts in the city (Martorell 1926: 110).

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(chiefly Alexander of Villedieu's *Doctrinale*), texts on religious subjects, and educational books, principally on grammar and rhetoric, by Italian humanists. The new versions of Aristotle's *Ethics* and *Politics* (together with Pseudo-Aristotle's *Economics*) by Leonardo Bruni were the first classical texts to reach print in Barcelona, Valencia, and Zaragoza between 1473 and 1478. In some cases the new humanist versions were printed together with Thomas Aquinas's commentaries on Aristotle, which had an enduring popularity. Thus, Joan Ferrer's 1478 Barcelona editions of Thomas's commentaries on the *Ethics* and *Politics* include *lemmata* from both the medieval translations and the Bruni versions (Kraye 1995: 197).

Apart from Aristotle, the bulk of classical texts printed (in Latin) at the time were works employed in the school curriculum or chosen for their pedagogical applications or moral content: Aesop's fables in Lorenzo Valla's Latin translation (Valencia 1474, 1495, 1498, and 1500, and Lleida 1493), Cato (Zaragoza 1493, Valencia 1495, and Barcelona 1500), a selection of Cicero's speeches (Barcelona 1474), works by Pseudo-Seneca (Zaragoza 1484 and Valencia 1500), Plutarch's *De liberis educandis* (*On the Education of Children*) in Guarino Veronese's translation (Barcelona 1478 and Valencia 1500), Terence (Barcelona 1498), Virgil's *Aeneid* (Barcelona 1505), and Roman historians such as Florus (Barcelona 1475) and, above all, Sallust: his works – which had been circulating in manuscript form in Latin and in Catalan earlier in the century – became available in print in Barcelona and Valencia in 1475 (and were published in 1493 in Zaragoza in a Spanish translation by Vidal de Noya). Local printers also drew inspiration from another cultural tradition, namely biblical epics of late antiquity. An example of this is a Tarragona edition of 1499 which includes *Carmina sive Centones Vergilii* (*Poems or Centos of Virgil*) by the poetess Proba on the creation of the world and the life of Christ. Nevertheless, the best instance of the wide circulation of Christian Latin epics in contemporary Catalonia is provided by the fifth-century poet Sedulius, dubbed the Christian Virgil. His *Carmen Paschale* (five books of hexameters on Christ's life and miracles) was published in 1500 (Tarragona and Zaragoza), 1508 (Barcelona), and 1515 (Barcelona and Zaragoza). The pedagogical possibilities of Sedulius's adaptation of the Gospels – a text, in addition, heavily dependent on the paraphrase for its composition technique – were quickly recognized by local printers. Carles Amorós's 1508 volume reproduced Diego de Muros's preface to his own edition of Sedulius (Valladolid 1497), in which de Muros praised the Christian poet as 'elegant, sublime, pious, truthful, and holy' ('elegans, sublimis, pius, verus et sanctus') and recommended that schoolboys should familiarize themselves with his verse.

During the reign of Ferdinand II (r. 1479–1516), classical literature also circulated in the vernacular. As we shall see, some of these Catalan translations were brought to the press while others were only disseminated in manuscript

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copies, but they all stemmed from Italy and it was through the early Italian press that these versions were produced. As an example, the *editio princeps* of Bruni's Latin translation of, and commentary on, Pseudo-Aristotle's *Economics* (Verona 1471) is the volume on which the governor of Valencia, Martí de Viciana (*fl.* 1477–92), based his Catalan version of the text (Ferrando 1982: 17). The translation reproduces Bruni's annotations but it may also include original glosses. Viciana's interest in moral works was not confined, however, to Pseudo-Aristotle. In the late 1470s he also penned a version of Pseudo-Seneca's *De moribus*, a text which had first been printed at Rome in 1474.[16] Another treatise ascribed to Seneca which was translated into Catalan was the *De remediis fortuitorum* (*Remedies against Happenstances*), included in Bonanat Surer's 1499 translation of the anonymous Italian version of Pseudo-Burley's *Liber de vita et moribus philosophorum* (*Book on the Lives and Behaviour of the Philosophers*), published several times after 1480. This Italian translation incorporates in turn passages from Ambrogio Traversari's Latin translation (1433) of Diogenes Laertius's *Lives and Opinions of Eminent Philosophers*. The Catalan translation was carried out in Naples and follows the Italian text very closely, without additions or deliberate omissions (Ferrer 2011a).

The phenomenon discussed in the previous paragraph – namely, the manuscript circulation of Catalan translations of the classics based on previous printed versions of an Italian origin, whether in Latin or in the vernacular – seems to coincide with the manuscript dissemination in Catalan of the works of a handful of Italian humanists whose vernacular writings were also made available to a local readership in the territories of the Crown of Aragon. As was the case with their classical counterparts, the circulation in print of Italian texts provides the background to the Catalan versions. Three humanists – Petrarch, Landino, and Alberti – are worthy of note in this respect. Basing his work on the second edition of the text (Venice 1478), a Valencian translator produced a version of Bernardo Ilicino's commentary on Petrarch's *Trionfi*. The *editio princeps* (Florence 1481) of a further commentator on an Italian classic – Cristoforo Landino's annotations to Dante's *Divine Comedy* – provides the source for the Catalan translation of Landino's landmark commentary (Marfany 2015: 91). The third vernacular humanist who was translated in the last three decades of the fifteenth century was Leon Battista Alberti: an anonymous Catalan version of his *Deifira* and *Ecatonfilea* (first printed in 1471) was carried out sometime in the 1470s. The absence of a preface in Alberti's original texts provided the

16 Interestingly, in his translation of Sentence 113 Martí de Viciana inserts a reference to Aesop's fable 'De carbonario et fullone' ('The Charcoal Burner and the Fuller') in Lorenzo Valla's version (Riera 1987b: 47). As noted above, Valla's translation of Aesop was published at Valencia in 1474.

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translator with the pretext to compose his own opening remarks in the form of a love fiction in which the translator addresses two exemplary *novellas* to his lady (Miquel i Planas 1908–16: III, 3–4).

Local printers also produced editions of Greek and Latin literature in Catalan. These translations were published alongside a vernacular version of the *De regimine principum* (1480 and 1498) by Giles of Rome, as well as editions of several texts in which chivalry and love feature strongly: *Tirant lo Blanc* (1490 and 1497); the Catalan version of Diego de San Pedro's *Cárcel de amor* (1493); *París e Viana* (1495 and 1497); the above-mentioned *Regoneixença* by Pardo de la Casta (1496); and Mossèn Gras's *Tragèdia de Lançalot* (1497). By way of introduction, we focus on four volumes of ancient classics published between 1481 and 1494 which are particularly worthy of note. These books provide information about the channels through which ancient literature in print reached the Catalan-speaking lands, and shed light on the bibliographical interests of the men who brought the texts to the press. One of these men was the Barcelona-based printer Pere Posa, who had been introduced to the new art by Peter Brun of Geneva (known in Catalan as Pere Bru). Both names feature in the colophon to Posa's first volume, a Catalan translation of Curtius Rufus's *Historia Alexandri magni* (*History of Alexander the Great*) produced by Lluís de Fenollet – the son-in-law of Francesc Gilabert de Centelles, Count of Oliva and the father of Jordi de Centelles – which appeared in 1481. Fenollet's version was based on Pier Candido Decembrio's 1438 Italian translation. Decembrio himself was the author of a *Comparazione di Caio Iulio Cesare imperadore et d'Alexandro Magno re di Macedonia* (*A Comparison between Julius Caesar and Alexander the Great, King of Macedon*), which was probably translated into Catalan also by Fenollet and was included in the Catalan incunable of Curtius Rufus's *History of Alexander* alongside passages from Plutarch's *Life of Alexander* in Guarino Veronese's Latin translation. The volume is, therefore, a potent testimony of how Renaissance works reached the Crown of Aragon via the Italian in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.[17]

Another classical text which reached print in Catalan was Flavius Josephus's *Antiquitates Judaicae* (*Jewish Antiquities*), published in Barcelona by Nicolaus Spindeler in April 1482. The text had, however, been circulating in manuscript form from as early as the first decade of the fifteenth century. As Riera has shown (1987c), the same text of Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities*, which later in

17 A structural feature of Fenollet's translation is worthy of mention. Unlike editions of the Latin text, aimed at a learned audience, this vernacular translation of a Roman historian includes an extensive table of contents at the beginning, and divides the text into short chapters, each with a heading summarising the contents. The layout of the translation seems to indicate that the text was perceived as suitable to be read in intervals of leisure, in a manner not dissimilar from the way a chivalric novel such as *Tirant lo Blanc* would have been read (or heard).

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the century would be brought to the press by Spindeler, already featured in the June 1410 inventory of King Martin I's library drawn up a few days after his death (the translation may, however, have been commissioned by John I a few years earlier). We learn from the colophon that the 1482 Barcelona edition of the *Jewish Antiquities* was sponsored by the bookseller Joan Sa-Coma, a member of the 'converso' class. Accordingly, the volume had to be passed by the censor Pere Llopis, professor of theology at the local faculty and a prestigious orator who had been commissioned to write the oration read at the funeral of John II in Poblet in 1479. Despite the deep suspicion in which Flavius Josephus was held by the ecclesiastical hierarchy, manuscript copies of the *Jewish Antiquities* are nonetheless recorded in several chapter libraries in the last quarter of the fifteenth century. As one might expect of a man interested in biblical interpretation and the history of the Church, Joan Margarit had a copy of the encyclopaedic *Jewish Antiquities* on his bookshelves; he quoted the text in his educational treatise *Corona regum* (*Crown of Kings*, 10.28; Segarra 2008).

Seven years after the publication of Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities* the printer Henricus Botel, now based in Lleida, issued an edition of Antoni Ginebreda's translation of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*. Ginebreda had translated Boethius into Catalan around 1390 using an earlier version by Pere Saplana. It was translated from Catalan into Castilian during the fifteenth century and published in Toulouse in 1488 and in Seville nine years later. Botel's printing of Ginebreda's old translation of Boethius in 1489 may be connected to the publication that same year, off Botel's press, of Petrus de Castrovol's commentary on Aristotle's *Ethics* (in Bruni's Latin translation), and of Francesc Santcliment's Catalan translation of the *Fiore di virtù* (*Flowers of Virtue*), an Italian collection of moral anecdotes drawn from a variety of medieval sources (TCM 0.19.2).

Francesc Alegre's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* was probably begun before 1479, though it was not published in Barcelona until 1494, when Pere Miquel brought out a first printing of one thousand copies of his edition, a very substantial print run for the time (Torró 1994: 224). Alegre's version is based on the original Latin text but it also draws on Giovanni Bonsignori's Italian translation of the *Metamorphoses* from around 1375, which in turn is dependent on Giovanni del Virgilio's own *Expositio* and *Allegoriae* (Alcina 1999 [1998]: 134). In addition, Alegre's translation is supplemented with 'allegories and moral expositions' ('al·legories e morals exposicions'; fols 136–267) of Ovid's myths based on Boccaccio's *Genealogia deorum gentilium* (*Genealogy of the Pagan Gods*). The presence of Boccaccio is acknowledged by Alegre in the prologue to his commentary, a eulogy of poetry and poets deriving from the *Genealogy* (book 14) in which a 'Joan Bocaci de Certaldo' (fol. 138^{r}) appears to the translator in a dream. Throughout the succeeding commentary each character invoked by Boccaccio gives their explanation of the Ovidian myths.

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Francesc Alegre's Ovid of 1494 is indeed significant: with the sole exception of an edition of Aesop from 1576 reprinted thirty-six years later, no other classical text was printed in Catalan until the nineteenth century – doubtless a reflection of the loss of prestige of Catalan as a literary language, but also partly for commercial reasons. This does not mean, however, that ancient texts did not circulate in Renaissance Catalonia (and Valencia, for that matter). They did, but primarily in editions printed outside the Iberian Peninsula. Classical texts were also disseminated in editions published in Greek and Latin, as well as in Castilian, which were produced locally. In addition, they were available in manuscript, both in the original and in Catalan and Castilian (A. Coroleu 2013: 353–5).

From the last two decades of the fifteenth century, printers working in the Crown of Aragon also produced numerous editions of spiritual treatises and devotional works (Rubió i Balaguer 1964). Interest in these kinds of texts is closely related to movements for spiritual renewal such as *devotio moderna*, which was based on a personal connection to God and the active demonstration of love towards Him. The corpus of printed devotional texts features volumes in both Latin and the vernacular. Inner spirituality is, for example, highlighted in the title of an edition of Bernard of Clairvaux's *Meditationes de interiori homine* (*Meditations on the Inner Man*) which appeared in Barcelona in 1499. The first book printed at Montserrat was a Latin edition of Bonaventure's *Meditationes vitae Christi* (*Meditations on the Life of Christ*), which came off the press of Johannes Luschner in April 1499. Just over a month later this same Luschner issued an edition of another work attributed to Bonaventure, the *De triplici via sive incendium amoris* (*On the Threefold Way or the Fire of Love*). As attested by the colophon, the volume is directly relevant to the religious life at the monastery: 'most useful for those wishing to advance in spiritual life in the monastery of the Holy Virgin Mary at Montserrat' ('ad permaximam utilitatem in vita spirituali proficere cupientium in Monasterio Beatae Mariae virginis de Monte serrato'; fol. 162^{r}).

Local attention to Pseudo-Bonaventure predated Luschner's printing activity at Montserrat and went beyond ecclesiastical and monastic circles. This is clearly the case with a bilingual Latin–Spanish edition of the *Meditationes vitae Christi* published in 1493 by the printer Pere Miquel. This edition presents the text in parallel columns. It has been noted that 'the line-lengths have been carefully coordinated to ensure that translation and original are perfectly aligned' (Taylor 2006: 150). It therefore seems safe to assume that the volume was aimed at a reader whose level of proficiency in Latin cannot have been very high. For readers with no Latin, and for those who did not need the assistance of a translation, that same year Pere Miquel prepared separate Spanish and Latin editions from the same typesettings. The printer's decision to issue a Spanish (and not a Catalan) edition of the text may have been determined by García

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Jiménez de Cisneros, a native of Valladolid, abbot of Montserrat from 1493, and a champion of *devotio moderna*. Abbot Jiménez de Cisneros's regulations confirm that the lives of the Fathers were at least regarded as material worthy of study at Montserrat: 'In their cells the monks may have at their disposal other reading material […] such as the *Lives of the Fathers*' ('Podrán tener los monjes para leer en sus celdas otros libros […] como *Vitae Patrum*'; Albareda 1956: 316). The collection seems to have been read by young boys in the vernacular, if we are to believe Jiménez de Cisneros's own *Regula puerorum*: 'These books ought to be read in the vernacular' ('Sunt autem legendi isti libri vulgariter'; Albareda 1956: 305).

We know that Pere Miquel's volume featured in Montserrat around 1500, as it is recorded among the books in the catalogue of the monastic library (Albareda 1956: 306). Interest in the *Meditationes vitae Christi* continued into the sixteenth century and lay readers soon had at their disposal a Catalan version of the text – 'by a devout member of the monastery of Montserrat' ('per un devot religiós del monestir de Montserrat') – in at least two editions published by Johannes Rosembach in 1518 and 1522. The detailed evocations of episodes from the Gospels included in the *Meditationes* are also found in writings on similar themes published at the time by Pere Miquel and other Barcelona-based printers. Christ's sufferings are described in several Latin texts – an edition of the *Passio Domini nostri* (*Passion of Our Lord*) was issued by Pere Posa in 1498 – but above all in works written in Catalan, as with the widely popular *Gamaliel* (1493, 1502, and *c*. 1510), or Francesc Alegre's *Passió de Jesucrist* (*Passion of Christ*) published by Pere Miquel around 1494. The life of Christ is the theme of yet another local product, Isabel de Villena's vernacular *Vita Christi*, which first appeared in Valencia in 1497. Moreover, a Catalan version of the *Imitatio Christi* (*Imitation of Christ*) – a treatise commonly attributed to Thomas à Kempis outlining the concepts of *devotio moderna* – was published by Posa in Barcelona in 1482. The popularity of Latin devotional texts in the Catalan-speaking lands in the early modern period is most apparent in the attention paid by local humanists and printers to Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi.* The text, which rigorously conforms to Scripture and to works by accredited authorities, first circulated in Latin, as attested by a copy of the 1478 edition purchased by Pere Miquel Carbonell in 1482 (Barcelona, BU, Inc. 296), even though its phenomenal afterlife was due to multiple vernacular renderings. Ludolph's *Vita Christi* was rapidly made available to vernacular readers in Joan Roís de Corella's translation. The popularity of Corella's Catalan version is obvious from its numerous reprints, in Valencia and Barcelona, between 1495 and 1518.[18]

[18] Corella's translations are: *Lo quart del Cartoixà* (Valencia: Lope de la Roca, 1495); *Lo terç del Cartoixà* (Valencia: Lope de la Roca, c. 1495); *Lo primer del Cartoixà* (Valencia:

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The corpus of humanist texts originating from Italy which were published in the major urban centres in the last quarter of the fifteenth century includes poetry, handbooks of grammar and rhetoric, as well as philosophical and educational treatises (see Appendix 1). At the outset it should be emphasized that absence of such editions in a specific location does not necessarily betoken a lack of local interest. As an example, even though printers did not show much interest in producing editions of works by Italian Latin letter-writers, there is ample evidence of the circulation of collections of letters by Francesco Filelfo, Leonardo Bruni, and Angelo Poliziano in Renaissance Barcelona, Tortosa, and Valencia.[19]

Let us first focus on the circulation of works employed in the teaching of grammar and rhetoric. First printed in 1473, Niccolò Perotti's *Rudimenta grammatices* (*Elementary Grammar*) was welcomed by humanist teachers throughout Europe as an appropriate replacement for medieval grammars, among other reasons because it included a long section on letter writing. This emphasis on Latin composition may have prompted the royal secretary Joan Peiró (*fl.* 1480) to commission an edition of the text, which was published in Barcelona in 1475 and reprinted in Tortosa two years later. The colourful circumstances surrounding the arrival of Perotti's edition in Barcelona – it was allegedly found among the spoils of a shipwreck off the Catalan coast – have led scholars to play down the importance of the Barcelona edition. It is nevertheless of interest that the volume should close with an epilogue in which Peiró declares his hope that, with the publication of Perotti's textbook, 'our land, having been uncouth, will become elegant and don the mantle of Latinity instead of barbarity' ('ut [patria] ex horrida culta fieret et pro barbarie Latinitatem indueret', fol. 142^{r}). However modest, the Barcelona *Rudimenta* seems to reflect local interest in the reform of Latin teaching. The volume was co-sponsored by the humanist Joan Ramon Ferrer (*c.* 1420–*c.* 1490), the author of a work on Latin pronouns dated to around 1477 and preserved in Barcelona, ACB, MS 70. Inspired by a chapter from Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae linguae Latinae* (*Elegances of the Latin Language*) – the *De reciprocatione* '*sui*' *et* '*suus*'*, On the reflexive use of 'sui' and 'suus'* – Ferrer's text was aimed at 'those who teach grammar in Barcelona' ('docentibus grammaticam Barcinone').[20] In the Catalan capital interest in humanist texts of Italian provenance is also borne out by a late-

Hagenbach and Hutz, 1496); *Lo segon del Cartoixà* (Valencia: Koffman, 1500). On the place of these versions within Corella's literary output, see Rico (1984).

19 For Barcelona, see Peña (1997: 184–95) and Hernando (2011); for Tortosa, see Querol (2006: 100–8); for Valencia, see Polanco (2012: xxxv).

20 On Ferrer's grammar treatise, see Casas Homs (1953) and Rico (1978: 38–9). Proof of Ferrer's classical inclination is further provided by his only preserved composition in Catalan, a verse *sirventès* which closely follows the rhetorical instructions laid out in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (M. Cabré 2002). On Ferrer's links with Italian humanism, see Cobos (2002).

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fifteenth-century copy of Gasparino Barzizza's *De orthographia* (*On Orthography*; Barcelona, ACB, MS C 68), which includes a handful of grammatical annotations in Catalan (for example, 'vulgo *magazem*', glossing the term 'gazophisium' ['chamber'] on fol. 71).

Another local grammarian who was informed by humanist values was Joan Esteve. His *Book on Latin Elegance* of 1472 – though first published in Venice as late as 1489, as we mentioned earlier – was conceived partly as a bilingual Catalan–Latin dictionary, but includes a manual on letter writing. For his book Esteve drew on Perotti's *Rudimenta* as well as the *Synonyma variationum sententiarum* (*Synonyms of Various Sentences*) by Stefano Fieschi of Soncino (*fl.* 1440–60), whose work, written explicitly for schoolboys, is 'a guide towards elaborating thematic translations from the vernacular' (Black 2001: 351). The *Synonyma* gained ground in the Valencian printed book market at the beginning of the sixteenth century when Jeroni Amiguet, lector at the local university, published a Catalan adaptation of the text in 1502, with appendices 'on writing letters' ('ad epistolas componendas'). Dedicated to the university authorities, this Catalan version of the *Synonyma* is described by Amiguet as 'the most efficient manner in which youngsters who aspire to write good Latin will be able to make progress most quickly and easily' ('aptissima via qua celerrime et facillime proficere adolescentes poterunt qui ad Latinitatem aspirant'; sig. ai^{v}). In the territories of the Crown of Aragon the editions discussed thus far were published at about the same time as humanist manuals of Latin style. Indeed, Perotti's and Fieschi's volumes were issued alongside texts whose main aim was to ensure that students could write letters in a pure and elegant Latin style. These include six editions of Dati's *Elegantiolae* and four of Negro's *De modo epistolandi* (*On Letter Writing*) published in Valencia, Lleida, Zaragoza, and Barcelona between 1473 and 1500, as well as manuscript copies of Barzizza's collection of model letters, *Epistulae ad exercitationem accommodatae*. The latter is preserved in two manuscript copies of Catalan origin: one held at Dresden and dated to 1472 (Sächsische Landesbibliothek, MS B 156, fols 136–178^{r}), and another from the early sixteenth century (Barcelona, BU, MS 100).

From the last two decades of the fifteenth century printers based in the territories of the Crown of Aragon also started to issue editions of Italian humanist poetry. This is illustrated by an extremely rare edition of Giovanni Pontano's *De laudibus divinis* (*In Praise of God*) which came off Luschner's press in 1498 (the only recorded copy is in Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, Inc. Parm. 238/II). This is the only non-Italian incunabular edition of Pontano, whose hymns on Christ, the Virgin, and the Creation must have appealed to readers in religious circles. So, for example, the Montserrat monastery library catalogue, which was compiled in 1500, records a copy of Pontano's edition (Albareda 1956: 313). Humanist Latin poetry on Christian topics continued to be very

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much in vogue in the first two decades of the sixteenth century in Barcelona and elsewhere in the Crown of Aragon. In 1512 the lecturer and Erasmian Martín Ivarra (†1557) produced a commentary on the *Distichorum liber* (*Book of Distichs*) by Michael Verinus (Michele Verino, 1469–86), known as the Christian Cato. The *Book of Distichs*, a collection of 308 hexameter couplets on a range of moral subjects, was reprinted in Barcelona fourteen years later and incorporated by Ivarra into the grammar and rhetoric curriculum there in 1532, the same year when the doors of the university were at last formally opened to Valla's *Elegances of the Latin Language*. Of all the Italian humanist poets it was, however, the Carmelite reformer Baptista Mantuanus or Battista Spagnoli (1447–1516) – commonly known as Mantuan – who merited the highest regard. Mantuan's reputation in Barcelona dramatically increased in the 1520s when three editions of his first and second *Parthenicai* (*Lives of the Virgins*) – a narration of the life of the Virgin and an account of the life and martyrdom of St Catherine of Alexandria, respectively – appeared in a very short space of time. Significantly, these three volumes are all reprints of Andreas Vaurentinus's own version of the texts (Toulouse 1513). Evidence of how Mantuan's poems circulated in the Barcelona of that time can be gleaned from the inventory of the local bookseller Miquel Cabrit, drafted in late 1538, in which seven copies of Mantuan's eclogues are recorded, alongside a manuscript of the *Parthenice Mariana* as well as four printed copies of the text with commentaries (Madurell 1955: 791–2).

A final example of the circulation of Italian humanist literature in the territories of the Crown of Aragon during this period is provided by pedagogical and philosophical treatises. Local printers showed interest, for example, in Pier Paolo Vergerio's *De ingenuis moribus ac liberalibus studiis* (*The Character and Studies Befitting a Free-Born Youth*; Barcelona 1481), a work printed three years after the publication in the same city of Leonardo Bruni's *Isagogicon moralis disciplinae* (*An Introduction to Ethics*), which was published in the original Latin in Barcelona in 1478 and was also later to become available in an anonymous Spanish translation as an appendix to Seneca's letters (Zaragoza 1496). Another philosophical text which circulated in the vernacular was Petrarch's *De remediis utriusque fortunae*, translated into Spanish by Francisco Fernández de Madrid (Valladolid 1510). Fernández de Madrid's version was also published twice in Zaragoza (1518 and 1523), under the imprint of Jorge Coci, a man who around that time issued several editions of Sedulius's *Carmen Paschale* and Verinus's *Book of Distichs*, both examples of texts that combine good writing with even better morals.

This combination of linguistic and educational values is reminiscent of Erasmus, whose *Enchiridion militis Christiani* (*Handbook of the Christian Soldier*) was also printed by Coci in 1529. This must have also been the reason behind the publication of Erasmus's edition of Cato in Barcelona, again in

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1529, by Carles Amorós, a man whose links with the Erasmian circles of early-sixteenth-century Barcelona are well known (García Martínez 1986: 245). Only three years earlier another Barcelona-based printer, Johannes Rosembach, had issued a volume containing a selection of Cicero's moral works (*De officiis*, *Paradoxa*, *De amicitia*, and *De senectute*), 'corrected with most dexterous care by Erasmus of Rotterdam' ('solertissima cura Erasmi Roterodami castigata'). The texts included in the compilation had circulated in the vernacular since the first quarter of the fifteenth century. Indeed, the Latin classics and a range of other popular medieval works (chivalric novels, spiritual literature, Ramon Llull's *Blaquerna*) continued to be made available in Catalan in the last quarter of the fifteenth century and the early years of the sixteenth century (Fuster 1976: 115; Codina-Valls 2016: 16). As the next section will show, publishing in Catalan thereafter remained, however, largely stagnant, partly as a result of the gradual adoption of Castilian as the language of the political and cultural elites.

Into the Sixteenth Century

The number of classical texts – both in the original and in translation – and literary works inspired by the classical tradition in the Crown of Aragon during the first decades of the sixteenth century does not bear comparison with preceding centuries.[21] The courtly use of Catalan decreased during the reign of Ferdinand II (r. 1479–1516) – married to Queen Isabella of Castile – and further declined with Ferdinand and Isabella's grandson Charles. The Hapsburg Charles I (r. 1516–56) was the first king to hold both the Crown of Castile and the Crown of Aragon. Over the course of the century, the Catalan-speaking nobility would progressively use or adopt Castilian as a sign of distinction and a vehicle for political and social promotion.[22] Classical texts continued to be printed in Barcelona and Valencia, even a few translations into Castilian, but, with the exception of a 1574 edition of Aesop's fables, no other Catalan translation of a

[21] See Rubió i Balaguer (1947; 1949–58: III, 887; 1961b); Cahner (1980); Fuster (1986); Rossich (1997; 2010b: esp. 20, 25–38); Ferrando & Amorós (2011: 146–53, 164–8, 197–202).

[22] Note the following passage belonging to Boscán's Spanish translation (1534) of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (1528): 'Livy was not undermined because of disapproval of his Paduanisms, nor was Virgil, in spite of being criticized for not speaking in Roman. You can still see this among Spaniards. Although Castilian is highly regarded, Catalan books are, however, read with pleasure.' ('No fue desechado Tito Livio, puesto que no faltó quien dixo haber hallado en él una cierta patavinidad, ni Virgilio, aunque fue reprehendido que no hablaba romano. Y como todavía veis hoy entre los españoles, aunque la lengua castellana sea tenida en mucho, sin embargo léense de buena gana los libros escritos en catalán'; book 1.34). This text was originally included in the second Canossa version of the book, not the first printed edition from 1528; see Zorzi (2008: 145).

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classical text is printed in the fifteen hundreds.[23] Sixteenth-century Catalan literature, nonetheless, was attuned to the intellectual stimuli, sources, and poetic genres of the Renaissance (Solervicens 2000).

The number of incunables and post-incunables of Catalan literary texts printed between the 1470s and 1522 is remarkable. From 1523, production decreases, more so in Barcelona than in Valencia. Yet, in spite of fluctuations, print production in Catalan overall remains stable during the rest of the century. Editions of legal treatises, grammars, devotional texts, and books on theology, medicine, cookery, and other technical subjects compensate for the dwindling literary output: the overwhelming majority of the population still speaks Catalan and the printing presses cater for the varied tastes of Catalan-speaking society. At the same time, as the printing industry in Barcelona and Valencia moves to compete in a growing Iberian book market, editions of Latin and, particularly, Spanish texts produced in these cities increase dramatically in the same period and especially in the second half of the century (Garcia & Wilkinson 2011). The printer Claudi Bornat exemplifies this trend (Madurell 1973). About half of the books coming out of his Barcelona shop are in Latin, including Erasmus's *Colloquia*, Nebrija's *Dictionarium medicum* (*New Medicinal Dictionary*), Ramon Llull's *Ars brevis* (*Brief Art*), and Francisco de Vitoria's *Summa Sacramentorum*. In Catalan, Bornat published a large number of short official edicts and decrees, Nebrija's Latin dictionary, Erasmus's *De octo partibus oratione ... cum ... Catalana interpretatione*, a book of hours, and Pere Màrtir Coma's work on Christian doctrine, among others. In regard to literature, Bornat prints Ausiàs March's works, Pere Serafí's poetry, and Joan Timoneda's bilingual Castilian–Catalan songbook *Flor de enamorados*, but also Fernando de Rojas's *Celestina*, Antonio de Torquemada's *Olivante de Laura*, and Jerónimo de Urrea's Spanish translation of *Orlando furioso*.

The sixteenth-century reception of medieval Catalan literature is irregular. None of its four major historiographical works, for instance, was printed until the mid century. The *Book of King James* was published in Valencia in 1557. Also in Valencia, in 1558, an edition of Muntaner's *Chronicle* came out; another would be printed in Barcelona in 1562. Bernat Desclot's *Chronicle* first appeared in Spanish translation as late as 1616, while Peter the Ceremonious's *Chronicle* was only published within the *Cròniques d'Espanya* (*Chronicles of Spain*; Barcelona 1547) by Pere Miquel Carbonell (Genís 2015). The sixteenth-century

[23] See Duran (1998–2008: II.1, 72–6) and A. Coroleu (2013). Only translations of Cicero's *Familiares* (13.1–53) and *Pro lege Manilia* survive in manuscript form. Dating to 1572, these translations are possibly related to the teaching of Latin and rhetoric. Additional translations of book two of Cicero's *Familiares*, the *Somnium Scipionis*, and *Pro Archia* are now lost. For a list of lost or doubtful translations, see A. Coroleu (2013: 355).

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fortune of the works studied in Chapter 3 is also uneven. Only two of them enjoyed a sustained dissemination. *Curial and Guelfa* is only preserved in a fifteenth-century manuscript (Madrid, BNE, MS 9750), and there is no trace of its readership before Agustín Durán unearths the work and Manuel Milà i Fontanals studies it in 1876. Similarly, Bernat Metge's *The Dream* is fully transmitted in two manuscripts (Paris, BnF, MS Esp. 305, and Barcelona, BU, MS 17) and, partially, in two additional codices (Barcelona, Biblioteca de l'Ateneu Barcelonès, MS III, and Barcelona, BC, MS 831) all dating to the fifteenth century. We know from private library inventories that *The Dream* enjoys a notable readership in the fifteenth century. It is furthermore cited as a translation model by Ferran Valentí, and Joanot Martorell draws on it to write a few passages of *Tirant lo Blanc* (M. Cabré & Martí 2012). Metge's dialogue, however, never reached the printing press. The only extant document regarding its sixteenth-century circulation is Antonio Agustín's copy from 1403.[24] Like *Curial and Guelfa*, Metge's masterpiece has to wait until the end of the nineteenth century to regain renown. Antoni Rubió i Lluch and Josep Miquel Guàrdia only exhume the text in 1889.[25]

All of the manuscripts containing Roís de Corella's mythological prose works date to between the second half of the fifteenth century and 1502–4. Although several of his religious writings in classicizing prose were printed – including his translations of the *Psalter* and of Ludolph of Saxony's *Vita Christi* – there is no edition of his mythological prose pieces before Francesc Pelagi Briz's 1896 edition of the *Jardinet d'Orats* manuscript, which contains his *Laments of Myrrha* and the *Història de Biblis* (*Story of Byblis*). In the incunable era, Johannes Luschner published the short *Plant dolorós de la reina Hècuba* (*Queen Hecuba's Lament*; *c*. 1498), now lost. An edition of *Lo juí de Paris* (*The Judgement of Paris*), which is listed in a 1508 book inventory, met the same fate (Martos 2001b: 87–94; Martos & Gómez 2015: 222–6).

Several copies of the two incunable editions of *Tirant lo Blanc* have survived (Valencia: Nicolaus Spindeler, 1490; and Barcelona: Pere Miquel and Diego Gumiel, 1497). Over a dozen additional copies have been located in premodern library inventories, but only one literary work mentions it, along with Corella's works: the satirical *Somni de Joan Joan* (*Dream of John John*; 1497). *Tirant* enjoyed a remarkable Renaissance posterity, but not in Catalan: it was translated into Spanish and Italian.[26] The Italian translation appeared anonymously in

24 See Torres Amat (1836: 106). A version of Metge's *Walter and Griselda* is included in Joan Timoneda's *Patrañuelo* (1567), but left unattributed (Romera 1991).

25 See Coll-Vinent & Salord (2016: esp. 191–2) for the history of the edition.

26 For the dissemination and reception of *Tirant lo Blanc*, including eighteenth-century France, see J. Pujol (2015c: 107–12).

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Venice in 1538, printed by Niccolò da Sabio. It was reprinted twice, in 1566 and 1611. It was carried out by Lelio Manfredi between 1514 and 1519, and had been commissioned in the Margravate of Mantua, by either Isabella d'Este or her son Federico II Gonzaga.

Diego Gumiel printed a Spanish translation of Martorell's work in Valladolid in 1511. Gumiel's *Tirante el Blanco* sought to adapt Martorell's unique blend of courtly, classical, and classicizing literature to the literary and typographical conventions of Castilian chivalric romances (Ramos 1998; Mérida 2006). Given the insurmountable differences between *Tirant* and the *libros de caballerías*, Gumiel's translation had little success. Miguel de Cervantes, however, read and famously cited it in the first part of *Don Quixote* (1605), as we mentioned earlier (see Chapter 2, p. 84). In Cervantes's parody of chivalric romances as a fantastic and foolish genre, *Tirant* is conversely valued for its characters, *varietas*, and verisimilitude. Cervantes's reading and appreciation of Martorell opened the way for a renewed interest in the text, spearheaded by nineteenth-century Cervantes scholars.

Ausiàs March is the only author of the five studied in Chapter 3 who was widely read, printed, imitated, and translated through the Iberian Renaissance, to the extent of becoming a modern classic. Nearly half of the extant manuscripts transmitting March's works date to the sixteenth century.[27] His poetry was printed five times (1539, 1543, 1545, 1555, and 1560). It was translated twice into Spanish by Baltasar de Romaní (in 1539, reprinted in 1553, and partially in 1562 and 1579) and Jorge de Montemayor (in 1560, reprinted in 1562 and 1579). It was also translated into Latin by the humanist Vicent Mariner (1633). March was especially appreciated among Castilian authors. He was held in high esteem by the first poets to promote the use of Italian metrics in Spanish lyric poetry: Juan Boscán and Garcilaso de la Vega. He was also a key author for Pere Serafí, the first known poet to attempt to adapt the Italian hendecasyllable into Catalan (Rossich 2010a: 303). Musicians like Pere Alberch Vila and Joan Brudieu composed madrigals for March's verses, which were disseminated in print in 1562 and 1585 (Veny 2010). A great deal of March's popularity can be explained by the assimilation of his verses to the classical and classicizing poetics of the period and, in particular and most importantly, to Petrarch's vernacular poetry.

Editions and translations of March's poetry were introduced as a feat of recovery of a forgotten author who, furthermore, wrote in a language that was perceived to be different from modern Catalan. Many of his sixteenth-century

27 Paris, BnF, MS Esp. 479 [*B*]; El Escorial, MS L.III.26 [*C*]; Madrid, BNE, MS 2985 [*D*]; Madrid, BNE, MS 3695 [*E*]; a section of Valencia, BU, MS 210 [*G*]; Barcelona, BC, MS 2025 [*K*].

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readers called this language *llemosí* (Limousin).[28] March's language, though, was remarkably devoid of Occitan features.[29] During the early sixteenth century, a perceived historical distance between modern and medieval Catalan developed. Thirteenth- to fifteenth-century Catalan began to be called *llemosí*, a term that also conflated Catalan and Occitan (Colon 1978; Rafanell 1991). When edited for the press, some medieval works were linguistically adapted or translated into modern Catalan, such as Ramon Llull's *Blaquerna* (edited by Joan Bonllavi and printed in 1521) or Francesc Eiximenis's *Scala Dei* (printed in 1523; Schmid 1988). In other cases – like Ausiàs March's – editions included marginal glosses and lists of obscure words. The 1555 edition of March's poetry by Juan de Resa, King Philip II's chaplain, even includes a concise grammar of the author's language. This ambiguous, but comprehensive and unifying *llemosí* also reveals an awareness of the geographical variation within early-modern Catalan. As regional designations were becoming popular, the term *català* would often refer to the language spoken in Catalonia only; *valencià* would become the preferred term to refer to the language spoken in the Kingdom of Valencia; and *mallorquí*, the language used in Majorca (Ferrando & Amorós 2011: 166–8; Ferrando 1999: 113–14).

In the Italian cinquecento, vernacular humanism engaged in the study of the poetry and language of the troubadours (Debenedetti 1911). In his *Prose della volgar lingua* (*Prose on Vernacular Elegance*), Pietro Bembo admiringly noted the Occitan roots of Tuscan lexicon and poetic forms. Angelo Colocci studied the 'Limousin' origins of Dante's and Petrarch's vocabulary; Mario Ecquicola thought of Petrarch as a disciple of Arnaut Daniel and Folquet de Marselha; and Alessandro Vellutello glossed Petrarch's references to the troubadours in his edition of *Triumphus amoris IV*. It is hardly surprising that the linguistic conflation of Occitan and Catalan led to chronological errors. March's 'Limousin' works were at times confused with the poetry of a troubadour. This is most clear in Federigo Ubaldini's 1640 edition of Francesco da Barberino's *Documenti d'amore* (1309–13), in which Ubaldini lists March among the 'Provençal writers' ('autori provenzali') used to document da Barberino's language (Lloret 2013: 214–15).

Moreover, during the second half of the century, a controversy arose concerning the genealogy of March's works. A number of authors, including Jerónimo

[28] These included all three premodern translators of March's poetry, the editor Juan de Resa (1555), and a long list of authors, among them Joan Ferrandis d'Heredia, Nicolás Espinosa, Jerónimo Arbolanche, Pedro Argote de Molina, Luis Santángel, Jaime Guiral, and Diego de Saavedra Fajardo; see Pagès (1911: 413–22) and Duran (1991: 251–6).

[29] In the previous century, Joan Berenguer de Masdovelles had translated an earlier poem by his uncle Guillem de Masdovelles from Limousin ('llimoví') into Catalan (Rafanell 1991: 32–5). The many Occitanisms of the original poem – and Catalan poetry at the time – perfectly justify this designation (Riquer 1951a: 140–8).

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Arbolanche, Fray Tomás Quijada, Luis Tribaldos de Toledo, Juan López de Hoyos, Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, Pomponio Torrelli, and Vicent Mariner bear witness to discussions between the 1560s and the 1630s about March's debt to Petrarch and, in particular, supposed Petrarchan references to March. These authors, unfortunately, just state their judgements, without arguing or illustrating them (Lloret 2013: 211–13). March did indeed borrow from Petrarch (Espadaler 2015: 101–4), but only occasionally in a corpus of over 10,000 lines written not in hendecasyllabic sonnets, sestinas, or *canzoni*, but in the decasyllabic *octaves* and *dècimes* of the Occitan-Catalan tradition. March's alleged Limousin language surely played a role in this genealogical misconception.[30]

Metrics also played a part in the Petrarchan assimilation of March's works. In the prologue to the second book of his poetry, the first Italianist *canzoniere* published in Spanish (Barcelona: Carles Amorós, 1543), Juan Boscán defends his use of Italian metrics to compose Spanish poetry. In his *Carta a la duquesa de Soma* (*Letter to the Duchess of Somma*), Boscán traces the noble lineage of the Castilian hendecasyllable (*endecasílabo*). He goes back to ancient Greek authors, and deals with the alleged mediation of the 'Provençal poets' and their later Catalan counterparts in a digression. In passing, Boscán praises his dedicatee's husband and patron of March's works during the sixteenth century, Ferrando Folc de Cardona (to whom we will return later):

> In Dante's time and a bit earlier, the Provençal poets thrived, although their works, forgotten over the years, are read by few. After them came many excellent Catalan authors, the greatest of whom was Ausiàs March, and if I were now to begin to sing his praises I could not return so quickly to the task at hand. But the testimony of the lord admiral is sufficient; after reading March's works a single time, he diligently had them copied and became as familiar with his poetry as they say Alexander was with Homer's.[31]

March's decasyllable (*decasíl·lab*) is clearly not equivalent to the Italian or Castilian hendecasyllable (*endecasillabo*, *endecasílabo*) in terms of syllable count and rhythm (Ramírez 1984). However, a syllable count disregarding the Occitan-Catalan conventions (counting up to the last stressed syllable) and

30 As it did in the reception of Jordi de Sant Jordi: see Valsalobre (2007).

31 Cruz & Rivers 2011: 242; 'En tiempo de Dante y poco antes, florecieron los proençales, cuyas obras, por culpa de los tiempos, andan en pocas manos. Destos proençales salieron muchos authores ecelentes catalanes, de los cuales el más ecelente es Osias March, en loor del cual, si yo agora me metiese un poco, no podría tan presto bolver a lo que agora traigo entre las manos. Mas basta para esto el testimonio del señor Almirante, que después que vio una vez sus obras las hizo luego escrivir con mucha diligencia y tiene el llibro dellas por tan familiar como dizen que tenía Alexandre el de Homero' (Clavería 1999: 119–20).

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following instead the Castilian tradition (counting up to the post-tonic syllable) could indeed find eleven syllables in March's lines, which could therefore be (over)interpreted as a precedent of the Italian hendecasyllable (*endecasillabo*). This is one of the reasons for Baltasar de Romaní's attempt to translate March's poems word-by-word and replicate the original metrics in Spanish (Duran 1997: 96–8; Lloret 2013: 33–56).

In sum, all these views on the language, metrics, and sources of March's poetry made possible the assimilation of his verses to Petrarch's vernacular poetry. None of these aspects was, in any case, as fundamental a factor in this process of assimilation as the order in which March's poems were read. Fifteenth-century manuscripts of March's works attest to an early scribal *ordinatio* akin to Petrarch's *Canzoniere* (L. Cabré & Torró 1995; Torró 2010). The most influential Petrarchization of March's poetic corpus occurred in the printing of the first two editions of his works. It primarily consisted of three major interpretive operations, and a myriad of more specific textual interventions. The first major interpretive operation was the suppression of the poetical sobriquets (*senhals*) of the poet's ladies and the invocations appearing in March's envois (*tornades*). As in Petrarch's *Canzoniere*, all of March's poems were to be read as if addressed to one lady, whom some editorial paratexts identified as an imaginary Teresa Bou.[32] Second, fifteenth-century manuscripts rubricate a series of poems (92–7) as being addressed to the author's late beloved. Accordingly, the editorial arrangement of March's printed corpus uses those poems to split the editions in two parts: during the life and following the death of the poet's lady (though all editions are then subdivided into more than two sections). Third and last, March's editions widely disseminated a sequential reading of his poetry. Read continuously from the first poem to the last, March's works tell a story that begins with the first flush of love, follows the ups and downs of the relationship, and, after the death of the poet's beloved, continues with the poetic voice's moralizing regrets for his sinful life before concluding with a penitential conversion. The whole narrative is thus told retrospectively, with hindsight, as a palinode, and read just as one would read Petrarch's *Canzoniere*.

The first two editions of March's works are key to grasping his Renaissance reception. Each also adumbrates important circles of readers, writers, and literary patrons in Barcelona and Valencia. The *editio princeps* appeared in 1539 in Valencia. It was printed by Juan Navarro and accompanied by a Spanish translation. The folio volume is dedicated to Ferdinand of Aragon, Duke of Calabria (1488–1550). Ferdinand was the son of the last Aragonese King of Naples, Frederick I, and Isabella del Balzo (López Ríos 2008). In 1526 Ferdinand

32 The cycle for 'Lily among Thistles' ('Llir entre cards') was in fact addressed to the noble lady Teresa d'Híxar (L. Cabré & Torró 2012), mentioned in Poem 23.28 as 'dona Teresa'.

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married the widow of King Ferdinand the Catholic, Germaine of Foix (1488–1538). Both were appointed viceroys of Valencia by Charles I.[33] The Duke of Calabria inherited what was left of the royal library of his great-grandfather Alfonso the Magnanimous, and had it moved from Ferrara to Valencia.[34] He was a generous patron. He sponsored a renowned musical chapel, the work of composers like Lluís del Milà and Mateu Fletxa the Elder, and a number of literary and scholarly works, including Milà's *El Cortesano* (*The Courtier*; 1561), were dedicated to him (Romeu 1958; Escartí 2001). Milà's *Courtier*, a dialogue novel set in the court of Fernando and Germaine, features a variety of literary genres, including sonnets inspired by March's poetry (Fuster 1989: 84–6). Joan Ferrandis d'Heredia (1480/85–1549), also from Germaine of Foix's court, wrote the play *La vesita* (*The Visit*; *c.* 1524), in Castilian, Catalan, and some Portuguese, and authored lyric poetry mostly in Castilian, but also in Catalan and in imitation of March.[35]

Along with the Catalan text, Juan Navarro's edition contains a Spanish translation of forty-six poems, sometimes in fragmentary form, produced by Baltasar de Romaní. This *cancionero* poet, known as 'Comendador Escrivá',[36] translated March's lines word by word in an attempt to exploit the closeness of the Catalan decasyllable with the Castilian hendecasyllable.[37] The difficulty of maintaining the meaning of the original text within the new version's strict metrical frame produced a version of March's verses much indebted to the translator's literary culture – and most significantly, to *cancionero* poetry (Lloret 2013: 33–56). In this partial edition of March's corpus, poems were selected and edited with an eye to suppressing fragments disrespectful of Catholic morals and institutions.[38] Poems were also distributed in sections reminiscent of Petrarch's *Trionfi* ('càntica d'amor', 'de mort', 'moral' and 'espiritual'), but the poetic sequence narrates a palinodial story of sinful love and moral conversion after the death of the poet's lady, just like Petrarch's *Canzoniere*.[39] In order to make all the poems appear as if they were being addressed to the same lady, all the envois, which contain March's poetical sobriquets (*senhals*), are excluded from the poems. To create this Petrarchized March, Romaní also rewrote, rather

33 On their literary court, see Marino (1992).

34 De Marinis (1947–52), Cherchi & De Robertis (1990), Alcina Franch (2000), and López Ríos (2002).

35 For *The Visit* see Solervicens (1999); for Ferrandis d'Heredia's Marchian imitation, see Fuster (1989: 84).

36 Escartí (1997); Parisi (2009); Lloret (2013: 20, 55n, 98n).

37 Pagès (1911 : 408–9); Riquer (1946: xiii–xvi); Duran (1997: 96–8).

38 Riquer (1946: xvii–xviii); Mahiques (2003); Lloret (2013: 63–70, 90–2).

39 Amador de los Ríos (1865: 495); Sanvisenti (1902: 374–5); Farinelli (1929: 41); Lloret (2013: 88–99).

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than translated, some of the poems included in the section 'on death' to convey, or better create the impression, that they were also referring to his dead beloved (Ramírez i Molas 1970; Lloret 2013: 95–7).

The first edition conceived as March's complete works, a text from which all later premodern editions and translations would derive more or less directly, came out in 1543 in Barcelona from Carles Amorós's presses (Lloret 2008). The quarto volume published by Amorós included 122 poems. He printed it a few months after the *editio princeps* of the works of Juan Boscán and Garcilaso de la Vega, which sought a programmatic renewal of Castilian lyric poetry with Italianate and classical forms and sources; the poets' exemplary use of March's verses eventually achieved this objective. A former courtier at Charles V's imperial court, Boscán also drew on March's poetry to sequence the Italianate second book of his poetry (Morros 2005; Lloret 2015b: 148–9). While Boscán dedicated the prefatorial manifesto of the second book of his *Obras* to the Duchess of Somma, Beatriz Fernández de Córdoba y Figueroa (1523–53), the sponsor of the March edition was Beatriz's husband, Ferrando Folc de Cardona i Anglesola (1521–71), the Duke of Somma and Admiral of Naples, whom Boscán also mentioned in the preface to his *canzoniere*. Ferrando, in fact, sponsored or was the dedicatee of three editions of March's poetry (1543, 1545, and 1560). He also owned three of the surviving manuscripts containing March's works (*B*, *D*, and *K*). Boscán rightly claimed that Ferrando became as familiar with March's poetry 'as they say Alexander was with Homer's' ('como dizen que tenía Alexandre el de Homero'; Clavería 1999: 119–20).

Both Ferrando and Beatriz were born in Naples to families of Catalan and Castilian descent. At the end of the 1530s, they got married and moved to Barcelona, where their literary circle became of paramount importance for the history of both Catalan and Spanish literature. The Barcelona academy they joined was also attended by local citizens like Galceran Durall, Jerónimo Agustín, and Juan Boscán, and poets like Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and Gutierre de Cetina were occasional visitors. In this circle, the Dukes of Somma quickly gained prominence by sponsoring the *crème de la crème* of vernacular Iberian lyric poetry, past, present, and future (Lloret 2013: 104–23). Ferrando Folc de Cardona not only directly sponsored the 1543 quarto edition of March's works, and the 1545 re-edition in octavo, he was also the dedicatee of the 1560 edition printed by Claudi Bornat, which included a prefatory poem by Pere Serafí. In addition, he promoted the Spanish translation of Paolo Giovio's *Commentario delle cose dei Turchi* (*Commentary on Turkish Matters*), printed by Carles Amorós in 1543, and supported the edition of Ramon Muntaner's *Chronicle*, printed by Jaume Cortey in 1562.

The Petrarchization of March's corpus in Amorós's edition, which is divided into three parts (on love; on death; and moral works), is more respectful of the

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integrity of March's text than was Navarro's. The aim was to print the poems uncensored, each with its envoi at the end. The edition's sequential narrative is also inspired by Petrarch. It contains, for instance, a skilfully crafted prologue and *initium narrationis* (L. Cabré 2008; Lloret 2013: 181–93). The very first poem, 'Qui no és trist de mos dictats no cur' (Poem 39), featuring a classical apostrophe to the reader, was widely imitated by March's Renaissance followers (from Juan Boscán, to Jorge de Montemayor, Pere Serafí, and Fernando de Herrera), who often built on it to write prefaces to their own songbooks (Lloret 2015b: esp. 147–55). Francisco Sánchez de las Brozas (1523–1600), the humanist and professor of rhetoric and Greek at Salamanca, translated March's 'Qui no és trist' (Riquer 1946: xxxvi–xxxix). He also noted Garcilaso de la Vega's debt to March in the first commented edition of the Spanish poet (1573). Garcilaso had indeed read March in Catalan and imitated him before 1535 (Lloret 2013: 11n). The biblical scholar and classicizing poet Fray Luis de León (1527/28–91) also mentions Poem 39 in his commentary on the Song of Songs (Pagès 1911: 418) and remarks on March's spiritual love in the 'Lily among Thistles' ('Llir entre cards') cycle, by glossing Poem 45 (our emphasis):

> Los ignorants Amor e sos exemples,
> creent els fets d'aquell són estats faula,
> reprenen mi perquè em trasport en altre,
> […]
> A llur semblant *un gran miracle sembla*'
> (lines 1–5)

('People who are ignorant of Love and its examples, thinking its deeds are just stories, reprimand me because I am transported into someone else; […] they see this *as a great miracle*')

> […] love is such that it creates in those ruled by it many different works about the common experience of man; and so those who do not feel such an effect themselves, do not believe, or *think them miracles*, or rather madness, seeing and hearing such things in lovers. And this is why authors whose subject is love are poorly understood, and judged by other authors to be idle nonsense and follies.[40]

40 '[…] es de tal naturaleza el amor, que hace obras en quien reina diversas mucho de la común experiencia de los hombres; y por esto los que no sienten tal efecto en sí no creen, *o les parecen milagros* o, por mejor decir, locuras, ver y oír las tales cosas en los enamorados. Y de aquí resulta que los autores que tratan de amor son mal entendidos, y juzgados por algunos autores de devaneos y disparates' (Blecua 1994: 102–3).

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Jorge de Montemayor's 1560 translation of March's love poetry in Spanish hendecasyllables (e*ndecasílabos*) and octaves (*octavas reales*) further assimilated March's sequence to Petrarch's moralizing discourse (L. Cabré & Lloret 2015: esp. 13–17).

Some sections of the fragmented narrative disseminated through the Amorós edition owe more to the elegiac book of poetry than to Petrarch's *Canzoniere*. Unlike Petrarchan lyric sequences, March's love story reaches a climax of reciprocation in the middle of the edition's section on love (Poems 85 and 38). Still more significantly, an anticlimax follows March's happiness, which leads to the author's hostility and even loathing of his beloved (Poems 71 and 8). A certain 'bawd' is mentioned and cursed (Poem 42). Finally, in Poem 47, March criticizes the woman he used to love for caring for a man who is not her equal. The reciprocal love, all the jealousy, the cursing of the beloved, and the character of the old bawd are anything but Petrarchan. With the calculated arrangement of these poems in a sequence (85, 38, 71, 8, 42, 47), the editor constructed a genuinely elegiac scene inspired by Ovid or Propertius (Lloret 2013: 202–6). The classical subtext of Carles Amorós's edition thus paved the way for Vicent Mariner's Latin translation of March's poems in elegiac couplets. Divided into six books, March's works become, in Mariner's hands, Roman poetry. In it 'Déu' ('God') becomes 'Iupitter' ('Jupiter'), 'infern' ('hell') turns into 'Pluto', 'amor' is often 'Venus' or 'Cupido', and 'saber' ('knowledge') the 'Musae' (Ramírez 1970: 164–93, esp. 172–5). March's beloved is also transformed into an elegiac 'puella' (L. Cabré & Lloret 2015: 17–18). Read through sixteenth-century Italianate and classicizing poetics, March's verses continued to stimulate and inspire Renaissance authors writing in Catalan, Spanish, and Latin.

In enjoying the most successful literary posterity of medieval Catalan literature, Ausiàs March uniquely carried the medieval classical legacy into and beyond the Iberian Renaissance. He is the only author highlighted in Chapter 3 who, well into the seventeenth century (1633), was considered worthy of being translated into Latin. With the exception of *Tirant lo Blanc* – which, as we mentioned earlier, was printed in Italian in the seventeenth century and in French in the eighteenth – the works of the other four authors appear to have enjoyed no literary posterity until the nineteenth century. The pre-Romantic Enlightenment saw interest in medieval Catalan classics rekindled: a mature example of this is the *Memorias para ayudar a formar un diccionario crítico de los escritores catalanes* (*Notes to Help Compile a Critical Dictionary of Catalan Writers*; 1836), by Fèlix Torres Amat, Bishop of Astorga. Around that time, in the intellectual circle surrounding Torres Amat, a project to print Ausiàs March's works developed (Torres Amat 1836: 363; Jorba 2013: 94). It did not coalesce until 1864, when the *Renaixença* was already in full swing. The edition, by Francesc Pelagi Briz, was based on the sixteenth-century printed editions that had Petrarchized March's poetry.

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The most complete of all Romantic studies on March's poetry was Joaquim Rubió i Ors's *Ausiás March y su época* (*Ausias March and his Time*; 1882). In it Rubió noted that March surely had 'a close acquaintance with Latin poets, and especially with Ovid and Virgil' ('frecuente trato con los poetas latinos, y en especial con Ovidio y Virgilio'; 1882: 40). He also noted that March was familiar with the troubadours, his poetic predecessors in Catalan, Dante, and Petrarch, although, regarding the latter, there were no grounds either to claim 'the similarity between one's ingenuity and the other's; or to deduce that our author was an imitator of the Italian poet' ('la semejanza entre uno y otro ingenio, ni deducir que fué el nuestro un imitador del italiano'; 1882: 42). Amadeu Pagès's edition of March's poetry (1912–14) was the first Lachmannian edition of a Catalan author's work. Although Pagès's text arranged the poems following the order of the medieval manuscripts rather than of the sixteenth-century editions, March's association with Petrarch did not vanish. It can still be perceived in twentieth-century authors of important books of sonnets, such as J. V. Foix's *Sol, i de dol* (*Alone, and in Mourning*; written between around 1936 and its publication in 1947) and Carles Riba's *Salvatge cor* (*Savage Heart*; begun in 1947 and published in 1952). Ausiàs March's unique legacy, perhaps the only one stretching to the twenty-first century without significant gaps, should not conceal the fact that a solid knowledge of old Catalan literature was not amassed until the immense work of Manuel Milà i Fontanals (1818–84). As we mentioned in the preface, Milà's disciple, Antoni Rubió i Lluch (1856–1937), was the first to note in 1889 how much medieval Catalan literature owed to the classical tradition.

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